

Thesis
3463

JANICE KAY WHITELOW

**JACOB RUFF'S *ADAM UND HEVA* (1550):
A CRITICAL EDITION WITH INTRODUCTION
AND NOTES**

A thesis submitted to
the University of Stirling
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy.

1998

Obf.

PAGE

NUMBERING

AS ORIGINAL



Ist dir dan lieb din eelich man
 Solt du das gut nie heimlich han
 Vnd gib im ouch dann vñ dem bott
 Vch bgegnet weder schand noch spott
 Vnd bichäch das nie so bschilt mich drum
 Du findst mich im garten vmb rnd vmb.

Das wyb schouwet den boum
 an wie er lustig was/vñ spricht.

Genesis 3.
 Vñ dz wyb schouwet an/dz der boum gut vnd lustig was daruon zu essen / vñ lieblich antesehen/dz ein lustiger boum wår / die opler klüg machte.

D Schlang o Schlang vff diser stett
 Wol halber hast mich überredt
 Mit diner klügen red vnd sag
 So kein die fruchte nie schaden mag
 Wie du hast gredt vnd selber sprichst
 So bin ich so vil vnderriecht
 Das ich vor dfrucht wil rechte beschouwen
 Ke ich sy eß mich dian verhouwen.

Lüget sy an.

Ich reden das in der warhent
 Das Gott nie gmacht hat lüberent
 In aller rente sParadys
 Kein bessre frucht mit solchem flyß
 Als dise ist drum lieber man
 Schnäll gang hartzu ouch gschew sy an.

Sy schouwend sy beyde an.

Was gults min Adam so ist gut
 Mir zicret drüber all min blät
 Sü dem min hertz ist darzu grüßt
 Sü essen dfrucht mit allem lust
 Ich mag nie mer sy sehen an
 Duch kan ich mich nie überhan
 Ich muß sy goa ein klein versuchen
 Lon dSchlangen sorgen sy drum rüchen

Dar



The Temptation of Eve and The Temptation of Adam and Eve. [D1v], from the Munich copy of Jacob Ruff's Adam und Heva. 1550.

Table of Contents

Abstract	v
Acknowledgements	vii
Conventions of Reference	viii
I	
1. I. Introduction	1
2. II. God, the Angels and the Devils	19
3. III. Adam, Eve and Death	61
4. IV. Adam and the Naming of the Beasts	78
5. V. Cain and Abel	107
6. VI. Mankind and the Flood	128
7. Jacob Ruff's <i>Adam und Heva</i> . Editorial Principles to the Printed Text of Zurich (1550)	156
II	
1. <i>Adam und Heva</i> : Edition	205
2. Apparatus and Notes to the Text	622
3. Bibliography	639

Abstract

Jacob Ruff's *Adam und Heva*, written in 1550 by the Zurich town surgeon with the dual purpose of entertaining and instructing Zurich's citizens in the new Protestant faith, is important for the way in which Ruff, a follower of the Swiss reformer, Zwingli, was intent on using images from the Old Testament to dramatise the Reformation tenets of *sola scriptura*, *sola fide* and *sola gratia* on the open-air stage of the Münsterhof in Zurich. The original Froschauer print of 1550, of which there are four copies still extant in libraries in Zurich, St. Gallen, Munich and Berlin, has, until more recent years, been neglected by scholarship, and the last major study of the drama, which takes place over two days and involves a cast of one hundred and six, was the 1848 edition by the German literary historian, Hermann Marcus Kottinger.

In the present study, I provide a critical edition which seeks to make the *Adam und Heva* more accessible to the modern reader, and also a commentary, in which I undertake a detailed analysis of the way in which Ruff pursues a more medieval syncretism by fusing various dramatic elements of the Middle Ages with what is nevertheless a Reformation theology, thereby incorporating medieval and contemporary thought in a medieval and modern framework, and creating some of the most innovative scenes in the long tradition of medieval creation literature. In addition, by comparing the *Adam und Heva* to the works of contemporaries of Ruff, namely the Swiss Reformation dramatists Hans von

Rüte and Jos Murer, and the Germans, Valten Voith and Hans Sachs. I study how elements of the drama of the Middle Ages could exist alongside the external and contemporary influences of the Swiss and German literary traditions, and how Swiss drama, largely neglected by the literary historian, may be placed firmly within the German evangelical dramatic tradition.

Acknowledgements

I owe a great debt to the number of people who have helped, supported and encouraged me throughout the years it has taken me to complete my thesis, especially with the change of career I undertook inbetween times, when I might have faltered in my determination to finish. In addition to the curators in the libraries of Edinburgh, Oxford and Munich, especial thanks go to Dr. Urs B. Leu of the *Zentralbibliothek Zürich* and Frau Helen Thurnheer of the *Vadianische Sammlung* in St. Gallen for their kindness, keen interest and efficiency in providing both the *Adam und Heva* and also numerous other sixteenth-century texts for me to study during my time in Switzerland.

To each of the following, however, I should like to express my sincerest thanks; to my friends (particularly Eilidh and my flatmate, Stephan) who have put up with my anxieties, listened to me rambling on about my work, and who have always encouraged me to finish the thesis; and to the Department of German at Stirling, particularly Drs. Malcolm Read and Heather Valencia, who have, in the past, been a great support. Malcolm's help with the computer has been invaluable, and I hope that my *Doktorvater*, Professor Brian Murdoch, who has continually heard, "I *am* working on it, honestly", feels that his eternal hope and patience have been justified. For his expertise, warmth and friendship, and that of his family, I am extremely grateful. Most of all, however, I wish to express my gratitude to my family. Without the spiritual and emotional support, encouragement and financial assistance I have received from my parents, this thesis would never have been completed. It belongs to them.

Conventions of Reference

Few works are used throughout the two volumes in abbreviated form, but other works cited are given in full on the first reference, in short-title form later, and in full form in the bibliography. The Bibles are cited from *Die Zürcher Bibel von 1531*. (Zurich: Christoffel Froschauer, 1531, facsimile, ed. Hans R. Lavater, *Zürcher Bibel*, 1983), and *D. Martin Luther. Die Gantze Heilige Schrift Deudsch. 1545*, (Munich: Rogner und Bernard, repr. 1972).

Lexer	Matthias Lexer, <i>Mittelhochdeutsches Taschenwörterbuch</i> , (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1974).
ZdWb	Albert Weber and Jaques M. Bächtold, <i>Zürichdeutsches Wörterbuch</i> , (Zurich: Hans Rohr, 1983).
ÖWb	<i>Österreichisches Wörterbuch</i> , (Vienna: Österreichischer Bundesverlag, 1990).
GdWb	<i>Grimms Deutsches Wörterbuch</i> , (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1885).
SchwId	<i>Schweizerisches Idiotikon. Wörterbuch der schweizerdeutschen Sprache</i> , ed. F. Staub and L. Tobler <i>et al.</i> , (Frauenfeld: Huber, 1881-).
K	Hermann Marcus Kottinger, <i>Jacob Ruffs Adam und Heva</i> , (Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Gottfried Basse, 1848).
R	Jacob Ruff, <i>Adam und Heva</i> , (Zurich: Christoffel Froschauer, 1550).
Zwingli	"Von der göttlichen Vorsehung", <i>Ulrich Zwingli: Eine Auswahl aus seinen Schriften</i> , ed. Arnold Rüegg, Georg Finsler and Walther Köhler, (Zurich: Schulthess, 1918). pp. 757-96.

INTRODUCTION

Change is never complete and change never ceases. Nothing is ever quite finished with; it may always begin over again...
 And nothing is quite new; it was always somehow anticipated or prepared for. A seamless, formless continuity-in-mutability is the mode of our life.¹

C.S. Lewis, in his inaugural lecture on taking up the Chair of Medieval and Renaissance Studies at Cambridge in 1954, noted the propensity of the literary historian to pigeon-hole works to a specific era or genre. The dual function of medieval drama, however, to entertain and instruct the audience in the Scriptures, takes on a particular emphasis in the German evangelical dramatic tradition of the sixteenth-century. Although the Reformation period was a seminal one, there is not, in the drama, a completely new beginning, and in Jacob Ruff's *Adam und Heva*, written and performed in Zürich in 1550, Ruff pursues a more medieval syncretism by fusing various dramatic elements of the Middle Ages with what is nevertheless a Reformation theology, thereby incorporating medieval and contemporary thought in a medieval and modern framework, and he creates some of the most innovative scenes in the long tradition of Genesis drama.

Furthermore, while the Calvinist playwrights of Geneva continued to use scriptural images of the medieval dramatic tradition to convey their doctrine of pre-destination,²

¹ C.S. Lewis, "De Descriptione Temporum", in his *Literary Essays*. (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 2.

² Daniel Lord Smail, "Predestination and the Ethos of Disinheritance in Sixteenth Century Calvinist Theater", *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 23 (1992), 303-323.

Ruff's *Passionspiel*, inaccurately referred to by Barbara Thoran as the *Zürcher Passion*,³ was later taken up by dramatists in the Catholic cantons,⁴ again, defies any neat categorisation even for Swiss sixteenth-century drama. In the *Adam und Heva*, Ruff, a follower of Zwingli, was also intent on using images from the Old Testament to dramatise the new Reformation solafidianism on the open-air ~~Stage~~ of the Münsterhof in Zurich. Apart from an interest shown in Ruff by Robert Wildhaber⁵, and in his *Adam und Heva* by Brian Murdoch⁶, and my own edition and commentary, Kottinger's 1848 edition is the last major study of this drama.⁷ It has a few mistakes, very little commentary and omits the biblical concordances which appear alongside the text of the original Froschauer print of 1550, of which there are four copies of the *Adam und Heva* still extant in libraries in Zurich, St. Gallen, Munich and Berlin.

While Ruff, as it were, bridges the gap between the Middle Ages and the Reformation, his works themselves reflect the diverse interests of a rather unusual man. A man of many works and many names (bibliographical material highlights how many different ways there of spelling what is, in modern German at least, Ruff's monosyllabic name, Ruoff, Ruof, Ruef, Rueff, Ruf and Ruff, amongst others), the dramatist became a citizen

³ Barbara Thoran, *Studien zu den österlichen Spielen des deutschen Mittelalters*, second edition, (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1976), p. 20.

⁴ Barbara Köneker, *Die deutsche Literatur der Reformatonszeit: Kommentar zu einer Epoche*, (Munich: Winkler Verlag, 1975), p.58.

⁵ Wildhaber, *Jacob Ruf. Ein Zürcher Dramatiker des 16. Jahrhunderts*, (St. Gallen: Buchdruckerei Gebr. Wildhaber 1929).

⁶ Brian Murdoch, "Jacob Ruf's *Adam und Heva* and the Protestant Paradise-Play", *MLR*, 86 (1991), 109-125.

⁷ Hermann Marcus Kottinger, *Jacob Ruffs Adam und Heva*, (Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Basse, 1848).

of Zurich around 1532 after having taken part in the *Kappeler Schlachten*, in which he is said to have been Zwingli's doctor and in which Zwingli fell.⁸ Ruff died in 1558.⁹ Very little is known of his early life, and details of his date of birth and birthplace remain highly speculative. Historians agree that he probably came from St. Gallen, although Robert Wildhaber and Klaus Peter Phillips cite three possible birthplaces: Konstanz, Königseck (in Württemberg) and Berneck.¹⁰ Documented evidence of Ruff's later life reveals his eminence as both city surgeon and dramatist. As well as teaching obstetrics and gynaecology, in addition to his duties as a *Wundarzt*, Ruff was personal physician to the exiled Konstanz reformer, Ambrosius Blarer, and a friend of the great scholar, Conrad Gesner, who in his monumental *Bibliotheca universalis*, refers to Ruff as "uir in arte sua peritissimus et mihi amicus".¹¹ However, he wrote a number of dramas between 1535 and 1552, which include re-workings of the Wilhelm Tell, Joseph and Job

⁸ Josef Nadler, "6. Die eidgenössischen Städte", *Literaturgeschichte der deutschen Stämme und Landschaften. 1. Band*, (Regensburg: Josef Hadel, 1923), p. 304.

⁹ For details on Ruff and his works, see Robert Wildhaber, *Jakob Ruf. Ein Zürcher Dramatiker des 16. Jahrhunderts*, (St. Gallen: Buchdruckerei Gebr. Wildhaber, 1929); *Lexikon der Schweiz*, ed. Heinrich Türler, Victor Attinger and Marcel Goet. German ed. H. Tribolet, (Neuenburg: Administration des historisch-biographischen Lexikons der Schweiz, 1929), p. 752; Karl Goedeke, "Buch IV. Kirchliche Volksdichtung", *Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung. Zweiter Band*, (Dresden: LS. Ehlermann, 1929), pp. 346-347. *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon*, ed. by Heinz Rupp and Carl Ludwig Lang, (Bern: Francke, 1991); this work comprises a long section on Ruff and all his works, although it gives the wrong date, 1588, as Ruff's death. See also Jakob Bächtold, "Das sechzehnte Jahrhundert", *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur in der Schweiz*, (Frauenfeld: Huber & Co., 1892), pp. 318-30.

¹⁰ Klaus Peter Phillips, *Jakob Ruefs Joseph: Eine diplomatische Ausgabe mit Kommentar*, (Austin: University of Texas, 1974), p. 1, and Wildhaber, *Jakob Ruf*, p. 2; Bächtold, *Geschichte*, cites Berneck (in the "st. gallische Rheintal") as a possible birthplace for Ruff, p. 318.

¹¹ Wildhaber, *Jakob Ruf*, p. 7.

themes as well as Christ's Passion, and a political satire *Etter Heini*.¹² He also wrote numerous Latin works of obstetric, astrological and medical content, one of which, the *Hebammenbuch* (1554), produced several editions and was translated into English in 1637.¹³ Ruff is, incidentally, also accredited with having invented the first forceps for use in childbirth.¹⁴

Ruff's *Adam und Heva* is, however, testimony to the evangelism of a man caught up in the reforms of sixteenth-century Zürich, as well as to one of the last in a long tradition of medieval Genesis drama and the major theological and dramaturgical problems it created; the creation of the animals, for instance, the creation of Adam and more especially of Eve, the naming of the beasts scene in the *Adam und Heva*, in which all the animals and birds parade in front of Adam to allow him to give them appropriate names,

¹² For references to Ruff's biblical drama, see the following works: Nadler, *Literaturgeschichte*, p. 304; Hans-Albrecht Koch und Uta Koch, *Internationale Germanistische Bibliographie 1980*, (München, New York, London and Paris: K.G. Saur, 1981), p. 341; *Kurze Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, ed. by Kurt Böttcher, Hans Jürgen Geerds and Rudolf Heukenkamp, (Berlin: Volk und Wissen. Volkseigener Verlag, 1981), p. 116. Other literary historians make passing references to Ruff's *Tellenspiel* and *Etter Heini*: Leonhard Beriger, "The Age of Humanism and the Reformation", *German Literature: A Critical Survey*, ed. Bruno Boesch, transl. Ronald Taylor, (London: Methuen & Co LTD, 1971), p. 109. Ruff's eighth play *Von der edlen und keuschen römischen Matrone Pauline* (written around 1545) is lost, but according to the *Oxford Companion to German Literature*, ed. by Henry and Mary Garland, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), p. 736, Ruff wrote a further two plays; *Abraham* and *Geistliches Spiel von der Geburt Christi* (both 1552). There is, however, no evidence to support this.

¹³ Following its publication in English, Ruff's *The Expert Midwife* was, apparently, highly thought of and, therefore, much plagiarised throughout the centuries: Thomas Laqueur. *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts and London, England: Harvard University Press), pp. 89 and 102. The original Latin edition of the book, printed by Froschauer, may be found in the *Zentralbibliothek Zürich: Sig. MdP 177: DE CONCEPTIV || ET GENERATIONE HO= || MINIS. ET IIS QVAE CIRCA || hec potissimum considerantur, Librisex. || congesti opera JACOBI RUEFF || Chirurghi Tigurini.*

¹⁴ Phillips, *Jacob Ruefs Joseph*, p. 4.

and also the talking snake, the appearance of "Tod [der] kumpt uß der erden". and the staging of the Flood. Ruff's naming scene, especially, could be interpreted in various different ways; it is possible, and this belongs essentially to medieval drama, that the scene was expanded purely for entertainment value. This is borne out by the fact that the devils, who appear, here, as the medieval equivalent of the modern day clown, entertain the audience with their curious arguments and humorous, colloquial language. For example, they reveal their contempt for God by avoiding his name directly, a linguistic feature which is then taken up by the Cainites, and eventually the Sethites, on the second day of the performance, as they parallel the diabolical council with their devilish, worldly ways:

Was grossen schmerzen lyd ich joch || Schwâbel und bâch,
 fhür dampff und rouch (407-8). [More frequently] Botz
 harneschbletz und ysenhüt (457). Botz hirn, Botz schweis,
 botz fârden darm (477).

Here, Ruff's language evokes, for the reader, a powerful image of hell and the devils' anger at being cast out of heaven, while on stage, the devils present a more awesome, noisy and entertaining spectacle: "Yetz louffend die tüfel all in die hell mit ungestümme" (B3[r]). The play encompasses a wide age-group, for its message must, in line with the function of the drama in sixteenth-century Switzerland, appeal to all, and this may be one reason why both old and young devils appear on stage, although the latter are frequently depicted in the iconography of the sixteenth-century, which shall be discussed later. Most importantly, however, the younger devils are seen to agree with their elders and pay them respect at all times, despite their sorry transformation from angel to demon, which many of them lament. Furthermore, alongside the function of the drama in sixteenth-century Switzerland as a form of entertainment, is also the more serious intent to teach people about morality and the Scriptures through a less orthodox means than the pulpit:

Für die vielen Spielfreudigen Schweizer Bürger galt das Theater in erster Linie als moralische Anstalt; die Verbreitung religiöser Tendenzen und die Unterweisung in sittlichen Fragen sind die Rechtfertigungsgründe für diese Spiele.¹⁵

Thus, Ruff reveals that, even in hell, the Reformers' insistence on good manners and discipline prevail,¹⁶ a point to which I shall return with regard to Ruff's Cain and Abel narrative.

In the play as a whole, Ruff also adds some of the stock characters of sixteenth-century theatre, such as the cook and his wife who appear in many of Ruff's plays,¹⁷ as well as in the plays of Culmann¹⁸ and in the *Belägerung || der Statt Babylon inn || Chaldea | under Baltazar dem || König daselbst*, written in 1559 by Jos Murer, the Zurich glass-painter, topographer and dramatist.¹⁹ At the end of both *Belägerung* and

¹⁵ *Reallexikon der deutschen Literaturgeschichte: Dritter Band*, ed. by Werner Kohlschmidt and Wolfgang Mohr, (Berlin & New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1977), p. 393.

¹⁶ See Matthias Wilhelm Senger, *Leonhard Culmann, A Literary Biography and an Edition of Five Plays. As a Contribution to the Study of Drama in the Age of the Reformation*, (Nieuwkoop: B. de Graaf, 1982), pp. 72-74, and Jaques Courvoisier, "V. Church and State", *Zwingli a Reformed Theologian*, (London: Epworth, 1963), pp. 78-91. See also H.G. Koenigsberger, George L. Mosse and G.Q. Bowler, *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, (London and New York: Longman, 1968), *Volume XXIV. Zwingli and Bullinger*, ed. by the Rev. G.W. Bromiley, (Philadelphia: the Westminster Press, 1953), Euan Cameron, *The European Reformation*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), and, finally, Richard Mackenny, *Sixteenth Century Europe: Expansion and Conflict*, (Houndmills: Basingstoke, Hampshire and London: Macmillan, 1993).

¹⁷ Wolfgang Michael, *Das deutsche Drama der Reformationszeit*, (Bern: Peter Lang, 1984), pp. 149-161.

¹⁸ Senger, *Culmann*, p. 193.

¹⁹ Jos Murer, *Belägerung || der Statt Babylon inn || Chaldea | under Baltazar dem || König daselbst*, (1560), *Zentralbibliothek Zürich, Varia 25 29*.

the Adam und Heva, the cooks and the *Küchibüb* amuse us with their verbal assaults and threats of physical violence on each other, which are intended to amuse, rather than present the audience with plays of pure dogma and anti-Catholic polemic. Even the animals of the *Adam und Heva* are a source of entertainment to Adam, as he tells some of them that, as they are a pleasure to behold, they shall be named appropriately. If the naming scene was written for the purposes of *Lesedrama*, however, as Wildhaber, amongst others, has suggested,²⁰ then one of the most important aspects which must be taken into account is the extent to which the audience was literate. Literacy amongst the populace was anticipated by the Reformation dialogues of the early decades of the sixteenth century, which, unlike the edicts of the Catholic Church, encouraged the ordinary citizen to learn to read and obtain the Bible, as well as other leading publications.²¹ While the German Reformation dramatist, Leonhard Culmann, believed in the printed word as a more effective means of instruction,²² Huldrych Zwingli introduced the *Prophecy*, in order to instruct the laymen of Zurich in the Scriptures and make them as accessible to the people as possible:

The soul of this Reformation was the so-called "Prophecy", an idea of Zwingli's...Each morning, at seven o'clock, the preachers former canons, chaplains and elder students of the Latin schools gathered in the choir of the cathedral to study the Old Testament. A young participant read the text of the day in Latin from the Vulgate. Then a teacher read it in Hebrew and explained it. A third read it again from the Septuagint in Greek. A fourth then

²⁰ Wildhaber, *Ruf*, p. 90.

²¹ Elspeth Ann Davidson, *Reformation Dialogues*, (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Stirling, 1982), p. 20; for further information on the effect of printing upon literacy, see also Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, (Cambridge: University Press, 1983), pp. 265-66, especially.

²² Senger, *Culmann*, pp. 168-71.

discussed the text in Latin and indicated how it ought to be preached in church. The doors were then opened to the public and a fifth participant preached on the text in Swiss German.²³

Auguste Brieger has, on the other hand, noted Ruff's theatrical instinct which he used to bring evangelical teaching nearer to the people rather than lecture dogmatically, as, for example, Valten Voith does.²⁴ Indeed, this echoes the more recent argument taking place in the world of classics as to whether the poem *No. 63* by Catullus had the specific purpose of entertaining the audience as a dramatic work during the fifty days of the festival of Magna Mater, or whether it is, simply, a poem.²⁵ Similarly, in von Rüte's *Die Hystori Gedeons*,²⁶ written ten years before the *Adam und Heva*, we find sixteenth-century rhymed couplets and no stage directions, compared to the *Adam und Heva* and Murer's *Belägerung*, which reveal the development of the drama into a more classical humanist style. The action of these dramas is divided into five acts, whilst the scenes

²³ Rev. G.W. Bromiley, *Zwingli and Bullinger. Selected Translations with Introductions and Notes*, (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1953), pp. 108-9; Courvoisier, *Zwingli*, p. 21.

²⁴ Valten Voith, *Ein schön Lieblich Spiel, von dem herlichen ursprung: Betrübtem Fal. Gnediger widerbrenunge. Museligem leben. Seligem Ende, und ewiger Freudt des Menschen aus den Historien heiliger schrift gezogen gantz Tröstlich*, ed. by H. Holstein, *Die Dramen von Ackermann und Voith*, (Tübingen: Bibliothek des litterarischen Vereins in Stuttgart, 1884). See also James A. Parente, *Religious Drama and the Humanist Tradition: Christian Theater in Germany and in the Netherlands. 1500-1680*, (Leiden, New York, Copenhagen, Cologne: E.J. Brill, 1987), pp. 81-82, in particular.

²⁵ See the notes on the poem to Attis in the translation by Walter K. Kelly, *The Works of Catullus and Tibullus*, (London: Bohn, 1884), pp. 55-8. Hans Lamer's *Wörterbuch der Antike*, (Leipzig: Kramer, 1933), p. 51f (s. v. Attis) says of the poem "der Hörer, auch wenn er kein Latein versteht, [ist] schon nach 20 Zeilen ganz schwindlig".

²⁶ Hans von Rüte, *Die Hystori Gedeons*, performed in Bern in 1540. *Zentralbibliothek Zürich, CH 290*.

are separated by music. The *Knittelverse*, however, give the dramas poetic form, although in Barbara Köneker's view they reflect the action rather than move it along,²⁸ while the extensive use of concordances, which appear, in the margins, alongside the text in the dramas of von Rüte and Murer as well, may be referred to repeatedly by the reader, effectively underscoring the play's religious message.

Ruff's *Adam und Heva* does, however, presuppose an educated audience and reader, as does Murer's *Belägerung*, and this may be discerned through the speeches of the *Herold* and the *junger knab* at the beginning and end of each day's performance. The *Herold*, a dramatic feature of the sixteenth-century revue, introduces the play, explains the action and sums up the arguments at the end of both days, usually with a moral warning and reinforcing Reformation doctrine:

The revues were simple. First came a herald or precursor announcing the subject of the play...After precursor appeared each speaking character stepping forward to "say his piece"... Finally, the "revue" would be brought to a close by the precursor recapitulating the moral.²⁹

In Matthias Senger's view, with regard to the Reformation dramas of Leonhard Culmann,

²⁷ J.G. Robertson, *A History of German Literature*, ed. Edna Purdie, (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood, 1966), p. 160.

²⁸ Barbara Köneker, "Jakob Rufs Spiel "Von des Herren Weingarten". Eine kritische Analyse", *Uf der maze pfat. Festschrift für Werner Hoffmann*, ed. Waltraud Fritsch-Rößler, (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1991), p. 337.

²⁹ "The bright comedy, and a New Year's play from Zurich in the early sixteenth century, laid the foundations for a national *revue*. This patriotic subject was in 1535 given definitive shape by the Zurich town doctor, Jacob Ruoff, in his play *Äter Heini*". Derek van Abbé, *Drama in Renaissance Germany and Switzerland*, (Melbourne: University Press, 1961), pp. 27-28.

"Ir lieben Herrn und gute frefündt" is used to address the ordinary citizens,³⁰ while "Achtbarn Ersam gūnstig Herrn" refers to the patricians. The herald of Voith's *Ein schön Lieblich Spiel* and, incidentally, of Sachs' *Tragedia von schöpfung, fal und außtreibung Ade auß dem paradeyß*,³¹ follow a similar pattern; what makes Ruff's drama interesting is, however, that all of the speeches by the *Herold* and the *junger knab* begin with the latter:

Fromm vest fürsichtig ersam herren	(1, Prologue)
Fromm eerenvest insonders wys	(2576, "Beschlußred am ersten tag").
Fromm eerenvest hoch wolgeleert	(2714, "Herold am anderen tag")
Fromm edel vest ouch gnedig herren	(2802, junger Knab)
Uff das fromm vest ouch eersam herren	(6306, "Beschlußred am andern tag")

Similarly, Murer's Herold begins the first day of *Belägerung* with "Hoch und wolgleert ersammen frommen",³² and in line with the homiletic responsibilities of the Reformed Church, to make the basic Protestant tenets of *sola fide*, *sola gratia* and *sola scriptura* as accessible to the people as possible, the dramatists may be justified in expecting their audience to be fairly learned in terms of the Bible and the soteriological message of the era. In addition, there is, possibly, an element of flattery toward the patricians amongst the audience.

Sixteenth-century drama is interesting, however, for the importance attached to printing and oral communication, in the form of preaching, in order to spread the evangelical message, and right at the start of the Reformation, the herald's *Beschlußred* in Hans von

³⁰ Senger, *Culmann*, pp. 169-171.

³¹ Hans Sachs, *Tragedia von schöpfung, fal und außtreibung Ade auß dem paradeyß; hat xj person und iij actus*, ed. Adelbert von Keller, *Hans Sachs. Werke*, (Stuttgart, 1870, repr. Hildesheim: Olms, 1964).

³² Jos Murer, *Belägerung*, [Aiiir].

Rüte's anti-Catholic polemic *Die Hystort Gedeons* sums up the pedagogical function of the drama, albeit in the spirit of the oral tradition of the Middle Ages: he tells the audience that the play has been performed in such a way as to enable children to recognise the dramatic action, and he shall then sum up, so that the audience might return home and tell others of what they have seen and heard:

So wil ich doch in kurtzer sum || Die houptstuck || ässern
widerumb || Das irs mit üch könnint heim tragen || Und das
ouch andern lüten sagen.³³

We see, therefore, in the works of von Rüte, Ruff and Murer, that despite the frequent borrowings from one another, there has been some development in the drama, particularly in Ruff's *Passionsspiel*, in which he states his hope that his play may be utilised by the young both as a textbook and as a drama:

Drumb nit von nōten daß ich mach || ein predig uß vergangner
sach || Ein yeder selb das best låß druß || und bhalts zur leer
in sinem huß.³⁴

Here, Murer also echoes the *Zuchtmayster* of the Reformation, written by Culmann, which provided the young with a code of good manners and discipline.³⁵ Indeed, in the Cain and Abel narrative of the *Adam und Heva*, Adam and Eve stress the necessity of educating Cain and Abel "in frommkeit und gerechtem läben" (1669), so that God may grant them more children. In addition, as soon as Cain and Abel have grown up, they

³³ Hans von Rüte, *Die Hystort Gedeons*, [L6v].

³⁴ Murer, *Belägerung*, [P6v].

³⁵ Senger, *Culmann*, pp. 71-72.

shall be taught to work the land, as tillerman and shepherd respectively, in accordance with God's command. This illustrates, above all, the function of sixteenth-century drama as a means of educating the reader or spectator, and most importantly, children, who, according to Luther, are prone to evil and must be shown how to behave in a righteous manner.³⁶ Murer's *Belägerung*, written around ten years later, also contains a *Zum Läser* at the start of the drama, anticipating the future use of his drama as a *Lesetext* and apologising for any shortcomings that it may contain.

By comparing the *Adam und Heva* to the works of contemporaries of Ruff, namely the Swiss Reformation dramatists Hans von Rüte and Jos Murer, and the Germans Valten Voith and Hans Sachs, we may see how elements of drama of the Middle Ages could exist alongside the external and contemporary influences of the Swiss and German religious traditions, and how Swiss drama, largely neglected by the literary historian, may be placed firmly within the German evangelical dramatic tradition. The German and Swiss drama of the sixteenth century is important for the way in which it, over a number of years, seeks to establish the precepts of the Reformers. For, in it, we find both a traditional and new means of oral and written communication respectively, which defies the more usual description of the sixteenth-century Protestant dramatist as "fade und aufgeblasen und [er] gehört zu jenen Männern, welche damals kaltblütig die größten literarischen Diebstähle begingen".³⁷ Indeed, Ruff has been variously described as intellectually impoverished as well as one of the most fruitful dramatists of the Reformation.³⁸

The pervasive sentiment of sixteenth-century drama, then, is one of a duty, on the part

³⁶ Parente, *Religious Drama and the Humanist Tradition*, p. 93.

³⁷ Ernst Jenny and Birgil Roffel, *Geschichte der schweizerischen Literatur: Erster Band*, (Bern: U. Franke, 1910), pp. 83-84.

³⁸ Bächtold, *Geschichte*, pp. 318-30; Carl Klimke, *Das volkstümliche Paradiesspiel*, (Breslau: Marcus, 1902), pp. 35-7; Wolfgang Michael, *Das deutsche Drama*, (Bern: Peter Lang, 1984), pp. 149-161, although Michael's comments on Ruff are generally derogatory.

of the dramatist, to persuade his fellow men to live a righteous life in accordance with the new faith. In his own paradise play, *Ein schön Lieblich Spiel*, Voith wishes to entertain his audience with an essentially moral depiction of the history of man, his Fall and Redemption through Christ. The last few words of Voith's title to his paradise play, however, reveal the didactic intent of the play, for the dramatist states that his account of Genesis is "aus den Historien heiliger schrift gezogen gantz Tröstlich".³⁹ Voith uses allegorical figures to facilitate understanding of Lutheran ideas amongst the people, most notably, the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith alone, and he uses the allegorical figures of Law, Sin and Death, who are comparable to the devils of medieval drama, in order to make more comprehensible to the spectator the protoplasts' temptation by the devil, and the Fall.⁴⁰ Ruff also uses allegory in the figure of *Tod*, who appears immediately after the Fall to warn of the consequences of sin, although God's grace is continually stressed; for death leaves it up to God to decide the fate of Adam and Eve.

Additionally, Ruff includes the apocryphal figures of Calmana and Delbora as the wives of Cain and Abel respectively, underscoring, again, the syncretic nature of the drama as he seeks to fuse the Apocrypha with Reformation thought. Calmana and Delbora appear in the medieval *Mistère du viel Testament*⁴¹ and are mentioned as being the wives of Cain and Abel in the *Polychronicon*⁴² of Ranulph Higden, although there is no mention of any marriages in either the Protestant plays of Sachs or Voith or the medieval mystery plays. Ruff, however, justifies their presence in the drama by having Adam perform a formal marriage ceremony between each couple with words similar to Genesis 2. 18, which are spoken after Adam's naming of the beasts distinguishes no helpmeet for him:

³⁹ See Holstein, *Die Dramen von Ackermann und Voith*, p. 207.

⁴⁰ Parente, *Religious Drama and the Humanist Tradition*, pp. 81-2.

⁴¹ James de Rothschild, *Le Mistère du Viel Testament*, (Paris: S.A.T.F., 1878).

⁴² *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden. Monachi Cestrensis. Vol. II.*, ed. Churchill Babington, (London: Longmans and Green, 1869).

Es ist nit güt sprach Gottes mund || Das weder tag zyt
 noch kein stund || Der mensch alleinig blybe nit || Drumb
 gib ich üch zûsamen hüt (1903-6)

Similarly, Genesis 2. 18 of the Zurich Bible reads:

Es ist nit kommlich | das der mensch allein sey. Ich
 wil im ein gehilffen machen | der im zû nächst bey= ||
 stande.

In this context, this joining reveals that Cain and Abel have grown up, and may also be representative of the *Ehegericht* introduced in Zurich during the Reformation⁴³ and the emphasis, placed by Zwingli (and, in Germany, Luther) on the duty of the parents to arrange marriages for their children:

Patriarchy was the ideal held up for evangelical Christians in marriage and in the household, a hierarchical structure of obedience, in which a wife obeyed her husband, children obeyed their parents and servants their master.⁴⁴

Within the context of the play, Adam's words apply to Abel and Delbora alone, highlighting the innate differences between the Cain and Calmana, who, after the fratricide, become the worldly, godless founders of the city of Enoch, and the god-fearing, humble Abel and Delbora, whose marriage ceremony is reminiscent of the

⁴³ Richard Mackenny, *Sixteenth Century Europe: Conflict and Expansion*, (Houndmills; Basingstoke, Hampshire and London: Macmillan, 1993), pp. 145-48 and H.G. Koenigsberger, George L. Mosse and G. Q. Bowler, *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, (London and New York: Longman, 1968), pp. 67-72.

⁴⁴ R.W. Scribner, *The German Reformation*, (Houndmills: Basingstoke, Hampshire and London: Macmillan, 1986), pp. 59-60. See also Cameron, *The European Reformation*, p. 405.

creation of Eve.

Sachs, like Ruff and Voith, in just two of his versions of the Genesis story, the *Tragedia* and *Comedia*. *Von der ungleichen kinder Eve*,⁴⁵ also makes explicit use of the devils of medieval drama in order to depict how wickedness came into the world. The Cain, for example, of the medieval mystery plays, and, indeed, of the dramas of Sachs and Voith, is the epitome of all evil, someone who is actively incited to envy, greed and murder by the devil, and who embraces all of these evils wholeheartedly. Voith paints a particularly vivid picture of Cain, who, jealous of his more pious brother, says himself that his heart is "mit hessigem neydigen schmerz Erfült, das es gleich ubergeht". The Cain of the Sachs *Die ungleichen kinder Eve* is shown to be ^anaughty, disobedient child, who refuses to come home and be bathed in preparation for God's visit. He is the materialist Cain of medieval exegesis, who would rather hunt and play "mit den bösen buben" than obey his parents.⁴⁶ In fact, in line with the classification of the play as a *Comedia*, which implies that Sachs wants to provide, at least to the same extent, an entertaining spectacle for his audience, his devils are actually very amusing; not only are they characterised, as they are in the iconography and drama of both the Reformation and Middle Ages, by their excessive ugliness, due to their Fall from grace,⁴⁷ which is

⁴⁵ See, again, Adelbert von Keller, *Hans Sachs. Werke*.

⁴⁶ *Comedia. Die ungleichen kinder Eve, wie sie Gott, der Herr, anredt; hat xix person unnd fünff actus*, von Keller, *Hans Sachs. Werke*, pp. 53-87.

⁴⁷ For the devils in medieval drama, see especially Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages*, (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1984), p. 131; Hugo Bekker, *The Lucifer Motif in the German and Dutch Drama of the Sixteenth Centuries*, (doctoral thesis, Michigan, 1958, facs.; 1979), pp. 1-15; Keith L. Roos, *The Devil in 16th Century German Literature: The Teufelsbücher*, (Bern and Frankfurt/M: Herbert Lang, 1972), pp. 7-12; Maximilian Rudwin, *The Devil in Legend and Literature*, (La Salle; Illinois: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1931), pp. 35-53; Rosemary Woolf, *The English Mystery*

a feature of Ruff's devils as well, and to whom his Cain is also likened, but they pray in a somewhat impudent manner to God and alter standard prayers:

O vater himel unser, || Laß uns dein reich geschehen, ||
 In himel und in erden sehen! || Gib uns schuld und teglich
 vil brot || Und alles ubel, angst und not! amen.⁴⁸

What Voith and Sachs, like the dramatists of the medieval English mystery plays, make explicit and thereby tangible to the spectator or reader through the devils' presence on stage, is only implicit in the words and actions of Ruff's Cain. It must be said that, elsewhere, Ruff does use the explicit presence of the devil in the *Adam und Heva* when it proves expedient for him to do so, notably in the diabolical council or fallen angels, who, as in Sachs *Tragedia*, have been deprived of the riches of heaven and feel themselves to have been usurped by man; they plot, therefore, to bring down all of creation. In the Ruff drama, they eventually achieve this aim on the second day of the play by encouraging the humble, farming community of the Sethites and the worldly, city-dwelling Cainites to mix and by causing, thereby, their ultimate destruction in the Flood. Indeed, in the Cain and Abel scenes, Ruff pays more attention to the Protestant view of sinful humanity, the consequences of which many Protestant dramatists avoided depicting in their plays, which Ruff reveals through the consistently protevangelical speeches of the protoplasts or Cain and Abel and his portrayal of the good and wicked generations in the second day of the play.

Plays, (Berkeley and California: University of California Press, 1972), pp. 105-131.

⁴⁸ Sachs, *Die ungleichen kinder Eve*, p. 78, 30-34.

The subject of Cain poses special theological problems for the sixteenth-century Protestant dramatist which are revealed through Cain's attitude toward the sacrifice in the *Adam und Heva*. While the Catholic playwrights, as James A. Parente has noted, had few problems with the concept of good works, for example, as a means of obtaining Salvation,⁴⁹ Luther's solafidianism often clashes with the narrative of Ruff's Cain and Abel, which Ruff expands from sixteen verses of Genesis 4. 1-16 to around twenty-five pages of text. How were the people, at whom the drama was directed, to grasp the Protestant message, when the Bible itself places an emphasis on the sacrifice as an apparent prerequisite to obtain God's grace? In the early Protestant drama, Cain may not, now, be regarded only as a purely negative force, but also as a mouthpiece, which, again, shall be discussed in the chapter *Cain and Abel*. Finally, with regard to the actual sacrifice itself, Ruff adds a nice contemporary touch by having Cain throw his rejected offering over a bridge. Presumably the stage direction refers to the bridge near the Münsterhof. Senger underlines the direct influence of the words and actions of the biblical characters on the audience,⁵⁰ so that they could actually see and experience, first hand, Cain's innate wickedness and actions, particularly in a contemporary setting. They could, subsequently, be shown through Abel the true path to Salvation.

Lastly, even though God's mercy is stressed throughout the Ruff drama, and, indeed, the *Gwardi Hauptmann* finally recognises this when it is too late and the Flood is about to descend, the audience may be drawn even further into the action by the flood scenes themselves at the end of the play, on [P1v]; for here, as the wicked generations are about to perish in the flood, Ruff, the "Theatricaler...[der] versucht die von Voith

⁴⁹ Parente, *Religious Drama and the Humanist Tradition*, p. 93.

⁵⁰ Senger, *Culmann*, pp. 192-93.

dozierte Lehre näher an das Volk heranzubringen",⁵¹ introduces fireworks and drums, thereby heralding Baroque effects and underscoring the soteriological message of the *Adam und Heva* in the most vivid and impressive way.

⁵¹ Auguste Brieger, *Kain und Abel in der deutschen Dichtung*, (Berlin und Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter & Co, 1934), p.19.

II

GOD, THE ANGELS AND THE DEVILS

Sun vergiß meines gsatzes nit | || und deyn hertz behalte meyne || gebott. Veracht die || strafft des HERREN nit mein sun | und || wird nit zornig wenn er dich beschiltet. Dann || den er lieb hat den strafft er | und hat nichts || destminder ein wolgefallen an im wie ein || vatter an seinem kind.

