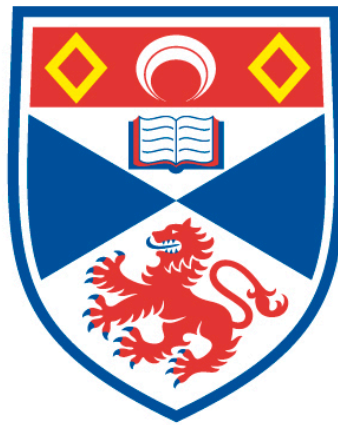


*BIBLE AND THEOLOGY AT WORK: THE CREATIVE ENERGY OF  
DOROTHY L. SAYERS' THE MAN BORN TO BE KING*

Kathryn Hannah Wehr

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD  
at the  
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*Bible and Theology at Work:*  
*The Creative Energy of Dorothy L. Sayers'*  
The Man Born to be King

Kathryn Hannah Wehr



University of  
St Andrews

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy in Divinity  
at the  
University of St Andrews

26 June 2017

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The BBC has granted permission to print the included extracts from unpublished letters written by James Welch to Sayers, both for the printed and electronic versions of this PhD thesis. Special thanks to Trish Hayes at the BBC Written Archives in Reading for helping me during my days of archival research and helping me secure the permission of use.

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## Abstract

This study centres on the biblical and theological work behind Dorothy L. Sayers' 12-part play-cycle, *The Man Born to be King*, aired on the BBC between 1941-42. Investigation begins by testing various unsubstantiated statements by biographers and scholars through a line-by-line analysis of the scripts, the results of which can be found in two large tables of information about how Sayers used each pericope in the Gospels (Appendix A) and a list of every known biblical reference within the play-cycle (Appendix C).

Sayers' reported privileging of the Gospel of John gives way to evidence that Synoptic content outweighs Johannine by sheer bulk of material while preference is clearly given to stories that appear in both John and the Synoptics. Sayers' reported avoidance of the Authorized Version gives way to limited but consistent use of the AV for the narrator, for Old Testament quotations, and a special use of the Coverdale Psalms from the Book of Common Prayer. A study of Sayers' six secondary sources shows significant influence upon historic details and characterisation. By covering new ground through in-depth script and source analysis, these studies reveal, expand upon, and often contradict previous assumptions regarding Sayers' sources and working process.

In the area of theological studies, investigation begins with Sayers' own claim that she had no original theology—that she merely re-stated the Church's teaching. First, Sayers' identity as an Anglo-Catholic is explored to understand what she means by 'Catholic' and 'the Church'. Having thus located Sayers within a particular tradition, Sayers' Christology (building upon her emphasis on the Creed) and Eschatology (building upon her chosen theme of the Kingship of Christ) within the plays are considered within their broader context of early twentieth-century Anglo-Catholic and wider theology. Sayers' theological originality is then proposed in relation to how she brought theology to life in dramatic form.



## Introduction:

### Work: 'The Creative Activity that Can Redeem the World'

By the time Dorothy L. Sayers was commissioned by the BBC to write the cycle of plays on the life of Jesus Christ that became *The Man Born to be King*,<sup>1</sup> she had developed a thoroughgoing philosophy of work that it is 'worth doing and well done'.<sup>2</sup> This theme becomes central in her mystery novel *Gaudy Night* (1935), and continues through her first play, *The Zeal of Thy House* (1937), various essays and lectures, and the book *The Mind of the Maker* (1941). There is, as P.D. James put it, '...the unifying theme in all her work of the almost sacramental importance of man's creative activity'.<sup>3</sup> Sayers wrestled with what it means to 'do one's proper job' as a creative artist, and articulated a clear vision of how artistic work reflects the pattern of the Creator.

*The Man Born to be King* is sometimes seen as an anomaly—an impressive but surprising detour between her mystery fiction and her work on Dante. It was a large commission from the BBC—'a good job of work'<sup>4</sup>—but this *work* is too often overshadowed by the fiery private battle of words over the first script and the public controversy surrounding the first broadcast. These clashes have made juicy stories in biographies, presented with a laugh and a wink at Sayers' strong, sparring language ('Oh no you don't, my poppet!'<sup>5</sup>), yet there is a deeper story of what Sayers understood herself to be doing. *The Man Born to be King* deserves to be studied as an example of Sayers *at work*: how she went about researching and writing the plays, how she used the four Gospels and other sources, and how she explored and emphasised key theological themes. In this way, we see her putting her theories

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<sup>1</sup> Dorothy L. Sayers, *The Man Born to be King* (London: Gollancz, 1943). This book will hereafter be cited as 'MBTBK'.

<sup>2</sup> Dorothy L. Sayers, 'Address given by Miss Dorothy L. Sayers at St. Martin's in the Fields on 6.2.42' Wade Center Document, Sayers Archive Folder 486b/140. The Marion E. Wade Center, Wheaton College, Wheaton, IL. Unpublished documents from the Wade Center Archives will hereafter be listed as 'Wade Document' with appropriate folder and page numbers.

<sup>3</sup> P.D. James, 'Forward' to James Brabazon, *Dorothy L. Sayers: A Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1981), xvi.

<sup>4</sup> 'Dorothy L. Sayers, 'Living to Work' in *Unpopular Opinions* (London: Gollancz, 1946), 123.

<sup>5</sup> Letter to Derek McCulloch, 28 November 1940. *The Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers, Volume 2* (New York, St Martin's Press, 1997), 201.



into practice, showing what it means for a Christian writer to live out her vocation, not just because of the specifically Christian content, but because the work itself is worthy of being done well, using all the skill, time, and energy she could bring to it. Such work, in partnership with and in imitation of the Creator, could indeed be ‘the creative activity that can redeem the world’.<sup>6</sup>

Before looking in-depth in the chapters that follow at how Sayers employed the theologian-workman’s tools of biblical studies and doctrine in creating her twelve-part play cycle, we will begin with the understanding of work out of which her playwriting flowed. Sayers’ theology of work is indispensable in understanding the effort that went into *The Man Born to be King*; the plays can be considered in the light of Sayers doing her ‘proper job’ while her Trinitarian analogy opens the way for us to consider the energy or activity behind the creation of the plays themselves. Focus upon one’s ‘proper job’ and the three-fold work of the creative artist provides a useful context for analysing and summarising much of what has been written by biographers about these plays, as well as the scholarly literature about her understanding of the Trinity.

### **Doing One’s Proper Job**

Sayers’ heroine in *Gaudy Night*, Harriet Vane, is asked by an acquaintance how she can bear to go on writing murder mystery novels after having been acquitted of murdering her ex-lover. ‘I know what you’re thinking,’ Harriet responds, ‘that anybody with proper sensitive feeling would rather scrub floors for a living. But I should scrub floors rather badly, and I write detective stories rather well. I don’t see why proper feeling should prevent me from doing my proper job.’<sup>7</sup> *Gaudy Night*’s strength as a novel is derived from a new maturity in Sayers’ thought. The book, Sayers describes, is where ‘three trains of thought, which had been converging...happened to meet’<sup>8</sup>: a woman’s proper job, intellectual honesty, and

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<sup>6</sup> Dorothy L. Sayers, ‘Vocation in Work’ in *A Christian Basis for the Post-War World: A Commentary on the Ten Peace Points* (London: Student Christian Movement Press, Ltd., 1942), 102.

<sup>7</sup> Dorothy L. Sayers, *Gaudy Night* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 2003), 35.

<sup>8</sup> Dorothy L. Sayers, ‘Gaudy Night’ in D. Kilham Roberts, ed. *Titles to Fame* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1937), 75.

the connection between one's heart and head. In contrast to Harriet whose journey brings her 'the enjoyment of freedom when intellect and emotion are integrated',<sup>9</sup> the villain, Annie Wilson, is 'the anti-Christ of work'.<sup>10</sup> Annie lacks this integration and, while being outwardly docile and polite, destroys the creative work of other women with a bitter hatred that skews her thinking. The theme of finding and doing one's proper work remains strong in all Sayers' writings that follow. She is conscious of that fact and writes in her essay *Problem Picture*:

I know it is no accident that *Gaudy Night*, coming toward the end of a long development in detective fiction, should be a manifestation of precisely the same theme as the play *The Zeal of Thy House*, which followed it and was the first of a series of creatures embodying a Christian theology. They are variations upon a hymn to the master maker...<sup>11</sup>

Sayers had experienced jobs that were either a wrong fit or a right fit for her abilities and temperament, having tried (and rejected) teaching before settling into advertising and writing. She could sympathise with both of the groups she describes in her war-time essay, 'Living to Work': those who work to earn money so they can do something else that is their true passion, and those who earn money so they can more fully devote themselves to their work.<sup>12</sup> This overall outlook may determine if someone is the right fit for a job, despite, for example, a right-fit office worker feeling the occasional need 'to damn and blast the typewriter when they feel that way'.<sup>13</sup> The necessities of wartime suddenly remind society again 'that the person who does the job best is the person best fitted to do it'.<sup>14</sup> Sayers argues that such an understanding should be retained even after the war because it benefits both the individual and society as a whole.

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<sup>9</sup> Ann Loades. *Feminist Theology: Voices from the Past* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001), 173.

<sup>10</sup> Mary Ellen Ashcroft, *Mysterious In Every Way: Dorothy Sayers*. Class Lecture, Day 3. Regent College, July 2005.

<sup>11</sup> Sayers, Dorothy L. *Letters to a Diminished Church* (Nashville: W Publishing Group, 2004), 267.

<sup>12</sup> 'Living to Work' in *Unpopular Opinions*, 122.

<sup>13</sup> 'Are Women Human?' in *Unpopular Opinions*, 111.

<sup>14</sup> 'The Human-Not-Quite-Human' in *Unpopular Opinions*, 120.

In Sayers' mind '[t]he only decent reason for tackling any job is that it is *your* job, and *you* want to do it'<sup>15</sup>; thus ability and desire trump other factors, such as the gender of the worker. One's proper job is 'the full expression of the worker's faculties, the thing in which he finds spiritual, mental and bodily satisfaction and the medium in which he offers himself to God'.<sup>16</sup> An artist or any other worker has the primary task to serve the work, to love the thing itself. Workers must have something real and honest to express (or make or give) in their work, otherwise it will not ring true.<sup>17</sup> Sayers' stage play *The Zeal of Thy House* centres on this importance of honest artistic work with the Chapter House of Canterbury Cathedral taking a gamble on an architect who is excellent but worldly, over a pious one who cuts corners. As the Prior says, 'all the truth of the craftsman is in his craft'.<sup>18</sup>

This was the current of Sayers' thinking as she undertook her commission for the BBC. When Dr James Welch, the head of Religious Broadcasting, asked her to write a series of plays for children on the life of Christ, she replied that it 'is a thing I have frequently thought I should like to do, but it would, of course, entail a good deal of very careful thought and, consequently, a good deal of time'.<sup>19</sup> Here was a project that called upon the full range of her abilities as a writer and a Christian thinker. She had recently done radio broadcasts about the Nicene Creed,<sup>20</sup> speaking in direct address as an apologist<sup>21</sup>, but this was a chance to take the content of that Creed

<sup>15</sup> 'Are Women Human?' in *Unpopular Opinions*, 109.

<sup>16</sup> 'Why Work?' in *Letters to a Diminished Church*, 135.

<sup>17</sup> See Sayers' related letters to C.S. Lewis, 31 July to 8 Aug 1946. *The Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers, Volume 3*. (Bury St Edmunds: The Dorothy L. Sayers Society, 1998), 252-260. The applicability of this ideal to people in farm or factory work, for instance, has often been challenged (See William J. Collinge, "'Doing Well a Thing That is Well Worth Doing": Teaching Dorothy L. Sayers on Work. *HORIZONS* 33/1 (2006)), though in 'Living to Work' and 'Why Work?' and several work-related essays, Sayers criticises factories that make meaningless products or market pressures that lead to farm food being wasted.

<sup>18</sup> Dorothy L. Sayers, *The Zeal of Thy House* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2011), 79. This stream of thought appears as early as 1928 in her mysteries. Lord Peter Wimsey observed: '...however much an artist will put up with in the ordinary way he is bound to be sincere with his art. That's the one thing a genuine artist won't muck about with'. Sayers, "The Unsolved Puzzle of the Man with No Face" in *Lord Peter Views the Body* (London: Gollancz, 1928), 182.

<sup>19</sup> Letter to the Rev. Dr James Welch, 18 February 1940, *Letters, Vol. 2*, 146.

<sup>20</sup> The Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed, commonly called the Nicene Creed, was ratified at the First and Second Oecumenical Councils and is recited as part of the Anglican Holy Communion service.

<sup>21</sup> See Dorothy L. Sayers, *The Christ of the Creeds and other Broadcast Messages to the British People During World War II* (Hurstpierpoint: The Dorothy L. Sayers Society, 2008). These broadcasts will be discussed in greater detail in the theological chapters.

and give it dramatic flesh. Her response to Welch was hesitant at first, but even at that early stage she is protective of her vision for the work, making sure he would agree to allow Christ to be an actual character in the plays, and that everyday English could be used.<sup>22</sup>

As the project continued, Sayers was clear about what one's job is within the process, as becomes evident when editorial complaints arose when she submitted her first script to the BBC Children's Hour. In the absence of producer Derek McCullough, his secretary, May Jenkins, sent a list of her critiques directly to Sayers<sup>23</sup> and in a manner Sayers describes as an 'excessively tactless'<sup>24</sup> attempt to 'tell me how to write English and how to write for the stage!'.<sup>25</sup> The crux of Sayers' objection was this: outside writers are commissioned because they have

a quality, and an authority, which does not belong to the hack writers on the permanent staff...*this difference is the very thing it has engaged and paid for*... [H]aving called in a professional playwright, it [the BBC] must give him a professional producer who knows where a producer's job begins and ends.<sup>26</sup>

As the difficulties continue, Sayers writes even more succinctly to Welch, 'I am bound to tell you this: that the writer's duty to God is his duty to the work, and that he may not submit to any dictate of authority which he does not sincerely believe to be to the good of the work'.<sup>27</sup>

David Coombes portrayed this insistence as 'shrill belligerence'<sup>28</sup> and James Brabazon as 'savage'<sup>29</sup>, and goes on to belittle Sayers' talent as 'not quite so overwhelming as [she] suppose[s]'.<sup>30</sup> Yet, there is a principle at the heart of this insistence: as the playwright, Sayers' job was to write the best plays she could, without unnecessary interference, especially from people like May Jenkins who were

<sup>22</sup> See Letter to the Rev. Dr James Welch, 18 February 1940, *Letters*, Vol. 2, 146.

<sup>23</sup> See Sayers' response to May E. Jenkins, 22 November 1940, *Letters*, Vol. 2, 196-199.

<sup>24</sup> Letter to James Welch, 28 November 1940, *Letters*, Vol. 2, 203.

<sup>25</sup> Letter to Margery Vosper, 27 November 1940. *Letters*, Vol. 2, 200.

<sup>26</sup> Emphasis Sayers'. Letter to Dr James Welch, 28 November 1940, *Letters*, Vol. 2, 203.

<sup>27</sup> Letter to James Welch, 2 January 1941, *Letters* Vol. 2, 218.

<sup>28</sup> David Coomes, *Dorothy L. Sayers: A Careless Rage for Life* (Oxford: Lion Books, 1992), 13.

<sup>29</sup> James Brabazon, *Dorothy L. Sayers: A Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1981), 197.

<sup>30</sup> Brabazon, *Dorothy L. Sayers*, 194.

outside the chain of command. Sayers' job required knowledge of the craft of playwriting as well as the biblical and the theological knowledge of the subject; other roles required other skills. In selecting a producer, for instance, Sayers recalls Welch saying, 'There's Val Gielgud, of course – but he always says he isn't a Christian', and she replied, 'I don't want a Christian; I want a producer'.<sup>31</sup> The success of the series depended upon each part of the team – writer, producer, actor – using their own ability and skills. Later, producer Val Gielgud, was to reflect,

...[Sayers] was exemplary in her realisation of where the line should be drawn between the spheres of action of author and producer. She had ideas about acting. She had ideas about production. But they were always expressed to the producer, never to the actors...She was lavish of praise to the cast. Criticism she confined to the producer. This made an ideal working arrangement. Both of us minded our own business.<sup>32</sup>

As Head of Religious Broadcasting, James Welch had his own evangelistic intentions in commissioning them, but that was his concern, not Sayers'. Welch wanted to 'make the Gospel story live for these children...the "heathen"...in this country'.<sup>33</sup> After Sayers' rupture with Derek McCullough, Welch pleads for continuing the project 'in the belief that at least one or two, and possibly hundreds, will get a picture of Our Lord from our broadcast of your plays which may be decisive for them in determining their attitude to Christ and the Church'.<sup>34</sup> In his Foreword to the plays, Welch describes the project as 'a great evangelistic enterprise'<sup>35</sup> and calls Sayers' work 'a major contribution to the Church's essential task of *revealing* Christ'.<sup>36</sup> Barbara Reynolds agrees that '[a]s regards the religious value of the plays, the vision and faith of Dr. Welch has been abundantly justified. It was a great evangelistic undertaking, an unprecedented achievement in religious education and one which has never since been equalled'.<sup>37</sup> Bethany Wood has suggested that Sayers and Welch had shared aims of 'theological instruction sorely needed in time

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<sup>31</sup> Letter to the Bishop of Coventry, 26 June 1944, Enclosure: 'Observations arising out of Memorandum of Bishop of Coventry', *Letters*, Vol. 3, 25.

<sup>32</sup> Val Gielgud. *Years in a Mirror* (London: The Bodley Head, 1965), 93-94.

<sup>33</sup> Letter from James Welch to Dorothy L. Sayers, 1 March 1940, Wade Document, 433/119-120.

<sup>34</sup> Letter from James Welch to Dorothy L. Sayers, 4 December 1940, quoted in *Letters*, Vol. 2, 212.

<sup>35</sup> *MBTBK*, 12.

<sup>36</sup> *MBTBK*, 16.

<sup>37</sup> Barbara Reynolds, *Dorothy L. Sayers: Her Life and Soul* (New York: St Martin's Press: 1993), 327.

of war' and of correcting 'heretical semiotics behind popular images of Christ'<sup>38</sup>; but while Sayers discusses these with Welch theoretically, they are not an end in themselves for her. To make them so would be to jeopardise the integrity of the series. Laura K. Simmons helpfully draws upon Giles Gunn's categories of literature in saying that Sayers' work was 'worldview-focused' rather than 'audience-focused' in that it centres on the material itself rather than an evangelistic purpose.<sup>39</sup>

In contrast to Welch, Sayers resists being pigeon-holed as an evangelist or apologist, but rather makes clear that her job is to write the best plays she can and let the BBC use them for whatever purposes they will. 'I am not a missionary but a playwright', she writes to a correspondent.<sup>40</sup> Gord Wilson speaks for many scholars in saying that Sayers 'didn't view her plays as evangelism' but 'approached the Gospels as a novelist'.<sup>41</sup> The plays were 'a job of work, not an act of devotion'.<sup>42</sup> This, however, has not always been understood. Monica Godfrey misses the distinction in saying that 'Sayers displayed the drama in the dogma to win souls to the kingdom of God'.<sup>43</sup> Sayers would surely have objected to that just as she did at the time to Lady Lees' *Report on Evangelisation Through Religious Drama* which said that *The Man Born to be King* was 'the most notable example of evangelistic broadcasts' which 'achieved the author's purpose in wakening her public's heart and mind to Christ'.<sup>44</sup> The 'author's purpose', Sayers retorted, was simply to write good drama, to let the life of Jesus speak for itself. It works at cross-purposes to try sneaking in a pre-arranged moral lesson or an altar call, techniques she criticises later.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Bethany Wood. *Incorporation of the Incarnation: Dorothy L. Sayers's The Man Born to Be King* (MA diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2008), 5.

<sup>39</sup> Laura K. Simmons, *Theology Made Interesting: Dorothy L. Sayers as a Lay Theologian* (PhD diss., Fuller Theological Seminary, 1999), 144.

<sup>40</sup> Letter to Miss R.C. Squires. 26 May 1944. *Letters*, Vol. 3, 14.

<sup>41</sup> Gord Wilson, "Dorothy L. Sayers as Theologian." *Radix* 19 n. 3 (Berkley, CA, 1990), 18.

<sup>42</sup> Alzina Stone Dale, *Maker and Craftsman; The Story of Dorothy L. Sayers* (Wheaton, IL: Harold Shaw Publishers, 1978, revised 1992), 90.

<sup>43</sup> Monica Godfrey, "The Man Born to be King; Contextualizing the Kingdom" in *Inklings Forever*, Vol. VII; *A collection of Essays Presented at the Seventh Frances White Ewbank Colloquium, June 3-6, 2010*. (Upland, IN: Taylor University, 2010), 222.

<sup>44</sup> Quoted in Coomes, *Careless Rage for Life*, 23.

<sup>45</sup> See Dorothy L. Sayers, 'Sacred Plays' (Part three) *Episcopal Churchnews*, February 6, 1955), 24, 31-33 and Dorothy L. Sayers, 'Playwrights are not Evangelists', *World Theatre*, vol. 5, (1955-1956), 61-66.

Is it possible that Sayers was being pedantic because she was uncomfortable with Lady Lee's Evangelical turn of phrase about 'wakening her public's heart and mind to Christ'? Quite possibly. As Crystal Downing mentions, 'Sayers strongly disliked the Evangelical emphasis on individualistic piety and celebrity evangelism'.<sup>46</sup> Sayers had never liked people speculating about her personal motives:

...all the self which [artists] are able to communicate to the world is in their work, and is manifest in its best form in the work... People are always imagining that if they get hold of the writer himself and so to speak shake him long and hard enough, something exciting and illuminating will drop out of him. But it doesn't. What's due to come out has come out in the only form in which it ever can come out. All one gets by shaking is the odd paper-clips and crum[p]led carbons from his waste-paper basket...What we make is more important than what we are – particularly if 'making' is our profession.<sup>47</sup>

In the case of playwriting, Sayers also observed from experience that the best motives often make for the worst plays: 'Let us not disguise that an unsound play by a good dramatist will always be far more effective than an impeccably orthodox play by a bad dramatist; for every truth is paramount in its own order, and dramatic truth, therefore, in drama'.<sup>48</sup> Better to stick to your craft, serve your subject faithfully and let the meaning and effect develop naturally on its own.

This distinction of Sayers' emerges clearly in the late 1930's when she separated the task of the apologist and the writer: 'I do not really feel that the Press is my proper pulpit; I think myself that my Canterbury play now running in the Westminster represents my ideas better',<sup>49</sup> 'the place for the novelist is not in the pulpit',<sup>50</sup> and 'any imaginative treatment of the Christian faith comes with less force from anybody who has become an official apologist....I feel that the business of writers like myself is primarily to show rather than to exhort'.<sup>51</sup> By 1940, she was beginning to be

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<sup>46</sup> Crystal Downing, *Writing Performances: The Stages of Dorothy L. Sayers* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 127.

<sup>47</sup> Letter to Her Son, 2 January [1941], *Letters*, Vol. 2, 221-222.

<sup>48</sup> 'Playwrights are not Evangelists', 65.

<sup>49</sup> Letter to Dame Christabel Pankhurst, 19 April 1938, *Letters*, Vol. 2, 75.

<sup>50</sup> Letter to To G. C. Piper, 24 January 1939, *Letters*, Vol. 2, 114.

<sup>51</sup> Letter to Rev A.R. James, 10 March 1939, *Letters*, Vol. 2, 119.

firmer about the projects to which she would commit. To Eric Fenn at the BBC who produced Sayers' broadcast talks on the Creeds, she writes:

I am increasingly uneasy about these personal appearances in the role of the Christian apologist. The plays about the life of Christ are a different matter – that sort of writing is my job. When I use the direct appeal, I am constantly haunted by the feeling that I am running counter to my proper calling.<sup>52</sup>

Brabazon adds that Sayers was 'right to feel that she shouldn't be used as a Christian apologist. The trouble was she was so good at it, and not many are'.<sup>53</sup> People were all too eager to press her into this role. Welch wrote after the final play was broadcast to say that 'We must make you a prophet to this generation and hand you the microphone to use as often as you feel able'.<sup>54</sup> Eric Fenn followed up on Welch's suggestion but Sayers responds, 'I think it is rather a mistake for me to go on with this business of direct exhortation or instruction in the Christian faith...the surprise value of the amateur theologian has pretty well disappeared...'.<sup>55</sup>

This sentiment is mirrored later in her 1946 correspondence with C.S. Lewis, who asks her to write a theological book for a children's series.<sup>56</sup> Her negative reply prompts a question from and long exchange with Lewis as to whether one should take a commission just because it is something that ought to be done. Sayers concludes by saying that if you write what the public *needs* it will never be truly honest unless it is something *you* 'feel impelled to write' and once you have done that you can 'let God do what He likes with the stuff'.<sup>57</sup> This is more, Sayers felt, than the luxury of an established writer who can pick and choose her projects. She may agree that such a series of children's books are important and necessary, but if

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<sup>52</sup> Letter to Rev Eric Fenn, 11 June 1940, *Letters*, Vol. 2, 167.

<sup>53</sup> James Brabazon, 'Dorothy L. Sayers- The Religious Plays' Presented at the Somerville College luncheon. (Sept 30, 1987). Unpublished. Wade Center Article File, 8. Brabazon's 'right' must be taken with a grain of salt, since he generally takes a patronising view of Sayers' abilities and work. Kathleen Knott dismisses Sayers' (and C.S. Lewis') fitness for any apologetic work with even greater venom. See her chapter 'Lord Peter Views the Soul', in *The Emperor's Clothes* (London: William Heinemann, 1953), 253-298, esp. 257-58.

<sup>54</sup> Quoted in *Letters*, Vol. 2, 382.

<sup>55</sup> Letter to Rev. Eric Fenn, 14 December 1942, *Letters*, Vol. 2, 382.

<sup>56</sup> Lewis explains the project in a letter to Sayers on 23 July 1946. See *The Collected Letters of C. S. Lewis; Volume II: Books, Broadcasts, and the War, 1931-1949*, (New York: HarperOne, 2004), 722.

<sup>57</sup> Letter to C.S. Lewis, 8 August 1946, *Letters*, Vol. 3, 259.



she is not the right person for the job—then it is actually a disservice to the public. Instead, as she writes in the poem *The Makers* in the printed plays' epigraph:

Let each do well what each knows best,  
Nothing refuse and nothing shirk,  
Since none is master of the rest,  
But all are servants of the work—. <sup>58</sup>

### **To Create in the Pattern of the Trinity**

Sayers' reflection upon how best to serve the work was deeper due to her concurrent reflection upon the Holy Trinity in *The Mind of the Maker*. 'It is not true,' Sayers writes in *Begin Here*, '...that religious doctrine cannot be put to the test of experiment; it can; but only by living it'.<sup>59</sup> So too with the Trinity. Sayers had been enthralled by the language of the Athanasian Creed<sup>60</sup> as a child, with its clear and strong Trinitarian statements<sup>61</sup>, but in the late 1930's she began to see a 'trinity' within the work of the artist that mirrored the Holy Trinity, pointing to a Trinitarian design in 'the actual structure of the living universe'.<sup>62</sup> To spare readers a common confusion, it should be understood that as Sayers develops this idea in *The Mind of the Maker* and elsewhere she was not attempting to express a helpful metaphor to illustrate the Trinity. Others have done so, but Sayers was not beginning with God; her analogy begins with the artist and sees his or her work reflected in God's nature: it is not that *God is like an artist* but that *every artistic creation*<sup>63</sup> *involves processes which illuminate the relationality of the Holy Trinity*. She was demonstrating the relevance of the Trinity to ordinary people, not making a new academic articulation.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> *MBTBK*, 8.

<sup>59</sup> Dorothy L. Sayers, *Begin Here; A War-time Essay* (London: Gollancz, 1941), 45.

<sup>60</sup> The Athanasian Creed, attributed to Athanasius of Alexandria (c.296-373), is prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer to be recited in place of the Apostle's Creed on Christmas, Epiphany, Easter, Ascension, Whitsunday (Pentecost), Trinity Sunday and on feasts of various Apostles and Saints. See *The Book of Common Prayer of 1662* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 27.

<sup>61</sup> She describes this childhood fascination with the Athanasian Creed in *The Mind of the Maker* (New York: HarperCollins, 1979), 149-150.

<sup>62</sup> *The Mind of the Maker*, 212.

<sup>63</sup> n.b.: not the artist.

<sup>64</sup> Christine Fletcher. *The Artist and the Trinity: Dorothy L. Sayers' Theology of Work* (Eugene, Oregon: Pickwick Publications, 2013), 72.

At the end of the published script of *The Zeal of Thy House*, there is a speech of the Archangel Michael which was cut from the stage performances. It describes how God has made man in His image, 'an earthly trinity to match the heavenly'.<sup>65</sup> Sayers expands this idea first in a response to Father Herbert Kelly in 1937 and then into an entire book, *The Mind of the Maker*, in 1941. Father Kelly's original letter had suggested the link between Sayers' trinity and St. Augustine's psychological analogy of the Trinity (Being-Knowledge-Will); but Sayers writes 'if I ever knew it, I had forgotten'.<sup>66</sup> She makes a distinction that 'St. Augustine says that God, in making Man, made an image of the Triune. I am trying to say that Man...in making a work of art presents also an image of the Triune, because "every work of creation" [sic] is three-fold'.<sup>67</sup>

Sayers' trinity of artistic creation can be summarised as follows:

1. The Creative Idea: 'passionless, timeless, beholding the whole work complete at once'.<sup>68</sup> It is 'The Book as You Think It', with 'the end and the beginning all there together'.<sup>69</sup> It is 'the writer's realization of his own idea' and 'its self-awareness'.<sup>70</sup>
2. The Creative Energy: 'begotten of that Idea, working in time from the beginning to the end, with sweat and passion'.<sup>71</sup> It is the act of incarnation, 'The Book as You Write It', and 'a sequence in time and a struggle with the material'.<sup>72</sup> Energy is distinct from Idea but 'it is the only thing that can make the Idea known to itself or to others, and yet is...essentially identical with the Idea – "consubstantial with the Father"'.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Sayers, *The Zeal of Thy House*, 130.

<sup>66</sup> Letter to Father Herbert Kelly, 4 October 1937, *Letters*, Vol. 2, 44-45. Fr. Kelly was the Founder of the Society of the Sacred Mission, see [http://clutch.open.ac.uk/schools/willen99/w\\_religion/ssm/ssm\\_home.html](http://clutch.open.ac.uk/schools/willen99/w_religion/ssm/ssm_home.html).

<sup>67</sup> Letter to Father Herbert Kelly, 4 October 1937, *Letters*, Vol. 2, 45.

<sup>68</sup> *Zeal of Thy House*, 130.

<sup>69</sup> Letter to Father Herbert Kelly, 4 October 1937, *Letters*, Vol. 2, 45.

<sup>70</sup> *The Mind of the Maker*, 38.

<sup>71</sup> *Zeal of Thy House*, 130.

<sup>72</sup> Letter to Father Herbert Kelly, 4 October 1937, *Letters*, Vol. 2, 45.

<sup>73</sup> *The Mind of the Maker*, 40.

3. The Creative Power: 'the meaning of the work and its response in the lively soul'.<sup>74</sup> It is 'The Book as You and They Read It', and is 'the thing you give out to your readers and your readers give back to you'.<sup>75</sup> More than just the physically published book, it is the 'the means by which the Activity [another word Sayers uses for Energy] is communicated to other readers and which produces a corresponding response in them'.<sup>76</sup>

In addition to the Augustinian triad, John Thurmer compares Sayers' work to R.C. Moberly's Trinity of personality (man as he is in himself—the expression of himself—its effect)<sup>77</sup> and both Christine Fletcher and Nancy Tischler clarify how Sayers' trinity also contrasts with related aesthetic triads of Thomas Aquinas (Unity-Proportion-Splendour) and M. H. Abrams (Author-Artefact-Audience). Moberly's analogy is closest to Sayers' though focused on the person, rather than artistic process, while Aquinas is interested in how to judge a work of art and Abrams in the dynamics of creation. Trying to make us see ourselves (not necessarily God) better through this connection, Sayers 'avoids the extremes of the artist-as-seer, artefact as idol, and audience as infallible judge'.<sup>78</sup> An even finer distinction than Fletcher's and Tischler's can be made: while Abrams' triad is closest in content to Sayers', he is concerned with describing the role each part plays in the dynamic between author, artefact and audience. By contrast, Sayers concerns herself with the artefact itself, seeing three ways of being within it. To draw artists' attention to these parts of their own work process is to help them see their work in its proper light; that 'good work well done'<sup>79</sup> is fulfilling because it follows the pattern woven by God into the universe itself.

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<sup>74</sup> *Zeal of Thy House*, 131.

<sup>75</sup> Letter to Father Herbert Kelly, 4 October 1937, *Letters*, Vol. 2, 45.

<sup>76</sup> *The Mind of the Maker*, 41.

<sup>77</sup> John Thurmer, *Reluctant Evangelist; Papers on the Christian Thought of Dorothy L. Sayers* (Hurstpierpoint: The Dorothy L. Sayers Society) 30.

<sup>78</sup> Nancy Tischler 'Artist, Artifact, and Audience: The Aesthetics and Practice of Dorothy L. Sayers' in Margaret P. Hannay, ed. *As Her Whimsey Took Her: Critical Essays on the Work of Dorothy L. Sayers* (Kent, OH: The Kent State University Press, 1979), 163, and Fletcher, 89.

<sup>79</sup> 'Why Work?' *Letters to a Diminished Church*, 140

While no proof can be found that Sayers read William Temple's 1924 *Christus Veritas*, he also has a passage on God as Creator which uses strikingly similar language to Sayers'. As will be seen, Temple's commentary on the Gospel of John is an important secondary source for *The Man Born to be King*, so the link may be significant. Temple writes, '...the relation of the creative artist to his work in the actual moment of creation is the closest analogy we have in our experience to the relation of the eternal Creator to the temporal world that He creates'.<sup>80</sup> Temple's main concern is the concept of free will instead of artistic creation itself; God 'is a perfect artist in the art of education' and 'He remains outside the process, though it originates in Him and He guides it; men are free but through their very freedom he guides them to the fulfilment of His will'.<sup>81</sup> This example shows how this kind of language was being used in the broader Anglican circles to which Sayers belonged. Once again, however, Sayers' analogy remains focused on the work of art itself, not on God as Creator, and even if it was somewhat influenced by Temple or others, it remains unique and—it must be said—eclipses them in terms of popular reception.

Scholars have occasionally used Sayers' analogy of artistic creation to analyse her work. Fletcher, for instances, uses Lord Peter Wimsey's idea for the Whifflet's advertising campaign in Sayers' 1933 novel *Murder Must Advertise* as a perfect example of each of the three parts.<sup>82</sup> Among those studying *The Man Born to be King*, this analogy has also occasionally been used to analyse certain characters within the plays. Terrie Curran writes that Proclus, being a purely fictional character, is able to bend to Sayers' creative will: He is the Idea and embodiment of the political theme, he is the Energy by being a tie-rod character—appearing in Herod's court, as the centurion whose batman is healed, as well as the centurion at the foot of the cross—and Power is shown in being 'a typological figure of the incipient believer'.<sup>83</sup> Curran also looks at the character of Judas in this way, but sees it as less successful because he is an historical character and must make his fateful choice in

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<sup>80</sup> William Temple, *Christus Veritas* (London: Macmillan, 1926, first edition 1924), 188.

<sup>81</sup> William Temple, *Christus Veritas*, 188.

<sup>82</sup> Fletcher, *The Artist and the Trinity*, 29-31.

<sup>83</sup> Terrie Curran, 'The Word Made Flesh: The Christian Aesthetic in Dorothy L. Sayers's *The Man Born to Be King*', in *As Her Whimsey Took Her*, 70-72, quote 72.

the end, and thus is not free to serve Sayers' Idea as fully as does Proclus. Laura K. Simmons notes that for Sayers creating a play is an act of incarnation<sup>84</sup> and John Thurmer explores how the Incarnation is key to understanding the Trinity in *The Mind of the Maker* and thus how the character of Jesus in *The Man Born to be King* can be an exploration of Jesus as God's autobiography.<sup>85</sup> These attempts by scholars are interesting, but they are used as passing examples of artistic creations and are not centred on the play-cycle as a whole. Individual characters also cannot ultimately be separated from the plays they inhabit; they are not artistic works to be judged on their own. A broader and deeper level of analysis is still needed.

### **The Son-ness of *The Man Born to be King***

What scholars have not done so far is to consider the whole of *The Man Born to be King* as an example of Sayers' trinity of artistic creation. Those such as James Brabazon, David Combes, Janet Hitchman, Barbara Reynolds, and Rosamund Kent Sprague have focused either on the Idea—the commission from Welch and Sayers' vision as fought out in the battle over the scripts—or on the Power—how the plays were received and appreciated, the fan mail and Sayers' patient, personal response to so many letters. The Energy, then—the steps involved in the act of creation—is what deserves greater attention. The creative Energy is the struggle with the material in time: how Sayers went about her task of writing the plays including her tools, her choices, her sources and emphases. The work of various scholars relates in partial and indirect ways, such as Alzina Stone Dale's work on the various iterations of the scripts, Francis Clemson's on character analysis and the theological significance of the plays *as drama*, Laura K. Simmons', Crystal Downing's, and John Thurmer's on theology, and Suzanne Bray's on secondary sources and the wartime setting. These have offered helpful signposts along the way to the yet undiscovered country. None of these authors have consciously linked their work to Sayers' Trinitarian scheme in regards to the study of the plays as a whole, nor have they focused directly on the artistic and scholarly process behind the plays—the Energy.

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<sup>84</sup> Simmons, *Theology Made Interesting*, 142, and Laura K. Simmons, *Creed Without Chaos: Exploring Theology in the Writings of Dorothy L. Sayers* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2005), 78-79.

<sup>85</sup> Thurmer, *Reluctant Evangelist*, 9.

The present study, while sometimes challenging their conclusions, owes a large debt of gratitude to their work.

In the chapters that follow, the study of Sayers' playwriting craft centres around testing a number of unsubstantiated statements by biographers and scholars. To do so necessitated the creation of two massive sortable tables of information: one is a list of how Sayers used every pericope (unit of text) in the Gospels (Appendix A) and the other is a list of every known biblical and traditional reference within the play-cycle (Appendix C). In the area of biblical studies, the most common claim is that Sayers gives preference to the Gospel of John, perhaps due to her extended comments about John in her Introduction. A line-by-line analysis using the methods of biblical textual criticism has put this statement to the test in Chapter 1, revealing that while Johannine chronology is used, Synoptic content outweighs Johannine by sheer bulk of material while preference is clearly given to stories that appear in both John and the Synoptics. In Chapter 2, an assessment of a second common statement that Sayers avoids the Authorized Version reveals limited but deliberate use of the AV for the narrator, for Old Testament quotations, and a special use of the Coverdale Psalms from the Book of Common Prayer. A study of Sayers' six secondary sources in Chapter 3 show significant incorporation of their historic details and characterisation. By covering new ground through in-depth script and source analysis, these studies reveal, expand upon, and often contradict the previous assumptions regarding Sayers' sources and working process.

In the area of theological studies, investigation begins with Sayers' own claim that she had no original theology—that she merely re-stated the Church's teaching. Scholars have—consciously or unconsciously—assumed this claim to be true, which gives the impression that there is nothing theologically significant to find. The investigation of this claim is subtler, but begins in Chapter 4 with a study of Sayers as an Anglican and specifically an Anglo-Catholic in the Church of England, and by considering what she means by 'Catholic' and 'the Church' we see that her reliance upon the Creeds fits perfectly within the emphases of the Anglo-Catholic movement at the time. A brief description of the Evangelical and Liberal movements within the

Church of England of the time will further clarify Sayers' position. Having thus located Sayers within a particular tradition, two studies can be done of theology within *The Man Born to be King*: of how Sayers portrayed the Incarnation and the Hypostatic Union (of Christ's human and divine natures) in Chapter 5—which connects with Sayers' love of the Creed—and on the Kingdom of God in Chapter 6—which Sayers herself said was the overarching theme of the entire play-cycle. When these two areas are considered within their context of early twentieth-century Anglican theology we can say that indeed there is little that is 'original' within Sayers' theology, but this is all dependent upon a specific understanding of what *the Church's teaching* is. Sayers speaks from within a specific tradition.

Each of the six studies contributes to an understanding of the detailed work involved in creating *The Man Born to be King*. The Energy – the Son-ness—of this play-cycle required an immense amount of work from Sayers, much more than she expected when the Idea was first proposed by Welch. Analysis of the daily tasks and choices of biblical studies and theological formulation give us greater respect for the *craft* of playwriting for radio. Sayers described it variously as doing 'a hundred pounds' worth of work apiece, for a derisory sum [twelve guineas each], merely because I so much liked the idea',<sup>86</sup> as 'a major, and increasing, preoccupation for exactly three years',<sup>87</sup> and in the end as an 'important and enthralling job of work...a delight as well as a great honour'.<sup>88</sup> Sayers laboured long and hard over the scripts, weathering repeated controversy, to produce 'good work well done'.<sup>89</sup> The world behind the plays show Sayers at her best, at her most stressed, at her funniest, at her most cantankerous; here is a writer properly exercising her vocation and getting on with her proper job with all her available tools. She could not control the effect—the substantial Power—of these plays, but she could give the Energy out of the best that was in her, and when a maker does just that, it can be 'the creative activity that can redeem the world',<sup>90</sup> for both artist and audience.

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<sup>86</sup> Letter to James Welch, 28 November 1940, *Letters*, Vol. 2, 208.

<sup>87</sup> Letter to Marjorie Barber, 25 October 1942. *Letters*, Vol. 2, 378.

<sup>88</sup> Letter to B. E. Nicolls, 22 October 1942, *Letters*, Vol.2, 376.

<sup>89</sup> 'Why Work?' *Letters to a Diminished Church*, 140.

<sup>90</sup> 'Vocation in Work' in *A Christian Basis for the Post-War World*, 102.

## CHAPTER 1: Sayers' use of the Four Gospels<sup>91</sup>

The task of writing *The Man Born to be King* was naturally different for Dorothy L. Sayers than writing her earlier mystery novels, plays and essays, in that it was a radio dramatization of four ancient prose biographies. Her 1938 one-hour *He That Should Come* had covered Jesus' birth and used the opening of the Gospel of Luke and a bit of Matthew. *The Man Born to be King*, by contrast, covered the entire life of Jesus, and Sayers' massive process included selecting, ordering and crafting hundreds of biblical scenes. Such groundwork is a subtle but powerful form of interpretation. Sayers could have chosen to create the entire play series using only one Gospel as others have done, but instead she worked to harmonise all four. It is clear from the introduction to *The Man Born to be King*, along with other essays and letters, that Sayers had read some contemporary scholarly discussions of Gospel textual criticism. Through such study and through the very process of writing *The Man Born to be King*, she developed knowledge of the strengths and particularities of each Gospel.

Little has been written about Sayers' use of the Gospels in *The Man Born to be King* beyond two claims frequently repeated by biographers and theologians: that she preferred to use the Gospel of John and that she eschewed the language of the Authorized (King James) Version.<sup>92</sup> We can see both of these claims expressed, for instance, by Mitzi Brunsdale:

[Sayers] took the unprecedented job of realistically presenting [Jesus'] Manhood so seriously that she abandoned the phraseology of the King James Version, which she felt had become familiar enough to be largely ignored, and returned to the original Greek, retranslating to infuse the story with new life. She relied most heavily on the Gospel written by Christ's beloved disciple John, since, that saint, the only eyewitness to many of the events of Christ's life, also provides the clearest chronology of its events...<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>91</sup> An earlier version of this chapter has been published as Kathryn Wehr, 'Dorothy L. Sayers' Use of the Four Gospels in *The Man Born to be King*', *Journal of Inklings Studies*, 6.2 (October 2016), 3-62.

<sup>92</sup> Sayers always referred to this translation as the *Authorized Version*, though other scholars, particularly American scholars, refer to it as *The King James Version*. I will follow Sayers' use, unless quoting from scholars.

<sup>93</sup> Mitzi Brunsdale, *Dorothy L. Sayers: Solving the Mystery of Wickedness* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1990), 159.



This is as far as scholars have gone. There has been no supporting study of how a language comparison reveals no relation to the Authorized Version or how Johannine primacy can be demonstrated within the text. These two statements have so far been taken at face value and repeated as fact, but much more can and should be done to investigate and either substantiate or challenge them. The claim regarding the Authorized Version will be examined in Chapter 2, while beginning here with a test of the claims regarding the Gospel of John. Contrary to the generally held assumption, this study shows that claims of a preference for the use of Johannine material are largely unsupportable. A remaining possibility will be examined, that of Sayers' theological message in *The Man Born to be King* still being influenced by John's theological themes and emphases, if not by numerical evidence. Yet we will find that even this influence is lessened by Sayers' use, as well as deemphasised by her secondary sources.

### **The Formulation of a Study to Test a Johannine Preference**

My investigation about the use of John in comparison to the Synoptic Gospels began with the original intention of offering more comprehensive support for the generally-held assumption of Johannine preference. I began a detailed analysis of the scripts, but comparing Sayers' use of each Gospel proved to be a much greater task than imagined, as Sayers not only dramatizes whole episodes – referred to as pericopae – but also includes many types of use: she draws in Gospel material referentially either directly or in passing, and combines scenes. A whole system of keeping the information organised was needed.

Sayers recalled her own organised, scholarly approach several years after writing *The Man Born to be King*: 'I never saw myself how all the bits and pieces fitted together like a jig-saw puzzle till I got the four narratives in parallel columns'.<sup>94</sup> Sayers was in good company here, following the footsteps of scholars as early as Eusebius in the fourth century who, building on the earlier work of Ammonius of Alexandria's

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<sup>94</sup> Letter to Felix Rose, 23 October 1946. Dorothy L. Sayers, *Letters Vol. 3*, 273.

fourfold Gospel study, devised a cross-referencing system – called canon tables – to compare material within and between Gospels.<sup>95</sup> The nineteenth century saw a revival of interest in textual analysis of the Gospels and their differences and similarities. Sayers may have had access, for instance, to the 1910 *The Synoptic Gospels* by J. M. Thompson<sup>96</sup> which compares the first three Gospels in parallel columns. This book was recommended by Sir Edwyn Hoskyn and Noel Davey in their 1931 *The Riddle of the New Testament*<sup>97</sup> which is a book that Sayers read and, in her turn, recommended to others.<sup>98</sup> Sayers was therefore aware of this approach from this book and perhaps other sources, though exactly whose work she followed in her own four column chart is unknown. After considering a number of ways the Gospels are indexed and compared by scholars, I consulted New Testament textual critic Gregory Paulson<sup>99</sup> of the Institut für Neutestamentliche Textforschung (Institute for New Testament Textual Research) in Münster, Germany and he suggested I use Kurt Aland's *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum* or *Synopsis of the Four Gospels*<sup>100</sup> as a template to track Sayers' work, since it is considered to be the scholarly standard. In contrast to the early work of Ammonius' fourfold gospel which forced Mark, Luke and John to conform to Matthew's order,<sup>101</sup> Aland's *Synopsis* seeks to flexibly allow for the ordering of all Gospels, with references appearing multiple times. By linking my work on Sayers to the broader conversation within Gospel studies, an interdisciplinary conversation might be possible.

In order to make my analysis accessible to today's New Testament textual scholars (for whom Aland's work is the standard), I have taken Aland's vast comparison of the four Gospels and added an additional column to record Gospel use in *The Man Born to be King*, treating it as if it were a fifth Gospel, to show what it shares with one or more Gospels at any given point. The complete table of these findings is in Appendix

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<sup>95</sup> Francis Watson, *The Fourfold Gospel; A Theological Reading of the New Testament Portraits of Jesus*. Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2016, 109 and 117.

<sup>96</sup> Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1910.

<sup>97</sup> London: Faber & Faber, 1931, 18.

<sup>98</sup> See, for example, Letter to Mr. and Mrs. Arnold Longman 4.8.1943, Wade Document 27/20-21.

<sup>99</sup> Greg Paulson (PhD, Edinburgh, 2013) offered this advice on my visit to the Insitut in August 2015.

<sup>100</sup> Kurt Aland, ed. *Synopsis of the Four Gospels; Greek-English Edition of the Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum*. Fourth/Fifth Edition. (Stuttgart: German Bible Foundation, 1982).

<sup>101</sup> Watson, 117.

A (p. 202). Linking my analysis to Aland's allows his generally accepted numbering of pericopae to be used by Sayers scholars, assisting them in speaking the same 'language' as textual critics when discussing Gospel-use in *The Man Born to be King*. It also creates a reference tool for Sayers' scholars to quickly find the source of biblical stories within various play scenes or to enquire in reverse as to whether Sayers uses a particular biblical passage anywhere within the plays.

My table along with much of this chapter has already been published in the *Journal of Inklings Studies*<sup>102</sup> and there has been a positive reception to the chart as a valuable research tool. Prior to its publication, I consulted Sayers scholar and theologian Laura K. Simmons of Portland Seminary, New Testament textual critic Sylvia Keesmaat of the University of Toronto and Johannine textual critic Amy S. Anderson of North Central University to whom I explained my study and tested my conclusions. Keesmaat's and Simmons's reactions were of particular interest since both of them have supported a Johannine preference in published work. Keesmaat wrote, 'your argument is quite convincing, demonstrating how Sayers used all four of the gospels sources in her finely crafted work. I look forward to spending more time studying the chart—what a great resource to have!'.<sup>103</sup> Simmons wrote that it was '[f]ascinating to see the table—I've long wished for something like that'.<sup>104</sup> Examples of how they and others might use the table will be discussed further below.

### **Sayers' Use of the Four Gospels**

To demonstrate the need for this kind of work, we begin with a look at Sayers' own comments and situation and what has so far been said about Sayers' use of the Gospels. At the time of Sayers' writing, study of the four Gospels was generally separated into two streams: 'higher criticism' and 'lower criticism', with 'higher' indicating a technical, linguistic and historical approach to a text, and 'lower' an

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<sup>102</sup> Kathryn Wehr, 'Dorothy L. Sayers' Use of the Four Gospels in *The Man Born to be King*', *Journal of Inklings Studies*, 6.2 (October 2016), 3-62.

<sup>103</sup> Sylvia Keesmaat, personal email correspondence, 2 November 2016.

<sup>104</sup> Laura K. Simmons, personal email correspondence 1 November 2016.

emphasis on theological and philosophical interpretation.<sup>105</sup> Among the considerations of the 'higher' critics was how—or whether—to read the Synoptics alongside the Gospel of John. The Synoptics have numerous shared pericopae while John covers substantially different material. When studying the historicity of John, this uniqueness had become, as Sayers' source Hoskyns writes, 'a source of intellectual embarrassment to educated Christians'.<sup>106</sup>

Sayers was not so easily dissuaded from a traditional understanding of the historicity and authority of John. She entered this discussion at least by the time of her 1941 *God the Son* radio broadcast talks, where she mentions how 'the Gospel according to St John...is the only one that claims to be an eye-witness report'.<sup>107</sup> In her essay 'A Vote of Thanks to Cyrus' she goes further: 'the arguments used [against the validity of John] are such as no critic would ever dream of applying to a modern book of memoirs written by one real person about another'.<sup>108</sup> John's Gospel does just what we would expect a modern biography by a friend to do, Sayers says. It adds previously-unpublished material with 'bits of detail so vivid and "on the spot" and so merely factual that they couldn't have been invented for edification – like the Samaritan woman's jug, and the ferry-boats at Tiberias, and the whole set-up of the Last Supper and the Trial Scenes'.<sup>109</sup> It also speaks 'with [the] intimate understanding of one familiar with his Master's habits of thought'.<sup>110</sup> In her Introduction to *The Man Born to be King*, Sayers acknowledges the scholarly debate, but writes that her role as a dramatist is to harmonise, not to 'select and reject' one Gospel over another.<sup>111</sup> This is supported by her four column approach. When a choice arose, according to her Introduction, she selected the option that was dramatically more interesting or 'picturesque', rather than trying to take a stand, as

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<sup>105</sup> Ernest Cadman Colwell, 'Biblical Criticism: Lower and Higher', *Journal of Biblical Literature*, 67 (no 1 Mr 1948), 1. Presidential address to the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, December 29, 1947.

<sup>106</sup> Edwyn Clement Hoskyns. *The Fourth Gospel* (London: Faber and Faber, 1940), 6.

<sup>107</sup> Dorothy L. Sayers, *God the Son* – 'The World's Desire' Radio Broadcast, BBC Forces: 6<sup>th</sup> July 1941, in *The Christ of the Creeds*, 67.

<sup>108</sup> 'A Vote of Thanks to Cyrus' in *Unpopular Opinions*, 25.

<sup>109</sup> Letter to Rev. C.E. Tomkinson, 2 July 1943, Wade Document 32/44.

<sup>110</sup> 'A Vote of Thanks to Cyrus' in *Unpopular Opinions*, 27.

<sup>111</sup> *MBTBK*, 17.

she says, on 'the textual prestige of Codex Alpha, Bezae or the austerity of the hypothetical Q'.<sup>112</sup> So we see Sayers acknowledging the controversy but claiming her prerogative as a playwright to choose material from all Gospels.

### Scholarly Statements of Johannine Preference

While no study demonstrating a preference for John in *The Man Born to be King* has been written, offhand scholarly comments show a general assumption of Sayers' priority for Johannine material. Sylvia Keesmaat writes that Sayers dismisses higher criticism because it questions 'the historical reliability' of the Gospels. 'This is why,' Keesmaat writes, 'against general scholarly opinion, Sayers gives primacy to the Gospel of John in her plays; rich detail, realistic conversation, and plausible chronology gave this Gospel the ring of authenticity'.<sup>113</sup> Ann Loades likewise emphasises that it is the 'simplicity and profundity of Jesus' words in the Fourth Gospel which primarily inform [Sayers'] own writing'.<sup>114</sup> Laura K. Simmons writes that Sayers 'relied heavily on the Gospel of John, even though some biblical critics would not'.<sup>115</sup> Carsten Peter Theide meanwhile goes so far as to discuss Sayers' 'courageous position' of adopting the superiority of John as a 'tenet' of her programme and he, along with John Thurmer, see Sayers anticipating the work of John A. T. Robinson, author of the 1984 book *The Priority of John*.<sup>116</sup> These scholars do not go into detail to support these claims, though Theide in particular alludes to Sayers' introduction to *The Man Born to be King*, where she supports John as an equally valid source and mentions (again) that the Gospel of John is the only one that 'claims to be the direct report of an eye-witness'.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>112</sup> MBTBK, 17.

<sup>113</sup> Sylvia C. Keesmaat, 'Dorothy L. Sayers' in Marion Ann Taylor, ed. and Agnes Choi, assoc. ed. *Handbook of Women Biblical Interpreters* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012), 435.

<sup>114</sup> Ann Loades, 'The Sacred Plays of Dorothy L. Sayers' in *Theology in Action, A Study Day, 19<sup>th</sup> September, 2011* (Hurstpierpoint: The Dorothy L. Sayers Society, 2011), 8.

<sup>115</sup> Simmons, *Creed Without Chaos*, 43.

<sup>116</sup> Carsten Peter Thiede, 'A Critic to the Critics; Dorothy L. Sayers and New Testament Research' in *Rekindling the Word; In Search of Gospel Truth*. (Leominster, Herefordshire: Gracewing, 1995), 122. And Thurmer, *Reluctant Evangelist*, 14. John A. T. Robinson, Bishop of Woolwich, d. 1983.

<sup>117</sup> MBTBK, 15.

I argue, however, for the possibility that Sayers' Introduction is merely giving her reason for liking John and his style, something she feels her contemporaries had been minimising. Form-Criticism—with its mistrust of John over the Synoptics—which had been popular in Germany since 1918, had only become part of the English discussion in the 1930's.<sup>118</sup> It is more likely that it is in contrast to *this*, rather than overall preference, that she can say, 'when John is the authority for a scene the playwright's task is easy'.<sup>119</sup> She likes the way he writes, but *never actually claims to use that Gospel more than the others*. Instead she emphasises,

The playwright...is not concerned, like the textual critic, to establish one version of a story as the older, purer, or sole authoritative version...*what he really likes is to take three or four accounts of the same incident*, differing in detail and to dovetail all these details so that the combined narrative presents a more convincing and dramatic picture than any of the accounts taken separately.<sup>120</sup>

When this is set alongside an unpublished letter Sayers wrote to James Welch when sending the draft of Play 5, this is shown to be clearly deliberate: 'Any commentator who complains (in his dull way) that Mark says one thing and John says something apparently contradictory offers a sort of challenge to the ingenious playwright to show how both these evangelists may be right at the same time, without confusion or contradiction'.<sup>121</sup> Kenneth M. Wolfe is the only scholar I have found who clearly presents Sayers as using all four Gospels as equal witnesses to the truth,<sup>122</sup> though he does not comment on whether this also means equal *use*. A 'reasonable harmony'<sup>123</sup> of the Gospels may be necessary for storytelling, but Sayers is not advocating it in biblical scholarship, as Theide seems to suggest.<sup>124</sup> Instead, Sayers speaks clearly of the strengths of various Gospels: 'Matthew and Luke are the great

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<sup>118</sup> Arthur Michael Ramsey. *An Era in Anglican Theology: From Gore to Temple: The Development of Anglican Theology between Lux Mundi and the Second World War 1889-1939* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1960), 135 and 162. Ramsey discusses this in explaining Sayers' source Hoskyns' typically-English preference for source-criticism over Form-Criticism, crediting English insularity and later discussing English theological isolation that lessened through the 1930's.

<sup>119</sup> *MBTBK*, 33.

<sup>120</sup> *MBTBK*, 35 (emphasis mine).

<sup>121</sup> Letter to James W. Welch, 20 November 1941. Wade Document 433/13-17.

<sup>122</sup> Wolfe, Kenneth M. *The Churches and the British Broadcasting Corporation 1922-1956* (London: SCM Press, 1984), 235.

<sup>123</sup> Letter to S.P.B. Mais of *Home Chat*, 16 July 1943, Wade Document 28/15.

<sup>124</sup> Thiede, 'A Critic to the Critics', 123.

“transposers”; John, the provider of glosses, backgrounds, and bridges’.<sup>125</sup> In this, Sayers’ work may have more in common with the second century *Diatessaron* of Tatian which sought to bring all four Gospels into one coherent narrative.<sup>126</sup>

Sayers’ two credited commentaries on John by Edwyn Hoskyns and William Temple<sup>127</sup> both emphasise the interrelatedness of all four Gospels and how the writer of John assumes his audience knows Synoptic material.<sup>128</sup> Hoskyns writes, ‘The Church clearly intends the book to be read in close connection with the earlier gospels, and not as an isolated independent work’.<sup>129</sup> The great test which Hoskyns puts to John is whether the other Gospels or Pauline letters make more sense because of it or whether they further fragment it. Hoskyns claims that the Fourth Gospel in fact makes the other material ‘more intelligible...and more transparent’.<sup>130</sup> Temple’s Introduction covers much of the same ground. Though accused by Arthur Michael Ramsey of naïvely being untroubled by New Testament criticism,<sup>131</sup> Temple, like Hoskyns, sees the difference in content and chronology, but sees Johannine and Synoptic material as being necessary to hear ‘in stereo’. Temple writes, ‘Let the Synoptics repeat for us as closely as they can the very words He spoke; but let St. John tune our ears to hear them’.<sup>132</sup> Even Sayers’ source Frank Morrison who tells his readers that he privileges the Gospel of Mark as the earliest work writes that ‘all three Synoptic Gospels were common property when the author of the Fourth Gospel produced his work’.<sup>133</sup> So Sayers follows, or at least agrees with, her sources in general terms.

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<sup>125</sup> *MBTBK*, 29.

<sup>126</sup> Watson, 64-66.

<sup>127</sup> See *MBTBK*, 36.

<sup>128</sup> See Hoskyns, *The Fourth Gospel*, 58-85, especially 82 and Temple, *Readings in St. John’s Gospel* (London: Macmillan and Co, 1939), xxii-xxxii.

<sup>129</sup> Hoskyns, *The Fourth Gospel*, 68.

<sup>130</sup> Hoskyns, *The Fourth Gospel*, 133. Integrated meaning between John and the Synoptics is seen in earlier Anglo-Catholic writers as well. See, for instance, Henry Scott Holland’s influential 1920 *Philosophy and Faith of the Fourth Gospel*, discussed in Ramsey, 13, as *Lectures on the Fourth Gospel*.

<sup>131</sup> Ramsey, *An Era in Anglican Theology*, 147.

<sup>132</sup> Temple, *Readings in St. John’s Gospel*, xxxii.

<sup>133</sup> Frank Morrison, *Who Moved the Stone?* (London: Farber and Farber, 1930), 117.

## Chronology

In favour of a John preference, we should not forget about Keesmaat's emphasis on John's 'plausible chronology'<sup>134</sup> and Brunsdale's comment about John having the 'clearest chronology'.<sup>135</sup> Perhaps here is where this preference comes in? Clearly Sayers uses John's longer chronology in a large-scale way: through inclusion of the cycle of Jewish feasts in John and attention to the seasons (e.g. discussion of autumn leaves at the start of Play 7). Writing to Temple in 1943 Sayers says, 'You will see that I made a lot of use of your *Reading in St John's Gospel*...[e]specially about the chronology of the Cleansing of the Temple – I was delighted to have that sturdy and uncompromising "John is right about it."'.<sup>136</sup> Sayers also sides with Temple's suggestion of the difference between a Johannine 3-year vs. a Synoptic 1-year ministry period: '...the fact is that the Synoptics provide no chronology of the ministry at all until the last week; we do not have to choose between two incompatible chronologies for the Johannine chronology is the only one we have'.<sup>137</sup>

Sayers also may be influenced by Hoskyns who suggests that the writer of John assumes his audience has familiarity with the other Gospels and thus, 'with the synoptic gospels before us, we too are able to fill in the gaps'.<sup>138</sup> She also uses John's chronology for specific events, like his first sign of changing water into wine, the (early) cleansing of the temple and the multiple trips to Jerusalem; in other places, however, such as the day of the Last Supper and the Crucifixion, Sayers goes with the Synoptic timeline. Plays 1 and 2 have no clear Johannine chronology because they cover Jesus' birth from Luke and Matthew, John the Baptist and the temptation. Plays 3-8 generally follow John's order, though not necessarily content, as we see in Play 3, Scene I which is the Wedding at Cana (John 2) but at which Jesus tells the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins (Matthew 22). Plays 9-12 use a harmony of all four Gospels to tell the story of the Passion and Resurrection. In other

<sup>134</sup> Keesmaat, 'Dorothy L. Sayers', 435. The author gratefully acknowledges the encouragement she received from Keesmaat by email to further consider the distinctives of the Johannine chronology.

<sup>135</sup> Brunsdale, *Solving the Mystery of Wickedness*, 159.

<sup>136</sup> Letter to The Most Reverend the Archbishop of Canterbury [William Temple], 12 May 1943, Wade Document 19/19.

<sup>137</sup> Temple, *Readings*, xi.

<sup>138</sup> Hoskyns, *The Fourth Gospel*, 70.



words, half the plays use John's chronology and half do not. To speak of Sayers 'privileging' or 'relying heavily' on John may be an overstatement even in the case where some influence is evident.

Finally, there may be additional good reasons for readers to *feel* that more John material is used. To begin with, it is easier to remember which material appears only in John because it is so distinct. As will be shown below, certain plays *do* have more Johannine material – like Play 7 with the man born blind and the raising of Lazarus and Play 9 with the Upper Room Discourse – though others have much less – like Play 1 covering the Nativity and Play 5 which features the Sermon on the Mount/Plain and numerous healings and parables.

A feeling of Johannine prominence is also reinforced to listeners (and researchers) by the 1967 BBC production choice of having the same actor read the parts of John Bar-Zebedee and Evangelist, giving the sense that we are hearing the entire story from John's perspective. This production has been used in all BBC re-broadcasts since then, including the most recent, March-April 2011.<sup>139</sup> The 1967 production uses this choice self-consciously, for instance, by having John/Evangelist pause meaningfully on the line, 'But Peter followed him afar off; and so did...another disciple';<sup>140</sup> as if to demonstrate that the narrator is modestly leaving out his own name. However, John and Evangelist were not double-cast by Sayers in the original 1941-42 production—as can be seen by the cast lists—and the line about 'another disciple' was read without such emphasis in that production.<sup>141</sup> The use of 'John Evangelist' as a character name in the script for John Bar-Zebedee is only used in Play 2 when John Baptist and John Evangelist are in the same scenes. By Play 3, John Bar-Zebedee is simply 'John'. Sayers clearly shows by this that she associates John Bar-Zebedee with the author of the fourth Gospel, but it in no way necessitates this character to also be the broader voice of the plays' narrator, Evangelist.

<sup>139</sup> <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b00f8mn7/episodes/guide>. Accessed 21 June 2017.

<sup>140</sup> Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 1.

<sup>141</sup> Recordings of the original recordings are available only at the Wade Center and the BBC Written Archives, that is, except Play 11, the original of which was considered unsuitable for re-broadcast and destroyed when it was re-recorded a few years later. All original recordings of Play 11 are lost.

The use of the Gospel of John in the lines of Evangelist need not, however, go by ‘feel’, as it can be checked numerically using Appendix C, which is a complete listing of lines of the play where a connection to specific Bible verses has been discovered (a list of over 1800 references). By isolating the 137 distinct Scripture quotations or allusions made by Evangelist,<sup>142</sup> it can be determined that John is used more frequently than any one other Gospel, about one-third of the time. Enough use of non-Johannine material in the lines of Evangelist, however, means that two-thirds of the time Sayers does *not* choose John. See Table 1:

**Table 1**  
**Gospel Use in Evangelist’s lines, by Book**

Book	Frequency	% of 137 Quotations
Matthew	33	24.09%
Mark	25	18.25%
Luke	29	21.17%
John	46	33.58%
Acts	3	2.19%
Revelation	1	0.73%

In conclusion, a number of factors have likely contributed to the general perception by biographers and theologians that Sayers privileges John throughout *The Man Born to be King*. We have considered the comments Sayers herself made about John, and I proposed that these can be interpreted as a defence for using John at all or for liking for his style, not necessary a claim that she is basing the play series primarily on John. Instead, we saw a number places where Sayers expresses a preference for using all four Gospels together when possible. Sayers herself did not choose for the same actor to play the parts of Evangelist and John Bar-Zebedee, so one cannot assume she meant for this drama to be told from John’s perspective. These things

<sup>142</sup> Since the Appendix is derived from a Microsoft Excel document, references can be sorted according to character giving the line (or by biblical book, or scene). The sort function was used to do several studies described here and in the next chapter, although it is impossible share that functionality in a printed format, such as this dissertation. Thus it is printed in the format that is most broadly useful, chronological order by play.

are not insignificant and even if this qualitative data was the only evidence available it would be enough to cause a straightforward claim of a Johannine preference to need to be qualified and explained as to what specific and limited ways in can be demonstrated. Before doing so, however, it can also be tested further by a line-by-line analysis of Gospel use, which offers the chance for quantitative data to either support or challenge this conclusion.

### **Total Pericopae Usage**

The complete results of this analysis of *The Man Born to be King* can be found in Appendix A, and a few broad comments here will aid in unlocking the information gathered in two main areas: total pericopae usage and usage of pericopae by type, whether drama, narration, direct usage or indirect usage. The table in Appendix A takes the 4 parallel Gospels, as numbered by Aland, and adds an additional column for *The Man Born to be King*, as if it were a fifth Gospel. After considering total pericopae usage and usage of pericopae by type, we will finally consider further capabilities of this table, including highlighting what passages Sayers chose not to include in the play cycle and examples of how this Appendix could be of continued use by Sayers researchers.

It must be remembered that the oldest Greek manuscripts of the Gospels do not even have spaces between words, so it is the work of yesterday's textual critics to identify these pericopae, reflected in today's printed Bibles, typeset into paragraphs and sections.<sup>143</sup> Different ways of grouping the pericopae have been proposed by different scholars at different times, but Aland's *Synopsis of the Four Gospels* has become the standard reference tool of its kind. If a passage in Matthew has a parallel passage in Mark, they are counted by Aland as the same pericope. If the material is different enough, the two passages are counted separately. For instance, all four Gospels record Jesus' baptism and since these are clearly meant to record the same event, they are counted as one pericope even though there are differences between the accounts (pericope 18). By contrast, although Matthew's Sermon on

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<sup>143</sup> Compare this modern style again to older printings of the Authorized Version where each verse begins on a new line (another way of breaking up the text for ease of reading).

the Mount and Luke's Sermon on the Plain share some teachings, there are enough differences of content and occasion that they are counted as different pericopae (pericopae 50-76 for the Sermon on the Mount and pericopae 77-83 for the Sermon on the Plain).

Of the 367 pericopae identified by Aland, Sayers uses an impressive total of 247, which is 68.6% of available material. Below is a chart that shows the pericopae usage by category:

**Table 2**

**Total Pericope Usage**

Category	Total Pericopae	Pericopae Used	Sayers uses __% of that Type	Percentage of TOTAL usage in MBTBK (% of 247 pericopae)
John + Synoptic & 1 Corinthians Pericopae	53	48	90.1%	19.4%
John-only Pericopae	54	43	79.6%	17.4%
Synoptic-only Pericopae	260	156	60.0%	63.2%

We see first of all that Sayers relies most consistently on pericopae shared by John and the Synoptics, of which she uses all but five.<sup>144</sup> While she does in fact use a large percentage of John-only material (79.6% of available pericopae), the sheer volume of Synoptic-only material greatly lessens John's overall percentage of use (17.4%) in *The Man Born to be King*. Even were we to divide the percentage of total use for Synoptic-only material in three (yielding 21.1%) the odds would still be higher of a single Synoptic Gospel usage.<sup>145</sup>

**Summary of Types of Use**

To further understand Sayers' choices, I propose to distinguish three types or levels of use:

<sup>144</sup> Pericopae 43, 100, 170, 179, and 235. These will be discussed below under omissions.

<sup>145</sup> The 'Synoptic Problem' – numerous shared pericopae and relatedness of sources and authorship – make it difficult to give percentages for Mt, Mk and Lk individually.

1. Dramatization or narration of the verse or passage,
2. Direct reference to events or teaching 'off-stage', and
3. Indirect reference to the material out of context.

An example of the second use is the disciples' remembrances of the raising of the widow's son at Nain; examples of the third are the scene in which the Steward tells Benjamin to 'come up higher' at the Wedding of Cana and Thomas sulks that no one will object to him taking 'the lowest place' at the Last Supper. Both of these echo Jesus' teaching on humility in Luke 14:10, though Sayers does not otherwise use pericope 215 from which that verse comes.

The following chart summarises pericopae use by type:

**Table 3**

**Types of Use**

Category	Pericopae Used	Types Identified*	% of Drama and Narration	% of the 182 total pericopae either dramatized or narrated
John + Synoptic & 1 Corinthians Pericopae	48	Drama and Narration: 44 Direct reference: 3 Indirect reference: 1	91.7%	24.2%
John-only Pericopae	43	Drama and Narration: 38 Direct reference: 3 Indirect reference: 2	88.4%	20.9%
Synoptic-only Pericopae	156	Drama and Narration: 100 Direct reference: 23 Indirect reference: 33	64.1%	55%

*\*Where the pericope is used more than once by Sayers, it is counted as the stronger use – i.e. if a pericope it is used both in indirect and direct ways, it is counted as direct, or if direct and drama, it is counted as drama.*

Once again Sayers' strongest focus is the passages that appear in both John and the Synoptics: Of the 48 such pericopae used, 91.7% of them are dramatized. While we saw in Table 1 that John-only material accounts for only 17.4% of overall use, that use *is* more dramatic than Synoptic usage, with 88.4% of it being dramatized or narrated. Conversely, while Sayers is more likely to use Synoptic-only material, she is also less likely to use it as drama or narration—just 64.1%. In the final column we see that Synoptic dramatization still outweighs the others by sheer bulk of material.

We see that John-only material is dramatized or narrated less than one quarter of the time, which goes against the general assumption of a Johannine preference.

### Omissions

From this study, a more nuanced picture emerges of Sayers' use of the Gospels in *The Man Born to be King*. Her preference is clearly for material that appears in both the Synoptics and John. The assumption of Johannine primacy, though it has a few points in its favour, is generally insupportable – both by qualitative analysis of scholarly statements and testing them through quantitative analysis – though a tendency by Sayers to use John in more dramatic fashion than the Synoptics has been shown. Through the line-by-line analysis, we see more clearly her wide-ranging use of all four Gospels, with a larger use of Synoptic material due to its much larger volume.

Having tracked Sayers' use of 247 of the 367 pericopae identified by Aland, we can now consider the unused 120 pericopae. What has she left out? These omissions fall into three categories:

1. Stories and teachings that are less appropriate for children, such as the Samaritan woman with multiple husbands in John 4, the woman caught in adultery in John 8, and teachings on marriage, divorce, fasting and ritual law;
2. Passages that do not lend themselves easily to action or are repetitive such as parables and healing stories—though Sayers uses a large sample of each kind; and,
3. Teachings on the judgement of Jerusalem and the end times, particularly Matthew 24, Mark 13 and Luke 21, which are parallel passages.

The first category of concern for children, while discussed in a December 1941 letter with James Welch,<sup>146</sup> becomes less of an issue as the plays gain a wider audience over the months of broadcast, and also as Sayers approaches writing the Crucifixion play, as will be discussed in a later chapter. The last category of omission may have

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<sup>146</sup> Evidence of this choice is found in an unpublished letter where Sayers discusses avoiding the Woman Taken in Adultery and the Samaritan Woman and the need to deal gently with the reputation of Mary Magdalen. See, Letter to Dr. James Welch, 21 December 1940, Wade Document 433/70-73.

been intended either to avoid the apocalyptic rhetoric that a war-time audience is hearing elsewhere, or to avoid controversy, given the wide range of interpretations of end-times passages among Christian groups. One surprise omission is the popular Sunday School story of the tax-collector Zacchaeus from Luke 19. Perhaps it was too similar to the calling of Matthew, or perhaps Zacchaeus being up in a tree loses its drama on radio. The five pericopae that are shared between all Gospels that are *not* included are: Pericopae 43 (healing of the paralytic), 100 (the Fate of the Disciples (persecution)), 170 (On Reproving One's Brother), 179 ('He who hears you, hears me'), and 235 (The Day of the Son of Man). Pericope 179 is the only one that does not fit the three categories above, but is only a single verse.

### **Examples of How to Use Appendix A and Appendix C**

Before summarising, let us consider further uses for Appendix A (the pericope list) and Appendix C (the chronological reference list, which was created to cross-reference Appendix A). Let us say, for example, that a scholar wished to enquire further into my general comments regarding omission of eschatological material (Category 3). She might ask, 'What about the material in John 4 which could be interpreted eschatologically? Is Jesus' statements in John 4:34 that "My food is to do the will of him who sent me and to complete his work." included in that omission? Turning to Appendix A, we can find Pericope 31 containing the verse in question. If we look at *The Man Born to be King* column, we can see that the only use of pericope 31 is listed as "Play 6, Sc I, Seq 4- Evangelist: Jn 4:9b, Indirect." This means that within the narration for Play 6, Scene 1, Sequence 4, the Evangelist makes an indirect reference to John 4:9b which is the detail that 'the Jews and the Samaritans were always at enmity between themselves'.<sup>147</sup> No other verse is used by Sayers, including John 4:34. So it is clearly an omission, as mentioned in Category 1 because of the Samaritan Woman with five husbands, but whether Sayers considered John 4:34 eschatological is a matter of speculation.

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<sup>147</sup> *MBTBK*, 166.

Perhaps again, we might test the idea of Johannine preference using Appendix C. Jesus' first *sign* of turning the water into wine only appears in the Gospel of John and is the primary setting for Play 3, Scene I; perhaps this might be a case against my argument. When we turn to that scene in Appendix C, we notice that although the setting is John 2, Sayers incorporates details from Matthew and Mark about the reaction of Jesus' neighbours to him, a portion of the end of Luke 2 as Mary recounts to Susanna about Jesus getting lost in the temple as a boy, and Jesus tells the Parable of the Ten Virgins from Matthew 25:1-13. She also incorporates shorter references like: 'the kingdom of heaven is within you' (Lk 17:21), 'a good wife and a happy home are the greatest blessing a man can enjoy' (Proverbs 18:22), and 'he fills the hungry with good things' (Lk 1:53). In this example scene, there are 10 references to John 2, 1 reference to elsewhere in John, 9 to Matthew, 4 to Mark, and 19 to Luke. The use of the Wedding at Cana is the setting, but Sayers incorporates so many verses and stories from other Gospels within it that it is impossible to clearly define a Johannine preference here.

### Summary

Although Sayers' particular reasons for some of her choices cannot be inferred from her Introduction, her letters, or other source material, this study has been able to largely negate and nuance the generally held assumption that she gave primacy to material from the Gospel of John in *The Man Born to be King*. Instead, we see a wide-ranging use of all four Gospels, showing a dramatist who had a thorough knowledge of all her available material and made careful selection, not only in the scenes she specifically dramatized, but also in the internal references to other passages, both direct and indirect. Many other dramatists and composers have used just one Gospel, (e.g. Bach's *St. Matthew's Passion*) but Sayers is clearly incorporating all four. These findings reflect the discussion at the time about the reliability of John, in which Sayers clearly supports John as an equally valid source, both in her Introduction and in the plays themselves. Sayers' support of John in her Introduction – which is commonly cited by scholars and biographers as proof of Johannine primacy – does not however, lead to greater use of Johannine material in



her dialogue. With instead thorough use across all Gospels, Sayers' omissions, too, take on a greater significance, revealing attention to her intended audience and her craft as a dramatist. While a small amount of evidence has been found for specialised use of John—such as the amount of comment Sayers herself made about John, some use of Johannine chronology and a slightly more dramatic use of John—it is not enough—nor unambiguous enough—to justify its assumed privilege. Instead, it is better to speak of Sayers' preference for using all four Gospels together.

## Chapter 2: Sayers' Use of the Authorized Version and the Coverdale Psalms<sup>148</sup>

One of the often-stated features of Dorothy L. Sayers' radio play cycle, *The Man Born to be King*, is its use of the vernacular and how, as James Brabazon says, Sayers 'abandon[ed] the Authorized Version and us[ed] her own translation of the words of the Gospels'.<sup>149</sup> Sayers herself had insisted that 'nobody, not even Jesus, must be allowed to "talk Bible"' in these plays, and was aware there might be complaints that she had 'not preserved the beauty and eloquence of the authorized version [sic]'.<sup>150</sup> Following a press conference on 10 December 1941 at which Sayers read a small sample of her dialogue, a storm erupted in the press with headlines such as the *Daily Mail*'s 'BBC "Life of Christ" play in US Slang',<sup>151</sup> while the Lord's Day Observance Society protested that the vernacular dialogue would be a 'spoliation of the beautiful language of the Holy Scriptures which have been given by inspiration of the Holy Spirit'.<sup>152</sup> The protest developed in the exact area Sayers had predicted.

Biographers and scholars of Sayers have also emphasised this controversy over contemporary language, which has led readers, perhaps unintentionally, to think the Authorized Version played no role in the scripts. To sample a few: Mary Ellen Ashcroft speaks of Sayers 'wearing out a Greek New Testament as...she tried to bring artistic unity to the Greek texts of the gospels';<sup>153</sup> Mitzi Brunsdale says she 'abandoned the phraseology of the King James';<sup>154</sup> David Coomes describes how 'to avoid sanctimoniousness... she toiled to translate the Greek faithfully into a modern equivalent'<sup>155</sup>; Alzina Stone Dale discusses how she 'did her own translating'<sup>156</sup>; Monica Godfrey says that 'Just as a missionary translates the Gospel into the

<sup>148</sup> Highlights of this chapter have been published as Kathryn Wehr, "The Psalms Hidden in the Slang", *The Church Times* (24 March 2017). 20.

<sup>149</sup> Brabazon, *Dorothy L. Sayers*, 203.

<sup>150</sup> Letter To Dr James Welch, 1 August 1941, *Letters Vol. 2*, 282.

<sup>151</sup> The *Daily Mail*, 11 December 1941. Similar accusations were featured in other newspapers.

<sup>152</sup> From Lord's Day Observance Society advertisements, 12 December 1941.

<sup>153</sup> Ashcroft, Mary Ellen. *Exorcising the Angel by Craft: Writing as Incantation/Incarnation in the Work of Dorothy L. Sayers*. PhD Dissertation. (University of Minnesota: 1992), 198.

<sup>154</sup> Brunsdale, *Solving the Mystery of Wickedness*, 159.

<sup>155</sup> Coomes, *A Careless Rage for Life*, 16.

<sup>156</sup> Dale, *Maker and Craftsman*, 109.

language of the people, so Dorothy Sayers translated the antiquated texts into modern English'<sup>157</sup>; Catherine Kenney writes that she was 'avoiding the familiar language of the King James version'<sup>158</sup>; Laura K. Simmons describes how Sayers 'made her own translation from the Greek'<sup>159</sup>; Murray Roston writes that she 'deliberately circumvents the Authorized Version with its sanctified cadences and elevating archaisms',<sup>160</sup> and Gord Wilson writes that she 'kept the ancient setting, but translated the Gospel accounts directly from Greek into fresh, lively, everyday speech and slang'.<sup>161</sup>

The standard use of words like 'abandon,' 'avoid' or 'eschew' in reference to the Authorized Version gives readers a false image of Sayers writing with a Greek New Testament in one hand and a blank sheet of paper in the other. In fact, she was not translating, as such a romantic picture would suggest; she was dramatizing for radio. Sayers herself describes the plays as 'only an embroidery and interpretation'.<sup>162</sup> Strong evidence suggests that a more accurate mental picture would be of Sayers, surrounded by numerous reference books<sup>163</sup> and Bibles, harmonising and adapting Gospel stories from English into her own distinctive dialogue style, with regular reference to the Greek text for specific word choices. Sayers did, obviously, make fresh choices of language throughout her dialogue—and this is an amazing achievement. A close reading of the scripts, however, shows that she by no means forsook the Authorized Version completely. She was not doing what C.S. Lewis said of translators of new biblical versions: 'depart[ing] from their predecessors...because they are better Hebraists or better Grecians'.<sup>164</sup> On the contrary, Sayers answered

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<sup>157</sup> Godfrey, Monica 'The Man Born to be King; Contextualizing the Kingdom' in *Inklings Forever, Vol. VII; A collection of Essays Presented at the Seventh Frances White Ewbank Colloquium, June 3-6, 2010*. (Upland, IN: Taylor University, 2010), 220.

