

THE YORK CORPUS CHRISTI PLAYS

The pymeres / and paynters
Crucifixio xpvi

ir knyghtis, take heede hydrenlye
This dede on derth we may nocht drawe
zec wootte yore selffe als wele as I
howe lordis and leders of oure lawe
has geden dome pat yis doote schafft dye primitif

Eu alle pare comfande wele we knawe ijijijij
Sen we are comen to eschamrie
Latte iste man helpe nowe as hym ave ijijijij

We are alle fedy loo pat forward to fressille ijijijij
late here howe we schall doo and yo we tyte p' tille ijijijij

It may nocht helpe her for to honye ijijijij
If we schall any worshipe awynne ijijijij

He minste be dede medeyngis bynone ijijijij

Ymme is goode tymme pat we beryme ijijijij
late dynge hym domine yan is he done
he schall nonght dere vs v his dynge ijijijij

He schall be sette and lerned songe ijijijij
With care to hym and aft his kyime ijijijij

Ye sonlest dede of us ijijijij
Shalle he dye for his dedis ijijijij

That menes crosse hym we schall ijijijij

Behalde so ryght he redis ijijijij

Thanne to yis weke vs minste take heede ijijijij
So pat oure wirkyng be ryght wronge ijijijij

None other noote to nevern is nede ijijijij
But latte vs hase hym for to hanze ijijijij

And I hane none for therre goode spedde ijijijij

Figure 1. Copyright The British Library Board. London, British Library, MS. Add. 35290, fol. 195 (BL numbering fol. 181), showing the opening of the Pinners' "Crucifixio Christi." Reproduced with permission of the British Library.



INTRODUCTION

For the invisible things of [God], from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made. — Romans 1:20

The feast of Corpus Christi, celebrated annually on Thursday after Trinity Sunday, was devoted to the Eucharist, and the normal practice was to have solemn processions through the city with the Host, the consecrated wafer that was believed to have been transformed into the true body and blood of Jesus.¹ In this way the “cultus Dei”² thus celebrated allowed the people to venerate the Eucharistic bread in order that they might be stimulated to devotion and brought symbolically, even mystically into a relationship with the central moments of salvation history. Perhaps it is logical, therefore, that pageants and plays were introduced in order to access yet another way of visualizing and participating in those events of times past that were believed to matter most for the lives of the citizens as well as of other residents and visitors in cities such as York. Thus the “invisible things” of the divine order “from the creation of the world” might be displayed, and this might be done in order to bring these events into the orbit of the collective memory.³

There are, however, problems with the popular view that would take York as typical of an entire genre of early civic drama that was supposed to have been generated by the religious feast. The York Corpus Christi plays, contained in London, British Library, MS. Add. 35290 and comprising more than thirteen thousand lines of verse, actually represent a unique survival of medieval theater (see fig. 1).⁴ They form the only complete play cycle verifiably associated with the feast of Corpus Christi that is extant and was performed at a specific location in England. Of the Coventry Corpus Christi cycle, texts have survived for only two pageants, the Shearmen and Taylors’ and the Weavers’ plays, while the Chester plays, though they developed from Corpus Christi drama, are in their present form a Whitsun cycle found

¹ For a thorough discussion of the religious feast, see Rubin, *Corpus Christi*.

² The term is from an entry dated 1408 in the Register of the Corpus Christi Guild; see *Records of Early English Drama: York*, 1:15 (hereafter REED: York).

³ See Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*.

⁴ British Library, MS. Add. 35290 is of parchment, 8 x 11 inches, and contains 268 leaves. For a full description of the manuscript, see *York Play: A Facsimile*, introd. Beadle and Meredith, pp. xi–xix. The first eight folios are copied by Scribe A. Scribe B, the main scribe, entered the remainder with the exception of the sixteenth-century additions by John Clerke (Scribe C) and the very inferior late addition (not included in the present edition) to the Innholders’ pageant, written by Scribe D. The manuscript’s contents remained unknown until the middle of the nineteenth century, and were first edited by Lucy Toulmin Smith in 1885.

in the main only in late sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century transcriptions.⁵ The Towneley manuscript, now in the Huntington Library and formerly thought to contain a Corpus Christi cycle from Wakefield in the West Riding of Yorkshire, has been surmised by recent scholarship to be instead a collection of plays, including some of them adapted from York, from which individual pageants might be selected for production on one occasion or another. Their association with Wakefield as its Corpus Christi cycle rested on the authority, now discredited, of a local town historian.⁶ The N-Town manuscript is a compilation of separate plays, in this case from East Anglia, connected with Corpus Christi only by the words “The plaie called Corpus Christi” written in a late hand across the top of the first page of the manuscript.⁷ In fact, it is no longer possible even to speak of a Corpus Christ tradition of Creation to Doom pageants as the norm, for a “Corpus Christi play” noted in dramatic records of a medieval English town might have been simply a drama of *some kind* presented on this major feast day.⁸ York’s cycle, then, is of particular interest for its completeness as medieval religious street theater mounted nearly on an annual basis on wagons at stations throughout the city. It was not representative of anything like a national standard for Corpus Christi drama.

Completeness, however, must be seen as relative, since the York cycle as we have it mainly is representative of the pageants as they existed when entered into the Register, or official manuscript maintained by the city Corporation, in c.1463–77.⁹ In a manuscript that shows signs of considerable use, it may be no surprise that in some cases leaves have been lost, leaving unfortunate lacunae such as the crucial central segment of the Bakers’ *Last Supper*. Notations in the margins, many of them by the John Clerke, “under clerk” to the “common Clerk of this city” between the 1530s and the suppression of the pageants in 1569,¹⁰ indicate that at least in the final years what was played had not always been entered in the Register. The city Corporation was always solicitous of the pageants and concerned about their quality. Auditions had been instituted to remove actors not “sufficient . . . either in Connynge voice or personne.”¹¹ By 1501 the town clerk or his deputy may have been on hand at the first station, at Holy Trinity Priory gates on Micklegate, to observe the plays.¹² The performances understandably were to be given scrutiny with both the speeches and the pageants’ visual appearance in mind, and some discrepancies were duly noted in the Register.

⁵ *Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*, ed. King and Davidson; and, for convenience, Mills, “Chester Cycle,” pp. 125–29.

⁶ See Cawley, Forrester, and Goodchild, “References to the Corpus Christi Play in the Wakefield Burgess Rolls”; Palmer, “‘Towneley Plays’ or ‘Wakefield Cycle’ Revisited”; and Palmer’s conclusion in “Corpus Christi ‘Cycles’ in Yorkshire,” p. 228.

⁷ London, British Library, MS. Cotton Vespasian D.VIII, fol. 1; *N-Town Play*, ed. Spector, pp. xiii–xvi, and especially the discussion of N-Town in Fletcher, “N-Town Plays.” See also the useful summary in *N-Town Plays*, ed. Sugano, esp. pp. 5–17.

⁸ See A. Johnston, “What If No Texts Survived,” esp. pp. 11–12; C. Davidson, *Festivals and Plays*, pp. 49–79.

⁹ *York Plays*, ed. Beadle, pp. 10–11.

¹⁰ York House Book 13, fol. 14v, as quoted by Meredith, “John Clerke’s Hand,” pp. 249–51.

¹¹ REED: *York*, 1:109.

¹² See REED: *York*, 1:187; in 1527 the Clerk’s deputy is named for the task (REED: *York*, 1:263).

Further, some pageants were never registered: *The Marriage in Cana* (22A), *The Feast in Simon's House* (23A), and *The Funeral of the Virgin*, or *Fergus* (44A). In 1559 an order was issued to have the text of the Innholders' *Coronation of the Virgin* pageant copied from their "Regynall" or original guild copy into the official Register, either to replace or to supplement the version of the play already present in the manuscript. However, in this instance only a fragment, a text of vastly inferior quality, was entered,¹³ while the copying of the *Purification of the Virgin* was not even begun at this time. A subsequent order to John Clerke to copy the *Purification*, the Vintners' *Marriage in Cana*, the Ironmongers' "Marie Magdalene wasshyng the Lordes feete etc." (*The Feast in Simon's House*), and the conclusion of the Tilers' *Nativity* into the "old Registre"¹⁴ was only partially fulfilled, with the *Purification* then being entered by him out of order in the manuscript. Only one pageant, the Scriveners' *Doubting Thomas*, appears both in the Register and also in a guild copy, the damaged Sykes manuscript.¹⁵ No copies of the individual parchment rolls, or parcels, each containing the speeches of an individual character, survive.¹⁶

The Register likewise will not provide readings of the playtexts as they must once have existed in earliest years before revisions were made to them, in some cases involving radical rewriting. For the state of the playtexts in those years it is necessary to refer, though with great caution, to the cast lists and brief descriptions in the *Ordo paginarum*. This document was designed to designate the content and order of the pageants for the use of the Corporation, which, rather than any ecclesiastical body, had responsibility for the cycle. The *Ordo*, dated 1415, is contained in the *York Memorandum Book A/Y*.¹⁷ It is, unfortunately, extremely problematic on account of damage to the manuscript and also numerous erasures and changes that were made to correct and keep the list up to date.¹⁸ Formerly believed to have been initially written by Roger Burton, the town clerk, Meg Twycross has recently demonstrated that it is in the hand of a different scribe, whose identity is uncertain.¹⁹ When the *Ordo*'s descriptions are not consistent with the playtexts, something nevertheless may be revealed concerning the changes that took place between 1415 and the date of the Register a half century or so later, though again caution must be urged. A second list in the *Memorandum Book A/Y*, apparently by Burton himself and usually dated in c.1422, gives, like the first list, names of responsible guilds, but only provides titles for the plays.²⁰ This list too was designed to be a record, but much less detailed, of the order of the pageants as they set out

¹³ For the text of this fragment, see *York Plays*, ed. Beadle, pp. 404–05.

¹⁴ REED: *York*, 1:351.

¹⁵ Cawley, "Sykes MS."

¹⁶ See MED, s.v. "parcel" (1c). An example of a parcel, though not from York, is *Dux Moraud*; see Davis, ed., *Non-Cycle Plays*, pp. c–ci, 106–13, pl. IV.

¹⁷ REED: *York*, 1:16–24; see also the facsimile of this heavily damaged record in the *York Memorandum Book A/Y* included by Beadle and Meredith in *York Play: A Facsimile* (fols. 252v–255r).

¹⁸ Twycross, "Ordo paginarum Revisited."

¹⁹ Twycross, "Ordo paginarum Revisited," p. 121.

²⁰ REED: *York*, 1:25–26. The titles in this second list have been adapted insofar as possible for the names of the pageants in the present edition. In the Register they are mainly identified by the names of guilds principally responsible for them.

in order to play through the city. It also reveals some amalgamation of pageants as the list was kept up to date.²¹

FROM WHENCE DID THEY COME?

Some of the earliest documentation concerning the York plays are records of pageant houses in which wagon stages were stored, and for the specific stations throughout the city where the pageants were played. The *York Memorandum Book A/Y* notes a structure used to house three Corpus Christi pageant wagons in 1377,²² and the principal location of such buildings on Toft Green (sometimes called Pageant Green), near the Dominican Friary, was cited in 1387.²³ Already in 1394 there was an order promulgated that “all the pageants of Corpus Christi shall play in the places appointed from ancient times [*in locis antiquitus assignatis*] and not elsewhere.”²⁴ “Ancient times,” however, would have been an indefinite period, but perhaps logically should refer to at least one generation in the past, if not longer. No certainty is possible here, except we know that displays on wagons were not invented at York even if performing plays on them possibly was a local or regional innovation.

Trade with the Low Countries would have brought the merchants of York, its most influential citizens, in contact with the tableaux vivants that were paraded on wagons through the streets in cities such as Bruges, Antwerp, Leuven, and Brussels.²⁵ These were moving wagons, not plays, and where the notion of using wagons originated for setting up and staging drama at fixed locations we cannot tell. It would seem to be too far-fetched to believe that the exception of Lille, which had a procession honoring the Virgin Mary that dated from 1270 and that did in fact develop into plays on various biblical and other subjects on wagons, provided the model.²⁶ One thing is very clear from the 1394 record, and this is that the York plays in earlier times were not mere tableaux vivants but presentations on wagon stages that stopped at a set number of fixed locations for viewing as designated by the city Corporation. In 1417 these stations were ordered to be marked with banners having the arms of the city.²⁷ The awareness of movement — the progress of human life as pilgrimage, and history as linear — was a ground against which the pageants were played. Nevertheless, while they could have appeared like iconic “floats” when moving between the places appointed for playing, there is nothing in the records to support such a supposition. When a play had been staged at a specific location, its carriage could simply have been pulled, always by human labor and not impossibly with the accompaniment of minstrels playing, to the next playing station — a task that would have been made easier if the wagons were lightened in weight by not having a cast of actors aboard.

²¹ See Twycross, “*Ordo paginarum* Revisited,” pp. 119–20.

²² REED: *York*, 1:3, where the date is given as 1376.

²³ REED: *York*, 1:5.

²⁴ REED: *York*, 1:8; translation from 2:694.

²⁵ See A. Johnston, “Traders and Playmakers”; Twycross, “Flemish *Ommegang* and Its Pageant Cars”; C. Davidson, *Technology, Guilds*, pp. 17–25.

²⁶ Knight, “Processional Theatre and Social Unity,” and “Manuscript Painting and Play Production.”

²⁷ REED: *York*, 1:8, 29.

French drama cycles are sometimes put forward as models for the York plays. In their sequential presentation of biblical history, these massive productions, acted on fixed stages and often taking several days to perform, had their roots in fourteenth-century community theater.²⁸ Potential awareness of Continental play cycles by York dramatists and producers still does not reveal precisely how these plays emerged in the form which they adopted.

But one aspect of the development of the York Corpus Christi plays needs especially to be emphasized. Any notion of a clear line of evolutionary development from the Latin liturgical drama must be set aside.²⁹ There is no evidence that these vernacular plays arose as a result of a process of secularization or dissatisfaction with the clerical control over liturgical plays mounted in the cathedral and churches, like the *Pastores* and the *Magi* in the Christmas and Epiphany seasons at York Minster in the thirteenth century.³⁰ From the first the Corpus Christi plays arose as an expensive display for the members of the various crafts or guilds of the city who were expected to perform them, even under threat of a hefty fine if they did not — a fact that, however, does not suggest a lack of enthusiasm with the exception, it would appear, of times when the financial burden was felt to be excessive.³¹ In no way could the plays have continued to be played for two centuries in a city under the stress of difficult times if the essential good will toward them had not been present.

Speculation concerning the plays' origin, though not explaining the source of using the wagons as stages at fixed locations, at the present seems to favor what has been dubbed the "big bang" theory. This theory, advanced by R. B. Dobson, is based on the supposition that the plays were part of a plan by the mayor and Council to establish an elaborate cycle of plays in order to provide a "mechanism for identifying . . . crafts and their members" — that is, as a way of rationalizing local industry. In so doing, the large amounts assessed the individual craft and mercantile guilds, intended to be based on their ability to pay, could be directed to the activity of play production, which was regarded as a charitable act for the good of the community.³² It is, nevertheless, difficult to see the hand of the Corporation solely responsible for bringing the pageants into being *ex nihilo*. Their ultimate origin was undoubtedly more complex and surely must have involved wide community support.

There is good reason to suppose that the guilds, or the craftsmen who established such fraternities, were involved at the very beginning. Jeremy Goldberg even suggests not implausibly that the pageants "postdated the origin of the craft gilds," and that there was a desire by them to "give religious meaning to their labours and to participate in this collective manifestation of civic pride, this act of devotion, and this work of mercy that in many cases gave rise

²⁸ Muir, *Biblical Drama*, p. 33.

²⁹ The notion of evolutionary development from *Minster to Market Place*, to borrow from the title of the book by Canon Purvis, has been considered untenable since the appearance of the seminal chapter on the subject by Hardison, *Christian Rite and Christian Drama*, pp. 1–34.

³⁰ REED: *York*, 1:1. There was, however, some connection, as yet not fully deciphered, between the York Corpus Christi plays and the Shrewsbury fragments (Davis, ed., *Non-Cycle Plays*, pp. xvii–xix and 3–7).

³¹ For recognition of the financial burden already in 1399, see REED: *York*, 1:11, and for the belief that the commons were thus antagonistic to what the Corporation made them do, see Swanson, "Illusion of Economic Structure," p. 44. A refutation of this view is contained in C. Davidson, "York Guilds and the Corpus Christi Plays."

³² Dobson, "Craft Guilds and the City."

to the gilds.”³³ In any case, to be so magnificently successful, the project could hardly have been sustained by the element of coercion alone. This does not mean that some guilds would not have expressed dissatisfaction at times, especially when we keep in mind the levying of fines for hindering the plays and the heavy assessments for their support when in later years the city’s economy was declining. But the disorder caused by the Girdlers in tarrying and thus “stoppyng of the rest of the pageantz folowynge and to the ordorderyng of the same” for “an wholle hower,” for which they were fined 20s in 1554, seems to have been unusual.³⁴ We should not believe that a “sumptuous” play cycle³⁵ of the magnitude of the York plays could have been carried on for centuries without the wholehearted enthusiasm of those directly involved. And of magnitude and magnificence the cycle truly seems to have been, attracting watchers and listeners from all around the region. In 1487, when King Henry VII visited York, he saw the plays, but not on Corpus Christi since they were deliberately deferred *at his request* until Lammas day to coincide with his coming to the city.³⁶

WAGON STAGES

With one exception, the dramatic records of York are meager with regard to information about the construction and design of the wagon stages but nevertheless point to elaborate structures, many of them likely to have been as large as could be accommodated by the narrow streets of the medieval city.³⁷ Some details can, however, be surmised from the wagons used in those other cities that used this type of staging, but here too there is a paucity of reliable information. Chester’s are described in Rogers’ *Breviary*, albeit in a way that has been a source of confusion.³⁸ Whether of four or (less likely) six wheels, the Chester wagons were large and impressive structures, and, when necessary, they must have accommodated complex and sophisticated equipment in order to achieve spectacular effects in the city’s Whitsun plays. At Norwich, the Grocers’ wagon, left derelict out-of-doors, had been described in 1564–65 as being “a Howsse of Waynskott paynted and buylded on a Carte with fowre whelys” with “a square toppe” placed overhead on it and having three painted cloths hanging about it. This meager information is accompanied elsewhere in the records by an inventory of the props and

³³ Goldberg, “Craft Guilds, the Corpus Christi Play and Civic Government,” p. 148.

³⁴ REED: *York*, 1:312.

³⁵ See REED: *York*, 1:42. The description of the plays as “sumptuous” appears in the well-known 1426 entry in the York *Memorandum Book A/Y* in which the Corporation takes account of the recommendations of the friar William Melton, who objected to the disorder that he saw at York on the day of the play. This, he argued, detracted from the spirit of devotion that should have obtained. A large part of the difficulty was that the civic Corpus Christi procession was held on the same day, and virtually along the same route as the plays; Melton firmly recommended that the procession and the plays be separated, with the plays moved to the vigil of the feast. This did not happen, and when there was a change, it was the procession that was transferred. By the time the Register was compiled, the procession had been relegated to the following day, a Friday.

³⁶ REED: *York*, 1:153–54.

³⁷ See McKinnell, “Medieval Pageant Wagons at York,” pp. 79–99; and also the discussion of pageant wagons in C. Davidson, *Technology, Guilds*, pp. 17–31.

³⁸ REED: *Chester*, pp. 238–39, 325, 355, and 436.

other accouterments, most famously the “Rybbe Colleryd Redd” for the creation of Eve.³⁹ But as for the actual wagons, either at York or elsewhere, they have not left a trace behind, not even a drawing or sketch. There is nothing therefore remaining to match the elaborate illustrations of the Flemish tableaux vivants which likely would have set a standard of sumptuousness to which the York producers may have aspired. Attempts such as David Jee’s illustration, purporting to show a Chester wagon and elaborated from Rogers’ description, in Thomas Sharp’s *Dissertation* (1825) reveal more about nineteenth-century preconceptions than about late medieval stages.⁴⁰

The exception to this paucity of information for York appears in a single document, a 1433 inventory of the Mercers’ *Doomsday* pageant that remained unknown until 1972.⁴¹ Truly remarkable, this list takes note of such equipment as a device for lowering and raising Jesus at his Second Coming and even puppet angels that run about the heavens.⁴² As a prop list this is an essential document, and can profitably be compared with the depiction of similar aspects of Doomsday in the visual arts. Here reference is most fruitfully made to local examples such as the Doomsday illumination in the *Bolton Hours* (1410–20), which has been associated with leading merchant families in the city.⁴³

The dramatic records nevertheless, since they are mainly accounts of expenditures, receipts, and enforcement of local ordinances, show very vividly that the making and maintenance of the pageant wagons, their accouterments, and all the other equipment necessary for the plays required wide community effort. The assistance of not only the carpenters, painters, and cloth workers but also other guilds is duly noted in the extant documents, albeit as financial records these are often fragmentary and sporadic. At least we know that the plays were a source of economic gain for some of the citizens, just as musicians brought in to assist were the beneficiaries of payment for their services.⁴⁴

Detailed information at York is, however, available about the stations along the streets at which the pageants were played, for here the records kept by the Corporation are very specific. The entire route can still be traced today since much of the old city remains, albeit with numerous changes (e.g., the shortening of Stonegate to create open space for St. Helen’s Square in the eighteenth century).⁴⁵ As noted above, each station was to be marked with a banner, and fines were instituted for unauthorized stops for playing. An early sixteenth-century alteration to the official proclamation of the plays entered into the city records ordered that “euery player that shall play be redy in his pagiaunt at conveyant tyme, that is to say at the mydhowre betwix iiiijth and vth of the cloke in the mornynge and then all other pageantes fast followyng ilkone after other as ther course is without Tarieng” on pain of a fine

³⁹ REED: *Norwich 1540–1642*, pp. 52–53.

⁴⁰ Sharp, *Dissertation on the Pageants or Dramatic Mysteries*, frontispiece.

⁴¹ See A. Johnston and Dorrell, “York Mercers and Their Pageant of Doomsday.”

⁴² REED: *York*, 1:55–56.

⁴³ York Minster Library, MS. Add. 2, fol. 208; reproduced in C. Davidson, *Technology, Guilds*, fig. 93. Compare King, “Corpus Christi Plays and the ‘Bolton Hours’, 1.” Also see the website of the Lancaster University Doomsday project: <<http://www.lanc.ac.uk/users/yorkdoom/d06.htm>>.

⁴⁴ See C. Davidson, *Technology, Guilds*, *passim*.

⁴⁵ See Raine, *Mediaeval York*, p. 123.

of 6s 8d.⁴⁶ While this probably does not pertain to the early years of the York plays when a delay would plausibly have been needed to allow for the civic Corpus Christi procession to set out from the same location at Holy Trinity Priory, the 4:30 a.m. starting time is credible after the separation of the procession from the play in the course of the fifteenth century.

We can thus assume that either at a convenient time in earlier years, or in later times around dawn on Corpus Christi, the first of the pageants — the Barkers' (i.e., Tanners') *Creation of the Angels with the Fall of Lucifer* — was being moved away from Toft Green and around to the first station before the gates of Holy Trinity Priory inside Micklegate Bar, the main entrance to the city on the route from London (see figure 2). From there the wagon stages proceeded down Micklegate and over the Ouse River, performing at the specified stations before audiences along the way. On the other side of the river, the stations would be spaced at intervals at the corner of Spurriergate and along Coney Street, Stonegate, Petergate, and the Pavement, the final station and, interestingly, the least popular.⁴⁷ In 1417, when the practice of leasing the stations was regularized according to a bid system, twelve stations were specified, the same number that had been awarded in 1398.⁴⁸ It appears that the lessees, initially some of the city's most affluent citizens, had financial gain in mind since in turn they were able to set up scaffolds and rent seats as well as to offer concessions to the spectators. This of course does not mean that they were entirely mercenary, if they believed, as surely they did, in the value of the plays as charitable acts to be presented for the general good of the community.

A CHARITABLE DUTY

Much has been made of the theology inherent in the plays, and to be sure this is a part of their civic and religious context that needs to be explained for many modern readers and, when opportunity for seeing actual productions is presented, for viewers. A considerable portion of the Explanatory Notes in the present edition must thus be given over to notice of such matters, which for some scholars are nowadays sometimes treated under the rubric of "ideology," or what was generally assumed more or less by everyone living at that time and in that place.⁴⁹ Those who persist in seeing the plays as essentially didactic, as teaching devices focused on doctrine, will be seen to have a generally reductionist view of them. Among other things, they were intended as acts of charity, mnemonic instruments, so to speak, to inspire devotion and bring to mind the totality of the works of God, beginning with the Creation. Like the liturgy, which was to be sure imperfectly accessible to most people since it was in Latin rather than in the vernacular, the Corpus Christi plays were designed to *bring to memory* the events of salvation history. Pamela King's *The York Mystery Cycle and the Worship of the City* is a convincing overview of the deep interconnectedness of the civic drama, under the control of the secular administration of the city, and the content of the liturgy celebrated in parish churches, in York Minster, and in the monasteries and friaries. More directly than through

⁴⁶ See Twycross, "Forget the 4:30 a.m. Start"; *REED: York*, 1:25.

⁴⁷ See Twycross, "'Places to hear the play': Pageant Stations at York, 1398–1572."

⁴⁸ *REED: York*, 1:11, 29–30. Placeholders are discussed by Crouch, "Paying to See the Play," and E. White, "Places for Hearing the Corpus Christi Play," as well as, by the same author, "Places to Hear the Play in York."

⁴⁹ The term *ideology*, Marxist in origin and as generally used, is a rather rubbery concept.

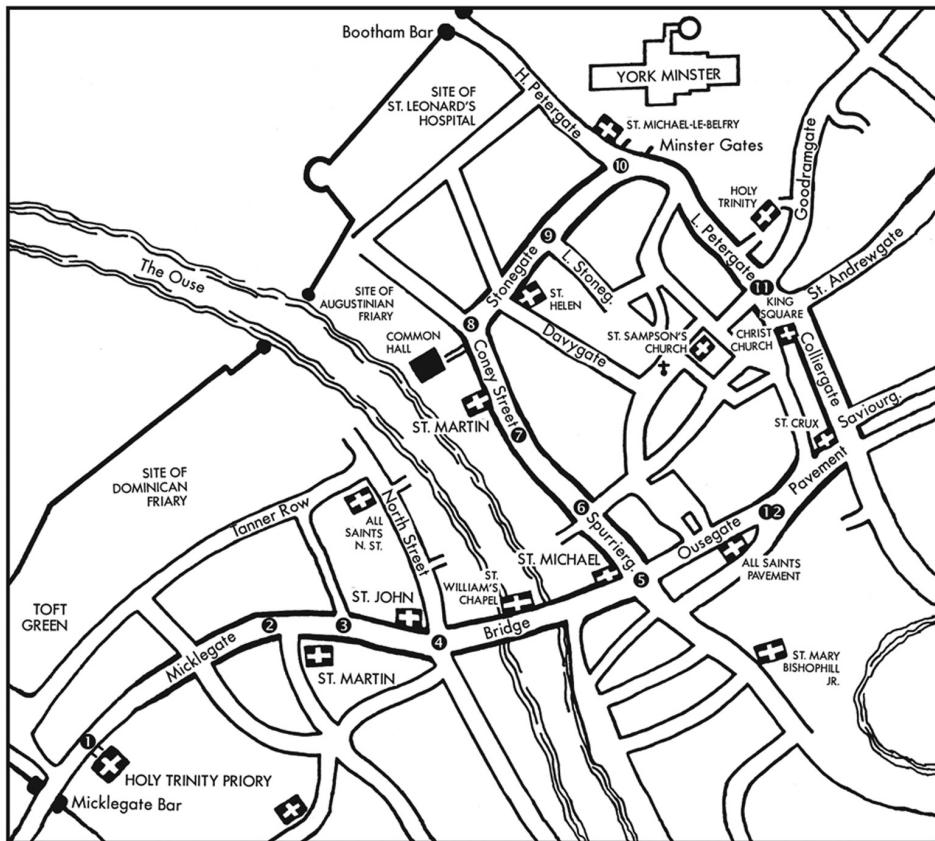


Figure 2. Map of fifteenth-century York, with stations on the pageant route in their most common order numbered.

the Latin liturgy, then, personal and communal engagement with cultural history and tradition through memory—indeed, *charismatic memory*⁵⁰—might be advanced as the most important aspect of the production of the plays. And this was indeed also a communal project designed to bring together the crafts and trades in Christian harmony with each other, however imperfectly this may have been the case.

As religious drama deeply embedded in late medieval “traditional religion”⁵¹ and congruent with the intense spirituality that is found in such writings as Nicholas Love’s adaptation of the popular Latin *Meditations on the Life of Christ* (*Meditaciones Vitae Christi*),⁵² the plays

⁵⁰ See Florovsky, “Work of the Holy Spirit,” to which Rowan Williams calls attention (*Why Study the Past*, p. 92).

⁵¹ See Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*.

⁵² Love’s *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ* as a vernacular work that was given official approval, in part to counter Lollard translations of the Bible, provides perhaps the most useful single tool for interpreting the action of the York Corpus Christi plays in their treatment of the gospel

were designed to promote emotional involvement with the events being staged. Most intensely, the suffering and Crucifixion of Jesus were even to be *felt as necessary* for salvation. Love, who possibly had been prior of the Augustinian friary at York and at the time of his writing was prior of the Carthusian monastery at Mount Grace, is insistent that such identification be felt “inwardly” in one’s thoughts through “trewe yimaginacion and inwarde compassion of the peynes and the passion” of the one who died for all humankind.⁵³ But drama is never quite so simple, even if it stirs strong emotions, such as the York plays must have achieved — very possibly, as the author of the Wycliffite *Treatise of Miraclis Pleyinge* claims to have occurred in response to religious plays, “weping bitere teris.”⁵⁴ There is also the matter of engaging, whether one will or no, with the characters, even ones representing evil.⁵⁵ Leaving aside the matter of *Schadenfreude*, such symbolic participation in plays — for in a deep sense the pageants are symbolic structures representing the essentials of human history — would have had the effect of bringing to life the events of salvation history for late medieval audiences. As such, there is no doubt also that they were consistent with traditional iconography, especially since this would have been not only expected but also demanded in a time when innovation outside the boundaries of the acceptable visual limits was taboo. One could only imagine what the response would have been to the representation of God in an animal mask!⁵⁶ Jesus’ wounds were to be seen bleeding, even after death, and devils were expected to be exceptionally ugly, often hairy and fitted with double (or triple) masks with one of them on the face and another in the groin area.⁵⁷ Particular attention to the iconography of the plays, especially with reference to examples in the visual arts at York, will appear in the Explanatory Notes.⁵⁸

AUTHORSHIP AND SOURCES

The authors of the plays, attending to favored iconographic tableaux but not generally as static or fixed scenes that would freeze the action, were of differing talents, and their poetic techniques varied. Richard Beadle argues for the presence of a “basic range of vocabulary,

narratives. Its date of composition seems to be c. 1410, for which see the comment of its editor, Michael Sargent (pp. xlvi–xlvi); this would imply its availability to those authors and revisers of the York plays who were active after this date.

⁵³ Love, *Mirror*, p. 161.

⁵⁴ *Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge*, p. 98.

⁵⁵ See C. Davidson, *Deliver Us from Evil*.

⁵⁶ It seems rather absurd to try to force the York Corpus Christi plays into a pattern of carnival drama, though Martin Stevens has argued that they represent “just such a form” (*Four Middle English Mystery Cycles*, pp. 82–83). However, in another sense they were to be sure festive, and hardly dull, solemn fare. See C. Davidson, *History, Religion, and Violence*, pp. 207–25.

⁵⁷ See, for example, Gray, “Five Wounds of Our Lord,” and, for an illustration of a hairy devil with masks on head, the genitals, and a knee in the St. Cuthbert window at York Minster, C. Davidson, *Technology, Guilds*, fig. 71.

⁵⁸ In the Explanatory Notes, I have made frequent reference to *York Art*, the listing which I prepared in collaboration with David O’Connor many years ago as a rather tentative descriptive index of those scenes depicted locally in the visual arts relevant to the drama. An updated version of this list is available on the web at <<http://www.wmich.edu/medieval/resources/edam/york.html>>.

often expressed in repeated formulae, which [the dialogue] is guaranteed to share with both its immediate and distant neighbours in the Cycle as a whole.”⁵⁹ This generalization holds true only in part, since some of the plays introduce vocabulary, including rhyme words, that are not only distinctly Northern but, to many readers, obscure and out of the ordinary. Stylistically, the most unusual plays or segments of plays are those that have been attributed to a “York Realist,”⁶⁰ an attribution that is discussed in Paul A. Johnston’s Appendix in the present volume. These are plays, and sections of plays, in the long alliterative line, probably otherwise best known through William Langland’s *Piers Plowman*.

The poetic forms here differ from those found in Anglo-Saxon practices from which the alliterative technique is ultimately derived. This is particularly true in the choice to use rhyme and in the division into stanzas. While the stanza forms differ, their use of alliteration is “metrically functional” and at the same time provides “a very effective vehicle for dramatic dialogue,” as T. Turville-Petre has noted.⁶¹ The manuscript sometimes presents the parts of the long line as two lines, a practice that was followed by Lucy Toulmin Smith in her pioneering edition of 1885 and is generally retained in the present edition. In the manuscript the pageants in the long alliterative line are otherwise some of the most problematic. The handwriting itself suggests that the scribe had considerable difficulty coping with the copies with which he was working, and these portions of the Register are the least well presented on the page in the manuscript.

These and the other pageants in the cycle can firmly be said not to have been written by the guild members themselves. Alexandra F. Johnston has engagingly suggested the involvement in writing these texts of the canons from the Augustinian house next to the Common Hall, for the members of the Corporation were on close and friendly terms with the friary.⁶² The York Augustinian friary possessed one of the greatest libraries in the North of England,⁶³ and was noted for its learning. The plays show signs of knowledge of a wide range of religious literature. The sources are not always evident, but echoes, for example, of the Middle English *Metrical Paraphrase of the Old Testament*, the *Cursor Mundi*, the *Northern Passion*, the *Stanzaic Life of Christ*, and the *Gospel of Nicodemus* are present.⁶⁴ The spirit of St. Bernard of Clairvaux is evident. The Franciscan *Meditations on the Life of Christ* was also known to some if not all of the York playwrights, perhaps through the adaptation of Nicholas Love and whose work in any case, as noted above, often provides the most useful explication of passages in the pageants. The *Revelations* of St. Birgitta of Sweden can also be easily traced, most visibly in the *Nativity* where revisions are evident when the play is compared with the earlier description in the *Ordo paginarum*.⁶⁵ Other influences, such as Ludolphus of Saxony’s *Vita Christi*, are cited by J. W. Robinson in his seminal work, left unfinished at his death and subsequently published as *Studies in Fifteenth-Century Stagecraft*.

⁵⁹ Beadle, “Verbal Texture and Wordplay,” p. 173.

⁶⁰ See Reese, “Alliterative Verse in the York Cycle”; Robinson, “Art of the York Realist”; and Craig, *English Religious Drama*, pp. 224–33.

⁶¹ Turville-Petre, *Alliterative Revival*, p. 123.

⁶² A. Johnston, “*York Cycle* and the Libraries of York.”

⁶³ For the very extensive catalogue, see Humphreys, *Friars’ Libraries*, pp. 11–154.

⁶⁴ See *York Plays*, ed. Beadle, pp. 40–41.

⁶⁵ C. Davidson, *From Creation to Doom*, pp. 16–18.

The documents excerpted in *Records of Early English Drama: York* fail to give much direct indication of actual re-writing or revision, particularly in the decades about which we would like to know the most. However, in an entry in the *York Memorandum Book A/Y* in c.1422, the Crucifixion was reported to be shortened for the sake of efficiency in playing, herein joining the “stretching out and nailing of Christ on the cross” and “the raising up of the Crucified upon the Mount.”⁶⁶ Another entry, dated 1432, indicated that further consolidation and regularization elsewhere in the cycle with regard to guild support had taken place. A single pageant was created from the Saucemakers’ *Suspencio Judas*, the Tilemakers’ *Condemnation of Christ by Pilate*, the Turners, Hayresters, and Bollers’ *Flagellation*, and the Millers’ *Parting of Jesus’ Garments*.⁶⁷ These records do not prove that other revisions and rewriting took place between 1422 and 1432, but they can provide a plausible guide for dating alterations that would introduce the long alliterative line into the plays. The second quarter of the fifteenth century still represented a time of prosperity for the city of York, which would later decline both economically and demographically with the flight to the West Riding of the cloth industry and the dramatic reduction of its population, perhaps by the middle of the sixteenth century to a level little more than half of its earlier high point.⁶⁸

MYSTERIES SUPPRESSED

Ironically, when prosperity and population growth began to return in the third quarter of the sixteenth century, the plays, in spite of the desire of the citizens to retain them, would be suppressed. In mid-century disease and other pressures had deterred the city from performing them in some years. In 1551 only ten pageants were ordered to be played at ten stations, and in 1552 the “billettes,” written orders issued to the guilds for playing, were called in.⁶⁹ Under King Edward VI, who had instituted a process of radical Protestantizing and iconoclasm, the Marian plays of the Death, Assumption, and Coronation of the Virgin were set aside, only to be reinstated under Queen Mary and then suppressed again in 1561.⁷⁰

Pressure on the pageants mounted as the crisis year of 1570 approached, when Catholic rebellion was in the air and Queen Elizabeth was to be excommunicated. The change in archdiocesan politics at York did not bode well for the plays, and in 1569 they were played, on Tuesday during Whitsun week rather than on Corpus Christi, for the last time.⁷¹ In 1579 the Register would be taken to the archbishop and dean “to correcte, if that my Lord Archebisshop doo well like theron,” and in 1580 the House Books report that “the Commons did earnestly request of my Lord Mayour and others this worshipfull Assemblee that Corpus

⁶⁶ REED: *York*, 2:722; for Latin text, see 1:37.

⁶⁷ REED: *York*, 1:48; for translation, see 2:733. Compare the second list in the *Ordo paginarum* with the first (corrected) list (1:26, 22).

⁶⁸ For demographic decline, see Palliser, *Tudor York*, p. 112, and C. Davidson, “York Guilds and the Corpus Christi Plays,” pp. 11–16.

⁶⁹ REED: *York*, 1:298, 303, and see 1:9 for noting of billets as early as 1396, when two parchment membranes were purchased for use at Corpus Christi.

⁷⁰ REED: *York*, 1:291–92 and 331–32.

⁷¹ REED: *York*, 1:355–56.

christi play might be played this yere,"⁷² but to no avail.⁷³ The plays would not be staged at York again for nearly four centuries.

THE REVIVAL OF THE YORK PLAYS

The revival of the York plays was to be assured only in 1950, when E. Martin Browne, who was known for his successful productions of *Murder in the Cathedral* and other religious plays, was chosen as director.⁷⁴ The cycle was mounted the next year in the ruins of St. Mary's Abbey, a spectacular setting but demanding a fixed stage, in this case utilizing mansions more or less modeled on the famous illustration of the 1547 Valenciennes Passion play.⁷⁵ Its length too was regarded as a serious problem. Hence the text was condensed to allow only a three-hour production, and it would be done as a single unit, not broken into the segments originally staged as pageants by individual guilds. There also would be considerable modernization of the language, undertaken by Canon J. S. Purvis, who had been enthusiastic about such a project and was in fact the person who initially suggested producing the plays. Even the dialect was standardized to conform with BBC English.⁷⁶ For all its value in bringing attention to the York plays as theater, the production was a "heritage" event rather than either an authentic historical experiment or living theater.⁷⁷

Nevertheless, it will surprise many to learn that resistance to the revival emerged from Evangelicals, both within the Church of England and in sectarian protestantism. John R. Elliott, Jr., has noted that even Canon Purvis was nervous about the production, and he quotes the minutes of the York Festival Committee which report his remarks: "There is an enormous and impassable gulf between us and the people who wrote, performed, and watched these plays. . . . The scourging and crucifixion scenes are too realistic for us today. Nobody would dare to put on some of these plays today. They are too shocking."⁷⁸ After their successful run of two weeks, the archbishop of York was quoted in the *Yorkshire Post* as having his "misgivings . . . completely removed," but nevertheless argued that there should not be another revival for "a considerable interval — at least five years."⁷⁹

⁷² REED: *York*, 1:390 and 392–93.

⁷³ The classic account is H. Gardiner, *Mysteries' End*, though subsequent scholarship has to some extent modified this description of the suppression of the vernacular religious drama.

⁷⁴ For the director's account, see E. Browne and Browne, *Two in One*, pp. 183–95. Additional information concerning the revival of the York Corpus Christi plays is found in Margaret Rogerson, *Playing a Part in History: The York Mysteries, 1951–2006* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), which was published after the present book was in page proofs.

⁷⁵ E. Browne and Browne, *Two in One*, p. 184, and see the illustration in Nagler, *Medieval Religious Stage*, p. 85.

⁷⁶ Browne was originally anxious to use the Yorkshire dialect, but quickly cooled to the idea when he found himself unable to understand a countrywoman in the North Riding (E. Browne and Browne, *Two in One*, p. 185). Purvis' modernization is in fact neither Middle English nor Modern English.

⁷⁷ Rogerson, "Living History," pp. 12–19.

⁷⁸ Elliott, *Playing God*, pp. 76–77.

⁷⁹ Quoted in Elliott, *Playing God*, p. 82.

Doctrinal and legal issues also had to be faced in 1951. The Last Supper, being the institution of the Sacrament of the Eucharist, was a sensitive matter, but was retained as an offstage event, and the plays of the Death, Assumption, and Coronation of the Virgin along with other Marian content were omitted as too controversially “Mariolatrous.”⁸⁰ Legal challenges were only sidestepped because the York cycle antedated the 1737 act for the licensing of plays, which normally allowed the Lord Chamberlain to censor those that were either licentious or blasphemous, with the appearance of representations of God and Jesus on stage falling into the latter category.⁸¹

Subsequently, the York cycle, in similarly abbreviated versions, continued to be played at intervals in the ruins of the abbey. By the 1970s, emphasis had shifted to spectacle and humor and shied away from religious content as much as possible.⁸² In 1976 pageant wagons were introduced onto the stage, but were largely stationary and used for indoor scenes only except for the parody of ceremony at Herod’s entrance. The three kings arrived riding horses, and there were sheep, heifers, and donkeys along with “174 extras who somehow managed to make themselves present.”⁸³ Peter Happé’s review of the 1980 production reported the choice of “Sumer is icumen in” as a dance at the beginning, and thereafter a selection of mainly familiar music that culminated at Doomsday in the *Old Hundredth* (*English Hymnal*, no. 365), while the text was still so condensed that “there was often little sense of development in individual scenes.”⁸⁴ In 1992 the plays were moved indoors, and 2000 saw a Millennium production in the Minster. Eventually the success with audiences of Tony Harrison’s text (largely derived from York) and Bill Bryden’s directing of *The Mysteries* at the National Theatre would influence the staging of the cycle.⁸⁵

However, sporadic attempts to introduce processional wagon staging at York led in 1988 to a four-pageant production in the streets directed by Meg Twycross, whose efforts were a genuine effort to replicate the conditions of late medieval staging.⁸⁶ This, like a subsequent production in 1992, was a university production with actors not connected with the city. The plays were returned to community theater in 1994—a less fragmented version of nine plays, presented by York guilds (see fig. 3).⁸⁷ Three of the guilds were still in existence from medieval times, and thus the Butchers could once again play the *Mortificacio Christi*. The production was under the overall direction of Jane Oakshott, who repeated the effort in 1998.⁸⁸ By 2002 ten plays, now given over to local control, were able to be mounted

⁸⁰ Elliott, *Playing God*, pp. 76–77.

⁸¹ See the survey in Elliott, *Playing God*, pp. 14–24.

⁸² Elliott, *Playing God*, pp. 97–98

⁸³ Review by Elliott, in “Census of Medieval Drama Productions,” *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 20 (1977): 97–98.

⁸⁴ Review by Happé, in “Census of Medieval Drama Productions,” *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 23 (1980): 91–82.

⁸⁵ See Harrison, *Mysteries and The Making of The Mysteries* (production booklet, 1985). As for the stage production, Grantley considered it more of “a parody of medieval drama” (“National Theatre’s Production of *The Mysteries*,” p. 73).

⁸⁶ A. Johnston, “Four York Pageants Performed in the Streets of York.”

⁸⁷ Rastall, “Mystery Plays 25 Years On.”

⁸⁸ Oakshott, “York Guilds’ Mystery Plays 1998.”

at five stations, running from noon to seven o'clock in the evening and ending, of course, with the Last Judgment, which Margaret Rogerson judged to be appropriately capturing "the spirit of the Middle Ages while linking the message of the play to the present."⁸⁹ In 2006 the number of plays had advanced to eleven, but at four stations. In 2008 Oakshott was awarded an MBE for her efforts in community theater — a very encouraging sign of the recognition of this drama for our time.

The productions in York streets have not yet been able to offer a complete cycle, but this had in fact been accomplished elsewhere in academic settings. In 1975, various departments of the University of Leeds, with the leadership of Oakshott who was then a recent graduate, produced thirty-six pageants — not yet a complete cycle, but certainly an historic event.⁹⁰ Thereafter, two productions of all forty-seven extant plays were presented on wagons at the University of Toronto in 1977 and 1998 under the auspices of Poculi Ludique Societas. The 1977 performance, for which David Parry was artistic director, encountered unexpected adversity in the weather, and the performances had to be moved indoors. Nevertheless, David Bevington could praise the effort as one that uniquely gave an incomparable "sense of the vitality and richness of Corpus Christi drama."⁹¹

The 1998 performance fared much better, and has the advantage of being well documented in both *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* and *Early Theatre*. In this instance, the performances occurred at four stations at Victoria College, and, starting at 6:00 a.m., continued until midnight. The impossibility of staging forty-seven or more pageants at twelve stations widely separated in distance was made evident, resulting in discussion among the participants and spectators concerning the likelihood that some were simply omitted each year



Figure 3. The Harrowing of Hell, directed by Mike Tyler and produced by St. Luke's Church, in 1998 when local guild sponsorship of the York plays in the streets of the city resumed. Courtesy of the York Mystery Plays Archive, The National Centre for Early Music, Walmgate, York YO1 9TL, U.K.

⁸⁹ Review by Rogerson, in "Census of Medieval Drama Productions," *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 42 (2003): 165–66.

⁹⁰ Rastall, "Mystery Plays 25 Years On."

⁹¹ Review by Bevington, in "Census of Medieval Drama Productions," *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 20 (1977): 110.

on a regular basis when the Corpus Christi cycle was staged at medieval York.⁹² Among other things learned, one of the most important concerned the interaction between actors and audience. In Megan Lloyd's words, "Whatever the intent of individual plays, the effect of the York Cycle . . . was an obscuring of audience and actor, fiction and reality, that helped me feel as though I were participating in the Passion and Christian journey itself. I was not alone in my response."⁹³ There was also some controversy, as with regard to Handmade Performance's *Doomsday* pageant, a "radical reinterpretation" which struck many as an extreme violation of the ethos of the original play, and certainly it would have been regarded as blasphemous in its own time. The idea that the devil was a classical music lover and that all-powerful God "can play anything he wants," no matter how incompetent musically, was symptomatic of the inversion of values in this "post-modern" production.⁹⁴ The 1998 Toronto plays, on account of the very extensive commentary available in print,⁹⁵ will continue to be most valuable for future directors, while much can also be learned from the community theater productions at York where they have been reclaimed by the guilds.

EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

The present edition adheres as closely as feasible to the text of the York Corpus Christi plays as they appear in the Register, London, British Library MS. Add. 35290. However, as is the convention with TEAMS publications, the orthography is lightly modernized with respect to archaic letters. *Thee* is consistently given its modern spelling though normally it appears as *the* in the manuscript. Roman numerals are presented in their arabic equivalents. Emendations introduced by earlier scholars have only been adopted carefully when deemed necessary. In a few instances, however, corrections have been entered into the text from those plays derived from York originals in the Towneley manuscript and from the Sykes manuscript. In the *Mortificacio Christi*, the name *Nichodemus* has been corrected, the manuscript's *Nichomedis* being so obviously a scribal error.

It will be recognized that, in defense of choosing rather conservative principles of editing, there is no perfect *Urtext* available for the plays, nor ever was there one. The Register was

⁹² The listing of the 1535 receipts in the Chamberlain's rolls for pageant money for thirty-three pageants (as opposed to the full number in the Register) on a year when the "Corpus christi play was not playde" (*REED: York*, 1:260–61) has been suggested as demonstrating the point.

⁹³ Lloyd, "Reflections of a York Survivor," p. 233.

⁹⁴ Johnson, "Last Judgment," pp. 270–71. The impression was of God the Father as a tyrannical ruler, and more in keeping with current earthly tyrants who are able to create their own "reality" at whatever cost to their people. It was a medieval commonplace that God the Creator is synonymous with harmony, as opposed to cacophony and dissonance, in this production recorded and played loudly on a boombox. The oedipal conflict between Father and Son in this pageant, however, would have been even more of a source of displeasure in the fifteenth century. Such an interpretation is precisely opposed to the meaning of both the play and orthodox thought on the subject. Though this interpretation was based on the difference perceived between the sternness of the Semitic Old Testament God and the Christian forgiveness offered by the Son of the New Testament, one can imagine that it would have resulted in a heresy trial had the pageant been staged in this manner by the Mercers in medieval York!

⁹⁵ The entire issue of *Early Theatre* 3 (2000), under the title *The York Cycle Then and Now*, was devoted to discussion of the 1998 production.

based on the copies of the plays that had been supplied to the guilds, then subjected to further copying and revision. At times the copies from which the scribes worked in preparing the Register must have looked more like the “foul papers” famously posited for plays of the Shakespeare era. This must particularly have been true for those pageants that adopted the long alliterative line.



THE YORK CORPUS CHRISTI PLAYS

[1. THE CREATION OF THE ANGELS AND THE FALL OF LUCIFER]

The Barkers

[DEUS] *Ego sum Alpha et O[mega], vita, via,
Veritas primus et novissimus.*¹

I am gracyus and grete, God withoutyn begynnnyng,	
I am maker unmade, all mighte es in me.	
I am lyfe and way unto welth wynnnyng;	
I am formaste and fyrste, als I byd sall it be.	<i>foremost; shall</i>
5 My blyssyng o ble sall be blendyng	<i>of [my] countenance; dazzling</i>
And heldand, fro harme to be hydande,	<i>pouring out; protecting</i>
My body in blys ay abydande	<i>always abiding</i>
Unendande, withoutyn any endyng.	
Sen I am maker unmade, and most es of mighte,	
10 And ay sall be endeles, and noghte es but I,	
Unto my dygnyté dere sall diewly be dyghte	<i>dignity; be made</i>
A place full of plenté to my plesyng at ply;	<i>to design</i>
And therewith als wyll I have wroght	
Many dyvers doynges bedene	<i>now</i>
15 Whilke warke sall mekely contene,	<i>continue</i>
And all sall be made even of noghte.	
But onely the worthely warke of my wyll	<i>worthy work</i>
In my sprete sall enspyre the mighte of me,	<i>spirit</i>
And in the fyrste, faythely, my thoghte to fullfyll,	<i>truly</i>
20 Baynely in my blyssyng I byd at here be	<i>Now; command to be here</i>
A blys al beledande abowte me;	<i>all supporting</i>
In the whilke blys I byde at be here	
Nyen ordres of aungels full clere,	<i>Nine</i>
In lovyng aylastande at lowte me.	<i>praise everlasting; worship</i>

¹ *I am alpha and omega, life, the way, / Truth first and last*

Tunc cantant angeli, Te Deum laudamus, te Dominum confitemur.¹

- 25 Here underneth me nowe a nexile I neven,
Whilke ile soll be erthe, now all be at ones
Erthe haly and helle, this heghest be heven;
And that welth soll welde soll won in this wones.
This graunte I yowe, mynysters myne,
To whils yhe ar stabill in thoghte,
And also to thaime that ar noghte
Be put to my presone at pyne.
- wing (as of building) I name
isle
wholly
wield; dwell in these places
- As long as you
in suffering
- Of all the mightes I have made, moste nexte after me
I make thee als master and merour of my mighty.
35 I beelde thee here baynely in blys for to be,
I name thee for Lucifer, als berar of lyghte.
Nothyng here soll thee be derand;
In this blis soll be yhour beeldyng
And have all welth in youre weledyng,
40 Ay whils yhe ar buxumly berande.
- powerful ones
reflector
set; obediently
- injuring
dwelling place
will (power)
humbly behaving

Tunc cantant angeli, Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus, Dominus Deus Sabaoth.²

- I ANGELUS SERAPHYN** A, mercyfull maker, fullmekill es thi mighty great
That all this warke at a worde worthely has wroghte.
Ay loved be that lulfy lorde of his lighte
That us thus mighty has made, that nowe was righte noghte,
45 In blys for to byde in hys blyssyng.
Aylastande, in luf lat us lowte hym, Everlasting; praise let us worship
At beelde us thus baynely abowete hym, That we flourish; now
Of myrthe nevermore to have myssyng. be lacking

I ANGELUS DEFICIENS, LUCIFERE All the myrrth that es made es markide in me.

- 50 The bemes of my brighthode ar byrmande so bryghte, radiance; burning
And I so semely in sygthe myselfe now I se,
For lyke a lorde am I lefte to lende in this lighte. exist
More fayrear be far than my feres,
In me is no poynte that may payre. fairer; companions
55 I fele me fetys and fayre, become less
My powar es passande my peres. fine

ANGELUS CHERABYN Lord, wyth a lastande luf we love thee allone,

- Thou mightefull maker that markid us and made us, ordained
And wroghte us thus worthely to wone in this wones, to dwell in this place

¹ Then the angels sing, “We praise thee, O God, we acknowledge thee to be the Lord”

² Then the angels sing, “Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts”

60 Ther never felyng of fylth may full us nor fade us. *befoul; darken*
 All blys es here beeldande aboue us, *dwelling*
 To whyls we are stabyll in thoughte *As long as; constant*
 In the worschipp of hym that us wroght,
 Of dere never thar us more dowe us. *harm; worry*

II ANGELUS DEFICIENS O, what I am fetys and fayre and fygured full fytt!¹

66 The forme of all fayrehede apon me es feste. *beauty; fast (fixed)*
 All welth in my weelde es, I wote be my wytte: *power; understand by; intelligence*
 The bemes of my bryghthede are bygged with the beste. *as large as*
 My schewyng es schemerande and schynande, *appearance*
 70 So bygly to blys am I broghte. *surely*
 Me nedes for to noy me righte noghte: *to trouble*
 Here sall never Payne me be pynande. *afflicting*

ANGELUS SERAPHYN With all the wytt at we welde we woyschip thi wyll, *that we*
 Thou gloryus God that es grunde of all grace.
 75 Ay with stedefaste steven lat us stande stylle, *voice*
 Lorde, to be fede with the fode of thi fayre face.
 In lyfe that es lely aylastande, *truly*
 Thi dale, Lorde, es ay daynetethly delande, *gift; bountifully giving*
 And whoso that fode may be felande, *experiencing (tasting)*
 80 To se thi fayre face es noght fastande. *fasting*

I ANGELUS DEFECIENS, LUCIFER

Owe, certes, what I am worthely wroghte with wyrship, iwys,
 For in a gloriis gle my gleteryng it glemes, *radiance*
 I am so mightyly made my mirth may noghte mys.
 Ay sall I byde in this blys thorowe brightnes of bemes.
 85 Me nedes noghte of noy for to neven.
 All welth in my welde have I weledande,
 Abowne yhit sall I be beeldand,
 On heghte in the hyeste of hewven.

Ther sall I set myselfe, full semely to seyghte,
 90 To ressayve my reverence thorowe righte o renowne. *sight*
 I sall be lyke unto hym that es hyeste on heghte — *receive*
 Owe, what I am derworth and defte.
 Owe, Dewes, all goes downe!
 My mighte and my mayne es all marrande.
 Helpe, felawes, in faythe I am fallande.

II ANGELUS DEFICIENS Fra heven are we heledande on all hande. *falling*
 96 To wo are we weendande, I warande. *woe; wending; warrant*

¹ *I am handsome and fair and in figure (form) entirely fitting*

LUCIFER, DELABOLUS IN INFERO Owte, owte! harrowe!

- Helples, slyke hote at es here!
This es a dongon of dole that I am to dyghte!
Whare es my kynde become, so cumly and clere?
100 Nowe am I laytheste, allas, that are was lighte.
My bryghtnes es blakkest and blo nowe;
My bale es ay betande and brynande:
That gares ane go gowlande and gynrande.
Owte, ay walaway! I well enew in wo nowe!
- [I'm] helpless, such heat
suffering: condemned
nature
most loathsome; before
dark (discolored)
misery; beating and burning
makes one; wailing; grimacing
boil (suffer); enough

II DIABOLUS Owte, owte! I go wode for wo! My wytte es all wente nowe. mad

- 106 All oure fode es but filth we fynde us beforne.
We that ware beelded in blys in bale are we brent nowe.
Owte on thee, Lucifer, lurdan, oure lyghte has thou lorne!
Thi dedes to this dole nowe has dyghte us.
110 To spill us thou was oure spedar,
For thow was oure lyghte and oure ledar,
The hegheste of heven hade thou hyght us.
- living
rascal; lost
forced
hurt; facilitator
leader
called

LUCIFER IN INFERO Walaway, wa es me now, nowe es it war thane it was! woe; worse
Unthryvandely threpe yhe, I sayde but a thoghte. Unthrivingly chide

II DIABOLUS We, lurdane, thou lost us! Alas, rascal; destroyed

LUCIFER IN INFERO Yhe ly, owte, allas! You lie
116 I wyste noghte this wo sculde be wroghte. thought
Owte on yhow, lurdans, yhe smore me in smoke. smother

II DIABOLUS This wo has thou wroghte us.

LUCIFER IN INFERO Yhe ly, yhe ly!

II DIABOLUS Thou lyes, and that sall thou by: purchase
120 We, lurdane, have at yowe, lat loke!

ANGELUS CHERUBYN A, Lorde, lovid be thi name that us this lyghte lente

- Sen Lucifer oure ledar es lighted so lawe,
For hys unbuxumnes in bale to be brente,
Thi rightewynnes to rewarde on rowe
125 Ilke warke eftyr is wroghte.
Thorowe grace of thi mercyfull myghte,
The cause I se itt in syghte,
Wharefore to bale he es broghte.
- Since; fallen so low
lack of humility in sorrow; burned
in the proper order of things
Each

DEUS Those foles for thaire fayrehede in fantasyes fell fools; beauty
130 And hadde mayne of mi mighte that marked them and made them, moan (complaint)
Forthi efter thaire warkes were, in wo sall thai well, Therefore; suffer

- For sum ar fallen into fylthe that evermore sall fade tham
 And never sall have grace for to gyrrth tham.
 So passande of power tham thoght tham,
 135 Thai wolde noght me worship that wroghte tham;
 Forthi sall my wreth ever go with tham.
- darker them
defend
surpassing
wrath
- Ande all that me wyrchippe sall wone here, iwyd;
 Forthi more forthe of my warke wyrke nowe I will.
 Syn than ther mighte es for-marryde that mente all omys,¹
 140 Even to myne awne fygure this blys to fulfull,
 Mankynede of moulde will I make.
 But fyrste wille I fourme hym before
 All thyng that sall hym restore,
 To whilke that his talente will take.
- dwell; I know
even more
in my image
earth
before I form him I will
support him
ability will take [him]
- 145 Ande in my fyrste makyng, to mustyr my mighte,
 Sen erthe es vayne and voyde, and myrknes emel,
 I byd in my blyssyng yhe aungels gyf lyghte
 To the erthe, for it faded when the fenes fell.
 In hell sall never myrknes be myssande,
- show
Since; empty; entire darkness
fiends
absent
darkness
- 150 The myrknes thus name I for nighte,
 The day that call I this lyghte.
 My after warkes sall thai be wyssande.
- known
- Ande nowe in my blyssyng I twyne tham in two,
 The nighte even fro the day, so that thai mete never,
 155 But ather in a kynde course thaire gates for to go;
 Bothe the nighte and the day, does dewly yhour deyver,
 To all I sall wirke be yhe wysshing.
 This day warke es done ilke a dele,
 And all this warke lykes me ryght wele,
 160 And baynely I gyf it my blyssyng.
- divide
meet
each; natural; ways
duly your duty
directing
entirely
pleases me very much
now

[2. THE CREATION THROUGH THE FIFTH DAY]

Playsterers

- DEUS** *In altissimis habitu,*
 In the heghest hevyn my hame have I,
Eterne mentis et ego,
 Withoutyn ende aystandly.
- home

¹ Since their might is entirely destroyed that meant all amiss

5	Sen I have wroght thire worldys wyde, Hevyn and ayre and erthe also, My hegh Godhede I will noght hyde All yf sume foles be fallyn me fro. When thai assent with syn of pride	<i>Since; there fools (misguided ones) ascend</i>
10	Up for to trine my trone unto, In hevyn thai myght no lengger byde But wyghtly went to wone in wo; And sen thai wrange have wroght, My lyk ys to lat tham go	<i>step up; throne abide immediately; live wrong (error) desire (implying will)</i>
15	To suffir sorowe onsought Syne thai have servid so.	
20	Thare mys may never be amendid Sen thai asent me to forsake, For all there force non sall thame fende For to be fendys foule and blake.	<i>error; rectified agreed defend</i>
25	And tho that lykys with me to lende And trewly tent to me will take Sall wonne in welth withoutyn ende And allway wynly with me wake. Thai sall have for thare sele	<i>remain give heed to my will live profitably; keep watch profit</i>
30	Solace that never sall sclake. This warke methynkys full wele, And more now will I make.	<i>slacken</i>
35	Syne that this world es ordand evyn, Furth well I publysch my power. Noght by my strenkyth but by my stevyn A firmament I byd apere.	<i>ordained</i>
40	Emange the waterris, lyght so levyn, There cursis lely for to lere, And that same sall be namyd hewyn With planitys and with clowdis clere.	<i>strength; voice</i>
45	The water I will be set To flowe both fare and nere, And than the firmament In mydis to set thame sere.	<i>Among; light so bright courses truly to discover planets midst; them separately</i>
	The firmament sal nought move, But be a mene, thus will I mene, Ovir all the worlde to halde and hove, And be tho tow wateris betwyne.	<i>mean (intermediate space); order be positioned those two</i>
	Undir the hevyn, and als above The wateris serly sall be sene, And so I wille my post prove By creatureis of kyndis clene.	<i>separately power by nature</i>

- 50 This warke his to my pay
 Righit will, withoutyn wyne.
 Thus sese the secunde day
 Of my doyingys bydene.
- 55 Moo sutyll werkys assesay I sall
 For to be set in service sere:
 All the waterris grete and smalle
 That undir hevyne er ordande here,
 Gose togedir and holde yow all
 And be a flode festynde in fere
 So that the erthe, both downe and dale,
 60 In drynesch playnly may apere.
 The drynes “lande” sall be
 Namyd, bothe ferre and nere,
 And then I name the “se”
 Geddryng of wateris clere.
- 65 The erthe sall fostyr and furthe bryng
 Buxsumly, as I wyle byde,
 Erbys and also othyr thyng
 Well for to wax and worthe to wede.
 Treys also tharon sall spryng
 70 With braunchis and with bowis on brede,
 With flouris fayr on heght to hyng
 And fruth also to fylle and fede.
 And thane I will that thay
 Of themselfe have the sede
 75 And mater that thay may
 Be lastande furth in lede.
- 80 And all ther materis es in mynde
 For to be made of mekyl might,
 And to be kest in dyveris kynde
 So for to bere sere burguns bright.
 And when ther frutys is fully fynde
 85 And fayrest semande unto syght,
 Thane the wedris wete and wynde
 Oway I will it wende full wyght,
 And of there sede full sone
 New rotys sall ryse upright.
 The third day thus is done:
 Thire dedis er dewly dyght.
- 90 Now sene the erthe thus ordand es,
 Mesurid and made by myn assent,
 Grathely for to growe with gres
- is; recompense
well; doubt
ends
now
- More subtle; attempt
independently
- are ordained
- linked together
hill; valley
dry land
- sea
Gathering
- bring forth
Obediently; bid
Herbs
- to be fruitful; worthy to be clad
Trees
- branches; boughs extended
flowers; hang
fruit; feed (nourish)
- seed
substance
in that place (where planted)
- great
cast; diverse species
differing blossoms
- ripe
appearing
weather's rain
- Away; go; quickly
seed
roots
- named
- planned
- Truly; grass

- And wedis that sone away bese went,
Of my gudnes now will I ges
So that my werkis no harmes hent,
95 Two lyghtis, one more and one lesse,
To be fest in the firmament:
The more light to day
Fully suthely sall be sent;
The lesse lyght allway
100 To the nyght sall take entent.
- be gone
intend
experience
set (firmly)
give (its) attention
- Thir figuris fayre that furth er fun
Thus on sere sydys serve thai sall:
The more lyght sall be namid the son,
Dymnes to wast be downe and be dale.
105 Erbis and treys that er bygune:
All sall he governe, gret and smale.
With cald yf thai be closid or bun,
Thurgh hete of the sun thai sal be hale.
Als thei have honours
110 In alkyn welth to wale,
So sall my creaturis
Evir byde withoutyn bale.
- forth are found
different
Dimness to lessen on hill
bound
healthy
gifts
well-being; select
sorrow
- The son and the mone on fayre manere
Now grathly gange in your degré;
115 Als ye have tane youre curses clere
To serve furth loke ye be fre,
For ye sall set the sesons sere
Kyndely to knowe in ilke cuntré,
Day fro day, and yere fro yere,
120 By sertayne signes suthly to se.
The hevyn sall be overhyld
With sternys to stand plenté.
The furth day his fulfillid:
This werke well lykys me.
- sun; moon
appropriately go [forth]
taken; courses
forth (from now on)
different seasons
each country
definitive; truly
ornamented
stars
fourth; is
- 125 Now sen thir werkis er wrought with wyne,
And fundyn furth be firth and fell,
The see now will I set within
Whallis whikly for to dewell,
And othir fysch to flet with fyne,
130 Sum with skale and sum with skell,
Of diveris materis more and myn,
In sere maner to make and mell.
Sum sall be meke and milde
And sum both fers and fell:
- joy
founded forth by forest and hill
sea
Whales actively
swim; fins
shell
many ways; mingle
fierce; ferocious

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| 135 | This world thus will I eke
Syn I am witt of well. | <i>increase
well of wit (i.e., wise)</i> |
| | Also up in the ayre on hyght
I byd now that thore be ordande
For to be foulis fayre and bright, | <i>there; ordained</i> |
| 140 | Dewly in thare degré dwelland,
With fedrys fayre to frast ther flight
For stede to stede whore thai will stande,
And also leythly for to lyght
Whoreso thame lykis in ilke a londe. | <i>feathers; enable
where
with ease to alight
every</i> |
| 145 | Thane fysch and foulis sere
Kyndely I you commande
To meng on youre manere
Both be se and sande. | <i>Then; various</i> |
| | This materis more yitt will I mende | <i>improve</i> |
| 150 | So for to fulfill my forthoght
With diveris bestis in lande to lende,
To brede and be with bale furth brught.
And with bestis I wille be blonde
Serpentis to be sene unsoght | <i>assign
breed; pain forth brought
mixed</i> |
| 155 | And wormis upon thaire wombis sall wende
To won in erth and worth to noght.
And so it sall be kende
How all that eme is ogh特,
Begynnyng, mydes, and ende | <i>snakes; bellies; go
live; be without value
known
all that is required
middle</i> |
| 160 | I with my worde hase wrothe. | <i>wrought</i> |
| | For als I byde bus all thyng be
And dewly done als I will dresse,
Now bestys ar sett in sere degré
On molde to move, both more and lesse. | <i>must
ordain
beasts; diverse
the earth</i> |
| 165 | Thane foulis in ayre and fische in see
And bestis on erthe of bone and flesch,
I byde ye wax furth fayre plenté
And grathly growes, als I yow gesse.
So multiply ye sall | <i>multiply
forthwith increase; intend</i> |
| 170 | Ay furth in fayre processe:
My blyssyng have ye all.
The fift day endyd es. | |

[3. THE CREATION OF ADAM AND EVE]

Cardmakers

- DEUS** In hevyn and erthe duly bedene
 Of five days werke, evyn onto ende,
 I have complete by curssis clene.
 Methynke the space of thame well spende.
- forthwith
 courses
 them
- 5 In hevyn er angels fayre and brighte,
 Sternes and planetis ther curssis to ga,
 The mone servis onto the nyght,
 The son to lyghte the day alswa.
- are
 Stars; go
 sun; also
- 10 In erthe is treys, and gres to springe,
 Bestis and foulys, bothe gret and smalle,
 Fyschis in flode, all oþyr thyng
 Thryffe and have my blyssyng all.
- trees; grass
 beast (animal)
 nature and ability
 Thrive
- 15 Thys werke is wrought now at my will,
 But yet can I no best see
 That accordys be kynde and skyll
 And for my werke myght worschippe me.
- were it none
 Unless something were; care for it
 made; alone
 love; appear
- 20 For perfytter werke ne ware it nane
 But ought ware made that myght it yeme,
 For love mad I this warlde alone;
 Therfor my loffe sall in it seme.
- were it none
 Unless something were; care for it
 made; alone
 love; appear
- To kepe this warlde bothe mare and lesse
 A skylfull best thane will I make
 Eftyr my schape and my lyknes,
 The wilke sall worschipe to me take.
- rational animal then
 After
 which
- 25 Off the symplest part of erthe that is here
 I sall make man, and for this skylle
 For to abate hys hauttande chere,
 Bothe his gret pride and other ille,
- Of
 reason
 haughty
- 30 And also for to have in mynde
 How simpyll he is at hys makynge,
 For als febyll I sall hym fynde
 Qwen he is dede at his endyng.
- weak
 When; dead
- For this reson and skyll alane,
 I sall make man lyke onto me.

- 35 Ryse up, thou erthe in blode and bane,
In schape of man, I commaunde thee. bone
- A female sall thou have to fere:
Her sall I make of thi lyft rybe
Alane so sall thou nought be here
40 Withoutyn faythefull frende and sybe. as companion
left rib
Alone
kin
- Takys now here the gast of lyffe
And ressayve bothe youre saules of me;
The femall take thou to thi wyffe,
Adam and Eve your names sall be. spirit (breath)
souls
- ADAM** A, Lorde, fullmekyll is thi mighte,
46 And that is sene in ilke a syde,
For now his here a joyfull syght
To se this worlde so lange and wyde. great
on all sides
is
- Mony diveris thyngis now here es
50 Off bestis and foulis, bathe wylde and tame,
Yet is nan made to thi liknes
But we alone. A, lovyd be thi name. both
none
praised
- EVE** To swylke a Lorde in all degré
Be evirmore lastande loyng,
55 That tyll us swylke a dyngnité
Has gyffyne before all othyr thynge, praise (worship)
such a dignity
given
- And selcouth thyngis may we se here
Of this ilke world so lange and brade
With bestis and fowlis so many and sere.
60 Blessid be he that us made. spectacular
very world; long; broad
diverse
- ADAM** A, blyssid Lorde, now at thi wille
Syne we er wroght, wochesaff to telle,
And also say us two untyll,
Qwate we sall do and whare to dewell? Since; vouchsafe
tell
What; dwell
- DEUS** For this skyl made I yow this day,
66 My name to worship ay whare.
Lovys me forthi, and lovys me ay
For my makynge, I axke no mare. reason
everywhere
Praise me therefore; love (worship)
creation; ask; more
- Bothe wys and witty sall thou be,
70 Als man that I have made of noght.
Lordschipe in erthe than graunt I thee,
All thynge to serve thee that I have wroght. nothing

- In paradysse sall ye same wone,
Of erthely thyng get ye no nede;
75 Ille and gude both sall ye kone,
I sall you lerne youre lyve to lede.
- ADAM** A, Lorde, sene we sall do nothyng
But louffe thee for thi gret gudnesse,
We sall ay bay to thi biddyg
80 And fulfyll it, both more and less.
- EVE** His syng sene he has on us sett
Beforne all othir thyng certayne.
Hem for to love we sall noght lett
And worship hym with myght and mayne.
- DEUS** At hevyne and erth first I begane,
86 And six days wrought or I walde ryst:
My warke is endyde now at mane.
All lykes me will, but this is best.
- My blyssyng have thai ever and ay.
90 The seveynt day sall my restyng be:
Thus wille I sese, sothely to say,
Of my doying in this degré.
- To blys I sall yow bryng:
Comys forthe, ye tow, with me.
95 Ye sall lyffe in lykyng.
My blyssyng wyth yow be.
Amen.

[4. THE PROHIBITION OF THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE]

The Regynall of the Fullers Pagyant

- DEUS** Adam and Eve, this is the place
That I have graunte you of my grace
To have your wonnyng in.
5 Erbes, spycé, frute on tree,
Beastes, fewles, all that ye see
Shall bowe to you, more and myn.
This place hight paradyce;
Here shall your joys begynne,
And yf that ye be wyse
10 Frome thys tharr ye never twyn.
- together live*
*Evil and good; know
teach*
since
praise (worship)
always obey
sign since
Him; abandon
ere I would rest
man (humankind)
well
cease
two
dwelling
Herbs
fowls
less
is called
need you never separate [yourself]

- All your wyll here shall ye have,
 Lykyng for to eate or sayff
 Fyshe, fewle, or fee,
 And for to take at your owen wyll
 15 All other creatours also theretyll.
 Your suggettes shall they bee.
 Adam, of more and lesse
 Lordeship in erthe here graunte I thee;
 Thys place that worthy is,
 20 Kepe it in honestye.
- Looke that ye yem ytt wetterly,
 All other creatours shall multevely,
 Ylke one in tender hower.
 Looke that ye bothe save and sett
 25 Erbes and treys, for nothyng lett,
 So that ye may endower
 To susteyn beast and man
 And fewll of ylke stature.
 Dwell here yf that ye cann:
 30 This shall be your endowre.
- ADAM** O Lord, loyed be thy name,
 For nowe is this a joyfull hame
 That thowe hais brought us to:
 Full of myrthe and solys faughe,
 35 Erbes and trees, frute on haugh
 Wyth spysys many one hoo.
 Loo, Eve, nowe ar we brought
 Bothe unto rest and rowe,
 We neyd to tayke no thought,
 40 But loke ay well to doo.
- EVE** Lovyng be ay to suche a Lord
 To us hais geven so great reward
 To governe bothe great and small,
 And mayd us after his owen read
 . . .
 45 Emonges these myrthes all.
 Here is a joyfull sight
 Where that wee wonn in shall.
 We love thee, mooste of myght,
 Great God, that we on call.
- DEUS** Love my name with good entent
 51 And harken to my comaundement,
 And do my byddyng buxomly.
- save (maintain)
fowl; livestock*
- subjects*
- attend to; entirely*
- Each; hour*
- endeavor*
- fowls*
- living*
- praised
home*
- happy solace
on hill*
- spices; on hill*
- peace*
- Praise*
- created; own plan
[line missing]*
- live in*
- Praise (Worship)*
- obediently*

- 50 Of all the frute in parradyce
 Tayke ye therof of your best wyse
 55 And mayke you right merry.
 The tree of good and yll,
 What tyme you eates of thys
 Thowe speydes thyself to spyll
 And be brought owte of blysse. *hastens; destroy*
- 60 All thynges is mayd, man, for thy prowe; *good*
 All creatours shall to thee bowe
 That here is mayd erthly.
 In erthe I mayke thee lord of all,
 And beast unto thee shall be thrall.
- 65 Thy kynd shall multeþy;
 Therefore this tree alone,
 Adam, this owte take I,
 The frute of it negh none,
 For an ye do, then shall ye dye. *take out (except)
approach not
if*
- ADAM** Alas, Lorde, that we shuld do so yll, *ill (wrong)*
 71 Thy blyssed byddyng we shall fulfull
 Bothe in thought and deyd.
 We shall no negh thys tre nor the bugh
 Nor yit the fruyte that thereon groweth,
 75 Therewith oure fleshe to feyd. *deed
not approach; bough
feed*
- EVE** We shall do thy byddyng.
 We have none other neyd; *needs*
 Thys frute full stylle shall hyng,
 Lorde, that thowe hays forbyd. *hang
have*
- DEUS** Looke that ye doe as ye have sayd.
 81 Of all that there is hold you apayd, *contented*
 For here is welthe at wyll.
 Thys tre that beres the fruyte of lyfe,
 Luke nother thowe nor Eve thy wyf
 85 Lay ye no handes theretilly.
 Forwhy it is knownen
 Bothe of good and yll,
 This frute but ye lett hyng
 Ye speydes yourself to spyll. *See to it that neither
Since
hang
hasten; destroy*
- 90 Forthy this tree that I owt tayke,
 Nowe kepe it grathly for my sayke
 That nothyng negh it neyre.
 All other at your wyll shall be;
 I owte take nothyng but this tree *disallow
truly; sake
come near it*

95 To feyd you with in feare. *altogether*
 Here shall ye leyd your lyffe
 With dayntys that is deare. *dainties (lovely things)*
 Adam and Eve thy wyfe,
 My blyssyng have ye here.

[5. THE FALL]

The Cowpers*Satanas incipit dicens:**Satan begins, saying*

DIABOLUS For woo my witte es in a were
 That moffes me mykill in my mynde: *turmoil*
 The Godhede that I sawe so cleere
 And parsayved that he shuld take kynde *moves (distresses); greatly*
 5 Of a degree *take on the nature*
 That he had wrought, and I dedyned *order*
 That aungell kynde shuld it noght be. *was offended*
 And we wer faire and bright, *[of] angelic nature*
 Therfore me thoght that he
 10 The kynde of us tane myght, *might take on*
 And therat dedeyned me. *offended*

The kynde of man he thoght to take
 And theratt hadde I grete envye, *mate*
 But he has made to hym a make
 15 And harde to her I wol me hye *quickly; will; go*
 That redy way,
 That purpose prove to putte it by, *subvert it*
 And fande to pike fro hym that pray. *try; pick (steal); prey*
 My travayle were wele sette *effort; well*
 20 Myght I hym so betraye,
 His likyng for to lette, *felicity; spoil*
 And sone I schalle assaye. *attempt [it]*

In a worme liknes wille I wende
 And founde to feyne a lowde lesyng.
 25 Eve, Eve!

EVA Wha is thare? *Who*

SATANAS I, a frende. *friend*
 And for thy gude es the comynge *good*
 I hydir sought. *hither*

- Of all the fruyt that ye se hyngē
In paradise, why ete ye noȝt? hang
eat
- EVA** We may of tham ilkane every one
31 Take al that us goode thought,
Save a tree outt is tane, Except; is forbidden
Wolde do harme to neyghe it ought. Would; approach
- SATANAS** And why that tree, that wolde I witte, would I know
35 Any more than all othir by? nearby
- EVA** For oure Lord God forbeidis us itt,
The frute therof, Adam nor I,
To neghe it nere.
And yf we dide we both shuld dye,
40 He saide, and sese our solace sere. cease; various joys
- SATANAS** Yha, Eve, to me take tente. pay attention
Take hede and thou shalte here hear
What that the matere mente meant
He moved on that manere.
- 45 To ete therof he you defende denied
I knawe it wele, this was his skylle; reason (purpose)
Bycause he wolde non othir kende wanted no one else to know
Thes grete vertues that longes thertill. belongs
For will thou see
- 50 Who etis the frute of goode and ille
Shalle have knowyng as wele as hee.
- EVA** Why what kynne thyng art thou kind of
That telles this tale to me?
- SATANAS** A worme that wotith wele how knows well
55 That yhe may wirshipped be.
- EVE** What wirshippe shulde we wynne therby? gain
To ete therof us nedith it nouȝt;
We have lordshippe to make maistrie
Of alle thyngē that in erthe is wrought.
- SATANAS** Woman, do way!
61 To gretter state ye may be broughte estate
And ye will do as I schall saye. If you
- EVE** To do is us full lothe despicable
That shuld oure God myspaye. should; anger

SATANAS Nay, certis it is no wathe: danger
 66 Ete it saffely ye maye.

For perille ryght ther none in lyes
 Bot worshippe and a grete wynnyng,gain
 For right als God yhe shalle be wyse
 70 And pere to hym in allkyn thyng.equal; all things
 Ay, goddis shalle ye be,
 Of ille and gode to have knawyng,evil and good
 For to be als wise as he.