(*Zürcher Bibel von 1532*, Proverbia 3. 1 und 3. 11-12)

In his treatise *De vera et falsa religione* (1525), Zwingli explains his belief that religious practices first came about when man disobeyed God, ate of the fruit of the forbidden tree and fell, whereupon he might have expected to die: "dann welches tags du darvon issest | wirstu des tods sterben" (Genesis 2. 17, *Zürcher Bibel*). God, nonetheless, called man to Himself, as a father would a wayward son, revealing, at the same time, His grace and mercy.¹ Zwingli is keen to emphasise the beneficence of God, so much so that Adam, even in his fallen state, recognises and answers the call of his creator. This gives rise to a number of important points in terms of Reformation theology as a whole; first, Adam was created without sin and was also

¹ Courvoisier, *Zwingli*, pp. 42-44. For a more general discussion on Zwingli, see also Koenigsberger, Mosse and Bowler, *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 182-187, Bromiley, *Zwingli and Bullinger*, *Ulrich Zwingli: Eine Auswahl aus seinen Schriften*, ed. by Arnold Rüegg, Georg Finsler and Walther Köhler, (Zurich: Schulthess & Co, 1918), W.P. Stevens, *The Theology of Huldrych Zwingli*, (Oxford, Clarendon press, 1986), and August Baur, "Zwinglis Schrift *Über die Vorsehung Gottes*: Voraussetzungen und Veranlassungen zu der Schrift *Über die Vorsehung Gottes*", *Zwinglis Theologie: Ihr Werden und Ihr System*, (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1885), pp. 686-754.

given the gifts of reason and immortality, so that, as God's image on earth, he might have dominion over God's kingdom on earth. The fact that Adam (Eve is largely omitted in the discussion of the Fall) disobeyed God is viewed, by the Reformers, as *superbia* on his part, for he wanted to be like God. Secondly, and, most importantly, Adam's disobedience of God's law revealed his *unbelief* or lack of trust in God's word, and it is the sins of *self-seeking* and *unbelief* which came to lie at the heart of the Reformation doctrine of Salvation. For in the eyes of the Reformers, it was by God's grace alone and through the birth of his son, Christ, and His redemption of these sins, that Adam and Eve survived at all.²

Two points need to be raised in connection with this; the first point is the question of *original sin*; for after the fall, Adam's sin was passed onto succeeding generations so that no matter how *good* they might be, they might not *work* their own Salvation. This idea of attaining God's grace and mercy through good works remains a Catholic concept. According to the Reformers, however, Salvation alone would come *sola gratia*, "by grace alone can man be saved" and *sola fide*, "by faith alone can man be saved"; man must have complete dependence both on God's grace and faith in this grace in order to be redeemed.³ The two are thus mutually dependent. The second point is the christocentric basis of Zwinglian doctrine, which states that it is in the Bible alone, *sola scriptura*,⁴ that we learn of Christ's Gospel and of His coming to earth

² Cameron, *The European Reformation*, pp. 112-13, and Courvoisier, *Zwingli*, pp. 36-37.

³ *Martin Luther: Selections*, ed. by Brian Murdoch and Lewis Jillings, (Hull: New German Studies, 1977), p.5-9.

⁴ Courvoisier, *Zwingli*, pp. 27-37, Cameron, *The European Reformation*, pp. 136-144. For the christocentric basis of Lutheran doctrine see also Murdoch and Jillings, *Martin Luther: Selections*, pp. 15-21.

to redeem the sin passed down to us by Adam. Everyone should, therefore, embrace this Gospel, in which God speaks to us directly, in order to achieve Salvation.⁵

Any attempt to discuss Ruff's *Adam und Heva* must, therefore, be undertaken in the light of the soteriological message of Zwingli and the other Reformers, so that how far the Ruff drama adheres consistently to the Protestant edicts of Zwingli and the town council, and the Reformation tenets of *sola scriptura*, *sola gratia* and *sola fide*, remains to be established. Most important are the scenes in the drama which depict both the rebellion and fall of the rebel angels and the creation and fall of Adam and Eve, because these offer an account of the origin of sin, and at the same time, a means of Salvation through Christ. Furthermore, before the development of the religious drama in the later Middle Ages and the Reformation, visual and written presentations stressed the origin of all sin. This simple feature was then taken up in medieval and Reformation iconography and also continued in contemporary folk-drama, of which there are large numbers, especially when compared to learned texts.⁶

Interesting as they are, however, in terms of comparative literature, any references to early medieval poetry such as the *Wien/Millstätter Genesis*, later German poems like *Die Erlösung* and to early medieval French and Breton dramas, such as the

⁵ Courvoisier, *Zwingli*, pp. 32-33.

⁶ In addition to Watson Kirkconnell, *The Celestial Cycle*, (New York: Gordian, 1952, repr. 1967), which lists the first part of the Genesis narrative cycle, and Carl Klimke, *Das volkstümliche Paradiesspiel*, pp. 35-6, see also Brian Murdoch *The Irish Adam and Eve Story. II*, (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1976) and Hans Folz and the *Adam Legends. Texts and Studies*, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1977).

Mystère d'Adam and the *Creation ar Bet* must, of necessity, be limited.⁷ For, together with the English medieval mystery-plays and even the Cornish dramas,⁸ medieval representations of Genesis are simply too numerous. Of particular interest are, however, the presentation of Lucifer's rebellion and the creation and fall scenes in the works of the other Protestant dramatists, Voith and Sachs, as comparisons with Ruff. Sachs' *Tragedia*, especially, was the basis for the folkplay of Adam and Eve, even in the Catholic territories, so that lines are not often clearcut.⁹ Also important is the fact that Ruff, Voith and Sachs, like the medieval dramatists and artists before them, give an homiletic account of these early chapters of Genesis, utilising the form of drama as a means of edification for their audience, and, insofar as the Reformation is concerned, for the reader, too.

⁷ *Genesis und Exodus nach der Milstäter Handschrift*, ed. Joseph Diemer, (1862, repr. Wiesbaden: Sändig, 1971); F. Maurer, *Die Erlösung. Eine geistliche Dichtung des 14. Jahrhunderts*, (Leipzig, 1934); Paul Studer, *Le Mystère d'Adam*, (Manchester: The University Press, 1949); Brian Murdoch, "The Breton *Creation ar Bet* and the Medieval Drama of Adam and Eve", *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, 36 (1977), 157-79.

⁸ Woolf, "Plays of the Fall", *The English Mystery Plays*, pp. 105-32; Glynne Wickham, *Early English Stages. Volume Three. Plays and their Makers to 1576. 1300-1660*, (London: Routledge and New York: Kegan Paul, Columbia University Press, 1981); "The Creation", *The Towneley Plays*, ed. by George England and Alfred W. Pollard, (London: EETS, repr. 1966), pp. 1-9; "The Creation of the World and Man", *Ludus Coventriae or the Plaie called Corpus Christi*, ed. K.S. Block, (London: EETS, repr. 1960), 19-20; *The Chester Plays*, ed. Hermann Deimling, (London: EETS, repr. 1968), 22-25 and "The Creation" and "The Creation of Adam and Eve", *The York Plays*, ed. Richard Beadle, (London: EETS, repr. 1982), pp. 54-61. For the Cornish dramas, see the medieval *Ancient Cornish Drama*, ed. and transl. Edwin Norris, (New York and London: Benjamin Blom, 1895, repr. 1968), I and II, William Jordan, *Gwryans an Bys: A Medieval Cornish Drama*, ed. and transl. E.G. Retallack Hooper (Talek), (Cornwall: Dyllansow Truran, 1985) and Brian Murdoch, "Creation, Fall and After in the Cornish *Gwryans an Bys*", *Studi Medievali*, 29 (1988), 685-705.

⁹ See Klimke, *Das volkstümliche Paradiesspiel*.

The *Adam und Heva*, involving the dissemination of Reformation thought, and, on a practical level, a large cast and the concomitant problems of staging a two-day spectacle, has the added task of bridging the gap between the learned patricians and ordinary citizens of Zurich; the "Fromm/vest/fürsichtig ersam herren" (1) and the *eerliche Burgerschaft* (276) referred to by the *Herold* and the *junger knab* respectively at the very beginning of the play. "Ein nüw unnd || lustig Spyl", the title, suggests that the *Adam und Heva* will adopt the form of an entertaining or *lustig* drama. The play's subject matter, however, the "erschaffung Adams unnd He= || va | auch irer beider faal im Paradyß" (also title), provides the basis for the instruction of Zurich's citizens in the new Protestant faith. Indeed, the *Herold*, at the very beginning of the *Adam und Heva*, provides both a useful summary of the action which takes place throughout the drama, and, interestingly, focuses immediately on the creation and fall of man. He begins by referring to the Bible as being the source of the drama, underscoring immediately the importance of the biblical content:

Uch halten für ein lieblich spil || Beschaffung der welt uß
Gottes gewalt || Wies Bible leert unnd das inhalt. (8-10)

The *Herold* then refers to the *Zürcher Bibel*; he quotes, for example, Proverbs 3. 19,¹⁰ which discusses how God created the earth *Mit weyßheyt* and the sky *mit fürsichtigkeit*. In addition to this, he mentions how "Gott hab den menschen bschaffen wyßlich" (13). That a happy man is a man who gains wisdom and understanding is underscored in Proverbs: "Wol dem der weyßheyt überkumpt | und || vstand erlangt" (Proverbs 3. 13). That God created man *Mit weyßheyt* is, however, not

¹⁰ See Edition, footnote 1, A3[r].

mentioned in Proverbs at all. This begs the question of whether the very Protestant Ruff adapts the biblical content for his own purpose, namely to reveal God's omnipotence in the whole of His creation; that the world, beast, bird and man himself were all created through God's wisdom. Accordingly, Ruff emphasises the importance of the creation of man alongside the creation of the world, over which man is then given dominion. An important point to be considered in all of this is that while the Reformers advocated the ideal of *sola scriptura* as a way of ridding their new religion both of the unnecessary practices and rituals decreed by the Catholic Church, and of the often difficult tractates of the Church Fathers, it was an ideal which was open to interpretation by the individual, as Ruff shows; this becomes even clearer a little later on in the *Adam und Heva*.

Indeed, to return to the prologue, the text appears initially to be an adaptation of Genesis 2. 17, in which Adam is warned by God that if he eats of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, he shall die; "Nach Gottes zûsag stods erstârben" (25-26). Ruff, however, also chooses the very beginning of his drama to introduce the notion of Adam's guilt. After Adam was created in God's image, *schôn* according

to ✓

Ruff's interpretation, he was given complete sovereignty over the whole of creation, of which Ruff states:

Uff das er teilhafft wurd sins rychs
 On mangel das selb môchte niessen
 Durn tod sin schuld nit müßte büssen (16-18)

On first reading, this sounds unusual, insofar as Adam's guilt only came into being

after the fall and not before. Ruff appears to suggest that man was created sinful but that God, in His grace, allowed man immortality so long as he did not transgress against Him, as though man had the choice of whether to obey or disobey God's commandment or not. Indeed, this finds echoes later on in the play, after the creation of the protoplasts; when God presents Eve to Adam, He commands them to live *unschuldig* (991) in His eyes. Significantly, Adam replies:

Sind wir hie nackend oder bloß
 So ist die schamm in uns verborgen
 Ouch von uns hingnon angst und sorgen
 Darumb wir sônd min Herr und Gott
 In unschuld halten din gebott (994-98)

Again, this is both portentous in the play's dramatic action, as the audience is made aware immediately of man's potential to fall and also of the fact that man's sin results in "angst und sorgen" for the generations succeeding him. Adam promises, therefore, to obey God's law. Yet Reformation doctrine states that man fell because of his lack of trust in God's law and his own *superbia*. The origin of man's sin has been a problem for theologians from St. Augustine onwards and, clearly, even for the Reformers, the argument was notoriously circular; for if man was created in the image of God and without sin, then how could he have been guilty of self-seeking and unbelief in the first instance? In his treatise "Von der göttlichen Vorsehung",¹¹ Zwingli makes the point that God's creation of a commandment, which was clearly capable of violation by man, is merely a sign of His providence, for God knew of the fall in advance.

¹¹ Zwingli, "Von der göttlichen Vorsehung", *Ulrich Zwingli*, ed. by Rüegg, Finsler and Köhler, p. 772.

Indeed, according to the Reformer, man and the fallen angel of Scripture and the Apocrypha (of which more later) before him, are allowed the possibility of transgression against God's law in order that they might fully comprehend His divine justice: "Zu ihrem eigenen Besten wurden daher Beide so geschaffen, daß sie fallen konnten."¹² At the beginning of the *Adam und Heva*, however, "Durn tod sin schuld nit mußte büssen" (18) is also, on a very basic level, Ruff's means of placing the idea of man's original sin in the minds of his listeners as soon as possible. For this is a play, as the title states, about the fall of man. At this stage in the creation, Ruff suggests, man was created immortal and would not have to pay for his sins through death, and the dramatist prepares his audience for what will happen later on in the drama. Indeed, Ruff continues to underscore the fact that Adam's sin has far-reaching consequences for the future of the world as a whole:

Das imm ist gfolget uß der sünd
 Die geerbt ouch hand des Adams kind
 Geflossen kon in sines gschlecht
 Das er tödtlich ist worden knecht.
 Hett er sich nit an dsünd ergeben
 Der mensch het mögen ewig leben.(27-34)

Here we understand that as Adam's offspring we have inherited not only his sin, but his mortal state; for transgression against God's law, while not punishable by immediate death, has resulted, nevertheless, in our mortality, a point which Hans Sachs is also keen to emphasise in his *Tragedia*; for, here, man "auch sein straff empfecht Sambt gantzem menschlichen geschlecht" (20-21).¹³ Another point which

¹² Zwingli, "Von der göttlichen Vorsehung", p. 776.

¹³ Sachs, *Tragedia*, p. 19.

is of interest, with regard to the *Adam und Heva*, is the word *knecht* in line 30. which appears to echo Zwingli's assertion that man became a kind of *slave* of God after the fall:

Im Augenblick der Übertretung schauten sie der Gerechtigkeit
in's Antlitz. Der eine, der Engel, wurde aus dem seligen
Himmelssitz in's ewige Feuer gestoßen; der andere, der Mensch,
wurde aus dem Paradiese getrieben, aber dank der Barmhertzigkeit
doch gerettet - wie einer, der Kraft Kriegsrecht hätte getötet
werden können, am Leben blieb, um Sklave zu sein.¹⁴

Again, as with the previous reference to the fallen angel, what is both interesting and ironic at this point, is that solafidianism is stressed through the fact that the fallen angels receive no Salvation for their sins, while man, on the other hand, is shown God's grace. Zwingli's *Sklave* and Ruff's *knecht* emphasise, at the same time, another aspect of Adam's punishment, namely his loss of sovereignty over Paradise. As a *knecht* of God, he thereby occupies a far more lowly position in His kingdom.

As the *Herold* continues his prologue, an apparent paradox comes to light which is also connected to the origin of Adam's sin; this time, however, instead of attributing Adam's fall to the Protestant ideas of *superbia* and *unbelief* alone, Ruff returns to the traditional medieval biblical drama in order to depict the devil as both the origin of all evil and the instigator of Adam's fall from grace. Indeed, the *Herold* tells his audience of the devil's *list* and envy of man; the "zorn, nyd und hasß" (20-21) which engender the fall of the protoplasts from grace:

¹⁴ Zwingli, "Von der göttlichen Vorsehung", p. 776.

Zum menschen hin den er hat bracht
 Von gott abgfürt in zorn und draach (23-24)

Here, there are echoes of the other Protestant Paradise-plays of Sachs and Voith, too: for instance, the *Cherub* in the Sachs' *Tragedia* tells of how man:

... durch den neyd und widerwern
 Des Satanas inn dem anfang
 Verfürt wart durch die listig schlang,
 Das er prach das eynig gebot,
 Dardurch er kam in ewig not...(15-19)¹⁵

Sachs, with a view, perhaps, to theatricality, takes this one step further as his Raphael, with whom Michael and Gabriel discuss the creation, informs the other angels that they must endeavour to protect man, for "Die weyl ihn ob sein hohen gaben || Der Sathan hefftig wird durchechten, || Zu allem übel ihn anfechten",¹⁶ thereby anticipating Satan's actions. Voith, on the other hand, informs the audience in *Ein schön Lieblich Spiel*, of how "Adam Eva im paradeis || Betrogen seint durchs Satans fleis".¹⁷ In all the plays, there are echoes of Genesis 3. 1-19, in which the devil, in the form of a serpent, betrays Eve first of all and then Adam into eating of the tree of knowledge, thereby leading them away from God literally. The most important point is, however, that the text of the Ruff, Sachs und Voith dramas is only quasi-biblical, with reference especially to the devil's "zorn, neyd and draach". That the fall of Lucifer appears in the Bible is true, only through an interpretation of it, in

¹⁵ Sachs, *Tragedia*, p. 19.

¹⁶ Sachs, *Tragedia*, p. 23, 15-17.

¹⁷ Voith, *Ein schön Lieblich Spiel*, p. 209, 1-2.

Isaiah 14. 11-15 and Revelation 12. 9, but his legend also appears in the apocryphal Books of Enoch, as well as in the writings on Genesis of the Church Fathers and their vernacular followers throughout the ages;¹⁸ Lucifer, if the King of Babylon is thus interpreted, guilty of *superbia* and of wanting to set his throne above God's, is cast out of heaven and into hell, along with his rebel angels, although he alone is bound in chains for all eternity. In his revenge he plots with his rebel angels, the diabolical council of medieval drama, to bring about the fall of Adam, who is God's image on earth and who has usurped Lucifer in his dominion over everything paradisaical. While Lucifer in the Ruff and Voith dramas wishes merely to exact revenge on man and God for his suffering, however, Belial, who appears alongside Lucifer and Sathan in the Sachs drama, is under the illusion that Lucifer's place in heaven might be restored to him through man's downfall: "Gwinst du den sieg, du wirst gekrönt", he tells Lucifer, just as man is, according to Sachs' God, "Wie ein künig in seinem zimmer", who thereby incurs the devil's wrath.¹⁷

The appearance of the devil in the Protestant dramas and the syncretic nature of the *Adam und Heva* particularly may be explained in the light of popular belief and superstition throughout Europe in the Middle Ages and well into the sixteenth century. People of the early Middle Ages possibly became acquainted with the devil in the more tangible form of art, rather than the unrecognisable, spiritual entity spoken of in Scripture. Indeed, medieval demonic iconography depicts the devil in his fallen state from beautiful, celestial being to grotesque, evil creature and the sole purpose

¹⁸ Rudwin, *The Devil in Legend and Literature*, p. 3, Russell, *Lucifer*, p. 133.

¹⁷ Sachs, *Tragedia*, p. 35, 19 and p. 25, 13.

of the iconography at that time was didactic; to warn the sinner by tormenting him with dire visions of hell.¹⁸ Significantly, Ruff's rebel angels experience a similar change in appearance and circumstance after their expulsion, as *Der dritt klein Engel* informs them at the beginning of the play:

Uch hat genommen Gott der herr
 All üwer zierd schön lob unnd eer
 Unnd üch beroubt der englen orden
 All sind ir yetzdan Tüfel worden (295-98)

The demons themselves then take up the argument, especially the *fünfft Tüfel* who, because of a printing error and along with "die dry nachfolgenden kleinen Tüfel" (P3[r]), was omitted from the devils' scenes of the first day:

Hat Gott an mir brucht sinen gewalt
 Ist mir verkeert min form und gstalt
 Min schön und zier der Englen orden
 Und bin yetz ouch zum Tüfel worden (6322-25)

The young devils, who follow the *fünfft Tüfel*, arouse our curiosity largely because of the age-range they depict and the expressive way in which they, too, lament the loss of their angelic orders:

Gestert bin ich ein Engeli gsyn
 Zum Tüfeli hüt ich worden bin
 Das krenckt min juget über dmaß
 Drumb ich Gott schmäch on underlaß (6332-35)

¹⁸ Russell, *Lucifer*, p. 131.

Were he not a fallen angel, this speech by the *Erst jung Tüfel* might arouse an empathetic response amongst the audience because he both appears and feels too young to be subjected to such dire punishment. Any empathy we might feel, however, is promptly dispelled by the fact that he and the other young devils, by virtue of their very youth, are in agreement with their elders that a messenger of hell should be sent out to spy on God. Thus, the *Ander jung Tüfel*:

Min juget gibt mir den verstand
Daß ich üch folgen allensampt (6336-37)

and the *Dritt jung Tüfel*:

Ich folg der vile und der menge
Wie abgredt ist nach aller lenge (6341-42)

The reference to the disfigured appearance of the young devils may be unusual in medieval and Reformation drama,¹⁹ but they do have their place in the iconography of the Middle Ages; for instance, we find the earliest iconographical depictions of the devil in the ninth century, when representations of the devil became more widespread because of homilies on the lives of the Saints. It was in the eleventh century, however, that Lucifer began to be depicted grotesquely as part man, part beast, and his retainers as little imps, with wings and tails, becoming more ugly and

¹⁹ See Brian Murdoch, "Jacob Ruf's *Adam und Heva*"; Murdoch discusses Arnoul Greban's *Mystère de la Passion*, in which *petit diables* appear.

distorted as they fell into hell's mouth,²⁰ a grotesqueness which was exhibited in medieval church iconography for all to see;²¹ it is possible, then, that Ruff drew on medieval art in order to depict moral evil in the form of young and old alike and, thereby, to inspire fear amongst his audience.

Indeed, in the *Adam und Heva*, the disfigurement of the devils is one of the most striking points to be expressed, because it highlights vividly the torments of hell that await the sinner as well as contrasts with the fate of those worthy of redemption; Adam and Eve, for example, having been seduced into eating the fruit by devilish forces and fallen prey to the same *superbia* as Lucifer, retain nevertheless their God-given appearance; Cain, on the other hand, who, prompted by the devil, murders his brother and becomes implicitly one with the devils, takes on a more demonic, disfigured form. Of further interest is the fact that, in line with the Bible, no mention is made of any demonic appearance of the city-dwellers, who, on the second day of the play, create a society of evil which incurs God's wrath and heralds the Flood. Indeed, Ruff reveals in the speeches of Cain and his children, on the second day of the play, that just being city-dwellers means cultivating talent and beauty in dress, fine clothes and worldly pursuits, and it is this biblical beauty of the daughters of men which attracts ultimately the sons of God, bringing about the downfall of the Sethites. Although this is obviously a negative point, the wicked generations are, like Adam and Eve, still worthy of Redemption, which Ruff reveals through God's sending of Enoch and Noah to persuade them to renounce the devil and follow a more righteous and pious way of life.

²⁰ Russell, *Lucifer*, discusses, on p. 131, the eleventh-century Caedmonian poems which depict precisely this.

²¹ Rudwin, *The Devil in Legend and Literature*, pp. 36-37.

Initially, the strong interest in devilish forces in the sixteenth century arose out of the fact that man in the late Middle Ages was subjected to the terrors, tortures and magic of wandering magicians and wizards, so that he began to see manifestations of the devil in everything and to understand that evil could exist on earth in recognisable, varied forms.²² Thus, the story of Lucifer and his fall became an important element of medieval literature, particularly the Shrovetide, miracle and mystery plays of the Middle Ages, representing popular superstition and produced, like the Ruff drama, to entertain and edify.²³ Lastly, with regard to popular opinion of the devil in the sixteenth century and, indeed, his connection with Reformation drama, Luther believed that the devil manifested himself in many different forms on earth, most notably in all human vices, so that each characteristic moral failing in man could be matched to a special devil, a notion taken up by subsequent writers of the Reformation.²⁴ As a result of Lutheran doctrine, a body of devil literature known as the *Teufelsbücher* arose in the second half of the sixteenth century. These books, primarily of didactic content and a comment on the everyday fears of Reformation man, comprise, amongst others, sermons, moral treatises and dramas. Many editions of the books were printed and reached a wide audience and did much to propagate the belief that the devil had indeed come amongst man.²⁵

During a period which saw popular religion turned on its head, and in which new

²² Roos, *The Devil in 16th Century German Literature*, p.8.

²³Russell p.245 and Woolf

²⁴ Roos, *The Devil in 16th Century German Literature*, p. 17 and Rudwin, *The Devil in Legend and Literature*, pp. 23-24.

²⁵ Roos, *The Devil in 16th Century German Literature*, p. 9.

notions of faith and Salvation were emphasised, man could now perceive of the devil's influence in daily life through a number of sources, such as art, drama and literature, making him susceptible both to fear of a similar fate as the devil's and, thereby, to moral lessons. That Ruff and his counterparts choose the fall of the rebel angels to illustrate how evil came into being and the effect of this evil upon the world is, therefore, not that unusual; it may be explained in the historical background of medieval creation literature and sixteenth-century demonology, which, as we have seen, cannot really be separated anyway. One last very important point, with regard to the *Adam und Heva*; as Genesis dictates both the text and the outcome of the drama, then for the purposes of *sola scriptura* man *must* be seen to be tempted and fall:

Wie er den menschen arger thaat
 Gereitzt darzû betrogen hat
 Also wolt Gott in widerumb
 Vom tûfel redten machen frumm
 Zum erben nen in sines rych
 In sâlig machen ewigklich
 Das bschach wie er ließ hie uff erden
 Den son Gotts mensch geboren werden (209-216)

Worthy of note is the fact that the devil's temptation of Adam and Eve is pure conjecture on the part of the Church Fathers, as they interpret the serpent of Genesis 3. 1-15 as being one of the devil's retainers. For nowhere in Genesis is the devil himself mentioned. Secondly, and most importantly in terms of Reformation drama, man may yet be saved from his sin through God's providence and through Christ from his proclivity toward sin and temptation by the devil; for *sola fide* and *sola gratia* are

also emphasised.²⁶

In traditional medieval Genesis-drama, then, the rebellion scenes and the subsequent diabolical council created by Lucifer in hell, fulfil the dual function of being at once homiletic and entertaining; of revealing the origin of sin and of appealing to an uneducated and educated audience through bawdy jokes, on-stage antics and the subversion of biblical text and prayers, which I have discussed already with especial reference to Sachs' *Tragedia*.²⁷ Also, as with the medieval mystery-plays, the first act of the *Adam und Heva* begins with the expulsion, however unbiblical, of Lucifer and the rebel angels.²⁸ The text, unlike the medieval English mystery-plays, is accompanied by scriptural references in the margins and, unusually for Ruff, the rubrics for this scene are explicit. Indeed, they ~~beg~~ the question as to whether Ruff may have been influenced by Revelation 8. 6-7, especially, as the remainder of the scene is based on Revelation 9. 1, amongst others, as the scriptural references indicate:

VND DIE SIEBEN ENGEL MIT DEN SIEBEN POSAUNEN

hattet sich gerüstet zu posaunen. Vnd der erste
Engel posaunete | vnd es ward ein Hagel vnd fewer
mit blut gemenet | vnd fiel auff die Erden...

(Offenbarung, 8. 6-7, Luther)

VND DER FÜNFFTE ENGEL POSAUNETE | VND ICH sahe einen
Sternen gefallen vom Himel auff die | Erden vnd im ward
der Schlüssel zum brunnen des Abgrunds gegeben.

(Offenbarung 9. 1, Luther)

²⁶ For a further discussion of the christological aspect of Zwingli's writing, see Courvoisier, *Zwingli*, pp. 38-40 and pp. 44-46.

²⁷ Sachs, *Comedia. Die ungleichen kinder Eve, wie sie Gott, der herr, anredt*, p. 53, 30-34.

²⁸ Woolf, *The English Mystery Plays*.

Similarly, Ruff's stage direction states that four small angels with two trumpets, along with the angels Michael and Gabriel and two other angels with flaming swords, are to drive Lucifer and his "gesellschaft der Tüflen" from heaven. The sound of gunshot *should* also be heard, after which the first angel speaks. Instead of the *fire* of Revelation 8, Ruff's idea of the flaming swords is reminiscent of the expulsion of man and perhaps acts as a reminder to the audience that what they are watching is linked directly with man's fall. Again, if we are mindful of the scenes' didactic and homiletic purpose and of the fact that the audience would, to a certain extent, have been as familiar with demons through art as through sermon and drama,²⁹ then the noise of the trumpets and hail or Ruff's "ein Stück Büchssen", and the sight of the fire, must have created an exciting and terrifying effect on stage. This is especially interesting in terms not only of Ruff's instinct for theatricality, which he demonstrates throughout the *Adam und Heva*, but also because his play is more lengthy in its portrayal of the expulsion scenes, if not in the actual act of rebellion itself, than the contemporary dramas of Sachs and Voith. The latter, for instance, mention the devil in the prologues to their plays; in the "Actus primi Argumentum" from the "Summa Scene secunde" onwards in Voith, and in the Cherub's speech in Sachs' *Tragedia*.³⁰ Voith's Lucifer and Sachs' Lucifer, accompanied by Sathan and Belial, only appear in the dramas after Adam and Eve have been presented on stage. The audience of the *Adam und Heva*, however, is presented immediately with a very dramatic depiction of the fall of the rebel angels, the origin of evil and the Reformation message embodied in all of this.

²⁹ Russell, *Lucifer*, pp. 130-131 and Roos, *The Devil in 16th Century German Literature*, p. 14.

³⁰ Voith, *Ein schön Lieblich Spiel*, p. 210 and Sachs, *Tragedia*, p. 19

Following these dramatic expulsion scenes, Ruff's *Erst klein Engel* initiates a series of utterances by all the angels, which echo both Sachs' *Tragedia*, in which Michael, Gabriel and Raphael are later mirrored by Lucifer, Sathan and Belial, and also the Reformation dialogues, as each side gives an account of itself in turn. Here, Lucifer and his *gesellschaft* are condemned by Ruff's *Erst klein Engel* for their rebellion in heaven:

Gott wirt an üch sin grimmikeit
 Erfüllen uß sinr gerechtigkeit
 Nach sinem willen uß sim wort
 Uff dise stund an disem ort (287-90)

Interestingly, it is not until after the four smaller angels have spoken, and with the subsequent appearance of the archangel Michael, that we learn that Lucifer's *übermüt* is the root cause of the expulsion of the rebel angels. In the Sachs and Voith dramas, the dramatists refer to the devil's hatred and envy of God and man, and while Sachs' Sathan summarises Lucifer's rebellion and subsequent punishment (10-20), Voith makes explicit Lucifer's erstwhile need to be "higher than God", which has at least some biblical basis in an interpretation of Isaiah. In the *Adam und Heva*, however, more important is the fact that from the beginning of the angels' discourse we are introduced to a plurality of angels, which is then mirrored by a great many devils in hell; for in addition to the archangels Michael and Gabriel, there are adult and young angels, just as there are young and old devils who are ruled by Lucifer and his lieutenant, Satan.³¹ The multitude of angels is obviously biblical; Revelations 9. 1, 12. 13-17 and 20. 1-3 talk of the battle between Michael and his angels to drive Satan

³¹ Russell, *Lucifer*, p. 247.

and his rebels out of heaven, while the plurality of devils has its origin, again, in the Apocrypha,³² as well as in Isaiah 14. 11-15, Revelations 20. 1-3 and 12. 1-17, for example:

Vnd es ward ausgeworffen der gros Drach | die alte Schlange |
die da heisst der Teufel vnd Satanas | der die gantze Welt
verfüret | vnd ward geworffen auff die Erden vnd seine Engel
wurden auch da hin geworffen. (Offenbarung 12. 9, Luther)

Also, while there is a clear reference here to Satan as the devil, it is Lucifer, in Genesis literature and theology throughout the ages, who has dominion over Satan and the other rebel angels. Together they form a diabolical force, and although Satan's subordinate role to Lucifer is neither theologically based nor to be found in any of the literary works, as in the Ruff play, the medieval mystery-plays and the French and German passion plays also reveal Satan as being the second-in-command.³³

With regard to the first act of the *Adam und Heva*, the condemnation of the devils by the faithful angels both informs the audience of the distortion of the fallen angels' appearance because of their disobedience and, also, adds a new dimension to the rebellion scenes in terms of the didactic intent of the play:

Gotts gricht darzû ouch sin urteil
Hat gsprochen ab üch alles heil
Die fröud der ewigen seligkeit

³² Rudwin, *the Devil in Legend and Literature*, p. 17, Murdoch, *Jacob Ruff's Adam und Heva*, p. 113 and Russell, *Lucifer*, pp. 135-138.

³³ Russell, *Lucifer*, pp. 247-8 and Brian Murdoch, *Devils, Vices and the Fall. Dramatic Patterns from the Medieval Mystery to Bidermann's "Cenodoxus"*, *Maske und Kothurn*, 23 (1977), pp. 15-30.

Der ir sind broubt in dewigkeit (291-2)

Here, the *Ander klein Engel* makes it clear that Lucifer and his "gesellschaft der Tüflen" will never obtain God's grace; they have been stripped of the joys of eternal bliss and, significantly, Salvation. Indeed, *Der vierd klein Engel* emphasises this point a little later on, when he informs the devils that they:

Sind all verglycht den würmen schlangen
 Drumb ir nit mögend gnad erlangen...
 Wie wol bist gsin du Lucifer
 Vor Gott in sölcher grossen eer (303-8)

The angel's analogy of the devils being *würmen schlangen*, which is repeated by all the faithful angels throughout the expulsion scene, serves not only as an early reminder of the serpent of Genesis who brings about the downfall of the protoplasts, but can also be found elsewhere in Scripture; for instance in Mark 9. 43-44, Christ instructs his followers to beware of unrighteous behaviour and of causing offence, so much so that if one hand offends, it should be cut off, for it is more fitting to be maimed than enter into hell with two hands, "Where their worm dieth not, and the fire is not quenched". These words, which are then repeated in verses 46 and 48, are easily related to the devil. Man should thus avoid the devil's ways in order to avoid sharing his fate; a fitting message for a dramatist intent on keeping his audience on the righteous path to Heaven and divine grace. The devils being compared to *würmen* and their loss of *gnad* is, however, made all the more poignant by the fact that Lucifer was once held by God "in sölcher grosser eer", a point that Voith also makes in *Ein schön Lieblich Spiel*.

Like his successor, Adam, Ruff's Lucifer is guilty of self-seeking or, as Michael states (319), *übermüt*. It is not enough to be held in great honour by God, but to be God is the highest goal imaginable and the reward is, as Ruff reveals, the most damning punishment imaginable; to be bound in eternal chains "in dhell des abgrunds undert ärden" (322). Furthermore, not only is this a reminder of God's omnipotence but also a warning; for while the Lutheran ideals of *sola fide* and *sola gratia* may be prerequisites to obtaining Salvation, in the end it is divine grace alone which can save man. Thus, the audience of the *Adam und Heva* witnesses God's irrevocable punishment of the faithless angels and the abject suffering of Lucifer and his demons. These scenes point on to the ending of the drama, when Noah the believer is saved through divine grace while the faithless generations are drowned in the Flood as a result of just and divine retribution.

Divine retribution for Lucifer and his *rott* (352) may be found in Revelation 20. 1-3, which tells of how an angel from heaven, with a chain in his hand and a key to the bottomless pit, casts the devil into the pit and binds him in chains for a thousand years and sets a seal on him, "that he should deceive the nations no more". Similarly, Ruff's Lucifer is bound "in der weiche mit einer kettin" (stage direction) but he is informed by the *Ander Engel* that he will never be released from this; "Von welcher dich wirt niemands lösen" (349). Here, there is a clear divergence by Ruff from the biblical text, which also gives rise to an anomaly which has posed questions for centuries on end; if the devil is bound in hell, then how can he appear in the Garden of Eden as Eve's tempter? The answer, according to various Church Fathers, is that Lucifer only is bound in chains, while his *rott* is free to wander the earth, spy on God

and His creation and appear in various forms, hence the serpent-devil of Genesis.³⁴

In line both with the Bible, the medieval English mystery-plays and the German *Fronleichnamspiele* and their notion of the diabolical council formed by Lucifer after the fall, an idea given validity by the Church Fathers, Lucifer in the *Adam und Heva* is bound in chains by the *Ander Engel* and left to bemoan God's punishment of the rebel angels. Again, Ruff sets up a kind of dialogue whereby Lucifer, followed by Satan, the *Erst Tüfel*, *der ander Tüfel*, *Der dritt Tüfel* and *Der vierd Tüfel*, begins his lament; in a motif which appears, say, in the *Vita Adae*, he complains about hell, into which he and his retainers have been condemned and where they must live in "sölcher angst unnd grosser pyn" (356), neither finding divine grace nor regaining the lost *Engelschlichen namen* (365), of which Lucifer was so proud. Furthermore, Lucifer grieves over the fact that they "erlyden münd so grusam" (371):

Das grimpt unnd zürnt also min hertzen
Wâr kan ußsprechen disen schmerzen (369-70)

Here, we might almost feel sorry for Lucifer, and it is characteristic of Ruff that he occasionally adds a touch of humanity to his drama; for instance, on the second day of the play, when one of the daughters of men decides to court one of the sons of God, her friend warns her that not only is it forbidden for the generations to marry one another, but also that she need not complain to her friend if the relationship does not work out as planned. Or, when Adam and Eve are expelled, Adam promises Eve

³⁴ Rudwin, *The Devil in Legend and Literature*, p.18 and Russell, *Lucifer*, p. 141.

that he will never allow her to come to any harm, and, when Cain kills Abel, Eve expresses maternal instincts and shock at her wayward son's actions; she would rather have had Abel killed by a wolf than by his own brother, for this would have been more comprehensible. Sachs' Lucifer, too, talks of his "leyd und zorn" (21) at being thrown into the fires of hell and the hate and envy he feels at being deprived of his "Englischen stands und hoher ehr" (31), while Voith's Lucifer is rather more rueful and explanatory in his lamentation:

Als ich von Gott geschaffen wart,
 Der hüpschte Engel zu der vart,
 Und mir möcht werden niemandt gleich
 Im Himel noch auff dem Erreich
 Do thet ich mich des erheben,
 Noch höherem stande streben
 Und wolt gleich sein dem höchsten Gott,
 Do kam ich bald in ewig not... (91-8)

This might appear poignant to us, because while Lucifer recognises that his own *superbia* has brought about his downfall, there is actually a danger of the audience empathising with him in some way. What the speech actually does, however, is act as a kind of summary explanation of Lucifer's rebellion in heaven for the Voith audience and, like the Ruff drama, it sets up the play's action by providing a reason for the devil's hatred of God and, subsequently, of man. Indeed, if we were to sympathise with the devil's suffering and loss, Voith turns this around in the next verse by depicting a somewhat petulant Lucifer, who is envious of the man who has usurped his place in the creation:

Aber weil Gott geschaffen hat
 Den menschen, der an meiner stat
 Besitzen sol die ewig freud,

So ist mirs doch im hertzen leit,
 Derhalb ich mus zu dieser frist
 Bedencken dück und arge list...(103-8)

Thus, Lucifer's envy of man compels him to plot against God and man, a sentiment also expressed by Sachs' Lucifer who states that he will never be able to rest until he has revenged himself on man: "so lang biß das || Ich mich am menschen müg gerechen" (35). Similarly, Ruff's Lucifer is suggestive of someone who is almost beside himself with rage:

Darumb min hertz ist row fürwar
 Toub unsinnig worden gantz und gar
 Ich wil so vyl min krafft vermag
 Gott hinderen wenden sin ratschlag...
 Anrichten dermaß unnd anstifften
 Ouch im all sine gschöpfft vergifften. (373-380)

Lucifer's vows to hinder the Word of God and wreak havoc on His creation are of particular interest, here, insofar as God's *gschöpfft* has not yet been created. Again, unlike the dramas of Sachs and Voith and the medieval Paradise-plays, in which the audience is given an account of Lucifer's fall only in the prologue,³⁵ Ruff chooses to establish, first of all, the notion of a diabolical council and then to depict the creation story. Bearing in mind that the audience would have known the biblical story of the Fall, the mention of God's creation here may be another indication of Ruff's theatricality. Not only does he set up an idea of the devil which has far-reaching consequences for the play as a whole, for he makes us aware of the origin of evil in

³⁵ Woolf, *The English Mystery Plays*, p. 105 and James de Rothschild, *Mistère du viel Testament*, p. xliij.

the world as such and man's defencelessness against the devil's cunning, but he also creates a portent of what is yet to come, resulting in a slightly more dramatic effect and lengthier scenes than either of the Sachs and Voith dramas.