<sup>158</sup> Catherine Kenney, *The Remarkable Case of Dorothy L. Sayers* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1990), 230.

<sup>159</sup> Simmons, *Creed Without Chaos*, 55.

<sup>160</sup> Murray Roston, *Biblical Drama in England from the Middle Ages to the Present Day*. (London: Farber and Farber, 1968), 296.

<sup>161</sup> Gord Wilson, 'Dorothy L. Sayers as Theologian' *Radix* 19 n. 3 (Berkley, CA) 1990, 18.

<sup>162</sup> Letter to Mrs. V. Ackland, 2 Dec 1943, Wade Document 19/6.

<sup>163</sup> Sayers herself credits 6 such books in her introduction to the plays, *MBTKB*, 36. See Chapter 3 for a full discussion.

<sup>164</sup> C.S. Lewis, *The Literary Impact of the Authorized Version*, (London: University of London Athlone Press, 1950), 9.

petitions for a full Bible translation by saying that for one, 'I have not enough Greek, for another I have no Hebrew, and for a third I have no time!'.<sup>165</sup> She was perhaps being modest about her abilities with Greek,<sup>166</sup> but *did* she actually use it as exclusively in *The Man Born to be King* as her biographers claim? By emphasising her translation work, commentators reinforce a false impression. This tendency also glosses over the important difference between *dramatizing* a biblical scene (Sayers' task) and *translating* text from Greek to contemporary English (not Sayers' task). The situation is more complex.

Sayers' use of reference books will be discussed in the next chapter, but some preliminary comments here about available Bible translations will clear the field for an in-depth analysis of her use of the Authorized Version, which she has so far been universally charged with avoiding. In a 1942 letter to Arthur Mee, the editor of *The Children's Newspaper*, Sayers baulks at the suggestion of exclusively using the AV to teach children. 'It is a noble version,' she writes, 'though it contains a number of errors and inaccuracies (some of which have been corrected in the R.V.).... It may often be usefully supplemented by Moffatt, or some other reliable translation in modern English'.<sup>167</sup> We see here her familiarity with at least two other translations, the Revised Version and the paraphrase translation by James Moffatt (1913).<sup>168</sup> Moffatt's work is not mentioned in letters that specifically relate to phrasing choices in the plays, though it may warrant future study as a possible source for Sayers. The

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<sup>165</sup> Letter to Rev. Richard L. Sharp, 10 June 1943, Wade Document 31/15. The same wording is used in Letter to Miss K.M. Darroch, 22 June, 1943, Wade Document 22/5.

<sup>166</sup> Her facility with Greek in 1940 had surely dwindled through lack of use since her 'Smalls' (Greek and Latin) and 'Divvers' (Theology and New Testament Greek) exams at Oxford in 1913 (see Reynolds, 47-48), which was the last time reading and translation of Greek (including Biblical Greek) was required of her. Her later impressive acquisition of Mediaeval Italian would suggest, however, that her abilities with language were extraordinary, so I may be wrong about my estimation of her Greek in 1940. It is, nonetheless, my hypothesis that she retained good research skills with lexicons and other helps and slowly built her facility with Greek back up over the course of the two and a half years of script writing, until 1943 when she herself estimates that she has 'not enough Greek' to do a Bible translation.

<sup>167</sup> Letter to Arthur Mee, 25 August 1942. Wade Document 28/32.

<sup>168</sup> James Moffatt, *The New Testament: A New Translation*, (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1913). Another 'reliable translation' available at the time was Richard Francis Weymouth, *The New Testament in Modern Speech: An Idiomatic Translation into Everyday English From the Text of the Resultant Greek Testament* (London: James Clarke & Co, 1912).

Revised Version, on the other hand, *is* mentioned. In James Welch's comments on the third play, 'A Certain Nobleman', for instance, he points out to Sayers that

you use first the R.V. when Our Lord answers, 'This is my Father's house: surely you knew I should be here.' And two paragraphs later Mary reports Jesus as saying 'I must be about my Father's business', and says that her mind went back to the day in the Temple when he was found – and this is based on the A.V.<sup>169</sup>

And Sayers explains:

I left the R.V. in the actual context of the Finding in the Temple, because it certainly fits the sense better. But I didn't want to lose the other reading, so when I had to supply something for Christ to say before setting out from Nazareth, instead of inventing it altogether, I use the A.V. as a thing He might well have said, with the suggestion that the whole manner and tone recalled the previous experience.<sup>170</sup>

Such rare mentions of the Revised Version between Sayers and Welch, give it a useful role in double-checking our study of the use of the Authorized Version in *The Man Born to be King*.

### **The Authorized Version**

Three areas deserve special investigation as examples of how the Authorized Version is woven throughout the play cycle: the lines of Evangelist (the 'narrator'); in Old Testament quotations; and quotations specifically from the Psalms. While *Authorized* turns of phrase are sprinkled throughout the scripts (seen in the example above), lines of these three types are much more likely to use language from the Authorized Version – often direct quotation – as well as, in the case of the Psalms, use of the Coverdale Psalms, which is the translation used in the 1662 Book of Common Prayer. Some limited influence of the Revised Version is also evident. These three areas, while clearly exceptions to the general rule of original rendering of biblical material, show Sayers at work in a more dynamic, rather than iconoclastic, process; a dramatist working with all her available tools.

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<sup>169</sup> James Welch, 'Comments on Play 3, *A Certain Nobleman*' Wade Document 434b/132.

<sup>170</sup> Letter to James Welch, 27 January 1942, Wade Document 434b/128.

## Narration

There is a regular and clear use of the Authorized Version in almost every scene of the play by the character Evangelist. Here is a case in point of what Mitzi Brunsdale said of the Authorized Version, that it 'had become familiar enough to be largely ignored'.<sup>171</sup> This clear use has not been mentioned in published work thus far, though Frances Clemson discusses it briefly in a particular instance in her yet-unpublished PhD dissertation chapter on the play-cycle.<sup>172</sup> Within the radio plays, Evangelist is used as the narrator to introduce and conclude most scenes. While this could be mere economy of words, Clemson suggests that it serves a more important function: the drama that follows the Evangelist's lines 'draws upon and opens up the verse from the Authorised Version with which the scene begins'.<sup>173</sup> The conversion of Matthew, for instance, 'returns the audience to that text...making dramatically present, rather than explaining away, the strangeness at the heart of the text'.<sup>174</sup> This follows Sayers' own stated preference that 'all plays, even when broadcast, should explain themselves within their own dialogue. I don't like to hear the Narrator expounding the situation.'<sup>175</sup>

Looking closely at all the lines of Evangelist together as a category listed in Appendix B, Table 1, we can see a clear picture of how Sayers treated the Authorized Version as a narrative voice. Only one partial line of Evangelist is not from Scripture. It is from the opening speech of Play 7, Scene I, where Mary Magdalen is described as having been 'a great sinner, till she met Jesus', and this detail is added to tie Mary of Bethany, Mary Magdalen and the Sinful Woman from Luke 11 together into the traditional Composite Mary frequently found in Christian art.<sup>176</sup> All other lines by Evangelist are either direct or adapted quotations from Scripture.

<sup>171</sup> Brunsdale, *Solving the Mystery of Wickedness*, 159.

<sup>172</sup> Frances Clemson, 'The Man Born to be King', from *The Theology of Dorothy L. Sayers' Dramatic Works: Dramatic Performance and the 'Continual Showing Forth of God's Act in History'*, Unpublished PhD Thesis Chapter. University of Exeter: 2012, Chapter MS emailed from Clemson to me, 11-13, 48.

<sup>173</sup> Clemson, *Theology of Dorothy L. Sayers' Dramatic Works*, 13.

<sup>174</sup> Clemson, *Theology of Dorothy L. Sayers' Dramatic Works*, 13.

<sup>175</sup> Letter to Derek McCullough, 5 November 1940, *Letters*, Vol. 2, 190-191.

<sup>176</sup> This choice is discussed further in chapter 3.

By laying out the analysis as a chart, it can be seen just how prevalent is the use of the Authorized Version. Table 1 in Appendix B (p. 223) shows that out of the 137 biblical lines of Evangelist, the Authorized Version is directly quoted 83 times, with 53 direct and clear quotations and 30 quotations that are clearly Authorized Version but are shortened or include a substituted word.

*Example of shortening and substitution:*

Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6 - Evangelist: And it came to pass <b>that</b> he took Peter and John and James, and went up to <b>the</b> mountain to pray.	Luke 9:28, AV - And it came to pass <b>about an eight days after these sayings</b> , he took Peter and John and James, and went up into <b>a</b> mountain to pray.
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24 lines are clearly not from the Authorized Version. An additional 24 times Sayers incorporates a unique detail or turn of phrase from one gospel to add into a speech that is otherwise based upon another gospel.

*Example of combining details:*

Play 4, Scene I - Evangelist: Now after <b>Jesus had healed many sick people</b> , he went out one day and saw a <b>tax-collector called Matthew</b> sitting at the receipt of custom. And he said unto him "Follow me"; and he left all, rose up, and followed him.	Luke 5:27-28, AV - And <b>after these things</b> he went forth, and saw a <b>publican, named Levi</b> , sitting at the receipt of custom: and he said unto him, Follow me. <sup>28</sup> And he left all, rose up, and followed him.
	Mark 2:14, AV - And as he passed by, he saw <b>Levi</b> the son of Alphæus sitting at the receipt of custom, and said unto him, Follow me. And he arose and followed him.
	Matthew 9:9-10, AV - And as Jesus passed forth from thence, he saw a man, named <b>Matthew</b> , sitting at the receipt of custom: and he saith unto him, Follow me. And he arose, and followed him.

*(The Evangelist line resembles Luke 5:27-28 more than Mark or Matthew. Sayers substitutes 'tax-collector' for the more archaic 'publican' but also borrows 'Matthew' from the Gospel of Matthew instead of 'Levi'. Even with these changes it is still clearly based on the AV.)*

In preparing this comparison, I have also considered the possibility of a correlation to the Revised Version, and in the 24 instances where the quotation from the Authorized Version was not exact, I have compared it to the Revised Version, but

found no correlation; the lines of Evangelist show no influence from the Revised Version.<sup>177</sup>

### Old Testament Quotations

Another place where quotation from the Authorized Version is evident is in non-Psalm quotations from the Old Testament. (Psalms will be handled separately below.) As a writer with ‘not enough Greek...[and] no Hebrew’,<sup>178</sup> it is natural for Sayers to lean on known translations of Old Testament texts, instead of attempting fresh translations or re-wording. Again, I have sought any links to the Revised Version when direct correspondence with the Authorized Version was absent. Some minimal RV influence in 3 lines was found, but only in a particular word choice, not the flow of the whole line. This link, therefore, is tenuous.

Appendix B, Table 2 (p. 230) shows that of the 49 direct non-Psalm Old Testament quotations and allusions, 22 are direct and clear quotations from the Authorized Version, with only 5 including a small change. 3 quotations show some possible influence of the Revised Version, while 13 are neither Authorized Version nor Revised Version, although it is clear to what verse the line is alluding. Finally, the 12 remaining lines are used for details, not quotations. 48 additional lines with possible or looser scriptural allusions are included in complete list in Appendix C.

#### *Example of influence from the Revised Version:*

Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1 - Joseph: A bundle of myrrh is my <b>beloved</b> to me	Song of Solomon 1:13, AV - A bundle of myrrh is my <b>wellbeloved</b> unto me...
	Song of Solomon 1:13, RV - My <b>beloved</b> is unto me as a bundle of myrrh...

*(The AV word order is retained but ‘beloved’ is substituted for ‘wellbeloved’)*

<sup>177</sup> While relationship to the RV was hard to find, I noted a number of instances where Sayers’ lines anticipate the word choice for the 1973 New International Version. This could be an interesting link to explore in further study. Could the NIV translators have been influenced by Sayers?

<sup>178</sup> Letter to Rev. Richard L. Sharp, 10 June 1943, Wade Document 31/15. The same wording is used in Letter to Miss K.M. Darroch, 22 June 1943, Wade Document 22/5.



### Psalm Quotations

Finally, In Sayers' use of the Psalms we see the added influence of the Psalm translations found in the Book of Common Prayer. These are known as the Coverdale Psalms, since they are taken from the 1535 English Bible translation by Myles Coverdale.<sup>179</sup> These Psalms are the translation used daily in Anglican worship in Sayers' day, and, as Sayers was the daughter of an Anglican clergyman who led his household in morning and evening prayers, they were more familiar to her than the Psalms of the Authorized Version. Table 3 in Appendix B (p. 233) shows this influence upon the 18 direct quotations of and allusions to the Psalms within *The Man Born to be King*. This does not include an additional 13 references included in Appendix C that have only possible or looser Psalm connections. We can see a clear preference for the Coverdale Psalms, with only 1 quotation of the Authorized Version (which is actually a New Testament quote of a Psalm) and 10 instances where the Coverdale Psalms are used or where the Coverdale and Authorized Versions are the same (the Coverdale Psalms having predated and influenced the Authorized Version). We see 3 instances where Sayers uses a freer rendering of the verse and 4 instances where the verse is used for detail purposes only.

#### *Two Examples of Coverdale and Authorized Version Comparison*

Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 2 - Peter: Good luck have thou with thine honour  (obvious choice of Coverdale over AV)	Ps 45:5, Coverdale - <i>Good luck have thou with thine honour; ride on..</i>
	Psalm 45:4, AV - And in thy majesty ride prosperously
Play 5, Scene IV - Matthew: They that go down to the sea in ships see the wonders of the Lord  (truncation of the text in a way that is equally Coverdale and AV)	Psalm 107:23-24, Coverdale – They that go down to the sea in ships <b>and occupy their business in great waters; These men</b> see the works of the Lord and his wonders <b>in the deep</b>
	Psalm 107:23-24, AV - They that go down to the sea in ships, <b>that do business in great waters; these</b> see the works of the LORD, and his wonders <b>in the deep</b>

<sup>179</sup> See Brian Cummings, ed. *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

### Discussion of Sayers' Use of the Authorized and Coverdale Versions

The common claim of Sayers eschewing the Authorized Version has called for a more thorough examination. Her dialogue is full of beautiful and quirky original renderings of well-known sayings, but to speak as if she started the whole project with just a blank page and her Greek New Testament is not only misleading but demonstrably false. It also does not do justice to the hard work of research and study that Sayers did. It is evident that she used all the tools available to her: the Greek text, the Authorized and Revised Versions, and the Book of Common Prayer, as well as the list of external sources she credits in her Introduction.

This incorporation of well-known phraseology alongside her original translation of dialogue serves an important function. It means that scenes are introduced and summarized by the well-known voice of spiritual authority and tradition, the Authorized Version, even though some quotes had to be shortened or words substituted for dramatic effect or clarity. Sayers instructed that various regional accents be used for different characters,<sup>180</sup> so a narrator speaking from the Authorized Version with the expected 'Received Pronunciation' of the BBC (at the time) would have put her listeners at ease before the surprise of the Northern English or East End accents and slang of some of the disciples. Sayers' use of the AV also meant that characters who directly quoted the Old Testament used the same recognisable phrases as Sayers' listeners would hear in Church, for example when Caiaphas jokes that in playing Jesus off against Rome they are 'spoiling the Egyptians',<sup>181</sup> or when Annas reminds Judas to '[p]ut not your trust in any child of man'.<sup>182</sup> In her Introduction to the published plays, Sayers writes that 'nothing is gained by making [characters] use obsolete forms of speech as though they seemed old-fashioned to themselves'.<sup>183</sup> It is clear that instead she reserved most of the 'obsolete forms' to the framing of the scenes in narration and in Scripture quotes that the characters themselves might have also felt to be old-fashioned.

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<sup>180</sup> *MBTBK*, 46-47.

<sup>181</sup> Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 2, quoting AV Exodus 12:35-36.

<sup>182</sup> Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 3, quoting Coverdale Psalm 146:2 (AV 146:3).

<sup>183</sup> *MBTBK*, 24.

At the time the 'slang' controversy erupted after the 10 December 1941 press conference, Sayers had already written at least five of the twelve plays<sup>184</sup> and had a process and style in place. She could not have anticipated the extent of the popular outcry against vernacular dramatization, but, because of it, ended up having to spend great effort in defending herself. Perhaps to have admitted and clarified her smaller use of the Authorized Version and the Coverdale Psalms would have only weakened her position by admitting their importance. Even though her choice of limited use does not appear to have been mentioned in letters of the period, Sayers' use of the Authorized Version and Coverdale Psalms is obvious when the texts are compared. These three areas—narration, Old Testament quotation and Psalm quotation—, while clearly exceptions to the general rule of original dramatization of biblical material, show Sayers working with all available tools in a dynamic, rather than iconoclastic process.

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<sup>184</sup> Sayers sent a draft of Play 5 to Welch on 20 November 1941. See Wade Document 433/13-17.

### Chapter 3: Sayers' Use of Six Secondary Sources

Having analysed Dorothy L. Sayers' use of the Gospels and Scripture translations, additional consideration must be given to Sayers' secondary sources to further fill in the picture of how Sayers used her raw materials to craft *The Man Born to be King*. In her Introduction, she describes her use of sources. Picking up the thread of our earlier investigations, she writes,

For the purpose of these plays, then, I have treated all four Evangelists as equally 'witnesses of truth'...Nor have I hesitated to conform to a beloved tradition if it added picturesque variety and did no harm.... Apart from a few such traditions, hallowed by Christian piety and custom, the only sources used have been the Canonical Scriptures, together with a few details from Josephus and other historians to build up the general background.

I did not embark on the reading of a great mass of exegetical literature.... I must, however, acknowledge my debt to...<sup>185</sup>

And she goes on to credit the following books: William Temple's *Readings in St. John's Gospel*, Sir Edward Hoskyns' *The Fourth Gospel*, R.A. Edwards' *The Upper Room*, Frank Morrison's *Who Moved the Stone?*, and Ronald Gurner's *We Crucify!*. Within the notes to Play 4, *The Heirs to the Kingdom*, she also quotes from and credits A.H.W. Jones' *The Herods of Judaea*.<sup>186</sup> I have mentioned these six books in passing or as examples in earlier chapters, but the purpose of this chapter is to give them direct consideration as secondary sources for *The Man Born to be King*.

Alzina Stone Dale, a scholar who has worked on script analysis, comments only broadly on Sayers' supporting sources: 'She passed lightly over the enormous body of secondary commentary and refused to be limited by its current conventional wisdom. The world she created within these plays grew from her own capacious brain'.<sup>187</sup> Suzanne Bray proves Dale's breezy statement to be an oversimplification

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<sup>185</sup> *MBTBK*, 35-34.

<sup>186</sup> *MBTBK*, 115.

<sup>187</sup> Alzina Stone Dale 'Best Mystery Plot', in *As Her Whimsey Took Her*, 80.

in her foundational study of the secondary sources presented at a Dorothy L. Sayers Society Study Day in 2011.<sup>188</sup> Bray's paper makes a valuable beginning but, being a short conference paper, she does not cover all of the source books in their entirety. Bray's approach may have been to search the secondary literature for the sources of direct attributions that Sayers makes, such as 'I have accepted Dr. Temple's suggestion...',<sup>189</sup> or 'I have to thank Frank Morison's *Who Moved the Stone?*...'.<sup>190</sup> Bray mentions a few other connections along the way, but her paper is not meant to be exhaustive. Given that *The Man Born to be King* is a popular rather than academic work, it is remarkable that Sayers took the time to cite her sources at all, though it should not be surprising, given Sayers' respect for scholarship. Nevertheless, there remains the tantalising possibility that there might be other clear marks of influence that are neither credited by Sayers nor identified by Bray.

A thorough study of all six secondary source books shows this suggestion to be undoubtedly true, with substantial influence identifiable both within the notes before the play scripts and within the scripts themselves. There are some general details which might be considered common assumptions in Sayers' day, but other details show a clearer provenance in one or more specific secondary source. In fact, out of the 96 scenes/sequences within the 12-play cycle, only 18 scenes/sequences do not have at least one connection with one of the sources. Many scenes/sequences show multiple connections, and while it is impossible to say that Sayers was influenced by these books in *each* case, they may at least have given her support for the choices she was already inclined to make. Complete findings of all incorporation and influence of Sayers' secondary literature would best be presented as an annotated version of the scripts,<sup>191</sup> but a summary here of two distinct categories, each with important examples, will shed light on Sayers' working process and build upon Bray's work. To study further the Energy or 'Son-ness' of *The Man*

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<sup>188</sup> Suzanne Bray, "Theological, Historical and Stylistic Influences on Dorothy L. Sayers' *The Man Born to be King*" in *Theology in Action, A Study Day, 19<sup>th</sup> September 2011* (Hurstpierpoint, West Sussex: The Dorothy L. Sayers Society, 2011), 33-47.

<sup>189</sup> *MBTBK*, 92.

<sup>190</sup> *MBTBK*, 36.

<sup>191</sup> I am considering such a critical edition as my next project.

*Born to be King*, we will look specifically at the incorporation of historic detail and the influence on characterisation.

### I. Historic Detail

In setting the life of Christ, Sayers says that she was neither trying to write ‘the Gospel story in a modern setting’<sup>192</sup> nor attempting ‘niggling antiquarian accuracy in trifles’.<sup>193</sup> Instead she uses language, manners, details, and customs to create the effect of ‘a Renaissance painting where figures in their modern habits mingle familiarly with others whose dress and behaviour are sufficiently orientalised to give a flavour of the time and place and conform with the requirements of the story’.<sup>194</sup> This does not mean, however, that she was careless with historic details. She does not fabricate history to suit her purpose. Instead, we can see Sayers using a large amount of extra-biblical historical detail and occasionally taking creative license with it to aid understanding of its meaning by a contemporary audience, but not at the cost of essential historical facts. Through examples in three main areas, we can see how she incorporates material from her sources to achieve this ‘Renaissance painting’ effect: the details and scenes regarding Herod the Great, the Sanhedrin, and the Zealots.

#### Herod the Great

Sayers’ knowledge and characterisation of Herod the Great is a special case among all the characters in *The Man Born to be King*, since Sayers had begun to write a play about Herod in 1938.<sup>195</sup> The several manuscripts of the unfinished play contain only one act—really one long scene—, which takes place at the time of Herod being made king.<sup>196</sup> Sayers mentions in a letter to Father Herbert Kelly on 16 May 1938 that she feels ‘impelled to write a play about Herod the Great’<sup>197</sup> and tells Kelly again on 24

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<sup>192</sup> *MBTBK*, 24.

<sup>193</sup> *MBTBK*, 25.

<sup>194</sup> *MBTBK*, 25.

<sup>195</sup> Three revisions of Act I and miscellaneous materials of this unfinished play are found in the Wade Center Collection, DLS/MS110-113. It is clear from handwritten notes in MS113 that Sayers envisioned a Trilogy of plays about Herod, the last of which includes a scene with the three Magi. There is no evidence of that scene having been written; it is only noted in a list of scenes.

<sup>196</sup> Wade Document, DLS/MS110-112.

<sup>197</sup> *Letters*, Vol. 2, 79.

May that 'Herod (confound him) is becoming very insistent, trampling ferociously into my mind over the heads of all the other things it is my duty to do'.<sup>198</sup> This second letter also shows two important points for a study of *The Man Born to be King*: that Sayers displays a clear characterisation of Herod caught between religious, political, and family pressures, and that she also makes a request to Kelly to recommend a good book about 'the position of the Jews under the Roman Empire, between Maccabees and St. Matthew',<sup>199</sup> saying she is 'extremely ignorant of the history'.<sup>200</sup>

Sayers re-states her request in a letter on 4 July 1938, as Kelly had not replied to her appeal for a book.<sup>201</sup> A.H.M. Jones' *The Herods of Judaea*<sup>202</sup> was published that year (1938) and Kelly may have drawn Sayers' attention to it, though such a suggestion does not survive in their available correspondence.<sup>203</sup> Sayers may have found it another way, since, within the archive for the unfinished Herod play at the Wade Center there is a W. Heffer & Sons bookseller's list with Jones' book specifically marked by hand. So, whether she actually acquired the book in 1938 or later, it certainly came to her attention at that time.<sup>204</sup>

Jones' book *The Herods of Judaea* quotes and describes extensive details from Josephus, as well as other historians of the period who mention Judaeian affairs, such as Tacitus, Stabo and Philo.<sup>205</sup> Therefore, when Sayers writes in the Introduction to *The Man Born to be King* that she has taken 'a few details from Josephus and other historians',<sup>206</sup> she may not necessarily be claiming to have read Josephus first hand. She *could* have done so, but it would be unnecessary, since Jones provides the kinds of historical background that Sayers was needing: details of Herod's family saga; a

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<sup>198</sup> *Letters*, Vol. 2, 80.

<sup>199</sup> *Letters*, Vol. 2, 80.

<sup>200</sup> *Letters*, Vol. 2, 81.

<sup>201</sup> Letter to Fr. Herbert Kelly, 4 July 1938, Wade Document DLS/261.

<sup>202</sup> A.H.M. Jones, *The Herods of Judaea* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1938).

<sup>203</sup> There are no surviving letters between Sayers' request on 4 July 1938 and a letter from Kelly to Sayers on 25 December 1938 which is on unrelated topics.

<sup>204</sup> Wade Collection DLS/MS113.11. Special thanks to Laura Schmidt at the Wade Center for solving this puzzle.

<sup>205</sup> Jones, *Herods of Judaea*, x-xii.

<sup>206</sup> *MBTBK*, 36.

clear definition of various groups such as the Herodians, Pharisees, Sadducees and Zealots; and descriptions of the larger movements within greater Roman society that affected the political policy that was put in place after Herod's death, which saw the breaking up of the Herodian kingdom into smaller kingdoms such as that of Herod Antipas in Galilee, and the installation of a direct Roman governor (such Pontius Pilate) over Judaea.

Jones provides a clear description of Judaea under Herod the Great as a client kingdom of Rome and contrasts this with Judaea under direct Roman rule, as it became under its later Roman governors. This client kingdom system worked, Jones suggests, because 'Herod was, as far as the Romans could see, the ideal man to keep [the Jews] in order, since he was of unquestionable loyalty, an efficient and ruthless administrator, and, seeing that he was a Jew by religion, presumably capable of managing the religious prejudices of his people'.<sup>207</sup> Herod's father had been a governor for the Hasmonean high priests,<sup>208</sup> who had claimed the last vestiges of the priest-king role combined by the Maccabees, but the Jews disliked being ruled by Herod, who was not of the priestly class and whose family were Idumaeans converts to Judaism.<sup>209</sup> In addition to Judaea, Herod was also the king of extensive pagan areas, which can explain how his Jewishness was of different relative value to him and his various subjects.<sup>210</sup> Herod's second wife, Mariamne, was from a Hasmonean family, which is why the rivalry between Herod's sons for the crown was so important, since here again was a possibility for a Jewish priest-king. Eventually, Herod killed not only Mariamne but also his sons by her.<sup>211</sup> Through numerous other intrigues among Herod's siblings and other sons, an aging and suspicious Herod was 'betrayed...into many acts of cruelty and injustice'; nevertheless, Jones summarises that 'It was no mean achievement to have imposed his will almost singlehanded on a reluctant people for over thirty years'.<sup>212</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> Jones, *Herods of Judaea*, 66.

<sup>208</sup> Jones, *Herods of Judaea*, 44.

<sup>209</sup> Jones, *Herods of Judaea*, 29.

<sup>210</sup> Jones, *Herods of Judaea*, 97.

<sup>211</sup> Jones, *Herods of Judaea*, 61, 136.

<sup>212</sup> Jones, *Herods of Judaea*, 153.



This treatment of Herod the Great is similar to what we find in Sayers, who seems to be pushing back against the standard villain version of Herod in popular Nativity plays. Both Jones and Sayers see Herod from his own point of view, as the central figure in his own story. Sayers writes in the Introduction, 'Herod the Great was no monstrous enemy of God: he was a soldier of fortune and a political genius—a savage but capable autocrat, whose jealousy and ungovernable temper had involved him in a prolonged domestic wretchedness'.<sup>213</sup> And in the description of Play 1:

He *did* keep Judaea at peace for thirty years after it had been torn to pieces by religious factions, and he *did* leave it prosperous; he was betrayed by everyone he loved.... He never got over the death of Mariamne, whom he had loved passionately and had executed.<sup>214</sup>

It should be noted that Sayers always spells this name 'Mariamne', and calls her Herod's first queen,<sup>215</sup> while Jones spells it 'Mariamme' and says that she is Herod's second queen after Doris (polygamy being allowed by Jewish law).<sup>216</sup> Sayers' use of '-ne' is also found throughout her unfinished play about Herod the Great, and suggests another historical source.<sup>217</sup> When Sayers requested a history source from Kelly on 24 May 1938 it is clear she already had some details of Herod's household from an extra-biblical source noting how Herod's 'wife's [Mariamne's] family apparently lost no opportunity of rubbing [it] in about his low antecedents'.<sup>218</sup> What this source was can only be guessed. In her essay 'A Vote of Thanks to Cyrus', Sayers mentions having poured over the *Tales from Herodotus* series as a child,<sup>219</sup> which helped her see the connection between the Bible and the rest of history. Another such book in her library could have been Lew Wesson's 1880 widely-popular novel *Ben-Hur; A Tale of the Christ*, which, shares Sayers' spelling of 'Mariamne' in reference to Herod's wife, the preference for designating the Jewish council with the plural form 'Sanhedrim' (see below), and the dramatic device of having the Mage Balthazar reappear.<sup>220</sup>

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<sup>213</sup> MBTBK, 23.

<sup>214</sup> MBTBK, 45.

<sup>215</sup> MBTBK, 52.

<sup>216</sup> Jones, *Herods of Judaea*, 37.

<sup>217</sup> Wade Collection, DLS/MS111-113.

<sup>218</sup> *Letters*, Vol. 2, 81.

<sup>219</sup> Bray, 'Theological, Historical and Stylistic Influences', 34. Sayers, *Unpopular Opinions*, 24.

<sup>220</sup> Lew Wallace, *Ben-Hur: A Tale of the Christ* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1880).

The script of Play 1, Scene I is full of comments and references that help the audience absorb background material. With exceptional economy of words, Sayers has her characters discuss rumours of a new king,<sup>221</sup> Herod's health and the struggle for succession between his sons Archelaus and Antipater,<sup>222</sup> Herod's Idumaeon ancestry,<sup>223</sup> the schemes that have led to the execution of Mariamne and her sons,<sup>224</sup> the danger for those looking for a priest-king,<sup>225</sup> and Herod's shrewdness in using the situation for his own political ends.<sup>226</sup> Sayers was concerned about how all these details would go over with the audience:

‘I hope the allusions to his past – the Mariamne stuff and the political pretensions of the Hasmonaeans – [are] not too obscure. After all, children who have done any English history must have some acquaintance with the idea of the pretenders to the throne, and the claims of rival houses’.<sup>227</sup>

Sayers accomplishes this by weaving in the story from the Gospel of Matthew of the Magi arriving in search of the new king. Against the background of political turmoil and rumours, the audience sees how dangerous the message of a baby ‘born King of the Jews’ is to Herod and why it makes sense for him to react the way he does.

Play 1, Scene III, incorporates the ‘golden Eagle scene’ from Josephus, and functions for Sayers ‘as counteracting the necessarily rather pious and domestic effect of the Bethlehem scene’.<sup>228</sup> This is the one extra-biblical historical scene that Sayers includes in the play cycle (though there are a number of fully-fictional scenes and fictional characters like Proclus and Baruch). Gurner's *We Crucify!* mentions the event but wrongly attributes placement of the golden eagle on the temple to Pontius Pilate, not Herod.<sup>229</sup> Jones, on the other hand, covers this scene extensively listing all the names recorded by Josephus, and describing how two Pharisee preachers,

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<sup>221</sup> *MBTBK*, 48.

<sup>222</sup> *MBTBK*, 49.

<sup>223</sup> *MBTBK*, 51.

<sup>224</sup> *MBTBK*, 52.

<sup>225</sup> *MBTBK*, 52.

<sup>226</sup> *MBTBK*, 53-54.

<sup>227</sup> Letter to Derek McCullough, 5 November 1940. *Letters*, Vol. 2, 190.

<sup>228</sup> Letter to Derek McCullough, 5 November 1940. *Letters*, Vol. 2, 190.

<sup>229</sup> Ronald Gurner, *We Crucify!* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1939), 120.

Matthias son of Margalothus and Judas son of Sariphaeus, created a riot, saying that the illness and rumoured death of Herod was a judgement from God for breaking the law.<sup>230</sup> This led to the scaling of the temple by several students to steal and hack to pieces the golden eagle that Herod had put on the great doors of the temple. Herod had himself carried to the crowd on his sickbed and 'with bitter indignation...[h]e recounted the labour and expense he had lavished in the building of the temple',<sup>231</sup> and then sentenced a number of rioters to execution, deposed the High Priest, Matthias son of Theophilus, as being responsible, and had the students burned alive who had carried out the actual theft and destruction of the eagle.<sup>232</sup>

Sayers, who at the beginning of her writing process was very conscious of her Children's Hour radio audience, does not include these last gruesome details but she does name her preacher 'Matthias'<sup>233</sup> and has Herod suddenly appearing on the scene, which she shifts to the balcony of the palace for dramatic ease.<sup>234</sup> Sayers cleverly sets the story of the Massacre of the Innocents in the context of the golden eagle riot, showing the connection in Herod's mind between threats of all kinds to his precarious control. She gives the actual act of massacre to a band of Thracians,<sup>235</sup> which Jones also mentions walking behind Herod's funeral bier.<sup>236</sup> The Massacre of the Innocents is only recorded in Matthew and not in extra-biblical histories, and Jones therefore only mentions it in passing as one familiar legend among others about Herod's cruelty.<sup>237</sup>

### Sanhedrin

A second area of historic detail to consider is that of the Sanhedrin, or, as Sayers always spells it, 'Sanhedrim'. Ronald Gurner's *We Crucify!* takes primary importance as a source here, since the entire book consists of fictionalised meetings of the Sanhedrin and the private notes of the High Priest, either Annas or Caiaphas. This is a

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<sup>230</sup> Jones, *Herods of Judaea*, 148.

<sup>231</sup> Jones, *Herods of Judaea*, 149.

<sup>232</sup> Jones, *Herods of Judaea*, 149.

<sup>233</sup> *MBTBK*, 63.

<sup>234</sup> *MBTBK*, 63.

<sup>235</sup> *MBTBK*, 65.

<sup>236</sup> Jones, *Herods of Judaea*, 156.

<sup>237</sup> Jones, *Herods of Judaea*, 155.

entirely different genre of book from the serious history of *The Herods of Judaea*, as it is a description and result of how Gurner had taught fifth-form boys' (approximately ages 14-16) Religious Education classes at Whitgift School. His intriguing goal was to use the natural inclination of teenagers to question what they are told by assigning them all various roles on the Sanhedrin, and convening each class 'in council chambers' to weigh the evidence for various miracles or teachings of Christ.<sup>238</sup> Gurner writes, 'The more sincerely one is oneself convinced of the fundamental truths of Christianity the more one hesitates to do it disservice by thrusting it down the throats of others when they are of an age to decide and question'.<sup>239</sup> The goal for each student was to see the evidence from their own character's position. At the end of the term, the Sanhedrin voted to put Jesus to death because they had realised how subversive Christ's message was and how deeply he shook the very precarious peace in Judaea in their day. The chapters flow in roughly chronological order through the ministry of Jesus and the 'meeting minutes' show discussion of different actions, miracles, or teachings of Jesus. To create each chapter Gurner combined the 'minutes' from various terms of the 'Sanhedrin' class.

Readers can see immediately what Sayers might have liked about this book. It is imaginative and amusing, and gives a sense of both freedom and piety in relation to the biblical Gospels. It suggests new possibilities for teaching Religious Education and proves children can handle much more of the reality behind the Gospels than is commonly assumed. Sayers recommends it to a teacher in 1943, describing it as 'a most interesting school experiment' that 'would make a most fascinating kind of Scripture lesson for intelligent children'.<sup>240</sup> Gurner is a master of the 'Renaissance painting' style and unashamedly mixes modernisms and Britishisms with biblical details, what he calls 'pardonable anacronisms [*sic*]'.<sup>241</sup> He pretends that modern technology like telephones are available to expedite the speed of reports to the

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<sup>238</sup> Gurner, *We Crucify!*, xii

<sup>239</sup> Gurner, *We Crucify!*, xvii.

<sup>240</sup> Letter to Miss Phyllis E. Dence (of Stover School), 23 November 1943, Wade Document 22/12-13.

<sup>241</sup> Gurner, *We Crucify!*, xiii.

Sanhedrin,<sup>242</sup> as well as giving various members of his class modern government titles, such as ‘Director of Intelligence Department’ or ‘Director of Public Safety’.<sup>243</sup> The book’s strength is in demonstrating that, given a chance, children can enter fully into the reality of historical people, in this case, members of the Sanhedrin, who made their decisions from their own points of view for their own reasons.

This general feel of *We Crucify!* is hand in glove with Sayers’ warning in her Introduction against assumptions about ‘stained-glass-window decorum’ and ‘sacred personages’.<sup>244</sup> It would have been characteristic of Gurner as it was of Sayers to say, ‘God was executed by people painfully like us, in a society very similar to our own’. Bray describes Gurner’s language as ‘completely modern and extremely colloquial, much more so than Sayers’,<sup>245</sup> and suggests that after seeing Gurner’s book, Sayers’ ‘opted not to adopt such an informal style in her own plays’.<sup>246</sup> This may indeed have been the case, though with the fight over ‘slang’ words in Sayers’ day and the Britishisms in *The Man Born to be King* which stand out clearly for non-British readers, they may not be quite as far apart as Bray suggests—or as Sayers thought, if Bray’s suggestion is correct. Sayers goes beyond Gurner in the innovative inclusion of Jesus as a character, while Gurner explains that, out of religious respect, he was careful to never to let anyone in his class impersonate Jesus or any other major Gospel character.<sup>247</sup> Gurner got around this by pretending Jesus speaks a dialect and needs an ‘interpreter’ who then reports his words in the third person.<sup>248</sup> Gurner is obviously thereby forestalling the objections of those who would consider such a choice impious even in his private classroom, or, worse yet, breaking the law against a member of the Trinity appearing on stage. It is a helpful reminder of the bravery of Sayers’ choice to have Jesus as an actual character, instead of scenes of witnesses reporting Jesus’ actions and teachings.

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<sup>242</sup> Gurner, *We Crucify!*, xiii.

<sup>243</sup> Gurner, *We Crucify!*, 2-3.

<sup>244</sup> *MBTBK*, 22.

<sup>245</sup> Bray, ‘Theological, Historical and Stylistic Influences’, 45-46.

<sup>246</sup> Bray, ‘Theological, Historical and Stylistic Influences’, 46.

<sup>247</sup> Gurner, *We Crucify!*, xv.

<sup>248</sup> Gurner, *We Crucify!*, xv.

The meetings described in each of Gurner's chapters' 'minutes' have a similar feel to several of Sayers' scenes with the Sanhedrim, and in fact Sayers may have been inspired by Gurner in her inclusion of several extra meeting scenes.<sup>249</sup> Both writers show give-and-take between various points of view within the Sanhedrin/m, and even have the same way of referring to members as 'Brother Nicodemus'<sup>250</sup> or 'Brother Shadrach'.<sup>251</sup> Gurner includes discussion about whether to play to the nationalistic or class angle<sup>252</sup> and hope that the Sanhedrin can pull together instead of apart,<sup>253</sup> which finds echoes in Sayers' first scene in the Sanhedrim in Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 2. Sayers adopts Gurner's style particularly in Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 1, when the Sanhedrim are discussing bribing the guards posted at Jesus' tomb, as Caiaphas says, 'Incidentally, gentlemen, pray note that this discussion has not taken place. No record of it will appear in the minutes. There will be a trifling disbursement from the Temple funds to account for it. It had better, perhaps, be debited to—er—educational purposes.'<sup>254</sup>

The presentation by both authors of what the High Priest is thinking is also similar, with Gurner giving the 'President' (the High Priest) the final word on each meeting through a final addendum to each set of minutes. After Gurner's Sanhedrin discusses the rumour of foreign magi vising a new 'King of the Jews' being born in Bethlehem, for instance, Annas writes, 'I dislike the possibility of Herod thinking that we are in any way influenced or alarmed by the claims that ignorant Jews and superstitious Orientals are uniting in making on behalf of this boy'.<sup>255</sup> Sayers attributes a different level of availability of information to her Sanhedrim but she still frequently gives Caiaphas direct speech about his own motives and political manoeuvres, as will be discussed in greater detail below. Finally, Gurner and Sayers give their Sanhedrin/m a long and remarkably similar list of charges against Jesus. It should be remembered that in the first, second and fourth Gospels, charges beyond

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<sup>249</sup> Bray, 'Theological, Historical and Stylistic Influences', 46.

<sup>250</sup> i.e. Gurner, *We Crucify!*, 20.

<sup>251</sup> i.e. *MBTBK*, 223.

<sup>252</sup> Gurner, *We Crucify!*, 40-48.

<sup>253</sup> Gurner, *We Crucify!*, 49.

<sup>254</sup> *MBTBK*, 333.

<sup>255</sup> Gurner, *We Crucify!*, 8.

blasphemy and the claim about the destruction of the Temple are not specified but denoted as ‘many things’ (Mt 27:13), ‘many charges’ (Mk 15:40), or as accusations by the crowd of being a ‘malefactor’ (AV, Jn 18:30). Luke lists more specifics of ‘perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Caesar saying that he himself is Christ a King...he stirreth up the people...’ (AV, Lk 23:2,5). By contrast, Gurner’s list is over seven pages long and covers categories of legal, medical, constitutional, moral, and ecclesiastical and general charges.<sup>256</sup> Sayers clearly borrows a number of these charges, often using or adapting Gurner’s wording. Gurner’s list is too long to quote in full so only the relevant phrases will be listed below for comparison:

Gurner	Sayers
<p>‘That Jesus has violated the established laws of the Jewish people by disregarding...the rights of property in that he has—Destroyed, or caused to be destroyed, a herd of valuable swine, one fig tree...Has, by act of violence dispossessed peaceable money-changers...’<sup>257</sup></p> <p>‘That Jesus has...influenced the common people in a manner inconsistent with the interests of decourum and morality<sup>258</sup> ...Detracted...from the sanctity of oaths sworn at the altar<sup>259</sup> ...That Jesus has undermined the legal status of the head of a Jewish family by— Inducing sons to leave their fathers and mothers<sup>260</sup> ...Consorted publicly...with men and women of questionable character<sup>261</sup> ...that he has consistently set at naught the authority of the Sanhedrin’.<sup>262</sup></p> <p>‘That Jesus has...performed divers acts of</p>	<p>Play 10, Scene III</p> <p>1<sup>st</sup> Elder: In addition to the blasphemy of which he was convicted, he has violated the rights of property, having from time to time destroyed a valuable herd of swine and a fig-tree, interfered with the Temple market, and caused a riot thereby.</p> <p>2<sup>nd</sup> Elder: He has offended against public morals and the Jewish law, by breaking the Sabbath, denying the validity of oaths sworn at the altar, instigating young people to defy parental control, consorting with dissolute persons, and attempting to undermine the authority of the Sanhedrim.</p> <p>3<sup>rd</sup> Elder: He is either a charlatan or a</p>

<sup>256</sup> Gurner, *We Crucify!*, 150ff.

<sup>257</sup> Gurner, *We Crucify!*, 151.

<sup>258</sup> Gurner, *We Crucify!*, 153-154.

<sup>259</sup> Gurner, *We Crucify!*, 154.

<sup>260</sup> Gurner, *We Crucify!*, 151.

<sup>261</sup> Gurner *We Crucify!*, 154.

<sup>262</sup> Gurner, *We Crucify!*, 155.

co-called healing either by quackery or by an invocation of spiritual agency of an undesirable character...professed to raise a man named Lazarus from the dead... <sup>263</sup> Stated that he would rebuild the Temple in three days'. <sup>264</sup>	sorcerer, professing that he can perform miraculous cures, raise the dead, and destroy and rebuild the Temple by magic. <sup>265</sup>
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Jones also provides important details about the Sanhedrin which may have added to Sayers' understanding of the precariousness of their position of power. Reflected in the details Sayers uses in Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 2, Jones gives the background of who the Sanhedrin were and how their power had fluctuated under various rulers before and after Herod. He explains how in the dispute between Alexander's sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, Hyrcanus appealed to Pompey, which ended up giving Hyrcanus, a Hasmonaean, recognition as hereditary priest, but the political power was given to Antipater, Herod's father.<sup>266</sup> Herod, however, kept as much power as he could for himself and 'the high priest [was] reduced to a mere executant of the ritual acts which his master [Herod] could not perform'.<sup>267</sup> Because Herod had the power to appoint and depose high priests (which he did frequently),<sup>268</sup> the man in this office served at his pleasure and could easily be at odds with the other members of the Sanhedrin<sup>269</sup> who more often were Sadducees in line with traditional Hasmonaean interests. The Pharisees, of whom there were some on the Sanhedrin, found more hope in fatalistically accepting the current political situation and focusing on personal religious observance, writes Jones.<sup>270</sup> The Herodians, by turn, were those who, under later Roman governors, advocated a return to a client-king arrangement with the Romans, since they saw that Herodian kings might be a 'useful buffer against the arrogance and intolerance of the average equestrian governor'.<sup>271</sup>

<sup>263</sup> Gurner, *We Crucify!*, 152.

<sup>264</sup> Gurner, *We Crucify!*, 155.

<sup>265</sup> *MBTBK*, 279.

<sup>266</sup> Jones, *Herods of Judaea*, 19-28.

<sup>267</sup> Jones, *Herods of Judaea*, 81.

<sup>268</sup> Jones, *Herods of Judaea*, 171.

<sup>269</sup> Jones, *Herods of Judaea*, 81.

<sup>270</sup> Jones, *Herods of Judaea*, 74.

<sup>271</sup> Jones, *Herods of Judaea*, 179.



We can see Sayers using these opposing political interests to dramatic effect in *The Man Born to be King*. The point of view of the Pharisees is, perhaps surprisingly, given voice in Judas Iscariot. In both Play 5, Scene I (Judas to Baruch) and Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 3 (Judas to Caiaphas), we see Judas summarising his understanding of Jesus' teaching as resignation and acceptance of suffering. The difference is subtle, and the audience is left to wonder if this is Sayers' genuine expression of Jesus' teaching, or merely Judas' misunderstanding/interpretation of Jesus' teaching. It is not until we see the final despairing conclusion of Judas that we see where Sayers' suggests this view leads. Consider how closely Jones' words are to Judas' line, with the substitution of Rome for Herod:

Jones	Sayers
<p>[Sameas, a leading pharisee]          'had...decided that Herod was the rod with which God had determined to chastise His people, and that his rule must be accepted'<sup>272</sup>, 'The majority of the [Pharisee] party followed the lead of Sameas, taking the fatalistic view'<sup>273</sup>, 'Herod was in the eyes of his people the chosen instrument of God to chastise them for their sins, and God would not suffer him to die before he had fulfilled his allotted task'.<sup>274</sup></p>	<p>Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 3:          Judas: 'Rome is the punishment that this people must bear for their sins. Jewry is corrupt, and Rome is God's judgment on her—the Roman rod is laid on the sinner's back, and the Roman axe to the root of the rotten tree...For Israel, as for her Messiah, there is no salvation but in the patient enduring of all things'.<sup>275</sup></p>

Judas' expression rings true because he has a legitimate historical viewpoint, though it also becomes clear that Judas himself is more captivated by the idea of suffering, rather than suffering himself, as his final exchange of Baruch makes clear in Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 1.<sup>276</sup> Frances Clemson suggests that though Judas' is not a false picture of salvation, it is hollow in its *completeness* (emphasis Clemson's).<sup>277</sup> I would like to go further and say that such salvation is not of Jesus' kind at all, according to

<sup>272</sup> Jones, *Herods of Judaea*, 49.

<sup>273</sup> Jones, *Herods of Judaea*, 74.

<sup>274</sup> Jones, *Herods of Judaea*, 155.

<sup>275</sup> *MBTBK*, 175.

<sup>276</sup> *MBTBK*, 271-272.

<sup>277</sup> Frances Clemson, 'Dorothy L. Sayers' Representation of Judas'. *Theology in Action, A Study Day, 19<sup>th</sup> September, 2011* (Hurstpierpoint, West Sussex: The Dorothy L. Sayers Society, 2011), 58.

Sayers. Though Sayers' Jesus does speak of suffering,<sup>278</sup> it is more often his own suffering<sup>279</sup> and the Kingdom ushered in by it. It is Sayers' Judas who goes so far as to equate suffering with salvation. Why would Jesus bother to heal people if this were the case?<sup>280</sup>

The Herodian view, meanwhile, is, perhaps also surprisingly, found in the character of Caiaphas. His character will be discussed in more detail below, but consider here how closely Jones' description fits with Caiaphas' speech to Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea:

Jones	Sayers
'...the Jews were instinctively afraid of anything, however, seemingly innocent in itself, which would tend to break down the rigid barrier they had built up between themselves and the outside world'. <sup>281</sup> 'If the Jews were to survive as a nation they must accept not only the rule but the culture of the Roman empire; they must abandon not only their dreams of independence but their exclusiveness' <sup>282</sup> and '...accommodate themselves to the rule of a gentile master'. <sup>283</sup>	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 2:  Caiaphas: 'All through our history we have tried to slam the door. Jewry was to be a garden enclosed—a chosen race, a peculiar people. But the door was opened...With every Jewish quarrel, Rome takes another stride...' Joseph: What would you have us do? Caiaphas: Accept the inevitable. Adapt yourselves to Rome...Make terms with the future while you may... <sup>284</sup>

This speech is pragmatic, and related to, though slightly different from, Judas' speech above. It expresses resignation not to suffering but to compromise for the sake of peace. It is possible that Sayers could have come up with these varying viewpoints of the religious leaders of the time but it seems likely that she absorbed information and style from both Jones and Gurner.

<sup>278</sup> i.e. *MBTBK*, 246, 269.

<sup>279</sup> For instance, being 'strung up on the gallows', i.e. Play 7, Scene III, *MBTBK*, 215.

<sup>280</sup> See Chapter 5 for more comment upon my difference from Clemson.

<sup>281</sup> Jones, *Herods of Judaea*, 97.

<sup>282</sup> Jones, *Herods of Judaea*, 153.

<sup>283</sup> Jones, *Herods of Judaea*, 154.

<sup>284</sup> *MBTBK*, 302.

Various connections can also be seen between the trial scenes in Play 10 and Sayers' secondary sources. It is to Frank Morrison's *Who Moved the Stone?* that she credits the idea for a meeting between Pilate and Caiaphas to prepare Pilate for a speedy morning rubber-stamp trial.<sup>285</sup> 'This is the key to the whole of the subsequent legal proceedings', she writes.<sup>286</sup> Morrison, whose book centres on the proceedings and charges of the trial of Jesus, supports this idea with suggestions including the preparedness of Pilate for the trial, his knowledge that the trial had to be outside (an argument from silence), the probability of Caiaphas being the only man in Jerusalem who could interrupt Pilate's private evening time, etc.<sup>287</sup> Although Sayers does not credit them directly, several of her other secondary sources also support this. Gurner mentions more than once that Pilate and Caiaphas had a preparatory meeting to speed up the trial,<sup>288</sup> and even has Pilate come to appear ahead of time before the Sanhedrin<sup>289</sup>—a dramatic necessity as Gurner's entire project is confined to meetings of the Sanhedrin. Temple too, in his *Readings in St John's Gospel*, suggests that 'Pilate must have known that the chief priests were going to bring before him a man whose execution would be demanded',<sup>290</sup> and also suggests that the Roman *cohort* mentioned in John 18:3 that Judas took to arrest Jesus had been loaned by Pilate to Caiaphas by pre-arrangement.<sup>291</sup>

## Zealots

A third area of historic background, the 'nationalist party of the Zealots', forms an important part of both the cultural background and plot of *The Man Born to be King*. The New Testament's only references to the Zealots are in naming one of the disciples as 'Simon the Zealot';<sup>292</sup> and there is no biblical articulation of what that title means or what the Zealots wanted, much less any stories relating to them. All information about them come from extra-biblical sources, though, as with other areas, some general knowledge is likely to have been absorbed through (as Sayers

<sup>285</sup> Footnote, *MBTBK*, footnote 1, 258.

<sup>286</sup> Footnote, *MBTBK*, footnote 1, 258.

<sup>287</sup> Morrison, *Who Moved the Stone?*, 58-62, 72.

<sup>288</sup> Gurner, *We Crucify!*, 124, 149.

<sup>289</sup> Gurner, *We Crucify!*, 163.

<sup>290</sup> Temple, *Readings*, 349.

<sup>291</sup> Temple, *Readings*, 337.

<sup>292</sup> In Luke 6:15 and Acts 1:13.

puts it) 'desultory reading and half-forgotten sermons, which defy all attempts at identification or acknowledgment'.<sup>293</sup>

Jones notes that the Zealot party was birthed the year of the census.<sup>294</sup> Sayers herself quotes what Jones says next in the notes for Play 4:

The Zealots rejected the opportunist fatalism of the conservative Pharisees; God, they declared, would help only those who helped themselves, and it was the duty of every Jew to fight for national independence. The party developed into a powerful secret organisation which waged an unrelenting campaign of assassination and terrorism, directed as much against the loyal Jews, whom they regarded as traitors to the national cause, as against the Roman government.<sup>295</sup>

Sayers incorporates the Zealots into the story through the character of Baruch. We first see him actively recruiting disciples of John Baptist in Play 2, Scene I. In Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 2 we see him at a meeting at the High Priest's house where he offers to groom Judas to help them 'play off Jesus and Rome against one another',<sup>296</sup> a grooming that happens in Play 5, Scene I. Next we see him in Play 8, Scene I where he offers to march behind Jesus into Jerusalem with 'a thousand spears'.<sup>297</sup> It is this offer which Judas mistakenly thinks Jesus accepts, thereby betraying his own teaching. This use of Baruch is a strong dramatic choice, and Sayers' dependence upon Baruch for the forwarding of the entire plot is considerable. It is, however, historically doubtful that a Zealot would have been allowed to speak at, much less steer, the Sanhedrin, and there is no biblical precedent for Baruch's essential role in the tempting of Judas and the provision of the donkey for the Triumphal Entry, the last of which is necessitated by Sayers' strained attempt to avoid Jesus purposefully choosing to fulfil prophecy by riding into Jerusalem on a donkey. Nevertheless, Baruch makes good drama.

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<sup>293</sup> *MBTBK*, Introduction, 36.

<sup>294</sup> Jones, *Herods of Judaea*, 168-169. The census, according to Jones (and Luke 2), happened under Quirinius, whose direct rule was extended to Judaea upon the death of Herod, which is why Jones believes the birth narratives of Matthew and Luke are incompatible.

<sup>295</sup> Jones, *Herods of Judaea*, 169. *MBTBK*, 115.

<sup>296</sup> *MBTBK*, 137.

<sup>297</sup> *MBTBK*, 213.

The only other Zealots we see in *The Man Born to be King* are in Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 4, where 3<sup>rd</sup> Passer-By comes 'from the hills with a message from Baruch the Zealot' to which 4<sup>th</sup> Passer-By replies that he has 'men and weapons' and only needs to know the meeting place.<sup>298</sup> This conversation is reminiscent of a description in R.A. Edwards' *The Upper Room*<sup>299</sup>: 'A group of the Zealot party, dark-faced men from the northern hills, discussed the possibilities of rebellion, counted heads, estimated what arms would be available, debated street fighting and how to confine the heathen into immobility in the narrow alleys'.<sup>300</sup> Like Sayers, Edwards is concerned with the whole society and how various groups of people see the political situation at the time from their own experience. Edwards, however, goes beyond Sayers to describe a widespread messianic expectation specifically during Holy Week: "But all through the week Jerusalem had talked nationalistic politics, and the city was alive with speculation about a new Messiah, who had begun the week with a spectacular entry into the city and with what might have been a dangerous riot".<sup>301</sup> Edwards' *The Upper Room* is subtitled 'A Study in Historical Perspective', but it is unashamedly an imaginative one.

## II. Characterisation

Turning our attention to important influences upon characterisation, three characters deserve special attention in Sayers' secondary sources: Mary Magdalen, Caiaphas and Judas Iscariot. Sayers' choices about Mary Magdalen are a common topic in her letters both before and after production, due to her choice of combining Mary Magdalen, Mary of Bethany and the Sinful Woman of Luke 7. This combination, often called a 'Composite Mary', was an accepted traditional feature in Western theology and art until after Sayers' death. In her Introduction, she writes that '[t]his identification is, of course, traditional and is sanctioned by the authority of St Augustine of Hippo and Pope Gregory the Great'.<sup>302</sup> Aware of movement away from this tradition by biblical scholars, Sayers writes, 'I don't care if the critics have

<sup>298</sup> *MBTBK*, 1977.

<sup>299</sup> R.A. Edwards, *The Upper Room: A Study in Historical Perspective* (London: Methuen & Co, 1941).

<sup>300</sup> Edwards, *The Upper Room*, 24.

<sup>301</sup> Edwards, *The Upper Room*, 17.

<sup>302</sup> *MBTBK*, 32. Sayers seems unaware of the Eastern tradition which kept them separate.

said that Mary Magdalen and Mary of Bethany were different people—Church tradition has always made them the same, and [we] can't have all these hopelessly disconnected characters'.<sup>303</sup> To separate them creates its own exegetical problems: 'There appears to be a choice', she writes, 'between a)one woman having done a similar thing twice, b)two women, both by coincidence having the same name, having done practically the same thing independently, c)saying that the Evangelists have made a muddle of the whole thing'.<sup>304</sup>

For the sake of both tradition and drama, then, Sayers chooses a Composite Mary because 'it is undesirable to have so important a character as the first witness to the Resurrection introduced suddenly at the foot of the Cross, without any background whatever – let alone the confusion created by the multiplication of Maries'.<sup>305</sup> Though she continued to receive letters about this choice for years due to rebroadcasts and publication of the scripts,<sup>306</sup> her first defence to James Welch shows Sayers' determination: 'Anyhow, I am firmly writing Play Seven with the "Magdalene" background for Mary, and neither Codices, nor Archbishop Gore, nor Archbishop Temple, nor the opinion of various correspondents who will probably write and object, shall move me. So there!'.<sup>307</sup>

She was not, however, without support for this choice from her secondary sources. Archbishop Temple himself, in his *Readings in St John's Gospel*, sees this as a distinct possibility in his commentary on John 11:1, which he translates 'Now a certain man was sick, Lazarus of Bethany, sprung from the village of Mary and her sister Martha'.<sup>308</sup> Temple sees this 'sprung from' as making clear that this 'village' is a former abode in Galilee, as he claims Luke 10 places the story. 'If so', he writes, 'it is the more possible that Mary is the woman also mentioned in *St. Luke* vii, 36-50, as is

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<sup>303</sup> Letter to Val Gielgud, 3 March 1941. *Letters Vol 2*, 240.

<sup>304</sup> Letter to James Welch, 20 March 1942, Wade Document, 343a/84-86. It should be noted that Sayers is mistaken in her 'b' option, since the sinful woman in Luke 7 is not named, nor is the anointing woman named in Matthew or Mark.

<sup>305</sup> Letter to D. W. Grundy, 8 June 1942, Wade Document 24/42.

<sup>306</sup> i.e. Letter to Mrs P.G. Urquhart, 14 April 1943, Wade Document, 32/53.

<sup>307</sup> Letter to James Welch, 20 March 1942, Wade Document, 343a/84-86.

<sup>308</sup> Temple, *Readings*, 177.

certainly here implied'.<sup>309</sup> Edwyn Hoskyns, in his *The Fourth Gospel*, is also aware of what he calls the 'Renaissance controversy concerning the "Three Maries"'.<sup>310</sup> He is happy to link Mary of Bethany with the woman who anointed Jesus' feet in Mark and Matthew, but is hesitant about including the others, despite the reoccurrence of the same Greek word for 'grief' in Luke and John: 'This [reoccurrence] does not, however, necessarily imply that the author intends to identify Mary also with the Lucan sinner, still less with Mary of Magdala'.<sup>311</sup>

R.A. Edwards, however, is whole-heartedly behind a Composite Mary, and his description of Mary Magdalen's conversion bears a strong resemblance to Sayers' description in Play 7, Scene I. Edwards goes right from retelling her healing from demon possession to her 'push[ing] her way into the reception which Simon the Pharisee was giving',<sup>312</sup> undeniably linking Mary of Magdala with the Sinful Woman of Luke 7 who interrupts a banquet at Simon's house. The connections between Edwards and Sayers are so strong that the passages deserve to be quoted at length:

Edwards	Sayers
'The unexpected glory of familiar things suddenly appalled her. All at once she had seen love as the one law of life, and was dumbfounded at the discovery...Hitherto life had been little more than the earning of a living in an easy and, when the good was taken with the bad, a not unpleasant way. But with Jesus talking she saw life as something in which friendly people were responsible for each other, and in that light her former trade was a mere preying on human weakness. For the first time she recognized sin for the destructive thing it was....The kind of life he spoke of could	<p>Mary Magdalen: I loved the beauty of the world. I loved the lights and the laughter, the jewels and the perfumes and the gold, and the applause of the people when I danced and delighted them all, with garlands of lilies in the red braids of my hair.</p> <p>Lazarus: You are always in love with life.</p> <p>Mary: I loved the wrong things in the wrong way—yet it <i>was</i> love of a sort...until I found a better...But when I saw you [Jesus], I was amazed. You were the only person there that was really alive. ...The life was not with us</p>

<sup>309</sup> Temple, *Readings*, 177. Temple's connection is tenuous, I think.

<sup>310</sup> Hoskyns, *Fourth Gospel*, 399.

<sup>311</sup> Hoskyns, *Fourth Gospel*, 399.

<sup>312</sup> Edwards, *The Upper Room*, 32.

begin then and there, and when it began love would cancel the past'. <sup>313</sup> ...'she was suddenly alive for the first time...But on the other hand she was dimly aware that the extraordinary man to whom she had been listening was, in some way that eluded expression, intimately concerned with the real life which she had then found'. <sup>314</sup>	but with you—intense and shining like the strong sun when it rises and turns the flames of our candles to pale smoke. And I wept and was ashamed, seeing myself such a thing of trash and tawdry. But when you spoke to me, I felt the flame of the sun in my heart. I came alive for the first time. And I love life all the more since I have learnt its meaning. <sup>315</sup>
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Both Edwards and Sayers focus on the lighter side of Magdalen's shady past, whether 'earning a living in an easy and...not unpleasant way' or delighting the crowds with dancing. As Sayers says in the Notes to Play 7, Mary Magdalen cannot 'pretend that the old, worthless pleasures were without their glamour'.<sup>316</sup> Edwards has Judas refer to Mary Magdalen simply as 'a prostitute'.<sup>317</sup> In both cases, Magdalen's conversion comes through experiencing Jesus directly and what this real life is that he holds and gives. She believes herself to be happy until she meets Jesus, when she sees the smallness and transitoriness of that happiness. Both authors use the language of darkness and light: 'glory', 'light' and 'dimly' or 'sun', 'candles', and 'flame', and though the exact words may be different, their tone and imagery are remarkably similar.<sup>318</sup>

The second anointing by Mary Magdalen in Play 8, Scene I, Sequence 2 shows further echoes of Sayers' secondary sources. Sayers was undoubtedly aware that a scholarly debate existed about the difference in timing between the anointing in Luke (early in the Galilean ministry), the anointing in Matthew and Mark (during Holy Week) and John (the day before the Triumphal Entry) and whether these should be understood as separate or the same event. Hoskyns, for instance, dedicates several pages to the

<sup>313</sup> Edwards, *The Upper Room*, 32.

<sup>314</sup> Edwards, *The Upper Room*, 34.

<sup>315</sup> *MBTBK*, 187.

<sup>316</sup> *MBTBK*, 183.

<sup>317</sup> Edwards, *The Upper Room*, 43.

<sup>318</sup> Sayers recommends Edward's book in a Letter to Paymaster Commander A.D. Duckworth, R.N., 15 December 1943, Wade Center Collection, MBTBK file 22/40: '...Another book I think you would like is The Upper Room by R.A. Edwards (a layman). It is narrative and not theological in form, but it covers a number of the points you raise, and gets away from the language of the Authorised Version'.



differences between each Gospel's account and possible reasons for its placement before reconciling them in his interpretation of John's account.<sup>319</sup> Sayers chose to see them as two separate events, both by the same woman. This agrees on both accounts with Temple who strengthens his case for a Composite Mary by saying that she specifically 're-enacts the earlier scene...Mary does just what she did before, with only one exception. Then there were tears, but now there are none; for there is no remorse or shame in her devotion now; it is sheer gratitude and love'.<sup>320</sup> Hoskyns, though he does not admit a Composite Mary, demonstrates the link between the Lucan and Johannine material regarding Mary, Martha and Lazarus and suggests that is why the parable of Dives and Lazarus (Lk 16:19-31) is clearly in the mind of the author of John when describing the second anointing, because it is truly a resurrection parable.<sup>321</sup> This could perhaps explain why Sayers has Jesus telling this parable in this same scene, even though it means removing the name of Lazarus from the story to avoid confusion. She cannot help herself, however, from having the character of 3<sup>rd</sup> Woman say at the conclusion of the story, 'I suppose the beggar is Lazarus. But who's the rich man? And what does it *mean*?'.<sup>322</sup> Hoskyns also notes the cost given for the perfume as '300 denarii (say £25)',<sup>323</sup> which is just what Sayers puts in Judas' mouth: 'That perfume might have been sold for twenty-five pounds'.<sup>324</sup> Temple makes no estimate of a contemporary exchange rate.

Both Hoskyns and Temple interpret the story in terms of Mary/Mary Magdalen being able to anticipate the death of Jesus. Hoskyns writes, 'Mary consciously recognized the necessity of the death of Jesus, and also recognizing that the Hour had come, anticipated His burial by an act of intelligent devotion'.<sup>325</sup> Temple too suggests that Mary senses that 'a great crisis is before Him'<sup>326</sup> and 'The Lord would soon be taken away from Mary; and it is only at moments of vivid insight that any of us perceive His

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<sup>319</sup> Hoskyns, *Fourth Gospel*, 413-415.

<sup>320</sup> Temple, *Readings*, 189.

<sup>321</sup> Hoskyns, *Fourth Gospel*, 396.

<sup>322</sup> *MBTBK*, 215.

<sup>323</sup> Hoskyns, *Fourth Gospel*, 415.

<sup>324</sup> *MBTBK*, 216.

<sup>325</sup> Hoskyns, *Fourth Gospel*, 416.

<sup>326</sup> Temple, *Readings*, 189.

presence'.<sup>327</sup> Sayers notably does not give Mary Magdalen a single line in this scene, but the whole act is described by on-lookers who describe 'the marvellous scent', the pouring of perfume on Jesus' feet as 'extravagant', the anointing of Jesus' head as being like for a king. Judas denigrates Mary Magdalen's actions as coming from her 'excitable and demonstrative' nature and the perfume as being left over from her days as 'a dancing-girl'. Jesus, however, reproves Judas as 'unkind' and says that Mary's action is 'a work of charity'.<sup>328</sup> The characterisation of a Composite Mary adds a tension to the scene and gives Judas reasons for his words beyond what the Gospel of John describes as straightforward avarice.

### **Caiaphas**

A second character that deserves special consideration as to secondary source influence is Caiaphas the High Priest. Sayers says very little about Caiaphas in her letters of the period but seems to have had a clear picture of him as a character from the beginning. In an early letter to James Welch in which she writes at length about Judas, she says that, by contrast, 'Pilate and Caiaphas and the rest are quite understandable, and from their own point of view highly respectable – one sees exactly what they were after'.<sup>329</sup> They had their own motives and existence, apart from the points at which their lives intersected with the life of Jesus. In speaking on her pet subject of our tendency to put Bible characters in stained glass, she writes, 'It's not the fault of the Evangelists; they sketched in the characters with a firm hand; shake off the dusty phrases and there are the real people, recognizable and alive: Caiaphas (the smug beast), and Pilate "all tied up with red tape"'.<sup>330</sup>

Caiaphas is one of the most rounded characters in the plays: one feels that he is not working against Jesus out of malice, but an intelligent though selfish desire for control. Within the character notes before each of the plays, Sayers first describes Caiaphas as 'the complete ecclesiastical politician—a plausible and nasty piece of

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<sup>327</sup> Temple, *Readings*, 190.

<sup>328</sup> *MBTBK*, 216.

<sup>329</sup> Letter to James Welch, 23 July 1940. *Letters*, Vol. 2, 172.

<sup>330</sup> Letter to Father Taylor, After 8 March 1942. *Letters*, Vol. 2, 354.

work’.<sup>331</sup> She later suggests that he is the kind of person who ‘keeps a sinister little dossier, in which the names of disaffected or rash persons are carefully noted down for future reference’ and is at his most honest when he is paying ‘homage to the politician’s household god of “expediency”’.<sup>332</sup> She twice compares him to Herod, whose hot passions of lust and anger have got him into trouble; Caiaphas, by contrast, is ‘ice-cold and egotistical—he is a much nastier piece of work than Herod’.<sup>333</sup> He is an experienced politician who can go ‘all through and round Judas’,<sup>334</sup> ‘knows exactly where to have people like Nicodemus and Joseph [of Arimathaea]’,<sup>335</sup> is a ‘quick and intelligent organiser, with...a head for detail and rapid improvisation’,<sup>336</sup> and full of ‘cutting sarcasm, barely disguised menace, blackmail, [and] bribery’.<sup>337</sup> He is void of pastoral gifts, and ‘the sight of a soul in torment [Judas] is to him merely another irritating interruption’.<sup>338</sup> This large amount of characterisation is impressive when we remember that in the four Gospels, Caiaphas is given only four statements:<sup>339</sup> his prophecy about one man dying for the sake of the nation and two questions and a response at the trial. A consideration of her background reading may shed light on Sayers’ crafting of Caiaphas in *The Man Born to be King*.

Jones offers a small but important amount of historical background for Caiaphas. Under the reign of Roman Governor Valerius Gratus (A.D. 15-26) the office of High Priest was constantly shifting. Ananus (or Annas) was High Priest when Gratus took up his post but was deposed by Ishmael son of Phabis, who in turn was deposed in favour of Ananus’ son Eleazar, who was deposed in favour of Simon the son of Camith. Finally, Caiaphas, the son-in-law of Ananus was appointed. In him Gratus had finally found a High Priest with whom he—and later Pilate—could work.<sup>340</sup>

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<sup>331</sup> MBTBK, 116.

<sup>332</sup> MBTBK, 160.

<sup>333</sup> MBTBK, 160.

<sup>334</sup> MBTBK, 210.

<sup>335</sup> MBTBK, 185.

<sup>336</sup> MBTBK, 240.

<sup>337</sup> MBTBK, 321.

<sup>338</sup> MBTBK, 262.

<sup>339</sup> Mt 26:62, 63, 65 and Jn 11:49.

<sup>340</sup> Jones, *The Herods of Judaea*, 171-172. See also Hoskyns, *Fourth Gospel*, 411.

Jones' other mention of Caiaphas is that he and Pilate were deposed in the same year—A.D. 37—during the official (and, for them, disastrous) visit of Vitellius, the Legate of Syria.<sup>341</sup> These few details emphasise the unstable nature of holding the office of High Priest. As we saw with regard to Herod above, the High Priests held their office at the pleasure of the Roman government, whether vassal king, like Herod, or direct Roman governorship. Herod had appointed his own privy council, which reduced the Sanhedrin's secular function as a court, but under the Roman Governors, the Sanhedrin again was in ascendancy.<sup>342</sup> So Caiaphas' power grew throughout his term but also his political responsibility for maintaining peace among the Jewish people. This kind of political aspect and concern is certainly shared in Sayers' portrayal of Caiaphas.

Hoskyns adds further details, including that 'later Rabbinic writings and...Josephus declare the priestly aristocracy to have had a reputation of intrigue, bribery, and love of money'.<sup>343</sup> The patriarchal position of Annas in the family is only mentioned in John 18:13, not by other ancient historians.<sup>344</sup> Temple develops the relationship between Annas and Caiaphas and calls Annas 'the head of the high-priestly family',<sup>345</sup> a phrase Sayers uses in Play 10, Scene I. Temple goes further by saying that Annas 'controlled from the background his various sons and sons-in-law who successively held the office...he was still *de jure* High Priest'.<sup>346</sup> In the Gospels, Annas only appears by name in the trial before him in John 18, and his involvement in ruling of the family is only inferred by the fact of the prisoner being brought to him first before Caiaphas. Sayers, perhaps influenced by Temple's and Hoskyns' explanations, chooses an extensive role for Annas and involves him in most scenes of the Sanhedrim as well as alone consulting with Caiaphas. For Sayers, however, Annas does not seem to serve a dramatic function beyond being a sounding board for Caiaphas; he merely encourages Caiaphas' political or selfish motives. Sayers' Annas never disagrees with, challenges, or gives orders to Caiaphas.

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<sup>341</sup> Jones *The Herods of Judaea*, 183.

<sup>342</sup> Jones, *The Herods of Judaea*, 82-83.

<sup>343</sup> Hoskyns, *Fourth Gospel*, 513.

<sup>344</sup> Hoskyns, *Fourth Gospel*, 513.

<sup>345</sup> Temple, *Readings*, 341.

<sup>346</sup> Temple, *Readings*, 341.

Hoskyns focuses on the reaction of the Sanhedrin to the raising of Lazarus which they understood as an 'illegitimate assumption of divine authority' with political consequences.<sup>347</sup> It is in this context that Caiaphas utters his famous prophecy: 'it is expedient that one man should die for the people' (John 11:50). Hoskyns explains at length the meaning (for the readers of the Fourth Gospel) of Caiaphas' prophecy. It was assumed, he writes, through references in Ezra 2:63, Nehemiah 7:65 and Hosea 3:4 that 'the High Priestly power of divination was lost during the Captivity',<sup>348</sup> which is why the writer of John goes to such length to show how important it was that even the High Priest unconsciously prophesied that year 'under the constraining power of God Himself'.<sup>349</sup> Temple would agree, writing that 'Caiaphas was consciously uttering a piece of cynical utilitarianism. Unconsciously he was summarising the Gospel'.<sup>350</sup> Sayers puts this prophecy in Caiaphas' mouth twice during the plays—in Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 1 and in Play 7, Scene V. Both times it is uttered as a statement of political expediency or 'policy'.<sup>351</sup> In her notes to Play 8, she writes: 'all his half-truths are half-prophecies. His most ingenious lie—that the death of Jesus will be for the good of Israel—is true in a sense he does not contemplate. Upon him, though not in him, the prophecies are fulfilled'.<sup>352</sup> Though Sayers does not have Caiaphas utter his famous prophecy *as prophecy*, she does have him claim another prophecy which connects to Hoskyns' explanation. In Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 2, Caiaphas predicts the Zealots' revolt and the Fall of Jerusalem when 'the ring of fire and steel will close about Jerusalem...and the tramp of the Legions will be heard in the inner Sanctuary of the Temple. I, Caiaphas, prophesy'.<sup>353</sup> Here we have Caiaphas consciously proclaiming prophecy but unaware of the judgement and responsibility implicit in such a proclamation.

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<sup>347</sup> Hoskyns, *Fourth Gospel*, 410.

<sup>348</sup> Hoskyns *Fourth Gospel*, 412.

<sup>349</sup> Hoskyns, *Fourth Gospel*, 411.

<sup>350</sup> Temple, *Readings*, 187.

<sup>351</sup> Play 7, Scene V, *MBTBK*, 203.

<sup>352</sup> *MBTBK*, 212.

<sup>353</sup> *MBTBK*, 302.

Morrison develops Caiaphas in a different direction. He writes that 'None knew better than Caiaphas what were the personal and political consequences of the coming of the real Messiah in the flesh'.<sup>354</sup> For Morrison this means that the whole system that undergirds Caiaphas' power would be undone:

the supreme ascendancy of the High Priest, as the arbiter of the national fortunes would have suffered eclipse....As the national Deliverer and the supreme Representative of the God of Israel, His right to impose policy and to direct events would have been final and absolute. The prospect of the Nazarene Carpenter stepping into this unique and unparalleled seat of national power must have been profoundly disturbing to certain men (and women) who had an unquestioned interest in the maintenance of the *status quo*.<sup>355</sup>

Sayers does not follow Morrison here. Her Caiaphas is not afraid of any such revolution coming off, only of Jesus trying and thereby ruining the precarious peace they have. From the very first scene among the Sanhedrim, 'Nobody is suggesting that we ought to countenance Jesus of Nazareth. The question is how to get rid of him'.<sup>356</sup> Caiaphas then suggests that they 'play off Jesus and Rome against one another'.<sup>357</sup> Even after Jesus' resurrection and Caiaphas bribes the guards he explains his actions as simply doing 'The best I could for Israel'.<sup>358</sup>

In her Introduction to the plays, Sayers specifically mentions that Morrison's book 'clears up as though by magic everything which may appear puzzling in that curiously legal piece of illegality'.<sup>359</sup> Morrison's main concerns are the legal charges themselves and, quoting the Mishna [*sic*], he discusses how, despite the illegality of holding a 'Trial for Life' at night, there ran 'a strong undercurrent of legality,—an almost meticulous observance of certain minor points of the law' in the way the witnesses were called and the charges made.<sup>360</sup> He remarks that 'even Caiaphas himself was under some compelling necessity to follow the traditional and

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<sup>354</sup> Morrison, *Who Moved the Stone?*, 40.

<sup>355</sup> Morrison, *Who Moved the Stone?*, 41.

<sup>356</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> Elder, Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 2, *MBTBK*, 127.

<sup>357</sup> *MBTBK*, 127.

<sup>358</sup> Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 1, *MBTBK*, 334.

<sup>359</sup> *MBTBK*, 36.

<sup>360</sup> Morrison, *Who Moved the Stone?*, 22.

characteristic Hebrew usage in a “trial for life”.<sup>361</sup> Morrison believes that this is because of pressure from other members of the Sanhedrin to follow procedure,<sup>362</sup> something we see clearly used by Sayers in her trial scene in Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 2 with Shadrach, Joseph and Nicodemus causing obstructions. Sayers goes beyond Morrison in how she presents the Oath of Testimony. He insists it was illegal,<sup>363</sup> but Sayers puts in Caiaphas’ mouth that though it is ‘barely legal’, it ‘is still legal’.

Finally, a look at Sayers’ influence from Gurner is able to show how Sayers developed a great subtlety in the character of Caiaphas. The single greatest strength of Gurner’s *We Crucify!* is that Caiaphas is a full three-dimensional character who does what he does from various political, religious and personal motives. Both writers give Caiaphas ‘soliloquies’ of sorts, with Gurner’s Caiaphas writing a further reflection at the end of every set of Sanhedrin meeting minutes, and Sayers often using Caiaphas in conversation with Annas or Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea to express his true thoughts about the situation. In both cases we see him as a character we can understand, even if we do not agree with him. Gurner has Caiaphas complain about the way Annas or other members of the Sanhedrin managed things: ‘My predecessor was in the habit of minimizing events such as these, but I feel that the price of security is constant vigilance’<sup>364</sup>, or ‘As for Nicodemus, I would dearly love to call his bluff, but I suppose that we shall have to reinstate him after a period of disciplinary suspension’.<sup>365</sup> Gurner’s Caiaphas’ words after the crucifixion are, for the first time, directly addressed to Jesus: ‘Oh, no, good my friend. You will be lying quietly enough, quite cold, when we dine to celebrate our victory on Sunday. You might have been one of mankind’s greatest rulers. But you made one mistake. You were man, not God.’<sup>366</sup> We can see that the style and personality that emerges from these is remarkably similar to Sayers’ Caiaphas.

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<sup>361</sup> Morrison, *Who Moved the Stone?*, 25.

<sup>362</sup> Morrison, *Who Moved the Stone?*, 29.

<sup>363</sup> Morrison, *Who Moved the Stone?*, 22, 36, 42.

<sup>364</sup> Gurner, *We Crucify!*, 15.

<sup>365</sup> Gurner, *We Crucify!*, 21.

<sup>366</sup> Gurner, *We Crucify!*, 188.

Neither character shies away from taking drastic steps if they will be expedient for the future.<sup>367</sup>

When we compare the final thoughts of both characters, however, we see a divergence which may have influenced Sayers' characterisation. Gurner chooses to portray Caiaphas in the end as a selfish careerist who would rather make sure he gets his reimbursements<sup>368</sup> than publicly accept that all the evidence points to the truth of Jesus having been truly resurrected and therefore being the true Son of God. Gurner's Caiaphas ends with a crisis of faith and is left shattered by the evidence.<sup>369</sup> Sayers clearly takes a different way with her Caiaphas. Perhaps she thought Gurner's portrayal was too safely pious and did not ring true. Her Caiaphas has no crisis of faith and remains consistent to the end. In Play 11, which Sayers describes as Caiaphas' 'apologia',<sup>370</sup> he ends with the chilling statement, 'Be content, Jesus, my enemy. Caiaphas also will have lived in vain'.<sup>371</sup> John Thurmer suggests that Sayers' apologia for Caiaphas is 'more tragic than the crucifixion, because it is another drama of damnation, if not quite so total as Judas'.<sup>372</sup>

Seen through the craft of the playwright, it is more dramatically satisfying—as well as more biblical—for Caiaphas to remain as he is instead of having a conversion. It is reminiscent of Sayers' conversation with a well-meaning fan of her Wimsey Mysteries, recorded in *The Mind of the Maker*:

'I am sure Lord Peter will end up as a convinced Christian.'  
 'From what I know of him, nothing is more unlikely.'  
 'But as a Christian yourself, you must *want* him to be one.'  
 'He would be horribly embarrassed by any such suggestion.'  
 'But he's *far* too intelligent and far too nice, not to be a Christian.'  
 'My dear lady, Peter is not the Ideal Man; he is an eighteenth-century Whig gentleman, born a little out of his time, and doubtful whether any claim to possess a soul is not a rather vulgar piece of presumption.'  
 'I am disappointed.'  
 'I'm afraid I can't help that.'

<sup>367</sup> i.e. Gurner, *We Crucify!*, 10-11.

<sup>368</sup> Gurner, *We Crucify!*, 134ff.

<sup>369</sup> Gurner *We Crucify!*, 191-193.

<sup>370</sup> Notes to Play 11, *MBTBK*, 289.

<sup>371</sup> Play, 11, Scene II, Sequence 2, *MBTBK*, 302.

<sup>372</sup> Thurmer, *Reluctant Evangelist*, 18.