EVE Is this soth that thou sais? true; you say

SATANAS Yhe, why trowes thou noght me?trust
 76 I wolde be no kynnes wayes(i.e., in no manner)
 Telle noght but trouthe to thee.

EVA Than wille I to thy techyng traste
 And fange this frute unto oure foode. trust
take

Et tunc debet accipere pomum. *And then she must take the apple*

SATANAS Byte on boldly, be nought abasshed,
 81 And bere Adam to amende his modetake [it to]; mood
 And eke his blisse.

Tunc Satanas recedet. *Then Satan slips away*

EVA Adam, have here of frute full goode.

ADAM Alas, woman, why toke thou this?
 85 Owre Lorde comauanded us bothe
 To tente the tree of his. attend to
 Thy werke wille make hym wrothe.angry
 Allas, thou has don amys. [something] wrong

EVE Nay, Adam, greve thee nought at it,
 90 And I shal saie the reasonne why:
 A worme has done me for to witteserpent; caused; know
 We shalle be as goddis, thou and I,
 Yf that we ete
 Here of this tree; Adam, forthy
 95 Lette noght that worshippe for to gete. Don't forego; obtain
 For we shalle be als wise
 Als God that is so grete
 And als mekill of prise;value
 Forthy ete of this mete. food

ADAM To ete it wolde I nougħt eschewe
101 Myght I me sure in thy saying.

EVE Byte on boldely, for it is trewe,
We shalle be goddis and knawe al thyng.

is true

ADAM To wynne that name
105 I schalle it taste at thy techyng.

Et accipit et comedit.

And he takes [the fruit] and eats

Allas, what have I done, for shame?
Ille counsaille, woo worthe thee.
A, Eve, thou art to blame;
To this entysed thou me,
110 Me shames with my lyghame,

Evil advisor, a curse on you

*enticed
body*

For I am naked, as methynke.

EVE Allas, Adam, right so am I.

ADAM And for sorowe sere why ne myght we synke,
For we have greved God almyghty
115 That made me man,
Brokyn his bidyng bittirly.
Allas, that ever we it began.
This werke, Eve, hast thou wrought
And made this bad bargayne.

sorrow sore

cruelly

EVE Nay, Adam, wite me nougħt.

ADAM Do wey, leſe Eve, whame than?

dear; whom

EVE The worme to wite wele worthy were,
With tales untrewe he me betrayed.

ADAM Allas, that I lete at thy lare
125 Or trowed the trufuls that thou me saide.
So may I byde,
For I may banne that bittir brayde
And drery dede that I it dyde.
Oure shappe for doole me defes;
130 Wherewith thay shalle be hydde?

*took heed of your advice
trusted; trifling tales*

*curse; sharp (terrible) act
evil; did*

[human] form; misery; overcomes

EVE Late us take there fygge leves
Sythen it is thus betydde.

fig leaves

Since this has happened

ADAM Ryght as thou sais, so shalle it bee,
For we are naked and all bare.

135 Full wondyr fayne I wolde hyde me
Fro my Lordis sight, and I wiste whare,
Where I ne rogh!

gladly
if I knew where
Where I should not fear

DOMINUS Adam, Adam!

ADAM Lorde!

DOMINUS Where art thou, yhare?

quickly

ADAM I here thee, Lorde, and seys thee noght.

hear; see

DOMINUS Say, wheron is it longe,
141 This werke, why hast thou wrought?

what is the reason

ADAM Lorde, Eve garte me do wronge
And to that bryg me brought.

made
breach

DOMINUS Say, Eve, why hast thou garte thy make
145 Ete frute I bad thei shuld hynghe stille
And comaunded none of it to take?

enticed your mate
hang yet

EVA A worme, Lord, entysed me thereto,
So welaway
That ever I did that dede so dill.

seduced
silly (foolish)

DOMINUS A wikkid worme, woo worthe thee ay,
151 For thou on this maner
Hast made tham swilke affraye.
My malysoune have thou here
With all the myght I may.

a curse on you always
such trouble
curse

155 And on thy wombe than shall thou glyde
And be ay full of enmyté
To al mankynde on ilke a side,
And erthe it shalle thy sustynaunce be
To ete and drynke.

belly
everywhere

160 Adam and Eve alsoo, yhe
In erthe than shalle ye swete and swynke
And travayle for youre foode.

sweat; work
struggle

ADAM Allas, whanne myght we synke,
We that haves alle worldis goode?
165 Ful derfly may us thynke.

grievous

DOMINUS Now, Cherubyn, myn aungell bryght,
To middilerth tye go dryve there twoo.

quickly

ANGELUS Alle redy, Lorde, as it is right,
Syn thy wille is that it be soo,
170 And thy lykyng.
Adam and Eve, do you to goo,
For here may ye make no dwellyng.
Goo yhe forthe faste to fare,
Of sorowe may yhe synge.

Since

ADAM Allas, for sorowe and care,
176 Owre handis may we wryng.

[6. THE EXPULSION FROM THE GARDEN]

The Origenall Perteynyng to the Crafte of Armourers

ANGELUS Alle creatures to me take tent,
Fro God of heven now am I sent
Unto the wrecchis that wronge has went
Thaymself to woo;
5 The joie of heven that thaym was lent
Is lost thaym froo.

give attention

precipitated

woe

Fro thaym is loste bothe game and glee.
He badde that thei schuld maistirs be
Over alle kynne thyng, oute tane a tree
10 He taught them tille,
And thereto wente bothe she and he
Agayne his wille.

From

natural things, except

Against

Agaynst his wille thus have they wrought
To greeffe grete God gaffe they right noght,
15 That wele wytt ye;
And therfore syte is to thaym sought,
As ye shalle see.

grieve; gave

know

sorrow

The fooles that faithe is fallen fra,
Take tente to me nowe or ye ga:
20 Fro God of heven unto yow twa
Sente am I nowe
For to warne you what kynne wa
Is wrought for you.

from

go

two

type of woe

- ADAM** For us is wrought, so welaway,
 25 Doole endurand nyghte and day;
 The welthe we wende have wonnyd in ay
 Is loste us fra.
 For this myscheffe ful wele we may
 Ever mornyng ma.
- Sadness (Sorrow)*
thought to have lived in always
from
mourning make
- ANGELUS** Adam, thyselffe made al this syte,
 31 For to the tree thou wente full tyte
 And boldely on the frute gan byte
 My Lord forbed.
- sorrow*
quickly
forbid
- ADAM** Yaa, allas, my wiffe that may I wite,
 35 For scho me red.
- blame*
counseled
- ANGELUS** Adam, for thou trowyd hir tale,
 He sendis thee worde and sais thou shale
 Lyffe ay in sorowe,
 Abide and be in bittir bale
 40 Tille he thee borowe.
- trusted*
shall
Live
redeem
- ADAM** Allas, wrecchis, what have we wrought!
 To byggly blys we bothe wer brought;
 Whillis we wer thare
 We hadde inowe; nowe have we noghte.
 45 Allas, for care.
- matchless*
While
enough
- EVA** Oure cares ar comen bothe kyne and colde,
 With fele fandyngis manyfolde;
 Allas, that tyraunte to me tolde
 Thurghoute his gyle
 50 That we shulde have alle welthis in walde,
 Wa worthe the whyle.
- sharp*
many temptations
the world
Woe
- ANGELUS** That while yee wrought unwittely
 Soo for to greve God Almyghty,
 And that mon ye full dere abyde
 55 Or that ye ga;
 And to lyffe, as is worthy,
 In were and wa.
- mindlessly*
dearly abide
go
live
misery and woe
- Adam, have this, luke howe ye thynke
 And tille withalle thi meete and drynke
 60 For evermore.
- till [the soil] for; food*
- ADAM** Allas, for syte why myght I synke,
 So shames me sore.
- sorrow*

- EVE** Soore may we shame with sorowes seere
 And felly fare we bothe in feere.
 65 Allas, that evyr we neghed it nere,
 That tree untill.
 With dole now mon we bye full dere
 Oure dedis ille.
- many
with sin burdened; together
approached*
- ANGELUS** Giffe, for thou beswyked hym swa,
 70 Travell herto shalle thou ta:
 Thy barnes to bere with mekill wa,
 This warne I thee.
 Buxum shalle thou and othir ma
 To man ay be.
- If; deceived; so
Travail; take (have)
children*
- EVE** Allas, for doole, what shalle I doo?
 76 Now mon I never have rest ne roo.
- Obedient; more
may; or peace*
- ADAM** Nay, lo, swilke a tole is taken me too
 To travaylle tyte.
 Nowe is shente both I and shoo,
 80 Allas, for syte.
- such a tool; given
quickly
guilty; she
sorrow*
- Allas, for syte and sorowe sadde,
 Mournynge makis me mased and madde
 To thynke in herte what helpe I hadde,
 And nowe has none.
- 85 On grounde mon I nevyr goo gladde,
 My gamys ere gane.
- confused; mad
may
[Even] my recreation is gone*
- Gone ar my games withowten glee;
 Allas, in blisse kouthe we noght bee,
 For putte we were to grete plenté
 90 At prime of the day.
 Be tyme of none alle lost had wee,
 Sa welawaye.
- joys
could
beginning
noon*
- Sa welaway, for harde peyne,
 Alle bestis were to my bidding bayne;
 95 Fisshe and fowle, they were fulle fayne
 With me to founde,
 And nowe is alle thynge me agayne
 That gois on grounde.
- obedient
eagerly
against
goes*
- On grounde ongaynely may I gange
 100 To suffre syte and peynes strange:
 Alle is for dede I have done wrange
 Thurgh wykkid wyle.
- uneasily; go
sorrow
[a] deed; wrong
wile (trickery)*

- On lyve methynkith I lyffe to lange, *live too long*
 Allas the whille.
- 105 A, Lord, I thynke what thyngē is this
 That me is ordayneſ for my myſſe, *error*
 Gyffe I wirke wronge whom ſhulde me wys
 Be any waye? *If; who; assist*
 How beſte wille be, ſo have I bliſſe,
 I ſhalle assaye. *By*
- Allas, for bale, what may thiſ bee,
 In worlde unwiſely wrought have wee;
 Thiſ erthe it trembelyſ for thiſ tree *trembles*
 And dyns ilke dele. *makes noise in every manner*
- 115 Alle thiſ worlde is wrothe with mee,
 Thiſ wote I wele. *angry*
know I well
- Full wele I wote my welthe is gone,
 Erthe, elementis, everilkane, *know my well being*
 For my synne has ſorowe tane, *everything*
 Thiſ wele I ſee. *taken*
- 120 Was nevere wrecchis ſo wylle of wane *well (clearly)*
 As nowe ar wee. *at a loss (distraught)*
- EVE** We are fulle wele worthy, iwiſ,
 To have thiſ myſcheſſe for oure myſ, *sin*
 125 For broght we were to byggely blys, *great*
 Ever in to be.
 Now my ſadde ſorowe certis is thiſ,
 Mysilfe to ſee.
- ADAM** To ſee it is a ſyfull ſyghte: *sorrowful sight*
 130 We bothe that were in bliſ ſo brighte,
 We mon go nakid every ilke a nygheſte *might [in the garden]*
 And dayes bydene. *indeed*
 Allas, what womans witte was light,
 That was wele ſene. *mind was weak*
well ſeen
- EVE** Sethyn it was ſo me knyth it ſore,
 136 Bot ſen that woman witteles ware,
 Mans maistrie ſhulde have bene more
 Agayns the gilte. *Since; I regret it greatly*
since; were
guilt
- ADAM** Nay, at my ſpeche wolde thou never ſpare;
 140 That has us ſpitſe. *brought us to grief*

- EVE** Iff I hadde spoken youe oughte to spill,
Ye shulde have taken gode tent theretyl
And turnyd my thought.
- attention
changed my mind*
- ADAM** Do way, woman, and neme it noght,
- name*
- 145 For at my biddyg wolde thou not be,
And therfore my woo wyte I thee.
Thurgh ille counsaille thus casten ar we
In bittir bale.
- blame
Through*
- Nowe God late never man astir me
150 Triste woman tale.
- let
Trust*
- For certis me rewes fulle sare
That evere I shulde lerne at thi lare,
Thy counsaille has casten me in care,
That thou me kende.
- repent; sore
lore
made known*
- EVE** Be stille, Adam, and nemen it na mare,
156 It may not mende.
- name it no more*
- For wele I wate I have done wrange,
And therfore evere I morne emange.
- know; wrong
mourn always*
- ADAM** Allas, the whille I leve so lange
160 Dede wolde I be.
On grounde mon I never gladde gange
Withowten glee.
- live so long
Dead
must; go*
- Withowten glee I ga,
This sorowe wille me sla,
165 This tree unto me wille I ta
That me is sende.
He that us wrought wissem fro wa,
Wharesom we wende.
- kill
take
[to] me
keep; woe
Wherever; wander*

[7.] SACRIFICIUM CAYME ET ABELL

The Originall Perteynyng to the Craft of Gloveres

- ANGELUS** That Lord of lyffe lele aylastand,
Whos myght unmesured is to meyne,
He shoppe the sonne, bothe see and sande,
And wroughte this worlde with worde, I wene.
- truly everlasting
mean
shaped (created)
believe*
- 5 His aungell cleere, as cristall clene,
Here unto you thus am I sente

	This tide.	[At] this time
	Abell and Cayme, yei both bydeyne,	now
	To me enteirly takis entent;	fully pay attention
10	To meve my message have I ment,	move (set forth)
	If that ye bide.	abide
	Allemyghty God of myghtes moste,	
	When he had wrought this world so wide,	
	Nothynge hym thoughte was wroughte in waste	Nothing; superfluous
15	But in his blissyng boune to bide.	was bound to abide
	Neyne Ordurs for to telle, that tyde,	Orders; time
	Of aungeles bryght he bad ther be.	commanded
	For pride	
	And sone the tente part it was tried	soon; tenth; tested
20	And wente awaye, as was worthye;	(i.e., as they deserved)
	They heild to helle alle that meyne,	fell; company
	Therin to bide.	
	Thanne made he manne to his liknes	
	That place of price for to restore,	
25	And sithen he kyd him such kyndnes,	extended to him
	Somwhat wille he wirke therfore.	
	The tente to tyne he askis, no more,	tenth to lose (give up)
	Of alle the goodes he haves you sent,	
	Full trew.	
30	To offyr loke that ye be yore,	ready
	And to my tale yhe take entent,	pay attention
	For ilke a lede that liffe has lente,	every man
	So shalle you ensewe.	
	ABELL Gramercy, God of thy goodnes,	
35	That me on molde has marked thi man.	earth
	I worshippe thee with worthynes,	
	With alle the conforte that I can.	
	Me for to were fro warkes wanne	defend; evil works
	For to fulfill thy comaundement,	
40	The teynd	tenth part (tithe)
	Of alle the gode sen I beganne	goods since
	Thow shalle it have, sen thou it sent.	
	Come, brothir Cayme, I wolde we wente	
	With hert ful hende.	gracious
	CAYM We, whythir now in wilde waneand?	<i>insane waning [of moon] (i.e., an inauspicious time)</i>
46	Trowes thou I thynke to trusse of towne?	Think; leave town
	Goo, jape thee, robard jangillande;	jangling felon
	Me liste noght nowe to rouk nor rowne.	<i>I'd prefer; talk [privately]; mumble</i>

- ABELL** A, dere brothir, late us be bowne
 50 Goddis biddyg blithe to fulfille,
 I tell thee.
- CAYME** Ya, daunce in the devil way, dresse thee downe,
 For I wille wyrke even as I will.
 What mystris thee, in gode or ille,
 55 Of me to melle thee?
- ABELL** To melle of thee myldely I may;
 Bot, goode brothir, go we in haste,
 Gyffre God oure teynde dulye this day;
 He byddis us thus, be nought abassed.
- CAYME** Ya, devell methynketh that werke were waste,
 61 That he us gaffe geffe hym agayne
 To se.
 Nowe fekyll frenshippe for to fraste
 Methynkith ther is in hym sarteyne.
 65 If he be moste in myghte and mayne,
 What nede has he?
- ABELL** He has non nede unto thi goode,
 But it wille please hym principall
 If thou, myldly in mayne and moode,
 70 Grouche noght geve hym tente parte of all.
 . . .
- [ANGELUS]** It shall be done evyn as ye bydd,
 And that anone.
- BREWBARRET** Lo, maister Cayme, what shaves bryng I,
 Ewyn of the best for to bere seyd,
 75 And to the feylde I wyll me hye
 To fetch you moo, if ye have neyd.
- CAYME** Cume up, sir knave, the devyll thee speyd,
 Ye will not come but ye be prayd.
- BREWBARRET** O, maister Caym, I have broken my to!
- CAYME** Come up, syr, for by my thryft,
 81 Ye shall drynke or ye goo.
- ANGELUS** Thowe cursyd Came, where is Abell?
 Where hais thowe done thy broder dere?

*obliged**happily**(i.e., out of my way)**Why do you need**To meddle with me yourself**Give; tithe
upset**gave give**fickle; test**with determination**of your goods**(i.e., willingly)**Grudge**[pages missing]**sheaves**seed**speed**begged**toe**ere*

CAYME What askes thowe me that taill to tell,
85 For yit his keper was I never?

ANGELUS God hais sent thee his curse downe,
Fro hevyn to hell, *maladictio dei.*

God's curse [on you]

CAYME Take that thyself, evyn on thy crowne,
Quia non sum custos fratris mei,
90 To tyne.

*Because I am not my brother's keeper
To trouble you*

ANGELUS God hais sent thee his malyson,
And inwardly I geve thee myne.

curse

CAYME The same curse light on thy crowne,
And right so myght it worth and be
95 For he that sent that gretynge downe,
The devyll myght speyd both hym and thee.
Fowll myght thowe fall.
Here is a cankerd company;
Therefore Goddes curse light on you all.

occur

ANGELUS What hast thou done? Beholde and heere:
101 The voice of his bloode cryeth vengeaunce
Fro erthe to heven, with voice entere,
This tyde.
That God is greved with thy grevaunce
105 Take hede, I schalle telle thee tydandis,
Therfore abide.

hear

[At] this time

tidings

Thou shall be curssed uppon the grounde.
God has geffyn thee his malisonne.
Yff thou wolde tyll the erthe so rounde
110 No frute to thee ther shalle be founde.
Of wikkidnesse sen thou arte sonne,
Thou shalle be waferyng here and there
This day.
In bittir bale nowe art thou boune,
115 Outcastyn shal thou be for care.
No man shal rewe of thy misfare
For this affraie.

curse

till (plow)

wandering

bound

*feel sorry for
assault*

CAYME Allas, for syte, so may I saye,
My synne it passis al mercie,
120 For askid thee, Lord, I ne maye;
To have it am I nought worthy.
Fro thee shalle I be hidde in hye,
Thou castis me, Lorde, oute of my kyth

sorrow

ask [it] of you

kinfolk

In lande.

- 125 Both here and there outecaste am I,
 For ilke a man that metis me with,
 They wille slee me, be fenne or firth,
 With dynte of hande.
- every man
 kill; swamp or frith (forest)
 a blow*

ANGELUS Nay, Cayme, nought soo, have thou no drede.

- 130 Who that thee slees shalle ponnysshed be
 Sevene sithis for doyng of that dede.
 Forthy a token shal thou see:
 It shalle be prentyd so in thee
 That ilke a man shalle thee knowe full wele.
- punished
 Seven times; deed
 imprinted so on*

CAYM Thanne wolle I fardir flee

further

- 136 For shame.
 Sethen I am sette thus out of seill,
 That curse that I have for to feill,
 I giffe you the same.
- Since; prosperity
 know
 give*

[8. THE BUILDING OF NOAH'S ARK]

The Shipwriters

- DEUS** Fyrst qwen I wrought this world so wyde,
 Wode and wynde and watters wane,
 Hevyn and helle was noght to hyde,
 Wyth herbys and gyrse thus I begane.
- when
 Wood; waters dark
 grass*
- 5 In endles blysse to be and byde,
 And to my liknes made I man,
 Lorde and syre on ilke a side
 Of all medillerthe I made hym than.
- every side
 middle-earth; then*

- A woman also with hym wrought I,
 Alle in lawe to lede ther lyffe.
 I badde thame waxe and multiplye
 To fulfille this worlde, withowtyn striffe.
- Since [then] have
 reigning so completely
 regrets
 either*
- 10 Sythn hays men wrought so wofully
 And synne is nowe reynand so ryffe,
 That me repentys and rewys forthi
 That ever I made outhir man or wiffe.

- Bot sen they make me to repente
 My werke I wrought so wele and trewe,
 Wythowtyn seys will noght assente
- ceasing
 bound
 destroyed*
- 20 Bot ever is bowne more bale to brewe.
 Bot for ther synnes thai shall be shente

	And fordone hoyly, hyde and hewe. Of tham shal no more be mente, Bot wirke this werke I wille al newe.	<i>undone entirely (wholly); hue</i>
25	Al newe I will this worlde be wrought And waste away that wonnys therin; A flowyd above thame shall be broght To stroye medilerthe, both more and myn. Bot Noe alon, lefe shal it noght,	<i>made</i> <i>lives</i> <i>flood</i> <i>destroy; less</i> <i>leave</i>
30	To all be sownkyn for ther synne; He and his sones, thus is my thought, And with there wyffes away sall wynne.	<i>sunken (drowned)</i> <i>escape</i>
35	Nooe, my servand, sad an cleyn, For thou art stabill in stede and stalle, I wyll thou wyrke, withowten weyn, A warke to saffe thiselfe wythall.	<i>sober and [morally] clean</i> <i>(i.e., all places)</i> <i>will (order); slackening</i> <i>save</i>
NOE	O, mercy Lorde, qwat may this meyne?	<i>what</i>
DEUS	I am thi Gode of grete and small Is comyn to telle thee of thy teyn 40 And qwat ferly sall eftir fall.	<i>difficulty (pain)</i> <i>marvelous thing shall; happen</i>
NOE	A, Lorde, I lowe thee lowde and still That unto me, wretche unworthye, Thus with thy worde, as is thi will, Lykis to appere thus propyrlly.	<i>love (praise)</i> <i>Deigns; personally</i>
DEUS	Nooe, as I byd thee, doo fulfill. 46 A shippe I will have wrought in hye; All yf thou can litill skyll, Take it in hande, for helpe sall I.	<i>have limited ability</i>
50	A, worthy Lorde, wolde thou take heede, I am full olde and oute of qwarste, That me liste do no daies dede Bot yf gret mystir me garte.	<i>physically unfit</i> <i>would prefer to do; work</i> <i>need make me</i>
55	Begynne my werke behoves thee nede, And thou wyll passe from peynes smerte; I sall thee sokoure and thee spedē And giffe thee hele in hede and hert.	<i>succor</i> <i>give; health; head; heart</i>
	I se suche ire emonge mankynde That of thare werkis I will take wreke, Thay shall be sownkyn for thare synne;	<i>hostility [to me]</i> <i>vengeance</i> <i>sunken (drowned)</i>

- 60 Therfore a shippe I wille thou make.
 Thou and thi sonnes shall be therein,
 They sall be savyd for thy sake.
 Therfore go bowdly and begynne
 Thy mesures and thy markis to take.
- boldly*
measurements
- NOE** A, Lorde, thi wille shall ever be wrought
 66 Os counsill gyfys of ilka clerk,
 Bot first of shippcraft can I right noght;
 Of ther makyng have I no merke.
- Us; gives to*
mark (ability)
- DEUS** Noe, I byd thee hartely have no thought:
 70 I sall thee wysshe in all thi werke,
 And even to itt till ende be wrought;
 Therfore to me take hede and herke.
- guide*
- Take high trees and hewe thame cleyne,
 All be sware and noght of skwyn,
 75 Make thame of burdes and wandes betwene,
 Thus thrivandly and noght over thyn.
 Luke that thi semes be suttily seyn
 And naylid wele thathei noght twyne.
 Thus I devyse ilk dele bedeyne;
 80 Therfore do furthe, and leve thy dyne.
- square; not at an angle*
boards; battens
skillfully; thin
seams; carefully sealed
separate
aspect altogether
go forth; (i.e., say nothing more)
- Three hundred cubyttis it sall be lang
 And fyfty brode, all for thy blys,
 The highte of thyrt cubittis strang,
 Lok lely that thou thynke on this.
 85 Thus gyffe I thee grathly or I gang
 Thi mesures that thou do not mysse.
 Luk nowe that thou wirke noght wrang;
 Thus wittely sen I thee wyshe.
- strong*
truly
give; truly before I go
wrong
intelligently since; direct
- NOE** A, blistfull Lord, that al may beylde,
 90 I thanke thee hartely both ever and ay,
 Fyse hundredth wyntres I am of elde,
 Methynk ther yeris as yestirday.
 Ful wayke I was and all unwelde.
 My wernes is wente away,
 95 To wyrk this werke here in this feylde
 Al be myselfe I will assaye.
- defend*
- To hewe this burde I wyll begynne,
 But firste I wille lygge on my lyne.
 Now bud it be alle in like thynne,
 100 So that it nowthyr twyne nor twynne.
- age*
weak; lacking in strength
attempt
board
lay; line (for measuring)
must; of regular thickness
separate or warp

- Thus sall I june it with a gynn,
 And sadly sett it with symonde fyne;
 Thus schall I wyrke it both more and myne
 Thurgh techyng of God, maister myne.
- join; tool
 firmly seal; caulk
 less
- 105 More suttelly kan no man sewe:
 It sall be cleyngked ever ilka dele,
 With nayles that are both noble and newe;
 Thus sall I feste it fast to feele.
 Take here a revette and there a rewe,
 110 With the bowe ther nowe wyrke I wele.
 This werke I warand both gud and trewe.
- [line missing]
 skillfully; join [seams]
 clenched in every part
 rivets
- Full trewe it is who will take tente,
 Bot faste my force begynnes to fawlde;
 A hundereth wyntres away is wente
 115 Sen I began this werk, full grathely talde,
 And in slyke travayle for to be bente
 Is harde to hym that is thus olde.
 But he that to me this messages sent,
 He wille be my beylde, thus am I bowde.
- pay attention
 fail
 Since; truly told
 such effort; engaged
 supporter; very confident
- DEUS** Nooe, this werke is nere an ende
 121 And wrought right as I warned thee,
 Bot yit in maner it must be mende;
 Therfore this lessoun lerne at me.
 For dyverse beestis therin must lende
 125 And fewles also in there degree,
 And for that thay sall not sam blonde,
 Dyverse stages must ther be.
- taught
 improved
 fowls
 mix together
 levels (decks)
- And qwen that it is ordand soo
 With dyverse stawlys and stagis seere,
 130 Of ilka kynde thou sall take twoo,
 Bothe male and femalle fare in fere.
 Thy wyffe, thy sonnes, with thee sall goo,
 And thare thre wyffes, withowten were:
 There eight bodies withowten moo
 135 Sall thus be saved on this manere.
- when; ordered
 various
 every kind (species)
 going in company
 doubt
 more
- Therfore to my biddyg be bayne:
 Tille all be herberd haste thee faste
 Eftir the seventh day sall it rayne
 Tille fowrty dayes be fully paste.
 140 Take with thee geere, sclyk os may gayne,
 To man and beeste thare lyffes to laste.
- obedient
 harbored (lodged)
 passed
 such as may be needed

I sall thee socoure for certeyne
Tille alle thi care awey be kaste.

(*i.e., done with*)

- NOE** A, Lorde, that ilka mys may mende,
145 I lowe thi lare, both lowde and stille;
I thanke thee both with herte and hende
That me wille helpe fro angrys hill.
Abowte this werke now bus me wende
With beestys and fewlys my shippe to fill.
150 He that to me this crafte has kende,
He wysshe us with his worthy wille.

failing
praise thy teaching
hand
resentfulness
must; go
fowls
taught
direct

[9. THE FLOOD]

The Fysshers and Marynars

- NOYE** That Lord that leves aylastand lyff,
I love thee ever with hart and hande
That me wolde rewle be reasonne ryffe,
Sex hundereth yere to lyffe in lande.
5 Thre semely sonnes and a worthy wiffe
I have ever at my steven to stande.
Bot nowe my cares aren keene as knyffe
Bycause I kenne what is commaunde.
Thare comes to ilke contré,
10 Ya, cares bothe kene and calde.
For God has warned me
This worlde wastyd shalle be,
And certis the sothe I see,
As formeafadres has tald.
- 15 My fadir Lamech who, likes to neven,
Heere in this worlde thus lange gon lende,
Sevene hundereth yere seventy and sevene,
In swilke a space his tyme he spende.
He prayed to God with stabill stevene
20 That he to hym a sone shuld sende,
And at the laste ther come from heven
Slyke hetting that hymmekill amende
And made hym grubbe and grave,
As ordand faste beforne,
25 For he a sone shulde have,
As he gon aftir crave;
And as God vouchydsave
In worlde than was I borne.

lives; everlasting life
praise
by plenteous reason
live
handsome
word (command)
troubles
know; commanded
every country
sharp; cold (distressing)

destroyed
truth
forefathers; told

appropriate to mention
(*i.e., lived so long*)

steady voice
son

Such a promise; improved [his status]
delve; dig
ordained firmly

granted

When I was borne Noye named he me
 30 And saide thees wordes with mekill wynne; *great joy*
 “Loo,” he saide, “this ilke is he
 That shalle be conforto to mankynne.”
 Syrs, by this wele witte may ye, *well understand*
 My fadir knewe both more and mynne,
 35 By sarteyne signes he couthe wele see *less*
 That al this worlde shuld synke for synne.
 Howe God shulde vengeaunce take,
 As nowe is sene sertayne, *certain; could well*
 And hende of mankynde make
 40 That synne wold nought forsake, *end*
 And howe that it shuld slake,
 And a worlde waxe agayne. *rise up*

I wolde God itt wasted were
 Sa that I shuld nott tente thertille. *were destroyed*
 45 My semely sonnes and doughteres dere, *attend thereto*
 Takis ye entent unto my skylle. *notice of; reason*

I FILIUS Fader, we are all redy heere
 Youre biddyg baynly to fulfille. *ready*

NOE Goos calle youre modir, and comes nere,
 50 And spede us faste that we nought spille. *hurry; die*

I FILIUS Fadir, we shal nought fyne
 To youre biddyg be done. *rest (stop)*
Until

NOE Alle that leves under lyne,
 Sall, sone, soner passe to pyne. *lives under linen (i.e., everyone)*
son, sooner; pain (perish)

I FILIUS Where are ye, modir myne?
 56 Come to my fadir sone. *mother*
right away

UXOR What sais thou, sone?

I FILIUS Moder, certeyne
 My fadir thynkis to flitte full ferre.
 He biddis you haste with al youre mayne
 60 Unto hym that nothyng you marre. *flee; far*
strength
obstruct

UXOR Ya, good sone, hy thee faste agayne
 And telle hym I wol come no narre. *nearer*

I FILIUS Dame, I wolde do youre biddyg fayne,
 But yow bus wende, els bese it warre. *gladly*
must go; it will be worse

UXOR Werre, that wolde I witte.
66 We bowrde al wrange, I wene.

*Worse; know
jest; think*

I FILIUS Modir, I saie you yitte,
My fadir is bowne to flitte.

*yet
determined*

UXOR Now, certis, I sall nought sitte
70 Or I se what he mene.

*(i.e., make speed)
Until; means*

I FILIUS Fadir, I have done nowe as ye comaunde:
My modir comes to you this daye.

NOE Scho is welcome, I wele warrande;
This worlde sall sone be waste awaye.

UXOR Wher arte thou, Noye?

NOE Loo, here at hande.
76 Come hedit faste, dame, I thee praye.

UXOR Trowes thou that I wol leve the harde lande
And tourne up here on toure deraye?
Nay, Noye, I am nought bowne
80 To fonde nowe over there fellis.
Doo barnes, goo we and trusse to towne.

*Think; will leave; dry land
go up; such disarray
obligated
attempt; hills
children, go*

NOE Nay, certis, sothly than mon ye drowne.

may

UXOR In faythe, thou were als goode come downe
And go do somewhat ellis.

NOE Dame, fowryt dayes are nerhand past
86 And gone sen it began to rayne.
On lyffe sall no man lenger laste
Bot we allane, is nought to layne.

*since
longer
alone; (i.e., this is clear)*

UXOR Now, Noye, in faythe thee fonnes full faste.
90 This fare wille I no lenger frayne;
Thou arte nere woode, I am agaste.
Farewele, I wille go home agayne.

*act irrationally
matter; question
almost mad*

NOE O, woman, arte thou woode?
Of my werkis thou not wotte;
95 All that has ban or bloode
Sall be overflowed with the floode.

*do not understand
bone*

UXOR In faithe, thee were als goode
To late me go my gatte. *let; way*

We owte, herrowe!

NOE What now, what cheere?

UXOR I will no nare for no kynnes nede. *nearer; need*

NOE Helpe, my sonnes, to holde her here,
102 For tille hir harmes she takes no heede. *concerning*

II FILIUS Beis mery, modir, and mende youre chere. *mood*
This worlde beis drowned, withouten drede.

UXOR Allas that I this lare shuld lere. *lore; learn*

NOE Thou spilles us all, ille myght thou speede. *destroy*

III FILIUS Dere modir, wonne with us,
108 Ther shal nothyng you greve. *remain*

UXOR Nay, nedlyngis home me bus, *I must go home*
110 For I have tolis to trusse. *[household] equipment; gather*

NOE Woman, why dois thou thus
To make us more myscheve?

UXOR Noye, thou myght have leteyn me wete. *allowed me [to] know*
Erly and late thou wente theroutte
115 And ay at home thou lete me sytte
To loke that nowhere were wele aboutte. *see*

NOE Dame, thou holde me excused of itt;
It was Goddis wille, withouten doutte.

UXOR What, wenys thou so for to go qwitte? *free*
120 Nay, be my trouthe, thou getis a clowte. *blow*

NOE I pray thee, dame, be stille.
Thus God wolde have it wrought.

UXOR Thow shulde have witte my wille *known my wishes*
Yf I wolde sente thertille, *assent*
125 And Noye, for that same skylle, *reason*
This bargan sall be bought.

- Nowe at firste I fynde and feele
 Wher thou hast to the forest soght,
 Thou shuld have tolde me for oure seele
 130 Whan we were to slyke bargane broght. discover
happiness
such a
- NOE** Now, dame, thee thar noght drede a dele,
 For till accounte it cost thee noght;
 A hundereth wyntyr, I watte wele,
 Is wente sen I this werke had wrought. dread nothing
know
- 135 And when I made endyng,
 God gaffe me mesore fayre
 Of every ilke a thyng;
 He bad that I shuld bryng
 Of beestis and foules ynghe,
 140 Of ilke a kynde a peyre. measure
young
each species; pair
- UXOR** Nowe, certis, and we shulde skape fro skathe
 And so be saffyd as ye saye here,
 My commodrys and my cosynes bathe,
 Tham wolde I wente with us in feere. escape harm
saved
gossips; both
together
- NOE** To wende in the watir it were wathe:
 146 Loke in and loke withouten were. perilous
(i.e., get in here)
- UXOR** Allas, my lyff me is full lath,
 I lyffe overelange this lare to lere. loathly
teaching; learn
- I FILIA** Dere modir, mende youre moode,
 150 For we sall wende you with.
- UXOR** My frendis that I fra yoode
 Are overeflowen with floode. went
inundated
- II FILIA** Nowe thanke we God al goode
 That us has grauntid grith. safety
- III FILIA** Modir, of this werke nowe wolde ye noght wene
 156 That alle shuld worthe to watres wan. believe
pass under; dark
- II FILIUS** Fadir, what may this mervaylle mene,
 Wherto made God medilerth and man?
- I FILIA** So selcouthe sight was never non seene
 160 Sen firste that God this worlde began. marvelous
- NOE** Wendes and spers youre dores bedene,
 For bettyr counsell none I can. Go and close (spar); now

- This sorowe is sente for synne;
 Therfore to God we pray
 165 That he oure bale wolde blynne. *relieve*
- III FILIUS** The kyng of al mankynne
 Owte of this woo us wynne,
 Als thou arte Lorde, that maye. *rescue*
- I FILIUS** Ya, Lorde, as thou late us be borne
 170 In this grete bale, som bote us bede. *allowed
sorrow; help us bid (offer)*
- NOE** My sonnes, se ye mydday and morne
 To thes catelles takes goode hede. *animals*
 Keppes tham wele with haye and corne;
 And women, fanges these foulles and feede
 175 So that they be noght lightly lorne *care for
lost*
 Als longe as we this liffe sall lede.
- II FILIUS** Fadir, we are full fayne
 Youre biddyg to fulfille.
 Nine monethes paste er playne
 180 Sen we wer putte to peyne. *glad
are passed plainly
pain*
- III FILIUS** He that is most of mayne
 May mende it qwen he wyll. *power
when*
- NOE** O, barnes, itt waxes clere aboute,
 That may ye see ther wher ye sitte. *children
As you may*
- I FILIUS** I, leffe fadir, ye loke thareowte
 186 Yf that the water wane ought yitt. *dear
recede*
- NOE** That sall I do withowten dowte,
 For be the wanyng may we witte.
 A, Lorde, to thee I love and lowte,
 190 The catteraks I trowe be knytte.
 Beholde, my sonnes al three,
 The clowdes are waxen clere. *by; know
praise and worship
floodgates [of heaven]; closed*
- II FILIUS** A, Lorde of mercy free,
 Ay loyvd myght thou be. *praised*
- NOE** I sall assay the see
 196 How depe that it is here.
- UXOR** Loved be that Lord that giffes all grace
 That kyndly thus oure care wolde kele. *suffering; alleviate*

- NOE** I sall caste leede and loke the space *lead*
 200 Howe depe the watir is ilke a dele.
 Fyftene cobittis of highte itt hase *cubits*
 Overe ilke a hille fully to seytle, *cover*
 Butte beese wel conforte in this casse,
 It is wanand, this wate I wele. *be well comforted*
waning; know well
- 205 Therfore a fowle of flight
 Full sone sall I forthe sende
 To seke if he have sight
 Som lande uppon to light;
 Thanne may we witte full right *know*
 210 When oure mornynge sall mende. *mourning*
- Of al the fowles that men may fynde,
 The raven is wighte and wyse is hee.
 Thou arte full crabbed and al thy kynde, *strong/white*
 Wende forthe thi course, I comaunde thee,
 215 And werly watte and yther thee wynd,
 Yf thou fynde awdir lande or tree. *sour-tempered*
- Nine monethes here have we bene pyned,
 But when God wyll, better mon bee. *carefully know; hither make your way*
either
in severe discomfort
might it be
- I FILIA** That Lorde that lennes us lyffe, *gives*
 220 To lere his lawes in lande,
 He mayd bothe man and wyffe,
 He helpe to stynte oure striffe. *end*
- III FILIA** Oure cares are kene as knyffe, *sharp*
 God graunte us goode tydand.
- I FILIUS** Fadir, this foule is forthe full lange, *bird; long*
 226 Uppon sum lande I trowe he lende, *believe; has landed*
 His foode therfore to fynde and fange: *take up*
 That makis hym be a fayland frende. *unreliable*
- NOE** Nowe, sonne, and yf he so forthe gange *go*
 230 Sen he for all oure welthe gon wende, *good has gone*
 Then be he for his werkis wrange
 Evermore weried withowten ende. *cursed*
- And sertis for to see
 Whan oure sorowe sall sesse,
 235 Anodyr foule full free
 Owre messenger sall be. *dove*
- Thou doufe, I comaunde thee,
 Owre conforte to encresse.

- A faithfull fewle to sende art thou
 240 Of alle within there wanys wyde. walls
 Wende forthe, I pray thee, for owre prowe,
 And sadly seke on ilke a side
 Yf the floodes be falland nowe
 That thou on the erthe may belde and byde.
 245 Bryng us som tokenyng that we may trowe our good
 What tydandes sall of us betyde. soberly seek everywhere
- build; abide*
token; rely upon

- II FILIA** Goode Lorde, on us thou luke,
 And sesse oure sorow sere cease; many
 Sen we al synne forsoke
 250 And to thy lare us toke. teaching

- III FILIA** A twelmothe bott twelve weke
 Have we be hoverand here. but (except for)
been hovering (idle)

- NOE** Now barnes, we may be blithe and gladde
 And lowe oure Lord of hevenes kyng. happy and glad
 255 My birde has done as I hym badde,
 An olyve braunche I se hym brynge. love (praise)
 Blyste be thou fewle that nevere was fayd bade
 That in thy force makis no faylyng.
 Mare joie in herte never are I hadde,
 260 We mone be saved, now may we syng. Blessed; deceptive
 Come hedit my sonnes in hye,
 Oure woo away is wente.
 I se here certaynely More; before
 The hillis of Hermony. shall Armenia

- I FILIUS** Lovyd be that Lord forthy
 266 That us oure lyffes hase lente. Praised
given

Tunc cantent Noe et filii sui, etc. *Then Noe and his sons should sing*

- UXOR** For wrekiis nowe that we may wynne,
 Oute of this woo that we in wore, disasters; redeem
 But Noye, wher are nowe all oure kynne were
 270 And compayne we knwe before? knew

- NOE** Dame, all ar drowned, late be thy dyne,
 And sone thei boughte ther synnes sore. (i.e., be quiet)
 Gud lewyn latte us begynne recently they paid for
 So that we greve oure God no more;
 275 He was greved in degré Good living let
 And gretely moved in mynde
 For synne, as men may see,

	<i>Dum dixit “penitet me.”</i>	<i>Then [God] said, “It repenteth me.”</i>
280	Full sore forthynkyng was he That evere he made mankynde.	<i>he was sorry</i>
	That makis us nowe to tole and trusse, But sonnes, he saide, I watte wele when, <i>Arcum ponam in nubibus,</i> He sette his bowe clerly to kenne	<i>toil; heave</i>
285	As a tokenyng bytwene hym and us In knawlage tille all Cristen men That fro this worlde were fynyd thus, With wattir wolde he nevere wast yt then.	<i>I will set the rainbow in the clouds</i> <i>rainbow; know</i>
	Thus has God most of myght	<i>ended</i>
290	Sette his senge full clere Uppe in the ayre of heght; The raynebowe it is right, As men may se in sight In seasons of the yere.	<i>destroy</i> <i>sign</i> <i>air on high</i>
II FILIUS	Sir, nowe sen God oure soverand Syre	<i>Father</i>
296	Has sette his syne thus in certayne, Than may we wytte this worldis empire Shall evermore laste, is noght to layne.	<i>sign</i> <i>know</i> <i>hide</i>
NOE	Nay, sonne, that shall we nougnt desire,	
300	For and we do we wirke in wane, For it shall ones be waste with fyre And nevere worthe to worlde agayne.	<i>vain</i>
		<i>(i.e., exist as a world)</i>
UXOR	A, syre, owre hertis are seere For thes sawes that ye saye here,	<i>sore</i>
305	That myscheffe mon be more.	<i>sayings</i> <i>may</i>
NOE	Beis noght aferde, therfore, Ye shall noght lyffe than yore	<i>live then so long</i>
	Be many hundereth yhere.	<i>years</i>
I FILIUS	Fadir, howe shall this lyffe be ledde	
310	Sen non are in this worlde but we?	
NOE	Sones, with youre wiffes ye sall be stedde And multyplye youre seede shall ye.	<i>living together</i>
	Youre barnes shall ilkon othir wedde And worshippe God in gud degré.	
315	Beestes and foules shall forthe be bredde, And so a worlde begynne to bee. Nowe travaylle shall ye taste	<i>good</i> <i>travail; experience</i>

- To wynne you brede and wyne,
For alle this worlde is waste.
- 320 Thez beestes muste be unbraste,
And wende we hense in haste
In Goddis blissyng and myne.

*released***[10. ABRAHAM AND ISAAC]****The Parchemyners and Bokebynders**

- ABRAHAM** Grett God, that alle this world has wrought
And wisely wote both gud and ille,
I thanke hym thraly in my thoght
Of alle his lave he lens me tille.
- 5 That thus fro barenhede has me broghte,
A hundereth wynter to fulfille,
Thou graunte me myght so that I mowght
Ordan my werkis aftir thi wille,
For in this erthely lyffe
- 10 Ar non to God more boune
Then is I and my wyffe,
For frenshippwe have foune.
- Unto me tolde God on a tyde
Wher I was telde under a tree,
- 15 He saide my seede shulde be multyplied
Lyke to the gravell of the see,
And als the sternes wer strewed wyde,
So saide he that my seede schuld be;
And bad I shulde be circumcicyd
- 20 To fulfille the lawe: thus lernynde he me.
In worlde wherso we wonne
He sendes us richeys ryve.
Als ferre as schynes the sonne,
He is stynter of stryve.
- 25 Abram first named was I,
And sythen he sette a sylapp ma,
And my wiffe hyght Sarae
And sythen was scho named Sara.
- But Sara was uncertan thanne
30 That evere oure seede shulde sagates yelde
Because hirselfe sho was barrane,
And we wer bothe gone in grete eelde.
But scho wrought as a wyse woman.
- distinguishes*
fully (without reservation)
love; bestows on me
barrenness

strength
Order

committed

found

God told me once
lodged [in my tent]

sands
stars

ordered
taught
live
abundant
As far as shines
healer; troubles

Then; a syllable more
was named Sarai
thereafter

in this manner

age

	To have a barne us for to beelde,	<i>protect (raise)</i>
35	Hir servand prevely sho wan Unto my bede my wille to welde.	<i>secretly she won bed</i>
	Sone aftir than befelle When God oure dede wolde dight,	<i>determine</i>
	Sho brought forthe Esmaell,	<i>Ishmael</i>
40	A sone semely to sight.	<i>handsome</i>
	Than aftirward when we waxed alde, My wyffe scho felle in feere for same,	<i>necessarily; tidings; told</i>
	Oure God nedes tithynges tyll us talde Wher we wer in oure house at hame,	<i>home</i>
45	Tille have a sone we shulde be balde, And Isaak shulde be his name,	<i>To; bold</i>
	And his seede shulde springe manyfalde. Gyff I were blythe, who wolde me blame,	<i>manyfold</i>
	And for I trowed this tithyng That God talde to me thanne,	<i>If; happy</i>
50	The grounde and the begynnyng Of trowthe that tyme beganne.	<i>trusted told truth at that time</i>
	Nowe awe I gretely God to yeelde That so walde telle me his entente,	<i>ought; yield up (sacrifice) would</i>
55	And noght gaynestandyng oure grete eelde, A semely sone he has us sente.	
	Now is he wight hymselfe to welde And fra me is all wightnes wente;	<i>strong (man) strength</i>
	Therfore sall he be my beelde.	<i>support</i>
60	I lowe hym that this lane has lente, For he may stynte oure stryve	<i>love; gift</i>
	And fende us fro alle ill.	<i>end our trouble</i>
	I love hym as my liff	<i>defend</i>
64	With all myn herte and will.	<i>life</i>
	ANGELUS Abraham, Abraham!	
	ABRAHAM	Loo, I am here.
	ANGELUS Nowe bodeword unto thee I bryngē:	<i>message</i>
	God wille assaye thi wille and cheere,	<i>test</i>
	Giffe thou wille bowe tylle his byddyng.	<i>If</i>
	Isaak, thi sone, that is thee dere,	<i>dear</i>
70	Whom thou loves over alle thyng, To the lande of Vyssyon wende in feere,	<i>together</i>
	And there of hym thou make offering.	
	I sall thee shewe fulle sone	
	The stede of sacrifice.	<i>place</i>

75 God wille this dede be done,
And therfore thee avise.

*wills that
directs you*

ABRAHAM Lord God, that lens aylastand light,
This is a ferly fare to feele;
Tille have a sone semely to sight,
80 Isaak, that I love full wele.
He is of eelde, to reken right,
Thyrt yere and more sumdele,
And unto dede hym buse be dight:
God has saide me so for my seele,
85 And biddis me wende on all wise
To the lande of Vysioune
Ther to make sacryfice
Of Isaak that is my sone.

*bestows everlasting
wondrous matter to discover
To
somewhat
death he must be put
well-being
go*

90 And that is hythyn thre daies jornay,
The ganeste gate that I gane goo,
And sertis, I sall noght say hym nay
If God commaunde myself to sloo.
Bot to my sone I will noght saye
Bot take hym and my servantis twoo,
95 And with our asse wende forthe our waye.
As God has said, it sall be soo.
Isaak, sone, I undirstande
To wildernes now wende will we
Tharefore to make oure offerand,
100 For so has God comaunded me.

*hither
fastest way; may go
slay [him]
say [anything]*

ISAAC Fadir, I am evere at youre wille,
As worthy is withowten trayne,
Goddis comaundement to fulfill
Awe all folke forto be fayne.

*deception
Ought; glad*

106 **ABRAHAM** Sone, thou sais me full gode skille,
Bott alle the soth is noght to sayne.
Go we sen we sall thertille,
I praye God send us wele agayne.

*good reason
[home] well again*

110 **ISAAC** Childir, lede forthe oure asse
With wode that we sall bryne;
Even as God ordand has
To wyrke we will begynne.

*wood; burn
ordained*

I FAMULUS Att youre biddynge we wille be bowne
What way in worlde that ye wille wende.

bound (compelled)

II FAMULUS Why, sall we trusse ought forthe a towne
 116 In any uncouthe lande to lende? *go out of
strange; remain*

I FAMULUS I hope tha have in this sessoune
 Fro God of hevyn sum solayce sende. *they; season
From; some*

II FAMULUS To fulfille yt is goode reasoun,
 120 And kyndely kepe that he has kende. *naturally; revealed*

I FAMULUS Bott what thei mene certayne
 Have I na knowlage clere. *mean*

II FAMULUS It may noght gretely gayne
 To move of swilke matere.

ABRAHAM No, noye you noght in no degré
 126 So for to deme here of oure dede,
 For als God comauanded so wirke wille we
 Untill his tales us bus take hede. *(i.e., don't fuss about this)
judge
as God commands so we will do
words we must take heed*

I FAMILIUS All thos that wille his servandis be,
 130 Ful specially he wille thaym sped. *them prosper*

ISAAC Childir, with all the myght in me
 I lowe that Lorde of ilke a lede
 And wirshippe hym certayne;
 My will is evere unto. *praise; every man
thereto*

II FAMILIUS God giffe you myght and mayne
 136 Right here so for to doo. *strength*

ABRAHAM Sone, yf oure Lord God Almyghty
 Of myselfe walde have his offerande,
 I wolde be glade for hym to dye,
 140 For all oure heele hyngis in his hande. *would; offering
glad in his place
well-being hangs*

ISAAC Fadir, forsuth, ryght so walde I,
 Lever than lange to leve in lande. *would
Rather; long*

ABRAHAM A, sone, thu sais full wele, forthy
 God geve thee grace grattethely to stande.
 145 Childir, bide ye here still.
 No ferther sall ye goo,
 For yondir I se the hill
 That we sall wende untoo. *plainly
remain*

ISAAC Kepe wele oure asse and all oure geref

150 To tyme we come agayne you till.

Until; to you

ABRAHAM My sone, this wode behoves thee bere

Till thou come high uppon yone hill.

wood; carry

ISAAC Fadir, that may do no dere

Goddis comaundement to fullfyll,

155 For fra all wathes he will us were

Wharso we wende to wirke his wille.

harm

dangers; defend

work

ABRAHAM A, sone, that was wele saide.

Lay doune that woode even here

Tille oure auter be grathide.

160 And, my sone, make goode cheere.

altar; set up

ISAAC Fadir, I see here woode and fyre,

Bot wherof shall oure offerand be?

ABRAHAM Sertis, son, gude God oure suffraynd syre

Sall ordayne it in goode degré,

165 For sone, and we do his dessyre,

Full gud rewarde tharfore gette wee.

In hevyn ther mon we have oure hyre,

For unto us so hight has hee.

Therfore, sone, lete us praye

170 To God, bothe thou and I,

That we may make this daye

Oure offerand here dewly.

*good; sovereign
(i.e., in good time)*

*may; reward
promised*

as is due

Grete God that all this worlde has wrought

And grathely governes goode and ill,

175 Thu graunte me myght so that I mowght

Thy comaundementis to fullfill.

And gyffe my flessche groche or greve ogh

Or sertis my saule assentte therill,

To byrne all that I hydir broght

180 I sall noght spare yf I shulde spille.

surely

strength; might

if; rebel or grieve

Even though my soul

burn; hither

refrain; come to grief

ISAAC Lorde God, of grete pousté,

To wham all pepull prayes,

Graunte bothe my fadir and me

To wirke thi wille allweyes.

power

185 But, fadir, nowe wolde I frayne full fayne

Wharof oure offerand shulde be grathid?

ask; eagerly

made

ABRAHAM Sertis, sone, I may no lengar layne,
Thyselfe shulde bide that bittir brayde.

*longer conceal
endure; affliction*

ISAAC Why, fadir, will God that I be slayne?

ABRAHAM Ya suthly, sone, so has he saide.

ISAAC And I sall noght grouche ther agayne;
192 To wirke his wille I am wele payed.
Sen it is his desire
I sall be bayne to be
195 Brittynd and brent in fyre,
And therfore morne noght for me.

*complain
pleased
willing
Dismembered; burned
mourn*

ABRAHAM Nay, sone, this gatis most nedis be gone,
My Lord God will I noght gaynesaye,
Nor never make mornys nor mone
200 To make offerand of thee this day.

*way must be taken
mourning (weeping); moan*

ISAAC Fadir, sen God oure Lorde allane
Vowchesaffe to sende when ye gon praye
A sone to you whan ye had name,
And nowe will that he wende his waye,
205 Therfore faynde me to fell
Tille offerand in this place,
But firste I sall you telle
My counsaille in this case.

*alone
none
go [on]
endeavor; kill
For an offering*

I knew myselfe be cours of kynde,
210 My flessche for dede will be dredande;
I am ferde that ye sall fynde
My force youre forward to withstande.
Therfore is beste that ye me bynde
In bandis faste, boothe fute and hande.
215 Nowe whillis I am in myght and mynde,
So sall ye saffely make offerrande,
For fadir, when I am boune
My myght may noght avayle.
Here sall no fawte be founre
220 To make youre forward faylle.

*by course of nature
death; dreading
afraid
strength your promise*

*bound
fault be found
covenant*

For ye ar alde and alle unwelde,
And I am wighte and wilde of thoght.

strong (manly); impetuous

ABRAHAM To bynde hym that shuld be my beelde,
Outtane Goddis will, that wolde I noght.
225 But loo, her sall no force be felde,

*defense
Except for
coercion; felt*

- So sall God have that he has soght.
 Farewele, my sone, I sall thee yelde
 Tylle hym that all this world has wroght.
- Nowe kysse me hartely, I thee pray,
 230 Isaak, I take my leve for ay,
 Me bus thee mys. *must; miss*
 My blissyng have thou enterly,
 And I beseke God Allmyghty
 He giffe thee his. *give*
- 235 Thus aren we samyn assent *together in agreement*
 Eftir thy wordis wise.
 Lorde God, to this take tente: *pay attention*
 Ressayve thy sacrifice.
- This is to me a perles pyne
 240 To se myn nawe dere childe thus boune. *unequaled pain*
 Me had wele lever my lyf to tyne *own; bound*
 Than see this sight, thus of my sone. *rather; lose*
 It is Goddis will, it sall be myne,
 Agaynst his saande shall I never schone; *message (command); hesitate*
 245 To Goddis cummaundement I sall enclyne
 That in me fawte non be foune. *fault; found*
- Therfore my sone so dere,
 If thou will anythyng saye,
 Thy dede it drawes nere. *death*
 250 Farewele, for anes and ay. *once*
- ISAAC** Now, my dere fadir, I wolde you praye,
 Here me thre wordes, graunte me my bone *Hear; request*
 Sen I fro this shall passe for ay.
 I see myn houre is comen full sone.
- 255 In worde, in werke, or any waye
 That I have trespassed or oght mysdone,
 Forgiff me, fadir, or I dye this daye, *before I die*
 For his luffe that made bothe sonne and mone. *love*
 Here sen we two shall twynne, *separate*
- 260 Firste God I aske mercy
 And you in more and myne *less*
 This day or evere I dy. *ere*
- ABRAHAM** Now my grete God Adonay, *Adonai (Jewish name for God)*
 That all this worlde has worthely wroght,
 265 Forgyffe the sone, for his mercye,
 In worde, in werke, in dede, and thought.

Nowe, sone, as we ar leryd *told*
 Our tyme may noght myscarie.

ISAAC Nowe farewele, all medilerth,
 270 My fleshe waxis faynte for ferde. *fear*
 Nowe, fadir, take youre swerde,
 Methynke full lange ye tarie.

ABRAHAM Nay, nay, sone, nay, I thee behete
 That do I noght, withouten were. *promise*
 275 Thy wordis makis me my wangges to wete *perplexity*
 And chaunges, childe, ful often my cheere.
 Therfore lye downe, hande and feete;
 Nowe may thou witte thyn oure is nere. *cheeks [become] wet*
know; hour is near

ISAAC A, dere fadir, lyff is full swete,
 280 The drede of dede dose all my dere. *(i.e., frightens me)*
 As I am here youre sone,
 To God I take me till. *(i.e., entrust myself)*
 Nowe am I laide here bone,
 Do with me what ye will. *bound*

285 For fadir, I aske no more respete *delay*
 Bot here a worde what I wolde mene: *hear; advise*
 I beseke you or that ye smyte *before*
 Lay doune this kyrcheffe on myn eghne. *eyes*
 Than may youre offerand be parfite *perfect*
 290 If ye wille wirke thus as I wene. *advise*
 And here to God my saule I wite, *my soul I command*
 And all my body to brenne bydene. *burn now*
 Now, fadir, be noght myssyng *don't fail*
 But smyte fast as ye may.

ABRAHAM Farewele, in Goddis dere blissyng
 296 And myn for ever and ay.

That pereles prince I praye *(i.e., God)*
 Myn offerand heretill have it,
 My sacryfice this day:
 300 I praye the Lorde ressayve it.

ANGELUS Abraham, Abraham!

ABRAHAM Loo, here iwys.

ANGELUS Abraham, abide, and halde thee stille. *hold*
 Sla noght thy sone, do hym no mysse. *harm*

Take here a schepe thy offerand tyll,
 305 Is sente thee fro the kyng of blisse
 That faythfull ay to thee is fone.
 He biddis thee make offerrand of this
 Here at this tyme, and saffe thy sone.

sheep for your offering
found
save

ABRAHAM I lowe that Lord with herte entier
 310 That of his luffe this lane me lente,
 To saffe my sone, my darlyng dere,
 And sente this schepe to this entente
 That we sall offir it to thee here;
 So sall it be as thou has mente.
 315 My sone, be gladde and make goode cheere,
 God has till us goode conforte sente.
 He will noght thou be dede,
 But tille his lawes take kepe.
 And se, son, in thy stede
 320 God has sente us a schepe.

praise; full heart
love; gift
intent
to
care
place

ISAAC To make oure offerand at his wille
 All for oure sake he has it sente.
 To lowe that Lorde I halde grete skyll
 That tylle his menye thus has mente.
 325 This dede I wolde have tane me till
 Full gladly, Lorde, to thynt entent.

praise
company [of heaven]; intended
taken

ABRAHAM A, sone, thy bloode wolde he noght spill,
 Forthy this shepe thus has he sente,
 And, sone, I am full fayne
 330 Of our spede in this place,
 Bot go we home agayne
 And lowe God of his grace.

benefit
praise

ANGELUS Abraham, Abraham!

ABRAHAM Loo, here indeede.
 Harke, sone, sum salvyng of our sare.

some remedy for; sore

ANGELUS God sais thou sall have mekill mede
 336 For thys goode will that thou in ware;
 Sen thou for hym wolde do this dede
 To spille thy sone and noght to spare
 He menes to multiplie youre seede
 340 On sides seere, as he saide are.
 And yit he hight you this
 That of youre seede sall ryse

reward
many; before
promises

Thurgh helpe of hym and his
Overehand of all enmys.

Above

- 345 Luk ye hym love, this is his liste,
And lelly lyff eftir his laye,
For in youre seede all mon be bliste
That ther bese borne be nyght or day.
If ye will in hym trowe or triste,
350 He will be with you evere and aye.

desire

loyally live; law

may be blessed

believe; trust

ABRAHAM Full wele wer us and we it wiste
Howe we shulde wirke his will alwaye.

if we it learn

- ISAAC** Fadir, that sall we frayne
At wyser men than wee,
355 And fulfille it ful fayne
Indede eftir oure degree.

ask

- ABRAHAM** Nowe, sone, sen we thus wele hase spedē,
That God has graunted me thy liffe,
It is my wille that thou be wedde
360 And welde a woman to thy wyffe;
So sall thy sede springe and be spredde
In the lawez of God be reasoun ryffe.
I wate in what steede sho is stede
That thou sall wedde, withowten stryffe.
365 Rabek, that damysell,
Hir fayrer is none fone,
The daughter of Batwell
That was my brothir sone.

wield (have)

abundantly

know in what place she lives

Rebecca

found

Bethuel

ISAAC Fadir, as thou likes my lyffe to spende,
370 I sall assente unto the same.

- ABRAHAM** One of my servandis sone sall I sende
Unto that birde to bryngē hir hame.
The gaynest gates now will we wende.
My barnes, yee ar noght to blame
375 Yeff ye thynke lang that we her lende.
Gadir same oure gere, in Goddis name,
And go we hame agayne
Evyn unto Barsabé.
God that is most of mayne
380 Us wisse and with you be.

lady; home

quickest ways

children (young men)

linger

Gather together

Beer-sheba

direct

[11. PHARAOH AND MOSES]

The Hoseers

- REX PHARAO** O pees, I bidde that no man passe
 But kepe the cours that I comaunde
 And takes gud heede to hym that hasse
 Youre liff all haly in his hande.
 5 Kyng Pharo my fadir was,
 And led the lordshippe of this lande;
 I am his hayre as elde will asse,
 Evere in his steede to styrre and stande.
 All Egippe is myne awne
 10 To lede astir my lawe;
 I will my myght be knawen
 And honnoured als it awe.
- peace*
has
wholly
heir; as seniority will have it
place; go about; remain
own
lead
known
ought [to be]
- Therfore als kyng I commaunde pees
 To all the pepill of this empire,
 15 That no man putte hym fourthe in prees
 But that will do als we desire.
 And of youre sawes I rede you sees,
 And sesse to me, youre sufferayne sire,
 That most youre conforte may encresce,
 20 And at my liste lose liffe and lyre.
- (i.e., contradict [me])*
sayings; advise; stop
allot; [as] your sovereign
wish; body
- I CONSOLATOR** My lorde, yf any were
 That walde not wirke youre will,
 And we wist whilke thay were,
 Ful sone we sall thaym spill.
- would; do what you wish*
know which
soon; destroy (kill)
- REX** Thurghoute my kyngdome wolde I kenn
 26 And konne tham thanke that couthe me telle
 If any wer so weryd then
 That wolde aught fande owre forse to fell.
- would I know*
give; could
wrongheaded
try; power to bring down
- II CONSOLATOR** My Lorde, thar ar a maner of men
 30 That mustirs grete maistris tham emell,
 The Jewes that wonnes here in Jessen
 And er named the childir of Israell.
 They multyple so faste
 That suthly we suppose
 35 Thay are like, and they laste,
 Yowre lordshippe for to lose.
- displays great deeds; among*
live; Goshen (Vulgate: Gessen)
are
truly
likely, if they continue
- REX** Why, devill, what gawdes have they begonne,
 Er thai of myght to make afrayse?
- tricks*
Be; attack

- I CONSOLATOR** Tho felons folke, sir, first was fonn
 40 In kyng Pharo youre fadyr dayse.
 Thay come of Joseph, Jacob sonn,
 That was a prince worthy to prayse,
 And sithen in ryste furthe are they run;
 Now ar they like to lose our layse.
 45 Thay sall confounde us clene
 Bot if thai sonner sese.
- Those; found [in Egypt]
 father's days*
- REX** What devill ever may it mene
 That they so fast encrese?
- II CONSOLATOR** Howe they encrese, full wele we kenn,
 50 Als oure elders before us fande;
 Thay were talde but sixty and ten
 Whan thei enterd into this lande.
 Sithen have they sojonerd here in Jessen
 Foure houndereth yere, this we warande,
 55 Now are they noumbered of myghty men
 Wele more than thre hundereth thowsande,
 Withowten wiffe and childe
 And herdes that kepes ther fee.
- know
 discovered
 counted
 sojourned
 Aside from
 herdsmen; livestock*
- REX** So myght we be bygillid,
 60 Bot certis that sall noght be,
 For with qwantise we sall tham qwelle
 That thei sall no farrar sprede.
- beguiled
 trickery; put down
 further increase*
- I CONSOLATOR** Lorde, we have herde oure fadres telle
 Howe clerkis, that ful wele couthe rede,
 65 Saide a man shulde wax tham emell
 That suld fordo us and owre dede.
- heard
 advise (prophecy)
 grow up; among
 destroy*
- REX** Fy on tham — to the devell of helle!
 Swilke destanye sall we noght drede.
 We sall make mydwayes to spille tham,
 70 Whenne oure Ebrewes are borne,
 All that are mankynde to kille tham;
 So sall they sone by lorne.
- midwives; kill
 Hebrews
 boy children
 be destroyed*
- For of the other have I non awe,
 Swilke bondage sall we to tham bede
 75 To dyke and delfe, beere and drawe,
 And do all swilke unhonest dede.
 Thus sall the laddis beholden lawe,
 Als losellis ever thaire lyff to leede.
- no fear
 bid
 dig; delve, bear (carry); pull
 degrading deeds (tasks)
 obey the law
 wretches*

- II CONSOLATOR** Certis, lorde, this is a sotell sawe,
 80 So sall the folke no farrar sprede. *subtle saying
further*
- REX** Yaa, helps to halde tham doune
 That we no fantynse fynde. *deception*
- I CONSOLATOR** Lorde, we sall ever be bowne
 In bondage tham to bynde. *compelled*
- MOYES** Grete God that all this grounde began
 86 And governes evere in gud degree,
 That made me Moyses unto man
 And saved me sythen out of the see. *thereafter; sea*
 Kyng Pharo he comaunded than
 90 So that no sonnes shulde saved be,
 Agayns his wille away I wan,
 Thus has God shewed his myght in me.
 Nowe am I here to kepe,
 Sett undir Synay syde, *[Mount] Sinai's slope*
 95 The bisshoppe Jetro schepe,
 Sobettir bute to bide. *Jethro's sheep
boot (fortune) to wait for*
- A, mercy, God, mekill is thy myght,
 What man may of thy mervayles mene!
 I se yondyr a ful selcouth syght *marvels reveal
spectacular*
 100 Wherof befor no synge was seene.
 A busk I se yondir brennand bright,
 And the leves last ay inlike grene;
 If it be werke of worldly wight
 I will go witte withouten wene. *sign
bush; burning
without change
earthly man
find out; doubt*
- DEUS** Moyses, come noght to nere
 106 Bot stille in that stede dwelle,
 And take hede to me here
 And tente what I thee telle. *too
place stay
attend to*
- 110 I am thy Lorde, withoutyn lak,
 To lengh thi liffe even as me list,
 And the same God that somtyme spak
 Unto thyne elders als thei wiste. *lengthen; desire
spake
learned*
 But Abraham and Ysaac
 And Jacob, saide I, suld be bliste *blessed*
 115 And multyple and tham to mak
 So that ther seede shulde noght be myste. *missed (lost)*
 And nowe kyng Pharo
 Fuls thare childir ful faste. *Suppresses*

- If I suffir hym soo *allow; [to do] so*
 120 Thare seede shulde sone be past.
- To make thee message have I mende *messenger; meant*
 To hym that tham so harmed hase,
 To warne hym with wordes hende *gracious*
 So that he lette my pepull passe
 125 That they to wildernesse may wende *wander*
 And wirshippe me als whilom was.
 And yf he lenger gar them lende, *in the past*
 His sange ful sone sall be “allas.” *cause; to remain soon*
- MOYES** A, Lord, syth, with thy leve,
 130 That lynage loves me noght, *(royal) line*
 Gladly they walde me greve, *would*
 And I slyke boodword brought. *If I such message*
- Therfore, Lord, late sum othir fraste *let some; attempt*
 That hase more forse than for to feere. *power to make them afraid*
- DEUS** Moyses, be noght abaste *afraid*
 136 My bidding baldely to bere. *boldly*
 If thai with wrang ought walde thee wrayste, *wrong would try to; deceive*
 Owte of all wothis I sall thee were. *dangers; protect*
- MOYES** We, Lord, thai wil noght to me trayste *trust*
 140 For al the othes that I may swere. *oaths*
 To neven slyke note of newe *To announce such a matter anew*
 To folke of wykkyd will,
 Withouten taken trewe, *token (sign)*
 They will noght take tente thertill. *pay attention*
- DEUS** And if they will noght undirstande *Nor*
 146 Ne take heede how I have thee sente, *appear*
 Before the kyng cast downe thy wande
 And it sall seme as a serpent.
 Sithen take the tayle in thy hande
 150 And hardely uppe thou itt hente *boldly; take*
 In the firste state als thou it fande:
 So sall it turne be myn entent.
 Hyde thy hande in thy barme,
 And as a lepre it sall be like,
 155 Sithen hale withouten harme. *found*
 Thi syngnes sall be slyke. *be changed by bosom leper*
- Then whole (healed)
 signs; such
- And if he wil not suffre than *then*
 My pepull for to passe in pees,

- I sall send vengeaunce nine or ten
 160 To sewe hym sararre or I sesse.
 Bot the Jewes that wonnes in Jessen
 Sall noght be merked with that messe.
 Als lange als thai my lawes will kenne
 Ther comfort sal I evere encresse.
- MOYES** A, Lorde, loyld be thy wille
 166 That makes thy folke so free.
 I sall tell tham untill
 Als thou telles unto me.
- But to the kyng, Lorde, whan I come
 170 And he ask me what is thy name
 And I stande stille than, defe and dum,
 How sal I be withouten blame?
- DEUS** I saie thus, *Ego sum qui sum*,
 I am he that I am the same;
 175 And if thou myght not meve ne mum,
 I sall thee saffe fro synne and shame.
- MOYES** I undirstande this thyng
 With all the myght in me.
- DEUS** Be bolde in my blisseyng,
 180 Thy belde ay sall I be.
- MOYES** A, Lorde of lyffe, lere me my layre
 That I there tales may trewly tell;
 Unto my frendis nowe will I fayre,
 The chosen childre of Israell,
 185 To telle tham conforte of ther care
 And of there daunger that thei in dwell.
- God mayntayne you and me evermare,
 And mekill myrthe be you emell.
- I PUER** A Moyses, maistir dere,
 190 Oure myrthe is al mornyng;
 We are harde halden here
 Als carls under the kynge.
- II PUER** Moyses, we may mourne and myne,
 Ther is no man us myrthes mase,
 195 And sen we come al of a kynne
 Ken us som conforte in this case.
- (i.e., plagues)
pursue him more sorriely before I cease
- marked (visited) with; suffering
- praised
to them
- then, deaf and dumb
- I am who I am*
- move; speak (whisper)
- save
- support
- teach; lore
- these matters
- fare (go)
- of comfort for
- among
- mourning
- held
- slaves
- and ponder
- makes
- people (tribe)
- Show

MOYES Beith of youre mornyng blyne,
God wil defende you of your fays.
Oute of this woo he will you wynne
200 To plese hym in more plener place.
I sall carpe to the kyng
And fande to make you free.

*Be; mourning done
foes
save
open
talk
try*

III PUER God sende us gud tthyngis,
And allway with you be.

MOYES Kyng Pharo, to me take tent.

pay attention

REX Why, what tdyngis can thou tell?

MOYES Fro God of heven thus am I sente
208 To fecche his folke of Israll;
To wildirnesse he walde thei wente.

*Israel
wished that they*

REX Yaa, wende thou to the devell of hell!
211 I make no force howe thou has mente,
For in my daunger sall thei dwelle.
And faytour, for thy sake,
Thei sall be putte to pyne.

*consider irrelevant what
subjection
liar
suffering*

MOYES Thanne will God vengeaunce take
216 On thee and on al thyne.

REX Fy on thee, ladde, oute of my lande.
Wenes thou with wiles to lose oure laye?
Where is this warlowe with his wande
220 That wolde thus wynne oure folke away?

*Think; destroy; law
(i.e., Who); warlock (wizard)*

II CONSOLATOR It is Moyses, we wele warrand,
Agayne al Egipte is he ay.
Youre fadir grete faute in hym fande,
Nowe will he marre you if he may.

*Against
fault; found
injure*

REX Nay, nay, that daunce is done:
226 That lordan leryd overe late.

rascal (fool)

MOYES God biddis thee graunte my bone,
And late me go my gate.

*request
let; way*

REX Biddis God me? Fals lurdayne, thou lyes.
230 What takyn talde he, toke thou tent?

*worthless fellow
sign told (revealed); notice*

MOYES Yaa, sir, he saide thou suld despise
 Botht me and all his comaundement.
 In thy presence kast on this wise
 My wande he bad by his assent,
 235 And that thou shulde thee wele avise
 Howe it shulde turne to a serpent.
 And in his haly name
 Here sal I ley it downe —
 239 Loo, ser, se her the same.

*should**cast**bade**consider**lay*

REX A, dogg, the devyll thee drowne!

MOYES He saide that I shulde take the tayle
 So for to prove his poure playne,
 And sone he saide it shuld not fayle
 For to turne a wande agayne.
 245 Loo, sir, behalde.

*power**behold*

REX Hopp, illa hayle,
 Now certis this is a sotill swayne.
 But this boyes soll byde here in oure bayle,
 For all thair gaudis soll noght than gayne.
 Bot warse, both morne and none
 250 Sall thei fare for thy sake.

*(i.e., Ill luck befall [you])**tricky fellow (trickster)**captivity**tricks**worse; noon*

MOYES God sende sum vengeaunce sone,
 And on thi werke take wrake.

vengeance

I EGIPTIUS. Allas, allas, this lande is lorne,
 On lif we may no lenger lende.

*destroyed**no longer be*

II EGIPTIUS So grete myscheffe is made sen morne,
 256 Ther may no medycyne us amende.

I CONSOLATOR Sir kyng, we banne that we wer borne;
 Oure blisse is all with bales blonde.

*curse**sorrow mixed up*

REX Why crys you swa, laddis, liste you scorne?

do you ridicule

I EGIPTIUS Sir kyng, slyk care was nevere kende.
 261 Oure watir that was ordand
 To men and beestis fudde;
 Thurghoute al Egipte lande
 Is turned to rede blude.

*known**ordained**food**blood*

265 Full ugly and ful ill is it
 That was ful faire and fresshe before.

horrible; foul

REX This is grete wondir for to witt
Of all the werkis that ever wore. *know*

II EGIPTIUS Nay, lorde, ther is another yitt
270 That sodenly sewes us ful sore,
For tady's and frosshis we may not flitte,
Thare venym loses lesse and more. *yet*
afflicts
toads; frogs; move (escape)
venom destroys

I EGIPTIUS Lorde, grete myses bothe morn and none
Bytis us full bittirlye,
275 And we hope al by done
By Moyses, oure enemye. *gnats*
assume all is done

I CONSOLATOR Lorde, whills we with this menyhe meve
Mon never myrthe be us emange. *company move*
Shall; joy; among

REX Go, saie we sall no lenger greve,
280 But thai sall nevere the tytar gange. *oppres [them]*
sooner go

II EGIPTIUS Moyses, my lord has grauntyd leve
At lede thy folk to likyng lande
So that we mende of oure myscheve. *leave*
To lead; promised land

MOYESES I wate ful wele thar wordes er wrange,
285 That sall ful sone be sene,
For hardely I hym heete
And he of malice mene,
Mo mervaylles mon he mett. *boldly; promise*
If
will he encounter

I EGIPTIUS Lorde, allas, for dule we dye;
290 We dar not loke oute at no dore. *dole*
any door

REX What devyll ayles yow so to crye?

II EGIPTIUS We fare nowe werre than evere we fare.
Grete loppis overe all this lande thei flye
That with bytyng makis mekill blure. *worse; fared*
fleas (see note)
lamenting

I EGIPTIUS Lorde, oure beestis lyes dede and dry
296 Als wele on myddyng als on more.
Both oxe, horse, and asse
Fallis dede doune sodanly. *dried up*
manure pile; moor

REX Therof no man harme has
300 Halfe so mekill as I.

II CONSOLATOR Yis, lorde, poure men has mekill woo
 To see ther catell be out cast.
 The Jewes in Jessen faren noght soo;
 They have al likyng in to last.

*poor
destroyed*

(i.e., they continue in felicity)

REX Go, saie we giffre them leve to goo
 306 To tymre there parellis be overpast,
 But or thay flitte overfarre us froo
 We sall garre feste them foure so fast.

*give
Until their perils
ere*

have them bound four times as fast

II EGYPTIUS Moyses, my lord giffis leve
 310 Thy men for to remewe.

leave

MOYES He mon have more mischeff
 But if his tales be trewe.

Unless

I EGYPTIUS We, lorde, we may not lede this liffe.

REX Why, is ther grevaunce growen agayne?

II EGYPTIUS Swilke poudre, lord, apon us dryffe,
 316 That whare it bettis it makis a blayne.

*powder (ash); drives (blows)
boil*

I EGYPTIUS Like mesellis makis it man and wyfpe.
 Sythen ar they hurte with hayle and rayne
 Oure wynes in mountaynes may noght thryve,
 320 So ar they threst and thondour-slayne.

*a skin disease (leprosy)
vines
beaten down*

REX How do thay in Jessen,
 The Jewes, can ye aught say?

II EGYPTIUS This care nothyng they ken,
 Thay fele no such affray.

*suffering; show
feel; ill-fortune*

REX No, devill, and sitte they so in pees
 326 And we ilke day in doute and drede?

I EGYPTIUS My lorde, this care will evere encrese
 Tille Moyses have leve than to lede.

lead [away]

I CONSOLATOR Lorde, war they wente, than walde it sese,
 330 So shuld we save us and oure seede;
 Ellis be we lorne, this is no lese.

*if they; cease
descendants
lie*

REX Late hym do fourth, the devill hym spedē!
 For his folke sall no ferre
 Yf he go welland woode.

*Allow
further
raving mad*

II CONSOLATOR Than will itt sone be warre,
336 Yit war bettir thai yoodē.

*worse
went*

II EGIPTIUS We, lorde, new harme is comon to hande.

REX No, devill, will itt no bettir be?

I EGIPTIUS Wilde wormes is laide overe all this lande;
340 Thai leve no frute ne floure on tree;
Agayne that storme may nothyng stande.

*locusts
fruit; flower
Against*

II EGIPTIUS Lord, ther is more myscheff, thynk me,
And thre daies hase itt bene durand
So myrke that non myght othir see.

*enduring
dark*

I EGIPTIUS My lorde, grete pestelence
346 Is like ful lange to last.

likely

REX Owe, come that in oure presence,
Than is oure pride al past.

Alas

II EGIPTIUS My lorde, this vengeaunce lastis lange,
350 And mon till Moyses have his bone.

shall; wish

I CONSOLATOR Lorde, late tham wende, else wirke we wrang;
It may not helpe to hover na hone.

*go away
hesitate or delay*

REX Go, saie we graunte tham leve to gange,
In the devill way, sen itt bus be done,
355 For so may fall we sall tham fang
And marre tham or tomorne at none.

*go
must be
it may happen; capture
before noon tomorrow*

I EGIPTIUS Moyses, my lorde has saide
Thou sall have passage playne.

MOYES And to passe am I paied,
360 My frendes, bees nowe fayne;

*rewarded
glad*

For at oure will now sall we wende
In lande of lykyng for to lende.

*as we will
live (stay)*

I PUER Kyng Pharo, that felowns fende,
Will have grete care fro this be kende,
365 Than will he schappe hym us to shende,
And sone his ooste aftir us sende.

*anger; known
intend; destroy
host (soldiers)*

MOYES Beis noght aferde, God is youre frende,
 Fro alle oure fooes he will us fende.
 Tharfore comes furthe with me,
 370 Haves done, and drede yow noght.

defend

II PUER My Lorde, loved mott thou bee,
 That us fro bale has brought.

praised

III PUER Swilke frenshippe never before we fande,
 But in this faire defautys may fall.
 375 The Rede See is ryght nere at hande;
 Ther bus us bide to we be thrall.