Ruff's dramatic technique reveals itself further in the pandemonium scenes in the form of the various ages of the devils, who appear on stage subsequently, and the colourful language they use. Satan, of whom Lucifer then asks counsel, echoes his leader insofar as he, too, promises to act as a kind of canker, systematically poisoning the world:

Imm wend wir also widerstráben
 Allen unrat zwytracht stifften
 Und im sin gschöpfften gar vergifften (404-6)

Satan also sets up a kind of refrain about the torments of hell, which is then echoed by the other devils as they all agree to pervert God's creation:

Dann grossen schmártz pyn not ich lyd
 Darumb ich schwer unnd red uß nyd
 Gott wil ich alle sine sachen
 Verwirren ungluckhafftig machen (391-94)

Similarly, the *Erst Tüfel*:

Was grossen schmártzen lyd ich joch
 Schwábel und bách fhür tampff und rouch...
 So muß Gott gschmácht sin und gschendt
 In unserm jamer unnd ellend (407-12)

The *Erst Tüfel*, however, also gives us a rather unpleasant indication of what it must be like to exist in hell, which is soon mirrored by the *vierd Tüfel* in his speech:

Botz hirn Botz schweyß Botz fârden darm
 Vom fhür der hell ist mir so warm
 So mortlich wee | Ir lieben gsellen
 Daß ich mich jemerlich mûß stellen (477-80)

Ruff echoes *The Book of Enoch*, which tells of a fire created for the rebel angels after their expulsion,³⁶ but he does adhere to the Bible too, both Old and New Testaments. For instance, we have learned already of Christ's words about the unquenching fires of hell, but other instances in which hell's fires are reserved for sinners only, occur, amongst others, in Revelation 19. 20, which tells of the beast and the false prophet who were cast alive into "a lake of fire burning with brimstone" and Matthew 13. 41-42:

Des menschen Son wird seine Engel senden | Vnd sie werden
 samlen aus seinem Reich alle Ergernisse | vnd die da
 unrecht thun | Vnd werden sie in den Fewr ofen werffen |
 Da wird sein heulen vnd zeenklappen. (Luther)

This, of course, also echoes the fall of the rebel angels and is intended for the edification of the sinner, just as the Ruff text is, but patristic writings throughout the Middle Ages endorse the view of a burning hell, too, while medieval iconography possibly visualised it in all its frightening reality. In terms of the *Adam und Heva*, the references made by the *Erst Tüfel* and, to a lesser extent, the *vierd Tüfel*,

³⁶ See R.H. Charles, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament: Vol. II. Pseudepigrapha*, (Oxford: Clarendon press, 1973; of especial interest is Wells, "The Books of Adam and Eve", pp. 123-54.

to the heat, dankness and smoggy atmosphere in which the devils now exist present an almost tangible impression of the hellish regions on stage; again, this serves perhaps as a warning to the audience of remaining on a righteous path and of following Christ's teachings in order to avoid being cast into eternal, burning damnation. Indeed, with regard to the Ruff text, like Sachs' Lucifer, who also mourns the fact that he and his band of rebel angels have all been cast into "die hellischen fewer-flammen" (23), Ruff's *Erst Tüfel* is equally vociferous in his anger at God. In addition, he even suggests a way in which they might all take revenge on God; he advises the diabolical council, in lines 413 to 428, that he will "...den Posten...rüsten lassen || In ylends schicken uff die strassen" (415-16) in order to look all over for God, who must not be allowed to hide Himself in any corner, "Es sye hyter oder dunckel" (420); furthermore, the messenger of hell must always be able to find God, so that as soon as he has knowledge of God's works, he can report to hell with his findings, "...lut siner pflichten" (427). With this, the *Erst Tüfel* believes that they will succeed in their corruption of all good things created by God:

So wettend wir Gott wider struchen
 Unser vernunfft und witzen bruchen
 In hinderen demnach sine sachen
 Das er nüt gñts wurd künden machen (429-32)

Here, though, Ruff's demon displays one of the devilish characteristics which led to his fall in the first place; *superbia*. For he believes that the devils' "vernunfft und witzen" are enough to stand against a God whose very will and providence expelled them from the heaven for which they now yearn. At the same time, they have already proved themselves to be somewhat devoid of reason in their decision to rebel

against God in the first instance. It is characteristic of Ruff's demons as a whole that they neither repent the sins of *superbia* and *unbelief* nor comprehend fully God's omnipotence and omniscience.

Indeed, while God's will has seen the demons banished to hell, they continue to delude themselves in the naive belief that their messenger will be able to carry out their plans, and that they may attempt to thwart God's will, but without Him ever knowing anything about it. This is a sentiment expressed by the *dritt Tüfel*, too:

Wir thüyend Post also ufmützen
 In kleidind rüstend seltzamlich
 Damit er gang verborgenlich
 Von Gott nit kent werd noch sin engel
 Demnach er frisch byß in den bengel (466-70)

That the devil often appears to men in the form of a disguise is a well-known fact,³⁷ but that he would, at the same time, be unrecognisable to God and faithful angel alike is, in actual fact, mildly comical. At the same time, protevangelical verse is also subverted, as line 470 serves as a reminder to the audience of Genesis 3. 15, when God informs the serpent:

Und ich wil feyndschaftt setzen zwü= || schend dir und
 dem wyb | und zwüschend || deinem somen und irem somen.
 Der selb sol || dir den kopff zerträtten | unnd du wirst
 im die || färsen zerträtten.³⁸

³⁷ See especially Rudwin, "The Form of the Fiend", *The Devil in Legend and Literature*, pp. 35-53.

³⁸ Luther discussed the reading of the verse in his lectures on Genesis: see the Weimar edition of *D. Martin Luthers Werke: kritische Gesamtausgabe* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1883-), XLII, 141-7. See on medieval exegesis Brian Murdoch, *The Fall of*

The irony is, of course, that the serpent-devil does indeed *bruise man's heel*, but while man is promised eventual Redemption for his sins, the devil suffers further punishment in turn as a result of his continued wrong-doing. In addition, as the *Adam und Heva* is concerned with the doctrine of Salvation, perhaps Ruff's depiction of the devils is an attempt to parody contemporary society; for instance, the starving, hungry and sweaty *Post*, who turns up hell's door later on in the drama, with news of the creation, is almost unrecognisable to Lucifer: "Mir ist schier shertz im lyb versuncken || So angsthaft bin ich gloffen umb" (1030-31), he informs Lucifer. Unlike the diabolical council, though, in his endeavours to spy on God, the *Post* has, at the same time, been terrified of discovery, whereupon Ruff, again, endows the devil with the kind of human characteristics which would have been understood by an audience which might be living in fear of their sins being disclosed.

Ruff can, however, be inconsistent on occasion, especially after the *Post* returns to hell with his news, where the *Ander Tüfel* whose hair is standing on end (1133) with all the news and excitement of the demons' plans, makes some surprising statements; for, in a subversion of the biblical text which refers to the serpent's cunning, he states that God is the one who is *listig* (1134) because of His creation of man whom He may "heiligen und begnaden" (1138) at will. However, the messenger also informs the diabolical council that if God finds out about their plans, He will put a stop to them. They must, therefore, enlist the serpent's help as soon as possible, because God

Man in the Early Middle High German Biblical Epic (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1972), pp. 140-154, and also D. J. Unger, *The First-Gospel* (St Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute, 1954). The problem hinges upon the question of whether the woman or the seed of the woman shall 'bruise the serpent's head.' Reformation and Renaissance biblical criticism interpreted the original as meaning the latter.

knows everything: "Vor im man kan nit heimlichs radten" (1142). There is, of course, a double irony in this; that if God knows everything, the devils are, ultimately, doomed to failure in their wish to destroy man completely, a fact which they fail to recognise, and they are doomed, because everything is preordained anyway! Through the devils' secrecy, though, Ruff perhaps reveals that their plotting to harm the future Creation as well as their lack of real understanding of God are indicative of the Catholic religion from which each citizen of sixteenth-century Zurich now turns; a religion which allows men to sin and, yet, still attain Salvation by doing good works alone; for it is as though God cannot see the secret depravities of their souls. The good works of the inwardly faithless man stand, therefore, in opposition to the innately virtuous believer and to a new religion which preaches faith in God and in His grace alone, both of which suggest innate goodness and, thereby, naturally engender good works anyway.³⁹ Furthermore, as Genesis 6. 5 states, God is clearly aware of mens' hearts:

DA ABER DER HERR SAHE | DAS DER MENSCHEN BOSHEIT GROS
 WAR AUFF ERDEN | VND ALLES TICHTEN UND TRACHTEN JRES
 HERTZEN NUR BÖSE WAR JMER DAR | Da rewet es jn | das er
 die Menschen gemacht hatte auff Erden... (Luther)

Sola scriptura, though? Again, the biblical text dictates that man must fall at the hands of the devil, so that Ruff depicts the anger and shame felt by the rebel angels, and their hatred of God and plotting against Him, as all leading inevitably to man's downfall. This is underscored in the next speech by the *Ander Tüfel*, who complains

³⁹ Bromiley, *Zwingli and Bullinger*, pp. 107-8; Koenigsberger, Mosse and Bowler, *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 185-87. See also Murdoch and Jillings, *Martin Luther: Selections*, p. 7 and, especially, Cameron, *The European Reformation*, pp. 113-14.

about the unfairness of God's actions; his own words, however, also invert somewhat the idea of Redemption for the rebel angels, displaying again the demon's own lack of knowledge of God and His will:

Ist Gott dann fromm heilig unnd grächt
 Das er verdampt all unser gschläch
 Und mögend nummen bhalten werden
 Ouch sind verurteilt under dârden
 In den abgrund der hellschen pyn
 Da kein erlössung nit wirt syn
 So wil ich Gott ouch schmähen schenden
 Grad wo ich bin an allen enden (434-40)

Here, the text is interesting for a number of reasons; firstly, the demon's all-too-human complaint is perhaps symptomatic of a society in which, in the event of a catastrophe, all blame is laid at God's door; a society in which men do not take responsibility for their actions, a notion which is underscored in the second day of the play when the wicked generations refuse to listen to the prophets, Enoch and Noah, who are sent by God to help save them. Here, though, the moral guidelines of "fromm heilig unnd grächt" are normally applied to man, rather than to God who is, intrinsically, the "highest good";⁴⁰ had the rebel angels recognised these guidelines and not exhibited such damnable behaviour, they might not have found themselves subjected to such a damning punishment. If men do not have faith in God and in His grace, they might find themselves in a similar position, may be Ruff's suggestion here. Furthermore, both Scripture and the *Adam und Heva* reveal, paradoxically, the way in which the devils are themselves thwarted by God's providence. For as we learn in the Bible and a little later on in the Ruff drama, the diabolical council does

⁴⁰ Zwingli, *Von der göttlichen Vorsehung*, pp. 759-61.

accomplish the fall of man, but man is not condemned to death as they hope; for God's providence decrees that Adam and Eve need not die as a result of their sinning, and Ruff the Reformation dramatist is keen to emphasise the doctrine of Redemption for anyone who repents his actions but, mostly, who believes. The devils are not redeemed, because they do not have faith in God, will never attempt to understand this faith and continually seek to hinder His will.

Ultimately, the diabolical council is unanimous in its decision to send out the *bottschaft* (442) to spy on God, and there follows a series of utterances begun by the *dritt Tüfel* and echoed by old and young devils alike, who agree wholeheartedly with this mission. Of particular interest is the speech pattern begun by the *dritt Tüfel* which reminds us more of the devils' inclusion in the drama for the purposes of entertainment too:

Botz harneschbletz unnd ysenhüt
 Die ratschleg sind warlichen güt
 Si machend mich so frölich läben
 Das ich Gott wil ouch widersträben (457-60)

Here, *Der dritt Tüfel* blasphemes comically, deliberately utilizing the euphemism *Botz* as a substitution for God's name. *Botz* or *Potz* is normally used in conjunction with a *Fluchwort* in Swiss-German, such as "Potz (eebige) Wätter" ("ums Himmels willen")⁴¹ so that, where in a different situation we might expect a prayer to God to plead His forgiveness and mercy, the language which the *dritt Tüfel* then utters is

⁴¹ Albert Weber and Jaques M. Bächtold, *Zürichdeutsches Wörterbuch*, (Zurich: Verlag Hans Rohr, 1983), p. 194; see also the *Apparatus* to my edition of the *Adam und Heva*, under the appropriate line number.

vulgar. It is then mirrored by the *viert Tüfel*, as we have already seen: "Botz him Botz schweyß Botz fârden darm" (477), as well as by the other devils in the second act, when the messenger returns to hell with the news of God's creation and they exclaim in all manner of crude expressions:

Botz lungken låber und botz darm	(Lucifer, 1019)
Botz hünersâdel unnd botz mist	(and, again, 1077)
Botz knobloch böllen und botz reben	(Satan, 1094)
Botz hosenlatz und nestelglimpff	(Erst Tüfel, 1116)
Botz ofengabel und botz magen	(Ander Tüfel, 1132)
Botz Fuchß und Haß ouch Bâren drâck	(Dritt Tüfel, 1154)
Botz rinderzan und ochsenhorn	(Viert Tüfel, 1180) ⁴²

Again, the devils' cursing, though apparently nonsensical and certainly unusual, serves to emphasise both their sense of outrage at being usurped by God's new creation and rising excitement at the idea of tempting man, which they plot to do. On a more serious level, though, further examples of the *Botz* speech pattern may be found in the language of the devils and of the wicked generations on the second day of the play, of which more later.

Finally, instead of the "jamer unnd ellend" we hear expressed by the diabolical council throughout the first act of the *Adam und Heva*, the previous speech made by the *dritt Tüfel* gives us a sense of their growing excitement at the prospect of obstructing God in His works. Like the ordinary people to whom Ruff appeals through his drama, his devils appear to exhibit the different human characteristics of

⁴² For further discussion on the speeches, see *Apparatus to the Edition*.

pain and misery, envy and cunning, attributing them, as it were, with their own "personalities". After the speech made by the *vierd Tüfel*, whose seething anger is suggested by the *grosser hitz* (493) he feels toward God, he too begins to add to the excitement of the situation by suggesting that they should "Mit grossem gschrey louffind in dhell" (502), where they will give the *Post* his orders. Thus the fairly calm, if somewhat over-wrought and angry, discussion by the diabolical council begins to rise in tension as Lucifer ends the devil scenes by inciting his retainers to literal pandemonium:

Drumb wem das gfalt under üch allsammen
 Der louff mit mir in minem nammen
 Und brül darzû mit wildem gschrey
 Luth hoch unnd nider mengerley (509-12)

With this, and with a theatricality typical of the *Adam und Heva* and of the way in which the devils first entered the play, they run into hell *mit ungestümme!*

In the next scene of the play, which is mainly biblical, an immediate contrast is set up with the frenzied noise and energy of the devils, as God soliloquises both on His own uniqueness as the Trinity and on the nature of His creation. That the depiction of God in art and drama throughout the centuries has proved problematical is true, although by the Middle Ages artists had worked out a consistent pattern for representing God in pictorial form; they used namely either complex patterns of circles and triangles or three identical figures to depict the Trinity, or portrayed God in the more tangible form of the benevolent father, with white beard and flowing

robes.⁴³ For medieval dramatists of the mystery-plays, the problems posed by portraying God on stage were surmounted by an opening scene in which God gives an account of Himself and in which His uniqueness is explained by the fact that, as in Genesis, in which He is the beginning and the end, He talks only with Himself. Significantly, Ruff's stage direction after the devils' scenes also reads: "Gott der vatter redt mit imm || selb allein".⁴⁴ The Protestant dramas of Sachs and Voith tend to vary in their depiction of the creation scenes, for Sachs' God merely "tritt ein und spricht",⁴⁵ while Voith's depiction is more dramatic and interesting in terms of medieval and Reformation church dogma; for Voith omits any appearance of God at the beginning of his drama, but refers to the Trinity from which Adam is created: "Aus ungeteilter Gotheit drat, || Sprachen: laßt uns auch machen bald || Menschen noch unser eigen gstalt".⁴⁶ Indeed, like the Voith drama and the medieval mystery-plays, Ruff's *Adam und Heva* is also expressive of the symbolism of the Trinity, for God declares "Ich Vatter Sun und Heilger geyst || Ein Gott in der Trifaltigkeit" (513-14) at the very beginning of His monologue, where He appears more in the form of the symbolic figure He represents in the Bible, rather than as a purely physical incarnation on stage. Furthermore, while God in Sachs' *Tragedia* and Voith's *Adam* offer a more straightforward scriptural account of His creation, God in the Ruff drama expands the biblical text somewhat to define both His omnipotence and His omniscience:

⁴³ Woolf, *The English Mystery Plays*, p. 106.

⁴⁴ Ruff, *Adam und Heva*, B3[r].

⁴⁵ Sachs *Tragedia*, p. 20 (stage direction).

⁴⁶ Voith, *Ein schön Lieblich Spiel*, p. 216, 6-9.

Uß minr wyßheit erbermbd unnd gnad
 Wies min radtschlag fürsehen hat
 Von ewigkeit imm wüssen min
 Dem nützig ist verborgen gsyn
 All bschechne ding die hab ich gwüßt
 Vor mir ouch nütz verborgen ist (517-22)

Here, Ruff sets up an effective contrast with the diabolical council scenes, again, in which the devils are convinced that both their messenger and their future perpetration of wicked deeds will go unnoticed by God. The allusions to *wyßheit* and *wüssen* echo, however, Proverbs 3. 19 and are, again, reminiscent of Zwingli's "Von der göttlichen Vorsehung", in which Zwingli alludes to God as being the *highest good*, who must be both all powerful and know and recognise everything. Indeed, Zwingli, who bases much of his belief on the teachings of Moses, Paul, Plato and Seneca, asserts that any flaws in God's knowledge would signify a lack of clarity and purity, and the highest good must be pure, clear, simple and constant. While wisdom is power and truth, providence, or *fürsehen*, is necessary in order to arrange what is known and to watch over that which is created,⁴⁷ so that for God "nütz verborgen ist" (522). With reference to the devil and his *hochmüt*, Zwingli then asserts Lucifer's place in the scheme of things:

Denn preist nicht bei richtiger Betrachtung^{des} auch wegen
 seines Hochmuts verdammte Teufel die Gerechtigkeit Gottes?⁴⁸

Thus, even the devil and his fall are underlined as symbols both of God's providence and of His divine justice, too. In the remainder of His speech and immediately before

⁴⁷ Zwingli, "Von der göttlichen Vorsehung", p. 260.

⁴⁸ Zwingli, "Von der göttlichen Vorsehung", p. 744.

the creation of man, however, God refers once more to His "krafft und der wyßheit" (523), which is based on Genesis 1. 1-31, and He ends with the decision to create Adam:

Den wil ich machen wyß unnd gleert
 Sin som sol zñnen werden gmeert
 Vernünfftig uff das allerhöchst
 Dem wil ich yngen seel unnd geist...
 Übergat er aber unser bott
 So wird der sel ich helffen Gott
 Also das stods nit muß ersterben (563-71)

Again, while solafidianism and God's grace are stressed at the beginning of the creation scenes, Ruff's expansion of Genesis 2. 7-8 echoes Zwingli's assertion that man, having been endowed, at creation, with intellect and reason "uff das allerhöchst", might enjoy direct communion with God:

...daß Gott...den Menschen nicht nur als Bild und Exempel
 siner selbst schuf, sondern auch absichtlich als eine irdische
 Kreatur, die sich der Gemeinschaft mit Gott erfreute, hier auf
 Erden in freundschaftlichem Verkehr, im Jenseits in innigem
 Genuß. (p. 769)

Remove man from the world and there is nothing; for man is to the world what God is to man. God is omnipotent and the judge of the spirit on earth, while man rules the earth and must possess this special knowledge and reason in order to overcome the earth and, again most importantly, to recognise God and His laws, and to transgress against them, as is preordained by God's providence,⁴⁹ a point underscored later

⁴⁹ Zwingli, "Von der göttlichen Vorsehung", p. 769.

on, when God tells Adam that He has created a Paradise for Adam in which he
 "...solt haben fröud und lust || Doch solt erkennen mich für Gott" (681-84).

The next scene, in which Ruff portrays the creation of Adam and Eve, is one of a number of scenes which beg the question as to how the play might have been performed. Indeed, the creation of Adam and of Eve, the naming of the beasts and birds, the talking snake and the staging of the flood, all require a certain degree of dramatic technique and would certainly have posed dramaturgical problems. No indication of how the creation of man scene ought to be performed is given, as Ruff's stage direction merely states: "Unnd wie Adam herfür kumpt || uß dem árdtrich | blaßt im Gott in sine || naßlöcher einen aathem unnd || geyst | und spricht" (B4[r]). While this rubric is biblical, though, and based on Genesis 2. 7, the text which follows adheres less to *sola scriptura* and, again, more to Zwingli's teachings about the body and the soul. For instance, in His speech about the creation of Adam, Ruff's God talks of man's immortality, but if death were a possibility then only the flesh would die and not the soul. Indeed, the soul is the most important element of man, for as God tells Adam: "Die selb sol din natur regieren || Unnd sy zû allem gûten ffüren" (585-88). There is the suggestion here that one of the prerequisites for Adam's dominion over the Garden of Eden is his remaining on a righteous path, aided by the soul.

At the same time, Ruff echoes Zwingli, who, on the one hand, discusses Pythagoras' theory of the transmigration of the soul, so that nature's process of regeneration signifies that nothing ever dies, but is re-created in a different form; thus "Sol

blipt die seel mag nit verdärben". Everything created is a symbol of God's divinity and will never cease to exist. Man may lose his body, but he will never lose his *Sein* (p. 765). On the other hand, Zwingli, like Ruff, also alludes to the differences between the body and the soul. For instance, Zwingli is expressive of how the spirit communes with God, whom it honours and for whom it strives toward truth and purity, while the body is more indicative of its origins, namely the sluggish, often impure earth:

Der Geist mahnt, man müsse der Gottheit mit Unschuld und
Reinheit des Lebens nahe kommen - das Fleisch zieht ein
weißes Kleid an...Der Geist seufzt nach Gott und hofft
alles von seiner Güte, nichts vom eigenen Verdienst -
das Fleisch verheißt mit Singen und Schreien Gott alle
Schuldigkeit. Daher kommt so viel Aberglaube, Heuchelei
und List; denn das Fleisch ist die Nachahmerin, der Affe
des Geistes. (p. 771)

Man's predisposition toward spirituality and pleasures of the flesh takes on a special significance a little later on in the *Adam und Heva*, for example, in the characters of Cain and Abel and, subsequently, of the Sethites and the Cainites; for Ruff depicts Abel as a child of the spirit, one of innate goodness who offers, unquestioning, his sacrifice to God. Cain, on the other hand, is presented as a child of the flesh, questioning God's right to the best of his crop and revealing, thereby, a tendency toward evil. This is then mirrored on a much larger scale by the Sethites on the second day of the play; for they strive toward purity, the upholding of God's law and Redemption through Christ (that is, until the diabolical council plots once more to bedevil the generations), while the wicked generations, the Cainites, mock God through wordly pursuits such as "Singen und Schreien", dancing, pleasures of the

flesh and gluttony. Indeed, the depiction of the Cainites is interesting insofar as they even invert the idea of solafidianism; when Enoch and Noah are sent to warn the Cainites to abstain from a life of debauchery, as there is still some hope of Redemption for them in view of the mercy shown by God to Adam and Eve, the Cainites point out with studied irony that while Adam and Eve disobeyed God directly and Cain and Lemech committed heinous crimes, the most severe punishment any of them received was exile. The Cainites shall, therefore, do as they please, just as their ancestors, Cain and Lemech, did, without fear of divine retribution.

Thus, Zwingli's belief that the Old Testament should be read in relation to the New takes on a particular importance throughout the first and second days of the *Adam und Heva*, so that there is some justification for thinking that his works, "Von der göttlichen Vorsehung" in particular, have had some considerable influence on the Ruff drama itself, not to mention some of Ruff's other works; the *Etter Heini* of 1538, for example.⁵⁰ Interestingly, though, Sachs' Michael, in the *Tragedia*, also discusses the dual nature of man, leading us to surmise that this was a popular topic for the Reformers. For instance, he talks of how God has created man from "weysen,

⁵⁰ Georg Finsler and Walther Köhler, *Quellen und Abhandlungen zur Schweizerischen Reformationsgeschichte I.*, (Leipzig: Heinsius Nachfolger, 1912), p. 163: *Dramatisch wirkten die Ideen, die in letzter Linie auf Zwingli zurückgingen, weiter in Jakob Rufs Spiel vom Wohl- und Uebelstand einer löblichen Eidgenossenschaft. Gewöhnlich Etter Heini genannt.* See also Veronika Günther, *Fromm in der Zürcher Reformation*, (Winterthur: P.G. Keller, 1955); Günther's thesis is based on Zwingli's use of the word *fromm* as an interchangeable adjective or adjectival noun and its importance in the language of the Reformation in ensuring people obey the Word of God. Günther cites six of Ruff's works, which she believes to have been influenced by Zwingli: the *Adam und Heva*, *Die histori von dem frommen Job, wie die zu Zürich von eyner Burgerschaftt gespilt und gehalten worden ist*, (Basel: 1537), *Das neue Tellenspiel* von Jakob Ruf, (1545), *Von des Herren Weingarten, von Jakob Ruf*, and *Ein schön lustig Trostbüchle von den empfangknussen und geburten der menschen*, (Zurich: 1554). See also *Apparatus* to the edition.

liechten, waichen staub" for a specific purpose; by forming man from the dust of the ground, "von schwacher art", God hoped to prevent man from succumbing to *superbia*. He should remain "schwach und irrdisch...Darmit er seinen schöpffer frey || Erkenne für das höchste gut". Sachs, like Ruff and the Reformers, alludes to the fact that man has been created with two dispositions; one, the spirit, recognises God, and the other, the flesh, must remain flesh as it is a mere reflection of God's image, and not God Himself, created to enjoy friendly communion with God, outwardly and inwardly.⁵¹

⁵¹ Zwingli, "Von der göttlichen Vorsehung", p. 769, and Murdoch and Jillings, "Von der Freyheyte eyniß Christen menschen", *Martin Luther: Selections*, pp. 9-11.

III

ADAM, EVE AND DEATH

Throughout the Middle Ages and the Reformation, artists have sought to depict the dual nature of Adam through his looks, first of all, which often attest to spiritual beauty and purity; and secondly, through the fall, as Adam and Eve are shown in the temptation or expulsion scenes. The popular image nowadays of Adam and Eve as idealised figures has, however, probably been formed to a great extent by *Paradise Lost*, where Milton creates an Adam with hyacinthine locks and an Eve with "golden tresses and wanton ringlets",¹ with the double intent of recreating (with references to the classical world and from around only one hundred and nineteen lines of scriptural narrative) the pastoral prelapsarian home of the first inhabitants of earth, and then of telling the story of the fall and its consequences for the world. Indeed, in *Paradise Lost*, Book IV, Milton mirrors the concern of the earlier sixteenth-century dramatists, such as Ruff, to show the devil as the instigator of all evil, and we are told, accordingly, that Adam and Eve are being observed by the *Fiend* who sits on a branch of the Tree of Life, disguised as a

¹ Milton. *Poetical Works*, ed. Douglas Bush. (Oxford and New York: Oxford University press, 1966), pp. 282, 297-306: *For contemplation he and valor formed, For softness she and sweet attractive grace; He for God only, she for God in him. His fair large front and eye sublime declared Absolute rule; and hyacinthine locks Round from his parted forelock manly hung Clust'ring, but not beneath his shoulders broad: She as a veil down to the slender waist her unadorned golden tresses wore Disheveled, but in wanton ringlets waved....* Interestingly, Milton echoes, here, St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians 11. 14-15, in which Paul discusses the heads of men and women: *Doth not even nature itself teach you, that, if a man have long hair, it is a shame unto him? But if a woman have long hair, it is a glory to her: for her hair is given her for a covering so that, to a certain extent, he, too, bases his Adam and Eve imagery on the scriptural narrative.*

cormorant, and who resolves to bring about the downfall of God's creation.² Through this we are made aware of how sin shall enter the world because of the devil's envy and, especially for the Protestant Milton, and like Ruff, Voith and Sachs before him, how man, once *divine* and *noble* and immortalised in God's image, soon shall have need of Christ to redeem his sins.

Indeed, Reformation solafidianism discussed by the *Herold* and the *junger knab* in the initial stages of the *Adam und Heva*, and the concluding speeches and dire pronouncements of the diabolical council, pave the way for the creation scenes and Ruff's depiction of the protoplasts themselves, with the emphasis, particularly, on *sola fide* and *sola gratia* again; but how does Ruff's presentation of the first three chapters of Genesis differ from that of the Bible as well as the Protestant dramas of Sachs and Voith, especially? With reference to the biblical text, where strict adherence to the tenet of *sola scriptura* often seems to lead to a lack of dramatic action in Genesis drama, we observe in the *Adam und Heva* that Ruff, even in his creation scenes, calls consistently on elements of the medieval dramatic tradition to present Reformation ideals to the masses; and the scenes which might be of interest, in terms of dramaturgy, are precisely the ones which would have been performed with the most difficulty; the creation of Adam and of Eve, for instance, the dramatic naming of over eighty beasts and birds (a major expansion of Scripture), the talking snake and the Flood itself. With regard to the creation of Adam, the rubrics are simple and biblical; God forms Adam from the dust of the ground and breathes life into him, so that he becomes a *living soul*. Ruff then expands the text slightly, so that Adam recognises immediately God's omnipotence and the *früntligkeit* (593) shown him by God. Through this Ruff perhaps seeks to establish

² Milton, *Poetical Works*, pp. 281-82, 285-392.

that Reformation solafidianism was present right at the very beginning of mankind and revealed through Adam's recognition of God. In addition, as with the utterances of the diabolical council, Ruff uses the Reformation pattern of alternating speeches to reveal that God's account of Himself is underlined by Adam.

A further two expansions of Genesis may also be found in the next stage of God's creation and in the stage direction which reads: "Gott hebt den Adam mit siner hand || uf unnd spricht" ([B4v]). Firstly, it is not until after the Garden of Eden has been created that God takes man and places him in the garden to *keep* and to *dress* it, although Genesis 2. 8 does read "Unnd Gott der HERR pflantzet einen || lustgarten in Eden | gegen dem Morgen | unnd || satzt den menschen darein | den er gmacht het" (*Zürcher Bibel*). There are, however, two possible explanations as to why Ruff chooses to portray the physical contact between god and man at this point in the play; firstly, as Ruff does often display a human touch in his drama, it is a very human thing to offer a hand to someone in a more lowly position. Secondly, as the *Adam und Heva* was performed on a *Simultanbühne* (of heaven, earth and hell) on the market place in Zurich, there is every possibility that the actor playing Adam may have been crouched low on or behind the stage somewhere, ready to be helped onto it by *God*.

The second expansion occurs in God's speech about the creation of Paradise, where He talks of planting *ein bsonderen boum* (626) which will be prohibited to man because "... in der frucht der lustbarkeit || Verborgen sin wirt Gotts wyßheit". (629-30) That God's wisdom is contained within the tree and that the day that Adam and Eve eat of the tree they shall "be as Gods, knowing good and evil", is made manifest by the serpent in Genesis 3. 5 a little later on, but not by God until Genesis 3. 25. It may be that Ruff

chooses to emphasise, here, the significance of the tree to his audience; for just as Lucifer wishes to be as God, Adam's eating of the tree would obtain for him not only the wisdom of gods, but the very wisdom of God Himself. The punishment is, as Genesis 2. 17 states, death, just as Lucifer's is eternal damnation, and Adam is warned accordingly. There is, however, one thought with which God comforts Adam, before He commands that Adam name the beasts and birds: "Das wenn darvon schon ässen thüst || Dir gar nüt schatt noch fürchten müst" (709-10). Were Adam to transgress, there is hope that he will be saved; God's mercy is thereby stressed again and the repentant sinners amongst the contemporary reader or audience perceive that they have some hope of their sins being forgiven.

Lastly, Ruff's reference to one special tree in the Garden of Eden is unusual; for the Bible makes explicit the fact that God planted two trees, with two specific functions: "...den baum des läbens mitten im garten | || und den baum Serkantnuß güttes unnd böses" (Genesis 2. 9, *Zürcher Bibel*). In *Ein schön Lieblich Spiel* Voith's Adam alludes to the two trees in Genesis, "Zwene beum die hielt Gott inn hut", (28) which is the more usual interpretation of the passage; on the other hand, Sachs' God only mentions the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil and commands Adam, in accordance with Genesis 2. 17, not to eat of this tree. Ruff, however, clearly combines the trees into one, when God talks of naming a tree where "Sin frucht wirt in ir han das läben || Ouch die erkantnuß gütts und sböses (631-33). This merging of the trees occurs again when the protoplasts are informed that they may eat of any of the trees in Paradise, except for the Tree of Life:

Allein ußgnon den boum des läben...
 Die frucht sol dir verboten sin
 Von mir dim Gott und schöpffer dyn
 Dann es der boum ist böß unds güten (689-93)

The motivation behind Ruff's divergence from *sola scriptura* and his merging of the trees, which, incidentally, adds very little to the theatricality of the scene, must remain speculative; bound up in the idea of the Tree of Life is the idea of immortality. With the corruption of the tree comes, surely, the certainty of mortality, just as impurity and the certainty of death find fulfilment in the corruption of the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil. Perhaps for Ruff both trees signify one and the same thing, namely the two different aspects of the prohibition; mortality and loss of innocence as a result of transgressing God's law. It is also worth noting that the trees have been merged in the much earlier *Mistère du viel Testament*, too,³ so that the idea is not entirely new.

The biblical scene, based on Genesis 2. 19-20, which follows the prohibition is, again, largely non-biblical; as I have already mentioned in the *Introduction*, Ruff expands nine lines of scriptural narrative into around two hundred and twenty lines of dramatic text. He reveals thereby Adam's *vernünfft* which allows him to recognise and commune directly with God, as well as to distinguish between and rule over the multitude of "beasts of the earth, birds of the air and creeping things", created by God. The next chapter deals solely with the naming scene, but two points are worth noting here. Firstly, not only does Ruff diverge from *sola scriptura*, but, as with the depiction of Lucifer and the diabolical council, he derives his sources from literature both of the Middle Ages and the Reformation; medieval bestiaries and iconography, and perhaps the

³ Murdoch, *Jacob Ruf's Adam und Heva*, p. 114.

new animal books by Conrad Gesner, a contemporary and friend of Ruff's, are the likely sources with which the dramatist displays his considerable knowledge. The second point is biblical; "Aber es fand sich dem menschen kein gehilff | || der zunächst bey im stünde" (Genesis 2. 20, *Zürcher Bibel*). It is typical of the humanist Ruff that Adam, even after the naming of this wealth of animals, is left to voice his despair at being left alone: "Keins wil by mir nit wonen blyben... || Sy fliend und lond mich einig ston" (955-58). God creates, therefore, a *ghilffen* (965) for him.

Adam's *ghilffen* in the German Protestant drama of the sixteenth-century, in the plays of Sachs and Voith and in the *Adam und Heva*, as well as all of the other female characters, would have been played by young men. Although discussions about Eve's role in the creation have been limited, there is no doubt that the dramatists of the Reformation echo the medieval commonplace that Eve has a weaker nature than Adam's. For instance, while Voith's Lucifer is rather derogatory in his comments about Eve, "Hin zu dem weib, der Eve, zwar || Sie der Natur am schwegsten ist",⁴ Sachs' Satan refers to Eve's stupidity. He also comments on the fact that she shall be able to tempt Adam "Mit ihren süssen schmaichel-worten".⁵ This echoes a much quoted passage by Augustine on the temptation, where she persuades Adam "cum verbo suasorio quod scriptura tacens intelligendum relinquit".⁶ What of Ruff's Eve, however, and her presentation in the *Adam und Heva*? Like Voith's and Sachs' devils, Ruff's diabolical council also believes that because Eve has been created from man, she will be able to talk him into disobeying

⁴ Voith, *Ein schön Lieblich Spiel*, p. 219, 113-14.

⁵ Sachs, *Tragedia*, p.33, 21-26.

⁶ See Murdoch, *The Fall of Man in the Early Middle High German Biblical Epic*, p. 60, for the widespread popularity of this comment.

God's law. There is no mention by Ruff of Eve's weaker nature, here, but the *erst Tüfel* and the *vierd Tüfel* offer interesting comments on Eve's creation:

Hat Gott uß lätzem krummen ding
 Das wyb gemachet also ring
 Vom ripp des manns und siner syten
 Gwüßlich wirts den wol überstryten (Erst Tüfel, 1118-21)

Indeed, the suggestion is, here, that the demons cannot comprehend Eve's worth as a creation of God's because she has been created, with relative ease, from man's rib, which is in itself somewhat *krumm*. This notion is then elaborated on by the *vierd Tüfel*:

Hat er das wyb uß krummen dingen
 Erschaffen müssen zwängen bringen
 Von einem ripp uß sinem gwalt
 Das nit hat ghept kein form noch gestalt
 So wirts nüt grads noch darzü schlächts
 Verbringen künden etwas rechts (1188-92)

Again, we are given the impression that the devils believe Eve to be merely an afterthought of God's, and it should be easy to deceive her because nothing good can come from someone who has been created from something, such as a rib, which is basically without proper form. Indeed, the diabolical council is, on the whole, bemused by the fact that God has bothered to create man in His image in order to rule over a world of "erd dräck und kat" (1162). Unusual as this is, it may have some basis in, as well as subvert, Reformation thought. For the general assertion that Adam's body was, of necessity, taken from the *weak* earth and given a *pure* soul with which to recognise his creator would lead us to assume that Eve's creation might take a similar form and have the same specific purpose. The demons, however, invert this belief and assert,

instead, Eve's essential worthlessness except as a means through which they might corrupt man. Incidentally, this notion is underscored on the second day of the play, too, when the devils discuss the possibility of mixing the children of God with the daughters of men, thereby corrupting mankind forever. They believe the task will be an easy one as man has proved himself corruptible and infinitely capable of betrayal, particularly because of Eve: "Sy hands von Eva alle gsogen" (4498-99).

To return to the scene involving Eve's creation, however, Ruff continues to expand the biblical text in the form of a speech by God to Eve, which occurs between her creation from Adam's rib in Genesis 2. 21-22, and Adam's acceptance of her in Genesis 23. When Ruff's God speaks to Eve, he warns her, in words which echo a marriage ceremony, that she has been created in order to be, what the English authorised version would call, "an helpmeet" for man; she should, therefore, obey him "In allen frommen grechten sachen" (971) and, paradoxically, not cause him any strife (972). The idea of the marriage ceremony is then underscored by Ruff in a number of ways; firstly, when God leads Eve to Adam, which is biblical, He informs Adam that Eve shall be "Din lâbenlang ein gmahel din || Die wirt dir ghorsam bholfen syn", to which Adam replies, in another interpretation of Genesis 2. 24, that a man shall leave his father and mother (biblical) and live as *râcht Eelüt* with his wife (985 and non-biblical). This is fairly typical of Ruff insofar as he includes the marriage ceremonies of Cain and Abel to the apocryphal figures of Calmana and Delbora respectively a little later on in the play, which are, incidentally, discussed at length in the chapter dealing with the fratricide. Here, though, the marriage ceremonies in the *Adam und Heva* appear to echo marriage

edicts laid down both by Zwingli and the town council, such as the *Zürcher Ehegericht*.⁷ so that while the tenet *sola scriptura* often appears to be at variance with Ruff's own ideas of dramaturgy, he nevertheless adheres to Protestant thought.

Ruff's temptation scene which follows this is largely biblical, though it does depict Adam and Eve walking in the Garden of Eden, reiterating both their vows to one another and their promise to uphold God's commandment. Eve, in particular, promises to obey her husband and to pray to God always so that He will not allow her to fall; *sola fide* is thereby emphasised, even before the fall. Having made the decision to approach Eve through the serpent, "Dann dSchlang listiger ist und gfiert || Uff allem vâld dann alle thier" (*Der vierd Tüfel*, 1196 and Genesis 3. 1), the serpent, rather suprisingly, overhears Eve's speech "und gibt antwort" ([C8v]). Like Milton's devilish cormorant who observes the protagonists in Paradise, we are given the impression that Ruff's serpent overhears the conversation between Adam and Eve and chooses his opportunity to approach her; in terms of dramatic action, Eve's comments about the forbidden fruit provide the impetus for the serpent to wreak his havoc. The temptation scenes which follow are biblical and also give rise to a number of ideas with which the Reformation dramatist is concerned; the question of guilt and Eve's particular role in the downfall of man; the soteriological purpose of death, who appears in personified form immediately after the temptation; and, lastly, *sola fide* and *sola gratia* and their place in the scheme of things.

⁷ See Mackenny, *Sixteenth Century Europe: Expansion and Conflict*, pp. 145-6 and Koenigsberger, Mosse and Bowler, "The Family", "Marriage", "Childbirth", "Sexual Attitudes", "Family Hierarchy" and "The Role of Women", *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 66-74.

While Voith's Lucifer observes Eve standing by the tree and decides to approach her, and Sachs' serpent enquires of her as to why she is walking alone in the Garden of Eden.⁸ Ruff's serpent addresses Eve, first of all, with "Ae früntlichs wyb â keer dich har" (1247). Here, Ruff echoes the medieval mystery-plays in which the devil's initial approach to Eve is attempted through flattery.⁹ In terms of dramatic action, this gives the serpent, who has overheard Eve's conversation with Adam, a deceptive friendliness with which he presumably hopes to win over her trust and to tempt her with the forbidden fruit; she, however, puts up a resistance which is biblical: "Du bredst mich nit drum denck sy nit" (1269), she informs the serpent, underscoring, as Genesis does, the fact that she is aware of God's commandment. Incidentally, the question arises as to how Eve finds out about God's law in the first place, as there is no biblical reference to her having been informed of it before her conversation with the serpent. Ruff and Sachs, however, explain this nicely; for Ruff's God explains His commandment to Eve shortly after He has created her, while Sachs' Eve asks Adam to explain what law it is, exactly, that they must obey in Paradise.¹⁰

Then, in the after-effects of eating an apple (it is an apple in the Ruff drama, although fruit in the Bible) which has caused her senses to become much sharper and her blood more excited (1351-56), Ruff's Eve, in a similar manner to the serpent, tempts Adam into doing the same. He, like Eve, displays an initial reluctance to eat the apple proffered, preferring to remind Eve of God's law, but eventually he succumbs to her persuasion, too. In accordance with Genesis 3. 7, the protoplasts become aware of their

⁸ Voith, *Ein schön Lieblich Spiel*, p. 220, 130-33, and Sachs, *Tragedia*, p. 34, 34-6.

⁹ Woolf, *The English Mystery Plays*, pp. 117-18.