(No; you shall not impose either your will or mine upon my creature. He is what he is, I will work no irrelevant miracles upon him, either for propaganda, or to curry favour, or to establish the consistency of my own principles. He exists in his own right and not to please you. Hands off.)<sup>373</sup>

Gurner's Caiaphas goes against this way of working and—perhaps from piety—Caiaphas is forced into a conversion that rings hollow. Sayers avoids such hollowness with her Caiaphas by keeping his motives consistent throughout the play cycle: to keep the peace at all costs and do the best he can for Israel. If Sayers were to write a conversion for Caiaphas, it would much more likely come further into the future, just as she drew out the Peter Wimsey and Harriet Vane love story through several years and books in order to have them find the balance of head and heart in a way that is consistent with their natures.<sup>374</sup>

### Judas

A third important character to consider with regard to secondary source influence is Judas. Sayers' interpretation of Judas has been noted as the earliest to take the psychological view,<sup>375</sup> to move beyond the straightforward thief to a character that is multi-dimensional. She felt sure Judas could not be 'the creeping, crawling, patently worthless villain that some simple-minded people would like to make out'.<sup>376</sup> Long before she started writing scenes with Judas in them, she was grappling with how to present him with believable motives, knowing that his betrayal affects the entire plot of the play cycle. Early on she writes to James Welch about this and this letter is so important, it is helpful to quote the related section in full:

It looks as though I should have to pull myself together and really make up my mind about Judas; - what did that man imagine he was doing?...He can't have been awful from the start, or Christ would never have called him - I mean, one can't suppose that He deliberately chose a traitor in order to get Himself betrayed - that savours too much of the *agent*

<sup>373</sup> *Mind of the Maker*, 131.

<sup>374</sup> See Sayers' discussion of this writing process in "Gaudy Night" in *Titles to Fame*, 75-95.

<sup>375</sup> Mary Ellen Ashcroft, *Mysterious In Every Way: Dorothy Sayers*. Class Lectures (Audio Recordings). Regent College, July 2005, Day 3. It should be noted that after completing the play cycle, Sayers read Rebecca West's *Black Lamb and Grey Falcon* and saw a direct link to her own interpretation of Judas. See Letter to Miss Rebecca West, 13 May 1943, Wade Document, 33/30. While not a source for Sayers, it proves that this more subtle version of Judas was cropping up elsewhere as well.

<sup>376</sup> Introduction to *MBTBK*, 30.

*provocateur*, and isn't the kind of thing one would expect any decent man, let alone any decent God – to do. And He can't have been so stupid as to have been taken in by an obviously bad hat; quite apart from any doctrinal assumptions, He was far too good a psychologist. Judas must have been a case of *corruptio optimi pessima*<sup>377</sup>; but what corrupted him? Disappointment at finding that the earthly kingdom wasn't coming along? Or defeatism, feeling that the war was lost, and one had better make terms quickly? Or just (as the Gospels seem rather unconvincingly to suggest) money and alarm for his own interests? If we can get a coherent Judas we can probably get a coherent plot.

Well, all that is my artistic funeral...<sup>378</sup>

As she begins writing scenes involving Judas, she similarly expresses to Val Gielgud:

Judas is the real difficulty...He's got somehow to be the *Corruptio optimi pessima*– the man with the greatest possibility for good, and the very worst possibilities of corruption. If he hadn't had good possibilities, why was he ever called as one of the Twelve? I mean, it's got to sound plausible if one isn't to make Christ look either a fool or something worse.<sup>379</sup>

We see Sayers wrestling on two levels with Judas: as a novelist she wants to make Judas a character with genuine motivations that make him believable, and as a lay theologian she is clearly aware that her portrayal of Judas has theological implications about Christ's divinity and the limits of his human knowledge. To an objecting listener, she writes, '...As for Judas, one can only say that if the man had been so wholly worthless as you suggest, then Our Lord would have been either a fool or a criminal to call him as a disciple'.<sup>380</sup>

Some of Sayers' sources give her little help in fleshing out Judas. Gurner's Judas is the most unlike her own. Early on, the Sanhedrin of Gurner's *We Crucify!* mention contact with a possible betrayer,<sup>381</sup> which is parallel to Sayers' first Sanhedrim scene in Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 2, where Baruch suggests that he 'know[s] a man who might be useful to us'.<sup>382</sup> But here the similarity seems to end. The characterisation

<sup>377</sup> The corruption of the best is the worst corruption.

<sup>378</sup> Letter to James Welch, 23 July 1940. *Letters*, Vol 2., 172-173.

<sup>379</sup> Letter to Val Gielgud, 3 March 1941. *Letters*, Vol. 2, 239.

<sup>380</sup> Letter to Mrs. M. Spackman, 22 September 1942, Wade Document 31-45.

<sup>381</sup> Gurner, *We Crucify!*, 77.

<sup>382</sup> *MBTBK*, 128.

of Judas himself is very different. He is portrayed by Gurner as eager to please these religious authorities and is convinced to betray Jesus out of loyalty to them.<sup>383</sup> When he later returns the thirty pieces of silver, again his psychology is very different. Gurner writes: 'Judas stated that this forbearance [by Jesus], and the realization of the nature of the companionship which he had lost, had affected him to such an extent that repentance was driving him to a state of literal madness'.<sup>384</sup> So his loyalty to Jesus is what causes his repentance.

Morrison also wrestles with the betrayal in his *Who Moved the Stone?*. He realises that there is little that Judas could offer the religious leaders that they did not already have themselves.<sup>385</sup> They did not lack the opportunity nor man-power to arrest Jesus when he was teaching in the temple. He writes, 'To regard Judas merely as a common informer, ready (for a consideration) to lead the authorities to the secret hiding-place of his erstwhile Friend and Leader, is absurd. Jesus was not in hiding'.<sup>386</sup> Unfortunately, Morrison does not explore an alternative motivation for Judas any further. He is more interested in what information he had to give and why the religious leaders acted upon it. Morrison is convinced that Caiaphas and his friends were not only afraid of the people, as Luke 20:19 says, but also of Jesus himself,<sup>387</sup> which Sayers may have used in Nicodemus' first line in Play 7, Scene V.<sup>388</sup> What Judas was able to offer them was the knowledge that Jesus' 'spirit was already bending to the cross';<sup>389</sup> he 'would not resist arrest' but rather the 'mood of surrender was upon him'.<sup>390</sup> Learning from Judas that Jesus was in such a mood, Morrison contends, made all the extra work to arrange the trial during the night worth the effort, to get the trial over before the Passover.<sup>391</sup> This has little connection to *The Man Born to be King*.

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<sup>383</sup> Gurner, *We Crucify!*, 111-113.

<sup>384</sup> Gurner, *We Crucify!*, 174.

<sup>385</sup> Morrison, *Who Moved the Stone?*, 44.

<sup>386</sup> Morrison, *Who Moved the Stone?*, 44.

<sup>387</sup> Morrison, *Who Moved the Stone?*, 47.

<sup>388</sup> 'Yes, we *are* afraid. And we ought to be afraid. Whose power is in this man?' *MBTBK*, 202.

<sup>389</sup> Morrison, *Who Moved the Stone?*, 55.

<sup>390</sup> Morrison, *Who Moved the Stone?*, 56.

<sup>391</sup> Morrison, *Who Moved the Stone?*, 57.

Edwards has some consideration of Judas' psychology in *The Upper Room* which indeed bears some resemblance to Sayers' Judas. For Edwards, Judas acted because he 'had pinned his hopes on some sort of dream' but now saw that it 'was an illusion, a tale that had gone wrong'.<sup>392</sup> This disillusionment stems from Jesus being 'very scornfully rejected by the ecclesiastical authorities', Jesus' persistent 'refus[al] of] the messiahship', and the fact that 'his claims to be even an accredited religious teacher had been universally scouted'.<sup>393</sup> For Edwards' Judas, the whole situation and his involvement 'had been a mistake, a piece of inexplicable folly...that had better be ended and forgotten',<sup>394</sup> and Jesus was 'better out of the way'.<sup>395</sup> This is a strong echo of Sayers' first letter about Judas, where she suggests a possible motive of 'defeatism, feeling that the war was lost, and one had better make terms quickly'.<sup>396</sup> In the final scripts, Sayers' Judas shares that sense of disillusionment, though it stems not from Jesus' rejection by the religious elite, but from Judas convincing himself that Jesus has betrayed his own principles. This is developed especially in the dialogue between Judas and Caiaphas in Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 3. Judas has never really trusted Jesus; thus, when he has to choose between trusting Jesus and trusting his own understanding, he betrays Jesus.

The two Gospel of John commentaries have two completely different approaches. Hoskyns stays close to the Biblical text, only characterising Judas through John's comment about the cost of the ointment at the Anointing: that 'with hypocritically pious impiety [Judas] protests in the interests of the poor against such wasteful extravagance'.<sup>397</sup> Hoskyns' only other concerns are that Judas 'has accepted the diabolical suggestion that he should betray Him'<sup>398</sup> and that he has 'surrendered himself to the Prince of this world'.<sup>399</sup> No motivation is given beyond demonic possession and greed. Temple, by contrast, questions the psychology behind Judas, and here we see the closest links of all to Sayers own description of Judas. In words

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<sup>392</sup> Edwards, *The Upper Room*, 42.

<sup>393</sup> Edwards, *The Upper Room*, 42.

<sup>394</sup> Edwards, *The Upper Room*, 43.

<sup>395</sup> Edwards, *The Upper Room*, 44.

<sup>396</sup> Letter to James Welch, 23 July 1940. *Letters*, Vol 2., 173.

<sup>397</sup> Hoskyns, *Fourth Gospel*, 415.

<sup>398</sup> Hoskyns, *Fourth Gospel*, 435.

<sup>399</sup> Hoskyns, *Fourth Gospel*, 443.

very similar to Sayers' statement above that 'one can't suppose that He [Jesus] deliberately chose a traitor in order to get Himself betrayed',<sup>400</sup> Temple writes, 'Did He then choose Judas so as to equip the Twelve with a traitor? That is incompatible with His whole method'.<sup>401</sup>

Temple describes Judas' 'hardening hostility' and writes: 'No doubt He [Jesus] knew that the nature of Judas supplied very intractable material; but He chose him "that he might be with Him", and at the last made a final appeal to his loyalty and shame'.<sup>402</sup> In Temple's mind, Judas' hostility is deepened after the feeding of the five thousand, and exactly because Jesus threw away the opportunity that was offered to him by the people to make him king. Temple sees how Jesus' actions could have been interpreted by Judas in this way: 'Not only did He [Jesus] miss the psychological moment [to bring about the Kingdom], but He deliberately dissipated the psychological fervour by talking in more and more difficult language about Himself as bread, and about feeding on His flesh'.<sup>403</sup> The will of the people to make Jesus King is attributed by Temple to Judas, and though it may not be wrong in itself to desire this, the fact that Judas second-guesses Jesus, yet stays with him, is, to Temple, the betrayal hinted at by Jesus at the end of this passage in John 6:71.<sup>404</sup> Though Sayers gives Judas a different motivation at this point (which comes in Play 5), she may have been influenced by the strong link between the psychology of Judas and Jesus' refusal of the kingship, which distinctly elaborates upon the scriptural text.

Though less developed than Sayers' vision of Judas as an intellectual, Temple sees Judas as a man with an intractable loyalty to his own vision of how things should be. Both see Jesus' calling of Judas as a risk, but a necessary one. Temple incorporates this idea in the Last Supper scene, where he reminds the readers that even at the last moment Jesus could have warned the other disciples, who could have gagged

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<sup>400</sup> Letter to James Welch, 23 July 1940. *Letters*, Vol 2., 172.

<sup>401</sup> Temple, *Readings*, 100.

<sup>402</sup> Temple, *Readings*, 100.

<sup>403</sup> Temple, *Readings*, 102.

<sup>404</sup> Temple, *Readings*, 102.

and bound Judas long enough to let Jesus escape, but '[s]o He would have saved His life; and so He would have lost His Kingdom'.<sup>405</sup> The closest related wording between Temple and Sayers come just at this intersection of the problem of Judas and the meaning of the Kingdom:

Temple	Sayers
'But all through He had known the difficulty. If His victory and kingdom were to be all-embracing they must include such as Judas; the world must be welcomed into the Church if the Church is to convert and direct the world'. <sup>406</sup>	'JESUS "knew all men", and knows well enough the knife-edge of risk that Judas represents. It is the risk that has to be taken, because the Kingdom must always reckon with such men as Judas, who can be the greatest saints or the greatest sinners'. <sup>407</sup>

Sayers latches on to this idea of Temple's and takes it much further, creating a thorough and believable characterisation of Judas which has an essential core that is not influenced by this or any of the other sources. Sayers' Judas is first described as 'the most intellectual of all the disciples, and has the boldness and drive that belongs to a really imaginative brain. He can see the political possibilities of the Kingdom...'<sup>408</sup> He is the 'practical' one in Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 1, who sees the benefit of women followers, what might happen if Herod repents, and why the people need to be humbled by repentance.<sup>409</sup> Later he is the only disciple who 'can answer Jesus in His own allusive and parabolic style and can understand without explanations'.<sup>410</sup> Among the disciples, he soon becomes recognised as the smart one, who has 'a good head for everything'.<sup>411</sup> They look to him at the end of Play 5 when many followers turn away after the teaching about the Bread of Life:

Thomas: Do you understand it, then, Judas?

Judas: I understand. But does any one of you?<sup>412</sup>

<sup>405</sup> Temple, *Readings*, 219.

<sup>406</sup> Temple, *Readings*, 100.

<sup>407</sup> Notes to Play 4, *MBTBK*, 114.

<sup>408</sup> Notes to Play 2, *MBTBK*, 69.

<sup>409</sup> *MBTBK*, 79-80.

<sup>410</sup> *MBTBK*, 114.

<sup>411</sup> Play 4, Scene I, *MBTBK*, 123.

<sup>412</sup> *MBTBK*, 156.

Yet Judas' intellect is still his downfall. Catherine Kenney suggests that 'Judas of *The Man Born to Be King* has the temperament, the intelligence, the pride, the fixity, and the petulance of Milton's Satan', yet he shows that 'his crime is not beyond the best of us'.<sup>413</sup>

Judas begins to get on other characters' nerves in Play 6 as Matthew says, 'See here, Judas. I know you're a lot cleverer than what we are. But I do wish you wouldn't always try to *run* everybody'.<sup>414</sup> In the notes Sayers says of this that Judas 'is becoming obsessed by the feeling that nothing will ever go right unless he is helping pull the strings.... Jesus is taking the right line, but will he stick to it without assistance?'.<sup>415</sup> Later in Play 6, he has a secret meeting with Caiaphas where he vouches for Jesus' honesty, though 'without realising it, he is slipping into Baruch's attitude and trying to make Jesus a political pawn'.<sup>416</sup> In Play 7, Thomas asks, 'what's the matter with Judas? He's always hinting things', and they discuss his giving money to a hill-bandit 'in a furtive sort of way'.<sup>417</sup> The turmoil within Judas comes out later in this scene where he, like a 'jealous husband'<sup>418</sup> (as Sayers says), accuses Jesus of having ulterior motives: 'For God's sake, Master, are you honest? Or do your words say one thing and your actions another?'.<sup>419</sup> For Clemson, straining and searching are the key to Sayers' creation of Judas: 'Judas himself...consistently tried to get hold of a final verdict, a clear view of Jesus and his actions...safe from any challenge and from the need for any further learning'.<sup>420</sup>

The problem—or, rather, dramatic tension—comes with Judas insisting on being the determiner of this final verdict. Throughout the plays, Judas sees himself as Jesus' equal, or, as Kenney writes, he 'recreates Christ in his own image and cuts him down to his own size'.<sup>421</sup> Jesus is the one who will fulfil *Judas'* own vision for Israel: 'the

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<sup>413</sup> Kenney, *The Remarkable Case of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 236.

<sup>414</sup> Play 6, Scene I, *MBTBK*, 163.

<sup>415</sup> Notes to Play 6, *MBTBK*, 159.

<sup>416</sup> Notes to Play 6, *MBTBK*, 159.

<sup>417</sup> Play 7, Scene III, *MBTBK*, 197.

<sup>418</sup> Notes to Play 7, *MBTBK*, 184.

<sup>419</sup> *MBTBK*, 198.

<sup>420</sup> Clemson, 'Dorothy L. Sayers' Representation of Judas', 55.

<sup>421</sup> Kenney, *The Remarkable Case of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 239.

noblest dreams I ever dreamed, the holiest prayer my heart could utter, all my hopes, all my ideals, seemed incarnate in him'.<sup>422</sup> He has a beautiful way of expressing it, but his idea of Jesus is ultimately self-centred. As Clemson notes, Judas' confidence become a problem because whereas Nicodemus comes to Jesus to learn, 'Judas is so convinced of his own understanding that he takes on what Jesus has said as though it were *his own*'.<sup>423</sup> As he agrees to betray Jesus, he complains to Caiaphas: 'He never gave me his confidence',<sup>424</sup> which is ironic since it has been Jesus who repeatedly asks Judas to trust *him*. Although Judas sees all of Jesus' miracles, those experiences never grow into faith. He is somehow 'held back from trusting and loving him completely',<sup>425</sup> and because of this lack of faith he cannot get a satisfying answer to his search for truth.<sup>426</sup>

Finally, no discussion of the characterisation of Judas would be complete without mentioning how integral the character of Baruch is to revealing Judas' psychology. Sayers writes that '[t]he continuity of the plot-structure was thus secured by linking it all on the Judas-Baruch political intrigue',<sup>427</sup> but gives little commentary about Baruch in the Introduction or her correspondence about the plays. Dale notes that 'Baruch the Zealot is not even given a name'<sup>428</sup> until Miss Sayers had written and rewritten the first three plays and discovered how much he can assist her in the creation of Judas'.<sup>429</sup> Monica Godfrey mentions in passing that Sayers creates Baruch 'to aid in explaining Judas's downfall',<sup>430</sup> but beyond Dale and Godfrey, no

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<sup>422</sup> *MBTBK*, 230.

<sup>423</sup> Clemson, 'Dorothy L. Sayers' Representation of Judas', 57.

<sup>424</sup> *MBTBK*, 230.

<sup>425</sup> Janice Brown, *The Seven Deadly Sins in the Work of Dorothy L. Sayers* (Kent, OH: The Kent State University Press, 1998), 269.

<sup>426</sup> Mary Ellen Ashcroft suggests that Sayers as 'a disciple would have been most like Judas—the intellectual who eventually missed the boat from her reliance on the intellect'. *Exorcising the Angel by Craft*, 272.

<sup>427</sup> Introduction, *MBTBK*, 31.

<sup>428</sup> And why the name Baruch? Sayers writes, '...I had no particular reason for choosing the name of Baruch, except that it was distinctive and easy to pronounce over the wireless'. Wade Collection-Letter to Miss K. Cutts, 28 April, 1943, Wade Document, 21/82.

<sup>429</sup> Dale, 'Sayers' Best Play', 6.

<sup>430</sup> Godfrey, 'Contextualizing the Kingdom', 222.



other commentator has suggested this connection.<sup>431</sup> I believe that Baruch functions as Judas' dark side: *he* is the one who plants seeds of doubt about Jesus' truthfulness in the mind of Judas; *his* communication with Jesus in offering him a choice of a war horse or an ass for the Triumphal Entry is what leads a mistaken Judas to betray Jesus to the High Priest; and *he* mocks Judas upon hearing of his betrayal, which is a contributing factor in Judas' suicide. He is the opposite of the intellectual Judas; he is a frank, driven man-of-action who always has a word to put Judas off-balance. Ultimately Baruch reduces Judas' culpability for his betrayal.<sup>432</sup> Mitzi Brunsdale suggests that 'Judas...is gulled into believing that Christ is selling out the principles that had attracted Judas to Him'.<sup>433</sup> Like a devil on Judas' shoulder, Baruch's presence always leads Judas away from trust in Jesus. Without Baruch, Judas would be simply bossy and annoying. However, with the creation and use of Baruch as a foil to Judas, and one who is outside the circle of disciples, Sayers gives us access to more layers of Judas' thinking, motivations, and his overall character arc. Judas can discuss things with Baruch that he would never discuss with the other disciples, Jesus, or Caiaphas.

Sayers' characterisations of Mary Magdalen, Caiaphas, and Judas all show some incorporation of ideas from her secondary sources, while each also shows a large amount of originality. Each of these three characters are approached in different ways and show different uses of secondary influence. Mary Magdalen is a Composite Mary—a choice that is supported by several of her sources—and bears the closest resemblance to comments by Temple and especially Edwards. Caiaphas is clearly influenced by Gurner, whose innovative book helps his readers—including Sayers—to imagine the political and social reality of the Sanhedrin and how Caiaphas might have worked within that system. Judas, while having some marks upon him of

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<sup>431</sup> Francis Clemson, for instance, only mentions Baruch briefly as the recipient of Judas' speeches or and as the one who reminds Judas of the reality of crucifixion. Clemson, 'Dorothy L. Sayers' Representation of Judas', 58.

<sup>432</sup> In this one way, Sayers might have had sympathy for William Klassen's controversial support of the idea that Judas thought he was obeying Jesus' orders in *Judas; Betrayer or Friend of Jesus?* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1996).

<sup>433</sup> Brunsdale, *Solving the Mystery of Wickedness*, 160.

influence by Temple and Edwards, bears the clearest stamp of Sayersian originality, and offers a many-layered portrait of an intellectual ruined by his own pride.<sup>434</sup>

### **Conclusions—the Son-ness of *The Man Born to be King***

No work of art is made in a vacuum. It is created by a certain artist in a certain time with certain influences and resources to hand. The nineteenth-century myth of the Romantic poet creating in isolation out of his own genius bears little resemblance to the work of most artists, including Dorothy L. Sayers. We have seen that the craft—the Son-ness—of *The Man Born to be King* includes the use of six secondary sources as conversation partners, as mines of historic detail and characterisation. Sayers herself readily admits their influence upon her work, but that influence has received little scholarly attention until now. Bray's study searched Sayers' direct attributions within her introduction and notes, but much more has been found through this study. In considering the influence of historic detail, Sayers not only used the work of Jones and Hoskyns to incorporate Ancient Near Eastern history, but also used the more imaginative and speculative details offered by Edwards, Morrison, Gurner and Temple. Characterisation of Mary Magdalen, Caiaphas and Judas, while perhaps using details from each of the six sources, shows the greatest influence from Edwards, Temple and Gurner.

But can such work be considered 'original' if so much influence can be found? The answer depends upon how sources are used and the author's intentions. In answer to a fan letter Sayers herself said of Play 10, *The Princes of this World*, that 'because the whole action is so perfectly shaped for drama as it stands in the Gospel...I hardly had to invent or alter anything. The only bits of Sayers in it are the Judas-Baruch scene and a little embroidery done on Herod Antipas'.<sup>435</sup> Even so, Sayers is doing something no one else had done: create a series of twelve radio plays on the life of Christ as found in 'the Canonical Scriptures, together with a few details from

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<sup>434</sup> Think of other intellectual downfalls, for instance, in *Whose Body?*, *Zeal of Thy House*, and *Devil to Pay*.

<sup>435</sup> Letter to Rev. C.E. Tomkinson, 2 July 1943, Wade Document 32/44.

Josephus and other historians to build up the general background'.<sup>436</sup> Her goal was not to fabricate stories about Jesus nor, for instance, use other stories from Gnostic gospels like the boy Jesus creating a bird out of clay.<sup>437</sup> Her task is more straightforward: to limit her primary sources and save her creativity for making the ancient narratives feel contemporary for her audience. Like a good (albeit, popular, in this case) scholar, she read up on her subject and took from her secondary sources whatever might be useful for her task. As a popular writer, she was under no compulsion to use quotation marks or footnotes, so it is surprising just how often she does credit a source. From these clues, Bray began the investigation of influences upon *The Man Born to be King* and now a larger number of additional influences have been found in almost every scene in the play cycle. There is much more that could be said about such influences, but the use of historic detail and influences upon characterisation are some of the clearest and most useful within the scope of our broader look at *The Man Born to be King*.

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<sup>436</sup> Introduction to *MBTBK*, 36.

<sup>437</sup> As in the *Infancy Gospel of Thomas*.

## CHAPTER 4: Sayers as an Anglo-Catholic Lay Theologian<sup>438</sup>

As we turn our attention to Sayers' theology, it is important to begin by examining the context of Sayers' theological self-identification and her theological writing and speaking up to 1941. By the time of writing *The Man Born to be King*, Sayers had a fully developed self-understanding of what her original theological contribution to the plays was and what it was not. She writes in a letter,

all the teaching and all the truth in those plays are the Church's truth and teaching – not mine; all I have done is to put the Church's theology into dramatic form. I said something of this in my 'Introduction,' but I want to say it again with great emphasis. Anything that I have added to the story in the way of presentation is only 'the limbs and outward flourishes'; the strong, bony structure that holds it all together and keeps it in shape is just that 'dry' official theology which you have repeated week by week in the Creeds.<sup>439</sup>

This attitude of Sayers' poses a genuine challenge for the researcher: *Is* her theology in *The Man Born to be King* in fact what the Church teaches? Are we to take her at her word, or can this statement be tested? This question will remain in the foreground throughout the next three chapters, and be discussed summarily in the conclusion. To take up the challenge of addressing it, we must first consider Sayers' use of the word *Catholic* to describe both herself and a stream of theological thinking, which in turn helps us see what she means when she speaks broadly of 'the Church' and why its Creeds are of such primary importance to her. Secondly, we will consider how the theme of catholicity and the Creeds wends its way through her own theological writing up to and alongside her writing of *The Man Born to be King*. This will lay the foundation for the chapters that follow, which look at Sayers' development of Christology and Eschatology within her cycle of plays.

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<sup>438</sup> The first half of this chapter has been published: Kathryn Wehr, "Disambiguation: Sayers as a Catholic". *VII: An Anglo-American Literary Review*. 33 (2016). 7-17.

<sup>439</sup> Letter to Paymaster Commander A.D. Duckworth, R.N., 15 December 1943. Wade Document, 22/39.

## I. Disambiguation: Sayers as a Catholic

As an adult, Sayers always identified herself as Anglo-Catholic or simply as *Catholic* and this regularly causes confusion among readers and commentators, especially those unfamiliar with Anglicanism.<sup>440</sup> Janet Hitchman, for instance, calls Sayers' early poetry book title, *Catholic Tales and Christian Songs*, 'odd and misleading' because, '*Catholic*, more so fifty years ago than now, meant, to the majority of people, Roman Catholic'.<sup>441</sup> Considered within her own Anglo-Catholic tradition, however, Sayers as a *Catholic* makes perfect sense and leads directly to her emphasis on the historic Creeds of the Christian Church.

In Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2, Matthew questions why Peter was selected to lead the Church instead of John who was Jesus' 'best friend'.<sup>442</sup> John answers: 'I don't think you can found a church on personal friends and special cases. It's got to be less exclusive—more—what's the Greek word?—more catholic'.<sup>443</sup> This use of the term 'catholic' with a lower case 'c' fits with the word's common theological and secular definition as 'universal'. Sayers uses it periodically in her mystery fiction, for instance, when Lord Peter Wimsey tells Harriet Vane, 'My tastes are fairly catholic',<sup>444</sup> or when Montague Egg looks over a professor's bookshelves and notes that '[h]is interests, however, appeared to be catholic, for the books dealt with many subjects'.<sup>445</sup> This brings us partway there, and this definition is advocated by Laura K. Simmons, who writes: 'When Sayers uses the word *Catholic* in her writings, she usually means what we today might call catholic in an ecumenical sense rather than Roman Catholic'.<sup>446</sup> I agree with Simmons when such a use includes a lower-case 'c' and is used in a religious context. However, I would like to argue further that when

<sup>440</sup> See, for instance, Regula Briner. 'Dorothy L. Sayers: Was She a Heretic?' (Zurich: 14 November, 1991), 7. Unpublished manuscript, Wade Center: 'It is difficult for a non-Anglican – not even English – reader to guess what she means by 'Catholic'...I must suppose she means 'Roman Catholic'.

<sup>441</sup> Hitchman, Janet. *Such a Strange Lady; A Biography of Dorothy L. Sayers* (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), 31.

<sup>442</sup> *MBTBK*, 335.

<sup>443</sup> *MBTBK*, 335.

<sup>444</sup> *Gaudy Night*, 319.

<sup>445</sup> 'The Professor's Manuscript' in *In the Teeth of Evidence and Other Short Stories* (London: Gollancz, 1939), 67.

<sup>446</sup> Simmons, *Creed Without Chaos*, 15, nt. 11.

Sayers uses an upper case 'C' for *Catholic* she has something even more restricted in mind, which better explains her overall use of the term. Throughout her life, Sayers described herself as Anglo-Catholic and it is this orientation within Anglicanism that is the key to understanding Sayers' use of *Catholic* as she applies it to herself and her work. Beginning, then, with a short explanation of Anglo-Catholic identity, we will consider examples from Sayers' letters and writings where she deflects rumours of being Roman Catholic, defines her own identity, and clearly articulates what she means by *Catholic*.

### **A Short History of Anglo-Catholicism**

After the Reformation removed the English Church from under the authority of the Roman Catholic Pope, there remained in England an officially emphasised continuity with the historic Church that had existed in England since the time of the Roman Empire. The 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* emphasises this link by speaking of the 'practice of the Church of England or indeed of the whole Catholick [*sic*] Church of Christ'.<sup>447</sup> Not every Anglican liked this emphasis and opposing parties within the Church of England continued to stress either this continuity or Protestant reforms. This conflict resurfaced in the 1830's as a group known as the *Oxford Movement* began to publish a number of *Tracts for the Times* regarding historic forms of worship, theology, and approach to the Church of Rome.<sup>448</sup>

Although a few early Oxford Movement leaders became Roman Catholic – most notably John Henry Newman<sup>449</sup> – the majority stayed within the Church of England. These understood themselves to be worshipping as English people had worshiped before the Reformation (albeit now in English) and were therefore not *protesting* anything. They were not Protestant; they were *Catholic*. But they were not *Roman* Catholic, thus *Anglo*-Catholic became a useful label. They understood themselves to be Catholic in their own right by virtue of their 'essential continuity in faith and doctrine with the primitive Catholic Church and its growth from New Testament

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<sup>447</sup> 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* Online. <http://justus.anglican.org/resources/bcp/1662/intro.pdf>

<sup>448</sup> John R. H. Moorman, *A History of the Church in England* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1961), 340.

<sup>449</sup> See, for instance, Ian Ker, *John Henry Newman: A Biography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

roots'.<sup>450</sup> It was not a rejection *per se* of the Reformation, since many Anglo-Catholics still spoke of certain Roman Catholic practices as erring or extreme. Instead, it was a view of continuity of pre- and post-Reformation English faith. John Henry Newman, for instance, emphasised the Catholic spirit in the writings of post-Reformation Anglican Divines and understood his (early) work as continuing theirs: 'It still remains to be tried, whether what is called Anglo-Catholicism, the religion of Andrews, Laud, Hammond, Butler, and Wilson, is capable of being professed, acted on, and maintained on a large sphere of action...' <sup>451</sup>

By the end of the nineteenth century, three clear parties had formed in the Church of England: Anglo-Catholic, Evangelical and Liberal. Anglo-Catholic distinctives could be identified as apostolicity and catholicity, incarnational theology, sacramentalism (belief in the spiritual grace of the sacraments), and asceticism (spiritual disciplines).<sup>452</sup> These emphases were similar to parts of Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy, and thus Anglo-Catholic (also called *High Church*) people sometimes felt more akin to these groups than to the Evangelical (also called *Low Church*) or Liberal (also called *Broad Church*) parties within the Church of England. Bebbington's classic list of Evangelical distinctive are a helpful comparison: Biblicism (biblical literacy and final authority of the Bible), conversionism (personal conversion experience), activism and crucicentrism (a focus on the atonement).<sup>453</sup> Like Anglo-Catholics who value what they share in common with certain non-Anglicans, Evangelical Anglicans may feel more closely related to other Evangelicals, like Baptists or Free Church members. Broad Church Anglicanism, though less defined in points of doctrine refers 'to a movement of liberal thought within the established Church of England'.<sup>454</sup> It as a desire to dialogue with the scientific or philosophical concerns of the day

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<sup>450</sup> ATP Williams, *The Anglican Tradition in the Life of England* (London: SCM Press, 1947), 14.

<sup>451</sup> John Henry Newman, *Via Media*, quoted in his autobiography *Apologia pro Vita Sua* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964, First full edition 1886), 71.

<sup>452</sup> Adrian Chatfield, *Something in Common; An Introduction to the Principles and Practices of Worldwide Anglicanism* (Bramcote, Nottingham: St John's Extension Studies, 1998), 26.

<sup>453</sup> D.W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain; A History from the 1730's to 1980's* (London: Routledge. 1989), 3-ff.

<sup>454</sup> Stewart J. Brown, 'The Broad Church Movement, National Culture, and the Established Churches of Great Britain, C.1850-1900'. From Hilary M. Carey & John Gascoigne, eds., *Church and State in Old and New Worlds* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2011), 99.

with accompanying challenges to accepted doctrine (such as the miraculous or the Trinity), a desire to ‘include as many as possible within the Church of England’, and ‘a consequent tendency play down “orthodoxy” (right belief) and replace it by “orthopraxy” (right living)’.<sup>455</sup> The distinctives of each stream – Anglo-Catholicism, Evangelical and Liberal – while useful for understanding general trends are not necessarily exclusive. All Anglicans were concerned (or worried) about engagement with contemporary culture, but not all emphasised it in the bold and open way of Liberals. All Anglicans used the Bible but not all emphasised its study and final authority as did Evangelicals. All Anglicans affirmed the Incarnation, but not all used it as a primary lens through which to interpret theology and apply it to service to the poor as did Anglo-Catholics. They had a ‘passionate concern for the reality of the Incarnation, and the Church, its sacraments, ministry, and unity, as springing from the Incarnation’.<sup>456</sup> The importance of the Incarnation for Anglo-Catholics will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5.

Anglo-Catholic spirituality often included Catholic practices of confession to a priest, daily mass/liturgy attendance, ceremonious and reverent worship (‘smells and bells’), reverence for the Virgin Mary, revival of interest in the Church Fathers, adoration of the ‘Real Presence’ in the Eucharist and keen social action. Sayers’ character of Miss Climpson in the Wimsey mysteries is an example of this, particularly in *Unnatural Death*. Miss Climpson blends easily into an Anglo-Catholic parish church during her investigation and her knowledge about the practice of confession leads to the discovery of an important clue.<sup>457</sup> Sayers herself sits comfortably at the High Church end of the Anglican spectrum, although for those at the extreme height of it she uses the nickname ‘spikes’<sup>458</sup> (Note the connection to C.S. Lewis’ ‘Father Spike’ in *The Screwtape Letters*).

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<sup>455</sup> Chatfield, *Something in Common*, 27.

<sup>456</sup> Geoffrey Rowell, *The Vision Glorious; Themes and Personalities of the Catholic Revival in Anglicanism*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 181.

<sup>457</sup> *Unnatural Death*, (London: Gollancz, 1927).

<sup>458</sup> See, for instance, Letter to Rev. Dr James Welch, 24 September 1941, *Letters Vol 2*, 303.



By Anglo-Catholics, the Catholic Church was understood as ‘not in time or place, but...in the Holy Ghost’ or in ‘the heavenly Jerusalem’, and the ‘Ministry and Sacraments, the bodily presence of Bishops and people are given to us as keys’.<sup>459</sup> Theological concepts or practices that could be traced to more historic or universal practice were given a greater weight of authority.<sup>460</sup> A prominent Liberal Anglo-Catholic theologian in Sayers’ day, Charles Gore, ‘saw in the primitive complex of Canon, Creed and Episcopate the norms of the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church as once give to the world’<sup>461</sup> while another, Edward Gordon Selwyn, writes that Anglo-Catholicism ‘represents the best expression at present available, in thought, worship and life of the principles necessary to an ultimate synthesis’<sup>462</sup> of the truth.

### **Rumours of Sayers Being Roman Catholic**

For Sayers, the idea of an Anglican becoming a Roman Catholic has negative connotations, despite many shared points of theology and practice. In a letter to her parents on 7 June 1914 where she describes hearing G.K. Chesterton speak, she remarks, ‘He is said to have just ‘gone over to Rome’. I hope not, because if so we shall have fewer books and different, I’m afraid...’.<sup>463</sup> Sayers saw this rumoured change by Chesterton—which did not happen officially until 1922—as having a detrimental effect on his work, though later mentions of Chesterton in her writings in no way express that this fear has been realised. On several occasions throughout her life, Sayers was rumoured to have become Roman Catholic herself, a rumour she disputed vigorously. In a letter to V.A. Demant on 2 October 1941 she writes,

The Romans seem to have taken a great fancy to it [her book *The Mind of the Maker*—the *Universe* emitting the usual dark mumble about hoping to see me follow G.K.C. [Chesterton] into the arms of Mother Church. I have no doubt it is their job to say these things, but I do dislike being made to feel like a rabbit exposed to the slow fascination of a waiting serpent.<sup>464</sup>

<sup>459</sup> John Henry Newman, quoted in Owen Chadwick, *The Mind of the Oxford Movement* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1963), 139.

<sup>460</sup> Ramsey, *An Era in Anglican Theology*, 105-106.

<sup>461</sup> Ramsey, *An Era in Anglican Theology*, 119.

<sup>462</sup> Edward, Gordon Selwyn. ‘Introduction’ to *Essays Catholic and Critical* (London: SPCK, 1929), vii.

<sup>463</sup> Sayers, Dorothy L. *The Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers; The Making of a Detective Novelist, 1899-1936* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1995), 89 (Hereafter, *Letters*, Vol. 1).

<sup>464</sup> *Letters* Vol. 2, 306.

Even more biting, she replies to an earlier rumour reported to her by (Anglican) Father Herbert Kelly on 16 May 1938,

I am exceedingly interested to learn that I am about to join the Roman Catholic Church; if your informant had heard the things I said about that institution the other day...he might reconsider his prophecy. There are moments when I feel that the Inquisition was one of the least dishonest of its activities.<sup>465</sup>

So definitely not *Roman Catholic*, but then how *does* Sayers describe herself? In an early letter, dated April 1913, to a Somerville College classmate, Catherine Godfrey, she describes herself as ‘a baptised and more or less educated member of the Catholic Church of Christ as in England by law established’.<sup>466</sup> We can see evidence of Sayers’ growing Anglo-Catholic identity through her comments to her parents about ‘trying to find the ‘Highest’ church’<sup>467</sup> while teaching in Hull, or the benefit of stopping in Oxford while home from France because ‘it’s convenient for confessions and things’.<sup>468</sup> To a young university woman, the eager cultural engagement of Anglo-Catholics – especially a new stream of ‘Liberal Catholicism’ – might have seemed exciting at a time when other Anglicans saw Modernism as a crisis and were fearful of or unwilling to engage with liberal historical-critical biblical scholarship or scientific theory. The Modernist move away from the treasury of the Classics as the authority and toward the focus on history, process and context was unsettling.<sup>469</sup> While Sayers does not share the theological liberalism of the Liberal Catholics – for instance Edward Gordon Selwyn’s questioning of the Virgin Birth while still emphasising the Incarnation in *Essays Catholic and Critical*<sup>470</sup> – their cultural engagement likely impressed her. She exemplified this movement in her character of Anglo-Catholic Rev. Perry in *Documents in the Case*—described as ‘an earnest and

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<sup>465</sup> *Letters Vol. 2*, 79.

<sup>466</sup> *Letters Vol. 1*, 72.

<sup>467</sup> Letter to her parents, 30 January 1916. *Letters 1*, 120.

<sup>468</sup> Letter to her Parents 2 November 1919. *Letters 1*, 158. This, notes Barbara Reynolds in a footnote to this letter, “indicates that D.L.S., by then a High Anglican, went regularly to confession when she was in England.”

<sup>469</sup> C.J.T. Talar, ‘Introduction’ to *Prelude to the Modernist Crisis: the ‘Firmen’ Articles of Alfred Loisy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

<sup>470</sup> Edward Gordon Selwyn, ed., *Essays Catholic and Critical; by Members of the Anglican Communion*, (London: S.P.C.K., 1929, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition), see his essay ‘The Resurrection’, pp. 279-319. See also Rowell’s *The Vision Glorious*, Chapter X. ‘Catholic and Critical’, pp. 220-247.

cultivated middle-aged spike from Keble [College, Oxford]<sup>471</sup>—who knowledgeably discusses the relationship between faith and contemporary advances in science.<sup>472</sup>

During her professional writing life, Sayers' identification of herself as Anglo-Catholic allows her a way to state her terms in discussions and have a position from which to cooperate with other types of Christians. One correspondent assumed she was Methodist and she takes this as a compliment to the catholicity of her theology:

By the way, I am not a Methodist, though I am rather gratified that you should think so. Because it looks as though I have succeeded in keeping my doctrine tolerably oecumenical, especially as, the other day, the Papists made an attempt to claim me, on the grounds that I spoke good Roman! I am an Anglo-Catholic.<sup>473</sup>

This theme continues in another letter, as she writes,

I am interested, as well as pleased, to learn that you find my theology sound, because as you probably know I am an Anglo-Catholic, and it is being borne in upon me that the theological differences between the various communions are much less acute than one might imagine, and at any rate, as far as fundamentals are concerned.<sup>474</sup>

What then are these fundamentals that would make certain Christians Catholic?

### **What Makes One Catholic according to Sayers?**

From Sayers' perspective, it must all begin with the historic Creeds of the Church: the Apostles' Creed, the Nicene Creed and – most dramatically for Sayers – the Athanasian Creed. It is in this creed that we have the words, 'This is the Catholick Faith: which except a man believe faithfully, he cannot be saved,' – a phrase she was fond of quoting in theological discussion.<sup>475</sup> The Athanasian Creed emphasises that there is a particular standard of Christian doctrine—or, to use a word that Sayers loved better, dogma.

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<sup>471</sup> *Documents in the Case*, (London: Gollancz, 1930), 26. Keble College being an Anglo-Catholic foundation and one of the centres of Liberal Catholic thought.

<sup>472</sup> *Documents in the Case*, 32-33, 158-165.

<sup>473</sup> Letter to John L. Hawking, Esq., 1 July 1943, Wade Document, 25/21.

<sup>474</sup> Letter to Rev. Geoffrey L. Treglown, 9 October 1941, *Letters Vol. 2*, 313.

<sup>475</sup> 1662 *Book of Common Prayer* Online.

<http://justus.anglican.org/resources/bcp/1662/Athanasius.pdf>

In a changing world, Sayers saw dogma as a strong pillar rising all the way up from the foundations of the Christian faith. 'To check one's theology by the Creeds', Sayers writes, 'is the best plan I know for being sure that what one is thinking, saying, or writing, is actually Christianity'.<sup>476</sup> It is possible for something – a comment, a sermon or even a work of art – to be within that Catholic faith and for something to be outside of it. The sentimentalised 'gentle Jesus, meek and mild' that Sayers so often objects to for being misleading,<sup>477</sup> 'attenuates His humanity'.<sup>478</sup> It is insufficient when compared with the 'Very God of Very God' who 'became man' of the Nicene Creed. Christian art must be able to bear the scrutiny of dogma, just as dogma must be able to bear artistic handling, as we shall see.

The liberal theology of Broad Church Anglicans and some Liberal Catholics which was in ascendancy in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries is seen by Sayers as wishy-washy and having proved itself insufficient. Catholic dogma is not a set of optional doctrinal positions; it is bold and equal to the task—both in faith and art—of giving people a firm foundation. In reference to her first religious play, *The Zeal of Thy House*, Sayers writes to a friend,

...I do feel that if one has to write a play on a religious subject, the only way to do it is to avoid wistful emotionalism, and get as much drama as one can out of sheer hard dogma. After all, nothing can be more essentially dramatic than Catholic doctrine; but it is all lost if one surrounds it with a vague cloud of let-us-all-feel-good-and-loving-and-God-won't-mind-anything-much.<sup>479</sup>

She saw a rising interest in this meatier fare and linked it directly to the arts: 'dogmatic theology, the domain of active thinkers for nearly a century has returned to popular favour, and the Catholic-minded, who follow the Way of Affirmation'<sup>480</sup>

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<sup>476</sup> Letter to Miss G.F. Littleboy, 19 Feb 1951, Wade Document 21/44.

<sup>477</sup> See, for instance, Dorothy L. Sayers. 'Introducing Children to the Bible'. *Housewife*, Vol. 3 No. 11 (November 1941): 81-83, 146. And Dorothy L. Sayers. 'Is This He That Should Come?' *The Christian Newsletter*. V. 0-52 (20 December 1939), The Supplement No. 8. No page numbers.

<sup>478</sup> Rosamond Kent Sprague, 'Sayers' Incarnation of the Incarnation in *The Man Born to be King*', in *Proceedings of the 1997 Seminar*, Hurstpierpoint: The Dorothy L. Sayers Society, 1998, 19.

<sup>479</sup> Letter to Dorothy Rowe. 25 April 1937. *Letters*, Volume II, P. 22.

<sup>480</sup> The *Via Affirmativa*: an approach to life and art that centres on the qualities of Truth, Beauty and Goodness. This may be an example of the growing influence of Charles Williams and Dante on Sayers' thinking.

and are not afraid of the arts, can publicly express themselves accordingly'.<sup>481</sup> This is the kind of spirit embodied in the growing Cathedral arts festivals of which *Zeal* (and most of Sayers' plays that followed) was a part. Sayers is concerned about the young people in the arts and media wanting answers to moral and spiritual questions who seem to imagine that she has come up with an original solution. She protests that suggestion, and she writes, by 'referring my inquirers to the creeds, to the gospels, and to the offices of the Church; I insisted that if my play was dramatic it was so, not in spite of the dogma, but because of it—that, in short, the dogma was the drama'.<sup>482</sup> And the dogma, Sayers insisted, was also Catholic – not her own invention, but simply what the Church had always taught. She writes, 'At present people continually mistake some analogical illustration of my own imagining for the doctrine it illustrates'.<sup>483</sup> This insistence on Catholic dogma, instead of a reliance upon personal interpretation of the Bible, was a common theme among Anglo-Catholics at the time, 'in response to the perceived failure of theological liberalism'.<sup>484</sup>

In the few instances where Sayers speaks of denominations, we can see an even more specific picture forming of what it means to be Catholic—or not. Sayers is clearly aware of non-Christians and anti-Christians, and also a strong strain within Christianity of people she labels 'Arian' in their Christology, that is, 'the very numerous people who call themselves Christians without believing that Jesus was fully God'.<sup>485</sup> For this last group she adopts the nickname 'Jesuists' (not to be confused with Jesuits). In another letter she writes, 'I make no attempt to conciliate the "Jesuists", but stick to what may be roughly called an "oecumenical and Catholic" interpretation of the Creeds. That is, I try to offer a doctrine that would be acceptable to the three Catholic branches of the Church: Roman, Greek-Orthodox, and Anglican'.<sup>486</sup> Here indeed is an important clue. She defines the Church as 'all

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<sup>481</sup> Letter to Alfred Wright (Time and Life Limited), 25 October 1946. Wade Document 28/34.

<sup>482</sup> *Letters to a Diminished Church*, 16-17.

<sup>483</sup> Letter to Miss G.F. Littleboy, 19 Feb 1951. Wade Document 21/46.

<sup>484</sup> Giles Watson, 'Dorothy L. Sayers and the Oecumenical Penguin,' *VII: An Anglo-American Literary Review* 14 (1997), 19.

<sup>485</sup> Letter to Count Michael De La Bedoyere of *The Catholic Herald*. 7 Oct 1941. *Letters Vol. 2*, 309.

<sup>486</sup> Letter to Rev Neville Gorton. 24 September 1941. *Letters Vol. 2*, 298.

those bodies of Christians who accept the Creeds as the basis of their doctrine'.<sup>487</sup> By this she leaves out many people who call themselves Christians (and even among those three groups there would be disagreement by what should be meant by 'Creeds'). *Catholic* churches are further distinct from other Christian groups that she mentions such as the *Free Churches*<sup>488</sup> and *Dissenters*<sup>489</sup> that may be able to accept this doctrine to a greater or lesser degree.<sup>490</sup>

Sayers saw the three Catholic churches having these elements in common which separate them from others: a shared understanding of 'the Catholic-Apostolic Church (that is, Apostolic Succession, Bishops, etc.), Sacraments, and the Four Last Things', which are traditionally Death, Judgment, Heaven and Hell.<sup>491</sup> She writes,

what I've usually tried to put before the general public is the body of what I feel able to call 'Oecumenical Doctrine' – that is, the contents of the Creeds, interpreted in a way that would be acceptable to Roman, Anglican, and (so far as I know anything about them<sup>492</sup>) Greek-Orthodox Christians – leaving out those points on which those bodies differ. This amounts, roughly speaking, to the doctrines accepted and defined at the Four Great Councils.<sup>493</sup>

It is this group that she hopes she may 'without offence call the combined Catholic front'.<sup>494</sup> Sayers was likely overly hopeful, however, or perhaps not as informed as she might have been, about the variety of positions among those bodies surrounding

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<sup>487</sup> 'Christ of the Creeds, Part 1', *The Christ of the Creeds*, 31.

<sup>488</sup> By this Sayers generally means churches other than the established churches of England and Scotland, though occasionally may mean the specific group known as the Free Church of Scotland. See <http://freechurch.org/about/history>.

<sup>489</sup> By this Sayers generally means groups that have left or 'dissented' from the established churches. For instance, Methodists began within the Church of England but formed their own body in 1795. See <http://www.methodist.org.uk/who-we-are/history/separation-from-the-church-of-england>.

<sup>490</sup> This compares easily with the post-Vatican II Roman Catholic practice of describing Christians considered to be outside the Church as being part of *Ecclesial Communities* (which, from the Roman Catholic perspective, includes Anglicans).

<sup>491</sup> Letter to Count Michael De La Bedoyere of *The Catholic Herald*. 7 Oct 1941. *Letters Vol. 2*, 310.

<sup>492</sup> See Sayers, Dorothy L. *The Letters of Dorothy L. Sayers; 1944-1950: A Noble Daring* (Bury St Edmunds: The Dorothy L Sayers Society, 1998), 473, footnote. 1. Quoting an unpublished 20 April 1944 Letter to Father Herbert Kelly: 'I have just been reading Dr [Z]ernov's *The Church of the Eastern Christians*, which was so attractive that I almost wanted to rush out and get converted to Orthodoxy immediately....Why have we been so ignorant all this time about the Eastern Church?'

<sup>493</sup> Letter to Count Michael De La Bedoyere of *The Catholic Herald*. 7 Oct 1941. *Letters Vol. 2*, 309.

<sup>494</sup> *Ibid*, *Letters Vol. 2*, 307.

the Creeds and Councils. She was to experience this disagreement more directly through her war-time efforts for ecumenism.

Beginning in 1941, Sayers participated in a project she nicknamed the 'Oecumenical Penguin'. A group called the Theological Literature Association gathered Anglican and other Christian thinkers to discuss the need for a mass market, accessible book of doctrine, thus Sayers nicknamed it after the paperback publisher Penguin.<sup>495</sup> She advocated the development of a 'Highest Common Factor of Consent' where various groups can all affirm a defined minimum of doctrine.<sup>496</sup> Such a statement would be on behalf of an even broader group than the 'combined Catholic front'. Sayers imagines the chance to be able to say of such a statement, 'It doesn't matter where you go – ask the Pope, ask the Patriarch, ask the Archbishop of Canterbury, ask the Moderator of the Free Church Council – they will all say the same thing about this bunch of dogmas'.<sup>497</sup> This would not preclude various groups adding *more* of what they considered essential elsewhere, but at least 'this much' could be agreed upon by all. Letters from this period show a very positive Sayers:

...as long as one sticks to essentials – roughly speaking, Christ and the Creeds – all sorts of people seem to take quite kindly to it; the dissenters don't mind its being Catholic and the R.C.s don't resent its being Anglican, and the only people who make a fuss are the anti-Gods, the sentimentalists and the out-and-out potties; there's probably a good deal more agreement knocking about than one realizes.<sup>498</sup>

The Oecumenical Penguin project was never realised, though it demonstrates the wider interest that led elsewhere to the founding of the World Council of Churches in 1948. In Sayers' case, various groups were in the end unwilling to put their name to such a statement, which was a great personal disappointment. James Welch writes 'I am bitterly disappointed...the Cardinal feels quite unable to say even, "This Statement of Doctrine, drawn up by the Anglican and Free Churches, happens to be true and in agreement with Catholic Doctrine, even though it is only part of the

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<sup>495</sup> Watson, 'Dorothy L. Sayers and the Oecumenical Penguin', 17.

<sup>496</sup> See Watson for a full discussion of this project.

<sup>497</sup> Letter to Count Michael De La Bedoyere of *The Catholic Herald*. 7 Oct 1941, *Letters Vol. 2*, 310.

<sup>498</sup> Letter to Dr John Shirley, 28 December 1939. Wade Document 254/68.

truth” – which is what I hoped would be the result of your efforts’.<sup>499</sup> In creating a sliding scale of common consent, there was always the possibility that groups with *more* in common could say that what Anglicans have written is not enough; for instance, Roman Catholics and Orthodox share *seven* Oecumenical Councils, while the Anglicans only the first four.

Despite its failure, we get a clear picture of Sayers seeing her own Anglican tradition in concert with the Roman Catholic and Orthodox traditions. These, to her, are the three Catholic churches. She is glad when she finds common ground with other Christians, but it must be that same theological common ground shared with Roman Catholics and Orthodox. Unlike today when the word catholic (with a small ‘c’) often denotes something universally Christian, Sayers, when using an upper case ‘C’, clearly has a more specific idea in mind. She puts most stock in what she sees as the shared patrimony of Anglicanism, Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy: Bishops, Creeds and Councils. To exclude one of these as the elements of Catholic Christianity is to exclude oneself from it as well. As Sayers’ contemporary, Anglo-Catholic theologian R.C. Moberly, writes of Councils and Creeds, ‘we are uncatholic in differing from them’.<sup>500</sup>

### **Case Study I: Women Priests in the Anglican Communion**

Sayers’ views on women in the Anglican priesthood are a case in point from both during and after the time of writing *The Man Born to be King*. Her response on the subject to a letter from C.S. Lewis is well-known and contemporary readers have sometimes sought implicit support for women priests in Sayers’ opposition to the idea that only male priests could represent Christ.<sup>501</sup> In light of Sayers’ insistence upon Catholic identity, however, it is by no means certain that she would have been a supporter had she lived to see women ordained in the Church of England in 1994.

<sup>499</sup> Letter from Dr James Welch to Dorothy L. Sayers, 18 May 1942, Wade Document 434/70-71.

<sup>500</sup> R.C. Moberly, ‘The Incarnation as the Basis for Dogma’ in Charles Gore, ed. *Lux Mundi: A Series of Studies in the Religion of the Incarnation*. London: John Murray, 1913. (first edition 1889), 177.

<sup>501</sup> Letter to C.S. Lewis. 19 July 1948. *Letters Vol. 3*, 387.



Her reasons for being an 'uneasy ally' of C.S. Lewis cannot be taken lightly. While Lewis leans on complementarity of the sexes for his argument against women priests, Sayers is instead concerned about creating 'a new and totally unnecessary barrier between us and the rest of Catholic Christendom'.<sup>502</sup> While admitting that she cannot find a 'strictly theological reason against it', Catholic Tradition is given the deciding vote:

Your safest line is historical and traditional: Our Lord (for whatever reason) did *in fact* have only male Apostles; and the Church (following His example) has *in fact* always kept the Apostolic Succession in the male line. And it would be a pity to fly in the face of all the Apostolic Churches, especially just now when we are at last seeing some prospect of understanding with the Eastern Orthodox...<sup>503</sup>

Sayers understands herself to be within the great, unbroken tradition of Catholic Christianity. A choice of women priests would be a movement away from that 'combined Catholic front'.<sup>504</sup>

To another correspondent, Sayers says that '[t]he question of admission [of women] to Holy Orders...leaves me cold'.<sup>505</sup> It side-tracks the debate about women's rights away from the more fundamental daily rights that affect all women. Likewise, it distracts from the hope of Christian unity. She continues,

[W]here is the sense of introducing an entirely new spanner into the works at a moment when the Churches seem a little more disposed than they have been for centuries to pull together and show some sort of united front? Can you conceive anything more likely to [affront] and alienate the Orthodox and Roman Communions or the more traditional parties in the Church of England?<sup>506</sup>

Within Sayers lifetime, Pope Leo XIII had declared in 1896 that Anglican ordinations were 'absolutely null and utterly void',<sup>507</sup> though the response by the Anglican Archbishops of York and Canterbury a year later sought to demonstrate the consistency of traditional form and intent of ordinations since the break with

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<sup>502</sup> *Letters Vol. 3*, 387.

<sup>503</sup> *Letters Vol. 3*, 387-388. DLS assumes a hierarchical definition of 'apostle' and it is unknown whether she was aware of the tradition of calling Mary Magdalen the 'Apostle to the Apostles'.

<sup>504</sup> Letter to Count Michael De La Bedoyere of *The Catholic Herald*. 7 Oct 1941. *Letters Vol. 2*, 307.

<sup>505</sup> Letter to Miss J. Hodgson, 8 July 1943. *Letters Vol. 2*, 421.

<sup>506</sup> *ibid*, 421-422.

<sup>507</sup> Papal Bull *Apostolicae Curae*, 1896. <http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Leo13/I13curae.htm>

Rome.<sup>508</sup> Yet, as Sayers predicted, the ordination of women in more recent decades—along with other issues such as Anglican con-celebration with non-Apostolic churches—has added weight to the charge of nullity by the Roman Catholic Church, and essentially ended the discussion of the validity of Anglican orders with the Eastern Orthodox Church.<sup>509</sup> It is clear that Sayers anticipated an issue of genuine concern for those within the three Catholic churches.

### Case Study II: Sayers' Work on Dante

Sayers' abundant use of *Catholic* in her later writings on Dante is also worthy of special note, as it may express a broadening of her use. In the period of Sayers' greatest interest in ecumenism during the late 1930's to the mid 1940's, she emphasised the relation of Roman, Orthodox and Anglican groups to one another within a shared Catholic tradition and theology. In her later work, through explaining (the obviously pre-Reformation) Dante to her readers, she more clearly emphasises Catholic doctrine specifically. Dante did, she writes, 'share the belief of all Catholic Christians that every living soul in the world has to make the choice between accepting or rejecting God'.<sup>510</sup> Or again,

It must always be remembered that for Dante, as for all Catholic Christians, man is a responsible being. The dishonouring notion that he is a helpless puppet of circumstances or temperament, and therefore not justly liable to punishment or reward, is one which the poet over and over again goes out of his way to refute.<sup>511</sup>

Sayers seems to have in mind here a contrast with the Reformed doctrine of Predestination, which she did not consider Catholic. Earlier in her career, Sayers had been accused of Semi-Pelagianism by theologian Karl Barth, who nevertheless read

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<sup>508</sup> *Answer of the Archbishops of England to the Apostolic Letter of Pope Leo XIII [Saepius Officio].*

1897. <http://anglicanhistory.org/orders/saepius.pdf>

<sup>509</sup> Before the ordination of women there was a variety of Orthodox views on Anglican orders including acceptance of their validity by the Oecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople in 1922 with many others following suit, while the Russian Church came to a negative decision in 1948. See Methodios Fouyas, *Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism and Anglicanism* (London: Oxford University Press, 1972), 99-106. For a discussion of how those statements were understood by Orthodox at the time, see Timothy Ware, *The Orthodox Church* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1963), 324-329.

<sup>510</sup> Dorothy L. Sayers, 'Introduction' to Dante, *The Divine Comedy - Hell*. (London: Penguin Books, 1949), 14.

<sup>511</sup> Dorothy L. Sayers, 'Introduction' to Dante, *The Divine Comedy - Purgatory*. (London: Penguin Books, 1955), 16.

and translated some of her work. She laughs off this accusation to a friend: 'He is a Calvinist, and accuses me of being a Pelagian— but what is a little total depravity between friends?'<sup>512</sup> Barth may hold his own opinion, she implies, but she would rather be in good company with the likes of Dante in emphasising the catholicity of a person's free will.

Sayers also sees her role as helping people gain access to the *Divine Comedy* through explaining the theology in her introductions, essays and speeches. 'Since people can be interested in Dante without being instructed Catholics,' she writes, 'a brief summary of the Catholic doctrine of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise seemed useful for the avoidance of confusion and misunderstanding'.<sup>513</sup> But here her use becomes blurred in trying to describe Mediaeval Catholic theology, which may or may not be shared by her contemporary Roman Catholics and other Christians (or even herself). In the introduction to *Purgatory*, for example, Sayers ends a section by saying, 'The above is a summary of the Doctrine of Purgatory as generally held by Catholics'.<sup>514</sup> This obviously cannot be the same meaning as described earlier, since Eastern Orthodox<sup>515</sup> do not teach the existence of Purgatory<sup>516</sup> and most Anglicans – except some Anglo-Catholics – do not either. Perhaps 'Pre-Reformational Western Christian' would be the closest approximation for this example and thus Sayers' use of Catholic in her work on Dante should be taken as a separate case, with its emphasis on Mediaeval rather than general historic connections. Since Sayers did not begin work on Dante until after the time of writing *The Man Born to be King*, her later use of *Catholic* does not meaningfully assist with our study of the play-cycle, though it informs a larger understanding of Sayers' work.

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<sup>512</sup> Letter to Maurice B Reckitt, 14 May 1941. *Letters* 2, 259.

<sup>513</sup> Dorothy L. Sayers, *Introductory Papers on Dante; The Poet Alive in His Writings*. (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock 2006), xiv.

<sup>514</sup> Sayers, 'Introduction' to *The Divine Comedy - Purgatory*, 60.

<sup>515</sup> Though Crystal Downing has demonstrated some links between Sayers' theology and Russian Orthodoxy, this example points to another possibility of Sayers being rather uninformed about Orthodoxy. See Downing's article: 'The Orthodoxy of Dorothy L. Sayers', *VII: An Anglo-American Review* 22 (2005), 29-44.

<sup>516</sup> Ware, *The Orthodox Church*, 259.

## II. Growing Interest in the Creeds and Christ's Two Natures

While it is rare for Sayers to use the word *Catholic* in her pre-Dante published writings—as compared to her letters which have been the bulk of quotations thus far—she is never timid about claiming the Creeds for her authority. This Anglo-Catholic emphasis on the Creeds found its way into Sayers' work leading up to *The Man Born to be King*, and even has roots in her childhood. As the daughter of a Church of England clergyman, the Creeds would have been a regular – most likely daily – part of her experience of the liturgy both in church and household prayers. In response to a fan letter about the play cycle she says that even though she was brought up in 'a rather formal and unintelligent kind of Christianity' she

shall always be grateful to the 'Morning and Evening Prayer' that made the Bible and the Creeds familiar to me, and taught me, so to speak, the grammar of Christianity. Because, later, when I began to find out what it really was all about, I had all the necessary tools ready to hand.<sup>517</sup>

The memorised phrases of various Creeds were permanently in Sayers' mind and found their echo in her later work.

Although Sayers' fiction written throughout the 1920's and 30's is sprinkled with occasional religious comments and characters, she expresses a new kind of theological voice beginning with her 1937 Canterbury Festival play, *The Zeal of Thy House*. From this point on we see an almost continuous working out of creedal dogma, particularly in the area of Christology. This was a period of intense and varied work for Sayers as she wrote for the stage, radio and print, yet her themes overlap and build upon each other, laying a solid foundation for *The Man Born to be King*, in both dramatic form and theological content. Considering now how *The Zeal of Thy House* became the catalyst for this new emphasis, Sayers' work between 1937 and 1941 can be analysed as a whole for essential elements of her Christology. We should not expect to find a complete systematic theology; Sayers protested that she was not a theologian and she neither was trained in nor wrote academic theology. Nevertheless, she wrote and spoke confidently when she believed herself to be

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<sup>517</sup> Letter to Paymaster Commander A.D. Duckworth, R.N., 15 December 1943. Wade Document, 22/39.

finding fresh words for creedal theology—giving flesh to ‘the strong, bony structure’ of “dry” official theology’.<sup>518</sup> We will consider which parts of this creedal Christology caught her attention and imagination.

*The Zeal of Thy House* includes a discussion in Scene IV between William of Sens and Michael the Archangel about the meaning of work, suffering and the Incarnation. Sayers summarises its message in an interview this way: ‘it is the work, not the workman, that matters, and...it is possible for men to endure great suffering because God Himself took human flesh and plumbed the depths of suffering’.<sup>519</sup> The reaction from audiences, according to Sayers, was ‘not so much “this is too good to be true” as “this is too exciting to be orthodox”’.<sup>520</sup> In response to this reaction to her play, Sayers wrote an article entitled ‘The Greatest Drama Ever Staged Is the Official Creed of Christendom’.<sup>521</sup> Before people dismiss Christ, they should at least know what the Church actually teaches about him, which is, she writes:

That Jesus-Bar Joseph, the carpenter of Nazareth, was in fact and in truth, and in the most exact and literal sense of the words, the God ‘by whom all things were made’. His body and brain were those of a common man; his personality was the personality of God, so far as that personality can be expressed in human terms. He was not a kind of demon pretending to be human; he was in every respect a genuine living man. He was not merely a man so good as to be ‘like God’—he was God.<sup>522</sup>

And Sayers then works out several implications for Christ’s suffering and death, his historicity, and how his life and teachings were an affront to the religious leaders of the time.

Sayers’ essay might have been her last word on the Incarnation, had not further controversy called forth further defence and articulation of her theology. The drama critic of *Punch*, Douglas Woodruff, in his review of *Zeal* suggested that the play’s final

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<sup>518</sup> Letter to Paymaster Commander A.D. Duckworth, R.N., 15 December 1943. Wade Document, 22/39.

<sup>519</sup> Anon. “Interview with Miss Dorothy L. Sayers,” *Church Times* (April 8, 1938): 893.

<sup>520</sup> Letter to Father Herbert Kelly, 19 October 1937, *Letters Vol. 2*, 52.

<sup>521</sup> *Sunday Times*, 3 April 1938. Later published with the shorter title ‘The Greatest Drama Ever Staged’ in the collection of essays, *Creed or Chaos* (London: Methuen, 1947).

<sup>522</sup> ‘The Greatest Drama Ever Staged,’ *Letters to a Diminished Church*, 2.

scene ‘unravelling by the introduction of a good deal of very free and easy theology’<sup>523</sup>—a charge he does not explain but merely uses to dismiss Sayers’ theological message. Here again was the same misunderstanding, not only of her meaning but of what the Christian Creeds actually say about Jesus, as if these were new ideas ‘imported into the faith by the feverish imagination of a playwright’.<sup>524</sup> The day the review appeared, Sayers wrote two important letters—one to the editor of the *Church Times* and one to Father Herbert Kelly—which each emphasised how the proper representation of both the humanity and divinity of Christ are necessary for a full understanding of the Incarnation. ‘To keep the exact middle course between Arianism and Docetism is always difficult’, she writes to the editor, ‘but one has to try and do it if one is not to lose the whole meaning for us of the Incarnation’.<sup>525</sup> To Father Kelly she writes that many people are, at heart, Arian: ‘However often they had heard or recited the Creeds, it had obviously never sunk into their minds that Christ was supposed to be God in any real sense of the word’.<sup>526</sup> An over-emphasis on the human Jesus has led to ‘pushing the Divine Logos off the stage altogether, with the result that God the Father appears as the villain of the piece, which isn’t orthodox’.<sup>527</sup> Mitzi Brunsdale describes Sayers as being ‘preoccupied’ with the subject in 1938, leading to three additional essays and her first radio play, *He That Should Come*.<sup>528</sup> Looking at these works along with other theological work up to 1941, we see two important themes that will also be emphasised in *The Man Born to be King*: the specificity of the Incarnation and the full Manhood and Godhood in the Hypostatic Union of Christ’ divine and human natures.

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<sup>523</sup> *Punch*, vol. CXCIV, 6 April 1938, 384. Woodruff spends most of his review flippantly comparing the play to a detective story, and criticising the casting and weak romantic storyline. The only other related comment is to accuse Sayers of only letting her angels speak theology with ‘a little light theology’ from the Prior.

<sup>524</sup> Essay ‘The Dogma is the Drama’, *Letters to a Diminished Church*, 16.

<sup>525</sup> Letter to S. Dark, 6 April 1938. *Letters*, Vol. 2, 72.

<sup>526</sup> Letter to Father Herbert Kelly, 4 October 1937, *Letters*, Vol. 2, 43.

<sup>527</sup> Letter to Father Herbert Kelly, 4 October 1937, *Letters*, Vol. 2, 44.

<sup>528</sup> Brunsdale, *Solving the Mystery of Wickedness*, 142. The four essays being ‘The Greatest Drama Ever Staged’, ‘The Triumph of Easter’, ‘Strong Meat’, and ‘The Dogma Is the Drama’.

### Specificity of the Incarnation

Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, many *Lives of Jesus* were published—most notably for English readers David Strauss' *The Life of Jesus, Critically Examined*<sup>529</sup>—which cast doubt on the historicity and meaning of Jesus' life, and saw him primarily as a good teacher who pointed the way to God through his moral example. While some Anglicans had either ignored or embraced this new view, Anglo-Catholics of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century attempted to address the controversy by holding up the Creeds as a trustworthy foundation for all Christian faith and particularly the application of incarnational theology, for instance in multi-author collections of Liberal Catholic essays entitled *Lux Mundi* (1889) and *Essays Catholic and Critical* (1926).<sup>530</sup> It must be said, however, that some of the contributors to *Lux Mundi* and *Essays* took great liberties with the creeds themselves, and to that extent were far more permissive than Sayers. There were doubts abroad in British culture about the reliability of the Bible—especially the Gospel of John, as we have seen—and alternative ways to interpret it, and the Christ that Broad Churchmen depicted was possibly only symbolic or a model of a good code of morals. Sayers lampoons this vague religion: 'The only drawback to this demand for generalized and undirected worship is the practical difficulty of arousing any sort of enthusiasm for the worship of nothing in particular'.<sup>531</sup>

The antidote to this thinking was to present her audience with a solid foundation of what she understood to be the timeless teaching of the Church. 'It is a lie to say that dogma does not matter', Sayers writes, 'it is vitally necessary to insist that [Christianity] is first and foremost a rational explanation of the universe'.<sup>532</sup> Doubts about the historicity of Jesus were met with bold statements about the specificity of the Incarnation: *this* person, Jesus, was born in *this* particular place and time. 'The Incarnation of Christ is not a symbol, but a sacrament,' she said in her BBC broadcast

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<sup>529</sup> David Frederick Strauss' *The Life of Jesus, Critically Examined* (1835), translated into English by Marian Evans who for her fiction writing used the pen name George Eliot (1846).

<sup>530</sup> Charles Gore, ed. *Lux Mundi; A Series of Studies on the Religion of the Incarnation* (London: John Murray, 1889), and Edward Gordon Selwyn, ed. *Essays Catholic and Critical by Members of the Anglican Communion* (London: SPCK, 1926).

<sup>531</sup> 'The Dogma is the Drama', *The Whimsical Christian*, 23.

<sup>532</sup> 'Creed or Chaos?' (essay), *The Whimsical Christian*, 34.

talk 'Creed or Chaos? (Part 2)', 'because He was a real man, and the events of His life were real events in history...His Incarnation was a supreme and particular instance of the close sacramental union of spirit and matter throughout the universe'.<sup>533</sup> And she goes on to discuss the parallel with the elements of bread and wine in the sacrament of communion.

This sacramentality of Christ, however, is not duplicable in other people. The historic Church has never taught that Jesus is simply a good example; He is unique. Jesus Christ, Sayers says, is God's autobiography. Using her knowledge of writing, she explains by analogy in *The Mind of the Maker*:

...though the autobiography "is" the author in a sense in which his other works are not, it can never be the whole of the author. It is still a formal expression and bound by the limitations of all material form, so that though it is a true revelation it is only a partial revelation: it incorporates only so much of the mind as matter is capable of containing. Its incompleteness is not due to any imperfection in the mind; it is simply and solely due to the necessary limitations of literary form.<sup>534</sup>

Thus, in Jesus we see a test of the artistic 'form' of humanity. As in any autobiography, 'the truth of what [the author] says about himself is tested by the truth of the form in which he says it'.<sup>535</sup> Similarly in her broadcast talk 'God the Son (Part 2)' she uses the metaphor of creative writing and says that 'the word is thought in activity communicating itself to others'.<sup>536</sup> *This* Jesus then is God Himself in action.

The Nicene Creed too, Sayers said in her BBC talk 'God the Son (Part 1)', takes great pains to demonstrate this specificity:

The Creed has been talking about the eternal nature of God in Heaven; but suddenly, in the middle of all this, it makes a kind of swoop or dive into human history, picks out the name of a Jewish carpenter living in the reign of Tiberius Caesar and known to his contemporaries as Jesus, and then, without a word of explanation or so much as a pause for

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<sup>533</sup> 'Creed or Chaos?, Part 2', (Broadcast) *Christ of the Creeds*, 38.

<sup>534</sup> *Mind of the Maker*, 90.

<sup>535</sup> *Mind of the Maker*, 91. This feels like an echo of 'all the truth of the craftsman is in his craft'. *The Zeal of Thy House*, 79.

<sup>536</sup> *The Christ of the Creeds*, 55.



breath, swoops up again out of time and space into Heaven and eternity and goes on talking about God.<sup>537</sup>

In 'God the Son (Part 4)', she notes another jump made by the Creed: it skips the details of Jesus' life and teachings altogether. Sayers explains this by saying that the Creed is emphasising who Jesus *is* not what he said: 'It is only when we believe in Jesus that [it] becomes urgently necessary to believe Him'.<sup>538</sup> Questions about specific passages or historic details are secondary to believing *in* Jesus Christ. Yet, even then, people often still prefer ambiguities, such as: 'He was meek and mild and preached a simple religion of love and pacifism. He had no sense of humour. Anything in the Bible that suggests another side to his character must be an interpolation, or a paradox invented by G.K. Chesterton'.<sup>539</sup>

The specificity of the Incarnation must become more real to us; Christ *really* lived and his life, death and resurrection had a *real* impact on the world. At the 1941 Malvern Conference called by the Archbishop of York, Sayers was the only woman to speak, as well as being one of only a few laypeople to speak. Her address, 'The Church's Responsibility', included an important reflection on who this Christ was that the Church was called to follow. She expresses something of what she is perhaps hoping to put into her character of Jesus in the BBC plays, saying,

The Church has, however, this unique assistance: that she believes that God was also a man. And this particular Man it has never been possible to identify with any social, political or economic system, or with any moral code. He seems literally all things to all men; to the rebel, a revolutionary; to the lover of political order, the sanction for the tribute paid to Caesar; to the virtuous, the King of virgins; to the sinner, the friend of harlots and publicans; to the pacifist, the Prince of peace, to the warrior, the sword in the earth; to the gentle, meek and lowly, to the impatient, armed with vituperation and the scourge of small cords; to the light-hearted, the guest at Cana, to the melancholy, the Man of Sorrows; to the twice-born, rent in sunder in Gethsemane; to the humanist, perfect man, to the theologian, perfect God; filling all the

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<sup>537</sup> 'God the Son, Part 1' *The Christ of the Creeds*, 49.

<sup>538</sup> 'God the Son, Part 4' *The Christ of the Creeds*, 61.

<sup>539</sup> 'The Dogma is the Drama', *The Whimsical Christian*, 25-26.

categories and contained by none; and with all this, a single, recognizable, and complete Personality.<sup>540</sup>

### Hypostatic Union

This 'complete Personality' must be fully affirmed, Sayers insists, as both fully God and fully Man. She writes in the BBC talk 'Creed or Chaos? (Part 1)' that the Church ('all those bodies of Christians who accept the Creeds as the basis of their doctrine'<sup>541</sup>) in the Creeds has stated its official opinion about Jesus: that 'He was indeed a real man, but that He was, and is, also the Son of God'.<sup>542</sup> Despite this proclamation, a large number of people unconsciously 'emphasise the divinity of Christ at the expense of His humanity' and seem to turn Christianity into 'a kind of prim tea-party' with Christ going about 'in stiff attitudes, like a figure in a stained-glass window, never smiling or joking, and speaking in a special sort of voice, as though He lived permanently in church'.<sup>543</sup> No, Sayers maintains that the Creeds emphasise that he was 'altogether God, but also altogether man, with a man's brain and a man's body',<sup>544</sup> and Christians are 'perfectly free to imagine anything they like about it, provided they keep firmly in their minds both the Godhead and the Manhood'.<sup>545</sup>

The antidote to the Docetic tendency to privilege the Divinity of Christ is to bring out the truth of his Manhood. In the Introduction to the published script of *He That Should Come* (1938), Sayers writes,

I feel sure that it is in the interests of a true reverence towards the Incarnate Godhead to show that His Manhood was a real manhood, subject to the common realities of daily life; that the men and women surrounding Him were living human beings, not just characters in a story; that, in short, He was born, not into 'the Bible', but into the world.<sup>546</sup>

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<sup>540</sup> Sayers, Dorothy L. "The Church's Responsibility." *Malvern, 1941; The Life of the Church and the Order of Society; Being the Proceedings of the Archbishop of York's Conference*. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1941, 77-78.

<sup>541</sup> 'Creed or Chaos, Part 1: The Christ of the Creeds' *The Christ of the Creeds*, 31.

<sup>542</sup> *The Christ of the Creeds*, 32.

<sup>543</sup> *The Christ of the Creeds*, 34.

<sup>544</sup> *The Christ of the Creeds*, 34.

<sup>545</sup> *The Christ of the Creeds*, 36.

<sup>546</sup> Dorothy L. Sayers, *He That Should Come* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1939), 9-10.

This is shown in the radio script of *He That Should Come* itself. The beginning is a series of conversations in the yard of a Bethlehem inn which set the political, religious and cultural backdrop before Mary and Joseph even come to enquire about a place to stay. The arrival of the shepherds brings a new significance to the birth, but it is deepened by the concern already shown by the people of the inn for a mother giving birth in less-than-ideal circumstances and an uncertain time.

‘God the Son (Part 2)’ tackles the opposite Arian controversy over Jesus’ ‘begottenness’, which is more, Sayers claims, than just ‘a foolish squabble among pedants about a technicality’.<sup>547</sup> Instead, ‘[o]n the absence or presence of the “i” [in *homoousion/homoiousion*] there hung the whole difference between God and man, between Heaven and earth’.<sup>548</sup> It is the acid test to distinguish ‘true Christianity from the various forms of modified or near-Christianity’.<sup>549</sup> This being of one ‘substance’ [*ousia*] takes the issue away from the realm of talking about Jesus as being ‘rather like God’ to being God Himself and distinguishable from the Father in His activity. In a letter Sayers sent to BBC Producer Eric Fenn while working on the talks she wrote,

My own feeling is...that we are still fighting the Arian heresy and that we are inclined to divide the Substance [*ousia*]...and leave people with the impression that there is somebody called God and a subsequent, inferior, but more sympathetic person called the Son of God, who had nothing to do with creating the world, and whose part in running it is rather that of a foreman of the works sadly put upon by the management.<sup>550</sup>

This confusion is satirised in Sayers’ catechism in ‘The Dogma is the Drama’:

Q. What does the Church think of God the Son?

A. He is in some way to be identified with Jesus of Nazareth. It was not his fault that the world was made like this, and unlike God the Father, he is friendly to man and did his best to reconcile man to God (see *atonement*). He has a good deal of influence with God, and if you want anything done, it is best to apply to him.<sup>551</sup>

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<sup>547</sup> ‘Creed or Chaos? Part 2: Lord of All Worlds’, *The Christ of the Creeds*, 53.

<sup>548</sup> *The Christ of the Creeds*, 53.

<sup>549</sup> *The Christ of the Creeds*, 54.

<sup>550</sup> Letter to The Rev. Eric Fenn, 21 January 1941, *Letters*, Vol. 2, 233.

<sup>551</sup> *The Whimsical Christian*, 25.

In 'God's great adventure' in becoming man, he allowed Himself to become subject to the natural laws He Himself created.<sup>552</sup> He was the ideal, sinless man in complete freedom, especially seen in that 'He, alone among men, was free not to sin'.<sup>553</sup> He didn't simply appear but was born *in* the world with a real human mother and

He is really and altogether man – not a mixed monster like a merman or a sort of apparition with the outward shape of a man and no more; but a genuine human being with the thoughts and feelings proper to every man. And He is man in a state of perfection, with a single will turned undeviatingly to the goodness that is God.<sup>554</sup>

Everything about Jesus hangs on his being both God and Man. But the world's reaction was severe: 'The world saw perfect goodness, perfect innocence, perfect justice, perfect mercy, perfect beauty—with its own eyes it saw God. Having seen Him, it promptly decided that God was a dangerous criminal, and handed Him over to the common hangman'.<sup>555</sup> The heresies of Gnosticism and Arianism, which diminish either his humanity or his divinity, therefore, Sayers says, have been 'put forward to relieve mankind of that burden of intolerable guilt'.<sup>556</sup> But

[a]gainst these heresies, and the innumerable variations of them, stands up the Catholic<sup>557</sup> Church affirming in the teeth of the world that that which died upon the cross was true God and true man – that every agony that man can undergo...passed through the consciousness of God and [is] for ever part of God's experience.<sup>558</sup>

This emphasis upon the suffering of God in Christ is something that Sayers will return to in her Introduction to *The Man Born to be King*. She loves the shock value of phrases like 'God was executed', 'God is the victim and hero', 'the man we hanged was God Almighty'.<sup>559</sup> Is this perhaps sensitivity to Theopaschitism, a belief condemned as heresy in the Early Church that Christ suffered in His divine nature? There is a link to it in her writings of this era, and she says that we must risk leading someone 'into the abominable heresy of the Patripassians and Theopaschites' in

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<sup>552</sup> 'God the Son, Part 3: The Man of Men', *The Christ of the Creeds*, 57.

<sup>553</sup> *The Christ of the Creeds*, 59.

<sup>554</sup> *The Christ of the Creeds*, 59.

<sup>555</sup> 'God the Son, Part 4: The Death of God', *The Christ of the Creeds*, 61.

<sup>556</sup> *The Christ of the Creeds*, 62.

<sup>557</sup> Note Sayers' rare public use of *Catholic*.

<sup>558</sup> *The Christ of the Creeds*, 62.