*matter disasters**must we wait until; captured*

MOYES I sall make us way with my wande,
 For God hase sayde he save us sall.
 On aythir syde the see sall stande
 380 Tille we be wente, right as a wall.
 Therfore have ye no drede
 But faynde ay God to plesse.

strive

I PUER That Lorde to lande us lede,
 Now wende we all at esse.

*lead**ease*

I EGYPTIUS Kyng Pharro, ther folke er gane.

gone

REX Howe nowe, es ther any noyes of newe?

news

II EGYPTIUS The Ebrowes er wente ilkone.

are gone everyone

REX How sais thou that?

I EGYPTIUS Ther talis er trewe.

tales

REX Horse harneys tyte, that thei be tane;
 390 This ryott radly sall them rewe.
 We sall not sese or they be slone,
 For to the se we sall them sew.
 Do charge oure charyottis swithe
 And frekly folowes me.

*quickly; taken
disturbance soon; be sorry**slain**pursue**quickly**speedily*

II EGYPTIUS My lorde, we are full blithe
 396 At youre biddyg to be.

II CONSOLATOR Lorde, to youre biddyg we er boune,
 Owre bodies baldely for to bede;
 We sall noght byde but dyng tham doune
 Tylle all be dede, withouten drede.

*are bound**boldly; offer**abide; strike*

REX Hefe uppe youre hartis ay to Mahownde,
 401 He will be nere us in oure nede.
 Owte, ay herrowe, devill, I drowne!

*Heave; Mohammed
(cry of distress)*

I EGIPTIUS Allas, we dye, for alle our dede.

deeds (actions)

I PUER Now ar we wonne fra waa
 405 And saved oute of the see.
Cantemus domino,
 To God a sange syng wee.

*have we escaped from woe
the [Red] sea
Let us sing to the Lord*

[12. THE ANNUNCIATION TO MARY AND THE VISITATION]

The Spicers

DOCTOUR Lord God, grete mervell es to mene
 Howe man was made withouten mysse
 And sette whare he sulde ever have bene
 Withouten bale, bidand in blisse,
 5 And howe he lost that comforthe clene
 And was putte oute fro paradys,
 And sithen what sorouse sor warr sene
 Sente unto hym and to al his;
 And howe they lay lange space
 10 In helle, lokyn fro lyght,
 Tille God graunted tham grace
 Of helpe, als he hadde hyght.

*is to tell
sin
sorrow, abiding
then; sorrows sore were
a long time
locked (shut off)
promised*

Than is it nedfull for to never
 How prophettis all Goddis counsailes kende,
 15 Als prophet Amos in his steven
 Lered whils he in his liffe gun lende:
*Deus pater disposuit salutem fieri in medio terre, etc.*¹
 He sais thus, God the Fadir in heven
 Ordand in erthe mankynde to mende,
 20 And to grayth it with Godhede even,
 His Sone he saide that he suld sende
 To take kynde of mankyn
 In a mayden full mylde.
 So was many saved of syn
 25 And the foule fende beguiled.

*tell
revealed
bidding (voice)
Taught while he was alive
Ordained
cause it to be
the nature
sin
beguiled*

¹ *God the Father will grant salvation in the midst of the earth, etc.*

	And for the feende sulde so be fedd Be tyne, and to no treuth take tentt, God made that mayden to be wedded Or he his Sone unto hir sentte.	<i>should anger; (i.e., be self-deceived)</i>
30	So was the Godhede closed and cledde In wede of weddyng whare thy wente, And that oure blisse sulde so be bredde Ful many materes may be mente: <i>Quoniam in semine tuo benedicentur omnes gentes, etc.</i> ¹	<i>Before clad wedding garment brought about</i>
35	God hymself sayde this thynge To Abraham als hym liste: Of thy sede shall uppe spryng Wharein folke shall be bliste.	<i>seed blessed</i>
40	To prove thes prophetts ordande er, Als Isay, unto olde and yenge, He moved oure myscheves for to merr, For thus he prayed God for this thynge, <i>Rorate celi desuper,</i> Lord, late thou doune at thy likyng The dewe to fall fro heven so ferre, For than the erthe shall sprede and spryng A seede that us shall save, That nowe in blisse are bente. Of clerkis whoso will crave, Thus may ther gatis be mente.	<i>ordained before Isaiah; young spoke of; impair</i> <i>Drop down, dew, from heaven let; descend</i> <i>inclined toward bliss ask (i.e., matters bespoken of)</i>
45	The dewe to the gode Haly Gaste May be remened in mannes mynde, The erthe unto the mayden chaste, Bycause sho comes of erthely kynde.	<i>compared</i>
50	Thir wise wordis ware noght wroght in waste To waffe and wende away als wynde, For this same prophett sone in haste Saide furthermore, als folkes may fynde, <i>Propter hoc dabit dominus ipse vobis signum, etc.</i> ²	<i>were; formed in vain soon</i>
55	Loo, he sais thus, God shall gyffe Hereof a syngne to see Tille all that lely lyffe And this thare sygne sal be, <i>Ecce virgo concipiēt, and pariet filium, etc.</i> ³	<i>give sign loyally live sign</i>

¹ *Because in thy seed shall all the nations be blessed, etc.*

² *Therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign, etc.*

³ *Behold a virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, etc.*

- 65 Loo, he sais a mayden mon
 Here on this molde mankynde omell,
 Ful clere consayve and bere a Sonne
 And neven his name Emanuell.
 His kyngdom that evere is begonne,
 Sall never sese, but dure and dwell.
 On David sege thore soll he wonne,
 His domes to deme and trueth to telle:
Zelus domini faciet hoc, etc.
 He says, luffe of oure Lorde,
 70 All this soll ordan thanne
 That mennes pees and accorde
 To make with erthely manne.
- may
 earth; among
 Without guilt conceive
- 75 More of this maiden meves me.
 This prophett sais for oure socoure,
Egredietur virga de Jesse,
 A wande soll brede of Jesse boure.
 And of this same also, sais hee,
 Upponne that wande soll springe a floure
 Wheron the Haly Gast soll be
 80 To governe it with grete honnoure.
 That wande meynes untill us
 This mayden, even and morne,
 And the floure is Jesus,
 That of that blyst bees borne.
- endure
 David's throne there
 judgments to pronounce
 The zeal of the Lord will perform this, etc.
- love
 ordain
 intends
- I [will] speak about
- 85 The prophet Johell, a gentill Jewe,
 Somtyme has saide of the same thyng:
 He likenes Criste even als he knewe
 Like to the dewe in doune-commyngh:
*Ero quasi ros, et virgo Israell germinabit sicut lilium.*¹
- 90 The maiden of Israell al newe,
 He sais, soll bere one and forthe brynghe
 Als the lelly floure, full faire of hewe,
 This meynes sa to olde and yenge
 That the hegh Haly Gaste
- 95 descending
- 95 Come oure myscheffe to mende
 In Marie mayden chaste,
 When God his Sone walde sende.
- 100 lily flower; hue
 means so; young
 high
- 100 [Will] come
- 105 This lady is to the lilly lyke,
 That is bycause of hir clene liffe,
 For in this worlde was never slyke
- would
- 105 comparable to
 [anyone] like [her]

¹ *I will be as the dew, Israel shall spring as the lily*

- One to be mayden, modir, and wyffe:
 And hir Sonne, kyng in heven ryke,
 Als oft es red be reasoune ryfe,
 And hir husband bath maistir and meke,
 110 In charité to stynte all striffe.
 This passed all worldly witte,
 How God had ordand thaim thanne
 In hir one to be knytte:
 Godhed, maydenhed, and manne.
- virgin, mother
 kingdom
 is advised by; abundant
 both; companion
 to end
 knowing
 joined as one
- 115 Bot of this werke grete witnes was
 With formefaders, all folke may tell.
 Whan Jacob blyst his sone Judas,
 He tolde the tale thaim two emell:
Non auferetur septrum de Juda,
 120 *donec veniat qui mittendus est.*¹
 He sais the septer soll noght passe
 Fra Juda lande of Israell,
 Or he comme that God ordand has
 To be sente feendis force to fell:
 125 *Et ipse erit expectacio gencium.*
 Hym soll alle folke abyde
 And stande unto his steven,
 Ther sawes wer signified
 To Crist, Goddis Sone in heven.
- patriarchs
 blessed; Judah
 narrative; among
- Judah*
Before he comes
the fiend's
And he will be the expectation of the nations
await
be obedient to; voice
sayings; predicted
- 130 For howe he was sente, se we more,
 And howe God wolde his place purvay,
 He saide, Sonne, I shall sende byfore
 Myne aungell to rede thee thy way:
Ecce mitto angelum meum ante faciem
 135 *tuam qui preparabit viam tuam ante te.*²
 Of John Baptist he menyd thore,
 For in erthe he was ordand ay
 To warne the folke that wilsom wore
 Of Cristis comyng, and thus gon say:
 140 *Ego quidem baptizo in aqua vos, autem*
*baptizabimini spiritu sancto.*³
 Eftir me shall come nowe
 A man of myghtis mast,
 And shall baptis yowe
 145 In the high Holy Gast.
- provide
 prepare
- spake there
 were in error
- After
 great power

¹ Lines 119–20: *The scepter shall not be taken away from Judah / till he come that is to be sent.*

² Lines 134–35: *Behold I send my angel before thy face, / who shall prepare the way before thee.*

³ Lines 140–41: *I indeed baptize you in water, but / you will be baptized in the Holy Spirit.*

- Thus of Cristis commyng may we see
 How Sainte Luke spekis in his gospell,
 Fro God in heven es sent, sais he,
 An aungell is named Gabriell
 150 To Nazareth in Galale, *Galilee*
 Where than a mayden mylde gon dwell, *then; did*
 That with Joseph suld wedded be; *should*
 Hir name is Marie, thus gan he telle. *began; to tell*
 How God his grace than grayd *prepared*
 155 To man in this manere, *hear*
 And how the aungell saide,
 Takes hede, all that will here.

*Tunc cantat angelus.**Then the angel shall sing*

- ANGELUS** Hayle, Marie, full of grace and blysse,
 Oure Lord God is with thee
 160 And has chosen thee for his.
 Of all women blist mot thou be. *blessed may*

- MARIA** What maner of halsyng is this *greeting*
 Thus prevely comes to me? *privately*
 For in myn herte a thoght it is,
 165 The tokenyng that I here see. *sign*

*Tunc cantat angelus, Ne timeas, Maria.**Then the angel shall sing, "Do not fear, Mary"*

- ANGELUS** Ne drede thee noght, thou mylde Marie,
 For nothyng that may befallie,
 For thou has fun soveranly *been found surpassingly*
 At God a grace over othir all. *By God*
 170 In chastité of thy bodye
 Consayye and bere a childe thou sall.
 This bodword brynge I thee, forthy *message*
 His name Jesu sall thou calle.

- Mekill of myght than sall he bee; *then*
 175 He sall be God and called God Sonn.
 David sege, his fadir free, *throne; gracious forefather*
 Sall God hym giffe to sytte uppon, *give*
 Als kyng forever regne sall hee,
 In Jacob house ay for to wonne. *dwell*
 180 Of his kyngdome and dignité
 Shall noo man erthly knaw ne con. *can*

- MARIA** Thou Goddis aungell, meke and mylde,
 Howe sulde it be, I thee praye,

- That I sulde consayve a childe
 185 Of any man by nyght or daye?
 I knawe no man that shulde have fyled
 My maydenhode, the sothe to saye.
 Withouten will of werkis wilde
 In chastité I have ben ay.
- defiled*
truth
uncontrolled behavior
- ANGELUS** The Holy Gast in thee sall lighte,
 191 Hegh vertue sall to thee holde,
 The holy birthe of thee so bright,
 God Sonne he sall be calde.
 Loo, Elyzabeth, thi cosyne, ne myght
 195 In elde consayve a childe for alde;
 This is the sexte moneth full ryght
 To hir that baran has ben talde.
- High*
because of old age
barren; counted
- MARIA** Thou aungell, blissid messanger,
 Of Goddis will I holde me payde:
 200 I love my Lorde with herte clere,
 The grace that he has for me layde.
 Goddis handmayden, lo, me here
 To his wille all redy grayd,
 Be done to me of all manere
 205 Thurgh thy worde als thou hast saide.
- rewarded*
established
prepared
- Now God, that all oure hope is in,
 Thur the myght of the Haly Gaste,
 Save thee, dame, fro sak of synne
 And wisse thee fro all werkis wast.
 210 Elyzabeth, myn awne cosyne,
 Methoght I coveyte alway mast
 To speke with thee of all my kynne;
 Therfore I comme thus in this hast.
- Through*
accusation
guide; away from; impure
most
- ELIZABETH** A, welcome, mylde Marie,
 215 Myne aughen cosyne so dere,
 Joifull woman am I
 That I nowe see thee here.
 Blissid be thou anely
 Of all women in feere,
 220 And the frute of thy body
 Be blissid ferre and nere.
- own*
company
- This is joyfull tydyng
 That I may nowe here see
 The modyr of my Lord Kyng,
 225 Thusgate come to me.
- mother*
In this way

Sone als the voyce of thine haylsing
 Moght myn neres entreand be
 The childe in my wombe so yenge
 Makes grete myrthe unto thee.

greeting
Might; ears entering
young

- MARIA** Nowe, Lorde, blist be thou ay
 231 For the grace thou has me lente;
 Lorde, I lose thee, God verray,
 The sande thou hast me sente.
 I thanke thee nyght and day
 235 And prayes with goode entente
 Thou make me to thy paye,
 To thee my wille is wentte.

praise
message

- ELIZABETH** Blissed be thou grathely grayed
 To God thurgh chastité,
 240 Thou trowed and helde thee payed
 Atte his wille for to bee.
 All that to thee is saide
 Fro my Lorde so free,
 Swilke grace is for thee layde
 245 Sall be fulfilled in thee.

appropriately ready
trusted

From
stored up

- MARIA** To his grace I will me ta,
 With chastité to dele,
 That made me thus to ga
 Omange his maidens feele.
 250 My saule sall loyng ma
 Unto that Lorde so lele,
 And my gast make joye alswa
 In God that es my hele.

take
(i.e., maintain)
go
Among: many
praise
true
spirit; joy always
health

Tunc cantat Magnificat.

Then she sings “[My soul] doth magnify [the Lord]”

[13. JOSEPH'S TROUBLES ABOUT MARY]

The Pewteres and Foundours

- JOSEPH** Of grete mornyng may I me mene
 And walke full werily be this way,
 For nowe than wende I best hafe bene
 Att ease and reste by reasonne ay.
 5 For I am of grete elde,
 Wayke and al unwelde,
 Als ilke man se it maye.
 I may nowder buske ne belde,

mourning; speak
by
(i.e., I'd rather have)

age
Weak; feeble
every man
move easily; stay

- But owther in frithe or felde. *wood*
 10 For shame what sall I saie,
- That thusgates nowe on myne alte dase
 Has wedded a yonge wenche to my wiff,
 And may noght wele tryne over two strase? *in this way; old days*
 Nowe, Lorde, how lange sall I lede this liff,
 15 My banes er hevy als lede *bones; lead*
 And may noght stande in stede *place*
 Als kende it is full ryfe.
 Now, Lorde, thou me wisse and rede,
 Or sone me dryve to dede, *soon*
 20 Thou may best stynte this striffe. *stop*
- For bittirly than may I banne
 The way I in the Temple wente,
 Itt was to me a bad barganne,
 For reuthe I may it ay repente. *shame*
 25 For tharein was ordande
 Unwedded men sulde stande
 Al sembled at asent,
 And ilke ane a drye wande
 On heght helde in his hand,
 30 And I ne wist what it ment. *assembled as agreed*
each one
Up high
knew
- In mange al othir ane bare I,
 Itt florished faire and floures on sprede, *Among; one*
bloomed
 And thay saide to me forthy
 That with a wiffe I sulde be wedde.
 35 The bargayne I made thare,
 That rewes me nowe full sare,
 So am I strayely sted. *repent; sore*
(i.e., in trouble)
 Now castes itt me in care,
 For wele I myght everemare
 40 Anlepy life have led. *conflict*
A single
- Hir werkis me wyrkis my wonges to wete. *doings cause me; cheeks*
 I am begiled, how wate I noght. *know*
 My yonge wiffe is with childe full grete,
 That makes me nowe sorowe unsoght.
 45 That reproffe nere has slayne me. *disgrace nearly*
 Forthys giff any man frayne me *if; question*
 How this thing might be wroght,
 To gabbe yf I wolde Payne me,
 The lawe standis harde agayns me,
 50 To dede I mon be broght. *talk*
death I might

- And lathe methinketh, on the todir syde,
 My wiff with any man to defame
 And whethir of there twa that I bide,
 I mon noght scape withouten schame.
 55 The childe certis is noght myne;
 That reproffe dose me pyne
 And gars me fle fra hame.
 My liff gif I shuld tyne,
 Sho is a clene virgine
 60 For me, withouten blame.
- loath
*which of these two
 escape*
*reproof causes me pain
 makes; from home
 if; lose*
- But wele I wate thurgh prophicie,
 A maiden clene suld bere a childe,
 But it is nought sho, sekirly,
 Forthy I wate I am begiled.
 65 And why ne walde som yonge man take her?
 For certis I thynke over ga hir
 Into som wodes wilde.
 Thus thynke I to stele fra hir;
 God childe ther wilde bestes sla hir,
 70 She is so meke and mylde.
- know
*wouldn't
 (i.e., to forsake her)
 woods
 steal away from
 shield; slay*
- Of my wendyng wil I none warne,
 Neverethelees it is myne entente
 To aske hir who gate hir that barne,
 Yitt wolde I witte fayne or I went.
 75 All hayle, God be hereinne.
- tell
*intention
 made her (pregnant with); child
 know; before*
- I PUELLA** Welcome, by Goddis dere myght.
- JOSEPH** Whare is that yonge virgine,
 Marie, my berde so bright?
 80 That sho is not full farre you fra.
 Sho sittis at hir boke full faste prayand
 For you and us, and for all tha
 That oght has nede.
 But for to telle hir will I ga
 85 Of youre comyng, withouten drede.
 Have done, and rise uppe, dame,
 And to me take gud hede:
 Joseph, he is comen hame.
- lady
 very far from you
 book
 those*
- MARIA** Welcome, als God me spede.

90 Dredles to me he is full dere,
Joseph my spouse, welcome er yhe.

*Doubtless
are you*

JOSEPH Gramercy, Marie, saie what chere,
Telle me the soth, how est with thee?
Wha has ben there?
95 Thy wombe is waxen grete, thynke me;
Thou arte with barne, allas, for care.
A, maidens, wa worthe you
That lete hir lere swilke lare.

*how is it
Who*

*woe do you deserve
let her learn such lore*

II PUELLA Joseph, ye sall noght trowe
100 In hir no febill fare.

*believe
no [moral] weakness*

JOSEPH Trowe it noght arme? Lefe wenche, do way.
Hir sidis shewes she is with childe.
Whose ist, Marie?

harm; Leave

MARIA Sir, Goddis and youres.

JOSEPH Nay, nay,
Now wate I wele I am begiled,
105 And reasoun why?
With me flesshely was thou nevere fylid,
And I forsake it here forthy.
Say, maidens, how es this?
Tels me the sothe, rede I,
110 And but ye do, iwissem,
The bargayne sall ye aby.

I know well

defiled

advise

pay for

II PUELLA If ye threte als faste as yhe can,
Thare is noght to saie theretill,
For trulye her come never no man
115 To waite her body with non ill
Of this swete wight.
For we have dwelt ay with hir still,
And was nevere fro hir day nor nyght.
Hir kepars have we bene
120 And sho ay in oure sight,
Come here no man bytwene
To touche that berde so bright.

*here came
shame*

lady

I PUELLA Na, here come no man in there wanes,
And that evere witnesse will we,
125 Save an aungell ilke a day anes
With bodily foode hir fedde has he,
Othir come nane.

walls

once

none

- Wharfore we ne wate how it shulde be,
But thurgh the Haly Gaste allane. know
 130 For trewly we trowe this,
Is grace with hir is gane, believe
 For sho wrought nevere no mys,
We witnesse evere ilkane. *His grace is with her*
sin

- JOSEPH** Thanne se I wele youre menyng is:
 135 The aungell has made hir with childe.
 Nay, som man in aungellis liknesse
 With somkyn gawde has hir begiled, trick
 And that trow I. know
 Forthy nedes noght swilke wordis wilde irrational
 140 At carpe to me dissayvandly. speak; deceptively
 We, why gab ye me swa chatter; so
 And feynes swilk fantassy? feign
 Allas, me is full wa, of woe
 For dule why ne myght I dy? dole
- 145 To me this is a careful cas. sorrowful
 Rekkeles I raffe, refte is my rede, rave; (*i.e.*, my peace is compromised)
 I dare loke no man in the face, Unhappily
 Derfely, for dole why ne were I dede. I loathe
 Me lathis my liff! place
- 150 In Temple and in othir stede Each man to scorn; drive
 Ilke man till hethyng will me dryff. man so [full off woe
 Was never wight sa wa, (*i.e.*, am wounded [in heart])
 For ruthe I all to ryff, error (*sin*)
 Allas, why wrought thou swa,
 155 Marie, my weddid wiffe?

MARIA To my witnesse grete God I call,
 That in mynde wrought nevere na mysse.

JOSEPH Whose is the childe thou arte withall?

MARIA Youres, sir, and the kyngis of blisse.

- JOSEPH** Ye, and hoo than?
 161 Na selcouthe tythandis than is this, how
 Excuse than wele there women can. No more marvelous
 But, Marie, all that sese thee (*i.e.*, these)
 May witte thi werkis ere wan: see
 165 Thy wombe allway it wreyes thee sinful
 That thou has mette with man. betrays

Whose is it, als faire mot thee befall?

MARIA Sir, it is youres and Goddis will.

JOSEPH Nay, I ne have noght ado withall.

170 Neme it na more to me, be still.

Name

Thou wate als wele as I

That we two same fleschly

together carnally

Wroght never swilk werkis with ill.

Loke thou dide no folye

175 Before me prevely

secretly

Thy faire maydenhede to spill.

But who is the fader? telle me his name.

MARIA None but youreselfe.

JOSEPH Late be, for shame.

180 I did it nevere, thou dotist, dame, by bukes and belles,

Let

you talk foolishly; books

innocent

Full sakles shulde I bere this blame astir thou telles,

For I wroght nevere in worde nor dede

Thyng that shulde marre thy maydenhede

To touche me till.

For of slyk note war litill nede,

such business

185 Yhitt for myn awne I wolde it fede,

feed

Might all be still.

kept quiet

Tharfore the fadir tell me, Marie.

MARIA But God and yhow, I knawe right nane.

JOSEPH A, slike sawes mase me full sarye

such words amaze; sorry

moan

190 With grete mornyng to make my mane;

bold

Therfore be noght so balde

told

That no slike tales be talde,

stone

But halde thee stille als stane.

old

Thou art yonge and I am alde,

would (be willing to) do

gone

195 Slike werkis yf I do walde,

Thase games fra me are gane.

Therfore, telle me in privité,

Whos is the childe thou is with nowe?

know

Sertis, ther shall non witte but we;

200 I drede the law als wele as thou.

MARIA Nowe grete God of his myght,

undertake; do

That all may dresse and dight,

Mekely to thee I bowe.

Rewe on this wery wight

Have compassion; unhappy man

205 That in his herte myght light
The soth to ken and trowe.
know; trust

JOSEPH Who had thy maydenhede, Marie? Has thou ought mynde?
memory

MARIA Forsuth, I am a mayden clene.

JOSEPH Nay, thou spekis now agayne kynde.
210 Slike thing myght nevere na man of mene,
A maiden to be with childe!
Thase werkis fra thee ar wilde,
Sho is not borne, I wene.
nature
no; (i.e., assert)
mad
think

MARIA Joseph, yhe ar begiled:
215 With synne was I never filid,
Goddis sande is on me sene.
defiled
message; seen

JOSEPH Goddis sande, yha Marie, God helpe,
Bot certis, that childe was nevere oures twa.
But womankunde gif tham list yhelpe,
220 Yhitt walde thei na man wiste ther wa.
together
if they desire
Yet; know; woe

MARIA Sertis, it is Goddis sande,
. . .
That sall I never ga fra.
[line missing]

JOSEPH Yha, Marie, drawe thyn hande,
For forther yitt will I fande,
225 I trowe not it be swa.
(i.e., stop talking)
go

The soth fra me gif that thou layne,
The childebering may thou noght hyde;
But sitte stille here till I come agayne,
Me bus an erand here beside.
if; conceal

MARIA Now, grete God he you wisse
231 And mende you of your mysse
Of me, what so betyde.
Als he is kyng of blisse,
Sende yhou som seand of this,
235 In truth that ye might bide.
direct
error
message

JOSEPH Nowe, Lord God, that all thing may
At thyne awne will bothe do and dresse,
Wissee me now som redy way
To walke here in this wildirnesse.
240 Bot or I passe this hill,
undertake
Direct
But before

Do with me what God will,
 Owther more or lesse;
 Here bus me bide full stille
 Till I have slepid my fille.
 245 Myn hert so hevy it is.

*Either
must; abide
slept*

ANGELUS Waken, Joseph, and take bettir kepe
 To Marie, that is thi felawe fest.

fast

JOSEPH A, I am full werie, lefe, late me slepe,
 Forwandered and walked in this forest.

*sir, let
Worn out with wandering and walking*

ANGELUS Rise uppe and slepe na mare,
 251 Thou makist her herte full sare
 That loves thee alther best.

the very best of all

JOSEPH We, now es this a farly fare,
 For to be cached bathe here and thare,
 255 And nowhere may have rest.

*wondrous matter
pursued both*

Say, what arte thou, telle me this thyng?

ANGELUS I, Gabriell, Goddis aungell full even,
 That has tane Marie to my kepyng
 And sente es thee to say with steven
 260 In lele wedlak thou lede thee;
 Leffe hir noght, I forbid thee,
 Na syn of hir thou neven,
 But tille hir fast thou spedee thee
 And of hir noght thou drede thee,
 265 It is Goddis sande of heven.

*taken
is; voice
true wedlock
Leave
No sin; speak
to
message from*

The childe that sall be borne of her,
 Itt is consayed of the Haly Gast.
 Alle joie and blisse than sall be aftir
 And to al mankynde nowe althir mast.
 270 Jesus his name thou calle,
 For slike happe sall hym fall
 Als thou sall se in haste.
 His pepull saffe he sall
 Of evyllis and angris all
 275 That thei ar nowe embraste.

*the very most
happening to him
save
afflictions
surrounded*

JOSEPH And is this soth, aungell, thou saise?

ANGELUS Yha, and this to taken right,
 Wende forthe to Marie thy wiffe alwayse:

rightly

Brynge hir to Bedlem this ilke nyght.
 280 Ther sall a childe borne be,
 Goddis Sone of heven is hee,
 And man ay mast of myght.

*Bethlehem; same
most*

JOSEPH Nowe, Lorde God, full wele is me
 That evyr that I this sight suld see;
 285 I was never ar so light.

before

For for I walde hir have thus refused
 And sakles blame that ay was clere,
 Me bus pray hir halde me excused
 Als som men dose with full gud chere.
 290 Saie, Marie, wiffe, how fares thou?

*For since
innocent
hold*

MARIA The bettir, sir, for yhou.
 Why stande yhe thare? Come nere.

JOSEPH My bakke fayne wolde I bowe
 And aske forgisnesse nowe,
 295 Wiste I thou wolde me here.

hear

MARIA Forgiffnesse, sir, late be for shame;
 Slike wordis suld all gud women lakke.

let

JOSEPH Yha, Marie, I am to blame,
 For wordis lang are I to thee spak.
 300 But gadir same nowe all oure gere,
 Slike poure wede as we were,
 And prike tham in a pak.
 Till Bedlem bus me it bere,
 For litill thyng will women dere.
 305 Helpe up nowe on my bak.

*long (inappropriate) previously
together
poor clothes; wear
press; into
carry
trouble*

[14. THE NATIVITY]

The Tille Thekers

JOSEPH All weldand God in Trinité,
 I praye thee, Lord, for thy grete myght,
 Unto thy symple servand see,
 Here in this place wher we are pight,
 5 Oureself allone;
 Lord, graunte us gode herberow this nyght
 Within this wone.

*powerful
take notice
placed
shelter
place*

- For we have sought bothe uppe and doun
 Thurgh diverse stretis in this cité;
 10 So mekill pepull is comen to towne
 That we can nowhere herbered be,
 There is slike prees.
 Forsuthe I can no socoure see
 But belde us with there bestes.
- streets
many
accommodated
such a press [of people]
for us to stay; animals
- 15 And yf we here all nyght abide
 We schall be stormed in this steede;
 The walles are doun on ilke a side,
 The ruffe is rayved aboven oure hede,
 Als have I roo.
- exposed to the weather; place*
roof is open; head
hope to have peace
advice
- 20 Say, Marie, doughtir, what is thy rede?
 How sall we doo?
- For in grete nede nowe are we stedde,
 As thou thyselffe the soth may see,
 For here is nowthir cloth ne bedde,
 25 And we are weyke and all werie
 And fayne wolde rest.
 Now, gracious God, for thy mercie,
 Wisse us the best.
- situated
bedclothes
weary
Guide
- MARIA** God will us wisse, full wele witt ye;
 30 Therfore, Joseph, be of gud chere,
 For in this place borne will he be
 That sall us save fro sorowes sere,
 Bothe even and morne.
 Sir, witte ye wele the tyme is nere,
 35 He will be borne.
- guide; know*
many
near
- JOSEPH** Than behoves us bide here stille,
 Here in this same place all this nyght.
- abide*
- MARIA** Ya, sir, forsuth it is Goddis will.
- JOSEPH** Than wolde I fayne we had sum light,
 40 What so befall.
 It waxis right myrke unto my sight
 And colde withall.
- be glad [if]; some*
dark
- I will go gete us light forthy,
 And fewell fande with me to bryng.
- fuel find*
- MARIA** All weldand God, yow governe and gy,
 46 As he is sufferayne of all thyng,
- guide*
sovereign

- For his grete myght;
And lende me grace to his lovyng
That I me dight.
- 50 Nowe in my sawle grete joie have I:
I am all cladde in conforte clere.
Now will be borne of my body
Both God and man togedir in feere.
Blist mott he be.
- 55 Jesu, my Sone that is so dere,
Nowe borne is he.
- Hayle, my Lord God, hayle prince of pees,
Hayle my Fadir, and hayle my Sone,
Hayle sovereyne sege all synnes to sesse,
60 Hayle God and man in erth to wonne!
Hayle, thurgh whos myht
All this worlde was first begonne,
Merknes and light.
- Sone, as I am sympill sugett of thyne,
65 Vowchesaffe, swete Sone I praye thee,
That I myght thee take in the armys of myne,
And in this poure wede to arraie thee.
Graunte me thi bliss
As I am thy modir chosen to be
70 In sothfastnesse.
- JOSEPH** A, Lorde God, what the wedir is colde,
The fellest freese that evere I felyd;
I pray God helpe tham that is alde
And namely tham that is unwelde,
75 So may I saie.
Now, gud God thou be my bilde,
As thou best may.
- A, Lord God, what light is this
That comes shynyng thus sodenly?
80 I cannot saie, als have I blisse,
When I come home unto Marie
Than sall I spirre.
A, here be God, for nowe come I.

MARIA Ye ar welcum, sirre.

JOSEPH Say, Marie doghtir, what chere with thee?

MARIA Right goode, Joseph, as has been ay.

JOSEPH O, Marie, what swete thyng is that on thy kne?

MARIA It is my Sone, the soth to saye,
89 That is so gud.

*truth
good (healthy)*

JOSEPH Wele is me I bade this day
To se this foode.

*Happy am I
infant*

Me mervelesmekill of this light
That thusgates shynes in this place,
94 Forsuth it is a selcouth sight.

*marvel greatly
in this manner
wondrous*

MARIA This hase he ordand of his grace,
My Sone so ying,
A starne to be shynnyng a space
At his bering.

*young
star
birth*

For Balam tolde ful longe beforne
100 How that a sterne shulde rise full hye,
And of a maiden shulde be borne
A Sonne that sall oure saffyng be
Fro caris kene.
Forsuth it is my Sone so free,
105 Be whame Balam gon meene.

*Balaam
salvation
From cares (suffering) sharp
Of whom; meant*

JOSEPH Nowe, welcome, floure fairest of hewe,
I shall thee menske with mayne and myght.
Hayle, my maker, hayle Crist Jesu,
Hayle, riall kyng, roote of all right;
110 Hayle, Saveour,
Hayle, my Lorde, lemer of light,
Hayle, blessid floure.

*flower; hue
worship
royal
source of radiance*

MARIA Nowe Lord that all this worlde schall wynne,
To thee my Sone is that I saye,
115 Here is no bedde to laye thee inne;
Therfore my dere Sone, I thee praye,
Sen it is soo,
Here in this cribbe I myght thee lay
Betwene ther bestis two.

*gain
animals*

120 And I sall happe thee, myn owne dere childe,
With such clothes as we have here.

wrap

JOSEPH O Marie, beholde thes beestis mylde,
They make lovyng in ther manere
As thei wer men. praise

As ther weſt inch.
125 Forsothe it ſemes wele be ther chere
Thare Lorde thei ken.

MARIA Ther Lorde thai kenne, that wate I wele,
They worshippe hym with myght and mayne. *know I well*

The wedir is colde, as ye may feele,

130 To halde hym warme thei are full fayne
With thare warme breth *keep; determined*
their

With thair warlike breath,
And oondis on hym, is nocht to layne,
To warm hym with.

O, nowe slepis my Sone, blist mot he be,
135 And lyes full warme ther bestis bytwene.

JOSEPH O nowe is fulfillid, forsuth I see,
That Abacuc in mynde gon mene *Habakkuk; had meant*

And prechid by prophicie.

He saide oure Savyoure shall be sene

May 2019 Version 6.0.1

JOSEPH. Honour and worshipe both day and nyght,

JOSEPH Honour and worshipe both day and nyght
Aylstand Lorde, be done to thee.

¹⁴⁵ Allway as is worthy
Aylastand Lorde, be done to thee
offered

145 Alway as is worthy,
And Lord, to thy service I obllish me
With all myn herte holy. *oblige*
heart wholly

MARIA Thou mercyfull maker, most myghty,

My God, my Lorde, my Sone so free,

150 Thy handemayden forsoth am I,

101 Thy commandment hir myn hir,
And to thi service I oblissh me
With all myn herte entere. *entirely*

Thy blissing, beseke I thee,
Thou graunte us all in feere. *beseech*
together

[15. THE OFFERING OF THE SHEPHERDS]

The Chandellers

I PASTOR	Bredir in haste, takis heede and here What I wille speke and specifie; Sen we walke thus, withouten were, What mengis my moode nowe mevyd will I.	Brothers; hear doubt unsettles forefathers; altogether Hosea; Isaiah Proved; prince; peer
5	Oure formefadres, faythfull in fere, Bothe Osye and Isaye, Preved that a prins withouten pere Shulde descende doune in a lady And to make mankynde clerly	clean (sinless) cure Bethlehem child be
10	To leche tham that are lorne; And in Bedlem hereby Sall that same barne by borne.	town heard star bright beams
15	II PASTOR Or he be borne in burgh hereby, Balaham, brothir, me have herde say, A sterne shulde schyne and signifie With lightfull lemes like any day. And als the texte it tellis clerly	law buy [back] (redeem) maid master
20	By witty lerned men of oure lay, With his blissid bloode he shulde us by, He shulde take here al of a maye. I herde my syre saye When he of hir was borne,	clean maid (virgin) before
	She shulde be als clene maye As ever she was byforne.	
III PASTOR	A, mercifull maker,mekill is thy myght	creator
26	That thus will to thi servantes see. Might we ones loke uppon that light, Gladder bretheren myght no men be.	once
30	I have herde say, by that same light The childre of Israell shulde be made free, The force of the feende to felle in fighte, And all his pouer excluded shulde be.	to overcome
35	Wherfore, brether, I rede that wee Flitte faste overe thees felles To frayste to fynde oure fee And talke of sumwhat ellis.	advise hills try; livestock else
I PASTOR	We, Hudde!	Whee
II PASTOR	We, howe!	pay attention

- I PASTOR** Herkyn to me!
- II PASTOR** We, man, thou maddes all out of myght. *act badly*
- I PASTOR** We, Colle!
- III PASTOR** What care is comen to thee?
- I PASTOR** Steppe furth and stande by me right *near me*
 41 And telle me than
 Yf thou sawe evere swilke a sight.
- III PASTOR** I? Nay, certis, nor nevere no man.
- II PASTOR** Say, felowes, what, fynde yhe any feest, *feast (revels)*
 45 Me falles for to have parte, pardé. *I ought to have a; by God*
- I PASTOR** Whe, Hudde, behalde into the heste, *east*
 A selcouthe sight than sall thou see
 Upon the skye. *marvelous*
- II PASTOR** We, telle me, men, emang us thre, *makes*
 50 Whatt garres yow stare thus sturdely?
- III PASTOR** Als lange as we have herdemen bene
 And kepid this catell in this cloghe, *kept; livestock; valley*
 So selcouth a sight was nevere non sene.
- I PASTOR** We, no Colle, nowe comes it newe inowe *suddenly*
 55 That mon we fynde;
 . . .
- [III PASTOR]** Itt menes some mervayle us emang,
 Full hardely I you behete. *[pages missing]
 omen; among
 boldly; assure*
- I PASTOR** What it shulde mene that wate not yee, *know*
 For all that ye can gape and gone. *and do*
 60 I can synge itt alls wele as hee,
 And on asaie itt sall be sone *on a try; soon*
 Proved or we passe. *ere*
 Yf ye will helpe, halde on; late see,
 For thus it was. *hold on [to your note]*
- Et tunc cantant.* *And then they sing*
- II PASTOR** Ha, ha, this was a mery note;
 66 Be the dede that I sall dye *death*

I have so crakid in my throte
That my lippis are nere drye.

III PASTOR I trowe thou royse,
70 For what it was fayne witte walde I
That tille us made this noble noyse.

*think you talk nonsense
gladly know
to us; musical sound*

I PASTOR An aungell brought us tythandes newe
A babe in Bedlem shulde be borne,
Of whom than spake oure prophecie trewe,
75 And bad us mete hym thare this morne,
That mylde of mode.
I walde giffe hym bothe hatte and horne,
And I myght fynde that frely foode.

*truthfully
meet
mood
would give
noble child*

III PASTOR Hym for to fynde has we no drede;
80 I sall you telle achesoun why:
Yone sterne to that Lorde sall us lede.

reason

II PASTOR Ya, thou sais soth, go we forthy
Hym to honnour
And make myrthe and melody
85 With sange to seke oure Savyour.

Et tunc cantant.

And then they sing

I PASTOR Breder, bees all blythe and glad,
Here is the burgh ther we shulde be.

Brothers

II PASTOR In that same steede now are we stadde;
Tharefore I will go seke and see.
90 Slike happe of heele nevere herdemen hadde.
Loo, here is the house, and here is hee.

place; stopped

luck; well-being

III PASTOR Ya, forsothe this is the same,
Loo! whare that Lorde is layde
Betwyxe two bestis tame,
95 Right als tha aungell saide.

I PASTOR The aungell saide that he shulde save
This worlde and all that wonnes therin;
Therfore yf I shulde oght aftir crave
To wirshippe hym I will begynne.
100 Sen I am but a symple knave,
Thof all I come of curtayse kynne,
Loo, here slyke harnays as I have,
A baren broche by a belle of tynne

lives

*peasant
kinfolk*

*such [household] gear
poor brooch; tin*

- At youre bosom to be,
 105 And whenne ye shall welde all,
 Gud Sonne, forgete noght me
 Yf any fordele falle.
- wield (control) all [things]
 God's (or ?good)
 advantage*

- II PASTOR** Thou Sonne, that shall save bothe see and sande,
 Se to me sen I have thee soght,
 110 I am ovir poure to make presande
 Als myn harte wolde, and I had ought.
 Two cobill notis uppon a bande,
 Loo, litill babe, what I have broght,
 And whan ye sall be Lorde in lande,
 115 Dose goode agayne, forgete me noght,
 For I have herde declared
 Of connyng clerkis and clene
 That bountith askis rewarde,
 Nowe watte ye what I mene.
- sea
 overly poor; present
 heart would wish, if
 hazelnuts
 pure
 bounty*

- III PASTOR** Nowe loke on me, my Lorde dere;
 121 Thof all I putte me noght in pres,
 Ye are a prince withouten pere,
 I have no presentte that you may plees.
 But lo, an horne spone, that have I here,
 125 And it will herbar fourty pese;
 This will I giffe you with gud chere,
 Slike novelté may noght disease.
 Farewele thou swete swayne,
 God graunte us levying lange,
 130 And go we hame agayne
 And make mirthe as we gange.
- Though I don't mean to push myself forward
 equal
 please
 spoon
 contain; peas
 displease
 living long
 go*

[16. HEROD QUESTIONING THE THREE KINGS AND THE OFFERING OF THE MAGI]

The Masonns [and] Goldesmythis

Masons:

- HERODES** The clowdes clapped in clerenes that ther clematis inclosis,¹
 Jubiter and Jovis, Martis and Mercurii emyde,
 Raykand overe my rialté on rawe me rejoyses,
 Blonderande ther blastis to blaw when I bidde.
 5 Saturne, my subgett, that sotilly is hidde,
 Listes at my likyng and laies hym full lowe.
- Mars; amidst
 Rushing; row (in order)
 Whirling about; blow
 subject; subtly
 Attends to my desire*

¹ *Clouds wrapped in splendor that their region encloses*

- The rakke of the rede skye full rappely I ridde,
Thondres full thrallye by thousanddes I thrawe
When me likis.
- 10 Venus his voice to me awe
That princes to play in hym pikis.
- The prince of planetis that proudly is pight
Sall brace furth his bemes that oure belde blithes;
The mone at my myght he mosteres his myght,
15 And kayssaris in castellis grete kyndynes me kythes;
Lordis and ladis loo luffelly me lithes,
For I am fairer of face and fressher on folde,
The soth yf I saie sall, sevne and sexti sithis
Than glorius gulles that gayer is than golde
20 In price.
How thynke ye ther tales that I talde,
I am worthy, witty, and wyse.
- I MILES** All kynges to youre croune may clerly comende
Youre lawe and youre lordshippe as lodsterne on hight.
25 What traytoure untrewre that will not attende
Ye sall lay thaim full lowe, fro leeme and fro light.
- II MILES** What faitoure, in faithe, that dose you offende,
We sall sette hym full sore, that sotte, in youre sight.
- HERODES** In welthe sall I wisse you to wonne or I wende,
30 For ye are wightis ful worthy, both witty and wighte.
- But ye knawe wele, ser knyghtis, in counsail full conande,
That my regiouen so riall is ruled her be rest;
For I wate of no wighte in this worlde that is wonnande
That in forges any feloune, with force sall be fest;
35 Arest ye tho rebaldes that unrewly are rownand,
Be they kyngis or knyghtis, in care ye thaim cast.
Yaa, and welde tham in woo to wonne, in the wanyand,
What browle that is brawlyng his brayne loke ye brest,
And dynge ye hym doune.
- I MILES** Sir, what foode in faith will you feese,
41 That sott full sone myselfe sall hym sesse.
- II MILES** We sall noght here doute to do hym disesse,
But with countenaunce full cruel we sall crake her his croune.
- HERODES** My sone that is semely, howe semes thee ther sawes?
45 Howe comely ther knyghtis, thei carpe in this case.

*rack [of clouds]; quickly I get rid of
violently; throw*

*owes
picks (chooses)*

*(i.e., the sun); adorned
radiate; happiness gladdens
moon; musters
caesars; affords me
courteously; attend
on earth
sixty-seven times
red (heraldic color)*

told

guiding star in heavens

brightness

*false person
fool*

*arrange for you to dwell; go
men; strong*

*clever
royal; in peace
living
plans; crime; caught
Arrest; rascals; unruly; speaking
suffering; them
live; waning [of the moon]
wretch; rioting; smash
strike*

*immature person; punish
fool; seize*

fear; discomfort

*handsome; sayings
speak*

FILIUS Fadir, if thai like noght to listyn youre lawes,
As traytoures ontrewē ye sall teche them a trace,
For, fadir, unkyndnes ye kythe them no cause.

*disloyal; lesson
have given*

HERODES Faire falle thee, my faire sone, so fettis of face,
50 And knyghtis, I comaunde, who to dule drawes,
Thas churles as cheveleres ye chastise and chase
And dredē ye no doute.

*son; handsome
dole (evil)
knyghts
fear*

FILIUS Fadir, I sall fell tham in fight,
What renke that reves you youre right.

man; robs

I MILES With dyntes to dede bes he dight
56 That liste not youre lawes for to lowte.

*strokes; death be; put
respect*

Goldsmiths:

I REX A, Lorde, that levis, everelastande lyff,
I love thee evir with harte and hande,
That me has made to se this sight
60 Whilke my kynrede was coveytande.
Thay saide a sterne with lemys bright
Owte of the eest shulde stabely stande,
And that it shulde meffe mekill myght
Of one that shulde be Lorde in lande,
65 That men of synne shulde saff be;
And certis I sall saye,
God graunte me happe to have
Wissynge of redy waye.

*lives
praise*

*kinfolk were desiring
star; beams
stand still
move (indicate)*

*sin; saved
luck
Knowledge*

II REX All weldand God, that all has wrought,
70 I worshippe thee als is worthye
That with thy brightnes has me broght
Owte of my reame, riche Arabie.
I shall noght seys tille I have sought
What selcouth thyng it sall syngnyfie,
75 God graunte me happe so that I myght
Have grace to gete goode companye
And my conforte encresse
With thy sterne schynynge schene.
For certis, I sall noght cesse
80 Tille I witte what it mene.

*All powerful
praise*

*realm
cease*

wonderful; signify

*brightly
cease
means*

III REX Lorde God, that all goode has bygonne
And all may ende, both goode and evyll,
That made for man both mone and sonne

created

And stedde yone sterne to stande stone stille. *positioned yon star*
 85 Tille I the cause may clerly knowe,
 God wisse me with his worthy wille. *guide*
 I hope I have her felaws fonde, *found*
 My yarnyng fathfully to fullfille. *yearning faithfully*
 Sirs, God yowe saffe ande see, *save*
 90 And were yow evere fro woo. *defend; from woe*

I REX Amen, so myght it bee,
 And saffe yow, sir, also.

III REX Sirs, with youre wille, I wolde yow praye *permission*
 To telle me some of youre entent, *intent*
 95 Whedir ye wende forthe in this way *Whether*
 And fro what contré ye are wente. *country*

II REX Full gladly, sir, I shall you say,
 A sodayne sight was till us sente, *sudden*
 A royall sterne that rose or day *before*
 100 Before us on the firmament
 That garte us fare fro home
 Som poynte therof to preffe. *caused; to travel from
prove*

III REX Sertis, syrs, I saw the same
 That makis us thus to moyse. *move*

105 For sirs, I have herde saye sertayne *certain*
 Itt shulde be seyne of selcowthe seere *sign of many wonders*
 And ferther therof I wolde freyne; *ask*
 That makis me moffe in this manere. *move*

I REX Sir, of felashippe are we fayne,
 110 Now sall we wende forth all in feere, *desirous*
 God graunte us or we come agayne *together*
 Som gode hartyng therof to here. *ere*
 Sir, here is Jerusalem,
 To wisse us als we goo, *encouragement; hear*
 115 And beyonde is Bedleem; *direct*
 Ther schall we seke alsoo. *Bethlehem*

III REX Sirs, ye schall wele undirstande
 For to be wise nowe were it nede,
 Sir Herowde is kyng of this lande
 120 And has his lawes her for to leede. *here; lead*

I REX Sir, sen we neghe now thus nerhand,
 Untill his helpe us muste take heede, *come near; nearby*

For have we his wille and his warande
Than may we wende withouten drede.

warrant

II REX To have leve of the lorde,
126 That is resounne and skyll.

sensible

III REX And therto we all accorde;
Wende we and witte his wille.

know

Masons and Goldsmiths:

NUNCIUS My lorde, ser Herowde, kyng with croune.

crown

HERODES Pees, dastarde, in the develes dispite.

Peace; malice

NUNCIUS My lorde, now note is nere this towne.

news

HERODES What, false harlott, liste thee flight?
Go betis yone boy and dyngis hym downe.

*argue
beat; strike*

II MILES Lorde, messengeres shulde no man wyte,
135 It may be for youre awne renoune.

*blame
own reputation*

HERODES That wolde I here, do telle on tyte.

hear; quickly

NUNCIUS My lorde, I mette at morne
Thre kyngis carpand togedir
Of a barne that is borne,
140 And thei hight to come hiddir.

talking

called (designated)

HERODES Thre kyngis, forsoth?

NUNCIUS Sir, so I say,
For I saw thaim myselffe all fere.

all together

I CONSOLATOR My lorde, appose hym, I you pray.

interrogate

HERODES Say, felowe, are they ferre or nere?

far or near

NUNCIUS Mi lorde, thei will be here this day,
146 That wote I wele, withouten were.

without question

HERODES Do rewle us than in riche array,
And ilke man make tham mery chere
That no sembelant be sene
150 But frendshippe faire and still

*dress; then
each
outward sign; seen*

Till we witte what thei mene,
Whedir it be gud or ill.

I REX The lorde that lenes aylastand light
Whilke has us ledde owte of oure londe,
155 Kepe thee, ser kynge and comely knyght
And all thy folke that we her fynde.

know; intend

*lends everlasting
Which; land*

here

HERODES Mahounde, my god and most of myght
That has myn hele all in his hande,
He saffe you, sirs, semely in sight,
160 And telle us nowe som new tithand.

*Mohammed
my well-being
save
tidings*

II REX Some sall we saie you, sir.
A sterne stode us beforne
That makis us speke and spir
Of one that is new borne.

*star
ask*

HERODES New borne? That burden halde I bad,
166 And, certis, unwitty men ye wore
To leppe overe lande to laite a ladde.
Say, whan loste ye hym, ought lange before?
All wise men will wene ye madde,
170 And therfore moves this never more.

*birth hold
were
hurry; seek
(i.e., was it long before)
consider you to be
refer to this*

III REX Yis, certis, swilke hertyng have we hadde
We will not cesse or we come thore.

*encouragement
cease until*

HERODES This were a wondir thynge.
Saie, what barne shulde that be?

child

I REX Forsoth, he sall be kynge
176 Of Jewes and of Jude.

Judea

HERODES Kyng? In the develes name, dogges, fye!
Nowe se I wele ye roye and rave.
Be any skemeryng of the skye
180 When shulde ye knawe outhir kyng or knave?

*well you talk nonsense (boast)
glimmering in
either*

FILIUS Naye, he is kyng and non but he
That sall ye kenne if that ye crave,
And he is jugge of all Jurie
To speke or spille, to saie or saffe.

*know; desire
judge; Jewry
defend; condemn; save*

HERODES Swilke gawdes may gretely greve
186 To witnesse that nere was.

*tricks; grieve (offend)
never*

II REX Nowe, lorde, we axe but leve
Be youre poure to passe.

*ask; permission
power (authority)*

HERODES Whedirward, in the develis name,
190 To layte a ladde here in my lande?
Fals harlottis, bot yhe hye you hame
Ye sall be bette and bune in bande.

*seek
go; home
beaten; bound*

II CONSOLATOR Mi lorde, to fell this foule defame,
Late alle there hye wordis falle on hande
195 And spere thaim sadly of the same,
So sall ye stably undirstande
Thaire mynde and ther menyng,
And takes gud tente therto.

*put down; disgrace
Let; their hasty; be put aside
inquire; soberly
meaning
careful attention*

HERODES I thanke thee of thy thing,
200 And certis so sall I doo.

Nowe, kyngis, to cache all care awaye
Sen ye are comen oute of youre kyth,
Loke noght ye legge agaynstoure laye,
Upon Payne to lose both lymme and lith.
205 And so that ye the soth will saye
To come and go I graunte you grith,
And yf youre poyntes be to my paye
May fall myselfe sall wende you with.

*take (drive)
(i.e., native land)
allege; law
(i.e., life and limb)
protection
advantage
*It may fall out that**

I REX Sir kyng, we all accorde
210 And sais a barne is borne
That sall be kyng and lorde,
And leche tham that ar lorne.

*Child
heal; lost*

II REX Sir, ye thar mervaylle nothyng
Of this ilke noote that thusgattes newes,
215 For Balaham saide a starne shulde sprynge
Of Jacob kynde, and that is Jewes.

*note (matter); in this manner is news
Balaam; star
Jacob's kin*

III REX Isaie sais a maiden yonge
Sall bere a barne emange Ebrewes
That of all contrees sal be kynge
220 And governe all that on erthe grewes.
Emanuell beiths his name,
To say, Goddis Sone of hevene.
And certis this is the same
That we here to you neven.

*Isaiah; young
among Hebrews
grows
shall be
certainly
name (identify)*

- I REX** Sir, the proved prophete Ossee
 226 Full trewly tolde in towne and toure,
 A maiden of Israell, forsooth saide he,
 Sall bere oone like to lilly floure.
 He menes a childe consayved shall be
 230 Withouten seede of mannys socoure,
 And his modir a mayden free,
 And he both Sonne and Saveour.
- II REX** That fadres talde me beforne
 Has no man myght to marre.
- HERODES** Allas, than am I lorne,
 236 This wax ay werre and werre.
- I CONSOLATOR** My lorde, be ye nothyng abast,
 This brigge till ende shall wele be broght.
 Byde tham go furth and frendly frayste
 240 The soth of this that thei have soght,
 And telle it you, soo shall ye traste
 Whedir ther tales be trewe or noght.
 Than shall ye waite thaim with a wraste
 And make all waste that thei have wroght.
- HERODES** Nowe certis, this is wele saide,
 246 This matere makes me fayne.
 Sir kyngis, I halde me paied
 Off all youre purpose playne.
- Wende furth youre forward to fulfill,
 250 To Bedlem is but here at hande,
 And speris grathely both gud and ille
 Of hym that shulde be lorde in lande,
 And comes agayne than me untill
 And telle me trulye youre tithande.
 255 To worshippe hym than were my will,
 This shall ye stably undirstande.
- II REX** Certis, ser, we shall you say
 The soth of that same childe,
 In all the haste we may.
- II CONSOLATOR** Fares wele. Ye be bygilyd.
- HERODES** Now, certis, this is a sotell trayne.
 262 Nowe shall thai truly take there trace
 And telle me of that swytteron swayne

*Hosea
tower**conceived
assistance of a man's seed
mother**(i.e., forefathers)
spoil**worse and worse**afraid
conflict (situation)
inquire**test**wait for them; trick
destroy**happy
rewarded**Go; undertaking**ask plainly**then
tidings**firmly**Farewell; beguiled**subtle trick
make their way
doubtful (of no account) boy*

Goldsmiths:

Nota: The Harrode passeth and the three kynges commyth agayn to make there offerynges.

- I REX** A, sirs, for sight what shall I say,
Whare is oure syne? I se it noth. sorrow
sign; not

- II REX** No more do I; nowe dar I lay
276 In oure wendyng som wrange is wrought. *wrong*

- III REX** Unto that prince I rede we praye
That till us sente his syngne unsoght,
That he wysse us in redy way
280 So frendly that we fynde hym moght.
advise
sign
direct
So that lovingly; might

- I REX** A, siris, I se it stande
Aboven where he is borne;
Lo, here is the house at hande.
We have noght myste this morne. missed (failed)

- ANCILLA** Whame seke ye, syrs, be wayes wilde
286 With talkyng, travelyng to and froo?
Her wonnes a woman with her childe,
And her husband; her ar no moo.

- II REX** We seke a barne that all shall bylde; *protect*
290 His sartayne syngne hath saide us soo, *infallible sign; informed us thus*
And his modir, a mayden mylde,
Her hope we to fynde them twoo.

- ANCILLA** Come nere, gud syirs, and see:
Your way to ende is broght. *a conclusion*

- III REX** Behalde here, syirs, her and se
296 The same that ye have soght. *hear and see*

I REX Loved be that Lorde that lastis aye,
 That us has kyddle thus curtaysely
 To wende by many a wilsom way
 300 And come to this clene companye.

*Praised; exists forever
 shown
 lonely (dangerous) way
 undefined*

II REX Late us make nowe no more delay
 But tyte take furth oure tresurry
 And ordand giftis of gud aray
 To worshippe hym als is worthy.

*Let
 quickly; treasure
 intended gifts [for the Child]*

III REX He is worthy to welde
 306 All worshippe, welthe, and wynne;
 And for honnoure and elde,
 Brother, ye shall begynne.

*enjoy
 felicity
 age*

I REX Hayle, the fairest of felde, folke for to fynde,
 310 Fro the fende and his feeres faithefully us fende;
 Hayll, the best that shall be borne to unbynde
 All the barnes that are borne and in bale boune.
 Hayll, thou marc us thi men and make us in mynde
 Sen thi myght is on molde misseis to amende.
 315 Hayll, clene that is comen of a kynge kynde
 And shall be kyng of this kyth, all clergy has kende.
 And sith it shall worthe on this wise,
 Thyselffe have I soght sone, I say thee,
 With golde that is grettest of price.
 320 Be paied of this present, I pray thee.

*(i.e., in the world)
 fiend; companions; defend*

*bound
 mark; keep
 earth sins
 undefined one; lineage
 people; revealed
 since; happen this way
 soon*

Accept

II REX Hayll, foode that thy folke fully may fede;
 Hayll, floure fairest that never shall fade;
 Hayll, Sone that is sente of this same sede
 That shall save us of synne that oure syris had;
 325 Hayll, mylde, for thou mett to marke us to mede,
 Off a may makeles thi modir thou made.
 In that gude thurgh grace of thy Godhede,
 Als the gleme in the glasse gladly thow glade
 And sythyn thow shall sitte to be demand,
 330 To helle or to heven for to have us,
 Insens to thi servis is semand.
 Sone, se to thi suggestis and save us.

*child; may nourish
 flower
 seed
 ancestors*

*mild one; chose; reward
 maid matchless (without sin)
 good [maid]
 gleam through; glided
 then; judging*

*Incense; appropriate
 subjects*

III REX Hayll, barne that is best oure balsys to bete,
 For our boote shall thou be bounden and bett;
 335 Hayll, frende faithfull, we fall to thy feete,
 Thy fadiris folke fro the fende to thee fette.
 Hayll, man that is made to thi men mette
 Sen thou and thy modir with mirthis ar mette;

*sorrows to overcome
 assistance; beaten*

*fetch
 fitting
 Since; joys*

- 340 Hayll, duke that dryves dede undir fete,
But whan thy dedys ar done to dye is thi dette.
And sen thy body beryed shal be,
This mirre will I giffe to thi gravyng.
The gifte is noght grete of degree,
Ressayve it, and se to oure savyng.
- death under [*this*] feet
debt
buried
myrrh; give; burial
- MARIA** Sir kyngis, ye travel not in vayne,
346 Als ye have ment, hyr may ye fynde,
For I consayved my Sone sartayne
Withouten misse of man in mynde,
And bare hym here withouten Payne
350 Where women ar wonte to be pynyd.
Goddis aungell in his gretynge playne
Saide he shulde comforthe al mankynde;
Tharfore doute yow no dele
Here for to have youre bone;
355 I shall witnesse full wele
All that is saide and done.
- conceived; certainly
sin
to feel pain
*doubt; entirely
wish (desire)*
- I REX** For solas ser now may we synge,
All is performed that we for prayde.
But gud barne, giffe us thy blissing,
360 For faire happe is before thee laide.
- special*
give
good fortune
- II REX** Wende we nowe to Herowde the kyng,
For of this poynte he will be paied
And come hymselffe and make offeryng
Unto this same, for so he saide.
- matter; pleased*
- III REX** I rede we reste a thrawe
366 For to maynteyne our myght,
And than do as we awe
Both unto kyng and knyght.
- advise; awhile*
stamina
ought
- ANGELUS** Nowe curtayse kynges, to me take tent,
370 And turne betyme or ye be tenyd,
Fro God hymselfe thus am I sent
To warne yow als youre faithfull frende.
Herowde the kyng has malise ment
And shappis with shame yow for to shende,
375 And for that ye non harmes shulde hente
Be othir waies God will ye wende
Even to youre awne contré.
And yf ye aske hym bone,
Youre beelde ay will he be
380 For this that ye have done.
- courteous; pay attention*
without delay; hurt (killed)

shapes (schemes); destroy
suffer
By
own country
a favor
support

I REX A, Lorde, I love thee inwardly.
 Sirs, God has gudly warned us thre.
 His anungell her now herde have I,
 And how he saide.

praise

II REX Sir, so did we,
 385 He saide Herowde is oure enmye
 And makis hym bowne oure bale to be
 With feyned falsed, and forthy
 Farre fro his force I rede we flee.

*enemy**bound**feigned falsehood**power; advise*

III REX Syrs, faste I rede we flitte
 390 Ilkone till oure contré.
 He that is welle of witte
 Us wisse, and with yow be.

*Each one**the source of knowledge**direct*

[17. THE PURIFICATION OF THE VIRGIN]

The Hatmakers, Masons, and Laborers

PRISBETER Almyghty God in heven so hy,
 The maker of all heven and erth,
 He ordenyd here all thynges evenly,
 For man he ment to mend his myrrh.

*high**properly**intended; joy*

5 In nomber, weight, and mesure fyne
 God creat here al thyng, I say.
 His lawes he bad men shulde not tyne,
 But kepe his commandementes allway.

bade; break

10 In the mount of Syney full fayre
 And in two tabyls to you to tell,
 His lawes to Moyses tuke God there
 To geve to the chylder of Israell,

*Sinai**tables**(i.e., entrusted)*

15 That Moyses shull theme gyde alway
 And lerne theme lely to knowe Goddes wyll,
 And that he shulde not it denay
 But kepe his lawes stable and styl.

*should; guide**teach; truly**deny it**always*

For payn that he hadd putt therefore,
 To stome all theme that kepis it nott
 Utterly to death, both lesse and moore,
 20 There shulde no marcy for them be soght.

*distress**mercy*

- Therefore kepe well Goddes commandement
 And leyd your lyf after his lawes,
 Or ells surely ye mon be shent
 Bothe lesse and moore, ylkone on rawes.
- lead
may be damned
each one in order*
- 25 This is his wyll after Moyses lawe:
 That ye shulde bryng your beistes good
 And offer theme here your God to knawe,
 And frome your synns to turne your moode.
- beasts*
- 30 Suche beestes as God hais marked here,
 Unto Moyses he spake as I yow tell,
 And bad hym boldly with good chere
 To say to the chylder of Israell
- has*
- 35 That after dyvers seknes seer
 And after that dyvers synes alsoo,
 Go bryng your beestes to the preest even here
 To offer theme up in Goddes sight, loo.
- various illnesses*
- 40 The woman that hais borne her chylde,
 She shall comme hether at the forty day
 To be purfyed where she was fylde
 And bryng with her a lame, I say,
- defiled
lamb*
- And two dove byrdes for her offerand
 And take them to the preest of lay
 To offer theme up with his holy hand.
 There shulde no man to this say nay.
- the law*
- 45 The lame is offeryd for Goddes honour
 In sacrefyes all onely dight,
 And the preistes prayer purchace secure
 For the woman that was fylid in God sight.
- advantage
defiled*
- 50 And yf so be that she be power
 And have no lame to offer, than
 Two tyrtle doves to Godes honoure
 To bryng with her for her offrand.
- poor
offering*
- 55 Loo, here am I, preest present alway
 To resave all offerandes that hydder is broght,
 And for the people to God to pray
 That helth and lyfe to theme be wroght.
- receive*
- ANNA PROPHETISSA** Here in this holy playce, I say,
 Is my full purpose to abyde
- remain*

- 60 To serve my God bothe nyght and day
With prayer and fastyng in ever ylk a tyde. *time*
- For I have beyn a wyddo this threscore yere
And foure yere to, the truthe to tell;
And here I have terryed with full good chere
For the redempcyon of Israell. *widow*
tarried
- 65 And so for my holy conversacion
Grete grace to me hais now God sent
To tell by profecy for mans redepempcion
What shall befall by Goddes intent.
- I tell you all here in this place
By Godes vertue in prophecy
That one is borne to oure solace
Here to be present securely
Within short space,
Of his owen mother, a madyn free; *space [of time]*
- 70 Of all vyrgens moost chaist suthly,
The well of mekenes, blyssed myght she be,
Moost full of grace. *chaste*
fount
- 75 And Symeon, that senyour
That is so semely in Godes sight,
He shall hym se and do honour
And in his armes he shall hym plight,
That worthy leyd. *old man*
worthy
pledge
man
- 80 Of the Holy Goost he shall suthly
Take strength and answere when he shall hy
Furth to this Temple and place holy
To do that deyd. *go*
deed
- SYMEON** A, blyssed God, thowe be my beylde
And beat my baill bothe nyght and day.
In hevynes my hart is hylde *support*
90 Unto myself, loo thus I say.
For I ame wayke and all unwelde,
My welth ay wayns and passeth away
Whereso I fayre in fyrrh or feylde
I fall ay downe for febyll, in fay. *remedy my misery*
held
weak; feeble
wanes
fare [forth] in woods; field
- 95 In fay I fall whereso I fayre,
In hayre and hewe and hyde I say;
Owte of this worlde I wolde I were.
Thus wax I warr and warr alway
And my myscheyf growes in all that may. *go*
hair; hue; skin
grow; worse and worse

- 100 Bot thowe myghty Lorde my mornyng mar,
Mar ye, for it shulde me well pay,
So happy to se hyme yf I warr.
*grief; destroy (i.e., take away)
reward
were*
- Nowe certys then shulde my gamme begynne
And I myght se hyme, of hyme to tell,
105 That one is borne withouten synne
And for mans kynde mans myrth to mell;
Borne of a woman and madyn fre,
As wytnesse Davyt and Danyill,
Withouten synne or velanye,
110 As said also Isacheell.
*game (joy, mirth)
him
ameliorate
David; Daniel
villainy (evil)
Ezekiel*
- And Melachiell that proffett snell
Hais tolde us of that babb so bright
That he shulde comme with us to dwell
In oure Temple as leme of light;
115 And other proffettes prophesieth
And of this blyssed babb dyd mell
And of his mother, a madyn bright,
In prophecy the truth gan tell.
*Malachi; wise
baby
beam
speak*
- That he shulde comme and harro hell
120 As a gyant grathly to glyde
And fersly the feyndes malles to fell
And putt there poors all on syde.
The worthyest wight in this worlde so wyde
His vertues seer no tong can tell,
125 He sendes all soccour in ylke tyde
As redemption of Israell.
Thus say they all,
There patryarkes and ther prophettes clere:
“A babb is borne to be oure fere,
130 Knytt in oure kynde for all our chere
To grete and small.”
*harrow
giant directly to enter (glide into)
malice
powers; aside
many
nature*
- Ay, well were me for ever and ay
If I myght se that babb so bright
Or I were buryed here in clay;
135 Then wolde my cors here mend in myght
Right faithfully.
Nowe Lorde, thowe grant to me thy grace
To lyf here in this worlde a space
That I myght se that babb in his face
140 Here or I dy.
*Before
body; regain its strength
live
ere I die*

A, Lorde God, I thynke may I endure,
Trowe we that babb shall fynde me here.
Nowe certys with aige I ame so power
That ever it abaites my chere.

*Believe
age; poor*

- 145 Yet yf kynde fale for aige in me,
God yett may length my lyfe suthly
Tyll I that babb and foode so free
Have seyn in sight.
For trewly, yf I wylst releesse
150 Thare shulde nothyng my hart dyseas.
Lorde, len me grace yf that thowe pleas
And make me light.

nature fail
lengthen
Until; child

if I [should] know release [from life]
disturb
give; please
happy

When wyll thowe comme, babb, let se, have done.

Nay, comme on tye and tarry nott,
For certys my lyf days are nere done,
For aige to me grete wo hais wrought.

- Great wo is wrought unto mans harte
Whan he muste want that he wolde have. *need (desire)*
I kepe no longar to have quarte *health*
160 For I have seen that I for crave.

A, trowes thoue these two eyes shall see
That blyssed babb or they be owte?
Ye, I pray God so myght it be:
Then were I putt all owte of dowte.

ANGELUS Olde Symeon, Gods servaunt right,

- 166 Bodworde to thee I bryng, I say,
For the Holy Goost moost of myght,
He says thowe shall not dye away
To thowe have seen Message

170 Jesu the babb that Mary bare
For all mankynde to slake there care.
He shall do comforth to lesse and mayr,
Both morne and even. Until
bore
diminish; suffering
more

SYMEON A, Lorde, gramarcy nowe I saw

175 That thowe this grace hais to me hight
Or I be buried here in clay
To se that semely beam so bright.

- Jesu my joy and Savyour ay.
 Blyssyd be his name.
- Loo, nowe mon I se, the truth to tell,
 The redempcion of Israell,
- 185 Jesu my Lorde Emanuell,
 Withouten blame.
- MARY** Joseph, my husbonde and my feer,
 Ye take to me grathely entent,
 I wyll you shoue in this manere
- 190 What I wyll do, thus have I ment:
 Full forty days is comme and went
 Sens that my babb Jesu was borne;
 Therefore I wolde he were present
 As Moyses lawes sais hus beforne,
- 195 Here in this Temple before Goddes sight
 As other women doith in feer,
 So methynke good skyll and right
 The same to do nowe with good chere,
 After Goddes sawe.
- JOSEPH** Mary, my spowse and madyn clene,
- 201 This matter that thowe moves to me
 Is for all these women bedene
 That hais conceyved with syn fleshely
 To bere a chylde.
- 205 The lawe is ledgyd for theme right playn
 That they muste be puryfied agayne,
 For in mans pleasoure for certayn
 Before were they fulyd.
- But Mary, byrde, thowe neyd not soo
 210 For this cause to be puryfiede, loo,
 In Goddes Temple;
 For certys thowe arte a clene vyrgyn
 For any thoght thy harte within
 Nor never wroght no flesly synne
 215 Nor never yll.
- MARY** That I my madenheade hais kept stylle
 It is onely throgh Godds wyll,
 That be ye bold;
- 220 Yett to fulfull the lawe ewysse
 That God almyghty gon expresse
 And for a sample of mekenesse,
 Offer I wolde.
- must*
- companion*
- pay attention truly to my intent*
- Since*
- say to us*
- altogether*
- saying*
- speaks*
- forthwith*
- carnal sin*
- affirmed*
- defiled*
- very assured*
- iwisse (to be sure)*
- did reveal*
- example*

- JOSEPH** A, Mary, blyssed be thowe ay;
 Thowe thynkes to do after Goddes wyl;
 225 As thowe haist said, Mary, I say,
 I will hartely consent theretyll
 Withouten dowte.
 Wherefore we dresse us furth oure way
 And make offerand to God this day,
 230 Even lykwyse as thyself gon say
 With hartes devowte.
- MARIA** Therto am I full redy dight.
 But one thyng, Joseph, I wolde you meyve.
- JOSEPH** Mary, my spouse and madyn bright,
 235 Tell on hartely, what is your greyf?
- MARIA** Both beest and fewell hus muste neydes have,
 As a lambe and two dove byrdes also.
 Lame have we none nor none we crave;
 Therefore, Joseph, what shall we do,
 240 What is your read?
 And we do not as custome is,
 We are worth to be blamyd iwysse;
 I wolde we dyd nothyng amys,
 As God me speyd.
- JOSEPH** A, good Mary, the lawe is this:
 246 To riche to offer bothe the lame and the byrd,
 And the poore two tyrtles iwys.
 Or two doyf byrdes shall not be fyrd
 For our offerand,
 250 And, Mary, we have doyf byrdes two
 As falls for hus, therefore we goo.
 They ar here in a panyer, loo,
 Reddy at hand.
- And yf we have not both in feer,
 255 The lame, the burd, as ryche men have,
 Thynke that us muste present here
 Oure babb Jesus, as we voutsave
 Before Godes sight.
 He is our lame, Mary, kare thee not,
 260 For riche and power none better soght.
 Full well thowe hais hym hither broght,
 This our offerand dight.

*doubt**undertake; on our way**point out**sorrow**fowl we**seek**advice**rich folk; bird**turtledoves**dove; rejected**offering**basket**are willing**worry*

- He is the lame of God, I say,
 That all our syns shall take away
 265 Of this worlde here.
 He is the lame of God verray
 That muste hus fend frome all our fray,
 Borne of thy wombe, all for our pay
 And for our chere.
- Who must defend us
 advantage*
- MARIA** Joseph, my spowse, ye say full trewe,
 271 Than lett us dresse hus furth our way.
- set forth*
- JOSEPH** Go we than, Mary, and do oure dewe
 And make meekly offerand this day.
 Lo, here is the Tempyll on this hyll
 275 And also preest ordand by skyll,
 Power havand.
 And Mary, go we thyther forthy,
 And lett us both knele devoutly
 And offre we up to God meekly
 280 Our dewe offrand.
- duty*
having
rightful
- MARIA** Unto my God highest in heven
 And to this preest ordand by skyll,
 Jesu my babb I offer hym
 Here with my harte and my good wyll
 285 Right hartely.
 Thowe pray for hus to God on hyght,
 Thowe preest, present here in his myght,
 At this deyd may be in his sight,
 Accept goodly.
- him*
high
deed
- JOSEPH** Loo, sir, and two doyf byrddes ar here.
 291 Receyve them with your holy handes,
 We ar no better of power,
 For we have neyther rentes ne landes
 Trewely.
 295 Bott good sir, pray to God of myght
 To accepte this at we have dight
 That we have offeryd as we arr hight
 Here hartely.
- this which we
 are called*
- PRESBITER** O God and graunter of all grace,
 300 Blyst be thy name both nyght and day,
 Accepte there offerand in this place
 That be here present to thee alway.
 A, blyssed Lorde, say never nay,
 But lett thy offerand be boot and beylde
- their*
*(i.e., don't refuse)
 assistance; comfort*

305 Tyll all such folke lyvand in clay
That thus to thee mekly wyll heyld. *incline*

That this babb, Lord, present in thy sight,
Borne of a madyns wombe unfylde, *undefiled*
Accepte for there specyall gyft
310 Gevyn to mankynde, both man and chylde,
So specyally,
And this babb borne and here present
May beylde us that we be not shent, *comfort; condemned*
But ever reddy his grace to hent
315 Here verely. *grasp*
truly

A, blyssyd babb, welcome thowe be,
Borne of a madyn in chaistety,
Thowe art our beylde, babb, our gamme and our glee *comfort; joy*
Ever soothly.
320 Welcome oure wytt and our wysdome,
Welcome our joy all and somme,
Welcomme *redemptour omnium* *redeemer of all [the world]*
Tyll hus hartely. *To us sincerely*

ANNA PROPHETISSA Welcome blyssed Mary and madyn ay,

325 Welcome mooste meke in thyne array,
Welcome bright starne that shyneth bright as day,
All for our blys;
Welcome, the blyssed beam so bryght,
Welcome the leym of all oure light, *(i.e., source)*
330 Welcome that all pleasour hais plight
To man and wyfe.

Welcome thowe blyssed babb so free,
Welcome oure welfayre wyelly *joyfully*
And welcome all oure seall, suthly,
335 To grete and small. *well-being*
Babb, welcome to thy beyldly boure,
Babb, welcome nowe for our soccoure, *sheltering bower*
And babb, welcomme with all honour
Here in this hall.

ANGELUS Olde Symeon, I say to thee,

341 Dresse thee furth in thyne array, *(i.e., Put on your vestments)*
Come to the Temple, there shall thu see
Jesus that babb that Mary barre, *bore*
That be thowe bolde. *very certain*

SYMEON A, Lorde, I thanke thee ever and ay,

346 Nowe am I light as leyf on tree; *leaf*
 My age is went, I feyll no fray, *gone; feel; trouble*
 Methynke for this that is tolde me
 I ame not olde.

350 Nowe wyll I to yon Temple goo
 To se the babb that Mary bare; *prosperity; woe*
 He is my helth in well and woo
 And helps me ever frome great care,
 Haill blyssed babb that Mary bare,
 355 And blyssed be thy mother, Mary mylde,
 Whose wombe that yeildyd fresh and fayr
 And she a clean vyrgen ay unfyld.

Haill, babb, the Father of heven own chylde,
 Chosen to chere us for our myschance;
 360 No earthly tong can tell felyd *[if] defiled*
 What thy myght is in every chance.
 Haill, the moost worthy to enhance,
 Boldly thowe beylde frome all yll, *protect*
 Withoute thy beylde we gytt grevance *shelter*
 365 And for our deydes here shulde we spyll.

Haill floscampy and flower vyrgynall, *flower of the field*
 The odour of thy goodnes reflars to us all; *rises up*
 Haill, moost happy to great and to small
 For our weyll. *prosperity*
 370 Haill ryall roose, moost ruddy of hewe, *rose*
 Haill flour unfadysng, both freshe ay and newe,
 Haill the kyndest in comforthe that ever man knewe
 For grete heyll. *health*

Andmekly I beseke thee here where I kneyll *kneel*
 375 To suffre thy servant to take thee in hand,
 And in my narmes for to heve thee here for my weyll,
 And where I bound am in bayll to bait all my bandes. *arms; take you up*
bale; release; bonds

Nowe come to me, Lorde of all landes,
 Comme myghtyest by see and by sandes,
 380 Come myrth by strete and by strandes *earth*
 On moolde.
 Come halse me, the babb that is best born, *embrace*
 Come halse me, the myrth of our morne, *morning*
 Come halse me, for ells I ame lorne *lost*
 385 For olde.

- I thanke the Lord God of thy greet grace
 That thus haith sparyd me a space,
 This babb in my narmes for to inbrace
 As the prophecy telles.
- space [of time]
 arms; embrace
- 390 I thanke thee that me my lyfe lent,
 I thanke thee that me thus seyll sent,
 That this sweyt babb, that I in armes hent
 With myrth my myght alwaies melles.
- happiness
 sweet; carried
 strength; infuses
- 395 Mellyd are my myndes ay with myrth,
 Full fresh nowe I feyll is my force,
 Of thy grace thowe gave me this gyrth
 Thus comly to catch here thy corse
 Moost semely in sight.
 Of helpe thus thy freynd never faills,
- thoughts
 feel
 protection
 body
- 400 Thy marcy as every man avaylls
 Both by downes and by daylls;
 Thus meravelous and muche is thy myght.
- mercy
 hills; dales
- A, babb, be thou blyssed for ay,
 For thowe art my Savyour, I say,
 405 And thowe here rewles me in fay
 In all my lyfe.
 Nowe blist be thi name,
 For thowe saves hus fro shame,
 And here thou beyld us fro blame
- rules; faith
 us from
 shelter
- 410 And frome all stryfe.
- Nowe care I no moore for my lyfe
 Sen I have seen here this ryall so ryfe,
 My strength and my stynter of stryfe,
 I you say.
- royal [child]; (i.e., remarkable)
 suppressor
- 415 In peace, Lorde, nowe leyf thy servand,
 For myne eys haith seyn that is ordand,
 The helth for all men that be levand
 Here for ay.
- leave (allow)
 living
- That helth, Lorde, hais thowe ordand, I say,
 420 Here before the face of thy people,
 And thy light hais thowe shynyd this day
 To be knowe of thy folke that was febyll
 For evermore.
- has
 weak
- 425 And thy glory for the chylder of Israell
 That with thee in thy kyngdome shall dwell
 Whan the damnyd shall be drevyn to hell
 Than with great care.
- When; driven
 Then; suffering

JOSEPH Mary, my spowse and madyn mylde,
 In hart I marvell here greatly
 430 Howe these folke spekes of our chylde.
 They say and tells of great maistry
 That he shall doo.