¹⁰ Sachs, *Tragedia*, p. 29, 19-22.

nakedness, and Adam realises immediately that they have been betrayed by the serpent: they make clothes from the leaves of the trees to cover their shame. It is at this point that *Tod* appears with a brief, albeit definitive, pronouncement of his role on earth. Elsewhere in the Protestant drama, Sachs omits any personified figure of death in the *Tragedia*, while Voith includes, in *Ein schön Lieblich Spiel*, the three allegorical figures of *Gesetz*, who reveals to man his wrong-doing, *Sündt*, who appeals to man's conscience and *Tod*, who reminds man of God's dire pronouncement; through allegory, Voith aims to show his audience that they might not work their own Salvation by merely obeying God's law, "in active righteousness", but that they must continually be aware of their own predilection for sin and have faith in God's grace that they might attain redemption for their sinful ways. *Sola gratia* and "passive righteousness" are an important element of this belief.¹¹ In the *Adam und Heva*, the role of *Tod* is very clear and slightly terrifying; to instruct the audience, and the reader, by reminding them that wherever there is sin, there is death, from which no man may save himself:

Wo dsünd regiert da bin ich herr
 Sy herrsche wyt ald bschehe ferr...
 Umb die sünd die welt ich tōd
 Es sey einr starck gsund oder blōd
 Wens stündle ußgloufft mir gilts glych
 Ich tōd in er sey arm ald rych (1395-1402)

The unyielding hand of *Tod*, inflicting suffering in every corner of the earth and on all manner of people, exists purely because of sin; yet even his sombre message is softened somewhat when we learn that recent events in the Garden of Eden, which demand death itself, are to be left to God to decide the outcome:

¹¹ Parente, *Religious Drama and the Humanist Tradition*, pp. 81-82.

Sinds gfallen in deß Herren gricht
 Der hat mir krafft zû inen geben
 Das in mim gwalt stat ires läben...
 Drumb gon ich hin zû diser stund
 Gott lon ichs machen inen kund (1406-12)

This acts both as a timely reminder to the audience that the fate which should await the protagonists is death, yet *Tod* himself stresses God's grace, for he leaves the punishment of Adam and Eve to God.

Ruff's God, walking in the Garden of Eden, intends to seek out Adam and Eve and establish whether they have obeyed his command or not. If so, He will make them *heilig* (1421) so that they might recognise Him alone as their God. Ruff makes clear the fact that the couple were not created *heilig* by virtue of their God-like state, but that they were supposed to attain this state by believing in and trusting God. Ironically and biblically, God appears too late; the diabolical council, desperate to bring about the downfall of Adam and Eve before God makes them *heilig* and while they are yet vulnerable (1065-75), has already been at work. Adam and Eve are nowhere to be found and God understands immediately that they have fallen. Ruff then highlights the question of blame and, surprisingly, when God enquires of Adam what has happened, Adam replies: "Ich weiß nit wies zûgangen ist" (1444). Here, Ruff differs from the Bible and both medieval and Reformation drama insofar as Adam denies how his sorry state came about, but this denial is all the more unusual in view of the fact that Adam has already stated his awareness of the serpent's cunning. Adam, who is *schamrot* (1448) before God, prays for God's grace and mercy and, in line with Genesis 3. 12, shifts the blame immediately onto Eve:

Das wyb Herr das da by mir stat
 Ouch das zür Ee mir geben hast
 Dich hat zum ersten dich veracht
 Dfrucht gessen und die für mich bracht
 Die selb mir botten so vermessen
 Das ich sy hab versücht und gessen (1453-58)

The scenes which follow adhere to scriptural narrative, with God promising, along the lines of protevangelical verse, that the serpent's reward for its cunning, *hassz und nyd* (1497) shall be eternal enmity between serpent and man, under whose feet the serpent's head shall be crushed, although the serpent shall bruise man's heel. The important point is, however, that God's grace is emphasised again; on the other hand, the serpent-devil, who wants Adam and Eve to suffer as the demons do, is made to suffer again, while, ironically, the *usurpers* are given hope. God Himself then develops the idea of Eve's being to blame for the fall; for he enquires of Eve her reason for questioning His commandment and also stresses that she was the first to eat of the fruit and the first to disobey His law, revealing thereby her own tendency toward behaviour which is *fräfen* and *verrucht* (1461-68). Furthermore, while Ruff's God, in accordance with the scriptural narrative, punishes Adam for listening to his wife, the blame for the fall, which is non-biblical and differs slightly from the other Protestant dramas, is laid pretty firmly at Eve's door:

Wyb drum**b** das die sünd hast begangen
 Dinn mann darzû greitzt und gefangen
 Mich gar veracht hie dinen Gott
 Von mir die straff uffnen du sott (1501-4)

Perhaps Ruff emphasises to his audience and the reader, here, that Eve's proclivity toward temptation is indicative of an inherent tendency in mankind to go against God's

will, so that the image of the divine, immortal Adam and Eve is merely that: an image.

Indeed, with regard to imagery, Milton's earlier view of the classical Greek looks of Adam and Eve is by no means unique within the context of illustration and, especially, that of the fall throughout the Middle Ages. Medieval and Reformation iconography in particular make for interesting comparison, at this point, with the drama, with especial reference to the shifting of blame and Eve's role in the fall of man. Romanesque sculpture, for instance, is important in this respect due to the fact that God may be observed pointing to Adam, who points to Eve, who points to the serpent, thereby echoing Genesis and unlike the Ruff drama, blaming, primarily, the devil for the temptation.¹² In the late fifteenth-century, however, the German sculptor, Tilman Riemenschneider (c. 1460-1531), undertook a commission by the civic authorities to create a sculpture of Adam and Eve. While Riemenschneider's Adam appears strained and aware of the consequences of the fall, his Eve, by contrast, head aloft, would have gazed out confidently from her original position in the Chapel of the Virgin in Würzburg; her hair is ringleted, an apple is displayed prominently in her hand, and her stance is reminiscent of Milton's Eve, whose ringlets convey her proclivity toward seduction.¹³ Furthermore, during the very early Reformation, Albrecht Dürer produced an engraving of Adam and Eve (1504) which provided the prototype for Lucas Cranach's Adam and Eve illustration of 1510/12, in the mannerist style of the Renaissance artists Parmigianino and Vasari, amongst others. Both of these works, like the Riemenschneider sculpture,

¹² Brian Young, *The Villein's Bible: Stories in Romanesque Carving*, (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1990), pp. 15-22; see also Meyer Schapiro, *The Sculpture of Moissac*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1985), pp. 26-27 and p. 43 (which is in terms of the sculpture depicting the *Chaining of the Devil*).

¹³ *Art Treasures in Germany*, intro. Stephan Waetzoldt, (London and Sydney: Paul Hamlyn, 1970), pp. 80-81.

reveal Eve's confidence and beauty, and Eve is the more prominent of the protoplasts, as though, again, to suggest her inherently wanton nature and responsibility for the fall.¹⁴ While Ruff's Eve is in no way reflected in this type of art or sculpture, as the Protestant dramatist, concerned more with Eve's spirituality than with her corporeal presence on stage, gives us absolutely no indication as to her physical appearance throughout the *Adam und Heva*, it is interesting to note that the iconographers' concern is, like Ruff's, to reveal Eve's guilt.

Man's vulnerability at the devil's hand, his human frailty and his desire to become like God result in the fall and, ultimately, in the deterioration of the world as a whole. For the decline of Eden is continued on a much larger scale and, in accordance with medieval exegesis, particularly that of Augustine, by the world's five stages of antediluvian decline; this begins immediately after the fall and culminates in the Flood (the sixth stage of postdiluvian decline being Nimrod's empire).¹⁵ Apart from the fall and the fratricide, these stages of decline are depicted comprehensively on the second day of the *Adam und Heva*, where the most important themes in the play, in terms of the Reformation itself and the didactic content, are *sola scriptura*, *sola fide* and *sola gratia* and are expounded time and time again. It often appears that *sola scriptura* becomes, at times, subordinated to Ruff's theatrical instinct, and even after the temptation and expulsion scenes, Ruff continues to expand Genesis in order to depict the lives of the protoplasts in the wilderness; here, Eve pleads with Adam not to leave her in her time

¹⁴ For references to Riemenschneider, see, again, Waetzoldt, *Art Treasures in Germany*, pp.80-1, and Cranach's painting of Adam and Eve is on p. 91. P. 46 shows an early thirteenth-century depiction of the Fall in St. Michael, Hildesheim.

¹⁵ James Dean, "The World Grown Old and Genesis in Middle English Historical Writings", *Speculum*, 57, 3 (1982), 548-68.

of trouble, and like the Eve of the medieval Genesis tradition, she is well aware of her own guilt. Also, there is no question of Adam not standing by Eve, for even God has told him to do so, despite the calumny she has effected.

Again, it is characteristic of a slightly more human, psychological element in the Ruff drama that Ruff introduces the notion of collective suffering. Eve is also aware that Adam is suffering, but she trusts him to do well by her and by their future offspring, an obvious reference to Genesis 3. 16, and to love her and the children above all other creatures on earth. This is poignant if we consider that Adam once had dominion over the whole world; we know that the protoplasts have fallen and that they have lost the riches of Paradise in a literal and spiritual sense, but the emphasis also shifts from Adam, lord of Paradise, to simply Adam, lord of his own home and family. Throughout all of this, though, is the idea that God's grace is ever present; for Adam states, just before the expulsion, "Zür müy und arbeit sind wir worden... || Doch wil noch Gott sin unser fründ" (1531-34), thereby underscoring his faith in God. This faith is then reciprocated by God, who informs the protoplasts of the "... kummer lyden gütz und böß || Angst not mit schmerzen surs und süß" (1551-52) they will experience, but that they will find redemption through Christ; for He promises them "Das einr uß der Tryfaltigkeit || Erfaren wirt din trurigheit" (1549-50):

Du und all dine nachkommen
 Ja was wirt gborn von dim somen
 Wirt die verzyhung by mir finden
 Einig umb din schuld und din sünden (1555-58)

Thus, Ruff uses the stage as a means through which he might communicate the

soteriological message of the *Adam und Heva*.

To end with Zwingli, the Reformer states that God's Word, intended for man, is a law by which man learns both to love God and His goodness above all things and to know His will and way: "Wie sollte aber die Gerechtigkeit ohne Ungerechtigkeit erkannt werden?"¹⁶ As a result, even the generations of Adam, the audience and reader of the *Adam und Heva*, are made to understand that, despite being tainted by his original sin, they might yet find Salvation in the eyes of God, with whom Adam once enjoyed communion. It is precisely this communion which sets Adam and his descendants apart from the rest of God's creation, particularly the animals, and we may consider in the next chapter why Ruff, like the medieval commentators and artists (and, to a lesser extent, the medieval mystery-plays and poems), emphasises the importance of the naming scene.

¹⁶ Zwingli, "Von der göttlichen Vorsehung", p. 776.

IV

ADAM AND THE NAMING OF THE BEASTS

Dann als Gott der HERR gema= || cht hatt von der erden allerley thier auff dem || vâld | und allerley vōgel under dem himel | || bracht er sy zû dem menschen | das er sy besâ || he | wie er sy nennete. Dann wie der mensch || allerley lâbendige seelen nennen wurde | so || sōltind sy heysen. (Genesis 2. 19, *Zürcher Bibel*)

For years, theatre historians have discussed, on a "chicken and egg" basis, the influence of religious iconography on medieval drama and vice versa. While literary historians such as A. M. Nagler and Patrick Collins¹ consider that medieval theatre contains elements derived from religious paintings, church paintings in particular, others, notably E. Mâle, presume that the artists were receptive more to the visual stimulus of the *tableau vivant* of the medieval mystery-plays than they were to the preached or written word of God, and they thereby used drama as a form of *Biblia*

Pictorata:

...the "tableau vivant" was the most important element of the medieval theatre...I should find it difficult to believe that anyone listened with much attention to the metaphysical discourses of Justice and Mercy, or to the long sermon preached by Saint John the Baptist. But to see Jesus in person, to see

¹ A.M. Nagler, "Pictorial Art or Theatre?", *The Medieval Religious Stage: Shapes and Phantoms*, (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1976), pp. 89-105; P.J. Collins, "Narrative Bible Cycles in Medieval Art and Drama", *Drama in the Middle Ages*, ed. Clifford Davidson, C.J. Gianakaris and John H. Stroupe, (New York: Ams Press, 1982), pp. 118-139.

Him live and die and rise from the dead before their very eyes -
that was what moved the crowd, even to tears.²

With regard to the naming of the beasts scene in the *Adam und Heva*, Ruff is, perhaps, more akin to the medieval naturalists than to the Protestant preachers, for the scene is neither Reformation nor medieval, but unique within the context of medieval creation literature³ and sixteenth century Genesis drama.⁴ Furthermore, Ruff also draws inspiration from the moralising bestiary illustrations, didactic art and iconographical tradition, and his medieval syncretism reveals itself in the various strains of mythology and natural history with which he fuses Reformation theology to create one of the most innovative and unusual scenes in the long tradition of the paradise-play.

In the naming scene which follows God's commandment, Ruff's Adam gives a lengthy description of each beast and bird of Paradise and names each one

² E. Mâle, "The Influence of the Religious Theatre", *Religious Art from the 12th to the 18th Century*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), p. 111.

³ Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, ed. Helmut Ripperger and Granger Ryan, (New York: Arno, 1969); *Cursor Mundi: 1*, ed. Richard Morris, (London, New York, Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1874-93), pp. 44-45, 617-625; Babington, *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden. Monachi Cestrensis. Vol. II*, pp. 219 and 221. Apart from the medieval English dramas already cited, however, three other dramas worth noting are the medieval *Ancient Cornish Drama*, ed. and transl. Edwin Norris, p. 5, 123-140; William Jordan, *Gwryans an Bys: A Medieval Cornish Drama*, ed. and transl. E.G. Retallack Hooper, pp. 28 and 30, 402-410, and Eugene Bernard, "La Création du Monde. Mystère Breton", *Revue Celtique*, 9 (1888), 149-207 & 322-53; 10 (1889), 192-211, 11 (1890), 254-317. The Cornish dramatists are interesting for the way in which they, like Ruff, expand the naming scene, but they include only those beasts and birds familiar to the audience, while the Breton play, like the *Adam und Heva*, lists domestic and wild animals and birds.

⁴ See the Protestant dramatists, Sachs, *Tragedia*, p. 26 and also, Voith, *Ein schön Lieblich Spiel*, pp. 216-217.

accordingly. Ruff extends the scene from eleven lines of scriptural narrative, and includes an enormous amount of detail, which although theologically and philosophically sound in terms of the medieval attitude towards natural history, has no real counterpart in medieval creation texts. Indeed, Ruff departs from the brief biblical account of Eden, and from the Protestant Genesis tradition, which includes the *Adam and Eve* plays of Hans Sachs and Valten Voith⁵, as well as from the much earlier Genesis tradition, such as the *Millstätter/Wiener Genesis*,⁶ and the later fourteenth century poems *Die Erlösung* and *Wie adam verstossen wart uss dem paradis*, which, incidentally, was written in Zurich.⁷ He also differs from the medieval English Corpus Christi plays, namely *The Towneley Plays*, the Coventry Corpus Christi play, *The Chester Plays* and *The York Plays*, none of which expand the naming scene.⁸ There is, however, a less familiar medieval drama, namely the Breton *Creation ar bet*,⁹ which, like Ruff's naming scene, is tremendously long and categorizes an incredible amount of animals and birds, wild and domestic, large and small. It must be stressed, however, that while extensive comparisons can be made

⁵ See, Sachs, *Tragedia*, p. 26, 5-8; Voith, *Ein schön Lieblich Spiel*, pp. 216-8: Voith makes no mention of the naming of the beasts at all.

⁶ *Genesis und Exodus nach der Milstätter Handschrift*, ed. by Joseph Diemer [1862], (repr. Wiesbaden, 1971), p. 11.

⁷ F. Maurer, *Die Erlösung: Eine geistliche Dichtung des 14. Jahrhunderts*, tr. George C. Schoolfield (Leipzig, 1934, repr. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1964); Brian Murdoch, "Das spätmittelalterliche Gedicht vom Sündenfall aus Hs. A 131 der Zürcher Zentralbibliothek", *Beiträge zur Erforschung der deutschen Sprache*, 1 (1981), 212-222.

⁸ England and Pollard, *The Towneley Plays*, pp. 1-9; Block, *Ludus Coventriae or the Plaie Called Corpus Christi*, pp. 19-20; Deimling, *The Chester Plays: for the animals*, see pp. 22-25 and Beadle, *The York Plays*, pp. 54-61.

⁹ Eugene Bernard, "La Création du Monde. Mystère Breton", 10 (1889). 192-201.

between all European creation texts, they cannot possibly be linked. The authors have, rather, followed the writings of the Church Fathers and the Psalms, or they might even have consulted popular medieval texts such as *The Golden Legend*.¹⁰

In the *Adam und Heva*, Ruff's naming scene begs a number of questions; in what way is Ruff different from the pre-Reformation and Reformation Bibles? What inspired him to write a scene which reads like a bestiary, and at the same time, conjures up images of a harmonious Paradise found mostly in creation illustrations of the medieval and iconographic tradition and Hexaemeral illustration during the Reformation, which follows a pattern set down in the early sixteenth century by artists such as Cranach and Holbein?

What message, however, was Ruff trying to convey in 1550 and how would the play have been performed? We are told that the play was performed in 1550, but not precisely how. Stage directions are minimal throughout the drama, and if we take the view of Barbara Thoran that, with regards to Ruff's *Passionsspiel*, his drama is just as suitable as *Lesedrama* as it is for performing, then the naming scene in the *Adam und Heva* need not have been performed at all:

Die Besonderheit des Züricher Spiels liegt vielmehr darin, daß es sowohl als Aufführungswerk als auch Lesebuch bestens geeignet war.¹¹

Wildhaber shares a similar view:

¹⁰ See also all works cited in footnote 3.

¹¹ Thoran, *Das Züricher Passionsspiel*, p. 5.

Man könnte ja auch denken, daß sie nur gesprochen worden wäre ohne Hinweis auf Bilder; oder gar nur als Partie für Lesedrama berechnet.¹²

I shall comment upon this later vis-à-vis medieval drama as a whole at the problems encountered in staging it. However, Ruff's naming of the beasts scene lists forty-three domestic and wild animals, of which the first twenty-six are given specific descriptions, while the remainder or *nachbenampten thieren* ([C[1r]) are simply listed. Ruff then continues with the naming of forty birds, of which twenty-four are described, and the remaining *nachgenden vögel* (C3[r]) are also enumerated. Ruff expands the scriptural narrative (Genesis 2. 19) by giving both an accurate account of the types of animals God brings to Adam to name, and by adding certain species which are not mentioned in the biblical naming scene. Furthermore, Ruff lists creeping things such as worms and lizards amongst his smaller animals. We may ask whether Ruff, like some other authors of creation texts, simply lists those creatures with which he would have been familiar? Is he displaying a knowledge of natural history or a familiarity with bestiary illustrations, which often depict large numbers of animals?

According to Genesis 1. 26,¹³ God divides the animals into each species, so that they are either domestic or wild beasts, fish in the sea, birds of the air, which implies that

¹² Wildhaber, *Jacob Ruf*, p. 90. Wildhaber refers to the Noah's Ark scene in the same context.

¹³ "Unnd Gott sprach: | Wir wöllend men = || schen machen in un || serer biltnuß nach || unserer glychnuß | die werdend herrschen über die fisch im || meer | unnd über die vögel under dem him || mel unnd über das vych || und über gantz erden || unnd alles gwürm das uff erden || kreuchet". (*Zürcher Bibel von 1531*, Gen. 1. 26).

they can fly, or creeping things. This categorization of the animals is characteristic of the Middle Ages, of which more later. Looking at contemporaries of Ruff, however, Valten Voith ignores the Hexaemeral scenes, while Hans Sachs simply lets God state that there is "ein grosse herd thier vor dem garten...Kumb...Gib namen ihn nach deinr weissheit".¹⁴ A far older text, the early medieval *Millstätter/Wiener Genesis* makes explicit the fact that it is Adam's wisdom which allows him to name and to tame the animals, by the way.¹⁵ More specifically, it is speech which allows him to dominate them. The fourteenth-century poem *Die Erlösung* is interesting for the way in which it reveals the medieval author's comprehensive, rather poetic view of the nature of the creation, where every living being has an active and audible part in Paradise.¹⁶ This author chooses, however, to omit the naming scene.

Ruff gives an expansive interpretation of the reason for man's creation and rule over the animals, which has considerable relevance for the naming scene as well. For example, in the speech given by the *junger knab* at the beginning of the play, Ruff stresses the innate difference between man and animal:

In gmacht zum herren über alls... || Im blasen yn ein seel
 unnd geist || Dvernunfft im gen uffs allerhöchst || Die selben
 zierdt mit der wyßheit... || Do ward dem mensch gen seel unnd
 geist || Kein thier noch vych ist das beschen || Allein dem

¹⁴ Voith, *Ein schön Lieblich Spiel*, and Sachs, *Tragedia*, p. 26, 6-8.

¹⁵ Diemer, *Genesis und Exodus*, p. 8, 16-18.

¹⁶ "Die dier vor ime liefen || iegliche ir stimme riefen: || diz was grimme, diz was gut, || diz wilde, diz was wolgemut. || Die vische vluzzen in dem mer... || vische klein und vische groz... || Embor die vogel swungen, || sie gurren unde sungen || ieglicher sine wise. || Die nahtegal zu rise, || die lerche in die lüfte swanc, || sie hub ir stimme an und sanc". Maurer, *Die Erlösung*, p. 28, 131-48.

menschen ist das gen. (223-30 and 231-34)

God not only breathes life into man, whom he has created from the dust, but also gives him the wisdom and *highest* reason to rule over those beasts which were also created from earth. Many theologians as diverse as Lactantius, Philo of Alexandria, Augustine and Zwingli¹⁷ allude to man's intelligence which fulfils many functions: first, it differentiates man from the beasts and assures man's superiority over them; second, it allows man an understanding of both other men and of God's law, with the result that the spirit enables man to exist in everyday life, resisting pleasures of the flesh and keeping man in "Gotteserkenntnis und Licht":

Würde der Geist nicht Kraft dieses Schutzes den Ansturm des Fleisches aushalten oder vereiteln, so wäre der Mensch nicht mehr Mensch sondern Tier, mag er auch äußerlich Mensch bleiben. Hat der Mensch keine Gotteserkenntnis und kein Sorgen um das Göttliche mehr, so kam ihn die Kenntnis und Sorge um menschliche Dinge nicht von den Tieren unterscheiden.¹⁸

Inherent in the gift of reason is man's recognition of and communication with God, so that his *geist*, in the spiritual sense, sets him above the animals, and unlike the dumb animals who have no reason, reason enables man to recognize God's

¹⁷ Lactantius, "Chapter IV: That all things were created for some use, even those things which appear evil; on what account man enjoys reason in so frail a body", "Chapter V: Of the creation of man, and of the arrangements of the world, and of the chief good", both of which can be found in "Book VII: Of a Happy Life", *The Works of Lactantius*, ed. by William Fletcher, (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1871), pp. 434-5 respectively; Zwingli "Von der göttlichen Vorsehung", pp. 757-96. See Francis Donald Klingender, *Animals in Art and Thought: To the End of the Middle Ages*, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971), pp. 145-83 and, especially p. 150.

¹⁸ Zwingli, "Von der göttlichen Vorsehung", p. 744.

commandment and obey it.¹⁹ Indeed, Ruff repeats this in his creation scene, and underscores this point in the herald's final speech at the end of the play:

Das Gott im einig alls hat gâben || Uff das er kâme in
 dverstentnuß || Siner allmechtigkeit erkantnuß || Und mit
 den thieren noch dem vych || Mit sinem lâben wurde glych
 (6296-6301)

Throughout the *Adam und Heva*, then, man is continuously differentiated from the animals by virtue of reason and understanding, and as God's only likeness upon earth, should live his life according to God's will. The wisdom bestowed upon Adam not only gives him the power to differentiate between this multitude of animals, but also to determine how they will live on earth, for God tells him to name the "vôgel thier so vil da sind...Das kennist wie sy vor dir lâben", (720-22). This is entirely in keeping with the naming of the beasts scene which follows, in which Adam does, indeed, list the behaviour, form and lifestyle of many of the creatures.

Ruff's naming scene has lent itself to various interpretations and, it is possible, in terms of the medieval dramatic tradition, that the scene was expanded in order to entertain both audience and reader alike, so that even the animals are a source of entertainment, especially to Adam. Indeed, he tells some of them, such as the lion, elephant, bear, cat and peacock that, as they are a pleasure to behold, they shall be named appropriately:

¹⁹ For a discussion of reason and the soul, with regard particularly to man and the beasts, see C.S. Lewis, *The Discarded Image*, (Cambridge, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne, Sydney: Cambridge University Press, 1964. repr. 1988), pp. 146-69.

Diewyl ichs sich dann vor mir läben || Zerst wil ich dem
 den nammen geben || Das thier thüt mich so seer erfröwen ||
 Darumb ich im gib den nammen Löwen || Dann es nach allem
 duncken min || Wirt sterckst thier under allen sin
 (731-36)

Throughout the Middle Ages, the lion was renowned for its strength and courage and hailed as the "King of Beasts".²⁰ Ruff's Adam does not call the lion king, but praises the animal for its great strength, and by giving it a suitable name also determines its nature, for it will be the "strongest amongst all the animals". Of the elephant, Adam states that he likes its appearance because it is so large and strong, and he shall call it an elephant "Von siner grösse und stercke wägen || Dann schwâr läst wirsts uff im wol trāgen" (741-42). Here, Ruff also echoes the medieval bestiaries in which the elephant is said to have been named as such by the Greeks because of its size, while the *schwâr läst* perhaps refers to the fact that elephants were said to collect wounded men and bring them to safety during a battle. Or, according to Isidore, they carried howdahs (wooden towers) on their backs in order that Persian and Indian armies could attack their enemies from a great height.²¹ With regard to the bear's "krefftig...hut und bein" (743-44), Ruff refers, again, to the bestiary text which states that while the bear's head is weak, its legs are incredibly strong,²² while Adam's description of the

²⁰ Edward Topsell, *The History of the Four-Footed Beasts and Serpents and Insects*, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1967), taken principally from the *Historiae Animalium* of Conrad Gesner (1658), p. 358. See also *Isidore Libri Etymologiarum*, ed. W.M. Lindsay, XI-XX (Oxonii: Oxford University Press, 1911), XII.

²¹ T.S. White, *The Book of Beasts: Being a Translation from a Latin Bestiary of the 12th Century*, (London: Jonathan Cape, 1954), p. 25; see also Wilma George and Brunsdon Yapp, *The Naming of the Beasts: Natural History in the Medieval Bestiary*, (London: Duckworth, 1991), p. 89.

²² White, *The Book of Beasts*, p. 24; George and Yapp, *The Naming of the Beasts*, pp. 56-7.

cat is in keeping with observances made of the natural behaviour of a domestic animal:

Darumb daß issest müß und ratzen
 Solt gheissen sin allwäg ein Katzen
 Darzû mir sein natur gefalt
 Daßt über dise habist gwalt (805-8)

Ruff's description of the cat's behaviour becomes more significant on the second day of the play, when Enos, the Sethite, explains that if the wickedness perpetrated amongst the Cainites is allowed to continue, then the natural order of things will be turned on its head:

Demnach nüt anders volget druß
 Uber die katz thût herrschen dmuß
 Ouch dstül die stygend uff die benck
 Demnach der boßheit wachsend glenck (3474-77)

Finally, Adam's reference to the peacock is similar to descriptions of the bird in *The Books of Beasts*, but only insofar as it is said to sing badly;²³ perhaps this is why, according to Ruff's interpretation, it is able to scare off poisonous animals with its song.

Further influences of the medieval bestiary tradition on Ruff's writing shall be discussed later, but there is little doubt, here, that the Protestant Ruff drew on some of the familiar, medieval descriptions of beasts and birds in order to, perhaps, entertain his audience; or according to Bächtold, and a few scholars who have

²³ White, *The Book of Beasts*, p. 30.

followed his lead, not to say his verbal conclusions, the scene may have been expanded for a didactic purpose. Thus Baechtold: "Und so erhielt das Publikum eine Menagerie und ein zoologisches Kolleg zugleich".²⁴ Of the relatively few people who have ever written on Ruff, virtually everyone has mentioned that line, including Jürgen Einhorn in his section on the unicorn in *Unicornis Spiritualis*.²⁵ Wolfgang Michael refers to the exhaustive quality and *naive charm* of this lesson in zoology,²⁶ while Bächtold and Klimke call it *hübsch*²⁷ and Phillips states that it is *grotesk*.²⁸ They also firmly believe that the scene was performed with the aid of woodcut illustrations from Gesner's *Historiae Animalium*:

[Die Tiere] wurden sicher nicht in natura, sondern am ehesten auf Tafeln gemalt vorgeführt.²⁹

Given the size of the Münsterhof and the fact that most of the citizens of Zurich, if they were not taking part in the play, would have watched the performance, this is highly unlikely. Apart from the high costs of producing eighty or more illustrations of beasts and birds, the pictures would have to have been billboard size for the audience to have seen them.

²⁴ Baechtold, *Geschichte*, p. 329.

²⁵ Jürgen Einhorn, *Unicornis Spiritualis*, (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1976), p. 117.

²⁶ Michael, *Das Deutsche Drama*, pp. 149-161.

²⁷ Bächtold, *Geschichte*, p. 329 and Klimke, *Das volkstümliche Paradiesspiel*, p. 35.

²⁸ Phillips, *Jacob Ruefs Joseph*, p. 40.

²⁹ Bächtold, *Geschichte*, p. 329; Wildhaber, *Jakob Ruf*, p. 153. See also Klimke, *Das volkstümliche Paradiesspiel*, p. 36.

A pattern emerges in the scene which echoes the established system of the categorisation of animals in the medieval bestiary and iconographic traditions. This is of particular interest if we consider that Ruff was writing in a new period of empiricism and serious scientific observation by scholars such as Conrad Gesner. For the scholars of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries tended to disregard the moralising bestiaries, which went back to the teachings of Aristotle and his account of nature which was later provided with a symbolic interpretation by the Church. They referred, instead, to much more sceptical sources, such as Pliny or Isidore of Seville, whose teachings are also incorporated into some of the bestiaries.³⁰ However, again, Ruff hovers between the Middle Ages and the Reformation, and the naming scene reads like an extended account of natural history perhaps derived from works such as *De Proprietatibus Rerum* by Bartholomew the Englishman, which was popular during the Middle Ages until the early sixteenth century, and for which I have used Trevisa's 1398/9 translation,³¹ and to a lesser extent, Gesner's *Historiae Animalium*. One bestiary which I feel we may disregard, in the present context, is Conrad von Megenberg's *Das Buch der Natur*, which was written before 1357 and is based on a Latin work by Thomas von Cantimpré. Although it has been described as "die erste deutsche Naturgeschichte", it relies heavily on extensive moralising, more so than any of the other bestiaries, and thus differs widely from Ruff's account of the animals.

³⁰ Lindsay, *Isidori Libri Etymologiarum*. See also Yapp and George, *The Naming of the Beasts* for a more general discussion of Isidore's influence on the English medieval bestiary.

³¹ The encyclopaedia of Bartholomaeus Anglicus, compiled around 1230, was translated by John Trevisa in 1398/9, but not printed until about 1498. It was translated into various different languages, which accounts for its popularity throughout the Middle Ages, but was most popular in England. John Trevisa, *On the Properties of Things: Trevisa's Translation of De Proprietatibus Rerum*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975).

For instance, Ruff states that the dove alone is *on ein gallen*, a fact which the other bestiaries contain, and that this is a gift from God, while in *Das Buch der Natur*, Conrad von Megenberg states that the *gallenlosen Thiere* are the horse, stag, camel and dolphin.³² There is often the odd gem of interesting information, though:

Männer mit starkem Bart und behaarter Brust zeugen leicht Kinder, besonders die schwarzhaarigen.³³

There are, however, similarities between Ruff's text and that of the *Physiologus*,³⁴ which enjoyed considerable popularity all through the Middle Ages and provided an example to medieval man of how to conduct his life. Perhaps Ruff, by including the natural history material, also wishes to lead his fellow men to the contemplation of the divine through increased awareness and knowledge of the natural world around them.

The *Physiologus*, compiled between the 2nd and 5th centuries in Alexandria by an unknown author, is the origin of some two hundred and fifty medieval European and Eastern bestiaries. It means *the naturalist*, although successive historians are unsure as to whether this refers to the book or to the author himself. It is a compendium of observations on animals, birds, reptiles and amphibians, fish and other miscellaneous.

³² Conrad von Megenberg, *Das Buch der Natur*, ed. Hugo Schulz, (Greifswald: Julius Abel, 1897), p. 95. In this work the natural history is incidental to the moralising. See also Gerold Hayer, "zu lob dem hochgebornem fürsten Rudolfen dem vierden herczog in Österreich. Rezeption von Konrads von Megenberg 'Buch der Natur'", *Festschrift für Ingo Reiffenstein*, ed. Peter K. Stern, (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1988), pp. 473-492.

³³ Conrad von Megenberg, *Das Buch der Natur*, p. 96.

³⁴ White, *The Book of Beasts*.

mostly mythological, creatures, whose habits are described and then allegorized with a Christian interpretation. The bestiary material was shortened in the Middle Ages, put into verse form and expanded with more scientific observations as well as fables, and translated into languages as diverse as Anglo-Saxon, Old French, Old High German, Ethiopian and Armenian, to name but a few. Latin and English bestiaries were predominant in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, although vernacular bestiaries were more popular until the advent of printing in the 15th century.³⁵

Gesner's five volume *Historiae Animalium* lists the animals in alphabetical order and subdivides, under the headings A,B,C and D... each animal's name, its appearance and natural habitat, how its body functions, its behaviour toward and usefulness to man and the other animals. Ruff, in common with the medieval bestiaries, portrays the animals as though they are on a scale, ranging from the largest to the smallest beasts and birds. In the *Book of Beasts* and medieval bestiaries, and also, interestingly, in one of the mnemonic songs of the *Carmina Burana*, the lion takes prime position, confirming its traditional status as king of the beasts, and is followed by descriptions of the other wild and domestic beasts, which are often intermingled and appear to have been chosen randomly. Birds of prey, such as the eagle or the hawk, are often the first to be described in the section on birds, and in another song of the *Carmina Burana*, the hawk is given pride of place.³⁶

³⁵ Willene B. Clark and Meradith T. McMunn, *Beasts and Birds of the Middle Ages*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania press, 1989); see also Wilma George and Brunson Yapp, *The Naming of the Beasts*.

³⁶ Songs "133" and "134" deal with the birds and animals respectively, *Carmina Burana*, ed. Otto Schumann, (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, 1971), pp. 223-226.

Ruff's Adam, too, commences predominantly with the larger and wilder beasts: lion, elephant, bear, wolf, camel, hart, serpent and unicorn. The other beasts consist of domestic animals interspersed with wild animals: ox, buffalo, dromedary, cow, chamois, horse, sheep or lamb, dog, swine, cat, goat, ape, marten, squirrel, hare, donkey, lynx and fox. The following small animals are subsequently listed: frog, toad, spider, rat, mouse, snake, worm, flea, ant, louse, lizard, cricket, bug, daddy-long-legs, otter, weasel and grasshopper. The naming of the birds follows a similar pattern. For instance, Adam begins by naming the eagle, the ruler and strongest of all the birds, just as the lion is the strongest amongst the beasts, and continues with a somewhat varied mixture of real and unreal birds, such as the griffin, phoenix, swan, heron, stork, hawk, crane, goose, duck, owl, raven, crow, cuckoo, dove, quail, falcon, cockerel, hen, pheasant, hawk, peacock, partridge and turtle-dove. The remaining *nachgenden vögel* appear in the following order: nightingale, magpie, bullfinch, sparrow, parakeet, hoopoe, ostrich, starling, bat, vulture, siskin, blackbird, fieldfare, tit, songthrush and the thrush itself.

The format of the latter is different to that of the naming of the beasts in that they consist of a few large and small birds. The lay-out of the birds also presupposes the question as to whether Ruff knew what an ostrich was, for it is rather unusual for him to list such an exotic and large creature amongst the everyday birds which might have been familiar to him, just as the bat and the queen-bee, cannot be categorized as birds. Also, this underscores Ruff's interest in the medieval bestiaries, rather than in classical sources, for in his book of animals, Claudius Aelianus begins his section on birds with the ostrich, and on animals, with the elephant, as these two creatures are

the largest amongst their kind.³⁷ However, in the *Physiologus*, or the *Book of Beasts* as it is commonly known, both the bat and queen-bee are included in the bird section, and in Gesner's *Vogelbuch*, the griffin, ostrich and bat are also listed amongst the birds. These works may, therefore, have influenced Ruff.³⁸

Similarly, there is no obvious reason as to why the serpent should be placed between the hart and the unicorn, except that, again, in the *Book of Beasts*, the unicorn is the symbol of Christ, "the horn of Salvation", while the serpent is the traditional enemy of the wise and clever hart, as Ruff calls it (757-60).³⁹ When the hart feels ill, it finds the serpent's den, sucks it out of the ground, eats it and immediately feels rejuvenated. Adam, however, in his description of the serpent, alludes to Genesis 3.1 and the havoc it will wreak on earth through its cunning:

Du solt mir heissen wurm ald schlang
Die wirst du sin din lâbenlang
Mit dinem list wirst grosses leid
Der welt zûffügen uß dinr falschheit (761-64)

By placing the *listig* serpent between these two innately virtuous beasts, particularly the unicorn which is traditionally symbolic of the Virgin Birth,⁴⁰ Ruff emphasises

³⁷ Willy Ley, "Introduction", *The History of the Four-Footed Beasts and Serpents and Insects*.

³⁸ Gessner, *Vogelbuch*, (facs. Zurich, 1552): descriptions of the griffin, bat and ostrich are on pp. 68, 53 and 235 respectively.

³⁹ White, *The Book of Beasts*, p. 25.

⁴⁰ For descriptions of the traditional, symbolic meanings of beasts and birds, see chapter 2 of Louis Réau's "Le Symbolisme Animal, Végétal et Minéral ou le Miroir de la Nature", *Iconographie de L'Art Chrétien: 1*, (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955), pp. 76-132.

the nature of the serpent's wickedness through direct comparison with goodness. This also echoes St. Luke's words on John the Baptist, who warns those about to be baptized:

DA sprach er zu dem Volck | das hin aus gieng | das
 es sich von jm teuffen liesse | Jr Ottern gezichte |
 Wer hat denn euch geweiset | das jr dem zukünfftigen
 zorn entrinnen werdet? (Luc. 3. 6, Luther)

This comparison of good and evil on earth is further underscored by Zwingli in his sermon "Von der Vorsehung", which Ruff is likely to have known, and in which Zwingli stresses God's purpose in placing evil on earth. Zwingli states that in order to follow a righteous path, we must be able to perceive what is unrighteous.⁴¹ Adam, however, begins consistently with the largest or strongest creatures and ends with the weakest and smallest creatures, who nevertheless have their rightful place in God's creation.

Ouch was der kleinen thieren sind || Sy sygend gsähend
 oder blind Den Gott yetzdan hat gen das läben || Hie
 yedem wil ich sin namen geben (845-48)

Adam similarly justifies the naming of the *nachgenden vögel*. Again, the animals and birds are organised into the categories deemed appropriate by God, such as the beasts of burden and wild beasts of the land, birds of the air and sea and creeping things. In their natural history works, Bartholomew the Englishman and Alexander Neckham are said to evoke medieval society through the various social positions given in their

⁴¹ Zwingli, "Von der göttlichen Vorsehung", pp. 757-796.

descriptions of the birds.⁴² Within the context of the entire *Adam und Heva*, Ruff's naming scene could be interpreted on a social dimension as his animals encompass those traits which constitute humanity and which manifest themselves in the Cainites and the Sethites in the second part of his play. In this way, then, the naming scene could be viewed as a prefiguration of the world after the Fall, and just as Adam rules over the wild beasts in Paradise, he prefigures Christ, *the second man*, who is given control over his enemies.⁴³ Thus, like the medieval naturalists, Ruff may be using an allegorical interpretation of the animals in order to mirror the world in terms of morality.⁴⁴

In the hierarchical order of the beasts and birds, we encounter human habits and characteristics, virtues and vices, such as strength, nobility, virtue, fidelity, diligence, moderation and excess and wickedness, as well as a multitude of descriptions which are traditional, anecdotal, biblical and christological. As there are such a large number of creatures, it is necessary to comment, briefly, on those animals who often appear in the bestiaries, and who have not been given a symbolic, that is to say, christological interpretation by Ruff, but who display characteristics which are evocative of mankind. We may then highlight the unreal creatures who traditionally correlate with Christian and medieval thought, and who may have been included for

⁴² Klingender, "The Scientific Revival and the Beast Fables", *Animals in and Thought*, p. 354.

⁴³ Jürgen W. Einhorn, *Spiritualis Unicornis*, p. 112, refers to Psalm 21, in which Christ conquers his evil enemies, as well as to 1 Cor. 15-45, "The first man Adam became a living being, the last Adam a life-giving spirit". See also St. Luke 20. 42-43: "And David himself saith in the book of Psalms, The LORD said unto my Lord, Sit thou on my right hand. Till I make thine enemies thy footstool".