<sup>559</sup> "The Greatest Drama Ever Staged" *The Whimsical Christian*, 13.

order to save them from the greater error of a Nestorian dislocation of the Son from the Father.<sup>560</sup> The same can be said of her comment above about Christ having ‘a single will’.<sup>561</sup> This possible reference to Monothelitism—a heresy rejected at the 6<sup>th</sup> Oecumenical Council that Christ, though having two natures, had only one will—seems unintentional. She is most concerned with emphasising the Hypostatic Union and does not elaborate here or elsewhere about Christ’s divine and human wills. The anathemas of both Theopaschitism and Monothelitism, however, were decided outside of the first four Oecumenical Councils and were therefore not considered essential doctrinal formulations for Anglicans. The Anglo-Catholic use of the term *Catholic* however, here becomes rather elastic, since the Roman Catholic and Orthodox Churches reject these two as heresies, perhaps making Anglicans generally *less* Catholic. It should be noted in the case of Theopaschitism, however, that the horrors of the World Wars led many in the 20<sup>th</sup> century to explore God’s relationship to and experience of suffering—most famously, Jürgen Moltmann’s *The Crucified God* (1972)—and some Christians from various traditions no longer consider Theopaschitism a heresy.

## Conclusion

We have considered the confusion that has occurred in encountering Dorothy L. Sayers’ use of the word *Catholic*. Her self-identification as an Anglo-Catholic is a primary clue, and her use is consistent with that group’s self-understanding as being in an unbroken historical line with the primitive Catholic Church. While such an understanding has led some to assume that she means *universal* or *universally Christian* when she uses *Catholic* – as in the contemporary theological use of (lower case ‘c’) *catholic* – we have seen Sayers further limiting *Catholic* to Anglicans, Roman Catholics and Orthodox. These three groups’ shared patrimony of Bishops, Creeds and the first four Oecumenical Church Councils is what is central to Sayers’ more specific definition. Considered within Sayers’ own theological stream we see her Catholic theology as broad enough to earn the name. Sayers saw the Creeds as the most reliable guide for what to believe, being the agreed statements of the historic

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<sup>560</sup> ‘Creed or Chaos’ (essay), *The Whimsical Christian*, 39.

<sup>561</sup> *The Christ of the Creeds*, 59.

Church (once again remembering that Sayers ignores the differences of opinion among Catholic Christians about what is meant by 'Creeds'). Sayers understands herself to be simply explaining the Creeds in fresh words, not adding any original contribution—an assumption to which we will return. The Creeds insist on the specificity of the Incarnation and the full and true humanity and divinity of Jesus (the Hypostatic Union). It is these two features that will now guide our further search through the twelve radio plays, their Introduction and related correspondence.



## CHAPTER 5: Sayers' Jesus: the Hypostatic Union and the Specificity of the Incarnation

Dorothy L. Sayers' life-long love of the Christian Creeds makes its most explicit appearance in *The Man Born to be King* in Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 6, when Claudia describes to Pilate how the words 'suffered under Pontius Pilate' kept repeating in her dream. Sayers here echoes her 1918 poem 'Dead Pan' as she incorporates Plutarch's story about the death of Pan,<sup>562</sup> but she brings the scene to its zenith by the phrase from the Apostles' Creed. According to Sayers' script instructions, 'suffered under Pontius Pilate' gets repeated in various languages and voices; a clear reference to how the Creeds have been used throughout Church history as part of liturgy and private devotion. This gives us an image for how phrases from the Creeds ran through Sayers' mind and found their way into her work, through the conscious use of various phrases and, more frequently, the attempt to faithfully dramatize the theology which these phrases express.

In Chapter 4, we traced the development of the Anglo-Catholic emphasis on the Creeds and its links to the Christology of Sayers' public writing and private letters in the years preceding *The Man Born to be King*. Barbara Reynolds writes that the *Christ of the Creeds* and *God the Son* radio talks of 1940 and 1941 had the 'very timely effect of obliging her to scrutinise the theology of the Incarnation before making her presentment of the Incarnation in her plays'.<sup>563</sup> Sayers' theology was now well in hand. With reference to that earlier history, we will now look further at how the Hypostatic Union of Christ's two natures and the specificity of the Incarnation (*this* time, place and person) are presented in *The Man Born to be King* and how Sayers, as one grateful Anglo-Catholic fan wrote, did 'a great service by making Catholic Christology obvious and readily understood'.<sup>564</sup>

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<sup>562</sup> Dorothy L. Sayers, *Catholic Tales and Christian Songs* (Oxford: Benediction Classics, 2008), 19-20 (first published 1918). A short discussion of the link between Pan and Christ is also made in G. K. Chesterton's 1925 *The Everlasting Man*.

<sup>563</sup> Reynolds, *Dorothy L. Sayers: Her Life and Soul*, 318.

<sup>564</sup> Letter to Dorothy L. Sayers from the Rev E.H.W. Crusha, chaplain at Magdalen College School, Oxford, 26 May 1943, Wade Document 21/67.



Sayers herself complained to James Welch just after the ‘slang’ scandal that,

It’s like when one says: ‘The Incarnation means nothing unless one insists on the real humanity of Christ’; and the other person replies: ‘Oh, I do agree with you – if only we had the loving spirit of Jesus we shouldn’t need all this theology.’. And you realize that it’s all quite hopeless, because they don’t understand what the word ‘humanity’ means, and that when they think they are agreeing they haven’t begun to see what the question is.<sup>565</sup>

Part of Sayers’ task was indeed to dramatize Jesus’ humanity and Christological focus of biographers and scholars has duly been on the humanity of Sayers’ Jesus. James Brabazon, for instance, calls the plays a triumph for Sayers because they had brought ‘God and man closer together...by making humanly comprehensibly the historical figure of Jesus’.<sup>566</sup> As we have seen, Sayers saw a Docetic tendency to diminish Christ’s humanity among Christians, who, as Laura K. Simmons writes, ‘preferred their Christ slightly separate from humanity, more stylized...speaking in the formal tones of the...Authorized Version...to people who were just as formal and nice’.<sup>567</sup> Similar emphasis on the humanity by scholars is logical as it chimes with the press reaction at the time and on a certain reading of Sayers’ Introduction to the plays—Sayers’ portrayal of the humanity of Jesus is something she rightly assumed would cause a stir at the time.

Once again, we must pause to investigate. As with the supposed Johannine preference and the eschewal of the Authorized Version, what Sayers emphasises in her Introduction does not always fully reflect the play texts that follow. From what has been written we might assume that Sayers’ solution to cultural Docetism was to emphasise Jesus’ human nature *over* his divine nature. By linking Sayers’ Christology to her creedal emphasis, however, we will entertain the possibility that Sayers attempts to fully integrate both humanity and divinity into her character of Jesus in a complete Hypostatic Union. We will consider the effectiveness of a number of examples where Sayers emphasises Jesus’ two natures, then consider how she

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<sup>565</sup> Letter to Dr James Welch, 11 January 1941, *Letters Vol. 2*, 227.

<sup>566</sup> Brabazon, *Dorothy L. Sayers*, 205-206.

<sup>567</sup> Simmons, *Creed Without Chaos*, 79.

presents the specificity of the Incarnation, which is linked to his humanity but also cannot escape the balancing influence of the Creed. Sayers' claim that she had no original theology can then be further investigated – the avowal that what she wrote about and described was what the Church—through its Creeds—has always taught. Therefore, a final consideration will be whether or in what way this specifically can be said of her Christology in *The Man Born to be King*.

## I. The Hypostatic Union of Two Natures

Years after writing *The Man Born to be King*, Sayers wrote to a correspondent, 'If you study the history of the Creeds, you will find that their clauses are all directed to safeguarding the Faith against some perversion which was creeping in – nearly always due, originally, to over-emphasis upon some point which was sound enough if kept in its proper place'.<sup>568</sup> The Arians, for instance, in wanting to maintain the Son's distinctness, went too far by calling Jesus a created being. On the other extreme, the Docetists over-corrected the Arians by maintaining the divinity of the Son at the expense of genuine humanity. The Councils refined the Creeds, Sayers writes, 'with a view to eliminating such possibilities of error'.<sup>569</sup> Sayers too was aiming for that 'exact middle course'<sup>570</sup> in characterising Jesus as both fully divine and fully human, a task which, like with *The Zeal of Thy House*, led some to wonder if this Jesus was 'too exciting to be orthodox'.<sup>571</sup>

### Portraying Humanity

An emphasis by scholars on Sayers' portrayal of Jesus' humanity focuses on the use of everyday dialogue and limited use of the Authorized Version. This is an important part of Sayers' work. At the time of the 'slang' scandal of December 1941, James Welch wrote to Sayers: 'From the very beginning of the venture it has been agreed between us that some people will be shocked, and rightly shocked...at the same time people ought to trust us not to shock people unjustifiably in order to get a kick out of

<sup>568</sup> Letter to Miss G.F. Littleboy, 19 Feb 1951, Wade Document 21/44.

<sup>569</sup> Letter to John Wren-Lewis, 18 June 1954, Wade Document 387/6.

<sup>570</sup> Letter to S. Dark, 6 April 1938. *Letters*, Vol. 2, 72.

<sup>571</sup> Letter to Father Herbert Kelly, 19 October 1937, *Letters* Vol. 2, 52.

it ourselves'.<sup>572</sup> The modern idiom to which they had agreed from the start of the project was not intended to offend, but rather to present the life of Christ 'realistically and historically: "this is a thing that actually happened"'.<sup>573</sup> If Sayers was claiming that Jesus was the ideal, sinless human who 'alone among men, was free not to sin',<sup>574</sup> she had to dramatize a believably human Jesus—someone who was 'like us in all things save sin'.<sup>575</sup> What she had written about her earlier Nativity drama *He That Should Come* would need to be true here as well: 'it is in the interests of a true reverence towards the Incarnate Godhead to show that His Manhood was a real manhood'.<sup>576</sup>

Ann Loades writes that Sayers 'had a powerful sense of what Christ must have been like in his lifetime on earth, and she was much to the point in criticism of presentations of him that robbed him of humanity'.<sup>577</sup> Loades characterises Sayers' Jesus as 'a "Christ" of...cheerfulness and vitality'.<sup>578</sup> Sayers herself wrote to Derek McCulloch at the BBC, '...the one kind of Christ I absolutely refuse to have at any price whatsoever is a dull Christ; we have far too many of these in stained-glass windows'.<sup>579</sup> This image is used again in Sayers' Introduction when she speaks of how modern readers keep the stories at arm's length, thinking, 'it can't happen here'. She writes, 'And to this comfortable persuasion we are assisted by the stately and ancient language of the Authorised Version, and by the general air of stained-glass-window decorum with which the tale is usually presented to us'.<sup>580</sup> Making the character of Jesus plausibly human would be the key to getting him out of stained glass as a living human being.

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<sup>572</sup> Letter to Dorothy L Sayers from James Welch, 24 Dec 1941, Wade Document 434b/145-146.

<sup>573</sup> *MBTBK*, 17.

<sup>574</sup> *The Christ of the Creeds*, 59.

<sup>575</sup> Chalcedonian Definition from 451AD, based on Hebrews 4:15.

<sup>576</sup> *He That Should Come*, 9-10.

<sup>577</sup> Loades, *Feminist Theology*, 170.

<sup>578</sup> Loades, *Feminist Theology*, 172.

<sup>579</sup> Letter to Derek McCulloch, 25 October 1940, *Letters Vol. 2*, 186.

<sup>580</sup> *MBTBK*, 22.

In beginning to write the plays, an immediate application of this concern was the delicate task of writing extra-biblical dialogue for Jesus. In March 1941, she wrote to Val Gielgud her producer, that

It's all right making up conversation for the disciples and people, but it's difficult doing it for Him; and if one doesn't, we are going to get just the effect one wants to avoid—namely, a perfectly stiff, cardboard character, different from, and unapproachable by, common humanity, doing nothing but preaching sermons. He must be allowed to say at least things like, 'Good morning', and 'Please', and 'Thank you', whether they are in the Bible or not...<sup>581</sup>

In 'A Vote of Thanks to Cyrus,' (1946) Sayers adds facetiously, 'He could not, of course, like a real teacher, have used the same illustration twice...Nor (one is led to imagine) did Christ ever use an ordinary behaviour that is not expressly recorded of Him...'<sup>582</sup> We can see from the final scripts that she found the courage to go far beyond these basic greetings and behaviours. Sayers' Jesus laughs and chats with people as a 'normal' human would. She also chooses to frequently have her main character addressed by others as 'Jesus Bar Joseph' not 'Jesus Christ', which Alzina Stone Dale suggests was Sayers' first step toward real humanity in 'giv[ing] Him a real name like the others He associated with'.<sup>583</sup> It should also be noted that the actor playing Jesus would be essential to showing real humanity and Sayers wrote that although he would speak with a Standard English accent,<sup>584</sup> his voice must be 'able to do anything' with 'range and flexibility' from rebuking the money changers to gently taking a child on his shoulder and should have 'an innate authority' and 'sense of humour'.<sup>585</sup>

### **A Fresh Look at the Divinity of Sayers' Jesus**

This attention to the humanity of Sayers' Jesus is appropriate given her perception of a cultural drift toward Docetism, but it has moved scholarly discussion away from his divinity. I argue, therefore, that Sayers' humanising work was never intended to be

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<sup>581</sup> Letter to Val Gielgud, 3 March 1941, *Letters Vol. 2*, 237.

<sup>582</sup> Sayers, *Unpopular Opinions*, 27-28.

<sup>583</sup> Dale, 'Sayers' Best Play', 10.

<sup>584</sup> *MBTBK*, 47.

<sup>585</sup> *MBTBK*, 68.

at the expense of Jesus' divinity, but rather to show both natures as simultaneously present. In her first *God the Son* radio talk Sayers describes how the Creed begins by talking about God, then naming a specific human in time—Jesus—then returns to talk about God. This switching back and forth is the Church's way of emphasising the central Christian dogma: 'Jesus Christ, the Son of God, is both God and Man'.<sup>586</sup> Sayers may also have in mind the Chalcedonian Definition which maintains that Christ's two natures exist in one person or *hypostasis*, 'without confusion, without change, without division, without separation'.<sup>587</sup>

During the time of her writing *The Man Born to be King* and the *God the Son* talks, she complained to the editor of *The Sower* that 'the horrid suggestion that the Divine Person of Christ should be...so sub-divided as to effect a virtual opposition between the Galilean Workman and the Eternal Logos—I can only call them so blasphemous so heretical as to shock any Christian conscience'.<sup>588</sup> Yet to hold these together can be just as shocking, as Justin Phillips comments on the initial reception of *The Man Born to be King*: 'What was offensive to them was to hear Jesus laughing, or getting angry or even saying "good morning"....even for those who hold that Christ is both fully man and fully God, the reality of the 'Word made flesh' could offend'.<sup>589</sup> A full sense of Christ's humanity was necessary to combat the perceived leaning of conservative Christians toward Docetism, as she implied in her Introduction and notes, but that was not her only aim. Her frequent comments about the necessity of avoiding both Arianism and Docetism show her desire to keep a balanced middle between them. Sayers' often attempted to show both natures as simultaneously present.

### Examples of attempts at a Hypostatic Union

In Play 2 Scene I, for instance, Sayers pairs the revelation of Jesus' Sonship at his baptism with his prosaic greetings of an old family friend, Hannah, and his patient

<sup>586</sup> *The Christ of the Creeds*, 50.

<sup>587</sup> Ben Quash and Michael Ward, eds. *Heresies and How to Avoid Them: Why it Matters What Christians Believe* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2007), 12.

<sup>588</sup> Letter to the Editor of *The Sower*, 21 April 1941, *Letters*, Vol. 2, 251-252.

<sup>589</sup> Justin Phillips, *C.S. Lewis at the BBC: Messages of Hope in the Darkness of War* (London: HarperCollins Publishers, 2003), 217.

entertainment of questions from children. The Baptism of Christ is often called a theophany because it reveals His divinity, yet here it is paired with everyday humanity. It deeply struck James Welch and the other BBC staff members who read the first draft, as Welch writes:

One by one, and independently of one another we were all a little shocked by the theophany!...The second or third reading, especially a reading aloud, made us feel that your treatment of theophany was probably true to the stature of Jesus; mystical experience violates and over-powers us but not necessarily the saint. One instinctively thinks of the theophany as an isolating thing, a profound mystical experience which drove Jesus straight into the Wilderness...To see Jesus just after that tremendous experience passing the time of the day with an old friend of the family and almost cracking jokes with children, was startling. I expect this is obvious to you. But our unanimous witness is relevant to production because your treatment of the theophany is going to startle, even shock, listeners; when properly produced, we feel it will 'go across big'.<sup>590</sup>

We see here what Sayers might have meant about taking Jesus out of the 'stained glass window'. Sayers' Jesus is approachable, laughs and has everyday interactions with people where not everything he says is a sermon or parable, yet he has a kind of innate power because of the supernatural thing that has just happened to him. Another example of this pairing is the calming of the storm in Play 5, Scene IV, where Jesus approaches the boat saying matter-of-factly, 'Well, children? Is there room in the boat for me?'<sup>591</sup> There too the divine glory is hand in hand with familiarity which emphasises his humanity.

Sayers' dialogue between disciples goes even farther to pair Jesus' humanity and divinity. Play 4 has an important scene where Judas joins the disciples, and Simon,<sup>592</sup> Matthew, and others tell him about Jesus calling them and what they think of him thus far. Simon says, 'I remember the very first time I realised the he wasn't like other men...'<sup>593</sup> and tells the story from Luke 5:1-11 of the miraculous catch of fish which ends with Simon falling to his knees. "Sir, go away and leave us—I'm just a

<sup>590</sup> Letter from James Welch to Sayers, 15 Sep 1941. Wade Document 433/34.

<sup>591</sup> *MBTBK*, 152.

<sup>592</sup> Sayers calls the disciple Simon Peter different names in different plays: sometimes Peter, sometimes Simon. In play 4, from which this scene comes, he is always Simon.

<sup>593</sup> *MBTBK*, 121.

sinful common man, and I can't bear it". And he laughed, and said, "Have courage; follow me and I will teach you how to catch men."<sup>594</sup> The assumption here is that Simon had thought of Jesus as a 'normal' human before this incident and Jesus' laughter reminds us that his humanity remains, even with divinity that is evidenced through the miraculous catch of fish.

Matthew's story is even more direct. He says, 'Ah! makes you feel bad, he does sometimes. Laughs and talks and eats with you—and all the time you know you're not fit to touch him.'<sup>595</sup> Matthew is aware, like Simon, of the difference between Jesus and himself. He then tells the story of being called away from his tax-collection booth and how he felt in Jesus' presence: 'And somehow or other he made me feel dirty. That's all. Just dirty. I started shuffling my feet. And he smiled—you know the way he smiles sometimes all of a sudden—and he says, "Follow me"'. Matthew's sudden conviction of sinfulness which is occasioned by Jesus' divinity is experienced alongside the warmth of human emotion in Jesus' smile. John Thurmer describes Sayers' understanding of Jesus' divinity as 'a continuous, if elusive, quality'.<sup>596</sup> Bethany Wood comments on the juxtaposition of Jesus' gentleness and his innate power in interactions such as those with Matthew and Simon. She writes, 'Christ's sense of humor was a favorite emphasis of Sayers's, but rather than a gentle characteristic, it was seen to stem from confidence in his authority. Innate power is a defining aspect of Sayers's characterization'.<sup>597</sup> While Wood sees this juxtaposition as evidence of subtle anti-pacifist propaganda within the plays, it is more likely a theological choice. What Wood means by 'authority' and 'innate power' are more clearly part of Jesus' divinity.

By contrast, Judas' superior intelligence allows him to understand Jesus' plans and mission more than the other disciples, yet Jesus' divinity is invisible to him; he cannot see both natures. Judas sees himself as Jesus' equal, or as Catherine Kenney

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<sup>594</sup> *MBTBK*, 121.

<sup>595</sup> *MBTBK*, 121.

<sup>596</sup> John Thurmer, *Reluctant Evangelist*, 11.

<sup>597</sup> Wood, Bethany, *Incorporation of the Incarnation*, 59.

writes, he 'recreates Christ in his own image and cuts him down to his own size'.<sup>598</sup> Judas had always insisted that 'following Jesus should not jeopardize his own autonomy'.<sup>599</sup> Alzina Stone Dale suggests that '[w]ithout her character of Judas to involve Jesus closely with someone whom He can neither convince nor control, she could not have succeeded in making Jesus Bar Joseph real'.<sup>600</sup> Although Judas saw all of Jesus' miracles, those experiences never grew into faith; and because of this lack of faith, Judas, unlike the other disciples, never performs a healing when Jesus sends them out two by two.<sup>601</sup> He is not able to share in Jesus' divine gifts because he cannot see Jesus' divinity.

Sayers employs light and heat imagery in several places to emphasise both his divinity and humanity, to show Jesus, as Mary Magdalen describes him, as 'the only person...that was really alive'.<sup>602</sup> In Play 7, Scene I, Mary Magdalen, recalls first seeing Jesus in the house of Simon the Pharisee, saying,

Did you know? my companions and I came there that day to mock you. We thought you would be sour and grim, hating all beauty and treating life as an enemy. But when I saw you, I was amazed. You were the only person there that was really alive. The rest of us were going about half-dead—making gestures of life, pretending to be real people. The life was not with us but with you—intense and shining like the strong sun when it rises and turns the flames of our candles to pale smoke.<sup>603</sup>

Mary Magdalen experiences guilt and contrition, like Matthew and Simon, but her experience of Jesus is not only because of his divine presence but also of his perfect humanity—'He was Man, not as we know man, sinful and corrupt and always at odds with God and himself; He was Man as God meant man to be'.<sup>604</sup> In contrast to Judas' lack of faith, it is *because* of Mary Magdalen's faith that she is able to catch a glimpse of Jesus' divinity, which is described here very like the Transfiguration, 'intense and

<sup>598</sup> Kenney, *The Remarkable Case of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 239.

<sup>599</sup> Stanley Hauerwas and Samuel Wells, 'An Apostle with Reservations: On Judas and the Vocation of Christian Ethics' in *Exchanges of Grace; Essays in Honour of Ann Loades* (London: SCM Press, 2008), 43.

<sup>600</sup> Dale 'Best Mystery Plot' in *As Her Whimsey Took Her*, 90.

<sup>601</sup> Play 5, Scene I, *MBTBK*, 139.

<sup>602</sup> *MBTBK*, 187.

<sup>603</sup> *MBTBK*, 187.

<sup>604</sup> Letter to L.R.E. Wingfield Digby, 20 August 1943, Wade Document, 22/24.



shining'. Lazarus too, though more naturally depressive than Mary Magdalen, can feel 'that immense vitality at which a man may warm himself as at a fire'.<sup>605</sup>

It is this life, this vitality, which forms an important part of Jesus' mission in Sayers' eyes. 'That is what I'm here for,' Jesus says, 'I came that men should lay hold of life and possess it to the full'.<sup>606</sup> This Play 7, Scene I is reminiscent of the energetic and childlike character of Innocent Smith in G.K. Chesterton's *Manalive*.<sup>607</sup> Sayers having said that, 'G.K.'s books have become more a part of my mental make-up than those of any writer you could name',<sup>608</sup> it is probable that she was influenced by Chesterton's ideal of a person who is at once intelligent and playful.<sup>609</sup> In *Manalive*, it is Smith's surprising creativity and joy which bring an entire house of people to life. So too here, Jesus' very presence radiates life and gladness. Jesus quotes from Proverbs 8:29b-31 about Wisdom taking part in creation.<sup>610</sup> The line that follows has the note, 'John: (*a little startled—it sounds almost autobiographical*): Master, of whom is that said?'.<sup>611</sup> Sayers was specifically taking this opportunity to make Christological connections, as the scene is otherwise based on two Gospel stories, that of Mary and Martha from Luke 9 and the sinful woman of Luke 7 and other details that set up several scenes that follow. It expresses both the ordinariness of friends sitting around, telling stories and the glimpse into Jesus' divinity. In the beginning notes for this play Sayers even describes the scene as 'shot through with a strong mood of "God-consciousness"',<sup>612</sup> a term which will be discussed below.

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<sup>605</sup> *MBTBK*, 187. In this first scene Lazarus is almost like the ghosts in C.S. Lewis' *The Great Divorce*, they are barely alive, until they begin to get more solid by beginning their journey toward the mountains, and by inference toward God. C.S. Lewis, *The Great Divorce* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1945).

<sup>606</sup> *MBTBK*, 187. John 10:10.

<sup>607</sup> G.K. Chesterton, *Manalive* (London: Thomas Nelson, 1912). Sayers likely read it much earlier, but she refers to it in a Letter to Dr. Helmut Kuhn, 2 December 1943, *Letters Vol. 2*, 435.

<sup>608</sup> Letter to Mrs. G.K. Chesterton, 15 June 1936, *Letters, Vol. 1*, 394.

<sup>609</sup> Such a spirit is encountered frequently in Chesterton's other works too, notable the essay collection, *Heretics* (London: John Lane Company, 1905), and other fiction like *Napoleon of Notting Hill* (London: Bodley Head, 1904) or *The Man Who Was Thursday* (London: J.W. Arrowsmith, 1908). Even Father Brown has the requisite innocent joy and insight (i.e. *The Innocence of Father Brown*, London: Cassell and Company, 1911).

<sup>610</sup> *MBTBK*, 187. It should be noted that instead of the Authorized Version's 'rejoicing before him; rejoicing in the habitable part of his earth', Sayers puts in Jesus' mouth a more active word: 'I was delighted every day, playing before Him, playing in the world...'

<sup>611</sup> *MBTBK*, 187.

<sup>612</sup> *MBTBK*, 182.

When Lazarus later succumbs to death, it is that vitality which brings him back in Play 7, Scene IV, Sequence 3:

Mary: You are smiling—you are laughing—you are alive!

Lazarus: (joyfully): Yes, I am alive!

Martha: Where have you been?

Lazarus: With life.

Mary: Do you know who called you back?

Lazarus: Life. He is here and he has never left me.<sup>613</sup>

In Play 8, Scene I, Sequence 2, Lazarus is called upon to explain ‘what does it *feel* like to be dead?’ He uses the metaphor of weaving and a loom and how in death we finally see the front side of the pattern. The metaphor of life as a loom is not original to Sayers, being shared with many writers from Beowulf to G.K. Chesterton’s ‘Ethics of Elf Land’ in *Orthodoxy*,<sup>614</sup> but her interpretation is more subtle and Christological. Sayers writes in the notes for this scene that ‘What Lazarus has seen in death is the identity of Christ the Creator (“the Weaver”) with Christ in His mystical body (“the Loom” of Creation), and the identity of both with Christ Incarnate—but there is yet no theological language for this’.<sup>615</sup> As Lazarus says in the scene: ‘He that made it [the woven pattern] is the form of all things, Himself both the weaver and the loom’.<sup>616</sup>

The light and heat imagery also returns at the end of Sayers’ treatment of Judas, as he gets his only theophanic glimpse during Jesus’ crucifixion. Judas goes to Caiaphas to return the thirty pieces of silver and says that the knowledge of Jesus’ innocence gives him a vision of ‘what hell-fire is’: ‘It is the light of God’s unbearable innocence that sears and shrivels you like flame’.<sup>617</sup> Notice how starkly this compares to Lazarus’ description of Jesus’ presence in Play 7: ‘that immense vitality at which a man may warm himself as at a fire’.<sup>618</sup> Without faith, the light and heat of Jesus’ presence is unbearable. Judas is consumed by pride and hate, and even in this realisation of Jesus’ innocence and his own guilt he still cannot humble himself: ‘If I

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<sup>613</sup> *MBTBK*, 201.

<sup>614</sup> (London: John Lane Company, 1908).

<sup>615</sup> *MBTBK*, 209.

<sup>616</sup> *MBTBK*, 214.

<sup>617</sup> *MBTBK*, 275.

<sup>618</sup> *MBTBK*, 187.

crawled to the gallows' foot and asked his pardon, he would forgive me—and my soul would writhe for ever under the torment of that forgiveness'.<sup>619</sup> The searing, painful brilliancy of holiness is all that Judas, in his pride, can experience of what others know as warmth and aliveness. Sayers uses light and heat imagery to show that Jesus' divinity becomes clear when characters are at their most honest – either in faith or in hate. This may remind readers of the final scene of Sayers' 1939 play, *The Devil to Pay*.<sup>620</sup>

In all these examples, we see Sayers holding together the humanity and divinity of her character Jesus. The 'voice that can do anything', the laughter and friendly small talk, the way Jesus smiles 'all of a sudden' are all glimpses of his humanity but they often seem purposely paired with miracles and theophanies which emphasise his divinity. A modern politician, by contrast, shakes hands or kisses babies to 'seem human', but in the medium of radio, all cues must be communicated 'largely through the acting'.<sup>621</sup> By throwing details in sharp relief, like the miraculous catch of fish paired with Jesus' laughter, Sayers ensures her listeners might catch the connection. The further examples of areas where light and heat imagery is applied to Jesus by Mary Magdalen, Lazarus and Judas, we see more clearly a true union of divinity and humanity – with warmth for those with faith and a sense of burning for those without it.

## II. The 'Thisness' of the Incarnation

Jesus' humanity and divinity are not simply academic concepts to Sayers; the Christian faith depends upon them and '[t]he vitality of that Faith [lies] in the dogma of an Incarnate God'.<sup>622</sup> For Sayers, to discuss the Incarnation is to explore the wonder of God becoming Man in *this* place, *this* time, and as *this* particular person.

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<sup>619</sup> *MBTBK*, 275. This is an interesting contrast to Sayers' 1916 poem, 'The Gates of Paradise' where Judas and Jesus meet along the road to Hades and Jesus holds a lamp 'brighter than the moon' to lead them both. The Judas of *MBTBK* is unwilling to submit to being led.

<sup>620</sup> *The Devil to Pay* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock), 2011, pp. 113-130.

<sup>621</sup> Simmons, *Theology Made Interesting*, 145.

<sup>622</sup> Dorothy L. Sayers, "The Execution of God." *Radio Times*, March 23, 1945, 3. This was written to coincide with a rebroadcast of *The Man Born to be King*.

The Incarnation is at the heart of the ‘scandal of particularity’ that Sayers talks about in the plays’ Introduction: ‘not only...God-in-His-thusness, but also God-in-His-thisness’.<sup>623</sup> The Incarnation is the living union of Christ’s natures, the action or performance of God’s autobiography (to use the language of *The Mind of the Maker*).

Sayers writes to Father Kelly in 1937 that ‘The dogma of the Incarnation is the most dramatic thing about Christianity, and indeed, the most dramatic thing that ever entered into the mind of man’.<sup>624</sup> Welch and Sayers had a shared vision of the importance of a true depiction of the ‘thisness’ of the Incarnation. They both disliked the too-common ‘gentle Jesus meek and mild’ image.<sup>625</sup> Welch writes to Sayers: ‘*Incarnatus est* is a phrase; we bow when we say it; but how many of us are prepared to believe it.... What has always thrilled me about your plays has been the combination of Christology with a full belief in the Incarnation’.<sup>626</sup>

Sayers’ emphasis on the Incarnation is not surprising, given her churchmanship; as was discussed in Chapter 4, it is a distinctive feature of Anglo-Catholic thought from its early days. Rowell speaks of the doctrine of the Incarnation as being ‘[a]t the heart of Tractarian<sup>627</sup> spirituality and at the centre of Tractarian theology’.<sup>628</sup> All Anglicans affirm the Incarnation in the Creeds, but not all meditated upon its implications as did Anglo-Catholics. For them, it undergirded the importance of the physicality of the Sacraments, of fasting and spiritual disciplines, of gesture and incense in worship, the dignity of the labour and suffering of the poor, and even offers ‘a new cosmic coordination’ of man as God’s instrument.<sup>629</sup> It was as common a theme in the 1830’s-40’s sermons and tracts of Newman and Pusey as it was at the end of the century when every chapter author of *Lux Mundi* sought to bring his

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<sup>623</sup> MBTBK, 21.

<sup>624</sup> 4 October 1937, *Letters Vol. 2*, 43.

<sup>625</sup> Wood, 65. See also Dorothy L. Sayers, “Introducing Children to the Bible.” *Housewife*, Vol. 3 No. 11 (November 1941), 81-83, 146.

<sup>626</sup> Letter to Dorothy L. Sayers from Dr James Welch, 24 Dec 1941, Wade Document 434b/145-146.

<sup>627</sup> Tractarianism is another term for the Oxford Movement.

<sup>628</sup> Rowell, *The Vision Glorious*, 14.

<sup>629</sup> Rowell, *The Vision Glorious*, 15, 75, 181, 222, 242. For a rather harrowing description of Anglo-Catholic ministry to the urban poor, see John R. H. Moorman’s *The Anglican Spiritual Tradition* (Springfield, IL: Templegate Publishers, 1983), 162-163.

theme into conversation with the Incarnation.<sup>630</sup> In a foreshadowing of Sayers' concern about 'stained glass window' Christs, Gore warned that we must not so 'juxtaposit the omniscient Godhead with the limited manhood as to destroy the impression that He, the Christ, the Son of God, was *personally* living, praying, thinking, speaking and acting—even working miracles—under the limitations of manhood'.<sup>631</sup>

### **The Use of Mary Virgin to Show 'Thisness'**

As have many creedal theologians before her, Sayers uses Mary, the mother of Jesus (always called by Sayers 'Mary Virgin') to explore the mystery of the Incarnation where the eternal God enters a specific time and place in history as a man. This is clearly illustrated in three scenes. In the first, Mary Virgin ponders and describes the Incarnation in her own words at the visit of the three kings in Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1. Before their arrival, Mary tells Wife: 'I feel as though I were holding the whole world in my arms—the sky and the sea and the green earth and all the seraphim. And then, again, everything becomes quite simple and familiar, and I know that he is just my own dear son'.<sup>632</sup> The kings come with rich gifts and elaborate speeches and Mary can only answer simply and from her own experience:

When the Angel's message came to me, the Lord put a song in my heart. I suddenly saw that wealth and cleverness were nothing to God—no one is too unimportant to be His friend. That was the thought that came to me, because of the thing that happened to *me*. I am quite humbly born, yet the Power of God came upon me; very foolish and unlearned, yet the Word of God was spoken to me; and I was in deep distress, when my Baby was born and filled my life with love. So I know very well that Wisdom and Power and Sorrow *can* live together with Love; and for me, the Child in my arms is the answer to all the riddles.

Sayers, through Mary Virgin, shows the specificity of the Incarnation—Jesus was born to *this* woman at *this* place and time. This child is a paradox. So many prophecies have been spoken and so many expectations expressed, yet this child is only a helpless infant who cannot yet answer for himself.

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<sup>630</sup> One need only see the Lists of Essays and Synopsis of Contents, page v-xxiii.

<sup>631</sup> Charles Gore, *Dissertation*, 1895. Quoted in Ramsey, *An Era in Anglican Theology*, 32.

<sup>632</sup> *MBTBK*, 56-57.

In Play 3, Scene I, we hear Mary Virgin describe the next chapter in Jesus' life to her friend Susanna. She says that she and Joseph told Jesus nothing about the circumstances of his birth or the prophecies. This makes his answer all the more surprising when his parents finally find him in the temple after three days of looking.<sup>633</sup> Mary tells Susanna, 'And he looked at me quite astonished, and said, "But why? This is my Father's house—surely you know I should be here."' Mary explains her reaction:

I couldn't find a thing to say—it was like a sword going through my heart. Oh Susanna! it's glorious to have a son born to great things; but there are moments when one realises that—that he doesn't belong to one—and those moments are bitter.<sup>634</sup>

Mary says how Jesus returned with them and they showed him the kings' gifts and he was 'tender and obedient as any son could be' for eighteen years before he told her, 'Mother, I must be about my Father's business'.<sup>635</sup> The inference is that Mary does not completely understand what Jesus will do or what it means, but she trusts him and is glad when she sees him at the Wedding at Cana.

The next appearance of Mary Virgin is along the road to Calvary in Play 11, Scene I. Mary Virgin's grief is different from John's, Mary Magdalen's or Mary Cleophas' at seeing Jesus struggle up the road under the weight of his cross. To them she describes her memories of caring for him and comforting him as a child and now there is nothing she can do to help him. Suddenly she seems to understand everything from her years of 'pondering all this in her heart'.<sup>636</sup> She says:

I know now what he is, and what I am...I, Mary, am the fact; God is the truth; but Jesus is fact and truth—he is reality. You cannot see the immortal truth till it is born in the flesh of fact. And because all birth is a sundering of the flesh, fact and reality seem to go separate ways. But it is not really so; the feet that must walk this road were made of me. Only one Jesus is to die today—one person whom you know—the truth of God and the fact of Mary. This is reality. From the beginning of time until now, this is the only thing that has ever really happened. When

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<sup>633</sup> Luke 2:41-52.

<sup>634</sup> *MBTBK*, 96.

<sup>635</sup> *MBTBK*, 96.

<sup>636</sup> Luke 2:19.

you understand this you will understand all prophecies, and all history.<sup>637</sup>

This is perhaps as close as is possible to describe the Incarnation without using technical theological language. This speech is important for the expression of Sayers' theology but—perhaps due to its length and density—was cut in some radio recordings.<sup>638</sup> It is more like a poem or Shakespearean soliloquy than a radio play line, but it serves as a welcome break from the brutal realism of the scene. It also points the listener to an even greater realism. By Mary Virgin linking Jesus' birth with his death the listener is shown the entire life of Christ, the entire Incarnation, as a single event. An Evangelical writing this scene might have Mary Virgin standing at the foot of the cross, ruminating on the price of sin being paid or she could have made a conversion moment of the Centurion's declaration of Jesus being the Son of God. Instead, by Sayers focusing on the journey of Christ to Calvary, Mary Virgin's statement of 'This is the only thing that has ever really happened' gives us a mental image of the whole event of the Incarnation- Christ's walk toward the cross is the final step in Christ's entire life of self-giving love. 'This' is the 'scandal of particularity' that is 'not only...God-in-His-thusness, but also God-in-His-thisness'.<sup>639</sup> There is no confusion of natures here—just the paradox of both fully present. Jesus is 'the immortal truth...born in the flesh of fact'.

Integral to the historic conciliar understanding of the Incarnation is the simultaneous presence of Jesus' divine and human natures while avoiding their separation on the one hand (Nestorianism) and their hybridisation on the other (Eutychianism). The Nestorian controversy in which Nestorius had said that the Virgin Mary gave birth to Jesus, but not God, was resolved at the Council of Ephesus in 431 by the approval of the title *Theotokos*, 'God-bearer' or 'Mother of God', for the Virgin Mary.<sup>640</sup> This title emphasized that Jesus' full divinity and humanity were present from his Incarnation

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<sup>637</sup> *MBTBK*, 295.

<sup>638</sup> See, for instance, the 1967 World Service recording.

<sup>639</sup> *MBTBK*, 21.

<sup>640</sup> A.N. Williams, "Nestorianism" in Quash and Ward, eds. *Heresies and How to Avoid Them*, 32.

and not at some later time. Sayers, knowing this history, worked this title into Play

1. She wrote in a letter to Derek McCollough,

...By the way, you will notice that I have put into the King's salutation a suggestion of the 'Hail Mary', but only the bit that will please the Catholics without offending the Protestants. (Let no one try to stampede us into accepting that the phrase 'Mother of God' is Papist! It is not Latin, but Greek, and the people who object to it are Nestorian heretics, which is a very shocking thing to be!).<sup>641</sup>

This details shows all the more how Sayers understood the important role of Mary Virgin in dramatizing the Incarnation.

In addition to the Mary Virgin examples, one final important example shows the specificity of the Incarnation. In Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 4, we see the disciples having a first hesitant discussion about Jesus' divinity. Just after Thomas declares Jesus 'My Lord and my God', there is the following dialogue:

Peter (*who has suddenly become aware of some appalling implications*):

Master—when I disowned you—when we disbelieved and doubted you—when we failed and deserted and betrayed you—is that what we do to God?

Jesus: Yes, Peter.

James: Lord, when they mocked and insulted and spat upon you—when they flogged you—when they howled for your blood—when they nailed you to the cross and killed you—is that what we do to God?

Jesus: Yes, James.

John: Beloved, when you patiently suffered all things, and went down to death with all our sins heaped upon you—is that what God does for us?

Jesus: Yes, John. For you, and with you, and in you, when you are freely mine...<sup>642</sup>

The disciples here are understanding Jesus' divinity through his Incarnation. It is only because of the way that they know him personally that they can make sense of the one who is 'fully alive' and yet 'not like other men'. Temple says something similar: 'If we would realize what our sin means to God, we see it in the Cross. If we would know how He regards us as we wound Him, we see it in Christ during the

<sup>641</sup> Letter to Derek McCulloch, 5 November 1940. *Letters*, Vol. 2, 191.

<sup>642</sup> *MBTBK*, 340.



Passion'.<sup>643</sup> Christ's two natures and his death can only be understood in light of the Incarnation. Jesus could not have simply arrived on Good Friday to pay the bill, as it were, for humanity's sin (a risk of Evangelical crucicentrism), nor is it just an abstract idea of divinity and humanity coming together (a risk of Broad Church liberalism), but the unity of these natures in this particular man, Jesus, whose birth, ministry, death, and resurrection are implicitly and profoundly linked. R.C. Moberly emphasises this when he says that the Resurrection is integral to the Incarnation; it is 'not simply as a finite historical event, but as an eternal counsel and infinite act of God'.<sup>644</sup> It is in fact, as Sayers writes, 'the only thing that has ever really happened'.

### Case Study: God-Consciousness

A test-case example of this integration is the intriguing mention of 'God-consciousness' in the notes for the scene mentioned above with Mary Magdalen and Lazarus. Sayers uses the term as if assuming her popular readers will understand what she means, although the history of that term is more complicated than she appears to think. Sayers had some idea of 'God-consciousness' at least as early as the time of writing the essay 'Divine Comedy', which, Sayers notes in an Afterword, though published in the 1946 *Unpopular Opinions* collection, was written before *The Man Born to be King*.<sup>645</sup> She imagines a scenario where a director is giving notes to an actor who was playing Jesus (something which had yet to be tried in 20<sup>th</sup> century Britain). Her fictional director says,

Well, yes, I suppose you do know you're God all the time, but surely not in that rigid, theological sense. I should think it would be more like the way a man knows deep down inside him that he really is a genius. It's the unspoken assumption on which he habitually acts, but it isn't perpetually present to his conscious thought.<sup>646</sup>

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<sup>643</sup> William Temple, 'The Divinity of Christ' in B.H. Streeter, et al. *Foundations: A Statement of Christian Belief in Terms of Modern Thought: By Seven Oxford Men* (London: MacMillan and Co. 1913), 221.

<sup>644</sup> R.C. Moberly, 'The Incarnation as the Basis for Dogma' in *Lux Mundi*, 172.

<sup>645</sup> *Unpopular Opinions*, 23.

<sup>646</sup> *Unpopular Opinions*, 22-23.

The phrase 'God-consciousness' is most often associated with Friedrich Schleiermacher's work, particularly his magnum opus, *The Christian Faith*.<sup>647</sup> There is no evidence, however, of Sayers having direct knowledge of Friedrich Schleiermacher's work, and she does not use the term in Schleiermacher's sense of God-consciousness being a sort of neutered replacement for Jesus' divinity. Rather, Sayers uses it to describe moments of Jesus' conscious knowledge of his divinity, contrasted with moments when it 'isn't...present to his conscious thought'. That is the general sense that her imaginary director gives above; Jesus is not always 'thinking about it'. We see more of what she means by the term 'God-consciousness' in the notes for play 9, where she writes: 'In the Upper Room, the God-consciousness and the Man-consciousness are very closely fused, with the God-consciousness often coming to the top. In the Garden, it seems as though the Man-consciousness becomes permanently uppermost'.<sup>648</sup> Scholar Mitzi Brunsdale follows Sayers' lead, commenting that this scene in the garden is where 'Christ's humanity...is shattering', and the divine nature is uppermost in the final three plays.<sup>649</sup> It is clear from this garden example that Sayers' idea of God-consciousness is not a Schleiermacherian replacement for divinity, but rather the conscious acting within the divine or human nature by Jesus.

When considered within the Anglo-Catholic context, this use of 'God-consciousness' becomes even clearer. Ramsey argues that while the English theological scene was notably isolated from the Continent until the 1930's, Anglo-Catholicism in the years between 1890 and 1910 already had a 'tendency to think of the problems of the Incarnation in terms of "consciousness"'.<sup>650</sup> Schleiermacher's *The Christian Faith* (1820) in which he defined 'God-Consciousness', was not translated into English until 1928. Freudian psychoanalysis<sup>651</sup> is a likelier influence on the British culture at large, with its exploration of a person's conscious and subconscious aspects. Showing more interaction with broader German thought than most, J.R. Illingworth's 1894

<sup>647</sup> First English Edition. Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1928. Another related book, *The Life of Jesus*, was not published in English until 1975.

<sup>648</sup> *MBTBK*, 239.

<sup>649</sup> Brunsdale, *Solving the Mystery of Wickedness*, 161.

<sup>650</sup> Ramsey, *An Era in Anglican Theology*, 36.

<sup>651</sup> Freud began in 1886 to treat patients using hypnosis to address the unconscious.

Bampton Lectures dismiss with a single stroke the works of Hegel, Schopenhauer, Fitch, Arnold, and Hartmann as abstracting various conscious and unconscious aspects of the human personality in considering God, while Christ should be seen as the climax of humanity.<sup>652</sup> In 1907, Frank Weston spoke of how ‘the manhood is the measure of the self-consciousness and self-manifestation of the divine Son as Incarnate’.<sup>653</sup> In a 1920 publication of earlier sermons, Henry Scott Holland added an entire appendix discussing ‘Consciousness, Subconsciousness, and Superconsciousness’. He speaks mainly in terms of the believer’s experience of these levels of personality, and of the ‘intuitional union’ with God that is ‘beyond all “words”.... But for all that...[t]here is a Word which is no less real than the uttermost Reality which it expresses: no less Divine than the God whose truth it utters. Nay! For it is what He is’.<sup>654</sup> This Word is the conscious expression of God to humanity. This discussion was linked to *kenosis* or self-emptying by Christ in becoming human, so theologians rightly questions how much or in what ways Christ was conscious of his divinity or humanity.<sup>655</sup> In contrast to Schleiermacher, Sayers most likely meant the term ‘God-consciousness’ as a momentary awareness of Christ’s divinity. To intend Schleiermacher’s meaning is counter to Sayers’ creedal understanding of the Hypostatic Union. She may have heard of or read the term in a discussion or magazine with reference to Schleiermacher, but interpreted it within a broader discussion of Christ’s consciousness with which she was already familiar.

### III. Analysis: No Original Christology?

#### Creedal Theology

Sayers often claimed that she had no original theology, that what she wrote about and described was what the Church—through its Creeds—had always taught. This should be explored more closely in two aspects: her emphasis on creedal theology and on biblical realism. We remember her complaint that the general public could

<sup>652</sup> Illingworth, J. R. *Personality: Human and Divine* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1895), 205-208.

<sup>653</sup> Frank Weston, *The One Christ* (London: Longmans, 1907). Quoted in Ramsey, 37.

<sup>654</sup> Henry Scott Holland, *The Philosophy of Faith and the Fourth Gospel* (London: John Murray, 1920), 100.

<sup>655</sup> For a broader discussion of the Anglican context, see David Brown “Kenosis in England” in *Divine Humanity; Kenosis Explored and Defended* (London: SCM, 2011), pp. 126-171.

not distinguish between traditional doctrine and 'Miss Sayers's ideas'. 'At present', she said, 'people continually mistake some analogical illustration of my own imagining for the doctrine it illustrates, which [while?] at the same time supposing that authoritative pronouncements eighteen centuries old are startling new inventions of my own'.<sup>656</sup> This is reminiscent of her preface to *The Mind of the Maker*, where she insists that the book is not 'an expression of personal belief' but rather 'a commentary... on a particular set of statements made in the Christian creeds and their claim to be statements of fact'.<sup>657</sup> She bemoans the mix-up caused by her essay 'The Dogma is the Drama', saying, 'The only personal opinion expressed was that, though the doctrine might be false, it could not very well be called dull...the writer had simply offered a flat recapitulation of official doctrine, adding that nobody was obligated to believe it'.<sup>658</sup>

But doth the lady protest too much? Scholars have largely accepted Sayers' word for it. John Thurmer said that in *The Man Born to be King* she 'was not interested in "new interpretations" of the person of Jesus. She was fully satisfied with the creeds and wanted to demonstrate their truth in dramatic form'.<sup>659</sup> In portraying Jesus, Thurmer continues, 'the dramatist's scope is limited. In a work designed to set forth Christian doctrine, Jesus must say and do what the gospels ascribe to him, with nothing of major importance added or subtracted. Indications of humanity may be added, like his preference for fig-stuffing'.<sup>660</sup> Thurmer's minimalistic assessment of Sayers' Creed-based innovation here seems almost ridiculous when *The Man Born to be King* is compared with later dramatizations like the BBC television's *Son of Man*,<sup>661</sup> which leans heavily on Jesus' humanity with little attempt at showing Jesus as divine. By contrast, the clarity and balance of both divinity and humanity are essential to Sayers' goals—and not just 'fig-stuffing' touches but bold, strident and sometimes obvious interpretation of Jesus' divinity, like the speeches of Mary Virgin

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<sup>656</sup> Letter to Miss G.F. Littleboy, 19 Feb 1951, Wade Document 21/44 & 46.

<sup>657</sup> Sayers, *Mind of the Maker*, ix.

<sup>658</sup> Sayers, *Mind of the Maker*, ix-x.

<sup>659</sup> Thurmer, *Reluctant Evangelist*, 11.

<sup>660</sup> Thurmer, *Reluctant Evangelist*, 16.

<sup>661</sup> Written by Denise Potter, 1969. Think also of *Jesus Christ Superstar* by Andrew Lloyd Webber and Tim Rice (1971).

and Mary Magdalen. In the particular case of fig stuffing, it is significant that it comes just before Jesus ascribes to himself the work of Wisdom (a clear indication of divinity) in the book of Proverbs in Play 7, Scene I. The fig stuffing gives a balancing human touch to a scene otherwise 'shot through with a strong mood of God-consciousness'.<sup>662</sup>

In emphasising Sayers' reliance on the Creeds for her theology, scholars are perhaps missing the forest for the trees. To base one's theology on the Creeds was a deliberate choice among the many available at the time. Sayers is convinced this is the best approach, but is clearly aware of other traditions. It is a classic Anglo-Catholic position, and we need only remember that others saw things quite differently to see how bold her position was. Many—some Anglicans among them—saw the Creeds as outdated and irrelevant for modern life, or something that could be subscribed to in a purely 'symbolic' sense.<sup>663</sup> The 1937 *Doctrine in the Church of England* survey of Anglican clergy, for instance, found a significant number who said that the Virgin Birth was not necessary to their understanding of the Incarnation.<sup>664</sup> This likely included a number of Liberal Catholics within the Anglo-Catholic branch of the Church of England,<sup>665</sup> showing how Sayers by this point was a fairly conservative Anglo-Catholic. In addition, Sayers had critics not only from the conservative Lord's Day Observance Society but also from among those who were more theologically illiterate, like one angry correspondent, L. T. Duff, who accused Sayers of writing 'a play based on a pack of lies' (referring to miracles) which only those 'of little education' could accept.<sup>666</sup> Sayers sarcastically replies, 'Is this really the first time you have realised that quite a large number of educated persons profess the Catholic

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<sup>662</sup> *MBTBK*, 182.

<sup>663</sup> See, for instance, Moberly's scathing portrait of the 'enlightened Churchman' in R.C. Moberly, 'The Incarnation' in *Lux Mundi*, 192.

<sup>664</sup> Ramsey, *An Era in Anglican Theology*, 90.

<sup>665</sup> See, for instance, Edward Gordon Selwyn, ed., 'The Resurrection' in *Essays Catholic and Critical; by Members of the Anglican Communion*, (London: S.P.C.K., 1929, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition), pp. 279-319.

<sup>666</sup> Letter from L. T. Duff to Dorothy L. Sayers, 15 March 1942, *Letters*, Vol. 2, 391. This is reminiscent of Moberly's critique of the modern tendency '...to treat [the Creeds] as mere serviceable fictions for the teaching of the uncivilized or the young'. Moberly, 'The Incarnation', in *Lux Mundi*, 192.

Faith—even persons of (God save the mark!) “standing”?<sup>667</sup> Basing one’s work on the Creeds is to make a large and sometimes unpopular claim.

Despite their slowly growing latitude in how to interpret the Creeds, Anglo-Catholics understood the theological work of all the Christian centuries to have proved the trustworthiness of these truths, though it remains to the current generation to apply them to the present age. This distinction is important, as it puts the dogma and its interpretation or application in proper evaluative comparison.<sup>668</sup> She contrasts her own tradition with others:

The mistake made by the Protestant Churches in the last hundred years or so, has been to put all the stress on the teaching, as though that would be of just the same importance whether Jesus were God or not. Consequently people naturally ask why one should follow the teaching of Jesus any more than that of Socrates, or Nietzsche, or Confucius, or Bernard Shaw, or Hitler, or anybody. The central fact of Christianity is not so much what Jesus taught as what He was and did: He was God, He became Man, He suffered, died and rose again. That is the story.<sup>669</sup>

The historic categories of Arian and Docetic heretical Christology, for instance, are helpful to Sayers in interpreting the religious voices within her culture. Not everyone saw it that way. Dogmatic creedal theology is also the lens through which she interprets the Scriptures she is adapting for *The Man Born to be King* and the audience for whom she is writing. What is shown must ‘be a *complete* theology’,<sup>670</sup> even if a dramatist is choosing from a selection of possible biblical scenes.

It is said of William Temple that ‘[h]e did not begin with dogma, he led up to it as the answer’.<sup>671</sup> Sayers, by contrast, seems to work in both directions, as she describes in the Introduction to the plays: she must have in hand a full and rigorous theology but also rid herself of particular theological intentions and simply tell a good story.<sup>672</sup> Instead of merely ‘a work designed to set forth Christian doctrine’ as Thurmer calls

<sup>667</sup> Letter to L.T. Duff, 22 March 1942, *Letters*, Vol. 2, 392.

<sup>668</sup> See Moberly, ‘The Incarnation’, in *Lux Mundi*, 183.

<sup>669</sup> Letter to L.R.E. Wingfield Digby, 20 August 1943, Wade Document, 22/24.

<sup>670</sup> *MBTBK*, 19.

<sup>671</sup> Ramsey, *An Era in Anglican Theology*, 147.

<sup>672</sup> *MBTBK*, 19.

it,<sup>673</sup> Sayers' process is, to use *Mind of the Maker* language, to invest, or one might well say 'incarnate' her plays with the human flesh of drama over the divine bony structure of dogma.<sup>674</sup> Her theological tenets may not be 'original' but they bear the clear stamp of specifically Anglo-Catholic emphases on dogma and Incarnation. And from that point of view, if her theological insights were 'original' they therefore could *not* be true, by nature of their very newness. Rather, Sayers' originality is evident in bringing that specifically creedal theology to life in radio drama, something she had criticised other dramatists for *not* doing, such as the Children's Hour plays on the life of St. Paul, which she said 'suffer[ed] from a certain lack of theological guts'.<sup>675</sup>

### **Realism**

Kenneth M. Wolfe writes of *The Man Born to be King* that '[a]s soon as the war was over, the cycle began to date'.<sup>676</sup> Today, for instance, readers cannot help smiling at the Centurion calling his servant his 'batman', as if they had gone through the Great War's trenches together, bringing to mind for readers of Sayers' mysteries Lord Peter Wimsey and his wartime NCO [Non-Commissioned Officer]/now butler Mervyn Bunter. Other commentators, such as Bethany Wood, are distracted by the less-than-real use of 'aural stereotypes and class divisions',<sup>677</sup> and the removal of 'the Jewish ethnicity of the play's protagonist',<sup>678</sup> which she sees as going against Sayers' stated aim of creating 'realistic Gospel plays'.<sup>679</sup> It is unlikely that such critiques would have troubled Sayers very much, and she herself lists a number of other instances in the Introduction.<sup>680</sup> She was not intending to re-write the Gospels for all

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<sup>673</sup> Thurmer, *Reluctant Evangelist*, 16.

<sup>674</sup> Letter to Paymaster Commander A.D. Duckworth, R.N., 15 December 1943, Wade Document 22/40. See her essay 'Towards a Christian Aesthetic' in *Unpopular Opinions* 36-43 to read more about Sayers' understanding of what it meant to 'incarnate' a text or work of art.

<sup>675</sup> Letter to Derek McCulloch, 5 November 1940, *Letters*, Vol. 2, 192.

<sup>676</sup> Wolfe, *The Churches and the BBC*, 238.

<sup>677</sup> Wood, *Incorporation of the Incarnation*, 73.

<sup>678</sup> Wood, *Incorporation of the Incarnation*, 79.

<sup>679</sup> *MBTBK*, 21.

<sup>680</sup> *MBTBK*, 24.

time, but rather make the truth of biblical stories and events of the first century come alive for her 1940's British audience.<sup>681</sup>

What Sayers meant by calling her creation 'realistic Gospel plays'<sup>682</sup> has more to do with the realism or immediacy of the story itself. Jesus *really* lived and the disciples, Pharisees and Romans were people just like us, just as the tenets of the Creed are *really* true, not just true *spiritually*. Catherine Kenney, for instance, notes Sayers' intention of drawing a parallel between the Roman Empire and the British Empire and sees these as integral parts of Sayers' intention to make the world of the Bible real. She writes, 'These analogies reveal much about the world inhabited by the historical Jesus, and underscore the point that he lived among real people in a real time and place'.<sup>683</sup> Murray Roston builds on this sense, suggesting that it is Sayers' attempt at realism that 'paradoxically...reaffirm[s] faith in the mystery',<sup>684</sup> and this is partly because Sayers 'not only acknowledged the incredulity of the watchers but exploited it positively by suggesting in such Pharisaical incredulity a parallel to the scepticism of the modern iconoclasts'.<sup>685</sup> It is this ability to draw connections which Roston argues actually gives the plays staying power.

The early reactions to the plays were less than Sayers hoped. 'What is depressing,' Sayers writes to Welch after the first broadcast response letters came in, 'is the attitude of the pious who dislike having the *actuality* of the Gospel forced upon their notice'.<sup>686</sup> Then quoting from one such letter: "'*Kings in Judaea*" is "so unlike the beautiful Gospel"—so it is; because they have managed to forget the whole background of the Gospels'.<sup>687</sup> And from another: "'The play"—said one correspondent angrily, "seemed to bring God down to earth...instead of raising man

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<sup>681</sup> I think Bethany Wood is right to ask how Sayers intentions relate to the war, but I am not convinced that Sayers' presentation of Jesus can be seen as propaganda for the war effort. Her concerns, as we see from Sayers' numerous essays of the period about work, are more likely to be geared toward what kind of society is to be re-born after the war. A proper answer to Wood would require a chapter of its own and could be a possible future project.

<sup>682</sup> *MBTBK*, 21.

<sup>683</sup> Kenney, *The Remarkable Case of Dorothy L. Sayers*, 229.

<sup>684</sup> Roston, *Biblical Drama*, 297.

<sup>685</sup> Roston, *Biblical Drama*, 298.

<sup>686</sup> Letter to James Welch, 6 January 1942, *Letters*, Vol. 2, 339-340.

<sup>687</sup> Letter to James Welch, 6 January 1942, *Letters*, Vol. 2, 340.



to God”; and I suspect that this is the old Arian serpent raising its head...<sup>688</sup> As she says in the Introduction to *He That Should Come*, the approach of realism in her drama is to combat the too-common view of Christianity as something ‘unreal’ and ‘shadowy’ and ‘to remind people by every means in our power that the thing actually happened’.<sup>689</sup> Although some of the first letters were discouraging, the overall acceptance grew exponentially over the course of the broadcasts.

The techniques of realism are integral to Sayers’ theological approach. They cannot be studied separately with any accuracy. Her goal ‘to create a realistic dramatic narrative which was both believable to an audience she regarded as essentially pagan and appropriate to the theology of the gospels’<sup>690</sup> was a balancing act, but one that was received well at the time. James Welch writes in his Introduction to *The Man Born to be King* that ‘through Miss Sayers’ use of realism, modern speech and the introduction of the character of Our Lord, the person and life and teaching of Christ take on a new meaning and relevance’ for the ‘two million people who heard the plays’.<sup>691</sup> Despite the early scandal which necessitated approval of all her scripts by the Central Religious Advisory Committee of the BBC, Sayers won them over with her mixture of sound creedal theology and dramatic realism. As she later says, perhaps with *The Man Born to be King* in mind, ‘experience usually shows that the sounder the doctrine the better the play’.<sup>692</sup> Even her toughest critic on the committee, Bishop Cyril Garbett, eventually admitted to a friend that Sayers’ portrayal of Christ radiated ‘numinousness’,<sup>693</sup> a word that indicates transcendent divinity, which, in this case, is significant after Garbett’s frequent criticisms of indications of humanity in the plays. See, for instance, Sayers’ Letter to James Welch of 19 February 1942, where she complains about Garbett’s exacting critiques and demands that she must have more leeway when it comes to the crucifixion, which

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<sup>688</sup> Letter to James Welch, 6 January 1942, *Letters*, Vol. 2, 340.

<sup>689</sup> Sayers, *He That Should Come*, 30.

<sup>690</sup> Wolfe, *The Churches and the BBC*, 219.

<sup>691</sup> *MBTBK*, 12.

<sup>692</sup> Dorothy L. Sayers, ‘Sacred Plays’ (Part Two) *Episcopal Churchnews*, (January 23, 1955), 25.

<sup>693</sup> Letter quoted in Wolfe, 234. ‘Numinous’ here may refer to Rudolph Otto’s *The Idea of the Holy* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1923).

she refuses to write in pious language. She ends the letter: 'It was a dirty piece of work, tell the Bishop.'<sup>694</sup>

## Conclusions

The general emphasis by scholars and biographers upon Sayers' use of regional accents and vernacular speech has usually highlighted Sayers' attempt to give her character Jesus a true humanity. Sayers' own Introduction certainly highlights her efforts in this regard, knowing her audience might find those elements new and strange. But by looking again at the scripts themselves, a case can be made that this humanity is never at the expense of Jesus' divinity; in fact, a number of examples show Sayers consciously keeping the two natures together in an attempt to show a true Hypostatic Union. Scholars have generally focused on Sayers' adding indications of humanity—like smiles, laughter and fig stuffing— but we have seen how these are often linked to theophanic moments, like the Baptism, miracles or Transfiguration. Her awareness of both the Arian and Docetic tendencies in society support this as a deliberate choice, and one that is more complex and sophisticated than that for which she has been given credit thus far. The particularity of the Incarnation is also emphasised by Sayers: the 'actuality' or 'thisness' of God and 'the truth of God born in the flesh of fact'. This balance is all in keeping with the theological reflection in Sayers' work that preceded *The Man Born to be King* most notably the *God the Son* broadcasts. It is also in keeping with the conservative Anglo-Catholic emphasis on the Creeds and the Incarnation. While it is therefore not an original or innovative theology, its classification as such differentiates it from other theological streams at the time. Sayers' was not a theology of mere 'spiritualisation' of Christ and his message, or picking and choosing which biblical accounts were the most original. The Jesus of *The Man Born to be King*, is consciously held up to the Creeds by Sayers and, while expressed in phrases or manners that may sometimes feel particular to their time, she is striving to make what she considers to be timeless theological truths of the Hypostatic Union and the Incarnation work hand in hand with the realism of contemporary drama. As she

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<sup>694</sup> Letter to James Welch of 19 February 1942, *Letters*, Vol. 2, 352.

writes in the Introduction, 'His life is theology in action, and the drama of His life is dogma shown as dramatic action'.<sup>695</sup> It is theology *as drama* that is Sayers' essential contribution and originality in both Christology and Eschatology, as we will continue to discuss.

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<sup>695</sup> *MBTBK*, 20.

## CHAPTER 6: Sayers' Kingdom of God and its King

By her very choice of title, Dorothy L. Sayers announces to her audience that *The Man Born to be King* is concerned with kings and kingdoms. This much has been noted by various scholars,<sup>696</sup> though no treatments beyond a comment or paragraph have yet been written showing the ways in which Sayers develops this theme. In the earliest phase of her writing, in July 1940, she wrote to Welch that she had chosen the theme of the kingship of Christ. She said that it was a timely theme because 'even children can't help knowing that there is a great dispute going on about how the world should be governed...I shall make this business of the Kingdom the framework of the series, and choose incidents that will bring out this aspect of the story'.<sup>697</sup> This choice required leaning heavily on the Synoptic Gospels, since the only reference in John to the Kingdom of God is in Jesus' discourse with Nicodemus.<sup>698</sup> The Kingdom is, however, a theme echoed strongly in Temple's commentary on John that Sayers used, in which he emphasises that John's readers were familiar with the Synoptic tradition with its 'all-controlling, ever-recurring theme of the *Kingdom of God*'<sup>699</sup> and that Jesus' task was to 'inaugurate the Kingdom of God'.<sup>700</sup> Influence from Temple as well as other theologians and trends in Eschatology will be important influences to consider in understanding Sayers' use of these theme of Kingdom and Kingship in the plays.

Sayers' Kingdom theme reveals both her theological and dramatic choices. Conflict is a necessary element of drama and by showing '[t]he Kingdom of God...in conflict with the earthly ideal of government'<sup>701</sup> she could intertwine theological and plot

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<sup>696</sup> i.e. Ashcroft, *Mysterious In Every Way* (Lecture, Day 3), Brown, *The Seven Deadly*, 263, Stone Dale, *Maker and Craftsman*, 108, and Reynolds, *Dorothy L. Sayers*, 300.

<sup>697</sup> *Letters Vol 2*, 171-172.

<sup>698</sup> Hoskyns, *The Fourth Gospel*, 61. The only other instance of the word 'kingdom' in John is in Jesus' discussion with Pilate about his kingdom not being of this world (Jn 18:36). Both Hoskyns and Temple describe the theme of the Kingdom of God as specifically Synoptic. (Hoskyns, *The Fourth Gospel*, 61 and Temple, *Readings*, xxxii, 23).

<sup>699</sup> Hoskyns, *The Fourth Gospel*, 61.

<sup>700</sup> Temple, *Readings*, xxvi.

<sup>701</sup> Reynolds, *Dorothy L. Sayers*, 300.

structure. Building upon the analysis of pivotal characters such as Herod, Caiaphas, and Judas in Chapter 3, we will look more closely at how Sayers' dramatic choices are linked to theological choices. As in Chapters 4 and 5, her theology is recognizably within the Anglo-Catholic tradition, and perhaps, through that, linked to the broader debate about the historical Jesus and his relationship to the eschatological Kingdom of God.

As we have seen, Sayers understood her work in creating *The Man Born to be King* to be artistic drama, not evangelism. By helpful contrast, Sayers' source R.A. Edwards explains his desire to help people understand the original Jewish context so that they can see the Kingdom either as 'something to be indignantly rejected, as Caiaphas once rejected it, or to be tremblingly accepted, as the fisherman Peter at last grasped it and with it in his hands tried to overturn the world'.<sup>702</sup> For Sayers, this desire to push one's audience to make a choice is incompatible with the work of a dramatist. She must create the best work of art possible and 'the theology—the dogma—must be taken by the writer as part of the material with which he works, and not as an exterior end towards which his work is directed'.<sup>703</sup> Dogmatic points don't need to be imposed or invented; the story of Christ will naturally bring out the theology within it. Sayers' work, then, is not merely theology disguised as drama, as if it were written in answer to a scholarly treatise on the same theme. Nevertheless, important theological connections are still possible once the artistic nature of *The Man Born to be King* is taken into account. To facilitate exploration of how dramatic form and theology work together, we will consider how Sayers' plot is used to show what the Kingdom of God is *not* and to show what it *is*. This will open the way to an analysis of Sayers' characterisation of Jesus as the King of this Kingdom of God through the various titles used for him: King, Messiah, Christ, Son of Man and Son of God. Finally, these ideas of Kingdom and Kingship will be brought into conversation with the field of eschatology to set Sayers' work within an Anglo-Catholic and broader theological context.

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<sup>702</sup> Edwards, *The Upper Room*, 14.

<sup>703</sup> *MBTBK*, 20.

### Creating a Kingdom Plot Structure

A few comments about the plot will get us swiftly into Sayers' theme of the Kingdom of God. She reminds us, '[t]heme-structure by itself will not...make a play. There must also be a plot structure'.<sup>704</sup> Sayers recognised that there was a large amount of thematic Kingdom material:

Certain high-spots, of course, we have ready-made for our theme: the Nativity, the entry into Jerusalem, and so on; and when we come to the Trial and Crucifixion we are, dramatically speaking, on velvet; but there are all sorts of little twiddly bits – such as the tribute money, and the disciples arguing about who should be the greatest, and the parables of the Kingdom, which, while very relevant to the subject, are just fragments of teaching and dialogue, unless they can be worked into some sort of sub-plot...<sup>705</sup>

These various details and episodes have a common theme of the Kingdom but they need a strong plot to hold them together. Life-of-Christ play cycles will naturally pivot around the major events of the birth, ministry, death and resurrection of Jesus, but even these events are plot points and a plotline is needed to hold them together. Sayers also described her use of 'tie-rod' characters<sup>706</sup> like Baruch and Proclus to hold the plot together, but once again, these characters are not a plot in and of themselves.

In the case of *The Man Born to be King*, I propose that the over-arching plot is a clash of kingdoms. Rome and Israel, representing different ideals, are locked in conflict when a third contender, the Kingdom of God, is introduced by Jesus. This allows Sayers to reflect 'not only philosophical concerns about power common to both the first and the twentieth centuries, but as, by using the British Empire as a modern parallel to Rome, she ma[kes] the past real'.<sup>707</sup> In her Introduction, Sayers explains her plot in terms of Judas, how his connection with Baruch is 'the main-spring of the plot-machinery',<sup>708</sup> and the equal importance of the 'Roman element of the story'.<sup>709</sup>

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<sup>704</sup> *MBTBK*, 30.

<sup>705</sup> Letter to Dr James Welch. 23 July 1940. *Letters Vol. 2*, 172.

<sup>706</sup> *MBTBK* Introduction, 31.

<sup>707</sup> Alzina Stone Dale 'Best Mystery Plot' in *As Her Whimsey Took Her*, 82.

<sup>708</sup> *MBTBK*, 30.

<sup>709</sup> *MBTBK*, 31.

But she says little else about how the plot develops through the play-cycle. Therefore, we will examine how this plot is worked out across all the plays through sub-plots, character development and dialogue. Characters discuss and debate the Kingdom and ask questions, something Sayers often uses to acknowledge disputed theological ground. As characters develop, Sayers uses their changing perspectives to underscore competing visions of Rome and Israel. Although the analysis that follows includes a certain amount of description, it must be remembered that no scholar has attempted to closely track how Sayers develops this theme, and a foundation must be laid by pointing out and connecting various pieces of dialogue and action.

To introduce Sayers' clash of kingdoms plot and draw out important features to examine further, let us begin by considering Scene II, Sequence 2 of Play 11, *The King of Sorrows*, where Nicodemus, Joseph of Arimathea, and Caiaphas discuss the recent trial and crucifixion of Jesus. The clash of kingdoms plot here begins its *dénouement*, as Caiaphas admits that the temporary solution of getting rid of Jesus will not stop the ultimate defeat of his aims to protect Israel. He laments that still others will rise up in continuous waves of revolt because the Jews have never been able to adapt themselves to outside rule like Rome, and he prophesies coming disaster. Joseph responds,

Strange. You echo the prophecies of Jesus. But he, I think, would have enlarged the boundaries of Israel to take in all the world. 'They shall come', he said, 'from east and west and sit in the Kingdom of God.' Samaritans, Romans, Greeks—he received them all....Is it possible that he saw what you see, and would have chosen to fling the door wide open? Not to exclude but to include? Not to lose Israel in Rome, but to bring Rome into the fold of Israel?<sup>710</sup>

Sayers describes this speech as a 'flash of imagination' wherein Joseph sees the "“spiritual” truth about the Kingdom, with all its enormous social and political implications'.<sup>711</sup> It strongly echoes what she writes in *Begin Here*: 'There are only two ways to move the world: the way of the Gospel and the way of the Law, and if we

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<sup>710</sup> MBTBK, 302.

<sup>711</sup> MBTBK, 289.

will not have the one we must submit to the other'.<sup>712</sup> This is no ethereal inner Kingdom, and a decision must be made by the characters. Sayers is seeking to plant her Kingdom of God in the realities of first-century Judaea, what she calls 'determined historical realism'.<sup>713</sup> This Kingdom is in direct conflict with the Empire of Rome, which envelopes all subordinates through political and military might, and also the Kingdom of Israel, to whose golden age of exclusionary independence some characters long to return. What Sayers describes through Joseph of Arimathea is, in fact, catholicity – a Kingdom of all times, places and peoples. Before turning our whole attention to what Sayers shows that the Kingdom of God *is*, let us first consider the alternatives she shows through her clash of kingdoms plotline.

### I. The Kingdom of God is *not*...the Mighty Empire of Rome

In the Roman Empire with its subordinate kingdoms, Sayers sees reflections of the best and worst of the British Empire, or even the expanding German Reich of her own day.<sup>714</sup> The benevolent dictatorship of Rome creates peace at a great cost for many characters in *The Man Born to be King*. Herod has won loyalty and obedience only by force, and the Jewish religious leaders maintain the last threads of their national identity only through compromise and collaboration.<sup>715</sup> Sayers places these two groups in an uneasy tension with each other, which comes to a breaking point at the trial of Jesus.

By setting the very first scene in the court of Herod, Sayers has brought this Roman vision of government 'right into conflict with the Kingdom of God at the beginning of the story'.<sup>716</sup> Sayers made no assumptions about her audience's knowledge of Roman politics, and she uses characters and dialogue to give a historic background to the coming of Jesus. As discussed in Chapter 3, Sayers had begun to write a whole

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<sup>712</sup> *Begin Here*, 151.

<sup>713</sup> *MBTBK*, Introduction, 23.

<sup>714</sup> Letter To Derek McCulloch, 11 October 1940. *Letters Vol. 2*, 182.

<sup>715</sup> It is interesting to note that many adaptations of the Gospels have followed Sayers' lead in highlighting this for dramatic effect (despite little mention in the Gospels themselves), most recently the 2013 History Channel Miniseries, *The Bible*, and its 2014 Feature Film, *Son of God*.

<sup>716</sup> Letter to Dr James Welch. 23 July 1940. *Letters Vol. 2*, 172.



play cycle about Herod the Great two years earlier, and her thorough consideration of his political position is evident. Sayers has Herod summarise Roman rule in Judaea to the three Kings who come seeking the new-born king foretold in the stars:

You do not know the history of this kingdom. For many years it was torn by wars and rebellions, till Augustus Caesar took it under the protection of Rome. Under his imperial mandate, I assumed the crown; for thirty years I have kept the peace, by force and policy. It has not been easy. There have been continual revolts against the Roman order—all made, do you understand, in the name of religion.<sup>717</sup>

He goes on to describe the Jewish people as '[l]ooking always for the warrior Messiah that shall lead them to victory, and independence. But...[t]he only safety for this country lies in playing her part within the great new order of Imperial Rome.'<sup>718</sup> Sayers' audience is already being prepared here for dramatic tension with a Jewish independence party whose cause is religious as well as political. The kind of kingdom found with Rome, then, is one of strength and peace, but peace at a price—what Sayers describes as 'alien but tolerant despotism'.<sup>719</sup> Sayers presents the genuine peril of both Herod and Judaea, which supports Herod's reasoning for the slaughter at Bethlehem. He tells the Kings, 'Men call me tyrant and autocrat, but I am not my own master. The grip of Rome is on Judaea'.<sup>720</sup> With this in mind, Herod's request to know more about the child 'born King of the Jews' from the visiting Kings is much more than protecting his own interests. Sayers shows that, at least from Herod's perspective, it is shrewd 'statecraft' to protect Judaea from the Roman reprisals that would accompany the public rallying around a Jewish king.<sup>721</sup>

A final look at Herod's position within the Roman system is in Scene III of *Kings in Judaea*, when the stone Roman Eagle is broken off the gate of the Jerusalem temple, a non-biblical scene Sayers adapts from the first-century historian Josephus.<sup>722</sup> The

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<sup>717</sup> MBTBK, 52.

<sup>718</sup> MBTBK, 52.

<sup>719</sup> Letter to Father Herbert Kelly, 24 May 1938. *Letters Vol. 2*, 80.

<sup>720</sup> MBTBK, 54.

<sup>721</sup> Thurmer, *Reluctant Evangelist*, 18.

<sup>722</sup> See Letter to Derek McCulloch, 5 November 1940. *Letters Vol. 2*, 189-193. This episode is found in Josephus' *The Wars of the Jews*, Book II 1.2.

'odious symbol of pagan power'<sup>723</sup> is taken down by a mob, but they are confronted by Herod from his balcony: 'I observe that somebody has been carried away by his enthusiasm for the Imperial emblem...Caesar shall be informed of your devotion'.<sup>724</sup> This sarcastic threat has genuine force behind it. Sayers heightens the drama of the scene by having a note delivered to Herod that the three Kings have returned home by another way. Compared to the mob outside Herod's window, the killing of a few children in Bethlehem seems like a simple precaution. 'It was a perfectly reasonable political step', Sayers writes in a letter, 'if you once allow that the good of the State is more important than the rights of the individual. The thing one wants to put up against the idea of the Kingdom of Heaven is the idea of the political kingdom, not the caprice of one wicked man'.<sup>725</sup> This Empire is both strong and terrible, with peace enforced through violence.

The Jewish religious leaders of *The Man Born to be King* also hold their power at the pleasure of Rome. They are characterised as pragmatic, working within the system of Roman rule for a variety of motives: some for what they see as the good of the Jewish people and some for personal gain. Sayers writes that 'Caiaphas was the ecclesiastical politician, appointed, like one of Hitler's bishops, by a heathen government, expressly that he might collaborate with the New Order and see that the Church toed the line drawn by the State'.<sup>726</sup> Judas reminds him of this in Scene II, Sequence 3 of Play 6, *The Feast of Tabernacles*: 'There was a time when the Lord High Priest could give orders in Israel. Today, you must cringe to Caesar.'<sup>727</sup> But Sayers does not portray Caiaphas as seeing himself as cringing. He sees that the only way for the Jews to survive is to follow a 'policy of reconstruction and collaboration with Rome'.<sup>728</sup> It is essential to Sayers' characterisations that the political and religious leaders are seeing the situation of Jesus from their own unique perspective and doing their best with the information that they have available. Sayers insists

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[http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/The\\_War\\_of\\_the\\_Jews/Book\\_II](http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/The_War_of_the_Jews/Book_II). Sayers may have read Josephus directly or through her source: Jones, *The Herods of Judaea*, 148-150.

<sup>723</sup> MBTBK, 63.

<sup>724</sup> MBTBK, 63-64.

<sup>725</sup> Letter To Derek McCulloch, 5 November 1940. *Letters Vol. 2*, 190.

<sup>726</sup> MBTBK, 23.

<sup>727</sup> MBTBK, 175.

<sup>728</sup> MBTBK, 176.

that they did not know they were ‘engaged in crucifying God’ and to think they did so in full knowledge ‘gives us a reassuring sensation that “it can’t happen here”’.<sup>729</sup>

This is seen clearly from the first meeting of the religious leaders of various persuasions in Scene II, Sequence 2 of Play 4, *The Heirs to the Kingdom*. The Herodian leader comments that ‘[w]hen by quarrelling among ourselves we broke up the power of the Herodian house, we sold ourselves into bondage to Rome’.<sup>730</sup> 3<sup>rd</sup> Elder then unites the group by saying, ‘The question is, how to get rid of him [Jesus], without causing a popular uproar that would provoke interference by Rome’.<sup>731</sup> This theme is found sprinkled throughout the plays as Elders, Pharisees and High Priests alike comment on the need to ‘keep on the right side of the Government’ and to ‘discourage Messianic claimants and disturbers of the peace’,<sup>732</sup> culminating in Caiaphas’ prophecy from John 11:50: ‘It is sometimes expedient that one man should die for the people’.<sup>733</sup> This is, he says, ‘not persecution: it is policy’.<sup>734</sup> Sayers’ clash of kingdoms plot gains dramatic tension as they decide to play Jesus and Rome against each other, in hopes that they themselves may escape the long arm of Roman force.

The clash of kingdoms plot comes to its climax at Jesus’ trial before Pilate, found in Play 10, *The Princes of this World*, where Caiaphas plays this masterstroke. Sayers writes, ‘The thing to be borne in mind is the aspect of all these scenes as a cut-and-thrust duel between Pilate and Caiaphas’.<sup>735</sup> While the Gospel accounts attribute the shouting outside Pilate’s Praetorium to ‘the Jews’ or ‘the chief priests’, Sayers puts many of the lines directly into the mouth of Caiaphas, who threatens Pilate with Rome itself if he drops the charges against Jesus. Through masterful ordering of the dialogue, Pilate forces Caiaphas into a position where Caiaphas has to say that the Jews ‘have no King but Caesar’. Caiaphas then turns the tables back on Pilate: ‘This

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<sup>729</sup> MBTBK, 22.

<sup>730</sup> MBTBK, 127.

<sup>731</sup> MBTBK, 127.

<sup>732</sup> MBTBK, 172.

<sup>733</sup> Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 1. MBTBK, 172.

<sup>734</sup> Play 7, Scene V, MBTBK, 203.

<sup>735</sup> MBTBK, 265.

fellow calls himself a king. *We deny it. Do you admit it?*<sup>736</sup> And Pilate's assistant Flavius urges, 'Pilate—it's madness. You can't go on. They'll denounce you to Rome'.<sup>737</sup> The threat of Roman intervention can be used by both sides to attempt to gain the upper ground. Even within the presentation of the existing power structure, Sayers incorporates effective dramatic tension; all sides hold their power precariously.

## II. The Kingdom of God is *not*...The Kingdom of Israel

On the other side of the clash of kingdoms plotline in *The Man Born to be King* is a group of characters that want an independent Israel. This group may not have might on their side, but they do have a sense of ethnic and religious justice. At the time of the broadcast of *He That Should Come* in 1938, Sayers already had a developed sense of the importance of this nationalistic group:

...we know now that the Messiah came to establish a spiritual kingdom; but that was not what the devout Jews of His time expected. They expected a military hero who would put himself at the head of a nationalistic movement and restore a political kingdom to Israel; and the Disciples themselves, with every opportunity to know better, persisted in this mistaken idea right up to the time of the Ascension. It is part of the pity and terror of all great tragedy, that the actors in it do not realise what they are doing.<sup>738</sup>

This is the group Herod above has mentioned as 'always looking for the warrior Messiah' and Herod's own servants worry behind his back that after Herod's death, '[s]ome firebrand might get up and start a movement for Jewish independence'.<sup>739</sup> But Sayers does not portray this as an organised army who could realistically hope to overthrow Rome. They could, however, upset the delicate balance sufficiently for Judaea to be 'deprived of her last vestiges of independence'.<sup>740</sup> This nationalist group consists of small bands of Zealots as well as the average people in the crowd

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<sup>736</sup> *MBTBK*, 285-286.