MARIA Yea certes, Joseph, I marvell also,
 But I shall bere it full styll in mynde.

bear; quietly

JOSEPH God geve hym grace here well to do,
 436 For he is comme of gentyll kynde.

lineage

SYMEON Harke, Mary, I shall tell thee the truth or I goo.
 This was putt here to welde us fro wo,
 In redemption of many and recover also,
 440 I thee say.
 And the sworde of sorro thy hart shal thryll
 Whan thoue shall se sothly thy Son soffer yll
 For the well of all wrytches, that shall be his wyll
 Here in fay.

ere

protect

pierce
suffer ill (evil)
well (source); riches
faith

445 But to be comforth agayn right well thoue may,
 And in harte to be fayne, the suth I thee say,
 For his myght is so muche thare can no tong say nay
 Here to his wyll.
 For this babb as a gyant full graythly shall glyde
 450 And the myghtiest mayster shall meve on ylke syde,
 To all the wightes that wons in this worlde wyde,
 For good or for yll.

happy

giant; truly; glide
move
men; live

Tharefore babb, beylde us that we here not spyll
 And fayrwell the former of all at thy wyll,
 455 Fayrwell starne stabylyst by lowde and be styll,
 In suthfastnes.
 Fayrwell the ryolest roose that is renyng,
 Fayrwell the babb best in thy beryng,
 Fayrwell God Son, thowe grant us thy blyssyng
 460 To fyne our dystresse.

shelter; come to grief

star most stable; (i.e., ?constant)

most royal rose; reigning
birth

end

[18. THE FLIGHT TO EGYPT]

The Marchallis

JOSEPH Thow maker that is most of myght,
 To thy mercy I make my mone;
 Lord, se unto thin symple wight

moan
thine; man

- That hase non helpe but thee allone.
 5 For all this worlde I have forsaken
 And to thy service I have me taken
 With witte and will
 For to fulfill
 Thi commaundement.
- 10 Theron myn herte is sette;
 With grace thou has me lente,
 Thare schall no lede me lette.
- For all my triste, Lorde, is in thee
 That made me, man, to thy liknes,
 15 Thow myghtfull maker, have mynde on me
 And se unto my sympplenes.
 I waxe wayke as any wande,
 For febill me faylles both foote and hande,
 Whatevere it mene,
- 20 Methynke myne eyne
 Hevye as leede.
 Therfore I halde it best
 A whille her in this stede
 To slepe and take my reste.
- MARIA** Thow luffely Lord that last schall ay,
 26 My God, my Lorde, my Sone so dere,
 To thy Godhede hartely I pray
 With all myn harte holy entere;
 As thou me to thy modir chaas,
 30 I beseke thee of thy grace
 For all mankynde
 That has in mynde
 To wirshippe thee.
 Thou se thy saules to save,
- 35 Jesu, my Sone so free,
 This bone of thee I crave.
- ANGELUS** Wakyn, Joseph, and take entent.
 My sawes schall seece thy sorowe sare;
 Be noght hevy, thi happe is hentte,
 40 Tharefore I bidde thee slepe no mare.
- JOSEPH** A, myghtfull Lorde, whatevere that mente?
 So swete a voyce herde I nevere ayre.
 But what arte thou with steven so shylle
 Thus in my slepe that spekis me till?
 45 To me appere
- engaged myself*
- heart*
- given*
- person prevent*
- trust*
- sincerity*
- grow weak; wand (stick)*
- weakness; fail*
- eyes*
- lead*
- place*
- request*
- pay attention*
- words; cease (allay); sore*
- sad; fortune; embraced*
- more*
- before*
- voice so sweet sounding*

And late me here
What that thou was.

let me hear

ANGELUS Joseph, have thou no drede,
Thou shalte witte or I passe;
50 Therfore to me take hede.

understand before I leave

For I am sente to thee,
Gabriell, Goddis aungell bright,
Is comen to bidde thee flee
With Marie and hir worthy wight,
55 For Horowde the kyng gars doo to dede
All knave childer in ilke a stede
That he may ta
With yeris twa
That are of olde.
60 Tille he be dede, away
In Egipte shall ye beelde
Tille I witte thee for to saie.

*Herod; plans to kill
male children; place
take (capture)
two*

*stay
have informed you*

JOSEPH Ayelastand Lorde, loved mott thou be
That thy swete sande wolde to me sende.
65 But, Lorde, what ayles the kyng at me?
For unto hym I nevere offendre.
Allas, what ayles hym for to spille
Smale yonge barnes that nevere did ille
In worde ne dede
70 Unto no lede
Be nyght nor day.
And sen he wille us schende,
Dere Lorde, I thee praye,
Thou wolde be oure frende.

*Everlasting; praised may
messenger
vexes; against me*

*destroy
Little young boys*

75 For be he nevere so wode or wrothe,
For all his force thou may us fende.
I praye thee, Lorde, kepe us fro skathe,
Thy socoure sone to us thou sende;
For unto Egipte wende we will
80 Thy biddynge baynely to fulfill,
As worthy is
Thou kyng of blisse;
Thi will be wroght.
Marie, my doughtir dere,
85 On thee is all my thought.

*mad; angry
defend
harm
soon*

obediently

beloved young woman

MARIA A, leve Joseph, what chere?

dear

JOSEPH The chere of me is done for ay.

My cheer is gone

MARIA Allas, what tythandis herde have ye?

JOSEPH Now certis, full ille to thee at saye,
 90 Ther is noght ellis but us most flee
 Owte of oure kyth where we are knowyn,
 Full wightely bus us be withdrawnen,
 Both thou and I.

(i.e., it is hard to say this)
we must
native region
quickly must

MARIA Leve Joseph, why?

95 Layne it noght,
 To doole who has us demed?
 Or what wronge have we wroght
 Wherfore we shulde be flemyd?

Conceal
dole; judged
banished

JOSEPH Wrought we harme, nay, nay, all wrang,
 100 Wytte thou wele it is noght soo;
 That yonge page liffe thou mon forgange
 But yf thou fast flee fro his foo.

Know you well
boy's life; may surrender
Unless; foe

MARIA His foo, allas, what is youre reede,
 Wha wolde my dere barne do to dede?
 105 I durk, I dare,
 Whoo may my care
 Of balis blynne?
 To flee I wolde full fayne;
 For all this worlde to wynne
 110 Wolde I noght se hym slayne.

advice
Who; death
shrink back, I am afraid
bales (sorrow) put an end
gladly

JOSEPH I warne thee he is thraly thrette
 With Herowde kyng, harde harmes to have;
 With that mytyng yf that we be mette
 Ther is no salve that hym may save.
 115 I warne thee wele, he sleeis all
 Knave childir, grete and small,
 In towne and felde
 Within the elde
 Of two yere
 120 And for thy Sones sake;
 He will fordo that dere,
 May that traytoure hym take.

angrily threatened
By
small one
remedy
slays
field
age

destroy; dear one

MARIA Leve Joseph, who tolde yow this?
 How hadde ye wittering of this dede?

information

- | | | |
|---------------|---|--|
| JOSEPH | An aungell bright that come fro blisse | heaven |
| 126 | This tythandis tolde withouten drede,
And wakynd me oute of my slepe
That comely childe fro cares to kepe,
And bad me flee | fear |
| 130 | With hym and thee
Onto Egipte.
And sertis I dred me sore
To make any smale trippe, | journey |
| | Or tyme that I come thare. | Ere I come there |
| MARIA | What ayles thei at my barne | |
| 136 | Slike harmes hym for to hete?
Allas, why schulde I tharne
My Sone his liffe so swete. | Such; threaten
lose |
| 140 | His harte aught to be ful sare
On slike a foode hym to forfare
That nevir did ill
Hym for to spill, | sore
such a child; kill |
| | And he ne wate why.
I ware full wille of wane | destroy
knows not |
| 145 | My Sone and he shulde dye,
And I have but hym allone. | (i.e., I'd be confused about this) |
| JOSEPH | We, leve Marie, do way, late be, | dear |
| | I pray thee, leve of thy dynne
And fande thee furthe faste for to flee | leave off; clamoring
prepare yourself quickly |
| 150 | Away with hym for to wynne
That no myscheve on hym betyde,
Nor none unhappe in no kyn side,
Be way nor strete, | rescue
misfortune anywhere |
| | That we non mete | no one meet |
| 155 | To slee hym. | |
| MARIA | Allas, Joseph, for care. | |
| | Why shuld I forgo hym,
My dere barne that I bare? | part with him |
| JOSEPH | That swete swayne yf thou save, | |
| 160 | Do tyte, pakke same oure gere
And such smale harnes as we have. | quickly, pack together
baggage |
| MARIA | A, leve Joseph, I may not bere. | bear (carry) |
| JOSEPH | Bere arme? No, I trowe but small, | |
| | But God it wote I muste care for all, | God knows |
| 165 | For bed and bak, | clothes |

And alle the pakke
 That nedis unto us.
 It fortheres to fene me,
 This pakald bere me bus,
 170 Of all I plege and pleyne me.

*expedites things if I do not shirk
 package; must
 (i.e., Even if I complain about it)*

But God graunte grace I noght forgete
 No tulles that we shulde with us take.

tools

MARIA Allas, Joseph, for grevaunce grete,
 Whan shall my sorowe slake,
 175 For I wote noght whedir to fare.

When

JOSEPH To Egipte talde I thee lang are.

long ere

MARIA Whare standith itt?
 Fayne wolde I witt.

know

JOSEPH What wate I?
 180 I wote not where it standis.

MARIA Joseph, I aske mersy;
 Helpe me oute of this lande.

JOSEPH Nowe certis, Marie, I wolde full fayne,
 Helpe thee al that I may
 185 And at my poure me peyne
 To wynne with hym and thee away.

(i.e., I'll do all in my power)

go

MARIA Allas, what ayles that feende
 Thus wilsom wayes make us to wende?
 He dois grete synne,
 190 Fro kyth and kynne
 He gares us flee.

fiend

lonely (dangerous)

From

makes

JOSEPH Leve, Marie, leve thy grete.

weeping

MARIA Joseph, full wo is me,
 For my dere Sone so swete.

JOSEPH I praye thee, Marie, happe hym warme
 196 And sette hym softe that he noght syle,
 And yf thou will ought ese thyn arme,
 Gyff me hym, late me bere hym awhile.

wrap; warmly

slip down

Give; let; bear

MARIA I thanke you of youre grete goode dede;
 200 Nowe gud Joseph tille hym take hede,

to

JOSEPH Late me and hym allone,
205 And yf thou can ille ride
Have and halde thee faste by the mane.

MARIA Allas, Joseph, for woo,
Was never wight in worde so will. *man; world; wild (distraught)*

JOSEP[H] Do way, Marie, and say nought soo,
210 For thou schall have no cause thertill.
For witte thou wele, God is oure frende;
He will be with us wherso we lende;
In all oure nede
He will us spede,
215 This wote I wele;
I love my Lorde of all,
Such forse methynke I fele,
I may go where I schall.

220 Are was I wayke, nowe am I wight,
My lymes to welde ay at my wille;
I love my maker most of myght
That such grace has graunte me tille.
Nowe schall no hatyll do us harme,
I have oure helpe here in myn arme.

225 He wille us fende
Wherso we lende
Fro tene and tray.
Late us goo with goode chere,
Farewele and have gud day.

230 God blisse us all in fere.

*Ere; weak; strong
limbs; wield (move)*

*has been granted
person*

From harm and treachery

MARIA Amen as he beste may.

[19. THE MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS]

The Gyrdillers and Naylers

HEROD Powre bewcheris aboute,
Peyne of lyme and lande,
Stente of youre stevenes stoute,
And stille as stone ye stande,
5 And my carping recorde.
*Poor good sirs
Pain; limb
Stop; shouting loud
speaking pay attention to*

- Ye aught to dare and doute,
And lere you lowe to lowte
To me, youre lovely lord.
- fear; worry
learn; bow (reverence)
- Ye awe in felde and towne
10 To bowe at my bidding
With reverence and renoune,
As fallis for swilk a kyng,
The lordlyest on lyve
Who herto is noght bowne,
15 Be allmighty Mahounde,
To dede I schall him dryve.
- ought
befits
alive
obliged
death
- So bolde loke no man be,
For to aske helpe ne holde
But of Mahounde and me
20 That hase this worlde in welde
To mayntayne us emell;
For welle of welthe are we,
And my cheffe helpe is he;
Herto what can ye tell?
- support
[our] keeping
between us
fountain (source)
principal
- I CONSOLATOR** Lord, what you likis to do
26 All folke will be full fayne,
To take entente therto,
And none grucche ther agayne.
That full wele witte shall ye,
30 And yf thai wolde noght soo,
We shulde sone wirke than woo.
- glad
pay attention
complain; against
well know
soon work them
- HERODES** Ya, faire sirs, so shulde it bee.
- II CONSOLATOR** Lorde, the soth to saie,
Fulle wele we undirstande,
35 Mahounde is god werraye,
And ye ar lorde of ilke a lande.
Therfore so have I seell,
I rede we wayte allway,
What myrthe most mende you may.
- very (true)
every
well-being
advise; watch
- HERODES** Sertis, ye saie right well.
- 41 But I am noyed of newe,
That blithe may I noght be,
For thre kyngis, as ye knowe,
That come thurgh this contré,
45 And saide thei sought a swayne.
- annoyed
happy
through
squire (or knight)

I CONSOLATOR That rewlle I hope tham rewe,
For hadde ther tales ben trewe
They hadde comen this waye agayne.

action; regret

II CONSOLATOR We harde how thei you hight
50 Yf they myght fynde that childe,
For to have tolde you right,
But certis thei are begilyd.
Swilke tales ar noght to trowe,
Full wele wotte ilke a wight,
55 Ther schalle nevere man have myght
Ne maystrie unto you.

heard; promised

trust

knows every man

over you

I CONSOLATOR Tham shamys so, for certayne,
That they dar mete you no more.

*They are ashamed
meet*

HERODES Wherfore shulde thei be fayne
60 To make swilke fare before,
To saie a boy was borne
That schulde be moste of mayne?
This gadlyng schall agayne
Yf that the devyll had sworne.

65 For be well never thei wotte,
Whedir thei wirke wele or wrang,
To frayne garte them thusgate,
To seke that gedlyng gane,
And swilke carping to kith.

glad

reveal such matter

power

base fellow (bastard)

*whatever they think
work good or ill*

ask make; in this manner

did

reveal

II CONSOLATOR Nay, lorde, they lered overe latte
71 Youre blisse schal nevere abatte,
And therfore, lorde, be blithe.

too late

slacken

happy

NUNCIUS Mahounde withouten pere,
My lorde, you save, and see.

Mohammed

HERODES Messenger, come nere,
76 And, bewcher, wele thee be.
What tydyngis, telles thou, any?

good sir, well

NUNCIUS Ya, lorde, sen I was here,
I have sought sidis seere
80 And sene merveyllis full many.

everywhere

seen marvels

HERODES And of mervayles to move,
That wer most myrthe to me.

perform

NUNCIUS Lorde, even as I have seene,
 The soth sone schall ye see,
 soon
 85 If ye wille, here in hye.
 (i.e., straightaway)
 I mette tow townes betwene
 between two towns
 Thre kyngis with crounes clene,
 perfect
 Rydand full ryally.
 Riding; royally

HERODES A, my blys; boy, thou burdis to brode. *jest too broadly*

NUNCIUS Sir, ther may no botment be.
remedy

HERODES	Owe, by sonne and mone,	
92	Than tydis us talis tonyght.	<i>This indicates tales to us</i>
	Hopes thou thei will come sone	
	Hedir, as thei have hight,	<i>Hither; promised</i>
95	For to telle me tythande?	<i>news</i>

NUNCIUS Nay, lorde, that daunce is done.
(i.e., that is over and done)

HERODES Why, whedir are thei gone?

NUNCIUS Ilkone into ther owne lande. Each one

HERODES How sais thou, ladde? Late be. Let

NUNCIUS I saie, for they are past.
gone

HERODES What, forthe away fro me?

HERODES A, dogges, the devell you spede.

NUNCIUS	Sir, more of ther menyng Yitt well I undirstode, How thei hadde made offering	<i>significance</i>
110	Unto that freely foode That nowe of newe is borne. Thai saie he schulde be kyng, And welde all erthely thyng.	<i>noble child</i> <i>have earthly power over</i>

HERODES Allas, than am I lorne.
destroyed

115 Fy on thaym, faytours, fy!
Wille thei begylle me thus? *liars
beguile*

NUNCIUS Lorde, by ther prophicy
Thei named his name Jesus.

HERODES Fy on thee, ladde, thou lyes.

II CONSOLATOR Hense tye, but thou thee hye,
121 With doulle her schall thou dye *quickly; go
misery (dole) here
proclaims*
That wreyes hym on this wise.

NUNCIUS Ye wyte me all with wrang,
Itt is thus and wele warre. *blame
much worse*

HERODES Thou lyes! false traytoure strange,
126 Loke nevere thou negh me nere. *come near*
Upon liffe and lymme *limb*
May I that faitour fange, *deceiver catch*
Full high I schall gar hym hange, *cause him to hang*
130 Both thee, harlott, and hym.

NUNCIUS I am nott worthy to wyte,
Bot fareswele, all the heppe. *do not deserve to be blamed
crowd (i.e., all of you)*

I CONSOLATOR Go, in the develes dispite,
Or I schall gar thee leppe, *malice
make; leap*
135 And dere aby this bro. *dearly pay for; brew (unsavory business)*

HERODES Als for sorowe and sighte,
My woo no wighte may wryte. *man; write (record)*
What devell is best to do?

II CONSOLATOR Lorde, amende youre chere,
140 And takis no nedles noy, *annoyance*
We schall you lely lere *truly teach*
That ladde for to distroye *are able*
Be counsaille if we cane.

HERODES That may ye noght come nere,
145 For it is past two yere
Sen that this bale begane.

I CONSOLATOR Lorde, therfore have no doute
Yf it were foure or fyve.
Gars gadir in grete rowte *Bring together; assembly*
150 Youre knyghtis kene belyve, *(i.e., all ready without delay)*

And biddis tham dynge to dede
 Alle knave childir kepte in clowte
 In Bedlem and all aboute,
 To layte in ilke a stede.

beat them to death
male; swaddling clothes
seek

II CONSOLATOR Lorde, save none, for youre seell,
 156 That are of two yere age withinne,
 Than schall that fandeling felle
 Belyve his blisse schall blynne,
 With bale when he schall blede.

well-being
bastard feel (perceive)
Quickly; end
bleed

HERODES Sertis, ye saie right wele
 161 And as ye deme ilke dele,
 Shall I garre do indede.

say
judge
set out to do

Sir knyghtis, curtayse and hende,
 Thow ne nott bees nowe all newe,
 165 Ye schall fynde me youre frende,
 And ye this tyme be trewe.

worthy
Though this matter is all new
If

I MILES What saie ye, lorde, lette see.

HERODES To Bedlehem bus ye wende,
 That schorwe with schame to schende
 170 That menes to maistir me.

shrew; destroy
intends; overcome

And abowte Bedlehem boght
 Bus yowe wele spere and spye,
 For ellis it will be wathe
 That he losis this Jury.
 175 And certis that were grete schame.

?both
inquire and spy
a danger
causes the loss of

II MILES My lorde, that wer us lathe,
 And he escapid it wer skathe,
 And we welle worthy blame.

loath
If; harm

I MILES Full sone he schall be soughte,
 180 That make I myne avowe.

pledge

I CONSOLATOR I bide for hym yow loghte,
 And latte me telle yowe howe
 To werke when ye come there,
 Bycause ye kenne hym noght,
 185 To dede they muste be brought,
 Knave childre, lesse and more.

bid (request); seize
let
know

HERODES Yaa, all withinne two yere,
That none for speche be spared.

eloquence

II MILES Lord, howe ye us lere
190 Full wele we take rewarde,
And certis we schall not rest.

pay heed

I MILES Comes furth, felowes, in feere,
Loo, fondelyngis fynde we here

all together

foundlings (bastards); (see note)

[line missing, see note]

I MULIER Owte on yow theves, I crye!
195 Ye slee my semely sone.

handsome son

II MILES Ther browls schall dere abyne
This bale that is begonne;
Therfore lay fro thee faste.

brats; dearly pay

(i.e., *let go the child quickly*)

II MULIER Allas, for doule I dye.
200 To save my sone schall I,
Aye whils my liff may last.

dole

son

I MILES A, dame, the devyll thee spedie,
And me, but itt be quytte.

even

I MULIER To dye I have no drede,
205 I do thee wele to witte,
To save my sone so dere.

(i.e., *I want you to know*)

dear

I MILES As armes! for nowe is nede,
But yf we do yone dede,
Ther quenys will quelle us here.

To arms

queans (harlots); frustrate (destroy)

II MULIER Allas, this lothly striffe.
211 No blisse may be my bette,
The knyght uppon his knyffe
Hath slayne my sone so swette;
And I hadde but hym allone.

comfort

sweet

I MULIER Allas, I lose my liffe;
216 Was nevere so wofull a wyffe
Ne halffe so wille of wone.

(i.e., *distraught*)

And certis, me were full lotht
That thei thus harmeles yede.

reluctant

unharmed went

I MILES The devell myght spedie you bothe,
221 False wicchis, are ye woode?

witches; mad

II MULIER Nay, false lurdaysns, ye lye.

rascals; lie

I MILES If ye be woode or wrothe,
Ye schall noght skape fro skathe;
225 Wende we us hense in hye.

*mad; angry
escape; harm
Go; haste*

I MULIER Allas, that we wer wroughte
In worlde women to be,
The barne that wee dere bought
Thus in oure sighte to see
230 Disputuously spill.

Controversially killed

II MULIER And certis, ther nott is noght,
The same that thei have soughte
Schall thei nevere come till.

their business (i.e., labor) is in vain

I MILES Go we to the king;
235 Of all this contek kene
I schall nott lette for nothyng
To saie as we have sene.

*combat sharp
hold back
speak; seen [the events]*

II MILES And certis, no more shall I.
We have done his bidding;
240 How so they wraste or wryng,
We schall saie sothfastly.

*twist and wring
tell truthfully*

I MILES Mahounde, oure god of myght,
Save thee, sir Herowde the kyng!

I CONSOLATOR Lorde, take kepe to youre knyght;
245 He wille telle you nowe thydingis
Of bordis wher they have bene.

pay attention

amusing stories [about]

HERODES Yaa, and thei have gone right,
And holde that thei us hight;
Than shall solace be sene.

*if they
promised*

II MILES Lorde, as ye demed us to done,
251 In contrees wher we come . . .

judged; to do

HERODES Sir, by sonne and mone,
Ye are welcome home
And worthy to have rewarde.
255 Have ye geten us this gome?

*sun; moon
caught; man*

I MILES Wher we fande felle or fone,
Wittenesse we will that ther was none.

found many or few

II MILES Lorde, they are dede ilkone,
What wolde ye we ded more? *dead every one
killed*

HERODES I aske but aftir oone
261 The kyngis tolde of before
That schulde make grete maistrie.
Telle us if he be tane. *one (only)
taken*

I MILES Lorde, tokenyng hadde we none
265 To knawe that brothell by. *tokens (signs)
worthless fellow*

II MILES In bale we have tham brought
Aboute all Bedleham towne.

HERODES Ye lye, youre note is nought,
The develes of helle you droune!
270 So may that boy be fledde,
For in waste have ye wroght.
Or that same ladde be sought,
Schalle I nevere byde in bedde. *effort is in vain
(i.e., you have wasted your time)
Ere*

I CONSOLATOR We will wende with you than
275 To dynge that dastard doune. *strike; wretch (dullard)*

HERODES As arme, evere ilke man
That holdis of Mahounde.
Wer they a thousand skore,
This bargayne schall thai banne
280 Comes aftir as yhe canne,
For we will wende before. *embraces
(i.e., 20,000)
curse*

[20. CHRIST AND THE DOCTORS]

The Sporiers and Lorimers

JOSEPH Marie, of mirthis we may us mene
And trewly telle betwixte us twoo
Of solempne sightis that we have sene
In that cité where we come froo. *speak*

MARIA Sertis, Joseph, ye will noght wene
6 What myrthis within my harte I maie
Sen that oure Sone with us has bene
And sene ther solempne sightis alswea. *believe
also*

JOSEPH Hamward I rede we hye

Homeward; advise; go

10 In all the myght we maye
Because of company
That will wende in oure waye.

For gode felawshippe have we founde
And ay so forward schall we fynde.

MARIA A, sir, where is oure semely Sone?

16 I trowe oure wittis be waste as wynde,
Allas, in bale thus am I boone.
What ayleth us both to be so blynde?
To go overe fast we have begonne
20 And late that lovely leve behynde.

*(i.e., we were empty headed)
caught (bound)*

*too fast
left; loved one*

JOSEPH Marie, mende thy chere,

For certis whan all is done
He comes with folke in feere
And will overetake us sone.

in company

MARIA Overetake us sone, sir, certis nay,

26 Such gabbyngis may me noght begyle,
For we have travelde all this day
Fro Jerusalem many a myle.

talk; deceive

JOSEPH I wende he hadde bene with us aye,
30 Awaye fro us how schulde he wyle?

*thought; been
wander away*

MARIA Hit helpis nougnt such sawes to saie.

My barne is lost, allas the while
That evere we wente theroute
With hym in companye;
35 We lokid overe late aboute,
Full woee is me forthy.

*words
child*

too late

For he is wente som wayes wrang
And non is worthy to wyte but wee.

*wrong ways
blame*

JOSEPH Agaynewarde rede I that we gang

Back again; advise; go

40 The right way to that same citee
To spire and spie all men emange,
For hardely homward is he.

*inquire; among
hardly (not likely)*

MARIA Of sorowes sere schal be my sang

*many; song
handsome*

My semely Sone tille I hym see,
45 He is but twelve yere alde.

JOSEPH What way somevere he wendis,
Woman, we may be balde
To fynde hym with oure frendis.

soever
bold

I MAGISTER Maistirs, takes to me intente
50 And rede youre resouns right on rawes,
And all the pepull in this present,
Evere ilke man late see his sawes.
But witte I wolde, or we hens wente,
Be clargy clere if we couthe knawe
55 Yf any lede that liffe has lente
Wolde aught allegge agaynstre oure lawe,
Owthir in more or lesse.
If we defaute myght feele,
Dewly we schall gar dresse
60 Be dome every ilk a dele.

pay attention to me
expound; rows (in order)

let; sayings (words)
know
could know
man
allege (challenge)

error
Duly; begin to address
By judgment everything completely

II MAGISTER That was wele saide, so mot I thee,
Swilke notis to neven methynke wer nede,
For maistirs in this lande ar we
And has the lawes lelly to lede,
65 And doctoures also in oure degree
That demyng has of ilka dede.
Laye fourthe oure bokes belyve, late see
What mater moste were for oure mede.

might I thrive
Such evidence to identify; needful

truly; read (i.e., teach)

judging; each deed (thing)
quickly

III MAGISTER We schall ordayne so wele
70 Sen we all clergy knawe,
Defaute shall no man fele
Nowdir in dede ne sawe.

ordain so well
Since
Error
saying

JESUS Lordingis, love be with you lenth
And mirthis be unto this mené.

praise; given
company

I MAGISTER Sone, hense away, I wolde thou wente,
76 For othir haftis in hande have we.

matters

II MAGISTER Sone, whoso thee hedit sente,
They were nougnt wise, that warne I thee,
For we have othir tales to tente
80 Than nowe with barnes bordand to be.

attend to
jesting (playing)

III MAGISTER Sone, yf thee list ought to lere
To lyve by Moyses laye,
Come hedit and thou shalle here
The sawes that we shall saye,

learn
law
hear
words

85 For in som mynde itt may thee bryngē
To here ourereasouns redde by rawes.
hear; expounded; rows (in order)

JESUS To lerne of you nedis me nothing,
For I knawe both youre dedys and sawes.
sayings

I MAGISTER Nowe herken yone barne with his bowrdyng,
90 He wenes he kens more than we knawes.
We, nay, certis sone, thou arte overe yonge
By clergy yitt to knowe oure lawes.
*jesting
thinks; knows
too young
yet to have knowledge of*

JESUS I wote als wele as yhe
Howe that youre lawes wer wrought.
as well

II MAGISTER Cum, sitte, sone schall we see,
96 For certis so semys it noght.
soon

III MAGISTER Itt wer wondir that any wight
Untill ourereasouns right schulde reche,
And thou sais thou hast insight
100 Oure lawes truly to telle and teche?
*person
understand*

JESUS The Holy Gost has on me light
And has anoynted me as a leche
And geven me pleyne poure and might
The kyngdom of hevene for to preche.
*redeemer
power
preach*

I MAGISTER Whens evere this barne may be
106 That shewes ther novellis nowe?
*(i.e., where is he from)
shows; marvelous things*

JESUS Certis, I was or ye
And schall be aftir you.
existed before you

I MAGISTER Sone, of thy sawes, als have I cele,
110 And of thy witte is wondir thyng,
But neverthelesse fully I feele
Itt may falle wele in wirkynge,
For David demys of ilka dele
And sais thus of childir ying,
115 And of ther mouthes, he wate full wele
Oure Lord has performed loving,
But yitt, Sone, schulde thou lette
Here for to speke overe large,
For where maistirs are mette
120 Childre wordis are noght to charge.
*health (well-being)
emerge; performance
judges in every way
young
knew
praises
forbear
encountered
(i.e., irrelevant)*

And if thou wolde nevere so fayne
 Yf all thee liste to lere the lawe,
 Thou arte nowthir of myght ne mayne
 To kenne it as a clerke may knawe.

*gladly
 are inclined
 neither
 understand*

JESUS Sirs, I saie you for sartayne
 126 That suthfast schal be all my sawe,
 And poure have playnere and playne
 To say and aunswer as me awe.

*certain
 truthful; sayings
 power; complete and without ambiguity
 ought*

I DOCTOR Mastirs, what may this mene?
 130 Mervayle methynke have I
 Whens evere this barne have bene
 That carpis thus connandly.

speaks; expertly

II DOCTOR Als wyde in worlde als we have wente,
 Yitt fande we nevere swilke ferly fare,
 135 For certis I trowe this barne be sente
 Full soverandly to salve oure sare.

found; remarkable matter

remedy; suffering

JESUS Sirs, I schall prove in youre present
 Alle the sawes that I saide are.

*presence
 sayings; ere*

III DOCTOR Why, whilke callest thou the firste comaundement
 140 And the moste in Moyses lare?

lore (teachings)

JESUS Sirs, sen ye are sette on rowes,
 And has youre bokes on brede,
 Late se, sirs, in youre sawes
 Howe right that ye can rede.

*rows
 books opened
 correctly; expound*

I DOCTOR I rede this is the firste bidding
 146 That Moyses taught us here untill,
 To honnoure God overe all thing
 With all thy witte and all thi will,
 And all thyn harte in hym schall hyng,
 150 Erlye and late both lowde and still.

hang

JESUS Ye nedis non othir bokes to bring
 But fandis this for to fulfill.
 The secounde may men preve
 And clerly knawe, wherby
 155 Youre neghbours shall ye love
 Als youreselffe, sekirly.

*If [you] attempt
 prove*

certainly

This comaunded Moyses to all men
 In his ten comaundementis clere,

- In ther two biddingis, schall we kene,
 160 Hyngis all the lawe that we shall lere.
 Whoso ther two fulfilles then
 With mayne and myght in goode manere,
 He trulye fulfillis all the ten
 That afir folowes in feere.
- 165 Than schulde we God honnoure
 With all youre myght and mayne
 And love wele ilke a neghboure
 Right as youreselfe certayne.
- I DOCTOR** Nowe, sone, sen thou haste tolde us two,
 170 Whilke ar the eight, can thou ought saye?
- JESUS** The three biddis whareso ye goo,
 That ye schall halowe the halyday;
 Than is the fourthe for frende or foo
 That fadir and modir honnoure ay.
- 175 The fifth you biddis noght for to sloo
 No man nor woman by any way.
 The sixth, suthly to see,
 Comaundis both more and myne
 That thei schalle fande to flee
- 180 All filthes of fleshely synne.
- The seventh forbedis you to stele
 Youre neghboures goodes, more or lesse,
 Whilke fautez nowe are founden fele
 Emang ther folke that ferly is.
- 185 The eighth lernes you for to be lele
 Here for to bere no false witnesse.
 Youre neghbours house, whillis ye have hele,
 The ninth biddis take noght be stresse.
- His wiffe nor his women
- 190 The tenth biddis noght coveyte.
 Thez are the biddingis ten,
 Whoso will lelly layte.
- II DOCTOR** Behalde howe he alleggis oure lawe
 And lerid nevere on boke to rede.
- 195 Full subtil sawes, methinketh, he saies
 And also trewe, yf we take hede.
- III DOCTOR** Ya, late hym wende fourth on his wayes,
 For and he dwelle, withouten drede,
 The pepull schall full sone hym prayse
 200 Wele more than us for all oure dede.
- these; commandments; know*
Hangs; must learn
- power*
- Sabbath*
- slay*
- attempt*
- steal*
- faults; found [to be] many (common)*
wondrous
- teaches; truthful*
- health*
- force*
- faithfully seek*
- expounds*
(was) taught

I DOCTOR Nay, nay, than wer we wrang;
wrong [to think thus]
 Such speking wille we spare.
 Als he come late hym gang,
let; go
 And move us nowe no more.

MARIA A, dere Joseph, what is youre rede?
advice
 206 Of oure grete bale no bote may be;
sorrow; help
 Myne harte is hevy as any lede
lead
 My semely Sone tille hym I see.
 Nowe have we sought in ilke a stede,
 210 Bothe uppe and doune dayes thre,
alive
 And whedir that he be quyk or dede
 Yitt wote we noght, so wo is me.

JOSEPH Mysese had nevere man more,
Unease (Discomfort)
 But mournyng may not mende.
 215 I rede forther we fare
 Till God som socoure sende.

Aboute yone Tempill if he be ought,
learn
 I wolde we wiste this ilke nyght.

MARIA A, sir, I see that we have sought.
 220 In worlde was nevere so semely a sight.
 Lo, where he sittis, ye se hym noght
 Emong yone maistiris mekill of myght?

JOSEPH Now blist be he us hedir brought,
happy
 For in lande was nevere non so light.

MARIA A, dere Joseph, als we have cele,
 226 Go furthe and fette youre sone and myne;
fetch
 This daye is gone nere ilke a dele,
nearly over
 And we have nedre for to ganhyne.
go hence

JOSEPH With men of myght can I not mell,
mix (associate)
 230 Than all my travayle mon I tyne;
effort; lose
 I can noght with them, this wate thou wele:
know
 They are so gay in furres fyne.

MARIA To tham youre herand for to say
message
 Suthly ye thar noght drede no dele;
 235 They will take rewarde to you allway
not at all
 Because of elde, this wate ye wele.
pay attention

JOSEPH When I come there, what schall I saye?
health (well-being)
 I wate nevere, als have I cele.

Sertis, Marie, thou will have me schamed for ay,
 240 For I can nowthir croke nor knele.

bow or kneel

MARIA Go we togedir, I halde it beste,
 Unto yone worthy wysse in wede,
 And yf I see, als have I reste,
 That ye will noght, than bus me nede.

wise [ones] in garments

then must I help

JOSEPH Gange on, Marie, and telle thy tale firste.
 246 Thy Sone to thee will take goode heede.
 Wende fourth, Marie, and do thy beste;
 I come behynde, als God me spedē.

MARIA A, dere sone Jesus,
 250 Sen we love thee allone,
 Why dosse thou thus till us
 And gares us make swilke mone?

*do you this to
cause*

Thy fadir and I betwyxte us twa,
 Son, for thy love has likid ill;
 255 We have thee sought both to and froo,
 Wepand full sore as wightis will.

have been worried

Weeping

JESUS Wherto shulde ye seke me soo?
 Oftetymes it hase ben tolde you till:
 My Fadir werkis, for wele or woo,
 260 Thus am I sente for to fulfull.

Father's business

MARIA There sawes, als have I cele,
 Can I noght undirstande;
 I schall thynk on tham wele
 To fonde what is folowand.

discover; following

JOSEPH Now sothely, Sone, the sight of thee
 266 Hath salved us of all oure sore;
 Come furth, Sone, with thi modir and me,
 Att Nazareth I wolde we wore.

cured

were

JESUS Beleves wele, lordis free,
 270 For with my frendis nowe will I fare.

I DOCTOR Nowe, Sone, wher thou schall bide or be,
 Gode make thee gode man evermore.
 No wondir if yone wiffe
 Of his fynding be full fayne;
 275 He schall, and he have liff,
 Prove till a praty swayne.

[to be a] good

glad

clever squire

But Sone, loke that thou layne for gud or ill
 The note that we have nemed her nowe,
 And if it like thee to lende her stille,
 280 And wonne with us, welcome art thowe.

*be silent
 matter; spoken of here
 remain here
 dwell*

JESUS Graunt mercy, sirs, of youre gode will.
 No lenger liste me lende with you;
 My frendis thoughtis I wol fulfille
 And to ther bidding baynely bowe.

*do I desire to remain
 obediently*

MARIA Full wele is us this tyde;
 286 Nowe maye we make goode chere.

JOSEPH No lenger will we bide;
 Fares wele, all folke in feere.

in company

[21. THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST]

The Barbours

JOHANNES Almyghty God and Lord verray,
 Full woundyrfull is manrys lesyng,
 For yf I preche tham day be day
 And telle tham, Lorde, of thy comyng,
 5 That all has wrought,
 Men are so dull that my preaching
 Serves of noght.

*true
 dishonesty*

When I have, Lord, in the name of thee
 Baptiste the folke in watir clere,
 10 Than have I saide that aftir me
 Shall he come that has more powere
 Than I to taste;
 He schall giffe baptyme more entire
 In fire and gaste.

*feel (show forth)
 complete
 spirit*

15 Thus am I comen in message right
 And be forereynner in certayne,
 In witnesse bering of that light
 The wiche schall light in ilka a man
 That is comand
 20 Into this worlde, nowe whoso can
 May undirstande.

*correct
 forerunner
 bearing
 coming*

Thez folke had farly of my fare
 And what I was full faste thei spied.

*wonder; matter
 quickly*

- They askid yf I a prophette ware,
 25 And I saide nay, but sone I wreyede;
 High aperte
 I said I was a voyce that cryede
 Here in deserte.
- were
revealed
openly
- Loke thou make thee redy, ay saide I,
 30 Unto oure Lord God most of myght,
 That is that thou be clene haly
 In worde, in werke, ay redy dight
 Agayns oure Lord,
 With parfite liffe that ilke a wight
 35 Be well restored.
- wholly pure
prepared
perfect life
- For if we be clene in levynge,
 Oure bodis are Goddis tempyll than
 In the whilke he will make his dwellyng;
 Therfore be clene, bothe wiffe and man.
- living
bodies
which
- 40 This is my reed.
 God will make in yowe haly than
 His wonnyng steed.
- advice
wholly then
dwelling place
- And if ye sette all youre delyte
 In luste and lykyng of this liff,
 45 Than will he turne fro yow als tyte
 Bycause of synne, boyth of man and wiffe,
 And fro you flee,
 For with whome that synne is riffe
 Will God noght be.
- life
quickly
endemic
- I ANGELUS** Thou, John, take tente what I schall saye.
 51 I brynge thee tythandis wondir gode:
 My Lorde Jesus schall come thys day
 Fro Galilee unto this flode
 Ye Jourdane call,
 55 Baptyme to take myldely with mode
 This day he schall.
- pay attention to
tidings wondrously good

Galilee; stream (river)
Jordan
humbly
- John, of his sande therfore be gladdē
 And thanke hym hartely, both lowde and still.
- message
- JOHANNES** I thanke hym evere, but I am radde
 60 I am noght abill to fullfill
 This dede certayne.
- afraid
- II ANGELUS** John, thee aught with harte and will
 To be full bayne
- willing

- 65 To do his bidding, all bydene;
 Bot in his baptyme, John, take tente,
 The hevenes schalle be oppen sene.
 The Holy Gost schalle doune be sente
 To se in sight,
 The Fadirs voyce with grete talent
 70 Be herde full right,
- forthwith
But
seen (displayed)
- That schall saie thus to hym forthy
 . . .
- JOHANNES** With wordes fewne
 I will be subgett nyght and day
 As me well awe
 75 To serve my Lord Jesus to paye
 In dede and sawe.
- few
subject
ought
satisfy
word
- Bot wele I wote, baptyme is tane
 To washe and clense man of synne,
 And wele I wotte that synne is none
 80 In hym, withoute ne withinne.
 What nedis hym than
 For to be baptiste more or myne
 Als synfull man?
- taken
I know well
- . . .
- [lacuna, see textual note]
- JESUS** John, kynde of man is freele
 85 To the whilke that I have me knytte,
 But I shall shewe thee skyllis twa
 That thou schallt knawe by kyndly witte
 The cause why I have ordand swa,
 And ane is this:
 90 Mankynde may noght unbaptymde go
 Te endless blys.
- nature; frail
joined
two reasons
human intelligence
ordered so
one
To
- And sithen myselffe have taken mankynde
 For men schall me ther myrroure make
 And have my doyng in ther mynde,
 95 And also I do the baptyme take.
 I will forthy
 Myselfe be baptiste for ther sake
 Full oppynly.
- man's nature
example
- Anodir skill I schall thee tell:
 100 My will is this, that fro this day
 The vertue of my baptyme dwelle
 In baptyme watir evere and ay,
 Mankynde to taste,
- Another reason
experience

- Thurgh my grace therto to take away
 105 The Haly Gaste. *receive*
Holy Spirit
- JOHANNES** All myghtfull Lorde, grete is thi grace;
 I thanke thee of thi grete fordede. *preparation*
- JESUS** Cum, baptise me, John, in this place.
- JOHANNES** Lorde, save thy grace that I forbede
 110 That itt soo be, *forbid*
 For Lorde, methynketh it wer more nede
 Thou baptised me. *necessary*
- That place that I yarne moste of all,
 Fro thens come thou, Lorde, as I gesse,
 115 How schulde I than, that is a thrall,
 Giffe thee baptyme, that rightwis is
 And has ben evere?
 For thow arte roote of righwissenesse
 That forfette nevere. *yearn*
are in subjection
righteous
righteousness
sinned never
- 120 What riche man gose from dore to dore
 To begge at hym that has right noght?
 Lorde, thou arte riche and I am full poure,
 Thou may blisse all, sen thou all wrought.
 Fro heven come all *from him; absolutely nothing*
bless
- 125 That helpes in erthe, yf soth be sought,
 Fro erthe but small. *truth*
little
- JESUS** Thou sais full wele, John, certaynly,
 But suffre nowe for hevenly mede
 That rightwisnesse be noght oonly
 130 Fullfillid in worde, but also in dede
 Thrughe baptyme clere.
 Cum, baptise me in my manhed
 Appertly here. *reward*
deed
manhood
Openly
- Fyrst schall I take, sen schall I preche,
 135 For so behovis mankynde fulfille
 All righwissenesse, als werray leche. *thereafter*
must
as true healer
- JOHANNES** Lord, I am redy at thi will,
 And will be ay
 Thy subgett, Lord, both lowde and still,
 140 In that I may. *always*
subject

A, Lorde, I trymble ther I stande,
So am I arow to do that dede,
But save me, Lord, that all ordand,
For thee to touche have I grete drede
145 For doyngs dark.
Now helpe me, Lorde, thurgh thi Godhede
To do this werk.

tremble where
afraid
ordained
dread

Jesus, my Lord of myghtis most,
I baptise thee here in the name
150 Of the Fadir and of the Sone and Holy Gost.
But in this dede, Lorde, right no blame
This day by me,
And bryngis all thase to thy home
That trowes in thee.

apportion
these

Tunc cantabunt duo angeli Veni creator spiritus.¹

JESUS John, for mannys prophete, wit thou wele,
156 Take I this baptyme, certaynely;
The dragons poure ilk a dele
Thurgh my baptyme distroyed have I,
This is certayne,
160 And saved mankynde, saule and body,
Fro endles payne.

power in every way

What man that trowis and baptised be
Schall saved be and come to blisse.
Whoso trowes noght, to Payne endles
165 He schal be dampned sone, trowe wele this.
But wende we nowe
Wher most is nede the folke to wisse,
Both I and you.

damned soon, trust well
go
teach

JOHANNES I love thee, Lorde, as sovereyne leche
170 That come to salve men of thare sore;
As thou comaundis I schall gar preche
And lere to every man that lare
That are was thrall.
Now, sirs, that barne that Marie bare,
175 Be with you all.

healer (savior)
heal; their misery
(i.e., so shall I go to preach)
teach; lore
before
child; bore

¹ *Then two angels will sing “Come Holy Spirit”*

[22. THE TEMPTATION IN THE WILDERNESS]

The Smythis

- DIABOLUS** Make rome, belyve, and late me gang.
 Who makis here all this thrang?
 High thou hense, high myght you hang
 Right with a roppe.
- 5 I drede me that I dwelle to lang
 To do a jape.
- room, quickly; go
 noisy crowd
 Get
 rope
 fear; too long
 jest
- For sithen the firste tyme that I fell
 For my pride fro heven to hell,
 Evere have I mustered me emell
 10 Emonge mannekynde,
 How I in dole myght gar tham dwell
 Ther to be pynde.
- Always; thus
 Among
 sorrow; make
 tormented
- And certis, all that hath ben sithen borne
 Has comen to me, mydday and morne,
 15 And I have ordayned so tham forne,
 None may thame fende,
 That fro all likyng ar they lorne
 Withowten ende.
- born
 on behalf of them
 defend
- And nowe sum men spekis of a swayne
 Howe he schall come and suffre Payne
 And with his dede to blisse agayne
 Thei schulde be bought.
- 20 But certis this tale is but a trayne,
 I trowe it noght.
- trick
 think
- For I wotte ilke a dele bydene
 Of the mytyng that men of mene,
 How he has in grete barett bene
 Sithen he was borne,
 And suffered mekill traye and tene
 25 Bothe even and morne.
- (i.e., with certainty); indeed
 insignificant person; refer to
 strife
- And nowe it is brought so aboute
 That lurdayne that thei love and lowte,
 To wildirnesse he is wente owte
 Withowtyne moo.
- 30 To dere hym nowe have I no doute,
 Betwyxte us two.
- rascal; venerate
 harm

- Before this tyme he has bene tent
 That I myght gete hym with no glent,
 But now sen he allone is wente
 40 I schall assay
 And garre hym to sum synne assente
 If that I may.
- He has fastid, that marris his mode,
 Ther fourty dayes withouten foode;
 45 If he be man in bone and bloode
 Hym hungris ill;
 In glotony than halde I gude
 To witt his will.
- For so it schall be knownen and kidde
 50 If Godhed be in hym hidde,
 If he will do as I hym bidde
 Whanne I come nare,
 Ther was nevere dede that evere he dide
 That greved hym warre.
- 55 Thou witty man and wise of rede,
 If thou can ought of Godhede,
 Byd nowe that ther stones be brede
 Betwyxte us two.
 Than may thei stande thyselfe in stede
 60 And othir moo.
- For thou hast fastid longe, I wene,
 I wolde now som mete wer sene
 For olde acqueyntaunce us bytwene,
 Thyselve wote howe.
 65 Ther sall no man witte what I mene
 But I and thou.
- JESUS** My Fadir, that all cytte may slake,
 Honnoure everemore to thee I make
 And gladly suffir I for thy sake
 70 Swilk velany,
 And thus temptacions for to take
 Of myn enmy.
- Thou weried wight, thi wittis are wode,
 For wrytyn it is, whoso undirstande,
 75 A man lyvis noght in mayne and mode
 With brede allone,
- been alert*
get (catch); deception
- test*
cause; some
- affects adversely; mood*
- greatly*
hold; good
know
- shown*
- near*
deed
worse
- bread*
- [good] stead*
more
- food*
- know*
- sorrow*
- enemy*
- accursed creature; mad*

- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| | But Goddis wordis are gostly fode
To men ilkone. | <i>spiritual food
each one</i> |
| 80 | Iff I have fastid oute of skill,
Wytte thou me hungris not so ill
That I ne will wirke my Fadirs will
In all degré;
Thi biddyg will I noght fullfill,
That warne I thee. | <i>unreasonably</i> |
| 86 | DIABOLUS A, slyke carping nevere I kende;
Hym hungres noght as I wende.
Nowe sen thy Fadir may thee fende
Be sotill sleghte,
Late se yf thou allone may lende
90 Ther upon heghte, | <i>such talk
thought
defend
By subtle sleight
Let</i> |
| | Upon the pynakill parfitely. | <i>pinnacle perfectly</i> |
| | <i>Tunc cantant angeli Veni, creator.</i> | <i>Then the angels sing “Come, Creator [Spirit]”</i> |
| 95 | A, ha, nowe go we wele therby;
I schall assaye in vayne glorie
To garre hym falle,
And if he be Goddis Sone myghty,
Witt I schall. | <i>test [him]
cause to fall</i> |
| 100 | Nowe liste to me a litill space:
If thou be Goddis Sone, full of grace,
Shew som poynte here in this place
To prove thi myght.
Late se, falle dounne upon thi face,
Here in my sight. | <i>listen</i> |
| 105 | For it is wretyn, as wele is kende,
How God schall aungellis to thee sende,
And they schall kepe thee in ther hande
Wherso thou gose
That thou schall on no stones descende
To hurte thi tose. | <i>known
toes</i> |
| 110 | And sen thou may withouten wathe
Fall and do thyselffe no skathe,
Tumbill downe to ease us bathe
Here to my fete,
And but thou do I will be wrothe,
That I thee hette. | <i>danger
harm
both
feet
And if; angry
promise</i> |

- JESUS** Late be, warlowe, thy wordis kene,
 116 For wryten it is, withouten wene,
 Thy God thou schall not tempte with tene
 Nor with discorde;
 Ne quarell schall thou none mayntene
 120 Agaynst thi Lorde.
- And therfore trowe thou, withouten trayne,
 That all thi gaudes schall nothyng gayne,
 Be subgette to thi sovereyne
 Arely and late.
- DIABOLUS** What, this travayle is in vayne,
 126 Be ought I watte.
- He proves that he is mekill of price;
 Therfore it is goode I me avise
 And sen I may noght on this wise
 130 Make hym my thrall,
 I will assayne in covetise
 To garre hym fall,
- For certis I schall noght leve hym yitt,
 Who is my sovereyne, this wolde I witte.
 135 Myselffe ordande thee thore to sitte,
 This wote thou wele,
 And right even as I ordande itt,
 Is done ilke dele.
- Than may thou se sen itt is soo
 140 That I am soverayne of us two,
 And yitt I graunte thee or I goo
 Withouten fayle,
 That, if thou woll assente me too,
 It schall avayle.
- 145 For I have all this worlde to welde,
 Toure and toune, forest and felde,
 If thou thyn herte will to me helde
 With wordis hende,
 Yitt will I baynly be thy belde
 150 And faithfull frende.
- Behalde now, ser, and thou schalt see
 Sere kyngdomes and sere contré;
 Alle this wile I giffe to thee
 For evermore,
- warlock; malignant
doubt
[be] tempted; harm*
- deception
tricks
Early*
- effort
(i.e., For all I know)*
- advise
in this way
slave (captive)*
- cause; [to] fall*
- leave
there
ordained
entirely*
- ere*
- govern
Tower; field
hold (submit [yourself])
gracious
willingly; support*
- many countries*

155 And thou fall and honour me,
As I saide are. before

JESUS Sees of thy sawes, thou Sathanas,
I graunte nothyng that thou me askis;
To pyne of helle I bide thee passe
160 And wightely wende
And wonne in woo, as thou are was,
Withouten ende.

Cease

*pain; order you to go
quickly*

dwell; previously

Non othyr myght schal be thy mede,
For wretyn it is, who right can rede,
165 Thy Lord God thee aught to drede
And honoure ay,
And serve hym in worde and dede
Both nyght and day.

*reward**written**ought; fear*

And sen thou dose not as I thee tell,
170 No lenger liste me late thee dwell.
I comaunde thee thou hy to hell
And holde thee thar
With felawship of fendis fell
For evermar.

*desire; [to] let**go (hurry)**(i.e., remain there)**malicious*

DIABOLUS Owte, I dar noght loke, allas. dare
176 Itt is warre than evere it was;
He musteres what myght he has,
Hye mote he hang.
Folowes fast, for me bus pas
180 To paynes strang.

*worse**strength**High might**must pass (be transferred)**strong*

I ANGELUS A, mercy, Lorde, what may this mene?
Me merveyles that ye thole this tene
Of this foule fende cant and kene,
Carpand you till;
185 And ye his wickidnesse, I wene,
May waste at will. signify
endured; affliction
cruel and provocative
Talking to you
destroy

Methynke that ye ware straytely stedde,
Lorde, with this fende that nowe is fledde. *(i.e., were in a difficult situation)*

JESUS Myn aungell dere, be noght adred,
190 He may not greve. harass [me]
The Haly Goste me has ledde,
Thus schal thou leve. believe

- For whan the fende schall folke see
 And salus tham in sere degré,
 195 Thare myrroure may thei make of me
 For to stande still,
 For overecombe schall thei noght be
 Bot yf thay will.
- assails*
Their example

- II ANGELUS** A, Lorde, this is a grete mekenesse
 200 In yow in whome al mercy is,
 And at youre wille may deme or dresse
 Als is worthy;
 And thre temptacions takes expres,
 Thus suffirantly.
- judge or direct*
endure openly
sovereignly (royally)

- JESUS** My blissing have thei with my hande
 206 That with swilke greffe is noght grucchand,
 And also that will stiffely stande
 Agaynst the fende.
 I knawe my tyme is faste command;
 210 Now will I wende.
- grief; complaining*
firmly
coming

[22A. THE MARRIAGE IN CANA]

The Vintenors

- ARCHEDECLYNE**¹ Loo, this is a yoyfull day
 For me and . . .

[23. THE TRANSFIGURATION]

The Coriours

- JESUS** Petir, myne awne discipill dere,
 And James and John, my cosyns two,
 Takis hartely hede, for ye schall here
 That I wille telle unto no moo;
 5 And als ye schall see sightis seere
 Whilke none schall see bot ye alsoo,
 Therfore comes forth with me in fere,
 For to yone mountayne will I goo.
 Ther schall ye see a sight
 10 Whilk ye have yerned lange.
- earnestly heed; hear*
many
but
in company
long yearned for

¹ *Speech heading: Master of the Feast at Cana*

PETRUS My Lorde, we are full light
And glad with thee to gange. happy
go

JESUS Longe have ye coveyte for to kenne
My Fadir, for I sette hym before,
15 And wele ye wote whilke tyme and when
In Galylé gangand we were. ?affirmed
Galilee going

“Shewe us thy Fadir,” thus saide ye then,
“That suffice us withouten more.”
I saide to you and to all men,
20 “Who seis me, seis my Fadyr thore.” there
spake
Such wordis to you I spakke
In trewthe to make you bolde,
Ye cowde noght undyrtake
The talez that I you tolde. *[For otherwise] you could not understand*

25 Anodir tyme, for to encresse
Youre trouthe and worldly you to wys, guide
I saide, *Quem dicunt homines*
*Esse filium hominis?*¹ chose

I askid yow wham the pepill chase
30 To be mannys Sone, withouten mys;
Ye answered and saide, “Sum Moyses,” Elijah
And sum saide than, “Hely it is,”
And sum saide, “John Baptist.”
Than more I enquired you yitt,
35 I askid yiff ye ought wiste
Who I was, by youre witte. *of you*
knew

Thou aunswered, Petir, for thy prowe,
And saide that I was Crist, God Sonne;
Bot of thyselffe that had noght thowe,
40 My Fadir hadde that grace begonne.
Therfore bese bolde and biddis nowe
To tyme ye have my Fadir fonne. credit
thou
begun
be; abide
found (seen)

JACOBUS Lord, to thy byddyng will we bowe
Full buxumly, as we are bonne. obediently; obliged

JOHANNES Lorde, we will wirke thy will
46 Allway with trew entent.
We love God lowde and stille
That us this layne has lente. gift

¹ Lines 27–28: *Whom do men say / To be the Son of Man?*

PETRUS Full glad and blithe awe us to be
 50 And thanke oure maistir, mekill of mayne,
 That sais we schall the sightis see
 The whiche non othir schall see certayne.

ought

JACOBUS He talde us of his Fadir free,
 Of that fare wolde we be full fayne.

matter; glad

JOHANNES All that he hyghte us holde will hee;
 56 Therfore we will no forther frayne,
 But as he fouchesaffe
 So sall we undirstande.

*promised
question
is willing*

PETRUS Beholde, her we have nowe in hast
 60 Som new tyhandys.

HELYAS Lord God, I love thee lastandly
 And highly, botht with harte and hande,
 That me, thy poure prophett Hely,
 Have stevened me in this stede to stande.
 65 In paradise wonnand am I
 Ay sen I lefte this erthely lande.
 I come Cristis name to clarifie
 As God his Fadir me has ordand,
 And for to bere witnesse
 70 In worde to man and wyfpe,
 That this his owne Sone is
 And Lord of lastand liff.

*everlastingly
both
poor; Elijah
called
living**ordained**everlasting life*

MOYES Lord God, that of all welth is wele,
 With wille and witte we wirschippe thee,
 75 That unto me, Moyses, wolde tell
 This grete poynte of thy prvyté,
 And hendly hente me oute of hell
 This solempne syght for I schuld see,
 Whan thy dere darlynges that thore dwell
 80 Hase noght thy grace in swilk degree.
 Oure formefadyrs full fayne
 Wolde se this solempne sight
 That in this place thus pleyne
 Is mustered thurgh thi myght.

*well (source)**mystery
graciously took**plain
organized through*

PETRUS Brethir, whatevere yone brightnes be?
 86 Swilk burdis beforne was nevere sene.
 It marres my myght, I may not see,
 So selcouth thyng was nevere sene.

*marvels**amazing*

JACOBUS What it will worthe, that wote noght wee,
 90 How wayke I waxe, ye will not wene,
 Are was ther one, now is ther thre.
 Methynke oure maistir is betwene.

(i.e., be determined to be)
weak (sleepy)
Before

JOHANNES That oure maistir is thare
 That may we trewly trowe;
 95 He was ffull fayre beffore,
 But nevere als he is nowe.

PETRUS His clothynge is as white as snowe,
 His face schynes as the sonne.
 To speke with hym I have grete awe,
 100 Swilk faire before was nevere fune.

matter; found

JACOBUS The tothir two fayne wolde I knawe
 And witte what werke than heder has wonne.

know; hither; transported

JOHANNES I rede we aske them all on rowe
 And grope them how this game is begonne.

in order
interrogate

PETRUS My bredis, if that ye be come
 106 To make clere Cristis name,
 Telles here till us thre,
 For we seke to the same.

HELYAS Itt is Goddis will that we you wys
 110 Of his werkis, as is worthy.
 I have my place in paradise,
 Ennok my brodyr me by.
 Als messenger withouten mys
 Am I called to this company
 115 To witnesse that Goddis Sone is this,
 Evyn with hym mette and allmyghty.
 To dede we wer noght dight,
 But quyk schall we come
 With Antecrist for to fyght
 120 Beffore the day of dome.

inform
brother [is]
sin

equal
death; put
alive

doom

MOYES Frendis, if that ye frayne my name,
 Moyses than may ye rede by rawe,
 Two thousand yere aftir Adam
 Than gaffe God unto me his lawe,
 125 And sythen in helle has bene oure hame.
 Allas, Adams kynne, this schall ye knawe:
 Unto Crist come, this is the same
 That us schall fro that dongeoun drawe.

ask
expound in order
gave
home
Until; comes

- He schall bryngē tham to blys
 130 That nowe in bale are bonne;
 This myrthe we may not mys,
 For this same is Goddis Sonne.
- JESUS** My dere discipill, drede you noght,
 I am youre soverayne certenly.
 135 This wondir werke that here is wrought
 Is of my Fadir almyghty.
 Thire both are hydir brought,
 The tone Moyses, the todir Ely,
 And for youre sake thus are thei sought
 140 To saie you, his Sone am I.
 So schall bothe heven and helle
 Be demers of this dede,
 And ye in erthe schall tell
 My name wher itt is nede.
- PETRUS** A, loved be thou evere, my Lord Jesus,
 146 That all this solempne sight has sent
 That fouchest safte to schew thee thus
 So that thi myghtis may be kende.
 Here is full faire dwellyng for us,
 150 A lykand place in for to lende.
 A, Lord, late us no forther trus,
 For we will make with herte and hende
 A taburnakill unto thee
 Belyve, and thou will bide;
 155 One schall to Moyses be,
 And to Ely the thirde.
- JACOBUS** Ya, wittirly, that were wele done,
 But us awe noght swilk case to crave;
 Tham thare but saie and have it sone,
 160 Such service and he fouchesaffe.
 He hetis his men both morne and none
 Thare herber high in heven to have;
 Therfore is beste we bide hys bone.
 Who othir reidis, rudely thei rave.
- JOHANNES** Such sonde as he will sende
 166 May mende all oure mischeve,
 And where hym lykis to lende
 We will lende, with his leve.
- bound (captive)*
- dread*
- say [to] you*
- judges*
- necessary*
- praised*
- vouchsafe; show*
- known*
- pleasant; remain*
- go*
- hand*
- Forthwith*
- wisely*
- if he wills [it]*
- promises*
- [secure] dwelling*
- wish*
- advises*
- message*
- desires; remain*
- leave*

*Hic descendunt nubes.**Here the clouds descend*

PATER IN NUBE Ye ffebill of faithe, folke affraied,

- 170 Beis noght aferde for us in feere.
 I am youre God that gudly grayde
 Both erthe and eyre with clowdes clere.
 This is my Sone, as ye have saide,
 As he has schewed by sygnes sere.
- 175 Of all his werkis I am wele paied,
 Therfore till hym takis hede and here.
 Where he is, thare am I;
 He is myne and I am his:
 Who trowis this stedfastly
- 180 Shall byde in endles blisse.

*Be
framed
air*

hear

believes

JESUS Petir, pees be unto thee,
 And to you also, James and John.
 Rise uppe and tellis me what ye see,
 And beis no more so wille of wone.

be; distraught

PETRUS A, Lorde, what may this mervayle be?

- 186 Whedir is this glorious gleme al gone?
 We saugh here pleynly persones thre,
 And nowe is oure Lorde lefte allone.
 This mervayle movis my mynde
 190 And makis my flesh affrayed.

saw; plainly

JACOBUS This brightnes made me blynde,
 I bode nevere swilke a brayde.

endured; assault

JOHANNES Lorde God, oure maker almyghty,
 This mater evermore be ment,
 195 We saw two bodis stande hym by
 And saide his Fadir had thame sent.

*remembered
bodies
them*

PETRUS There come a clowde of the skye,
 Lyght als the lemys on thame lent,
 And now fares all as fantasye,
 200 For wote noght how thai are wente.

*beams
[we] know*

JACOBUS That clowde cloumsed us clene
 That come schynand so clere,
 Such syght was never sene,
 To seke all sydis seere.

*surprised (shocked)
shining
seek all around*

JOHANNES Nay, nay, that noys noyed us more
 206 That here was horde so hydously.

*sound annoyed
heard*

JESUS Frendis, be noght afferde therfore,
 I schall you saye encheson why.
 My Fadir wyte how that ye were
 210 In youre faith fayland and forthy
 He come to witnesse ay where,
 And saide that his Sone am I
 And also in this stede
 To witnesse the same,
 215 A quyk man and a dede
 Come to make clere my name.

afraid
reason
knows
failing
place
live

PETRUS A, Lord, why latest thou us noght see
 Thy Fadirs face in his fayrenes?

JESUS Petir, thou askis overgrete degree,
 220 That grace may noght be graunted thee, I gesse.
 In his Godhed so high is he
 As all youre prophetis names expresse,
 That langar of lyffe schall he noght be
 That seys his Godhede as it is.
 225 Here have ye sene in sight
 Poyntes of his privité
 Als mekill als erthely wighte
 May suffre in erthe to see.

(i.e., too much)
proclaim
sees
mystery

And therfore wende we nowe agayne
 230 To oure meyné, and mende ther chere.

company

JACOBUS Oure felaws ful faste wil us frayne
 How we have faren, al in feere.

JESUS This visioun lely loke ye layne,
 Unto no leffand lede it lere
 235 Tille tyme mannys Sone have suffered Payne
 And resen fro dede, kens it than clere.
 For all that trowis that thyng
 Of my Fadir and me,
 Thay schall have his blessing
 240 And myne, so motte it be.

truly; conceal
living man; reveal
risen; teach; openly

[23A. THE FEAST IN SIMON'S HOUSE]

The Ironmongers

[Not entered. See notes.]

[24. THE WOMAN TAKEN IN ADULTERY AND THE RAISING OF LAZARUS]

The Cappemakers and Hatmakers

I JUDEUS Steppe fourth, late us no lenger stande
 But smertely that oure gere wer grayde.
 This felowe that we with folye fande,
 Late haste us fast that she wer flayed.

*let
 sharply; equipment; arrayed
 fellow [inferior, or immoral]; found
 punished*

II JUDEUS We will bere witnesse and warande
 6 How we hir raysed all unarayed
 Agaynste the lawes here of oure lande
 Wher sche was with hir leman laide.

*undressed (nude)
 lover lying*

I JUDEUS Yaa, and he a wedded man,
 10 That was a wikkid synne.

II JUDEUS That bargayne schall sche banne,
 With bale nowe or we blynne.

*curse
 before; cease*

I JUDEUS A, false stodmere and stynkand strye,
 How durste thou stele so stille away
 15 To do so vilaunce avowtry
 That is so grete agaynste oure lay.

*broodmare; stinking witch
 steal
 wicked adultery
 law*

II JUDEUS Hir bawdery schall she dere abyne,
 For as we sawe, so schall we saye,
 And also hir wirkynge is worthy
 20 Sho schall be demed to ded this day.

*dearly pay for
 judged; death*

I JUDEUS The maistirs of the lawe
 Are here even at oure hande.

II JUDEUS Go we reherse by rawe
 Hir fawtes as we tham fande.

faults

I JUDEUS God save you, maistirs, mekill of mayne,
 26 That grete clergy and counsaille cann.

*of great authority
 learning; counsel (wisdom) know*

III JUDEUS Welcome, frendis, but I wolde frayne
 How fare ye with that faire woman?

ask

II JUDEUS A, sirs, we schall you saie certayne
 30 Of mekill sorowe sen sche began.
 We have hir tane with putry playne,
 Hirselff may noght gaynesaie it than.

prohibited sex

IV JUDEUS What, hath sche done folye
In fornicacioun and synne?

I JUDEUS Nay, nay, in avowtery
36 Full bolde and will noght blynne.

*adultery
cease*

III JUDEUS Avowtery, nemyn it noght, for schame.
It is so soule, oþynly I it fye.
Is it sothe that thei saie thee, dame?

name

II JUDEUS What, sir, scho may it noght denye;
41 We wer than worthy for to blame
To greve hir, but sche wer guilty.

harass; unless

IV JUDEUS Now, certis, this is a foule defame,
And mekill bale muste be tharby.

disgraceful situation

III JUDEUS Ya, sir, ye saie wele thore,
46 By lawe and rightwise rede
Ther falles noght ellis therfore
But to be stoned to dede.

*well there
correct legal advice*

I JUDEUS Sirs, sen ye telle the lawe this tyde
50 And knawes the course in this contré,
Demes hir on heght, no lenger hyde,
And astir youre wordis wirke schall we.

Judge; without delay

IV JUDEUS Beis noght so bryme, bewsheris, abide,
A new mater nowe moves me.

fast (impatient); good sirs, wait

[pages missing, see note]

III JUDEUS He shewes my mysdedis more and myne;
56 I leve you here, late hym allone.

IV JUDEUS Owe, here will new gaudes begynne;
Ya, grete all wele, saie that I am gone.

sports

I JUDEUS And sen ye are noght bolde,
60 No lengar bide will I.

II JUDEUS Pees, late no tales be tolde
But passe fourth prevlye.

unnoticed

JESUS Woman, wher are tho wighte men went
That kenely here accused thee?
65 Who hase thee dampned, toke thou entent?

those men of authority

heed

MULIER Lord, no man has dampned me.

JESUS And for me schall thou noght be schent.
 Of all thy mys I make thee free;
 Loke thou no more to synne assentte.

*hurt
sin*

MULIER A, Lord, ay loved mott thou bee.
 71 All erthely folke in feere
 Loves hym and his high name
 That me on this manere
 Hath saved fro synne and schame.

I APOSTOLUS A, Lorde, we love thee inwardly
 76 And all thi lore, both lowde and still,
 That grauntes thy grace to the gilty
 And spares tham that thy folke wolde spill.

*teachings
harm (kill)*

JESUS I schall you saie encheson why,
 80 I wote it is my Fadirs will
 And for to make tham ware therby
 To knawe thamselffe have done more ill.
 And evermore of this same
 Ensample schall be sene:
 85 Whoso schall othir blame,
 Loke firste thamself be clene.

*reason
aware
Example*

II APOSTOLUS A, maistir, here may men se also
 How mekenes may fullmekill amende,
 To forgeve gladly where we goo
 90 All folke that hath us ought offende.

humility; greatly

JESUS He that will noght forgiffe his foo
 And use mekenesse with herte and hende,
 The kyngdom may he noght come too
 That ordande is withouten ende.
 95 And more sone schall we see
 Here or ye forther fare
 How that my Fadir free
 Will mustir myghtis more.

*hand
is ordained
sooner
before you further
power greater*

Lazare mortus.

NUNCIUS Jesu, that es prophett veray,
 100 My ladys Martha and Marie,
 If thou fouchesaffe, thai wolde thee pray
 For to come unto Bethany.
 He whom thou loves full wele alway
 Es seke and like, Lord, for to dye.

*very (true)
are willing
Is sick*

- 105 Yf thou wolde come, amende hym thou may,
And conforte all that cumpany.

JESUS I saie you that sekeness
Is noght onlye to dede,
But joie of Goddis gudnesse
110 Schal be schewed in that stede.

sickness
death
joy; goodness
shown; place

And Goddis Sone schall be glorified
By that sekenesse and signes seere;
Therfore brethir no lenger bide,
Two daies fully have we ben here;
115 We will go sojourne here beside
In the Jurie with frendis in feere.

*signs various
brother*

I APOSTOLUS A, Lorde, thou wote wele ilke a tyde
The Jewes thei layte thee ferre and nere
To stome thee unto dede
120 Or putte to pereles payne,
And thou to that same stede
Covaites to gange agayne.

*know well every time
search for*

JESUS Ye wote by cours wele for to kast,
The daie is now of twelve oures lange,
125 And whilis light of the day may last
It is gode that we grathely gange,
For whan daylight is pleyntly past
Full sone than may ye wende all wrang.
Therfore takes hede and travayle fast
130 Whills light of liffe is you emang.
And to you saie I more,
How that Lazar oure frende
Slepes nowe, and I therfore
With you to hym will wende.

*well how to compute
hours*

II APOSTOLUS We will be ruled aftir thi rede,
136 But and he slepe he schall be save.

receive salvation

JESUS I saie to you, Lazare is dede,
And for you all grete joie I have.
Ye wote I was noght in that stede
140 What tyme that he was graved in grave.
His sisteres praye with bowsom beede
And for conforte thei call and crave;
Therfore go we togedir
To make there myrthis more.

I APOSTOLUS Sen he will nedes wende thedir,
146 Go we and dye with hym ther.

MARIA Allas, owtane Goddis will allone
That I schulld sitte to see this sight.
For I may morne and make my mone,
150 So wo in worlde was nevere wight.
That I loved most is fro me gone,
My dere brothir that Lazar hight,
And I durst saye I wolde be slone,
For nowe me fayles both mynde and myght.
155 My welthe is wente forevere,
No medycyne mende me may.
A, dede, thou do thy dever
And have me hense away.

*except**mourn; moan*
*[so] strong**is called*
slain
fails; strength
*felicity**death; duty*

MARTHA Allas, for ruthe, now may I rave
160 And febilly fare by frith and felde.
Wolde God that I wer grathed in grave,
That dede hadde tane me under telde.
For hele in harte mon I nevere have
But if he helpe that all may welde.
165 Of Crist I will som comforte crave,
For he may be my bote and belde.
To seke I schal noght cesse
Tille I my sovereyne see.
Hayle, pereles prince of pesse,
170 Jesu, my maistir so free!

woods; field
buried
taken; cover [of earth]
hale (well-being)
*support**help; support*
seek; cease

JESUS Martha, what menes thou to make such chere?

. . .
This stone we schall full sone
Remove and sette on syde.

[pages missing, see textual note]

JESUS Fadir that is in hevyn on highte,
175 I thanke thee evere overe all thyng
That hendely heres me day and nyght
And takis hede unto myn askyng:
Wherfore fouchesaffe of thy grete myght
So that this pepull, olde and yng,
180 That standis and bidis to se that sight
May trulye trowe and have knowyng
This tyme here or I pas
How that thou has me sent.
Lazar, veni foras,
185 Come fro thy monument.

*graciously hears**marvel**Lazarus, come forth*

- LAZARUS** A, pereles prince, full of pitee,
 Worshipped be thou in worlde alway
 That thus hast schewed thi myght in me,
 Both dede and dolven, this is the fourthe day.
 190 By certayne singnes here may men see
 How that thou art Goddis Sone verray.
 All tho that truly trastis in thee
 Schall nevere dye, this dar I saye.
 Therfore ye folke in fere,
 195 Menske hym with mayne and myght,
 His lawes luke that ye lere;
 Than will he lede you to his light.
- MARIA** Here may men fynde a faythfull frende
 That thus has covered us of oure care.
- MARTHA** Jesu, my Lord and maistir hende,
 201 Of this we thanke thee evermore.
- JESUS** Sisteres, I may no lenger lende,
 To othir folke nowe bus me fare,
 And to Jerusalem will I wende
 205 For thyngis that muste be fulfilled there.
 Therfore rede I you right,
 My men, to wende with me.
 Ye that have sene this sight
 My blissyng with yo be.

[25. THE ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM]

The Skynners

- JESUS** To me takis tent and giffis gud hede,
 My dere discipulis that ben here,
 I schall you telle that shal be indede;
 My tyme to passe hense, it drawith nere,
 5 And by this skill
 Mannys sowle to save fro sorowes sere
 That loste was ill.
- From heven to erth whan I dyssende
 Rawnsom to make I made promys,
 10 The prophicie nowe drawes to ende;
 My Fadirs wille forsoth it is
 That sente me hedyr.

Petir, Phelippe, I schall you blisse
And go togedir

- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| | Unto yone castell that is you agayne,
Gois with gud harte and tarie noght,
My comaundement to do be ye bayne.
Also I you charge loke it be wrought
That schal ye fynde | <i>near (against)
tarry
obedient</i> |
| 20 | An asse, this feste als ye had soght,
Ye hir unbynde | <i>fast (tied up)</i> |
| | With hir foole, and to me hem bring
That I on hir may sitte a space | <i>foal; them</i> |
| 25 | So the prophicy clere menyng
May be fulfilled here in this place:
“Doghtyr Syon,
Loo, thi Lorde comys rydand on an asse,
Thee to opon.” | <i>meaning</i> |
| | | <i>Upon [it] to you</i> |
| 30 | Yf any man will you gaynesaye,
Say that youre Lorde has nede of tham
And schall restore thame this same day
Unto what man will tham clayme.
Do thus this thyng, | <i>object</i> |
| | Go furthe ye both and be ay bayne
In my blissyng. | <i>obedient</i> |
| 35 | | |
| | PETRUS Jesu, maistir, evyn at thy wille
And at thi liste us likis to doo,
Yone beste whilke thou desires thee tille.
Even at thi will schall come thee too | <i>as you desire we wish
animal; [to be brought] to you
to</i> |
| 40 | Unto thin esse.
Sertis, Lord, we will thedyre all go
Thee for to plese. | <i>ease (convenience)
thither</i> |
| | | |
| | PHILIPPUS Lord, thee to plese we are full bayne
Bothe nyght and day to do thi will. | |
| 45 | Go we, brother, with all oure mayne
My Lordis desire for to fulfill,
For prophycye
Us bus it do to hym by skyll
To do dewly. | <i>strength
reason
duly</i> |
| | | |
| | PETRUS Ya, brodir Phelipp, behalde grathely, | <i>plainly behold</i> |
| 51 | For als he saide we shulde sone fynde,
Methinke yone bestis before myn eye,
Thai are the same we schulde unbynde. | |

	Therfore frely	<i>freely (willingly)</i>
55	Go we to hym that thame gan bynde	<i>did</i>
	And aske mekely.	
	PHILIPPUS The beestis are comen, wele I knawе;	<i>[held in] common</i>
	Therfore us nedis to aske lesse leve,	<i>permission</i>
	And oure maistir kepis the lawe.	
60	We may thame take tyter, I preve,	<i>readily; (i.e., I say)</i>
	For noght we lett.	<i>refrain</i>
	For wele I wattle oure tyme is breve,	<i>brief</i>
	Go we tham fett.	<i>fetch</i>
	JANITOR Saie, what are ye that makis here maistrie	<i>act authoritatively</i>
65	To loose thes bestis withoute leverie?	<i>livery (authority)</i>
	Yow semes to bolde, sen noght that ye	<i>too</i>
	Hase here to do; therfore rede I	<i>I command</i>
	Such thingis to sesse,	<i>cease</i>
	Or ellis ye may falle in folye	
70	And grette diseasse.	<i>discomfort</i>
	PETRUS Sir, with thi leve hartely we praye	<i>permission</i>
	This beste that we myght have.	
	JANITOR To what intente, firste shall ye saye,	
	And than I graunte what ye will crave	
75	Be gode resounē?	<i>For a valid reason</i>
	PHILIPPUS Oure maistir, sir, that all may save,	
	Aske by chesoune.	<i>reason</i>
	JANITOR What man is that ye maistir call	
	Swilke privelege dare to hym clayme?	
	PETRUS Jesus of Jewes kyng, and ay be schall,	
81	Of Nazareth prophete the same,	
	This same is he,	
	Both God and man, withouten blame,	
	This trist wele we.	<i>trust well</i>
	JANITOR Sirs, of that prophette herde I have,	
86	But telle me firste playnly, wher is hee?	
	PHILIPPUS He comes at hande, so God me save.	
	That Lorde we lefte at Bephage,	<i>Bethpage</i>
	He bidis us there.	

JANITOR Sir, take this beste, with herte full free,
91 And forthe ye fare.

And if you thynke it be to don,
I schall declare playnly his comyng
To the chiffe of the Jewes that thei may sone
95 Assemble same to his metyng.
What is your rede?

to be done (i.e., necessary)
chief
together to meet him
advice

PETRUS Thou sais full wele in thy menyng,
Do forthe thi dede,

100 And sone this beste we schall thee bring
100 And it restore as resounue will.

JANITOR This tydylgis schall have no laynyng
But to the citezens declare it till
Of this cyté.
I suppose fully that thei wolle
105 Come mete that free.

shall not be hidden
city
will
[good] person

And sen I will thei warned be,
Both yonge and olde, in ilke a state,
For his comyng I will tham mete
To late tham witte, withoute debate.
110 Lo, wher thei stande,
That citezens cheff, withoute debate,
Of all this lande.

every condition
let them know

He that is rewler of all right
And freely schoppe both see and sande,
115 He save you, lordylgis, gayly dight,
And kepe you in youre semelyté
And all honoure.

ruler
graciously shaped
arrayed
seemliness

I BURGENSIS Welcome, porter, what novelté
Telle us this owre?

news
hour

JANITOR Sirs, novelté I can you tell
121 And triste thame fully as for trewe;
Her comes of kynde of Israel
Att hande the prophette called Jesu,
Lo, this same day,
125 Rydand on an asse; this tydandis newe
Consayve ye may.

true
tribe
Riding
Comprehend

II BURGENSIS And is that prophette Jesu nere?

- Off hym I have herde grete ferlis tolde:
He dois grete wounderes in contrees seere.
130 He helys the seke, both yonge and olde,
And the blynde giffis tham ther sight;
Both dome and deffe, as hymselffe wolde,
He cures thame right.

*wonders**heals; sick**gives**dumb; deaf***III BURGENSIS** Ya, five thowsand men with loves fyve

- 135 He fedde, and ilkone hadde inowe.
Watir to wyne he turned ryve,
He garte corne growe withouten plogh
Wher are was none;
To dede men als he gaffe liffe,
140 Lazar was one.

*loaves**enough**abundantly**made wheat**ere**gave life***IV BURGENSIS** In oure Tempill if he prechid

- Agaynst the pepull that leved wrong,
And also new lawes if he tecched
Agaynst oure lawis we used so lang,
145 And saide pleynlye
The olde schall waste, the new schall gang,
That we schall see.

*lived**[fold] laws; long**plainly**(i.e., fall . . . rise)***V BURGENSIS** Ya, Moyses lawe he cowde ilke dele,

- And all the prophettis on a rowe,
150 He telles tham so that ilke a man may fele
And what thei may interly knowe
Yf thei were dyme,
What the prophettis saide in ther sawe,
All longis to hym.