⁴⁴ Louis Réau, *Iconographie de L'Art Chrétien*, pp. 76-132.

the purpose of edification.

The descriptions of many of the beasts and birds are straightforward, including the anecdotes. For instance, Ruff repeats the story of the squirrel who uses its tail as a sail when it wishes to cross a river, as do both Gesner and Zwingli in the *Historiae Animalium* and "Von der Vorsehung" respectively:

Das Eichhörnchen zieht ein größeres Holzstück mit dem
Munde an's Ufer und gebraucht es als Schiff zum
Überqueren des Baches; dabei richtet es zugeich den
buschigen Schwanz hoch, in den bläst der Wind, und eines
Segels bedarf nicht mehr.⁴⁵

Similarly, Ruff:

Eichhorn solt heissen all din tag
Din ardt im wasser das vermag
Uff eim holtz schiffst nach den winden
Din schwantz wirt dir den sägel finden (821-24)

I have already mentioned the cat, which is not a *Physiologus* beast, and which was described as a mouser in the Middle Ages, hence Ruff's description, too. The lamb and the dove are, of course, biblical, as the evangelists tell of the Holy Ghost who appears to Christ at the scene of his baptism in the form of a dove (St. Matthew 3. 16), as well as warn their flock of faithful Christians, about false prophets who are

⁴⁵ Zwingli, "Von der göttlichen Vorsehung", p. 767.

really wolves in sheeps' clothing (Matthew 7. 15).⁴⁶ Accordingly, Ruff's lamb is described as *sanfft* and *dultig* (796-96), as is the dove (905). Ruff, incidentally, also includes the *Turteltauben*, whose description, again, bears some similarity to the medieval bestiary material:

Din schön und zierd wol muß ich loben
 Du zeigst din art einr Turteltuben
 Dinn mann du liebest all din tag
 Umb sinen tod fürst grosse klag (941-44)

According to the *Book of Beasts*, the turtle-dove is symbolic of chastity, for when her mate dies, she refuses to marry another and mourns, instead, her loved one all her life.⁴⁷

In addition, the thieves of this society of animals can be classed together and they include the fox, wolf, marten, raven, hawk, falcon and cuckoo. They are all given similar descriptions in Ruff's naming scene and in the bestiaries because of their ability to rob and devour other species, and are perhaps examples of excess and gluttony. Interestingly, the eagle, which is also a bird of prey, and the lion, which is the ferocious beast of the Psalms, are not grouped with those creatures whose instinctive nature it is to kill, but are the noble leaders of the beasts and birds.

The descriptions of the beasts of burden, namely the donkey, elephant, buffalo, cow

⁴⁶ See also Janetta Rebold Benton, *The Medieval Menagerie. Animals and Art in the Middle Ages*, (New York, London, Paris: Abbeville Press, 1992), pp. 151-157 for her discussion of lamb symbolism in the bestiary illustration of the Middle Ages.

⁴⁷ White, *The Book of Beasts*, p. 30.

and ox rarely differ, for their main purpose in life is to ease man's load and carry his burdens. Adam, however, also alludes to the usefulness of the ox and cow as a source of nourishment, while the buffalo is classed as unclean, although its milk has health-giving properties. This is unusual as it is only after the Fall that man must labour to survive and after Noah that he has need of nourishment from meat. However, Ruff may have been influenced, here, by Gesner, who describes the properties of the horns, hide and fat of each animal and, of course, their usefulness to man.⁴⁸ In the medieval texts, such as *On the Properties of Things*, the camel is also listed amongst the beasts of burden, while in the *Etymologies*, Isidore describes the tiger, for example, as the most rapid beast on earth. The natural history is only incidental, as the etymology of the word tiger is more important; we are told that tiger means arrow in Persian and that the river Tigris is "the fastest of all rivers", hence the speed with which the tiger can run and the reason why it has been given this name.⁴⁹

Similarly, Bartholomew gives an etymological description of the camel, calling it "camur in genu"⁵⁰ which indicates that the camel is "crooked in the knee", and therefore a beast of burden, for it "crooks" its knee when it is charged by its master. Thus when Ruff's Adam names the camel and refers to its *krümme wagen* (755), he too refers to its etymological origin and the way in which it has to bend its knees to receive its load. Isidore's *Etymologies*, incidentally, which were popular, along with

⁴⁸ Gesner, *Historiae Animalium*.

⁴⁹ *Isidori Libri Etymologiarum*, ed. W.M. Lindsay, Lib. XII.

⁵⁰ "Other than they have that name of camur in gnu, that is "croked", for whanne he fongeth charges upon him thanne he bendeth and croketh the knees", Bartholomew the Englishman, *John Trevisa, On the Properties of Things*, p. 1156.

the *Physiologus*, during the Middle Ages, might also have provided a prototype for some of Ruff's naming scene. Ruff's descriptions, particularly of the birds, bear a striking resemblance to the English bestiaries, many of which contain much of Isidore's material.¹ They, like Ruff, state that the goose can scent a thief from a distance and that it cackles to warn of danger (Ruff, 884-84), while the stork cannot sing, makes a gabbling noise with its beak and feeds off snakes (Ruff, 870-71).

Finally, the unreal creatures need to be considered, such as the unicorn, the griffin, which has the body of a lion and head of an eagle, and the phoenix, all of whom have been given an allegorical interpretation through all the Middle Ages and appear as christological symbols in the medieval iconographic tradition. The griffin, due to the dual nature of its body, is a symbol of both Christ and man, of the heavens and of the earth, as well as of a demon, while the phoenix, of course, symbolizes the Resurrection.⁵² The fable of the unicorn, who is tamed by a virgin and who becomes a symbol of chastity through its attraction to this virtue and thus of the Virgin Birth, is legendary.⁵³ Claudius Aelianus, the bestiaries and Gesner all refer to the extensive healing properties of the horn.⁵⁴ Again, the Bible is responsible for the legends which surround the unicorn's horn, such as Psalm 22. 21, which talks of being saved from the lion's mouth as well as from the horns of the unicorns. Gesner

¹ Wilma George and Brunson Yapp, "Introduction" and "The Naming of the Animals", *The Naming of the Beasts*, pp. 5 and 37.

⁵² Louis Réau, *Iconographie*, pp.76-132. Réau also discusses unreal creatures in this chapter.

⁵³ See Benton, *The Medieval Menagerie*, pp. 133-48.

⁵⁴ Willy Ley, "Introduction", Gesner/Topsell, *History of the Four-Footed Beasts and Birds and Insects*, (New York, 1967).

and Topsell defy anyone to disbelieve that the unicorn ever existed, for Gesner states that a unicorn's horn was found in 1514 and also that the proof of its existence lies in the Psalms. Thus, Ruff is justified in referring to the unicorn which was created a virtuous and wise beast by God.

Finally worthy of comment is the ape, who all through the iconographic and bestiary tradition is indicative of original sin.⁵⁵ Ruff talks of the ape's "wundergeb und zierd" (813-16) and of its likeness to man, as do the bestiaries, but he echoes Gesner's account of the ape which states that it "is ridiculous...by reason of an indecent likeness and imitation of man".⁵⁶ As such, the ape becomes like man, he likes to imitate man and deceive, follow evil rather than good, and can be malicious. Hence the pre-Fall comment from Ruff's Adam that it shall forever be "hessig unnd gfierd" (816). In a twelfth-century English bestiary illustration discussed in *Apes and Ape Lore* by H.W. Janson, we can see clearly the role of the ape in the medieval iconographical tradition, for while, in this bestiary illustration, Adam names the beasts, the ape can be seen holding an apple and thereby prefigures the Fall. This has great significance within the context of the naming scene, for by giving the animals their names, Adam becomes aware of his own uniqueness and mastery over them, and the ape serves as a reminder that man is fallible, and really no better than than animals.⁵⁷ A more *modern* example of this can be seen in Blake's "Adam Naming

⁵⁵ H.W. Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, (London: Warburg Institute: University of London, 1952), pp. 107-143. "The Ape and the Fall of Man".

⁵⁶ Gesner/Topsell, *The History of the Four-Footed Beasts and Birds and Insects*, p.2.

⁵⁷ H.W. Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore*, pp. 107-9, especially p. 108.

the Beasts" (1810), which also reveals renewed interest in the subject: Adam, in the centre of the painting, is painted along the lines of the medieval illustrations insofar as he (or God) holds up one hand, or, more specifically, one or two fingers, to indicate the taming of the animals through the Christlogos or Word. The animals form a procession behind him and consist mainly of domestic animals. What is most interesting about this picture is the serpent which is coiled around Adam in his "moment of glory". Indeed, it appears to have the same function as the ape, for we are reminded that Adam, who takes pride of place before this procession of animals, will fall from grace as a result of the serpent's cunning.⁵⁸

The *Physiologus* and, indeed, the bestiaries, were not illustrated until the twelfth century, when there was a new impetus in manuscript illumination. The illustrations helped the illiterate amongst the lay-brothers to understand the text and thus absorb the moral lesson.⁵⁹ As a drama, Ruff's naming scene gives pictorial form to Scripture, although he has also expanded the biblical narrative in a series of images which will evoke an emotive response from as well as understanding within the spectator, just as scriptural illustrations throughout the centuries were designed to "suggest divine things to the unlearned, and stir up the learned to a love of the scriptures":

Struck with grief that in the sanctuary of God there should be foolish pictures, and what are rather misshapen monstrosities than ornaments, I wished if possible to occupy the minds and eyes of the faithful in a more comely and useful fashion...that class of pictures which, as being the books of laity, can suggest divine

⁵⁸ Morton D. Paley, *William Blake*, (Oxford: Phaidon, 1978), Plate 77.

⁵⁹ Clark and McMunn, *Beasts and Birds of the Middle Ages*, pp. 3-5.

things to the unlearned, and stir up the learned to the love of the scriptures.⁶⁰

In line with the traditional homiletic responsibilities of the Church, then, Ruff perhaps seeks the edification of his fellow men through the symbolic and visual representation of the Word of God.

Also during the late Classical period, Christian artists, influenced by the doctrine of Clement of Alexandria, fused the icon, Orpheus, with Christian doctrine to create an image of Christ easily understood by and familiar to the ordinary citizen. This image can be found on the sarcophagi of the Roman catacombs and in the paintings in which Orpheus, instead of taming various kinds of animals with his lyre, becomes a Christ-figure, and is surrounded by herds of sheep which he calms with the pan-pipes of the *Good Shepherd*.⁶¹ These are similar to the later medieval depictions of Adam's taming of the beasts through the Word: the writing above Holkham Bible creation scene reiterates the fact that God created all living creatures *without hands*.⁶² Again, a seated God is placed in the centre of the scene and holds up a hand to indicate the *Logos*. He is surrounded by a wealth of beasts and birds, from the owl to the peacock and eagle, in the sky behind Him, while the animals, incidentally, are placed

⁶⁰ The symbolic representation of the Word of God is given particular emphasis during the Middle Ages by the anonymous author of the *Pictor in Carmine*, whose example is later mirrored by the woodcut illustrators of the Reformation. The passage on the role of art in churches is especially significant. Montague Rhodes James, "Pictor in Carmine," *Archaeologia*, 94 (1951), 141.

⁶¹ John Block Friedman, *Orpheus in the Middle Ages*, (Cambridge: (Mass.) LONDON: Harvard University Press Distributed by Oxford University Press 1970), pp 36-47 especially p. 46.

⁶² Klingender, *Animals in Art and Thought*, pp. 410-13; Klingender both provides illustrations and a discussion of the Holkham Bible and the Queen Mary Psalter, which depict many beasts and birds created through the *Logos*.

on either side of God, one on top of the other, beginning with the lion and including an elephant, camel and unicorn and ranging to domestic beasts as well, such as the goat, lamb and boar. The naming scene itself takes a slightly different format to the creation illustrations, for Adam is generally to the left of the scene, while there is layer upon layer of animals on the right-hand side. There are some exceptions to these with regard to the lay-out of the creation and naming scenes, for example, the early twelfth-century Ferentillo fresco of "Adam Naming the Beasts", in which Adam is in the centre of the fresco, surrounded by creatures, including a unicorn and a griffin, and a creation scene from a medieval fresco in Gurk Cathedral, Upper Carinthia, Austria, in which God is clearly depicted on the left-hand side, while the animals are arranged according to species to the right of the scene. Both frescoes echo the bestiary illustrations of the naming scene and are good examples of what medieval man could learn of the scriptures through iconography.

Cranach's illustration of the entire creation, which is on the title page of the Lutheran Bible, echoes the image of Orpheus in the middle of a great wheel, in which he tames a peacock and a fox with his lyre, while different wild and mythological beasts inhabit the spokes of the wheel.⁶³ In Cranach's illustration, Adam and Eve are in Paradise, and while they are surrounded by the chaos of the creation, they and a wide range of beasts, birds and sea-monsters inhabit a centre of calm and order. Cranach, in turn, may have been influenced by Isidore's concept of the earth as being a calm and static centre of the universe, surrounded by the chaos of the moving planets.⁶⁴ The illustrator of the Zurich Bible creation scene, which accompanies the first page of the

⁶³ Klingender, *Animals in Art and Thought*, p.

⁶⁴ Lindsay, *Isidori Libri Etymologiarum*, XI-XX.

Genesis text, is said to have been influenced by Holbein's woodcuts which illustrated the newly printed Bibles in Basle. In this scene, we see God surrounded by a wealth of natural history and the beasts remind us of Ruff's naming scene, as does Cranach's creation scene; the animals are preceded by the lion, and include a unicorn and an ape, and occupy the earth, while the birds fill the sky. Some fish are barely discernible in the river. The Zurich Bible illustration, which, like Cranach's, depicts the whole of creation, also consists of a large number of animals living side by side in harmony, but is a much more natural scene than Cranach's and could conceivably have influenced Ruff's depiction of Paradise. The creatures also look towards the central scene, namely the creation of Eve, as though actively participating in it. However, the beauty and harmony intrinsic to Paradise become all the more poignant when we consider that this harmony will be destroyed by the very woman in whose creation they participate. Worth noting is the fact that the unicorn, whose horn points towards the sleeping Adam, again, prefigures the Virgin Birth, underlining the soteriological message.

The creation, naming of the animals and Noah's Ark scenes became popular with bestiary and manuscript illuminators as well as with artists throughout the Middle Ages and show the tremendous continuity of Genesis illustration throughout the Middle Ages to the Reformation. In a period of often violent iconoclasm, however, and its concomitant rejection of the worship of God through the form of the plastic arts, both the Zwinglian 1531 and Lutheran 1545 Bibles epitomize the paradox inherent in the religion of the Reformation, for apart from the woodcuts in the Bibles which illustrate the Old and New Testaments, there is a double-tailed mermaid, the mythological *Melusine*, illustrated in one of the panels on the title page of the Zurich

Bible, which is commonly found in a medieval bestiary or illuminated manuscript.⁶⁵ However, like Ruff's naming scene, the Bibles are at once symbiotic and syncretic, although ostensibly they present Scripture in an easier form. It may be, then, that the bestiary and woodcut illustrations of the Middle Ages influenced Ruff in his apparently random choice of animals as well as his decision to depict them in such a comprehensive way.

To come back briefly to the Reformation, Ruff's depiction of the naming scene also invites comparison with Zwingli's sermon "Von der Vorsehung", which may have set a precedent for Ruff's use of the natural world to convey the Word of God as well as for the comparisons he often makes between man and beast. For Zwingli makes frequent analogies between both wild and domestic animals and man, which reflect the Psalms, and he discusses the relationship between God and nature extensively. He could, therefore, have influenced Ruff's expansion of Genesis into an apparently prolix account of natural history. Like Ruff, Zwingli essentially affirms each animal's place and worthiness in the order of the creation:

Nicht nur der mensch ist göttlichen Geschlechts, sondern alle Kreatur, so gewiß die eine edler oder vornehmer ist als die andere...je edler eine ist, desto mehr preist sie Gottes Ehre und Macht. Oder verkündet nicht das Geschlecht der Mäuse die göttliche Weisheit und Vorsehung... Wie könnte man mit Worten die göttliche Weisheit so preisen wie diese doch ganz geringen Tiere.⁶⁶

On the other hand, Zwingli's personal, rather pantheistic view is at odds with Protestant doctrine, and Fritz Blanke comments:

⁶⁵ Rodney Dennys, "The Mermaid and Melusine", *The Heraldic Imagination*, (London: Barrie & Jenkins, 1975), pp. 122-29.

⁶⁶ Zwingli, "Von der göttlichen Vorsehung", p. 767.

"Für den normalen protestantischen Menschen sind Gott und Natur voneinander geschieden. Das sittliche und das kosmische Leben stehen ohne Beziehung nebeneinander, die Frömmigkeit ist in die Seelenwelt abgedrängt, sie ist innerlich, jenseitig".⁶⁷

Zwingli and Ruff, however, stress that each animal, regardless of size or disposition, is a symbol of divine power and Providence, and by linking God to the beauty and variety of the natural world around man, they thereby use nature for the edification of man. One final, but very important point; it is only at the end of the naming scene that we become aware that it is Adam's task to identify his ideal soulmate amongst the many beasts and birds:

O Herr und Gott mir wol gefellt || All thier die du hast für mich
gestellt || Ouch nach dem du inn gabest släben || Und ich in dnammen
all han gäben || Keins wil by mir nit wonen blyben || Das sin wyl mög
mit mir vertryben || Mit siner hilff mir well byston || Sy fliend und
lond mich einig ston (951-56 and 957-58)

Here, the concept of reason becomes very important. In keeping with the often deeper human element in the *Adam und Heva*, compared to other creation texts, we are given a view of a rather lonely Adam, with whom none of the vast numbers of creatures in Paradise wish to live. On a biblical level, Adam becomes aware that, despite God's Providence, he is akin to none of them. For as the word *einig* suggests, he is unique and the sole representative of God on earth, which necessitates the creation of Eve.

⁶⁷ Fritz Blanke, "Unsere Verantwortlichkeit gegenüber der Schöpfung", *Der Auftrag der Kirche in der modernen Welt: Festgabe für Emil Brunner*, (Zurich/Stuttgart: Zwingli Verlag, 1959), p. 195; see also Fritz Büsler, "Das Bild der Natur bei Zwingli", *Wurzeln der Reformation in Zürich*, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985), p. 20.

V

CAIN AND ABEL

Wie Christus Joh. 6. zu den Juden sagt | da sie yhn fragten |
 was sie fur werck thun solten | dz sie gottlich und Christlich
 werck thetten. Sprach er. Das ist das eynige gotliche werck |
 das yhr glaubt yn denen | den gott gesandt hatt.¹

Good works are not, for the Protestant, a viable means of gaining Salvation. For Luther, the outcome of original sin meant that man could no longer differentiate between good and evil, thereby rendering himself unable to fulfil God's law both in an earthly and in a spiritual sense. What was important, then, was man's inner life, which depended on the soul of the individual believer being imbued with God's grace. This would naturally engender good works, while the good works of an impure person would result merely in another sin against God.² Zwingli, however, took this one stage further. He suggested, for instance, that divine justice could be found on earth in the form of human justice, so that man ought to follow a strict moral code, too, and abide by God's commandments as they are laid down in the Gospels; for the Gospels contain Christ's teachings, and Christ is the basis of all human

¹ Martin Luther, *Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen*, ed. L.E. Schmitt, (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1954), p. 43.

² Cameron, *The European Reformation*, pp. 114-15, and see also G.R. Elton, *Reformation Europe. 1517-1559*, (London and Glasgow: Collins, 1963), pp. 16-17.

existence.³

Finally, all the reformers believed that outward displays of righteousness by men would be justified only if they were for the benefit of others in the community and not for the church, which would have the appearance of doing good works. What, then, of the biblical sacrifice cited, for example, in Genesis 4. 3-4, in which Cain and Abel offer up the first of their produce to God, ostensibly to gain favour in His eyes? While Luther maintained that the biblical sacrifice (or good work) was simply a means of revealing man's inability to work his own Salvation,⁴ some of the special problems posed for the sixteenth century Protestant dramatist are revealed in Ruff's *Adam und Heva*, in which Adam and His kin, on the second day of the drama, offer sacrifices to God as a sign of their faith, while, in the Cain and Abel scenes of the first day, Abel is shown God's grace because his sacrifice stems from virtuous behaviour and innate goodness, while Cain's offering is rejected by God because of his inherent wickedness. Most importantly, though, the *Adam und Heva* is, in its actual theology, a product of the Reformation, using Adam and Noah to remind their fellow men of their ability to attain Salvation by faith alone,⁵ a concept which lay, of course, at the very heart of Protestant thought.

Throughout the Ruff drama, *sola fide* is matched by *sola scriptura*, and in the biblical nature of Cain and Abel, we have, right at the beginning of human history, what

³ See Courvoisier, *Zwingli*, p. 81-5 and Bromiley, *Zwingli and Bullinger*, pp. 113-14.

⁴ Murdoch and Jillings, *Martin Luther: Selections*, p. 7.

⁵ See Brian Murdoch, "Jacob Ruf's *Adam und Heva*" p. 125.

looks precisely like the acknowledgement by God of doing good works:

Es begab sich aber nach etlichen tagen | das || Kain dem HERREN
opffer bracht von || den fruchten des vâlds. Und Habel bracht ||
auch von den erstlingen der schaaff und von || irer feyßte. Unnd
der HERr hielt sich zû Ha= || und zû seinen opfer. Aber zû Kain und
zû || seinen opfer hielt er sich nit. (Genesis 4. 3-5, *Zürcher Bibel*)

For the Reformation dramatist, intent on the dramatisation of biblical events, combined with contemporary theology and thought, in order to make the Word of God, and the ideas of the Reformers, as accessible to the people as possible,⁶ the theological problems, such as the emphasis placed by the Bible on the sacrifice as a prerequisite to obtain God's grace, were manifold. How were the people, then, at whom the drama was directed, to grasp the Protestant message? In the early Protestant drama, Cain was not purely a negative force, but also a mouthpiece. Indeed, in Ruff's *Adam und Heva*, he expresses doubt about the doctrine of Salvation and acts as the voice of a generation trying to come to terms with an often ambivalent new religion.

The Cain of the medieval mystery-plays, and, indeed, of the Protestant dramas of Hans Sachs and Valthen Voith,⁷ is the epitome of all evil, someone who is actively

⁶ & ⁷ Wildhaber, *Jacob Ruff*, pp. 82-84; Parente, *Religious Drama and the Humanist Tradition*, p. 61 and Derek van Abbé, *Drama in Renaissance Germany and Switzerland*, (Melbourne: University Press, 1961), p. 27. See also Joseph P. Gillet, "The German Dramatist of the Sixteenth Century and his Bible", *PMLA* 34 (1919), 471, Scribner, *The German Reformation*, pp. 19-22, Senger, *Leonhard Culmann: A Literary Biography and an Edition of Five Plays*, p. 172 and, finally, Auguste Brieger, *Kain und Abel in der deutschen Dichtung*, p. 19.

⁸ See Woolf, *The English Mystery Plays*, pp. 126-131 for the Fall of Cain; Valten Voith, *Ein schön Lieblich Spiel* and Hans Sachs, *Die ungleichen kinder Eve*.

incited to envy, greed and murder by the devil and who embraces all of these evils wholeheartedly. Voith paints a particularly vivid picture of Cain who says himself that his heart is "mit hessigem neydigen schmerz Erfült, das es gleich ubergeht" (p. 82, 8-9), rendering him easy prey for Satan who then persuades Cain to the fratricide. Indeed, for Voith, Cain is portrayed initially as the spoiled, elder son, beloved by his parents, but who feels nothing for them and their teachings on the imminent birth of Christ.⁸ Indeed, Voith's Cain believes he "muss auff ein anders dencken":

Das ich ererb auff diser erdt || Mein narung und das
ich auch werdt || Ein ackerman zu diser frist || Und
nere mich mit trug und list, || Das ich behalt die
uberhandt || Vor mein brüdern auff dem landt.
(p. 246, 952-58)

Satan, who is listening to all of this, believes Cain to be "ein rechter gesel, || Der wert mir gudt nab inn die hel" (p. 246, 959-60). Significantly, the emphasis placed on the last two lines of Cain's speech, namely his endeavour toward retaining dominion over his brother, highlights the rivalry between them. This has its source in the medieval commentaries on Genesis and is depicted in the medieval mystery-plays as well as by Sachs and Ruff.⁹ Indeed, after Ruff's Abel implores his brother to have patience and offer a sacrifice unto God as they have been taught, Cain informs him:

⁸ Voith, *Ein schön Lieblich Spiel*, pp. 245-246, 899-951. There is a similar situation depicted in medieval drama, in particular in the *Ludus Coventriae*. Woolf, *The English Mystery Plays*, p. 126.

⁹ James Dean, "The World Grown Old and Genesis in Middle English Historical Writings", 554; Woolf, *The English Mystery Plays*, p. 126.

Von dir on bherrschet wil ich sin
 Drumb laß grad ab vom meistren din (2016-17)

Indeed, Ruff chooses to portray the relationship between Cain and Abel as one of sibling rivalry, while, in one of his versions of the story, Sachs' Cain is also shown to be badly behaved and impertinent; even an imminent visit by God is not enough to compel Cain to obey his parents and to come home and be bathed in time. Indeed, he would prefer to play and hunt "mit den bösen buben" than obey his parents:

Ich wolt, das offer, predig und bet || Nie werd erdacht,
 wann ich wolt spet || Viel lieber fuchs und hasen jagen, ||
 Denn hören viel vom glauben sagen.¹⁰

In fact, before either of the brothers makes his sacrifice, Cain also voices his envy of the *grossen bracht* God shows toward Abel, and of how he does not want to be *undter den füssen* of his brother (p. 81, 32). Like Voith's Cain, the Cain of Sachs' drama is incited to murder his brother by Satan, because, as both of them stress, he may be the *erst-geboren*, but the pious Abel is more beloved by their parents, and in order for Cain to retain the prime position in his parents' hearts, Abel must die.¹¹

What Voith and Sachs, like the dramatists of the medieval English mystery-plays, for example, make explicit and thereby tangible to the spectator or reader through

¹⁰ Sachs, *Die ungleichen kinder Eve*, pp. 62 and 63, 1 and 27-30.

¹¹ Sachs, *Die ungleichen kinder Eve*, p. 82, 1-5; Voith, *Ein schön Lieblich Spiel*, pp. 251-252, 1105-1121.

Lucifer's (or Satan's) presence on stage,¹² is only implicit in the words and actions of Ruff's Cain. Again, the explicit presence of the devil has been depicted elsewhere in the drama, such as in the scenes involving the diabolical council and their plot to bring down Adam, Eve and the entire creation, and in their presence on stage on the second day of the drama, where they wreak their revenge and, indeed, their havoc. Also with regard to the devils, the Cain and Abel scenes are, incidentally, echoed on a much larger scale on the second day of the play. For the faith and belief in God expressed by Abel and, also, his admonition of Cain's behaviour, are both magnified and underscored by the god-fearing Sethites, of whom Henoah and Noah are sent, by God, to warn an entire generation of Cainites to abstain from their devilish, sinful ways. Additionally, because of the interference by the diabolical council, which incites the children of God to mix with the daughters of men (Genesis 6. 1-2, although the devil is not mentioned, here), Cain's sinful nature reaches proportions of great magnitude amongst the Cainites, and Ruff, with an eye to the Protestant view of sinful humanity and to his audience, reveals, at the end of his play, the dire consequences of immoral behaviour; punishment by God and the Flood.

Sola scriptura? Ruff's portrayal of Cain and Abel is closer, in some respect, to the Scriptures than to any of the medieval and other Protestant plays, even though it expands the sixteen verses of Genesis 4. 1-16 to around twenty-five pages of text, and, elsewhere, includes the apocryphal figures of Calmana and Delbora as the wives of Cain and Abel respectively. Incidentally, there is no mention of any marriages in

¹² Parente, *Religious Drama and the Humanist Tradition*, p.81; see also Könniker *Von des Herren Weingarten*, p. 338; Russell, *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages*, especially p. 131; Bekker, *The Lucifer*, pp. 1-15 (for the Lucifer figure in medieval drama); Roos, *The Devil in 16th Century German Literature*, pp. 7-12 and Woolf, *The English Mystery Plays*, pp. 105-118.

either the Protestant plays of Sachs and Voith or the medieval mystery-plays, although Calmana and Delbora appear in the medieval *Mistère du viel Testament* and are mentioned as being the wives of Cain and Abel respectively in the *Polychronicon* of Ranulph Higden.¹³ Ruff does, however, justify their presence in the drama by having Adam perform a formal marriage ceremony between each couple, while the ceremony itself raises a number of points about the relationship between the brothers and about their characters. In the marriage ceremony, though, Adam's words echo Genesis 2. 18:¹⁴

Es ist nit güt sprach Gottes mund
 Das weder tag zyt noch kein stund
 Der mensch alleinig blybe nit
 Drumb gib ich üch zfüsamem hüt (1903-6)

Here we understand that Cain and Abel have grown up, and, in accordance with the reformed Protestant doctrine on marriage, the couples are joined in the eyes of God. Indeed, the marriages may in fact be representative of the *Zürcher Ehegericht* introduced into Zurich in 1525 as a means of ensuring chastity among the town's citizens and of monitoring the behaviour of married couples. So powerful was this element of *God's law* on earth, that the court could even excommunicate those found

13 *Mistère du viel Testament*, ed. G. Rothschild, I, 75-113; Babington, *Polychronicon*, I, 221. Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, which was referred to widely throughout the Middle Ages, mentions Calmana and Delbora: Murdoch, "Jacob Ruf's *Adam und Heva*", 118, and Calmana also appears as the wife of Cain in the later Cornish creation play, but not until after the fratricide: William Jordan, *Gwryans an Bys*, p. 98.

23 "Es ist nit kommlich | das der mensch allein sey. Ich wil im ein gehilffen machen | der im zü nächst bey= || stande". *Zürcher Bibel*.

guilty of adultery.¹⁵ In the light of the new reforms, therefore, Ruff is perhaps keen to emphasise the necessity of legal marriage amongst his audience and, indeed, his readers; for this is one, very important aspect of divine law on earth, too. Most importantly, however, the marriage scenes serve to underscore the differences between the brothers. For the previous citation applies to Abel and Delbora alone, and the latter *knüwend nider* ([E4v]) before Adam, whereas Cain and Calmana simply join hands (1881-82). This is echoed by the scene in which Cain and Abel offer their sacrifices to God. For while the stage directions indicate the different ways in which they make their sacrifices, Cain with contempt and Abel with due reverence (E6r), the speeches following each stage direction differ in length and content. Cain's speech is short and consists, surprisingly, of protevangelical comments:

O Gott das opffer bringen ich...
 O Herr biß yndenckt dinr zûsag
 Die du uns allen hast versprochen
 Der Schlangen werd der kopff zerbrochen
 Durch dinen fûrgeliebten somen
 Den solt uns schicken bald lon kommen
 O Herr von mir dem armen man
 An diser gaab vergût solt han (1987-96)

Again, Cain reflects the poor farmer of the medieval mystery-plays, appealing to God to accept his gift as though it were all he could afford.¹⁶ Cain's true contempt of the sacrifice and of God are revealed subtly and his evangelism is shown, therefore, to

¹⁵ Bromiley, *Zwingli and Bullinger*, p. 112; Cameron, *The European Reformation*, p. 260, and Mackenny, *Sixteenth Century Europe: Expansion and Conflict*, pp. 146-47.

¹⁶ Woolf, *The English Mystery Plays*, p. 127.

be essentially hollow. Abel's words are, on the other hand, prayer-like,¹⁷ insofar as he praises God, repeatedly asks for forgiveness for all their sins and states that he is offering the sacrifice:

Mit waarem glouben und vertrüwen
Allein ich darumb vor dir knüwen (2014-15)

The arrogant Cain is, thereby, contrasted with the humble Abel, just as the marriage ceremonies again highlight, at this early stage, the contrast between Cain and Calmana, who, after the fratricide, become the worldly, godless founders of the city of Enoch (Genesis 4. 17, although Genesis only mentions Cain's wife), and the god-fearing, humble Abel and Delbora, whose marriage ceremony is reminiscent of the creation of Eve.

Having been formally married to their sisters by Adam, Cain and Abel are sent off to work the land with the order to live a righteous life and to offer sacrifices to God, to which Cain readily agrees. It is after this, in the first dialogue between the brothers, that the rivalry between them, and indeed, Cain's true nature, is revealed. While Ruff appears to portray Cain within a realistic and ordered family life, so that he must, necessarily, adhere to his father's orders and offer a sacrifice unto God, Ruff adheres, essentially, to the scriptural narrative, for Cain's true disposition is only revealed through the sacrifice. What is most interesting about Cain is, however, that, in line with both the medieval and Reformation dramatists,¹⁸ Ruff is not intent

¹⁷ For Cain's speech, see Ruff, *Adam und Heva*, [E6r], 2023-32; for Abel, see also [E6r] and [E6v], 2033-64.

¹⁸ Wildhaber, *Jacob Ruf*, pp. 82-83.

on pursuing the development of Cain's character, from obedient and dutiful *shining son* of the *Adambooks* at the start of the Cain and Abel narrative, to sinner and murderer at the end.¹⁹ There is, therefore, no gradual awareness on our part of any perceptible change in his behaviour, and this only becomes apparent in the confrontation between the brothers. Interestingly, as in the Sachs play, and the medieval mystery plays, it is Abel's piety and apparent *mastery* over his older brother which provokes Cain's anger.²⁰ He informs Cain immediately that they must work the land willingly "Damit wir von der üppigkeit || Uns ziehind ab der fulkeit" (1919-20), which also echoes Zwingli, who believed that man had to keep active on earth

¹⁹ In contrast to the other Reformation dramas, as well as most of the medieval dramas, two other authors from the Middle Ages and one from the sixteenth century are worth noting for the way in which they, like Ruff, choose to portray Cain as the once dutiful son who ultimately opposes God's will when it comes to making the sacrifice; Deimling, *The Chester Plays*, p.40, 513-20; Norris, *Ancient Cornish Drama*, pp. 35-41, 443-540; Hooper, *Gwryans an Bys: A Medieval Cornish Drama*, pp. 80-86. See especially p. 80: "Adam, my beloved father, || I will do without fail || thy bidding entirely. || It is most necessary to labour || and till in the world here || to get food for ourselves". This is reminiscent of Ruff's Cain: "Min lieber vatter yetz wil ich || Dir ghorsammen ergeben mich || Die est und studen wil ich finden || Zur hütten dir und allen kinden || Nit mer on sorg gar solt du syn || Zur arbeit ich glütwillig bin", Ruff, *Adam und Heva*, [E2r], 1809-14. In Charles' "The Books of Adam and Eve", *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament. Volume II. Pseudepigrapha*, p. 138, Eve has a dream in which Cain, having been delivered safely after her terrible time in the wilderness, drinks Abel's blood. The first point is that this is in contrast to the account given of Cain's birth: "And she bore a son and he was shining, and at once the babe rose up and ran and bore a blade of grass in his hands, and gave it to his mother, and his name was called Cain". However, unlike the Pseudepigrapha, in which Adam decides to separate his sons in order to prevent the dream being fulfilled, pp.138-9, Ruff adheres to the Bible, for the positions of Cain and Abel as *ackerman und schäfer* respectively, are determined by Adam at the birth of his sons: [D8r], 1698-9 and [E1r], 1755-6.

²⁰ "Wenn er dir den sträflich zu-redt || Und auß dir treybet seinen spot, || So schlag su ihn ein mal zu tod! || So kumbst du sein mit ehren ab". Sachs, *Die ungleichen kinder Eve*, p. 82, 11-14. For a similar situation in one of the English mystery-plays, see for example, Cawley, *The Wakefield Pageants in the Towneley Cycle*, ed, A.C. Cawley, and England, *The Towneley Plays*, p. 12, 85-90 respectively: "How long wilt thou me appech || With thi sermonyng || Euen ther the good wife strokid the hay... || With thi vayn carping".

in order to remain faithful and righteous, a point to which I shall return later with regard to the actual fratricide itself, while Abel's stress on the necessity of the sacrifice in order to please God elicits a somewhat medieval argument from Cain:

So wyt wil ich nit arguwieren
 On kosten kan ich dwyß wol füren
 Die besten garb ich opfferen nit
 Dem Herren weder morn noch hütt
 So es durchs fhür verzert müß werden
 Was nützt es Gott sos müß verdärben (1981-86)

Here, Ruff's Cain reflects the medieval commentaries and mystery-plays, and he may also be compared to the figure of Cain in the Sachs play, who intends to offer God "ein grosse garben stro".²¹ In the medieval *Ancient Cornish Drama* and the sixteenth century Cornish creation drama *Gwryans an Bys*, as well as the medieval English mystery-plays, Cain's greed and unwillingness to part with his corn at any "cost to himself" is depicted through the tithe, which helped facilitate understanding of the burnt offering, through contemporary means, among the people.²² Voith's Cain, in contrast to the other plays of the Middle Ages and the Reformation, intends to offer a proper sacrifice of his fruits "Damit [er] nicht so drath || Gottes vorgesse gantz und gar", and, as the elder son, gain esteem by doing so in the eyes of his parents and God:

²¹ Dean, "The World Grown Old", p. 554; Woolf, p. 126 and Sachs, *Die ungeleichen kinder Eve*, p. 63, 11.

²² Like Ruff, the author of the *Ancient Cornish Drama* has Cain observe that it is "a great folly || ...to go burn a thing || Which a man can live upon. || What worship is it to God || That the tythe be burnt to coal || ashes on the stones?" He also reflects the English mystery-plays insofar as Cain does not intend to offer all of his tithe, but resolves to keep part of it for himself, pp. 37 and 39, 473-8 and 500-8. Incidentally, the Cain of *Gwryans an Bys* echoes the somewhat contemptuous figure of Cain in the Sachs' play, for, in a rather arrogant manner, he plans to "gather spines and thorns and dry cowdung, to burn without scruple", p. 82, 1089-90.

Desgleich ich hab beim vater rhum
 Das ich auch bin das liebste kindt...
 Gott werdt mein werck und opffer schon
 Derhalb ansehen im höchsten tron.
 (pp. 248-9, 1018-32)

The underlying message of these plays is that Cain's disposition, namely the manner in which or, indeed, *Gemüt* with which he offers his sacrifice, is equally as important as the kind of sacrifice made.²³ The authors of the medieval mystery and Protestant plays seek to compare Cain's profanity with Abel's piety, and in the latter plays, in particular, the figure of Abel assumes the more symbolic role of the Abel of the medieval *Biblia pauperum* and iconography of the sixteenth century, in which the death of Abel prefigures the crucifixion.²⁴ In these works, the Abel as a type of Christ imagery is depicted along the lines of the *pietà*, as the body of Abel is shown draped across Eve's lap, thereby representing the Virgin and Christ. As Rosemary Woolf has noted, while Adam and Eve may not return to their original state after the fall, their sins are redeemed somewhat through the birth of Abel and Eve's lament of his subsequent death,²⁵ and, similarly, in the *Adam und Heva*, after the births of Delbora and Abel, Adam tells Eve, "Drumb liebe frow biß wol getröst || Gott hat dich aber wol erlößt" (1727-28), to which Eve replies:

²³ Murdoch and Jillings, *Martin Luther: Selections*, p. 7; Courvoisier, *Zwingli*, p. 82; to covet something was, for Zwingli, to commit one of the greatest sins in God's eyes.

²⁴ Woolf, p. 126; M.R. James, "Pictor in Carmine", *Archaeologia*, 94 (1951), 141-66, especially 150; Brian Young's, *The Villein's Bible*, pp. 24-29, is interesting for its discussion of the presentation of Cain in the form of Romanesque sculpture.

²⁵ Woolf, *The English Mystery Plays*, p. 126. It must also be noted that in line with the soteriological doctrine of the Reformation, Ruff's emphasis on God's forgiveness and promise of salvation throughout the *Adam und Heva* shows Adam and Eve to be redeemed anyway through the very fact that God does not allow them to perish after the fall.

Gott dem Herren danck ich sag
 Der mich erlöbt hat von dem last
 Zum anderen mal min lieber mann (1729-31)

The term *erlöbt*, deep-rooted in evangelical dogma, both underscores the soteriological message of the play as well as the Abel as Christ typology, for Adam uses it with regard to the births of Abel and Delbora alone. In this instance, however, *Zum anderen mal* obviously refers to Cain's birth as well. Again, as there is no indication at the start of Ruff's Cain and Abel narrative that Cain will become the wicked perpetrator of fratricide, then at this point Adam and Eve have no reason to refer negatively to Cain's birth. Again, this is underlined in the scenes following the fratricide, when Cain and Calmana are sent into exile by God, and Eve laments Abel's death²⁶ and wonders at the sudden disappearance of her children, who left without bidding their parents farewell or explaining Abel's murder:

Eins wundert mich das ligt mir an
 Wie hat es können möglich syn
 Das unser erster sun Kain
 Hat dörrffen sinn brüder Habel
 Zü tod erschlahen mit fräfel...
 Ouch daß in eim lyb warend glâgen
 Hetts fründtlich gmacht und nit verwâgen...
 Das ander drumb ich wunder han
 Das Kain unds wyb sind darvon...
 Wie hands nun künden on ursach
 Uns eltren lan | glouffen ir straassen (2487-2506)

There are two points, here, which are worth noting: firstly, Ruff's eminent position

²⁶ Here, again, Ruff's Eve echoes both the drama and *Biblia pauperum* of the Middle Ages and medieval and sixteenth-century iconography, as her mourning of Abel's death prefigures the Virgin's lament at the Crucifixion: Woolf, *The English Mystery Plays*, p.126.

in Zurich as the town surgeon (gynaecologist)²⁷ is perhaps reflected in the unusual, within the long tradition of Genesis drama, and philosophical question of how children, borne by the same mother, can assume such different characters. Secondly, after the births of their children, Adam and Eve stress the necessity of educating Cain and Abel "in frommkeit und gerechtem läben" (1669) so that God may grant them more children, and as soon as Cain and Abel have grown up, they shall be taught to work the land in accordance with God's command. This illustrates, above all, the function of sixteenth-century drama as a means of educating the reader or spectator, and most importantly, children, who must be shown how to behave in a righteous manner.²⁸ Ruff, then, places Eve's dismay at Cain's lack of discipline and rudeness toward his parents firmly within the context of the Reformation, and reveals, in contrast to the other Protestant dramatists,²⁹ that the good education learnt by the child, inherent in the virtuous Abel and also in Cain at the beginning of the narrative, counts for nothing as an adult, when man may make a conscious decision to do evil. This is precisely what happens with Cain and serves to underscore his wickedness. In addition, his role as the sceptic places some doubt upon Protestant doctrine in a much more fundamental way.