<sup>737</sup> *MBTBK*, 286.

<sup>738</sup> Dorothy L. Sayers, "Nativity Play" in *Radio Times*, December 23, 1938, 13.

<sup>739</sup> *MBTBK*, 49, 52.

<sup>740</sup> *MBTBK*, 45.

who might be persuaded to follow a popular leader. Sayers also mentions 'the Sack of Jerusalem',<sup>741</sup> which was a result of just such a popular revolt in 70 AD.

Some characters are content to criticise the current politics, such as the Father in Scene I of Play 2, *The King's Herald*: 'Ah, he was a great lad, was old King Herod. In his time, Judaea was still a kingdom'.<sup>742</sup> Others look for more specific change, such as Baruch in the same scene, who introduces himself as belonging 'to the party that wants a free Israel'.<sup>743</sup> Unlike the religious leaders who have found a way to benefit from the political situation, these others have nothing to lose. Sayers uses her extra-biblical sources to give background especially to the Zealots, as discussed in Chapter 3. Among various characters, ambition is shown by Sayers to be sometimes spiritual, sometimes national, but always distinct from the true Kingdom of God. Three characters are important to this part of the plot: the Crowd, Baruch, and Judas.

The reaction of the Crowd is a small but important element of understanding this desire for an independent Kingdom of Israel. A clear example of Sayers' use of crowd comments is after the Feeding of the Five Thousand in Scene III of Play 5, *The Bread of Heaven*. After they have all eaten and been filled with the loaves and fishes, Sayers gives the crowds various things to say which, in the radio recording, are meant to be said by various voices that overlap each other and build in intensity:

'A prophet! The Kingdom is come among us!...Follow the prophet who feeds his people!...A Messiah!...Jesus Messiah! Follow him and make him king! A king! A king for Israel!...A Jewish King for the Jewish people! You shall be our king! We want no other leader...Carry him to Jerusalem! A Messiah! A Messiah!'<sup>744</sup>

The Crowd shouts for a 'Jewish king for the Jewish people', little knowing the cost of such a kingship in revolt and reprisals. In Play 5, Scene V, as the Crowd dissipates after Jesus' strong words about eating his flesh, Judas seems relieved, but wonders 'whether he is preaching God's kingdom, or merely preaching himself', and Jesus

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<sup>741</sup> MBTBK, 211.

<sup>742</sup> MBTBK, 72.

<sup>743</sup> MBTBK, 76.

<sup>744</sup> MBTBK, 150.

tells Judas to comfort himself in knowing that ‘they are not likely to crown me king to-day’.<sup>745</sup> This demonstrates a difference in the mind of both Jesus and Judas between the political king the Crowd expects and what the Kingdom of God is about. As Sayers makes clear through side comments in several plays, many such ‘kings’ have tried and failed before this, and an independent Jewish nation cannot ultimately succeed in the face of the overpowering might of Rome. That will not stop the Zealots from trying, however.

Since there are no Zealots with ‘speaking roles’ in the Four Gospels—even the disciple Simon the Zealot has no recorded words<sup>746</sup>—Sayers creates one in the character of Baruch. Baruch is very important to the functioning of several subplots, and without his existence, the overall clash of kingdoms plot would not be possible. As discussed in Chapter 3, Baruch functions as Judas’ dark side; his presence always leads Judas away from trust in Jesus’ Kingdom of God. Baruch fights for a political kingdom and Judas clings to his own interpretation of the Kingdom of God, but both men would rather die than submit to a greater kingdom, even if they know they cannot win.

We meet Baruch the Zealot briefly in Scene I of Play 2, *The King’s Herald*, when he makes a first contact with Judas along the Jordan before John Baptist preaches. As someone who wants ‘a free Israel’, he wonders if John Baptist ‘means business’ or if his is ‘just another call to religion’.<sup>747</sup> When next we see him in Scene II, Sequence 2 of Play 4, *The Heirs to the Kingdom*, he is speaking in a meeting of religious leaders: ‘Zeal for our religion and for our chosen race should know no limits, and I am horrified that anybody should wish to suppress it on the grounds that we have to appease the heathen empire of Rome’.<sup>748</sup> Baruch is a man who, far from resigning to the Roman yoke, is eager to break it and found a new Jewish Kingdom by any means that come to hand. Sayers, citing the work of Jones, emphasises the ‘campaign of

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<sup>745</sup> *MBTBK*, 154.

<sup>746</sup> However, Sayers gives Simon the Zealot five words in Play 9, *The King’s Supper*.

<sup>747</sup> *MBTBK*, 76.

<sup>748</sup> *MBTBK*, 126. In my opinion, Baruch’s presence in this meeting is merely a convenience for the functioning of the plot; it is very unlikely historically.

assassination and terrorism' by the Zealots,<sup>749</sup> and says that Baruch's main goal in using Judas to get to Jesus later is simply making 'a demonstration against Rome,' not necessarily to form a viable revolt.<sup>750</sup>

An important point for the clash of kingdoms plot is in Scene I of Play 5, *The Bread of Heaven*, where Baruch has a political discussion with Judas. It shows how the Zealots might view a person like Jesus. Sayers gives them a sinister edge by saying, 'Baruch sees Jesus as the Nazi party may have seen Hitler—the Heaven-sent spell-binder, rather mad but a valuable political tool in the right hands'.<sup>751</sup> The Zealots are clashing with Rome, but there is a possibility of a clash with Jesus as well. Baruch asks, 'How does one handle Jesus of Nazareth?',<sup>752</sup> and suggests that every man has a weakness by which he can be used as a tool. 'All we need,' he says, 'is a figurehead, a leader, a spell-binder to fire the imagination of the masses and make them fall in to march behind the party'.<sup>753</sup> Baruch wishes that the Jewish people would wake up from the dream of Roman peace: 'A single benevolent despotism over the whole earth—and the Lion of Judah tamed and patient, munching his ration of government fodder like a fat ox in a stall'.<sup>754</sup> He laments how the people are doped on Roman security while the leaders are plagued by in-fighting.<sup>755</sup>

Judas answers Baruch's words with a vision of his own for the Kingdom. It is still earthly in nature, but eschews the violence Baruch sees as necessary. The Kingdom of Israel cannot be restored through violent protest, he says, because Roman rule is God's judgement on Israel itself.

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<sup>749</sup> *MBTBK*, 115 and Jones, 169. Bray calls Jones' *Herods of Judaea* 'the most up-to-date, serious work on the period available at the time [Sayers] was writing'. Bray, 'Theological, Historical and Stylistic Influences' in *Theology in Action*, 34.

<sup>750</sup> *MBTBK*, 115.

<sup>751</sup> *MBTBK*, 136. For a fascinating study of war-related comments see, Melissa Dinsman, "Militarizing the Messiah: Britain's Wartime Rebranding in *The Man Born to Be King*", Paper presented at the Center for Advanced Study, University of Notre Dame, 2015 (pdf download from [Academia.edu](https://www.academia.edu), the paper has since been removed).

<sup>752</sup> *MBTBK*, 142.

<sup>753</sup> *MBTBK*, 142. I believe this is a weakness in Sayers' plot structure. One begins to wonder why Baruch needs a figure head at all – why not lead the revolt himself?

<sup>754</sup> *MBTBK*, 143.

<sup>755</sup> *MBTBK*, 143.

This is the meaning of the Gospel – that all must be endured, and the cup of humiliation drunk to the very dregs. Only when we are stripped naked – when we have reached the nethermost pit of desolation – then, only then, can the white flower of happiness, the blessedness of God’s salvation, blossom out of the dust of our corruption.<sup>756</sup>

This introduction to Judas’ way of understanding legitimately raises questions in readers’ minds whether this vision is his own or also Jesus’. Frances Clemson suggests that though it is ‘not a false picture’, it is ultimately hollow, because of the speech’s ‘*completeness*’ in embracing the way of purgation.<sup>757</sup> That is to say that suffering cannot be ‘overmastered’ and controlled.<sup>758</sup> More than this, however, I think Judas sees a *false* picture of the Kingdom because he is portraying suffering as the purpose of the Kingdom. It is only later that the reader sees how Judas’ vision of acceptance of—and perhaps delight in—suffering (masochism) inverts to a macabre wish to see Jesus himself suffer (sadism).<sup>759</sup> Sayers writes in the introductory notes, ‘Judas, without knowing it, also sees Jesus as a kind of tool—a person intended to carry out his, Judas’s, idea of the way of salvation; and if Jesus shows any signs of shrinking from that way, he, Judas will force him into it’.<sup>760</sup>

Sayers builds dramatic tension as Judas, blinded by his own thinking, misunderstands Jesus’ intentions. Through the coloured lens of Baruch’s political scheme, Judas sees Jesus as making a popular appeal for an earthly kingdom in the Triumphal Entry, and betraying the vision of a Kingdom purified by suffering. Thus, Sayers suggests that Judas falls for the ‘the very temptation that Christ resists in the wilderness – that of using the kingdom of the world to bring in the Kingdom of God’.<sup>761</sup> In Scene III, Sequence 3 of Play 8, *Royal Progress*, Caiaphas adeptly uses Judas’ sense of betrayal and self-righteous pride to suggest that by aiding the religious leaders in Jesus’ arrest he will actually be helping Jesus. ‘If he has lost the will to follow his true destiny,’

<sup>756</sup> *MBTBK*, 143.

<sup>757</sup> Clemson, ‘Dorothy L. Sayers’ Portrayal of Judas’ in *Theology in Action*, 58.

<sup>758</sup> Clemson, ‘Dorothy L. Sayers’ Portrayal of Judas’ in *Theology in Action*, 58.

<sup>759</sup> In the notes for Play 8 Sayers writes, ‘Also, there is in Judas’ masochism something which can easily invert itself and become a kind of sadism—the worship of suffering for its own sake is not very far from a desire to inflict suffering,’ *MBTBK*, 209.

<sup>760</sup> *MBTBK*, 137.

<sup>761</sup> Letter to James Welch, 21 Dec 1940, Wade Document 433/70-73.



says Judas, picking up this theme, 'we must make his words true in spite of himself'.<sup>762</sup> Now Judas himself has become a tool.

It only takes a short conversation with Baruch during the trial to see through this reasoning. Baruch quickly uncovers that it is Judas who had betrayed Jesus and surprises him with Jesus' innocence in any political plot. Remembering Judas' vision of a Kingdom of suffering, he jeers at him,

...Now's your moment to practice what you preach. Will you stand by your Messiah? Will you testify from the cross? Will you be eloquent from *that* pulpit about the value and blessedness of pain? Skewered up there in the broiling sun, like an owl on a barn door, with your joints cracking and your head on fire and your tongue like leather? Will you say from there what you said to me...?<sup>763</sup>

It would seem that Judas, who was so intellectually gifted, missed the true Kingdom—not because he didn't suffer, but because he has missed who Jesus *is*. We see this mistrust beginning to form in Scene IV of Play 5, *The Bread of Heaven* when Judas suggests that Jesus stayed behind with the crowd to be made king without the disciples. John replies, 'I don't think Jesus wants to be made a king. Not that sort of king, anyway'.<sup>764</sup> But if it is not a new government, what kind of Kingdom *does* Jesus bring?

### III. The Kingdom of God

The contrasting kingdoms of Rome and Israel clash both with each other and with a third contender, the Kingdom of God, centred on the character of Jesus. Is he the kind of Messiah who brings in the promised kingdom 'with good wages for everybody, and no more of these cruel Roman taxes'? No, Sayers tells us through the character Driver, 'That's politics, that is. Take my advice and keep off it'.<sup>765</sup> Baruch hopes throughout the plays to use Jesus as a political tool, but instead finds that Jesus 'interprets [the kingdom] in some sort of far-fetched mystical sense of which

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<sup>762</sup> *MBTBK*, 231.

<sup>763</sup> *MBTBK*, 272.

<sup>764</sup> *MBTBK*, 151.

<sup>765</sup> Play 2, Scene I, *MBTBK*, 71.

nobody can make head nor tail'. The characteristically insightful Baruch sees the truth (albeit cynically): 'What he is preaching is simply himself, and a fanatical devotion to his own person. If he sets up anything it will be an idolatrous cult of Jesus. You want to see temples dedicated to Jesus-Bar-Joseph? Is a Divine Carpenter any improvement on a Divine Caesar?'<sup>766</sup> As ever, Baruch sees the situation through a warped lens that takes Sayers' audience off guard, making them perhaps wonder, 'is not that what churches are – temples dedicated to Jesus-Bar-Joseph?'. This is another effective use of Baruch by Sayers to undercut expectations. Yet, if Jesus were merely human, as Baruch believes, such temples *would* be idolatrous. The mystery of the Hypostatic Union opens the *way* for those who know Jesus to know the Father for whoever has seen Jesus has seen God himself.<sup>767</sup> Sayers makes clear that although Jesus is not setting up a new government, his teachings about the Kingdom touch every area of life. It may be 'mystical', as Baruch says, but it is not solely an internal, spiritual kingdom. In *The Man Born to be King*, we see several key characteristics come repeatedly to the forefront through characters and dialogue: the Kingdom's immediacy, rule, people, and King.

### **The Kingdom's Immediacy**

When will the Kingdom come? In *The Man Born to be King*, the Kingdom of God is coming now. This theme appears early and clearly in Scene I of Play 2, *The King's Herald*, where John Baptist preaches. Sayers gives him an immediacy that goes beyond the biblical call to 'repent, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand'.<sup>768</sup> John says,

Men and Women of Israel! Once more, once more I call you to repent. And quickly, for God's Kingdom is coming as the Prophets foretold. Not in some distant future. Not a year or a week hence. Not to-morrow. But *now*. ...The Kingdom is at hand and you are not prepared. *Now, now* repent of your sins and the sins of the whole nation. *Now* let God wash away your guilt in the clear waters of Jordan. Wash and be clean, that you may be fit for the task that is

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<sup>766</sup> Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 2, *MBTBK*, 126. This speech feels like a short-cut by Sayers. Baruch may be theologically accurate but one wonders how Baruch knows this.

<sup>767</sup> Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 2, *MBTBK*, 250.

<sup>768</sup> Matthew 3:2.

laid upon you—for the great and terrible day of the Lord<sup>769</sup> is at hand.<sup>770</sup>

Sayers then leans heavily on Luke's account of John the Baptist's sermon, where he gives instructions about how to prepare for the coming of God's Kingdom by going beyond the letter of the law's requirements.<sup>771</sup> This connects well with Jesus' ethical teachings as discussed below. Later, Jesus himself says that since John Baptist came, 'the Kingdom of Heaven is here. It stands among you to seize and possess, and resolute men may take it by assault.'<sup>772</sup> This verse from Matthew 11:12, which is notoriously difficult to interpret, is here rendered by Sayers in a clearly Christological and prophetic way: Jesus himself *is* the Kingdom which they are close enough to possess, though perhaps some will take *him* by assault.

Even so, Sayers acknowledges that the Kingdom is not fully realised: 'But when's it coming?' Andrew asks. 'If we have to tramp around Galilee for years...'<sup>773</sup> The timing of the Kingdom is difficult to understand, Sayers implies, both for the disciples and her modern audience. In a letter to a fan Sayers expands on the conflicting ideas of timing:

...They [The Jews] had not understood that He that should come was actually God Himself, or that the Kingdom He came to tell them about was a heavenly and not an earthly kingdom...But Christians believe that He was literally God Himself, in the full sense of the words – the same God who made the universe and keeps it and everything going – and that, consequently, His life is both the pattern of the world's history and the power in which that pattern can be lived. The Church is His 'mystical body,' trying, by the power of His life in her to live that pattern in the world.<sup>774</sup>

But a heavenly kingdom does not mean that it only exists outside of time – it becomes the way and pattern of life itself within time as well. In the temple scene in Play 8, Scene III, *Royal Progress*, Sayers expands upon paying to Caesar or God the

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<sup>769</sup> Malachi 4:5.

<sup>770</sup> *MBTBK*, 92.

<sup>771</sup> Lk. 3:1-18

<sup>772</sup> Play 4, Scene III, *MBTBK*, 132.

<sup>773</sup> Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 2, *MBTBK*, 107.

<sup>774</sup> Letter to Paymaster Commander A.D. Duckworth, R.N., 15 December 1943, Wade Document 22/41.

things that are theirs. She adds, 'You are men—and the image stamped upon *you* is the image of God. So what do you owe him?'.<sup>775</sup> While Christians have sometimes interpreted this to mean that there are two distinct spheres—heavenly and earthly—Sayers emphasises the over-lapping nature of God's Kingdom. It begins with a change of heart, not a political revolution, but a change of heart that has revolutionary implications. As Mitzi Brunsdale writes, Sayers' Kingdom of Heaven 'may only be attained by the exercise of free choice, that is, through childlike faith and willing sacrifice'.<sup>776</sup>

### The Kingdom's Rule

Sayers links Jesus' Temptation strongly with her clash of kingdoms plot, as she wrote to her producer after completing *Kings in Judaea*: 'The next one [Play 2] ought, logically, to cope with the Temptation in the Wilderness (since that was the moment when the idea of the wrong sort of kingdom was definitely faced and rejected)'.<sup>777</sup> Instead of simply writing out a dialogue between Jesus and Satan, Sayers has the Temptation described retrospectively by Jesus to Peter, Andrew and John in Scene II, Sequence 3 of Play 2, *The King's Herald*, as a response to these new disciples discussing the political situation. A re-telling offers the character of Jesus the chance to interpret his experience for them (something, incidentally, the Gospel accounts do not offer). Amid the talk of Israel's 'rights' and a nationalistic messiah, Jesus rebukes them: 'Children, children—you don't know with whose voice you are speaking. Appetite, superstition and force: none of these can bring in the Kingdom. It is God's Kingdom we are looking for.'<sup>778</sup> He then tells them of the voice of the deceiver who offered him these same easy ways to raise up a Kingdom. Sayers stays close to Temple's commentary here, and shows how each temptation represents a partial truth; but instead, Jesus 'stripped bare the essential function of the Messiah - to inaugurate the Kingdom of God. And He goes forth from His Temptation to live the life of perfect love, to die the death of perfect love, as the way of doing this.'<sup>779</sup>

<sup>775</sup> MBTBK, 225. Mt 22:15-22, Mk 12:13-17, Lk 20:20-26.

<sup>776</sup> Brunsdale, *Solving the Mystery of Wickedness*, 161.

<sup>777</sup> To Derek McCulloch, 5 November 1940, *Letters Vol. 2*, 193.

<sup>778</sup> MBTBK, 85.

<sup>779</sup> Temple, *Readings*, 23.

Sayers puts in Jesus' mouth a definition of true holiness as the way to bring the Kingdom: 'to love, and be ruled by love; for love can do no wrong'.<sup>780</sup> Andrew, who still has political ideas in mind, then asks how that practically relates to the Kingdom. Jesus replies with emphasis: 'It is the Kingdom. Wherever there is love, there is the Kingdom of God.'<sup>781</sup> This again bears a strong resemblance to Temple who writes that '[w]hat we find is power in complete subordination to love; and that is something like a definition of the Kingdom of God'.<sup>782</sup> Importantly, Temple too gives this definition in the context of speaking about Jesus' temptations and how each temptation represents a wrong way to control, bribe, or offer proof, but 'all the rejected methods are essentially appeals to self-interest; and the Kingdom of God, who is Love, cannot be established in that way'.<sup>783</sup> The connections savour strongly of Sayers being influenced by Temple. Later, in discussing Jesus feeding the five thousand, Temple repeats his definition: 'He had given proof of the presence with them of One in whom the Kingdom of God--love endowed with power, power subordinate to love--is already actualised'.<sup>784</sup> Temple repeats similar wording again in at least three other places in his commentary.<sup>785</sup> Sayers' 'to love and be ruled by love...is the Kingdom' is more memorably worded, but the idea it expresses seems to come directly from Temple, which, in turn, bears no direct scriptural parallel.

Regardless of its source, this Rule of Love is woven by Sayers throughout the plays, returning again and again. Janice Brown notes it as underpinning all of Jesus' Kingdom teaching in the play-cycle.<sup>786</sup> She sees love as one of three major themes in *The Man Born to be King*, and writes that it 'is especially developed toward the end of the sequence as individuals—through their choice of Sin or Virtue—gradually reveal themselves as either "friends" or "foes" of the Kingdom'.<sup>787</sup> Jesus' disciples

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<sup>780</sup> *MBTBK*, 87.

<sup>781</sup> *MBTBK*, 88.

<sup>782</sup> Temple, *Readings*, xxviii.

<sup>783</sup> Temple, *Readings*, xxvii.

<sup>784</sup> Temple, *Readings*, 83.

<sup>785</sup> See Temple, *Readings*, 26, 219, 353.

<sup>786</sup> Brown, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, 267.

<sup>787</sup> Brown, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, 263.

see true holiness through him, which, as Brown says, ‘shows up Sin for what it is’.<sup>788</sup> In this Kingdom of God, Jesus personifies the Rule of Love and calls out love from others. The classic statement from Luke 9:23, ‘If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me,’<sup>789</sup> is adjusted by Sayers to be, ‘If any man love me, let him take up his cross and follow me’.<sup>790</sup> Parallel passages are found in Matthew 16:24 and Mark 8:34, and all three verses use the Greek phrase, *Εἴ τις θέλει*, (if anyone wants/wishes).<sup>791</sup> Knowing Sayers ‘wore out’ her Greek New Testament<sup>792</sup> it can be safely assumed that this is a deliberate thematic choice by Sayers of ‘love’ as a most significant theme.

### The Kingdom’s People

It is this kind of love which draws many of Jesus’ disciples to him. Judas, by contrast, comes as a kind of career advancement from the service of John Baptist—having learned all that John could teach him<sup>793</sup>—but even Judas, Sayers implies, is caught in the trawling net of the Kingdom of Heaven.<sup>794</sup> Mary Magdalen, however, is a prime example of those who come through love, and Sayers characterises her as the traditional composite character of Mary Magdalen, Mary of Bethany and the Sinful Woman who anointed Jesus’ feet in Luke 7, as discussed in Chapter 3. In Scene I of Play 7, *The Light and the Life*, she expresses her former sinful way of life this way:

I loved the wrong things in the wrong way—yet it *was* love of a sort...  
until I found a better...But when you spoke to me, I felt the flame of  
the sun in my heart. I came alive for the first time. And I love life all  
the more since I have learnt its meaning.<sup>795</sup>

‘That is what I am here for,’ Jesus answers, ‘I came that men should lay hold of life and possess it to the full’.<sup>796</sup> Rightly ordered love brings this type of full life.

<sup>788</sup> Brown, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, 266.

<sup>789</sup> Authorized King James Version.

<sup>790</sup> Play 7, Scene IV, Sequence 3, *MBTBK*, 219.

<sup>791</sup> J. D. Douglas, ed. *The New Greek-English Interlinear New Testament* (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale House Publishers, 1993).

<sup>792</sup> Foreword by J. W. Welch, *MBTBK*, 9.

<sup>793</sup> Play 4, Scene I, *MBTBK*, 102.

<sup>794</sup> Play 4, Scene I, *MBTBK*, 105.

<sup>795</sup> *MBTBK*, 187.

<sup>796</sup> *MBTBK*, 187.

Another scene explores that the Kingdom is open to all and is paired with the call for any disciples to give up all they have to follow. What does that kind of Kingdom look like? In a speech to his disciples in Scene III, Sequence 2 of Play 8, *Royal Progress*, Jesus lays out clearly the teaching found in Mark 8:29-30, which has confounded many readers who have wondered how someone truly gets back – with persecutions – in this world and the next the things they have given up for the Kingdom. Sayers ties it all together, saying that those who leave all to follow Jesus will get a hundred-fold return because ‘[t]he whole of mankind will be his family, and their affairs will be his affairs—and a nice big troublesome family he will find them. He will have a life crammed with incident—plenty of worry and persecution—and in the world to come, life everlasting’.<sup>797</sup> This is what it means to be a part of God’s Kingdom—one’s priorities have been turned out from the self to others in love. ‘It is to such *humble lovers*’, Brown writes, ‘...that the doors of resurrection, revelation and righteousness are opened’.<sup>798</sup> This rewording of Mark emphasises how spheres in the Kingdom of God are overlapping—between people and between the social, the political and the spiritual.

This is clearly not the kind of Kingdom that Jesus’ disciples expect in *The Man Born to be King* and Sayers uses the dramatic tension of this contrast to clarify her vision. Plays 8 and 9 both contain scenes of the disciples jockeying for positions in the coming Kingdom. They are still seeking a political kingdom. At the Last Supper in Play 9 this kind of talk leads to Peter being proposed as Judge of the Supreme Court, John as High Priest, Judas as Lord Treasurer and other disciples complaining that all the appointments are going to men at *that* end of the table.<sup>799</sup> It is in the midst of this discussion that Jesus says to John that he is troubled. ‘They understand so little,’ he says, ‘and the time is getting so short’.<sup>800</sup> And so Jesus gets up from the table, being ‘stripped to the waist and girded with a towel like a slave’,<sup>801</sup> and washes their feet. He explains to them that ‘you should behave to one another as I have behaved

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<sup>797</sup> MBTBK, 228.

<sup>798</sup> Brown, *The Seven Deadly Sins*, 276. Emphasis is Brown’s.

<sup>799</sup> MBTBK, 245.

<sup>800</sup> MBTBK, 245.

<sup>801</sup> MBTBK, 245.

to you’.<sup>802</sup> As Edwards writes, ‘Jesus did a servant’s work...to show that God’s kingdom had reference to life as it really was, not as men had made it’.<sup>803</sup> Within this context, he then commissions them to ‘love one another as I have loved you’.<sup>804</sup> Herod had told the Kings to tell the baby Jesus that you ‘can’t rule men by love,’ but here is Jesus giving them the Rule of Love.<sup>805</sup> Sayers’ creates a dramatic foreboding, however, over whether the disciples will actually learn this lesson in time.

Within a day of that event, Jesus is put on trial, first before the Sanhedrim for blasphemy, then before Pilate, accused of claiming to be the King of the Jews. Like her treatment of Herod the Great, Sayers’ treatment of Pilate is sympathetic and multi-layered, presenting him as someone who ‘agonised over the death sentence he eventually and reluctantly passed’.<sup>806</sup> In Sayers’ characterisation, Pilate finds a respect for Jesus, and while finding his ‘philosophy’ boring<sup>807</sup> he is impressed with his bearing and forthright gaze. He ‘pays him the greatest compliment he knows how to pay: “He should have been a Roman.”’<sup>808</sup> Pilate asks about the charges of being a king and Jesus answers, ‘My kingdom is not an earthly kingdom. If it were, I should have come with men and arms...but my kingdom does not rest upon force, or any human authority. It is not of this world at all’.<sup>809</sup> Yet Sayers clearly implies that this Kingdom does have earthly *implications*. Returning to the speech of Joseph of Arimathaea discussed at the beginning, the Kingdom of God is set to ‘fling the door wide open...Not to exclude but to include...Not to lose Israel in Rome, but to bring Rome into the fold of Israel’.<sup>810</sup> To bring others in is a sharing—not a losing—of the Kingdom’s identity.

After the Resurrection, this theme comes up again as the disciples return to their familiar obsession with positions within the Kingdom. Matthew, in Scene II,

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<sup>802</sup> MBTBK, 247.

<sup>803</sup> Edwards, *The Upper Room*, 173.

<sup>804</sup> MBTBK, 251.

<sup>805</sup> MBTBK, 54.

<sup>806</sup> Thurmer, *The Reluctant Evangelist*, 20.

<sup>807</sup> ‘...he’s just a crank. He reminds me of my old Greek tutor...Philosophy bores me stiff.’ MBTBK, 279.

<sup>808</sup> MBTBK, 265.

<sup>809</sup> MBTBK, 278.

<sup>810</sup> MBTBK, 302. These statements were presented as questions in the original speech.



Sequence 2 of Play 12, *The King Comes to His Own*, questions why Jesus had not appeared to John, ‘his best friend,’ while he *had* appeared privately to Peter. He brings up the old dispute about why the church is to be built on Peter and not John. John answers, ‘I don’t think you can found a church on personal friends and special cases. It’s got to be less exclusive—more—what’s the Greek word?—more catholic’.<sup>811</sup> We can be sure ‘catholic’ here is deliberately chosen both to teach its actual definition and to teach an important truth about the Church. It is not about inner circles or wielding power; it is for everyone and—linking it back to the foot-washing—all its leaders are to be servants.

### **The Kingdom’s King**

Who then is the King of this Kingdom? The question is not as easy to answer as it may first appear. Sayers uses a variety of titles—King, Son of Man, Son of God, Messiah and Christ—often interchangeably but also unevenly across the play-cycle. It is not always clear how she or individual characters define each term, and poetic language can add complexity to lines or scenes where Sayers expresses deeper theological concepts. Through considering the examples of the titles used at the visit of the Three Kings, at the Baptism, and at the Trials, we can see how the use of the title ‘King’ seems to be a special case but how the others, while never defined, are shown by Sayers to be synonymous, based on how frequently she puts them in obvious parallel. It is in the last of these examples—the Trial before Pilate—that the Kingdom and Kingship of Jesus become the plot climax of the clash of kingdoms.

In their first conversation with Herod in Scene I of Play 1, *Kings in Judaea*, the Three Kings tell him that the stars have predicted that this new king for whom they are seeking will be both priest and king—which reminds Herod of the Hasmoneans who formerly claimed both these linked titles—and that this new king will also rule in Rome - which seems to be a very dangerous prediction.<sup>812</sup> Most strikingly, the Kings, strongly evoking wording from Isaiah 9 & 59 and Hebrews 10, describe for Herod the kind of king this new baby will be:

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<sup>811</sup> MBTBK, 335.

<sup>812</sup> MBTBK, 52.

Melchior: Prouder than Caesar, more humble than his slave; his kingdom shall stretch from the sun's setting to the sun's rising, higher than the heavens, deeper than the grave, and narrow as the human heart.

Caspar: He shall offer sacrifices in Jerusalem, and have his temples in Rome and in Byzantium, and he himself shall be both sacrifice and priest.

Herod: You speak mysteries. Tell me this: will he be a warrior king?

Balthazar: The greatest of warriors; yet he shall be called the Prince of Peace. He will be victor and victim in all his wars, and will make his triumph in defeat. And when wars are over he will rule his people in love.

Herod: You cannot rule men by love. When you find your king, tell him so.<sup>813</sup>

The three Kings, though lectured to by Herod, go on the Bethlehem where they ask questions that speak directly to the desire for a greater type of Kingdom: 'Shall Wisdom and Love live together at last...Shall Power and Love dwell together at last...Shall Sorrow and Love be reconciled at last, when the promised Kingdom comes?'<sup>814</sup>

These questions give the audience clues about how Sayers will develop the alternative vision of the Kingdom of God through the person of Jesus Christ. He and his Kingdom are a kind of riddle, Sayers implies through the Kings. His paradoxical human roles described to Herod are here enlarged to take in immortal qualities as well. The Kings, though foreigners, evoke the ancient wisdom and human longing of the Old Testament prophets. Their questions link easily with images of the shoot of the stump of Jesse in Isaiah 11 who will have a Spirit of wisdom and understanding, counsel and power, and knowledge and fear of the Lord, and within whose realm the wolf will live with the lamb and even a child can play in safety near a cobra's hole.<sup>815</sup> This is a strange, mystical kind of Kingdom brought by a very unusual child.

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<sup>813</sup> *MBTBK*, 54.

<sup>814</sup> *MBTBK*, 58.

<sup>815</sup> Isaiah 11:1-3, 6, 8.

The Three Kings give Jesus three titles: King of the Jews, King of the World, and King of Heaven.<sup>816</sup> These titles are given with the gifts of gold, frankincense, and myrrh, and Sayers adds a symbolic moment where the baby Jesus reaches not for the gold and frankincense but for the myrrh, the gift of Balthazar. This theme naturally foreshadows Play 11, *The King of Sorrows*, where Balthazar returns to find Jesus whom he once again calls 'King of the Jews; king of the world; king of Heaven'.<sup>817</sup> Mary Virgin, with the crucified Jesus in her arms,<sup>818</sup> says to him, 'These are the baby hands that closed upon your gift of myrrh'.<sup>819</sup> This choice by Sayers, for an extra-biblical reappearance of Balthazar at the crucifixion, reminds her audience of the earlier scene. It brings back, perhaps jarringly, the fairytale atmosphere of the Three Kings in Play 1 that Sayers had otherwise let fall to the wayside.

The Three Kings use poetic language in seeking someone who is divine, in contrast to the Crowd who seeks a king as a pragmatic human solution then turns on Jesus when he does not comply. Think only of the contrasting calls for Jesus to be made a king after the Feeding of the Five Thousand in Play 5, Scene III ('A king! a king for Israel! Jesus King! Jesus King! a Jewish king for the Jewish People!'<sup>820</sup>) and the jeers of the Crowd along the way to the Cross<sup>821</sup> in Play 11. There is also the soldiers' mocking view of Jesus as another failed political figure, notably the brutal soldier who is about to pound the nail through Jesus' feet ('I'll give you king of the Jews').<sup>822</sup>

This contrast between the Kings and the Crowd is helpful in an apophatic way in showing that Jesus' kingship is not political or earthly. But the Kings, with all their poetic cataphatic statements, create their own confusion about the kingly role. Sayers wanted to retain the traditional image of the Three Kings, saying, 'Tradition has bound the fairy-tale atmosphere upon them, and they come and go in a

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<sup>816</sup> *MBTBK*, 59.

<sup>817</sup> *MBTBK*, 329.

<sup>818</sup> *MBTBK*, 289. Sayers specifically desires to suggest a '*Pieta*' (her spelling), also called 'the Lamentation' in art – for instance, Michelangelo's *Pietà* (1499) in St Peter's Basilica in Rome.

<sup>819</sup> *MBTBK*, 312.

<sup>820</sup> *MBTBK*, 150.

<sup>821</sup> See Play 11, Scene I, *MBTBK*, 293-300.

<sup>822</sup> *MBTBK*, 301, Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 1.

perfectly unexplained, magical way'.<sup>823</sup> This may have felt like a natural choice at the time, but the further one gets into the plays, the more Play 1 stands out as being in a different style than the others. This, I argue, is partly a function of writing Play 1 first—her style developed as she wrote the plays in order—but the choice of the fairy-tale atmosphere also clouds the issue of kingship. The Kings are human enough to 'have thought that the heir whom they were sent to announce would be a Prince of Herod's house',<sup>824</sup> but they sound more like angels than humans. In fact, Mary Virgin says that 'you and His angels speak with one voice'.<sup>825</sup> They use theological language that is more akin to later creedal wording built upon centuries of theological reflection: 'I looked at the Child,' says Balthazar, 'and I knew that I stood in the presence of the Mortal-Immortal'.<sup>826</sup> This should not surprise us after exploring Sayers' creedal emphasis: theological and poetic language have power to express mystery. But its prominence in Play 1 heightens the overall tone so much as to create a disconnect with the vernacular speech of the rest of the play-cycle. That being said, however, there are still a few moments in the later plays where this type of poetic language is used. These are moments, not surprisingly, where Sayers is seeking to express theological concepts, as we have seen in the previous chapter—for instance, in Mary Virgin calling Jesus 'The Immortal Word born in the flesh of Fact'. Finally, the Kings' words about Wisdom, Love, Power, and Sorrow being reconciled do not appear again in any of the other plays and this is truly a dropped thread in the cycle's structural pattern.

Our second case, the scene of Jesus' Baptism, is a good example of the way Sayers layers various titles in dialogue to emphasise how their meanings are parallel. It is worth quoting a section to show how she weaves them into different lines:

John Baptist:...Tell me, Jesus, Son of Mary, who or what is the Messiah,  
the Christ of God?  
Jesus: 'When you baptised me with the water of repentance—

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<sup>823</sup> Letter to Derek McCullough, 5 November 1940, *Letters Vol. 2*, 192.

<sup>824</sup> Letter to James Welch, 30 August 1940, *Letters, Vol. 2*, 179.

<sup>825</sup> *MBTBK*, 58.

<sup>826</sup> Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 2, *MBTBK*, 60.

John Baptist: Being utterly unworthy to kiss your feet, my mother's cousin's son—

Jesus: I felt the shoulder of God stoop under the weight of man's sin. And I knew—

John Baptist: What did you know—you whom the voice called Son of God?

Jesus: I knew what it meant to be the Son of Man.<sup>827</sup>

The titles Christ and Messiah are strongly linked together, as Sayers clearly knows that Christ is the Greek word for Messiah. In the wedding scene in Play 3, for instance, or in the various scenes in the Temple, Sayers frequently uses the wedding guests or people in the crowd to equate them, by one person suggesting something about the Messiah and another answering by using the title Christ or Son of Man. Here in the Baptism scene, however, this parallelism is many-layered with Jesus' name and 5 titles all reinforced as attributed to him. Once again we also have more poetic or metaphoric language used to describe what it means to be the Son of Man – to be God's shoulder stooping under the weight of man's sin through an act of repentance.

Thirdly, the trial before Caiaphas has more parallelism with the titles Messiah, Christ of Israel, Son of Man and Son of God all attributed to Jesus within three lines of dialogue.<sup>828</sup> The title of king takes centre stage in the trial scene before Pilate, where Caiaphas clarifies that the title 'Messiah' 'amounts to a claim to be king of all Israel'. Pilate then questions Jesus, '[w]hat is all this about being a king?', and Jesus answers, 'That is your word and not mine; but it is the right word—in one sense'. This is the only time in the plays where Jesus uses the title of king for himself, but even here he qualifies it by saying that it is 'not of this world at all' and that he rather describes himself as 'the voice of truth'.<sup>829</sup> For Sayers' Jesus, the title 'King' is too loaded with political overtones to be used to describe himself. One wishes that Sayers would provide more clarification when Jesus says 'in one sense'. Instead of asking 'in *what* sense?', Pilate asks about Jesus' preferred word and the discussion of truth that follows no longer connects to ideas of kingship. This is necessitated by the

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<sup>827</sup> Play 2, Scene I, *MBTBK*, 78-79.

<sup>828</sup> *MBTBK*, 274.

<sup>829</sup> *MBTBK*, 278-279.

way Sayers stays close to John 18:33-38, for though we may wish for more clarity, the Gospel writer prefers leaving readers with a sense of mystery as well. Sayers may also have been staying close to her secondary sources, which connect truth and kingship by saying that '[t]he nature of His sovereignty corresponds with the nature of His mission',<sup>830</sup> and that 'it is not the difference of the supernatural from the natural that distinguishes Christ's Kingdom; it is the difference between control of conduct by force and control of heart and mind and will by love and truth'.<sup>831</sup>

This scene before Pilate is the climax of the clash of kingdoms plotline. It is the face-to-face confrontation between the Kingdom of Rome and the Kingdom of God, just as Jesus' refusal of the war-horse offered by Baruch<sup>832</sup> was the last confrontation between the Kingdom of Israel and the Kingdom of God. Caiaphas outmanoeuvres Pilate by threatening that he will invoke more senior Roman authorities against Pilate if the latter acquits Jesus of the charge of treason. In Play 11, Caiaphas also admits that his efforts to get rid of Jesus is only a temporary measure against the eventual crushing of Judaea by Rome. By default, Rome appears to be the victor—Jesus is dead, Pilate is outmanoeuvred, and Caiaphas sees the end in sight.

As raw material for a drama, there is something slightly unsatisfying about all the private and personal Resurrection accounts that must make up Play 12, *The King Comes to His Own*. Sayers writes to a friend,

I hope you'll like the Resurrection play. It's not as exciting as the others, but that isn't really my fault altogether. The thing ends on a quiet note, and I think that is really right. But NINE supernatural appearances are a bit stiff, dramatically speaking – all in forty-five minutes!<sup>833</sup>

If Sayers as a dramatist were to make up her own ending to suit her clash of kingdom plot, she could play up the Resurrection as a public triumph and Caiaphas, Pilate, and the Zealots would acknowledge the victory of the Kingdom of God as Caiaphas does in Gurner's *We Crucify*. But here again, she cannot sacrifice the theology for the

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<sup>830</sup> Hoskyns, *The Fourth Gospel*, 520.

<sup>831</sup> Temple, *Readings*, 354.

<sup>832</sup> Play 8, Scene I, Sequence 3, *MBTBK*, 218.

<sup>833</sup> Letter to Marjorie Barber, 22 September 1942, *Letters*, Vol. 2, 374.

sake of a good dramatic ending—such a sacrifice would appeal to neither Sayers nor her audience. She must re-tell the Gospel account in the best way possible and allow the theology to emerge, as she says in her Introduction.

Dramatic structure and theological structure must therefore work together to create a satisfying ending to the whole cycle. In Play 12 after the Resurrection, we have John giving his speech (mentioned above) about the need for the Church to be ‘more catholic’, and this is also emphasised by making the Great Commission from Matthew’s Gospel the last scene of the play. This creates an ending with a sense of expectation: it is not the final ending of the story. Sayers also cannot not leave her kingdoms theme behind; she incorporates a last scene with Pilate and Claudia, which hints at further skirmishes in the clash of kingdoms. The Three Kings had said that this child who was born to be King would rule in Rome and Byzantium<sup>834</sup>—clearly a reference to the eventual Christianisation of the Roman Empire. The true end of the clash of kingdoms in *The Man Born to be King* may, therefore, in Sayers’ mind, be the sea-change that happened because of the conversion of Emperor Constantine (the title character, incidentally, of a later play by Sayers).<sup>835</sup> The Kingdom of God at last conquers Rome by Truth and Love. By having Claudia Procula hear the news of Jesus’ resurrection, we see the first powerful reaction among the Roman elite. This not only builds on the legend of Claudia as an early believer, but reminds one of Jesus’ parable of the yeast in a mass of dough.<sup>836</sup> Just as the Kingdom of God was growing within Judaea, so too it will begin spreading within the wider Empire, to bring a more complete victory over the political might of Rome. This must remain a theory, since Sayers mentions very little about her theme of the Kingship of Christ after the few letters from the beginning of her writing process, quoted at the start of this chapter. It does, however, fit well with Sayers’ emphasis on the continuity of Christian history and the Creeds, since Constantine, apart from legalising Christianity, also called the first Oecumenical Council. This council drew bishops from all over the known world (catholicity) and led to the formulation of the Nicene Creed. To Sayers,

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<sup>834</sup> *MBTBK*, 54.

<sup>835</sup> *The Emperor Constantine; A Chronicle* (London: Gollancz, 1951), first performed in 1951 for the Colchester Cathedral Festival.

<sup>836</sup> Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3, *MBTBK*, 87.

this may be a long-term fulfilment of Joseph of Arimathea's summary of Jesus' vision: 'Not to lose Israel in Rome, but to bring Rome into the fold of Israel'.

In summary, the Kingdom of God, as Sayers describes it, has both arrived and is coming. The Rule of Love, which borrows heavily from Temple, denotes a sharp contrast with the desire for political rule or manoeuvring. Yet it is not a purely spiritual kingdom. The new citizens of the Kingdom of God must imitate this way of humble love. The truth of this Kingdom does not always translate into the easy vernacular of much of Sayers' dialogue, and we have seen examples where she uses heightened poetic language to express the theological reality of the Kingdom. The various titles for Jesus that Sayers uses in parallel—Messiah, Christ, Son of Man, Son of God, and King—underscore the multi-faceted but somehow unified aspects of Jesus' kingship. The ultimate triumph of this Kingdom over earthly kingdoms, while begun with the Resurrection of Jesus, finds its broader fulfilment in the future through the Great Commission, including when Rome is brought into the fold of Israel.

#### **IV. The Theological Setting for Sayers' Kingdom of God**

Sayers' dramatization of the Kingdom of God can now be compared with broader theological trends outside of and within Anglicanism. The question of the timing and mode of the Kingdom's arrival is importantly linked to the so-called 'first quest for the historical Jesus'. This nineteenth-century movement, with roots in the Enlightenment, included both the 'higher' and 'lower' criticism discussed in Chapter 1. On the one hand, there was great energy in linguistic, historical, textual and archaeological studies, and on the other, broader application of this new understanding to theology in the modern world. 'Lives of Jesus' by Hase, Reimarus and Strauss, for instance, became particularly popular, though concerns began to rise about the drift of these 'Lives' away from the evidence-based 'higher' school. Albert Ritschl was one who proposed a meeting of these two groups around an 'ethical ideal', which he defined as 'the mutual union of men through action



springing from love'.<sup>837</sup> In the late nineteenth century, such a Kingdom of moral perfection was seen as quickly coming to pass through the Christian West, just as Jesus 'prepared the way for the kingdom of God in His community,' within 'the standard of religion peculiar to His people'.<sup>838</sup> That is to say, for Ritschl, Jesus had brought God's Kingdom in his day and we bring it in ours.

Albert Schweitzer's *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*—available in English in 1910—was a direct challenge to this way of thinking.<sup>839</sup> The 'Jesus' found in these 'Lives', he insisted, was merely 'a figure designed by rationalism, endowed with life by liberalism, and clothed by modern theology in an historical garb',<sup>840</sup> and the real historical Jesus, far from simply being an ancient embodiment of modern ethics, was actually a complete 'stranger and an enigma'.<sup>841</sup> Like his near contemporary, Johannes Weiss, Schweitzer saw something else in Jesus' teaching about the Kingdom: Jewish apocalyptic eschatology.<sup>842</sup> Schweitzer prioritised the Gospel of Mark with its 'messianic secret',<sup>843</sup> and Jesus as 'the apocalyptic teacher who proclaimed the imminence of the end, and died of a broken heart with the expectation unfulfilled',<sup>844</sup> while Weiss saw Jesus not as the central figure of the Kingdom but a harbinger of its coming.<sup>845</sup> This new train of theological thought posed a daunting challenge to both theological conservatives and liberals and, while not accepted immediately, these ideas became increasingly important when World

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<sup>837</sup> Ritschl, Albrecht, Alice Mead Swing, trans. "Instruction in the Christian Religion" in Albert Temple Swing, *The Theology of Albrecht Ritschl* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1901), 174, 186.

<sup>838</sup> Ritschl, "Instruction in the Christian Religion" in *The Theology of Albrecht Ritschl*, 198.

<sup>839</sup> Wendall Willis, "The Discovery of the Eschatological Kingdom: Johannes Weiss and Albert Schweitzer" in Wendall Willis, ed. *The Kingdom of God in 20<sup>th</sup>-Century Interpretation* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1987), 11.

<sup>840</sup> Albert Schweitzer, W. Montgomery, trans., *The Quest of the Historical Jesus: a Critical Study of its Progress from Reimarus to Wrede* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1910), 396.

<sup>841</sup> Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, 397.

<sup>842</sup> Benedict T. Vivano, O.P. *The Kingdom of God in History* (Wilmington, DE: Michael Glazier, 1988), 125-127. See also Weiss, Johannes, trans. Richard Hyde Hiers and David Larrimore Holland, *Jesus' Proclamation of the Kingdom of God*, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), 131.

<sup>843</sup> See also Schweitzer's *The Mystery of the Kingdom of God*, 1925 in English. Discussion of English reception discussed in Ramsey, *An Era in Anglican Theology*, 171.

<sup>844</sup> Ramsey, *An Era in Anglican Theology*, 63 (speaking of Schweitzer's view).

<sup>845</sup> Willis, "The Discovery of the Eschatological Kingdom: Johannes Weiss and Albert Schweitzer", 11, 4.

War I brought disenchantment with the possibility of human progress.<sup>846</sup> This was particularly true on the Continent, while in England the interaction took much longer, due to the speed of translation and differing theological concerns, creating ‘a certain isolation’ until the 1930’s.<sup>847</sup>

The Modernist paradigm shift, which C.J.T. Talwar described as being ‘from a theology embedded in “classicist” culture to one reflective of “historical” culture’,<sup>848</sup> brought a sense of movement and progress to scholarly and popular consciousness. In this progressive spirit that reigned until World War I, some, but by no means all Anglo-Catholic theologians reacted more positively to ideas of the Kingdom of God coming *through* the Church,<sup>849</sup> possibly encouraged by John Henry Newman’s ideas of the development of Christian doctrine and its progress and safeguard against error.<sup>850</sup> R.L. Ottley argues that the Kingdom of God is ‘the ultimate object of moral effort’ and also the ‘goal of the entire movement of the universe’,<sup>851</sup> which ‘embraces *every* relationship’<sup>852</sup> and in answer to the liberal view of Christ as *only* a moral exemplar, he connects the morality of the Kingdom with creedal theology: ‘Christian holiness is the reproduction in the individual of the life of the Incarnate Son of God’.<sup>853</sup>

While many Anglicans of various schools saw the First World War as ‘a bitter and sorrowful delay in the march of that progress which is indeed the Kingdom of God’, Gore saw the war as a judgement on the Church and argued that the Church cannot be wholly identified with that Kingdom.<sup>854</sup> After the war, Hoskyns emphasised the in-breaking of the Kingdom into history instead of continuity with it, suggesting that

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<sup>846</sup> Viviano vividly writes that ‘Schweitzer used Weiss’ original little book as a razor with which to slit the throats of all his predecessors’. *The Kingdom of God in History*, 126.

<sup>847</sup> Ramsey, *An Era in Anglican Theology*, 162.

<sup>848</sup> C.J.T. Talar, ‘Introduction’ to *Prelude to the Modernist Crisis: the ‘Firmen’ Articles of Alfred Loisy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), xiii.

<sup>849</sup> For instance, in the work of French Roman Catholic Modernist writer Alfred Loisy who was himself inspired by Newman.

<sup>850</sup> See John Henry Cardinal Newman, *Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994).

<sup>851</sup> Rev. R. L. Ottley, ‘Christian Ethics’ in *Lux Mundi*, 348.

<sup>852</sup> Ottley, ‘Christian Ethics’ in *Lux Mundi*, 354.

<sup>853</sup> Ottley, ‘Christian Ethics’ in *Lux Mundi*, 369.

<sup>854</sup> Ramsey, *An Era in Anglican Theology*, 113.

‘the [liberal] conception that the human order can be transformed into the Kingdom of Heaven by a process of gradual evolution is completely foreign to the New Testament’.<sup>855</sup> Edwards lists the variety of additional understandings of the Kingdom within British popular culture up to 1941: a ‘far off mysterious “millennium”’, ‘a laughably fantastic dominion of the “lost ten tribes”’, a ‘British Empire covering the whole earth’, a ‘comfortable kingdom’ reduced to the human capabilities, or an ‘unattainable ideal’.<sup>856</sup>

As far back as Augustine’s *City of God*,<sup>857</sup> theologians have debated how far one can identify the Kingdom of God with the earthly Church. Sayers shows herself to be aware of the variety of opinions in Scene II, Sequence 2 of Play 12, *The King Comes to His Own*, just after John suggests that the Church must be catholic.<sup>858</sup> Nathaniel follows up by asking, ‘What is the church? The thing we looked for was the Kingdom. Is that going to come now? Or isn’t it?’.<sup>859</sup> Here Sayers is at least acknowledging the Church-as-Kingdom theology of Augustine, but she lets the question hang in the air. If she had wanted to say they are synonymous, she could have put such a statement in John’s mouth. Likewise, another choice could have been to use the opportunity to support a supersessionist view—that the Church supersedes Israel—, but that would not fit with Sayers vision of ‘Rome being taken into the fold of Israel’. Sayers departs from Hoskyns at this point, as he sees in the Gospels that ‘Judaism is...superseded and fulfilled...and [t]he authority exercised by the chief priests and scribes and Pharisees passed to the disciples of the Christ’.<sup>860</sup>

In her larger work, Sayers was interested in what all Christians have in common, as reflected in her broadcasts on the Creeds, the ‘Oecumenical Penguin’, and especially during World War II, when she spoke and wrote often about building a common Christian foundation in order to rebuild the nation on Christian principles after the

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<sup>855</sup> Sir Edwyn Clement Hoskyns, ‘The Christ of the Synoptic Gospels’ in *Essays Catholic and Critical*, 171.

<sup>856</sup> Edwards, *The Upper Room*, 161-162.

<sup>857</sup> Viviano, *The Kingdom of God in History*, 46-48, 52.

<sup>858</sup> *MBTBK*, 335.

<sup>859</sup> *MBTBK*, 335.

<sup>860</sup> Hoskyns, “The Christ of the Synoptic Gospels” in *Essays Catholic and Critical*, 172.

war.<sup>861</sup> Sayers' understanding of the Kingdom of God, though not a frequent topic in her writings, does make a few direct appearances around the time of writing *The Man Born to be King*. In 'The Religion Behind the Nation (Part V)', Sayers writes that because of Christ, 'the things men called good were valid, not merely in some remote ideal heaven, but here and now, because the Kingdom of God was come already'.<sup>862</sup> In the same vein, Sayers writes in her article 'The Church in the New Age' that 'the Kingdom of Heaven...is not yesterday or tomorrow, it is neither here nor there: it is never and nowhere, yet, being eternal, it is also everywhere and to-day available always and for everybody: it is a state of the soul, and not an event in time'.<sup>863</sup> In an even clearer anticipation of contemporary 'now and not yet' language about the Kingdom, Sayers writes in an unpublished letter to Rev. Dr. Shirley about the 'double meaning' of the Kingdom:

a) as something to which one strove forward in time and b) as something with which every individual soul could be in relation at every moment...It is precisely because of the eternity outside time that everything in time becomes valuable and important and meaningful. Therefore...it makes it of urgent importance that everything we do here (whether individually or as a society) should be rightly related to what we eternally are. 'Eternal life' is the sole sanction for the values of this life.<sup>864</sup>

Sayers clearly did not see the Church as synonymous with the Kingdom. The Catholic Church was certainly *part* of the Kingdom, but by that she didn't mean only one denomination or hierarchy. Taking Sayers' disciples' dialogue as our guide, we see her answering Nathaniel's question about whether the Church is the Kingdom by the appearance of Jesus in their midst. The Church and the Kingdom are overlapping and, importantly, both centred in Jesus. He is, as Baruch predicted, 'preaching simply himself'.<sup>865</sup> The Kingdom may have been 'inaugurated...by the Life and Death and Resurrection of Jesus',<sup>866</sup> but it is now about participation and belonging. Near

<sup>861</sup> See, for instance, essays 'They Tried to be Good' and 'Living to Work' in *Unpopular Opinions*.

<sup>862</sup> Sayers, Dorothy L. "The Religion Behind the Nation (Part V)," *The Church Looks Ahead* (London: Farber & Farber, 1941), 73.

<sup>863</sup> Sayers, Dorothy L. "The Church in the New Age." *World Review* (March 1941): 12.

<sup>864</sup> Letter to Rev. Dr. Shirley, 27 February 1942, Wade Document 254/28.

<sup>865</sup> Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 2, *MBTBK*, 126.

<sup>866</sup> Temple, *Readings*, 393.

the end of the cycle, in Scene II, Sequence 4 of Play 12, *The King Comes to His Own*, Sayers has Jesus telling his disciples what it means to be a part of his Kingdom:

...you are not slaves, but sons. Free to be false or faithful, free to reject or confess me, free to crucify God or be crucified with Him, sharing the shame and sorrow, and the bitter cross and the glory. They that die with me rise with me also, being one with me, as I and my Father are one.<sup>867</sup>

This too sits well within broader Anglican thought. The King has arrived and the Kingdom has been inaugurated, but it is also still arriving through, as Temple writes, the 'establishment of His authority in men's lives by the surrender of their hearts and wills to the appeal of His love'.<sup>868</sup> R.L. Otley describes an intermediate stage and final stage of the Kingdom. Now, the Kingdom is in its intermediate stage—'in contrast with, but in special relation to, all modes and products of social activity' and the Church has only one 'traditional instrument' for that interaction: 'the recreation of individual character'.<sup>869</sup>

### **Conclusion: Towards a Definition of Sayers' Kingdom of God**

Through this analysis, a definition of the Kingdom of God has been emerging. First of all, the pronouncement of this Kingdom is in the midst of the *real* circumstances of history, which must be understood as the context of Jesus' teaching. This includes the struggle between the overwhelming might of Rome and the longing for an independent Israel. The Kingdom of God is, in fact, larger than either and able to embrace them both. Sayers emphasises Jesus' Jewish context for bringing the Kingdom of God, but that Kingdom is different from what anyone expected.

As important as is the context, the *content* of the Kingdom of God is also a priority for Sayers. Our analysis of the Kingdom of God's immediacy, its rule, its people and its King has shown a variety of ways that Sayers stays close to the content of the Gospels while using the dramatic tools of a range of characters and dialogue to draw them out. Through drama, these features literally come to life, as miracles,

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<sup>867</sup> MBTBK, 340.

<sup>868</sup> Temple, *Christus Veritas*, 202-203.

<sup>869</sup> R.L. Otley, "Christian Ethics" in *Lux Mundi*, 380.

teachings, and people are given context. The Kingdom is shown to be arriving and accessible now. Sayers picks up a clearly biblical theme and goes beyond it with her summary of the rule of the Kingdom: 'to love and be ruled by love'. This theme is all the more extraordinary when it is noted that this is the primary way characters are shown by Sayers to enter the Kingdom of God. There is not a single scene, for instance, where Jesus' death is shown to be the substitutionary sacrifice that enables entrance to the Kingdom.<sup>870</sup> Since Sayers was using the Gospels and not Paul for her source material, this is not surprising, though a more evangelistic approach would perhaps have taken that route.<sup>871</sup> Finally, Sayers presents the Kingdom as a place where all are welcome: the common Jewish people like Mary Magdalen and Matthew along with an even wider array of characters who 'come from the east and the west and sit in the Kingdom of God', like Proclus the Centurion, Eunice the Syro-Phoenician woman, and maybe even Pilate's wife, Claudia Procula.

The clash of kingdoms plotline show Roman despotism and Jewish nationalism in intense conflict when the Kingdom of God arrives in Jesus. The Incarnation of Jesus is the first battle, the Resurrection reveals the victor, while the final victory over Rome is projected by Sayers into the future, perhaps with the Christianisation of the Roman Empire when Rome is brought 'into the fold of Israel'. This by no means suggests that Sayers believed the Kingdom of God fully arrived in the fourth century – only that at that time the Kingdom of God was finally revealed as the true victor over Rome. As we saw with the study of Sayers' Christology in the last chapter, such an eschatological vision of the Kingdom of God is not original. It fits well within Sayers' Anglican context and in particular owes a debt to the work of Temple. It is, however, original in that Sayers crafted that theology into dramatic form on a large scale. Sayers' vision holds together remarkably well across twelve plays written over the course of three years. She also did what no one else had done—made that theology come to life for millions of people in their own lives through the medium of radio.

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<sup>870</sup> Contrasting views of the Atonement can be explored more fully, for instance, in James Beilby and Paul R. Eddy, eds. *The Nature of the Atonement; Four Views* (IVP Academic, 2006).

<sup>871</sup> Sayers explores themes of redemption much more explicitly in her later plays *The Just Vengeance* (1946) and *The Emperor Constantine* (1951).



## **Conclusion:**

### **Bible and Theology at Work in *The Man Born to be King***

We have considered Dorothy L. Sayers' *The Man Born to be King* as a whole by beginning with her Trinitarian analogy of the creative process. Unlike other scholars of her work, our study has focused on the 'Son-ness' of *The Man Born to be King* as a whole, what Sayers calls the Energy: the process, the act of incarnation – 'a sequence in time and a struggle with the material'.<sup>872</sup> This interest in the temporal act of creation has led to a new kind and depth of analysis of the scripts themselves, so as to more clearly understand how Sayers went about her work to create the play-cycle. An analysis of all twelve play scripts and a close reading of thematic material has led to a number of new discoveries and conclusions in two areas: biblical studies and theology. This naturally leads to a final discussion of what can be said to be original in the theology of *The Man Born to be King*.

#### **Biblical Studies**

Research into Sayers' biblical work began with a line-by-line analysis of the scripts, the notation of which led to the creation of two original research tools: a twenty-page table tracking Sayers' use of the four Gospels (Appendix A), and a sixty-three-page table of all identifiable biblical and traditional references listed by Play, Scene, and Sequence (Appendix C). These two tools greatly enhance the ability to test common assumptions about Sayers' work in *The Man Born to be King*. The Gospel-use table has already been published in *The Journal of Inklings Studies*, and the table of Bible references would be valuable as an appendix to a readers' edition of the printed plays or integrated into a critical edition for scholars.

In Chapter 1, we tested the oft-repeated statement that Sayers preferred the Gospel of John in her creation of the plays. Although Sayers' particular reasons for some of her choices cannot be fully inferred from her Introduction, her letters, or other source material, this study has largely negated and nuanced the generally held

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<sup>872</sup> Letter to Father Herbert Kelly, 4 October 1937, *Letters*, Vol. 2, 45.



assumption that she gave primacy to material from the Gospel of John in *The Man Born to be King*. Instead, we saw a wide-ranging use of all four Gospels, showing a dramatist who had a thorough knowledge of all her available material and made careful selection, not only in the scenes she specifically dramatized, but also in the internal references to other passages. These findings reflect the discussion at the time about the reliability of John, in which Sayers clearly supports John as an equally valid source, both in her Introduction and in the plays themselves. This support, however, is not directly correlated to greater use of John in her dialogue. With thorough use across all Gospels, Sayers' omissions, too, take on a greater significance, revealing attention to her intended audience and her craft as a dramatist. While a small amount of evidence has been found for specialised use of John—such as the amount of comment Sayers herself made about John, some use of Johannine chronology and a slightly more dramatic use of John—it is not enough—nor unmixed enough—to justify its assumed privilege. Instead, it is better to speak of Sayers' preference for using all four Gospels together.

In Chapter 2, Sayers' use of the Authorized Version of the Bible was studied. The capacity of Appendix C to be sorted according to Bible reference or by character allowed for the study of three main areas of use: narration, general Old Testament quotation and specific Psalm quotation. The incorporation of well-known AV phraseology in the narration by Evangelist alongside her original translation of dialogue serves an important function of introducing scenes by the well-known voice of spiritual authority and tradition, the Authorized Version. Sayers' use of the AV also includes use by characters when they directly quote the Old Testament. They use the same recognisable phrases from either the AV or the Book of Common Prayer as Sayers' listeners would likely hear in Church. Even though her choice of limited use does not appear to have been mentioned in letters of the period, Sayers' use of the Authorized Version and Coverdale Psalms is obvious when the texts are compared. These three areas of narration, Old Testament quotation and Psalm quotation, while clearly exceptions to the general rule of original dramatization of biblical material,

show Sayers working with all available tools in a more dynamic, rather than iconoclastic, process.

In Chapter 3, we considered the influence of six secondary sources that Sayers herself readily admits she relied upon in her work, but whose influence has received little scholarly attention until now. In considering the influence of historic detail, Sayers not only used the work of Jones and Hoskyns to incorporate Ancient Near Eastern history, but also used the more imaginative and speculative details offered by Edwards, Morrison, Gurner and Temple. Characterisation of Mary Magdalen, Caiaphas and Judas, while perhaps using details from each of the six sources, shows the greatest influence from Edwards, Temple and Gurner. Like a scholar, Sayers researched her subject and took from her (rather eclectic) secondary sources whatever might be useful for her task. As a popular writer, she was under no compulsion to use quotation marks or footnotes, so it is surprising just how often she does credit a source. From these clues, a large number of previously un-noted influences have been found in almost every scene in the play cycle. Sayers has thereby been shown to be a dramatist who, though never claiming to be a biblical scholar, was knowledgeable about trends in biblical studies and deftly used a number of Bible translations and secondary sources to support her exegesis and her portrayal of the historical setting and characters.

### **Theological Themes**

The analysis of *The Man Born to be King* also included exploration of Sayers' theological themes. Before analysing Sayers' theology within *The Man Born to be King*, we considered in Chapter 4 the confusion that often occurs in encountering Dorothy L. Sayers' use of the word *Catholic*. She called herself an Anglo-Catholic, and her use of *Catholic* is consistent with that group's self-understanding as being in an unbroken historical line with the primitive Catholic Church. While such an understanding has led some to assume that she means *universal* or *universally Christian* when she uses *Catholic* – as in the contemporary theological use of (lower case 'c') *catholic* – we saw Sayers further limiting *Catholic* to Anglicans, Roman Catholics and Orthodox. These three groups' shared patrimony of Bishops, Creeds,

and the first four Oecumenical Church Councils is what is central to Sayers' more specific definition. Considered within Sayers' own theological stream of Anglo-Catholicism, we see that her Catholic theology is broad enough to earn the name. Sayers has an underlying assumption that the Creed is the most reliable guide for what to believe, being the agreed statement of the historic Church. Sayers understands herself to be simply explaining the Creed in fresh words, not adding any original contribution.

In Chapter 5, we considered Sayers' Christology within *The Man Born to be King*. Sayers' Introduction highlights her efforts to present the true humanity of Jesus, though this humanity is never at the expense of Jesus' divinity; in fact, a number of examples show Sayers consciously keeping the two natures together in an attempt to show a true Hypostatic Union. She does this by adding indications of humanity—like smiles, laughter and fig stuffing—to theophanic moments, like the Baptism, miracles, or conversions. The particularity of the Incarnation is also sought: the 'actuality' or 'thisness' of God and 'the truth of God born in the flesh of fact'. While Sayers claimed no original theology, her theological work in the play-cycle is in keeping with the Anglo-Catholic emphasis on the Creeds and the Incarnation. Sayers' was not a theology of mere 'spiritualisation' of Christ and his message; the Jesus of *The Man Born to be King* is consciously held up to the Creeds by Sayers and, while expressed in phrases or manners that may sometimes feel particular to their time, she is striving to make what she considers to be timeless theological truths of the Hypostatic Union and the Incarnation work hand in hand with the realism of contemporary drama.

Finally, in Chapter 6 we looked closely at how Sayers developed the themes she had chosen from the beginning of her working process: the Kingdom of God and the Kingship of Christ. By an original tracing of the clash of kingdoms plotline, we saw how Sayers portrayed the struggle between the overwhelming might of Rome and the longing for an independent Israel as context for the arrival of the Kingdom of God in the person of Jesus. By looking more closely at the content of this Kingdom of God, we found distinct features of the Kingdom in terms of immediacy, rule,

people and Jesus as its King. The Incarnation of Jesus is the first clash, the Resurrection reveals the victor, while the final victory over Rome is projected by Sayers into the future, perhaps with the Christianisation of the Roman Empire when Rome is brought 'into the fold of Israel'. This by no means suggests that Sayers believed the Kingdom of God fully arrived in the fourth century – only that at that time the Kingdom of God was finally revealed as the true victor over Rome specifically.

### **No Original Theology?**

Sayers always claimed that she had no original theology, that she was only giving fresh words and dramatic form to what the Church had always taught. Answering this claim depends upon first understanding what *theology* and what *Church* she means. Seen within Sayers' specific context of Anglo-Catholicism, this means the historic Creeds and the *Catholic* Church. This definition is by no means shared with all Christians, but if we grant this Anglo-Catholic definition, then we must also admit that Sayers' fulfilled her stated mode of work by only using and dramatising this creedal theology. This does not mean, however, that Sayers makes no contribution to theology in *The Man Born to be King*. It simply means that there can be a distinction between the skeletal structure of the creedal theology and the theological importance of what Sayers modestly downplays as the crafting of it into the flesh of dramatic form<sup>873</sup> on a large scale. Her struggle *in time* with the material—the Son-ness of *The Man Born to be King*—shows that over the course of the three years it took to write the plays, Sayers had a remarkably consistent scholarly approach in how she used the Gospels, her other source books, and her theological convictions. Her level of professionalism for what was originally intended for *The Children's Hour* impressed the BBC, and James Welch describes 'the immense pains she took over the study and handling of her sources, and to the great Biblical and theological knowledge she brought to her task'.<sup>874</sup> Sayers' theological

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<sup>873</sup> See this metaphor used in Letter to Paymaster Commander A.D. Duckworth, R.N., 15 December 1943. Wade Document, 22/39.

<sup>874</sup> James Welch, 'Foreword' to *MBTBK*, 9.

vision holds together remarkably well across all twelve plays—a vast theological and dramatic undertaking.

Sayers' original theological contribution can best be seen by returning to her Trinitarian analogy of artistic creation. The Idea was commissioned by the BBC and negotiated between Sayers and Welch. The Energy, which has been our main study, brought life to that Idea through Sayers' work *in time* with the material. The Power, then, is a direct result of Sayers ensuring that 'the dogma is the drama'<sup>875</sup> (to borrow Sayers' earlier phrase). She may owe that dogma to theologians—such as Temple—but she also did what none of these had done: made that theology come to life for millions of people in words and ways that they could understand. Though her theological contribution is often ignored because it is not in academic form, to those who heard the broadcasts or read the printed editions, Sayers' theological contribution was of paramount importance and highly original. For many it would have been the first or only time to encounter such Catholic theology. *The Man Born to be King* is theology come to life; it is an Incarnation. Perhaps Sayers underestimated her own theological contribution.

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<sup>875</sup> 'The Greatest Drama Ever Staged Is the Official Creed of Christendom', *Sunday Times*, 3 April 1938.

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## APPENDIX A: GOSPEL PERICOPAE USAGE

This Appendix details the results of a detailed analysis of *The Man Born to be King*, as described in Chapter 1. In it, scholars will find a complete list of biblical passages and be able to cross-reference where Sayers uses that particular pericope (distinct narrative unit).

See Chapter 1 for more information about examples of how this Table could be of use to future Sayers scholars.

### The Detailed Report of Gospel Pericopae Usage

Following now is a chart that takes the Gospel parallels, as detailed by Kurt Aland in his *Synopsis Quattuor Evangeliorum*, as compares it with *The Man Born to be King*. An online version of Aland's list was created by Michael D. Marlowe, from which this chart has been adapted.<sup>1</sup> References to *The Man Born to be King* will be listed by Play/Scene/Sequence, Character, Biblical Reference (if specific enough), and Type (Drama, Narration, Direct, or Indirect).

### Gospel Pericopae Usage

§ 1. Preface						
No	Pericope	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	MBTBK
1	Prologue	1.1	1.1	1.1-4	1.1-18	Play 1, Sc I- Evangelist: Mk 1:1, Narration.  Play 1, Sc II, Seq 2, Balthazar: Jn 1:4, Indirect.  Play 5, Sc V- Evangelist: Jn 1:1, 4 & 14, Narration.
§ 2. Birth and Childhood						
No	Pericope	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	MBTBK
2	The Promise of the Birth of John the Baptist			1.5-25		Play 2, Sc I- Hannah: Direct.
3	The Annunciation			1.26-38		Play 1, Sc II, Seq 1- Mary: Lk 1:28, 33, 35, Direct.  Play 3, Sc I- Susannah and Mary: Direct.
4	Mary's Visit to Elizabeth			1.39-56		Play 1, Sc II – Magi: Lk 1:42, Indirect. Mary: Lk 1:46, 1:51-52, Direct.  Play 3, Sc I – Mary: Lk 1:53, Indirect. John: 1:42, Indirect.

<sup>1</sup> Michael D. Marlowe, 'Gospel Parallels', *Bible Research; Internet Resources for Students of Scripture*. <http://www.bible-researcher.com/parallels.html>. Accessed 21 June 2017. Numerous unsuccessful attempts were made by email and post to contact Marlowe for permission, whose website's copyright expired in 2012. Even so, the author happily credits Marlowe for making the creation of this chart less time-consuming and would be grateful for anyone who can assist the author to contact him.

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5	The Birth of John the Baptist			1.57-80		Play 2, Sc I- Hannah: Direct. Crowd: Lk 1:68, Indirect.  Play 4, Sc I-Judas: Lk 1:68, Indirect.
6	The Genealogy of Jesus	1.2-17		3.23-38		Play 2, Sc I, Evangelist: Narration. Lk 3:23.  Play4, Sc I- Judas: Mt 1:21. Indirect.
7	The Birth of Jesus	1.18-25		2.1-7		Play 1, Sc I- Ephraim: Lk 2:1, Direct.  Play 1, Sc II, Seq 1 – Wife: Lk 2:7, Direct.  Play 3, Sc I- Susannah: Lk 2:8-14, Direct.
8	The Adoration of the Infant Jesus	2.1-12		2.8-20		Play 1, Sc I – Evangelist: Mt 2:1, Narration. Sc: Mt 2:1-8, Drama. Ephraim: Lk 2:18, Direct.  Play I, Sc II, Seq 1- Evangelist: Mt 2:9. Narration. Sc: Mt 2:9-11, Drama. Lk 2:8-18, Direct. Mary: Lk 2:19, Direct.  Play 1, Sc II, Seq 2- Sc: Mt 2:12, Drama.  Play 3, Sc I: Mary: Mt 2:11, Direct.  Play 11, Sc II, Seq 8- Balthazar: Mt 2:2, Indirect.  Play 12, Sc I, Seq 1- Mary Cleophas: Mt 2:11, Direct.
9	The Circumcision and Presentation in the Temple			2.21-38		Play 1, Sc II, Seq 2- Mechior: Lk 2:35, Indirect.  Play 3, Sc I- Mary: Lk 2:35, Indirect.  Play 11, Sc I- Mary: Lk 2:34-35, Direct.
10	The Flight into Egypt and Return	2.13-21				Play 1, Sc III- Evangelist: Mt 2:16a, Narration. Sc: 2:16b, Drama. Evangelist: Mt. 2:13-15a, Narration.
11	The Childhood of Jesus at Nazareth	2.22-23		2.39-40		-
12	The Boy Jesus in the Temple			2.41-52		Play 3, Sc I- Mary: Direct.
<b>§ 3. Preparation</b>						
No.	Pericope	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	MBTBK
13	John the Baptist	3.1-6	1.2-6	3.1-6	1.19-23	Play 2, Sc I- Evangelist: Lk 3:1, Mt 3:1-2, Narration. Sc: Jn 1:28, Mt 3:1, 4 Mk 1:4-6, Direct. John: Mt 3:2-3, Drama.  Play 4, Sc III, Crowd: Mt 3:4, Mk 1:6 Indirect.  Play 5, Sc I- Judas: Mk 1:4, Direct.  Play 6, Sc I, Seq 3- Lk 3:1, Indirect.
14	John's Preaching of Repentance	3.7-10		3.7-9		Play 2, Sc I- John Baptist: Mt 3:7, Lk 3:7, Mt 3:9, Lk 3:8, Mt 3:10, Lk 3:9, Drama.
15	John Replies to Questioners			3.10-14		Play 2, Sc I- Lk 3:11-14, Drama.
16	John's Messianic Preaching	3.11-12	1.7-8	3.15-18	1.24-28	Play 2, Sc I- Jn 1:20-24, Mt 3:11-12, Lk 3:16-17, Mk 1:7-8, Drama.  Play 2, Sc II, Seq 1- Evangelist: Jn 1:28, Narration.  Play 4, Sc I- Judas: Mt 3:11, Mk 1:8, Indirect.
17	The Imprisonment of John	14.3-4	6.17-18	3.19-20		Play 2, Sc II, Seq 1- details, direct.
18	The Baptism of Jesus	3.13-17	1.9-11	3.21-22	1.29-34	Play 2, Sc I- Mt 3:14-17, Mk 1:10-11, Lk 3:21-22- Drama.  Play 2, Sc II, Seq 1- John Baptist Jn 1:29-30, 32-33, Direct.

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19	The Genealogy of Jesus	1.1-17		<b>3.23-38</b>		Play 2, Sc I- Evangelist: detail, Lk 3:23, Indirect.
20	The Temptation	<b>4.1-11</b>	<b>1.12-13</b>	<b>4.1-13</b>		Play 2, Sc II, Seq 1- Evangelist: Mt 4:1-2a, Narration.  Play 2, Sc II, Seq 3- Jesus: Direct.
<b>§ 4. The Beginning of Jesus' Public Ministry (According to John)</b>						
No.	Pericope	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	MBTBK
21	The Call of the First Disciples				<b>1.35-51</b>	Play 2, Sc II, Seq 1- John Baptist: Jn 1:35-36, Drama.  Play 2, Sc II, Seq 2- Jn 1:37-39, Drama.  Play 2, Sc II, Seq 3- Evangelist: Jn 1:39b & 41a. Sc Jn 1:40-42, Drama. Simon: detail, Jn 1:44, Indirect.  Play 2, Sc III- Evangelist: Jn 1:43-44, Narration.  Play 3, Sc I- Conversation: Jn 1:46, Indirect.  Play 4, Sc I- Philip: Jn 1:45, Drama. (1942 Typescript only), John 1:43-45, Drama.
22	The Marriage at Cana				<b>2.1-11</b>	Play 3, Sc I- Evangelist: Jn 2:1-2, Narration. Sc: Jn 2:3-11, Drama.  Play 3, Sc II, Seq 1- Issachar: Jn 2:7-8, Direct.
23	The Sojourn at Capernaum				<b>2.12</b>	-
24	The First Journey to Jerusalem				<b>2.13</b>	Play 3, Sc II, Seq 1- Issachar: Jn 2:13, Direct.
25	The Cleansing of the Temple	21.12-13	11.15-17	19.45-46	<b>2.14-22</b>	Play 3, Sc II- Sc: Drama. Jesus: Jn 2:16, Drama.  Play 4, Sc II, Seq 2- (1942 Typescript only) 1 <sup>st</sup> Pharisee: Jn 2:15, Direct.  Play 10, Sc III- 3 <sup>rd</sup> Elder: Jn 2:19, Direct.
26	Jesus' Ministry in Jerusalem				<b>2.23-25</b>	Play 3, Sc II, Seq 1- Issachar: Jn 2:23, Direct.
27	The Discourse with Nicodemus				<b>3.1-21</b>	Play 4, Sc I – Jesus: Jn 3:1-8, Drama.
28	Jesus' Ministry in Judea				<b>3.22</b>	Play 2, Sc III- Evangelist: Jn 3:22-23, Narration.
29	John's Testimony to Christ				<b>3.23-36</b>	Play 2, Sc III- Evangelist: Jn 3:22-23, Narration. John Baptist: Jn 3:26-30, Drama.
<b>§ 5. Jesus' Ministry in Galilee</b>						
No.	Pericope	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	MBTBK
30	The Journey into Galilee	<b>4.12</b>	<b>1.14a</b>	<b>4.14a</b>	<b>4.1-3</b>	Play 2, Sc III- Mt 4:12, Drama.  Play 4, Sc I- Judas: Mt 4:12, Mk 1:14, Direct.
31	The Discourse with the Woman of Samaria				<b>4.4-42</b>	Play 6, Sc I, Seq 4- Evangelist: Jn 4:9b, Indirect.
32	Ministry in Galilee	<b>4.13-17</b>	<b>1.14b-15</b>	<b>4.14b-15</b>	<b>4.43-46a</b>	Play 3, Sc I- John: Mt 4:17, Indirect.  Play 3, Sc II, Seq 2- Evangelist Jn 4:46a, Narration.  Play 9, Sc I- Jesus: Mt 4:17, Indirect.
33	Jesus' Preaching at Nazareth	13.53-58	6.1-6a	<b>4.16-30</b>		Play 11, Sc II, Seq 2- Voices: Lk 4:23, Indirect.
34	The Call of the Disciples	<b>4.18-22</b>	<b>1.16-20</b>			Play 2, Sc III- Evangelist: Mt 4:18-22, Narration.  Play 5, Sc II- Jesus: Mt 4:19, Mk 1:17, Indirect.



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35	Teaching in the Synagogue at Capernaum		1.21-22	4.31-32		-
36	The Healing of the Demoniac in the Synagogue		1.23-28	4.33-37		Play 5, Sc I- Judas: Lk 4:35, Indirect. Play 5, Sc II- Cry of the World: Indirect.
37	The Healing of Peter's Mother-in-law	8.14-15	1.29-31	4.38-39		-
38	The Sick Healed at Evening	8.16-17	1.32-34	4.40-41		Play 3, Sc II, Seq 2- Evangelist: Lk 4:40, Narration (with detail from Mt & Mk). Play 4, Sc I, Nathaniel: like Lk 4:40, Indirect.
39	Jesus Departs from Capernaum		1.35-38	4.42-43		Play 3, Sc I- John: Lk 4:43, Indirect.
40	First Preaching Tour in Galilee	4.23	1.39	4.44		Play 3, Sc I- John: Mt 4:23, Indirect. Play 10, Sc III- 3 <sup>rd</sup> Elder: Mt 4:23, Indirect.
41	The Miraculous Draught of Fish			5.1-11		Play 4, Sc 1- Simon: Direct.
42	The Cleansing of the Leper	8.1-4	1.40-45	5.12-16		Play 5, Sc II- Cry of the World: Indirect.
43	The Healing of the Paralytic	9.1-8	2.1-12	5.17-26	5.8-9a	-
44	The Call of Levi (Matthew)	9.9-13	2.13-17	5.27-32		Play 4, Sc 1- Evangelist: Lk 5:27-28, Narration. Sc: Direct.
45	The Question about Fasting	9.14-17	2.18-22	5.33-39		-
46	Plucking Grain on the Sabbath	12.1-8	2.23-28	6.1-5		Play 4, Sc I- Direct. Matthew: Mk 2:27, Direct. Play 12, Sc I, Seq 1- Mary Magdalen: Mk 2:27, Direct.
47	The Man with the Withered Hand	12.9-14	3.1-6	6.6-11		Play 4, Sc II, Seq 1- Evangelist: Mk 3:6, Narration. Sosius: Direct. Play 4, Sc II, Seq 2- Sc: Mt 12:14, Mk 3:6 and Lk 6:11. Drama.
48	Jesus Heals Multitudes by the Sea	4.24-25 12.15-16	3.7-12	6.17-19		-
49	The Choosing of the Twelve	10.1-4	3.13-19	6.12-16		Play 4, Sc III- Evangelist: most like Mt, though substitutes Nathanael for Bartholomew and Jude for Thaddaeus, Narration. Play 5, Sc I- Judas: general, Direct.
<b>§ 6. The Sermon on the Mount (According to Matthew)</b>						
No.	Pericope	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	MBTBK
50	Occasion of the Sermon	4.24-5.2	3.7-13 a	6.17-20a		Play 4, Sc II- Evangelist: Mt 4:24-25, Narration.
51	The Beatitudes	5.3-12		6.20b-23		Play 5, Sc I- Jesus: Drama. Play 7, Sc V- Joseph: Mt 5:12, Indirect. Play 12, Sc I, Seq 1- John: general, Indirect.
52	The Salt of the Earth	5.13	9.49-50	14.34-35		-
53	The Light of the World	5.14-16	4.21	8.16		Play 5, Sc I- Judas: Mt 5:14a, 16, Direct.
54	On the Law and the Prophets	5.17-20		16.16-17		Play 2, Sc II, Seq 3- Jesus: Mt 5:17, Indirect. Play 4, Sc III- Jesus: Mt. 5:17, Drama.
55	On Murder and Wrath	5.21-26		12.57-59		Play 4, Sc III- Jesus: Mt 5:21-22, Drama. Play 10, Sc II, Seq 3- Judas: Mt 5:22, Direct. Play 12, Sc I, Seq 1- John: Mt 5:22, Direct.