*knew intimately**in order**expounds; feel (understand)**entirely (fully)**difficult [to understand]**sayings**applies***VI BURGENSIS** Emanuell also by right

- 156 Thai calle that prophette, by this skill,
He is the same that are was hyght
Be Ysaye befor us till,
Thus saide full clere:
160 Loo, a maydyn that knew nevere ille
A childe schuld bere.

*ere was identified**By Isaias**evil (sin)***VII BURGENSIS** David spake of him I wene

- And lefte witnesse ye knowe ilkone;
He saide the frute of his corse clene
165 Shulde roially regne upon his trone,
And therfore he
Of David kyn, and othir none,
Oure kyng schal be.

*know**body*

VIII BURGENSIS Sirs, methynketh ye saie right wele,

- 170 And gud ensampelys furth ye bryng;
And sen we thus this mater fele,
Go we hym meete as oure owne kyng,
And kyng hym call.
What is youre counsaill in this thyng,
175 Now say ye all?

*examples
matter understand [now]*

I BURGENSIS Agaynste resoune I will noght plete,

- For wele I wote oure kyng he is.
Whoso agaynst his kyng liste threte,
He is noght wise, he dose amys.
180 Porter, come nere,
What knowlage hast thou of his comyng,
Tels us all here?

plead

wishes to offend

- And than we will go mete that free
And hym honnoure as we wele awe
185 Worthely tyll oure citee,
And for oure soverayne Lord hym knawe
In whome we triste.

*well ought
to*

trust

JANITOR Sirs, I schall telle you all on rowe
And ye will lyste.

listen

- 190 Of his discipillis two this day,
Where that I stode, thei faire me grette
And on ther maistir halfe gan praye
Oure comon asse that thei myght gete
Bot for a while
195 Wheron ther maistir softe myght sitte
Space of a mile.

*courteously greeted me
behalf began [to]*

in comfort

- And all this mater thai me tolde
Right haly as I saie to you,
And the asse thei have right as thei wolde,
200 And sone will bringe agayne, I trowe,
So thai beheste.
What ye will doo avise you nowe,
Thus thinke me beste.

wholly

*soon
As; promised
consider*

II BURGENSIS Trewlye as for me, I say,

- 205 I rede we make us redy bowne
Hym to mete gudly this day
And hym ressayve with grete rennowne,
As worthy is.

advise; prepared

And therfore, sirs, in felde and towne
 210 Ye fulfille this.

JANITOR Ya, and youre childer with you take,
 Thoff all in age that thei be yonge; *Though*
 Ye may fare the better for ther sake
 Thurgh the blissing of so goode a kyng,
 215 This is no dowte. *Through
doubt*

III BURGENSIS I kan thee thanke for thy saying, *do*
 We will hym lowte; *worship*

And hym to mete I am right bayne *willing*
 On the beste maner that I cane,
 220 For I desire to se hym fayne
 And hym honnoure as his awne man *own*
 Sen the soth I see:
 Kyng of Juuys we call hym than, *Jews*
 Oure kyng is he.

IV BURGENSIS Oure kyng is he, that is no lesse,
 226 Oure awne lawe to it cordis will, *own; accords (agrees) well*
 The prophettis all bare full witnesse *bore*
 Qwilke full of hym secrete gone telle, *Which*
 And thus wolde say,
 230 “Emang youreself schall come grete seele *joy*
 Thurgh God verray.”

V BURGENSIS This same is he, ther is non othir,
 Was us beheest full lange before, *promised*
 For Moyses saide, als oure owne brothir
 235 A newe prophette God schulde restore.
 Therfore loke ye
 What ye will do, withouten more:
 Oure kyng is he.

VI BURGENSIS Of Juda come owre kyng so gent, *Judah; gracious*
 240 Of Jesse, David, Salomon,
 Also by his modir kynne take tente, *mother's lineage pay attention*
 The genolagye beres witnesse on, *bears*
 This is right playne.
 Hym to honnoure right as I can
 245 I am full bayne.

VII BURGENSIS Of youre clene witte and youre consayte *conceit (intention)*
 I am full gladdie in harte and thought,
 And hym to mete withouten latt *delay*

I am redy and feyne will noght
 250 Bot with you same *together*
 To hym agayne us blisse hath brought
 With myrthe and game.

VIII BURGENSIS Youre argumentis thai are so clere
 I can noght saie but graunte you till,
 255 For whanne I of that counsaille here,
 I coveyte hym with fervent wille *desire*
 Onys for to see; *Once*
 I trowe fro thens I schall
 Bettir man be.

I BURGENSIS Go we than with processioune
 261 To mete that comely as us awe *gracious one; ought*
 With braunches, floures, and unysoun, *unison (singing)*
 With myghtfull songes her on a rawe.
 Our childir schall *here*
 265 Go synge before that men may knawe.

II BURGENSIS To this graunte we all.

PETRUS Jesu, Lord and maistir free,
 Als thou comaunde so have we done:
 This asse here we have brought to thee.
 270 What is thi wille thou schewe us sone *soon*
 And tarie noght,
 And than schall we, withouten hune, *delay*
 Fulfill thi thought.

JESUS I thanke you, brether, mylde of mode.
 275 Do on this asse youre clothis ye laye
 And lifte me uppe with hertis gud *hearts good*
 That I on hir may sitte this daye
 In my blissing.

PHILIPPUS Lord, thi will to do allway,
 280 We graunte this thing.

JESUS Now my brether, with gud chere,
 Gyves gode entente, for ryde I will
 Unto yone cyté ye se so nere.
 Ye shall me folowe, sam and still
 285 Als I are sayde. *Pay close attention*
see; near
all together
previously

PHILIPPUS Lord, as thee lyst we graunte thee till,
 And halde us payde. *well-rewarded*

*Tunc cantant.**Then they sing*

CECUS A, Lorde, that all this world has made,
 Bothe sonne and mone, nyght and day,
 290 What noyse is this that makis me gladde?
 Fro whens it schulde come I can noght saye
 Or what it mene.
 Yf any man walke in this way,
 Telle hym me bedene.

*music (singing)**signifies**Let him tell; quickly*

PAUPER Man, what ayles thee to crye?
 296 Where wolde thou be, thou say me here?

causes

CECUS A, sir, a blynde man am I,
 And ay has bene of tendyr yere
 Sen I was borne;
 300 I harde a voyce with nobill chere
 Here me beforne.

*heard
before me*

PAUPER Man, will thou ought that I can do?

do [for you]

CECUS Ya, sir, gladly wolde I witte
 Yf thou couthe ought declare me to;
 305 This myrthe I herde, what mene may it
 Or undirstande?

*know
(i.e., explain)
music*

PAUPER Jesu, the prophite full of grace,
 Comys here at hande,

And all the cetezens thay are bowne
 310 Gose hym to mete with melodye,
 With the fayrest processiou
 That evere was sene in this Jury.
 He is right nere.

*en route**Jewry*

CECUS Sir, helpe me to the strete hastely
 315 That I may here

That noyse, and also that I myght thurgh grace
 My syght of hym, to crave I wolde.

PAUPER Loo, he is here at this same place.
 Crye faste on hym, loke thou be bolde
 320 With voyce right high.

loud

CECUS Jesu, the Sone of David calde,
 Thou have mercy!

called

Allas, I crye, he heris me noght.
 He has no ruthe of my mysfare,
 325 He turnes his herre, where is his thought?

*hears
pity; misfortune
ear*

PAUPER Cry somwhat lowdar, loke thou noght spare,
 So may thou spye.

CECUS Jesu, the salver of all sare,
 To me giffis gode hye!

*healer; misery
eye (i.e., heal my blindness)*

PHELIPPUS Cesse, man, and crye noght soo.
 331 The voyce of the pepill gose thee by.
 Thee aghe sette still and tente giffe to,
 Here passez the prophite of mercye.
 Thou doys amys.

*ought to sit; pay attention
amiss (wrong)*

CECUS A, David Sone, to thee I crye,
 336 The kynge of blisse!

PETRUS Lorde, have mercy and late hym goo.
 He can noght cesse of his crying;
 He folowes us both to and froo.
 340 Graunte hym his boone and his askyng,
 And late hym wende.
 We gette no reste or that this thyng
 Be broght to ende.

*cease
request
go [on his way]
unless*

JESUS What wolde thou man I to thee dede?
 345 In this present, telle oppynly.

for you did (performed)

CECUS Lorde, my syght is fro me hydde,
 Thou graunte me it, I crye mercy;
 This wolde I have.

JESUS Loke uppe nowe with chere blythely:
 350 Thi faith shall thee save.

gladly

CECUS Wirschippe and honnoure ay to thee
 With all the service that can be done.
 The kynge of blisse loved mote he be
 That thus my sight hath sente so sone
 355 And by grete skill.
 I was are blynde as any stome,
 I se at wille.

praised might

CLAUDUS A, wele wer tham that evere had liffe,
 Olde or yonge whedir it were,

- 360 Might welde ther lymmes withouten striffe; *wield (move); limbs*
 Go with this mirthe that I see here
 And contynewe, *continue*
 For I am sette in sorowes sere *many*
 That ay ar newe.
- 365 Thou, Lord, that schope both nyght and day, *formed*
 For thy mercy have mynde on me
 And helpe me, Lorde, as thou wele may.
 . . .
 I may noght gang, *[line missing]*
 For I am lame, as men may se, *walk*
 370 And has ben lang.
- For wele I wote, as knowyn is ryffe, *(i.e., everywhere)*
 Bothe dome and deffe thou grauntist tham grace, *dumb; deaf*
 And also the dede that thou havyst geven liff; *dead*
 Therfore graunte me, Lord, in this place
 375 My lymbis to welde.
- JESUS** My man, ryse and caste the cruchys gode space *crutches a good distance*
 Her in the felde, *Here; field*
- And loke in trouthe thou stedfast be
 And folow me furth with gode menyng. *intent*
- CLAUDUS** Lorde, lo, my crouchis whare thei flee
 381 Als ferre as I may late than flenge *fling*
 With bothe myn hende; *hands*
 That evere we have metyng
 Now I defende. *forbid*
- 385 For I was halte both lyme and lame, *lame both limb and body*
 And I suffered tene and sorowes inowe. *torment; enough*
 Aylastand Lord, loved be thi name,
 I am als light as birde on bowe. *happy; bough*
 Ay be thou blist,
- 390 Such grace hast thou schewed to me, *misfortune*
 Lorde, as thee list.
- ZACHÉ** Sen firste this worlde was made of noght
 And all thyng sette in equité,
 Such ferly thyng was nevere non wroght, *wonderful*
 395 As men this tyme may see with eye.
 What it may mene?
 I can noght saye what it may be,
 Comforde or tene.

- And cheffely of a prophete new
 400 That mekill is profite, and that of latte,
 Both day and nyght thai hym assewe,
 Oure pepill same thurgh strete and gatte,
 . . .
 Oure olde lawes as nowe thei hatte
 And his kepis yare.
- chiefly
 put forward
 follow
 street
 [line missing, see textual note]
 hate
 readily
- 405 Men fro deth to liffe he rayse,
 The blynde and dome geve speche and sight,
 Gretely therfore oure folke hym prayse
 And folowis hym both day and nyght
 Fro towne to towne.
- 410 Thay calle hym prophite be right,
 As of renowne.
- And yit I mervayle of that thyng,
 Of puplicans sen prince am I
 Of hym I cowthe have no knowyng.
 415 Yf all I wolde have comen hym nere,
 Arly and late,
 For I am lawe, and of myne hight
 Full is the gate.
- publicans since I am
 near
 Early
 low (short); of my height
 street
- Bot sen no bettir may befalle,
 420 I thynke what beste is for to doo.
 I am schorte, ye knawe wele all;
 Therfore yone tre I will go too
 And in it clyme.
 Whedir he come or passe me fro,
 425 I schall se hym.
- climb
- A nobill tree, thou secomoure,
 I blisse hym that thee on the erthe broght.
 Now may I see both here and thore
 That undir me hid may be noght;
 430 Therfore in thee
 Wille I bidde in herte and thought
 Till I hym se.
- sycamore
- Unto the prophete come to towne,
 434 Her will I bide whatso befalle.

JESUS Do, Zaché, do fast come downe.

Zacheus

ZACHEÉ Lorde, even at thi wille hastely I schall,
 And tarie noght.

To thee on knes, Lord, here I shall
For synne I wroght.

- 440 And welcome, prophete, trast and trewe,
With all the pepull that to thee langis.

*trusted
belong*

- JESUS** Zaché, thi service new
Schall make thee clene
Of all the wrong that thou haste done.

- ZACHÉ** Lorde, I lette noght for this thrang
446 Her to say sone,

(*i.e., I'm not intimidated by*): *thrang*

- Me schamys with synne, but noght to mende;
I synne forsake: therfore I will
Halve my gud I have unspendid
450 Poure folke to geve it till,
This will I fayne;
Whom I begylyd to hym will I
Make asith agayne.

(*i.e., I'm ashamed of my*)

*Half; goods
Poor
gladly
cheated
restitution*

- JESUS** Thy clere confessioun schall thee clense:
455 Thou may be sure of lastand lyffe.
Unto thi house, withouten offense,
Is graunted pees withouten striffe.
Farewele, Zaché.

everlasting

peace

- ZACHÉ** Lord, thee lowte ay man and wiffe,
460 Blist myght thou be.

worship

- JESUS** My dere discipulis, beholde and see,
Unto Jerusalem we schall assende.
Man Sone schall ther betrayed be
And gevyn into his enmys hande
465 With grete dispite.
Ther spitting on hym ther schall thei spende
And smertly smyte.

go up

*Man's Son
enemy's
malevolence*

hit

- Petir, take this asse me fro
And lede it where thou are it toke.
470 I murne, I sigh, I wepe also
Jerusalem on thee to loke;
And so may thou
That evere thou thi kyng forsuke
And was untrewe.

before; took

- 475 For stone on stone schall none be lefte
 But doune to the grounde all schal be caste;
 Thy game, thi gle, al fro thee refte,
 And all for synne that thou done hast,
 Thou arte unkynde. *taken away*
- 480 Agayne thi kyng thou hast trespass,
 Have this in mynde. *trespassed (sinned)*

PETRUS Porter, take here thyn asse agayne;
 At hande my Lorde comys on his fette. *on foot*

JANITOR Behalde, where all thi burgeis bayne *[prominent] citizens*
 485 Comes with wirschipphe hym to mete.
 Therfore I will
 Late hym abide here in this strete
 And lowte hym till. *venerate*

I BURGENSIS Hayll, prophette, preved withouten pere, *proven [to be]; peer*
 490 Hayll, prince of pees schall evere endure,
 Hayll, kyng comely, curteyse and clere,
 Hayll, soverayne semely, to synfull sure,
 To thee all bowes. *worthy; a sure help*
 Hayll, Lorde lovely, oure cares may cure,
 495 Hayll, kyng of Jewes.

II BURGENSIS Hayll, florishand floure that nevere shall fade, *flower*
 Hayll, vyolett vernand with swete odoure, *blooming*
 Hayll, marke of myrthe, oure medecyne made, *sign of joy*
 Hayll, blossome bright, hayll, oure socoure.
 500 Hayll, kyng comely.
 Hayll, menskfull man, we thee honnoure
 With herte frely. *exalted*

III BURGENSIS Hayll, David sone, doughty in dede, *strong; deeds*
 Hayll, rose ruddy, hayll birrall clere, *beryl*
 505 Hayll, welle of welthe may make us mede; *source of well-being; reward*
 Hayll, salver of oure sores sere, *healer; many*
 We wirschipphe thee.
 Hayll, hendfull, with solas sere, *courteous [one]; special*
 Welcome thou be.

IV BURGENSIS Hayll, blisfull babe, in Bedleme borne, *Bethlehem*
 511 Hayll, boote of all oure bittir balis, *help; miseries*
 Hayll, sege that schoppe bothe even and morne, *man; formed*
 Hayll, talker trystefull of trew tales. *teller reliable*
 Hayll, comely knyght,

515 Hayll, of mode that most prevayles
To save the tyght. *a disposition
imprisoned ones*

V BURGENSIS Hayll, dyamaunde with drewry dight,
Hayll, jasper gentill of Jury,
Hayll, llyly lufsome lemyd with lyght,
520 Hayll, balme of boote, moyste and drye,
To all has nede.
Hayll, barne most blist of mylde Marie,
Hayll, all oure mede. *diamond; ornamented
Jewry
lily worthy of love gleaming
assistance
all who are needy
child
reward*

VI BURGENSIS Hayll, conquerour, hayll, most of myght,
525 Hayll, rawnsoner of synfull all, *ransomer*
Hayll, pytefull, hayll, lovely light, *the one who pities*
Hayll to us welcome be schall.
Hayll, kyng of Jues, *Jews*
Hayll, comely corse that we thee call *body*
530 With mirthe that newes. *renews*

VII BURGENSIS Hayll, sonne ay schynand with bright bemes,
Hayll, lampe of liff schall nevere waste, *shining*
Hayll, lykand lanterne luffelly lemys, *decline*
Hayll, texte of trewthe the trew to taste. *fair; lovely beams*
535 Hayll, kyng and sire, *experience*
Hayll, maydens chylde that menskid hir most, *honored*
We thee desire.

VIII BURGENSIS Hayll, domysman dredful, that all schall deme, *(n.) judge; (v.) judge*
Hayll, quyk and dede that all schall lowte, *reverence*
540 Hayll, whom worschippe moste will seme, *befit*
Hayll, whom all thyng schall drede and dowte. *fear*
We welcome thee,
Hayll, and welcome of all abowte
To owre cité.

Tunc cantant.

Then they sing

[26. THE CONSPIRACY]

The Cuttelores

PILATUS Undir the ryallest roye of rente and renouyne,
Now am I regent of rewle this region in reste,
Obeye unto bidding bud busshoppis me bowne,
And bolde men that in batayll makis brestis to breste.
5 To me betaught is the tent this towre begon towne, *most royal king; revenue
rule; peace
commands; must; oblige
burst
entrusted; care; turreted*

	For traytoures tyte will I taynte, the trewthe for to triste, The dubbyng of my dingnité may noght be done downe, Nowdir with duke nor dugeperes, my dedis are so dreste. ¹ My desire muste dayly be done	quickly; attaint; trust my status (by right of title)
10	With thame that are grettest of game, And ther agayne fynde I but fone, Wherfore I schall bettir ther bone. But he that me greves for a grone, Beware, for wyscus I am.	(i.e., most skillful) few petitions grieves me with a groan vicious (see note)
15	Pounce Pilatt of thre partis than is my propir name. I am a perelous prince to prove wher I peere. Emange the philosofers firste	Pontius appear
	ther fanged I my fame, Wherefore I fell to affecte I fynde noght my feere. He schall full bittirly banne that bide schall my blame,	achieved aspire peer curse endure
20	If all my blee be as bright as blossome on brere. For sone his liffe shall he lose, or left be for lame, That lowtes noght to me lowly	countenance briar reverences learn
	nor liste noght to leere. And thus sen we stande in oure state Als lordis with all lykyng in lande,	felicity
25	Do and late us wete if ye wate Owthir, sirs, of bayle or debate, That nedis for to be handeled full hate Sen all of youre helpe hanges in my hande.	let us know if you know (hear) Either; bale severely
30	CAIPHAS Sir, and for to certefie the soth in youre sight, As to you for oure soverayne semely we seke.	handsome
	PILATUS Why, is ther any myscheve that musteres his myght Or malice thurgh meene menn us musters to meke?	mean (low); subdue
	ANNA Ya, sir, ther is a ranke swayne whos rule is noght right, For thurgh his romour in this reme hath raysede mekill reke.	rebellious realm riot (commotion)

¹ Neither with duke nor knights, my deeds are so undertaken

PILATUS	I here wele ye hate hym, youre hartis are on heght,	hear (i.e., you are excited)
36	And ellis if I helpe wolde His harmes for to eke. But why are ye barely thus brathe? Bees rewly, and ray fourth youre reasoune.	else aggravate so angry <i>Be calm (Behave); set forth</i>
CAIPHAS	Tille us, sir, his lore is full lothe.	very hateful
PILATUS	Beware that we wax noght to wrothe.	too angry
ANNA	Why, sir, to skyfte fro his skath	escape; malice
42	We seke for youre socoure this sesoune.	(i.e., at this time)
PILATUS	And if that wrecche in oure warde have wrought any wrong, Sen we are warned we walde witte and wille or we wende;	custody would know ere sayings
45	But and his sawe be lawfull, legge noght to lange, For we schall leve hym if us list with luffe here to lende.	allege; too long believe in peace; allow
I DOCTOR	And yf that false faytor youre fortheraunce may fang, Than fele I wele that oure folke mon fayle of a frende.	deceiver favor; gain feel may fail
50	Sir, the strengthe of his steven ay still is so strange That but he schortely be schent, he schappe us to schende. ¹ For he kennes folke hym for to call Grete God Son, thus greves us that gome, And sais that he sittande be schall In high heven, for there is his hall.	voice always; strong teaches man sitting
PILATUS	And frendis if that force to hym fall,	should belong
56	It semes noght ye schall hym consume.	destroy
	But that hymselfe is the same ye saide schulde descende, Youre seede and you then all for to socoure.	(i.e., descendants)
CAYPHAS	A, softe sir, and sese, For of Criste whan he comes no kynne schall be kenned;	cease known

¹ Unless he soon is condemned, he will cause us to be destroyed

- 60 But of this caytiffe kynreden
 we knawe the encrese.
He lykens hym to be lyke God,
 aylastand to lende,
To lifte uppe the laby to lose or relesse. *rascal's kindred*
burden

PILATUS His maistreys schulde move you,
youre mode for to amende.

- ANNA** Nay, for swilke mys fro malice
we may noght us meese,
error from malice
restraint
65 For he sais he schall deme us, that dote,
And that tille us is dayne or dispite.
judge; fool
to; insult; malice

PILATUS To noye hym nowe is youre noote,
But yitt the lawe lyes in my lotte.

I DOCTOR And yf ye will witt, sir, ye wotte,
70 That he is wele worthy to wyte.

- understand; know
blame*

For in oure Temple has he taught
by tymes moo than tenne
Where tabillis full of tresoure lay
to telle and to trye
Of oure cheffe mony changers;
butte, curstely to kenne,
He caste tham overe, that caystiffe
and counted noght therby.

- count; sort out*

CAYPHAS Loo, sir, this is a perjurye
to prente undir penne,
76 Wherfore make ye that *appostil*
we praye you, to plye.

- inscribe*
apostate
submit

PILATUS Howe mene ye?

CAYPHAS Sir, to mort hym for movyng of men.

- ### *kill; influencing*

PILATUS Than schulde we make hym to morne
but thurgh youre maistrie.

- Latte be, sirs, and move that no more
But what in youre Temple betyde?

- happened*

I MILES We, thare, sir, he skelpte oute of score
That stately stode selland ther store.

PILATUS Than felte he tham fawte before
And made the cause wele to be kydde.

*at fault
known*

85 But what taught he that tyme
 swilk tales as thou telles?

I MILES Sir, that oure Tempill is the toure
 of his troned sire,
And thus to prayse in that place
 oure prophettis compellis,
Tille hym that has posté
 of prince and of empire.
And thei make *domus Domini*
 that deland thare dwellis,
90 The denn of the derfenes
 and ofte that thei desire.

*tower
enthroned father

power*

*house of the Lord
dealing
sacrilege*

PILATUS Loo, is he noght a madman
 that for youre mede melles?
Sen ye ymagyn amys,
 that makeles to myre,
Youre rankoure is raykand full rawe.

*benefit is involved
amiss
matchless; ensnare
rancor; rashly evident*

CAYPHAS Nay, nay, sir, we rewle us but right.

rule

PILATUS Forsothe, ye ar over cruell to knawe.

CAYPHAS Why, sir, for he wolde lose oure lawe
97 Hartely we hym hate as we awe,
 And therto schulde ye mayntayne oure myght.

ought [to]

For why, uppon oure Sabbott day
 the seke makes he saffe
100 And will noght sesse for oure sawes
 to synke so in synne.

sick; sound

cease; sayings (complaints)

II MILES Sir, he coveres all that comes
 recoveraunce to crave,
But in a schorte contynuaunce
 that kennes all oure kynne.
But he haldis noght oure haly dayes —
 harde happe myght hym have —
And therfore hanged be he
 and that by the halse.

relieves

recovery

time

knows

keeps; holy

luck

neck

PILATUS A, hoo, sir, nowe, and holde in.
105 For thoff ye gange thus gedy
 hym gilteles to grave

*though; proceed; precipitously
bury*

Withouten grounde yow gaynes noght,
swilke greffe to begynne.
And loke youre leggyng be lele
Withowtyn any tryfils to telle.

*justification
grief
allegations be true
silly stories*

ANNA For certayne owre sawes dare we seele.
sayings (charges); certify

PILATUS And than may we prophite oure pele.
put forward; accusation

CAYPHAS Sir, bot his fawtes wer fele,
112 We mente noght of hym for to melle.
*faults; many
become involved*

For he pervertis oure pepull
that proves his prechygng,
And for that poynte ye schulde prese
his poosté to paire.
power; reduce

II DOCTOR Ya, sir, and also that caytiff
he callis hym oure kyng,
116 And for that cause our comons are casten in care.
cast into worry

PILATUS And if so be, that borde to bayll will hym bryng
And make hym boldly to banne the bones that hym bare.
For why that wrecche fro oure wretthe schal not wryng,
120 Or ther be wrought on hym wrake.
*joke; sorrow
curse
Therefore; wrath; escape
destruction*

I DOCTOR So wolde we it ware,
For so schulde ye susteyne youre seele
And myldely have mynde for to meke you.
*were
sense of well-being
make mild of mind*

PILATUS Wele witte ye this werke schall be wele,
For kende schall that knave be to knele.
taught; kneel

II DOCTOR And so that oure force he may feele,
126 All samme for the same we beseke you.
Together

JUDAS *Ingenti pro injuria*, hym Jesus, that Jewe,
Unjust unto me, Judas, I juge to be lathe,
For at oure soper as we satte, the sothe to pursewe
130 With Symond Luprus full sone,
my skiffte come to scathe.
Tille hym ther brought one a boyste
my bale for to brewe,
That baynly to his bare feete
to bowe was full braythe.
*Because of a great injury
loathsome
supper
Simon Leprous
conspiracy; harm
To; box
obediently
eager*

- Sho anoynte tham with an oynement
 that nobill was and newe,
 But for that werke that sche wrought
 I wexe woundir wrothe.
- 135 And this, to discover, was my skill,
 For of his penys purser was I,
 And what that me taught was untill
 The tente parte that stale I ay still.
 But nowe for me wantis of my will
 140 That bargayne with bale schall he by.
- That same oynement, I saide,
 might same have bene solde
 For silver penys in a sowme
 thre hundereth, and fyne
 Have ben departid to poure men
 as playne pité wolde.
 But for the poore ne thare parte
 priked me no peyne,
 145 But me tened for the tente parte,
 the trewthe to beholde,
 That thirty pens of three hundereth
 so tyte I schulde tyne.
 And for I mysse this mony
 I morne on this molde,
 Wherfore for to mischeve
 this maistir of myne,
 And therfore faste forthe will I flitte
 150 The princes of prestis untill
 And selle hym full sone or that I sitte
 For therty pens in a knotte knytte.
 Thusgatis full wele schall he witte
 That of my wretthe wreke me I will.
- 155 Do open, porter, the porte of this prowde place
 That I may passe to youre princes
 to prove for youre prowe.
- JANITOR** Go hense, thou glorand gedlyng,
 God geve thee ille grace.
 Thy glyfftyng is so grymly
 thou gars my harte growe.
- JUDAS** Goode sir, be toward this tyme,
 and tarie noght my trace,
 For I have tythandis to telle.
- became very angry
 reason
 pence (money) treasurer
 stole
 lacks
 buy (purchase)
- sum
 approximately
 given; poor
 pity
 not for their part
 grieved; tenth
 quick (sharp); lose
 earth
 harm
 priests
 bargain made
 In this manner; know
 anger revenge
- door
 benefit
 glowering gadling (rascal)
 glaring
 make; to swell (i.e., become terrified)
 hinder; course of action

- JANITOR** Ya, som tresounre I trowe,
 161 For I fele by a figure in youre fals face
 It is but foly to feste affeccion in you;
 For Mars he hath morteysed his mark
 Eftir all lynes of my lore,
 165 And sais ye are wikkid of werk
 And bothe a strange theffe and a stark.
- treason
by the expression
fasten
fixed; sign
indication
(i.e., a reprobate)*
- JUDAS** Sir, thus at my berde and ye berk
 It semes it schall sitte yow full sore.
- beard; bark (shout)*
- JANITOR** Say, bittilbrowed bribour,
 why blowes thou such boste?
 170 Full false in thy face in faith can I fynde;
 Thou arte combered in curstnesse
 and caris to this coste.
 To marre men of myght
 haste thou marked in thy mynde.
- beetle-browed briber
boasting
encumbered by malice
come; place
hurt
determined*
- JUDAS** Sir, I mene of no malice
 but mirthe meve I muste.
- I'd rather choose mirth*
- JANITOR** Say, onhanged harlott,
 I holde thee unhende.
 175 Thou lokist like a lurdayne
 his liffelod hadde loste.
 Woo schall I wirke thee away but thou wende.
- ungracious
rascal
livelihood
unless you go*
- JUDAS** A, goode sir, take tente to my talkyng this tyde,
 For tythandis full trew can I telle.
- JANITOR** Say, brethell, I bidde thee abide,
 180 Thou chaterist like a churle that can chyde.
- brothel (worthless person)*
- JUDAS** Ya, sir, but and the truthe schulde be tryed,
 Of myrthe are ther materes I mell.
- but if*
- For thurgh my dedis youre dugeperes
 fro dere may be drawnen.
- leaders
from harm*
- JANITOR** What, demes thou till oure dukes
 that doole schulde be dight?
- judge
[to] dole; put*
- JUDAS** Nay, sir, so saide I noght;
 185 If I be callid to counsaille
 that cause schall be knawen

Emang that comely companye,
to clerke and to knyght.

- JANITOR** Byde me here, bewchere,
or more blore be blowen,
And I schall buske to the benke
wher baneres are bright,
And saie unto oure sovereynes
or seede more be sawen
- 190 That swilke a seige as thiselff
sewes to ther sight.
My lorde nowe, of witte that is well,
I come for a cas to be kydde.
- Await
boasting
hurry; bench
ere; sowed
man
sues (requests an audience)
made known*

PILATUS We, speke on, and spare not thi spell.

- CAYPHAS** Ya, and if us mystir te mell,
195 Sen ye bere of bewté the bell,
Blythely schall we bowe as ye bidde.
- need to stir
Since; bear; beauty*

- JANITOR** Sir, withoute this abatyng,
ther hoves, as I hope,
A hyve helte full of ire, for hasty he is.
- hesitation
hovers
hive full up to hilt; anger*

PILATUS What comes he fore?

- JANITOR** I kenne hym noght, but he is cladde in a cope;
200 He cares with a kene face uncomely to kys.
- know; cloak
goes about with*

- PILATUS** Go, gete hym that his greffe
we grathely may grope
So no oppen langage be goyng amys.
- grievance
directly; examine
open (careless)*

- JANITOR** Comes on bylyve to my lorde,
and if thee liste to lepe,
But uttir so thy langage
that thou lette noght thare blys.
- quickly
(i.e., go quickly)
speak thus
disturb; their calm*

- JUDAS** That lorde, sirs, myght susteyne youre seelē
206 That floure is of fortune and fame.
- happiness
flower*

PILATUS Welcome, thy wordis are but wele.

- CAYPHAS** Say, harste thou, knave, can thou not knele?
- hearest*

- PILATUS** Loo, here may men faute in you fele. *fault*
 210 Late be, sir, youre scornyng, for schame. *Leave aside*
- Bot, bewshore, be noght abayst to byde at the bar. *But; afraid; wait*
- JUDAS** Before you, sirs, to be brought
 abowte have I bene,
 And allway for youre worschippe. *honor*
- ANNA** Say, wotte thou any were? *know; danger*
- JUDAS** Of werke, sir, that hath wretthid you,
 I wotte what I meene. *endangered*
 215 But I wolde make a marchaundyse
 youre myscheffe to marre. *agreement*
- PILATUS** And may you soo?
- JUDAS** Els madde I such maistries to meve. *(i.e., assertions to allege)*
- ANNA** Than kenes thou of som comberaunce
 oure charge for to chere?
 For, cosyne, thou art cruell. *know; trouble
 concern; cheer (alert)*
- JUDAS** My cause, sir, is kene,
 220 For if ye will bargayne or by,
 Jesus this tyme will I selle you. *purchase*
- I DOCTOR** My blissing, sone, have thou forthy.
 Loo, here is a sporte for to spye. *find out*
- JUDAS** And hym dar I hete you in hye
 If ye will be toward I telle you. *promise; quickly
 in sympathy with what I*
- PILATUS** What hytist thou? *are you called*
- JUDAS** Judas Scariott.
- PILATUS** Thou art a juste man
 226 That will Jesus be justified
 by oure jugement.
 But howe gates bought schall he be?
 Bidde furthe thy bargayne. *Who wishes; brought to justice
 by what means*
- JUDAS** But for a litill betyng
 to bere fro this bente. *reward
 place*

PILATUS Now, what schall we pay?

JUDAS Sir, thirti pens and plete, no more than. *pence; in full*

PILATUS Say, ar ye plesid of this price
he preces to present? *presses*

II DOCTOR Ellis contrarie we oure consciens
consayye sen we can
232 That Judas knawes hym culpabill. *Else against
understand
responsible*

PILATUS I call you consent,
But Judas, a knott for to knytt,
Wilte thou to this comenaunt accorde? *agreed
covenant agree*

JUDAS Ya, at a worde.

PILATUS Welcome is it.

II MILES Take therof, a traytour, tyte. *quickly*

I MILES Now leve, ser, late no man wete
238 How this losell laykis with his lord. *leave; know
scoundrel plays*

PILATUS Why, dwellis he with that dochard
whos dedis has us drovyd? *fool
deeds; angered*

I MILES That hase he done, ser, and dose,
no dowte is this day. *does*

PILATUS Than wolde we knawe why this knave
thus cursidly contryved. *plotted*

II MILES Enquere hym sen ye can best
kenne if he contrarie. *of him
find; offend*

PILATUS Say, man, to selle thi maistir
what mysse hath he moved? *(i.e., what has he done)*

JUDAS For of als mekill mony he made me delay;
245 Of you, as I resayve, schall but right be reproved. *much; withheld from me
receive; redressed*

ANNA I rede noght that ye reken us
oure rewle so to ray,
For that the fales fende schall thee fang. *rule; take seriously
false fiend; take*

I MILES When he schall wante of a wraste. *lack; trick*

I DOCTOR To whome wirke we wittandly wrang. *knowingly wrong*

II DOCTOR Tille hym bot ye hastely hang.

III DOCTOR Youre langage ye lay oute to lang,
252 But Judas, we trewly thee trast. *spin out too much
trust*

For truly thou moste lerne us
that losell to lache,
Or of lande, thurgh a lirte,
that lurdayne may lepe. *must teach
catch
trick
rascal may slip off*

JUDAS I schall you teche a token
hym tyte for to take
256 Wher he is thryngand in the thrang,
withouten any threpe. *sign
quickly
pressed; throng
dispute (question)*

I MILES We knawe hym noght.

JUDAS Take kepe than that caytiffe to catche
The whilke that I kisse. *Take care*

II MILES That comes wele thee, corious, I cleepe. *becomes you well, curious, I say*
But yitt to warne us wisely,
allwayes muste ye wacche. *watch*
Whan thou schall wende forthwith
we schall walke a wilde hepe,
260 And therfore besye loke now thou be. *in a large crowd
busy look*

JUDAS Yis, yis, a space schall I spie us
Als sone as the sonne is sette, as ye see.

I MILES Go forthe, for a traytoure ar ye,

II MILES Ya, and a wikkid man.

I DOCTOR Why, what is he?

II DOCTOR A losell, ser, but lewté shuld lye us, *scoundrel; loyalty; belie*
267 He is trappid full of trayne the truthe for to trist. *stuffed full; deception*
I holde it but folye his faythe for to trowe.

PILATUS Abide in my blyssing,
and late youre breste,
270 For it is beste for oure bote
in bayle for to bowe. *stop; complaints
remedy
bale; submit*

JUDAS Yitt hadde I noght a peny
to purvey for my prowe. *put forth; comfort*

PILATUS Thou schalte have delyveraunce,
 belyve at thi list,
 as you wish
 So that thou schall have liking
 (i.e., a reason)
 oure lordschipp to love.
 275 And therfore, Judas, mende thou thy mone
 complaint
 And take ther thi silvere all same.
 altogether

JUDAS Ya, nowe is my grete greffe overegone. *grief gone away*

I MILES Be light than.
happy then

JUDAS Yis, latte me allone,
For tytte schall that taynte be tone,
280 And therto jocounde and joly I am.
leave quickly; criminal; taken

PILATUS Judas, to holde thi behest
 be hende for oure happe,
And of us helpe and upholde
 we hete thee to have.

JUDAS I schall bekenne you his corse
in care for to clappe. *show; body*

ANNA And more comforte in this case
we coveyte not to crave.

I MILES Fro we may reche that rekeles, seize; reckless one
 his ribbis schall we rappe
 286 And make that roy, or we rest, person
 for rennyng to raffe. *(i.e., trying to avoid us); rave [in pain]*

PILATUS Nay, sirs, all if ye scourge hym
 ye schende noght his schappe, *injure; body*
 For if the sotte be sakles *fool; guiltless*
 Us sittis hym to save. *sits (as a judge)*

290 Wherfore when ye go schall to gete hym, *get (entrap)*
 Unto his body brew ye no bale.

II MILES Oure liste is fro lepyng to lette hym,
But in youre sight sownde schall ve sette hym.
*desire; fleeing; prevent
we*

PILATUS Do flitte nowe forthe till ye fette hym,
295 With solace all same to youre sale.

*fetch
well-being; hall*

[27. THE LAST SUPPER]

The Baxsteres

JESUS Pees be both be day and nyght
Untill this house and till all that is here.
Here will I holde as I have hight
The feeste of Paas with frendis in feere.

*Peace
To; to all
promised
Paschal feast; all together*

MARCELUS Maistir, we have arayed full right
6 Servise that semes for youre sopere:
Oure lambe is roste, and redy dight
As Moyses lawe will lely lere.

*befits
truly teach*

JESUS That is, ilke man that has
10 Pepill in his awne posté
Shall roste a lambe at Paas
To hym and his meyné.

*[patriarchal] power
company*

ANDREAS Maister, the custome wele we knawē
That with oure elthers ever has bene,
15 How ilke man with his meyné awe
To roste a lambe and ete it clene.

*elders (forefathers)
family ought
eat; entirely*

JESUS I thanke you soothly of youre sawe,
For ye saye as youreselffe has sene;
Therfore array you all on rawe,
20 Myselfe schall parte itt you betwene.

*truly; words
in order*

Wherfore I will that ye
Ette therof evere ilkone;
The remelaunt parted schall be
To the poure that purveyse none.

*Eat; everyone
remnant (leftovers)
poor; [can] provide*

25 Of Moyses lawes here make I an ende
In som party, but noght in all;
My comaundement schall othirwise be kende
With tham that men schall craftely call.
But the lambe of Pasc that here is spende,
30 Whilke Jewes uses grete and small,
Evere forward nowe I itt deffende
Fro Cristis folke whatso befall.
In that stede schall be sette
A newe lawe us bytwene,

*part
known
wisely
dispensed with
forbid
place*

- | | | |
|----|---|--|
| 35 | But who therof schall ette
Behoves to be wasshed clene. | Should be |
| | For that new lawe whoso schall lere,
In harte tham bus be clene and chaste. | must be pure |
| 40 | Marcelle, myn awne discipill dere,
Do us have watir here in hast. | |
| | | for use |
| | MARCELUS Maistir, it is all redy here,
And here a towell clene to taste. | |
| | | futilely
forth
washed soon |
| | JESUS Commes forthe with me, all in feere;
My wordis schall noght be wroght in waste. | |
| 45 | Settis youre feete fourth, late see:
They schall be wasshen sone. | |
| | | ready |
| | PETRUS A, Lorde, with thi leve, of thee
That dede schall noght be done. | |
| 50 | I schall nevere make my membres mete
Of my soverayne service to see. | |
| | | unless; allow me to |
| | JESUS Petir, bott if thou latte me wasshe thi feete,
Thou getis no parte in blisse with me. | |
| | | know; yet
signify |
| | PETRUS A, mercy, Lorde and maistir swete,
Owte of that blisse that I noght be, | |
| 55 | Wasshe on, my Lorde, to all be wete,
Both hede and hande, beseke I thee. | |
| | | soon |
| | JESUS Petir, thou wotiste noght yitt
What this werke will bemene.
Hereaftir schall thou witte,
60 And so schall ye all, bedene. | |
| | | perceived
Example
give heed to
obedient; bower
Each one; offer others support
truly |
| | <i>Tunc lavat manus.</i> | <i>Then he washes his hands</i> |
| | Youre Lorde and maistir ye me call,
And so I am, all welthe to welde. | wield (control) |
| | Here have I knelid unto you all
To wasshe youre feete as ye have feled. | |
| 65 | Ensaumple of me take ye schall
Ever for to yeme in youthe and elde,
To be buxsome in boure and hall,
Ilkone for to bede othir belde. | |
| | | |
| 70 | For all if ye be trewe
And lele of love ilkone, | |

Ye schall fynde othir ay newe
To greve whan I am gone.

grieve

JACOBUS Now sen oure maistir sais he schall
Wende and will not telle us whedir,
75 Whilke of us schall be princepall,
Late loke now whils we dwell togedir.

JESUS I wotte youre will, both grete and small,
And youre high hartis I here thanm hedit,
To whilke of you such fare schulde fall;
80 That myght ye carpe when ye come thedir
Where it so schulde betyde
Of such materes to melle.
But first behoves you bide
Fayndyngis full ferse and felle.

know
proud; hither
matter
talk (discuss)
happen

Trials; fierce; cruel

85 Here schall I sette you for to see
This yonge childe for insaumpills seere.
Both meke and mylde of harte is he
And fro all malice mery of chere,
So meke and mylde but if ye be

examples many

[**JESUS]** *Quod facis fac cicius,*
91 That thou schall do, do sone.

[pages missing, see note]
That which thou doest do quickly

THOMAS Allas, so wilsom wightis as we
Was nevere in worlde walkand in wede;
Oure maistir sais his awne meyné
95 Has betrayed hym to synfull seede.

confused men
clothing
company
(i.e., sinful folk)

JACOBUS MAJOR A, I hope, sen thou sittist nexte his kne,
We pray thee spire hym for oure spedē.

inquire [of]; assistance

JOHANNES *Domine, quis est qui tradit te?*
Lord, who schall do that doulfull dede?
100 Allas, oure playe is paste,
This false forward is feste;
I may no lenger laste,
For bale myn herte may breste.

passed
[If] this; agreement; certain
burst

JUDAS Now is tyme to me to gang,
105 For here begynnes noye all of newe.
My fellaws momellis thame emang
That I schulde alle this bargayne brewe,
And certis thai schall noght wene it wrang.
To the prince of prestis I schall pursue,

trouble
mumble among themselves
consider it wrong

- 110 And thei schall lere hym othir ought long
 That all his sawes sore schall hym rewe.
 I wotte whedir he removes
 With his meyné ilkone,
 I schall telle to the Jewes
 115 And tyte he schalle be tane.
- instruct; otherwise
 rue (be sorry for)
 whither; goes
 quickly; arrested*

- JESUS** I warne you nowe, my frendis free,
 Sese to ther sawes that I schall say:
 The fende is wrothe with you and me,
 And will you marre if that he may;
 120 But Petir I have prayed for thee
 So that thou schall noght drede his dray;
 And conforte thou this meyné
 And wishe hem whan I am gone away.
- Pay attention to the words
 fiend; angry
 dread; assault
 direct*

- PETRUS** A, Lorde, where wilte thou lende?
 125 I schall lende in that stede,
 And with thee schall I wende
 Evermore in lyffe and dede.
- be (dwell)
 place
 death*

- ANDREAS** No wordely drede schall me withdrawe
 That I schall with thee leve and dye.
- worldly dread; restrain
*(i.e., From) That; living and dying**

- THOMAS** Certis, so schall we all on rawe,
 131 Ellis mekill woo were we worthy.
- in order*

- JESUS** Petir, I saie to thee this sawe,
 That thou schalte fynde no fantasie.
 This ilke nyght or the cokkys crowe
 135 Shall thou thre tymes my name denye
 And saye thou knewe me nevere
 Nor no meyné of myne.
- ere
 company*

- PETRUS** Allas, Lorde, me were lever
 Be putte to endles pyne.
- rather*

- JESUS** As I yow saie, so schall it bee;
 141 Ye nedis non othir recours to crave.
 All that in worlde is wretyn of me
 Shall be fulfilled, for knyght or knave.
 I am the herde, the schepe are ye,
 145 And whane the herde schall harmes have,
 The flokke schall be full fayne to flee
 And socoure seke thameselfe to save.
 Ye schall whan I am slayne
 In grete myslykyng lende,
- written
 shepherd; sheep
 seek
 slain
 unhappiness be*

- 150 But whanne I ryse agayne,
Than schall youre myrthe be mende. *restored*
- Ye have bene bowne my bale to bete,
Therfore youre belde ay schall I be;
And for ye did in drye and wete
155 My comaundementis in ilke contré.
The kyngdome of heven I you behete
Even as my Fadir has highte itt me.
With gostely mete there schall we mete,
And on twelffe seuges sitte schall ye,
160 For ye trewlye toke yeme
In worlde with me to dwell,
There shall ye sitte bydene
Twelve kyndis of Israell. *obliged; relieve*
support
promise
promised it to me
spiritual food (sustenance)
thrones
heed
all together
tribes
- 165 But firste ye schall be wille of wone,
And mo wathes then ye of wene
Fro tyme schall come that I be tone;
Than schall ye turne away with tene.
And loke that ye have swerdis ilkone,
And whoso haves non you bytwene
170 Shall selle his cote and bye hym one:
Thus bidde I that ye do bedene.
Satcheles I will ye have
And stones to stynte all striffe
Yourselffe for to save
175 In lenghyng of youre liff. *distraught*
more dangers; expected
taken
grief
none
buy
Satchels (Small bags)
stop
lengthening
- ANDREAS** Maistir, ye have here swerdis twoo
Us with to save on sidis seere. *(i.e., on all sides)*
- JESUS** Itt is inowe, ye nedis no moo,
For fro all wathis I schall you were.
180 Butt ryse now uppe, for we will goo,
By this owre enemyes ordand are.
My Fadir saide it schall be soo;
His bidding will I noght forbere.
Loke ye lere forthe this lawe
185 Als ye have herde of me:
Alle that wele will itte knawe,
Ay blessed schall thei bee. *more*
(i.e., I shall help you)
intended (planned)
command
teach (proclaim)

[28. THE AGONY AND BETRAYAL]

The Cordewaneres

- JESUS** Beholde, my discipulis that deyne is and dere,
 My flesshe dyderis and daris for doute of my dede.
 Myne enemyes will newly be neghand full nere
 With all the myght if thei may to marre my manhede.
- 5 But sen ye are forwakid
 and wanderede in were,
 Loke ye sette you doune rathely
 and reste youe, I reede.
 Beis noght hevy in youre hertis
 but holde yow even here
 And bidis me a stounde
 stille in this same steede.
 Beeis witty and wyse in youre wandyng
- 10 So that ye be wakand alway,
 And lokis nowe prestely ye pray
 To my Fadir, that ye falle in no fandynge.
- PETRUS** Yis, Lorde, at thy bidding
 full baynly schall we abide,
 For thou arte boote of oure bale
 and bidis for the best.
- JOAHNNES** Lorde, all oure helpe and oure hele,
 that is noght to hyde,
- 16 In thee, oure faythe and oure foode,
 all hollye is feste.
- JACOBUS** Qwat way is he willid
 in this worlde wyde?
 Whedir is he walked,
 estewarde or weste?
- PETRUS** Yaa, sirs, I schall saye you,
 sittis us doune on every ilka side,
 20 And late us nowe rathely here take oure reste;
 My lymmys are hevy as any leede.

JOHANNES And I muste slepe, doune muste I lye.

JACOBUS In faithe, felawes, right so fare I.
 I may no lenger holde uppe my hede.

*worthy; dear
 trembles; shakes; fear
 soon
 manhood
 tired with watching
 perplexity
 promptly
 advise
 abide with me; time
 place
 thoughts
 waking
 urgently
 temptation*

*obediently
 remedy
 abide*

well-being

wholly; fast (firm)

What; gone

*let; quickly
 limbs; lead*

head

- PETRUS** Oure liffe of his lyolyt
his liffe schall he lose,
26 Unkyndely be crucified
and naylyd to a tree. *truth*
- JESUS** Baynly of my blissing,
youre eghen ye unclose
So that ye falle in no fandysng
for noght that may be,
But prayes fast. *Obediently
eyes; open
temptation*
- JOHANNES** Lorde, som prayer thou kenne us
31 That somwhat myght mirthe us or mende us. *instruct
cheer; improve*
- JACOBUS** Fro all fandysng unfaythfull thou fende us,
Here in this worlde of liffe whille we laste. *defend*
- JESUS** I schall kenne you and comforde you
and kepe you from care;
35 Ye schall be broughte, wete ye wele,
fro bale unto blisse. *know; well*
- PETRUS** Yaa, but Lorde, and youre willis were
witte wolde we more,
Of this prayer so precious late us noght mys,
We beseke thee. *will
know would*
- JOHANNES** For my felows and me alle in feere,
40 Some prayer that is precious to lere. *learn*
- JACOBUS** Unto thy Fadir that moste is of poure
Some solace of socoure to sende thee. *power*
- [. . .]
- [JESUS]** The nowys that me neghed
hase, it nedis not to neven,
For all wate ye full wele
what wayes I have wente.
45 Instore me and strenghe
with a stille steven,
I pray thee interly thou take entent
Thou menske my manhed with mode.
My flesh is full dredand for drede,
For my journeys of my manhed.
50 I swete now both watir and bloode.
- Thes Jewes hase mente in ther mynde full of malice
And pretende me to take *intended
propose*
- [pages missing, see textual note]
*information
say
know*
- Restore; strengthen
voice
wholly
honor; strength of will
dreading; dread
undertakings*

	withouten any trespassse,	
	But, Fadir, as thou wate wele,	<i>know well</i>
	I mente nevere amys;	
	In worde nor in werk	
	I never worthy was.	
55	Als thou arte bote of all bale and belder of blisse	<i>reward; support</i>
	And all helpe and hele in thy hande hase,	<i>health</i>
	Thou mensk thy manhede,	<i>honor</i>
	thou mendar of mysse;	<i>error</i>
	And if it possible be	
	this Payne myght I overpassee.	
	And, Fadir, if thou se it may noght,	
60	Be it worthely wrought	
	Even at thyne awne will	
	Evermore both myldely and still	
	With worschippe allway be it wroght.	
	Unto my discipillis will I go agayne	
65	Kyndely to conforte tham	<i>By nature</i>
	that kacchid are in care.	<i>caught</i>
	What, are ye fallen on slepe	
	now everilkone,	<i>everyone</i>
	And the passioun of me in mynde hase no more?	<i>in [your] thoughts</i>
	What, wille ye leve me thus lightly	
	and latte me allone	<i>let</i>
	In sorowe and in sighyng	
	that sattillis full sore?	<i>sinks deeply in the mind</i>
70	To whome may I meve me	<i>move (express) myself</i>
	and make nowe my mone?	<i>lament</i>
	I wolde that ye wakened, and your will wore;	<i>if it were</i>
	Do, Petir, sitte uppe now, late se.	
	Thou arte strongly stedde in this stoure,	<i>struggle</i>
	Might thou noght the space of an owre	<i>hour</i>
75	Have wakid nowe mildly with me?	<i>meekly</i>
PETRUS	Yis, Lorde, with youre leve	
	nowe wille we lere,	
	Full warely to were you	<i>vigilantly; defend</i>
	fro alle wandyng?	<i>uncertainty</i>
JESUS	Beeis wakand and prayes faste all in fere	
	To my Fadir, that ye falie in no fanding,	<i>temptation</i>
80	For evelle spiritis is neghand full nere	
	That will you tarie at this tyme with his temtyng.	<i>tempting</i>
	And I will wende ther I was withouten any were,	<i>perplexity</i>
	But bidis me here baynly in my blissing.	<i>obediently</i>
	Agayne to the mounte I will gang	<i>go</i>

- 85 Yitt eftesones where I was ere,
 But loke that ye cacche yow no care,
 For lely I schall noght dwelle lange. truly; long
- Thou, Fadir, that all formed hase with fode for to fill,
 I fele by my ferdnes my flesssh wolde full fayne sustenance
 90 Be torned fro this turnement and takyn thee untill,
 For mased is manhed in mode and in mayne. fear; gladly
 But if thou se sothly that thi Sone sill
 Withouten surffette of synne thus sakles be slayne, tournament (battle)
 Be it worthly wrought even at thyne awne will, bewildered; strength
 95 For Fadir, att thi bidding am I buxum and bayne. shall
 Now wightely agayne will I wende innocent
 Unto my disciplis so dere. own
 What, slepe ye so faste all in fere? humble; obedient
 I am ferde ye mon faile of youre frende. quickly (boldly)
- 100 But yitt will I leve you and late you allone,
 And eftesones there I was agayne will I wende. afraid; may; friend
 Unto my Fadir of myght now make I my mone:
 As thou arte salver of all sore som socoure me sende. where
 The passioun they purpose to putte me uppon, lament
 105 My fleshe is full ferde and fayne wolde defende,
 At thi wille be itt wrought worthely in wone. avoid
 Have mynde of my manhed my mode for to mende,
 Some conforte me kythe in this case, place
 And Fadir, I schall dede taste
 I will it noght deffende. make known
 110 Yitt yf thy willis be
 spare me a space. death
 [And seis . . . yght
 With rappes . . . the rode rente.] resist blows; cross torn asunder
- ANGELUS** Unto the maker unmade
 that moste is of myght,
 Be loyng aylastand in light that is lente.
 115 Thy Fadir that in heven is moste,
 he upon highte, high
 Thy sorowes for to sobir
 to thee he hase me sente. alleviate
 For dedis that man done has
 thy dede schall be dight,
 And thou with turmentis be tulyd. attacked
 But take nowe entente:
 Thy bale schall be for the beste
 120 Thurgh that manrys mys schall be mende; original sin

- Than schall thou withouten any ende
Rengne in thy rialté full of reste. *Reign; royalty; peace*
- JESUS** Now if my flesshe ferde be,
Fadir, I am fayne *afraid*
That myne angwisshe and my noyes
are nere at an ende. *trouble*
- 125 Unto my discipilis go will I agayne,
Kyndely to conforte them *upset*
that mased is in ther mynde.
Do slepe ye nowe savely, *certainly*
and I schall you sayne. *sign (make sign of the cross)*
Wakyns uppe wightely *quickly*
and late us hens wende,
For als tyte mon I be taken *soon must*
with tresoun and with trayne, *deceit*
- 130 My flesshe is full ferde *protect [myself]*
and fayne wolde deffende.
Full derfely my dede schall be dight, *cruelly; death*
And als sone as I am tane *taken*
Than schall ye forsake me ilkone *everyone*
And saie nevere ye sawe me with sight.
- PETRUS** Nay, sothely, I schall nevere my sovereyne forsake,
136 If I schulde for the dede darfely here dye. *deed; cruelly*
- JOHANNES** Nay, such mobardis schall nevere man us make, *villainous fools*
Erste schulde we dye all at onys.
- JACOBUS** Nowe in faith, felows, so shulde I.
- JESUS** Ya, but when tyme is betydde, *come*
thanne men schalle me take.
- 140 For all youre hartely hetyng *boldly promising*
ye schall hyde you in hy: *quickly*
Lyke schepe that were scharid *sheep; sheared*
away schall ye schake. *flee*
Ther schall none of you be balde *bold [enough]*
to byde me than by. *abide with me then*
- PETRUS** Nay, sothely, whils I may vayle thee, *serve*
I schall were thee and wake thee, *guard; watch*
- 145 And if all othir forsake thee, *desert*
I schall nevere fayntely defayle thee.
- JESUS** A, Petir, of swilke bostyng *boasting*
I rede thou late bee, *let be*

- For all the kene carpyng
full kenely I knawe.
For ferde of myne enmyse
thou schalte sone denye me
150 Thries yitt full thraly
or the cokkes crowe.
For ferde of my fomen
full fayne be for to flee,
And for grete doute of thi dede
thee to withdrawe.
- enemies
*Thrice; completely
ere
foes*
fear; death

- ANNA** Sir Cayphas, of youre counsaille,
do sone, late us now see,
For lely it langes us to luke
unto oure lawys.
155 And therfore, sir, prestely I pray you,
Sen that we are of counsaille ilkone
That Jesus that traytoure wer tane,
Do sone late se, sir, I pray you.
- longs; look
urgently
should be taken
soon let see fit done]*

CAYPHAS In certayne, sir, and sone schall I saye you,

- 160 I wolde wene by my witte
this werke wolde be wele.
Late us justely us june
tille Judas the gente,
For he kennes his dognites
full duly ilke a dele,
Ya, and beste wote, I warande,
what wayes that he is wente.
- Let; join
with; gracious
authority
knows; warrant (certify)
has gone*

- ANNA** Now this was wisely saide
als ever have I seele.
165 And sir, to youre saiying,
I saddely will assente;
Therfore take us of oure knyghtis
that is stedfast as stele,
And late Judas go lede tham belyffe
wher that he laste lente.
- health
take; [those] of
steel
allow; lead them without delay
passed*

- CAYPHAS** Full wele, sir.
Nowe, Judas, dere neghbour,
drawe nere us.
170 Lo, Judas, thus in mynd have we ment,
To take Jesus is oure entent,
For thou muste lede us and lere us.
- teach (inform)*

- JUDAS** Sirs, I schall wisse you the way
even at youre awne will,
But loke that ye have
many myghty men
175 That is both strang and sterand
and stedde hym stone stille. guide
athletic hold
- ANNA** Yis, Judas, but be what knowlache
schall we that corse kenne? by
- JUDAS** Sirs, a tokenyng in this tyme
I schall telle you untill,
But lokis by youre lewty
no liffe ye hym lenne.
Qwhat man som I kys,
that corse schall ye kyll,
180 And also beis ware
that he wil not away.
I schrew you all thenne. sign
loyalty grant
What; whom body (person) be on guard escape curse
- CAYPHAS** Why, nay, Judas,
We purpose the page schall not passe.
Sir knyghtis, in hy! boy
come here quickly
- I MILES** Lorde, we are here.
- CAYPHAS** Calles fourth youre felaws in feere
185 And gose justely with gentill Judas. deal
- I MILES** Come, felaws, by youre faith,
come forthe all faste
And carpis with Sir Cayphas:
he comaundis me to call. talk
- II MILES** I schrewe hym all his liffe,
that loves to be last. curse
- III MILES** Go we hens than in hy
and haste us to the halle. in haste
- IV MILES** Lorde, of youre will worthely
wolde I witte what wast? *(i.e., what do you want)*
- CAYPHAS** To take Jesus, that sawntrelle,
all same, that ye schall. pretender together

I MILES Lorde, to that purpose,
I wolde that we paste.

passed

ANNA Ya, but loke that ye be armed wele all,
194 The moste gentill of the Jury schalle gyde you.

Jewry; guide

CAYPHAS Ya, and every ilke a knyght in degré
Both armed and harneySED ye be
To belde you and baynely go byde you.

*in order
in armor
comfort; obediently; abide (i.e., await)*

ANNA Ya, and therfore, Sir Cayphas, ye hye you,
Youre wirschippe ye wynne in this cas.
200 As ye are a lorde most lofsom of lyre
Undir Sir Pilate that lyfis in this empire,
Yone segger that callis hymselfe a sire
With tresoure and tene sall we taste hym.
Of yone losell his bale schall he brewe.
205 Do trottes on for that traytoure apas
In hast.

*go quickly
gain
attractive body
lives
braggart; lord
harm; test (try)
knave; cause
traitor; apace*

CAYPHAS Nowe, sirs, sen ye say my poure is moste beste
And hase all this werke
thus to wirke at my will,
Now certayne I thinke not to rest
210 But solempnely youre will to fulfille
Right sone.

*quickly
hurry
slain*

Full tyte the traytoure schall be tane.
Sirs knyghtis, ye hye you ilkone,
For in certayne the losell schall be slane.
215 Sir Anna, I praye you have done.

ANNA Full redy tyte I schal be boune
This journy for to go till.
Als ye are a lorde of grete renoune,
Ye spare hym not to spill,
220 The devill hym spede.
Go we with oure knyghtis in fere,
Lo, thay are arrayed and armed clere.
Sir knyghtis, loke ye be of full gud chere:
Where ye hym see, on hym take hede.

*destroy (kill)
good
heed*

I JUDEUS Goode tente to hym, lorde, schall we take:
226 He schall banne the tyme that he was borne.
All his kynne schall come to late;
He schall noght skape withouten scorne
Fro us in fere.

*attention
curse
too
escape
all together*

II JUDEUS We schall hym seke both even and morne,
 231 Erly and late, with full gode chere,
 Is oure entente.

III JUDEUS Sty nor strete we schall spare none, *Path*
 Felde nor towne, thus have we mente,
 235 And boune in corde. *accord*

CAYPHAS Malcus!

MALCUS A, ay, and I schulde be rewarde,
 And right als wele worthy were,
 Loo, for I bere light for my lorde. *a lantern*

CAYPHAS A, sir, of your speche lette, and late us spede *leave off; allow us to hurry*
 240 A space, and of oure speche spare;
 And Judas, go fande thou before *find the way*
 And wisely thou wissem than the way, *guide*
 For sothely sone schall we saye *truthfully soon*
 To make hym to marre us no more.

JESUS Now will this oure be neghand full nere *hour; nighing*
 246 That schall certefie all the soth that I have saide. *truth*

CAYPHAS Go, fecche forth the freyke for his forfette. *bold man; punishment*

JUDAS All hayll, maistir, in faith,
 and felawes all in fere,
 With grete gracious gretynge
 on grounde be ye graied. *given*
 250 I wolde aske you a kysse,
 maistir, and youre willes were, *(i.e., consent)*
 For all my love and my likyng
 is holy upon you layde. *wholly*

JESUS Full hartely, Judas, have it even here,
 For with this kissing is mans Sone betrayed.

I MILES Whe, stande, traytoure, I telle thee for tane. *apprehended*

CAYPHAS Whe, do knyghtis, go falle on before. *proceed*

II MILES Yis, maistir, move thou no more,
 257 But lightly late us allone. *quickly*

III MILES Allas, we are loste for leme of this light. *radiance*

JESUS Saye ye here, whome seke ye?
do saye me, late see.

I JUDEUS One Jesus of Nazareth
I hope that he hight. *is [so] named*

JESUS Beholdis all hederward, loo,
here, I am hee. *(i.e., Look this way)*

I MILES Stande, dastarde, so darfely
thy dede schall be dight; *cruelly
put down*
263 I will no more be abasshed
for blenke of thy blee. *radiance; countenance*

I JUDEUS We, oute, I ame mased almost
in mayne and in myght. *amazed*

II JUDEUS And I am ferde, be my feyth,
and fayne wolde I flee,
For such a sight have I not sene.

III JUDEUS This leme it lemed so light,
I saugh never such a sight:
269 Me mervayles what it may mene. *radiance; shone; brightly*

JESUS Doo, whame seke ye all same, yitt I saye?

I JUDEUS One Jesus of Nazareth,
hym wolde we neghe nowe. *approach*

JESUS And I am he soothly.

MALCUS And that schall I asaie,
For thou schalte dye, dastard,
sen that it is thowe. *test (check out)*

PETRUS And I schall fande be my Feythe thee for to flaye,
275 Here with a lusshe, lordayne, I schalle thee allowe. *try by; faith; put to flight
blow*

MALCUS We, oute, all my deveres are done. *deeds*

PETRUS Nay,
Traytoure, but trewly I schall trappe thee, I trowe.

JESUS Pees, Petir, I bidde thee;
Melle thee nor move thee no more,
280 For witte thou wele *Peace
Stir about
well*

- and my willis were,
I myght have poure grete plenté. *will*
power
- Of aungellis full many
to mustir my myght;
Forthy putte uppe thi swerde
full goodely agayne,
For he that takis vengeaunce
all rewlid schall be right,
285 With purgens and vengeaunce
that voydes in vayne.
Thou man that is thus derede
and doulfully dyght,
Come heder to me savely
and I schalle thee sayne.
In the name of my Fadir
that in hevene is most upon hight,
Of thy hurtis be thou hole
in Hyde and in hane,
290 Thurgh vertewe thi vaynes be at vayle. *governed*
purging
renders ineffectual
hurt
safely
sign (bless)
- MALCUS** What, ille hayle, I hope that I be hole.
Nowe I schrewe hym this tyme that gyvis tale,
To touche thee for thi travayle. *whole (healed)*
curse; (i.e., considers it worthwhile)
- I JUDEUS** Do felaws, be youre faithe,
late us fange on in fere,
295 For I have on this hyne. . . . *proceed*
[lower-class] man
- II MILES** And I have a loke on hym nowe;
howe, felawes, drawe nere. *lock*
- III MILES** Yis, by the bonys that this bare,
this bourde schall he banne. *bones; bore*
jest; curse
- JESUS** Even like a thefse heneusly
hurle ye me here.
I taught you in youre Tempill,
why toke ye me noght thanne?
300 Now haves mekenes on molde
all his power. *heinously*
earth
- I JUDEUS** Do, do, laye youre handes
belyve on this lourdayne. *quickly; rascal*
- III JUDEUS** We, have holde this hauk in thi handis. *hawk*

MALCUS Whe, yis, felawes, be my faith he is fast.

IV JUDEUS Unto Sir Cayphas I wolde that he passen.
305 Farewell, for, iwis, we will wenden.

be passed on

[29. THE TRIAL BEFORE CAYPHAS AND ANNA]

The Bowers and Flecchers

CAYPHAS Pees, bewshers, I bid no jangelyng ye make,
And sese sone of youre sawes and se what I saye,
And trewe tente unto me this tyme that ye take,
For I am a lorde lerned lelly in youre lay.

*good sirs
cease; sayings (talking)
full attention
truly; law*

5 By connynge of clergy and casting of witte
Full wisely my wordis I welde at my will,
So semely in seete me semys for to sitte,
And the lawe for to lerne you and lede it by skill,
Right sone.

*skill; applying of intelligence
wield
seemly; seat; seems
teach*

10 What wyte so will ought with me
Full frenldy in feyth am I foune;
Come of, do tyte, late me see
Howe graciously I shall graunte hym his bone.

*man; have ought [to do]
off, do quickly
request*

15 Ther is nowder lorde ne lady lerned in the lawe,
Ne bisshoppe ne prelate that preved is for pris,
Nor clerke in the courte that connynge will knawe
With wisdam may were hym in worlde is so wise.

*neither
proved; value
perplex him*

I have the renke and the rewle of all the ryall,
To rewle it by right als reasoune it is;
20 All domesmen on dese awe for to dowte me
That hase thaym in bandome in bale or in blis;
Wherfore takes tente to my tales and lowtis unto me.

*sovereignty; kingdom
judges; dais ought to fear
bondage
give reverence (bow)*

And therfore, sir knyghtis . . .

Tunc dicunt:

[**MILITES**]

Lorde

[**CAYPHAS**] I charge you chalange youre rightis
25 To wayte both be day and by nyghtis
Of the bringyng of a boy into bayle.

fellow; misery

I MILES Yis, lorde, we schall wayte if any wonderes walke,
And freyne howe youre folkis fare that are furth ronne.
*keep watch; are about
question; run out*

II MILES We schall be bayne at youre bidding and it not to balke
30 Yf thei presente you that boy in a bande boune.
*obedient
bonds bound (tied up)*

ANNA Why, syr, and is ther a boy that will noght lowte to youre biding?
bow (submit)

CAYPHAS Ya, sir, and of the coriousenesse of that karle ther is carping,¹
But I have sente for that segge halfe for hethyng
man partly; enjoyment

ANNA What wondirfull werkis workis that wighte?
man

CAYPHAS Seke men and sori he sendis siker helyng,
36 And to lame men, and blynde he sendis ther sight.
Sick; unhappy; gives secure healing

Of croked crepillis that we knawе
Itt is to here grete wondering
How that he helis thame all on rawe,
40 And all thurgh his false happenyng.
*cripples
hear
heals; in order
happenstance*

I am sorie of a sight that egges me to ire;
Oure lawe he brekis with all his myght,
That is moste his desire.
*urges; anger
violates*

Oure Sabott day he will not safe
45 But is aboute to bringe it downe
And therfore sorowe muste hym have.
May he be kacched in felde or towne
For his false stevyn.
He defamys fowly the Godhed
50 And callis hymselffe God Sone of hevene.
*observe
caught; field
speaking*

ANNA I have goode knowlache of that knafe.
Marie me menys, his modir highte,
And Joseph his fadir, as God me safe,
Was kidde and knownen wele for a wrighte.
*knavе
mean; is called
save
recognized; carpenter*

55 But o thyng me mervaylesmekill overe all
Of diverse dedis that he has done.
one

CAYPHAS With wicchecrafte he fares withall,
Sir, that schall ye se full sone.
witchcraft

¹ Yes, sir, and of the cleverness of that knave there is talk

- 60 Oure knyghtis thai are furth wente
 To take hym with a traye;
 By this I holde hym shente.
 He cannot wende away.
- gone forth
trickery
defeated*
- ANNA** Wolde ye, sir, take youre reste,
 This day is comen on hande,
 65 And with wyne slake youre thirste?
 Than durste I wele warande
- dare; warrant (promise)*
- 70 Ye schulde have tithandis sone
 Of the knyghtis that are gone
 And howe that thei have done
 To take hym by a trayne,
- tidings soon
deception*
- And putte all thought away
 And late youre materes reste.
- matters (business)*
- CAYPHAS** I will do as ye saie,
 Do gette us wyne of the best.
- IMILES** My lorde, here is wyne
 that will make you to wynke;
- sleep*
- 76 Itt is licoure full delicious,
 my lorde, and you like.
 Wherfore I rede drely
 a draughte that ye drynke,
 For in this contré, that we knawe,
 iwighe ther is none slyke,
 Wherfore we counsaile you,
 this cuppe saverly for to kisse.
- advise earnestly
nothing else like it
confidently*
- CAYPHAS** Do on dayntely and dresse me on dees
 81 And hendely hille on me happing,
 And warne all wightis to be in pees,
 For I am late layde unto napping.
- graciously; dais
kindly cover; with bedclothes
persons
(i.e., I am ready to sleep)*
- ANNA** My lorde, with youre leve, and it like you, I passe.
- am going*
- CAYPHAS** Adiew be unte, as the manere is.
- unto you*
- MULIER** Sir knyghtys, do kepe this boy in bande,
 87 For I will go witte what it may mene,
 Why that yone wighte was hym folowand
 Erly and late, morne and ene.
- bonds
discover
following
evening*

90 He will come nere, he will not lette; *stop*
 He is a spie, I warand, full bolde.

III MILES It semes by his semblant he had levere be sette *appearance; wished to; seated*
 By the fervent fire to fleme hym fro colde. *escape*

MULIER Ya, but and ye wiste as wele as I *know*
 95 What wonders that this wight has wrought,
 And thurgh his maistir sorssery *through; sorcery*
 Full derfely schulde his deth be bought. *cruelly*

IV MILES Dame, we have hym nowe at will
 That we have longe tyme soughte;
 100 Yf othir go by us still, *slip by*
 Therfore we have no thought.

MULIER Itt were grete skorne that he schulde skape *escape*
 Without he hadde resoun and skill,
 He lokis lurkand like an nape; *looks [as if] lurking; ape*
 105 I hope I schall haste me hym tille.

Thou caytiffe, what meves thee stande *moves you to*
 So stabill and stille in thi thoght?
 Thou hast wrought mekill wronge in londe *great; land*
 And wondirfull werkis haste thou wrought.

110 A, lorell, a leder of lawe, *beggar (fool); expositor*
 To sette hym and suye has thou soght. *accompany; sue*
 Stande furth and threste in yone thrawe, *push into; crowd*
 Thy maistry thou bryng unto noght. *great deeds*

Wayte nowe, he lokis like a brokke, *badger*
 115 Were he in a bande for to bayte, *bonds (tied up); bait (in sport)*
 Or ellis like an nowele in a stok *owl; stump*
 Full prevaly his pray for to wayte. *privily; prey*

PETRUS Woman, thy wordis and thy wynde thou not waste, *breath*
 Of his company never are I was kende. *ere; known*
 120 Thou haste thee mismarkid, trewly be traste; *mistaken; be assured*
 Wherfore of thi misse thou thee amende. *error*

MULIER Than gaynesaies thou here the sawes that thou saide, *contradict; words*
 How he schulde clayme to be callid God Sonne,
 And with the werkis that he wrought
 125 Whils he walketh in this flodde, *flood*
 Baynly at oure bydding alway to be bonne. *Willingly; bound (loyal)*

PETRUS	I will consente to youre sawes; what schulde I saye more? For women are crabbed, that comes them of kynde. But I saye as I firste saide, I sawe hym nevere are;	<i>words</i>
	130 But as a frende of youre felawshippe schall ye me aye fynde.	<i>nature</i>
		<i>before</i>
		<i>always</i>
MALCHUS	Herke, knyghtis, that are knawen in this contré as we kenne, Howe yone boy with his boсте has brewed mekill bale: He has forsaken his maistir before yone womenne. But I schall preve to you pertly and telle you my tale.	<i>believe</i> <i>boast</i> <i>great misery</i>
135	I was presente with pepull whenne prese was full prest To mete with his maistir, with mayne and with myght, And hurled hym hardely and hastely hym arreste, And in bandis full bittirly bande hym sore all that nyght.	<i>demonstrate; openly</i>
		<i>crowd; urgently [desired]</i>
		<i>strength</i>
		<i>dragged; fiercely</i>
		<i>ropes</i>
		<i>bound</i>
140	And of tokenyng of trouth schall I telle yowe, Howe yone boy with a brande brayede me full nere (Do move of thez materes emelle yowe), For swiftely he swapped of my nere.	<i>truth</i> <i>sword</i> <i>chopped</i> <i>speak; among</i> <i>cut off; ear</i>
145	His maistir with his myght helyd me all hole, That by no syne I cowthe see no man cowthe it witten And than badde hym bere pees in every ilke bale, For he that strikis with a swerde with a swerde schall be streken.	<i>healed; whole</i> <i>sign; recognize</i> <i>bade; every bad situation</i> <i>struck down</i>
150	Latte se whedir grauntest thou gilte. Do speke oon and spare not to telle us Or full faste I schall fonde thee flitte, The soth but thou saie here emelle us.	<i>you admit your guilt</i> <i>on</i> <i>(i.e., make you flee)</i>
	Come of, do tyte, late me see nowe, In savyng of thyselffe fro schame, .	<i>quickly</i>
	Ya, and also for beryng of blame.	[line missing] <i>bearing</i>

PETRUS I was nevere with hym in werke that he wrought
155 In worde nor in werke, in will nor in dede;
I knawe no corse that ye have hidir brought,
In no courte of this kith, if I schulde right rede.

MALCHUS Here, sirs, howe he sais and has forsaken
His maistir to this woman here twyes, twice
160 And newly oure lawe has he taken; perverted
Thus hath he denyed hym thryes. thrice

JESUS Petir, Petir, thus saide I are
When thou saide thou wolde abide with me
In wele and woo, in sorowe and care,
165 Whillis I schulde thries forsaken be.

PETRUS Allas, the while that I come here,
That evere I denyed my Lorde in quarte, *alive*
The loke of his faire face so clere
With full sadde sorowe sheris my harte. *pierces (cuts)*

III MILES Sir knyghtis, take kepe of this karll and be konnand; care; knave; clever
171 Because of Sir Cayphas we knowe wele his thoght.
 He will rewarde us full wele, that dare I wele warand,
 Whan he wete of oure werkis how wele we have wrought. knows

IV MILES Sir, this is Cayphas halle here at hande;
175 Go we boldly with this boy that we have here broght.

III MILES Nay, sirs, us muste stalke to that stede and full still stande,
For itt is nowe of the nyght, yf thei nappe oght.
Say, who is here?

I MILES Say, who is here?

III MILES I, a frende,
Well knawyn in this contré for a knyght. known

II MILES Gose furthe, on youre wayes may yee wende,
181 For we have herbered enowe for tonyght. *(i.e., taken in enough)*

I MILES Gose abakke, bewscheres, ye both are to blame,
To bourde whenne oure busshopp is boune to his bedde. *Go away
jest; bishop; gone to*

IV MILES Why, sir, it were worthy to welcome us home;
185 We have gone for this warlowe and we have wele spedde. *warlock*

II MILES Why, who is that?

II MILES	The Jewes kyng, Jesus by name.	
I MILES	A, yee be welcome, that dare I wele wedde, My lorde has sente for to seke hym.	<i>wager seek</i>
IV MILES	Loo, se here the same.	
II MILES	Abidde as I bidde and be noght adreed.	<i>afraid</i>
190	My lorde, my lorde, my lorde, here is layke, and you list.	<i>sport, if you wish</i>
CAYPHAS	Pees, loselles, leste ye be nyse?	<i>are you fools</i>
I MILES	My lorde, it is wele and ye wiste.	
CAYPHAS	What, nemen us no more, for it is twyes.	<i>call; twice</i>
195	Thou takist non hede to the haste that we have here on honde; Go frayne howe oure folke faris that are furth ronne.	<i>heed; urgency at hand ask; fare forth run</i>
II MILES	My lorde, youre knyghtis has kared as ye thame commaunde, And thei have fallen full faire.	<i>proceeded commanded into good luck</i>
CAYPHAS	Why, and is the foole fonne?	<i>discovered</i>
I MILES	Ya, lorde, thei have brought a boy in a bande boun.	<i>rope bound</i>
CAYPHAS	Where nowe, Sir Anna, that is one and able to be nere?	<i>near</i>
ANNA	My lorde, with youre leve me behoves to be here.	
CAYPHAS	A, sir, come nere and sitte we bothe in fere.	<i>together</i>
ANNA	Do, sir, bidde them bring in that boy that is bune.	<i>bound</i>
204	CAYPHAS Pese now, Sir Anna, be stille and late hym stande, And late us grope yf this gome be grathly begune.	<i>interrogate; game; properly</i>
ANNA	Sir, this game is begune of the best; Nowe hadde he no force for to flee thame.	<i>them</i>
CAYPHAS	Nowe, in faithe, I am fayne he is fast; Do lede in that ladde, late me se than.	<i>glad; captured</i>

II MILES Lo, sir, we have saide to oure sovereyne,
 210 Gose nowe and suye to hymselfe for the same thyng. *proceed*

III MILES Mi lorde, to youre bidding we are buxom and bayne, *humble; obedient*
 Lo, here is the belschere brought that ye bad bring. *gentleman; bade [us]*

IV MILES My lorde, fandis now to fere hym. *seek; frighten*

CAYPHAS Nowe I am fayne,
 And felawes, faire mott ye fall for youre fynding. *(i.e., blessings on you)*

ANNA Sir, and ye trowe thei be trewe
 withowten any trayne, *deception*
 216 Bidde thayme telle you the tyme of the takyng. *circumstances; capture*

CAYPHAS Say, felawes, howe wente ye so nemely by nyght? *nimbly*

III MILES My lorde, was there no man to marre us ne mende us.¹

IV MILES My lorde, we had lanternes and light,
 220 And some of his company kende us. *recognized*

ANNA But saie, howe did he, Judas?

III MILES A, sir, full wisely and wele:
 He markid us his maistir emang all his men
 And kyssid hym full kyndely his conforte to kele *cool (detract from)*
 Bycause of a countenaunce that karll for to kenne. *rascal; know*

CAYPHAS And thus did he his devere? *duty*

IV MILES Ya, lorde, evere ilke a dele: *each and every way*
 226 He taughte us to take hym *ten o'clock*
 the tyme aftir tenne.