Abel the believer, and Cain, the bitter youth, jealous of his devout brother, avaricious and devoid of spirituality, are contrasted by both Protestant and medieval dramatist alike to vindicate, as it were, God's rejection of Cain's offering and His acceptance

²⁷ Wildhaber, *Jacob Ruff*, p. 7; Phillips, *Jacob Ruefs Joseph*, p. 4.

²⁸ Parente, *The Religious Drama and the Humanist Tradition*, pp. 87-8 and Bromiley, *Zwingli and Bullinger*, pp. 102-118.

²⁹ Parente, *Religious Drama and the Humanist Stage*, p. 88.

of Abel's. While the figure of Cain in the *Adam und Heva* also embodies these evils, the sacrifice leads him to express doubt about the very concept of doing good works in order to gain Salvation, particularly in a world pre-ordained by God:³⁰

Wol Gott den faal und unser sünd
 Die von den eltren bschâhen sind
 Durch sin zûsag kan legen hin
 Dann niemant im mag reden dryn
 On opffer kan er die verzyhen
 Kein garben korn lat er im lyhen (1951-56)

Here, Cain alludes to Reformation doctrine concerning original sin and the fact that God alone decides whom He will save, because man is not capable of working his own Salvation. Indeed, God will not be persuaded by good works, such as the sacrificing of corn which Cain claims that he himself needs (1958) and which makes absolutely no difference to God anyway. This then leads us to question Ruff's presentation of the sacrifice on the second day of the drama, especially as it does not follow Protestant thought, in the Lutheran sense, that is. This shall be discussed further in the chapter on *Mankind and the Flood*, but, at this point in the drama, Cain's intent to offer the worst of his crops, an essentially medieval idea and also a sign of his inherently immoral nature, is, however, also placed by Ruff within the framework of the Reformation:

Was unnütz ist und nit bim besten
 Wil ich opfferen wenn ich trôschen...
 Gott ernstlich demnach rûffen an
 Das er der vergût wel han
 Gott weißt ouch wâr mir dgarben gyt

³⁰ Auguste Brieger offers the more simplistic view that Cain places "mit diesem Opferwerck ohne den Glauben und die opfernde Tat...menschliches Tun über den Glauben an den Allmächtigen", *Kain und Abel in der deutschen Dichtung*, p. 20.

Allein min grosse übelzyt (1959-66)

Indeed, while Cain and Abel embody the principles of virtue and sin, and are alternately held up as examples of such, Ruff's Cain is also no longer the purely evil figure whose wicked murder of Abel, as Wildhaber notes, is responsible for all the evils in the world.³¹ He has become, instead, the mouthpiece for Reformation doctrine. Ruff's Cain does believe in God, but, again, he stresses the futility, as far as Salvation is concerned, of doing good works and of one's own ability to gain Salvation. He compares the sacrifice to original sin, which God alone can decide to accept or forgive, and he views the burnt offering as a kind of bribery into which God will not be drawn. Interestingly, Cain also foretells his own downfall and trusts God implicitly in this, thereby underscoring the solafidianism of the play, albeit somewhat ironically. For his realisation that doing works of any kind are superfluous to one's existence ought, therefore, to have led to that very Salvation. In accordance with the tenet *sola scriptura*, however, Cain is subsequently shown, throughout the rest of the Cain and Abel narrative, to prove his affinity with the devil.

Another question which must be addressed with regard both to the sacrifice and the fratricide is that of active and passive righteousness. In the plays of Sachs and Voith, Abel is, predominantly, a passive character, who consistently expounds Protestant doctrine, but does not actually have much of a role within the drama itself, although, again, this is biblical. For Abel is only mentioned briefly in the scriptures, whereas the Bible develops the story of Cain and his descendants in order to reveal how sin and evil progressed swiftly throughout the generations and why they had to be destroyed. Ruff,

³¹ Wildhaber, *Jacob Ruff*, p. 83.

of course, expands this part of scriptural narrative in the second day of the play, to set up a contrast between the good, passive generations (the Sethites) and the wicked, worldly generations (the Cainites) and depicts their eventual demise in the Flood. Most importantly, Ruff seeks through the medium of drama, as Valthen Voith does,³² to persuade his audience to a more righteous way of living, but unlike Voith, he is, as Auguste Brieger states, *der Theatrikaler*, who is intent on entertaining his audience and presenting Reformation doctrine in a more easily accessible manner, rather than simply preaching it. Therefore, while Cain may be seen to be the active participant in the unfolding of the drama, for he is the one who refutes God's command, plots the fratricide and actually deals his brother three death blows with a hoe,³³ Abel, too, consistently voices passive righteousness and protevangelical verse, although the sentiment behind his words is what matters to the Protestant, not the actual works themselves. For instance, when Abel first asks his brother to offer a sacrifice, he stresses that the offering Cain shall make to God is "für mich und dich" (1927). He is not self-seeking, but rather, his hope for Salvation encompasses his entire family, in the true communal spirit of the Reformation. At the same time, Abel is depicted fulfilling his pre-ordained role as a shepherd, for when Cain approaches his brother to slay him, the latter is tending his flock. Indeed, Abel, who is shown throughout the Cain and Abel

³² Parente, *Religious Drama and the Humanist Tradition*, pp. 81-2; Brieger, *Kain und Abel in der deutschen Dichtung*, p. 18-19.

³³ Ruff, *Adam und Heva*, [F3r]. While Ruff's depiction of the fratricide is more realistic, as Cain, as it were, uses the tools of his trade to kill Abel, in *Die ungleichen kinder Eve*, Cain beats Abel to death, p. 83, having been incited to do so by Satan, while in *Ein schön Lieblich Spiel*, Voith does not actually depict the fratricide, but has Abel beg God for mercy. Again, Cain is persuaded to murder his brother by the devil, pp. 251-2, 1117-30, in order to remain the most beloved child. The medieval Cornish drama resembles Sachs: Norris, *The Ancient Cornish Drama*, I, 41, while in *Gwryans an Bys*, p. 84, Abel is killed with a jawbone, as it is also stated in the *Cursor Mundi*, I, ed. Richard Morris, pp. 70-1, 1073.

narrative to avoid angering his brother, innocently incurs Cain's wrath by asking him what he has been doing, to which Cain responds angrily:

Was gats dich an ich han nit gschlaaffen
 Müst du mich allweg fragen straaffen
 Müß ich dir allzyt rechnung geben
 Was ich thû ald wie ich lâben (2250-53)

Here, Ruff develops the idea of Genesis 4. 9, "sol ich meines brüders hûter sein?", but he turns the scriptural narrative around, so that Cain is, again, annoyed at the implication that his brother is trying to win dominion over him. However, the suggestion implicit in Abel's question is that Cain has succumbed to *fulkeit*, which, again, raises a number of points with regard to solafidianism and active and passive righteousness; Abel's character is balanced, for his words equal his actions and a truly good disposition engenders good works anyway. This is all the more significant if we consider that in the scene in which Abel offers his sacrifice, for just as he recognises that Cain's heart is wicked, he knows Abel's *hertz und gmlt* and tells him:

Nit lenger wirst uff erden lâben
 Dir min verheissung wil ich gâben...
 Darumb gang hin und halt dich recht (2036-40)

Interestingly, Abel is promised Salvation ostensibly by doing a good work, but Ruff is careful to stress that his *hertz und gmlt* are just as important as the sacrifice offered. Also, in accordance with the Bible, Abel must be seen to receive God's *promise* at this point, for as God informs him, he is about to die. His piety is then strengthened through the fact that even with the knowledge of his imminent death, he continues to fulfil his

task as a shepherd.

After the rejection of his sacrifice, Cain, on the other hand, feels himself to have been left to the mercy of the devil:

Muß ich alleining sTüfels syn
So nimm der selb garb sopffer hin (2042-43)

He makes no pretence at Protestant dogma, now, for he becomes, as Auguste Brieger notes, "das Teufelskind, [der] Samen der Schlangen selbst",³⁴ and throws his worthless offering over the bridge in a fit of anger and jealousy.³⁵ Indeed, God tells Cain "Ist dir verkeert din gstalt gsicht || Wår hat dich greitzt zû der unmaß?" (2059-60), thereby linking him inexorably with the devils, whose appearance was changed by their fall from grace at the beginning of the drama. Cain's *üppigkeit*, then, is matched by the former *üppigkeit* of the devils, under whose influence Cain must have fallen. Indeed, his kinship to the devil is further underscored by his actual countenance, which in accordance with Genesis 4. 6 *verfiel*,³⁶ when God rejected his sacrifice and accepted Abel's. He becomes an active participant in sin and plans to revenge himself on his

³⁴ Brieger, *Kain und Abel in der deutschen Dichtung*, p. 20.

³⁵ Ruff, *Adam und Heva*, [E7r], 2075. With regard to the bridge, Ruff adds a nice contemporary touch, for presumably the stage direction refers to the bridge near the Münsterhof, where the play was performed, [E7r]; see also Murdoch, "Jacob Ruf's *Adam und Heva*", 118, noting how Ruff underlines the direct influence of the words and actions of the biblical characters on the audience, so that they could actually see and experience, first hand, Cain's innate wickedness and actions, particularly in a contemporary setting, and subsequently be shown, through Abel, the true path to salvation.

³⁶ Ruff, *Adam und Heva*, [E7r]. The stage direction is based on Genesis 4. 6 and reads: "*Do ergrimmet Kain vast | und || sin ansicht verfiel im | und sprach*".

brother. Abel's inquiry as to what he has been doing proves cataclysmic, for Cain has, in fact, not been working, but planning to creep up on Abel "mit güter red und nit mit flüchen" (2243) and await an opportunity to slay him. Within the greater context of the *Adam und Heva*, this functions on two different levels; first, throughout the Cain and Abel narrative we are made aware of Abel's fear of Cain. For after the sacrifice, he informs his parents of God's rejection of Cain's offering of the worst of his corn, and, in contrast, His acceptance of Abel's sacrifice, and how he, Abel, is therefore believed by Cain to covet the role of the first-born son. In actual fact, Abel "...weiß wol || Der jung dem eltern volgen sol" (2113-14), and Adam and Eve resolve to watch over the brothers and keep them apart, lest Cain act vengefully toward his brother.

Before the fratricide, then, Cain addresses Abel in a friendly, brotherly manner, so as not to frighten him off. Secondly, and most significantly, Ruff also makes a deliberate analogy to Cain and the serpent; in the temptation scene in the *Adam und Heva*, Eve is finally persuaded to eat the fruit by the serpent's "klügen worten" (1471), words calculated not to frighten her away. Essentially, Cain and the serpent perform the same function, and their actions derive from similar motives. For the serpent brings about the fall of man, because the fallen angels, or diabolical council, deprived of the richness of heaven, feel themselves to have been usurped by man. Similarly, Cain's fratricide and subsequent exile, also through greed and envy, contribute to the ultimate downfall of the creation in the Flood.³⁷ Also, the devil motif is taken up in the second part of the *Adam und Heva*, when Adam informs his descendants that they must strive not to become like the wicked and worldly Cainites, who are ruled by his first-born son, of

³⁷ Dean, "The World Grown Old", p. 554.

whom Adam states "Der Tüfel eim sin hertz verwirrt" (2519). Throughout the Cain and Abel narrative, Cain is cast as the doubter or interlocutor of the Reformation dialogue, expressing his scepticism with regard to solafidianism, or perhaps even the uncertainty of men trying to understand a new doctrine which appears to be at odds with the Bible. The Protestant precept of *sola scriptura* decrees, however, that Cain committed one of the greatest sins in killing his brother, and, ultimately, Ruff goes back to the Middle Ages and the devil to show the tangible presence of evil on stage. Finally, perhaps Cain is the Lutheran sinner, whose apparent good works, originating in a sinful heart, merely perpetuate the sin. Indeed, paradoxically, Ruff deviates from *sola scriptura* once more, and allows Reformation doctrine to be expressed by a non-biblical character, Calmana, whose words, "Villicht ists im glych anerboren" (2195), underscore the fact that original sin, inherent in everyone, may be forgiven through Christ and through God's grace alone.

MANKIND AND THE FLOOD

Wie denn geschrieben stehet | Da ist nicht der gerecht sey | auch nicht einer | da ist nicht der verstendig sey | da ist nicht | der nach Gott frage. Sie sind alle abgewichen | vnd alle sampt vntüchtig worden | Da ist nicht der gutes thu | auch nicht einer. Jr Schlund ist ein offen grab | mit jren Zungen handeln sie trüglich | Otterngift ist vnter jren Lippen. Jr mund ist vol fluchens vnd bitterkeit | Jr füsse sind eilend blut zuergiessen. In jren wegen ist eitel vnfal vnt hertzleid | vnd den weg des Friedes wissen sie nicht | Es ist keine furcht Gottes fur jren augen.
(*Rom.* 3. 10-18, Luther)

In the Epistle to the Romans, Paul asserts that every man, Jew and Gentile, is a sinner and falls short of God's glory, yet all those who, despite their sinning, believe, are shown God's mercy: "Vnd werden on verdienst gerecht aus seiner gnade | durch die erlösung | so durch Christo Jhesu geschehen ist" (*Rom.* 3. 24). The crux of the argument, that man had to believe in order to be shown Redemption, proved problematical for the reformers, however. Luther and Zwingli provided different interpretations of *sola fide* and *sola gratia*; Luther believed, for instance, that God bestowed His grace freely without man's nature ever changing or his basic predilection for sin ever diminishing; it was the belief of the individual in God which was important and enabled the sinner to be saved. Zwingli, on the other hand, believed both in a strict moral code for all believers and in the idea of predestination,

a subject which Luther avoided¹ and which stressed that only a chosen few would, in the end, be saved. He based his belief in the notion that all men had a tendency toward virtue which came from the *highest good*, God Himself, and that this goodness ensured man's freedom from having to sin. God's goodness, however, might also be recognised through sinful behaviour, because "Das Gesetz ist geistig, [und] durch das Gesetz kommt Erkenntnis der Sünde". The real sinners, though, were those who chose to disobey God's law and to ignore His Word.²

Moral depravity, as it is expressed by Paul and condemned altogether by the reformers, is brought to life on the second day of the *Adam und Heva* in which the wicked generations indulge in every known sin and, yet, in line with Zwinglian doctrine, retain the possibility of being shown mercy by God. At the same time, Ruff reveals how the god-fearing Sethites, in contrast, offer up sacrifices to God as an expression both of their righteousness and of their hope and faith in His grace and in His promise of Salvation through Christ. Finally, Ruff depicts Enoch (*Henoch* in the play) and Noah as prophets of God who are sent to the City of Enoch (*Hanoch*) three times in order to warn the Cainites to abstain from sin or to face deadly punishment by God. In the end, Enoch recoils from the evils he has witnessed on

¹ Murdoch and Jillings, *Martin Luther: Selections*, p. 7. Calvin takes the question of predestination much further than either Zwingli or Luther later on in the Reformation, suggesting that God would redeem only an exclusive community: Mackenny, *Sixteenth Century Europe: Expansion and Conflict*, p. 154 and Daniel Lord Smail, "Predestination and the Ethos of Disinheritance in Sixteenth Century Calvinist Theater", 21-40.

² Here, Zwingli explains his belief in the *highest good*, quoting from Romans 7. 14 and 3. 20: "Von der göttlichen Vorsehung", pp. 772-73 and p. 175: Koenigsberger, Mosse and Bowler, *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 185-87; Bromiley, *Zwingli and Bullinger*, pp. 102-113 and Cameron, *The European Reformation*, pp. 113-17. Courvoisier adds that not believing in God's Word is the worst sin imaginable: *Zwingli*, pp. 36-7.

earth and is brought unto God, and, later on, Noah and his kin are elected to be saved while mankind, in the form of the non-biblical characters of Swiss drama and of everyday life in the sixteenth century, perishes in the Flood.

Indeed, while these non-biblical characters are depicted, in line with Matthew 24. 38-39, feasting and revelling at the end of the drama and thereby present the audience with an image of itself and of its behaviour on stage in order to, perhaps, disseminate a new, profoundly moral and often difficult message through the interaction of character and audience, the second day of the *Adam und Heva* is also largely biblical; based on Genesis 4. 16, the dramatic action begins with Cains's exile to the land of Nod and ends with Genesis 7. 9, when Noah and his kin enter the ark in order to escape the Flood. The most interesting scenes, in terms both of dramaturgy and of explanation, are those involving the wicked generations, as they make their sinful intentions clear from the beginning, while the Sethites, like Adam and Eve before them, reiterate protevangelical verse and pray continually for Salvation. Initially, Ruff introduces the descendants of Cain as they appear in Genesis 4. 17-22 of the Zurich Bible; Hanoch, Cain's son, after whom he names his city; Irad, Hanoch's son, Mahuiael, Irad's son, Methusael, Mahuiael's son, and Lamech, Methusael's son. Lamech has two wives, Ada and Zilla; with Ada, he has two sons, Jabal and Jubal, and with Zilla, one son, Tubalkain, and a daughter, Naema. Then, along the lines of Genesis 5. 1-32, Ruff presents the descendants of Adam, who become known, subsequently, as the Sethites; first, Adam and Eve are blessed with another child, Seth, who takes Abel's place. After Seth comes Enos, Seth's son, Kenan, Enos's son, Mahalaleel, Kenan's son, Jared, Mahalaleel's son. Henoch, Jared's son and the prophet of God, Mathusalah, Henoch's son, Lamech, Mathusalah's son, and Noah.

son of Lamech and also a prophet of God. In terms both of the Cainites and of the Sethites, Ruff expands the scriptural narrative to provide each of the sons with a wife, and, again, like the Reformation dialogues, each character presents his or her views in turn, just as the generations are presented in turn, too. Also, because the names of each of the generations, as they appear in the Bible, are similar, they can often be confusing; the name Lamech, for instance, appears twice, as separate descendants of both Adam and Cain. Since the Zurich Bible designates Lamech as Cainite and Lamech as a Sethite, Ruff does, too. Ruff does, however, differentiate between Hanoch, who appears in the Bible, again in the genealogies of Adam and Cain, and he perhaps takes his lead from the Bible and names him Henoch the Sethite.

The descendants of Adam and Cain, as they are listed in the Genesis narrative, and the enigmatic biblical passages concerning the lives of the descendants of Adam, have found some explanation in the works of Augustine, who categorised the world into six stages of decline, and on whose works many of Zwingli's beliefs were founded.³ On the first day of the *Adam und Heva*, Ruff presents us with the first two stages of the world's decline, which occurred with the expulsion of Adam and Eve and the fratricide committed by Cain. The third stage began, however, with Cain's expulsion to the land of Nod, and this is where Ruff chooses to begin the second day of his drama; the *junger knab* introduces Cain and his kin who enter the land of Nod, and Ruff, again, expands the scriptural narrative, which mentions only that Cain "beschlieff sein weyb | die ward || schwanger | und gebar den Hanoch" (Genesis 4. 17, *Zürcher Bibel*) to explain the presence of Calmana in her husband's exile.

³ Dean, "The World Grown Old", 548-555 and Cameron, *The European Reformation*, pp. 123-25. See also V.H.H. Green, *Renaissance and Reformation*. (London: Edward Arnold, 1952), p. 159.

Furthermore, the *junger knab*'s descriptions of Cain and his kin as "Kostlich bekleidt [und] darzû angsthafft" (2880-81) are emphasised throughout the scene which follows, and they are, perhaps, symbolic of one area, at least, in which the moral nature of the Cainites begins to decline immediately, as well as provide a reason for Cain's building of the City of Hanoah. Indeed, with regard to the Cainites' expensive clothes, in his treatise "Of the Upbringing and Education of Youth in Good Manners and Christian Discipline: An Admonition by Ulrich Zwingli" (1523), Zwingli lists the numerous ways in which young men might serve God; amongst such admonitions as remaining silent during periods of learning and speaking only when it is appropriate to do so (hence the obedient, young devils of the first day of the drama), and also pleasing God rather than men and not overindulging in wine and fine foods, Zwingli declares his abhorrence of those who attire themselves in fine apparel, for they are no more deserving of praise than the Pope's mules who carry his wealth in their saddlebags. In addition, they bring shame to the memory of Christ's birth and the poverty of his surroundings:

Those who make daily display of new clothes give sure evidence of an inconstant, or (if that is too strong) an effeminate or childish turn of mind. They are not Christians. For while they array themselves after this fashion they allow the destitute to perish with cold and hunger. So then the Christian must guard against excessive and wanton apparel as against any other form of evil.⁴

Outward shows of wealth are obviously sinful in the eyes of the reformer, because any man who is concerned with his outward appearance lacks the time for both God and his fellow men. Zwingli expresses more than just anti-Catholic polemic, here,

⁴ Bromiley, *Zwingli and Bullinger*, pp. 111-12.

as he seeks to encourage a Christian community of believers in which everyone is equal, worships together and looks after one another.⁵ Just how far the Sethites and the Cainites in the Ruff drama embrace or come into conflict with these principles, born of an understanding of God's law, remains, however, to be studied further.

At the beginning of the second day of the *Adam und Heva*, Cain echoes Lucifer in his lament over the punishment which has befallen him; he bewails his brother's death and the fact that he must live out his days in fear, with neither hope nor joy. In addition, despite the protective sign given him by God, which Cain acknowledges, he nonetheless fears God's anger and decides to build a city which might protect him *mit gwalt* (2900),⁶ and in which his children might choose to court whomsoever they desire:

Kein fröud ich find in minem läben
 Dann das dmir vil der kind hast geben
 Die wil ich lon einanderen finden
 Nach lust sy lassen zsamen fründen
 Gen inen mich also verpflichten
 Damit ich müg ein statt ufrichten (2894-2899)

A number of points need to be raised in connection with this, though, Ruff again alludes to Zwinglian doctrine in his treatment of the Genesis material. The first point is that, just as Lucifer was banished to hell and spared death, Cain fails to recognise God's grace in the giving of his protective mark when, because of the enormity of his

⁵ See also Courvoisier, *Zwingli*, p. 90 and Koenigsberger, Mosse and Bowler, *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, p. 184.

⁶ See Dean, "The World Grown Old", 556-57, in which the author discusses the building of the city of Enoch as it appears in Higden's *Polychronicon*, and, through him, Isidore.

sin, he might have expected a more severe and final punishment.⁷ Indeed, later on in the play, even the giants refer to God's ineffectual punishment of Cain and Lemech for their heinous crimes, which gives them the impetus to commit a few of their own. The second point is that, a little later on, Cain, like Adam before him, informs his kin that as he is cursed, they are cursed:

Der flûch allein gat nit über mich
 Besunder darzû über üch
 Damit wir wend uff erden blyben
 Handwerck künsten münd wir tryben (2960-63)

The city is, therefore, as much for their protection as for Cain's, and he further justifies the need to develop technical skills in order to help them to survive, and, interestingly, to protect them from the Sethites: "Damit wir von mins vatters kinden || On ire hilff ouch blyben künden" (2964-65).

Indeed, through Cain and his fear of his *vatters kinden*, Ruff also introduces the notion of warfare into the drama, a subject of some importance in sixteenth-century Switzerland since the country provided the papal armies with many of their mercenary soldiers. Cain's intention, however, is that his city shall protect him *mit gwalt*, something which is new within the context of the Genesis narrative, but which might have its roots in Zwinglian doctrine. Zwingli, the warrior-priest who died in the *Kappeler Schlachten* for the sake of Zurich and his Reformation, was also opposed to war and the use of weapons, especially when they were used to support

⁷ See also Mellinkoff, *The Mark of Cain*, p. 13, and pp. 14 to 21, in which the author discusses the question of Cain's repentance and mark and the problems they have posed for Christian exegetes from ancient times to the present day.

the rule of iniquitous princes or tyrants or for money. He abhorred, especially, the battles undertaken by Rome.⁸ While he did encourage citizens to unite in order to depose the tyrants who ruled them, especially since the presence of a tyrant in the land signified impiety among its people, he also decreed that weapons of war should be used only as a security measure and to keep the peace within a country.⁹

That Cain intends use his weapons as a security measure is true, but there is a much more sinister aspect to his reasoning than at first appears, which has already been prepared for earlier in the play:

Wie bald sich mert mins vatters gschlecht
 So müßt ich werden irer knecht
 Darumb ich mich und mine kind
 Wil fräfen machen listig gschwind
 Damit wir kündind uns vertrauwen
 Uff erd ein Statt wil ich hie buwen (2914-19)

Here, Cain's delusion centres on a situation which exists only in his mind, just as his earlier paranoia and envious attitude toward his brother resulted, tragically, in the fratricide. Indeed, Cain's worries at that time, that Abel was trying to gain mastery over him, find an echo in his present situation in which he believes that his father's kin will try to rule him and to take revenge for Abel's death (2928-85), especially when the Sethites grow larger and stronger. Cain's words are underlined later on in the scene by Methusael's wife, who refers to her *hüpscher kinden* (3183, and an

⁸ Elton, *Reformation Europe*, pp. 70-74. See also Mackenny, *Sixteenth Century Europe: Expansion and Conflict*, pp. 155-56, which also includes a discussion of the mercenary soldiers in papal armies.

⁹ Bromiley, *Zwingli and Bullinger*, p. 113; see also Courvoisier, *Zwingli*, pp. 84-5.

obvious precursor of Genesis 6. 2) and the fact that they will drive out "Adams gschlâcht [mit] gwerter hand" (3180-84). The irony is, of course, that the Cainites become the stronger and larger generation through their unlawful and lecherous behaviour. Additionally, like the diabolical council of the first day of the drama, who have no concept whatsoever of God and His will, the ultimate irony for the Cainites is that it is precisely their sinful behaviour which causes their downfall, and not the virtuous Sethites who would never advocate violence in any form, anyway.

Finally, Cain's statement about men and women from the younger generations being free to choose one another contradicts entirely the marriage edicts and guidelines concerning licentious behaviour laid down by Zwingli and the Zurich town council;

It is when the young man begins to fall in love that he must show true nobility of spirit...the young man must now apply all his forces in defence against senseless passion. That he should fall in love is inevitable. But let him be careful not to give way to despairing passion, but to single out as the object of his affection someone whose ways he can always bear with in lawful wedlock. Let him approach that one, but let his union with her be so pure and undefiled that apart from her he knows no other.¹⁰

The question of chastity arose in the sixteenth century out of a need to regulate lewd behaviour amongst all members of the population, young, old and priests which, apart from the moral problems this raised, was causing outbreaks of disease on a massive scale. Zwingli, who admitted using a prostitute himself and who married secretly in 1522 because even reformed priests were, at that time, unable to marry lawfully in the eyes of Rome, argued for the marriage law concerning priests to be changed, as

¹⁰ Bromiley, *Zwingli and Bullinger*, p.112.

did Luther and Erasmus, too. Tied up in all of this was the fact that humankind had basic needs to fulfil and that marriage was a much more appropriate alternative to promiscuity.

One other reason for encouraging marriage and celibacy among the young, until they were of an age of financial independence, was the high incidence in Switzerland of sexually transmitted diseases which were brought back from the Italian Wars by mercenary soldiers. It happened, then, that the *Zürcher Ehegericht* was formed by church and state to regulate sexual behaviour and to reinforce the role of the father and his absolute authority in the household; thus any choice of marriage partner had to be in accordance with parental approval, specifically the father's.¹¹ In the *Adam und Heva*, we have already witnessed the patriarchal father figure in the form of Adam, who determines the marriages between his children, while Eve also wishes to see them joined *eelich zammen* (1859). Cain's authority is no less than Adam's, since he may also decree future partners for his children, but the difference is that he, in opposition to contemporary doctrine, perhaps chooses to wield his authority unwisely and, significantly, he sets a precedent which has disastrous repercussions for his generation as a whole; the wicked giants of Genesis 6. 4, born of the marriages between the children of God and the daughters of men.

The lechery of the Cainites, their propensity for violent action and even the technological advances made by them during and after the construction of Hanoah are multiplied and underscored in the various speeches of the wicked generations

¹¹ Koenigsberger, Mosee and Bowler, *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, pp. 66-72; Cameron, *The European Reformation*, pp. 260 and 405; Cameron discusses the *Zürcher Ehegericht* in detail.

throughout the second day of the *Adam und Heva*, in which much of the language is repeated, as it is in the presentation of the Sethites, too. Again, at the very beginning of the second day of the play, however, Ruff sets up another contrast between the Cainites and the Sethites which has repercussions for the rest of the play as a whole. Indeed, while Cain's proposals for the city act as a precursor of the kind of sinfulness which will be favoured by his generations, Calmana's comments engender agreement from each of their kin, who are aware of the technological skills needed to develop the city and to survive within it, as well as understand the differences which will exist between them and the generations of Adam. Thus Calmana:

Wiewol ich bin ein büwrin gsyn
 Vil lieber ich yetz stattlich bin
 Wil sittlich hoflich lieber läben
 Dann mich ins buwrenwerck ergeben (2928-31)

Here, Calmana expresses her preference for living in polite society rather than remaining a farmer, like the Sethites. Interestingly, her comment presupposes a knowledge of city life and of society which is not in accordance with Genesis, where it is stated only that Cain *knew* his wife, conceived Enoch and built a city to be named after his son, although Ruff perhaps refers, here, to contemporary Zurich and the citizens' interpretation of *hoflich* and *sittlich* civic life. The speeches of the Cainites which follow are, perhaps, also indicative of contemporary civic society and its contempt for farmworkers, as Hanoch, for instance, expresses his preference for living "Schön hüpsch zierlichen wol bekleidt" (3016) in *linwat syden* (3028) rather than "füren släben büwrsch und grob" (3022). Furthermore, his language becomes more technical as he comments on the different tasks they might undertake in their

city in order to live more *hoflich*, such as *wâben schnyden* (3029), while, later on and in line with Genesis 4. 20-22, which shall be discussed at length, Lemech refers to the technical skills mastered by his sons; Jabal is a skilled farmer, Jubal is choirmaster and shows some considerable musical prowess, and ThubalKain has knowledge of the "Stahel môsch und kupffer" with which they might create "Mâsser schwârdter [und] schloßwerck" (3231-36). To Naema, Lemech's daughter, who has no biblical skill, Ruff attributes weaving, which all the Cainites believe is a prerequisite for city life.

Indeed, we find throughout all the speeches of the Cainites, that, in line with the Genesis narrative on Cain and his descendants, no mention is made of religious life, only worldly pursuits and, according to Ruff, fine clothes. Indeed, Irad also goes so far as to comment on the fact that "in stetten ist darzû fryheit" (3054-53). In view of the fact that Adam and Eve stressed previously the need for prayer, hard work and faith in God in order to obtain His grace, and that Cain, according to medieval exegesis, brought with him to Nod people living in the wilderness, some of them from Adam's generation, Irad presumably means freedom from the religious duties and god-given, hard work of the labourer already experienced by all the generations.¹² The city provides, instead, endless possibilities of, as Mahuiael's wife states, "unser lâben gestalten || Mit allen glüsten und dem lâben" (3109-10), as well as intemperance in terms of alcohol, specifically wine, and gluttony (Jabal's wife, 3275-76), again presupposing the kind of society in which they now wish to live.

¹² Dean, "The World Grown Old", 555.

Throughout the *Adam und Heva*, Ruff often appears to diverge from *sola scriptura*, but the technical skills of Cain's generation listed on the second day of the performance are, nonetheless, explained by Mahuiael's wife (and later on by her son), who claims that her children have learned their *künsten* (3115) from Lemech's children, of whom the Zurich Bible (the names differ in Luther) states:

Lemech aber nam zwey weiber | eine hieß || Ada | die and
 Zilla. Und Ada gebar Jabal | || von dem kamend die in hütten
 wonetend unnd || vych hattend. Und sein brüder hieß Jubal | ||
 von dem kamend die mit harpffen und gey= || gen umgiengend. Die
 Zilla aber gebar auch | || namlich den Thubalkain | der ward ein
 gies= || ser in allen meisterstucken | ertzes und eysens. || Unnd
 die Schwester des Tubalkain hieß Nae || ma.
 (Genesis 4. 20-22, *Zürcher Bibel*)

While Lemech's marriage to two women is sound biblically, the fact that he has taken two wives against the law is also reiterated by Mahuiael's son, Methusael, and here he refers to Exodus 20. 14 and the commandment concerning adultery, as well as to Matthew 5. 31-32, in which Christ informs His followers that even divorced people who re-marry are guilty of adultery. Also, while Lemech's sons have skills designated by the Bible, Ruff bases his depiction of Naema as the first weaver on medieval exegesis.¹³ The worldly skills of Lemech's children are further underscored by Methusael who adds that they are "kunstrycher und vil gschwinder || Dann unsere kinder all gotzsammen" (3135-36), but there are, at the same time, none more feared on earth than they are. Again, they may be portentous of Genesis 6. 1-4 and the terrifying giants of the earth, born of a union between the descendants of these

¹³ See Dean, "The World Grown Old", 558, in which he discusses Naema's appearance in the medieval *Cursor Mundi* as the first weaver, as well as the tasks undertaken by her brothers.

Cainites and the children of God.

In addition, Methusael points to a further three aspects of life in the city of Hanoch which eventually provoke God's wrath. The first is that, in the eyes of the Protestant faith, he blasphemes against God by suggesting that Lemech's children devised their own skills "Uß iren hauptern zwâgen bracht" (3140-41). For Zwingli, though, God's providence was the origin of all existence, determining, governing and arranging life, good and bad. Even the earth's life-cycle, its mountains and the bones of a body holding the flesh together are symbols of divine light, of which Zwingli asserts:

In all dem spüren wir nicht weniger als im Menschen die Gegenwart der göttlichen Kraft, durch die sie sind, leben und sich bewegen.¹⁴

For Mahuiael to suggest that man's skills originate in man and not in God is to deny God's omnipotence and, thereby, God Himself. The medieval commentators, however, saw in the children of Lemech a proclivity for evil precisely because they were innovators, and Ruff portrays them as such.¹⁵ Additionally, Methusael talks of the merchant activities they will promote in the city in order to obtain *gold und gelt* (3151), which in the early Middle Ages were as much a symbol of wealth as they were a means with which to trade:¹⁶

¹⁴ Zwingli, "Von der göttlichen Vorsehung", p. 767.

¹⁵ Dean, "The World Grown Old", 558-60.

¹⁶ R.W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, (London: Pimlico, 1967), pp. 46-7.

Zû allen zyten durch das jar
 Kouffmennisch ziehen hin und har
 Ouch unser war mit nutz vertryben
 Derselben nitlon überblyben (3144-47)

Here, Methusael echoes Cain who, earlier in the drama, professed his disinclination for offering up the best of his corn to a God who, first of all, had no need of it and, secondly, to whom it would be of no consequence anyway, as opposed to the Sethites who remain steadfast in their offerings to God as an act of penance and of faith. While the instinct for trade is indicative of contemporary society and the need for a city's elite to buy luxury goods with which to live politely,¹⁷ the wicked generations intend to trade their produce wisely (*mit nutz*) in order to increase their prosperity, a sign, again, of the unregenerate man to Zwingli and to the Protestant Ruff.

Finally, and of considerable importance are the words with which Methusael and his mother describe their life as city-dwellers: "Darumb ich blyben styff und satt" (Mahuiael's wife) and "Das ir verhoffen styff und satt" (Methusael, 3124). This speech pattern is repeated by the other Cainites and, interestingly, by God and the Sethites, throughout the second day of the *Adam und Heva*, and not only sets up a contrast between the wicked generations and their life as idle city-dwellers and the hard-working Sethites, but also acts, perhaps, as a watchward for that other higher, and in the eyes of Zwingli and the reformers, idle authority so despised by them: Rome. Zwingli's reference to Rome's wealth, for instance, in the saddlebags of its mules, is characteristic of a city with international connections and ruled by a Pope and his cardinals who numbered as many as seventy and who had around ten thousand

¹⁷ Green, *Renaissance and Reformation*, pp. 16-17.

people in their employ, numerous palaces, churches and hostelries for pilgrims. one of the city's greatest sources of finance, and a great number of coaches (about nine hundred) with the sole intent of taking aimless and idle people wherever they wanted to go.

Rome's *Curia*, which Luther accused of being immoral and of failing to see to the true salvation of its people, had, however, to be paid for, and its fortune came from various sources; the pilgrims, as I have mentioned; dispensations and indulgences, which were sold with more and more frequency, and contributed to the degeneration of the very nature of the Catholic Church (witness Luther's 1523 attack, in Wittenberg, on the indulgence system, heralding the new reforms), and mercenary soldiers were enlisted to take up the papal sword, in order that the Pope might gain temporal authority and wealth in regions other than Rome, too.¹⁸ Thus while Rome appeared prosperous, inwardly, it was guilty of moral dissolution and both its religious hierarchy and aristocrats indulged in the sins of idleness, lechery, intemperance, vanity and avarice, all of which are given expression by the Ruff drama and its representation, on stage, of the building of Hanoch and of its fall in the Flood.

The Cainite scenes end, initially, with the building of the city by the *Steinmetz*, *Zimmermann*, *Buwmeister* and *Tachtecker*, who are the first non-biblical characters to be presented on the second day of the play's performance. These characters echo

¹⁸ Mackenny, *Sixteenth Century Europe: Expansion and Conflict*, pp. 98-99. See also Green, *Renaissance and Reformation*, pp. 110-117. See also Cameron, *The European Reformation*, pp. 149-50, Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages*, pp. 130-34, and Jill N. Claster, *The Medieval Experience. 300-1400*. (New York and London: New York University Press, 1982), pp. 330-31.

the skilled guilds of craftsmen who would have made up a small number of Zurich's population at that time,¹⁹ and they help to set the Ruff play firmly within the context of contemporary society. At the beginning of the fourth act, following the building of Hanoch, Ruff then introduces the Sethites whose speeches are, like those of the Cainites, largely repetitive, but who also reiterate Adam and Eve's initial responses toward God and the true worship of Him. There are, however, some interesting comments made by Adam and his kin regarding Protestant doctrine, and at the very beginning of the act, Adam makes a rather curious remark, in particular, concerning Enos, Seth's son:

Enos genant by minen tagen
 Der wirt vom Herren kundtschafft sagen
 Von diner zûsag rechnung gâben
 Vor Gott mit glouben wirt er lâben (3338-41)

In fact, Adam implies that Enos, in delivering God's *kundtschafft*, is a kind of prophet of God. With reference to Protestant doctrine, although not the Bible,²⁰ however, God's prophets are Enoch and Noah and, indeed, they appear as such in the Ruff drama. We might wonder whether Ruff has confused Enos with Enoch, who appears a little later on in the play, although the point which is being made is important, namely that Enos is a firm believer in the Word, has implicit trust in God and that the other Sethites should, like him, call on the one being "Der einig üch zhilff kommen kan" (3352-53); Christ. The soteriological message is thereby underscored, as it is throughout all the speeches of the generations of Adam.

¹⁹ Mackenny, *Sixteenth Century Europe: Expansion and Conflict*, p. 82 and Green, *Renaissance and Reformation*, p. 164.

²⁰ Murdoch, "Jacob Ruff's *Adam und Heva*", 124.

The uneasy relationship between the Cainites and the Sethites is highlighted in this scene, too, as Adam talks of Cain's affinity with the devil and stresses that as long as the Cainites live on earth, "Dem Herren werdendts widersträben || Im unglouben und misszvertruwen" (3369-70). Adam also underlines the fact that their city will only add to these sins, as we have just witnessed, but, interestingly, he does make one other point which is important for the end of the play and its representation of the city's ruling prince and courtiers:

Niemandts fürchtends uff der erden
 All wend sy Herren Fürsten werden
 Regierend dland mit zwang und gwalt
 Ir keiner thût was Gott gefällt (3380-83)

Here, Zwinglian doctrine, in terms of his depiction of princes and rulers as violent despots and unbelievers, is emphasised in the *Adam und Heva*, as Ruff also presents the prince and his followers as a product of unrighteous living and, at the same time, of an unrighteous society.