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56	On Adultery and Divorce	<b>5.27-32</b>	9.43-48	16.18		-
57	On Oaths	<b>5.33-37</b>				Play 4, Sc III- Jesus: Mt 5:33-37, Drama. Play 10, Sc III- 2 <sup>nd</sup> Elder: Mt 5:33-37, Indirect.
58	On Retaliation	<b>5.38-42</b>		6.29-30		Play 4, Sc III- Jesus: Mt 5:38-41, Drama.
59	On Love of One's Enemies	<b>5.43-48</b>		6.27-28 6.32-36		Play 4, Sc III- Jesus: Mt. 5:43-45, 48, Drama. Play 11, Sc II, Seq 3- Gestas: Mt 5:43-48, Direct.
60	On Almsgiving	<b>6.1-4</b>				-
61	On Prayer	<b>6.5-6</b>				-
62	The Lord's Prayer	<b>6.7-15</b>	11.25	11.1-4		Play 6, Sc I, Seq 4- Jesus: Mt. 6:7-15, Drama. Play 9, Sc I- Jesus: Mt 6:13, Lk 11:4b, Indirect. Play 9, Sc III, Seq 1- John, Peter and James: Mt 6:9, Direct. Play12, Sc I, Seq 1- John: Mt 6:12, Lk 11:4- Direct.
63	On Fasting	<b>6.16-18</b>				-
64	On Treasures	<b>6.19-21</b>		12.33-34		-
65	The Sound Eye	<b>6.22-23</b>		11.34-36		-
66	On Serving Two Masters	<b>6.24</b>		16.13		Play 3, Sc II, Seq 2- Jesus, Drama.
67	On Anxiety	<b>6.25-34</b>		12.22-32		Play 3, Sc II, Seq 2- Jesus, Drama.
68	On Judging	<b>7.1-5</b>	4.24-25	6.37-42		-
69	On Profaning the Holy	<b>7.6</b>				-
70	God's Answering of Prayer	<b>7.7-11</b>		11.9-13		Play 3, Sc II, Seq 2- Jesus, Drama.
71	The Golden Rule	<b>7.12</b>		6.31		Play 4, Sc III- Jesus: Mt 7:12, Drama.
72	The Two Ways	<b>7.13-14</b>		13.23-24		Play 2, Sc II, Seq 3- Jesus: Mt 7:14, Indirect.
73	"By their Fruits"	<b>7.15-20</b> 12.33-35		6.43-45		-
74	"Saying Lord, Lord"	<b>7.21-23</b>		6.46 13.25-27		Play 4, Sc III- Jesus: Mt. 7:22-23 and Lk 6:46, Drama.
75	The House Built upon the Rock	<b>7.24-27</b>		6.47-49		Play 4, Sc III- Jesus: Mt 7:24-27, Drama.
76	The Effect of the Sermon	<b>7.28-29</b>	1.21-22			Play 4, Sc III- general, Drama.
<b>§ 7. The Sermon on the Plain (According to Luke)</b>						
No.	Pericope	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	MBTBK
77	Occasion of the Sermon	4.24-5.2	3.7-13a	<b>6.17-20a</b>		(See pericope 50)
78	The Beatitudes	5.3-12		<b>6.20b-23</b>		(See pericope 51) Play 5, Sc I- Lk 6:20b detail, drama.
79	The Woes			<b>6.24-26</b>		Play 5, Sc I- Judas: Direct. Voice of Jesus, Baruch: Lk 6:26, Direct.
80	On Love of One's Enemies	5.38-48		<b>6.27-36</b>		(See pericope 59)
81	On Judging	7.1-5	4.24-25	<b>6.37-42</b>		-
82	"By their Fruits"	7.15-20 12.33-35		<b>6.43-45</b>		-
83	The House Built upon the Rock	7.21-27		<b>6.46-49</b>		Play 4, Sc III- Jesus: Lk 6:46, Drama.
<b>§ 8. Jesus' Ministry in Galilee Continued</b>						
No.	Pericope	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	MBTBK

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84	Cleansing of the Leper	<b>8.1-4</b>	1.40-45	5.12-16		Play 5, Sc II- Cry of the World, Indirect.
85	The Centurion of Capernaum	<b>8.5-13</b>	7.30	<b>7.1-10</b> 13.28-29	<b>4.46b-54</b>	Play 3, Sc II, Seq 1- Evangelist: Jn 4:46b, Narration. Benjamin: Jn 4:47, Drama.  Play 3, Sc II, Seq 2- Benjamin: Jn 4:47, Drama. Sc –Jn 4:47-53, Drama.  Play 4, Sc II, Seq 1- Proclus Mt 8:6, Lk 7:2, 5, Direct.  Play 4, Sc III- Drama. Jesus: Mt 8:11-12, Lk 13:29, Drama.  Play 11, Sc II, Seq 2- Joseph: Mt 8:11-12, Lk 13:29, Direct.  Play 11, Sc II, Seq 4- Proclus: Mt 8:5, Lk 7:10, Direct.
86	The Widow's Son at Nain			<b>7.11-17</b>		Play 4, Sc I- John, Direct.  Play 12, Sc II, Seq 2- John, Direct.
87	The Healing of Peter's Mother-in-law	<b>8.14-15</b>	1.29-31	4.38-39		-
88	The Sick Healed at Evening	<b>8.16-17</b>	1.32-34	4.40-41		(See pericope 38)
89	On Following Jesus	<b>8.18-22</b>		9.57-62		Play 6, Sc II, Seq 1- Annas: like Mt 8:18-22, Lk 9:57,59, Indirect.  Play 7, Sc II, Seq 2- Jesus: Mt 8:20, Lk 9:58, Direct.
90	Stilling the Storm	<b>8.23-27</b>	4.35-41	8.22-25		-
91	The Gadarene Demoniacs	<b>8.28-34</b>	5.1-20	8.26-39		Play 5, Sc II- Cry of the World- Mk 5:9, Indirect.  Play 10, Sc III- 1 <sup>st</sup> Elder: Mt 8:32, Direct.
92	The Healing of the Paralytic	<b>9.1-8</b>	2.1-12	5.17-26	5.8-9a	Play 6, Sc II, Seq 1- Caiaphas: Mt 9:6, Mk 2:10-11, Lk 5:24, Indirect.  Play 11, Sc I- Brutal Voice: Mt 9:6, Indirect.
93	The Call of Levi (Matthew)	<b>9.9-13</b>	2.13-17	5.27-32		(See Pericope 44)  Play 4, Sc II, Seq 2- Baruch: Mt 9:11.  Play 12, Sc 1, Seq 1- Mary Magdalen: like Mt 9:13, Indirect.
94	The Question about Fasting	<b>9.14-17</b>	2.18-22	5.33-39		-
95	Jairus' Daughter and the Woman with a Haemorrhage	<b>9.18-26</b>	5.21-43	8.40-56		Play 5, Sc I- Philip: Direct.  Play 5, Sc II- Jesus: Mt 9:24, Mk 5:39, Lk 8:52, Indirect.
96	Two Blind Men	<b>9.27-31</b> 20.29-34	10.46-52	18.35-43		Play 5, Sc II- Jesus: Mt 9:29b, Indirect.
97	The Dumb Demoniac	<b>9.32-34</b> 12.22-24	3.22	11.14-15		-
98	The Harvest is Great	<b>9.35-38</b>	6.6b 6.34	8.1 10.2		-
99	Commissioning the Twelve	<b>10.1-16</b>	6.7 3.13-19 6.8-11	9.1 6.12-16 9.2-5 10.3		(See pericope 142)  Play 2, Sc I- Judas: Mt 10:4, Indirect.  Play 9, Sc II, Seq 6- Jesus: Mt 10:16, Direct.
100	The Fate of the Disciples	<b>10.17-25</b> 24.9-14	13.9-13	12.11-12 6.40 21.12-19	13.16	-

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101	Exhortation to Fearless Confession	<b>10.26-33</b>		12.2-9		Play 5, Sc I- Jesus: Mt 10:26a, Mt 10:31, Direct.
102	Divisions within Households	<b>10.34-36</b>		12.51-53		Play 6, Sc II, Seq 4- Evangelist: Mt 10:34, Narration.
103	Conditions of Discipleship	<b>10.37-39</b>		14.25-27 17.33	12.25	Play 2, Sc II, Seq 3- Jesus: Mt 10:37, Drama.
104	Rewards of Discipleship	<b>10.40-42</b>	9.41	10.16	13.20	Play 5, Sc I- Jesus: Mt 10:40, Drama.
105	Continuation of Journey	<b>11.1</b>				-
106	John the Baptist's Question and Jesus' Answer	<b>11.2-6</b>		<b>7.18-23</b>		Play 4, Scs I and III- Mt 11:4-6, Drama.  Play 7, Sc III- Jesus: Mt 11:6, Lk 7:23, Indirect.
107	Jesus' Witness concerning John	<b>11.7-19</b>		<b>7.24-35</b> 16.16		Play 3, Sc I- Benjamin: Mt 11:19, Indirect.  Play 4, Sc III- Jesus: Mt 11:7-9, 11-14, 18-19, Drama. Crowd reaction Mt 11:18, Drama.  Play 6, Sc II, Seq 1- Annas: Mt 11:19, Indirect.  Play 10, Sc III- 2 <sup>nd</sup> Elder: Mt 11:19, Indirect.
108	Woes Pronounced on Galilean Cities	<b>11.20-24</b>		10.12-15		Play 4, Sc III – Jesus: Mt 11:21-30, Drama.
109	Jesus' Thanksgiving to the Father	<b>11.25-27</b>		10.21-22		Play 2, Sc II, Seq 3- Jesus: Mt 11:25, Indirect.
110	"Come unto Me"	<b>11.28-30</b>				Play 4, Sc III, Jesus: Mt 11:28-30, Drama.
111	Plucking Grain on the Sabbath	<b>12.1-8</b>	2.23-28	6.1-5		(See pericope 46)
112	Healing the Withered Hand	<b>12.9-14</b>	3.1-6	6.6-11		(See pericope 47)
113	Jesus Heals Multitudes by the Sea	<b>12.15-21</b>	3.7-12	6.17-19		-
114	The Woman with the Ointment	26.6-13	14.3-9	<b>7.36-50</b>	12.1-8	Composite Mary tradition used- though there are <u>two</u> separate anointings.  Play 6, Sc II, Seq 1- Simon the Pharisee: Lk 7:37-38, 44, 48, Direct.  Play 7, Sc I- Mary Magdalen: Lk 7:37-38, 47, Direct.  Play 11, Sc II, Seq 3- Mary Magdalen: Lk 7:38, Direct.
115	The Ministering Women			<b>8.1-3</b>		Play 6, Sc II, Seq 1- Elder: Lk 8:3, Indirect.
116	Jesus is Thought to be Beside Himself		<b>3.20-21</b>			Play 6, Sc I, Seq 2- Jesus: Mk 3:21, Direct.
117	On Collusion with Satan	<b>12.22-30</b> 9.32-34	<b>3.22-27</b>	11.14-15 11.17-23		Play 4, Sc II, Seq 2- General, Direct.  Play 8, Sc I, Seq 3- Jesus: Mt 12:30, Indirect.
118	The Sin against the Holy Spirit	<b>12.31-37</b> 7.16-20	<b>3.28-30</b>	12.10 6.43-45		-
119	The Sign of Jonah	<b>12.38-42</b> 16.1-2a,4	8.11-12	11.16 11.29-32		Play 3, Sc I- John: Lk 11:27-28, Indirect.  Play 11, Sc II, Seq 3- Voices: Mt 12:42, Lk 11:31, Indirect.
120	The Return of the Evil Spirit	<b>12.43-45</b>		11.24-26		-

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121	Jesus' True Kindred	<b>12.46-50</b>	<b>3.31-35</b>	8.19-21	15.14	Play 6, Sc 1, Seq 2- Jesus: Mt 12:50, Lk 8:21, Mk 3:35, Direct.
122	The Parable of the Sower	<b>13.1-9</b>	<b>4.1-9</b>	<b>8.4-8</b>		-
123	The Reason for Speaking in Parables	<b>13.10-17</b>	<b>4.10-12</b> 4.25	<b>8.9-10</b> 8.18b 10.23-24		-
124	Interpretation of the Parable of the Sower	<b>13.18-23</b>	<b>4.13-20</b>	<b>8.11-15</b>		-
125	"He who has Ears to Hear, Let him Hear"	5.15 10.26 7.2 13.12	<b>4.21-25</b>	<b>8.16-18</b>		-
126	The Parable of the Seed Growing Secretly		<b>4.26-29</b>			-
127	The Parable of the Tares	<b>13.24-30</b>				Play 8, Sc III, Seq I- Jesus, Drama.
128	The Parable of the Mustard Seed	<b>13.31-32</b>	<b>4.30-32</b>	13.18-19		-
129	The Parable of the Leaven	<b>13.33</b>		13.20-21		Play 2, Sc II, Seq 3- Jesus, Drama.
130	Jesus' Use of Parables	<b>13.34-35</b>	<b>4.33-34</b>			Play 3, Sc I- Jesus/Susanna: Indirect.
131	Interpretation of the Parable of the Tares	<b>13.36-43</b>				-
132	The Parables of the Hidden Treasure and of the Pearl	<b>13.44-46</b>				Play 2, Sc II, Seq 3- Jesus, Drama.
133	The Parable of the Net	<b>13.47-50</b>				Play 4, Sc I- Jesus, Drama.
134	Treasures New and Old	<b>13.51-52</b>				Play 4, Sc I- Jesus: Mt 13:52, Drama.
135	Jesus' True Kindred	12.46-50	3.31-35	<b>8.19-21</b>	15.14	(See Pericope 121)
136	Stilling the Storm	8.23-27	<b>4.35-41</b>	<b>8.22-25</b>		-
137	The Gerasene Demoniac	8.28-34	<b>5.1-20</b>	<b>8.26-39</b>		(See Pericope 91)
138	Jairus' Daughter and the Woman with a Hemorrhage	9.18-26	<b>5.21-43</b>	<b>8.40-56</b>		(See pericope 95)
139	Jesus is Rejected at Nazareth	<b>13.53-58</b>	<b>6.1-6a</b>	4.16-30		Play 1, Sc II, Seq 1- Mother: Mt 13:55, indirect.  Play 3, Sc I- Rebecca, Indirect.  Play 4, Sc II, Seq 1- Proclus: Mt 13:55, Indirect.  Play 6, Sc I, Seq 2- Judas: Mt 13:55, Mk 6:3, Indirect.
140	Second Journey (to Jerusalem)				<b>5.1</b>	-
141	The Healing at the Pool				<b>5.2-47</b>	Play 4, Sc I- Matthew: Jn 5:1-10, Direct.  Play 4, Sc II, Seq 1- Sosius: Jn 5:9-10, Direct.  Play 4, Sc II, Seq 2- (1942 Typescript only) 1 <sup>st</sup> Pharisee: Jn 5:2-8, Direct.  Play 5, Sc II- Jesus: Jn 5:5, Indirect.

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						Play 10, Sc III- 2 <sup>nd</sup> Elder: Jn 5:9b, Indirect.
142	Commissioning the Twelve	9.35 10.1,7- 11,14	<b>6.6b-13</b>	<b>9.1-6</b>		Play 5, Sc I- Evangelist: Lk 9:1-3a, Mk 6:7, Narration. Voice of Jesus: Mk 6:8, Mt 10:11, Mk 6:10-11, 26a, 31, 40, Drama. Evangelist: Lk 9:6, Narration. Philip: Mk 6:13, Indirect.  Play 5, Sc II- The Cry of the World: Lk 9:6, Indirect.  Play 9, Sc I- Philip: Lk 9:1, Direct.
143	Opinions regarding Jesus	<b>14.1-2</b>	<b>6.14-16</b>	<b>9.7-9</b>		Play 2, Sc III- Voice: Mt 14:1, 3, Mk 6:17, Lk 3:20, Indirect.  Play 4, Sc I- Judas: Mk 6:16, Indirect.
144	The Death of John the Baptist	<b>14.3-12</b>	<b>6.17-29</b>	3.19-20		Play 2, Sc II, Seq 1- Andrew: Mk 6:19, Indirect. Judas: Mk 6:20, Indirect.  Play 2, Sc III- Mt 14:3, Mk 6:17, Lk 3:20, Drama.  Play 3, Sc I- Benjamin: Lk 3:20, Mt 14:1, 3, Mk 6:17, Direct.  Play 4, Sc 1- Judas: Mk 6:19, Direct.  Play 4, Sc 3, Evangelist: Mt 14:6-9a, 10-12, Narration.  Play 5, Sc I- Baruch: Mt 14:10, Mk 6:27, Indirect.  Play 10, Sc IV- Herod: Mt 4:19, Mk 6:27, Direct.
145	The Return of the Apostles		<b>6.30-31</b>	<b>9.10a</b>		Play 5, Sc II- Evangelist: Mark 6:30-31, Narration.  Play 5, Sc II- Jesus: Mk 6:31b, Drama.
146	Five Thousand are Fed	<b>14.13-21</b>	<b>6.32-44</b>	<b>9.10b-17</b>	<b>6.1-15</b>	Play 5, Sc III- Evangelist: Mk 6:32-34 with detail from Lk 9:11, Narration. Sc, Drama. Evangelist: Mt 14:20, Mk 6:42-43, Lk 9:17 and John 6:14-15, Narration.  Play 6, Sc II, Seq 3- Judas: Jn 6:15, Direct.
147	The Walking on the Water	<b>14.22-33</b>	<b>6.45-52</b>		<b>6.16-21</b>	Play 5, Sc III- Jesus: Mt 14:22, Mk 6:45, Lk 9:22, Jn 9:17, Drama.  Play 5, Sc IV- Mt 14:22-33, Drama.
148	Healings at Gennesaret	<b>14.34-36</b>	<b>6.53-56</b>		<b>6.22-25</b>	Play 5, Sc V- Evangelist: Jn 6:22-24, Narration. 1 <sup>st</sup> Jew: Jn 6:25, Direct.
149	The Bread of Life				<b>6.26-59</b>	Play 5, Sc V- Evangelist Jn 6:59. Sc Jn 6:26-69, Drama.  Play 7, Sc II, Seq 2- Jesus: Jn 6:37, Indirect.  Play 9, Sc II, Seq 2- John: Jn 6:53, Direct.  Play 11, Sc II, Seq 3- Voices: Jn 6:35, Indirect.
150	Defilement - Traditional and Real	<b>15.1-20</b>	<b>7.1-23</b>	11.37-41 6.39		-
151	The Syrophenician (Canaanite) Woman	<b>15.21-28</b>	<b>7.24-30</b>			Play 6, Sc I, Seq 3- Eunice: Mt 15:21-28, Drama.  Play 12, Sc I, Seq I- Mary Magdalen: Mt 15:24, Indirect.
152	Jesus Heals a Deaf Mute and Many Others	<b>15.29-31</b>	<b>7.31-37</b>			-
153	Four Thousand are Fed	<b>15.32-39</b>	<b>8.1-10</b>			Play 5, Sc III- Simon: Mt 15:38, Indirect.
154	The Pharisees Seek a Sign	<b>16.1-4</b> 12.38-39	<b>8.11-13</b>	11.16 12.54-56 11.29		-
155	The Leaven of the Pharisees	<b>16.5-12</b>	<b>8.14-21</b>	12.1		-

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156	A Blind Man is Healed at Bethsaida		8.22-26			-
<b>§ 9. The Way to the Cross</b>						
No.	Pericope	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	
157	Many Disciples Take Offense at Jesus				6.60-66	Play 5, Sc V- Andrew: Jn 6:60, 66, Drama. Jesus: Jn 6:62-64, Drama.
158	Peter's Confession	16.13-20	8.27-30	9.18-21	6.67-71	Play 5, Sc V- Simon: Mt 16:16, Drama.  Play 7, Sc III- Jesus: Jn 6:70, Indirect.  Play 9, Sc I- James: Mt 16:18-19, Direct.  Play 12, Sc II, Seq 2- John: Mt 16:18, Direct.
159	Jesus Foretells His Passion	16.21-23	8.31-33	9.22		Play 5, Sc V- Simon: Mt 16:22, Mk 8:32, Direct.  Play 11, Sc II, Seq 8- John: Mt 16:21, Direct.
160	"If Any Man would Come after Me"	16.24-28	8.34-9.1	9.23-27	12.25	Play 5, Sc V- Jesus: Mt 16:25, 28, Mk 35, 9:1, Lk 9:23-24, Drama.  Play 7, Sc IV, Seq 3- Jesus: Mt 16:24, Mk 8:34, Lk 9:23, Drama.
161	The Transfiguration	17.1-9	9.2-10	9.28-36		Play 6, Sc I, Seq 6- Evangelist: Lk 9:28, Sc, Drama.  Play 9, Sc III, Seq 1- Peter: general, Direct.
162	The Coming of Elijah	17.10-13	9.11-13			-
163	Jesus Heals a Boy Possessed by a Spirit	17.14-21	9.14-29	9.37-43a 17.6		Play 6, Sc I, Seq 6- Peter: Mt 17:15, 18, Mk 9:17, 25, Lk 9:37-39, 42, Drama.
164	Jesus Foretells His Passion again	17.22-23	9.30-32	9.43b-45		-
165	Payment of the Temple Tax	17.24-27				-
166	True Greatness	18.1-5	9.33-37	9.46-48	13.20	Play 5, Sc IV- James: Mk 9:33-34, Lk 9:36, Indirect.  Play 8, Sc III, Seq 1- Jesus: Mt 18:1-6, Drama.
167	The Strange Exorcist	10.42	9.38-41	9.49-50		-
168	Warnings concerning Temptations	18.6-9 5.13	9.42-50	17.1-2 14.34-35		Play 8, Sc 1, Seq 3- Jesus: Mt 18:7, Indirect.
169	The Parable of the Lost Sheep	18.10-14		15.3-7		-
170	On Reproving One's Brother	18.15-18		17.3	20.23	-
171	"Where Two or Three are Gathered Together"	18.19-20				-
172	On Reconciliation	18.21-22		17.4		Play 6, Sc I, Seq 4- Peter: Mt 21-22, Drama.
173	The Parable of the Unforgiving Servant	18.23-35				Play 6, Sc I, Seq 4- Jesus: Drama.
<b>§ 10. Last Journey to Jerusalem (According to Luke)</b>						
No.	Pericope	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	MBTBK
174	Decision to Go to Jerusalem	19.1-2	10.1	9.51		Play 6, Sc I, Seq 4- Evangelist 9:51, Narration.  Play 8, Sc 1, Seq 1- Evangelist: Lk 9:51b, Narration.
175	Jesus is Rejected by Samaritans			9.52-56		Play 6, Sc I, Seq 4- Evangelist 9:52, Narration. Sc: Jn 9:25-56, Drama.
176	On Following Jesus	8.18-22		9.57-62		(See pericope 89)

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						Play 4, Sc I- Judas: Lk 9:62, Indirect.
						Play 9, Sc I- Judas: Lk 9:62, Indirect.
177	Commissioning the Seventy	9.37-38 10.7-16		<b>10.1-12</b>		Play 9, Sc II, Seq 6- Jesus: Mt 10:16, Indirect.
178	Woes Pronounced on Galilaean Cities	11.20-24		<b>10.13-15</b>		-
179	"He who Hears You, Hears Me"	10.40		<b>10.16</b>	13.20	-
180	The Return of the Seventy			<b>10.17-20</b>		Play 5, Sc I- Philip: Lk 10:17, Indirect.
181	Jesus' Thanksgiving to the Father, and the Blessedness of the Disciples	11.25-27 13.16-17		<b>10.21-24</b>		Play 2, Sc II, Seq 3- Lk 10:21, Indirect.
182	The Lawyer's Question	22.34-40	12.28-34	<b>10.25-28</b>		(See Pericope 282)
183	The Parable of the Good Samaritan			<b>10.29-37</b>		Play 9, Sc I- Matthew: general, Direct.
184	Mary and Martha			<b>10.38-42</b>		Play 6, Sc II, Seq 1- Simon: Lk 10:38-39, Indirect.  Play 7, Sc I- Evangelist: Lk 10:38, 39-40a, Narration. Sc: Lk 10:40-42, Drama.
185	The Lord's Prayer	6.9-13		<b>11.1-4</b>		Play 6, Sc I, Seq 4- John: Lk 11:1, Drama.  (See Pericope 62)
186	The Importunate Friend at Midnight			<b>11.5-8</b>		-
187	Encouragement to Pray	7.7-11		<b>11.9-13</b>		Play 3, Sc II, Seq 2- Jesus, Drama.
188	The Beelzebub Controversy	12.22-30	3.22-27	<b>11.14-23</b>		Play 4, Sc II, Seq 2, 1 <sup>st</sup> Elder: Lk 11:15-16, Drama.
189	The Return of the Evil Spirit	12.43-45		<b>11.24-26</b>		-
190	True Blessedness			<b>11.27-28</b>		-
191	The Sign of Jonah	12.38-42	8.11-12	<b>11.29-32</b>		-
192	Concerning Light	5.15	4.21	<b>11.33</b>		-
193	The Sound Eye	6.22-23		<b>11.34-36</b>		-
194	Discourses against the Pharisees and Lawyers	15.1-9	7.1-9	<b>11.37-54</b>		-
195	The Leaven of the Pharisees	16.5-6	8.14-15	<b>12.1</b>		-
196	Exhortation to Fearless Confession	10.26-33		<b>12.2-9</b>		-
197	The Sin against the Holy Spirit	12.31-32	3.28-30	<b>12.10</b>		-
198	The Assistance of the Holy Spirit	10.19-20	13.11	<b>12.11-12</b> 21.14-15		-
199	Warning against Avarice			<b>12.13-15</b>		Play 8, Sc III, Seq 1- Jesus, Drama.
200	The Parable of the Rich Fool			<b>12.16-21</b>		-



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201	Anxieties about Earthly Things	6.25-34		<b>12.22-32</b>		Play 3, Sc II, Seq 2- Jesus, Drama.
202	Treasures in Heaven	6.19-21		<b>12.33-34</b>		-
203	Watchfulness and Faithfulness	24.42-51		<b>12.35-48</b>		Play 4, Sc I- Jesus: Lk 12:48, Drama.
204	Division in Households	10.34-36		<b>12.49-53</b>		-
205	Interpreting the Times	16.2-3		<b>12.54-56</b>		-
206	Agreement with One's Accuser	5.25-26		<b>12.57-59</b>		-
207	Repentance or Destruction (the Parable of the Barren Fig Tree)			<b>13.1-9</b>		-
208	The Healing of the Crippled Woman on the Sabbath			<b>13.10-17</b>		-
209	The Parable of the Mustard Seed	13.31-32	4.30-32	<b>13.18-19</b>		-
210	The Parable of the Leaven	13.33		<b>13.20-21</b>		(See Pericope 129)
211	Exclusion from the Kingdom	7.13-14 7.22-23 8.11-12 19.30	10.31	<b>13.22-30</b>		(See Pericope 85)
212	A Warning against Herod			<b>13.31-33</b>		Play 4, Sc 2- Proclus: Lk 13:32, Indirect.
213	The Lament over Jerusalem	23.37-39		<b>13.34-35</b>		Play 8, Sc 2, Seq 2- Jesus: Drama.
214	The Healing of the Man with Dropsy			<b>14.1-6</b>		-
215	Teaching on Humility			<b>14.7-14</b>		Play 3, Sc I- Steward: Lk 14:10, Indirect.  Play 9, Sc I- Thomas: Lk 14:10, Indirect.
216	The Parable of the Great Supper	22.1-14		<b>14.15-24</b>		Play 5, Sc III – Man in Crowd: Lk 14:15. (1942 Typescript only) Jesus, Drama.
217	The Conditions of Discipleship	10.37-38		<b>14.25-33</b>		-
218	The Parable of Salt	5.13	9.49-50	<b>14.34-35</b>		-
219	The Parable of the Lost Sheep	18.12-14		<b>15.1-7</b>		Play 6, Sc I, Seq 6- John: Lk 15:7, Direct.  Play 12, Sc I, Seq 1- Mary Magdalen: Lk 15:4-7, Direct.
220	The Parable of the Lost Coin			<b>15.8-10</b>		-
221	The Parable of the Prodigal Son			<b>15.11-32</b>		Play 7, Sc I- Jesus: Lk 15:25-32, Drama.
222	The Parable of the Unjust Steward			<b>16.1-9</b>		Play 4, Sc 1- Jesus, Drama.
223	On Faithfulness in What is Least			<b>16.10-12</b>		-
224	On Serving Two Masters	6.24		<b>16.13</b>		Play 3, Sc II, Seq 2 – Jesus, Drama.
225	The Pharisees Reproved			<b>16.14-15</b>		-

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226	Concerning the Law	11.12-13 5.18		<b>16.16-17</b>		-
227	Concerning Divorce	19.9	10.11-12	<b>16.18</b>		-
228	The Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus			<b>16.19-31</b>		Play 8, Sc I, Seq 2- Jesus, Drama.
229	Warning against Offenses	18.6-7	9.42	<b>17.1-3a</b>		-
230	On Forgiveness	18.15		<b>17.3b-4</b>		-
231	On Faith	17.19-21	9.28-29	<b>17.5-6</b>		-
232	We are Unprofitable Servants			<b>17.7-10</b>		-
233	The Cleansing of the Ten Lepers			<b>17.11-19</b>		-
234	On the Coming of the Kingdom of God			<b>17.20-21</b>		Play 3, Sc I- Jesus: Lk 17:21, Drama.
235	The Day of the Son of Man	24.23 24.26-27 24.37-39 24.17-18 10.39 24.40-41 24.28	13.19-23 13.14-16	<b>17.22-37</b>	12.25	-
236	The Parable of the Unjust Judge			<b>18.1-8</b>		Play 2, Sc I- John Baptist: Lk 18:8b, Indirect. Play 7, Sc II- Jesus: Lk 18:8b, Indirect.
237	The Pharisee and the Publican			<b>18.9-14</b>		-
<b>§ 11. Jesus at the Feast of Tabernacles (According to John)</b>						
No.	Pericope	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	MBTBK
238	Jesus Remains in Galilee				<b>7.1-9</b>	Play 6, Sc I, Seq 1- Evangelist: Jn 7:1-2, Narration. Play 6, Sc I, Seq 2- Evangelist: Jn 7:2-3, Narration. Sc: Jn 7:4-9, Drama.
239	Journey to Jerusalem in Secret				<b>7.10-13</b>	Play 6, Sc I, Seq 2- Evangelist: Jn 7:10, Narration. Play 6, Sc I, Seq 3- Eunice: Jn 7:11, Indirect. Play 6, Sc I, Seq 5- Evangelist: Jn 7:11, Narration.
240	Teaching in the Temple				<b>7.14-39</b>	Play 6, Sc I, Seq 1- Caiaphas: Jn 7:32b, Drama. Play 6, Sc II, Seq 1- Evangelist- Jn 7:14a, 23-33, Narration. Servant: Jn 7:14, Direct. Play 6, Sc II, Seq 2- Evangelist: Jn 7:14b-15a, Narration. Sc: Jn 7:15b-44, Drama. Play 6, Sc II, Seq 3 – Evangelist: Jn 7:37a & 7:45, Narration. Play 6, Sc II, Seq 4-Jesus: Jn 7:37-38, Drama. Play 11, Sc II, Seq 3-Voces: Jn 7:38, Direct.
241	Division among the People regarding Jesus				<b>7.40-52</b>	Play 6, Sc II, Seq 2- Sergeant: Jn 7:46, Drama.

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						Play 6, Sc II, Seq 3- Evangelist: Jn 7:45, Narration. Sc Jn 7:45-52, Drama.
242	The Woman Caught in Adultery				<b>7.53-8.11</b>	Play 5, Sc II- Jesus: Jn 8:11, Indirect.
243	"I am the Light of the World"				<b>8.12-20</b>	Play 6, Sc II, Seq 4- Jesus- Jn 8:12, Drama.  Play 11, Sc I- Mary Magdalen: Jn 8:12, Indirect.
244	Discussion with the Jews				<b>8.21-29</b>	-
245	"The Truth will Make You Free"				<b>8.30-36</b>	Play 6, Sc II, Seq 4- Jesus: Jn 8:31-32, Drama. Heckler: Jn 8:33, Drama.
246	Children of the Devil				<b>8.37-47</b>	Play 6, Sc II, Seq 4- Jesus: Jn 8: 39-41, 42-44a, 44b-46, Drama.
247	"Before Abraham was, I am"				<b>8.48-59</b>	Play 6, Sc II, Seq 4- Crowd: Jn 8:48, Jesus: Jn 8:51 Sc: Jn 8:52-59, Drama.  Play 9, Sc I- Nathanael: Jn 8:59, Direct.
248	Jesus Heals the Man Born Blind				<b>9.1-41</b>	Play 7, Sc I- James: Jn 9:1-7, Direct.  Play 7, Sc II, Seq 1- Jacob: Jn 9:1-7 Sc:9:8-34, through Play 7, Sc II, Seq 2, Drama.  Play 7, Sc V- Caiaphas: Jn 9:34, Direct.  Play 10, Sc III- 2 <sup>nd</sup> Elder: Jn 9:39, Indirect.
249	"I am the Good Shepherd"				<b>10.1-18</b>	Play 7, Sc II, Seq 2- Jesus: Jn 10:1-5, 11-15, 18, Drama.  Play 12, Sc II, Seq 2- Jesus: Jn 10:14, Indirect.
250	Division among the Jews again				<b>10.19-21</b>	-
<b>§ 12. The Ministry in Judea</b>						
No.	Pericope	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	MBTBK
251	Departure to Judea	<b>19.1-2</b>	<b>10.1</b>	9.51		Play 8, Sc 1, Seq 1- Evangelist: Lk 9:51b, Narration.
252	On Divorce and Celibacy	<b>19.3-12</b>	<b>10.2-12</b>	16.18		-
253	Jesus Blesses the Children	<b>19.13-15</b>	<b>10.13-16</b>	<b>18.15-17</b>		Play 2, Sc I- Jesus: Mt 19:14, Lk 18:16, Indirect.  Play 8, Sc III, Seq 1- Jesus: Lk 18:17, Mk 10:15, Indirect.
254	The Rich Young Man	<b>19.16-22</b>	<b>10.17-22</b>	<b>18.18-23</b>		Play 8, Sc III, Seq 2- Evangelist: Mk 10:17a, Narration. Sc: rest of pericope, Drama.
255	On Riches and the Rewards of Discipleship	<b>19.23-30</b>	<b>10.23-31</b>	<b>18.24-30</b> 22.28-30		Play 2, Sc II, Seq 3- Jesus: Mt 19:27, Mk 10:28, Drama.  Play 5, Sc IV- Philip: Mt 19:28 (cf. Lk 22:30), Direct.  Play 8, Sc III, Seq 2, Drama.  Play 10, Sc III- 2 <sup>nd</sup> Elder: Mt 19:29, Indirect.
256	The Parable of the Laborers in the Vineyard	<b>20.1-16</b>	10.31	13.30		-
257	Jesus at the Feast of Dedication in Jerusalem				<b>10.22-39</b>	Play 7, Sc II, Seq 2- Jesus: Jn 10:28-30, Drama.  Play 7, Sc III- Evangelist: Jn 10:39-41a, Narration.  Play 11, Sc I- Elder: Jn 11:25-26, Indirect.  Play 12, Sc II, Seq 4- Jesus Jn 10:30, Indirect.
258	Jesus Withdraws across the Jordan				<b>10.40-42</b>	Play 7, Sc III- Evangelist: Jn 10:39-41a, Narration.
259	The Raising of Lazarus				<b>11.1-44</b>	Play 7, Sc I- Evangelist: Jn 11:1b, Narration.

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						<p>Play 7, Sc III- Evangelist: Jn 11:1, 3-4, Narration Sc: Jn 11:7-16. Drama.</p> <p>Play 7, Sc IV, Seq 1- Evangelist: Jn 11:17, 19-20, Narration. Sc Jn 11:21-27, Drama.</p> <p>Play 7, Sc IV, Seq 2- Jn 11:28-37, Drama.</p> <p>Play 7, Sc IV, Seq 3- Jn 11:38-44, Drama.</p> <p>Play 9, Sc I- Philip: Jn 11:38-44, Direct.</p> <p>Play 10, Sc III- 3<sup>rd</sup> Elder: Jn 11:43, Indirect.</p> <p>Play 11, Sc I- Mary Magdalen: Jn 11:43, Direct.</p> <p>Play 12, Sc II, Seq 2- John: Jn 11:43, Direct.</p>
260	The Chief Priests and Pharisees Take Counsel against Jesus				<b>11.45-53</b>	<p>Play 4, Sc II, Seq 2- few details used.</p> <p>(See Pericopae 112 and 47)</p> <p>Play 6, Sc II, Seq 1- Annas: Jn 11:48. Caiaphas: Jn 11:50, Drama.</p> <p>Play 7, Sc V- Evangelist 11:45-47a, 53, Narration then Drama.</p>
261	Jesus Retires to Ephraim				<b>11.54-57</b>	-
262	The Third Prediction of the Passion	<b>20.17-19</b>	<b>10.32-34</b>	<b>18.31-34</b>		-
263	The Sons of Zebedee; Precedence among the Disciples	<b>20.20-28</b>	<b>10.35-45</b>	22.24-27		<p>Play 8, Sc III, Seq 2- Drama.</p> <p>Play 11, Sc II, Seq 3- John: Mk 10:35-40, Direct.</p>
264	The Healing of the Blind Men (Bartimaeus)	<b>20.29-34</b> 9.27-31	<b>10.46-52</b>	<b>18.35-43</b>		Play 5, Sc II, Jesus: Mk 10:50-52, Indirect.
265	Zacchaeus	18.11		<b>19.1-10</b>		-
266	The Parable of the Pounds	25.14-30	13.34	<b>19.11-27</b>		-
267	The Anointing at Bethany	26.6-13	14.3-9	7.36-50	<b>12.1-8</b>	<p>Play 4, Sc I- Jn 12:6, Indirect.</p> <p>Play 7, Sc III- John: Jn 12:6, Indirect.</p> <p>Play 8, Sc I, Seq 2, Drama.</p> <p>Play 8, Sc I, Seq 3- Judas: Jn 12:6, Direct.</p>
268	The Plot against Lazarus				<b>12.9-11</b>	Play 8, Sc I, Seq 2- 1 <sup>st</sup> Woman: Jn 12:9, Drama.
<b>§ 13. The Final Ministry in Jerusalem</b>						
No.	Pericope	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	MBTBK
269	The Triumphal Entry	<b>21.1-9</b>	<b>11.1-10</b>	<b>19.28-40</b>	<b>12.12-19</b>	<p>Play 2, Sc II, Seq 3- Jesus: Indirect.</p> <p>Play 5, Sc I- Baruch: Indirect.</p> <p>Play 8, Sc I- Baruch: Lk 19:31, cf Mt 21:3, Mk 11:3, Indirect.</p> <p>Play 8, Sc II, Seq 2- Drama.</p> <p>Play 8, Sc II, Seq 4- Peremptory Voice/Jesus: Lk 19:39-40, Drama.</p> <p>Play 11, Sc II, Seq 3- Voices: Mt 21:9, Indirect.</p>
270	Jesus Weeps over Jerusalem			<b>19.41-44</b>		<p>Play 8, Sc II, Seq 2- Drama.</p> <p>Play 8, Sc III, Seq 3- Judas: Lk 19:43-44, Direct.</p>

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271	Jesus in Jerusalem (Cleansing the Temple), Return to Bethany	21.10-17	11.11 11.15-17	19.45-46		(See Pericope 25)  Play 3, Sc II, Seq 1- Levite: Mt 21:15. Jesus: Mt 21:13 (Isaiah 56:7 and Jeremiah 7:11), Drama.  Play 10, Sc III- 1 <sup>st</sup> Elder: Lk 19:45, Indirect.
272	The Cursing of the Fig Tree	21.18-19	11.12-14			Play 10, Sc III- 1 <sup>st</sup> Elder: Mk 11:14, 21, Indirect.
273	The Cleansing of the Temple	21.12-13	11.15-17	19.45-46	2.13-17	(See Pericopae 25 and 271)
274	The Chief Priests and Scribes Conspire against Jesus		11.18-19	19.47-48		-
275	The Fig Tree is Withered	21.20-22 6.14-15	11.20-26			-
276	The Question about Authority	21.23-27	11.27-33	20.1-8		Play 4, Sc II, Seq 2- Drama.  Play 8, Sc III, Seq 1- Drama.
277	The Parable of the Two Sons	21.28-32				Play 5, Sc II- Jesus, Drama.
278	The Parable of the Wicked Husbandmen	21.33-46	12.1-12	20.9-19		-
279	The Parable of the Great Supper	22.1-14		14.15-24		-
280	On Paying Tribute to Caesar	22.15-22	12.13-17	20.20-26		Play 4, Sc II, Indirect.  Play 8, Sc III, Seq 1. Evangelist Lk 20:20, Narration. Sc-Drama.  Play 8, Sc III, Seq 1- Drama.  Play 10, Sc III- 4 <sup>th</sup> Elder: Indirect.
281	The Question about the Resurrection	22.23-33	12.18-27	20.27-40		Play 8, Sc III, Seq 1- Drama.
282	The Great Commandment	22.34-40	12.28-34	10.25-28		Play 8, Sc III, Seq 1- Drama. Pref. Mk
283	The Question about David's Son	22.41-46	12.35-37a	20.41-44		-
284	Woe to the Scribes and Pharisees	23.1-36	12.37b-40	20.45-47		Play 10, Sc II, Seq 3- Judas: Mt 23:27, Indirect.
285	Jesus' Lament over Jerusalem	23.37-39		13.34-35		Play 8, Sc II, Seq 2- Drama.
286	The Widow's Mite		12.41-44	21.1-4		-
<b>§ 14. The Olivet Discourse</b>						
No.	Pericope	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	MBTBK
287	Prediction of the Destruction of the Temple	24.1-2	13.1-2	21.5-6		-
288	Signs before the End	24.3-8	13.3-8	21.7-11		-
289	Persecutions Foretold	24.9-14 10.17-22a	13.9-13	21.12-19 12.11-12		-
290	The Desolating Sacrilege	24.15-22	13.14-20	21.20-24		-

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291	False Christs and False Prophets	24.23-28	13.21-23	17.23-24 17.37b		-
292	The Coming of the Son of Man	24.29-31	13.24-27	21.25-28		-
293	The Time of the Coming: the Parable of the Fig Tree	24.32-36	13.28-32	21.29-33		Play 3, Sc I- Jesus: Mt 24:36, Mk 13:32, Indirect.
294	Conclusion: "Take Heed, Watch!" (According to Mark)	25.13-15 24.42	13.33-37	19.12-13 12.40		-
295	Conclusion: "Take Heed, Watch!" (According to Luke)			21.34-36		-
<b>§ 15. Conclusion of the Account before the Passion</b>						
No.	Pericope	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	MBTBK
296	The Parable of the Flood and Exhortation to Watchfulness	24.37-44	13.35	17.26-36 12.39-40		-
297	The Parable of the Good Servant and the Wicked Servant	24.45-51		12.41-46		-
298	The Parable of the Ten Virgins	25.1-13				Play 3, Sc I- Jesus: Drama.
299	The Parable of the Talents	25.14-30	13.34	19.11-27		-
300	The Last Judgment	25.31-46			5.29	Play 8, Sc III, Seq 1- Jesus: Drama. Play 12, Sc II, Seq. 4- Peter: Mt 25:40, Indirect.
301	The Ministry of Jesus in Jerusalem			21.37-38		-
302	Greeks Seek Jesus; Discourse on His Death				12.20-36	-
303	The Unbelief of the People				12.37-43	-
304	Judgment by the Word				12.44-50	-
<b>§ 16. The Passion Narrative</b>						
No.	Pericope	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	MBTBK
305	Jesus' Death is Premeditated	26.1-5	14.1-2	22.1-2		Play 8, Sc I, Seq 1- Evangelist: Lk 22:1, Narration.
306	The Anointing in Bethany	26.6-13	14.3-9	7.36-50	12.1-8	Play 8, Sc I, Seq 2- Evangelist: Mt 26:6, Mk 14:3a & Jn 12:2, Narration. Sc follows Jn's order (pericope 267) with details from: Mt 26:7-8, Mk 14:3-5. Jesus: Mt 26:13, Mk 14:9, Drama.
307	The Betrayal by Judas	26.14-16	14.10-11	22.3-6		Play 8, Sc III, Seq 3- Evangelist: Lk 22:3, Narration. Play 8, Sc III, Seq 3- Evangelist: Mt 26:15, Narration.
308	Preparation for the Passover	26.17-20	14.12-17	22.7-14		Play 9, Sc I- Evangelist: Mk 14:12a, 13-16, cf Lk 22:7-12, Narration.
309	Washing the Disciples' Feet	10.24 10.40		6.40	13.1-20	Play 9, Sc I, Drama.
310	Jesus Foretells His Betrayal	26.21-25	14.18-21	22.21-23	13.21-30	Play 9, Sc I, Drama. Play 9, Sc II, Seq 1- Evangelist: Jn 13:30, Narration.

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311	The Last Supper	<b>26.26-29</b>	<b>14.22-25</b>	<b>22.15-20</b>		Play 9, Sc II, Seq 2- Evangelist: Mk 14:22, Narration. Jesus: Bread Lk 22:19, Wine Mt 26:27-29. Jesus: Lk 22:15-16, Mt 26:29, Mk 14:25, Drama.
312	Jesus Foretells His Betrayal	26.21-25	14.18-21	<b>22.21-23</b>	13.21-30	Play 9, Sc I- Drama.
313	Precedence among the Disciples and the Reward of Discipleship	20.24-28 19.28	10.41-45	<b>22.24-30</b>		Play 5, Sc IV- Lk 22:30 Mt 19:28, Indirect.
314	The New Commandment of Love				<b>13.31-35</b>	Play 9, Sc I- Jesus: Jn 13:3-35, Drama.
315	Peter's Denial Predicted	<b>26.30-35</b>	<b>14.26-31</b>	<b>22.31-34</b>	<b>13.36-38</b>	Play 9, Sc I-Jesus Jn 13:36, Drama.  Play 9, Sc II, Seq 4- Stage Directions: (Hymn) Mk 14:26.  Play 9, Sc II, Seq 6, Drama.  Play 10, Sc I, Seq 1- John: Mt 26:35, Direct.
316	The Two Swords			<b>22.35-38</b>		Play 9, Sc II, Seq 6, Drama.
317	"Let Not Your Hearts be Troubled"				<b>14.1-14</b>	Play 7, Sc III- Jesus: Jn 14:1, Indirect.  Play 9, Sc II, Seq 2- Jesus: Jn 14:1-4, Jn 14:5-9, Drama.
318	The Promise of the Paraclete				<b>14.15-26</b>	Play 9, Sc II, Seq 4 – Jesus: Jn 14:15-17, 22, 23-24, Drama.
319	The Gift of Peace				<b>14.27-31</b>	Play 9, Sc II, Seq 4 – Jesus: Jn 14:27-28, 30, Drama.
320	Jesus the True Vine				<b>15.1-8</b>	Play 9, Sc II, Seq 4- Jesus: Jn 15:5,7, Drama.
321	"Abide in My Love"				<b>15.9-17</b>	Play 2, Sc 2, Seq 3- Jesus: Jn 15:13, Indirect.  Play 5, Sc II- Jesus: Jn 15:9-12, Indirect.  Play 9, Sc II, Seq 4- Jesus: Jn 15:12-15, 18, 20, Drama.
322	The World's Hatred				<b>15.18-25</b>	-
323	The Witness of the Paraclete				<b>15.26-27</b>	-
324	On Persecutions				<b>16.1-4</b>	Play 9, Sc II, Seq 4- Jesus: Jn 16:2, Drama.
325	The Work of the Paraclete				<b>16.5-15</b>	Play 9, Sc II, Seq 4- Jesus: Jn 16:12, Drama.
326	Sorrow Turned to Joy				<b>16.16-22</b>	Play 9, Sc I- Jesus: Jn 16:16-17, Drama.
327	Prayer in the Name of Jesus				<b>16.23-28</b>	-
328	Prediction of the Disciples' Flight				<b>16.29-33</b>	Play 9, Sc II, Seq 4- Jesus: Jn 16:33, Drama.
329	The Intercessory Prayer				<b>17.1-26</b>	Play 9, Sc II, Seq 4- Jn 17:1, 4-6, 11-13, 20-21, 26, Drama.
330	Gethsemane	<b>26.36-46</b>	<b>14.32-42</b>	<b>22.39-46</b>	<b>18.1</b> 12.27	Play 9, Sc II, Seq 6- John: Mt 26:36, Mk 14:32, Drama.  Play 9, Sc III, Seq 1- Evangelist: Jn 18:1a, Mt 26:36/Mt 14:3, Narration. Scene- Drama.  Play 9, Sc III, Seq 3- Evangelist: Mk 14:41, Mt 26:43, Narration. Sc- Drama. Evangelist: Mt 26:56b, cf Mk 14:50b, Narration.
331	Jesus Arrested	<b>26.47-56</b>	<b>14.43-52</b>	<b>22.47-53</b>	<b>18.2-12</b>	Play 9, Sc II, Seq 1- Caiaphas: Mt 26:47, Mk 14:43, Lk 22:47, Jn 18:3, Drama.  Play 9, Sc III, Seq 2- 26:48/Mk 14:44, Drama.

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						<p>Play 9, Sc III, Seq 3- Drama. Evangelist: Mt 26:56, Narration.</p> <p>Play 10, Sc 1, Seq 1- Evangelist Jn 18:12-13, 15, Narration. Peter: Jn 18:8. John: Mt 26:56b, Mk 14:50, Drama.</p> <p>Play 10, Sc I, Seq 3- Malchus: Lk 22:51. 1<sup>st</sup> Guard: (Cousin) Jn 18:26, Direct.</p>
332	Jesus before the Sanhedrin (Peter's Denial)	26.57-68	14.53-65	22.54-71	18.13-24	<p>Play 9, Sc II, Seq 3- Evangelist: Mt 26:57, Narration. Caiaphas: Jn 18:13, Mt 26:64, Drama.</p> <p>Play 10, Sc I, Seqs 1-2, Seq 3 (Lk). Evangelist: Lk 22:61-62, Narration.</p> <p>Play 10, Sc II, Seq 1- Evangelist: Lk 22:66, Narration.</p> <p>Play 10, Sc II, Seq 2- Evangelist Mark 14:56, Scene: Drama.</p> <p>Play 10, Sc III- Pilate: Mt 26:63, 65, Mk 14:59-61, Direct.</p> <p>Play 11, Sc II, Seq 2- Nicodemus: Mk 14:62, Mt 26:64, Indirect.</p> <p>Play 11, Sc II, Seq 3- Dysmas- Mt 26:64, Mk 14:62, Lk 22:69, Indirect.</p> <p>Play 12, Sc I, Seq 1- John: Jn 18:15-16, Direct.</p>
333	Peter's Denial	26.69-75	14.66-72	22.56-62	18.25-27	<p>Play 10, Sc I, Seq 1 and 3- Drama.</p> <p>Play 10, Sc II, Seq 1- Evangelist: Mt 27:1a, Narration.</p> <p>Play 12, Sc I, Seq 1- John: Mt 26:74b, Mk 14:72, Lk 22:60b, Jn 18:27, Indirect.</p> <p>Play 12, Sc II, Seq 4- Peter: Indirect.</p>
334	Jesus Delivered to Pilate	27.1-2	15.1	23.1	18.28	<p>Play 10, Sc II, Seq 1- Baruch: Jn 18:28, Indirect.</p> <p>Play 10, Sc III- Evangelist: Jn 18:28a, Narration. Pilate: Jn 18:28b, Drama.</p>
335	The Death of Judas	27.3-10				<p>Play 10, Sc II, Seq 3- Evangelist: Mt 27:3, Mt 27:5b, Narration. Judas: Mt 27:4a. Caiaphas: Mt 27:4b, Drama.</p> <p>Play 12, Sc 1, Seq 1- Mary Magdalen: Indirect.</p>
336	The Trial before Pilate	27.11-14	15.2-5	23.2-5	18.29-38	<p>Play 5, Sc IV- John: Jn 18:36, Indirect.</p> <p>Play 6, Sc II, Seq 3- Judas: Jn 18:36, Indirect.</p> <p>Play 10, Sc III- Drama.</p>
337	Jesus before Herod			23.6-12		<p>Play 4, Sc II- Proclus: Lk 23:12, Indirect.</p> <p>Play 10, Sc III- Pilate: Lk 23:6-7, Drama.</p> <p>Play 10, Sc IV- Evangelist Lk 23:8,9a, 11, Narration.</p>
338	Pilate Declares Jesus Innocent			23.13-16		<p>Play 10, Sc V, Seq 1- Pilate: Lk 23:14, Drama.</p>
339	Jesus or Barabbas?	27.15-23	15.6-14	23.17-23	18.39-40	<p>Play 8, Sc II, Seq 4- Pilate: Lk 23:19 cf Mt 27:16, Mk 15:7, Drama.</p> <p>Play 10, Sc III- Slave: Mt 27:19, Drama.</p> <p>Play 10, Sc V, Seq 1- Drama.</p> <p>Play 11, Sc I- Calpurnia: Mt 27:19, Direct.</p> <p>Play 11, Sc II, Seq 6- Pilate: Mt 27:19, Drama.</p>
340	"Behold the Man!"	27.28-31a	15.17-20a		19.1-15	<p>Play 10, Sc III- Caiaphas: Jn 19:7, Drama.</p> <p>Play 10, Sc V, Seq 1, Drama.</p>



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						Play 10, Sc V, Seq 2, Drama.  Play 10, Sc V, Seq 3, Drama.  Play 11, Sc I- Flavius: Jn 19:7b. Flavius: Jn 19:8, Drama.
341	Pilate Delivers Jesus to be Crucified	27.24-26	15.15	23.24-25	19.16	Play 10- Sc V, Seq 3- Evangelist: Jn 19:16-22, Narration.  Play 11, Sc I- Evangelist: Mk 15:15, Narration.
342	Jesus Mocked by the Soldiers	27.27-31a	15.16-20a		19.2-3	Play 10, Sc V, Seq 2, Drama.  Play 11, Sc I- Evangelist: Mk 15:20, Narration.
343	The Road to Golgotha	27.31b-32	15.20b-21	23.26-32	19.17	Play 11, Sc I- Drama.
344	The Crucifixion	27.33-37	15.22-26	23.33-34	19.17b-27	Play 10, Sc V, Seq 3- Evangelist Jn 19:16-22, Narration.  Play 11, Sc I- Mary Virgin: Jn 19:25, Direct. Baruch: Jn 19:19-20, Drama.  Play 11, Sc II, Seq 1- Evangelist: Luke 23:33, Narration. Sc, Lk 23:34, Drama.  Play 11, Sc II, Seq 3- Drama.  Play 11, Sc II, Seq 5- Jesus: Jn 19:26-27, Drama.
345	Jesus Derided on the Cross	27.38-43	15.27-32a	23.35-38		Play 11, Sc II, Seq 3- Drama.
346	The Two Thieves	27.44	15.32b	23.39-43		Play 11, Sc II, Seq 3- Drama.
347	The Death of Jesus	27.45-54	15.33-39	23.44-48	19.28-30	Play 11, Sc II, Seq 5- Jn 19:28, Drama.  Play 11, Sc II, Seq 7- Drama.
348	Witnesses of the Crucifixion	27.55-56	15.40-41	23.49	19.25-27	(See Pericope 344)
349	Jesus' Side Pierced				19.31-37	Play 9, Sc II, Seq 1- Caiaphas: Jn 19:31b, Direct.  Play 11, Sc II, Seq 4- Chilliarch: Jn 19:31, Direct.  Play 11, Sc II, Seq 7- 1 <sup>st</sup> and 2 <sup>nd</sup> Soldiers: Jn 19:32-33, Drama.
350	The Burial of Jesus	27.57-61	15.42-47	23.50-56	19.38-42	Play 11, Sc II, Seq 7- 1 <sup>st</sup> Soldier: Jn 19:38, Direct.  Play 11, Sc II, Seq 8- Evangelist: Jn 19:41-42, Narration.  Play 12, Sc I, Seq 3- Salome: Mt 27:60, Direct.  Play 12, Sc II, Seq 1- 4 <sup>th</sup> Elder: the Mt 27:60, Direct. . 3 <sup>rd</sup> Elder: Mt 27:57, Indirect.
351	The Guard at the Tomb	27.62-66				Play 11, Sc III. Drama.  Play 12, Sc II, Seq 1- Joseph: Mt 27:66.
<b>§ 17. The Resurrection</b>						
No.	Pericope	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	MTBK
352	The Women at the Tomb	28.1-8	16.1-8	24.1-12	20.1-13	Play 12, Sc I, Seq 1- Evangelist: Lk 24:1a, Mk 16:1, Lk 24:1b, Narration.  Play 12, Sc I, Seq 2- Sound effects: Mt 28:2, Drama.  Play 12, Sc I, Seq 3, Drama.  Play 12, Sc I, Seq 4, Drama.  Play 12, Sc I, Seq 6, Drama.  Play 12, Sc I, Seq 7, Drama.

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						Play 12, Sc II, Seq 2- John: Jn 20:8, Direct.
353	Jesus Appears to the Women	<b>28.9-10</b>	16.9-11	24.10-11	<b>20.14-18</b>	Play 12, Sc I, Seq 7- Evangelist: Jn 20:18, Narration.
354	The Report of the Guard	<b>28.11-15</b>				Play 12, Sc I, Seq 3 Mary Cleophas: Mt 28:11, Indirect.  Play 12, Sc II, Seq 1-Evangelist: Mt 28:12, Narration. Caiaphas: Mt 28:12-14, Direct.  Play 12, Sc I, Seq 5- Drama.
355	Jesus Appears to Two on the Way to Emmaus		16.12-13	<b>24.13-35</b>		Play 12, Sc II, Seq 2- Andrew: Lk 24:34. Sc, Lk 24:13-35, Drama.
356	Jesus Appears to His Disciples (Thomas being Absent)			<b>24.36-43</b>	<b>20.19-23</b>	Play 12, Sc II, Seq 2- Evangelist: Jn 20:19a, Narration. Sc: Jn 20:19b-23, Drama.  Play 12, Sc II, Seq 4- Jesus: Jn 20:22-23, Drama.
357	Jesus Appears to His Disciples (Thomas being Present)				<b>20.24-29</b>	Play 12, Sc II, Seq 4- Evangelist: Jn 20:24, 26, Narration.
358	Jesus Appears to the Eleven While They Sit at Table		16.14-18			-
359	Jesus Appears to the Eleven on a Mountain in Galilee	28.16-20				Play 12, Sc III, Drama.
360	Jesus Appears to His Disciples by the Sea of Tiberias				21.1-14	Play 12, Sc III, Drama.
361	Paul's Account of the Appearances of Jesus		1 Cor. 15.3-8			Play 12, Sc II, Seq 2- Direct.
<b>§ 18. The Endings of the Gospels</b>						
No.	Pericope	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	MBTBK
362	The Shorter Ending of Mark					-
363	The Longer Ending of Mark		<b>16.9-20</b>			Play 12, Sc III, Drama.
364	The Ending of Matthew: The Great Commission	<b>28.16-20</b>				Play 12, Sc III, Drama.
365	The Ending of Luke: Jesus' Last Words and Ascension		16.15,19	<b>24.44-53</b>		Play 12, Sc III- Jesus: Lk 25:46-49, Drama. Evangelist: Lk 24:50b-51, Narration.
366	The Ending of John				<b>20.30-31</b>	Play 12, Sc III- Evangelist: Jn 20:31, Narration.
367	The Appendix to John: Jesus at the Sea of Tiberias.				<b>21.1-25</b>	(See Pericope 360)  Play 12, Sc II, Seq 2- Matthew: Jn 21:20, Indirect.  Play 12, Sc III- Evangelist: Jn 21:1-3, 9a, 25, Narration. Sc: Drama.

**APPENDIX A: GOSPEL PERICOPAE USAGE**

The 3 tables included in this Appendix B are intended to display the results of 3 investigations of the use of biblical translations that Sayers used when writing *The Man Born to be King*, as described in Chapter 2. All information was compiled by means of using Appendix C, which, in its original format as a Microsoft Excel document, is sortable according to the category headings.

Researchers will find these tables a useful tool for further analysis of these phenomena within the text, as described in Chapter 2, since they go into much greater detail than could be included within the Chapter without breaking up the flow of the argument. My hope is that these tables could become the foundation of further study by other researchers.

**Table 1: Biblical Quotations and Allusions in the lines of Evangelist**

*Notes about the chart:*

1. *This chart and the two others that follow draw information from the Appendix C, which contains all biblical lines of characters arranged chronologically by Play, Scene, Sequence.*
2. *The column labelled 'Line Begins' gives the opening words of the speech containing the Scripture reference or of the phrase within a larger speech if, as occasionally happens, Sayers uses more than one passage in a speech. For the purposes of this analysis, a 'line' is considered a distinct verse or verses from the Gospels. If one speech in the script uses a verse from Mark and one from John, it is counted for these purposes as two 'lines'.*
3. *In the Fourth Column, where 'AV' or 'Not AV' are indicated, there is also occasionally the note 'cf' to indicate a parallel passage that was identified and compared, though found less closely related to the line in the script. As we saw in Chapter 1, Sayers was well aware of parallel passages and details from parallel passages are often incorporated into the line that is otherwise clearly following a particular Gospel verse.*

Play, Scene, Sequence	Line Begins	Reference	AV?	Notes
Play 1, Scene I	Evangelist: The beginning of the Gospel...	Mk 1:1	AV	
Play 1, Scene I	Evangelist: Now, when Jesus was born...	Mt 2:1	AV	
Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1	Evangelist: When the wise men had heard...	Mt 2:9	AV	+ 'Herod'
Play 1, Scene III	Evangelist: But the angel of the Lord...	Mt 2:13-15a	AV	slightly truncated
Play 1, Scene III	Evangelist: Then Herod saw that he was mocked by the wise men...	Mt 2:16a	AV	
Play 2, Scene I	Evangelist: Now when Jesus was thirty years old...	Lk 3:23	Detail only	
Play 2, Scene I	Evangelist: Herod Antipas was Tetrarch of Galilee...	Lk 3:1	Detail only	
Play 2, Scene I	Evangelist: And in those days came John the Baptist...	Mt 3:1	AV	

Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 1	Evangelist: he came to Bethabara beyond Jordan...	Jn 1:28	AV	
Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 1	Evangelist: Then was Jesus led up...and forty nights...	Mt 4:1-2a	AV	One word substitutio n
Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Evangelist: So they came and saw where he dwelt...	Jn 1:39b	AV	
Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Evangelist: And Andrew went to seek his brother...	Jn 1:41	Not AV	
Play 2, Scene III	Evangelist: Jesus goeth forth into Galilee and findeth Philip and Nathaniel...	Jn 1:43	AV	Nathanael added
Play 2, Scene III	Evangelist: And Jesus and his disciples came into the land of Judaea and there he...	Jn 3:22-23	AV	
Play 2, Scene III	Evangelist: And Jesus walking by the sea of Galilee...	Mk 1:16-20	AV	'fishermen' for 'fishers'
Play 2, Scene III	Evangelist: And Jesus walking by the sea of Galilee...	Mt 4:18-22	<i>cf</i>	
Play 3, Scene I	Evangelist: a marriage at Cana in Galilee...	Jn 2:1-2	AV	v 1 AV, v2 adapted
Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Evangelist: And there was a certain nobleman...	Jn 4:46b	AV	
Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 2	Evangelist: So Jesus came again into Cana...	Jn 4:46a	AV	
Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 2	Evangelist: And Jesus came to Cana and thence to Capernaum...	Lk 4:31 ( v40 ( <i>cf</i> ))	AV	
Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 2	Evangelist: And at even, when the sun was...	Mk 1:32	AV	'was' for 'did'
Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 2	Evangelist: And at even when the sun was...	Mt 8:16	<i>cf</i>	
Play 4, Scene I	Evangelist: saw a tax-collector called Matthew sitting at...	Lk 5:27-28	AV	tax- collector' for 'publican' & 'Matthew' for 'Levi'
Play 4, Scene I	Evangelist: Jesus...saw a tax- collector...	Mk 2:14	<i>cf</i> - details	
Play 4, Scene I	Evangelist: Jesus...saw a tax- collector...	Mt 9:9-10	<i>cf</i> - details	
Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 1	Evangelist: But the Pharisees took counsel with the Herodians...	Mk 3:6	AV	truncated
Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 1	Evangelist: And his fame spread throughout...	Mt 4:24a, 25	AV	
Play 4, Scene III	Evangelist: And Jesus called unto him his disciples...	Lk 6:13	AV	
Play 4, Scene III	Evangelist: That they should be always with him...	Mk 3:14	AV	
Play 4, Scene III	Evangelist: his apostles: Simon bar- Jonah...	Mt 10:2-4	Not AV	Order like Mt, some names substitute d

Play 4, Scene III	Evangelist: Now, when King Herod was keeping his birthday...	Mt 14:6-9a, 10-12	Not AV	
Play 5, Scene I	Evangelist: Then Jesus called his twelve apostles...	Lk 9:1-3a	AV	
Play 5, Scene I	Evangelist: And they departed and went through...	Lk 9:6	AV	
Play 5, Scene I	Evangelist: two by two	Mk 6:7	cf-detail	
Play 5, Scene II	Evangelist: When the twelve apostles had returned...	Mk 6:30-31a	AV	slightly adapted
Play 5, Scene III	Evangelist: So they departed into a dessert place by ship privately...	Mk 6:32-34	AV	
Play 5, Scene III	Evangelist: So they departed into a dessert place by ship privately...	Lk 9:11	cf-detail	'and healed'
Play 5, Scene III	Evangelist: And they did all eat and were filled...	Mt 14:20	AV	
Play 5, Scene III	Evangelist: And they did all eat and were filled...	Mk 6:42-43	cf-detail	
Play 5, Scene III	Evangelist: And they did all eat and were filled...	Lk 9:1	cf-detail	
Play 5, Scene V	Evangelist: This is the testimony of John the Beloved Disciple	Jn 21:20	cf-detail	
Play 5, Scene V	Evangelist: In the beginning was the Word...	Jn 1:1, 4, 14	AV	
Play 5, Scene V	Evangelist: The day following, the people on the other side...	Jn 6:22-24	Not AV	summary
Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 1	Evangelist: After these things, Jesus walked in...	Jn 7:1-2	AV	
Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 2	Evangelist: And when the time of the Feast drew...	Jn 7:2-3	Not AV	details
Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 3	Evangelist: Now at this time Pontius Pilate was...	Lk 3:1-detail	cf-details	
Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 4	Evangelist: Now the Jews and the Samaritans were...	Jn 4:9b(i.e.)	cf-details	
Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 4	Evangelist: When the time came that Jesus should...	Lk 9:51-52	Not AV	
Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 5	Evangelist: Then the Jews sought him at the Feast, and said, 'Where is he?'	Jn 7:11	AV	
Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	Evangelist: And it came to pass that he took Peter...	Lk 9:28	AV	truncated
Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	Evangelist: And it came to pass that he took Peter...	Mk 9:2	cf-details	
Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	Evangelist: And it came to pass that he took Peter...	Mt 17:1	cf-details	
Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 1	Evangelist: And it was now about the middle of the Feast. And there were many rumours about Jesus...	Jn 7:14a, 12-13	Not AV	Summary
Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 2	Evangelist: So Jesus went up into the Temple and...	Jn 7:14b-15a	AV	v14 AV, not 15a
Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 3	Evangelist: On the last day, the great day of the...	Jn 7:37a	AV	
Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 3	Evangelist: The Officers of the Guard came to the...	Jn 7:45a	AV	
Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 4	Evangelist: Jesus said: 'Think not that I am come to...	Mt 10:34	AV	

Play 7, Scene I	Evangelist: May had been a great sinner, till she met...	Composite Mary Tradition	None	
Play 7, Scene I	Evangelist: Now, in the village of Bethany, nigh...	Jn 11:1b	cf- details	
Play 7, Scene I	Evangelist: she sat at his feet...but Martha was	Lk 10:39-40a	AV	
Play 7, Scene III	Evangelist: the Jews sought to stone him, but he...	Jn 10:39-40	Not AV	truncated
Play 7, Scene III	Evangelist: Martha and Mary sent unto him saying...	Jn 11:3	Not AV	
Play 7, Scene III	Evangelist: This sickness is not unto death, but for...	Jn 11:4	AV	
Play 7, Scene IV, Sequence 1	Evangelist: When Jesus came to Bethany and found...	Jn 11:17, 19-20	AV	Lazarus' for 'he'
Play 7, Scene V	Evangelist: Then many of the Jews came to Bethany...	Jn 11:45-47a	AV	Bethany' for 'Mary'
Play 7, Scene V	Evangelist: from that day forth they took counsel...	Jn 11:53	AV	Jesus' for 'him'
Play 8, Scene I	Evangelist: Now the Feast of the Passover was nigh...	Lk 22:1	Not AV	
Play 8, Scene I	Evangelist: And Jesus set his face steadfastly to go...	Lk 9:51b	AV	
Play 8, Scene I, Sequence 2	Evangelist: And Martha served; but Lazarus was one...	Jn 12:2a&b	AV	
Play 8, Scene I, Sequence 2	Evangelist: And when Jesus came to Bethany, they...	Mt 26:6	AV	
Play 8, Scene I, Sequence 2	Evangelist: And when Jesus came to Bethany, they...	Mk 14:3a	cf- details	
Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 3	Evangelist: And there were many people went up at...	Jn 12:12	Not AV	
Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Evangelist: sent out spies to entangle Jesus in controversy...	Lk 20:20	Not AV	
Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Evangelist: And as he walked through the streets...	Mk 10:17a	Not AV	
Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 3	Evangelist: Then entered Satan into Judas...	Lk 22:3	AV	
Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 3	Evangelist: bargain with him for thirty pieces of...	Mt 26:15	Not AV	
Play 9, Scene I	Evangelist: Now on the first day of unleavened...	Mk 14:12a, 13-16,	Not AV	
Play 9, Scene I	Evangelist: Now on the first day of unleavened...	Lk 22:7-12	cf- details	
Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 1	Evangelist: But Judas, when he had received the...	Jn 13:30	Not AV	
Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 2	Evangelist: And while they were at supper, Jesus took bread...	Mk 14:22	Not AV	
Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 3	Evangelist: Then the High Priest called the Council...	Mt 26:57	cf- details	
Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 1	Evangelist: Jesus went over the brook Kendron...	Jn 18:1a	AV	
Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 1	Evangelist: unto a place called Gethsemane...	Mk 14:32	cf- details	
Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 1	Evangelist: unto a place called Gethsemane...	Mt 26:36	cf- details	

Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 3	Evangelist: And the third time Jesus came to his..	Mk 14:41	Not AV	
Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 3	Evangelist: Then all the disciples forsook him, and...	Mt 26:56b	AV	
Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 3	Evangelist: Then all the disciples forsook him, and...	Mk 14:50b	<i>cf</i> -details	
Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 1	Evangelist: Then the band and the captain and the...	Jn 18:12-13	AV	two words re-ordered
Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 1	Evangelist: But Peter followed him afar off and so did another disciple.	Jn 18:15	AV	
Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 1	Evangelist: But Peter followed him afar off and so did another disciple.	Lk 22:54	<i>cf</i>	
Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 1	Evangelist: But Peter followed him afar off and so did another disciple.	Mk 14:54	<i>cf</i>	
Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 1	Evangelist: But Peter followed him afar off and so did another disciple.	Mt 26:58	<i>cf</i>	
Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 3	Evangelist: And the Lord turned and looked upon...	Lk 22:61-62	AV	'three times over' for 'thrice'
Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 1	Evangelist: And at dawn, the elders of the people...	Lk 22:66	Not AV	
Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 1	Evangelist: And at dawn, the elders of the people...	Mk 15:1a	<i>cf</i>	
Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 1	Evangelist: And at dawn, the elders of the people...	Mt 27:1a	<i>cf</i>	
Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 2	Evangelist: And they brought many witnesses against him, but their witnesses agreed not together...	Mk 14:56	AV	first phrase adapted
Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 2	Evangelist: And they brought many witnesses against him, but their witnesses agreed not together...	Mt 26:59-60	<i>cf</i>	
Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 3	Evangelist: Then Judas, when he saw that he was...	Mt 27:3	AV	truncated
Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 3	Evangelist: And he departed, and went, and hanged himself.	Mt 27:5b	AV	truncated
Play 10, Scene III	Evangelist: Then they led Jesus into the hall of...	Jn 18:28a	AV	truncated
Play 10, Scene IV	Evangelist: When Herod saw Jesus, he questioned...	Lk 23:8a, 9, 11a	AV	
Play 10, Scene V, Sequence 3	Evangelist: Then they took Jesus and led him away...	Jn 19:16b, 19-22	AV	adapted but v21-22 AV exact
Play 11, Scene 1	Evangelist: And when Pilate delivered Jesus unto the soldiers...	Mk 15:15b	AV	truncated
Play 11, Scene 1	Evangelist: they took off the purple from him...	Mk 15:20	AV	
Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 1	Evangelist: And when they were come to the place...	Lk 23:33	AV	One word substituted
Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 5	Evangelist: And there was darkness over all the land until the ninth hour.	Mt 27:45-46	AV	
Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 7	Evangelist: And when he had received the vinegar...	Jn 19:30	AV	
Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 7	Evangelist: And he bowed his head and gave up the...	Jn 19:31	AV	



Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 7	Evangelist: Now in the place where he was crucified...	Jn 19:41-42a	AV	
Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 7	Evangelist: and the veil of the temple was rent in...	Mk 15:38	AV	
Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 7	Evangelist: and the veil of the temple was rent in...	Lk 23:45	<i>cf</i>	
Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 7	Evangelist: And the earth did quake...	Mt 27:51	AV	
Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 7	Evangelist: and the veil of the temple was rent in...	Mt 27:51	AV	
Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 7	Evangelist: And when the Centurion and they that...	Mt 27:54a	Not AV	Details used
Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 7	Evangelist: They rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre...	Mt 27:62	AV	first phrase adapted
Play 11, Scene III	Evangelist: So they went, and made the sepulchre...	Mt 27:66	AV	
Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 1	Evangelist: On the first day of the week, very early...	Lk 24:1a	AV	
Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 1	Evangelist: bringing the spices that they...	Lk 24:1b	AV	
Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 1	Evangelist: cometh Mary Magdalene...with Mary...	Mk 16:1	AV	adapted
Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 7	Evangelist: Then the disciples went away again into...	Jn 20:10-12	Not AV	
Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 7	Evangelist: Then Mary Magdalen came and...	Jn 20:18	AV	
Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 7	Evangelist: But the words seemed to them as idle tales, and they believed them not.	Lk 24:11	AV	
Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 1	Evangelist: And the chief priests, being assembled...	Mt 28:12	Not AV	
Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Evangelist: Then the same day, being the first day of...	Jn 20:19a	AV	adapted
Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 4	Evangelist: Now Thomas called Didymus was not...	Jn 20:24, 26	AV	
Play 12, Scene III	Evangelist: Two men stood by them in white...	Acts 1:10	AV	
Play 12, Scene III	Evangelist: And after forty days...	Acts 1:3	<i>cf</i> -details	
Play 12, Scene III	Evangelist: A cloud received him out of their sight...	Acts 1:9	AV	
Play 12, Scene III	Evangelist: These things were written that ye might...	Jn 20:31	AV	
Play 12, Scene III	Evangelist: After these things, Jesus showed himself...	Jn 21:1-3	AV	'Galilee' for 'Tiberius' and slight truncation
Play 12, Scene III	Evangelist: And when they had eaten, he speaketh...	Jn 21:15a	AV	'eaten' for 'dined'; 'speaketh' for 'saith'
Play 12, Scene III	Evangelist: And there are also many other things...	Jn 21:25	AV	

Play 12, Scene III	Evangelist: for they were but a hundred yards from shore...	Jn 21:8	Not AV	
Play 12, Scene III	Evangelist: So they came in and landed...	Jn 21:9a	Not AV	
Play 12, Scene III	Evangelist: unto the Mount of Olives...	Lk 24:50	AV	truncated
Play 12, Scene III	Evangelist: And he lifted up his hands and blessed...	Lk 24:50b-51	AV	truncated
Play 12, Scene III	Evangelist: Even so come, Lord Jesus.	Revelation 22:20b	AV	

Table 2: Old Testament Quotations and Allusions

Play, Scene, Sequence	Line Begins	Reference	AV, RV, Neither	Notes
Play 1, Scene I	Balthazar: uttermost ends of the world	Isaiah 24:16	Neither	
Play 1, Scene I	High Priest: Book of the Prophet Micah	Micah 5:2	AV	
Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1	Joseph: The nations shall come to thy light	Isaiah 60:3	AV/RV	'nations' vs. 'Gentiles' is only AV/RV difference
Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1	Joseph: A bundle of myrrh is my beloved to me	Song of Solomon 1:13a	AV	'beloved' for 'wellbeloved' as in RV, but word order AV
Play 1, Scene III	Matthias: the law which forbids graven images	Exodus 20:4	Details Only	
Play 2, Scene I	Miriam: like Joshua and the Ark	Joshua 3:1-17	Details Only	
Play 2, Scene I	John: Wash and be clean	Isaiah 1:16	Neither	
Play 2, Scene I	John: the great and terrible day of the Lord	Malachi 4:5	RV	'terrible' instead of 'dreadful'
Play 2, Scene I	John: Only a voice crying in the desert	Isaiah 40:3	Details Only	
Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 1	John Baptist: He is despised and rejected of men	Isaiah 53:3	AV	
Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 1	John Evangelist: Surely he hath borne our griefs	Isaiah 53:4	AV	
Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 1	John Evangelist: wounded for our transgressions	Isaiah 53:5	AV	
Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 1	John Evangelist: He is brought as a lamb to the	Isaiah 53:7b	AV	
Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 1	John Baptist: He shall see of the travail of his soul	Isaiah 53:11	AV	
Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: It says in the Scriptures: Man doth not	Deuteronomy 8:3	AV	
Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: Thou shalt not put God to the proof	Deuteronomy 6:16	Neither	
Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: 'Thou shalt serve the Lord thy God and do homage to him alone.'	Deuteronomy 6:13	Neither	
Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Benjamin: He gives, and he takes away.	Job 1:21b	Neither	adapted
Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Issachar: Blessed be His name.	Job 1:21c	Neither	adapted
Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Jesus: The Lord whom you seek will suddenly come	Malachi 3:1b, 3	AV	
Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Jesus: My house shall be called the house of prayer	Isaiah 56:7	AV	'the house' for 'a house'
Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Jesus: but you have made it a den of thieves	Jeremiah 7:11	Neither	
Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Simon: The zeal of the Lord will accomplish this	Isaiah 37:32	Neither	

Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Benjamin: God that didst restore the widow's son	1 Kings 17:7-24	Details Only	
Play 4, Scene I	Jesus: a split cane or smother a smouldering fire	Isaiah 42:3	Neither	
Play 4, Scene I	Judas: 'a prisoner of hope'	Zechariah 9:12	AV	
Play 4, Scene I	Judas: Like Moses on Mount Pisgah	Deuteronomy 3:27	Details Only	
Play 4, Scene I	Judas: But Joshua was the one to lead the people	Deuteronomy 34:9	Details Only	
Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 2	Caiaphas: Spoiling the Egyptians	Exodus 12:35-36	AV	
Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: The very messenger of God	Malachi 3:1	Details Only	
Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	Peter: I knew them for blessed Moses who talked	Exodus 19:1-25	Details Only	
Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	Peter: and holy Elijah, who passed up to heaven	2 Kings 2:11-12	Details Only	
Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	Peter: I thought of the Ark in the wilderness	Numbers 10:33-34 (i.e.)	Details Only	
Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	Peter: the glory of the Lord in the pillar of fire	Exodus 13:21	Details Only	
Play 7, Scene I	Jesus: When he established the foundations of the	Proverbs 8:27a,30-31	Neither	adapted
Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: And God looked at everything He had made	Genesis 1:31a	Neither	adapted
Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: "Say to the daughter of Zion: Behold thy salvation cometh	Isaiah 62:11	AV	
Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 1	Caiaphas: eat it in haste—as Moses commanded	Exodus 12:11	AV	
Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 3	Caiaphas: our Law requires the agreement of two	Deuteronomy 17:6, 19:15	Details Only	
Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 6	Jesus: I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep will	Zechariah 13:7	AV	
Play 11, Scene I	Centurion: Goes like a lamb to the slaughter.	Isaiah 53:7b	AV	
Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 2	Caiaphas: Jewry was to be a garden enclosed	Song of Solomon 4:12	AV	spelling change - 'enclosed' for 'inclosed'
Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	Mary Magdalen: O Look and see if there is any	Lamentations 1:12	Neither	See Reproaches from Good Friday liturgy
Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 1	Nicodemus: with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm	Deuteronomy 26:8	AV	
Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 1	Nicodemus: Curse ye, Meroz, saith the Lord!	Judges 5:23	AV	'The Lord' for 'The angel of the Lord'
Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 1	Nicodemus: Will not the Lord be avenged on such	Jeremiah 5:29	AV	

Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 1	Nicodemus: A wonderful and horrible thing is come to pass in the land	Jeremiah 5:30	AV	AV 'committed' vs 'come to pass' RV
Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Mary Cleophas: despised and rejected, and to know	Isaiah 53:3	AV	
Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Cleophas: How he should rise up again, like a plant	Isaiah 11:1	Neither	adapted

**Table 3: Biblical Quotations and Allusions from the Psalms**

*Note: an “\*” indicates times when the AV and Coverdale Psalms have different verse numberings.*

Play, Scene, Sequence	Line Beings	Reference, according to the AV	Coverdale, AV, Both, Neither	Notes
Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1	(1941 Typescript) Joseph: Kings of Tharsis and of the Isles shall bring presents	Psalms 72:10	Coverdale	- 'bring' instead of 'give'
Play 2, Scene I	Crowd: Have mercy, O God! O God, spare Thy people.	Psalms 28:9	Neither	detail
Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: God’s angels will hold you up	Psalms 91:11-12	Neither	paraphrase
Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Issachar: pilgrims going up and down	Psalms 122:4	-	detail
Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Simon: Zeal of thine house hath devoured me	Psalms 69:9	Both	‘devoured’ instead of ‘even eaten me’ or ‘eaten me up’
Play 5, Scene II	Judas: “Hungry and thirsty their soul fainted	Psalms 107:5	Both	
Play 5, Scene IV	Matthew: They that go down to the sea in ships see the wonders of the Lord	Psalms 107:23-24	Both	truncated
Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: Yes, James. “The City of Zion is a fair place	Psalms 48:2	Coverdale	- 'city' instead of 'hill'
Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 2	Peter: Good luck have thou with thine honour	Psalms 45:4	Coverdale	C-Ps 45:5*
Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 3	Pilgrim: How long. O Lord, how long?	Psalms 80:4	-	detail
Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 3	Annas: Put not your trust in any child of man	Psalms 146:3	Coverdale	Truncated, C-Ps 146:2*
Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: Out of the deep, O Lord, out of the deep	Psalms 130:1	Neither	adapted
Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: all thy waves have gone over me	Psalms 42:7	Both	C- Ps 42:9*
Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 3	Judas: If I climb up into Heaven He is there	Psalms 139:8	Coverdale	C- Ps 139:7*
Play 11, Scene I	Mary Cleophas: His head is lifted toward the hills	Psalms 121:1	-	detail
Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 5	John: My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?	Psalms 22:1	AV	Quoting Mt 27:46/ Mk 15:34
Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 1	Nicodemus: Rise up O Lord, into Thy resting-place	Psalms 132:8	Coverdale	'Rise up' for 'Arise'
Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Mary Cleophas: his hands and feet pierced	Psalms 22:16	-	Detail, C- Ps 22:17*



## APPENDIX C: Biblical and Traditional References in The Man Born to be King

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This Appendix is a complete list of every known biblical and traditional reference within *The Man Born to be King*. This is intended to be a reference tool for scholars to find sources of quotation quickly. It was originally created in Microsoft Excel, which enables it to be sortable according to the columns, which allows for easy organisation of the table by Scene, by character who speaks the line or order of the references by biblical book.