ANNA Nowe, be my feith, a faynte frende myght he ther fynde. *weak (poor) friend*

III MILES Sire, ye myght so have saide
 hadde ye hym sene themne. *seen*

IV MILES He sette us to the same that he solde us *directed*
 230 And feyned to be his frende as a faytour; *deceiver*
 This was the tokenyng before that he tolde us. *sign*

¹ *My lord, was there no man to prevent or hinder us*

CAYPHAS Nowe, trewly, this was a trante of a traytour. trick

ANNA Ya, be he traytour or trewe geve we never tale,
But takes tente at this tyme and here what he telles. *(i.e., give we no thought)*
pay attention; hear

CAYPHAS Now sees that oure howsolde be holden here hole
236 So that none carpe in case but that in court dwellis. *household; kept together*

III MILES A, lorde, this brethell hath brewed moche bale. *worthless fellow; much sorrow*

CAYPHAS Therfore schall we spedē us to spere of his spellis.
Sir Anna, takis hede nowe and here hym. *inquire; sayings*
hear

ANNA Say, ladde, liste thee noght lowte to a lorde? *bow before*

IV MILES No, sir, with youre leve, we schall lere hym. *teach*

CAYPHAS Nay, sir, noght so, no haste.
Itt is no burde to bete bestis that are bune,
And therfore with fayrenes firste we vill hym fraste
245 And sithen forther hym furth as we have fune.
And telle us som tales, truly to traste. *sport; beat; tied up*
will; question
proceed; further; found

ANNA Sir, we myght als wele talkē
tille a tome tonne. *empty barrel*
I warande hym witteles
or ellis he is wrang wrayste,
Or ellis he waitis to wirke
als he was are wonne. *(i.e., defective of mind)*
ere accustomed

III MILES His wonne was to wirke mekill woo
251 And make many maystries emelle us. *custom*
(powerful) deeds

KAYPHAS And some schall he graunte or he goo,
Or muste yowe tente hym and telle us. *tell [us] before*
attend to

IV MILES Mi lorde, to witte the wonderes that he has wroght,
255 For to telle you the tente it wolde oure tonges tere. *begin to know*
tenth; tear out

KAYPHAS Sen the boy for his boсте is into bale broght,
We will witte or he wende how his werkis were. *boasting*
explore (know) ere

III MILES Oure Sabott day we saye
saves he right noght
That he schulde halowe and holde
full dingne and full dere. *keep holy; observe*
worthy; precious

- | | | |
|------------------|---|---|
| IV MILES | No, sir, in the same feste
als we the sotte soughte, | feast
fool |
| 261 | He salved thame of sikenesse
on many sidis seere. | cured; sickness
on all sides |
| CAYPHAS | What than, makes he thame grathely to gange? | truly to go |
| III MILES | Ya, lorde, even forthe in every ilke a toune
He thame lechis to lisse after lange. | heals; [being] long [dead] |
| CAYPHAS | A, this makes he by the myghtis of Mahounde. | power |
| IV MILES | Sir, oure stiffe Tempill, that made is of stone,
267 That passes any paleys of price for to preyse, | strong
palace; praise |
| | And it were doune to the erth and to the gronde gone,
This rebalde he rowses hym rathely to rayse. | If it were
scoundrel; boasts; quickly; raise |
| III MILES | Ya, lorde, and othir wonderis he workis grete wone,
271 And with his lowde lesyngis he losis oure layes. | in great quantity
deceptions; undermines laws |
| CAYPHAS | Go, lowse hym, and levis than and late me allone,
For myselfe schall serche hym and here what he saies. | loosen [his bonds]; leave then |
| ANNA | Herke, Jesus of Jewes will have joie
275 To spille all thy sporte for thy spellis. | mar; words |
| CAYPHAS | Do meve, felawe, of thy frendis that fedde thee beforne,
And sithen, felowe, of thi fare forther will I freyne.
Do neven us lightly — his langage is lorne. | move (speak); kin
business; ask
tell; quickly; ability to speak; gone |
| III MILES | My lorde, with youre leve, hym likis for to layne,
280 But and he schulde scape skatheles it wer a full skorne,
For he has mustered emonge us fullmekil of his mayne. | remain silent
unscathed
power |
| IV MILES | Malkus, youre man, lord, that had his ere schorne,
This harlotte full hastely helid it agayne. | ear |
| CAYPHAS | What, and liste hym be nyse for the nonys,
285 And heres howe we haste to rehete hym. | foolish
hasten; rebuke |
| ANNA | Nowe, by Beliall bloode and his bonys,
I holde it beste to go bete hym. | beat |
| CAYPHAS | Nay, sir, none haste, we schall have game or we goo.
Boy, be not agaste if we seeme gaye; | before
fearful; seem impressive [in dress] |
| 290 | I conjure thee kyndely and comaunde thee also | engage |

By grete God that is liffand and laste schall ay,
living; (i.e., everlasting)
 Yf thou be Criste, Goddis Sonne, telle till us two.

JESUS Sir, thou says it thiselffe, and sothly I saye
 That I schall go to my Fadir that I come froo
 295 And dwelle with hym wynly in welthe allway.
worthily; state of bliss

CAYPHAS Why, fie on thee, faitoure untrewe.
 Thy fadir hast thou fowly defamed,
 Now nedis us no notes of newe,
 Hymselfe with his sawes has he schamed.
(i.e., nothing more)

ANNA Nowe nedis nowdir wittenesse ne counsaille to call,
 301 But take his sawes as he saith in the same stede:
 He sclauderes the Godhed and greves us all,
 Wherfore he is wele worthy to be dede.
 And therfore, sir, saies hym the sothe.
neither place dead

CAYPHAS Sertis, so I schall.
 305 Heres thou not, harlott?
 Ille happe on thy hede.
 Aunswere here grathely to grete and to small,
 And reche us oute rathely som resounue, I rede.
Hear head fittingly give; quickly

JESUS Myreasouns are not to reherse,
 Nor they that myght helpe me are noght here nowe.

ANNA Say, ladde, liste thee make verse?
 311 Do telle on, belyff, late us here nowe.
do you desire to quickly; hear

JESUS Sir, if I saie the sothe, thou schall not assente
 But hyndir or haste me hynge.
 I prechid wher pepull was moste in present
 315 And no poynte in privité to olde ne yonge.
 And also in youre Tempill I tolde myne entente,
 Ye myght have tane me that tyme for my tellyng
 Wele bettir than bringe me with brondis unbrente,
 And thus to noye me be nyght and also for nothyng.
slander; hasten; [to] hang secret arrested swords unsheathed annoy

CAYPHAS For nothyng? Losell, thou lies,
 321 Thy wordis and werkis will have a wrekyng.
punishment

JESUS Sire, sen thou with wrong so me wreyes,
 Go, spere thame that herde of my spekyng.
betray inquire of; heard

CAYPHAS A, this traitoure has tened me
 with tales that he has tolde,
angered

325 Yitt hadde I nevere such hething *mockery*
as of a harlott as hee.

I MILES What, fye on thee, beggar,
who made thee so bolde
To bourde with oure busshoppe? *jest*
Thy bane schall I bee. *slayer*

JESUS Sir, if my wordis be wrange or werse than thou wolde,
A wronge wittenesse I wotte nowe ar ye, *false*
330 And if my sawes be soth thei mon be sore solde,
Wherfore thou bourdes to brode for to bete me. *be expensive*
jest(s) too hastily

II MILES My lorde, will ye here, for Mahounde? *hear*
No more now for to neven that it nedis. *to say; is needed*

CAYPHAS Gose, dresse you and dyng ye hym doune, *strike*
335 And deffe us no more with his dedis. *deafen; deeds*

ANNA Nay, sir, than blemyshe yee prelatis estatis; *dishonor; authority (dignity)*
Ye awe to deme no man to dede for to dynge. *ought; judge; in order to beat [him]*

CAYPHAS Why, sir, so were bettir than be in debate; *dispute*
Ye see the boy will noght bowe for oure bidding.

ANNA Nowe, sir, ye muste presente this boy unto Sir Pilate,
341 For he is domysman nere and nexte to the king, *judge near*
And late hym here alle the hole, how ye hym hate *hear; whole*
And whedir he will helpe hym or haste hym to hyng.

I MILES My lorde, late men lede hym by nyght,
345 So schall ye beste skape oute o skornyng. *escape from scorn (scandal)*

II MILES My lorde, it is nowe in the nyght;
I rede ye abide tille the mornyng.

CAYPHAS Bewschere, thou sais the beste, and so schall it be,
But lerne yone boy bettir to bende and bowe. *teach*

I MILES We schall lerne yone ladde, be my lewté,
351 For to loute unto ilke lorde like unto yowe. *faith*
reverence

CAYPHAS Ya, and felawes, wayte that he be ay wakand. *watch; always awake*

II MILES Yis, lorde, that warant will wee.
Itt were a full nedles note to bidde us nappe nowe. *needless advice*

III MILES Sertis, will ye sitte, and sone schall ye see
 355 Howe we schall play popse for the pages prowe. *a game (see note); [worthless] man's benefit*

IV MILES Late see, who stertis for a stole?
 For I have here a hatir to hyde hym. *goes; stool
cloth (rag), hood*

I MILES Lo, here is one full fitte for a foole;
 Go gete it, and sette thee beside hym.

II MILES Nay, I schall sette it myselffe and frusshy hym also.
 361 Lo, here a shrowde for a shrewe, and of shene shappe. *beat
shroud; evil one; offair*

III MILES Playes faire in feere, and ther is one and ther is — two;
 I schall fande to feste it with a faire flappe, *attempt to make fast*
 And ther is — three, and there is — four.
 365 Say, nowe, with an nevill happe, *evil*
 Who negheth thee nowe? Not o worde, no. *comes near*

IV MILES Dose noddill on hym with neffes *hit; fists*
 That he noght nappe. *So that he doesn't fall asleep*

I MILES Nay, nowe to nappe is no nede,
 Wassaille, wassaylle!
 I warande hym wakande.

II MILES Ya, and bot he bettir bourdis can byde, *unless; jests; abide*
 371 Such buffettis schall he be takande. *receiving*

III MILES Prophet, I saie, to be oute of debate,
Quis te percussit, man? Rede giffe thou may. *Who smote you; Answer if*

IV MILES Those wordes are in waste,
 what wenes thou he wate? *useless
what do you think he understands*
 375 It semys by his wirkynge
 his wittes were awaye. *behavior
are gone*

I MILES Nowe late hym stande as he stode
 in afoles state, *fool's estate*
 For he likis noght this layke, *game*
 my liffe dare I laye. *wager*

II MILES Sirs, us muste presente this page to Ser Pilate,
 But go we firste to oure soverayne
 and see what he saies.

III MILES My lorde, we have boured with this boy *sported*
 381 And holden hym full hote emelle us. *pursue him vigorously among*

CAYPHAS Thanne herde ye some japes of joye? *jest(s) (jokes)*

IV MILES The devell have the worde, lorde, he wolde telle us.

ANNA Sir, bidde belyve, thei goo and bynde hym agayne
385 So that he skape noght, for that were a skorne. *quickly
escapes*

CAYPHAS Do telle to Sir Pilate oure pleyntes all pleyne
And saie, this ladde with his lesyngis has oure lawes lorne;
And saie this same day muste he be slayne
Because of Sabott day that schal be tomorne.
390 And saie that we come oureselffe for certayne,
And for to fortheren this fare, fare yee beforne. *complaints; plainly
lies
slain
advance; matter*

I MILES Mi lorde, with youre leve, us muste wende,
Oure message to make as we maye.

CAYPHAS Sir, youre faire felawschippe
we betake to the fende. *fiend*
395 Goose onne nowe and daunce forth in the devyll way.

[30. THE FIRST TRIAL BEFORE PILATE]

The Tapiteres and Couchers

PILATUS Yhe cursed creatures that cruelly are cryand,
Restreyne you for stryvyng
for strength of my strakis;
Youre pleyntes in my presence
use platly applyand,
Or ellis this brande in youre braynes,
schalle brestis and brekis.
5 This brande in his bones brekis,
What brawle that with brawlyng me brewis,
That wrecche may not wrye fro my wrekis,
Nor his sleyghtis noght slyly hym slakis,
Latte that traytour noght triste in my trewys. *crying (shouting)
for fear of my strokes
complaints
plainly appealing
sword
burst; break
brawler; brews (produces)
turn; vengeance
slyly; slackens
trust; truth (good faith)*

10 For Sir Sesar was my sier
and I sothely his sonne,
That exelent emperoure exaltid in hight
Whylk all this wilde worlde with wyties had wone;
And my modir hight Pila that proude was o plight,
O Pila that prowde, and Atus hir fadir he hight.
15 This Pila was hadde into Atus,
Nowe renkis, rede yhe it right? *Caesar; sire
on high
wits (intelligence); conquered
of demeanor
was called
men*

For thus schortely I have schewid you in sight
 Howe I am proudely preved Pilatus.

proudly proved [to be called]

20 Loo, Pilate I am, proved a prince of grete pride;
 I was putte into Pounce the pepill to presse,
 And sithen Sesar hymselffe with exynatores be his side,
 Remytte me to ther remys, the renkes to redresse.
 And yitte am I graunted on grounde, as I gesse,
 To justifie and juge all the Jewes.
 25 A, luffe, here lady, no lesse?
 Lo, sirs, my worthely wiffe, that sche is;
 So semely, loo, certayne scho schewys.

Pontius; repress

senators

Sent; realms; people to reform

execute justice

love

lovely; she appears

UXOR PILATI Was nevir juge in this Jurie of so jocounde generacion,
 Nor of so joifull genologie to gentrys enjoyedn,
 30 As yhe, my duke doughty, demar of dampnacion
 To princes and prelatis
 that youre preceptis perloyned.
 Who that youre preceptis pertly perloyned,
 With drede into dede schall ye dryffe hym.
 By my trouthe, he untrewly is troned
 35 That agaynstte youre behestis hase honed;
 All to ragges schall ye rente hym and ryve hym.

Jewry: happy lineage

aristocracy joined

judge

put aside

boldly

death; drive

falsely; enthroned

delayed

shreds; tear

I am dame precious Percula, of prynces the prise,
 Wiffe to Ser Pilate, here prince withouten pere,
 All welle of all womanhede I am, wittie and wise.
 40 Consayve nowe my countenaunce so comly and clere.
 The coloure of my corse is full clere,
 And in richesse of robis I am rayed.
 Ther is no lorde in this londe, as I lere,
 In faith, that hath a frendlyar feere
 45 Than yhe my lorde,
 myselffe thof I saye itt.

peer

source

Perceive

body

arrayed

companion

though

PILATUS Nowe saye itt may ye saffely,
 for I will certefie the same.

UXOR PILATI Gracious lorde, gramercye, youre gode worde is gayne. *good; pleasing*

PILATUS Yhitt for to conforte my corse, me muste kisse you, madame. *Yet*

UXOR To fulfille youre forward, my fayre lorde, in faith I am fayne. *promise; glad*

PILATUS Howe, howe, felawys, nowe in faith I am fayne
 51 Of theis lippis so loffely are lappid,
 In bedde is full buxhome and bayne.

lovely; enclosed

willing

- DOMINA** Yha, sir, it nedith not to layne, *hide*
 All ladise we coveyte than
 bothe to be kyssid and clappid. *hugged*
- BEDELLUS** My liberal lorde, o leder of lawis, *expositor*
 56 O schynyng schawe that all schames escheues,
 I beseke you, my soverayne, assente to my sawes
 As ye are gentill juger and justice of Jewes. *show (appearance); shames shuns judge*
- DOMINA** Do herke, howe you javell jangill of Jewes. *brawler; chatter*
 60 Why, go bette horosonne boy, when I bidde thee. *go away whoreson*
- BEDELLUS** Madame, I do but that diewe is. *what is due*
- DOMINA** But yf thou reste of thy resoun thou rewis, *(i.e., stop talking); will be sorry*
 For all is acursed, carle, hase in, kydde thee. *churl, go away, behave yourself*
- PILATUS** Do mende you, madame, and youre mode be amendand, *tending (i.e., about me)*
 65 For me semys it wer sittand to se what he sais. *is appropriate*
- DOMINA** Mi lorde, he tolde nevir tale that to me was tendand,
 But with wrynkis and with wiles to wend me my weys.¹ *tending (i.e., about me)*
- BEDELLUS** Gwisse, of youre wayes to be wendand, *Certainly*
 itt langis to oure lawes. *belongs (is in accord with)*
- DOMINA** Loo, lorde, this ladde with his lawes,
 70 Howe thynke ye it prophitis wele *profits well*
 his prechyg to prayse?
- PILATUS** Yha, luffe, he knawis all oure custome, *love (dear)*
 I knawe wele.
- BEDELLUS** My seniour, will ye see nowe the sonne in your sight, *My lord; sun*
 For his stately strength he stemmys in his stremys; *reduces; beams*
 75 Behalde ovir youre hede how he holdis fro hight
 And glydis to the grounde with his glitterand glemys. *glides; radiant gleams*
 To the grounde he gois with his bemys
 And the nyght is neghand anone. *near at hand*
 Yhe may deme aftir no dremys, *judge; dreams*
 80 But late my lady here *let*
 with all her light lemys *beams*
 Wightely go wende till her wone, *Quickly; dwelling*

¹ *But with twistings and with deceptions to make me change my ways*

	For ye muste sitte, sir, this same nyght of lyfe and of lyme;	<i>limb</i>
	Itt is noght leeffull for my lady	<i>lawful</i>
	by the lawe of this lande	
	In dome for to dwelle	<i>place of judgment</i>
	fro the day waxe ought dymme,	<i>dim (at nightfall)</i>
85	For scho may stakir in the strete	<i>stumble</i>
	but scho stalworthely stande.	
	.	[line missing]
	Late hir take hir leve whill that light is.	<i>leave</i>
	PILATUS Nowe, wiffe, than ye blythely be buskand.	<i>going</i>
	DOMINA I am here, sir, hendely at hande.	<i>seemly</i>
	PILATUS Loo, this renke has us redde als right is.	<i>man; advised as</i>
	DOMINA Youre comaundement to kepe to kare for thee I caste me; ¹	
91	My lorde, with youre leve, no lenger I lette yowe.	<i>hinder</i>
	PILATUS Itt were a repreve to my persone	<i>rebuke</i>
	that prevely ye paste me,	<i>secretly you left</i>
	Or ye wente fro this wones	<i>place</i>
	or with wynne ye had wette yowe.	<i>before; wet yourself (i.e., became drunk)</i>
	Ye schall wende forthe with wynne	<i>joy</i>
	whenne that ye have wette yowe.	
95	Gete drinke, what dose thou, have done!	
	Come, semely, beside me and sette yowe.	<i>sit</i>
	Loke, nowe it is even here that I are behete you,	<i>ere promised</i>
	Ya, saie it nowe sadly and sone.	
	DOMINA Itt wolde glad me, my lorde, if ye gudly begynne.	<i>goodly</i>
	PILATUS Nowe I assente to youre counsaille, so comely and clene;	
101	Nowe drynke, madame; to deth all this dynne.	<i>noise</i>
	DOMINA Iff it like yowe, myne awne lorde, I am not to lere;	<i>learn</i>
	This lare I am not to lere.	<i>lore; (i.e., do not need to)</i>
	PILATUS Yitt efte to youre damysell, madame.	<i>also</i>
	DOMINA In thy hande, holde nowe, and have here.	
	ANCILLA Gramarcy, my lady so dere.	

¹ To obey your command to proceed (go) from you I prepare myself

PILATUS Nowe fareswele, and walke on youre way.

[two lines missing]
foes; fende [off]

DOMINA Now farewele the frendlyest, youre fomen to fende.

PILATUS Nowe farewele, the fayrest figure that evere did fode fede,
110 And farewele, ye damysell, indede.

food eat

ANCILLA My lorde, I comande me to youre ryalté.

commend; royalty

PILATUS Fayre lady, here is schall you lede.

Sir, go with this worthy indede,
And what scho biddis you doo,
Loke that buxsome you be.

she
obedient

FILIUS I am pownde and preste to passe on apasse,
116 To go with this gracious hir gudly to gyde.

prepared to go; apace
guide

PILATUS Take tente to my tale, thou turne on no trayse,¹
Come tyte and telle me yf any tythyngis betyde.

quickly

FILIUS Yf any tythyngis my lady betyde,

120 I schall full sone, sir, witte you to say.
This semely schall I schewe by hir side,
Belyffe, sir, no lenger we byde.

(i.e., tell you)
Quickly; abide

PILATUS Nowe fareswele, and walkes on youre way.

Nowe wente is my wiffe, yf it wer not hir will,
125 And scho rakis tille hir reste as of nothyng scho rought.
Tyme is, I telle thee, thou tente me untill,
And buske thee belyve, belamy, to bedde that I wer broght,
And loke I be rychely arrayed.

even if
goes; cared about
paid attention to
hurry; my friend
[line missing]
see that I am

BEDELLUS Als youre servaunte I have sadly it sought,

130 And this nyght, sir, newe schall ye noght,
I dare laye, fro ye luffely be layde.

annoyed
wager, when you

PILATUS I comaunde thee to come nere, for I will kare to my couche;

Have in thy handes hendely and heve me fro hyne,
But loke that thou tene me not with thi tastyng, but tendirly me touche,²

go

graciously; hence
but see that you don't anger me with your handling, but touch me gently

BEDELLUS A, sir, yhe whe wele.

weigh well (i.e., are heavy)

¹ Pay attention to my command, do not deviate

² But see that you don't anger me with your handling, but touch me gently

- PILATUS** Yha, I have wette me with wyne.
 136 Yhit helde doune and lappe me even here,
 For I will sleye slepe unto synne.
 Loke that no man nor no myron of myne
 With no noyse be neghand me nere.
- BEDELLUS** Sir, what warlowe yow wakens
 with wordis full wilde,
 141 That boy for his brawlyng
 werebettir be unborne.
- PILATUS** Yha, who chatteres, hym chastise,
 be he churle or childe,
 For and he skape skatheles
 itt were to us a grete skorne.
 Yf skatheles he skape, it wer a skorne.
 145 What rebalde that redely will rore,
 I schall mete with that myron tomorne,
 And for his ledir lewdenes hym lerne to be lorne.
- BEDELLUS** Whe, so sir, slepe ye, and saies no more.
- DOMINA** Nowe are we at home, do helpe yf ye may,
 150 For I will make me redye and rayke to my reste.
- ANCILLA** Yhe are werie, madame, forwente of youre way,
 Do boune you to bedde, for that holde I beste.
- FILIUS** Here is a bedde arayed of the beste.
- DOMINA** Do happe me, and faste hense ye hye.
- ANCILLA** Madame, anone all dewly is dressid.
- FILIUS** With no stalkyng nor no striffe be ye stressed.
- DOMINA** Nowe be yhe in pese, both youre carpyng and crye.
- DIABOLUS** Owte, owte, harrowe! Into bale am I brought.
 This bargayne may I banne,
 But yf I wirke some wile, in wo mon I wonne.
 160 This gentilman Jesu of cursednesse he can,
 Be any syngne that I see, this same is Goddis Sonne,
 And he be lone, oure solace will sese.
 He will save man saule fro oure sonde
 And refe us the remys that are rounde.
- [line missing]
cover
slyly (surreptitiously); later
retainer
coming near
- warlock*
- knight*
if; unhurt (unscathed)
- escape*
menial fellow; shout
lazy person
harmful misbehavior; destroyed
- say*
- go*
- exhausted from; journey*
Do go
- covering; go away quickly*
- talking; shouting*
- curse*
But unless; trick; dwell
maliciousness
By; sign
slain; cease
from our safekeeping
take from; realms; around

- 165 I will on stiffely in this stounde
Unto Ser Pilate wiffe pertely, and putte me in prese. *firmly; time
boldly; endeavor*
- O woman, be wise and ware, and wonne in thi witte
Ther schall a gentilman, Jesu, unjustely be juged
Byfore thy husband in haste, and with harlottis be hytte; *aware; comprehend*
170 And that doughty today to deth thus be dyghted,
Sir Pilate, for his prechynge, and thou
With nede schalle ye namely be noyed: *need (deprivation); specifically annoyed*
Youre striffe and youre strenghe schal be stroyed, *?striving; destroyed*
Youre richesse schal be refte you that is rude *taken from; great*
175 With vengeaunce, and that dare I avowe.
- DOMINA** A, I am drecchid with a dreme full dredfully to dowte. *tormented; fear*
Say, childe, rise uppe radly and reste for no roo; *quickly; rest (peace)*
Thow muste launce to my lorde and lowly hym lowte: *rush; bow*
Comaunde me to his reverence, as right will I doo. *Commend*
- FILIUS** O, what, schall I travayle thus tymely this tyde? *at this early time*
181 Madame, for the drecchyng of heven, *tormenting*
Slyke note is newsome to neven, *Such a matter is a nuisance to say*
And it neghes unto mydnyght full even. *is nearly*
- DOMINA** Go bette, boy, I bidde no lenger thou byde, *quickly*
- And saie to my sovereyne, this same is soth that I send hym. *true*
All naked this nyght as I napped
With tene and with trayne was I trapped *trouble; deception*
With a sweweنه that swiftly me swapped *dream; struck*
Of one Jesu, the juste man the Jewes will undoo.
- 190 She prayes tente to that trewe man, with tyne to be noght trapped,¹ *judge; endeavoring*
But als a domesman dewly to be dressand *acquit; man*
And lelye delyvere that lede.
- FILIUS** Madame, I am dressid to that dede, *prepared*
But firste will I nappe in this nede,
195 For he hase mystir of a morne slepe that mydnyght is myssand. *need; missed*
- ANNA** Sir Cayphas, ye kenne wele
this caytiffe we have cached *know*
That oftetimes in oure Tempill
has tecched untrewly,
Oure meyné with myght *people*

¹ *She asks attention to that true man, with affliction not to be entrapped*

- at mydnyght hym mached
And hase drevyn hym till his demyng
for his dedis undewly.
- 200 Wherfore I counsaile that kyndely we carie
Unto Ser Pilate, oure prince, and pray hym
That he for oure right will arraye hym,
This faitour, for his falsed to flay hym
For fro we saie hym the soth
I schall sitte hym full sore.
- set upon
driven; judgment
wrong
by custom; proceed
provide for
deceiver; falsehood; punish
(i.e., make things go badly for him)*

- CAYPHAS** Sir Anna, this sporte have ye spedely aspied,
206 As I am pontificall prince of all prestis.
We will prese to Ser Pilate and presente hym with pride
With this harlott that has hewed owre hartis fro oure brestis
Thurgh talkyng of tales untrewe;
210 And therfore, ser knyghtis . . .
- seen
(i.e., the high priest)
press
torn*

MILITES Lorde.

- CAYPHAS** Sir knyghtis, that are curtayse and kynde,
We charge you that chorle be wele chyned.
Do buske you and grathely hym bynde
And rugge hym in ropes, his rase till he rewe.
- churl; chained
immediately
harshly pull; behavior; rue*

- I MILES** Sir, youre sawes schall be served schortly and sone,
216 Yha, do felawe, be thy feith, late us feste this faitour full fast.
- words (sayings); obeyed
tie up*

- II MILES** I am douty to this dede, delyver, have done,
Latte us pulle on with pride till his poure be paste.
- bold; hurry
strength*

I MILES Do have faste and halde at his handes.

- II MILES** For this same is he that lightly avaunted,
221 And God Sone he grathely hym graunted.
- boasted
boldly; admitted to*

- I MILES** He bese hurled for the highnes he haunted;
Loo, he stonyes for us, he stares where he standis.
- dragged along; pride; pretended
is astonished*

- II MILES** Nowe is the brothell boune for all the boste that he blowne,
225 And the Laste Day he lete no lordyngs myght lawe hym.
- [has] vented
thought; overthrow*

- ANNA** Ya, he wende this worlde had bene haly his awne
Als ye are dowtiest today
tille his demyng ye drawe hym,
And than schall we kenne
how that he canne excuse hym.
- wholly; own
boldest
pull
himself*

I MILES Here, ye gomes, gose a-rome, giffe us gate; *men, make room; way*
 230 We muste steppe to yone sterne of astate. *star; estate*

II MILES We muste yappely wende in at this yate, *nimbly; gate*
 For he that comes to courte, to curtesye muste use hym.

I MILES Do rappe on the renkis
 that we may rayse with oure rolyng; *men agitating*
 Come forthe, sir coward,
 why cowre ye behynde?

BEDELLUS O, what javellis are ye that jappis with gollyng? *brawlers; behave foolishly; shouting*

I MILES A, goode sir, be noght wroth, for wordis are as the wynde. *angry*

BEDELLUS I saye, gedlynges, gose bakke with youre gawdes. *gadlings (rascals); tricks*

II MILES Be sufferand, I beseke you, *patient*
 239 And more of this matere yhe meke yowe. *humble yourself*

BEDELLUS Why, unconand knaves, an I cleke yowe,
 I schall felle yowe, *stupid; catch knock down*
 be my faith, for all youre false frawdes.

PILATUS Say, childe, ill cheffe you, *let evil overtake*
 what churlles are so claterand? *noisy*

BEDELLUS My lorde, unconand knaves, thei crye and thei call. *ignorant*

PILATUS Gose baldely beliffe, and thos brethellis be batterand, *Go boldly quickly; beating*
 245 And putte them in prisounen upon peyne that may fall.
 Yha, spedely spir them yf any sporte can thei spell, *inquire; speak of*
 Yha, and loke what lordingis thei be.

BEDELLUS My lorde, that is luffull in lee, *praiseworthy; tranquility*
 249 I am boxsom and blithe to your blee. *countenance*

PILATUS And if they talke any tythyngis
 come tye and me tell. *quickly*

BEDELLUS My felawes, by youre faith,
 can ye talke any tythandis?

I MILES Yha, sir, Sir Cayphas and Anna ar come both togedir
 To Sir Pilate o Pounce and prince of oure lawe,
 And thei have laughte a lorrell *caught a rogue*
 that is lawles and liddir. *wicked*

BEDELUS My lorde, my lorde!

PILATUS Howe?

BEDELLUS My lorde, unlappe yow belyve wher ye lye. *uncover (i.e., get up)*
 257 Sir Cayphas to youre courte is caried *come*
 And Sir Anna, but a traytour hem taried; *delayed*
 Many wight of that warlowe has waried, *cursed*
 260 They have brought hym in a bande, his balis to bye. *bonds (ropes); sorrow to purchase*

PILATUS But are thes sawes certayne in soth that thou saies? *words*

BEDELLUS Yha, lorde, the states yondir standis, *estates (magnates)*
 for striffe are they stonden.

PILATUS Now than am I light as a roo *buck*
 and ethe for to rayse; *easy*
 264 Go bidde tham come in both,
 and the boye they have boune.

BEDELLUS Siris, my lorde geves leve
 inne for to come.

CAYPHAS Hayle, prince that is pereles in price,
 Ye are leder of lawes in this lande,
 Youre helpe is full hendely at hande. *graciously*

ANNA Hayle, stronge in youre state for to stande, *estate*
 270 Alle this dome muste be dressed at youre dulye devyse. *addressed; legal deposition*

PILATUS Who is there? My prelates?

CAYPHAS Yha, lorde.

PILATUS Nowe be ye welcome, iwissee.

CAYPHAS Gramercy, my soverayne,
 but we besike you all same; *beseech; together*
 Bycause of wakand you unwarly *waking; unexpectedly*
 be noght wroth with this,
 274 For we have brought here a lorell, *rogue*
 he lokis like a lambe.

PILATUS Come byn, you bothe, and to the benke brayde yowe. *in; bench hurry*

CAYPHAS Nay, gud sir, laugher is leffull for us. *lower (i.e., more humble); suitable*

- PILATUS** A, Sir Cayphas, be curtayse yhe bus. *must be*
- ANNA** Nay, goode lorde, it may not be thus.
- PILATUS** Sais no more, but come sitte you beside me
in sorowe, as I saide youe.
- FILIUS** Hayle, the semelieste seeg undir sonne sought,
281 Hayle, the derrest duke and doughtiest in dede. *man; found
boldest*
- PILATUS** Now bene veneuew, beuscher,
what boodworde haste thou brought?
Hase any langour my lady newe laught in this leede? *welcome, good sir
message
illness; latched (caught); place*
- FILIUS** Sir, that comely comaundes hir youe too
285 And sais, al nakid this nyght as sche napped,
With tene and with traye was sche trapped
With a swevene that swiftly hir swapped
Of one Jesu, the juste man the Jewes will undo. *commends; to you
trouble; deception
dream*
- She beseches you as hir soverayne that symple to save;
290 Deme hym noght to deth, for drede of vengeaunce. *innocent person*
- PILATUS** What, I hope this be he that hyder harlid ye have. *hither dragged*
- CAYPHAS** Ya, sir, the same and the selffe,
but this is but a skaunce; *joke (deception)*
He with wicchecrafte
this wile has he wrought.
Some feende of his sand has he sente
295 And warned youre wiffe or he wente. *fiend; message
informed; before*
- PILATUS** Yowe, that schalke schuld not shamelie be shente.
This is sikir in certayne, and soth schulde be sought. *fellow; unjustly be destroyed
secure*
- ANNA** Yha, thurgh his fantome and falshed and fenes craft
He has wroght many wondir
where he walked full wyde,
300 Wherfore, my lorde, it wer leeffull
his liffe were hym rafte. *guile
lawful
reft (taken away)*
- PILATUS** Be ye nevere so bryme, ye bothe bus abide,
But if the traytoure be taught for untrewe
And therfore sermones you no more,
I will sekirly sende hymselffe fore
305 And se what he sais to thee sore. *angry
Unless; shown to be
speak
urgently*

Bedell, go brynge hym,
for of that renke have I rewthe.

man; pity

BEDELLUS This forward to fulfille
am I fayne in myn herte moved.
Say, Jesu, the juges and the Jewes
hase me enjoyedne
To bringe thee before tham
even bounden as thou arte,
310 Yone lordyngis to lose thee
full longe have thei heyned.
But firste schall I wirschuppe thee
with witte and with will:
This reverence I do thee forthy
For wyttes that wer wiser than I;
They worshipped thee full holy on hy,
315 And with solempnité sange *Osanna* till.

henceforth

bound (in bonds)

untie

waited

high

I MILES My lorde that is leder of lawes in this lande,
All bedilis to youre biding schulde be boxsome and bayne,
And yitt this boy here before yowe
full boldely was bowand
To worschippe this warlowe;
methynke we wirke all in vayne.

beadles

bowing

warlock

II MILES Yha, and in youre presence he prayed hym of pees
321 In knelyng on knes to this knave;
He besoughte hym his seruaunte to save.

peace

CAIPHAS Loo, lord such arrore amange them thei have
It is grete sorowe to see, no seeg may it sese.

error among

man; stop it

325 It is no menske to youre manhed that mekill is of myght
To forbere such forfettis that falsely are feyned,
Such spites in especiall wolde be eschewed in your sight.

honor

allow; offenses

insults; should be

PILATUS Sirs, moves you noght in this matere
but besy myldely demeaned,
For yone curtasie I kenne had som cause.

mild of manner

courtesy

ANNA In youre sight, sir, the soth schall I saye,
331 As ye are prince, take hede, I you praye,
Such a lourdayne unlele, dare I laye,
Many lordis of oure landis
might lede fro oure lawes.

rascal disloyal; wager

PILATUS Saye, losell, who gave thee leve
so for to lowte to yone ladde
335 And solace hym in my sight
so semely, that I sawe?

bow (reverence)

BEDELLUS A, gracious lorde, greve you noght
for gude case I hadde.
grieve
Yhe comaunderd me to care
als ye kende wele and knawe,
understand well
To Jerusalem on a journay, with seele,
good fortune
And than this semely on an asse was sette
handsome one
340 And many men myldely hym mette.
Als a God in that grounde thai hym grette,
greeted
Wele semand hym in waye with worschipe lele.
singing psalms to him; true

Osanna thei sange, “the sone of David,”
Riche men with thare robes, thei ranne to his fete,
345 And poure folke fecched floures of the frith
flowers; forest
And made myrthe and melody this man for to mete.

PILATUS Nowe, gode sir, be thi feith,
what is *Osanna* to saie?

BEDELLUS Sir, constrew it we may
be langage of this lande as I leve,
It is als moche to me for to meve,
350 Youre prelatis in this place can it preve,
explain
Als “Oure Saviour and soverayne,
thou save us, we praye.”

PILATUS Loo, senioures, how semes yow? —
the sothe I you saide.

lords

CAYPHAS Yha, lorde, this ladde is full liddir, be this light,
Yf his sawes wer serchid and sadly assaied,
355 Save youre reverence,
his resounе thei rekenne noght with right.
This caytiffe thus cursedly can construe us.

*wicked, by
sayings; assessed*

BEDELLUS Sirs, trulye the trouthe I have tolde
Of this wighte ye have wrapped in wolde.
(i.e., arrested)

ANNA I saie, harlott, thy tonge schulde thou holde
360 And noght agaynst thi maistirs to meve thus.

PILATUS Do sese of youre seggyng, and I schall examyne full sore.¹

ANNA Sir, demes hym to deth, or dose hym away.

condemn

PILATUS Sir, have ye saide?

ANNA Yha, lorde.

PILATUS Nowe go sette you with sorowe and care,
For I will lose no lede that is lele to oure law.
365 But steppe furth and stonde uppe on hight
And buske to my bidding, thou boy,
And for the nones that thou neven us a noy.

*sit
man; loyal
high
nonce; proclaim; cry [of "Oyez"]*

BEDELLUS I am here at youre hande to halow a *hoy*; shout "hear ye" ("Oyez")
369 Do move of youre maister, for I schall melle it with myght. (*i.e., do it*)

PILATUS Cry *Oyas*.

BEDELLUS Oyas!

PILATUS Yit eftre, be thi feithe. again

BEDELLUS Oyes! [A lowde

PILATUS Yit lowdar
that ilke lede may lithe,
Crye pece in this prese uppon payne theruppon,
Bidde them swage of ther sweying
bothe swiftly and swithe,
And stynt of ther stryvyng and stande still as a stone.
375 Calle Jesu, the gentill of Jacob, the Jewe,
Come prestre and appere,
To the barre drawe thee nere
To thi jugement here,
To be demed for his dedis undewe.

*man; pay attention
peace; press (crowd)
stop; noise
quickly
stop; unruliness
quickly
illegal*

I MILES Whe, harke how this harlott he heldis oute of harre, is out of order
381 This lotterelle liste noght my lorde to lowte. scoundrel; to reverence

II MILES Say, beggar, why brawlest thou? Go boune thee to the barre. take yourself

I MILES Steppe on thy standyng so sterne and so stoutre. place for standing [in court]

¹ Do cease of your speaking, and I shall examine very carefully

II MILES Steppe on thy standyng so still.

I MILES Sir cowarde, to courte muste yhe care.

go

II MILES A lessoune to lerne of oure lawe.

I MILES Flitte fourthe, foule myght thou fare.

II MILES Say, warlowe, thou wantist of thi will.

have lost your mind

FILIUS O Jesu ungentill, thi joie is in japes;
 390 Thou cannot be curtayse, thou caytiffe I calle thee.
 No ruthe were it to rug thee and ryve thee in ropes.
 Why falles thou noght flatte here, foule falle thee,
 For ferde of my fadir so free?
 Thou wotte noght his wisdome, iwyss;
 395 All thyne helpe in his hande that it is,
 Howe sone he myght save thee fro this.
 Obeye hym, brothell, I bidde thee.

lowborn

worthy

pity; tug; tear

fear; liberal

know

PILATUS Now, Jesu, thou art welcome ewys, as I wene,
 Be noght abashed but boldeyly boune thee to the barre.
 400 What seynour will sewe for thee sore, I have sene.
 To wirke on this warlowe, his witte is in waste.
 Come preste, of a Payne, and appere,
 And sir prelatis, youre pontes bes prevyng,
 What cause can ye caste of accusyng?
 405 This mater ye marke to be meying
 And hendlly in haste late us here.

take

argue against you

lost

quickly; pain [of punishment]

charges to prove

produce

undertaken

hear

CAYPHAS Sir Pilate o Pounce, and prince of grete price,
 We triste ye will trowe oure tales thei be trewe
 To deth for to deme hym with dewly device,
 410 For cursidnesse yone knave hase in case, if ye knew,
 In harte wolde ye hate hym in hye.
 For if it wer so,
 We mente not to misdo;
 Triste, ser, schall ye therto,
 415 We hadde not hym taken to thee.

trust; believe

lawful judgment

in [this] case

high (greatly)

offend

PILATUS Sir, youre tales wolde I trowe
 but thei touche none entente.
 What cause can ye fynde
 nowe this freke for to felle?

believe

not the point

man; cast down (condemn)

ANNA Oure Sabbotte he saves not, but sadly assente
 To wirke full unwisely, this wote I right wele,

observes; solemnly offers

420 He werkis whane he will, wele I wote,
 And therfore in herte we hym hate.
 Itt sittis you to strenghe youre estate
 Yone losell to louse for his lay.

[line missing]
when

PILATUS Ilke a lede for to louse for his lay is not lele.
 425 Youre lawes is leffull, but to youre lawis longis it
 This faitoure to feese wele with flappes full fele,
 And woo may ye wirke hym be lawe,
 for he wranges it.
 Therfore takes unto you full tyte
 And like as youre lawes will you lede
 430 Ye deme hym to deth for his dede.

strengthen
lose (i.e., kill); customs

man; customs (lifestyle); lawful
lawful; belongs
deceiver; punish; blows; many

wrongs
quickly
lead (demand)

CAYPHAS Nay, nay sir, that dome muste us drede;
 . . .
 It longes nocht till us no lede for to lose.

[line missing]
belongs; man (man's life)

PILATUS What wolde ye I did thanne? —
 the devyll motte you drawe.
 Full fewe are his frendis, but fele are his fooes.
 435 His liff for to lose thare longes no lawe,
 Nor no cause can I kyndely contryve
 That why he schulde lose thus his liffe.

draw [as in an execution]
many
(i.e., is not legal)

ANNA A, gude sir, it raykes full ryffe
 In steidis wher he has stirrid mekill striffe
 440 Of ledis that is lele to youre liffe.

happens; rife (everywhere)
places
men; loyal

CAYPHAS Sir, halte men and hurte he helid in haste,
 The deffe and the dome he delyvered fro doole
 By wicchecrafte, I warande; his wittis schall waste,
 For the farles that he farith with —
 loo, how thei folowe yone fole,
 445 Oure folke so thus he frayes in fere.

lame; healed
deaf; dumb; sorrow
decline
marvels; busied himself with
fool
dismays (frightens) all together

ANNA The dede he rayses anone,
 This Lazare that lowe lay allone
 He graunte hym his gates for to gone
 And pertely thus proved he his poure.

dead

ways; go
cleverly; power

PILATUS Now goode siris, I saie, what wolde yhe?

CAIPHAS Sir, to dede for to do hym or dose hym adawe.

do; to death

PILATUS Yha, for he dose wele his deth for to deme?

- 453 Go layke you sir, lightly,
wher lerned ye such lawe?
This touches no tresoun, I telle you;
yhe prelatis that proved are for price,
455 Yhe schulde be bothe witty and wise
And legge oure lawe wher it lyse,
Oure materes ye meve thus emel you.

play [the fool]

treason

*allege; lies
amongst*

ANNA Misplesen voght youre persone,
yhe prince withouten pere.

- 460 It touches to tresoun, this tale I schall tell.
Yone briobre, full baynly he bed to forbere
The tribute to the emperoure, thus wolde he compell
Oure pepill thus his poynjis to applye.

briber; readily; bid (said); withhold

CAYPHAS The pepull, he saies, he schall save,
465 And Criste garres he calle hym, yone knave,
And sais he will the high kyngdome have.
Loke whethir he deserve to dye.

makes (them) call

- PILATUS** To dye he deserves yf he do thus indeede,
But I will se myselffe what he sais.
470 Speke, Jesu, and spende nowe thi space for to sped.
Thez lordyngis thei legge thee thou liste voght leve on oure lawes.¹
They accuse thee cruelly and kene,
And therfore, as a chiftene I charge thee,
Iff thou be Criste that thou telle me,
475 And God Sone thou grughe not to graunte thee,
For this is the matere that I mene.

space of time

grudge

- JESUS** Thou saiste so thiselv, I am soothly the same,
Here wonnyng in worlde to wirke al thi will.
Mi Fadir is faithfull to felle all thi fame;
480 Withouten trespass or tene am I taken thee till.

in truth

dwelling

cast down

trouble

- PILATUS** Loo, busshoppis, why blame ye this boye?
Me semys that it is sooth that he saies.
Ye meve all the malice ye may
With youre wrenchis and wiles to wrythe hym away
485 Unjustely to juge hym fro joie.

twist

- CAYPHAS** Nought so, sir, his seggynge is full soothly sooth,
It bryngis oure bernes in bale for to bynde.

saying; truly true

people; sorrow

¹ *These lords, they allege that you wish not to live by our laws (customs)*

ANNA Sir, douteles we deme als dewe the deth
 This foole that ye favour, great fautes can we fynde
 490 This daye for to deme hym to dye.

PILATUS Saie, losell, thou lies be this light;
 Naie, thou rebalde, thou rekens unright.

CAYPHAS Avise you, sir, with mayne and with myght,
 494 And wreke not youre wrethe nowe forthy.

PILATUS Me likes noght his langage so largely for to lye.

CAIPHAS A, mercy, lorde, mekely, no malice we mente.

PILATUS Noo done is it douteles, balde be and blithe,
 Talke on that traytoure and telle youre entente.
 Yone segge is sotell, ye saie;
 500 Gud sirs, wer lerned he such lare?

CAYPHAS In faith, we cannot fynde whare.

PILATUS Yhis, his fadir with some farlis gan fare
 And has lerid this ladde of his lare.

ANNA Nay, nay, sir, he was but a write, that we wiste;
 505 No sotelté he schewed that any segge sawe.

PILATUS Thanne mene yhe of malice to marre hym of myght,
 Of cursidnesse convik no cause can yhe knawe;
 Me mervellis ye malyngne o mys.

CAYPHAS Sir, fro Galey hidir and hoo
 510 The gretteste agayne hym ganne goo,
 Yone warlowe to waken of woo,
 And of this werke beres witnesse, ywis.

PILATUS Why, and hase he gone in Galey, yone gedlyng ongayne? *gadling bothersome*

ANNA Yha, lorde, ther was he borne,
 yone brethelle, and bredde.

PILATUS Nowe withouten fagyn, my frendis, in faith I am fayne,
 516 For now schall oure striffe full sternely be stede. *deception; glad*
firmly be fixed (settled)
 Sir Herowde is kyng ther, ye kenne;
 His poure is preved full preste
 To ridde hym or reve hym of rest. *power*
clear (free); deprive

520 And therfore, to go with yone gest, *stranger*
 Yhe marke us oute of the manliest men.

CAYPHAS Als witte and wisdome youre will schal be wrought;
 Here is kempis full kene to the kyng for to care. *strong soldiers; go*

PILATUS Nowe, seniours, I saie yow sen soth schall be soght,
 525 But if he schortely be sente it may sitte us full sore. *Unless; be worse for us*
 And therfore, sir knyghtis . . .

MILITES Lorde.

PILATUS Sir knyghtis that are cruell and kene,
 That warlowe ye warrok and wraste,
 And loke that he brymly be braste; *bind; drag away
roughly; beaten*
 . . .
 530 Do take on that traytoure you betwene. [line missing]

Tille Herowde in haste with that harlott ye hye,
 Comaunde me full mekely unto his moste myght,
 Saie the dome of this boy, to deme hym to dye, *go quickly*
 Is done upponne hym dewly, to dresse or to dight,
 535 Or liffe for to leve at his liste. *Command*
 Say ought I may do hym indede,
 His awne am I worthely in wede. *judgment concerning; judge
duly; ordain; do*
live
if there is anything; to him
(i.e., I am Herod's own man); livery

I MILES My lorde, we schall springe on a-spede;
 Come thens to me, this traitoure full tyte.

PILATUS Bewe sirs, I bidde you ye be not to bolde, *too*
 541 But takes tente for oure tribute full trulye to trete. *pay attention*

II MILES Mi lorde, we schall hye this beheste for to halde *hurry along; hold*
 And wirke it full wisely in wille and in witte.

PILATUS So, sirs, me semys itt is sittand. *fitting (legally appropriate)*

I MILES Mahounde, sirs, he menske you with myght. *honor (bless)*

II MILES And save you, sir, semely in sight.

PILATUS Now in the wilde vengeaunce ye walke with that wight,
 548 And fresshely ye founde to be flittand. *vigorously; proceed; departing*

[31. THE TRIAL BEFORE HEROD]

The Lytsteres

- REX** Pes, ye brothellis and browlys, in this broydenesse inbrased,¹
 And freykis that are frendely your freykenesse to frayne, *men; manliness inquire into
speaking; trifles; suppressed*
 Youre tounges fro tretyng of triffillis be trased, *sword; smash*
 Or this brande that is bright schall breste in youre brayne.
 5 Plextis for no plasis, but platte you to this playne, *Plead; places; fall down; plain
riot; behave in fear*
 And drawe to no drofyng, but dresse you to drede, *blows*
 With dasshis.
- Traveylis noght as traytours that tristis in trayne *Work; rely on deception*
 Or by the bloode that Mahounde bledde, with this blad schal ye blede. *blade*
 10 Thus schall I brittyn all youre bones on brede *hack; (i.e., every one)*
 Yae, and lusshe all youre lymmys with lasschis. *beat; lashes*
- Dragons that are dredfull schall derke in ther denne *lurk*
 In wrathe when we writhe or in wrathenesse ar wapped; *anger are wrapped*
 Agaynst jeautnis ongentill have we joined with ingendis,²
 15 And swannys that are swymmyng to oure swetnes schall be suapped, *smitten*
 And joged doune ther jolynges oure gentries engenderand. *cut; nobles begetting*
 Whoso repreve oure estate we schall choppe tham in cheynes. *challenge; clap*
 All renkkis that are renand to us schall be reverande. *men; reigning; revering*
- Therfore I bidde you sese or any bale be
 20 That no brothell be so bolde boste for to blowes, *cease ere; misery
boasting; vent*
 And ye that luffis youre liffis, listen to me *loves; lives*
 As a lorde that is lerned to lede you be lawes.
 And ye that are of my men and of my menye, *company (family)*
 Sen we are comen fro oure kyth as ye wele knaw
 25 And semlyns all here same in this cyté, *region*
 It sittis us in sadnessse to sette all oure sawes. *assembled; together
seriousness to set forth; sayings (ideas)*
- I DUX** My lorde, we schall take kepe to youre call *pay attention*
 And stirre to no stede but ye steven us,
 29 Ne grevaunce to grete ne to small. *place; call
too; too*
- REX** Ya, but loke that no fawtes befall. *mistakes*
- II DUX** Lely, my lord, so we shall;
 Ye nede not no more for to nevyn us. *Truly (Loyally)
tell*

¹ Peace, you reprobates and brawlers, in this broad space surrounded² Against giants ungentle have we joined (gone to battle) with weapons

- REX** Nowe certis, I assente as thou sais,
Se ych a qwy is wente on his ways each man
 40 Lightly withouten any delayes. Quickly
 Giffe us wyne wynly and late us go wynke pleasantly; sleep
 And se that no durdan be done. noise

Tunc bibit Rex.

Then the king drinks

- I Dux** My lorde, unlase you to lye,
Here schall none come for to crye.

- REX** Nowe spedely loke that thou spie
46 That no noyse be neghant this none. *nearing; midnight*

- I DUX** My lorde, youre bedde is new made;
you nedis noght for to bide it. *wait [for]*

- REX** Ya, but as thou luffes me hartely,
 laye me doune softly,
For thou wotte full wele
 that I am full tendirly hydid.

- I DUX** Howe lye ye, my goode lorde?

- | | | |
|------------|---|--------------------------|
| REX | Right wele, be this light, | |
| 51 | All holé at my desire, | (i.e., wholly as I wish) |
| | Wherfore I praye Ser Satan, oure sire, | |
| | And Lucifer moste luffelly of lyre, | figure |
| | He sauffe you all, sirs, and giffe you goode nyght. | save; give |

- I MILES** Sir knyght, ye wote we are warned to wende,
56 To witte of this warlowe what is the kyngis will.

- II MILES** Sir, here is Herowde all even here at oure hende,
And all oure entente tye schall we tell hym untill.

- ## **I MILES** Who is here?

- ## I DUX Who is there?

- I MILES** Sir, we are knyghtis kende
60 Is comen to youre counsaill this carle for to kill. *known churl*
- I DUX** Sirs, but youre message may myrthis amende,
Stalkis furthe be yone stretis, or stande stone still. *Sneak forth by*
- II MILES** Yis, certis, ser, of myrthis we mene;
The kyng schall have matteres to melle hym.
65 We brynge here a boy us betwene,
Wherfore have worschippe, we wene. *good news concern honor; believe*
- I DUX** Wele, sirs, so that it turne to no tene,
Tentis hym and we schall go telle hym. *mischief Attend to*
- My lorde, yondir is a boy boune that brought is in blame;
70 Haste you in hye, thei hove at youre gates. *bound; as one blamed quickly; wait*
- REX** What, and schall I rise nowe, in the devyllis name
To stighill amang straungeres in stakes of astate?
But have here my hande, halde nowe,
And se that my sloppe be wele sittande. *intervene; in court hold overgarment; not askew*
- I DUX** My lorde, with a goode will I wolde youe,
76 No wrange will I witte at my wittande. *(i.e., will I wish to know of)*
- But, my lorde, we can tell you of uncouthe tythandes. *novel (outlandish)*
- REX** Ya, but loke ye telle us no tales but trewe.
- II DUX** My lorde, thei bryng you yondir a boy boune in a bande
80 That bodus outhir bordyng or bales to brewe. *bonds (ropes) bodes either entertainment; trouble*
- REX** Thanne gete we some harrowe full hastely at hande. *turmoil*
- I DUX** My lorde, ther is some note that is nedfull to neven you of new. *news; mention*
- REX** Why, hoppis thou thei haste hym to hyng? *expect; hang*
- II DUX** We wotte noght ther will nor ther wenyng,
85 But boodword full blithely thei bryng. *their intent message*
- REX** Nowe do than and late us se of there sayng.
- II DUX** Lo, sirs, ye schall carpe with the kyng
And telles to hym manly youre menyng. *properly (courteously)*
- I MILES** Lorde, welthis and worschippis be with you alway. *wealth*

REX What wolde thou?

II MILES A worde, lorde, and youre willes were. *if it were your will*

REX Well, saye on, than.

I MILES My lorde, we fare foolys to flay, *make fools to [be] punished*
92 Yt to you wolde forfette. *offend*

REX We, faire falle you therfore. *(i.e., may you prosper)*

I MILES My lorde, fro ye here what we saie, *hear*
94 Itt will heffe uppe youre hertis. *heave*

REX Ya, but saie what heynde have ye thore? *creature (person)*

II MILES A presente fro Pilate, lorde, the prince of oure lay. *law*

REX Pese in my presence, and nemys hym no more. *Peace; name*

I MILES My lorde, he woll worschippe you faine. *gladly*

REX I consayve ye are ful foes of hym.

II MILES My lorde, he wolde menske you with mayne, *honor; [all his] strength*
100 And therfore he sendis you this swayne. *man*

REX Gose tyte with that gedlyng agayne *gadling*
And saie hym a borrowed bene sette I noght be hym. *borrowed bean set; by*

I DUX A, my lorde, with youre leve, thei have faren ferre, *come from afar*
And for to fraiste of youre fare was no folye. *discover; opinion*

II DUX My lorde, and this gedlyng go thus it will greve werre, *if: grieve worse*
106 For he gares growe on this grounde grete velanye. *causes (to)*

REX Why, menys thou that that myghtyng schulde my myghtes marre? *insignificant fellow*

I DUX Nay, lorde, but he makis on this molde mekill maystrie. *earth; deeds*

REX Go ynne, and late us see of the sawes ere, *enjoyment*
110 And but yf thei be to oure bordyng, *abide*
thai both schalle abyne.

II MILES My lorde, we were worthy to blame *evil*
To bryng you any message of mysse.

REX Why, than can ye nemyn us his name? *name (tell)*

I MILES Sir, Criste have we called hym at hame. *home*

REX O, this is the ilke selve and the same.

116 Nowe, sires, ye be welcome, ywisse.

And in faith I am fayne he is fonne,
His farles to frayne and to fele,
119 Nowe thes games was grathely begonne. *glad; found
marvels; question; experience
directly*

II MILES Lorde, lely that likis us wele. *truly*

REX Ya, but dar ye hete hartely that harlott is he? *dare; promise honestly*

I MILES My lorde, takis hede, and in haste ye schall here howe. *hear*

REX Ya, but what menys that this message was made unto me? *means [it]*

II MILES My lorde, for it touches to tresoun, I trowe. *think*

I MILES My lorde, he is culpabill kende in oure contré
126 Of many perillus poyntis, as Pilate preves nowe. *known [to be]; country
proves*

II MILES My lorde, when Pilate herde he had gone thurgh Galyle,
He lerned us that that lordschippe longed to you,
And or he wiste what youre willis were,
130 No ferther wolde he speke for to spille hym. *Galilee
informed; belonged
until he knew
condemn*

REX Thanne knawes he that oure myghtis are the more? *greater*

I MILES Ya, certis sir, so saie we thore.

REX Nowe, sertis, and oure frenschippe therfore
We graunte hym, and no grevaunce we will hym.

135 And sirs, ye are welcome, ywisse, as ye wele awe,
And for to wende at youre wille I you warande,
For I have coveite kyndely that comely to knawe,
For men carpis that the carle schulde be konnand. *ought [to be]
permit
wished naturally; comely person
say; churl; cunning*

II MILES My lorde, wolde he saie you soth of his sawe,
140 Ye saugh nevir slik selcouth, be see nor be sande. *saw; such wonders; sea*

REX Nowe gois abakke both, and late the boy blowe,
For I hope we gete some harre hastely at hande. *let; give vent
matter of significance*

I MILES Jerusalem and the Jewes may have joie
And hele in ther herte for to here hym. *well-being*

REX Saie, beene-venew in bone fay,
146 Ne plesew et a parle remoy? *welcome in good faith*
(i.e., Doesn't it please you to speak with me)

II MILES Nay, my lorde, he can of no bourdyng, this boy. *joking around*

REX No, sir, with thi leve we schall lere hym. *teach*

I FILIUS Mi lorde, se ther knyghtis that knawe and are kene
150 How thai come to youre courte withoutyn any call.

REX Ya, sone, and musteris grete maistries,
what may this bymene? *perform; deeds*
suggest

I DUX My lorde, for youre myghtis are more than thei all,
They seke you as soverayne and sertis that is sene. *certainly; seen (obvious)*

REX Nowe certis, sen ye saie so, assaie hym I schall,
155 For I am fayner of that freyke then othir fiftene. *test*
more interested in; man than [any]
found

Yae, and hym that first fande, faire myght hym fall.
I MILES Lorde, lely we lereth you no legh,
This liffe that he ledis will lose hym. *tell; lie*
leads

REX Wele, sirs, drawes you adrygh
160 And, bewscheris, bryngis ye hym nygh,
For yif all that his sleghcis be slye,
Yitte or he passe we schalle appose hym. *stand aside*
ere; question

O, my harte hoppis for joie
To se nowe this prophette appere.
165 We schall have goode game with this boy;
Takis hede, for in haste ye schall here.

I leve we schall laugh and have likyng
To se nowe this lidderon her he leggis oure lawis. *believe*
wicked fellow; expounds

II DUX Harke, cosyne, thou comys to karpe with kyng;
170 Take tente and be conande, and carpe as thou knowis. *cousin*
Pay attention; cunning

I DUX Ya, and loke that thou be not a sotte of thy saying,
But sadly and sone thou sette all thi sawes. *fool for*
set forth; words (sayings)

REX Hym semys full boudisch, that boy that thei bryng. *sullen*

II DUX Mi lorde, and of his bordyng grete bostyng men blawes. *idle talk; boasting; give vent*

REX Whi, therfore have I soughte hym to see,
176 Loke, bewscheris, ye be to oure bodis boune.

good men; orders obedient

I DUX Knele doune here to the kyng on thy knee.

II DUX Naye, nedelyngis yt will not be. *of necessity*

REX Loo, sirs, he mekis hym no more unto me
180 Thanne it were to a man of ther awne toun.

*humbles himself
own*

I DUX Whe, go lawmere, and lerne thee to lowte
Or thai more blame thee to bring. *fool; reverence (bow)*

REX Nay, dreedes withouten any doute
He knawes noght the course of a kyng, *surely; doubt
protocol*

185 And her beeis in oure bale, bourde or we blynne. *custody, entertain [us]; put an end*
Saie firste at the begynnyng withall, where was thou borne?
Do, felawe, for thy faith, latte us falle ynne. *(i.e., Speak); begin*
Firste of thi ferleis, who fedde thee beforne?
What, deynes thou not? Lo, sirs, he deffis us with dynne.
190 Say, whare ledde ye this lidrone? His langage is lorne. *marvels; fed (raised)
deign; deafens; din
rascal; lost*

I MILES My lorde, his mervaylis to more and to myne,
Or musteris emange us both mydday and morne. *less
musters (shows)*

II MILES Mi lorde, it were to fele
Of wonderes, he workith tham so wightely. *too many
frequently*

I MILES Whe, man, momelyng may nothyng avayle;
196 Go to the kyng and tell hym fro toppe unto tayle. *mumbling*

REX Do bringe us that boy unto bale,
For lely we leffe hym noght lightly. *custody
(i.e., judge)*

I DUX This mop menyes that he may marke men to ther mede;¹
200 He makes many maistries and mervayles emange. *deeds*

II DUX Five thousand folke faire gon he feede
With fyve looffis and two fisshis to fange. *partake of*

REX Howe fele folke sais thou he fedde? *many*

¹ *This simpleton claims that he may assign men to [their] reward*

II DUX Five thousand, lorde, that come to his call.

REX Ya, boye, howe mekill brede he them bedde? *offered*

I DUX But five looffis, dare I wele wedde. *wager*

REX Nowe, be the bloode that Mahounde bledde,
What, this was a wondir at all.

II DUX Nowe, lorde, two fisshes blissid he este, *also*
210 And gaffe thame and ther none was forgetyn.

I DUX Ya, lorde, and twelve lepfull ther leste
Of releve whan all men had eten. *baskets*
leftovers

REX Of such anodir mangery no man mene may. *meal; speak*

II DUX Mi lorde, but his maistries that musteris his myght. *deeds [are] what show*

REX But saie, sirs, ar ther sawis soth that thei saie? *sayings true*

II MILES Ya, lorde, and more selcouth were schewed to oure sight. *wonders*
217 One Lazar, a ladde that in oure lande lay,
Lay loken undir layre fro lymme and fro light, *locked; earth; leam (gleam)*
And his sistir come rakand in rewfull arraye; *rushing in distress*
220 And lorde, for ther raryng he raysed hym full right
And fro his grath garte hym gang *roaring (lamenting)*
Evere forthe, withouten any evill. *up from; grave made; go*

REX We, such lesyngis lastis to lange. *lies; too long*

I MILES Why, lorde, wene ye that wordis be wronge? *believe*
225 This same ladde levys us emang. *lives*

REX Why, there hope I be dedis of the devyll.

Why schulde ye haste hym to hyng
That sought not newly youre newys? *hang*
until recently; (i.e., annoyance)

II MILES My lorde, for he callis hym a kyng
230 And claymes to be a kyng of Jewis.

REX But saie, is he kyng in his kyth where he come froo? *region*

I MILES Nay, lorde, but he callis hym a kyng his caris to kele. *cares to alleviate*

- REX** Thanne is it litill wondir yf that he be woo,
 For to be weried with wrang sen he wirkis wele;
 235 But he schalle sitte be myselfe sen ye saie soo.
 Comes nerre, kyng, into courte. Saie, can ye not knele?
 We schalle have gaudis full goode and games or we goo.
 Howe likis tha? Wele, lorde. Saie — what, devyll nevere a dele?
 I faute in my reverant in otill moy,
 240 I am of favour, loo, fairer be ferre.
 Kyte oute yugilment. Uta, oy, oy!
 Be any witte that I watte it will waxe werre.
- Servicia primet,* *Duty demands*
 Such losellis and lurdaynes as thou, loo. *dull fellows; rascals*
- REX** *Respicias timet,* *Let him be wary and fear*
 What the devyll and his dame schall I now doo?
- Do carpe on, carle, for I can thee cure,
 Say, may thou not here me? Oy, man, arte thou woode?
 Nowe telle me faithfully before howe thou fore;
 250 Forthe, frende, be my faith, thou arte a fonde foode.
- IDUX** My lorde, it astonys hym, youre steven is so store;
 Hym had levere have stande stone still ther he stode.
- REX** And whedir the boy be abasshid of Herrowde byg blure,
 That were a bourde of the beste, be Mahoundes bloode.
- IIDUX** My lorde, I trowe youre fauchone hym flaines
 256 And lettis hym.
- REX** Nowe lely I leve thee,
 And therfore schall I waffe it away,
 And softly with a septoure assaie.
 Nowe, sir, be perte I thee pray,
 260 For none of my gromys schall greve thee.
- Si loqueris tibi laus,* *wave*
Pariter quoque prospera dantur; *try (test)*
Si loqueris tibi fraus, *alert*
*Fell sex et bella parantur.*¹ *retainers; grieve*
- 265 Mi menne, ye go menske hym with mayne
 And loke yhow that it wolde seme.

¹ Lines 261–64: *If you utter praise concerning yourself, / Likewise success will be granted; / If you speak deceptively to yourself, / Poison, dregs, and war will follow*

I DUX Dewcus, fayff, ser, and sofferayne.

II DUX Sir Udins, amangidre demayne.

REX Go, aunswer thaym grathely agayne.

courteously

270 What, devyll, whedir dote we or dremys.

I MILES Naye, we gete noght o worde, dare I wele wedde,
For he is wraiste of his witte or will of his wone.

*get not a; wager
wrested; distraught*

REX Ye saie he lakkid youre lawis as ye that ladde ledde.

found fault with

II MILES Ya, lorde, and made many gaudis as we have gone.

jest (tricks)

REX Nowe sen he comes as a knave and as a knave cledde,

clad

276 Wherto calle ye hym a kyng?

I DUX Nay, lorde, he is none,
But an harlotte is hee.

REX What devyll, I ame harde stedde,
A man myght as wele stere a stokke as a stone.

*pressed
bestir*

I FILIUS My lorde, this faitour so foully is affrayde,
280 He loked nevere of lorde so langly allone.

*deceiver; afraid
looked at; for so long alone*

REX No, sone, the rebalde seis us so richely arayed,
He wenys we be aungelis evere ilkone.

*son
thinks*

II DUX My lorde, I holde hym agaste of youre gaye gere.

gear (clothes)

REX Grete lordis augh to be gay;
285 Here schall no man do to thee dere,
And therfore yit nemyne in my nere,
For by the grete God, and thou garre me swere
Thou had nevere dole or this day.

*ought; finely dressed
harm
speak; ear
cause
misery before*

289 Do carpe on tyte, karle, of thy kynne.

I DUX Nay, nedelyngis he nevyns you with none.

necessarily; speaks [to]; nothing

REX That schalle he bye or he blynne.

pay for; concludes

II DUX A, leves lorde.

leave (enough of this)

REX Lattis me allone.

- I DUX** Nowe, good lorde, and ye may, meve you no more;
 Itt is not faire to feght with a fonné foode,
 295 But gose to youre counsaille and comforde you there.
- REX** Thou sais soth, we schall see yf so will be goode,
 For certis oure sorowes are sadde.
- II FILIUS** What a devyll ayles hym?
 Mi lorde, I can garre you be gladde,
 300 For in tyme oure maistir is madde;
 He lurkis, loo, and lokis like a ladde.
 He is wode, lorde, or ellis his witte faylis hym.
- III FILIUS** Mi lorde, ye have mefte you asmekill as ye may,
 For yhe myght menske hym no more, were he Mahounde;
 305 And sen it semys to be soo, latte us nowe assaie.
- REX** Loke, bewscheris, ye be to oure bodis boune.
- I DUX** Mi lorde, how schulde he dowte us? He dredis not youre drays.
- REX** Nowe do fourthe, the devyll myght hym droune,
 And sen he freyms falsed and makis foule frayes,
 310 Raris on hym rudely, and loke ye not roune.
- I FILIUS** Mi lorde, I schall enforce myselffe sen ye saie soo.
 Felawe, be noght afferde nor feyne not therfore,
 But telle us nowe some truffillis betwene us twoo,
 And none of oure men schall medill them more.
 315 And therfore by resoun array thee,
 Do telle us some poynte for thy prowe.
 Heris thou not what I saie thee?
 Thou mummeland myghtyng, I may thee
 Helpe and turne thee fro tene, as I trowe.
- II FILIUS** Loke uppe, ladde, lightly and louete to my lorde here,
 321 For fro bale unto blisse he may nowe thee borowe.
 Carpe on, knave, kantely, and caste thee to corde here,
 And saie me nowe somwhat, thou souterell, with sorowe.
 Why standis thou as stille as a stone here?
 325 Spare not, but speke in this place here,
 Thou gedlyng, it may gayne thee some grace here.
- III FILIUS** My lorde, this faitour is so ferde in youre face here,
 None aunswere in this nede he nevyns you with none here.
 Do, bewscheris, for Beliall bloode and his bonys,
 330 Say somwhat or it will waxe werre.

*fight; fond fool**solemn**make**mad; fails**tried**honor**test [him]**commands bound (obliged)**fear; threats**go forth; drown**frames (makes) falsehood; riots**Roar; mutter**attempt**hold back**trifles**concern themselves**prepare**point (detail); profit**Hear**mumbling**trouble**bow (kneel)**save you**boldly; accord**wretch (hypocrite)**deceiver; afraid of**speaks to; (i.e., at all)**bones (relics)**worse*

I FILIUS Nay, we gete nought one worde in this wonys.

II FILIUS Do crie we all on hym at onys, *once*

AL CHYLDER Oyes, Oyes, Oyes!

REX O, ye make a foule noyse for the nonys. *nonce*

III FILIUS Nedlyng, my lorde, it is nevere the nerre. *Necessarily; nearer*

I FILIUS Mi lorde, all youre mutyng amendis not a myte, *disputing; mite*
 336 To medill with a madman is mervaille to mene; *wonder*
 Comaunde youre knyghtis to clothe hym in white
 And late hym carre as he come to youre contré. *go*

REX Lo, sirs, we lede you no lenger a lite. *detain; longer a little (time)*
 340 Mi sone has saide sadly how that it schuld be; *solemnly*
 But such a poynte for a page is to parfite. *too perfect (i.e., difficult)*

I DUX Mi lorde, fooles that are fonde, thei falle such a fee. *fail; reward*

REX What, in a white garmente to goo
 Thus gayly girde in a gowne?

II DUX Nay, lorde, but as a foole forcid hym froo.

REX How saie ye, sirs, schulde it be soo?

AL CHYLDER Ya, lord.

REX We, than is ther no more
 348 But boldely bidde tham be boune. *bound*

Sir knyghtis, we caste to garre you be gladde, *try to cause*
 350 Oure counsaile has warned us wisely and wele: *are appropriate; foolish*
 White clothis we saie fallis for a fondon ladde,
 And all his foly in faith fully we feele. *see (perceive)*

I DUX We will with a goode will for his wedis wende, *clothes*
 For we wotte wele anowe what wedis he schall were. *wear*

II DUX Loo, here is an haterell here at youre hende, *garment; hands*
 356 All faciound therfore foolis to feere. *fashioned; befit*

I MILES Loo, here a joppon of joie, *jupon (tunic)*
 All such schulde be gode for a boy. *good*

I DUX He schalle be rayed like a roye
360 And schall be fonne in his folie.

*arrayed; king
found (shown)*

II DUX We, thanke tham, evyll motte thou thee.

thrive

I MILES Nay, we gete noght a worde, wele I warand.

II MILES Man, mustir some mervaile to me.

create

I DUX What, wene ye he be wiser than we?
365 Leffe we and late the kyng see
Howe it is forcyd and farand.

*Heave [off]
faring*

Mi lorde, loke yf ye be paied,
For we have getyn hym his gere.

*pleased
clothing*

REX Why, and is this rebalde arayed?
370 Mi blissing, bewscheris, ye bere.

Gose, garre crye in my courte
and grathely garre write
All the dedis that we have done in this same degré.
And who fyndis hym greved
late hym telle tyte;
And yf we fynde no defaute
hym fallis to go free.

*announce
appropriately cause to be written
aggrieved
guilt
[it] befalls him*

I DUX Oyes. Yf any wight with this wriche any werse wate,
376 Werkis, beris wittenesse who so wirkis wrang,
Buske boldely to the barre, his balis to abate,
For my lorde, be my lewté, will not be deland.
My lorde, here apperes none to appeyre his estate.

*man; wretch; worse knows
bears
Come; miseries
faith; judging
challenge*

REX Wele thanne, fallis hym goo free.
381 Sir knyghtis, thanne grathis you goodly to gange
And repaire with youre present and saie to Pilate
We graunte hym oure frenschippe all fully to fang.

*prepare
return
take (have)*

I MILES My lorde, with youre leve this way schall we lere,
385 Us likis no lenger to abide here.

leave; take

II MILES Mi lorde, and he worthe ought in were,
We come agayne with goode chere.

(i.e., if he acts suspiciously)

REX Nay, bewscheris, ye fynde us not here;
Oure leve will we take at this tyde

390 And rathely araye us to reste,
For such notis has noyed us or nowe. *quickly
matters; annoyed; ere*

I DUX Ya, certis, lorde, so holde I beste,
For this gedlyng ungodly has greved you.

II DUX Loke ye bere worde as ye wotte,
395 Howe wele we have quitte us this while. *acquitted ourselves*

I MILES We, wise men will deme it we dote,
But if we make ende of oure note. *judge; [act] foolish
Unless*

REX Wendis fourth, the devyll in thi throte.
We fynde no defaute hym to slee. *slay*

400 Wherfore schulde we flaye hym or fleme hym
We fynde noght in rollis of recorde.
And sen that he is dome, for to deme hym,
Ware this a goode lawe for a lorde? *punish; condemn
legal rolls
dumb; condemn
Is*

Nay, losellis, unlely ye lerned all to late,
405 Go lere thus lordingis of youre londe such lessons to lere. *disloyally; too
teach; learn*
Repaire with youre present and saie to Pilate
We graunte hym oure poure all playne to appere,
And also oure grevaunce forgeve we algate,
And we graunte hym oure grace with a goode chere.
410 As touchyng this brothell that brawlis or debate,
Bidde hym wirke as he will, and wirke noght in were.
Go telle hym this message fro me,
And lede fourth that mytyng, evyll motte he thee. *disputes
suspiciously
small (insignificant) fellow*

I MILES Mi lorde, with youre leve, late hym be,
415 For all to longe ledde hym have we. *too*

II MILES What, ye sirs, my lorde, will ye see?

REX What, felawes, take ye no tente what I telle you
And bid you, that yoman ye yeme? *attention
yeoman; look after*

II MILES Mi lorde, we schall wage hym an ill way. *reward*

REX Nay, bewscheris, be not so bryme,
421 Fare softly, for so will it seme. *impatient*

I MILES Nowe sen we schall do as ye deme,
Adewe, sir.

REX Daunce on, in the devyll way.

[32. THE REMORSE OF JUDAS]

The Cokis and Watirlederes

	PILATUS	Pees, bewscheres, I bidde you, that beldis here aboute me,	dwell
		And loke that ye stirre with no striffe but stande stone still,	
		Or, by the Lorde that me liffe lente, I schall garre you lowte me,	
		And all schall byde in my bale that wirkis noght my will.	
5	Ye rebaldis that regnys in this rowte,		custody
	Ye stynte of youre stevenyng so stowte,		prevail; crowd
	Or with this brande that dere is to doute,		stop (cease); shouting
	All to dede I schall dryve you this day.		sword; dangerous; fear
			death
10	For Sir Pilate of Pounce as prince am I preved,		proved
	As renke moste royall in richeste array,		man
	Ther is no berne in this burgh has me aboute hevyd,		boy; raised up
	But he sekis me for sovereyne, in certayne I saie,		
	To knawe,		
	Therfore take hede to youre lordis estate		
15	That none jangill or jolle at my gate,		jostle
	Nor no man to grath hym no gate		(see note)
	Tille I have seggid and saide all my sawe.		spoken
20	For I am the luffeliest lappid and laide		covered
	With feetour full faire in my face,		features
	My forhed both brente is and brade		high is and broad
	And myne eyne thei glittir like the gleme in the glasse;		
25	And the hore that hillis my heed		hair; covers; head
	Is even like to the golde wyre;		
	My chekis are bothe ruddy and reede,		red
	And my coloure as cristall is cleere.		
30	Ther is no prince prevyd undir palle		proved (acknowledged); royal robe
	But I am the myghty of all to behold,		
	Nor no kyng but he schall come to my call,		
	Nor grome that dare greve me for golde.		man; grieve
	Sir Kayphas, thurgh counsaill thi clergy is kid,		known
	For thy counsaille is knowyn for command and clere,		intelligence; clarity
	And Sir Anna, thyn aunswer aught not to be hidde,		

- For thou is one and is abill and aught to be nere
 In Parliament playne. *plainly*
- 35 And I am prince pereles, youre poynatis to enquere.
 How saie ye, Jues, of Jesus that swayne? *Jews*
 Have done, sirs, sais on youre sawis,
 What tytill nowe have ye unto hym? *sayings*
 And lely ye loke uppon youre lawes,
 Saye, why sente ye so sone for to spille hym? *claim*
destroy
- ANNA** Sir, that is prince and lorde of oure laye, *law*
 That traitour untrewre that ye of telle us,
 Nowe certayne and sone the soth schall I saie:
 It is Jesus that japer that Judas ganne selle us. *scoffer; did*
- 45 He marres oure men in all that he may,
 His merveylis full mekill is mustered emelle us, *great; are manifested among*
 That faitoure so false. *deceiver*
 He dois many derffe dedis on oure Sabotte day,
 That uncommand conjeon he castis hym to quelle us; *evil*
 50 Fro man onto man he will compelle us *unwise idiot*
 And undo you and ourselffe als.
 Youreselffe he will fordo
 And he halde furth this space, *If; hold*
 And all this Jurie to *too*
 55 Yf that ye graunte hym grace.
- PILATUS** Sir Anna, this aunswere allow I nothyng,
 I halde it but hatereden, this artikill hale, *malicious; whole*
 And therfore, ser busshoppe, at my biddyng,
 Do telle me nowe trewly the texte of this tale.
- 60 Do termyne it trewly and tyte *pronounce; quickly*
 And lely ye lede it by the lawe, *truly; uphold*
 Felonye or falsoed evyn here I desie it; *falsehood*
 Saie me sadly the soth, for love or for awe. *solemnly*
- KAYPHAS** Sir Pilate, the talis the traitoure has tolde,
 65 It hevys us in harte full haly to here them: *stories*
 The warlowe with his wilis he wenys tham to wolde,
 The ladde with his lesyngis full lightly gan lere tham. *grieves; wholly to hear*
 Full tyte will he take tham untill hym *wiles; to wield (control)*
 And he thus forth go with his gaudis *lies; teach*
 70 Or speche oversprede; ya, bettir is to spille hym, *quickly; to*
 The faitoure is so felle with his false fraudis. *tricks*
spread out; kill
wicked
- PILATUS** Youre answeres is hedouse and hatefull to here. *hideous*
- Hadde I not herde hym and myselfe had hym sene,
 Yitt ye myght have made me to trowe you intere,
 75 But faute in hym I fynde none, but conande and clene. *believe; entirely (sincerely)*
fault; wisdom; purity

I MILES Lorde, fele of his ferles in faith have we donne,
many; marvels; discovered
81 Yone harlotte hevys oure hartis full of hate ire,
(i.e., fills our hearts)
He sais hymselffe that he is Goddis Sone
And schall sitte on the right hande beside his awne sire.

II MILES Ther talis is full trewe that we telle.
85 On the raynebowe the rebalde it redis,
He sais he schall have us to hevene or to hell
To deme us a day aftir oure dedis.

PILATUS To deme us? In the devyll name!
Say whedir, saie whedir to the devyll?
90 What dastardis, wene ye be wiser than we?

ANNA Ya, sir, and on oure awne Sabott day,
Thanne werkis he werkis full wele.

PILATUS We, fye on hym, faitour, for ay,
100 For thei are darke dedis of the devyll.

KAYPHAS Sir, a noysomemare note newly is noysed,
That grevis me more than any kynne thyng;
He claymes hym clerly till a kyngdome of Jewes
And callis hymselffe oure comeliest kyng.