The Sethites have warranted relatively little explanation so far because their speeches are mainly protevangelical or Zwinglian in content and offer little in the way of dramatic action. The role of the Adam's children is, however, to establish a contrast between regenerate and unregenerate living and to encourage audience and reader alike to follow a more righteous set of values than those born of purely materialistic concerns. Indeed, while the Cainites revel in the new-found pleasures and comforts of city-life, and talk of the hardships suffered by the generations in the wilderness, specifically the children of Adam, who must "im gôw hußhan" (3065), "in den

dörffern höltzle spitzen" (3105), and suffer *ruchs Lâben* (3161) and "schlächte spyß mit übel zyt" (3278), the Sethites nevertheless endure God's punishment with hope and faith in Salvation through Christ. Also, in accordance with Protestant doctrine, they pray for the Cainites and hope that they, too, might refrain from sin and gain, thereby, God's grace. Thus, Henoah both admonishes and offers a prayer for the Cainites when he is sent, by God, to warn them of His imminent punishment:

Gar ists mir leid ir lieben fründ
 Das ir nit abston wend der sünd
 Für üch Gott wil ich aber bâten
 Das er dsâch uffs übertrâten
 Uff üwer schandtlich üppig lâben
 Der well üch üwer sünd vergeben
 Alde Gott welle üwer sachen
 Begnaden die und besser machen (4256-63)

Henoah's words are echoed by Noah at the end of the play, when he, too, prophesies the Flood, and the wicked generations refuse to believe him. Their contempt for Henoah and Noah, and, through them, for God, is revealed in the Cainites' abusive, colloquial language and their refusal to "Stond ab von [...] falschen glouben || Von mürden tôden stâlen rouben" (4091-92).²¹ Their cursing lends the play a contemporary feel, though, while their continued wickedness does, in the end, destroy them; *sola scriptura*.

The Cainites are contrasted with the Sethites in a number of other ways, too, such as their reluctance to trade goods and to conduct their daily life without reward,

²¹ The Cainites' abusive language and colloquialisms are explained further in the *Apparatus* to the edition.

financial or otherwise, and their indulgence in the pleasures of the flesh. Two further examples of the type of Zwinglianism present on the second day of the performance, which preaches against these sins, may be found in the speeches of Eve and the other Sethites, the "Erst Fründ von den kinderen Gottes" (stage direction L2[r]) in particular, who are expressive of the Protestant faith both in its strictest sense and in terms of its problematical interpretation of the Bible's good works:

Denn es wird je geschehen | das der menschen Son kome
in der Herrligkeit seines Vaters | mit seinen Engeln |
Vnd als denn wird er einem iglichen vergelten nach
seinen wercken. (*Mat. 16. 27*, Luther)

In the *Adam und Heva*, however, Eve talks of God's punishment of wickedness wherever it occurs, and she informs the Sethites that they must beware of sin and fear God at all times. In order to attain the "ewiger fröud und sâligkeit" (3411) for which they place all their hope in God and in Christ, Eve believes they must "Den selben glouben [...] bstâten || Mit unserm opffer und mit bâtten" (3414-15). She thereby encourages her family to come together to offer up sacrifices to God and also raises the problem of the sacrifice for Protestants as a whole once more, although, for Zwingli, good works were a symbol of the regenerate, those already infused with the spirit of God, and indicative of a righteous way of life:

Those who have rightly understood the mystery of the Gospel will exert themselves to live rightly. As far as possible, then, we should learn the Gospel with all exactness and diligence. And as occasion offers, we should study what services will be most pleasing to God: and undoubtably these are the very ones which he himself renders to us, righteousness, fidelity and mercy.²²

²² Bromiley, *Zwingli and Bullinger*, p. 108.

It follows, then, that Eve's words concerning the sacrifice are not born of a need to find favour in God's eyes, but to express, rather, the Sethites' continued *fidelity* and absolute trust in God and in Redemption. Indeed, their offerings, produced out of hard labour in a hostile environment and adverse conditions are one way in which the generations of Adam might refrain from the idleness in daily-life so abhorred by the reformers. At the same time, they highlight Protestant thought and Zwingli's approval of citizens doing works for the good of one another, because it brings them together as a community of righteous believers.

Finally, near the end of the *Adam und Heva*, we are informed, through Mahalaleel, that God has commanded the generations of Adam not to marry into Cain's descendants, and, accordingly, Mahalaleel warns the Sethites: "So hütend üch in denen sachen || Das wider Gott kein Ee ir machen" (3554-55). While this commandment may not adhere strictly to *sola scriptura*, Ruff perhaps bases Mahalaleel's words on Genesis 6. 1-3, in which God expresses his displeasure at the intermarriage between the generations. This alleged commandment itself becomes significant later on in the play, when the diabolical council makes another appearance and suggests mixing the sons of God with the daughters of men in order to revenge themselves on God by further thwarting His will. They are incited to enter into the outside world and to make their presence felt, but this time the influence of the demons is more insidious; although the devil is not mentioned in Genesis 3.1, widespread interpretation speaks of the serpent-devil whose temptation of Adam and Eve led to the Fall. On the second day of the play, however, there is no serpent which wreaks havoc on earth, and the demons are not presented on stage as actively spreading evil amongst the generations. As Ruff shows, the devil is present in man's

actions alone.

Towards the end of the play, then, the "Erst Fründ von den kinderen Gottes", decides to take a wife from amongst the daughter of men, despite having been forbidden to do so, because "Darzû mich reizt min eigen fleisch || Das dann ist schwecher dann der geist" (4736-37). These words specifically, which are reiterated by many of the characters throughout the *Adam und Heva*, also echo Zwingli insofar as the reformer, in his treatise "Von der göttlichen Vorsehung", stresses the purity of the spirit which is "ein lichter und klarer Bach, unmittelbar aus der Gottheit strömend, daher eifrig nach Wahrheit und Gerechtigkeit strebend",²³ while the sluggish body has a propensity to adhere to its origins and pursue earthly pleasures. On a more extreme level, the Sethites could, like Abel, be said to be representative of the soul, striving towards the divine, and the Cainites the flesh, bound by worldly origins and the wickedness perpetrated by their founding father. The unfortunate result of a union between the two is the *Nephilim* of the play, the giants of Genesis 6. 4, who, in the *Adam und Heva*, embody all the sins imaginable to man; violent murder, robbery, rape, adultery, gluttony and avarice. Indeed, having witnessed the rise of Cain and Lemech to the position of great leaders within the land, the giants believe that they "Mit sampt dem stammen unserm gschlecht" (4910) might also "herrlich gwaltig werden" (4909), using both violence and their own kind to achieve their aims. Within the wider context of the Reformation, the giants serve to illustrate Zwingli's views on tyrants and the unregenerate who help to keep them in power, while, in the play itself, they more than fulfil Adam's worst expectations regarding the city of Hanoch (3380-83).

²³ Zwingli, "Von der göttlichen Vorsehung", p. 770.

The continued decline of the world, as it is revealed in Genesis, takes the form of the biblical murder of two men by Lemech (Genesis 4. 23-24), the intermarriages between the children of God and the daughters of men, the birth of the wicked giants on earth, Noah's finding of grace in God's eyes and the building of the ark in which he, along with his family and two of every living creature, survives the flood waters which destroy mankind. Ruff continues to present the biblical story in the *Adam und Heva*, although he intersperses it with the sacrifices offered by the Sethites, the deaths of the patriarchs and the fears of Adam's kin that their numbers are diminishing (Mahalaleel, 4274 and Jared, 4848-49). Finally, Ruff portrays the fall of Hanoch, or Rome, as Brian Murdoch has suggested,²⁴ at the end of the play. The story of blind, old Lemech, who takes a boy with him on a hunting trip, kills what he believes to be an animal but is actually a man, and then murders the boy who failed to guide his arrow properly, finds its origins in various presentations in the medieval commentaries on Genesis, as well as in the *Mystère du viel Testament*, English mystery-plays and medieval Cornish drama, in which, incidentally, the older man killed by Lemech is Cain.²⁵ In the Ruff drama, however, Cain lives on, and the inclusion of the Lemech incident, apart from its biblical content, serves to underscore the wickedness of the Cainites. Interestingly, Lemech regrets his actions, and both he and his wives decide to flee to another land in which he might not be avenged "seven and sevenfold", especially by his own descendants who number so many in the city. Perhaps Ruff also expresses, thereby, his own concerns regarding the evils of vengeance and violence in contemporary society.

²⁴ Murdoch, "Jacob Ruf's *Adam und Heva*", 123.

²⁵ Dean, "The World Grown Old", 557-58; Woolf, *The English Mystery Plays*, p. 135 and Hooper, *Gwryans an Bys*, pp. 118-126.

With reference to Zwingli and the Ruff drama, while the latter is portentous of the fate awaiting a profoundly wicked society, Zwingli himself has been described as a *prophet of Zurich* because he believed that the most peaceful cities were the ones in which God spoke through his prophets.²⁶ Indeed, the reformer advocated strict discipline and adherence to God's laws on earth as well as sought, like Luther, to make men contemptuous of the flesh and more aware of the spirit, a notion underscored by Ruff's Noe at the end of the drama when he, too, admonishes the wicked generations with the words "Und bkeeren also üwer fleisch || Das es grecht lâbe nach dem geist" (5982-83). Through his fusion of church and state in sixteenth-century Zurich into one body governed solely by God's law, Zwingli sought thereby to enlighten men and to help them to concentrate on the inner self and well-being of the soul through, specifically, the learning and understanding of the Gospel:²⁷

Once a young man is instructed in the solid virtue which is formed by faith, it follows that he will regulate himself and richly adorn himself from within: for only he whose whole life is ordered finds it easy to give help and counsel to others.²⁸

As Ruff's audience is presented with a kind of mirror image of society on stage through which both reader and spectator are warned to live "in frommkeit und gerechtem lâben" (1669), a more peaceful and law-abiding society is envisioned by reformer and dramatist alike.

²⁶ Green, *Renaissance and Reformation*, p. 165.

²⁷ G.R. Elton, *Reformation Europe. 1517-1559*, p. 72 and Cameron, *The European Reformation*, pp. 114-17 and pp. 134-35.

²⁸ Bromiley, *Zwingli and Bullinger*, p. 108.

Furthermore, while printing and the Reformation *Flugschriften* did much to illuminate the ordinary citizen on the various religious arguments under discussion,²⁹ and the preacher utilised the pulpit as a means of disseminating the Protestant message. at the end of the *Adam und Heva*, Ruff's contribution to contemporary propaganda and the often complex ideas of Protestantism and its strict moral code for society, is made manifest in the dramatist's presentation of the Word:

If the purpose of a play is the didactic enlightenment of the audience, one way of achieving this is through a parabolic transference of the plot, the situation and the characters into the personal situation of the audience...this parabolic dimension demands that both [the situation and the characters] must be transparent and typical. They must be transparent so that the audience can judge them and they must be typical so that the audience can by transparence judge themselves.³⁰

The sequence of characters reminiscent of Matthew 24. 38 (*sola scriptura*) and sixteenth-century Zurich who appear during the prince's birthday celebrations at the end of the play, and who reveal, through their revelling, the most base contempt for the Word of God, have, thereby, a specific dramatic function. For the prince and his wife, the musicians and servants of the court, the *Gwardi Houptmann* (Swiss Guardsman) and his colleagues who realise, too late, the truth of Noah's prophecy and who warn their ruler and his courtiers of the impending storm, and, finally, the children of God who lament their fate and their wickedness, but who take to the hills in a vain attempt to find protection from the Flood, all serve to underscore the play's soteriological message and to place it firmly within contemporary society.

²⁹ A.G. Dickens, *The German Nation and Martin Luther*, pp. 102-34.

³⁰ Senger, *Leonhard Culmann*, pp. 192-93.

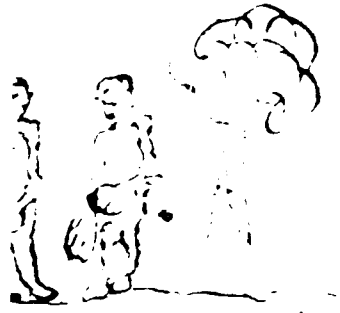
Finally, throughout the *Adam und Heva*, Ruff presents man's spirit and Christian faith as they are found in the works of Zwingli and in his doctrine of election by which God, in His justice and kindness, elects man for Salvation. Since faith was, for Zwingli and later for Calvin, a result of election, all men had a chance of finding Redemption through faith;³¹ *sola fide*. Those who chose to be unbelievers were, however, condemned, and Ruff illustrates this clearly in the scenes involving the city-dwellers at the end of the drama. The consequence of sin is, as Ruff shows, the direct experience of the punishment dealt a wicked society by God, and of faith is Salvation, for "to him that believeth all things are possible";³² *sola gratia*.

³¹ Courviosier, *Zwingli*, pp. 48-50.

³² Zwingli in Bromiley's *Zwingli and Bullinger*, p. 108.

Blank Page

Genesis 3.
 So wurden jr beid
 der ougen ofgethō/
 vnd wurden gwar
 d; sy nackt waren/
 vnd habend sygen
 bletter zūfamen ge-
 heftet/vnd inen vñ
 schürz gemacher.



Min krefft der seel auch die verflentnuß
 Hand sy in mir gsteret überuß
 Wie gat es zū mir liebe Heua
 Dast vor mir siast so nackend da
 So vnuerschampt vor minen ougen
 Der Schlana hat gewiß vns beide trogen
Heua.

Ich fürcht mir warlich selber d:um
 Wol gleen ich das ich nackend kum
 Duch dast vor mir siast vnuerschampt
Adam.

Mir ist nun sünd schon wol betant
 Wir wend vns decken auch vns schemmen
 Vnd est von disen böumen nemmen
 Damit wend wir vns also bkleiden
 Verbürgen auch von dannen scheiden
 Wie bald Gott kumpt vnd vns hie sücht
 Das wir mit standind so verrücht.

Tod gat bärfür vß der erden/
 stellt sich in das Paradyß/
 vnd sprichet.

Ich bin der Tod in dwelt erborn
 Smacht von der sünd vnd vñertorn
 Von neel beim auch vngesialt
 Ich bin ein geist noch han ich gwalt
 Ober das fleisch in diser welt
 Was lebe vnd strebe wens mir gefelle
 So muß der mensch des tods erstärben
 Zū erden werden vud verdärben
 Wie bald ich ein alndch morn ald hüt
 Die stund mit miner hand erschüt

JACOB RUFF'S *ADAM UND HEVA*
EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES TO THE PRINTED TEXT OF
ZURICH (1550)

THE EXTANT PRINTED TEXTS FROM 1550 AND KOTTINGER'S 1848

EDITION OF THE *ADAM UND HEVA*

Jacob Ruff's *Adam und Heva*, written in 1550 by the Zurich town surgeon with the dual purpose of entertaining and instructing Zurich's citizens in the new Protestant faith, exists nowadays as four extant printed texts from 1550 which may be found in the *Zentralbibliothek Zürich*, the *Vadianische Sammlung* of St. Gallen, the *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek* in Munich and in the *Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz* of Berlin, respectively. The drama does, however, appear in printed form in the Kottinger edition of 1848, too, which is the last edition of the play.¹ Kottinger's edition, which omits the biblical concordances of the original text of 1550, includes an introduction to the text, the *Vorrede*, in which he sets out his editorial principles and explains a little of the background to the *Adam und Heva* and to Ruff, and he also provides notes to the text at the end of the play, which deal, for the most part, with difficult vocabulary. Bibliographical material has, however, supplied very little in the way of information on Kottinger and his edition of the Ruff drama, although the Zurich copy of the play reveals a number of editing features which are, perhaps, an indication of the source of Kottinger's 1848 edition: there are, for instance, letters of the alphabet pencilled at the top of each of the pages after and including [5v] in

¹ Kottinger, Hermann Marcus, *Jacob Ruffs Adam und Heva*. (Quedlinburg und Leipzig: Druck und Verlag von Gottfried Basse, 1848).

each of the fifteen signatures. For example, in signature A, b appears above the text on [A5v], [A6r] - c, [A6v] - d, [A7r] - e, [A7v] - f, [A8r] - g and [A8v] - h. The letter a also appears on C5[r] and M5[r] and the lettering stops with e on [07r]. On [H7r] the d has been scored out and an f added, and, similarly, on [H8r] an e has been scored out and g added. The consistent pencil markings, which make it easier to refer to the unnumbered recto and verso sides of each signature, and were made, presumably, by Kottinger. While Kottinger does not make it clear from which of the Froschauer prints he edited, he does state that he knows of only two extant copies of the *Adam und Heva*, one of which was, at that time, in the *Zentralbibliothek Zürich*, while the other was in the hands of a German Professor, Etmüller, (*Vorrede*, p. v).

Interestingly, Kottinger also produced an edition of Ruff's *Etter Heini* in 1847,² which would appear to have been edited from the 1538 Ms. which is part of a *Sammelband* under Sig. A 151 in the *Handschriftenabteilung* of the *Zentralbibliothek Zürich*. In this collection, which measures 17cm by 12.5cm, Ruff's Ms. follows the anonymous *Zürcher Spiel von 1514*. The cover, especially, and the inside pages are very fine, yet there is evidence of editing throughout the drama, for many words have been underlined in pencil. Indeed, again, in the *Vorrede* to his 1848 edition, Kottinger seeks to elucidate some expressions in Ruff's *Adam und Heva* with certain passages in the *Etter Heini*, both of which are comparable. We may, therefore, deduce from Kottinger's comments and the editorial markings that he edited both the Zurich *Etter Heini* Ms. and the *Adam und Heva* print respectively. There are,

² *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon: Dreizehnter Band*, ed. Heinz Rupp and Carl Ludwig Lang, (Bern: Francke, 1991).

incidentally, no pencil markings on the St. Gallen or Munich prints of the *Adam und Heva*.

Finally, although there is no extant manuscript of the *Adam und Heva*, there is an eighteenth-century manuscript, also in the *Zürcher Zentralbibliothek*, by the Swiss dialect poet and artist, Johann Martin Usteri, which offers a commentary, if not a discussion, about the play.³ The manuscript itself contains, as the title states, *Fragmente aus Schauspielen*, and in terms of the Ruff drama, it explains both the two-day nature of the performance and lists some of the one hundred and six members of the cast, such as the *Trompeter*, *Trucksäß*, *Gwardi Houptmann*, *Fenderich* and *Vorfenderich*. The manuscript which, due to the many re-workings of words or sentences, has the appearance of a text in which the author's ideas are often incomplete, provides, on the whole, a summary of the play with the occasional comment on and quote from the text; the quotations, for example, take the form of the Herald's first speech and his appeal to the audience to listen quietly to the play; then there is a quote concerning God's creation of man and, finally, the diabolical council's discussion of how to bring about the downfall of man through Eve. Usteri's summary ends at this point with a comment on the devils' return to hell and the music which follows the end of the scene. Since the poet's manuscript appears during a period in German literature when the Romantic movement placed a great emphasis on literature written in dialect, of which Usteri is a representative in Switzerland.⁴

³ M. Usteri. *Fragmente aus Schauspielen*. Ms. (Usteri) 44 (J.3. a.b.).

⁴ Robertson, J.G., "The Eighteenth Century", *A History of German Literature*, ed. by Edna Purdie, W.I. Lucas and M. O'C. Walshe, (William Blackwood & Sons LTD.: Edinburgh and London, 1966), p. 345. See also Eduard Engel, *Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur. Von den Anfängen bis in die Gegenwart. I. Band*, (G. Freytag: Leipzig and F. Cempsky: Wien, 1907), p. 465, for Usteri's involvement in

this might account for his interest in a drama such as the *Adam und Heva*, written in *Zürichdeutsch*, the language of the people and intended to appeal to the people.

Christoffel Froschauer Prints of the *Adam und Heva*

Zurich:

Ein nüw unnd || lustig Spyl von der || erschaffung Adams und
He= || va | auch irer beider faal im Paradyß. || Gespilt von
einer loblichen burger= schafft Zürych | uff den 9. unnd 10.
tag || Junii | imm 50. Jar. fast textlich | || onet was die
laction zütragen: || sampt den Concor= || dantzen.

Durch Jacobum Ruff | Stein= || schnyder Zürych.

Zentralbibliothek Zurich. Rar. 18 346 and microfilm MFZ 1016. All the editions of the *Adam und Heva* were printed in 1550 by the Zurich printing house of Christoffel Froschauer. I have based my edition on the Zurich print. The cover of the Zurich edition measures 15cm by 10.2cm and the inside pages 14.6cm by 9 cm, although there are certain features which suggest that this is not the original cover; while two of the four extant editions of the *Adam und Heva*, namely those in St. Gallen and Munich, are bound in covers of thick, greyish-beige card which are only slightly larger than the pages inside, the cover of the Zurich edition is a little bigger, much

the German Romantic movement, as well as Wilhelm Scherer, *Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur*, (Verlag von Th. Knauer Nachf.: Berlin), p. 704, *Geschichte der Deutschen Literatur. 1789 bis 1830*, ed. by Hans-Dietrich Dahnke, Thomas Höhle and Hans-Georg Werner, (Volk und Wissen Volkseigener Verlag: Berlin, 1978) and *Internationale Bibliographie zur Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, (Verlag Dokumentation: München-Pullach und Berlin, 1971) for further bibliographical detail on Usteri.

lighter in colour and shiny in texture. Some of the corners are missing, so that the original cover, similar to the above editions, can be seen underneath. In addition, the front cover gives no indication as to the content of the print, but bears instead the very dated and large stamp of the "Stadt-Bibliothek Zurich", while the title *Ruf. Adam und Eva* appears on the spine.

The text is printed on paper which is divided into 15 signatures, arranged alphabetically from A to P. Since I and J are interchangeable in Middle High German, I have resolved signature I/J as I. Each signature contains 16 folios, except signature P, which only has 13 and therefore ends on [P7r]. There are, in all, 237 folios. The folios are numbered in the following manner, with the signature letter and number printed at the foot of each folio, on the recto side: A1[r], [A1v], A2[r], [A2v], A3[r], [A3v] and so on until A5[r], where the folio numbering stops. I have used square brackets to indicate my own additions to the numbering of the folios in order to make the text more accessible, especially when referring to a specific page in my commentary. Generally, the Zurich print is in good condition, although some of the pages are quite brittle and show signs of water damage, and other pages have had to be repaired for the same reason. Stains measuring no more than 1 to 1.5cm and tears caused by water damage appear frequently throughout the print. The pages between [B7v] and [B8r] have been re-bound, for example, and, similarly, cleaner, newer-looking strips of paper have been used as binding along the inside pages of [B7v] and [B8v]. C3[r] is ripped slightly in the bottom left-hand corner and from C4[r] onwards, water damage is evident beneath the text on each page. Although it is slightly transparent, the quality of the paper becomes much better later on in the volume, especially from H[1r] to signature M, where it becomes badly stained again.

The first page of the book, on which there is no text, is of a different colour and paper as well as of a much better quality than the original folios. Similar paper has been used for re-binding folios or mending tears throughout the print, for example, along the edge of [A1r], the title page, which is torn slightly at the top and is a little crumpled along the right-hand side, where it has been mended on the verso. [A1r] is also bound along the inside, as is the following page, [A2r]. The text is still quite clear, although the paper is fine, almost transparent. The water damage and subsequent repairs have meant, however, that on some of the folios the text is partially hidden by the repairs; on folio [A8v], (p. 21), for example, some of the text of Lucifer's speech is obscured by a cone-like piece of paper used to bind the page along the inside verso edge. I have had, therefore, to supply the words at the end of lines 369-70, which should read [*hertzen*] (369), and *schmertz[en]* (370), and I have used square brackets throughout the edition to indicate my own emendations or additions to the text (see the *Apparatus* for further examples).

With regard to the contemporary, *ad hoc* drawings in the *Adam und Heva* prints (of which there are no details as to the identity of the artist), on [D3v] of the Zurich edition there is a brown-tinted drawing of God and Adam in Paradise. Above and below the drawing, which consists of Adam, who we can barely see behind some tall trees, and also God, who commands Adam to show himself with the words *kum auß*, are concordances from Genesis 3. [8-9], (see p. 88). Clearly, three of the editions of the *Adam und Heva* were in private ownership at some point, for the Munich print has six drawings of a similar style and tint to the Zurich edition on folios [D1v], [D2v], [D6r] and [D8v]. Furthermore, there appears to be an unfinished drawing on folio B2[r] of the St. Gallen print, while further on, on [K8r],

a comment has been added in the margin, which will be discussed later.

St. Gallen:

Vadianische Sammlung. Qa 2901. The cover of the St. Gallen edition of the *Adam und Heva* is smaller than the Zurich copy, due to the fact that it still has its original cover. There are wide inner margins which make it look much older than the Zurich copy. The cover measures 14.5 cm by 9.5 cm. The spine has been re-covered and the writing on it, in brown ink, differs from the Zurich print: Rñff. Ein spyl von || der Erschaffung || Adam u. Evas. || 1550. Like the Zurich edition, the St. Gallen print also has 15 signatures, but only 233 folios, as [A8r], [A8v], [B1r] and [B1v] are missing. These pages include the speeches of Michael, Gabriel, *Erst Engel*, the chaining of Lucifer by the *Ander Engel* and Lucifer's and Satan's lament to the diabolical council. They begin again with the speech by the *Ander Tüfel* on B2[r]. Although the print would at first appear to be in better condition than that of Zurich, the first few inside pages differ entirely to the original folios. The first page, which has nothing on it, is torn in the top right hand corner and looks as though it has been added to the book-binding and is not, therefore, an original page of the print. In addition, the title page is hand-written, rather than printed, with the imprint of the thick, black ink visible on the verso of the opposite page, and it differs, therefore, from the Zurich and Munich prints:

Ein nūw un - || lustig Spyl von der - || erschaffung Adams und
 He= || va, aūch irer beider faal im Paradjß. || Gespilt von einer
 loblichen Bürger= || schafft Zūrych | uff den Jar. fast textlich
 || onet was die action zūtragen: || sampt den Concor= || dantzen.

Durch Jacobu Rūff, Stein= || schnyder Zūrych-.

The wording on the title page also differs from the Zurich and Munich prints insofar as *Paradjß* is spelled with a *j*, the nasal bar above the *u* on *Jacobu* has been omitted, while there is a superscript *o* above the *u* in *Zūrych-*, as opposed to an umlaut, as well as a final position hyphen. The stamp of the *Vadianische Sammlung* appears beneath the title, which, unlike the Zurich and Munich prints, occupies the page. The person who supplied the missing text of the title page has attempted to give it the same style as the original Froschauer printing, albeit not in the usual sixteenth-century Gothic blackletter, since the writing, like the text of many title pages of sixteenth-century editions, begins with large, bold letters and sentences, tapering to smaller letters and sentences at the end of the title.

Following the *new* title-page it is clear that A2[r], on which the cast-list or "Personen dises Spyls" of the *Adam und Heva* is printed, must also have fallen out at some point. However, it has been re-bound the wrong way round, so that we are, instead, facing [A2v]. The edges along the side and bottom of the page are slightly serrated, while the page itself is quite badly water-stained and there is a tear, which is barely discernible, across the middle of the page. The condition of A2[r] is bad as is that of [A3r], as the pages are smudged and water-marked. What is also interesting, here, is that someone has underlined the heading of the cast-list using brown ink similar to that used in the drawings of the Zurich and Munich editions:

Die personen dises Spyls | || sind hundert und sechß.
Personen des Ersten tags. Personen des Andern tag.

The underlining is untidy and a line down the middle of the page separates the casts of the two days. [A3v] has also been re-bound along the inside edge, along with [A4r]. A glance through the St. Gallen edition shows how its condition varies between extremely good and bad. The pages are again slightly transparent, but their colour has not darkened as much, and they are not as water-stained as those of the Zurich edition. If they are stained, then the stains are light, and there are only a few corners missing. Occasionally, such as between [M8v] and L5[r] sewing of the binding can be seen clearly. On C1[r] there is a large, black smudge which obscures the last two words of the first sentence Adam says to the ape on [B8v]. The sentence should read, "Darumb das du mir fast [bist gelych]" (813).

While the Zurich and Munich editions of the *Adam und Heva* have a number of *ad hoc*, anonymous drawings illustrating the various chapters from Genesis, there are no drawings to be found in the St. Gallen edition at all. On B2[r], however, on which *Der ander Tüfel* tells of how the diabolical council has been damned *under irden* to eternal and hellish misery, there appears to be the beginning of an illustration of a somewhat strange-looking head in the top right-hand corner. The drawing has become smudged subsequently, which makes it difficult to discern. Elsewhere, on [K8r], there are a few words in German and Latin which have been written in brown ink opposite the speech made by the *Tüfels bottschafft*. On [K7v] the *bottschafft* tells the diabolical council of how he has confused and betrayed the Cainites, for he has tempted them and led them so far astray that they have no thoughts of God at all. At

the top of [K8r], he explains how he has brought everyone to *hochfart* (4447-56) and that sin rules among the Cainites. In short, he has turned them away from God and taught them nothing but sin and shame and, here, we find the words penned in by whoever was in possession of the drama at the time. There is one sentence, which covers three lines, in the left-hand margin:

Cur non a monu || istis wir haben || d[a]z nit dörffen.

The sentence should read, of course, "Cur non monuistis" (why did you not warn us), but an *a* does appear in the sentence. The question here is, however, whether the same person was responsible for the drawings and writing in the Zurich, St. Gallen and Munich editions, and, also, whether these words were written by the same hand. For the script changes from the Latin to the German, which could be explained by the fact the the writer would have written more fluently and quickly in his native language, German, than in Latin, so that the Latin text appears in a more printed, carefully written form, albeit with a slight error. The ink remains the same, which suggests that the comment was written by the same person.

Munich:

Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Rar. 75. The cover of the print measures 15cm by 9.5cm and the inside pages 14.6cm by 9cm. The cover is original and the pages are of fairly good quality. However, there has obviously been some damage at the start of the play; as in other sixteenth-century dramas, for instance, the speeches throughout the *Adam und Heva* are always preceded by the name of the character, and

we would expect to find this on A3[r], on which the play actually begins with the introduction by the *Herold*. This page has obviously fallen out, however, and been re-bound in the wrong place, with the result that, instead, we are faced with A4[r], which begins with the words, "Do er dann redt und selber spricht || Mit yfrigem hertzen unnd ernstlich" (66). This text already covers two folios of the speech made by the *Herold* and continues to [A4v], where it ends with the words, "Darumb du knab mit dinem schilt || Das Argument sag wann du wilt" (132). The next folio should, of course, be A5[r], which introduces the *junger knab*, but is, in fact, A3[r] which introduces the *Herold* with "Groß Herold am | ersten || tag". The speech which follows would then appear to be a continuation of that just delivered by the *Herold* and ends on [A6v] with the words "Gotts anfang dkrefft unnd all sin macht || Alt siner ding grunttlich ursach" (263-4). These words actually belong to the *junger knab*, and his introductory direction, "Ein junger knab spricht das || Argument mit dem schilt", has also be re-bound wrongly and actually appears after this, before [A7r]. The remainder of the text follows on as usual from here.

One of the most important aspects of the Munich edition of the *Adam und Heva* is the number of drawings which appear in it. There are a total of six, fairly crude drawings, illustrating Genesis;⁵ (1) the temptation of Eve, (2) the fall, (3) Adam and Eve covering their nakedness and, consequently, their shame. (4) Death (an allegorical figure in the drama), (5) expulsion and the daily life of the protoplasts and their offspring in exile. The first drawings are on [D1v]: a naked Eve stands below

⁵ For a full description of Genesis illustration, see Mary-Bess Halford, *Illustration and Text in Lutwin's Eva und Adam*, (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1980). See also Joseph Diemer, *Genesis und Exodus nach der Milstätter Hs.*, (1862, repr. Niederwalluf: Sändig, 1971).

the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, but which looks like an ordinary fruit tree, with an abundance of apples. This is important with regard to Genesis 3. 6, as the tree holds an aesthetic appeal for Eve, who is finally attracted by its fruit as well as by the "klüngen red unnd sag" (1315) of the serpent. The serpent lies across the lower branches, with an apple in its mouth toward which Eve is looking. This is followed by the concordance to Genesis 3. 6, underneath which there is another, similar illustration to the first, except that Adam also appears on the right-hand side and this time the serpent extends the apple farther toward Eve. Unlike the many medieval and sixteenth-century literary and iconographical depictions of the devil disguised as a serpent with a woman's face to attract an unsuspecting Eve, as "like is attracted to like",⁶ the illustrator of the Ruff edition has adhered to Ruff's text and the Bible, and has depicted the serpent simply *as* a serpent. On [D2v] we see the results of the fall; Eve is drawn on the extreme edge of the picture (as though half in hiding?), with Adam, holding leaves, beside her and one of the trees of Paradise to their right. They have also covered themselves with leaves because of the knowledge and awareness of nakedness which they have gained through the eating of the forbidden fruit (Genesis 3. 7). Furthermore, the drawing of *Tod*, a skeletal creature, beneath that of the shamed protoplasts, is in line both with the Ruff text, in which the allegorical figure of Death appears in order to warn the audience of the dire consequences of sinning ([D2v]-D3[r]) and also Genesis 2. 17, in which God warns Adam to expect death if he eats of the tree.

⁶ Maximilian Rudwin, *The Devil in Legend and Literature*, (La Salle: Illinois, 1931, repr. 1989), pp. 43-44. See also J.K. Bownell, "The Serpent with a Human Head in Art and in Mystery Plays", *American Journal of Archaeology*, 21 (1917), 255-91.

The next drawing, on [D6r], depicts the expulsion; Adam and Eve, to the right of the picture, are driven from Eden by an angel who hovers over them with a flaming sword. Here, the illustrator adheres to Ruff's biblical text in which God commands Gabriel "Mit dinem schwärt solt sy vertryben || Und nit mer hie sy lassen blyben" (1571-72) rather than Genesis 3. 21-24, which simply states that the *Cherubim* should guard Eden with a *flaming sword*, although Ruff does go on to state this. The final illustration on [D8v] depicts Ruff's expansion of the biblical version of Adam and Eve in exile. In Genesis 4. 1 we are only told of the birth of Cain, but in Ruff's drama the stage direction reads "Adam gadt ins fãld | Eva ver || sorgt die kind unnd legt sy nider" (p. 107), and in the drawing Eve is, indeed, left with the baby, which is lying swaddled on the ground in the middle of the picture while Adam, to the right, departs with a hoe. What is interesting is that in the drama, Eve bears both Cain and Calmana and, later, Abel and Delbora, but that, in accordance with the biblical pattern, there is only one baby depicted in the drawing

In a sense, the drawings are themselves indicative of the entire play. For while Ruff often departs from and, indeed, extends the Genesis scenes, be it for purposes of edification or dramatic entertainment, like the illustrator he also adheres for the most part to the biblical narrative which is fundamental both to his play and the Lutheran doctrine of *sola scriptura*. As a supporter of the Reformation it is his duty to expound this, of course. The drawings and the Latin/German comment of the Zurich, St. Gallen and Munich editions also call into question the question of ownership, as all the texts must have been in private ownership at one point, before going into the different libraries. Now, however, there is no information on previous owner/s, and surely no one person could have owned all the texts. The presence of the drawings

suggests, rather, that it may have been fashionable to add pictures to a text, especially a *Lesetext* like the Ruff drama. Indeed, in the absence even of the woodcuts used to adorn the title pages of other sixteenth-century prints, such as Hans von Rüte's *Noe* or even the *Zürcher Bibel* itself, the drawings in the various editions of the *Adam und Heva* help to decorate what are otherwise very plain and uninspiring prints to look at.

Berlin:

Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz. Yp 8816 R. The Berlin edition of the *Adam und Heva* is largely unknown, even to Swiss historians of sixteenth-century literature. According to Barbara Thoran, who edited Ruff's *Passionsspiel* (1545), this copy of the *Adam und Heva* is the first play in a *Sammelband*, which is followed by the *Passionsspiel* and then the *Spil von Josephen*, also by Ruff. The *Sammelband* has a wooden cover bound in leather and measures 15.2cm by 9.7 cm. For a full description, see Barbara Thoran, "Zur Einführung", *Das Züricher Passionsspiel: Jacob Rueff: Das Lyden vnsers Herren Jesu Christi das man nempt den Passion. 1545*, (Bochum, 1984), p. 7.

Editorial Principles to this Edition and Notes to the Text:

In the printed text of the *Adam und Heva*, Ruff provides concordances, or references, from Genesis. 1-7 which have been taken from the *Zürcher Bibel von 1531*. These appear in the left or right-hand margins alongside the text on some of the folios, and I have retained the word concordance in my edition to mean parallel reference. In addition, I refer to the Zurich Bible throughout my edition, unless the Luther Bible (1545) is otherwise indicated, and in the commentary, too. Again, though, Kottinger chose to omit from his edition both the concordances and the "Verzeichnung uß der || Bibel des Alters oder ja= || ren der heiligen Altväter | so || in disem Spyl anzo= || gen sind", which appears at the end of the print, seeing them as an encumbrance or *unnützen ballast*, (*Vorrede*, p. v).

For much of the play, however, the concordances occupy only a small part of the margins, although a lengthy passage from Genesis 6. [13-21] begins on [M8v], where it takes up almost half of the margin on the folio. On N[1r], however, it occupies the entire margin as well as two lines of margin on [N2v]. The concordance to Genesis 7. [1-6], (p. 327), on [N8v], also uses half a page of margin, as does Genesis 7. [10-20], which appears on [O7v] and finishes on [O8r]. Apart from the references to Genesis which provide the basis for the drama, and which the dramatist obviously felt to be a necessary addition to his text in order to, perhaps, underscore the play's message, Ruff adds the scriptural references, but omits the text, to Proverbs as The Book of Solomon, 3. [19], and to Wisdom 3. [1] (A3[r]). In addition, he later refers

to the The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans, Romans 2. [3-4], Wisdom 17. [1] and Isaiah 40. [12-14] (all of which appear on A4[r]). Isaiah 14. 11-15 and 12-20 and Revelation 9. 1 and 12. 9 appear on [A8r], Proverbs 8. [1-4, 23 and 33-36] on folio G[1r], Proverbs 4. [1-2 and 4-7] on [G1v], and Wisdom 10. [1-4] on folio [G4v]. Ruff ends the scriptural references in the play on [P2v], with Matthew 24. [37-39] and Luke 17. [26-27]. In this edition of the *Adam und Heva*, I have had to place the concordances to Genesis in italics and in the footnotes rather than alongside the text. I have also added the relevant modern verse numbering to each chapter, such as Genesis 1. [26-27], which is indicated by the square brackets.

With regard to the scriptural references which appear throughout the *Adam und Heva*, I have, again, added the verse numbering as well as the text, which I have italicized. I have placed these, too, in square brackets and in the footnotes, in the following manner, for example: Proverbs 3. [19. *Mit weyßheyt hatt der HERR die erd gegründet | die himmel aber hatt er mit für= || sichtigkeit geschaffen*]. The scriptural references differ from the concordances insofar as they quote fully certain passages from the scriptural narrative while the concordances refer the reader to the relevant biblical passage. Although Ruff uses the Zurich Bible of 1531 as source material for his Genesis commentary, the latter does not include verse numbering in its chapters.

While editing the Zurich copy of the *Adam und Heva*, it has been necessary, at times, to emend errors made by the Froschauer printing house, or later, by Hermann Marcus Kottinger, as well as to add letters or words to the text which have been lost through water damage or have become simply blurred through time. These are all indicated

by the square brackets in the text, while the original is included in the *Apparatus* at the end of this edition and may be found under the appropriate reference to the line number, which I have also added. I also provide, in the *Apparatus*, some explanation for possible vocabulary difficulties, expanding the *Erläuterungen* by Kottinger which appear at the end of his edition. With regard to punctuation throughout my edition and, indeed, the commentary, I use double lines (||) as a means of indicating the end of a sentence, and a single line (|) for the commas used by the dramatist. In his 1848 edition of the *Adam und Heva*, Kottinger chose to supply modern punctuation, which I have omitted, as this edition seeks to offer as faithful a diplomatic rendering of the original text as possible; hence the inclusion of the concordances, scriptural references and the *Verzeichnung* or calculation of the birthdates, years of their lives and deaths of Adam and the patriarchs at the end of the print.

While the purpose of this edition is not to give a linguistic account of the text, but rather to make it more accessible to the modern reader, there are a number of language features which require comment. With regard to orthography, there are a number of points worth noting; in his *Vorrede*, (p. vi), Kottinger notes some of the irregularities in words which appear from time to time in the text, and which I shall highlight in my edition. Here, again, the the line numbers are cited. This is not done in the cases of the nasal bars, which I have resolved, or interchangeable letters such as u/v, i/j, s and z, as examples of these may be found throughout every line of the text and have been modernised. As with modern *Zürichdeutsch*, t is used for d medially and initially, for example, *tunckel* (539) for *dunckel* or *tach* (1764) rather than *dach*; similarly, b appears instead of p: *blatz* (2323) for *platz*; i and y, ey and ei and v and f are also interchangeable, although the latter are the same: *bliben*

(2554) and *blyben* (2706) and there is the occasional archaic or variant spelling of *blyben*, too: *blipt* (586), *Belibst* (594) and *belyben* (2777); *spil* (8) and *Spyl* (48). Often it is the omission of a double consonant or vowel which varies the spellings of the same words throughout the text: *hasß* (21), *underlaß* (22) and *hassz* (1497); *bscheen* (217) and the more usual spelling *beschen* (233); *fürsehen* (172), *sfürseen* (243) and *fürsähen* (2634).