This table was created because, as first of all a reader of Sayers plays, I wished there was a printed reference list. It would be a valuable addition to a readers' edition of the plays. It would also serve as a valuable beginning for a critical edition of the plays.

Order	Play, Scene, Sequence	Line	Reference
1	Play 1, Scene I	Evangelist: The beginning of the Gospel	Mk 1:1
2	Play 1, Scene I	Evangelist: Now, when Jesus was born	Mt 2:1
3	Play 1, Scene I	Ephraim: register under the new census	Lk 2:1
4	Play 1, Scene I	Ephraim: angels appearing at Bethlehem	Lk 2:18
5	Play 1, Scene I	Ephraim: Foreign princelings, astrologers	Mt 2:1
6	Play 1, Scene I	Ephraim: message from the stars	Mt 2:2
7	Play 1, Scene I	Caspar: the hidden wisdom	I Corinthians 2:7
8	Play 1, Scene I	Balthazar: uttermost ends of the world	Isaiah 24:16
9	Play 1, Scene I	Balthazar: an everlasting sceptre	Psalms 45:6 (i.e.)
10	Play 1, Scene I	Melchior: Show us him that is born	Mt 2:2
11	Play 1, Scene I	Balthazar: We have seen his star	Mt 2:2
12	Play 1, Scene I	Melchior: nine months long	Mt 2:7
13	Play 1, Scene I	Melchior: priest and king	Psalms 110 (i.e.)
14	Play 1, Scene I	Herod: Hasmoneans...priests and kings	I Maccabees 13 (i.e.)
15	Play 1, Scene I	Herod: I slew my own sons for treason	Josephus
16	Play 1, Scene I	High Priest: in Bethlehem	Mt 2:5
17	Play 1, Scene I	High Priest: Book of the Prophet Micah	Micah 5:2
18	Play 1, Scene I	Herod: When did this royal star appear	Mt 2:7
19	Play 1, Scene I	Balthazar: Twelve days ago	Traditional
20	Play 1, Scene I	Melchior: kingdom shall stretch	Malachi 1:11
21	Play 1, Scene I	Caspar: both sacrifice and priest	Hebrews 10:10-12
22	Play 1, Scene I	Balthazar: Prince of Peace	Isaiah 9:6
23	Play 1, Scene I	Herod: When you find him	Mt 2:8
24	Play 1, Scene I	Herod: Caesar Augustus	Lk 2:1
25	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1	Evangelist: When the wise men had heard	Mt 2:9
26	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1	Wife: Never cries hardly at all	Traditional
27	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1	Joseph: Star...right over the house	Mt 2:9
28	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1	Wife: you being such a fine carpenter	Mt 13:55
29	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1	Wife: The old stable over in the inn	Lk 2:7
30	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1	Wife: what Dad told us about...the angels	Lk 2:8-14
31	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1	Wife: little boy being the Messiah	Lk 2:11



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32	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1	Zillah: Three great kings...coming to see	Mt 2:11
33	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1	Joseph: The nations shall come to thy light	Isaiah 60:3
34	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1	Mary: Give me my son into my arms	Traditional art <i>Adoration of the Magi</i> tableau
35	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1	Wife: on his golden throne...precious lamb	Revelation 5:6
36	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1	Caspar: lady clear as the sun, fair as the moon	Revelation 12:1
37	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1	Mary: my son should be the Messiah of Israel	Lk 1:33
38	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1	Mary: tidings of joy to all nations	Lk 2:10
39	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1	Mary: should be called the Son of God	Lk 1:35
40	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1	Caspar: much learning dries the heart	Ecclesiastes 12:12, (e.g.)
41	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1	Balthazar: sharing the miseries of his own world	Philippians 2:8
42	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1	Mary: the Lord put a song in my heart	Lk 1:46
43	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1	Mary: wealth and cleverness are nothing to God	Lk 1:51-52
44	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1	Mary: I am quite humbly born yet the Power of God came	Psalms 40:17 (e.g.)
45	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1	Mary: the Power of God came upon me	Lk 1:35
46	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1	Mary: Word of God was spoken to me	Lk 1:28 (i.e.)
47	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1	Three gifts: gold, frankincense and myrrh	Mt 2:11
48	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1	All three Kings: Blessed are you among women	Lk 1:42
49	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1	Balthazar: Mary, Mother of God	Council of Ephesus, 431
50	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1	(1941 Typescript) Joseph: Kings of Tharsis and of the Isles shall bring presents	Psalms 72:10
51	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1	Mary: See now... taken your sorrows for his own	Isaiah 53:4
52	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1	Joseph: A bundle of myrrh is my beloved to me	Song of Solomon 1:13a
53	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1	Mary: ponder them in my heart	Lk 2:19
54	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 2	Balthazar: Mortal-Immortal	Council of Chalcedon, 451
55	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 2	Balthazar: within him was the light of life	Jn 1:4
56	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 2	Magis dream	Mt 2:12a
57	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 2	Melchior: sword plunged in the heart of Mary	Lk 2:35
58	Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 2	Caspar: return to our own country another way	Mt 2:12b
59	Play 1, Scene III	Evangelist: Then Herod saw that he was mocked by the wise men	Mt 2:16a
60	Play 1, Scene III	Boy: They've torn down the Eagle	Josephus
61	Play 1, Scene III	Matthias: the law which forbids graven images	Exodus 20:4
62	Play 1, Scene III	Matthias: life up your hearts	Traditional - The Mass, (i.e.) Ps 121, Ps 24
63	Play 1, Scene III	Herod: all male children from two years and under	Mt 2:16b

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64	Play 1, Scene III	Evangelist: But the angel of the Lord	Mt 2:13-15a
65	Play 2, Scene I	Evangelist: Now when Jesus was thirty years old	Lk 3:23
66	Play 2, Scene I	Evangelist: Herod Antipas was Tetrarch of Galilee	Lk 3:1
67	Play 2, Scene I	Evangelist: And in those days came John the Baptist	Mt 3:1
68	Play 2, Scene I	John: Repent ye, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand	Mt 3:2
69	Play 2, Scene I	Father: preaching in the desert	Mt 3:1
70	Play 2, Scene I	Father: preaching in the desert	Mk 1:4-5
71	Play 2, Scene I	Father: yon side of the river	Jn 1:28
72	Play 2, Scene I	Miriam: camel-hair shirt...locusts and wild honey	Mt 3:4
73	Play 2, Scene I	Miriam: camel-hair shirt...locusts and wild honey	Mk 1:6
74	Play 2, Scene I	Miriam: like Joshua and the Ark	Joshua 3:1-17
75	Play 2, Scene I	Driver: Be good...and the Lord will provide	Proverbs- general
76	Play 2, Scene I	Hannah: John's father, Zacharias, was a priest	Lk 1:5
77	Play 2, Scene I	Hannah: pious old man, and so was his wife	Lk 1:6
78	Play 2, Scene I	Hannah: In Old King Herod's day	Lk 1:5
79	Play 2, Scene I	Hannah: hadn't any children	Lk 1:7
80	Play 2, Scene I	Hannah: Zacharias was offering incense	Lk 1:9
81	Play 2, Scene I	Hannah: Saw an angel...standing at the right-hand	Lk 1:11
82	Play 2, Scene I	Hannah: It was the Angel Gabriel	Lk 1:19
83	Play 2, Scene I	Hannah: angel said: "Don't be afraid..."	Lk 1:13-15
84	Play 2, Scene I	Hannah: can't believe it now unless you give me a sign	Lk 1:18
85	Play 2, Scene I	Hannah: Elizabeth <i>did</i> have a baby...His name is John	Lk 1:57-64
86	Play 2, Scene I	Hannah: grew up with a strong sense of dedication	Lk 1:80
87	Play 2, Scene I	Hannah: Jesus Bar-Joseph	Jn 6:42
88	Play 2, Scene I	Judas: I come from Kerioth (Iscaiot= Is-Kerioth)	Mt 10:4 ( <i>i.e.</i> )
89	Play 2, Scene I	John: coming as the Prophets foretold.	Mt 3:2-3
90	Play 2, Scene I	Crowd: Blessed be the God of Israel!	Lk 1:68( <i>i.e.</i> )
91	Play 2, Scene I	John: what will he find when he comes?	Lk 18:8
92	Play 2, Scene I	Crowd: Have mercy, O God! O God, spare Thy people.	Psalms 28:9
93	Play 2, Scene I	Crowd: Have mercy, O God! O God, spare Thy people.	Joel 2:17
94	Play 2, Scene I	John: Sackcloth and ashes!	Jeremiah 6:23 ( <i>i.e.</i> )
95	Play 2, Scene I	John: Wash and be clean	Isaiah 1:16
96	Play 2, Scene I	John: the great and terrible day of the Lord	Malachi 4:5

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97	Play 2, Scene I	John: brood of vipers! Who warned you to flee from the vengeance to come?	Mt 3:7
98	Play 2, Scene I	John: brood of vipers! Who warned you to flee from the vengeance to come?	Lk 3:7
99	Play 2, Scene I	John: He could raise them out of these desert stones	Mt 3:9
100	Play 2, Scene I	John: He could raise them out of these desert stones	Lk 3:8
101	Play 2, Scene I	John: cut down at the roots and thrown into the fire	Mt 3:10
102	Play 2, Scene I	John: cut down at the roots and thrown into the fire	Lk 3:9
103	Play 2, Scene I	Voice: If keeping the Law...what are we to do?	Lk 3:10
104	Play 2, Scene I	John: sharing it with some of these poor children?	Lk 3:11
105	Play 2, Scene I	John: I am not the Messiah	Jn 1:20
106	Play 2, Scene I	John: I am not [Elijah]	Jn 1:21a
107	Play 2, Scene I	John: No [not one of the prophets]	Jn 1:21b
108	Play 2, Scene I	1 <sup>st</sup> Levite: Then who <i>do</i> you pretend to be?	Jn 1:22
109	Play 2, Scene I	John: Only a voice crying in the desert.	Isaiah 40:3
110	Play 2, Scene I	John: Only a voice crying in the desert.	Jn 1:23
111	Play 2, Scene I	2 <sup>nd</sup> Levite: by whose authority you baptise	Jn 1:24
112	Play 2, Scene I	John: to tie his shoelaces	Mt 3:11a
113	Play 2, Scene I	John: to tie his shoelaces	Mk 1:7-8
114	Play 2, Scene I	John: to tie his shoelaces	Lk 3:16a
115	Play 2, Scene I	John: to tie his shoelaces	Jn 1:26-27
116	Play 2, Scene I	John: He will baptise with spirit and with fire	Mt 3:11b
117	Play 2, Scene I	John: He will baptise with spirit and with fire	Lk 3:16b
118	Play 2, Scene I	John: Christ will come among you like a man thrashing corn.	Lk 3:17
119	Play 2, Scene I	John: Christ will come among you like a man thrashing corn.	Mt. 3:12
120	Play 2, Scene I	1 <sup>st</sup> Candidate: I am a tax-collector...don't collect more	Lk 3:11-12
121	Play 2, Scene I	2 <sup>nd</sup> Candidate: Soldier...don't grumble about your pay	Lk 3:13-14
122	Play 2, Scene I	Hannah: with the short gold beard, do you mean?	Traditional art depiction
123	Play 2, Scene I	John: You come to me for baptism?	Mt 3:14
124	Play 2, Scene I	Jesus: It's right to begin this way	Mt 3:15
125	Play 2, Scene I	Isaac: That was God talking	Mt 3:16
126	Play 2, Scene I	Isaac: That was God talking	Mk 1:11
127	Play 2, Scene I	Isaac: That was God talking	Lk 3:22
128	Play 2, Scene I	Jesus: I like children's questions	Mt 19:14 ( <i>i.e.</i> )
129	Play 2, Scene I	Jesus: I like children's questions	Lk 18:16 ( <i>i.e.</i> )

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130	Play 2, Scene I	Jesus: I saw Heaven opened, and the Spirit of God	Mt 3:16-17
131	Play 2, Scene I	Jesus: I saw Heaven opened, and the Spirit of God	Mk 1:10-11
132	Play 2, Scene I	Jesus: I saw Heaven opened, and the Spirit of God	Lk 3:21-22
133	Play 2, Scene I	John Baptist: I heard and saw.	Jn 1:32
134	Play 2, Scene I	John Baptist: One day you will see the Spirit of God	Jn 1:33
135	Play 2, Scene I	Jesus: God stoop under the weight of man's sin	Psalms 81:6 (i.e.)
136	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 1	Evangelist: Then was Jesus led up...and forty nights	Mt 4:1-2a
137	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 1	Evangelist: he came to Bethabara beyond Jordan	Jn 1:28
138	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 1	Andrew: his attacks on Herod are attracting attention.	Mk 6:18
139	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 1	Andrew: his attacks on Herod are attracting attention.	Mt 14:4
140	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 1	Andrew: his attacks on Herod are attracting attention.	Lk 3:19
141	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 1	Judas: He respects John Baptist and listens to him	Mk 6:20
142	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 1	Andrew: Herodias will never forgive	Mk 6:19
143	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 1	John Baptist: he came walking by the river	Jn 1:29
144	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 1	John Baptist: Shekinah of glory that rested	Exodus 40:34-35
145	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 1	John Baptist: This is he of whom I spoke	Jn 1:30
146	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 1	John Baptist: he was before me from the beginning	Jn 1:30
147	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 1	John Baptist: He is despised and rejected of men	Isaiah 53:3
148	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 1	John Evangelist: Surely he hath borne our griefs	Isaiah 53:4
149	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 1	John Evangelist: wounded for our transgressions	Isaiah 53:5
150	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 1	John Evangelist: He is brought as a lamb to the	Isaiah 53:7b
151	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 1	John Baptist: There walks the Lamb of God	Jn 1:29
152	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 1	John Evangelist: I must follow him	Jn 1:37
153	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 1	John Baptist: He shall see of the travail of his soul	Isaiah 53:11
154	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 2	The two disciples follow Jesus	Jn 1:37
155	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: What are you looking for? Do you want me?	Jn 1:38a
156	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 2	Andrew: if you could tell us where you live	Jn 1:38b
157	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: Come and see	Jn 1:39
158	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Evangelist: So they came and saw where he dwelt	Jn 1:39b
159	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Evangelist: And Andrew went to seek his brother	Jn 1:41
160	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: The road to the kingdom is narrow and steep	Mt 7:14

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161	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: giving up everything that may stand in the way	Mt. 10:37
162	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: giving up everything that may stand in the way	Mt 19:27
163	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: giving up everything that may stand in the way	Mk 10:28
164	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: The Kingdom of heaven is like that [a pearl]	Mt 13:44-46
165	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	John Evangelist: lay down my life for you. Jesus: And I for you.	Jn 15:13
166	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Andrew: I said, "Simon, we've found the Messiah,	Jn 1:40-42
167	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: Peter, the Rock	Jn 1:42b
168	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: I went into the desert to pray	Mt 4:1
169	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: I went into the desert to pray	Mk 1:12
170	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: I went into the desert to pray	Lk 4:1
171	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: And after forty days...I was very hungry	Mt 4:2
172	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: And after forty days...I was very hungry	Lk 4:2
173	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: these stones will be turned into bread	Lk 4:3
174	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: these stones will be turned into bread	Mt 4:3
175	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: It says in the Scriptures: Man doth not	Mt 4:4
176	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: It says in the Scriptures: Man doth not	Lk 4:4
177	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: It says in the Scriptures: Man doth not	Deuteronomy 8:3
178	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: we stood on the topmost pinnacle of the Temple	Mt 4:5
179	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: we stood on the topmost pinnacle of the Temple	Lk 4:19
180	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: If you are the Son of God—throw yourself down	Mt 4:6
181	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: If you are the Son of God—throw yourself down	Lk 4:9-10
182	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: God's angels will hold you up	Psalms 91:11-12
183	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: Thou shalt not put God to the proof	Mt 4:7
184	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: Thou shalt not put God to the proof	Lk 4:12
185	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: Thou shalt not put God to the proof	Deuteronomy 6:16
186	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: He took me up into a very high mountain	Lk 4:5-7
187	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: He took me up into a very high mountain	Mt 4:8-9
188	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: 'Thou shalt serve the Lord thy God and do homage to him alone.'	Mt 4:10
189	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: 'Thou shalt serve the Lord thy God and do homage to him alone.'	Lk 4:8
190	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: 'Thou shalt serve the Lord thy God and do homage to him alone.'	Deuteronomy 6:13

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191	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: The Kingdom is like...your wife making bread	Mt 13:33
192	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: The Kingdom is like...your wife making bread	Lk 13:20-21
193	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: You may yet see the Messiah riding into Jerusalem	Mt 21:11, <i>Foreshadow</i>
194	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: You may yet see the Messiah riding into Jerusalem	Mk 11:11, <i>Foreshadow</i>
195	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: You may yet see the Messiah riding into Jerusalem	Lk 19:37, <i>Foreshadow</i>
196	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: You may yet see the Messiah riding into Jerusalem	Jn 12:12, <i>Foreshadow</i>
197	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: you will see signs and wonders	Jn 14:12 ( <i>i.e.</i> )
198	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: I haven't come to take away the Law, but to show you how to keep it.	Mt 5:17
199	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	(1941 Typescript) Jesus: This is holiness—to love, and do as you like	Augustine
200	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: for love can do no wrong.	Romans 13:10, ( <i>i.e.</i> )
201	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: So simple that only children really <i>can</i> understand it.	Mt 11:25
202	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: Wherever there is love, there is the Kingdom of God	1 Jn 4:16 ( <i>i.e.</i> )
203	Play 2, Scene II, Sequence 3	Simon: in Bethsaida	Jn 1:44
204	Play 2, Scene III	Evangelist: Jesus goeth forth into Galilee and findeth Philip and Nathaniel	Jn 1:43
205	Play 2, Scene III	Evangelist: And Jesus and his disciples came into the land of Judaea and there he baptised	Jn 3:22-23
206	Play 2, Scene III	2 <sup>nd</sup> Jew: There's a man going about in Galilee...but he baptises with water, same as you	Jn 3:26
207	Play 2, Scene III	John Baptist: No man can do more than the task that God has set him...I am not the Messiah	Jn 3:27-28
208	Play 2, Scene III	John Baptist: You know how it is at a wedding...Best man...Bridegroom...more to him, less to me	Jn 3:29-30
209	Play 2, Scene III	Voice: By order of Herod, Tetrarch of Galilee...	Lk 3:20
210	Play 2, Scene III	Voice: By order of Herod, Tetrarch of Galilee...	Mt 14:1&3
211	Play 2, Scene III	Voice: By order of Herod, Tetrarch of Galilee...	Mk 6:17
212	Play 2, Scene III	Evangelist: And Jesus walking by the sea of Galilee saw Simon and Andrew...James...and John...and followed him	Mk 1:16-20
213	Play 2, Scene III	Evangelist: And Jesus walking by the sea of Galilee saw Simon and Andrew...James...and John...and followed him	Mt 4:18-22 (cf)
214	Play 3, Scene I	Evangelist: a marriage at Cana in Galilee	Jn 2:1-2
215	Play 3, Scene I	Reuben: I thought six'd be enough (stone jars)	Jn 2:6

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216	Play 3, Scene I	Rebecca: no doubt his cousins can manage	Mk 6:3
217	Play 3, Scene I	Rebecca: no doubt his cousins can manage	Mt 13:55
218	Play 3, Scene I	Rebecca: quite ridiculous... people who know him	Mk 6:3
219	Play 3, Scene I	Rebecca: quite ridiculous... people who know him	Mt 13:55
220	Play 3, Scene I	Susannah: angels at his birth	Lk 2
221	Play 3, Scene I	Susannah: the prophecies	Lk 1
222	Play 3, Scene I	Susannah: the visit of the wise kings	Mt 2
223	Play 3, Scene I	Mary: twelve years old we went up to Jerusalem	Lk 2:42
224	Play 3, Scene I	Mary: he got left behind	Lk 2:43-44
225	Play 3, Scene I	Mary: my husband and I went back to look for him	Lk 2:45
226	Play 3, Scene I	Mary: sitting at the feet of the Elders...	Lk 2:46
227	Play 3, Scene I	Mary: It's not kind to behave like this	Lk 2:48
228	Play 3, Scene I	Mary: This is my father's house—surely you knew	Lk 2:49
229	Play 3, Scene I	Mary: like a sword going through my heart	Lk 2:35
230	Play 3, Scene I	Mary: he was tender and obedient as any son	Lk 2:51
231	Play 3, Scene I	Mary: I must be about my Father's business	Lk 2:49
232	Play 3, Scene I	Steward: my lord Benjamin, pray come up higher	Lk 14:10
233	Play 3, Scene I	John: telling the good news of the kingdom	Mt 4:17
234	Play 3, Scene I	John: telling the good news of the kingdom	Lk 4:43
235	Play 3, Scene I	John: You must be the happiest woman in the world	Lk 1:42
236	Play 3, Scene I	Conversation: From Nazareth- good heavens!	Jn 1:46 (i.e.)
237	Play 3, Scene I	Benjamin: Didn't know prophets came to parties	Mt 11:19 (i.e.)
238	Play 3, Scene I	Benjamin: Didn't know prophets came to parties	Lk 7:34 (i.e.)
239	Play 3, Scene I	Benjamin: John Baptist whom Herod...into gaol	Lk 3:20
240	Play 3, Scene I	Benjamin: John Baptist whom Herod...into gaol	Mt 14:1&3
241	Play 3, Scene I	Benjamin: John Baptist whom Herod...into gaol	Mk 6:17
242	Play 3, Scene I	Benjamin: good wife and a happy home...blessing	Proverbs 18:22
243	Play 3, Scene I	Jesus: The Kingdom of Heaven is within you	Lk 17:21
244	Play 3, Scene I	Jesus: only the Father ... hour of its coming	Mk 13:32
245	Play 3, Scene I	Jesus: only the Father ... hour of its coming	Mt 24:36
246	Play 3, Scene I	Jesus: the Kingdom...is like ten bridesmaids...	Mt 25:1-13

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247	Play 3, Scene I	Susannah: Just a simple story	Mt 13:34 (i.e.)
248	Play 3, Scene I	Mary: They have no wine	Jn 2:3
249	Play 3, Scene I	Jesus: Woman, why do you trouble me?	Jn 2:4
250	Play 3, Scene I	Jesus: My time has not yet come.	Jn 2:4
251	Play 3, Scene I	John: Fix your eyes on the Master's face	Psalm 123:2 (i.e.)
252	Play 3, Scene I	Mary: Whatever he tells you to do—do it.	Jn 2:5
253	Play 3, Scene I	Jesus: water pots there—fill them up with water	Jn 2:7
254	Play 3, Scene I	John: stir that goes before the rising of a great wind	Acts 2:2 (i.e.)
255	Play 3, Scene I	John: stir that goes before the rising of a great wind	Jonah 1:4 (i.e.)
256	Play 3, Scene I	John: stir that goes before the rising of a great wind	1 Kings 19:11-12 (i.e.)
257	Play 3, Scene I	Jesus: Draw out now, and carry it to the steward	Jn 2:8
258	Play 3, Scene I	Reuben: This is not water, Issachar: It is wine	Jn 2:9
259	Play 3, Scene I	Mary: the angel told me that I should bear a son	Lk 1:31
260	Play 3, Scene I	Mary: For he fills the hungry with good things	Lk 1:53
261	Play 3, Scene I	Steward: you have kept the best wine until now	Jn 2:10
262	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Evangelist: And there was a certain nobleman	Jn 4:46b
263	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Issachar: The hand of the Lord is heavy upon your house.	Psalm 32:4 (i.e.)
264	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Benjamin: He gives, and he takes away.	Job 1:21b
265	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Issachar: Blessed be His name.	Job 1:21c
266	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Issachar: He only said, 'fill' and then 'draw out'	Jn 2:7-8
267	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Issachar: [Jesus] went up to Passover last week	Jn 2:13
268	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Issachar: that court is like...a fair	Jn 2:14
269	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Issachar: pilgrims going up and down	Psalm 122:4
270	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Issachar: Jesus of Nazareth...scourge of whip-chord	Jn 2:15
271	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Jesus: The Lord whom you seek will suddenly come	Malachi 3:1b, 3
272	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Jesus: Out of my sight, robbers...my father's house	Jn 2:16
273	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Issachar: And he fell upon them with his whip	Jn 2:15
274	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Levite: But sir it is a scandal	Mt 21:15
275	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Jesus: My house shall be called the house of prayer	Isaiah 56:7
276	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Jesus: My house shall be called the house of prayer	Lk 19:46
277	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Jesus: My house shall be called the house of prayer	Mt 21:13



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278	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Jesus: but you have made it a den of thieves	Jeremiah 7:11
279	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Jesus: but you have made it a den of thieves	Lk 19:46
280	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Jesus: but you have made it a den of thieves	Mt 21:13
281	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Simon: The zeal of the Lord will accomplish this	Isaiah 37:32
282	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Simon: Zeal of thine house hath devoured me	Jn 2:17
283	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Simon: Zeal of thine house hath devoured me	Psalms 69:9
284	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	1 <sup>st</sup> Elder: give us a sign of your authority	Jn 2:18
285	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Jesus: Destroy this Temple of God, and in three days	Jn 2:19
286	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	3 <sup>rd</sup> Elder: Six and forty years it took to build it	Jn 2:20
287	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Issachar: great crowd followed...hung on his words	Jn 2:23
288	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Benjamin: God that didst restore the widow's son	1 Kings 17:7-24
289	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 1	Benjamin: to look for Jesus of Nazareth	Jn 4:47
290	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 2	Evangelist: So Jesus came again into Cana	Jn 4:46a
291	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: nobody can serve two masters	Lk 16:13
292	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: nobody can serve two masters	Mt 6:24
293	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: You mustn't worry...the birds...the flowers	Mt 6:25-34
294	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: You mustn't worry...the birds...the flowers	Lk 12:22-32
295	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: Ask...seek...knock	Mt 7:7-12
296	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: Ask...seek...knock	Lk 11:9-13
297	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: Then if you, who are sinful men, know how	Mt:7:11
298	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: Then if you, who are sinful men, know how	Lk 11:13
299	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 2	Benjamin: My only son is sick, dying	Jn 4:47
300	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: Unless you see miracles...will believe nothing	Jn 4:48
301	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 2	Benjamin: Sir, come down before my child dies	Jn 4:49
302	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: Go your way. Your son shall live.	Jn 4:50a
303	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 2	Benjamin: I believe you	Jn 4:50b
304	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 2	Groom: a bunch of people coming up the road	Jn 4:51
305	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 2	Dorcas: Yesterday, at the seventh hour.	Jn 4:52
306	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 2	Benjamin: At the seventh hour he told me	Jn 4:53
307	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 2	Evangelist: And Jesus came to Cana and thence	Lk 4:31, 40
308	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 2	Evangelist: And Jesus came to Cana and thence	Mt 8:16 (only 'demon-possessed')

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309	Play 3, Scene II, Sequence 2	Evangelist: (all that were diseased) or possessed with devils	Mk 1:32 (only 'demon-possessed')
310	Play 4, Scene I	Evangelist: saw a tax-collector called Matthew sitting at	Lk 5:27-28
311	Play 4, Scene I	Evangelist: Now after Jesus...saw a tax-collector	Mt 9:9-10 (cf)
312	Play 4, Scene I	Evangelist: Now after Jesus...saw a tax-collector	Mk 2:14 (cf)
313	Play 4, Scene I	Jesus: there once was a rich man who had a steward	Lk 16:1-9
314	Play 4, Scene I	Jesus: worldly people, you see, use far more wisdom	Lk 16:8b
315	Play 4, Scene I	Jesus: learn how to deal with the world	Lk 16:9
316	Play 4, Scene I	Jesus: a split cane or smother a smouldering fire	Isaiah 42:3
317	Play 4, Scene I	Judas: He is still a prisoner – in the fortress	Mt 4:12
318	Play 4, Scene I	Judas: He is still a prisoner – in the fortress	Mk 1:14
319	Play 4, Scene I	Judas: so long as the Queen forgets him	Mk 6:16
320	Play 4, Scene I	Judas: Lord turn and visit his people	Lk 1:68 (i.e.)
321	Play 4, Scene I	Judas: Lord turn and visit his people	Lk 7:16 (i.e)
322	Play 4, Scene I	Judas: he sent me and two others to look for you	Mt 11:1-6
323	Play 4, Scene I	Judas: he sent me and two others to look for you	Lk 7:18-23
324	Play 4, Scene I	Judas: 'a prisoner of hope'	Zechariah 9:12
325	Play 4, Scene I	Judas: Like Moses on Mount Pisgah	Deuteronomy 3:27
326	Play 4, Scene I	Judas: But Joshua was the one to lead the people	Deuteronomy 34:9
327	Play 4, Scene I	Judas: for Jesus and Joshua mean the same thing	Mt 1:21
328	Play 4, Scene I	Jesus: There was a man called Nicodemus	Jn 3:1-2a
329	Play 4, Scene I	Jesus: Unless a man is born anew he cannot	Jn 3:3
330	Play 4, Scene I	Jesus: anew by water and the spirit he cannot enter	Jn 3:5
331	Play 4, Scene I	Jesus: the wind blows as it wills and you hear the	Jn 3:8
332	Play 4, Scene I	Judas: John's baptism is of water—yours of the Spirit	Mk 1:8
333	Play 4, Scene I	Judas: John's baptism is of water—yours of the Spirit	Mt 3:11
334	Play 4, Scene I	Jesus: Where God has given so much, He will require	Lk 12:48
335	Play 4, Scene I	Judas: set my hand to the plough...never look back	Lk 9:62
336	Play 4, Scene I	Philip: we think he is the Messiah	Jn 1:45
337	Play 4, Scene I	Philip: Messiah who will restore the kingdom of Israel	Acts 1:6 (i.e.)
338	Play 4, Scene I	Nathanael: lays his hand on the sick and cures them	Lk 4:40

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339	Play 4, Scene I	(1942 Typescript) Calling of Philip and Nathaniel	Jn 1:43-51
340	Play 4, Scene I	Simon: He has been sitting in the boat with Andrew	Lk 5:1-11
341	Play 4, Scene I	Simon: Lads—let down the net on this side if you	Lk 5:4
342	Play 4, Scene I	Simon: It's not much use—we toiled all night	Lk 5:5
343	Play 4, Scene I	Simon: the weight of the fish broke the net	Lk 5:6
344	Play 4, Scene I	Simon: Sir, go away and leave us—I'm a sinful	Lk 5:8
345	Play 4, Scene I	Matthew: 'hullo!' I thought, 'here's the Prophet.'	Mt 9:9
346	Play 4, Scene I	Matthew: 'hullo!' I thought, 'here's the Prophet.'	Mk 2:13
347	Play 4, Scene I	Matthew: 'hullo!' I thought, 'here's the Prophet.'	Lk 5:27
348	Play 4, Scene I	Matthew: And he says 'follow me.'	Mt 9:9
349	Play 4, Scene I	Matthew: And he says 'follow me.'	Mk 2:13
350	Play 4, Scene I	Matthew: And he says 'follow me.'	Lk 5:27
351	Play 4, Scene I	Matthew: So he came in and sat down	Mt 9:10
352	Play 4, Scene I	Matthew: So he came in and sat down	Mk 2:15
353	Play 4, Scene I	Matthew: So he came in and sat down	Lk 5:29
354	Play 4, Scene I	Philip: your Master should know better than to	Mt 9:11
355	Play 4, Scene I	Philip: your Master should know better than to	Mk 2:16
356	Play 4, Scene I	Philip: your Master should know better than to	Lk 5:30
357	Play 4, Scene I	Matthew: healthy people don't need the doctor	Mt 9:12-13
358	Play 4, Scene I	Matthew: healthy people don't need the doctor	Mk 2:17
359	Play 4, Scene I	Matthew: healthy people don't need the doctor	Lk 5:31
360	Play 4, Scene I	Matthew: that chap at the pool of Bethesda? Paralysed thirty-eight years, he was.	Jn 5:2, 4
361	Play 4, Scene I	Matthew: Stand up, says the Master: and he stood	Jn 5:8-9a
362	Play 4, Scene I	Simon: The elders didn't like it...the Sabbath	Jn 5:9b-10
363	Play 4, Scene I	Matthew: Last Sabbath... a field...ears of corn	Mt 12:1
364	Play 4, Scene I	Matthew: Last Sabbath... a field...ears of corn	Mk 2:23
365	Play 4, Scene I	Matthew: Last Sabbath... a field...ears of corn	Lk 6:1
366	Play 4, Scene I	Matthew: against the law to prepare a meal	Mt 12:2
367	Play 4, Scene I	Matthew: against the law to prepare a meal	Mk 2:24

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368	Play 4, Scene I	Matthew: against the law to prepare a meal	Lk 6:2
369	Play 4, Scene I	Matthew: Sabbath made for man, not man for the	Mk 2:27
370	Play 4, Scene I	Matthew: Son of Man is lord even of the Sabbath	Mt 12:8
371	Play 4, Scene I	Matthew: Son of Man is lord even of the Sabbath	Mk 2:28
372	Play 4, Scene I	Matthew: Son of Man is lord even of the Sabbath	Lk 6:5
373	Play 4, Scene I	John: what happened at Nain	Lk 7:11
374	Play 4, Scene I	John: A poor boy's funeral... 'Don't cry, Mother'	Lk 7:12-13
375	Play 4, Scene I	John: He touched the bier...'Get up, my lad' and the dead boy sat up—and spoke	Lk 7:14-15
376	Play 4, Scene I	John: And the people cried out, 'A prophet!'	Lk 7:16
377	Play 4, Scene I	Philip: Then you [Judas] can take over the accounts	Jn 12:6
378	Play 4, Scene I	Jesus: the Kingdom of Heaven...like a trawling-net	Mt 13:47-50
379	Play 4, Scene I	Jesus: Every student...must learn to interpret the present by the past	Mt 16:3 (i.e.)
380	Play 4, Scene I	Jesus: Every student...must learn to interpret the present by the past	Lk 12:56 (i.e.)
381	Play 4, Scene I	Jesus: householder, bringing out both new and old	Mt 13:51-52
382	Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 1	Evangelist: And his fame spread throughout	Mt 4:24a, 25
383	Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 1	Evangelist: But the Pharisees took counsel with the Herodians	Mk 3:6
384	Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 1	Proclus: nice little place...near Capernaum	Mt 8:5
385	Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 1	Proclus: Herod and Pilate haven't been on speaking	Lk 23:12
386	Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 1	Proclus: Herod Antipas...an oily, foxy brute	Lk 13:32
387	Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 1	Proclus: build 'em a synagogue	Lk 7:5
388	Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 1	Sosius: holding an indignation meeting about it	Mt 12:14
389	Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 1	Sosius: holding an indignation meeting about it	Mk 3:6
390	Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 1	Sosius: holding an indignation meeting about it	Lk 6:11
391	Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 1	Proclus: carpenter's son from Nazareth	Mt 13:55
392	Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 1	Sosius: he picked an unlucky day	Jn 5:9-10
393	Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 1	Proclus: my batman, who's laid up	Mt 8:6
394	Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 1	Proclus: my batman, who's laid up	Lk 7:2
395	Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 2	(1942 Typescript) 1 Pharisee: Jesus threw the trademen out of the Temple	Jn 2:15
396	Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 2	(1942 Typescript) 1 <sup>st</sup> Parisee: The Man who used to be paralyzed...pool of Bethesda	Jn 5:2-8
397	Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 2	1 <sup>st</sup> Elder: Alleged miraculous powers	Mt 21:23

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398	Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 2	1 <sup>st</sup> Elder: Alleged miraculous powers	Mk 11:28
399	Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 2	1 <sup>st</sup> Elder: Alleged miraculous powers	Lk 20:2
400	Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 2	1 <sup>st</sup> Elder: He may be a sorcerer	Mt 12:24
401	Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 2	1 <sup>st</sup> Elder: He may be a sorcerer	Mk 3:22
402	Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 2	1 <sup>st</sup> Elder: He may be a sorcerer	Lk 11:15-16
403	Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 2	Baruch: Gentiles and Samaritans, tax-gatherers	Mt 9:11
404	Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 2	3 <sup>rd</sup> Elder: If the man were to make...defiance of the Emperor	Mk 12:13-14 (i.e.)
405	Play 4, Scene II, Sequence 2	Ciaphas: Spoiling the Egyptians	Exodus 12:35-36
406	Play 4, Scene III	Evangelist: And Jesus called unto him his disciples	Lk 6:13
407	Play 4, Scene III	Evangelist: That they should be always with him	Mk 3:14
408	Play 4, Scene III	Evangelist: ...named his apostles: Simon bar-Jonah	Mt 10:2-4
409	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: Never think that I have come to destroy the Law. I am here to show you how to keep it.	Mt 5:17
410	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: Thou shall not murder...never hate anybody	Mt 5:21-22
411	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: If you take an oath...think truth...speak truth	Mt 5:33-37
412	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: An eye for an eye...don't take revenge	Mt 5:38-39a
413	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: If a man hits you once, let him hit you again	Mt 5:39b
414	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: If he is mean, take pains to be generous	Mt 5:40
415	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: If he makes demands upon you, give double	Mt 5:41
416	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: Love even your enemies	Mt 5:43-48
417	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: Behave to every man as you would like him to behave to you	Mt 7:12
418	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: It's no use calling me Master if you don't do what I tell you	Lk 6:46
419	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: Many people will say , "in your name we have	Mt 7:22
420	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: The man who not only listens but <i>does</i> the things I say is like a wise man who built his house on a rock	Mt 7:24-27
421	Play 4, Scene III	Crowd: I've never heard anybody preach like that	Mt 7:28
422	Play 4, Scene III	Crowd: I've never heard anybody preach like that	Mk 1:27
423	Play 4, Scene III	Crowd: I've never heard anybody preach like that	Lk 4:36
424	Play 4, Scene III	Crowd: John the Baptist...didn't go to dinner-parties	Mt 11:18
425	Play 4, Scene III	Crowd: John the Baptist...didn't go to dinner-parties	Lk 7:33
426	Play 4, Scene III	Crowd: <i>He</i> lived on locusts	Mt 3:4

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427	Play 4, Scene III	Crowd: <i>He</i> lived on locusts	Mk 1:6
428	Play 4, Scene III	Rabbi: We have come on behalf of this good friend	Lk 7:3
429	Play 4, Scene III	Rabbi: His servant...is desperately ill	Lk 7:2
430	Play 4, Scene III	Rabbi: He even built us a new synagogue	Lk 7:5
431	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: I will come to see him	Lk 7:6a
432	Play 4, Scene III	Proclus: I don't expect you to come to my house	Lk 7:6b
433	Play 4, Scene III	Proclus: I don't expect you to come to my house	Mt 8:8a
434	Play 4, Scene III	Proclus: You've only to say the word and he'll be	Mt 8:8b
435	Play 4, Scene III	Proclus: You've only to say the word and he'll be	Lk 7:7b
436	Play 4, Scene III	Proclus: I've had to obey my colonel and my men	Mt 8:9
437	Play 4, Scene III	Proclus: I've had to obey my colonel and my men	Mt 8:9
438	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: It is amazing. No where have I met faith like	Lk 7:9
439	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: It is amazing. No where have I met faith like	Mt 8:10
440	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: many will come from the east and west	Mt 8:11-12
441	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: Go your way, Centurion...as you have believed	Mt 8:13
442	Play 4, Scene III	Disciple: Are you really he whose coming the prophets foretold?	Mt 11:2-3
443	Play 4, Scene III	Disciple: Are you really he whose coming the prophets foretold?	Lk 7:20
444	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: Go back and tell John how you have seen the	Mt 11:4-5a
445	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: Go back and tell John how you have seen the	Lk 7:22a
446	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: And the good news of the Kingdom...the poor	Lk 7:22b
447	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: And the good news of the Kingdom...the poor	Mt 11:5b
448	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: Happy is the man who has no doubts about	Mt 11:6
449	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: Happy is the man who has no doubts about	Lk 7:23
450	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: Herod has put him in prison	Mt 11:2
451	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: What did you expect to see? A reed, blown	Mt 11:7b
452	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: What did you expect to see? A reed, blown	Lk 7:24
453	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: A man dressed in gorgeous clothes	Mt 11:8
454	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: A man dressed in gorgeous clothes	Lk 7:25
455	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: But what <i>did</i> you really expect to see? A prophet?—Yes indeed and far more than a prophet	Mt 11:9

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456	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: But what <i>did</i> you really expect to see? A prophet?—Yes indeed and far more than a prophet	Lk 7:26
457	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: The very messenger of God	Mt 11:10
458	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: The very messenger of God	Lk 7:27
459	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: The very messenger of God	Malachi 3:1
460	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: of all men born there has never been any one greater than John the Baptist, yet the humblest of	Mt 11:11
461	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: of all men born there has never been any one greater than John the Baptist, yet the humblest of	Lk 7:28
462	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: All the law and the prophets pointed forward	Mt 11:13
463	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: it is here for you to seize and possess, and resolute men may take it by assault	Mt 11:12
464	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: you are like silly children running about	Mt 11:18-19
465	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: you are like silly children running about	Lk 7:32
466	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: When John came, he fasted from food and	Mt 11:18
467	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: When John came, he fasted from food and	Lk 7:33
468	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: The Son of Man comes eating and drinking	Mt 11:19a
469	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: The Son of Man comes eating and drinking	Lk 7:34
470	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: But all God's children are wise in their own way	Mt 11:19b
471	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: But all God's children are wise in their own way	Lk 7:35
472	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: Woe to you Chorazin! Woe to you, Bethsaida!	Mt 11:21-24
473	Play 4, Scene III	Jesus: Come to me all you who are weary and heavy	Mt 11:28-30
474	Play 4, Scene III	Evangelist: Now, when King Herod was keeping his birthday, the daughter of Herodias danced before	Mt 14:6-9a, 10-12
475	Play 5, Scene I	Evangelist: Then Jesus called his twelve apostles	Lk 9:1-3a
476	Play 5, Scene I	Evangelist: two by two (detail)	Mk 6:7 "two-by-two"
477	Play 5, Scene I	Jesus: Take nothing with you for your journey...just a stick to help you along	Mk 6:8
478	Play 5, Scene I	Jesus: When you come to a town or village, ask	Mt 10:11
479	Play 5, Scene I	Jesus: When you come to a town or village, ask	Mk 6:10 (cf)
480	Play 5, Scene I	Jesus: If people won't take you in or listen	Mk 6:11
481	Play 5, Scene I	Jesus: Don't be afraid of anybody—God,...sparrows	Mt 10:26a,31
482	Play 5, Scene I	Jesus: Whoever receives you, receives me	Mt 10:40

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483	Play 5, Scene I	Evangelist: And they departed and went through	Lk 9:6
484	Play 5, Scene I	Judas: He has performed his first work of healing	Mk 6:13 (i.e.)
485	Play 5, Scene I	Judas: He has performed his first work of healing	Lk 10:17 (i.e.)
486	Play 5, Scene I	Judas: Devil be quiet and come out of her...you spoke so like the Master	Lk 4:35 (i.e.)
487	Play 5, Scene I	Philip: ...snatched at the hem of his garment	Mk 5:25-34
488	Play 5, Scene I	Philip: ...snatched at the hem of his garment	Lk 8:43-48
489	Play 5, Scene I	Philip: ...snatched at the hem of his garment	Mt 9:20-22 (cf)
490	Play 5, Scene I	Baruch: John the Baptist is Dead.	Mt 14:10
491	Play 5, Scene I	Baruch: John the Baptist is Dead.	Mk 6:27
492	Play 5, Scene I	Judas: According to the people, the Messiah of Israel	Jn 7:41 (i.e.)
493	Play 5, Scene I	Judas: John came preaching repentance	Mk 1:4
494	Play 5, Scene I	Judas: Israel must pass through the fire	Zechariah 13:9
495	Play 5, Scene I	Judas: cup of humiliation...to the very dregs	Isaiah 51:17 (cf)
496	Play 5, Scene I	Judas: reached the pit of desolation	Isaiah 47:11 (cf)
497	Play 5, Scene I	Judas: On the day that he chose out twelve	Lk 6:12-13
498	Play 5, Scene I	Judas: On the day that he chose out twelve	Mt 10:2-4 (cf)
499	Play 5, Scene I	Judas: On the day that he chose out twelve	Mk 3:16-19 (cf)
500	Play 5, Scene I	Voice of Jesus: Happy are the poor	Lk 6:20b (not "poor in spirit" as in Mt 5:3)
501	Play 5, Scene I	Voice of Jesus: Happy are the sorrowful	Mt 5:4
502	Play 5, Scene I	Voice of Jesus: Happy are the humble	Mt 5:5
503	Play 5, Scene I	Voice of Jesus: Happy are they who long for holiness	Mt 5:6
504	Play 5, Scene I	Voice of Jesus: Happy are the merciful	Mt 5:7
505	Play 5, Scene I	Voice of Jesus: Happy are they who establish peace	Mt 5:9
506	Play 5, Scene I	Voice of Jesus: Happy are the single-hearted	Mt 5:8
507	Play 5, Scene I	Voice of Jesus: When people hate, shun, insult	Mt 5:11-12
508	Play 5, Scene I	Voice of Jesus: Unhappy are the rich	Lk 6:24
509	Play 5, Scene I	Voice of Jesus: Unhappy are the well-fed and satisfied	Lk 6:25a
510	Play 5, Scene I	Voice of Jesus: Unhappy are the frivolous and mocking hearts	Lk 6:25b
511	Play 5, Scene I	Voice of Jesus: Unhappy are the popular and applauded	Lk 6:26
512	Play 5, Scene I	Voice of Jesus: You are the salt of the world	Mt 5:13



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513	Play 5, Scene I	Voice of Jesus: You are the light of the world	Mt 5:14a, 16
514	Play 5, Scene I	Baruch: Only false prophets are popular	Lk 6:26
515	Play 5, Scene I	Baruch: On the day you see Jesus Carpenter ride into Jerusalem with palms waving	Mt 21:1-9, <i>foreshadow</i>
516	Play 5, Scene I	Baruch: On the day you see Jesus Carpenter ride into Jerusalem with palms waving	Mk 11:1-10, <i>foreshadow</i>
517	Play 5, Scene I	Baruch: On the day you see Jesus Carpenter ride into Jerusalem with palms waving	Lk 19:29-38, <i>foreshadow</i>
518	Play 5, Scene I	Baruch: On the day you see Jesus Carpenter ride into Jerusalem with palms waving	Jn 12:12-15, <i>foreshadow</i>
519	Play 5, Scene I	Baruch: On the day you see Jesus Carpenter ride into Jerusalem with palms waving	1 Maccabees 13:51, <i>c.f.</i>
520	Play 5, Scene II	Evangelist: When the twelve apostles had returned	Mk 6:30-31a
521	Play 5, Scene II	Cry of the World: <i>Kyrie Eleison</i>	Traditional - liturgical
522	Play 5, Scene II	Cry of the World: Unclean	Mt 8:1-3 (i.e.)
523	Play 5, Scene II	Cry of the World: Unclean	Mk 1:40-42 (i.e.)
524	Play 5, Scene II	Cry of the World: Unclean	Lk 5:12 (i.e.)
525	Play 5, Scene II	Cry of the World: My son is possessed	Mk 1:21-26 (i.e.)
526	Play 5, Scene II	Cry of the World: My son is possessed	Lk 4:31-35 (i.e.)
527	Play 5, Scene II	Cry of the World: legions od demons	Mk 5:9
528	Play 5, Scene II	Cry of the World: Blind	<i>Mt 9:27-30(i.e.)</i>
529	Play 5, Scene II	Cry of the World: in the name of Jesus of Nazareth	Lk 9:6 (i.e.)
530	Play 5, Scene II	Jesus: They are not dead but sleeping	Mt 9:24
531	Play 5, Scene II	Jesus: They are not dead but sleeping	Mk 5:39
532	Play 5, Scene II	Jesus: They are not dead but sleeping	Lk 8:52
533	Play 5, Scene II	Judas: "Hungry and thirsty their soul fainted	Psalms 107:5
534	Play 5, Scene II	Jesus: Daughter, you are healed. Go home now and live better	Jn 8:11 (i.e.)
535	Play 5, Scene II	Jesus: Stand up old man, and give thanks to God	Jn 5:8 (i.e.)
536	Play 5, Scene II	Jesus: Open your eyes, as you have believed, you shall see	Mk 10:50-52 (i.e.)
537	Play 5, Scene II	Jesus: Love one another, Keep the Commandments, pray for the coming of the Kingdom, that is the best way to give God thanks	Jn 15:9-12
538	Play 5, Scene II	Jesus: fishers of men	Mt 4:19, Mk 1:17
539	Play 5, Scene II	Jesus: we will go right away by ourselves into a quiet place	Mk 6:31b
540	Play 5, Scene II	Jesus: There was a man with two sons	Mt 21:28-31
541	Play 5, Scene II	Jesus: And the Lord God of Israel shall give rest	1 Kings 8:56 (i.e.)

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542	Play 5, Scene II	Jesus: And the Lord God of Israel shall give rest	1 Chronicles 23:25(i.e.)
543	Play 5, Scene III	Evangelist: So they departed into a dessert place by ship privately	Mk 6:32-34
544	Play 5, Scene III	Evangelist: So they departed into a dessert place by ship privately	Lk 9:11 ("and healed")
545	Play 5, Scene III	Judas: hadn't we better tell them to go away and	Mt 14:15
546	Play 5, Scene III	Judas: hadn't we better tell them to go away and	Mk 6:36
547	Play 5, Scene III	Judas: hadn't we better tell them to go away and	Lk 9:12
548	Play 5, Scene III	Jesus: Give them some of your own food	Mt 14:16
549	Play 5, Scene III	Jesus: Give them some of your own food	Mk 6:37
550	Play 5, Scene III	Jesus: Give them some of your own food	Lk 9:13
551	Play 5, Scene III	Simon: there must be three or four thousand	Mt 15:38 (i.e.)
552	Play 5, Scene III	Thomas: Nearer five thousand, if you ask me	Mt 14:21
553	Play 5, Scene III	Thomas: Nearer five thousand, if you ask me	Mk 6:44
554	Play 5, Scene III	Thomas: Nearer five thousand, if you ask me	Lk 9:14a
555	Play 5, Scene III	Jesus: Then you must go and buy some, You go,	Mk 6:36
556	Play 5, Scene III	Jesus: Then you must go and buy some, You go,	Jn 6:5
557	Play 5, Scene III	Philip: We'd need two hundred pennyworth	Mk 6:3
558	Play 5, Scene III	Philip: We'd need two hundred pennyworth	Jn 6:7
559	Play 5, Scene III	Jesus: how much food have you got? Go and see.	Mk 6:38a
560	Play 5, Scene III	Andrew: We've got five barley loaves and two dried	Mt 14:17
561	Play 5, Scene III	Andrew: We've got five barley loaves and two dried	Mk 6:38b
562	Play 5, Scene III	Andrew: We've got five barley loaves and two dried	Lk 9:13b
563	Play 5, Scene III	Andrew: We've got five barley loaves and two dried	Jn 6:8-9
564	Play 5, Scene III	Jesus: Tell the people to sit down	Mt 14:19a
565	Play 5, Scene III	Jesus: Tell the people to sit down	Mk 6:39a
566	Play 5, Scene III	Jesus: Tell the people to sit down	Lk 9:14b
567	Play 5, Scene III	Jesus: Tell the people to sit down	Jn 6:10a
568	Play 5, Scene III	Jesus: there, on that smooth slope of green grass	Mt 14:19a
569	Play 5, Scene III	Jesus: there, on that smooth slope of green grass	Mk 6:39b
570	Play 5, Scene III	Jesus: there, on that smooth slope of green grass	Jn 6:10b
571	Play 5, Scene III	Man in Crowd: Blessed are they that shall eat bread in the Kingdom of God	Lk 14:15

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572	Play 5, Scene III	(1942 Typescript) Jesus: a certain man made a great supper and invited a great many	Lk 14:15-24
573	Play 5, Scene III	Jesus: Father of all goodness, we thank you for Thy	Mt 14:19b
574	Play 5, Scene III	Jesus: Father of all goodness, we thank you for Thy	Mk 6:41a
575	Play 5, Scene III	Jesus: Father of all goodness, we thank you for Thy	Lk 9:16a
576	Play 5, Scene III	Jesus: Take the food and distribute it to the people	Mt 14:19b
577	Play 5, Scene III	Jesus: Take the food and distribute it to the people	Mk 6:41b
578	Play 5, Scene III	Jesus: Take the food and distribute it to the people	Lk 9:16b
579	Play 5, Scene III	Disciples: Eat and be filled	Mt 14:20
580	Play 5, Scene III	Disciples: Eat and be filled	Mk 6:42
581	Play 5, Scene III	Disciples: Eat and be filled	Lk 9: 17a
582	Play 5, Scene III	Disciples: Eat and be filled	Psalms 22:26 (i.e.)
583	Play 5, Scene III	Evangelist: And they did all eat and were filled	Mt 14:20
584	Play 5, Scene III	Evangelist: And they did all eat and were filled	Mk 6:42-43 (cf)
585	Play 5, Scene III	Evangelist: And they did all eat and were filled	Lk 9:17 (cf)
586	Play 5, Scene III	Crowd: A prophet! Blessed be Jesus the Prophet!	Jn 6:14
587	Play 5, Scene III	Voice: Follow him and make him King!	Jn 6:15
588	Play 5, Scene III	Jesus: Cross the lake. See that you get there before they do.	Mt 14:22
589	Play 5, Scene III	Jesus: Cross the lake. See that you get there before they do.	Mk 6:45
590	Play 5, Scene III	Jesus: Cross the lake. See that you get there before they do.	Lk 9:22
591	Play 5, Scene III	Jesus: Cross the lake. See that you get there before they do.	Jn 6:16
592	Play 5, Scene IV	Simon: Pull harder, boys	Mk 6:48
593	Play 5, Scene IV	Simon: There's a nasty storm coming up	Mt 14:24
594	Play 5, Scene IV	Philip: Sitting on thrones, judging the twelve tribes	Mt 19:28 (cf)
595	Play 5, Scene IV	Philip: Sitting on thrones, judging the twelve tribes	Lk 22:30
596	Play 5, Scene IV	James: when we were arguing about the kingdom	Mk 9:33-34
597	Play 5, Scene IV	James: when we were arguing about the kingdom	Lk 9:36
598	Play 5, Scene IV	John: Not that sort of king anyway	Jn 18:36 (i.e.)
599	Play 5, Scene IV	Simon: Not more than three miles out	Jn 6:19
600	Play 5, Scene IV	Simon: Not more than three miles out	Mt 14:24
601	Play 5, Scene IV	Simon: with this wind	Jn 6:18
602	Play 5, Scene IV	Matthew: They that go down to the sea in ships see the wonders of the Lord	Psalms 107:23-24

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603	Play 5, Scene IV	Disciples: It's a ghost	Mt 14:26
604	Play 5, Scene IV	Disciples: It's a ghost	Mk 6:49
605	Play 5, Scene IV	Disciples: It's a ghost	Jn 6:19 (cf)
606	Play 5, Scene IV	Jesus: I am	Jn 6:20
607	Play 5, Scene IV	Jesus: Don't be afraid, it is I	Mt 14:27
608	Play 5, Scene IV	Jesus: Don't be afraid, it is I	Mk 6:50b
609	Play 5, Scene IV	Jesus: Don't be afraid, it is I	Jn 6:20
610	Play 5, Scene IV	Simon: Is it really you, Lord? Don't go. Wait for me.	Mt 14:28
611	Play 5, Scene IV	Jesus: Come then, Simon.	Mt 14:29
612	Play 5, Scene IV	James: He's walking on the water	Mt 14:29
613	Play 5, Scene IV	Thomas: He's looking back at us	Mt 14:30a
614	Play 5, Scene IV	Simon: help, help! I am drowning. Help, Lord!	Mt 14:30b
615	Play 5, Scene IV	Jesus: Hold on...Why did you lose faith	Mt 14:31
616	Play 5, Scene IV	Jesus: Peace be unto you.	Mk 4:39 (i.e.)
617	Play 5, Scene V	Evangelist: The day following, the people on the other side	Jn 6:22-24
618	Play 5, Scene V	1 <sup>st</sup> Jew: How did you manage to get over here?	Jn 6:25
619	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: to look for me because of the miracles.	Jn 6:26-27a
620	Play 5, Scene V	2 <sup>nd</sup> Jew: What <i>is</i> God's work?	Jn 6:28
621	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: God's work is simply this: to trust in the Son	Jn 6:29
622	Play 5, Scene V	3 <sup>rd</sup> Jew: show us a sign, so that we may know	Jn 6:30
623	Play 5, Scene V	3 <sup>rd</sup> Jew: Our ancestors ate manna in the desert	Jn 6:31
624	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: it was not Moses who gave the bread	Jn 6:32
625	Play 5, Scene V	1 <sup>st</sup> Jew: Then give us that bread, so that we shall	Jn 6:34
626	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: I am the bread of life. Then man who comes	Jn 6:35
627	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: I have come to do the will of my Father	Jn 6:40
628	Play 5, Scene V	2 <sup>nd</sup> Jew: How can <i>he</i> be the bread from heaven?	Jn 6:41
629	Play 5, Scene V	1 <sup>st</sup> Jew: We know his people. He's the son of Mary	Jn 6:42
630	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: You needn't whisper among yourselves like	Jn 6:43
631	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: I tell you again. I am the bread of life. Your	Jn 6:48-51
632	Play 5, Scene V	1 <sup>st</sup> Jew: How can this man give us his flesh to eat?	Jn 6:52
633	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: Unless you eat the flesh of the Son of Man	Jn 6:53
634	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: As the living Father has sent me and I live	Jn 6:57

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635	Play 5, Scene V	2 <sup>nd</sup> Jew: Come away; have nothing to do with him	Jn 6:60, 66(i.e.)
636	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: What would you say if you saw the Son of	Jn 6:62-64
637	Play 5, Scene V	Matthew: some of them have gone away	Jn 6:66
638	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: Who do they say that I am?	Mt 16:13b
639	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: Who do they say that I am?	Mk 8:27b
640	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: Who do they say that I am?	Lk 9:18b
641	Play 5, Scene V	James: John the Baptist, Andrew: Elijah— or one of	Mt 16:14
642	Play 5, Scene V	James: John the Baptist, Andrew: Elijah— or one of	Mk 8:28
643	Play 5, Scene V	James: John the Baptist, Andrew: Elijah— or one of	Lk 9:19
644	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: But who do <i>you</i> say that I am?	Mt 16:15
645	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: But who do <i>you</i> say that I am?	Lk 9:20a
646	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: But who do <i>you</i> say that I am?	Mk 8:29a (cf)
647	Play 5, Scene V	Simon: the Christ of Israel...Son of the Living God	Mt 16:16
648	Play 5, Scene V	Simon: the Christ of Israel...Son of the Living God	Mk 8:29b (cf)
649	Play 5, Scene V	Simon: the Christ of Israel...Son of the Living God	Lk 9:20b (cf)
650	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: Blessed are you, Simon Bar-Jonah	Mt 16:17
651	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: You are Peter, and upon this rock I will build	Mt 16:18
652	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: I will give you the keys of the Kingdom of	Mt 16:19
653	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: Tell nobody what you have said, not even that	Mt 16:20
654	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: Tell nobody what you have said, not even that	Mk 8:30
655	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: Tell nobody what you have said, not even that	Lk 9:21
656	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: I must... tread the sharp road to the gallows to win my	Mt 16:22
657	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: I must... tread the sharp road to the gallows to win my	Mk 8:31
658	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: I must... tread the sharp road to the gallows to win my	Lk 9:22
659	Play 5, Scene V	Simon: Never! Never! Master, put that horrible	Mt 16:22
660	Play 5, Scene V	Simon: Never! Never! Master, put that horrible	Mk 8:32
661	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: Stand out of my sight, Satan! For your speech	Mt 16:23
662	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: Stand out of my sight, Satan! For your speech	Mk 8:33
663	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: if any man wants to follow me, he must walk	Mt 16:24
664	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: if any man wants to follow me, he must walk	Mk 8:34

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665	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: if any man wants to follow me, he must walk	Lk 9:23
666	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: If he clings to life, he will lose it	Mt 16:25
667	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: If he clings to life, he will lose it	Mk 8:35
668	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: If he clings to life, he will lose it	Lk 9:24
669	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: you standing here that shall not taste death	Mt 16:28
670	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: you standing here that shall not taste death	Mk 9:1
671	Play 5, Scene V	Jesus: you standing here that shall not taste death	Lk 9:27
672	Play 5, Scene V	Evangelist: This is the testimony of John the beloved	Jn 1:1, 4, 14
673	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 1	Evangelist: After these things, Jesus walked in	Jn 7:1-2
674	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 1	Caiaphas: Set a watch on the road...and detain him	Jn 7:32b
675	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 2	Evangelist: And when the time of the Feast drew	Jn 7:2-3
676	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 2	Judas: Those relations of his...Joseph and Simeon	Mt 13:55
677	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 2	Judas: Those relations of his...Joseph and Simeon	Mk 6:3
678	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 2	Matthew: I like the Feast of Tabernacles	Leviticus 23:33-44
679	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 2	Joseph: You really ought to show yourself in Judaea	Jn 7:3
680	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 2	Simeon: People who have nothing to conceal	Jn 7:4
681	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 2	Jesus: Last time you offered me the protection of	Mk 3:21
682	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 2	Joseph: people were saying you were out of your	Mk 3:21
683	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 2	Jesus: I said that everyone who did the will of my	Mt 12:50
684	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 2	Jesus: I said that everyone who did the will of my	Lk 8:21
685	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 2	Jesus: I said that everyone who did the will of my	Mk 3:35
686	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 2	Joseph: show your works and your teaching to the	Jn 7:4
687	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 2	Jesus: It is not the right time	Jn 7:8b
688	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 2	Jesus: The world is your friend. But it hates me	Jn 7:7
689	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 2	Jesus: Quietly. By ourselves	Jn 7:10
690	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 3	Evangelist: Now at this time Pontius Pilate was	Lk 3:1-detail
691	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 3	Eunice: last spring she was healed by a most	Mt 15:21-28
692	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 3	Eunice: last spring she was healed by a most	Mk 7:24-30
693	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 3	Eunice: I ran after him, calling for help	Mt 15:22
694	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 3	Eunice: I ran after him, calling for help	Mk 7:25

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695	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 3	Eunice: His disciples tried to drive me away	Mt 15:23b
696	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 3	Eunice: Sir, sir, have pity on me	Mt 15:22
697	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 3	Eunice: Send her away, Master	Mt 15:23b
698	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 3	Eunice: And he looked at me and never said a word	Mt 15:23a
699	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 3	Eunice: So I fell at his feet and implored him	Mk 7:25-26
700	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 3	Eunice: I am not sent to you, but only to the sons of	Mt 15:24
701	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 3	Eunice: It is not right to take the children's bread	Mt 15:26
702	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 3	Eunice: It is not right to take the children's bread	Mk 7:27
703	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 3	Eunice: But the dogs eat the crumbs that fall from	Mt 15:27
704	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 3	Eunice: But the dogs eat the crumbs that fall from	Mk 7:28
705	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 3	Eunice: your faith and your wit have saved your	Mt 15:28
706	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 3	Eunice: Go home now—she is healed.	Mk 7:29
707	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 3	Eunice: They say he is expected	Jn 7:11
708	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 4	Evangelist: When the time came that Jesus should	Lk 9:51-52
709	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 4	Evangelist: Now the Jews and the Samaritans were	Jn 4:9b(i.e.)
710	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 4	Matthew: They won't have us in the village—Philip: They saw we were going up to Jerusalem	Lk 9:53
711	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 4	James: Master, shall we call down fire from Heaven	Lk 9:54
712	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 4	Jesus: the Son of Man has not come to destroy men's	Lk 9:56 (variant)
713	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 4	Jesus: The Kingdom of Heaven is like a ruler, one	Mt 18:23-25
714	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 4	Simon Peter: suppose my brother sins against me	Mt 18:21-22
715	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 4	John: Tell us how to pray, Master	Lk 11:1
716	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 4	Jesus: When you pray for the Kingdom, say this:	Lk 11:2a
717	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 4	Jesus: Our Father, which art in Heaven, hallowed be	Mt 6:9b-13
718	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 5	Evangelist: Then the Jews sought him at the Feast, and said, "Where is he?"	Jn 7:11
719	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	Evangelist: And it came to pass that he took Peter	Lk 9:28
720	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	Evangelist: And it came to pass that he took Peter	Mt 17:1 (cf)
721	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	Evangelist: And it came to pass that he took Peter	Mk 9:2 (cf)
722	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	James: like a robe of glory	Isaiah 6:1 (i.e.)
723	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	Peter: I watched him for a time while he...prayed	Lk 9:28-29a

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724	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	Peter: I was tired with the climb	Lk 9:32
725	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	Peter: next thing I knew was a great terror	Mk 9:6
726	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	Peter: next thing I knew was a great terror	Mt 17:6 (cf)
727	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	Peter: and his garments whiter than light	Mt 17:2
728	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	Peter: and his garments whiter than light	Mk 9:3a
729	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	Peter: and his garments whiter than light	Lk 9:29b
730	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	Peter: the way no fuller on earth could whiten them	Mk 9:3b
731	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	Peter: And those two others were with him, they spoke together	Mt 17:3
732	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	Peter: And those two others were with him, they spoke together	Mk 9:4
733	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	Peter: And those two others were with him, they spoke together	Lk 9:30
734	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	Peter: I knew them for blessed Moses who talked	Exodus 19:1-25
735	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	Peter: and holy Elijah, who passed up to heaven	2 Kings 2:11-12
736	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	Peter: Lord—it's good to be here. Can't we build	Mt 17:4
737	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	Peter: Lord—it's good to be here. Can't we build	Mk 9:5, 9
738	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	Peter: Lord—it's good to be here. Can't we build	Lk 9:33
739	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	Peter: I thought of the Ark in the wilderness	Numbers 10:33-34 (i.e.)
740	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	Peter: the glory of the Lord in the pillar of fire	Exodus 13:21
741	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	John: This is My beloved Son, hear Him	Mt 17:5
742	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	John: This is My beloved Son, hear Him	Mk 9:7
743	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	John: This is My beloved Son, hear Him	Lk 9:35
744	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	James: Jesus standing there alone	Mt 17:8
745	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	James: Jesus standing there alone	Mk 9:8
746	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	James: Jesus standing there alone	Lk 9:36a
747	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	John: There was more joy in Heaven over one who	Lk 15:7,10
748	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	James: we were to tell nobody what we had seen	Mt 17: 9a
749	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	James: we were to tell nobody what we had seen	Mk 9:9a
750	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	James: we were to tell nobody what we had seen	Lk 9:36b
751	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	James: until after the Son of Man was risen from the	Mt 17:9b
752	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	James: until after the Son of Man was risen from the	Mk 9:9b
753	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	John: As though he might die before long... James: the Sadducees say there is no resurrection	Mk 9:10
754	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	John: perhaps the end of the world is quite near	1 Peter 4:7 (i.e.)



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755	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	John: perhaps the end of the world is quite near	1 Corinthians 7:29a (i.e.)
756	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	Peter: there was the poor demoniac boy screaming ...John: And he laid his hands on him and healed him	Mt 17:15, 18
757	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	Peter: there was the poor demoniac boy screaming ...John: And he laid his hands on him and healed him	Mk 9:17, 25
758	Play 6, Scene I, Sequence 6	Peter: there was the poor demoniac boy screaming ...John: And he laid his hands on him and healed him	Lk 9:37-39, 42
759	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 1	Evangelist: And it was now about the middle of the Feast. And there were many rumours about Jesus	Jn 7:14a, 12-13
760	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 1	Annas: sons had gone wandering after him instead of staying dutifully at home	Mt 8:18-22 (i.e.)
761	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 1	Annas: sons had gone wandering after him instead of staying dutifully at home	Lk 9:57-59 (i.e.)
762	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 1	Elder: And he's got hold of a number of the women	Mk 15:41(i.e.)
763	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 1	Elder: And he's got hold of a number of the women	Lk 8:3 (i.e.)
764	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 1	Simon the Pharisee: Mary of Magdala...bad reputation	Lk 7:37 (composite Mary tradition)
765	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 1	Nicodemus: <i>Your</i> house? How did Jesus come to be	Lk 7:36
766	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 1	Simon: She wept over his feet, and kissed them, and	Lk 7:38
767	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 1	Simon: was only doing what I ought to have done	Lk 7:44
768	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 1	Simon: telling the woman that her sins were	Lk 7:48
769	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 1	Simon: in Bethany with her sister Martha	Lk 10:38-39
770	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 1	Annas: No God-fearing prophet would go about	Mt 11:19 (i.e.)
771	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 1	Caiaphas: claims to forgive sins...is the Son of Man.	Mt 9:6 (i.e.)
772	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 1	Caiaphas: claims to forgive sins...is the Son of Man.	Mk 2:10-11(i.e.)
773	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 1	Caiaphas: claims to forgive sins...is the Son of Man.	Lk 5:24 (i.e.)
774	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 1	Annas: It means a clash with Rome	Jn 11:48 (i.e.)
775	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 1	Servant: Jesus of Nazareth...preaching in the Temple	Jn 7:14
776	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 1	Caiaphas: our whole nation will suffer for it	Jn 11:48
777	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 1	Caiaphas: expedient that one man should die for the	Jn 11:50
778	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 2	Evangelist: So Jesus went up into the Temple and	Jn 7:14b-15a
779	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 2	2 <sup>nd</sup> Man: come to be expounding the Scriptures?	Jn 7:15
780	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: My doctrine is not mine. If is the doctrine of	Jn 7:16-17

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781	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: He gave Moses the law...want to kill me?	Jn 7:19
782	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 2	3 <sup>rd</sup> Man: You're mad. Who wants to kill you?	Jn 7:20
783	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: You are astonished because I healed a man...you must not go by the letter, but the spirit	Jn 7:21-24
784	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 2	4 <sup>th</sup> Jew: Is this really the man they said ought to be	Jn 7:25-26a
785	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 2	1 <sup>st</sup> Jew: Do you think the rulers of the synagogue	Jn 7:26b
786	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 2	2 <sup>nd</sup> Jew: Nonsense...we know all about this man	Jn 7:27
787	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: You know me, and you know where I come	Jn 7:28-29
788	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 2	1 <sup>st</sup> Man: could he possibly do greater miracles than	Jn 7:31
789	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 2	Sergeant: I have never heard anything like it before	Jn 7:46
790	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: I am only with you for a little while, and then	Jn 7:33-34
791	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 2	3 <sup>rd</sup> Jew: Where's he going that we can't go?	Jn 7:35
792	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 3	Evangelist: On the last day, the great day of the	Jn 7:37a
793	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 3	Evangelist: The Officers of the Guard came to the	Jn 7:45a
794	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 3	Caiaphas: Why was Jesus not arrested?	Jn 7:45b
795	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 3	Captain: Said they'd never heard a man talk like this	Jn 7:46
796	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 3	Caiaphas: Has the imposter got hold of you too?	Jn 7:47
797	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 3	Annas: Wretched mob...knows nothing of the Law	Jn 7:49
798	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 3	Nicodemus: condemn a man without proper	Jn 7:51
799	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 3	Caiaphas: Anyone would think you were a Galilean	Jn 7:52a
800	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 3	Caiaphas: Galilee is not likely to produce a prophet	Jn 7:52b
801	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 3	Judas: Roman rod laid on the sinner's back	Psalms 89:23 (i.e.)
802	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 3	Judas: Roman rod laid on the sinner's back	Ezekiel 20:37 (i.e.)
803	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 3	Judas: Roman axe to the root of the tree	Mt 3:10 (i.e.)
804	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 3	Judas: There is no salvation but in the patient enduring of all things	Psalms 37:7, 9 (i.e.)
805	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 3	Judas: Messiah, not of an earthly but of a spiritual Kingdom	Jn 18:36 (i.e.)
806	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 3	Judas: when the mob tried to make him king	Jn 6:15
807	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 4	Rebecca: it is the feast of water and of light, when we give God thanks for the harvest	Leviticus 23:33-44
808	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: If any man thirst, let him come to me and	Jn 7:37-38

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809	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: I am the light of the world. He that follows	Jn 8:12
810	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: If you continue to keep my words, then are	Jn 8:31-32
811	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 4	Heckler: We are the children of Abraham—we were	Jn 8:33
812	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: I know you are the seen of Abraham, but you	Jn 8:39-41a
813	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 4	Heckler: We are true-born Israelites. We have only	Jn 8:41b
814	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: If God were your father, you would love me	Jn 8:42-44a
815	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: The devil was a murderer from the beginning	Jn 8:44b-46
816	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 4	Heckler: This mad Samaritan heretic?	Jn 8:48
817	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: If a man will keep my saying, he shall never	Jn 8:51
818	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 4	Heckler: Now we know you are a madman	Jn 8:52-53
819	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: If I tell you who I am, it is not to honour	Jn 8:54, 56
820	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 4	Heckler: You are not yet fifty years old—and have	Jn 8:57
821	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: before Abraham was, I AM.	Jn 8:58
822	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 4	Crowd: Blasphemy!...Stone him to death	Jn 8:59a
823	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 4	Freedman: He slipped away in the confusion	Jn 8:59b
824	Play 6, Scene II, Sequence 4	Evangelist: Jesus said: "Think not that I am come to	Mt 10:34
825	Play 7, Scene I	Evangelist: Now, in the village of Bethany, nigh	Jn 11:1b (detail)
826	Play 7, Scene I	Evangelist: Mary had been a great sinner, till she met	Composite Mary Tradition
827	Play 7, Scene I	Evangelist: she sat at his feet...but Martha was	Lk 10:39-40a
828	Play 7, Scene I	Jesus: When he established the foundations of the	Proverbs 8:27a,30-31
829	Play 7, Scene I	Jesus: Because the love was so great, the sin is all	Lk 7:47
830	Play 7, Scene I	Mary: when I fell at your feet in the house of Simon	Lk 7:37-38, Composite Mary Tradition
831	Play 7, Scene I	Mary: like the strong sun when it rises and turns the	Malachi 4:2 (i.e.)
832	Play 7, Scene I	Martha: Rabbi, why do you encourage Mary to leave	Lk 10:40b
833	Play 7, Scene I	Jesus: Martha dear...except the greatest thing of all	Lk 10:41
834	Play 7, Scene I	Martha: About the younger son who ran away and	Lk 15:11-24
835	Play 7, Scene I	Jesus: Well, the elder brother was working in the	Lk 15:25-32
836	Play 7, Scene I	James: that blind man you healed yesterday	Jn 9:1-7
837	Play 7, Scene I	James: They've had the man and his parents before	Jn 9:13-23

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838	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 1	1 <sup>st</sup> Elder: You say you are...blind from birth and get	Jn 9:1
839	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 1	Jacob: why was this poor man born blind? Was it to	Jn 9:2
840	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 1	Jacob: Neither he nor his parents are to blame. But	Jn 9:3
841	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 1	Jacob: I must work the works of Him that send me	Jn 9:4
842	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 1	Jacob: So long as I am in the world, I am the light of	Jn 9:5
843	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 1	Jacob: puts something on my eyes—like clay, or	Jn 9:6
844	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 1	Jacob: go to the Pool of Siloam and wash yourself	Jn 9:7a
845	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 1	Jacob: I'd got the clay all off, I found I could see	Jn 9:7b
846	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 1	2 <sup>nd</sup> Elder: Jesus is a notorious Sabbath-breaker	Jn 9:16
847	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 1	2 <sup>nd</sup> Elder: I don't believed he ever was blind	Jn 9:18a
848	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 1	Clerk to the Court: We've got his parent here, sir.	Jn 9:18b
849	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 1	1 <sup>st</sup> Elder: you see this man here, Do you know him?	Jn 9:19a
850	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 1	1 <sup>st</sup> Elder: Then how do you explain the fact that	Jn 9:19b
851	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 1	Rachel: We know this is our son, and we know he	Jn 9:20-21
852	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 1	Issachar: He is of age to answer for himself, ain't he?	Jn 9:21b
853	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 1	1st Elder: I adjure you solemnly, in the great name of God	Joshua 7:19
854	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 1	1st Elder: I adjure you solemnly, in the great name of God	Jn 9:24
855	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 1	1 <sup>st</sup> Elder: Jesus is an imposter	Jn 9:24
856	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 1	Jacob: All I know is, I used to be blind and now I can	Jn 9:25
857	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 1	2 <sup>nd</sup> Elder: How did he open your eyes?	Jn 9:26
858	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 1	Jacob: I've told you all already... thinking of becoming his disciples?	Jn 9:27
859	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 1	3 <sup>rd</sup> Elder: <i>you</i> may be a disciple of Jesus. We follow	Jn 9:28
860	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 1	3 <sup>rd</sup> Elder: We know that God spoke to Moses, but as	Jn 9:29
861	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 1	Jacob: that's a queer thing, ain't it? You don't know	Jn 9:30-33
862	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 1	1 <sup>st</sup> Elder: You are altogether born in sin. Have you	Jn 9:34a
863	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 1	2 <sup>nd</sup> Elder: Cast out of the synagogue.	Jn 9:34b
864	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: And God looked at everything He had made	Genesis 1:31a
865	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: They said that for my sake you have been	Jn 9:35a
866	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: The foxes have holes	Mt 8:20

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867	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: The foxes have holes	Lk 9:58
868	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: Do you believe in the Son of Man?	Jn 9:35b
869	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jacob: Do you mean the Messiah? Of course, I	Jn 9:36
870	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: You have seen him already, and he is	Jn 9:37
871	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jacob: Rabbi, I trust in you. I'd follow you to the	Jn 9:38
872	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: If anyone comes to <i>me</i> , I will never cast them	Jn 6:37
873	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: I came into the world that the blind might see	Jn 9:39
874	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 2	2 <sup>nd</sup> Pharisee: Do you mean to insinuate that we are	Jn 9:40
875	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: If you were blind and knew it, you would not	Jn 9:41
876	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: the man who will not enter the sheepfold by	Jn 10:1-5
877	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: I am the beloved shepherd, whom the sheep	Jn 10:11-15
878	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: Nobody can <i>take</i> my life. I lay it down of my	Jn 10:18
879	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: Just as my Father knows me and I know Him	Jn 10:15
880	Play 7, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: My gift to them is eternal life, and no one can	Jn 10:28-30
881	Play 7, Scene III	Evangelist: the Jews sought to stone him, but he	Jn 10:39-40
882	Play 7, Scene III	Evangelist: Martha and Mary sent unto him saying	Jn 11:3
883	Play 7, Scene III	Evangelist: This sickness is not unto death, but for	Jn 11:4
884	Play 7, Scene III	John: Roses of Sharon.	Song of Solomon 2:1(i.e.)
885	Play 7, Scene III	Peter: like the Master said. "Wherever there is love	1 Jn 4:16 (i.e.)
886	Play 7, Scene III	Peter: like the yeast in the dough, same as he told us	Mt 13:33
887	Play 7, Scene III	Peter: like the yeast in the dough, same as he told us	Lk 13:20-21
888	Play 7, Scene III	John: What money? Not out of the alms-box?	Jn 12:6 (i.e.)
889	Play 7, Scene III	Jesus: Let us go into Judaea again.	Jn 11:7
890	Play 7, Scene III	Peter: They tried to stone you. Do you really want	Jn 11:8
891	Play 7, Scene III	Jesus: Are there not twelve hours in the day-twelve	Jn 11:9-10
892	Play 7, Scene III	Jesus: He has fallen asleep, and I must go and wake	Jn 11:11
893	Play 7, Scene III	Matthew: If he's having a good sleep, he's in a fair	Jn 11:12
894	Play 7, Scene III	Jesus: Children, Lazarus is dead.	Jn 11:14
895	Play 7, Scene III	Jesus: for your sakes I am glad I was not there,	Jn 11:15

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896	Play 7, Scene III	Jesus: some of you do not trust me.	Jn 6:70 (i.e.)
897	Play 7, Scene III	Jesus: Blessed is the man that has no doubts about	Mt 11:6
898	Play 7, Scene III	Jesus: Blessed is the man that has no doubts about	Lk 7:23
899	Play 7, Scene III	Jesus: without faith you can do nothing	Mk 9:23 (ie.)
900	Play 7, Scene III	Jesus: if you believe in God, you must also believe in	Jn 14:1
901	Play 7, Scene III	Jesus: When the Son of Man comes, shall he find	Lk 18:8
902	Play 7, Scene III	Thomas: let us go too, and die with him	Jn 11:16
903	Play 7, Scene IV, Sequence 1	Evangelist: When Jesus came to Bethany and found	Jn 11:17, 19-20
904	Play 7, Scene IV, Sequence 1	Martha: if only you had come earlier, you would	Jn 11:21-22
905	Play 7, Scene IV, Sequence 1	Jesus: Your brother shall rise again	Jn 11:23
906	Play 7, Scene IV, Sequence 1	Martha: he will rise again—in the resurrection at	Jn 11:24
907	Play 7, Scene IV, Sequence 1	Jesus: I am the resurrection and the life. They that	Jn 11:25-26
908	Play 7, Scene IV, Sequence 1	Martha: I believe that you are the Christ, the Son of	Jn 11:27
909	Play 7, Scene IV, Sequence 1	Martha: At home. I'll run and fetch her.	Jn 11:28a
910	Play 7, Scene IV, Sequence 2	Martha: the Master is here, and is asking for you	Jn 11:28b
911	Play 7, Scene IV, Sequence 2	2 <sup>nd</sup> Mourner: She has left the house with Martha	Jn 11:29, 31
912	Play 7, Scene IV, Sequence 2	3 <sup>rd</sup> Mourner: They have gone to weep at their	Jn 11:31
913	Play 7, Scene IV, Sequence 2	1 <sup>st</sup> Mourner: Look, the two sisters are hurrying	Jn 11:31
914	Play 7, Scene IV, Sequence 2	3 <sup>rd</sup> Mourner: Mary has fallen down and kissed his	Jn 11:32
915	Play 7, Scene IV, Sequence 2	Mary: Alas! If you had come earlier, our brother	Jn 11:32
916	Play 7, Scene IV, Sequence 2	Jesus: Where have you laid Lazarus?	Jn 11:34a
917	Play 7, Scene IV, Sequence 2	Mary: he lies in a cave a little way from here	Jn 11:34b
918	Play 7, Scene IV, Sequence 2	2 <sup>nd</sup> Mourner: He is weeping	Jn 11:35
919	Play 7, Scene IV, Sequence 2	3 <sup>rd</sup> Mourner: He must have loved Lazarus very	Jn 11:36
920	Play 7, Scene IV, Sequence 2	4 <sup>th</sup> Mourner: He open the eyes of the blind—	Jn 11:37
921	Play 7, Scene IV, Sequence 3	Martha: He lies in that quiet tomb, hewn out of rock	Jn 11:38
922	Play 7, Scene IV, Sequence 3	Jesus: If any man love me, let him take up his cross	Mt 16:24 (i.e.)
923	Play 7, Scene IV, Sequence 3	Jesus: If any man love me, let him take up his cross	Mk 8:34 (i.e.)