PILATUS Kyng, in the devillis name — we, fye on hym, dastard!
106 What, wenys that woode warlowe overewyn us thus lightly? *crazy warlock to defeat; easily*
A begger of Bedlem, borne as a bastard, *Bethlehem*
Nowe, by Lucifer lath I that ladde, I leve hym not lightly. *loathe*

ANNA Sir, the harlotte is at Heroudes hall evyn her at your hande.

PILATUS I sente to hym that warlowe, the devyll myght hym wery. *harass (trouble)*

KAIPHAS It langis to youre lordschippe be lawe of this land,
 112 As soverayne youreselfe, to sitte of enquiry.

*belongs**to preside at a court of inquiry*

ANNA Sir, the traitoure has tolde us mo trufullis truly
 Wolde tene you full tyte and we you tham tolde.

*nonsense**displease you quickly if*

PILATUS Nowe, be Beliall bonis, that boy schall abie
 116 And bring on his bak a burdeyne of golde.

*bones; pay (the penalty)**If [he]*

I FILIUS Mi lorde that is ledar of lawis of this lande,
 Ye sente hym youreselfe to Herowde the kyng
 And sais, "The dome of that doge lies holy in your hande
 120 To deme hym or lose hym at youre likyng."

prince

And thus ye comaunded youre knyghtis for to saie,
 For Sir Heroude will serche hym full sore
 So that he wende with no wilis away;
 And therfore, my goode lorde, move you no more.

*interrogate**tricks (deceptions)*

KAIPHAS Nowe, certis, this was wele saide,
 126 But sir, wille ye sese nowe, and we schall se syne.

cease; later

PILATUS Sir Kayphas and Anna, right so nowe I thynke,
 Sittis, in Mahoundis blissing, and aske us the wyne,
 Ye knyghtis of my courte, comaundis us to drynke.

JUDAS Allas, for woo that I was wrought

131 Or evere I come be kynde or kynne;
 I banne the bonys that me furth brought,
 Woo worthe the wombe that I bredde ynne,
 So I may bidde.
 135 For I so falsely did to hym
 That unto me grete kyndnesse kidde.

*curse**did*

The purse with his spens aboute I bare,
 Ther was none trowed so wele as I.
 Of me he triste no man mare,
 140 And I betrayed hym traytourly
 With a false trayne.
 Sakles I solde his blessid body
 Unto Jues for to be slayne.

*pence**trusted**had confidence**deception**Innocent*

To slaa my sovereyne assente I,
 145 And tolde them the tyme of his takyng;
 Shamously myselfe thus schente I
 So sone for to sente to his slayng.
 Nowe wiste I howe he myght passe that Payne

*slay**Shamefully; was guilty**assent*

To loke that howe beste bote myght be. *remedy (redemption)*
 150 Unto the Jues I will agayne
 To save hym he myght passe free,
 This ware my will. *is*
 Lorde, welthe and worschipp mot with yow be. *may*

PILATUS What tythandis, Judas, tellis thou us till?

JUDAS My tydyngis are tenefull, I telle you, *grievous*
 156 Sir Pilate, therfore I you praye;
 My maistir that I gune selle you, *did*
 Gode lorde, late hym wende on his way.

KAIPHAS Nay, nedelyngis, Judas, that we denye; *necessarily*
 160 What mynde or mater has moved thee thus?

JUDAS Sir, I have synned full grevously,
 Betraied that rightwisse bloode, Jesus, *righteous*
 And maistir myne.

KAYPHAS Bewscher, what is that till us?
 165 The perill and the plight is thyne. *guilt*

Thyne is the wronge, thou wroughte it, *did*
 Thou hight us full trulye to take hym, *assured*
 And oures is the bargayne: we bought hym.
 Loo, we are alle sente for to slee hym.

JUDAS Allas, that may me rewe full ill,
 171 Giffe ye assente hym for to slaa. *If*

PILATUS Why, what wolde thou that we did thertill?

JUDAS I praie you, goode lorde, late hym gaa, *go*
 And here is of me youre paymente hale. *whole*

KAYPHAS Naie, we will noght so.
 176 We bought hym for he schulde be slayne.

To slee hym thiselffe thou assente it. *agreed (to)*
 This wate thou wondirly wele. *know*
 What right is nowe to repente?
 180 Thou schapist thiselffe unseele. *create misery for yourself*

ANNA Do waie, Judas, thou dose for noght.
 Thy wordis I warne thee are in waste;
 Thyselffe to selle hym whanne thou us sought,

Thou was agaynste hym thanne the moste
 185 Of us ilkan.

KAYPHAS We schall be venged on hym in haste,
 Whedir that evere he will or none.

PILATUS Ther wordis that thou nevys noght nedis it,
 Thou onhanged harlott, harke what I saie:
 190 Spare of thy spekyng, noght spedis it,
 Or walke oute at the dore, in the devill way.

name
not yet put to (the) death (you deserve)
Refrain from

JUDAS Why will ye thanne noght latte hym passe
 And have of me agayne youre paie?

payment

PILATUS I telle thee, traytoure, I wille it noght.

JUDAS Allas, thanne am I lorne,
 196 Bothe bone and bloode;
 Allas the while, so may I saie,
 That evere I sente to spille his bloode.

To save his bloode, sirs, I saie youe,
 200 And takes you thare youre payment hole.
 Spare for to spille hym, I praye youe,
 Ellis brewe ye me full mekill bale.

return to you
sorrow

PILATUS Nay, heriste thou, Judas, thou schall agayne,
 We will it nought, what devyll art thou?
 205 When thou us sought thou was full fayne
 Of this money. What aylis thee nowe
 For to repente?

extremely happy

JUDAS Agayne, sirs, here, I giffe it you,
 And save hym that he be noght schent.

killed

PILATUS To schende hym thyselfe has thee schamed.
 211 Thou may lathe with thi liffe that thou ledis,
 Fondely as a false foole thiselffe has famed;
 Therfore the devyll thee droune for thy darfe dedis.

destroy
hate your life
been made a celebrity
wicked deeds

JUDAS I knawe my trespassse and my gilte.
 215 It is so grete it garres me grise,
 Me is full woo he schulde be spilte.
 Might I hym save of any wise,
 Wele were me than;
 Save hym, sirs, to youre service
 220 I will me bynde to be your man.

causes; to shudder in terror

Youre bondeman, lorde, to be
 Nowe evere will I bynde me,
 Sir Pilate, ye may trowe me,
 Full faithfull schall ye fynde me.

- PILATUS** Fynde thee faithfull? A, foule mot thee falle
 226 Or thou come in oure compayne,
 For, by Mahoundes bloode, thou wolde selle us all.
 Thi service will we noght for it
 Thou art unknownen.
 230 Fals tiraunte, for thi traitoury
 Thou art worthi to be hanged and drawen.

befall
Ere

(i.e., even if)
You were
villain; betrayal

- Hanged and drawen schulde thou be knownen
 And thou had right, by all goode reasoune.
 Thi maistirs bloode thou biddist us save,
 235 And thou was firste that did him treasoune.

- JUDAS** I cry you mercy, lorde, on me rewe,
 This werryd wight that wronge has wrought;
 Have mercy on my maistir trewe
 That I have in youre bandome brought

accursed man

power
 [line missing]
play the jester; say

- PILATUS** Goo, jape thee, Judas, and never it noght
 241 Nor move us of this matere more.

- ANNA** No more of this matere thou move thee,
 Thou momeland mytyng emell;
 Oure poynte expresse her reproves thee
 245 Of felonye falsely and felle.

mumbling insignificant person
as expressed here convicts
sharply

- KAIPHAS** He grucchis noght to graunte his gilte,
 Why schonnys thou noght to schewe thi schame?
 We bought hym for he schulde be spilte,
 All same we were consente to the same
 250 And thiselffe als.
 Thou feyned noght for to defame,
 Thou saide he was a traytoure fals.

shuns; show
also
hesitated; denounce

- PILATUS** Yaa, and for a false faitoure
 Thyselffe full fully gon selle hym;
 255 O, that was a trante of a traytour
 So sone thou schulde goo to begile hym.

deceiver

trick

- I MILES** What, wolde thou that we lete hym ga?
 Yon weried wight that wrought such wronge,
 We will noght lose oure bargayne swaa,

wicked man
so

260 So lightly for to late hym gang; *(i.e., release him)*
 And reson why
 Latte we that lotterell liffe ought long,
 It will be fonde, in faith, foly. *scoundrel live any longer
foolish; folly*

II MILES Yone folte, for no foole schall he fynde us, *fool (idiot)*
 265 We wotte all full wele howe it was,
 His maistir whanne he gune bringe us, *began [to]*
 He praied yow, my goode lord, late hym not passe.

PILATUS Nay, sertis, he schalle noght passe free
 That we for oure mony has paied.

JUDAS Take it agayne that ye toke me, *torment*
 271 And save hym fro that bittir braide, *glad*
 Than were I fayne.

ANNA Itt serves of noght that thou has saide,
 And therfore takis it tyte agayne.

PILATUS Tyte agayne, traytoure, thou take it,
 276 We wille it noght welde within oure wolde; *have within our power*
 Yitt schalte thou noght, sawterell, thus sune forsake it, *babbler (hypocrite); soon*
 For I schall sers hym myselffe sen thou has hym solde. *search (examine)*

KAIPHAS Forsake it, in faith, that he ne schall,
 280 For we will halde hym that we have; *hold*
 The payment chenys thee withall, *obliges*
 Thee thar no nodir comenaunte crave, *other agreement*
 . . . *[line missing]*

JUDAS Sen ye assente hym for to slaa,
 Vengeaunce I crie on you ilkone!
 285 Ilkane I crie, the devill fordo youe,
 And that myghte I both here and see *hear*
 Herde hevenyng here I unto youe,
 For sorowe onsought ye on me se. *Hard vengeance*

KAIPHAS Whe, fye on thee, traytoure attaynte, at this tyde;
 290 Of treasoune thou tyxste hym that triste thee for trewe.
 Do buske thee henne, brothell, no lenger thou abide,
 For if thou do, all thi respouns sare schall thee rewe.
 Say wote thou noght who is I?
 Nowe be my nociens, myght I negh nere thee,
 295 In certayne, ladde, yitt schulde I lere thee
 To lordis to speke curtaisely. *convicted
charged; trusted
hence
(miserable) answers; rue
know you not who I am
by; inclinations; come near
teach*

PILATUS Go thy gatis, geddlyng, and greve us no more,
Leffe of thi talke, the devill mot thee hange.

*way
Leave off*

JUDAS That att ye toke me, take it you there,
300 Ther with youre maistrie make yowe emange
And clayme it you clene,
Me lathes with my liff, so liffe I to lang.
My traitourfull tornē he turment my tene.

(i.e., share it among you)

*I hate my; too long
traitorous act; torments; rage*

Sen for my treason have I tane unto me,
305 Me thare aske no mercy, for none mon I gete;
Therfore in haste myselffe schall fordo me.
Allas, the harde while that evere ete I meete.
Thus schall I marke my mytyng meede
And wirke me wreke with harte and will,
310 To spille myselffe nowe wille I spedē,
For sadly have I servyd thertill.
So walaway
That evere I was in witte or wille
That tristy trewe for to betraye.

Since; taken

commit suicide

ate; meat (food)

little reward

vengeance

kill

trusty true [one]

315 Allas, who may I meve to?
Shall I me take non othir reede?
Miselffe in haste I schall fordo,
And take me nowe unto my dede.

speak

advice

KAIPHAS Have done, nowe, Sir Pilate, late se what ye saie
320 As touchyng this money that we here have
That Judas in a wreth has wavyd away
And keste us crabbidly, that cursed knave.
Howe saie ye therby?

anger

thrown; bad-naturedly

ANNA Sir, sen he it slang, we schall it save.

threw

KAYPHAS Tite truste it tille oure tresorie.

Quickly

PILATUS Nay, sir, noght soo.

KAIPHAS Why, sir, how than?

PILATUS Sir, it schall nought combre us;
nor come in oure corbonan.

encumber

treasury

KAYPHAS No, tille oure tresory certayne;
farther schall it nought.

to

- PILATUS** And se youreselffe soth certayne and skill,
 330 It is price of the bloode that we with it boght; *fitting*
 Therfore some othir poynte I purpose it till,
 And thus I devyse.
 A spotte of erthe for to by, wayte nowe I will, *buy*
 To berie in pilgrimes that by the wey dies.
- 335 Pilgrimes and palmeres to putte there,
 Sir Kaiphas and Anna, assente ye therto? *execute*
 And othere false felons that we forfare.

ANNA As ye deme, lorde, so wille we doo.

- ARMIGER** Hayle, Sir Pilate, perles and prince of this empire;
 340 Haile, the gaiest on grounde, in golde ther ye glide; *peerless*
 move gracefully
 Haile, the louffeliest lorde of lyme and of lyre
 And all the soferans semely that sittith thee beside. *limb; body*
sovereigns

PILATUS What wolde thou?

ARMIGER A worde, lorde, and wende.

PILATUS Nowe thou arte welcome, iwissee.

- 345 But delyvere thee lightly withouten any lette, *delay*
 We have no tome all day to tente onto thee. *time; attend*

ARMIGER A place here beside, lorde, wolde I wedde sette. *mortgage*

PILATUS What title has thou therto? Is it thyne awne free?

- ARMIGER** Lorde, fre be my fredome me fallis it. *free on account of*
 350 This tale is full trewe that I telle you,
 And Calvary locus men callis it; *place*
 I wolle it wedde sette, but not for to selle you. *mortgage it*

PILATUS What wolde thou borowe, bewshire, belyve, late me se?¹

- ARMIGER** If it ware youre lekyng, my lorde, for to lene it, *desire; bestow*
 355 Thirty pens I wolde ye lente onto me.

KAYPHAS Yis, bewshire, that schall thou have.

PILATUS Shewe us thi dedis and have here thi mony. *deed [to property]*

¹ *What amount do you wish to borrow, quickly, let me see*

ARMIGER Have her, gode lord, but loke ye thame save.

PILATUS Yis, certis, we schall save thame full soundely,

360 And ellis do we noght dewly oure devere.

Faste, freke, for thy faith, on thy fote fonde thee,
For fro this place, bewschere, I soile thee for ever.

*duty**man; feet go
assoil (release)*

ARMIGER Now sorowe on such socoure as I have soght,

For all my tresoure thurgh tresoune I tyne.

have lost

365 I tyne it untrewly by tresoune,

Therfore nowe my way will I wende,
For ye do me no right nor no resoun
I betake you all to the fende.

fiend

PILATUS Nowe, certis, we are served att all,

370 This place is purchesed full propirly;
The Felde of Bloode loke ye it call,
I comaunde ilkone forthy.

KAIPHAS Sir, as ye comaunde us, call it schall we soo,

But my lorde, with youre leve, we may lende her no lengar

remain here no longer

375 But faste late us founde to fang on oure foo,

Yone gedlyng ongodly has brewed us grete angir.

*seize**ungodly*

ANNA Do way, sir busshoppe, and be not abaste,

For loste is all oure lekyng, lepe he so light.

*afraid**liking (hope), escape*

KAIPHAS Nay, sir, he schall not trusse so tite, and that he ye traste,

go so quickly

380 For it wynnes us no worschippe the werkis of yone wight,

But grete angir.

Forthy late us dresse us his deth for to dite,

accomplish

And late we this lotterell leve her no lengar.

scoundrel live

PILATUS Sir Kayphas, thurgh counsaile comaunde we oure knyghtis

385 To wacche on yone warlowe

watch for

What way that he wendis,

Do dresse you nowe dewly

To yone doderon you dightis,

And lette noght to laite hym

*wretch; go**fail; seek*

390 In lande where he lendis,

dwells

Nor leyvs hym noght lightly.

lives

II MILES In faith, we schall fette hym

fetch

Full farre fro his frendis.

PILATUS Nowe walkis on in the wanyand,
395 And wende youre way wightely.

waning [of the moon] (i.e., an evil time)
briskly

[33. THE SECOND TRIAL BEFORE PILATE]

The Tyllemakers

PILATUS Lordyngis that are lymett to the lare of my liaunce,
Ye schappely schalkes and schene for to schawe,
I charge you as your chiftan that ye chatt for no chaunce,
But loke to youre lord here and lere at my lawe.
5 As a duke I may dampne you and drawe.
Many bernys bolde are aboute me,
And what knyght or knave I may knawe
That list noght as a lord for to lowte me,
I sall lere hym
10 In the develes name, that dastard, to dowte me.
Ya, who werkis any werkes withoute me,
I sall charge hym in chynes to chere hym.

bound; law; allegiance
handsome men; fair; appear
jabber in no wise
learn
damn; (i.e., execute)
knights
desires; reverence
teach
fear
shall put; chains; (i.e., punish)

Tharfore, ye lusty ledes within this lenght lapped,
Do stynte of youre stalkyng and of stoutnes be stalland;
15 What traytours his tong with tales has trapped,
That fende for his flateryng full foul sall be falland.
What broll overebreathely is bralland
Or unsoftly will sege in ther sales,
That caysteffe thus carpand and calland
20 As a boy sall be broght unto bales.
Therfore
Talkes not nor trete not of tales,
For that gome that gyrnes or gales,
I myself sall hym hurte full sore.

men; space enclosed
Stop; moving about must cease
ensnared
falling
wretch very noisily; brawling
loudly; men; halls
caitiff; talking; calling
custody (misery)
treat
man; grins; complains

ANNA Ye sall sytt hym full sore, what sege will assay you. (i.e., he will be sorry); man; challenge
26 If he like not youre lordshippe, that ladde, sall ye lere hym
As a pereles prince full prestly to pay you,
Or as a derworth duke with dyntes sall ye dere hym.

quickly to please
worthy; blows; harm

CAYPHAS Yaa, in faythe ye have force for to fere hym,
30 Thurgh youre manhede and myght bes he marred;
No chyvalrus chiftan may chere hym,
Fro that churll with charge ye have charred
. . .
In pynyg Payne bees he parred.

make him fear
is he hurt
punishment; chastised
[line missing, see textual note]
tormenting; flayed

ANNA Yaa, and with schath of skelpys yll scarred
 35 Fro tyme that youre tene he have tasted.

*injury; blows
anger*

PILATUS Now certes, as me semes, whoso sadly has soght you,
 Youre praysyng is prophetable, ye prelates of pees;
 Gramercy, youre goode worde, and ungayne sall it noght you, *unbeneficial; [be for]* you
 That ye will say the sothe and for no sege cese.

*solemnly
beneficial; peace
man*

CAYPHAS Elles were it pité we appered in this prees,
 41 But consayve how youre knyghtes ere command.

*press (assembly)
see; are coming*

ANNA Ya, my lord, that leve ye no lese,
 I can telle you, you tydes sum tythandis
 Ful sadde.

*believe; lie
are owed some
serious*

PILATUS Se, they bring yoone brolle in a bande.
 46 We sall here nowe, hastely at hand,
 What unhappe before Herowde he had.

*wretch (brawler); bonds (tied up)
hear
misfortune*

I MILES Hayll, lovelyest lorde that evere lawe led yitt,
 Hayll, semelyest undre sylke on evere ilka syde,
 50 Hayll, stateliest on stede in strenghe that is sted yitt, *place [in this world]; established yet*
 Hayll, liberall, hayll, lusty to lordes allied.

*expounded until now
each and every
liberal person*

PILATUS Welcome, what tydandis this tyde,
 Late no langgage lightly nowe lette you.

*at this time
hold you back*

II MILES Sir Herowde, ser, it is noght to hyde,
 55 As his gud frende grathely he grete yowe
 Forevere,
 In what manere that evere he mete you,
 By hymselfe full sone wille he sette you
 And sais that ye sall not dissever.

*good; courteously; greets
(should) meet
separate*

PILATUS I thanke hym full thraly, and ser, I saie hym the same,
 61 But what mervelous materes dyd this myron ther mell?

*sincerely
lazy fellow; reveal*

I MILES For all the lordis langage his lipps, ser, wer lame.
 For any spirringes in that space no speche walde he spell,
 Bot domme as a dore gon he dwell.
 65 Thus no faute in hym gon he fynde
 For his dedis to deme hym to qwell,
 Nor in bandis hym brathely to bynde.
 And thus
 He sente hym to youreself, and assynde
 70 That we, youre knyghtis, suld be clenly enclyned,
 And tyte with hym to you to trus.

*questions; speak
dumb; door; remain
fault; could
condemn
painfully
assigned
inclined
quickly; go*

- PILATUS** Syrs, herkens, here ye not what we have oppon hand?
 Loo, howe there knyghtes carpe that to the kyng cared.
 Syr Herowde, thai say, no faute in me fand,
 75 He fest me to his frenschippe, so frendly he fared.
 Moreover, sirs, he spake, and noght spared,
 Full gentilly to Jesu, this Jewe,
 And sithen to ther knyghtis declared
 How fawtes in hym fande he but fewe
 80 To dye.
 He taste hym, I telle you for trewe,
 For to dere hym he demed undewe,
 And sirs, thee sothly saie I.
- CAIPHAS** Sir Pilate, oure prince, we prelatis nowe pray you,
 85 Sen Herowde fraysted no ferther this faitour to flaye,
 Resayve in your sall ther sawes that I saie you;
 Late bryng hym to barre and at his berde sall we baye.
- ANNA** Ya, for and he wende thus by wiles away,
 I wate wele he wirke will us wondre;
 90 Oure menye he marres that he may,
 With his seggynges he settes them in sondre
 With synne.
 With his blure he bredis mekill blondre;
 Whills ye have hym, nowe haldes hym undir,
 95 We sall wery hym away yf he wynne.
- CAYPHAS** Sir, no tyme is to tarie this traytour to taste,
 Agayne Ser Cesar hymselfe he segges and saies
 All the wightis in this world wirkis in waste
 That takis hym any tribute, thus his teching outrayes.
 100 Yitt forther he feynes slik affraies
 And sais that hymself is God Son;
 And ser, oure lawe leggis and layes
 In what faytour falsed is fon
 Suld be slayne.
- PILATUS** For no schame hym to shende will we shon.
- ANNA** Sir, witnesse of this wanes may be wonne,
 107 That will tell this withowten any trayne.
- CAYPHAS** I can reken a rable of renkes full right
 Of perte men in prese fro this place ar I pas
 110 That will witnesse, I warande, the wordis of this wight,
 How wikkidly wrought that this wrecche has:
 Simon, Yarus, and Judas,
- went
fault; found
faults; found
tested
harm; not warranted
endeavored; deceiver; punish
hall; words
beard; bay (shout)
escape
[some] marvel
company
sayings; at odds
bluster; breeds; dissension
curse; flee
test
Against; he speaks
futilely
gives him; injures [us]
such outrages
alleges; establishes
falsehood; found
kill; hesitate
matter; discovered
trick (deception)
call up; crowd; good men
clever; a crowd; ere
fellow

- Datan and Gamaliell,
 Neptalin, Levi, and Lucas,
 115 And Amys this maters can mell *consider*
 Togithere.
 Ther tales for trewe can they telle
 Of this faytour that false is and felle
 And in legyng of lawes ful lithre. *deceiver; evil
expounding; wicked*
- PILATUS** Ya, tussch, for youre tales, thai touche not entente; *(i.e., are irrelevant)*
 121 Ther witnesse I warande that to witnesse ye wage, *reward (bribe)*
 Some hatred in ther hartis agaynes hym have hent *has taken hold*
 And purpose be this processe to putt doun this page. *boy (peasant)*
- CAIPHAS** Sir, in faith us fallith not to fage; *deceive*
 125 Thai are trist men and true, that we telle you. *trusted*
- PILATUS** Youre swering, seris, swiftely ye swage, *stop*
 And no more in this maters ye mell you, *concern*
 I charge.
- ANNA** Sir, dispise not this speche that we spell you. *speak [to]*
- PILATUS** If ye feyne slike frawdis, I sall felle you, *feign such; punish*
 131 For me likis noght youre langage so large. *excessive*
- CAYPHAS** Oure langage is to large, but youre lordshipp releve us, *too; assist*
 Yitt we both beseke you, late brynge hym to barre; *(i.e., have him brought)*
 What poyntes that we putte forth, latt your presence appreve us; *let; approve*
 135 Ye sall here how this harlott heldes out of herre. *acts; order*
- PILATUS** Ya, butt be wise, witty, and warre. *alert; aware*
- ANNA** Yis, sir, drede you noght for nothyng we doute hym. *we fear nothing [concerning] him*
- PILATUS** Fecche hym, he is noght right ferre;
 Do, bedell, buske thee abowte hym. *(i.e., get about it)*
- PRECO** I am fayne,
 141 My lorde, for to lede hym or lowte hym, *reverence*
 Uncleth hym, clappe hym, and clowte hym;
 If ye bid me, I am buxhome and bayne. *Unclothe; beat; clout
obedient; willing*
- Knyghtis, ye er commaundid with this caityf to care
 145 And bryng hym to barre, and so my lord badd. *rascal (reprobate); go
ordered*
- IMILES** Is this thy messege?

- PRECO** Ya, sir.
- I MILES** Than move thee no mare,
For we ar light for to leppe and lede forthe this ladd. *urge; more
go quickly; lead*
- II MILES** Do steppe furth, in striffe ert thou stadde,
I upholde full evyll has thee happed. *in trouble are; placed
insist great; occurred*
- I MILES** O, man, thy mynde is full madde
151 In oure clukis to be clowted and clapped,
And closed. *mad
clutches; beaten; struck
held*
- II MILES** Thou bes lassched, lusschyd, and lapped. *lashed, beaten; surrounded*
- I MILES** Ya, rowted, russhed, and rapped,
155 Thus thy name with noye soll be noysed. *shouted at; struck violently; hit
annoyance; broadcast*
- II MILES** Loo, this sege her, my soverayne, that ye for sente. *fellow here*
- PILATUS** Wele, stirre noght fro that stede, but stande stille thare;
Bot he schappe som shrewdnesse, with shame bese he shente, *spot*
159 And I will frayst, in faith, to frayne of his fare. *Unless he fashions; trick
try; question; practices*
- CAIPHAS** We, outte, stande may I noght, so I stare. *am astonished*
- ANNA** Ya, harowe, of this traytour with tene. *anger (violence)*
- PILATUS** Say, renkes, what rewth gars you rare?
Er ye woode or wittles, I wene,
164 What eyles you? *fellows; affliction causes; roar
Are; mad
ails*
- CAYPHAS** Out, slike a sight suld be sene. *[that] such*
- ANNA** Ya, allas, conquered ar we clene. *entirely*
- PILATUS** We, ere ye fonde, or youre force fayles you? *are; mad; strength fails*
- CAYPHAS** A, ser, saugh ye noght this sight, how that ther schaftes schuke *shafts shook*
And thez baneres to this brothell thai bowde all on brede? *worthless fellow; on every side*
- ANNA** Ya, ther cursed knyghtes by crafte lete them croke
171 To worshippe this warlowe unworthy in wede. *bow down
clothes*
- PILATUS** Was it dewly done thus, indede?
- CAIPHAS** Ya, ya, sir, oureselfe we it sawe.

- PILATUS** We, spitte on them, ill mott thai spedē.
 175 Say, dastardes, the devyll mote you drawe,
 How dar ye
 Ther baners on brede that her blawe
 Lat lowte to this lurdan so lawe?
 O, faytouris, with falshed, how fare ye?
- spit
(i.e., draw and quarter)
dare
on every side; blow (wave)
bow; rascal; low
deceivers; falsehood
- III MILES** We beseke you and tho seniouris beside you, sir, sitte,
 181 With none of oure governaunce to be grevous and gryll,
 For it lay not in oure lott ther launces to lett,
 And this werke that we have wrought it was not oure will.
- angry
power; prevent
- PILATUS** Thou lise, harstow, lurdan? Full ille,
 185 Wele thou watte if thou witnes it walde.
- lie, hear you, rascal (fool)
would admit it
- IV MILES** Sir, oure strength myght noght stabill tham stille,
 They hilded for ought we couthe halde,
 Oure unwittynge.
- hold them
tipped over; hold
Unknown to us
- V MILES** For all oure fors, in faith, did thai folde
 190 As this warlowe worschippe thai wolde,
 And us semid, forsoth, it unfittynge.
- strength
seemed
- CAIPHAS** A, unfriendly faytours, full fals is youre fable;
 This segge with his suttelté to his seett hath you sesid.
- deceivers
man; subtlety; sect; seized
- VI MILES** Ye may say what you semes, ser, bot ther standerde to stabill,
 195 What freyke hym enforces full foul sall he be fesid.
- man; attempts; discomfitted
- ANNA** Be the devyllis nese, ye ar doggydly diseasid,
 A, henne harte, ill happe mot you hente.
- nose; infected
chicken heart
- PILATUS** For a whapp so he whyned and whesid,
 And yitt no lasshe to the lurdan was lente,
 200 Foul fall you.
- blow; wheezed
- III MILES** Sir, iwis, no wiles we have wente.
- tried [to perform]
- PILATUS** Shamefully you satt to be shente,
 Here combred caystiffes, I call you.
- allowed yourselves; overcome
unhappy (fainthearted) caitiffs
- IV MILES** Sen you lykis not, my lord, oure langage to leve,
 205 Latte bryng the biggest men that abides in this land
 Propirly in youre presence ther pousté to preve;
 Beholde that they helde nott fro thei have thaim in hand.
- believe
strength; prove
(i.e., bowed not once)

PILATUS	Now ye er ferdest that evere I fand, Fy on youre faynte hertis in feere;	most fearful; found altogether
210	Stir thee, no langer thou stande, Thou bedell, this bodworde thou bere Thurgh this towne.	longer message; bear
	The wyghtest men unto were And the strangest ther standerdis to stere,	strongest; danger (i.e., hold up)
215	Hider blithely bid tham be bowne.	eagerly; bound
PRECO	My soverayne, full sone sall be served youre sawe, I sall bryng to ther baneres right bigg men and strange; A company of kevallis in this contré I knawe That grete ere and grill, to the gomes will I gange.	obeyed; words (command) strong big (strong) men are; fierce; men; go
220	Say, ye ledis botht lusty and lange, Ye most passe to Ser Pilate apace.	lords; tall must
I MILES	If we wirke not his wille it wer wrang; We are redy to renne on a race And rayke.	(i.e., hurry) rush (proceed)
PRECO	Then tarie not, but tryne on a trace 226 And folow me fast to his face.	quickly; the way
II MILES	Do lede us; us lykes wele this lake.	game (sport)
PRECO	Lorde, here are the biggest bernes that bildis in this burgh, Most stately and strange if with strenght thai be streyned. 230 Leve me, ser, I lie not, to loke this lande thurgh, Thai er myghtiest men with manhode demened.	men; live; town fierce; assailed Believe endowed
PILATUS	Wate thou wele, or ellis has thou wenyd?	Know; [only] thought [so]
PRECO	Sir, I wate wele, withoute wordis moo.	more
CAIPHAS	In thy tale be not taynted nor tenyd.	suspect; deceptive
PRECO	We, nay, ser, why shuld I be soo?	
PILATUS	Wele than, 237 We sall frayst er they founde us fer fro. To what game thai begynne for to go, Sir Cayphas, declare tham ye can.	ask ere; (i.e., go away)
CAIPHAS	Ye lusty ledis, nowe lith to my lare: 241 Schappe you to ther schaftis that so schenely her schyne, If yon barnes bowe the brede of an hare, Platly ye be putte to perpetuell pyne.	lass; listen; orders Take up; brightly; shine persons; breadth; hair Immediately; pain

I MILES I sall holde this as even as a lyne.

line

ANNA Whoso schakis, with schames he shendes.

shakes; (i.e., is disgraced)

II MILES I, certayne, I saie as for myne,

247 Whan it sattes or sadly discendis

settles; sinks down

Whare I stande,

When it wryngis or wronge it wendis.

twists; moves

250 Outher bristis, barkis, or bendes,

shatters, bursts

Hardly lat hakke of myn hande.

let my hand be hacked off

PILATUS Sirs, waites to ther wightis that no wiles be wrought,
Thai are burely and brode, thare bost have thai blowen.

attend

boast; vented

ANNA To neven of that nowe, ser, it nedis right noght,

speak; there is no need

255 For who curstely hym quytes, he sone shall be knawen.

abominably; repays him

CAYPHAS Ya, that dastard to dede shall be drawnen,
Whoso fautis, he foully shall falle.

death; drawn [and quartered]

fails

PILATUS Nowe knyghtis, sen the cokkis has crowen,

Have hym hense with hast fra this halle

[away] from

260 His wayes;

On his way

Do stiffly steppe on this stalle,

stauchly; (i.e., to the dock)

Make a crye and cauteley thou call,

loudly

Evene like as Ser Annay thee sais.

[They cry] Oyes.

ANNA Jesu, thou Jewe of gentill Jacob kynne,

265 Thou nerthrist of Nazareth, now nevend is thi name,

lowest; called

Alle creatures thee accuses; we commaunde thee comme in

And aunswer to thin enemys, deffende now thy fame.

reputation

Et Preco, semper post Annam, recitabit “judicatur Jesus.”¹

CAYPHAS We, out! we are shente alle for shame,

269 This is wrasted all wrange, as I wene.

twisted; wrong

ANNA For all ther boste, yone boyes are to blame.

PILATUS Slike a sight was nevere yit sene.

Come sytt,

My comforth was caught fro me clene,

¹ *And Preco will recite after Anna, “Let Jesus be judged”*

I upstritt, I my myght noght abstene
 275 To wirschip hym in wark and in witte.

*rose up; in my might [could]
deed; mind*

CAYPHAS Therof mervayled we mekill what moved you in mynde
 In reverence of this ribald so rudely to ryse.

rascal; discourteously

PILATUS I was past all my powre, thogh I payned me and pynd;
 I wrought not as I wolde in no maner of wise.
 280 Bot syrs, my spech wele aspise,
 Wightly his wayes late hym wende;
 Thus my dome will dewly devyse,
 For I am ferde hym in faith to offend
 In sightes.

*made a huge effort
consider
Quickly; let; go
verdict; properly prescribe
afraid
(i.e., to behold [publicly])*

ANNA Than oure lawe were laght till an ende
 286 To his tales if ye treuly attende.
 He enchaunted and charmed oure knyghtis.

brought

CAYPHAS Be his sorcery, ser, youreselffe the soth sawe,
 He charmes oure chyvalers and with myscheffe enchaunted.
 290 To reverence hym ryally we rase all on rowe,
 Doutles we endure not of this dastard be daunted.

By

*royally; rose
intimidated*

PILATUS Why, what harmes has this hatell here haunted?
 I kenne to convyk hym no cause.

*person
know; convict*

ANNA To all gomes he God Son hym graunted,
 295 And liste not to leve on oure lawes.

men

believe (respect)

PILATUS Say, man,
 Consayves thou noght what comberous clause
 That this clargye accusyng thee knawse?
 Speke, and excuse thee if thou can.

*serious allegation
clergy*

JESUS Every man has a mouthe that made is on molde
 301 In wele and in woo to welde at his will,
 If he governe it gudly like as God wolde
 For his spirituale speche hym not to spill.
 And what gome so governe it ill,
 305 Full unhendly and ill sall he happe:
 Of ilk tale thou talkis us untill
 Thou accounte sall, thou cannot escappe.

*of earth
well-being; wield*

die

man

evilly; fare

(i.e., accuse me of)

PILATUS Sirs myne,
 Ye fonne, in faithe, all the frappe,
 310 For in this lede no lese can I lappe,
 Nor no poynte to putt hym to pyne.

*are mad; entire crowd
man; lying; perceive
suffering*

CAIPHAS Withoute cause, ser, we come not this carle to accuse hym,
And that will we ye witt as wele is worthy.

*churl**we want you to know*

PILATUS Now I recordre wele the right, ye will no rathere refuse hym
315 To he be dreven to his dede and demed to dye;
But takes hym unto you forthe
And like as youre lawe will you lere,
Deme ye his body to abyte.

*never release**Until**pay [the penalty]*

ANNA O, Sir Pilate, withouten any pere,
320 Do way;
Ye wate wele withouten any were
Us falles not, nor oure felowes in feere,
To slo no man, yourself the soth say.

*peer**question**We are not allowed*

PILATUS Why suld I deme to dede than withoute deservyng in dede?
325 But I have herde al haly why in hertes ye hym hate.
He is faultles, in faith, and so God mote me spedie;
I graunte hym my gud will to gang on his gate.

*entirely; [your] hearts**go; way*

CAIPHAS Nought so, ser, for wele ye it wate,
To be kyng he claymeth with croune,
330 And whoso stoutely will steppe to that state
Ye suld deme, ser, to be dong doune
And dede.

*well you know it**haughtily**struck down**killed*

PILATUS Sir, trulye that touched to tresoun,
And or I remewe, he rewe sall that reasoun
335 And or I stalke or stirre fro this stede.

*ere; go; be sorry [for]**walk; place*

Sir knyghtis that ar comly, take this caystiff in keping;
Skelpe hym with scourges and with skathes hym scorne;
Wrayste and wrynge hym to, for wo to he be wepyng,
And than bryng hym before us as he was beforne.

*Whip; blows**Twist; too; until*

I MILES He may banne the tyme he was borne;
341 Sone sall he be served as ye saide us.

*curse**Soon*

ANNA Do wappe of his wedis that are worne.

tear off; clothes

II MILES All redy, ser, we have arayde us,
Have done.
345 To this broll late us buske us and brayde us
As Ser Pilate has propirly prayde us.

wretch (brawler); hurry

III MILES We sall sette to hym sadly sone.

- | | | |
|------------------|--|---|
| IV MILES | Late us gete of his gere, God giffe hym ille grace. | <i>take off; gear (clothes); give</i> |
| I MILES | Thai ere tytt of tite, lo, take ther his trasshes. | <i>are pulled off quickly; ragged garments</i> |
| III MILES | Nowe knytte hym in this corde. | |
| II MILES | I am cant in this case. | <i>eager</i> |
| IV MILES | He is bun faste, nowe bete on with bittir brasshis. | <i>bound; blows</i> |
| I MILES | Go on, lepis, harye, lordingis, with lasshes
And enforce we this faitour to flay hym. | <i>leap (i.e., be vigorous); harry (beat)
set out; deceiver</i> |
| II MILES | Late us driffe to hym derfly with dasshes,
355 Alle rede with oure rowtes we aray hym
And rente hym. | <i>move in on him cruelly; blows
red; blows
tear</i> |
| III MILES | For my parte I am prest for to pay hym. | |
| IV MILES | Ya, sende hym sorow, assaye hym. | <i>assault</i> |
| I MILES | Take hym that I have tome for to tente hym. | <i>time</i> |
| II MILES | Swyng to this swyre, to swiftly he swete. | <i>neck, until; sweats</i> |
| III MILES | Swete may this swayne for sweght of oure swappes. | <i>force; blows</i> |
| IV MILES | Russhe on this rebald and hym rathely rehete. | <i>fiercely assail</i> |
| I MILES | Rehete hym, I rede you, with rowtes and rappes. | <i>Attack; blows</i> |
| II MILES | For all oure noy, this nygard he nappes. | <i>annoyance; niggard; naps</i> |
| III MILES | We sall wakken hym with wynde of oure whippes. | |
| IV MILES | Nowe flynge to this flaterer with flappes. | <i>strike at; blows</i> |
| I MILES | I sall hertely hitte on his hippes
And haunch. | |
| II MILES | Fra oure skelpes not scatheles he skyppe. | <i>blows; unscathed; goes</i> |
| III MILES | Yitt hym list not lyft up his lippis,
371 And pray us to have pety on his paunch. | <i>pity</i> |
| IV MILES | To have petie of his paunche he propheres no prayere. | <i>pity; offers</i> |

I MILES Lorde, how likis thou this lake and this lare that we lere you? *game; lore*

II MILES Lo, I pull at his pilche, I am proud payere. *garment; payer*

III MILES Thus youre cloke sall we cloute to clence you and clere you. *hit*

IV MILES I am straunge in striffe for to stere you. *strong; strife; bestir*

I MILES Thus with choppes this churll sall we chastye. *blows; chastise*

II MILES I trowe with this trace we sall tere you. *course [of action]; tear*

III MILES All thin untrew techyngis thus taste I, *your; test*
380 Thou tarand. *?chameleon (tarandre)*

IV MILES I hope I be hardy and hasty.

I MILES I wate wele my wepon not wast I.

II MILES He swounes or sweltes, I swarand. *is overcome; swear [to you]*

III MILES Late us louse hym lightly, do lay on your handes. *untie*

IV MILES Ya, for and he dye for this dede, undone ere we all. *die; deed; are*

I MILES Nowe unboune is this broll, and unbraced his bandes. *wretch; bonds (ropes)*

II MILES O, fule, how faris thou now, foul mott thee fall. *fool; befall*

III MILES Nowe because he oure kyng gon hym call, *himself*
389 We will kyndely hym croune with a brere. *briar*

IV MILES Ya, but first this purpure and palle *purple (royal) garment; pall*
And this worthy wede sall he were *garment*
For scorne.

I MILES I am proud at this poynte to apper.

II MILES Latte us clethe hym in ther clothes full clere *clothe*
395 As a lorde that his lordshippe has lorne. *lost*

III MILES Lange or thou mete slike a menye as thou mett with this morne.¹

IV MILES Do sette hym in this sete as a semely in sales. *halls (i.e., at court)*

¹ *It will be a long [time] before you meet such company as you met this morning*

I MILES Now thryng to hym thrally with this thikk thorne. *thrust; vigorously*

II MILES Lo, it heldes to his hede, that the harnes out hales. *brains; come*

III MILES Thus we teche hym to tempre his tales, *modify*
401 His brayne begynnes for to blede.

IV MILES Ya, his blondre has hym broght to ther bales; *stirring up of strife; sorrows*
Now reche hym and raught hym in a rede *seize; give; reed*
So rounde,
405 For his septure it serves indede. *scepter*

I MILES Ya, it is gode inowe in this nede, *greet*
Late us gudly hym grete on this grounde.

Ave, riall roy and rex Judeorum! *Hail, royal king; king of the Jews*
Hayle, comely kyng, that no kyngdom has kende; *known*
410 Hayll, undughty duke, thi dedis ere dom, *weak; dumb (worthless)*
Hayll, man unmyghty, thi menye to mende. *company*

III MILES Hayll, lord without lande for to lende, *unwise*
Hayll, kyng, hayll knave unconand.

IV MILES Hayll, freyke, without forse thee to fende, *fellow; strength*
415 Hayll, strang, that may not wele stand *strong*
To stryve.

I MILES We, harlott, heve up thy hande, *heave*
And us all that thee wirschip are wirkand *[mock] worship; working (striving)*
Thanke us, ther ill mot thou thryve.

II MILES So late lede hym belyve and lenge her no lenger, *let lead; quickly; stay here*
421 To Ser Pilate, oure prince, oure pride will we prayse.

III MILES Ya, he may syng or he slepe of sorowe and angir, *ere*
For many derfe dedes he has done in his dayes. *evil*

IV MILES Now wightly late wende on oure wayes, *quickly let*
425 Late us trusse us, no tyme is to tarie. *depart*

I MILES My lorde, will ye listen oure layes? *stories*
Here this boy is ye bade us go bary *beat*
With battis.

II MILES We ar combered his corpus for to cary, *burdened; body; cause suffering*
430 Many wightis on hym wondres and wary. *are astonished and curse*
Lo, his flesh al be beflapped that fat is. *beaten (bruised)*

PILATUS Wele, bringe hym before us as he blisshes all bloo.
 I suppose of his seggyng he will cese evermore.
 Sirs, beholde upon hight and *ecce homoo*,
 435 Thus bounden and bette and broght you before.
 Me semes that it sewes hym full sore,
 For his gilte on this grounde is he grevyd,
 If you like for to listen my lore.
 In race
 . . .

*blushes; livid
 speaking; cease
 high; behold the man
 beaten
 afflicts
 grieved*
(see note)
[missing pages]

[PILATUS] For propirly by this processe will I preve
 441 I had no force fro this felawshippe this freke for to fende.

strength; man; defend

PRECO Here is all, ser, that ye for sende;
 Wille ye wasshe whill the water is hote?

Tunc lavat manus suas.

Then he washes his hands

PILATUS Nowe this Barabas bandes ye unbende,
 445 With grace late hym gange on his gatis
 Where ye will.

*bonds (ropes); untie
 way*

BARABAS Ye worthy men, that I here wate,
 God encrece all youre comely estate,
 For the grace ye have graunt me untill.

*know
 granted to me*

PILATUS Here the judgement of Jesus, all Jewes in this stede:
 451 Crucifie hym on a crosse and on Calverye hym kill.
 I dampne hym today to dy this same dede;
 Therfore hyngis hym on hight uppon that high hill;
 And on aythir side hym I will
 455 That a harlott ye hyng in this hast.
 Methynkith it both reasoun and skill
 Emyddis, sen his malice is mast,
 Ye hyng hym.
 Then hym turmente, som tene for to tast.
 460 Mo wordis I will not nowe wast,
 But blynne not to dede to ye bryng hym.

*Hear; place
 damn; death
 hang
 criminal; hang; haste
 Amidst; most
 torment; pain; experience
 waste
 do not stop until*

CAIPHAS Sir, us semys in oure sight that ye sadly has saide.
 Now knyghtis that are conant with this catyf ye care,
 The liffe of this losell in youre list is it laide.

*solemnly
 wise; go
 rascal; as you desire*

I MILES Late us alone, my lorde, and lere us na lare.
 466 Siris, sette to hym sadly and sare,
 All in cordis his coarse umbycast.

*teach; no llore
 cords; body bind*

II MILES Late us bynde hym in bandis all bare.

II MILES Here is one, full lange will it laste.

IV MILES Lay on hande here.

V MILES I powll to my poure is past.

472 Nowe feste is he, felawes, ful fast;
Late us stere us, we may not long stand here.

*pull until; strength
fast (secure)
stir*

ANNA Drawe hym faste hense, delyvere you, have done.

475 Go, do se hym to dede withoute lenger delay,
For dede bus hym be nedlyng be none.
All myrthe bus us move tomorne that we may;
Itt is sothly oure grette Sabott day,
No dede bodis unberid sall be.

*necessarily
dead bodies unburied*

VI MILES We see wele the soth ye us say.

481 We sall traylle hym tyte to his tree,
Thus talkand.

*drag; quickly; cross
talking*

IV MILES Farewele, now wightely wende we.

PILATUS Nowe certis, ye are a manly menye.

485 Furth in the wylde wanyand be walkand.

*company
waning [of moon]; walking*

[34. THE ROAD TO CALVARY]

The Sherman

PRIMUS MILES INCIPIT Pees, barnes and bachillers that beldis here aboute,¹

Stirre noght ones in this stede but stonde stone stille,
Or, be the lorde that I leve on, I schall gar you lowte. *by; believe; make you to pay homage*
But ye spare when I speke youre speche schall I spille *(i.e., refrain from speaking)*
5 Smertely and sone.
For I am sente fro Sir Pilate with pride
To lede this ladde oure lawes to abide,
He getis no bettir bone.

*once
reward*

Therfore I comaunde you on evere ilke a side
10 Upon Payne of enprisonment that no man appere
To supowle this traytoure, be tyme ne be tyde,
. . .
Noght one of his prees,
Nor noght ones so hardy for to enquere,

*support
[line missing]
company*

¹ *Peace, knights and retainers who remain here about*

15 But helpe me holly, alle that are here,
 This kaitiffe care to encrees.

*wholly
caitiff's discomfort (pain)*

Therfore make rome and rewle you nowe right
That we may with this weried wight
Wightely wende on oure wayes.
He napped noght of all this nyght
20 And this daye schall his deth be dight,
 Latte see who dare saie naye.
Because tomorne is provyde
For oure dere Sabbott day,
We will no mysse be moved
25 But mirthe in all that evere men may.

*accursed man
Quickly*

effected

(i.e., will be)

wish no mishap to occur

We have bene besie all this morne
To clothe hym and to croune with thorne,
As falles for a fole kyng,
And nowe methynkith oure felawes skorne,
30 They highte to have ben here this morne,
 This faitour forthe to bring.
To nappe nowe is noght goode.
We! howe! high myght he hyng.

befits; fool

promised

hang

II MILES Pees, man, for Mahoundes bloode.
35 Why make ye such crying?

I MILES Why wotte thou noght als wele as I,
This carle burde unto Calver
And there on crosse be done?

*know
churl must go*

II MILES Sen dome is geven that he schall dy,
40 Late calle to us more compayne,
 And ellis we erre oure fone.

*Since the verdict
Let's*

Or else we are too few

I MILES Oure gere behoves to be grayde
And felawes sammed sone,
For Sir Pilate has saide
45 Hym bus be dede be none.

*ready
together*

must; noon

Wher is Sir Wymond, wotte thou ogh?

II MILES He wente to garre a crosse be wrought
To bere this cursed knave.

cause; made

I MILES That wolde I sone wer hyder broght,
50 For sithen schall othir gere be soght
 That us behoves to haffe.

*hither
then*

we need to have

- II MILES** Us bus have sties and ropes
 To rugge hym tille he rave,
 And nayles and othir japes
 55 If we oureselve wille save.
- ladders*
pull [with violence]; screams
tricks
- I MILES** To tarie longe us were full lathe,
 But Wymond come, it is in wathe
 But we be blamed all three.
 59 We, howe, Sir Wymond waytesskathē.
- unwilling*
Unless; there is danger
troublemaker
- II MILES** We, howe, Sir Wymond, howe.
- III MILES** I am here, what saie ye bathe,
 Why crye ye so on me?
 I have bene garre make
 This crosse, as yhe may see,
 Of that laye over the lake;
 65 Men called it the kyngis tree.
- both*
charged to make
- I MILES** Nowe sekirly I thought the same,
 For that balke will no man us blame
 To cutte it for the kyng.
- surely*
timber
- II MILES** This karle has called hym kyng at hame,
 70 And sen this tre has such a name,
 It is accordyng thyng
 That his rigge on it may reste
 For skorne and for hethyng.
- appropriate*
back
mocking
- III MILES** Methoughte it semyd beste
 75 Tille this bargayne to bryng.
- undertaking*
- I MILES** It is wele warred, so motte I spedē,
 And it be lele in lenghe and brede;
 Than is this space wele spende.
- knotty (strong)*
If; true
Then; amount of time
- III MILES** To loke therastir it is no nedē.
 80 I toke the mesure or I yode,
 Bothe for the fette and hande.
- ere; went*
- II MILES** Beholde howe it is boorede
 Full even at ilke an ende;
 This werke will wele accorde,
 85 It may not be amendē.
- at each end*
improved
- III MILES** Nay, I have ordande mekill more,
 Yaa, thes theves are sente before
- planned (executed)*

- That beside hym schall hyng,
And sties also are ordande thore
90 With stalworthe steeles as mystir wore,
Bothe some schorte and some lang.
- I MILES** For hameres and nayles,
Latte see sone who schall gang.
- II MILES** Here are bragges that will noght faile
95 Of irnne and stele full strange.
- III MILES** Thanne is it as it aweth to bee,
But whiche of yowe schall beere this tree
Sen I have broughte it hendir?
- I MILES** Be my feithe, bere it schall hee
100 That theron hanged sone schall bee,
And we schall teeche hym whedir.
- II MILES** Upon his bakke it schalle be laide,
For sone we schall come thedir.
- III MILES** Loke that oure gere be grayede,
105 And go we all togedir.
- JOHANNES** Allas, for my maistir that moste is of myght,
That yister-even late, with lanternes light,
Before the busshoppe was brought.
Bothe Petir and I we saugh that sight,
110 And sithen we wente oure wayes full wight,
When the Jewes wondirly wrought:
At morne thei toke to rede
And soteltes upsought
And demed hym to be dede
115 That to tham trespassed noght.
- Allas, for syte, what schall I saie,
My worldly welthe is wente for ay;
In woo evere may I wende.
My maistir, that nevere lakke in lay
120 Is demed to be dede this day,
Ewen in hys elmys hende.
Allas, for my maistir mylde
That all mennys mysse may mende
Shulde so falsely be filed
125 And no frendis hym to fende.
- ladders
rungs; need
- large nails
iron; steel; strong
- ought
bear
- inform
- readied
- saw
quickly
- counsel
subtleties sought out
- against
- sorrow
- [knowledge or practice] of the law
- Even; enemies' hands
- sins
defiled

- Allas, for his modir and othir moo,
 Mi modir and hir sisteres alsoo,
 Sittes samen with sighyngis sore.
 Thai wate nothyng of all this woo;
 130 Forthy to warne tham will I goo
 Sen I may mende no more.
 Sen he schall dye as tyte
 And thei unwarned wore,
 I ware worthy to wite,
 135 I will to faste therfore.
- Sit together
know*
- But in myn herte grete drede have I
 That his modir for dole schall dye
 When she see ones that sight.
 But certis I schal not wande forthy
 140 To warne that carefull company
 Or he to dede be dight.
- redress (events)
so quickly
honored to know*
- . . .
- MARIA SANCTA** Sen he fro us will twynne
 I schall thee nevere forsake.
 Allas, the tyme and tyde,
 145 I watte wele the day is come
 That are was specified
 Of prophete Symeon in prophicie:
 The swerde of sorowe schulde renne
 Thurghoute the herte sotelly.
- be separated*
- II MARIA** Allas, this is a sithfull sight.
 151 He that was evere luffely and light
 And Lorde of high and lawe,
 Oo, doulfly nowe is he dight
 In worlde is none so wofull a wighte
 155 Ne so carefull to knawe.
 Thei that he mended moste
 In dede and als in sawe,
 Now have they full grete haste
 To dede hym for to drawe.
- sorrowful
beloved; righteous
low*
- JESUS** Doughteres of Jerusalem cytté,
 161 Sees, and mournes no more for me
 But thynkes upon this thyng;
 For youreselfe mourne schall yee,
 And for the sonnes that borne schal be
 165 Of yowe, bothe olde and yonge.
 For such fare schall befalle
 That ye schall giffe blissyng
- full of care (sorrow)
helped
word
death*
- Cease*
- matter (events)
give*
- [pages missing, see textual note]

To barayne bodies all
That no barnes forthe may brynge.

*barren
children*

- 170 For certis ye schall see suche a day
That with sore sighyng schall ye saye
Unto the hillis on highte,
“Falle on us, mountaynes, and ye may,
And covere us fro that felle affraye
175 That on us sone schall light.”
Turnes home the toune untill
Sen ye have seen this sight,
It is my Fadirs will,
Alle that is done and dighte.

*terrible assault
Go home to
determined*

III MARIA Allas, this is a cursed cas.

- 181 He that alle hele in his hande has
Shall here be sakles slayne.
A, Lorde, beleve lete cleNSE thy face.
Behalde howe he hath schewed his grace,
185 Howe he is moste of mayne.
This signe schalle bere witnesse
Unto all pepull playne
Howe Goddes Sone here gilteles
Is putte to pereles payne.

*well-being
innocent
quickly
power
unparalleled*

I MILES Saie, wherto bide ye here aboute,

- 191 Thare quenys, with ther skymering and ther schoute,
Wille noght ther stevenis steere?

*whores; agitating
voices control*

- II MILES** Go home, casbalde, with thi clowte
Or, be that lorde we love and louete,
195 Thou schall abyne full dere.

*?bald fellow; cloth
reverence
pay; dearly*

III MARIA This signe schall vengeaunce calle
On yowe holly in feere.

- III MILES** Go, hye thee hense withalle
199 Or ille hayle come thou here.

ill health

JOHANNES Lady, youre gretyng greves me sore.

MARIA SANCTA John, helpe me nowe and evermore
That I myght come hym tille.

- JOHANNES** My lady, wende we forthe before
To Calvery when ye come thedir;
205 Than schall ye saie what ye will.

I MILES What a devyll is this to saye,
 How longe schall we stande stille?
 Go, hye you hens awaye,
 In the devylis name, doune the hill.

II MILES Ther quenes us comeres with ther clakke;
 211 He schall be served for ther sake
 With sorowe and with sore.

shrew; annoys; outcry

III MILES And thei come more such noyse to make,
 We schall garre lygge thame in the lake
 215 Yf thei were halfe a skore.

*If
cause them to lie; dungeon*

I MILES Latis nowe such bourdyng be.
 Sen oure tooles are before
 This traitoure and this tree;
 Wolde I full fayne were thore.

Put aside; jesting (playing)

II MILES We schall no more so stille be stedde,
 221 For nowe ther quenes are fro us fledde
 That falsely wolde us feere.

positioned

III MILES Methynkith this boy is so forbledde
 With this ladde may he noght be ledde.
 225 He swounes, that dare I swere.

*(i.e., lost so much blood)
strap*

I MILES It nedis noght harde to harle
 Sen it dose hym slike dere.

*drag
harm*

II MILES I se here comes a karle
 Shall helpe hym for to bere.

*churl
bear*

III MILES That schall ye see sone one assaye.
 231 Goode man, whedir is thou away?
 Thou walkis as thou were wrothe.

*to take up
vexed*

SYMON Sir, I have a grete journay
 That bus be done this same day,
 235 Or ellis it may do skathe.

great harm

I MILES Thou may with litill Payne
 Eease thyselffe and us bathe.

SYMON Goode sirs, that wolde I fayne,
 But to dwelle were me lathe.

*gladly
loath*

II MILES Nay, beuscher, thou shall sone be spedde.

- 241 Loo, here a ladde that muste be ledde
For his ille dedis to dye.

III MILES And he is brosid and all forbledde,

- That makis us here thus stille be stedde;
245 We pray thee, sir, forthy,
That thou wilte take this tree
And bere it to Calverye.

bruised

be unable to move

SYMON Goode sirs, that may nought be,
For full grete haste have I.

- 250 My wayes are lang and wyde,
And I may noght abide,

For drede I come to late;

For sureté have I hight

Muste be fulfillid this nyght

- 255 Or it will paire my state.

Therfore, sirs, by youre leve,

Methynkith I dwelle full lang.

Me were loth you for to greve,

Goode sirs, ye late me gang;

too

bond (legal obligation)

impair (reduce); estate

long

stay

- 260 No lenger here now may I wone.

I MILES Nay, certis, thou schalte noght go so sone,

For ought that thou can saye.

This dede is moste haste to be done,

For this boy muste be dede by none,

noon

- 265 And nowe is nere myddaye.

Go helpe hym in this nede

And make no more delaye.

SYMON I praye yowe dose youre dede

And latis me wende my waye.

- 270 And sirs, I schall come sone agayne

To helpe this man with all my mayne,

strength

And even at youre awne will.

II MILES What, wolde thou trusse with such a trayne?

get away with; trick

Nay, faitour, thou schalte be fayne

- 275 This forwarde to fullfille,

Or, be myghty Mahounde,

Thou schalte rewe it full ille.

III MILES Late dyng this dastarde doun,
But he goo tyte thertill. *beat
Unless*

SYMON Sertis, sir, that wer nougnt wisely wrought
281 To bete me but I trespassid ought
Outhir in worde or dede. *though
Either*

I MILES Upon his bakke it schall be brought
To bere it, whedir he wille or noght.
285 What, devyll, whome schulde we drede?
Go, take it uppe belyve *quickly*
And bere it forthe goode spede.

SYMON It helpis noght here to strive;
Bere it behoves me nede.

290 And therfore, sirs, as ye have saide,
To bere this crosse I holde me paied
Right as ye wolde it wore. *were [done]*

II MILES Yaa, nowe are we right arraied;
Loke that oure gere be redy grayed *made ready*
295 To wirke whanne we come thore.

III MILES I warand all redy
Oure tooles bothe lesse and more;
Late hym goo hardely
Forthe with the crosse before.

I MILES Sen he has his lade, nowe late hym gang, *load*
301 For with this warlowe wirke we wrang, *wrong*
And we thus with hym yode. *go forth*

II MILES And nowe is noght goode to tarie lang;
What schulde we done more us emang? *among*
305 Say, sone, so mote thou spede.

III MILES Neven us no nodir noote *Speak*
Tille we have done this dede.

I MILES Weme, methynke we doote, *(i.e., I'm astonished); act foolishly*
He muste be naked nede.

310 All yf he called hymselffe a kyng,
In his clothis he schall noght hyng
But naked as a stone be stedde.

II MILES That calle I accordand thyng,
 But tille his sidis I trowe thei clyng,
 315 For bloode that he has bledde.

III MILES Wheder thei clynge or cleve,
 Naked he schalle be ledde,
 And for the more myscheve
 Buffettis hym schall be bedde.

I MILES Take of his clothis beliffe, latte see.
 321 Aha, this garment will falle wele for mee,
 And so I hope it schall.

II MILES Nay, sir, so may it noght be;
 Thame muste be parte amonge us thre,
 325 Take even as will fall.

III MILES Yaa, and Sir Pilate medill hym,
 Youre parte woll be but small.

I MILES Sir, and ye liste, go telle hym
 Yitt schall he noght have all
 330 Butte even his awne parte and no more.

II MILES Yaa, late thame ligge still here in stoore
 Untill this dede be done.

III MILES Latte bynde hym as he was before
 And harle on harde that he wer thore,
 335 And hanged or it be none.

I MILES He schall be feste as fee
 And that right sore and sone.

II MILES So fallis hym for to be,
 He gettis no bettir bone.

II MILES This werke is wele nowe, I warand,
 341 For he is boune as beeste in bande
 That is demed for to dye.

I MILES Thanne rede I that we no lenger stande
 But ilke man feste on hym a hande
 345 And harle hym hense in hye.

*given**off**if; concerns himself (with)**lie; storage**drag**domestic animal**reward**beast; bonds (ropes)**drag**advise*

II MILES Yaa, nowe is tyme to trusse
To alle oure compayne. *depart*

III MILES If anye aske aftir us,
Kenne thame to Calvarie. *Show*

[35.] CRUCIFIXIO CHRISTI

The Pynneres and Paynters

I MILES Sir knyghtis, take heede hydir in hye:
This dede on dergh we may noght drawe. *haste*
Yee wootte youreselffe als wele as I
Howe lordis and leders of owre lawe
5 Has geven dome that this doote schall dye. *in length of time; draw out*
know
leaders of (authorities on)
judgment; fool

II MILES Sir, alle thare counsaile wele we knawe.
Sen we are comen to Calvarie
Latte ilke man helpe nowe as hym awe. *(i.e., he ought to)*

III MILES We are alle redy, loo,
10 That forward to fullfille. *agreement*

IV MILES Late here howe we schall doo,
And go we tyte thertille. *quickly*

I MILES It may noght helpe her for to hone,
14 If we schall any worshippe wynne. *delay*

II MILES He muste be dede nedelyngis by none. *necessarily; noon*

III MILES Thanne is goode tyme that we begynne.

IV MILES Late dynge hym doune, than is he done;
He schall nought dere us with his dynne. *strike*
harm

I MILES He schall be sette and lerned sone,
20 With care to hym and all his kynne. *set (secured); taught*
sorrow; people

II MILES The foulest dede of all
Shalle he dye for his dedis.

III MILES That menes crosse hym we schall.

IV MILES Behalde so right he redis. *understands*

II MILES Thanne to this werke us muste take heede
26 So that oure wirkynge be noght wronge.

II MILES None othir noote to neven is nede,
But latte us haste hym for to hange.

matter; speak of

III MILES And I have gone for gere goode speede,
30 Bothe hammeres and nayles large and lange.

equipment

IV MILES Thanne may we boldely do this dede.
Commes on, late kille this traitoure strange.

strong (determined)

I MILES Faire myght ye falle in feere
That has wrought on this wise.

II MILES Us nedis nought for to lere
36 Suche faitoures to chastise.

*(i.e., We already know how
deceivers*

III MILES Sen ilke a thyng es right arrayed,
The wiselier nowe wirke may we.

everything is

IV MILES The crosse on grounde is goodely graied,
40 And boorede even as it awith to be.

*prepared
bored; ought*

I MILES Lokis that the ladde on lenghe be layde,
And made me thane unto this tree.

(i.e., then fastened); cross

II MILES For alle his fare he schalle be flaied,
That one assaie sone schalle ye see.

*practices; punished
undertaking*

III MILES Come forthe, thou cursed knave,
46 Thy conforto sone schall kele.

cool (extinguish)

IV MILES Thyne hyre here schall thou have.

pay

I MILES Walkes oon, now wirke we wele.

JESUS Almyghty God, my Fadir free,
50 Late this materes be made in mynde:
Thou badde that I schulde buxsome be,
For Adam plyght for to be pyned.
Here to dede I obblisse me
Fro that synne for to save mankynde,
55 And soveraynely beseeke I thee
That thai for me may favoure fynde,
And fro the fende thame fende
So that ther saules be saffe

bade; obedient

Adam's guilt

oblige

above all beseech

because of me

fiend themselves defend

- In welthe withouten ende. *well-being*
 60 I kepe nought ellis to crave.
- I MILES** We, herke sir knyghtis, for Mahoundis bloode,
 Of Adam kynde is all his thought. *descendants*
- II MILES** The warlowe waxis werre than woode;
 This doulfull dede ne dredith he noght. *warlock; worse; mad
doleful deed*
- III MILES** Thou schulde have mynde, with mayne and moode,
 66 Of wikkid werkis that thou haste wrought.
- IV MILES** I hope that he hadde bene as goode
 Have sesed of sawes that he uppe sought. *ceased; sayings (words); invented*
- I MILES** Thoo sawes schall rewe hym sore
 70 For all his saunteryng sone. *babbling soon*
- II MILES** Ille spede thame that hym spare
 Tille he to dede be done.
- III MILES** Have done belyve, boy, and make thee boune,
 And bende thi bakke unto this tree. *quickly; prepared*
- IV MILES** Byhalde, hymselffe has laide hym doun
 76 In lenghe and breede as he schulde bee. *Behold*
- I MILES** This traitoure here teynted of treasoune,
 Gose faste and fette hym than, ye thre.
 And sen he claymeth kyngdome with croune,
 80 Even as a kyng here hange schall hee. *convicted
?setter*
- II MILES** Nowe, certis, I schall noght feyne
 Or his right hand be feste. *stop
Ere; fastened*
- III MILES** The lefte hande thanne is myne.
 Late see who beres hym beste. *bears himself*
- IV MILES** Hys lynnys on lenghe than schalle I lede,
 86 And even unto the bore thame bringe. *lead
bore hole*
- I MILES** Unto his heede I schall take hede,
 And with myne hande helpe hym to hyng. *head; heed*
- II MILES** Nowe sen we soure schall do this dede,
 90 And medill with this unthrifte thyng, *involve [ourselves]*

- Late no man spare for speciall speede
Tille that we have made endyng. *hold back*
- III MILES** This forward may not faile. *plan*
Nowe are we right arraiede.
- IV MILES** This boy here in oure baile
96 Shall bide full bittir brayde. *custody*
endure; torment
- I MILES** Sir knyghtis, saie, howe wirke we nowe?
- II MILES** Yis, certis, I hope I holde this hande.
And to the boore I have it brought,
100 Full boxumly withouten bande. *bore hole*
eagerly
- I MILES** Strike on than harde, for hym thee boght.
- II MILES** Yis, here is a stubbe will stiffely stande,
Thurgh bones and senous it schall be soght.
This werke is wele, I will warande. *short nail; securely*
sinews
- I MILES** Saie, sir, howe do we thore.
106 This bargayne may not blynne. *process; leave off*
- III MILES** It failis a foote and more,
The senous are so gone ynne. *contracted*
- IV MILES** I hope that marke amissee be bored. *think; measurement*
- II MILES** Than muste he bide in bittir bale. *abide; misery*
- III MILES** In faith, it was overe skantely scored;
112 That makis it foully for to faile. *(i.e., drilled in the wrong spot)*
- I MILES** Why carpe ye so? Faste on a corde
And tugge hym to, by toppe and taile. *complain; Fasten*
- III MILES** Ya, thou comaundis lightly as a lorde.
116 Come helpe to haale, with ille haile. *pull*
- I MILES** Nowe certis, that schall I doo,
Full suerly as a snayle. *snail*
- III MILES** And I schall tacche hym too,
120 Full nemely with a nayle. *attach*
nimbly

- This werke will holde, that dar I heete,
For nowe are feste faste both his handis. *dare; promise
fastened firmly*
- IV MILES** Go we all fourre thanne to his feete,
So schall oure space be spedely spende. *then
our time; well spent*
- II MILES** Latte see, what bourde his bale myght beete,
126 Tharto my bakke nowe wolde I bende. *jest; suffering; assuage*
- IV MILES** Owe, this werke is all unmeete.
This boring muste all be amende. *wrong
improved*
- I MILES** A, pees, man, for Mahounde,
130 Latte no man wotte that wondir.
A roope schall rugge hym doune
Yf all his synuous go asoundre. *peace
Let; marvel
pull violently
sinews pull apart*
- II MILES** That corde full kyndely can I knytte,
The conforte of this karle to kele. *appropriately; tie
cool*
- I MILES** Feste on, thanne, faste that all be fytle;
136 It is no force howe felle he feele. *Fasten; ready
no matter; horrible*
- II MILES** Lugg on ye both a litill yitt. *Pull*
- III MILES** I schalle noughe sese, as I have seele. *cease; happiness*
- IV MILES** And I schall fonde hym for to hitte. *attempt*
- II MILES** Owe, haylle!
- IV MILES** Hoo, nowe, I halde it wele.
- I MILES** Have done, dryve in that nayle
142 So that no faute be foune. *fault; found*
- IV MILES** This wirkynge wolde noght faille,
Yf foure bullis here were boune. *bound*
- I MILES** Ther cordis have evill encressed his paynes
146 Or he wer tille the booryngis brought. *Ere; bore holes*
- II MILES** Yaa, assoundir are bothe synuous and veynis
On ilke a side, so have we soughte. *sineews; veins*
- III MILES** Nowe all his gaudis nothyng hym gaynes;
150 His sauntering schall with bale be bought. *tricks
babbling; sorrow*

IV MILES I wille goo saie to oure soveraynes
Of all this werkis howe we have wrought.

masters

I MILES Nay, sirs, anothir thyng
Fallis firste to youe and me,
155 Thei badde we schulde hym hyng
On heghte that men myght see.

II MILES We woote wele so ther wordes wore,
But sir, that dede will do us dere.

know

deed (act); harm

I MILES It may not mende for to moote more:
160 This harlote muste be hanged here.

(i.e., change anything); argue

II MILES The mortaise is made fitte therfore.

mortise; suitable

III MILES Feste on youre fyngeres than, in feere.

Fasten; together

IV MILES I wene it wolle nevere come thore
We foure rayse it noght right to-yere.

there

this year

I MILES Say, man, whi carpis thou soo?
166 Thy listyng was but light.

say you

II MILES He menes ther muste be moo
To heve hym uppe on hight.

more [men]

heave; high

III MILES Now, certis, I hope it schall noght nede
170 To calle to us more companye.
Methynke we foure schulde do this dede
And bere hym to yone hille on high.

I MILES It muste be done, withouten drede,
No more, but loke ye be redy.
175 And this parte schalle I lifte and leede;
On lenghe he schalle no lenger lie.
Therfore nowe makis you boune:
Late bere hym to yone hill.

never fear

[Say] no more; look

lead

length

bound

Let us bear

IV MILES Thanne will I bere here doune
180 And tente his tase untill.

pay attention; toes

II MILES We twoo schall see tille aythir side,
For ellis this werke wille wrie all wrang.

to either

go awry

III MILES We are redy.

IV MILES Gode sirs, abide,
184 And late me first his fete up fang. *feet lift up*

II MILES Why tente ye so to tales this tyde?
pay attention; tales (stories)

I MILES Lifte uppe!

IV MILES Latte see!

II MILES Owe, lifte alang!

III MILES Fro all this harme he schulde hym hyde
And he war God.

IV MILES The devill hym hang!

I MILES For grete harme have I hente:
190 My schuldir is in soundre.

II MILES And sertis I am nere schente,
So lange have I borne undir.
(i.e., at the end of my strength)
long

III MILES This crosse and I in twoo muste twynne
Ellis brekis my bakke in sondre sone.

IV MILES Laye downe agayne and leve youre dynne.
196 This dede for us will nevere be done. *(i.e., complaints)*

I MILES	Assaie, sirs, latte se yf any gynne May helpe hym uppe, withouten hone, For here schulde wight men worschippe wynne, 200 And noght with gaudis al day to gone.	Try (<i>make an effort</i>); mechanism delay strong; obtain jest; spend
----------------	---	--

II MILES More wighter men than we
Full fewe I hope ye fynde.

III MILES This bargayne will noght bee,
For certis me wantis wynde. *breath*

IV MILES So wille of werke nevere we wore,
206 I hope this carle some cautellis caste.
*(i.e., deficient)
believe; churl; spells [has] cast*

II MILES My bourdeyne satte me wondir soore,
Unto the hill I myght noght laste. burden

I MILES Lifte uppe, and sone he schall be thore;
210 Therfore feste on youre fyngeres faste. *fasten*

III MILES Owe, lifte!

I MILES We, loo!

IV MILES A litill more.

II MILES Holde thanne!

I MILES Howe nowe!

II MILES The werste is paste. *worst*

III MILES He weyes a wikkid weght. *weighs*

II MILES So may we all foure saie,
215 Or he was heved on heght
And raysed in this array. *Ere
manner*

IV MILES He made us stande as any stones,
So boustous was he for to bere. *heavy (awkward); carry*

I MILES Nowe raise hym nemely for the nonys
220 And sette hym be this mortas heere,
And latte hym falle in alle at ones,
For certis that Payne schall have no pere. *nimbly; nonce
mortise
equal*

III MILES Heve uppe!

IV MILES Latte doune, so all his bones
Are asoundre nowe on sides seere.

I MILES This fallyng was more felle
226 Than all the harmes he hadde.
Nowe may a man wele telle
The leste lith of this ladde. *painful
count
(i.e., the smallest part of his body)*

III MILES Methynkith this crosse will noght abide,
230 Ne stande stille in this morteyse yitt. *(i.e., be secure)
(i.e., it wobbles)*

IV MILES Att the firste tyme was it made overe wyde,
That makis it wave, thou may wele witte.

I MILES Itt schall be sette on ilke a side
So that it schall no forther flitte;
235 Goode wegges schall we take this tyde
And feste the foote, thanne is all fitte. *move
wedges
make fast*

II MILES Here are wegges arraied
For that, both grete and smale.

III MILES Where are oure hameres laide
240 That we schulde wirke withall?

IV MILES We have them here even atte oure hande.

II MILES Gyffe me this wegge: I schall it in dryve.

IV MILES Here is anodir yitt ordande.

ready

III MILES Do take it me hidir belyve.

Give it to me quickly

I MILES Laye on thanne faste.

then

III MILES Yis, I warrande.
246 I thryng thame same, so motte I thryve.
Nowe will this crosse full stably stande;
All yf he rave thei will noght ryve.

*press; together; might
firmly
Even if; split (break apart)*

I MILES Say, sir, howe likis thou nowe
250 This werke that we have wrought?

IV MILES We praye youe sais us howe
Ye fele, or faynte ye ought?

tell

JESUS Al men that walkis by waye or strete,
Takes tente ye schalle no travayle tyne.
255 Byholdes myn heede, myn handis, and my feete,
And fully feele nowe, or ye fyne,
Yf any mournyng may be meete
Or myscheve mesured unto myne.
My Fadir, that alle bales may bete,
260 Forgiffis thes men that dois me pyne.
What thai wirke wotte thai noght.
Therfore, my Fadir, I crave
Latte nevere ther synnys be sought,
But see their saules to save.

*Pay attention; suffering; lose
head
experience; before you pass away
equal*

*sorrows; cure
cause; pain*

(i.e., visited upon them)

I MILES We, harke, he jangelis like a jay.

II MILES Methynke he patris like a py.

patters; magpie

III MILES He has ben doand all this day
268 And made grete meuyng of mercy.

*doing [so]
much referring to*

IV MILES Es this the same that gune us say
270 That he was Goddis Sone almyghty?

did

I MILES Therfore he felis full felle affraye,
And demyd this day for to dye.

*[this] very evil assault
is judged*

II MILES *Vath, qui destruit templum.*

Vah, thou that destroyest the Temple of God

III MILES His sawes wer so, certayne.

IV MILES And sirs, he saide to some
276 He myght rayse it agayne.

I MILES To mustir that he hadde no myght,
For all the kautelles that he couthe kaste,
All yf he wer in worde so wight,
280 For all his force nowe he is feste.
Als Pilate demed is done and dight;
Therfore I rede that we go reste.

*perform; power
spells; cast
strong
secure
As; judged
advise*

II MILES This race mon be rehersed right
Thurgh the worlde both este and weste.

III MILES Yaa, late hym hynghe here stille
286 And make mowes on the mone.

*hang
make faces at the moon*

IV MILES Thanne may we wende at wille.

I MILES Nay, goode sirs, noght so sone,

For certis us nedis anodir note.
290 This kirtill wolde I of you crave.

*(i.e., there is another matter)
gown*

II MILES Nay, nay, sir, we will loke be lotte
Whilke of us foure fallis it to have.

by lot

III MILES I rede we drawe cutte for this coote,
Loo, se howe sone, alle sidis to save.

*straws; coat
(i.e., everyone's interests to preserve)*

IV MILES The schorte cutte schall wynne, that wele ye woote,
296 Whedir itt falle to knyght or knave.

I MILES Felowes, ye thar noght flyte,
For this mantell is myne.

*need not argue
garment with open sides*

II MILES Goo we thanne hense tye;
300 This travayle here we tyne, etc.

*quickly
effort; waste*

[36.] MORTIFICACIO CHRISTI

The Bocheres

PILATUS	Sees, seniours, and see what I saie,	
	Takis tente to my talkyng enteere.	<i>Cease entirely</i>
	Devoyde all this dynne here this day,	<i>Stop altogether</i>
	And fallis to my frenschippe in feere.	<i>peer</i>
5	Sir Pilate, a prince withowten pere,	<i>plainly; mention</i>
	My name is full nevenly to neven	<i>judge; worthy; deed</i>
	And domisman full derworth in dede.	<i>(i.e., certainly)</i>
	Of gentillest Jewry full even	
	Am I.	
10	Who makis oppressioun	
	Or dose transgressioun,	<i>By</i>
	Be my discessioun	<i>judged; die</i>
	Shall be demed dewly to dy.	
	To dye schall I deme thame, to dede,	<i>death</i>
15	Tho rebelles that rewles thame unright.	<i>rules (controls) themselves</i>
	Who that to yone hill wille take heede	
	May se ther the soth in his sight,	<i>truth</i>
	Howe doulfull to dede thei are dight	<i>death; put</i>
	That liste noght owre lawes for to lere.	<i>care (desire); learn</i>
20	Lo, thus be my mayne and my myght	
	Tho churles schalle I chasteise and cheere	<i>(i.e., punish)</i>
	Be lawe.	
	Ilke feloune false	<i>Each felon</i>
	Shall hynge be the halse,	<i>neck</i>
25	Transgressours als	<i>also</i>
	On the crosse schalle be knytte for to knawe.	<i>bound; teach</i>
	To knawe schall I knytte thame on crosse;	
	To schende thame with schame schall I shappe,	<i>destroy; attempt</i>
	Ther liffis for to leese is no losse,	<i>lives; lose</i>
30	Suche tirrauntis with teene for to trappe.	<i>malefactors; misery</i>
	Thus leelly the lawe I unlappe	<i>loyally; reveal</i>
	And punyssh thame pitously.	
	Of Jesu I holde it unhappe	<i>unlucky</i>
	That he on yone hill hyng so hye	<i>high</i>
35	For gilte.	
	His bloode to spill	
	Toke ye you till,	<i>Took upon yourselves</i>
	Thus was youre wille	
	Full spitously to sped he were spilte.	<i>destroyed</i>

CAIPHAS To spille hym we spake in a speede,
 41 For falsoed he folowde in faie,
 With fraudes oure folke gan he feede
 And laboured to lere thame his laye.

*hurry
falsehood; faith
did
teach; lore*

ANNA Sir Pilate, of pees we youe praye,
 45 Oure lawe was full lyke to be lorne.
 He saved noght oure dere Sabott daye,
 And that for to scape it were a scorne,
 By lawe.

*destroyed
escape*

PILATUS Sirs, before youre sight
 50 With all my myght
 I examynde hym right,
 And cause non in hym cowthe I knawe.

none; could

CAIPHAS Ye knawe wele the cause, sir, in cace:
 It touched treasoune untrewe.
 55 The tribute to take or to trace
 Forbadde he, our bale for to brewe.