Unlike Kottinger, I have not attempted to standardise these words in any way, but retain them as they are in the original print. Kottinger, on the other hand, follows certain rules, such as the use of the letter y: wherever the letter y appears in the text for ei, Kottinger uses y. This is especially useful in such words as *syn* (the verb), which may then be differentiated from *sin* or *sein* (the pronoun), (*Vorrede*, p. vii), although *syn* as a pronoun and as a possessive adjective also crops up in the text as well. The instances in which Kottinger's orthography differs from that of the 1550 print are too numerous to list in the *Apparatus*, but where Froschauer used â, û, ô, û, Kottinger changes these to ä, ü, ö and uo. He often omits the double *n* in the word *und*, although *unnd* is the more common form of the word in the text. Again, the instances in which he differs from the original text are too numerous to mention, but generally Kottinger writes *und*, *im* and *vom*, that is, he normalises the words into nineteenth-century German usage. Also, Kottinger attempts to give "eine treue abschrift" of the text, but his emendations are frequent and often inconsistent. For example, where the words *verdärben* (25) and *erstärben* (26) appear in the text, we would expect to find them written in Kottinger's edition as *verdärben* and *erstärben*, in accordance with his own editing principles. However, whether due to the poor

conditions or lighting in the nineteenth-century under which he would have worked. Kottinger is not always consistent and his letter changes do not always conform to the text: *verderben* and *erstärben*. Therefore, it often tends to be the case that when Ruff uses an e, Kottinger writes ä or äe, and when Ruff uses â, Kottinger prints e.

In the Zurich print of the *Adam und Heva*, capital letters appear consistently at the beginning of each line and also, for the main part, in the designations of each of the characters. Kottinger also notes that they are some instances in which they are used adjectivally, (*Vorrede*, p. vi), but these are few and occur in the cast list: "Person des Ersten tags || Personen des Andern tags", (A2[r]). I have, accordingly, resolved the capital letters in the way in which they occur in the text. Where nasal bars occur I resolve them, in italics, in the form in which they most often appear: *n*, for example, in *Verzeichnung*, *un* becomes *unnd*; *um* and *darum* become *umb* and *darumb*, although *darumm* appears, occasionally, in the original print, too; *vom* is *vomm* and *im* is *imm*. These are the most common occurrences and as the text in the footnotes is already italicized, those letters with nasal bars have had to be highlighted in bold instead. U/v, of which v, in the original text, is frequently used for u initially, such as in *vnnd* or *umb*, while u may appear in the medial position, such as in *darvon*, have been standardised, just as the long *ʒ*, which appears finally in a word such as in *hert(..)* has been normalised to z. Elsewhere, *ʃ* the long form of s is in the initial position such as *ʃchouwet*, except where capitalisation occurs, where a round s is then used; for example "O Schlang o Schlang uff di *ʃer ʃtett...*" (1313), which also gives us an indication of the use of the *ʃ* medially. The round s is generally used at the end of a word, and I have resolved all forms of s, initially, medially and finally, in the text of my edition. We may note finally the use of *β* medially and,

most commonly, finally: *daßt* (1367) and *Paradyß* (1048).

Other orthographical features of the text include the use of enclisis, syncopation and proclisis. Examples of enclisis, in which the personal pronouns *sie* and *es* and the articles *den* and *das* are contracted and joined to the preceding word can be found throughout the text: *unnds* (261) and *unds* (1390); *Damits* (1112); *ers* and *irs*: "Das ers habe gmeint wie irs verstonde" (1251); *ern* (2355) and *durn* (18). Similarly, in an elliptical sentence, the pronoun *du* is often joined to the conjunction *daß* or to the preceding verb after inversion: *daßt* (1367); *wied* (1448) and *died* (1509). Kottinger adds apostrophes to these words, for example, *er'n*, *dur'n* or *daß'd*. I have left them as they stand in the text. Syncopation occurs in the text in words in which an e has been omitted from the ge- or be- prefix, end of a verb or in words such as *alls* (1486) or the personal pronoun *sinr* (35) which should read *alles* or *siner*. Other examples of syncopation are *bschaffen* (51); *gmacht* (52) and, finally, *gleert* and *gsin* (91). There are the occasional variations of this where the verbs read like modern German: *gesehen* (96). Proclisis appears in words in which the definite article has been contracted so that only the d is joined, initially, to the noun: *dhimmel*, *derden* (51); *in dmitte sParadyß* (1048), in which there is both proclisis in *dmitte*, and enclisis in *sParadyß*; *in draach* (1806) and the rarer form *ind schmach* (1805), in which we also see the interchangeable use of vowels. Proclisis also occurs where *zû* is contracted before a noun or a verb so that only the z is joined to the latter: *zersten* (167) and *zletst* (169); *zûschen*. The shortened form of *dryn* (1161) and *Dwyl* (19 and 181) rather than *darinnen* or *diewyl* are also a form of proclisis.

One final point which requires comment, in the context of the vocabulary and the *Apparatus*, is the use, in modern reference works, of Ruff's language to illustrate the meanings of certain words. The word *Hofmeister*, for instance, in the *Schweizerisches Idiotikon*, is defined in reference to Ruff's *Adam und Heva*. This is often the case with *Grimms Deutsches Wörterbuch*, too, so that it is difficult to establish how common certain expressions or items of vocabulary actually were in sixteenth-century Switzerland or Germany.

The Play:

The *Adam und Heva* is divided into five acts, with an unequal number of scenes in each act. Interestingly, the number of scenes in each of the five acts in Kottinger's edition of the *Adam und Heva* varies quite considerably from the original print, and, therefore, from the present edition. In the drama of the sixteenth-century music is generally used to differentiate between each of the scenes, a dramatic feature which I have adhered to in my edition. Kottinger chooses sometimes to create a new scene whenever a new character appears on stage or whenever speeches are made by a different set of characters, such as the angels, who might be the first to speak, and who might then be followed by the devils, who would then appear in a new scene. At the end of Act 1, scene 1, for instance, music distinguishes the end of the devils' first set of speeches and the beginning of scene 2, where we are presented with a soliloquy by God. In addition, in Act 2, scene 2, the latter ends with music after the appearance of the metaphorical figure of *Tod*, who leaves it up to God to decide the fate of the protoplasts who have just fallen. Kottinger begins the third scene with the appearance of Death. Again, in his *Vorrede*, (p. vii), where Kottinger informs us that

he has copied the text exactly and only emended obvious errors, we are given the impression that he has possibly sub-divided the scenes to make certain parts of the text more accessible for reference; in particular, those scenes, such as in Act 5, which can otherwise seem excessively long. It may also be that Kottinger simply did not note the function of the music. Furthermore, in his edition of the *Adam und Heva*, Act 1 has six scenes, Act 2 eight scenes, Act 3 eight scenes, Act 4 ten scenes and Act 5 as many as 21 scenes.

In the original print, however, the first act begins with the prologue spoken by the *Herold*, followed by the speech made by the *junger knab* and then five scenes. The second act contains seven, and the third, which ends with the "Herolds beschlußred || am ersten tag", ([F8v]), six scenes. The second day begins, again, with the *Herold*, (G3[r]) and continues with act four, which, again, contains six scenes. The fifth act has seven, extremely long scenes, and appears to end, as we would expect, with the *Herold's* final speech. At the end of the *Adam und Heva*, however, and in keeping with a *Lesetext*, Ruff also includes six pages, ([P4v]-[P7r]), of an account of the generations of Adam, which he bases on the whole of Genesis 5. 1-32, and also, as he states, Genesis 11 and Exodus 6, although the biblical narrative does not conform to Ruff's text. Exodus 6. 3 and 8 do, however, mention the names Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, whom Ruff discusses briefly.

Worth noting at the end of the printed text of 1550 is, however, the appearance of extra dialogues between the devils "am ersten tag" which, as we are subsequently told, were omitted from the earlier section of the play:

Der V. Tüfel unnd die dry nach = || folgenden kleinen Tüfel |
 demnach sy uß übersâhung vornenhâr ußgelassen | || sind sy doch
 yetz zeletst not on ursach zû || end diß Spyls getruckt worden. (P3[r])

Thus the dialogues, which were omitted and were, presumably, in Ruff's personal version, are preceded by an apology which underscores the importance of the devils throughout the drama and why they must, "nit on ursach", be included at the end. While I have chosen to leave the diabolical council's speeches in their original position, Kottinger chose to incorporate the dialogues within the main body of the text, where the lack of devilish speeches on the first day of the play disrupts, to a certain extent, the patterning of the drama. For in keeping with the Reformation dialogues, in which each side explains itself, the dialogues of each of the angel and devil characters have a specific order and appear, primarily, in the following manner: *Erst, Ander, Dritt, Vierdt, Fünfft*, so that each angel or devil, young or old, underscores the points made in the previous speech, voices his opinion and ultimately agrees with his master, be he God or Lucifer.

This patterning, however, also serves to emphasise the notion of a democratic diabolical council, with each character systematically having his say, which is particularly important at the start of the play when the devils are plotting the downfall of the creation. The devils' speeches, then, which should have continued with the *Fünfft Tüfel* on B3[r], actually begin with the fifth devil on P3[r]. The *Fünfft Tüfel* is followed by the speeches of the first, second and third young devils and on [P3v] we are told "Am ersten tag redt der fünfft || Tüfel zum anderen mal". Again, the narrative continues with the dialogues of the first, second and third young devils. What is most interesting is the discovery that there are speeches missing from the

second day of the play as well. For at the end of [P3v], we are told "Der fünfft Tüfel spricht || am anderen tag". Again, the speeches of the first, second and third young devils follow this and they end with the words of Lucifer on P4[r]. Initially, Lucifer's speech appears confusing because of its similarity to his words at the beginning of the play. A few words have been changed, though, such as *blaaßbelg* (6380) which is a substitute for *posten* at the start of the play. Apart from minor changes, Lucifer's speech on the first day of the play is almost identical to the speech which appears on P4[r] and, what should be, the second day of the play.

The cast-list (A2[r]-[A2v]), at the beginning of the play is also interesting, although typical of sixteenth-century drama. It consists of 106 biblical and non-biblical characters who take part in the play over two days. Ruff distinguishes between each day of the performance by dividing his cast-list into two separate columns under the headings "Personen des Ersten tags" and "Personen des Andern tags". He thereby creates a definite distinction between what shall happen on the two days of the performance. In addition, Ruff echoes the Bible, Genesis 4. 16-26 and 5. 1-32, by then sub-dividing his cast into the generations of Cain and the generations of Adam, respectively. The Cainites take precedence, here, as they are the first to appear on the second day of the performance, apart from the the introduction by the *Herold*. The dramatic action is linked by the *Herold* of course, but God, Adam and Eve also appear on both days, as does the diabolical council, albeit briefly.

The cast-list of the second day is interesting insofar as it contains the prophets from the Old Testament, such as Enoch, and it ends with Noah and his sons. These Old Testament figures are also interspersed with stock characters of sixteenth-century

Swiss drama, such as the cook, his wife and the *Kuchebüb*,⁷ the prince, the governor of the town, builders, servants, musicians and soldiers, all of whom lend this essentially biblical drama a more contemporary appeal. Indeed, Ruff emphasises the difference between the dramatic action on the two days and reveals that original sin, presented on the first day and later exemplified in Cain, finally leads to the demise of man's descendants in the flood on the second day of the play.

The Prologue:

On the first day of the *Adam und Heva*, the performance begins with the prologue which is spoken by the *Herold*. It begins on A3[r] and ends on [A4v], and is immediately followed by the *junger knab* (A5[r] - [A6v]). The speeches are, incidentally, largely repetitive. In line with other sixteenth-century drama,⁸ however, the *Herold* begins the play by greeting the patricians and citizens of Zurich and he tells them that the performance is being given in honour of God and their famous town as well as for the entertainment of Zurich's citizens. The play they are about to see shall tell, as it does in the Bible, of God's purpose in creating the world and of the creation of the world itself. Throughout his speech the *Herold* refers to Solomon, to the Book of Wisdom, to St. Paul and to Isaiah in order to underscore the play's arguments as well as the fact that the play is based on the Bible. These biblical references, as I have already mentioned, may be found in the footnotes to the edition. One other very important point about this prologue, and we find this

⁷ Wolfgang Michael, *Das deutsche Drama der Reformationszeit*, (Bern: Peter Lang, 1984), pp. 149-161.

⁸ Derek van Abbé, *Drama in Renaissance Germany and Switzerland*, (Melbourne: University Press, 1961), pp. 27-28.

throughout the speech made by the *junger knab* as well, is that there appear to be many allusions to the Reformer Huldrych Zwingli's treatise "Von der göttlichen Vorsehung",⁹ which is discussed at length in the commentary to this edition, in the chapter *Adam, Eve and Death*.

Firstly, though, we are told that God created man from the dust and in His image and gave him both dominion over the earth and the gift of immortality. The devil, however, in his anger at being usurped by man decided to exact revenge on God and His creation by turning man away from God, a feat in which he succeeded by causing man to sin. Here, the *Herold* introduces the notion of original sin and its seemingly dire consequences for man; with sin came the loss of immortality which was then passed on through the generations of man. The *Herold* leaves this argument for the time being, for it is later taken up and expanded by the *junger knab*, and proclaims instead and with references to Wisdom, St. Paul and Isaiah, God's wisdom, grace and, most importantly, His providence. Here, we find faint echoes of Zwinglian doctrine; where did God learn His wisdom and what caused Him to create the world and man? who is old enough that He might ask them for advice? According to the *Herold*, however, none of this really matters, but what is important is that God bestows His mercy upon whomsoever He chooses. The *Herold* then takes on the traditional role of the dramatic *precursor* and asks the audience to remain quiet throughout the performance and to listen to what the *junger knab* has to say, as the latter's purpose is to proclaim God's power.

⁹ "Von der göttlichen Vorsehung", *Ulrich Zwingli: Eine Auswahl aus seinen Schriften*, ed. by Arnold Rüegg, Georg Finsler and Walther Köhler. (Zurich: Schulthess & Co. 1918), pp. 757-96.

The *junger knab*, in a speech which is much longer than the *Herold*'s, begins by discussing God's creation of the angels: they were created beautiful, out of nothing, and should fulfil God's will for the sake of man that they may, thereby, take pleasure in man's salvation. One of the major prerequisites of the angels is that they may not be found to be guilty of pride or *superbia*. Some of the angels, however, wanted to rise above God who bestowed beauty on them and were cast out of heaven as a result of their foolish *hoffart*, (see Isaiah 14. 11-20 and Revelation 9. 1 and 12. 9). We are then made aware of the reason for the devils' envy of man, an argument begun by the *Herold*: the fall of the rebel angels left an emptiness in heaven which God decided to fill with the creation of man from the dust, so that man might inherit heaven and the eternal joy and salvation previously intended for the fallen angels. God's goodness, mercy, omnipotence and omniscience, again echoing Zwingli's "Von der Vorsehung", are stressed throughout the speech, for He knows the smallest and the largest thing, the past and the future; He knows man's inconstancy and the imminent destruction of the world, but through it all man is still able to ask Him for grace. The world was created in a specific order for various reasons: God created the inconstant, destructible world first of all so that whatever came out of the earth would take on the nature of that earth; if man was created from the dust, then he could become dust again. God allowed man to be tempted by the devil in order to later show man mercy, by sending Christ, and show him the path from evil to piety. Toward the end of his speech, the *junger knab* returns to Genesis 2. 7:

Und Gott der HERR machet || den menschen auß kath
 von der erden | unnd || bließ in sein angesicht einn
 läbendigen athem. || Unnd also ward der mensch ein
 läbendige seel. (*Zürcher Bibel*)

According to the *junger knab*, this is what the play is all about; God gave man alone, and *not* the animals, the highest reason to rule over the entire creation. Inherent in this gift of reason is the eternal soul which is not extinguished by human death. Everything in the world is pre-ordained; the winds, heaven and earth are symbols of God's providence. The *junger knab* ends his speech with a request to the audience to abstain from going against God's commandment. He explains that the play shall begin with the expulsion of Lucifer and the rebel angels from heaven and how and why God created man in their place. Once again and equivalent to the *silete* of medieval drama, the audience is asked to remain silent as the play will begin with the angels as soon as the music ends.

Act 1, scene 1 begins with a stage direction; Michael, Gabriel, four small angels and two older angels with swords drawn drive Lucifer and the fallen angels out of heaven with two trumpets. Extra noise is created on stage by shots being fired. The devils are, of course, non-biblical, but they are an important feature of medieval drama insofar as they both amuse and terrorize the audience; this, too, is discussed at length in the chapter *God, the Angels and the Devils*. Throughout the first part of this scene, however, the angels' speeches confirm God's anger with the rebel devils. He has not only had them expelled from heaven, but he has relieved them of their beauty, immortality and angelic orders. They have, in short, become devils, comparable to the worm and serpent and not deserving of God's grace. As such they shall live in eternal shame and damnation. Michael, with reference to Isaiah 14. 11-15, re-affirms Lucifer's *hoffart*, for he wanted to place his throne above God's, a sin for which God has now punished him and his followers. The *Erst Engel* states that as Lucifer must remain imprisoned for all eternity he must be chained up. Lucifer's

chains are the chains of all evil from which he may never be released.

In scene one, however, Lucifer, in a very unbiblical manner, bemoans the loss of his beauty, angelic orders, eternal chains and damnation, all of which is then reiterated, mournfully, by the other young and old devils. Lucifer's suffering drives him toward a plan of action whereby the devils might avenge their fall and wreak havoc on God and His creation. In accordance with the notion of the diabolical council, Lucifer looks, first of all, to Satan for agreement. Satan has the idea of sending a messenger to creep after God and spy on His actions. When the messenger returns to the devils with his news, they shall be able to plan how to bring about the downfall of the creation. All the devils agree to this. The scene ends, on B3[r], with the fourth devil and Lucifer telling all the devils to run back into hell as quickly as possible in order to prepare the messenger for action. If they are all in agreement with the plan, they should return to hell with as much noise as possible. The devils duly oblige and set the *Tüfels bottschafft* to his task.

Scene 2, on B3[r], opens with a soliloquy in which God tells of how he has created heaven and earth, wind and water, the sun, moon and stars, night and day, the fish in the sea, beasts of the earth and birds of the air and all types of fruit with its seeds according to his will and divine providence, and with *the Word*. God decides to create immortal man, Adam, in His image, with an eternal soul which shall rule Adam's nature and lead him to goodness. The scene ends on B5[r] when God tells Adam that He shall create a garden over which Adam shall have dominion.

Scene 3: God plants the Garden of Eden for Adam and leads him to it. In the middle of Paradise, God plants a special tree, the tree of the knowledge of good and evil and forbids Adam to eat of it. He discusses the various rivers which are to provide the garden with sustenance, (Genesis 2. 10-14), and the scene ends on [B6r] with God placing Adam in Paradise.

Scene 4: Paradise has been created for Adam that within it he might recognise and understand his God. There is, again, a warning and a rather unusual argument, with regard particularly to the Protestant concept of *sola scriptura*, "by Scripture alone"; firstly, Genesis 2. 9 states that there are two trees; the Tree of Life and the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil.¹⁰ Ruff, however, combines the trees, so that Ruff's God informs Adam that he may eat of the all the trees in the garden, except of the Tree of the Knowledge of Good and Evil. There will come a time, though, when God shall give Adam the power to eat of the tree, but until then he must keep God's commandment or face certain death. God presents Adam with all the beasts and birds of Paradise and asks him to name them. Scene 4 ends 9 pages later, on C3[r], with Adam having named and commented upon over eighty beasts and birds.

Scene 5: on C3[r] Adam tells God that he loves the animals but that none of them will stay by his side. He has no helpmeet, which God decides to rectify. He requests that Adam should fall asleep and creates Eve from a rib of the sleeping Adam. God gives her to him, with various commands, such as that she should always obey and listen to her husband and not cause him any displeasure. He also

¹⁰ "Unnd Gott der HERR ließ auffwachsen al= || lerley bbum lustig anzusehen unnd glät zü essen. || Unnd den baum des läbens mitten im garten | || und den baum S erkantnuß glätes unnd böses". (Genesis 2. 9. Zürcher Bibel).

requests that the couple live in innocence before him and tells them "Fruchtbar und merend euch | unnd || füllend die erden | und beherrschend sy" (Genesis 1. 28). Scene 5 ends on [C4v] with God blessing the couple and reiterating his promise that Adam shall rule over the birds of the air, beasts of the earth and fish of the sea.

Act 2, scene 1 is an amusing scene in which the devil's messenger returns from his travels and bangs on hell's door in order to gain entry [C4v]. The starving and thirsty *bottschaft* has followed God everywhere and tells the other devils of His creation. He relates how man has been given dominion over Paradise, but that there may be a way to make man fall, namely through the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. He asks the diabolical council to think of a way in which Adam might be made to eat the fruit of the forbidden tree. This must also be done quickly before Adam is given power and salvation by God and becomes untouchable by evil. Lucifer, then Satan, decide to send the serpent to tempt Eve, for they believe that she will be able to talk her husband into eating the forbidden fruit. Again, all the devils agree; Lucifer takes a democratic vote in which all the devils raise their hands in agreement and they all run back into hell on [C7v].

Scene 2: Adam and Eve, also on [C7v], are walking in Paradise and they pledge their eternal loyalty and love for one another. They determine to pray to God that He might help them to keep His commandment, rather than risk damnation. After a lengthy discussion about God's commandment which takes place between Eve and the serpent, the serpent finally succeeds in tempting Eve with the beauty of the fruit. For how can something so lovely be so dangerous? Adam tries to warn Eve not to eat the apple, but eventually gives in to her pleas and eats of the fruit, too. The

scene ends on D3[r] when the allegorical figure of Death appears. He is born of sin and has the power to take life whenever it pleases him and, most importantly, to punish sin with death. In the case of Adam and Eve, however, Death leaves it to God to tell the protoplasts that their hour has come to die.

Scene 3 begins as a stage direction on the bottom of D3[r], and the scene itself, which is based firmly on Genesis 3. 8-9, is continued on [D3v]. Adam and Eve hear God's voice as He is walking in the Garden of Eden, and they hide themselves. God, who cannot find them, understands immediately that they have fallen. Initially, Adam denies what has happened, then he blames Eve for the Fall, who, in turn, blames the serpent. At the same time, though, the Protestant Ruff, in line with the Reformation tenets of *sola fide* and *sola gratia* has Eve plead for God's grace, as the protoplasts recognise their sin. Furthermore, in accordance with the scriptural narrative, the serpent is cursed; it shall crawl on its belly and eat dust all of its days, and there shall be enmity between serpent and woman, whose heel shall be bruised by the serpent, while the latter's head shall be bruised by woman's heel. For her role in the Fall, Eve is promised pain and suffering in childbirth, while Adam must work a hostile environment of thorns and thistles in order to sustain them. The scene ends on [D5v] with Adam naming his wife *Eve* as the mother of all living things.

Scene 4: on [D5v], God returns to the protoplasts, bringing with him skins with which Adam and Eve clothe themselves. A non-biblical, but entirely appropriate feature in terms of the Reformation in this scene is that God also promises the protoplasts Salvation through Christ. Indeed, even Adam's descendants, in whom original sin shall pass from generation to generation, will find Redemption through

God and His Son. God then orders the angel Gabriel to banish Adam and Eve from Eden with his flaming sword and, along with the *Cherubim*, to protect Paradise with weapons so that no man might be tempted to eat of the fruit ever again. There follows a discussion by Adam and Eve on the plight of their situation; Eve expresses sorrow for Adam's suffering, but requests that he stand by her in her hour of need. She will place her trust in him and he, in turn, will ask of her whatever he will. Yet, even in exile, their faith is unwavering, as Ruff depicts them as true believers. For they continue to reiterate their faith and hope in God, which is answered by the births of a son and daughter (non-biblical, but apocryphal) at the end of the scene on [D7v].

Scene 5: Adam and Eve praise God for His mercy and grace in the births of their two children which Eve bore with suffering, according to God's will. As Adam is the children's legal father, another contemporary feature of Ruff's, Eve requests that he love the children above all else and help her to educate and protect them. Adam names the children Cain and Calmana, and while the marriage of the children is non-biblical, in line with Genesis 4. 2, Cain is designated a tiller of the ground. Adam agrees to provide for his family, and he and Eve state their intentions of bringing up the children together and according to God's law. The scene ends on [D8v], with Adam preparing to find nourishment for his family and Eve looking after the children.

Scene 6 sees the birth of another two children, Abel and Delbora, and again, while the children marry. Abel is designated, according to Genesis 4. 2, as a keeper of the sheep. Ruff also introduces the biblical notion of the sacrifice and the idea that, inherent in piety and the worship of God, is the offering of a sacrifice unto God. Eve

asks Adam to teach Cain the rudiments of farming, to which Adam agrees, and there is a reference to the protoplasts producing more children which anticipates Genesis 5. 1-32 where the genealogy of the generations of Adam is listed. Cain appears willing to accompany his father and aid in the building of a shelter and hunting of animals for clothes and food for his family. The christological basis of the *Adam und Heva* arises once more in a lengthy prayer by Adam to God for Salvation, which is underscored by Eve a little later on as they repent their sin. The scene ends on [E3v] with Eve's words on how they shall, on the following morning, give thanks to God for providing them with sustenance and also ensure the proper marriage of the children according to God's Word.

Scene 7: the marriages between Cain and Calmana and between Abel and Delbora take place.

Act 3, Scene 1: in an expansion of and possible explanation to Genesis 3-8, where Cain's sacrifice of his crop is rejected by God and Abel's accepted, Abel reminds his brother of their father's instructions, which are to honour God by offering up the best of their produce. Cain becomes angry at this, and he refuses both to sacrifice his good crop to a God who has no need of it and to listen to a brother whom he perceives as an enemy and someone who is attempting to give him orders. Abel sacrifices a lamb, placing his trust and faith in God and praying to Him to show them all grace and mercy. God thereby accepts Abel's offering and rejects Cain's, as Genesis 4. 4-5 states. At the end of the scene, Cain, in his fury, determines himself that his brother shall suffer as a result of being in God's favour while he, Cain, must follow the ways of sin.

Scene 2: an unsuspecting Adam reveals his approval at his sons' offering of the best of their produce to God, and, ironically, he requests that they always work side by side in a friendly manner, doing the best for each other and not rising up against one another. Cain promises to do his best, but states that he will not be ruled by Abel, while Abel informs his father of Cain's dissent and envy. In a speech portentous of the second day of the play, Adam's warning to Cain is ominous; since they are already being punished because of Adam's sin, Cain would be advised to change his wayward behaviour and to beg God for forgiveness, instead of inciting His anger. Cain and Abel are sent off to work peacefully together, while Adam and Eve discuss their fears regarding their children. Calmana and Adam's greatest joy would be if Cain were to become more pious, while Eve expresses her fear of having more children; if a fight arises between only two of them, how awful might things become if there were lots of children? A further portent of what's to come. On [F1v], Adam is sent to look for the children and to ensure that nothing untoward has occurred.

Scene 3: Cain argues with Abel and accuses his brother of shaming him before God and Adam. The fratricide, which takes place afterwards, is particularly unpleasant and non-biblical as Cain deals Abel three death blows with a hoe, exalts in his brother's death and attempts to hide the body. Another non-biblical feature is that Adam, looking for the boys, stumbles upon Abel's body and understands immediately that Cain has committed the fratricide. He calls to Eve to witness the scene, and they carry Abel's body home (F5[r]).

Scene 4 is biblical (Genesis 4. 9-16); God confronts Cain with what he has done and curses him; he shall wander the earth where he shall reap no rewards from the

hostile ground, and he shall live out his days in fear and suffering. Cain, however, fears he will be killed by any who find him, but God informs him that although he has committed murder, He will set a mark on Cain which shall protect him.

Scene 5: Delbora bewails the murder of her pious and righteous husband. Adam asks her not to question Abel's death as everything occurs as part of God's providence, and they are, in any case, to blame for their present suffering, which only God may end. The protoplasts question how Cain could slay his own brother, and they decide that the devil must have incited Cain to evil and to sin, just as the serpent tempted them, too; and, where there is sin, there is godlessness, and they must attempt to live god-fearing lives in order to be redeemed. One final point is Adam's faith in God and his belief that He will give them better children. The *Herold's* closing words of the first day and opening words of the second day follow this, as does the second speech by the *junger knab*, who introduces the next part of the biblical narrative (Genesis 4. 16); Cain, exiled to the Land of Nod with his wife (although Genesis 4. 17 only implies this), has a child, Enoch, and decides to build and name a city for his son; *Hanoch* in the drama. The *junger knab* makes the point that Cain built a city in which *hoffart* took hold, while Adam and his kin had faith in God and called on Him at all times; that Cain, with his well-dressed wife and kin, will begin the next scene and that the second day of the play's action will teach of how sin took hold of the world and of how God had to send the Flood to punish the sinners.

Scene 6: Cain talks of how he has been punished by God and of how he must live out his days in fear and suffering. He understands that there will be no joy for him

on earth, only fear and suffering, and he decides, therefore, to build a city in which he might be protected. Cain's fears involve Adam's descendants, who, if they were to multiply, might represent a threat to him. He has no intention of becoming their servant, and he and his kin (according to the list of Cain's descendants in Genesis 4. 18-22) agree on a number of worldly pursuits with which to develop their own society; to develop, for example, manual skills, such as weaving and sewing; to indulge in worldly pursuits; to allow their children to come together with whomsoever they choose and to decide on their own weddings, if need be; to pursue merchant interests and gain, thereby, lots of gold and money, and to build a city of castles, towers and walls in which they might all be protected. They would, furthermore, prefer to live in a more polite manner and in expensive clothes in the city than remain farmers all their lives. Finally, as soon as they have themselves expanded, they intend to take up arms and drive away Adam's kin. The first non-biblical characters of the second day of the play, the *Meister Steinmetz* and *Zimmermann*, appear on H4[r], followed by the *Buwmeister* and the *Tachtecker* on [H4v], where the scene, and indeed Act 3, end.

Scene 1, Act 4 on H5[r] and [H5v] is based on Genesis 5. 1-32, where the descendants of Adam are listed. In this scene, Adam is talking to his kin and reminding them of how God sent Seth in Abel's place (Genesis 4. 26), and how God has provided Seth with a son, Enos. Adam then speaks of the fratricide and of Cain's devilish nature, and he stresses the fact that as long as the Cainites live on earth, they shall ignore God's law. He and Eve ask their kin to have faith in God and to uphold His commandment so that God will show them grace and send Christ to redeem their sins. In order to underscore their faith in God, they shall offer Him sacrifices, too.

Each child of Adam (as well as each wife) reiterates faith in God and promises to avoid sin which will, in the end, provoke the wrath and punishment of God. On I[1r], Jared speaks of his son, Henoeh's, death, when God will call Henoeh unto Him, after he has fulfilled his role as God's prophet, that is. On I3[r], Mathusalah refers to his son, Noah's, future role as a prophet, too, and the fact that both believers and unbelievers may be shown God's grace; there is still a chance for the Cainites to improve their ways before God sends His punishment. Adam ends the scene on [I4v] with a comment on how Cain has been possessed by the devil, and also, how the devil first possesses men and forces them to do things; then men do not notice the devil is there anymore, until it is too late.

Scene 2: as the basis for Genesis 4. 23, in which Lemech (or Lamech, as he is in the Bible) slays a man and wounds a young man, Ruff's Lemech decides to go hunting and catch a decent beast with which to share a meal with his family before he dies. Ada asks him to take one of the boys with him as a guide, as his eyesight is so bad, which Lemech does. Lemech's failing eyesight, however, causes him to kill a *bidermann* with his bow and, in his anger at the boy who was supposed to be his eyes, Lemech kills him. The boy turns out to be one of Lemech's own kin. Lemech understands that he has sinned and that (in line with Genesis 4. 24) he is in danger of being avenged. He and his wives prepare to depart for another land, in which they presume they will be safer.

Scene 3: in this scene, Adam and his kin offer up sacrifices to God, reiterating their firm belief in Him and in His commandment and praying for God's grace and Redemption through Christ, as they do so. Ruff introduces the Reformation notion

of the elect when God, first of all, informs the Sethites of His acceptance of their sacrifices and, also, that He has chosen those, whose faith is steadfast, for salvation. In order to obtain this salvation, though, they must remain on a righteous path. Henoch, as one of the elect, is asked to approach the Cainites and to inform them of God's anger at and impending punishment of their sinful ways. The scene ends on K2[r], with Henoch agreeing to do God's will.

Scene 4 sees Henoch approaching Cain, Lemech and the wicked generations and attempting to impart God's message. In a continual torrent of verbal abuse, Henoch is informed that if God wants to talk to them, He can do it Himself. Even the fact that God has chosen the hour of their punishment is of no concern to the Cainites. Henoch, unsuccessful in his attempt to make the Cainites see the error of their sinful ways and praying that God will, nonetheless, show them grace, returns to the Sethites on K5[r].

Scene 5: the death of Adam has the Sethites expressing their sorrow and worrying that their generation will diminish in number. While they all assist Seth in the burial of his father, Henoch speaks with God. After listing the wicked deeds perpetrated by the Cainites, Henoch expresses his profound unhappiness at their refusal to recognise either God's goodness or His willingness to save them. Henoch no longer wishes to live and God, in acknowledgement of his weariness, takes him unto Him. Noah then warns of the day when God will punish the wickedness of the world, and he implores his family to remain god-fearing and faithful so that God will punish the sinners and redeem the believers. His wife and sons, Sem, Ham and Japhet, agree.

Scene 6: the diabolical council makes another appearance on [K7r], where the *Tüfels bottschafft* returns to hell to inform Lucifer and his minions about what has been happening in the world. The *bottschafft* relates the events of the fratricide and of the building of Hanoch, and of how he compelled Cain to murder his brother and caused him, and his descendants, to become corrupt. Furthermore, he tells of God's newest commandment, which is that the sons of God (the Sethites) should not mix with the daughters of men (the Cainites); again, God's commandment is only implied in Genesis 6. 2-3, where it states that God decided to number man's days when the generations began to mix. The *bottschafft*, however, intends to exact revenge on God by thwarting His law and bringing the generations together, a somewhat easy task for the diabolical council since Adam is dead and the Cainites are far more attractive than the Sethites anyway; thus the world will be forever corrupt. This time, however, Satan suggests that the devils take to ^{the} outside world to wreak their havoc, and they exit in noisy agreement as usual.

Act 5, Scene 1: again, Ruff bases his scene on Genesis 6. 2, where the sons of God find themselves attracted to the daughters of men and choose the latter as wives. In this first scene, the first man (from the sons of God) discusses, with his friend, the fact that he has never seen more beautiful and free (from God's law, that is) people than those in the streets of Hanoch. He intends, therefore, to find himself a wife amongst them. His friend reminds him that God, Adam and Henoah have forbidden them to have any contact with the Cainites because they pursue worldly pleasures and neither believe in nor have faith in God; it is also nonsense for the other to think that the Cainites might also be converted to their faith through marriage and through a new generation of children. He leaves the first man to pursue his friendship with one

of the daughters of men, who, with a friend, also enters the scene on L4[r]. She desires a Sethite man because she has heard it said that the Sethites have learned Cainite ways.

In contrast to the first conversation between the men, the first Cainite woman cannot believe that her friend (the second Cainite woman) would want a Sethite male because they are boring; all they do is pray and they are not nice to their woman. She claims that they do not have the same beliefs as the Cainites either, and, if the second woman insists on pursuing a Sethite and it all goes wrong, she need not complain to her friend. Ruff then depicts a meeting between the first friend from the children of God and the second woman from the daughters of men, whereupon, at the end of the scene, the Cainite woman persuades the Sethite man to leave his kin and join hers.

Scene 2: also based on Genesis 6. 3 in which God, in his anger at the mixing of the generations, decides to punish man after one hundred and twenty days. Before he does, though, he will give the wicked generations one last chance by sending Noah to Hanoah to try to warn them of His judgement. Despite everything, they may still obtain God's grace. In the meantime, Seth has died, and Enos and Kenan, his sons, ask Mahalaleel, Jared, Mathusalah and Lamech to help them bury their father. Jared expresses, once more, his fear that their kin will decline because of Seth's death. This scene ends on [L8r] with Seth's burial.

Scene 3 introduces the giants of Genesis 6. 4, who, in the Ruff drama are truly wicked and encompass all the evils of Hanoah: warrior-like tendencies, violence, avarice, tyranny, robbery, murder, rape and gluttony. They decide that their strength

is enough to help them conquer any city and they may do so without fear of retribution, because Cain and Lemech committed heinous crimes and the most punishment they received was banishment. Subsequently, the giants kill and rob two men, and then decide to go off and rape, swear, drink and generally show contempt for God in as many ways as they possibly can.

Scene 4: in Genesis 6. 5-12, God understands that the wickedness on earth has multiplied and that He must now destroy everything He has created; only Noah and his kin, who have true faith in God, will be exempt from this punishment, as even God's own people have subjected themselves to the devil. God determines, again, to send Noah to the Cainites to ask them to abstain from sin. Mahalaleel and his family discuss recent events, such as the murder of the two men, the wickedness on earth and how Adam and Seth strived to keep their kin in God's grace. They reiterate their faith in God, even though the times are dangerous and Noah has just witnessed, first hand, the wickedness in Hanoah. They mention, too, the fact that God has not attempted to punish the Cainites in any way, but that they will remain faithful to Him, nonetheless. Kenan dies and is buried at the end of the scene [M8v].

Scene 5 echoes Genesis 6. 13 where God decides to flood the earth, drowning birds of the air, beasts of the earth and all men, in order to bring evil to an end; again, Noah and his family alone have earned God's grace and will, therefore, be saved. Noah is given specific instructions to build an ark, and to take with them two of every living thing into the ark, along with enough nourishment to sustain them through the Flood. Noah expresses his grief at the kin and friends he will lose in the Flood, but stresses God's justice as well as expresses the fact that it is more

honourable to die a natural death than to die in shame, in the name of sin. On N3[r], the scene ends with the construction of the ark.

Scene 6: Mathusalah dies and is buried and the contemporary characters of sixteenth-century Zurich appear on stage; the *Statthalter*, *Trugsâß* and *Hofmeister*. They discuss the prince's annual birthday feast which he has not yet organised, and the *Trugsâß* is charged with reminding the prince about it. The prince agrees to spare no cost in producing a feast for his guests and asks the *Trugsâß* to arrange for musicians to go from house to house and to invite people to the feast. His wife (the princess) reminds the *Trugsâß* to ensure that the court is well-organised too. Everyone at court, from the servants and the maids to the cooks and guards, is given strict instructions on how to prepare for the birthday celebrations. This scene is often amusing as the *Kâller* looks forward to his wine and the cook and his wife argue over his threats to beat her up if her cooking is less than perfect in his eyes. On [N6v], the musicians lead the guests into the prince's court, where they are welcomed by the *Trugsâß*, and the musicians then lead both the court and the guests into town again. An argument brews in the kitchen again because of the state of the cook's food and presently the guests have been served with food and wine.

In the meantime, the ark has been completed and Noah lists, once again, the Cainites' vices which have brought the world to the brink of catastrophe. Ruff then echoes Genesis 7. 1-4, in which Noah is instructed to enter the ark: before he does, though, he must fulfil one more task for God and enter Hanoeh for a second time: although this will be God's third warning, He is still prepared to be merciful toward the

Cainites. Noah is fully aware of the reception awaiting him in Hanoch, especially in view of what happened to Enoch, and he does, indeed, find the Cainites abusive and contemptuous. One of the servants attempts to help Noah by advising him to leave before he is hurt. The *erst hußknecht* reminds the assembled company of the legend of Cain and of the fratricide, and that there is no point in believing prophets, for, according to them, the world would have been destroyed long since because of Cain's crime. They also believe that they have not been created in vain and that God would not destroy His own creation. The Cainites become very threatening toward Noah, who leaves and enters the ark with his wife, children and animals (Genesis 7. 5-9).

Scene 7: the prince and his guests prepare to make for the bridge where there will be singing, and while they head off, the *Gwardi Houptmann* begins to have doubts about Noah's warning. Although the weather looks fine, he knows Noah and his kin to be righteous, honest people, and he begins to believe in the prophecy and that it might be better to have faith in God. He now fears for the consequences of their sinning. Initially, the *Lütenant* does not agree, mainly because of the good weather, but the *Fenderich*, who also knows Noah and his kin, convinces him that they should all fear Noah's words. They decide to wait at the city gates and watch the weather, in case the prophecy comes true. At that point, the first sounds of gunshot and fireworks can be heard, threatening the onset of the Flood.

A woman from the children of God alludes to Henoeh's warning of God's intended punishment and how they all ignored it. She realises that they have all lived in sin, without belief in God, and showing Him contempt at all times. She and her family flee to the hills, where they believe, mistakenly, that they will be safe. The *Gwardi*

Hauptmann then informs the prince and his guests of their ignorance: for while they indulge in gluttony, men and women of the gentry and of the land, are fleeing for their lives. Furthermore, the court's behaviour illustrates fully the futility of God's warnings, because, even now, in this moment of great suffering all over the land, they ignore God's warning. The *Lütenant* and the *Fenderich* and *Vorfenderich* beg the revellers to listen to the *Hauptmann* and to flee to the hills for safety, as the waters are rising quickly, drowning man and beast. Young and old flee to the hills, screaming, with the sound of fireworks and gunshot underscoring the terrifying punishment of the Flood. The *Herold* then sums up the action and soteriological message of the *Adam und Heva* at the very end of the drama, reminding the audience of how God created the world and of how man fell, only to be promised life again through Christ, whom God, in His grace and mercy, sent mankind.