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924	Play 7, Scene IV, Sequence 3	Jesus: If any man love me, let him take up his cross	Lk 9:23(i.e.)
925	Play 7, Scene IV, Sequence 3	Jesus: Roll away the stone from the tomb.	Jn 11:39a
926	Play 7, Scene IV, Sequence 3	Martha: he has been four days dead! The stench of	Jn 11:39b
927	Play 7, Scene IV, Sequence 3	Jesus: Did I not tell you that if you believed you	Jn 11:40
928	Play 7, Scene IV, Sequence 3	1 <sup>st</sup> Mourner: The grave is open.	Jn 11:41a
929	Play 7, Scene IV, Sequence 3	Jesus: Father, I thank Thee that Thou has heard me	Jn 11:41b-42
930	Play 7, Scene IV, Sequence 3	Jesus: Lazarus, come forth!	Jn 11:43
931	Play 7, Scene IV, Sequence 3	2 <sup>nd</sup> Mourner: its feet still fast in the grave bands	Jn 11:44a
932	Play 7, Scene IV, Sequence 3	Jesus: loose him and lead him home.	Jn 11:44b
933	Play 7, Scene V	Evangelist: Then many of the Jews came to Bethany	Jn 11:45-47a
934	Play 7, Scene V	1 <sup>st</sup> Elder: Here's this man wandering about the	Jn 11:47b
935	Play 7, Scene V	2 <sup>nd</sup> Elder: Rome will intervene, and take away even	Jn 11: 48
936	Play 7, Scene V	Nicodemus: in fighting against Jesus we are fighting	Acts 5:39
937	Play 7, Scene V	Joseph: those who persecuted the prophets	Mt 5:12 (like)
938	Play 7, Scene V	Caiaphas: A person was excommunicated the other	Jn 9:34
939	Play 7, Scene V	Caiaphas: It is better to sacrifice one man, rather	Jn 11:51
940	Play 7, Scene V	Evangelist: from that day forth they took counsel	Jn 11:53
941	Play 8, Scene I	Evangelist: Now the Feast of the Passover was nigh	Lk 22:1
942	Play 8, Scene I	Evangelist: And Jesus set his face steadfastly to go	Lk 9:51b
943	Play 8, Scene I, Sequence 1	Baruch: Say only: <i>The Master has need of him</i> , and	Lk 19:31
944	Play 8, Scene I, Sequence 1	Baruch: Say only: <i>The Master has need of him</i> , and	Mt 21:3 (cf)
945	Play 8, Scene I, Sequence 1	Baruch: Say only: <i>The Master has need of him</i> , and	Mk 11:3 (cf)
946	Play 8, Scene I, Sequence 2	Evangelist: And when Jesus came to Bethany, they	Mt 26:6
947	Play 8, Scene I, Sequence 2	Evangelist: And when Jesus came to Bethany, they	Mk 14:3a (cf)
948	Play 8, Scene I, Sequence 2	Evangelist: And Martha served; but Lazarus was one	Jn 12:2a&b
949	Play 8, Scene I, Sequence 2	1 <sup>st</sup> Woman: he's the one we came to see.	Jn 12:9
950	Play 8, Scene I, Sequence 2	Jesus: There was once a rich man who dressed in	Lk 16:19-31
951	Play 8, Scene I, Sequence 2	1 <sup>st</sup> Woman: What a marvellous scent all at once	Jn 12:3b

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952	Play 8, Scene I, Sequence 2	2 <sup>nd</sup> Woman: It's Mary...she's broken the lid from a	Jn 12:3a
953	Play 8, Scene I, Sequence 2	1 <sup>st</sup> Woman: A beautiful alabaster vase	Mt 26:7a
954	Play 8, Scene I, Sequence 2	1 <sup>st</sup> Woman: A beautiful alabaster vase	Mk 14:3
955	Play 8, Scene I, Sequence 2	2 <sup>nd</sup> Woman: pouring the perfume on the Rabbi's feet	Jn 12:3
956	Play 8, Scene I, Sequence 2	1 <sup>st</sup> Woman: Now she's anointing his head, as	Mt 26:7b
957	Play 8, Scene I, Sequence 2	1 <sup>st</sup> Woman: Now she's anointing his head, as	Mt 14:4a
958	Play 8, Scene I, Sequence 2	Judas: I see no reason for the waste. That perfume	Mt 26:8
959	Play 8, Scene I, Sequence 2	Judas: I see no reason for the waste. That perfume	Mk 14:4b
960	Play 8, Scene I, Sequence 2	Judas: sold for twenty-five pounds and the money	Mk 14:5
961	Play 8, Scene I, Sequence 2	Jesus: Let Mary alone. What she has done for me is	Mt 26:11-12
962	Play 8, Scene I, Sequence 2	Jesus: Let Mary alone. What she has done for me is	Mk 14:6, 8
963	Play 8, Scene I, Sequence 2	Jesus: Let Mary alone. What she has done for me is	Jn 12:7
964	Play 8, Scene I, Sequence 2	Jesus: the gospel is preached, they will tell this tale	Mt 26:13
965	Play 8, Scene I, Sequence 2	Jesus: the gospel is preached, they will tell this tale	Mk 14:9
966	Play 8, Scene I, Sequence 3	Judas: a piece of silver.	Jn 12:6
967	Play 8, Scene I, Sequence 3	Jesus: Disasters are inevitable; but the man who	Mt 18:7
968	Play 8, Scene I, Sequence 3	Jesus: he that is not with me is against me.	Mt 12:30
969	Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 1	(Proclus taking troops to Jerusalem for the Passover- no biblical references)	
970	Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: Yes, James. "The City of Zion is a fair place	Psalms 48:2
971	Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 2	Judas: A great many of your followers from the	Lk 19:37(li.e.)
972	Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: "Say to the daughter of Zion: Behold thy salvation cometh	Isaiah 62:11
973	Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: "Say to the daughter of Zion: Behold thy	Mt 21:5
974	Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: Go into the village over against you to the	Mt 21:2-3
975	Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: Go into the village over against you to the	Mk 11:2-3
976	Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: Go into the village over against you to the	Lk 19:30-31
977	Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 2	John: The Master is weeping	Lk 19:41
978	Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: if only you had known while there was still	Lk 19:41-44
979	Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: O Jerusalem, Jerusalem! You that kill the	Mt 23:37-39
980	Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: O Jerusalem, Jerusalem! You that kill the	Lk 13:34-35



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981	Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: Let us go forth in peace, in the name of the	Traditional- liturgy. <i>Like</i> Is 55:12
982	Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 2	Andrew: There's a great crowd at the bottom of the	Mt 21:8
983	Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 2	Nathanael: They are tearing down palm-branches	Mt 21:8
984	Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 2	Philip: I don't think he's ever been ridden before	Mk 11:2b
985	Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 2	Philip: I don't think he's ever been ridden before	Lk 19:30b
986	Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: Come now, little ass, don't you know me?	Isaiah 1:3
987	Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: Lend me your back, little brother	<i>Like</i> Francis of Assisi
988	Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 2	Peter: Good luck have thou with thine honour	Psalms 45:4
989	Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 2	Crowd: Hosanna! Blessed is he that comes in the name of the Lord! Hosanna in the highest!	Mt 21:9
990	Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 2	Crowd: Hosanna! Blessed is he that comes in the name of the Lord! Hosanna in the highest!	Mk 11:9-10
991	Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 2	Crowd: Hosanna! Blessed is he that comes in the name of the Lord! Hosanna in the highest!	Lk 19:38
992	Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 2	Crowd: Hosanna! Blessed is he that comes in the name of the Lord! Hosanna in the highest!	Jn 12:13
993	Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 3	Evangelist: And there were many people went up at	Jn 12:12
994	Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 3	Pilgrim: God break the wheels of their chariots!	Exodus 14:25
995	Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 3	Pilgrim: How long. O Lord, how long?	Psalms 80:4
996	Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 4	Pilate: We've shut up that fellow Barabbas, but	Lk 23:19
997	Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 4	Pilate: We've shut up that fellow Barabbas, but	Mt 27:16 (cf)
998	Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 4	Pilate: We've shut up that fellow Barabbas, but	Mk 15:7(cf)
999	Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 4	Peremptory Voice: Tell your disciples to stop that	Lk 19:39
1000	Play 8, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: Not I. If these men were to hold their peace	Lk 19:40
1001	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Evangelist: sent out spies to entangle Jesus in controversy	Lk 20:20
1002	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: so the good and evil must grow together until	Mt 13:30
1003	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: When the Son of Man comes in glory to judge	Mt 25:31-46
1004	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Sadducee: I don't believe in the resurrection	Mt 22:23
1005	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Sadducee: I don't believe in the resurrection	Mk 12:18
1006	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Sadducee: I don't believe in the resurrection	Lk 20:27

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1007	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Sadducee: Moses laid down that if a man should die	Mt 22:24-28
1008	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Sadducee: Moses laid down that if a man should die	Mk 12:19-23
1009	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Sadducee: Moses laid down that if a man should die	Lk 20:28-33
1010	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: That is a very silly question. Do you think the	Mt 22:29-32
1011	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: That is a very silly question. Do you think the	Mk 22:24-27
1012	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: That is a very silly question. Do you think the	Lk 20:34-38
1013	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	1 <sup>st</sup> Jew: Where do you get your authority for your	Mt 21:23
1014	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	1 <sup>st</sup> Jew: Where do you get your authority for your	Mk 12:28
1015	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	1 <sup>st</sup> Jew: Where do you get your authority for your	Lk 20:2
1016	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: The mission of John—was it from God? Or	Mt 21:25a
1017	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: The mission of John—was it from God? Or	Mk 12:29-30
1018	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: The mission of John—was it from God? Or	Lk 20:3
1019	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	2 <sup>nd</sup> Jew: Look out: if you say “from God”, he’ll say	Mt 21:25b
1020	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	2 <sup>nd</sup> Jew: Look out: if you say “from God”, he’ll say	Mk 12:31
1021	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	2 <sup>nd</sup> Jew: Look out: if you say “from God”, he’ll say	Lk 20:5
1022	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Peasant: Don’t you dare say John was bogus. He	Mt 21:25c
1023	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Peasant: Don’t you dare say John was bogus. He	Mk 12:32
1024	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Peasant: Don’t you dare say John was bogus. He	Lk 20:6
1025	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	1 <sup>st</sup> Jew: I can’t tell you anything about John.	Mt 21:27a
1026	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	1 <sup>st</sup> Jew: I can’t tell you anything about John.	Mk 12:33a
1027	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	1 <sup>st</sup> Jew: I can’t tell you anything about John.	Lk 20:7
1028	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: When you know about John you’ll know	Mt 21:27b
1029	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: When you know about John you’ll know	Mk 12:33b
1030	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: When you know about John you’ll know	Lk 20:8
1031	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Litigant: decide a lawsuit between my brother and	Lk 12:13
1032	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: Who made me a judge in chancery? Steer	Lk 12:14-15
1033	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Herodian: Is it, or is it not, lawful to pay tribute to	Mt 22:16

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1034	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Herodian: Is it, or is it not, lawful to pay tribute to	Mk 12:14
1035	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Herodian: Is it, or is it not, lawful to pay tribute to	Lk 20:22
1036	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: you hypocrites! Are you laying a trap for me?	Mt 22:18
1037	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: you hypocrites! Are you laying a trap for me?	Mk 12:15a
1038	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: Show me the tribute money	Mt 22:19
1039	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: Show me the tribute money	Mk 12:15b
1040	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: Show me the tribute money	Lk 20:24a
1041	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: Whose is this image and superscription?	Mt 22:20
1042	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: Whose is this image and superscription?	Mk 12:16
1043	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: Whose is this image and superscription?	Lk 20:24b
1044	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: Then pay to Caesar the things that are	Mt 22:21
1045	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: Then pay to Caesar the things that are	Mk 12:17
1046	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: Then pay to Caesar the things that are	Lk 20:25
1047	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Scribe: Which of the commandments is the most	Mt 22:36
1048	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Scribe: Which of the commandments is the most	Mk 12:28
1049	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: Hear, O Israel: Thou shalt love the Lord thy	Mk 12:29-31
1050	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: Hear, O Israel: Thou shalt love the Lord thy	Mt 22:37-40 (with)
1051	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Scribe: Well spoken, Rabbi. That's very true indeed	Mk 12:32-33
1052	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: You are not far from the Kingdom of God	Mk 12:34
1053	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	2 <sup>nd</sup> Jew: When that kingdom comes, who will be the chief person in it?	Mt 18:1
1054	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: Mother, will you lend me your little girl for a	Mt 18:2
1055	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: to the eager and the simple of heart, the doors	Mt 18:3 <i>Approx.</i>
1056	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: He that will humble himself to be like this	Mt 18:4
1057	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: He that will humble himself to be like this	Mk 10:15 (cf)
1058	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: He that will humble himself to be like this	Lk 18:17 (cf)
1059	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: the man who warps the mind of a child, or	Mt 18:5-6
1060	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Women: Rabbi—please bless our children, too.	Mt 19:13a
1061	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Women: Rabbi—please bless our children, too.	Mk 10:13a

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1062	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Women: Rabbi—please bless our children, too.	Lk 18:15a
1063	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Matthew: He can't be bothered with 'undreds and	Mt 19:13b
1064	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Matthew: He can't be bothered with 'undreds and	Mk 10:13b
1065	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Matthew: He can't be bothered with 'undreds and	Lk 18:15b
1066	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: Let the little children come to me—don't turn	Mt 19:14
1067	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: Let the little children come to me—don't turn	Mk 10:14
1068	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: Let the little children come to me—don't turn	Lk 18:16
1069	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: God bless you my child, and your mother too	Mt 19:15
1070	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: God bless you my child, and your mother too	Mk 10:16
1071	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Evangelist: And as he walked through the streets	Mk 10:17a
1072	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Young Man: Holy Rabbi! What shall I do to inherit	Mk 10:17
1073	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Young Man: Holy Rabbi! What shall I do to inherit	Lk 18:18
1074	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Young Man: Holy Rabbi! What shall I do to inherit	Mt 19:16 (cf)
1075	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Jesus: Why do you call me holy? There is only one	Mt 19:17
1076	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Jesus: Why do you call me holy? There is only one	Mk 10:18
1077	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Jesus: Why do you call me holy? There is only one	Lk 18:19
1078	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Young Man: kept the commandments from a child	Mk 10:20
1079	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Young Man: kept the commandments from a child	Lk 18:21
1080	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Jesus: if you really want to be perfect, there is a	Mt 19:21
1081	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Jesus: if you really want to be perfect, there is a	Mk 10:21 (cf)
1082	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Jesus: if you really want to be perfect, there is a	Lk 18:22 (cf)
1083	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Jesus: because I like you very much	Mk 10:21a
1084	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Young Man: I'm a rich man...John: He is going	Mt 19:22
1085	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Young Man: I'm a rich man...John: He is going	Mk 10:22
1086	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Young Man: I'm a rich man...John: He is going	Lk 18:23
1087	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Jesus: How hard it is for rich people to enter the	Mt 19:23
1088	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Jesus: How hard it is for rich people to enter the	Mk 10:23
1089	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Jesus: How hard it is for rich people to enter the	Lk 18:24

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1090	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Jesus: It is easier for a camel to go through the eye	Mt 19:24
1091	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Jesus: It is easier for a camel to go through the eye	Mk 10:25
1092	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Jesus: It is easier for a camel to go through the eye	Lk 18:25
1093	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Peter: if they can't be saved, who can?	Mt 19:25
1094	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Peter: if they can't be saved, who can?	Mk 10:26
1095	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Peter: if they can't be saved, who can?	Lk 18:26
1096	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Jesus: Humanly speaking, it's impossible. But	Mt 19:26
1097	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Jesus: Humanly speaking, it's impossible. But	Mk 10:27
1098	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Jesus: Humanly speaking, it's impossible. But	Lk 18:27
1099	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Peter: Master—we have given up everything we	Mt 19:27
1100	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Peter: Master—we have given up everything we	Mk 10:28 (cf)
1101	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Peter: Master—we have given up everything we	Lk 18:28 (cf)
1102	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Jesus: I can assure you that anybody who, for my	Mk 10:29-31
1103	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Jesus: I can assure you that anybody who, for my	Mt 19:29 (cf)
1104	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Jesus: I can assure you that anybody who, for my	Lk 18:29-30 (cf)
1105	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	James: To sit on your right hand and on your left	Mk 10:37
1106	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	James: To sit on your right hand and on your left	Mt 20:21 (cf)
1107	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Jesus: James and John, you don't know what you are	Mk 10:38
1108	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Jesus: James and John, you don't know what you are	Mt 20:22 (cf)
1109	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	John: Master, we are ready to do anything.	Mt 20:22b
1110	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	John: Master, we are ready to do anything.	Mk 10:39a
1111	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Jesus: You shall indeed drink of my cup and be	Mt 20:23
1112	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Jesus: You shall indeed drink of my cup and be	Mk 10:39b
1113	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Thomas: You two Zebedees think a bit too much of	Mt 20:24
1114	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Thomas: You two Zebedees think a bit too much of	Mk 10:41
1115	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Jesus: In earthly kingdoms, the rulers exercise	Mt 20:25-28
1116	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 2	Jesus: In earthly kingdoms, the rulers exercise	Mk 10:42-45
1117	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 3	The Evangelist: Then entered Satan into Judas,	Lk 22:3

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1118	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 3	Annas: "Put not your trust in any child of man"	Psalms 146:3
1119	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 3	Judas: Because you would not accept me when I	Lk 19:43-44
1120	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 3	Judas: bartering his heavenly birthright for the mess	Genesis 25:29-34
1121	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 3	Judas: The Son of Man must die before he can save	Jn 12:32(i.e.)
1122	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 3	Judas: The Son of Man must die before he can save	Jn 3:14-15 (i.e.)
1123	Play 8, Scene III, Sequence 3	Evangelist: bargain with him for thirty pieces of	Mt 26:15
1124	Play 9, Scene I	Evangelist: Now on the first day of unleavened	Mk 14:12a, 13-16,
1125	Play 9, Scene I	Evangelist: Now on the first day of unleavened	Lk 22:7-12 (cf)
1126	Play 9, Scene I	Thomas: I'll take the lowest seat. I hope nobody	Lk 14:10
1127	Play 9, Scene I	Matthew: story about a Samaritan what was kind to	Lk 10:25-37
1128	Play 9, Scene I	Jesus: Peace be with you, my children.	Jn 20:26 (i.e.)
1129	Play 9, Scene I	Jesus: Blessed art Thou, O Lord God, that has	Traditional - Seder Haggadah
1130	Play 9, Scene I	Philip: when the power first came to us to heal the	Lk 9:1
1131	Play 9, Scene I	Philip: Nor the marvel of seeing Lazarus rise from	Jn 11:38-44
1132	Play 9, Scene I	Nathanael: when they tried to stone the Master	Jn 8:59
1133	Play 9, Scene I	Jesus: The Kingdom is very near.	Mt 4:17
1134	Play 9, Scene I	James: Keeper of the Keys...foundation stone of the	Mt 16:18-19
1135	Play 9, Scene I	Andrew: Stripped to the waist and girded with a	Jn 13:4
1136	Play 9, Scene I	Jesus: John...give me your feet, that I may wash	Jn 13:5
1137	Play 9, Scene I	Peter: No, Lord, no!...I wouldn't dream of letting you	Jn 13:8a
1138	Play 9, Scene I	Jesus: unless I wash you, you have nothing in	Jn 13:8b
1139	Play 9, Scene I	Peter: Then wash me, Lord...Not my feet only, but	Jn 13:9
1140	Play 9, Scene I	Jesus: They who are washed already do not need to	Jn 13:10a
1141	Play 9, Scene I	Jesus: You are clean. But not all of you—not all of	Jn 13:10b
1142	Play 9, Scene I	Jesus: pray...they do not carry you into temptation	Mt 6:13 (i.e.)
1143	Play 9, Scene I	Jesus: pray...they do not carry you into temptation	Lk 11:4b (i.e.)
1144	Play 9, Scene I	Judas: I have set my hand to the plough. Through	Lk 9:62
1145	Play 9, Scene I	Jesus: Do you understand what I have done for you	Jn 13:12-18a, 20

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1146	Play 9, Scene I	Jesus: I tell you that one of you will betray me	Mt 26:21
1147	Play 9, Scene I	Jesus: I tell you that one of you will betray me	Mk 14:18
1148	Play 9, Scene I	Jesus: I tell you that one of you will betray me	Jn 13:21
1149	Play 9, Scene I	Peter: Is it me? Disciples: Or me? Or me?	Mt 26:22
1150	Play 9, Scene I	Peter: Is it me? Disciples: Or me? Or me?	Mk 14:19
1151	Play 9, Scene I	Peter: Is it me? Disciples: Or me? Or me?	Lk 22:23
1152	Play 9, Scene I	Jesus: It is one of the Twelve—one who has dipped	Mk 14:20
1153	Play 9, Scene I	Jesus: It is one of the Twelve—one who has dipped	Lk 22:21-22 (cf)
1154	Play 9, Scene I	John: Dearest Lord, who is it?	Jn 13:25
1155	Play 9, Scene I	Jesus: I will hand him a sop from the dish, but say	Jn 13:26
1156	Play 9, Scene I	Judas: Master, am I the man?	Mt 26:25
1157	Play 9, Scene I	Jesus: What you have to do, do quickly.	Jn 13:27b
1158	Play 9, Scene I	Matthew: Where's Judas gone? Nathanael: To buy	Jn 13:28-29
1159	Play 9, Scene I	Jesus: I shall not be with you much longer. Soon,	Jn 13:33-34
1160	Play 9, Scene I	Jesus: In a little while you will see me no more—	Jn 16:16
1161	Play 9, Scene I	Jude: What's he talking about? In a little while we	Jn 16:17
1162	Play 9, Scene I	Peter: Where are you going?	Jn 13:36a
1163	Play 9, Scene I	Jesus: To a place where you cannot follow me yet,	Jn 13:36b
1164	Play 9, Scene I	Jesus: to give you a new law...Love one another	Jn 13:34
1165	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 1	Evangelist: But Judas, when he had received the	Jn 13:30
1166	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 1	Caiaphas: we've got to get the thing done before	Jn 19:31b
1167	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 1	Caiaphas: eat it in haste—as Moses commanded	Exodus 12:11
1168	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 1	Caiaphas: overpower twelve men...or rather more	Mt 26:47
1169	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 1	Caiaphas: overpower twelve men...or rather more	Mk 14:43
1170	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 1	Caiaphas: overpower twelve men...or rather more	Lk 22:47
1171	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 1	Caiaphas: overpower twelve men...or rather more	Jn 18:3
1172	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 2	Evangelist: And while they were at supper, Jesus took bread	Mk 14:22
1173	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: Blessed art Thou, O Lord, God of the Universe	Traditional - Seder Haggadah
1174	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: Take and eat. This is my body which is	Lk 22:19

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1175	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: Take and eat. This is my body which is	Mt 26:26 (cf)
1176	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: Take and eat. This is my body which is	Mk 14:22 (cf)
1177	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 2	John: He said once: "Unless you eat the flesh of the	Jn 6:53
1178	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: Blessed art Thou, O Lord, God of the Universe	Traditional - Seder Haggadah
1179	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 2	John: What mean you by this service?	Traditional - Seder Haggadah
1180	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: Drink, all of you, of this. For this is my blood	Mt 26:27
1181	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: Drink, all of you, of this. For this is my blood	Mk 14:24
1182	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: great longing to eat this...never eat it again	Lk 22:15-16
1183	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: I will never more drink of the fruit of the vine	Mt 26:29
1184	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: I will never more drink of the fruit of the vine	Mk 14:25
1185	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: Don't let your hearts be troubled. You believe	Jn 14:1-4
1186	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 2	Thomas: But we <i>don't</i> know where you are going	Jn 14:5
1187	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: I am the way, and the truth and the life	Jn 14:6-7
1188	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 2	Philip: Can anyone see God and live?	Exodus 33:20
1189	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 2	Philip: show us the Father, then we shall be satisfied	Jn 14:8
1190	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: Have I been with you all this time, Philip, and	Jn 14:9
1191	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 3	Evangelist: Then the High Priest called the Council	Mt 26:57 (detail)
1192	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 3	Caiaphas: Father Annas, will you take charge?	Jn 18:13
1193	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 3	Caiaphas: witchcraft, contempt of...Law, blasphemy	Mt 26:64
1194	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 3	Caiaphas: our Law requires the agreement of two	Deuteronomy 17:6, 19:15
1195	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: If you love me, keep my commandments	Jn 14:15-17
1196	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 4	Peter: How will you show yourself to us and not to	Jn 14:22
1197	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: In any one loves me and keeps my sayings,	Jn 14:23-24
1198	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: There is so much I want to say to you, but you	Jn 16:12
1199	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: The alien power of the prince of this world is	Jn 14:30
1200	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: my peace I leave with you; my peace I give	Jn 14:27-28
1201	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: I am the vine—you are the branches. Unless	Jn 15:5, 7



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1202	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: Love one another, as I have loved you	Jn 15:12-15
1203	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: the servant is not greater than his master.	Jn 15:20
1204	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: If the world hates you, remember that it	Jn 15:18
1205	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: You will be thrown out of the synagogue	Jn 16:2
1206	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: In the world you will have distress and	Jn 16:33
1207	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: The hour has come. I have glorified Thee on	Jn 17:1, 4-6
1208	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: While I was with them, I held them safe	Jn 17:12-13
1209	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: Bless them and keep them...that they may be	Jn 17:11
1210	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: And I pray, for them alone, but for all whom	Jn 17:20-21
1211	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 4	Stage Directions: Hymn from the Great Hallel	Mk 14:26
1212	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 5	Imagined scene between Caiaphas and Pilate	No biblical connection
1213	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 6	John: you said we were going to Gethsemane.	Mt 26:36
1214	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 6	John: you said we were going to Gethsemane.	Mk 14:32
1215	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 6	Jesus: tonight you will all desert me;	Mt 26:31-32
1216	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 6	Jesus: tonight you will all desert me;	Mk 14:27-28
1217	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 6	Jesus: I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep will	Zechariah 13:7
1218	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 6	Peter: Even if everybody else should desert you, I	Mt 26:33
1219	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 6	Peter: Even if everybody else should desert you, I	Mk 14:29
1220	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 6	Jesus: Simon, Simon, Satan is trying to get hold of	Lk 22:31-32
1221	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 6	Peter: I would gladly go to prison with you.	Lk 22:33
1222	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 6	Peter: I would die for you, indeed I would.	Mt 26:35
1223	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 6	Peter: I would die for you, indeed I would.	Mk 14:29
1224	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 6	Disciples: We all would.	Mt 26:35
1225	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 6	Jesus: Indeed and indeed I tell you: before the cock	Lk 22:34
1226	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 6	Jesus: Indeed and indeed I tell you: before the cock	Mt 26:33-35 (cf)
1227	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 6	Jesus: Indeed and indeed I tell you: before the cock	Mk 14:29-31 (cf)
1228	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 6	Peter: Disown you? Master, I would die first.	Mt 26:35
1229	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 6	Peter: Disown you? Master, I would die first.	Mk 14:29
1230	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 6	Disciples: We will never desert or disown you	Mt 26:35

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1231	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 6	Jesus: My poor little flock! Once again I am sending	Mt 10:16
1232	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 6	Jesus: My poor little flock! Once again I am sending	Lk 10:3
1233	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 6	Jesus: remember when I sent you out without purse	Lk 22:35a
1234	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 6	James: No, Master—we always had enough.	Lk 22:35b
1235	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 6	Jesus: But this time things cannot be the same.	Lk 22:36-37
1236	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 6	Peter: We have only two swords among us.	Lk 22:38a
1237	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 6	Jesus: It is enough.	Lk 22:38b
1238	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 7	Pilate: I simply dare not have any more trouble with the Jews. I have dealt summarily with them before...and the last time, Caesar interfered.	Josephus
1239	Play 9, Scene II, Sequence 7	Pilate: I simply dare not have any more trouble with the Jews. I have dealt summarily with them before...and the last time, Caesar interfered.	Lk 13:1 (cf)
1240	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 1	Evangelist: Jesus went over the brook Kendron	Jn 18:1a
1241	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 1	Evangelist: unto a place called Gethsemane	Mt 26:36
1242	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 1	Evangelist: unto a place called Gethsemane	Mk 14:32
1243	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: Peter, James and John...Come with me. I need	Mt 26:36-37
1244	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: Peter, James and John...Come with me. I need	Mk 14:32-33
1245	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: Out of the deep, O Lord, out of the deep	Psalms 130:1
1246	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: all thy waves have gone over me	Psalms 42:7
1247	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: My soul is full of sorrow—it is like the horror of death. Stay here a little and watch with me, while	Mt 26:38
1248	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: My soul is full of sorrow—it is like the horror of death. Stay here a little and watch with me, while	Mk 14:34
1249	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 1	Peter: we three together again, as...in the mountain	Mt 17
1250	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 1	Peter: we three together again, as...in the mountain	Mk 9
1251	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 1	Peter: we three together again, as...in the mountain	Lk 9
1252	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: Abba, all things are possible with Thee. If it is possible, let this cup pass from me...not as I will, but	Mt 26:39
1253	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: Abba, all things are possible with Thee. If it is possible, let this cup pass from me...not as I will, but	Mk 14:36
1254	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: Abba, all things are possible with Thee. If it is possible, let this cup pass from me...not as I will, but	Lk 22:42

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1255	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 1	James: The sweat shines...Peter: like drops of blood	Lk 22:44
1256	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: They are asleep already...wake up , my sons.	Mt 26:40
1257	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: They are asleep already...wake up , my sons.	Mk 14:37
1258	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: Could you not watch with me one hour?	Mt 26:40
1259	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: Could you not watch with me one hour?	Mk 14:37
1260	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: The spirit, indeed, is willing, but the flesh is	Mt 26:41b
1261	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: The spirit, indeed, is willing, but the flesh is	Mk 14:38
1262	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 1	Peter: The same words again	Mk 14:39
1263	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 1	Peter: I see one beside him—on of the shining ones	Lk 22:43
1264	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 1	Jesus: If this cup may not pass from me except I	Mt 26:42
1265	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 1	John, Peter and James: Our Father, which art in	Mt 6:9
1266	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 2	Annas: Iscariot here will guide you to the place	Jn 18:2-3
1267	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 2	Judas: I shall go up to one of them, saying "Hail,	Mt 26:48
1268	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 2	Judas: I shall go up to one of them, saying "Hail,	Mk 14:44
1269	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 3	Evangelist: And the third time Jesus came to his	Mk 14:41
1270	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 3	Jesus: Sleep on now and take your rest; for the hour is at hand...here comes the traitor. Look!	Mt 26:45-46
1271	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 3	Jesus: Sleep on now and take your rest; for the hour is at hand...here comes the traitor. Look!	Mk 14:40-42
1272	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 3	John: A band of men with lanterns and torches	Jn 18:3
1273	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 3	Jesus: Friend, what are you doing here?	Mt 26:50
1274	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 3	Judas: Hail, Master!	Mk 14:45
1275	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 3	Judas: Hail, Master!	Mt 26:49 (cf)
1276	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 3	Jesus: Judas—will you betray the Son of Man with a	Lk 22:48
1277	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 3	Captain: Are you Jesus of Nazareth?	Jn 18:5a
1278	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 3	Jesus: I AM.	Jn 18:5b
1279	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 3	Jesus: Whom are you looking for?	Jn 18:7a
1280	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 3	Captain: Jesus of Nazareth.	Jn 18:7b
1281	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 3	Stage directions: Confusion, and a squawk of	Jn 18:6
1282	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 3	Jesus: I tell you, I am he. If you want me, let these	Jn 18:8
1283	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 3	Peter: Out swords and make a fight for it!	Mt 26:52a
1284	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 3	Peter: Out swords and make a fight for it!	Mk 14:47

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1285	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 3	Peter: Out swords and make a fight for it!	Lk 22:49
1286	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 3	Peter: Out swords and make a fight for it!	Jn 18:10
1287	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 3	Jesus: Peter! Put up your sword!	Jn 18:11a
1288	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 3	Jesus: They that take the sword perish by the sword	Mt 26:52b
1289	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 3	Jesus: I that might have at my call more than twelve	Mt 26:53
1290	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 3	Jesus: the cup my Father gives me to drink—shall I	Jn 18:11b
1291	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 3	Maalchus: He's cut my ear half off.	Jn 18:10b
1292	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 3	Jesus: There—it is nothing. It is healed.	Lk 22:51
1293	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 3	Jesus: have you come out with swords and pikes	Mt 26:55
1294	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 3	Jesus: have you come out with swords and pikes	Mk 14:48
1295	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 3	Jesus: have you come out with swords and pikes	Lk 22:52
1296	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 3	Jesus: but this is your hour and the power of the	Lk 22:53
1297	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 3	Evangelist: Then all the disciples forsook him, and	Mt 26:56b
1298	Play 9, Scene III, Sequence 3	Evangelist: Then all the disciples forsook him, and	Mk 14:50b (cf)
1299	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 1	Evangelist: Then the band and the captain and the	Jn 18:12-13
1300	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 1	Evangelist: But Peter followed him afar off and so did another disciple.	Jn 18:15
1301	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 1	Evangelist: But Peter followed him afar off and so did another disciple.	Mt 26:58 (cf)
1302	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 1	Evangelist: But Peter followed him afar off and so did another disciple.	Mk 14:54 (cf)
1303	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 1	Evangelist: But Peter followed him afar off and so did another disciple.	Lk 22:54 (cf)
1304	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 1	John: we said we would die with him.	Mt 26:35
1305	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 1	Peter: He told them to let us go.	Jn 18:8
1306	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 1	John: we ran away.	Mt 26:56b
1307	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 1	John: we ran away.	Mk 14:50
1308	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 1	John: They're going to the High Priest's house.	Lk 22:54
1309	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 1	John: I've been there before. The servants know me	Jn 18:15
1310	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 1	John: wait for me outside.	Jn 15:16
1311	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 1	Portress: you can come and sit by the fire in the	Lk 22:55
1312	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 1	Portress: you can come and sit by the fire in the	Jn 18:18
1313	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 1	Portress: <i>You're</i> not a follower of this man Jesus, are	Jn 18:17a
1314	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 1	Portress: <i>You're</i> not a follower of this man Jesus, are	Mt 26:69 (cf)
1315	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 1	Portress: <i>You're</i> not a follower of this man Jesus, are	Mk 14:67 (cf)

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1316	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 1	Portress: <i>You're</i> not a follower of this man Jesus, are	Lk 22:56 (cf)
1317	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 1	Peter: No, no, no—just a friend of John's.	Mt 26:70
1318	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 1	Peter: No, no, no—just a friend of John's.	Mk 14:68
1319	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 1	Peter: No, no, no—just a friend of John's.	Lk 22:57
1320	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 1	Peter: No, no, no—just a friend of John's.	Jn 18:17b
1321	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 2	Hezekiah: Lord Annas, head of the high-priestly	Jn 18:12-13
1322	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 2	Annas: Jesus bar-Joseph, you have been accused	Jn 18:19
1323	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 2	Jesus: <i>I</i> make no secret of what I do. I have always	Jn 18:20-21
1324	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 2	Captain: Is that the way to speak to his Reverence?	Jn 18:22
1325	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 2	Jesus: If what I said was wrong, then go into court	Jn 18:23
1326	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 2	Annas: We will proceed to the Sanhedrim	Jn 18:24
1327	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 3	Malchus: that fellow Jesus healed it all right	Lk 22:51
1328	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 3	1 <sup>st</sup> Guard: Witchcraft, cousin (relative of Malchus)	Jn 18:26
1329	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 3	1 <sup>st</sup> Guard: I say, stranger, you're a Galilean by your	Mt 26:73
1330	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 3	1 <sup>st</sup> Guard: I say, stranger, you're a Galilean by your	Mk 14:70
1331	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 3	1 <sup>st</sup> Guard: I say, stranger, you're a Galilean by your	Lk 22:59
1332	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 3	Peter: of course not.	Jn 18:25b
1333	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 3	Peter: I don't know what you're talking about.	Lk 22:60
1334	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 3	1 <sup>st</sup> Guard: Didn't I see you in the garden with him?	Jn 18:26
1335	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 3	Peter: Damnation! Leave me alone! I tell you I don't	Mt 26:74
1336	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 3	Peter: Damnation! Leave me alone! I tell you I don't	Mk 14:71
1337	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 3	Stage Directions: a distant cock begins to crow	Mt 26:74b
1338	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 3	Stage Directions: a distant cock begins to crow	Mk 14:72
1339	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 3	Stage Directions: a distant cock begins to crow	Lk 22:60b
1340	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 3	Stage Directions: a distant cock begins to crow	Jn 18:27
1341	Play 10, Scene I, Sequence 3	Evangelist: And the Lord turned and looked upon	Lk 22:61-62
1342	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 1	Evangelist: And at dawn, the elders of the people	Lk 22:66
1343	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 1	Evangelist: And at dawn, the elders of the people	Mt 27:1a (cf)
1344	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 1	Evangelist: And at dawn, the elders of the people	Mk 15:1a (cf)

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1345	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 1	Judas: He's coming up for trial now before the	Mt 26:57
1346	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 1	Baruch: They're coming out of the high priest's	Jn 18:28
1347	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 1	Baruch: Going to Pilate, is he?	Jn 18:28
1348	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 2	Evangelist: And they brought many witnesses against him, but their witnesses agreed not together	Mk 14:56
1349	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 2	Evangelist: And they brought many witnesses against him, but their witnesses agreed not together	Mt 26:59-60 (cf)
1350	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 2	1 <sup>st</sup> Witness: He said, "Which is easier? To say 'Your	Mt 9:5-6
1351	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 2	1 <sup>st</sup> Witness: He said, "Which is easier? To say 'Your	Mt 9:5-6
1352	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 2	1 <sup>st</sup> Witness: He said, "Which is easier? To say 'Your	Lk 5:23-24
1353	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 2	2 <sup>nd</sup> Witness: I heard him say: "I will destroy this	Mk 14:55-59
1354	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 2	2 <sup>nd</sup> Witness: I heard him say: "I will destroy this	Mt 26:60b-61 (cf)
1355	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 2	3 <sup>rd</sup> Witness: heard him say: "I am able to destroy	Mk 14:55-59
1356	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 2	3 <sup>rd</sup> Witness: heard him say: "I am able to destroy	Mt 26:60b-61 (cf)
1357	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 2	Shadrach: both wrong..."Destroy this Temple, and	Mk 14:55-59
1358	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 2	Shadrach: both wrong..."Destroy this Temple, and	Mt 26:60b-61 (cf)
1359	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 2	Caiaphas: Prisoner—you hear these witnesses...still silent?	Mt 26:62-63
1360	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 2	Caiaphas: Prisoner—you hear these witnesses...still silent?	Mk 14:60-61
1361	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 2	Caiaphas: I adjure you by the living God, that you	Mt 26:63
1362	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 2	Caiaphas: I adjure you by the living God, that you	Mk 14:61
1363	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: I am. And you shall see the Son of Man sitting	Mk 14:62
1364	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: I am. And you shall see the Son of Man sitting	Mt 26:64 (cf)
1365	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 2	Clerk: The High Priest has rent his garments	Mt 26:65
1366	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 2	Clerk: The High Priest has rent his garments	Mk 14:63
1367	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 2	Caiaphas: What further need is there of witnesses?	Mt 26:65
1368	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 2	Caiaphas: What further need is there of witnesses?	Mk 14:63
1369	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 2	Caiaphas: what do you think of it? All: He is guilty of death.	Mt 26:66
1370	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 2	Caiaphas: what do you think of it? All: He is guilty of death.	Mk 14:64

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1371	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 3	Evangelist: Then Judas, when he saw that he was	Mt 27:3
1372	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 3	Caiaphas: all's well that ends well	Shakespeare
1373	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 3	Judas: I have sinned. I have betrayed the blood of	Mt 27:4a
1374	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 3	Judas: I have sinned. I have betrayed the blood of	Psalms 106:38 (i.e.)
1375	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 3	Judas: Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! How well	Mt 23:27
1376	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 3	Judas: The man who hates his brother is a murderer	Mt 5:22 (cf)
1377	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 3	Judas: The man who hates his brother is a murderer	1 John 3:15
1378	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 3	Caiaphas: What is all this to us? Your conscience is	Mt 27:4b
1379	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 3	Judas: You are the High Priest. Day by day, week by	Hebrews 10:1-4, 11
1380	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 3	Judas: If I climb up into Heaven He is there—if I go	Psalms 139:8
1381	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 3	Judas: Take back your money	Mt 27:5a
1382	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 3	Judas: with the curse of Cain upon it	Genesis 4:11
1383	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 3	Judas: I am going to my own place.	Acts 1:25
1384	Play 10, Scene II, Sequence 3	Evangelist: And he departed, and went, and hanged	Mt 27:5b
1385	Play 10, Scene III	Evangelist: Then they led Jesus into the hall of	Jn 18:28a
1386	Play 10, Scene III	Pilate: If they come in here they'd be defiled and	Jn 18:28b
1387	Play 10, Scene III	Slave: A not from her Excellency, the Lady Claudia	Mt 27:19a
1388	Play 10, Scene III	Falvius: Have nothing to do with that good man. I	Mt 27:19b
1389	Play 10, Scene III	Pilate: convicted, not by the agreement of witnesses	Mt 26:63, 65
1390	Play 10, Scene III	Pilate: convicted, not by the agreement of witnesses	Mk 14:59-61
1391	Play 10, Scene III	Pilate: Very well, we'll go out to them	Jn 18:29a
1392	Play 10, Scene III	Pilate: What is your accusation against this man?	Jn 18:29b
1393	Play 10, Scene III	Caiaphas: If he were not a criminal, we should not	Jn 18:30
1394	Play 10, Scene III	Pilate: Take him and deal with him according to	Jn 18:31
1395	Play 10, Scene III	Caiaphas: By our law he has already been convicted	Jn 19:7
1396	Play 10, Scene III	Caiaphas: He pretends to be the Messiah.	Jn 19:7
1397	Play 10, Scene III	Pilate: I will interrogate him myself	Mt 27:11
1398	Play 10, Scene III	Pilate: I will interrogate him myself	Jn 18:33
1399	Play 10, Scene III	Pilate: Are you the King of the Jews?	Mt 27:11

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1400	Play 10, Scene III	Pilate: Are you the King of the Jews?	Mk 15:2
1401	Play 10, Scene III	Pilate: Are you the King of the Jews?	Lk 23:3
1402	Play 10, Scene III	Pilate: Are you the King of the Jews?	Jn 18:33
1403	Play 10, Scene III	Jesus: Are you asking me that on your own account	Jn 18:34
1404	Play 10, Scene III	Pilate: Am I a Jew? Your own nation and your own	Jn 18:35
1405	Play 10, Scene III	Jesus: My kingdom is not an earthly kingdom. If it	Jn 18:36
1406	Play 10, Scene III	Pilate: But you <i>are</i> a king of some kind?	Jn 18:37a
1407	Play 10, Scene III	Jesus: As you say, I am a king. That is your word not	Mt 27:11b
1408	Play 10, Scene III	Jesus: As you say, I am a king. That is your word not	Mk 15:2
1409	Play 10, Scene III	Jesus: As you say, I am a king. That is your word not	Lk 23:3b
1410	Play 10, Scene III	Jesus: But it is the right word—in one sense	Jn 18:37b
1411	Play 10, Scene III	Jesus: The end for which I was born and came into	Jn 18:37c
1412	Play 10, Scene III	Jesus: Every one that has the truth within him	Jn 18:37d
1413	Play 10, Scene III	Pilate: Truth? What is truth?	Jn 18:38a
1414	Play 10, Scene III	Pilate: I've examined him and find no fault in him at	Lk 23:4
1415	Play 10, Scene III	Pilate: I've examined him and find no fault in him at	Jn 18:38b
1416	Play 10, Scene III	1 <sup>st</sup> Elder: In addition to the blasphemy of which he	Mt 27:12
1417	Play 10, Scene III	1 <sup>st</sup> Elder: In addition to the blasphemy of which he	Mk 15:3
1418	Play 10, Scene III	1 <sup>st</sup> Elder: destroyed a valuable herd of swine	Mt 8:32
1419	Play 10, Scene III	1 <sup>st</sup> Elder: destroyed a fig tree	Mk 11:14, 21
1420	Play 10, Scene III	1 <sup>st</sup> Elder: Interfered with the Temple market	Lk 19:45
1421	Play 10, Scene III	2 <sup>nd</sup> Elder: Breaking the Sabbath	Jn 5:9b
1422	Play 10, Scene III	2 <sup>nd</sup> Elder: denying the validity of oaths sworn at the	Mt 5:33-37
1423	Play 10, Scene III	2 <sup>nd</sup> Elder: instigating young people to defy parental	Mt 19:29
1424	Play 10, Scene III	2 <sup>nd</sup> Elder: consorting with dissolute persons	Mt 11:19
1425	Play 10, Scene III	2 <sup>nd</sup> Elder: attempting to undermine the authority of	Jn 9:39
1426	Play 10, Scene III	3 <sup>rd</sup> Elder: perform miraculous cures	Mt 4:23
1427	Play 10, Scene III	3 <sup>rd</sup> Elder: raise the dead	Mk 5:41
1428	Play 10, Scene III	3 <sup>rd</sup> Elder: raise the dead	Lk 7:14-15
1429	Play 10, Scene III	3 <sup>rd</sup> Elder: raise the dead	Jn 11:43
1430	Play 10, Scene III	3 <sup>rd</sup> Elder: destroy and rebuild the temple by magic	Jn 2:19 (i.e)



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1431	Play 10, Scene III	4 <sup>th</sup> Elder: establishment of an independent Israel	Lk 23:2 (i.e.)
1432	Play 10, Scene III	4 <sup>th</sup> Elder: payment of Imperial tribute	Lk 20:25 (i.e.)
1433	Play 10, Scene III	Pilate: Do you want to make a reply? Jesus: No	Mt 27:13-14
1434	Play 10, Scene III	Pilate: Do you want to make a reply? Jesus: No	Mk 15:4-5
1435	Play 10, Scene III	Pilate: I will discharge the prisoner with a caution	Jn 18:38b
1436	Play 10, Scene III	Caiaphas: preaching sedition...beginning in Galilee	Lk 23:5
1437	Play 10, Scene III	Pilate: Galilee? He's a Galilean, isn't he?	Lk 23:6
1438	Play 10, Scene III	Pilate: Take Jesus of Nazareth along to the Tetrarch	Lk 23:7
1439	Play 10, Scene IV	Evangelist: When Herod saw Jesus, he questioned	Lk 23:8a, 9, 11a
1440	Play 10, Scene IV	Herod: I had long been anxious to see him, having	Lk 23:8
1441	Play 10, Scene IV	Herod: asked him all the questions...refused to speak	Lk 23:9
1442	Play 10, Scene IV	Herod: John Baptist, whom I regretfully beheaded	Mk 6:27
1443	Play 10, Scene IV	Herod: John Baptist, whom I regretfully beheaded	Mt. 14:9
1444	Play 10, Scene IV	Herod: The purple robe I have put upon him, I beg	Lk 23:11
1445	Play 10, Scene IV	Herod: We have quarrelled too long about a foolish	Lk 23:12
1446	Play 10, Scene V, sequence 1	Shadrach: release of the Passover Prisoner	Mt 27:15
1447	Play 10, Scene V, sequence 1	Shadrach: release of the Passover Prisoner	Mk 15:6
1448	Play 10, Scene V, sequence 1	Shadrach: release of the Passover Prisoner	Jn 18:39
1449	Play 10, Scene V, sequence 1	Pilate: You have brought me this man, Jesus of	Lk 23:14
1450	Play 10, Scene V, sequence 1	Pilate: Officer! Take the prisoner out and give him	Jn 19:1
1451	Play 10, Scene V, sequence 1	Marcus: If's your privilege to demand the release of	Mt 27:15
1452	Play 10, Scene V, sequence 1	Marcus: If's your privilege to demand the release of	Mk 15:6
1453	Play 10, Scene V, sequence 1	Marcus: If's your privilege to demand the release of	Jn 18:39
1454	Play 10, Scene V, sequence 1	Pilate: Which of the two do you want released?	Mt 27:21
1455	Play 10, Scene V, sequence 1	Pilate: Which of the two do you want released?	Mk 15:9-11
1456	Play 10, Scene V, sequence 1	Crowd: Barabbas! Barabbas!	Mt 27:21
1457	Play 10, Scene V, sequence 1	Pilate: Then what shall I do with Jesus called Christ?	Mt 27:22
1458	Play 10, Scene V, sequence 1	Pilate: Then what shall I do with Jesus called Christ?	Mk 15:12

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1459	Play 10, Scene V, sequence 1	Pilate: But Jesus is innocent. He has done no harm	Jn 19:4
1460	Play 10, Scene V, sequence 1	Pilate: What crime has he committed?	Mt 27:23
1461	Play 10, Scene V, sequence 1	Pilate: What crime has he committed?	Mk 15:14
1462	Play 10, Scene V, sequence 1	Caiaphas: We have a law, and by that law he ought	Jn 19:7
1463	Play 10, Scene V, sequence 1	Pilate: The son of a god?	Jn 19:8
1464	Play 10, Scene V, Sequence 2	Centurion: Eighteen, Nineteen (count whippings)	Jn 19:1
1465	Play 10, Scene V, Sequence 2	2 <sup>nd</sup> Soldier: Here's the robe Herod sent with him	Jn 19:2
1466	Play 10, Scene V, Sequence 2	2 <sup>nd</sup> Soldier: Here's the robe Herod sent with him	Mk 15:17
1467	Play 10, Scene V, Sequence 2	2 <sup>nd</sup> Soldier: Here's the robe Herod sent with him	Mt 27:28 (cf)
1468	Play 10, Scene V, Sequence 2	4 <sup>th</sup> Soldier: Making a crown for the King of the Jews	Mt 27:29
1469	Play 10, Scene V, Sequence 2	4 <sup>th</sup> Soldier: Making a crown for the King of the Jews	Jn 19:2
1470	Play 10, Scene V, Sequence 2	Centurion: give him a sceptre. Take my cane.	Mt 27:29
1471	Play 10, Scene V, Sequence 2	1 <sup>st</sup> Soldier: Hail King of the Jews	Mt 27:29
1472	Play 10, Scene V, Sequence 2	1 <sup>st</sup> Soldier: Hail King of the Jews	Mk 15:18
1473	Play 10, Scene V, Sequence 2	1 <sup>st</sup> Soldier: Hail King of the Jews	Jn 19:3
1474	Play 10, Scene V, Sequence 2	4 <sup>th</sup> Soldier: embassy from the Queen of Sheba?	1 Kings 10:1-13
1475	Play 10, Scene V, Sequence 3	Pilate: what you are and where you come from	Jn 19:9
1476	Play 10, Scene V, Sequence 3	Pilate: Don't you understand that I have power to	Jn 19:10
1477	Play 10, Scene V, Sequence 3	Jesus: You could have no power at all against me if	Jn 19:11
1478	Play 10, Scene V, Sequence 3	Pilate: There stands the man.	Jn 19:5
1479	Play 10, Scene V, Sequence 3	Pilate: Shall I crucify your king?	Jn 19:15:b
1480	Play 10, Scene V, Sequence 3	Caiaphas: We have no king—but Caesar.	Jn 19:15c
1481	Play 10, Scene V, Sequence 3	1 <sup>st</sup> Elder: If you let this fellow go, you are a traitor	Jn 19:12
1482	Play 10, Scene V, Sequence 3	Pilate: I wash my hands of this case. I am innocent	Mt 27:24
1483	Play 10, Scene V, Sequence 3	Cheer-leader: His blood be upon us and upon our	Mt 27:25
1484	Play 10, Scene V, Sequence 3	Evangelist: Then they took Jesus and led him away	Jn 19:16b, 19-22
1485	Play 11, Scene 1	Evangelist: And when Pilate delivered Jesus unto the soldiers,	Mk 15:15b

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1486	Play 11, Scene 1	Evangelist: they took off the purple from him, and	Mk 15:20
1487	Play 11, Scene 1	Elder: Especially if "somebody" has been boasting that he is superior to death	Jn 11:25-26 (i.e.)
1488	Play 11, Scene 1	Shadrach: I've broken the curse of Adam and	Genesis 3:19
1489	Play 11, Scene 1	Shadrach: I've broken the curse of Adam and	Romans 5:12 (cf)
1490	Play 11, Scene 1	Calpurnia: She has had bad dreams.	Mt 27:19
1491	Play 11, Scene 1	Flavius: Jesus claimed to be Son of God!	Jn 19:7b
1492	Play 11, Scene 1	Falvius: Then Pilate trembled and asked him	Jn 19:8
1493	Play 11, Scene 1	Mary Virgin: to the gallows' foot, John bar-Zebedee	Jn 19:25
1494	Play 11, Scene 1	Mary Virgin: "This child will divide all Israel, and his	Lk 2:34-35
1495	Play 11, Scene 1	Mary Virgin: When he was small, I washed and fed	Jn 21:18 (cf)
1496	Play 11, Scene 1	Baruch: The robbers, Dysmas and Gestas.	Traditional
1497	Play 11, Scene 1	Baruch: "Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews"	Jn 19:19
1498	Play 11, Scene 1	1 <sup>st</sup> Woman: He's stumbling. He's going to fall.	Traditional- Stations of the Cross
1499	Play 11, Scene I	Mary Magdalen: O face that was the beauty of Israel	Traditional- Good Friday Reproaches
1500	Play 11, Scene I	Mary Magdalen: O face that was the beauty of Israel	Isaiah 53:2
1501	Play 11, Scene 1	Mary Magdalen: Voice that called back Lazarus from	Jn 11
1502	Play 11, Scene 1	Mary Magdalen: Throw dust upon your heads	Lamentations 2:10 (i.e.)
1503	Play 11, Scene 1	Mary Magdalen: the light of the world is gone out.	Jn 8:12 (i.e.)
1504	Play 11, Scene 1	John: has stepped forward with a handkerchief	Traditional- Veronica, Stations of the Cross
1505	Play 11, Scene 1	3 <sup>rd</sup> Soldier: Prisoner's down again, Centurion.	Traditional- Stations of the Cross
1506	Play 11, Scene 1	Brutal Voice: Take up your cross and walk!	Mt 9:6
1507	Play 11, Scene 1	Simon: ...Africa. I come back home to keep Passover	Mt 27:32a
1508	Play 11, Scene 1	Simon: ...Africa. I come back home to keep Passover	Mk 15:21
1509	Play 11, Scene 1	Simon: ...Africa. I come back home to keep Passover	Lk 23:26
1510	Play 11, Scene 1	Centurion: You'll stone and burn and strangle	Joshua 7:24-25(cf)
1511	Play 11, Scene 1	4 <sup>th</sup> Soldier: stretching out his hands for the cross	Like Play 1, Scene II, Sequence 1
1512	Play 11, Scene 1	Centurion: Goes like a lamb to the slaughter.	Isaiah 53:7b

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1513	Play 11, Scene 1	Centurion: lay hold of this and carry it— See?	Mt 27:32a
1514	Play 11, Scene 1	Centurion: lay hold of this and carry it— See?	Mk 15:21
1515	Play 11, Scene 1	Centurion: lay hold of this and carry it— See?	Lk 23:26
1516	Play 11, Scene 1	Mary Cleophas: His head is lifted toward the hills	Psalms 121:1
1517	Play 11, Scene 1	John: There's a group of women wailing and	Lk 23:27
1518	Play 11, Scene 1	Women: cut off in the flower of his strength	Isaiah 53:8 (i.e.)
1519	Play 11, Scene 1	Women: cut off in the flower of his strength	1 Samuel 2:33 (i.e.)
1520	Play 11, Scene 1	Jesus: Daughters of Jerusalem, shed no tears for me	Lk 23:28-30
1521	Play 11, Scene 1	Jesus: If they do these things while the wood is	Lk 23:31
1522	Play 11, Scene 1	Women: Lord, have mercy upon us!	Traditional
1523	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 1	Evangelist: And when they were come to the place	Lk 23:33
1524	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 1	3 <sup>rd</sup> Soldier: wouldn't drink the myrrh and vinegar	Mt 27:34
1525	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 1	Jesus: Father, forgive them. They don't know what	Lk 23:34
1526	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 2	Nicodemus: He claimed to be the Son of God	Mk 14:62
1527	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 2	Nicodemus: He claimed to be the Son of God	Mt 26:64
1528	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 2	Caiaphas: Jewry was to be a garden enclosed	Song of Solomon 4:12
1529	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 2	Caiaphas: a chosen race, a peculiar people	1 Peter 2:9
1530	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 2	Caiaphas: a chosen race, a peculiar people	Deuteronomy 10:15
1531	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 2	Caiaphas: a chosen race, a peculiar people	1 Samuel 12:22
1532	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 2	Nicodemus: Hyrcanus appealed to Rome	See Josephus
1533	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 2	Caiaphas: One day, the Zealots will revolt and the	See Josephus
1534	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 2	Joseph: 'They shall come', he said, 'from the east	Mt 8:11-12
1535	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	Voices: Who was going to destroy the Temple and	Mt 27:40
1536	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	Voices: Who was going to destroy the Temple and	Mk 15:29
1537	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	Voices: Who was going to destroy the Temple and	Lk 23:35 (cf)
1538	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	Mary Magdalen: Is it nothing to you, all you that	Traditional- Good Friday Reproaches
1539	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	Voices: He said he was the Messiah	Mk 15:32

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1540	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	Voices: He said he was the Messiah	Lk 23:35b
1541	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	Voices: King of Israel	Mt 27:42
1542	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	Voices: King of Israel	Mk 15:32
1543	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	Voices: King of Israel	Lk 23:36
1544	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	Voices: Son of David	Mt 21:9
1545	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	Voices: Greater than Solomon	Mt 12:42
1546	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	Voices: Greater than Solomon	Lk 11:31
1547	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	Mary Magdalen: He would have made you citizens	Traditional- Good Friday Reproaches
1548	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	Voices: He saved others but he can't save himself	Mt 27:42, Lk 23:35
1549	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	Voices: Come on, Charlatan, heal your own wounds	Lk 4:23
1550	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	Voices: If you are the Son of God, come down from	Mt 27:40 & 42b
1551	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	Voices: If you are the Son of God, come down from	Mk 15:30
1552	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	Mary Magdalen: He gave power to your hands and	Traditional- Good Friday Reproaches
1553	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	Voices: Where's the water you talked about?	Jn 7:38
1554	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	Voices: Where's the never-failing bread?...Loaves	Jn 6:35
1555	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	Mary Magdalen: He fed you with the bread of	Traditional- Good Friday Reproaches
1556	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	4 <sup>th</sup> Soldier: The prisoner's clothes, Centurion.	Mt 27:35
1557	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	4 <sup>th</sup> Soldier: The prisoner's clothes, Centurion.	Mk 15:24
1558	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	4 <sup>th</sup> Soldier: The prisoner's clothes, Centurion.	Lk 23:34b
1559	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	4 <sup>th</sup> Soldier: woven right through without a seam	Jn 19:23-24
1560	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	Mary Magdalen: I once washed your feet with my	Lk 7:38
1561	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	John: the places on your right hand and your left have been given to thee two thieves.	Mk 10:35-40 (cf)
1562	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	Mary Magdalen: O Look and see if there is any	Lamentations 1:12
1563	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	Dysmas: You and me was askin' for it...but this poor	Lk 23:41
1564	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	Gestas: slobbering about forgiving your enemies	Mt 5:43-48
1565	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	Dysmas: One o' these days you'll come out in a cloud	Mt 26:64

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1566	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	Dysmas: One o' these days you'll come out in a cloud	Mk 14:62
1567	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	Dysmas: One o' these days you'll come out in a cloud	Lk 22:69
1568	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	Dysmas: Sir, you'll remember me, won't you, when	Lk 23:42
1569	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 3	Jesus: today you shall be with me in Paradise.	Lk 23:43
1570	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 4	Proclus: Cured my batman.	Mt 8:5
1571	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 4	Proclus: Cured my batman.	Lk 7:10
1572	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 4	Chillarch: the bodies are to be off the cross before	Jn 19:31
1573	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 5	Flavius: it must be close to noon	Lk 23:44
1574	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 5	Flavius: it must be close to noon	Mk 15:33
1575	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 5	Flavius: it must be close to noon	Mt 27:45
1576	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 5	Glaucus: countenance of death, as old Hippocrates	Hippocrates' <i>Prognosis</i>
1577	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 5	Calpurnia: reminds me of the...great eclipse	Lk 23:44
1578	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 5	Calpurnia: reminds me of the...great eclipse	Mk 15:33
1579	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 5	Calpurnia: reminds me of the...great eclipse	Mt 27:45
1580	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 5	Jesus: Let John be a son to you now...John—she is	Jn 19:26-27
1581	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 5	Evangelist: And there was darkness over all the land until the ninth hour. And about the ninth hour, Jesus cried with a loud voice:	Mt 27:45-46
1582	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 5	Jesus: Eloi, eloi, lama sabachthani!	Mt 27:46
1583	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 5	Jesus: Eloi, eloi, lama sabachthani!	Mk 15:34
1584	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 5	Jesus: Eloi, eloi, lama sabachthani!	Psalms 22:1
1585	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 5	2 <sup>nd</sup> Soldier: He called in Elias for help.	Mk 15:35
1586	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 5	2 <sup>nd</sup> Soldier: He called in Elias for help.	Mt 27:47
1587	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 5	John: My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?	Mt 27:46
1588	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 5	John: My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?	Mk 15:34
1589	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 5	John: My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?	Psalms 22:1
1590	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 5	Jesus: I am thirsty.	Jn 19:28
1591	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 5	2 <sup>nd</sup> Soldier: let be. Perhaps Elias will come to help	Mt 27:49

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1592	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 5	2 <sup>nd</sup> Soldier: let be. Perhaps Elias will come to help	Mk 15:36
1593	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 5	1 <sup>st</sup> Soldier: There's some vinegar here in the jug	Mt 27:48
1594	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 5	1 <sup>st</sup> Soldier: There's some vinegar here in the jug	Mk 15:36
1595	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 6	Pilate: Claudia, tell me—what was this dream of	Mt 27:19
1596	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 6	Claudia: Pan ho megas tethnéke (The great Pan is dead)	See Plutarch's <i>De Defectu Oraculorum</i> . Also G.K. Chesterton's <i>Everlasting Man</i> and <i>Orthodoxy</i>
1597	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 6	Claudia: He suffered under Pontius Pilate	Nicene and Apostle's Creeds
1598	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 7	Evangelist: And when he had received the vinegar	Jn 19:30
1599	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 7	Jesus: It is accomplished	Jn 19:30
1600	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 7	Jesus: Father into Thy hands I commend my spirit	Lk 23:46
1601	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 7	Evangelist: And he bowed his head and gave up the	Jn 19:31
1602	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 7	Evangelist: And the earth did quake	Mt 27:51
1603	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 7	Evangelist: and the veil of the temple was rent in	Mt 27:51
1604	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 7	Evangelist: and the veil of the temple was rent in	Mk 15:38
1605	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 7	Evangelist: and the veil of the temple was rent in	Lk 23:45 (cf)
1606	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 7	Evangelist: And when the Centurion and they that	Mt 27:54a
1607	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 8	Balthazar: there is the child that was born King of the Jews, at whose coming the great star shone	Mt 2:2
1608	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 8	Proclus: Son of God he called himself—and so I	Lk 23:47
1609	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 8	1 <sup>st</sup> Soldier: A Jew called Joseph of Arimathaea is	Mt 27:57-61
1610	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 8	1 <sup>st</sup> Soldier: A Jew called Joseph of Arimathaea is	Mk 15:42-45
1611	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 8	1 <sup>st</sup> Soldier: A Jew called Joseph of Arimathaea is	Lk 23:50-56
1612	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 8	1 <sup>st</sup> Soldier: A Jew called Joseph of Arimathaea is	Jn 19:38-42 (cf)
1613	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 8	1 <sup>st</sup> Soldier: we broke the legs of the two robbers, but	Jn 19:32-33
1614	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 8	1st Soldier: young woman is hysterical and clinging to his knees	Traditional art <i>Crucifixion</i> tableau
1615	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 8	2 <sup>nd</sup> Soldier: a spear-thrust will make sure. There.	Jn 19:34
1616	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 8	John: The Son of Man is only a week-end guest in the house of death	Mt 12:40

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1617	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 8	John: The Son of Man is only a week-end guest in the house of death	Mk 8:31
1618	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 8	John: The Son of Man is only a week-end guest in the house of death	Mt 17:23
1619	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 8	John: The Son of Man is only a week-end guest in the house of death	Lk 9:22
1620	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 8	John: The Son of Man is only a week-end guest in the house of death	Jn 2:19&21
1621	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 8	Mary: Give me my son into my arms	Traditional art <i>Lamentation</i> tableau
1622	Play 11, Scene II, Sequence 8	Evangelist: Now in the place where he was crucified	Jn 19:41-42a
1623	Play 11, Scene III	Caiphias: During his lifetime, it seems, he boasted	Mt 27:62-65
1624	Play 11, Scene III	Evangelist: They rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre	Mt 27:62
1625	Play 11, Scene III	Evangelist: So they went, and made the sepulchre	Mt 27:66
1626	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 1	Evangelist: On the first day of the week, very early	Lk 24:1a
1627	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 1	Evangelist: cometh Mary Magdalene...with Mary	Mk 16:1
1628	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 1	Evangelist: bringing the spices that they had	Lk 24:1b
1629	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 1	Mary Magdalen: The Sabbath was made for man	Mk 2:27
1630	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 1	John: I left him alone in the house of Annas	Jn 18:15-16
1631	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 1	John: Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive	Mt 6:12
1632	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 1	John: Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive	Lk 11:4
1633	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 1	Mary Magdalen: his self-hate murdered him	Mt 27:5
1634	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 1	Mary Magdalen: his self-hate murdered him	Acts 1:18
1635	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 1	John: If I hate him, I am his murderer too	Mt 5:22
1636	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 1	John: If I hate him, I am his murderer too	1 John 3:15
1637	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 1	John: Blessed are the humble, and the wretched and	Mt 5:1-10
1638	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 1	John: Blessed are the humble, and the wretched and	Lk 6:20-22
1639	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 1	Mary Magdalen: And the lost sheep	Mt 15:24 (i.e.)
1640	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 1	Mary Magdalen: And the lost sheep	Mt 18:13-14 (i.e.)
1641	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 1	Mary Magdalen: And the lost sheep	Lk 15:4-7 (i.e.)
1642	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 1	Mary Magdalen: And the sinners	Mt 9:13 (i.e.)
1643	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 1	Mary Cleophas: It is King's Balthazar's gift of myrrh	Mt 2:11
1644	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 1	John: [Cock-crow] that's a bad time with Peter	Mt 26:74b (ref)
1645	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 1	John: [Cock-crow] that's a bad time with Peter	Mk14:72 (ref)



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1646	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 1	John: [Cock-crow] that's a bad time with Peter	Lk 22:60b (ref)
1647	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 1	John: [Cock-crow] that's a bad time with Peter	Jn 18:27 (ref)
1648	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 2	Sound effects: earthquake	Mt 28:2
1649	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 3	Salome: The earth tremors seem to have passed	Mt 28:2
1650	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 3	Mary Cleophas: those Temple Guards dashing past	Mt 28:11
1651	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 3	Mary Magdalen: our love was with him to the end	Jn 13:1b (i.e.)
1652	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 3	Mary Magdalen: Who will roll it away for us?	Mk 16:2
1653	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 3	Salome: I believe it was his own sephulchre that	Mt 27:60
1654	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 3	Mary Magdalen: They've taken him away	Jn 20:13a
1655	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 3	Mary Magdalen: I must fetch John and Peter	Jn 20:2a
1656	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 3	Salome: Those two men there, in white	Lk 24:4 (only 1 angel in Mt & Mk)
1657	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 3	Salome: I am afraid of them	Lk 24:5
1658	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 3	Gabriel: There is nothing to be afraid of	Mt 28:5. Mk 16:6
1659	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 3	Raphael: Why look for the living among the dead?	Lk 24:3
1660	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 3	Gabriel: You were looking for Jesus of Nazareth	Mk 16:6a
1661	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 3	Gabriel: You were looking for Jesus of Nazareth	Mt 28:5b
1662	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 3	Gabriel: He is risen; he is not here.	Lk 24:6a
1663	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 3	Gabriel: He is risen; he is not here.	Mk 16:6b
1664	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 3	Gabriel: He is risen; he is not here.	Mt 28:6
1665	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 3	Gabriel: Behold the place where they laid him	Mk 16:6c
1666	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 3	Gabriel: Behold the place where they laid him	Mt 28:6
1667	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 3	Salome: He is risen? Raphael: As he said	Mt 28:6
1668	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 3	Raphael: Go now and tell his disciples-and Peter-	Mk 16:7
1669	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 3	Raphael: Go now and tell his disciples-and Peter-	Mt 28:7 (cf)
1670	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 3	Gabriel: There you shall see him. That is the	Mt 28:7b
1671	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 4	Mary Magdalen: They've taken away the Lord out of	Jn 20:2
1672	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 5	Caiaphas: Captain, kindly repeat to these gentlemen the report you made to me.	Mt 28:11
1673	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 5	Joel: their bodies were numb where the shock had	Mt 28:4
1674	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 5	Joel: saw a young man...his garments were whiter	Mt 28:2-3
1675	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 5	Joel: we were as dead men for fear of it	Mt 28:4

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1676	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 5	Elihu: It rolled it back with one hand and sat upon it	Mt 28:2
1677	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 6	John: I got there and looked in...there's nobody	Jn 20:5
1678	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 6	Peter: the grave clothes are here.	Jn 20:6
1679	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 6	Peter: And the napkin-not tossed with the rest, but	Jn 20:7
1680	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 6	John: Risen and gone! Risen and gone!	Jn 20:8
1681	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 7	Evangelist: Then the disciples went away again into	Jn 20:10-12
1682	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 7	Raphael: To whom be glory—Gabriel: And dominion	1 Peter 5:11
1683	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 7	Raphael: To whom be glory—Gabriel: And dominion	Revelation 1:6
1684	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 7	Raphael: Whose delight is in mercy—	Micah 7:18
1685	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 7	Gabriel: Woman, why do you weep?	Jn 20:13a
1686	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 7	Mary Magdalen: Because they have taken away my	Jn 20:13b
1687	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 7	Gabriel: He is coming	Jn 20:14
1688	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 7	Gabriel: before whose feed the wilderness breaks	Isaiah 35:1 (i.e.)
1689	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 7	The Angels: Eloi, Eloi, Eloi	Mt 27:46 (i.e.)
1690	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 7	The Angels: Eloi, Eloi, Eloi	Mk 15:34 (i.e.)
1691	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 7	Jesus: My girl, why are you crying?	Jn 20:15a
1692	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 7	Mary Magdalen: Are you the gardener? I beg you	Jn 20:15b
1693	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 7	Jesus: Mary!	Jn 20:16a
1694	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 7	Mary: Rabboni!	Jn 20:16b
1695	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 7	Jesus: Do not hold me—do not cling to me now.	Jn 20:17
1696	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 7	Evangelist: Then Mary Magdalen came and told the	Jn 20:18
1697	Play 12, Scene I, Sequence 7	Evangelist: But the words seemed to them as idle tales, and they believed them not.	Lk 24:11
1698	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 1	Evangelist: And the chief priests, being assembled	Mt 28:12
1699	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 1	4 <sup>th</sup> Elder: The sepulchre was yours—	Mt 27:60
1700	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 1	Joseph: the stone yourselves and set the guard	Mt 27:66
1701	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 1	3 <sup>rd</sup> Elder: You were a follower of Jesus.	Mt 27:57
1702	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 1	Nicodemus: We have slain the Lord's Anointed!	1 Samuel 24:10
1703	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 1	Nicodemus: We have slain the Lord's Anointed!	2 Samuel 1:14
1704	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 1	Nicodemus: He has risen in vengeance, with a	Isaiah 34:8 (i.e.)
1705	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 1	Nicodemus: with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm	Deuteronomy 26:8
1706	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 1	Nicodemus: with a mighty hand and an outstretched arm	Psalms 136:12 (i.e.)

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1707	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 1	Nicodemus: Curse ye, Meroz, saith the Lord!	Judges 5:23
1708	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 1	Nicodemus: Will not the Lord be avenged on such	Jeremiah 5:29
1709	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 1	Nicodemus: A wonderful and horrible thing is	Jeremiah 5:30
1710	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 1	Nicodemus: Rise up O Lord, into Thy resting-place	Psalms 132:8
1711	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 1	Nicodemus: And you shall see the Son of Man sitting	Mt 26:64
1712	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 1	Nicodemus: And you shall see the Son of Man sitting	Mk 14:62
1713	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 1	Nicodemus: And you shall see the Son of Man sitting	Mk 14:62
1714	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 1	Caiaphas: The body was stolen, of course	Mt 28:13
1715	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 1	Caiaphas: There will be a trifling disbursement from	Mt 28:12
1716	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 1	Caiaphas: that you fell asleep at your posts	Mt 28:13
1717	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 1	Elihu: If this should come to the Governor's ears	Mt 28:14
1718	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 1	Caiaphas: You shall not suffer. We will make it right	Mt 28:14
1719	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Evangelist: Then the same day, being the first day of	Jn 20:19a
1720	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Andrew: Peter has seen something.	Lk 24:34
1721	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Andrew: Peter has seen something.	1 Corinthians 15:5
1722	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Andrew: Thomas is sitting with him.	Jn 20:24 explains
1723	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	John: see the widow's son raised up	Lk 7:11-17
1724	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	John: and Lazarus called from the grave?	Jn 11:43-44
1725	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	John: I saw the grave clothes.	Jn 20:8
1726	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Matthew: You was the one he loved.	Jn 21:20 (i.e.)
1727	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	John: the church was to be founded on Peter.	Mt 16:18
1728	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Cleophas: We've seen the Master!	Lk 24:33
1729	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Cleophas: we were walking home to Emmaus—you	Lk 24:13-14
1730	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Cleophas: So I said, "Are you a stranger in Jerusalem	Lk 24:18-24
1731	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Cleophas: he said, "How foolish you are! And how	Lk 24:25
1732	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Mary Cleophas: And then he began with Moses, and	Lk 24:27
1733	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Mary Cleophas: he was to be strangely born	Isaiah 7:14

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1734	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Mary Cleophas: despised and rejected, and to know	Isaiah 53:3
1735	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Mary Cleophas: his hands and feet pierced	Psalms 22:16
1736	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Mary Cleophas: he was to ride into Jerusalem on an	Zechariah 9:9
1737	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Mary Cleophas: tread the winepress of God's wrath	Isaiah 63:3
1738	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Cleophas: How he should rise up again, like a plant	Isaiah 11:1
1739	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Cleophas: and return as a loving shepherd	Isaiah 40:11
1740	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Cleophas: and a great prince to sit on the throne of	Psalms 110 (i.e.)
1741	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Cleophas: And bring his people back from the grave	Daniel 12:2
1742	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Mary Cleophas: When we got to Emmaus, the sun	Lk 24:28-29
1743	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Cleophas: Then he took the bread and blessed, and	Lk 24:30
1744	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Cleophas: Just in a flash, it came to us, And then he	Lk 24:31
1745	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Mary Cleophas: "Husband, didn't our hearts burn	Lk 24:32
1746	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Cleophas: So we ran back all the way to Jerusalem	Lk 24:33
1747	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: Peace be upon you!	Lk 24:36
1748	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: What are you afraid of? Why do you doubt?	Lk 24:38
1749	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: Take my hand.	Lk 24:39a
1750	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: a ghost has not flesh and bones as I have	Lk 24:39b
1751	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: I should like something to eat.	Lk 24:42
1752	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	John: but it's good to see you eat.	Lk 24:43
1753	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: With the souls in prison.	1 Peter 3:19
1754	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 2	Jesus: I am the good shepherd. I know my sheep	Jn 10:14
1755	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 4	Evangelist: Now Thomas called Didymus was not	Jn 20:24, 26
1756	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 4	Thomas: unless I see in his hands the prints of the	Jn 20:25
1757	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: Peace be upon you.	Jn 20:26
1758	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: come here, Thomas. Put out your finger and	Jn 20:27
1759	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 4	Thomas: You are my Lord and my God.	Jn 20:28
1760	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: Thomas, because you have seen me, you have	Jn 20:29

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1761	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 4	Peter: When I disowned you	Mt 26:74 (i.e.)
1762	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 4	Peter: When I disowned you	Mk 14:71 (i.e.)
1763	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 4	Peter: Is that what we do to God?	Mt 25:40
1764	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: You are not slaves but sons	Galatians 4:6
1765	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: Free to crucify God or be crucified with Him	Galatians 2:20
1766	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: They that die with me rise with me also	2 Timothy 2:11
1767	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: as I and my Father are one.	Jn 10:30
1768	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: Draw near. Received the breath of God.	Jn 20:22-23
1769	Play 12, Scene II, Sequence 4	Jesus: As the Father sent me forth, so I send you.	Jn 20:21
1770	Play 12, Scene III	Evangelist: After these things, Jesus showed himself	Jn 21:1-3
1771	Play 12, Scene III	James: There's a man standing on the beach	Jn 21:4
1772	Play 12, Scene III	Jesus: Have you had a good haul?	Jn 21:5a
1773	Play 12, Scene III	Peter: No, sir! No luck, I'm afraid.	Jn 21:5b
1774	Play 12, Scene III	Jesus: Cast on the right side of the boat. There's a	Jn 21:6a
1775	Play 12, Scene III	James: The net's full—there was a shoal, as he said	Jn 21:6b
1776	Play 12, Scene III	John: It is the Lord.	Jn 21:7a
1777	Play 12, Scene III	Peter: Here, give me my coat—I'm going to swim	Jn 21:7b
1778	Play 12, Scene III	Evangelist: for they were but a hundred yards from shore	Jn 21:8
1779	Play 12, Scene III	James: Look, John—there is a fire of coals, with fish	Jn 21:9b
1780	Play 12, Scene III	Evangelist: So they came in and landed	Jn 21:9a
1781	Play 12, Scene III	Jesus: Bring some of the fish you have caught	Jn 21:10
1782	Play 12, Scene III	Nathaniel: Do you think we dare ask him who he is?	Jn 21:12b
1783	Play 12, Scene III	John: We know very well who he is	Jn 21:12c
1784	Play 12, Scene III	Andrew: A hundred and fifty and three. All great	Jn 21:11
1785	Play 12, Scene III	Jesus: Fishers of men, come and have breakfast.	Jn 21:12a
1786	Play 12, Scene III	Evangelist: And when they had eaten, he speaketh	Jn 21:15a
1787	Play 12, Scene III	Jesus: Simon, son of Jonah—are you more my friend	Jn 21:15b
1788	Play 12, Scene III	Peter: Indeed, Lord—you know that I love you.	Jn 21:15c
1789	Play 12, Scene III	Jesus: Feed my sheep...Simon, son of Jonah, are you	Jn 21:15d-21:16a

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1790	Play 12, Scene III	Peter: Indeed, Lord—you know that I love you.	Jn 21:16b
1791	Play 12, Scene III	Jesus: Tend my sheep...Simon, son of Jonah, do you	Jn 21:16c-21:17a
1792	Play 12, Scene III	Peter: Lord, you know everything. Look in my	Jn 21:17c
1793	Play 12, Scene III	Jesus: Feed my sheep...I tell you, when you were	Jn 21:17d-18
1794	Play 12, Scene III	Jesus: follow me.	Jn 21:19b
1795	Play 12, Scene III	Peter: What is to happen to him?	Jn 21:21
1796	Play 12, Scene III	Jesus: If I choose that he should abide until my	Jn 21:22
1797	Play 12, Scene III	Evangelist: And after forty days	Acts 1:3
1798	Play 12, Scene III	Evangelist: unto the Mount of Olives	Lk 24:50
1799	Play 12, Scene III	Jesus: All power is given to me in Heaven and on	Mt 28:18
1800	Play 12, Scene III	Jesus: For thus it is written that the Christ should	Lk 24:46-49
1801	Play 12, Scene III	Jesus: Stay therefore in Jerusalem, till you receive	Acts 1:4
1802	Play 12, Scene III	Jesus: Then go and teach all nations, baptizing them	Mt 28:19-20
1803	Play 12, Scene III	Evangelist: And he lifted up his hands and blessed	Lk 24:50b-51
1804	Play 12, Scene III	Evangelist: A cloud received him out of their sight	Acts 1:9
1805	Play 12, Scene III	Evangelist: Two men stood by them in white	Acts 1:10
1806	Play 12, Scene III	Gabriel: Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up	Acts 1:11
1807	Play 12, Scene III	Evangelist: Even so come, Lord Jesus.	Revelation 22:20b
1808	Play 12, Scene III	Evangelist: These things were written that ye might	Jn 20:31
1809	Play 12, Scene III	Evangelist: And there are also many other things	Jn 21:25