*[this] case
seek out
sorrow; stir up*

ANNA Of japes yitt jangelid yone Jewe,
 And cursedly he called hym a kyng.
 To deme hym to dede it is diewe,
 60 For treasoune it touches that thyng
 Indede.

*jest
due*

CAIPHAS Yitt principall
 And worste of all,
 He garte hym call
 65 Goddes Sonne, that foulle motte hym speede.

*caused; to be called
might*

PILATUS He spedis for to spille in space,
 So wondirly wrought is youre will;
 His bloode schall youre bodis embrace,
 For that have ye taken you till.

*die; space [of time] (i.e., soon)
(i.e., be on your head)*

ANNA That forwarde ful fayne to fulfille
 71 Indede schall we dresse us bedene;
 Yone losell hym likis full ille,
 For turned is his trantis all to teene,
 I trowe.

*purpose; eagerly
undertake; forthwith
wretch
trickery; misery
think*

CAYPHAS He called hym kyng,
 76 Ille joie hym wring.
 Ya, late hym hyng,
 Full madly on the mone for to mowe.

*torture
hang
moon to make faces*

ANNA To mowe on the moone has he mente.

- 80 We, fye on thee, faitour in faye!
 Who trowes thou to thi tales toke tente?
 Thou saggard, thiselffe gan thou saie,
 The Tempill distroie thee todaye,
 Be the thirde day ware done ilka dele,
 85 To rayse it thou schulde thee arraye.
 Loo, howe was thi falsed to feele,
 Foule falle thee!
 For thy presumpcyoune
 Thou hasteth thy warisoune;
 90 Do faste come doune,
 And a comely kyng schalle I calle thee.

deceiver; faith
 trusts; pay attention
 sagging one
If the; were destroyed
 were; every way
 arrange
 manifest fitself

reward

- CAYPHAS** I calle thee a coward to kenne
 That mervaylles and mirakills made.
 Thou mustered emange many menne,
 95 But, brothell, thou boureded to brade.
 Thou saved thame fro sorowes, thai saide:
 To save nowe thiselffe late us see;
 God Sonne if thou grathely be grayde,
 Delyvere thee doune of that tree
 100 Anone.
 If thou be funne
 Thou be Goddis Sonne,
 We schall be bonne
 To trowe on thee trewelye, ilkone.

know
 among
jested too broadly

*truly; were made to be
 off*
found
obliged
trust; truly, each one

- ANNA** Sir Pilate, youre pleasaunce we praye,
 106 Takis tente to oure talkyng this tide
 And wipe ye yone writyng away:
 It is not beste it abide.
 It sittis youe to sette it aside,
 110 And sette that he saide in his sawe,
 As he that was prente full of pride,
 “Jewes kyng am I,” comely to knawe,
 Full playne.

good will
 at this time

substitute

marked

- PILATUS** *Quod scripsi, scripsi.*
 115 Yone same wrotte I;
 I bide therby,
 What gedlyng will grucche there agayne.

What I have written, I have written
gadling (scoundrel); grudge

- JESUS** Thou man that of mys here has mente,
 To me tente enteerly thou take.
 120 On roode am I ragged and rente,
 Thou synfull sawle, for thy sake.

sin; intended
 attention entirely

- For thy misse amendis will I make. sin
 My bakke for to bende, here I bide;
 This teene for thi traspase I take.
- 125 Who couthe thee more kyndynes have kydde *suffering; trespasses shown*
 Than I?
 Thus for thy goode
 I schedde my bloode.
 Manne, mende thy moode,
- 130 For full bittir thi blisse mon I by. *I will purchase*
- MARIA** Allas, for my swete Sonne I saie,
 That doulfly to dede thus is dight.
 Allas, for full lovely thou laye
 In my wombe, this worthely wight. man
- 135 Allas, that I schulde see this sight
 Of my Sone so semely to see. *handsome*
 Allas, that this blossom so bright
 Untrewly is tugged to this tree, *attached*
 Allas!
- 140 My lorde, my leyffe, *dear one*
 With full grete greffe *grief*
 Hyngis as a theffe. *thief*
 Allas, he did never trespassse.
- JESUS** Thou woman, do way of thy wepyng, stop
 145 For me may thou nothyng amende;
 My Fadirs wille to be wirkynge,
 For mankynde my body I bende.
- MARIA** Allas, that thou likes noght to lende, *remain*
 Howe schulde I but wepe for thy woo?
 150 To care nowe my conforte is kende. *distress; given part*
 Allas, why schulde we twynne thus in twoo
 Forevere?
- JESUS** Womanne, instede of me, son
 Loo, John thi sone schall bee.
 155 John, see to thi modir free, *duty*
 For my sake do thou thi devere.
- MARIA** Allas, Sone, sorowe and sighte *Son; grief*
 That me were closed in clay,
 A swerde of sorowe me smyte,
 160 To dede I were done this day. *death*
- JOHANNES** A, modir, so schall ye noght saie, *calm; crowd*
 I praye you be pees in this presse,

For with all the myght that I maye
 Youre conforte I caste to encresse
 165 Indede.
 Youre sone am I,
 Loo, here redy,
 And nowe forthy
 I praye yowe hense for to speede.

MARIA My steven for to stede or to steere,
 171 Howe schulde I such sorowe to see:
 My Sone that is dereworthy and dere
 Thus doufull a dede for to dye.

JOHANNES A, dere modir, blynne of this blee;
 175 Youre mournyng it may not amende.

MARIA CLEOPHE A, Marie, take triste unto thee,
 For socoure to thee will he sende
 This tyde.

JOHANNES Fayre modir, faste
 180 Hense latte us caste.

MARIA To he be paste
 Wille I buske here baynly to bide.

JESUS With bittirfull bale have I bought,
 Thus, man, all thi misse for te mende,
 185 On me for to looke lette thou noght
 Howe baynly my body I bende.
 No wighte in this worlde wolde have wende
 What sorowe I suffre for thy sake.
 Manne, kaste thee thy kyndynesse be kende,
 190 Trewe tente unto me that thou take
 And treste.
 For foxis ther dennys have thei,
 Birdis hase ther nestis to paye,
 But the Sone of Man this daye
 195 Hase noght on his heed for to reste.

LATRO A SINISTRIS If thou be Goddis Sone so free,
 Why hyng thou thus on this hille?
 To saffe nowe thyselffe late us see,
 And us now, that spedis for to spille.

LATRO A DEXTRIS Manne, stynte of thy steven and be stille,
 201 For douteles thy God dredis thou noght;

voice; stabilize; control

worthy

stop (amend); attitude

hope

go away

Until; passed (away)
try; humbly

sins; to

refrain

obediently

(i.e., endured)

attempt to show

attention

trust

dens

satisfy [them]

head

THIEF ON THE LEFT

hang

save; let

(i.e., soon will be killed)

cease; speaking
you dread not

- Full wele are we worthy thertill.
Unwisely wrange have we wrought,
Iwisse. *wrong*
- 205 Noon ille did hee
Thus for to dye.
Lord, have mynde of me
Whan thou art come to thi bliss. *No evil*
- JESUS** Forsothe, sonne, to thee schall I saie,
210 Sen thou fro thy foly will falle,
With me schall dwelle nowe this daye
In paradise place principall.
Heloy! heloy! *part*
- My God, my God, full free,
215 *Lama zabalanye,*
Wharto forsoke thou me,
In care? *Why*
And I did nevere ille
This dede for to go tille, *misery*
undergo
- 220 But be it at thi wille.
A, me thirstis sare. *sorely*
- GARCIO** A drinke schalle I dresse thee indede,
A draughte that is full dayntely dight,
Full faste schall I springe for to spedē.
225 I hope I schall holde that I have hight. *prepare (for)*
carefully
shall do as; promised
- CAYPHAS** Sir Pilate, that moste is of myght,
Harke, “Heely” now harde I hym crye;
He wenys that that worthely wight
In haste for to helpe hym in hye
230 In his nede. *Elijah*
- PILATUS** If he do soo,
He schall have woo.
- ANNA** He wer oure foo
If he dresse hym to do us that dede. *foe*
try; perform; deed
- GARCIO** That dede for to dresse yf he doo,
236 In sertis he schall rewe it full sore. *repent*
- Neverethelees, if he like it noght, loo,
Full sone may he covere that care.
Now swete sir, youre wille yf it ware,
240 A draughte here of drinke have I dreste
To spedē for no spence that ye spare,
But baldely ye bib it for the beste *be released from*
were
prepared
expense
boldly; drink

- Forwhy
Aysell and galle
245 Is menged withalle.
Drynke it ye schalle.
Youre lippis, I halde thame fulle drye.
- JESUS** Thi drinke it schalle do me no deere,
Wete thou wele, therof will I none.
250 Nowe, Fadir, that formed alle in fere,
To thy moste myght make I my mone.
Thi wille have I wrought in this wone.
Thus ragged and rente on this roode,
Thus doulffully to dede have thei done.
255 Forgiffe thame be grace that is goode,
Thai ne wote noght what it was.
My Fadir, here my bone,
For nowe all thyng is done.
My spirite to thee right sone
260 Comende I *in manus tuas.*
- MARIA** Now, dere Sone, Jesus so jente,
Sen my harte is hevy as leede,
O worde wolde I witte or thou wente.
Allas, nowe my dere Sone is dede.
265 Full rewfully refte is my rede.
Allas, for my darlyng so dere.
- JOHANNES** A modir, ye halde uppe youre heede
And sigh noght with sorowes so seere,
I praye.
- MARIA CLEOPHE** It dose hir pyne
271 To see hym tyne.
Lede we her heyne,
This mornyng helpe hir ne maye.
- CAIPHAS** Sir Pilate, parceyve, I you praye,
275 Oure costemes to kepe wele ye canne.
Tomorne is our dere Sabott daye,
Of mirthe muste us meve ilke a man.
Yone warlous nowe waxis full wan,
And nedis muste thei beried be.
280 Delyver ther dede, sir, and thane
Shall we sew to oure saide solempnité
Indede.
- Vinegar
mingled
- harm
Know; well
all together
moan (lament)
place
cross
- hear; request
- into your hands
- gentle (gracious)
lead
know ere
- cruelly lost; advisor (supporter)
- hold; head
many (painful)
- pain
die
Lead; away
[fwe] may not
- perceive
customs; well
- move every
sorcerer; pale
- Hasten; death
pursue

- PILATE** It schalle be done,
In wordis fone. *few*
- 285 Sir knyghtis, go sone
To yone harlottis you hendely take heede. *in a seemly manner*
- Tho caytiffis thou kille with thi knyffe;
Delyvere, have done, thei were dede. *Those*
- MILES** Mi lorde, I schall lenghe so ther liffe
290 That tho brothelles schall nevere bite brede. *lengthen; lives
bread*
- PILATUS** Ser Longeus, steppe forthe in this steede.
This spere, loo, have halde in thy hande, *place
hold*
To Jesus thou rake fourthe I rede *go; advise*
And sted nougnt but stiffly thou stande *delay; boldly*
295 A stounde. *while (space of time)*
- In Jesu side
Schoffe it this tyde; *Shove*
No lenger bide,
But grathely thou go to the grounde. *directly; location*
- LONGEUS LATUS** O, maker unmade, full of myght.
- 301 O, Jesu so jentill and jente,
That sodenly has lente me my sight. *given*
Lorde, louyng to thee be it lente. *praise*
On rode arte thou ragged and rente *cross*
- 305 Mankynde for to mende of his mys.
Full spitously spilte is and spente
Thi bloode, Lorde, to bringe us to blis
Full free.
- A, mercy my socoure,
310 Mercy, my treasoure,
Mercy my Savioure,
Thi mercy be markid in me. *amend; sin
maliciously*
- CENTERIO** O, wondirfull werkar iwis,
This weedir is waxen full wan, *weather; dark*
315 Trewe token I trowe that it is
That mercy is mente unto man. *sign*
- Full clerly consayve thus I can
No cause in this corse couthe thei knowe,
Yitt doulfull thei demyd hym than *conceive
could
judged*
- 320 To lose thus his liffe be ther lawe,
No righte. *(i.e., illegally)*
Trewly I saie,
Goddis Sone verraye

- Was he this daye
 325 That doulfully to dede thus is dight. *death; put*
- JOSEPH [OF ARIMATHEA]** That Lorde lele aylastyng in lande,
 Sir Pilate, full preste in this presse,
 He save thee be see and be sande,
 And all that is derworth on deesse. *truly everlasting
bold; crowd
worthy; dais*
- PILATUS** Joseph, this is lely no lesse;
 331 To me arte thou welcome iwissee. *loyally*
 Do saie me the soth or thou sesse,
 Thy worthyly wille what it is
 Anone. *cease*
- JOSEPH** To thee I praye,
 336 Giffe me in hye *Give*
 Jesu bodye
 In gree it for to grave al alone. *suitable manner*
- PILATUS** Joseph, sir, I graunte thee that geste.
 340 I grucche noght to grath hym in grave.
 Delyver, have done he were dreste,
 And sewe, sir, oure Sabott to saffe. *man
grudge; bury
Hasten, endeavor
proceed; save*
- JOSEPH** With handis and harte that I have
 I thanke thee in faith for my frende.
 345 God kepe thee thi conforto to crave,
 For wightely my way will I wende *quickly*
 In hye.
 To do that dede
 He be my speede,
 350 That armys gun spredde, *were*
 Mannekynde be his bloode for to bye. *by; purchase*
- NICHODEMUS** Weill mette, ser; in mynde gune I meffe
 For Jesu that juded was unjente.
 Ye laboured for license and leve
 355 To berye his body on bente? *Well met; was I moved
was judged to be not noble
permission
in a place*
- JOSEPH** Full myldely that matere I mente,
 And that for to do will I dresse.
- NICHODEMUS** Both same I wolde that we wente *together*
 And lette not for more ne for lesse,
 360 Forwhy *Since*
 Oure frende was he,
 Faithfull and free.

JOSEPH Therfore go we
To berie that body in hye. *quickly*

365 All mankynde may marke in his mynde
To see here this sorowfull sight.
No falsnesse in hym couthe thei fynde
That doulfully to dede thus is dight.

NICHODEMUS He was a full worthy wight,
370 Nowe blemysght and bolned with bloode. *man*
disfigured; swollen

JOSEPH Ya, for that he mustered his myght.
Full falsely thei fellid that foode,
I wyne,
Bothe bakke and side
375 His woundes wide;
Forthi this tyde
Take we hym doune us betwene. *manifested*
destroyed; (dear) person
believe

NICHODEMUS Betwene us take we hym doune,
And laie hym on lenthe on this lande. *ground*

JOSEPH This reverent and riche of rennoune,
381 Late us halde hym and halse hym with hande.
A grave have I garte here be ordande
That never was in noote, it is newe. *holy one*
hold; embrace
cause; ordered
use

NICHODEMUS To this corse it is comely accordande
385 To dresse hym with dedis full dewe
This stounde. *properly suitable*
[thoese] acts due [to him]
(i.e., now)

JOSEPH A sudarye
Loo here have I,
Wynde hym forthy,
390 And sone schalle we grave hym in grounde. *shroud*
bury

NICHODEMUS In grounde late us grave hym and goo;
Do liffely, latte us laie hym allone.
Nowe Saviour of me and of moo,
Thou kepe us in clennesse ilkone. *quickly, let us*
more
purity

JOSEPH To thy mercy nowe make I my moone,
396 As Saviour be see and be sande,
Thou gyde me that my griffe be al gone;
With lele liffe to lenge in this lande
And esse. *lament*
guide; grief
righteous; (i.e., dwell)
ease

- NICHODEMUS** Seere oynementis here have I
 401 Brought for this faire body. *Many*
 I anoynte thee forthy
 With myrre and aloes. *myrrh*
- JOSEPH** This dede it is done ilke a dele,
 405 And wroughte is this werke wele iwis.
 To thee, Kyng, on knes here I knele
 That baynly thou belde me in blisse. *readily; shelter*
- NICHODEMUS** He highte me full hendely to be his
 A nyght whan I neghed hym full nere.
 410 Have mynde, Lorde, and mende me of mys,
 For done is oure dedis full dere
 This tyde. *promised; graciously
approached
[my] transgressions
dear
time*
- JOSEPH** This Lorde so goode
 That schedde his bloode,
 415 He mende youre moode
 And buske on this blis for to bide. *hurry to; abide*

[37. THE HARROWING OF HELL]

The Sadilleres

- JESUS** Manne on molde, be meke to me *earth; obedient*
 And have thy Maker in thi mynde,
 And thynke howe I have tholid for thee *worked (suffered)*
 With pereles paynes for to be pyned. *unequaled; suffered*
- 5 The forward of my Fadir free *covenant*
 Have I fulfillid, as folke may fynde;
 Therfore aboute nowe woll I bee *go about*
 That I have bought for to unbynde. *won by trickery*
- 10 The feende thame wanne with trayne *fruit*
 Thurgh frewte of erthely foode; *(i.e., in my control)*
 I have thame getyn agayne *purchasing*
 Thurgh byng with my bloode.
- And so I schall that steede restore *place*
 For wilke the feende fell for synne;
- 15 Thare schalle mankynde wonne evermore *dwell*
 In blisse that schall nevere blynne. *end*
 All that in werke my werkemen were,
- 20 Owte of thare woo I wol thame wynne, *win [back]*
 And some signe schall I sende before
 Of grace to garre ther gamys begynne. *cause; mirth*

A light I woll thei have
To schewe thame I schall come sone.
My bodie bidis in grave *remains*
Tille alle thes dedis be done. *deeds*

- | | | |
|----|--|--------------------------|
| 25 | My Fadir ordand on this wise
Aftir his will that I schulde wende
For to fulfile the prophicye
And als I spake my solace to spende.
My frendis that in me faith affies | <i>ordained</i> |
| | | <i>disburse</i> |
| 30 | Nowe fro ther fois I schall thame fende,
And on the thirde day ryght uprise
And so tille heven I schall assende.
Sithen schall I come agayne
To deme bothe goode and ill | <i>(i.e., has faith)</i> |
| | | <i>foes; defend</i> |
| 35 | Tille endles joie or peyne;
Thus is my Fadris will. | <i>judge</i> |

Tunc cantent.

Then they sing

EVA Adame, my husband hende,
46 This menys solas certayne;
Such light gune on us lende
In paradise full playne.gracious
means
did; (i.e., shine)

ISAIAH	Adame, we schall wele undirstande;	
50	I, Ysaias as God me kende, I prechid in Neptalym, that lande, And Zabulon even untill ende. I spake of folke in mirke walkand And saide a light schulde on thame lende.	<i>instructed</i> <i>Naphthali</i> <i>darkness walking</i>
55	This lered I whils I was levand; Nowe se I God this same hath sende. This light comes all of Criste, That seede to save us nowe; Thus is my poynte puplisshid,	<i>living</i> <i>progeny [of the Father]</i>
60	But Symeon, what sais thou?	<i>proclaimed</i>

- SYMEON** This, my tale of farleis feele,
 For in the Temple his frendis me fande.
 I hadde delite with hym to dele
 And halsed homely with my hande.
 65 I saide, "Lorde, late thy servaunt lele
 Passe nowe in pesse to liffe lastand,
 For nowe myselfe has sene thy hele,
 Me liste no lengar to liffe in lande."
 This light thou has purveyed
 70 To folkes that liffis in leede,
 The same that I thame saide
 I see fulfillid in dede.
- wonders many
found
held [him] affectionately
in peace; everlasting
desire; longer
land
to them
deed*
- JOHANNES BAPTISTA** Als voyce criand to folke I kende
 The weyes of Criste als I wele kanne;
 75 I baptiste hym with bothe my hande
 Even in the floode of flume Jordanne.
 The Holy Goste fro hevene discende
 Als a white dowue doune on hym thanne;
 The Fadir voice, my mirthe to mende,
 80 Was made to me even als manne;
 "This is my Sone," he saide,
 "In whome me paies full wele."
 His light is on us laide,
 He comes oure cares to kele.
- crying; taught
could
river
dove
I am pleased
cool (assuage)*
- MOYESES** Of that same light lernyng have I;
 86 To me, Moyses, he mustered his myght
 And also unto anodir, Hely,
 Wher we were on an hille on hight.
 Whyte as snowe was his body
 90 And his face like to the sonne to sight;
 No man on molde was so myghty
 Grathely to loke agaynste that light.
 That same light se I nowe
 Shynyng on us sarteyne,
 95 Wherfore trewly I trowe
 We schalle sone passe fro payne.
- Elijah
sun
Directly
certainly
believe
soon*
- I DIABOLUS** Helpe, Belsabub, to bynde ther boyes,
 Such harrowe was never are herde in helle.
turmoil; before
- II DIABOLUS** Why rooris thou soo, Rebalde? Thou roysis,
 100 What is betidde, canne thou ought telle?
shout; talk nonsense
- I DIABOLUS** What, heris thou noght this uggly noyse?
 Thes lurdans that in lymbo dwelle,
hear

Thei make menyng of many joies
And musteres grete mirthe thame emell.

II DIABOLUS Mirthe? Nay, nay, that poynte is paste;
106 More hele schall thei never have.

health (well-being)

I DIABOLUS Thei crie on Criste full faste
And sais he schal thame save.

BELSABUB Ya, if he save thame noght, we schall,
110 For they are sperde in speciall space;
Whils I am prince and principall
Schall thei never passe oute of this place.
Calle uppe Astrotte and Anaball
To giffe ther counsaille in this case,
115 Bele-Berit and Belial,
To marre thame that swilke maistries mase.
Say to Satan oure sire
And bidde thame bringe also
119 Lucifer, lovely of lyre.

imprisoned

perform such outrages

body

I DIABOLUS Al redy, lorde, I goo.

JESUS *Attollite portas principes,*
Oppen uppe, ye princes of paynes sere,

*Lift up your gates, O princes
many*

Et elevamini eternales,
124 Youre yendles gatis that ye have here.

*And be ye lifted up, O eternal gates
everlasting*

SATTAN What page is there that makes prees
And callis hym kyng of us in fere?

*upstart; press (commotion)
altogether*

DAVID I lered levand, withouten lees,
He is a kyng of vertues clere,
A Lorde mekill of myght
130 And stronge in ilke a stoure,
In batailes ferse to fight
And worthy to wynne honnoure.

learned [while] living

*every struggle
fierce*

SATTAN Honnoure, in the devel way, for what dede?
All erthely men to me are thrall.
135 The lad that calles hym Lorde in leede
Hadde never yitt herberowe, house, ne halle.

deed

*subject
in man
lodging*

I DIABOLUS Harke, Belsabub, I have grete drede,
For hydously I herde hym calle.

dread

BELLIAILL We, spere oure gates, all ill mot thou spedē,
140 And sette furthe watches on the wall.

And if he calle or crie
To make us more debate,
Lay on hym than hardely
And garre hym gange his gate.

*bar; prosper**vigorously
make; go [on]; way*

SATTAN Telle me what boyes dare to be so bolde
146 For drede to make so mekill draye.

racket

I DIABOLUS Itt is the Jewe that Judas soldē
For to be dede this othir daye.

SATTAN Owe, this tale in tyme is tolde;
150 This traytoure traveses us alway.
He schall be here full harde in holde,
Loke that he passe noght, I thee praye.

*attacks (contradicts)
captivity*

II DIABOLUS Nay, nay, he will noght wende
Away or I be ware;
155 He shappis hym for to schende
Alle helle or he go ferre.

*plans; destroy
ere; far*

SATTAN Nay, faitor, therof schall he faile,
For alle his fare I hym defifie.
I knowe his trantis fro toppe to taile;
160 He levys with gaudis and with gilery.
Therby he brought oute of oure bale
Nowe late Lazar of Betannyē;
Therfore I gaffe to the Jewes counsaille
That thei schulde alway garre hym dye.
165 I entered in Judas
That forwarde to fulfille;
Therfore his hire he has
Allway to wonne here stille.

*deceiver
defy
tricks
lives; tricks; guile
custody
Bethany
gave
cause**promise
reward (punishment)
dwell*

BELSABUB Sir Sattanne, sen we here thee saie
170 That thou and the Jewes wer same assente,
And wotte he wanne Lazar awaye,
That tille us was tane for to tente,
Trowe thou that thou marre hym maye,
To mustir myghtis what he has mente?
175 If he nowe deprive us of oure praye
We will ye witte whanne thei are wente.

*since
together agreed
won
taken; (i.e., guard)**(i.e., such might as he has)
prey
tell when*

SATTAN I bidde you be noght abasshed
But boldely make youe boune

obliged

- With toles that ye on traste,
 180 And dynge that dastard doune. tools; trust
down
- JESUS** *Principes, portas tollite,*
 Undo youre gatis, ye princes of pryd,
Et introibit rex glorie,
 The kyng of blisse comes in this tyde. Princes, open your gates
*And the king of glory shall enter in
at this time*
- SATTAN** Owte, harrowe, what harlot is hee
 186 That sais his kyngdome schall be cryed. proclaimed
- DAVID** That may thou in my Sawter see
 For that poynte of prophicie
 I saide that he schuld breke
 190 Youre barres and bandis by name
 And on youre werkis take wreke;
 Nowe schalle ye see the same. Psalter
break
[metal] bands
vengeance
- JESUS** This steede schall stonde no lenger stoken:
 Opynne uppe and latte my pepul passe. place; closed
- IDIABOLUS** Owte, beholdes, oure baill is brokynne,
 196 And brosten are alle oure bandis of bras.
 Telle Lucifer alle is unlokynne. jail
burst
unlocked
- BELSABUB** What, thanne, is lymbus lorne, alas?
 Garre Satan helpe that we were wroken;
 200 This werke is werse than evere it was. limbo lost
Make; [so] that we may be revenged
- SATTAN** I badde ye schulde be boune
 If he made maistries more.
 Do dynge that dastard doune
 And sette hym sadde and sore. ordered; bound (tied up)
- BELSABUB** Ya, sette hym sore, that is sone saide,
 206 But come thiselffe and serve hym soo;
 We may not bide his bittir braide:
 He wille us marre, and we wer moo. attack
if; more
- SATTAN** What, faitours, wherfore are ye ferde?
 210 Have ye no force to flitte hym fro?
 Belyve loke that my gere be grathed,
 Miselffe schall to that gedlyng goo.
 Howe, belamy, abide,
 With al thy booste and bere,
 215 And telle to me this tyde
 What maistries makes thou here? afraid
flee
Quickly; prepared
 crying out

- | | | |
|---------------|--|------------------------------------|
| JESUS | I make no maistries but for myne, | <i>exercise no mastery (power)</i> |
| | Thame wolle I save, I telle thee nowe. | <i>shall</i> |
| | Thou hadde no poure thame to pyne | <i>power; torment</i> |
| 220 | But as my prisonne for ther prowe. | <i>profit</i> |
| | Here have thei sojorned, noght as thyne | |
| | But in thy warde, thou wote wele howe. | <i>custody</i> |
| SATTAN | And what devel haste thou done ay syne | <i>since</i> |
| | That never wolde negh thame nere or nowe? | <i>approach; near ere</i> |
| JESUS | Nowe is the tyme certayne | |
| 226 | Mi Fadir ordand before | |
| | That they schulde passe fro Payne | |
| | And wonne in mirthe evermore. | <i>dwell</i> |
| SATTAN | Thy fadir knewe I wele be sight; | |
| 230 | He was a write his mette to wynne, | <i>carpenter; food; earn</i> |
| | And Marie me menys thi modir hight, | <i>was called</i> |
| | The uttiremeste ende of all thi kynne. | |
| | Who made thee be so mekill of myght? | |
| JESUS | Thou wikid feende, latte be thy dynne; | <i>noisemaking</i> |
| 235 | Mi Fadir wonnys in heven on hight | <i>dwells; high</i> |
| | With blisse that schall nevere blynne. | <i>end</i> |
| | I am his awne Sone, | |
| | His forward to fulfille, | <i>promise</i> |
| | And same ay schall we wonne, | <i>together</i> |
| 240 | And sundir whan we wolle. | <i>part</i> |
| SATTAN | God Sonne, thanne schulde thou be ful gladde | |
| | Aftir no catel neyd thowe crave. | <i>animals (humans) need</i> |
| | But thou has leved ay like a ladde | <i>lived</i> |
| | And in sorowe as a symple knave. | |
| JESUS | That was for hartely love I hadde | <i>great</i> |
| 246 | Unto mannis soule it for to save, | |
| | And for to make thee mased and madde. | <i>bewildered; insane</i> |
| | And by that resoun thus dewly to have | <i>duly</i> |
| | Mi Godhede here I hidde | |
| 250 | In Marie modir myne, | |
| | For it schulde noght be kidde | |
| | To thee nor to none of thyne. | <i>known</i> |
| SATTAN | A, this wolde I were tolde in ilk a toune. | <i>town</i> |
| | So sen thou sais God is thy sire, | |
| 255 | I schall thee prove be right resoun | <i>by; reason</i> |
| | Thou motes his men into the myre. | <i>you argue</i> |

- To breke his bidding were thei boune,
And, for they did at my desire,
Fro paradise he putte thame doune
260 In helle here to have ther hyre.
And thyselfe, day and nyght,
Has taught al men emang
To do resounē and right,
And here werkis thou all wrang.
- bound
since
reward
(i.e., argue illogically)*
- JESUS** I wirke noght wrang, that schal thou witte,
266 If I my men fro woo will wynne;
Mi prophetis playnly prechid it,
All this note that nowe begynne.
Thai saide that I schulde be obitte,
270 To hell that I schulde entre in
And save my servauntis fro that pitte
Wher dampned saulis schall sitte for synne.
And ilke trewe prophettis tale
Muste be fulfillid in mee,
275 I have thame boughte with bale,
And in blisse schal thei be.
- preached
dead
sin
story (prophecy)
purchased; suffering*
- SATTAN** Nowe sen thee liste allegge the lawes,
Thou schalte be atteynted or we twynne,
For tho that thou to wittenesse drawes,
280 Full even agaynst thee will begynne.
Salamon saide in his sawes
That whoso enteres helle withynne
Shall never come oute, thus clerkis knawes;
And therfore, felowe, leve thi dynne.
285 Job, thi servaunte also,
Thus in his tyme gune telle
That nowthir frende nor foo
Shulde fynde reles in helle.
- wish [to] expound
convicted
Solomon; sayings
began [to]
release from*
- JESUS** He saide full soth, that schall thou see,
290 That in helle may be no reles,
But of that place than preached he
Where synfull care schall evere encrees.
And in that bale ay schall thou be
Whare sorowes sere schall never sesse,
295 And for my folke therfro wer free;
Nowe schall thei passe to the place of pees.
Thai were here with my wille,
And so schall thei fourthe wende,
And thiselvē schall fulfille
300 Ther woee withouten ende.
- suffering; increase
many; cease
peace (rest)
permission
forth go*

- SATTAN** Owe, thanne se I howe thou movys emang
 Some mesure with malice to melle,
 Sen thou sais all schall noght gang
 But some schalle alway with us dwelle.
- intend all the while
 mix*
- JESUS** Yaa, witte thou wele, ellis were it wrang,
 306 Als cursed Cayme that slewe Abell
 And all that hastis hemselfe to hange
 Als Judas and Archedefell,
 Datan and Abiron,
 310 And alle of thare assente
 Als tyrantis everilkone
 That me and myne turmente.
- or else
 hasten
 Achitophel
 Dathan; Abiram
 torment*
- And all that liste noght to lere my lawe
 That I have lefte in lande nowe newe,
 315 That is my comyng for to knawe
 And to my sacramente pursewe.
 Mi dede, my rysing, rede be rawe,
 Who will noght trowe, thei are noght trewe.
 Unto my Dome I schall thame drawe
 320 And juge thame worse thanne any Jewe.
 And all that likis to leere
 My lawe and leve therbye
 Shall nevere have harmes heere
 But welthe as is worthy.
- on earth recently
 incarnation
 (i.e., understood rightly)
 believe
 [Last] Judgment
 learn
 believe
 here
 well-being (bliss)*
- SATTAN** Nowe here my hande, I halde me paied,
 326 This poynte is playnly for oure prowe.
 If this be soth that thou hast saide
 We schall have moo thanne we have nowe.
 This lawe that thou nowe late has laide
 330 I schall lere men noght to allowe,
 Iff thei it take thei be betrayed,
 For I schall turne thame tye, I trowe.
 I schall walke este and weste
 And garre thame werke wele werre.
- paid (rewarded)
 profit
 more [souls]
 just now; proclaimed
 accept
 corrupt; quickly
 cause; much worse*
- JESUS** Naye, feende, thou schall be feste
 336 That thou schalte flitte not ferre.
- fast (confined)
 far*
- SATTAN** Feste, that were a foule reasoun;
 Nay, bellamy, thou bus be smytte.
- must; struck*
- JESUS** Mighill, myne aungell, make thee boune
 340 And feste yone fende that he noght flitte.
- Michael; bound
 fasten*

And Devyll, I comaunde thee go doun
Into thy selle where thou schalte sitte.

cell

SATTAN Owte! Ay, herrowe — helpe, Mahounde!
Nowe wex I woode oute of my witte.

wax; mad

BELSABUB Sattan, this saide we are,
346 Nowe schall thou fele thi fitte.

before
experience; punishment

SATTAN Allas, for dolle and care,
I synke into helle pitte.

dole

ADAME A, Jesu Lorde, mekill is thi myght
350 That mekis thiselffe in this manere
Us for to helpe as thou has hight
Whanne both forfette, I and my feere.
Here have we leyyd withouten light
Foure thousand and six hundredth yere;
355 Now se I be this solempne sight
Howe thy mercy hath made us clene.

humble
promised
offended; companion (Eve)
pure (free from sin)

EVE A, Lorde, we were worthy
Mo turmentis for to taste,
But mende us with mercye
360 Als thou of myght is moste.

More; experience

BAPTISTA A, Lorde, I love thee inwardly
That me wolde make thi messengere
Thy comyng in erth for to crye
And teche thi faith to folke in feere,
365 And sithen before thee for to dye
And bringe boodworde to thame here
How thai schulde have thyne helpe in hye.
Nowe se I all thi poyntis appere
Als David, prophete trewe,
370 Ofte tymes tolde untill us;
Of this comyng he knewe
And saide it schulde be thus.

all together
then
message
soon
acts

to

DAVID Als I have saide, yitt saie I soo,
Ne derelinquas, Domine,
375 *Animam meam in inferno,*¹
Leffe noght my saule, Lorde, aftir thee
In depe helle where dampned schall goo,

yet

¹ Lines 374–75: *Because, Lord, Thou wilt not leave / my soul in hell.*

Ne suffre nevere saules fro thee be,
 The sorowe of thame that wonnes in woo
 380 Ay full of filthe, that may repleye. dwell
redeem

ADAME We thanke his grete goodnesse
 He fette us fro this place; brought
 Makes joie nowe more and lesse.

OMNIS We laude God of his grace.

Tunc cantent.

Then they sing

JESUS Adame and my frendis in feere,
 386 Fro all youre fooes come fourth with me;
 Ye schalle be sette in solas seere apart
 Wher ye schall nevere of sorowes see.
 And Mighill, myn aungell clere,
 390 Ressayve thes saules all unto thee bright
 And lede thame als I schall thee lere Receive
 To paradise with playe and plenté. direct
 Mi grave I woll go till, joy
 Redy to rise upperight,
 395 And so I schall fulfille promised
 That I before have highte.

MICHILL Lord, wende we schall aftir thi sawe,
 To solace sere thai schall be sende,
 But that ther develis no draught us drawe, (i.e., do not trick us)
 400 Lorde, blisse us with thi holy honde. bless; hand

JESUS Mi blissing have ye all on rawe. in order
 I schall be with youe wher ye wende,
 And all that lelly luffes my lawe, truly love
 Thai schall be blessed withowten ende.

ADAME To thee, Lorde, be louyng praise
 406 That us has wonne fro waa. won; woe
 For solas will we syng,
Laus tibi cum gloria, etc. *Praise to you with glory*

[38. THE RESURRECTION]

The Carpenteres

PILATUS Lordingis, listenys nowe unto me:
 I comaunde you in ilke degré each rank

- 5 Als domesman chiffe in this contré
 For counsaill kende,
 Atte my bidding you awe to be
 And baynly bende.
- judge chief; country
 known
 ought
 without delay oblige
- 10 And Sir Cayphas, chiffe of clergye,
 Of youre counsaill late here in hye,
 By oure assente sen we dyd dye
 Jesus this day,
 That we mayntayne and stande therby
 That werke allway.
- quickly
 cause to die
- CAYPHAS** Yis, sir, that dede schall we mayntayne;
 By lawe it was done all bedene,
 Ye wotte youreselve, withouten wene,
 Als wele as we.
 His sawes are nowe upon hym sene,
 And ay schall be.
- accordingly
 a doubt
 (i.e., come back upon him)
- ANNA** The pepull, sirs, in this same steede,
 Before you saide with a hole hede
 That he was worthy to be dede
 And therto sware.
 Sen all was rewlid by rightis rede,
 Nevyn it no more.
- place
 (i.e., without any dissent)
 reason
 Say
- PILATUS** To nevyn me thinketh it nedfull thyng.
 Sen he was hadde to beriyng
 Herde we nowthir of olde ne ying
 Thithynges betwene.
- speak
 burying
 neither
- CAYPHAS** Centurio, sir, will bringe thidings
 Of all bedene.
- We lefte hym there for man moste wise;
 If any rebelles wolde ought rise
 Oure rightwise dome for to dispise
 Or it offende,
 To sese thame till the nexte assise
 And than make ende.
- seize; court session
- CENTURIO** A, blissed Lorde, Adonay,
 What may thes mervayles signifie
 That her was schewed so oppinly
 Unto oure sight,
 This day whanne that the man gune dye
 That Jesus highte?
- did
 was named

- Itt is a misty thyng to mene;
 So selcouth a sight was nevere sene
 45 That oure princes and prestis bedene
 Of this affray
 I woll go weten withouten wene,
 What thei can saye.
- God save you, sirs, on ilke a side,
 50 Worschippe and welthe in worldis wide.
 With mekill mirthe myght ye abide
 Boght day and nyght.
- PILATUS** Centurio, welcome this tide,
 Oure comely knyght.
- 55 Ye have bene miste us here among.
- CENTURIO** God giffe you grace grathely to gang.
- PILATUS** Centurio, oure frende full lang,
 What is your will?
- CENTURIO** I drede me that ye have done wrang
 60 And wondir ill.
- CAYPHAS** Wondir ill, I pray thee, why?
 Declare it to this company.
- CENTURIO** So schall I, sirs, telle you trewly
 Withowten trayne.
 65 The rightwise mane thanne mene I by
 That ye have slayne.
- PILATUS** Centurio, sesse of such sawe.
 Thou arte a lered man in the lawe,
 And if we schulde any witnes drawe
 70 Us to excuse,
 To mayntayne us evermore thee awe,
 And noght reffuse.
- CENTURIO** To mayntayne trouthe is wele worthi.
 I saide you, whanne I sawe hym dy,
 75 That he was Goddis Sone almyghty
 That hangeth thore.
 Yitt saie I soo, and stande therby
 For evermore.

*portent; mention**wondrous**forthwith**reveal; doubt**Both**missed**worthily to go**long**deception**just man; mean**cease; words**learned**ought**refuse**truth*

CAYPHAS Ya, sir, such reasouns may ye rewē;
 80 Ye schulde noght nevēyn such note enewe,
 But ye couthe any tokenyngis trewe
 Unto us tell.

*rue**say (raise); matter anew**signs*

CENTURIO Such woundirfull cas nevere yitt ye knewe
 As now befell.

ANNA We praye thee telle us of what thyng.

CENTURIO All elementis, both olde and yng,
 87 In ther maneres thai made mornyng
 In ilke a stede,
 And knewe be countenaunce that ther Kyng
 90 Was done to dede.

ways; lamenting

The sonne for woo he waxed all wanne,
 The mone and sterres of schynyng blanne,
 The erthe tremeled, and also manne
 Began to speke;
 95 The stones that never was stered or thanne
 Gune asondir breke,

*dark**stopped**(see note)**moved ere then**Did*

And dede men rose, both grete and small.

PILATUS Centurio, beware withall,
 Ye wote oure clerkis the clipsis thei call
 100 Such sodayne sight,
 Both sonne and mone that sesoune schall
 Lak of ther light.

*eclipse**sudden**season*

CAYPHAS Ya, and if dede men rose bodily,
 That myght be done thurgh sorcery;
 105 Therfore we sette nothyng therby
 To be abaiste.

*sorcery**abashed*

CENTURIO All that I tell for trewthe schall I
 Evermore traste.

trust

In this ilke werke that ye did wirke
 110 Nought allone the sonne was mirke,
 But howe youre vaile raffe in youre kirke,
 That witte I wolde.

veil was rent asunder; church

PILATUS Swilke tales full sone will make us irke
 And thei be talde.

*angry**If; told*

ANNA Centurio, such speche withdrawe;
 116 Of all thes wordes we have none awe. *no respect*

CENTURIO Nowe sen ye sette noght be my sawe,
 Sirs, have gode day.
 God graunte you grace that ye may knawe
 120 The soth alway. *truth*

ANNA Withdrawe thee faste, sen thou thee dredis,
 For we schall wele mayntayne oure dedis. *you are afraid*

PILATUS Such wondir reasouns as he redis
 Was nevere beforene. *wondrous; tells*

CAIPHAS To neven this noote no more us nedis,
 126 Nowhere even ne morne. *speak of; matter; need
evening*

Therfore loke no manne make ille chere;
 All this doyng may do no dere, *harm*
 But to beware yitt of more were *suspicion*
 130 That folke may fele,
 We praye you, sirs, of these sawes sere
 Avise you wele. *Advise*

And to this tale takes hede in hye, *quickly*
 For Jesu saide even opynly
 135 A thyng that greves all this Jury, *Jewry*
 And righte so may:
 That he schulde rise uppe bodily
 Within the thirde day.

And be it so, als motte I spedie,
 140 His lattar deede is more to drede
 Than is the firste, if we take hede
 Or tente therto. *attend*
 To nevyn this noote methynke moste nede *mention; matter*
 And beste to do.

ANNA Ya, sir, if all that he saide soo,
 146 He has no myght to rise and goo
 But if his menne stèle hym us froo *steal*
 And bere away. *bear [him]*
 That were tille us and other moo
 150 A foule fraye, *disturbance*

For thanne wolde thei saie, evere ilkone,
 That he roose by hymselffe allone;

- Therfore latte hym be kepte anone
With knyghtes hende
155 Unto thre daies be comen and gone
And broght till ende.
- PILATUS** In certayne, sirs, right wele ye saie,
For this ilke poynte nowe to purvaye
I schall ordayne if I may.
160 He schall not ryse,
Nor none schalle wynne hym thens away
On nokyns wise.
- Sir knyghtis, that are in dedis dowty,
Chosen for chiffe of chevalrye,
165 As we ay in youre force affie
Bothe day and nyght,
Wendis and kepis Jesu body
With all youre myghte.
- And for thyng that evere be maye
170 Kepis hym wele to the thirde day
And latis no man takis hym away
Oute of that stede;
For and thei do, suthly I saie,
Ye schall be dede.
- I MILES** Lordingis, we saie you for certayne,
176 We schall kepe hym with myghtis and mayne;
Ther schall no traitoures with no trayne
Stele hym us froo.
Sir knyghtis, takis gere that moste may gayne
180 And lates us goo.
- II MILES** Yis, certis, we are all redy bowne,
We schall hym kepe till oure rennowne.
On ilke a side latte us sitte dounie
Nowe all in fere,
185 And sone we schall crake his croune
Whoso comes here.
- Tunc Jhesu resurgente.* *Then Jesus being risen*
- Tunc angelus cantat Resurgens.* *Then the angel sings “[Christ] is arisen”*
- I MARIA** Allas, to dede I wolde be dight,
So woo in werke was nevere wight;
Mi sorowe is all for that sight

190 That I gune see,
Howe Criste my maistir, moste of myght,
Is dede fro me. *have seen*

Allas, that I schulde se his pyne,
Or yit that I his liffe schulde tyne;
195 Of ilke a myscheve he is medycyne
And bote of all,
Helpē and halde to ilke a hyne
That hym on wolde call. *pain*
suffer (the loss of)
remedy
hold (support); person

II MARIA Allas, who schall my balis bete
200 Whanne I thynke on his woundes wete?
Jesu, that was of love so swete
And nevere did ill,
Es dede and graven under the grete
Withouten skill. *sorrows lessen*

III MARIA Withowten skill the Jewes ilkone
206 That lovely Lorde has newly slayne,
And trespassē did he nevere none
In nokyn steede.
To whome nowe schall I make my mone
210 Sen he is dede? *(i.e., anywhere)*

I MARIA Sen he is dede, my sisteres dere,
Wende we will on mylde manere
With oure anoynementis faire and clere
That we have brought
215 To noynte his wondis on sides sere
That Jewes hym wrought.

II MARIA Goo we same my sisteres free.
Full faire us longis his corse to see,
But I wotte noght howe beste may be,
220 Helpē have we none.
And who schall nowe here of us thre
Remove the stone?

III MARIA That do we noght but we wer moo,
For it is huge and hevy also.

I MARIA Sistirs, a yonge childe as we goo
226 Makand mornyng,
I see it sitte wher we wende to
In white clothyng. *together*
we desire; body
Making mourning

II MARIA Sistirs, sertis, it is noght to hide:
230 The hevy stone is putte beside.

III MARIA Sertis, for thyng that may betyde
Nere will we wende,
To layte that luffely and with hym bide
That was oure frende.

for whatever

seek; loved one

ANGELUS Ye mournand women in youre thought,
236 Here in this place whome have ye sought?

I MARIA Jesu, that to dede is brought,
Oure Lorde so free.

ANGELUS Women, certayne here is he noght,
240 Come nere and see.

He is noght here, the soth to saie,
The place is voide that he in laye.
The sudary here se ye may
Was on hym laide.

245 He is resen and wente his way,
As he you saide.

risen

Even as he saide so done has hee:
He is resen thurgh grete poostee.
He schall be foune in Galilé
250 In flesshe and fell.
To his discipilis nowe wende ye
And thus thame tell.

power

found

(i.e., physically present)

I MARIA Mi sisteres dere, sen it is soo
That he is resen dede thus froo
255 As the aungell tolde me and yow too,
Oure Lorde so fre,
Hens will I never goo
Or I hym see.

Ere

II MARIA Marie, us thare no lenger lende,
260 To Galilé nowe late us wende.

[need] there; stay

I MARIA Nought tille I see that faithfull frende,
Mi Lorde and leche;
Therfore all this, my sisteres hende,
That ye forth preche.

healer

gracious

III MARIA As we have herde, so schall we saie,
266 Marie oure sistir, have goode daye.

I MARIA Nowe, verray God as he wele maye,
Man moste of myght,
He wisse you, sisteres, wele in youre waye
270 And rewle you right.

direct

Allas, what schall nowe worthe on me?
Mi kaytiffe herte will breke in three
Whenne I thynke on that body free
How it was spilte.
275 Both feete and handes nayled tille a tre
Withouten gilte.

*miserable (unhappy) heart**guilt*

Withouten gilte the trewe was tane,
For trespass did he nevere none.
The woundes he suffered many one
280 Was for my misse.
It was my dede he was for slayne
And nothyng his.

*true one; taken**sins
deed*

How might I but I loved that swete,
That for my love tholed woundes wete
285 And sithen be graven undir the grete,
Such kyndnes kithe?
There is nothing to that we mete
May make me blithe.

*suffered
buried; earth
revealed
except that; meet
happy*

I MILES What, oute allas! What schall I saie?
290 Where is the corse that herein laye?

body

II MILES What ayles thee, man? Is he awaye
That we schulde tent?

attend

I MILES Rise uppe and see.

II MILES Harrowe! For ay,
I telle us schente.

believe we are destroyed

III MILES What devill is this, what aylis you twoo,
296 Such noyse and crye thus for to make too?

ails

II MILES Why, is he gone?

III MILES Allas, whare is he that here laye?

IV MILES Whe, harrowe! Devill, whare is he away?

III MILES What, is he thusgatis fro us wente,
 301 That fals traitour that here was lente?
 And we trewly here for to tente
 Had undirtane.
 Sekirlie, I telle us schente,
 305 Holy ilkane.

in this way

placed

watch

Entirely

I MILES Allas, what schall we do this day
 That thus this warlowe is wente his waye?
 And savyly, sirs, I dare wele saie
 He rose allone.

warlock

certainly

II MILES Witte Sir Pilate of this affraye,
 311 We mon be slone.

[If] learns

slain

III MILES Why, canne none of us no bettir rede?

advise

IV MILES Ther is not ellis, but we be dede.

otherwise

II MILES Whanne that he stered oute of this steede
 315 None couthe it kenne.

stirred

could

I MILES Allas, harde happe was on my hede,
 Amonge all menne.

Fro Sir Pilate witte of this dede,
 That we were slepande whanne he yede,
 320 He will forfette withouten drede
 All that we have.

sleeping; went [away]

II MILES Us muste make lies, for that is nede
 Oureselве to save.

III MILES Ya, that rede I wele, also motte I goo.

advise; go (prosper)

IV MILES And I assente therto alsoo.

II MILES An hundereth, schall I saie, and moo
 327 Armed ilkone
 Come and toke his corse us froo,
 And us nere slayne.

more

each one

I MILES Nay, certis, I halde there none so goode
 331 As saie the soth even as it stoode:
 Howe that he rose with mayne and mode

(i.e., supernatural power)

And wente his way.
 To Sir Pilate if he be wode,
 335 This dar I saie.

even if; angered

II MILES Why, dare thou to Sir Pilate goo
 With thes tydingis and saie hym soo?

I MILES So rede I, if he us sloo
 We dye but onys.

*slay
once*

III MILES Nowe, he that wrought us all this woo,
 341 Woo worthe his bonyss.

(*i.e., Woe upon him*)

IV MILES Go we thanne, sir knyghtis hende,
 Sen that we schall to Sir Pilate wende;
 I trowe that we schall parte no frendes
 345 Or that we passe.

Ere

I MILES And I schall hym saie ilke worde tille ende,
 Even as it was.

Sir Pilate, prince withouten pere,
 Sir Cayphas and Anna in fere
 350 And all ye lordyngis that are here
 To neven by name,
 God save you all, on sidis sere,
 Fro synne and schame.

identify

PILATUS Ye are welcome, oure knyghtis kene,
 355 Of mekill mirthe nowe may ye mene;

tell

Therfore some tales telle us betwene
 Howe ye have wroght.

I MILES Oure wakyng, lorde, withouten wene,
 359 Is worthed to noght.

*watching; doubt
Comes to naught*

CAYPHAS To noght? Allas, sesse of such sawe.

cease; words

II MILES The prophete Jesu that ye wele knawē
 Is resen and gone, for all oure awe,
 With mayne and myght.

awe (fear)

PILATUS Therfore the devill hymselffe thee drawe,
 365 Fals recrayed knyght.

recreant

Combered cowardis I you call;
 Have ye latten hym goo fro you all?

*Encumbered (Miserable)
allowed*

III MILES Sir, ther was none that did but small
When that he yede.

*little
went forth*

IV MILES We wer so ferde downe ganne we falle,
371 And dared for drede.

stupefied; fear

ANNA Hadde ye no strenghe hym to gaynestande?
Traitoures, ye myght have boune in bande
Bothe hym and thame that ye ther fande
375 And sessid thame sone.

*withstand
bound; bonds (ropes)
found
seized*

I MILES That dede all erthely men levand
Myght noght have done.

II MILES We wer so radde ever ilkone
Whanne that he putte beside the stone,
380 We wer so stonyed we durste stirre none
And so abasshed.

*terrified
astonished*

PILATUS What, rose he by hymselfe allone?

I MILES Ya, sir, that be ye traste.

may you trust

IV MILES We herde never sen we were borne,
385 Nor all oure faderes us beforne,
Suche melodie, mydday ne morne
As was made there.

CAYPHAS Allas, thanne is oure lawes lorne
For everemare.

II MILES What tyme he rose good tente I toke.
391 The erthe that tyme tremylded and quoke,
All kyndely force than me forsoke
Tille he was gone.

*attention (heed)
quaked
natural strength*

III MILES I was aferde, I durste not loke,
395 Ne myght had none,

strength

I myght not stande, so was I starke.

stiff (with fear)

PILATUS Sir Cayphas, ye are a connyngh clerke;
If we amysse have tane oure merke,
I trowe same faile;
400 Therfore what schalle worthe nowe of this werke,
Sais your counsaille?

*intelligent
taken; mark (aim)
[we] together
shall become*

CAYPHAS To saie the beste forsothe I schall,
 That schall be prophete to us all;
 Yone knyghtis behoves there wordis agayne call
 405 Howe he is miste.
 We nolde for thyng that myght befall
 That no man wiste.

*profitable
must; call back*

*would not
knows*

ANNA Now, Sir Pilate, sen that it is soo
 That he is resynne dede us froo,
 410 Comaundis youre knyghtis to saie wher thei goo
 That he was tane
 With twenty thousand men and mo,
 And thame nere slayne.
 415 And therto of oure tresorie
 Giffe to thame a rewarde forthy.

risen

*more
nearly slain*

treasury

PILATUS Nowe of this purpose wele plesed am I,
 And farther thus;
 Sir knyghtis, that are in dedis dowty,
 Takes tente to us,
 420 And herkenes what that ye schall saie
 To ilke a man both nyght and daye,
 That ten thousand men in goode araye
 Come you untill,
 With forse of armys bare hym awaye
 425 Agaynst your will.

harken

bold

arms

Thus schall ye saie in ilke a lande,
 And therto on that same comenaunde
 A thousande pounde have in youre hande
 To your rewarde;
 430 And frenschippe, sirs, ye undirstande
 Schall not be spared.

agreement

CAIPHAS Ilkone youre state we schall amende,
 And loke ye saie as we you kende.

we instructed you

I MILES In what contré so ye us sende,
 435 Be nyght or daye,
 Wherso we come, wherso we wende,
 So schall we saie.

PILATUS Ya, and whereso ye tarie in ilke contré,
 Of oure doyng in no degré
 440 Dois that no manne the wiser be,

Allow

- Ne freyne beforene,
Ne of the sight that ye gonue see
Nevynnes it nowthere even ne morne.
- ask
have seen
Speak
- For we schall mayntayne you alwaye,
445 And to the pepull schall we saie
It is gretely agaynstre oure lay
To trowe such thing.
So schall thei deme, both nyght and day,
All is lesyng.
- law
believe
lying
- 450 Thus schall the sothe be bought and solde,
And treasoune schall for trewthe be tolde.
Therfore ay in youre hartis ye holde
This counsaile clene,
And fares nowe wele, both yonge and olde,
455 Haly bedene.
- Wholly indeed

[39. THE APPEARANCE OF CHRIST TO MARY MAGDALEN]

The Wynedrawers

- MARIA** Allas, in this worlde was nevere no wight
Walkand with so mekill woo.
- person
Walking; great woe
- Thou dredfull Dede, drawen hythir and dight
And marre me as thou haste done moo.
- Death
put an end to; to others
- 5 In lame is it loken, all my light,
Forthy on grounde onglad I goo.
Jesus of Nazareth he hight,
The false Jewes slewe hym me froo.
- earth; locked (shut up)
unhappy
is named
- Mi witte is waste nowe in wede;
10 I walowe, I walke, nowe woo is me,
For laide nowe is that lufsome in lede:
The Jewes hym nayled untill a tree.
My doulfull herte is evere in drede,
- decayed; madness
loved one; lead (i.e., coffin)
- To grounde nowe gone is all my glee;
15 I sporne ther I was wonte to spedē.
Nowe helpe me, God, in persones three.
- cross
stumble where
- Thou lufsome lede in ilke a lande,
As thou schope both day and nyght,
Sonne and mone both bright schynand,
20 Thou graunte me grace to have a sight
Of my Lorde, or ellis his sande.
- person
shaped (created)
sun; moon; shining
also; messenger

- JESUS** Thou wilfull woman in this waye,
 Why wepis thou soo als thou wolde wede,
 Als thou on felde woulde falle doune faie?
 25 Do way, and do no more that dede.
 Whome sekist thou this longe daye?
 Say me the sothe, als Criste thee rede.
- [go] mad
As if; dead
deed
direct
- MARIA** Mi Lorde Jesu and God verray
 That suffered for synnes his sides bleede.
- very (true)*
- JESUS** I schall thee saie, will thou me here,
 31 The soth of hym that thou hast sought.
 Withowten drede, thou faithfull fere,
 He is full nere that mankynde bought.
- hear*
companion
- MARIA** Sir, I wolde loke both ferre and nere
 35 To fynde my Lorde, I se hym noght.
- JESUS** Womane, wepe noght, but mend thy chere;
 I wotte wele whedir that he was brought.
- whither*
- MARIA** Swete sir, yf thou hym bare awaye,
 Saie me the sothe and thedir me leede
 40 Where thou hym didde; withouten delay
 I schall hym seke agayne goode speede.
- Tell; thither lead me
did [put him]
- Therfore, goode gardener, saie thou me,
 I praye thee for the prophetis sake
 Of thez tythyngis that I aske thee.
 45 For it wolde do my sorowe to slake
 Wher Goddis body founden myght be
 That Joseph of the crosse gonne take.
 Might I hym fange unto my fee,
 Of all my woo he wolde me wrake.
- assuage
did
take; keeping
free
- JESUS** What wolde thou doo with that body bare
 51 That beried was with balefull chere?
 Thou may noght salve hym of his sare,
 His peynes were so sadde and seere.
 But he schall cover mankynde of care,
 55 That clowded was he schall make clere,
 And the folke wele for to fare
 That fyled were all in feere.
- suffering
many
deliver; from cares
defiled; altogether
- MARIA** A, myght I evere with that man mete
 The whiche that is so mekill of myght,

60 Drye schulde I wype that nowe is wete:
I am but sorowe of worldly sight. *full of grief*

JESUS Marie, of mournyng amende thy moode
And beholde my woundes wyde.
Thus for mannys synnes I schedde my bloode
65 And all this bittir bale gonne bide. *suffering did endure*
Thus was I rased on the roode
With spere and nayles that were unride. *monstrous*
Trowe it wele, it turnes to goode
Whanne men in erthe ther flesh schall hyde. *be concealed*

MARIA A, Rabony, I have thee sought,
71 Mi maistir dere, full faste this day. *Rabbi (teacher)*

JESUS Goo awaye, Marie, and touche me noght,
But take goode kepe what I schall saie.
I am hee that all thyng wroght
75 That thou callis thi Lorde and God verraye.
With bittir dede I mankynde boght, *death; purchased*
And I am resen as thou se may. *risen*

And therfore, Marie, speke nowe with me
And latte thou nowe be thy grette. *stop; weeping*

MARIA Mi Lorde Jesu, I knowe nowe thee;
81 Thi woundes thai are nowe wette. *fresh*

JESUS Negh me noght, my love, latte be,
Marie, my doughtir swete;
To my Fadir in Trinité
85 Forthe I stigh noght yette. *Touch*
go up

MARIA A, mercy, comely conquerour,
Thurgh thi myght thou haste overcome dede. *death*
Mercy, Jesu, man and Saveour:
Thi love is swetter thanne the mede. *sweeter; mead (honey drink)*
90 Mercy, myghty confortour,
For are I was full wille of rede. *ere; (i.e., at a loss)*
Welcome, Lorde, all myn honnoure,
Mi joie, my luffe, in ilke a stede.

JESUS Marie, in thyne harte thou write
95 Myne armoure riche and goode:
Myne actone covered all with white *jerkin*
Als cors of man behewede *body (i.e., skin); colored*
With stuffe goode and parfite *perfect*

- 100 Of maydenes flessh and bloode;
 Whan thei ganne thirle and smyte
 Mi heede for hawberke stoode. *did pierce*
military tunic, esp. neck armor
- Mi plates wer spredde all on brede
 That was my body uppon a tree;
 Myne helme covered all with manhede,
 105 The streng therof may no man see;
 The croune of thorne that garte me blede,
 Itt bemenes my dignité.
 Mi diademe sais, withouten drede,
 That dede schall I nevere be. *plates [of armor]; outspread*
hidden; manhood
made; bleed
signifies
reveals
dead
- MARIA** A, blessid body that bale wolde beete,
 111 Dere haste thou bought mankynne. *misery; relieve*
Dearly
- Thy woundes hath made thi body wete
 With bloode that was thee withinne.
 Nayled thou was thurgh hande and feete,
 115 And all was for oure synne.
 Full grissely muste we caitiffis grete,
 Of bale howe schulde I blynne? *sorrowfully; wretches weep*
stop
- To se this ferly foode
 Thus ruffly dight,
 120 Rugged and rente on a roode,
 This is a rewfull sight,
 And all is for oure goode
 And nothyng for his plight.
 Spilte thus is his bloode
 125 For ilke a synfull wight. *wondrous man*
pitifully
Pulled violently
every; person
- JESUS** To my God and my Fadir dere,
 To hym als swithe I schall assende,
 For I schall nowe noght longe dwelle here;
 I have done als my Fadir me kende,
 130 And therfore loke that ilke man lere
 Howe that in erthe ther liffe may mende.
 All that me loves I schall drawe nere
 Mi Fadirs blisse that nevere schall ende. *swiftly (soon)*
directed
learn
- MARIA** Alle for joie me likes to syng,
 135 Myne herte is gladder thanne the glee, *(i.e., overjoyed)*
- And all for joie of thy risyng
 That suffered dede upponne a tree.
 Of luffe nowe is thou crouned kyng,
 Is none so trewe levand more free. *love*
living

140 Thy love passis all erthely thyng.
Lorde, blissed motte thou evere bee.

must

JESUS To Galilé schall thou wende,
Marie, my doghtir dere,
Unto my brethir hende;
145 Ther thei are all in fere.
Telle thame ilke worde to ende
That thou spake with me here.
My blissing on thee lende,
And all that we leffe here.

*brethren courteous
all together
(i.e., tell them everything)*

leave

[40. THE TRAVELERS TO EMMAUS]

[The Woolpackers and Woolbrokers]

I PERIGRINUS That Lorde that me lente this liffe for to lede,
In my wayes thou me wisse thus will of wone;
Qwen othir men halfe moste mirthe to ther mede,
Thanne als a mornand manne make I my mone,
5 For douteles nowe may we drede us.
Allas, thei have reste us oure rede,
With doole have thei dight hym to dede,
That Lorde that was leeffe for to lede us.

*direct; [being] distraught
When; have; reward
mourning; moan
may we dread
taken away; counselor
dole; put; death
beloved*

II PERIGRINUS He ledde us full lelly, that Lorde, nowe allas
10 Mi Lorde for his lewté his liffe has he lorne.

*truly
loyalty*

I PERIGRINUS Saye, who comes there claterand?

chattering

II PERIGRINUS Sir, I, Cleophas.
Abide, my leffe brother, to bale am I borne,
But telle me whedir thou bounes?

*dear; carried
wither; are going*

I PERIGRINUS To Emax, this castell beside us;
15 Ther may we bothe herber and hyde us;
Therfore late we tarie at no townes.

*Emmaus
let us*

II PERIGRINUS Atte townes for to tarie take we no tent,
But take us tote at this tyme to talke of sume tales
And jangle of the Jewes and of Jesu so gente,
20 Howe thei bette that body was bote of all bales.
With buffettis thei bete hym full barely;
In Sir Cayphas hall garte thei hym call
And hym before Sir Pilate in his hall,
On the morne than aftir, full arely.

*intent
time; (i.e., reminisce)
talk
beat; remedy; sorrows
to the extreme
afterward; early*

- | | | |
|---------------------|--|--|
| I PERIGRINUS | Full arely the juggemen demed hym to dye. | judges |
| 26 | Both prestis and prelatis to Pilate made prey sing,
And alls cursid caytiffis and kene on Criste gan thei crie
And on that lele Lorde made many a lesyng.
Thei spitte in his face to dispise hym, | flattering
<i>as; maliciously; to cry</i>
<i>true; lie</i> |
| 30 | To spoile hym nothyng thei spared hym,
But natheles baynly thei bared hym,
With scourges smertly goyng thei smote hym. | <i>despoil (strip)</i>
<i>nonetheless readily; stripped</i>
<i>in movement</i> |

- | | | |
|----------------------|--|---|
| II PERIGRINUS | Thei smotte hym full smertely that the bloode oute braste, | burst |
| | That all his hyde in hurth was hastily hidde. | <i>injury (wounds)</i> |
| 35 | A croune of thorne on his heede full thraly thei thraste, | <i>violently; thrust</i> |
| | Itt is grete dole for to deme the dedis thei hym dide. | <i>sorrow; judge; deeds</i> |
| | With byndyng unbaynly and betyng, | <i>cruelly; beating</i> |
| | Thane on his bakke bare he thame by | |
| | A crosse unto Calverie, | |
| 40 | That swettyng was swemyd for swettyng. | <i>beloved one; overcome; sweating (toil)</i> |

- | | | |
|----------------------|--|-------------------------------------|
| II PERIGRINUS | In fraisting we fonde hym full faithfull and free, | found |
| 50 | And his mynde mente he nevere mysse to no man. | sin (<i>hostility</i>) |
| | Itt was a sorowe, forsoth, in sight for to see | |
| | Whanne that a spetyffull spere unto his harte ranne. | cruel spear |
| | In baill thus his body was beltid, | custody; enclosed |
| | Into his harte thraly thei thraste; | violently |
| 55 | Whan his piteffull paynes were paste, | |
| | That swett thyng full swiftely he sweltid. | sweet; was overcome (<i>died</i>) |

- | | | |
|---------------------|--|------------------------------|
| I PERIGRINUS | He sweltid full swithe in swonyng, that swette. | quickly; swooning |
| | Allas, for that luffely that laide is so lowe, | loved one |
| | With granyng full grissely on grounde may we grette, | lamenting: sorrowfully; weep |
| 60 | For so comely a corse canne I none knowe. | body |
| | With dole unto dede thei did hym | |
| | For his wise werkis that he wroght thame, | them |

¹ For all the sweat that he perspired with whips (blows) that they directed [at] him

² *He being without sin, thus they honored his spirit*

Thes false folke whan thei bethoughte thame,
 That grette unkyndynesse thei kidde hym. *contrived
showed*

II PERIGRINUS Unkyndynesse thei kidde hym, tho caistiffis so kene, *showed, cruel*
 66 And als unwitty wightis wrought thei hym wreke. *unwise men; violence*

JESUS What are thes mervailes that ye of mene
 And thus mekill mournyng in mynde that ye make,
 Walkyng thus wille by thes wayes? *distraught*

II PERIGRINUS Why, arte thou a pilgryme and haste bene
 71 At Jerusalem, and haste thou noght sene *observed*
 What dole has ben done in thes daies?

JESUS In ther daies, dere sir, what dole was ther done?
 Of that werke wolde I witte, and youre will were, *if it is your wish*
 75 And therfore I pray you telle me now sone.
 Was ther any hurlyng in hande? Nowe late me here. *violence; let; hear*

I PERIGRINUS Why herde thou no carpyng nor crying *talking*
 Att Jerusalem ther thou haste bene
 Whenne Jesu of Nazarene *Nazareth*
 80 Was doulfully dight to the dying? *sorrowfully put to death*

II PERIGRINUS To the dying thei dight hym that defte was and dere, *gentle*
 Thurgh prokering of princes that were ther in prees. *provoking (plotting); assembly*
 Forthy as wightis that are will thus walke we in were, *distraught; confusion*
 For pechyng als pilgrymes that putte are to pees. *fear of accusation; made to be quiet*
 85 For mornyng of oure maistir thus morne wee
 As wightis that are wilsome thus walke we,
 Of Jesus in telling thus talke we;
 Fro townes for takyng thus turne we. *mourning; mourn
confused (bewildered)
[possibility of] capture*

I PERIGRINUS Thus turne we fro townes, but take we entent *notice*
 90 How thei mourthered that man that we of mene;
 Full rewfally with ropis on rode thei hym rente
 And takkid hym thertill full tyte in a tene, *fastened; (i.e., in an angry fit)*
 Upperrightis full rudely thei raised hym.
 Thanne myghtely to noye hym withall, *annoy*
 95 In a mortaise faste lete hym fall, *mortice*
 To pynne hym thei putte hym and peysed hym. *nail; pushed; pressed him down*

II PERIGRINUS Thei peysed hym to pynne hym, that pereles of pese, *peace*
 Thus on that wight that was wise wrought thei grete wondir,
 Yitt with that sorowe wolde thei noght sesse; *cease*

- 100 They schogged hym and schotte hym his lymes all in sondir,¹ crushed
 His braynes thus brake thei and braste hym. luck
 A blynde knyght, such was his happe, breast
 Inne with a spere poynte atte the pappe violently
 To the harte full thraly he thraste hym.

- I PERIGRINUS** Thei thraste hym full thraly, than was ther no threpyng; disputing
 106 Thus with dole was that dere unto dede dight. swollen from
 His bak and his body was bolned for betyng:
 Itt was, I saie thee forsoth, a sorowfull sight.
 But oftentimes have we herde saie,
 110 And we trowe as we herde telle,
 That he was to rawsoune Israell;
 But nowe is this the thirde daye.

- II PERIGRINUS** Thes dayes newe owre wittis are waxen in were, confusion
 For some of oure women for certayne thei saide
 115 That thai sawe in ther sightis solas full seere,
 Howe all was lemand light wher he was laide.
 Thei called us, as ever myght thei thriffe,
 For certayne thei saugh it in sight,
 A visioune of aungellis bright,
 120 And tolde thame ther Lorde was alye.

- I PERIGRINUS** On lyve tolde thei that Lorde leved hir in lande,
 Thez women come lightly to warne, I wene. quickly; believe
 Some of oure folke hyed forthe and faste thei it fande hurried; found
 That all was soth that thei saide that sight had thei sene. true
 125 For lely thei loked ther he laye,
 Thei wende ther that foode to have fonne.
 Thanne was his toumbe tome as a tonne;
 Thanne wiste thei that wight was away.

- II PERIGRINUS** Awaye is that wight that wonte was us for to wisse. man; teach

- JESUS** A, fooles, that are fauty and failes of youre feithe, fallible; faith
 131 This bale bud hym bide and belde thame in blisse; pain must he abide; support
 But ye be lele of youre laye, youre liffe holde I laith.
 To prophetis he proved it and preached,
 And also to Moyses gan he saie
 135 That he muste nedis die on a day,
 And Moyses forth talde it and tecched,
 And talde it and tecched it many tymes than.

¹ *They shook him and jerked him until his limbs were all asunder*

I PERIGRINUS A, more of this talking we pray you to telle us.

II PERIGRINUS Ya, sir, be youre carping full kyndely we kenne, *readily*
 140 Ye meene of oure maistir of whome that we melle us. *mean (speak); associated ourselves*

I PERIGRINUS Ya, goode sir, see what I saie you,
 See ye this castell beside her? *[us] here*
 All nyght we thynke for to bide here.
 Bide with us, sir pilgrime, we praye you,

145 We praye you, sir pilgrime, ye presse noght to passe. *beg; pass [on]*

JESUS Yis, sir, me bus nede. *must [go on]*

I PERIGRINUS Naye, sir, the nyght is over nere.

JESUS And I have ferre for to founde. *far to go*

II PERIGRINUS I hope wele thou has.

I PERIGRINUS We praye thee, sir, hartely, all nyght holde thee here.

JESUS I thanke youe of this kyndinesse ye kydde me. *offer*

I PERIGRINUS Go in, sir, sadly and sone. *solemnly; soon*

II PERIGRINUS Sir, daunger dowte noght, have done. *doubt not*

JESUS Sir, I muste nedis do as ye bid me:

153 Ye bidde me so baynly I bide for the beste.

I PERIGRINUS Lo, her is a sege, goode sir, I saie you. *seat*

II PERIGRINUS With such goode as we have glad we oure geste. *entertain; guest*

I PERIGRINUS Sir, of this poure pitaunce take parte now, we pray yow. *[two lines missing]*

JESUS Nowe blisse I this brede that brought is on the borde; *board*
 Fraste theron faithfully, my frendis, you to feede. *Taste*

I PERIGRINUS . . . unterly have we tane entent. *?entirely*

160 Ow, I trowe some torfoyr is betidde us. *calamity; happen (to)*
 Saie, wher is this man.

II PERIGRINUS Away is he wente,
 Right now satte he beside us.

I PERIGRINUS Beside us we both sawe him sitte,
And by no poynte couthe I parceyve hym passe.

II PERIGRINUS Nay, be the werkis that he wrought full wele myght we witte *know*
166 Itt was Jesus hymselffe, I wiste who it was.

I PERIGRINUS Itt was Jesus thus wisely that wrought,
That raised was and rewfully rente on the rode; *sorrowfully torn; cross*
Of bale and of bittirnesse has he us boght, *purchased*
170 Boune was and betyn that all braste on bloode. *Bound; beaten; ?splattered with*

II PERIGRINUS All braste on bloode, so sore was he bette
With ther wickid Jewes that wrethfull was evere, *wrathful*
With scourges and scharpe thornes on his heede sette, *head*
Suche torfoyr and torment of telle herde I nevere. *disaster*

I PERIGRINUS Of telle herde I nevere of so pitefull peynes
176 As suffered oure soverayne, hyngand on highte. *hanging high*
Nowe is he resen with myght and with mayne; *power*
I telle for sikir, we saugh hym in sight. *surely*

II PERIGRINUS We saugh hym in sight, nowe take we entent,
180 Be the brede that he brake us so baynly betwene, *bread; broke; readily*
Such wondirfull wais as we have wente *ways; traveled*
Of Jesus the gente was nevere none seene.

I PERIGRINUS Sene was ther nevere so wondirfull werkes,
Be see ne be sande, in this worlde so wide, *By sea nor by*
185 Menskfully in mynde thes materes now merkis, *Fittingly remembers these matters*
And preche we it prestly on every ilke side. *without delay; each and every*

II PERIGRINUS On every ilke side prestly prechis we;
Go we to Jerusaleme thes tydingis to telle;
Oure felawes fro fandyg nowe fraste we.
190 More of this mater her may we not melle. *temptation; urge
be concerned*

I PERIGRINUS Here may we notte melle more at this tyde,
For prossesse of plaies that precis in plight;¹
He bringe to his blisse on every ilke side,
That sofferayne Lorde that moste is of myght.

¹ *On account of the right order (progression) of plays that press on urgently*

[41. DOUBTING THOMAS]

The Escreveneres

PETRUS Allas, to woo that we wer wrought!
 Hadde never no men so mekill thought
 Sen that oure Lorde to dede was brought
 With Jewes fell.
 5 Oute of this steede ne durst we noght,
 But here ay dwelle.

Since; death
 malicious
 place; dare [go]

JOHANNES Here have we dwelte with peynes strang.
 Of oure liffe us lothis, we leve to lange,
 For sen the Jewes wrought us that wrong
 10 Oure Lorde to sloo,
 Durste we nevere come thame emang,
 Ne hense to goo.

strong
 we (find) loathsome; live too long
 slay
 among

JACOBUS The wikkid Jewes hatis us full ille
 And bittir paynes wolde putte us till;
 15 Therfore I rede that we dwelle stille
 Here ther we lende,
 Unto that Criste oure Lorde us wille
 Some socoure sende.

advise
 where we dwell

DEUS Pees and reste be with yowe.

PETRUS A, brethir dere, what may we trowe,
 21 What was this sight that we saughe nowe
 Shynand so bright,
 And vanysshed thus and we ne wote how,
 Oute of oure sight?

believe
 saw
 Shining
 know not

JOHANNES Oute of oure sight nowe is it soghte;
 26 Itt makith us madde, the light it broght.
 What may it be?

(i.e., gone)

JACOBUS Sertis I wotte noght
 But sekirly
 Itt was vanyté in oure thought,
 30 Nought ellis trowe I it be.

certainly
 illusion
 else trust

DEUS Pees unto yowe evermore myght be,
 Drede you noght, for I am hee.

Dread

PETRUS On Goddis name, *benedicité*,
 What may this mene?

Praise God (or: Bless you)

- JACOBUS** Itt is a sperite, forsothe thynketh me,
36 That dose us tene. *ghost
harm*
- JOHANNES** A sperite it is, that trowe I right,
All thus appered here to oure sight;
Itt makis us madde of mayne and myght,
40 So it us flaid, *power
frightened*
Yone is the same that broughthe the light
That us affraied. *frightened us*
- DEUS** What thynke ye, madmen, in youre thought?
What mournyng in youre hertis is brought? *hearts*
45 I am Criste, ne drede you noght,
Her may ye se
The same body that has you bought *purchased*
Upon a tre. *cross*
- That I am comen you here to mete,
50 Behalde and se myn handis and feete,
And grathely gropes my woundes wete *directly touch*
Al that here is;
Thus was I dight youre balis to beete *put [to death] your misery; relieve*
And bring to blis.
- 55 For yowe thusgatis thanne have I gone; *in that manner*
Felys me grathely everilkone, *Touch; everyone*
And se that I have flesh and bone.
Gropes me nowe, *Examine (i.e., Touch)*
For so ne has sperite none,
60 That schall ye trowe.
- To garre you kenne and knowe me clere,
I schall you schewe ensaumpillis sere; *cause; to know; with certainty*
Bringe nowe forthe unto me here *examples many*
Some of youre mette, *food*
65 If ye amange you all in fere *company*
Have ought to ete. *eat*
- JACOBUS** Thou luffand Lorde that laste schall ay, *loving; always (forever)*
Loo, here is mette that thou ete may:
A hony kombe the soth to saye, *honeycomb*
70 Roste fecche therill; *Roast fish*
To ete therof here we thee praie *beg*
With full goode will.
- DEUS** Nowe sen ye have broughthe me this mete, *truth*
To make youre trouthe stedfast and grete

- 75 And for ye schall wanhope forgete
 And trowe in me,
 With youe than here wol I ete,
 That ye schalle see.
- Nowe have I done, ye have sene howe,
 80 Boldeley etyng here with youe,
 Stedfastly loke that ye trowe
 Yitt in me eftre,
 And takis the remenaunte sone to you
 That her is lefte.
- 85 For youe thus was I revyn and rayst;
 Therfore some of my peyne ye taste
 And spekis now nowhare my worde waste,
 That schall ye lere;
 And unto you the Holy Goste
 90 Releffe you here.
- Beis now trewe and trowes in me,
 And here I graunte youe in youre poste:
 Whome that ye bynde bounden schall be
 Right at youre stevene,
 95 And whome that ye lesid losed schal be
 Evermore in hevene.
- THOMAS** Allas for sight and sorowes sadde,
 Mornyng makis me mased and madde;
 On grounde nowe may I gang ungladde,
 100 Bothe even and morne.
 That hende that I my helpe of hadde
 His liffe has lorne.
- Lorne I have that lovely light
 That was my maistir moste of myght;
 105 So doulfly as he was dight
 Was never no man.
 Such woo was wrought of that worthy wighte
 With wondis wan.
- Wan was his wondis and wonderus wette,
 110 With skelpis sore was he swongen, that swette,
 All naked nailed thurgh hande and feete.
 Allas, for pyne,
 That bliste, that beste my bale myght bete,
 His liffe schulde tyne.
- despair
 believe
- Still; hereafter
 leftovers soon
 here
- torn; wounded
 experience
 diminish
 learn
- Relieve (Assist)
- Be; believe
 power
 bind bound
 word
 loosened absolved
- Mourning; distraught
 go
- courteous one
 lost
- dolefully; put [to death]
 man
 dark
- blows (lashes); dear one
- blessed one; misery; defeat
 end

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| 115 | Allas, for sorowe myselffe I schende
When I thynke hartely on that hende;
I fande hym ay a faithfull frende,
Trulie to telle.
To my brethir nowe will I wende | <i>exhaust</i>
<i>found</i> |
| 120 | Wherso thei dwell. | <i>brethren; go</i> |
| | So wofull wightis was nevere none;
Oure joie and conforte is all gone,
Of mournyng may we make oure mone
In ilka lande. | <i>complaint</i>
<i>every nation</i> |
| 125 | God blisse you, brether, bloode and bone,
Same ther ye stande. | <i>Together</i> |
| | PETRUS Welcome, Thomas, where has thou bene? | |
| | Wete thou wele withouten wene,
Jesu oure Lorde than have we sene | <i>Know; doubt</i> |
| 130 | On grounde her gang. | <i>here walking</i> |
| | THOMAS What saie ye, men? Allas, for tene,
I trowe ye mang. | <i>are confused</i> |
| | JOHANNES Thomas, trewly it is noght to layne:
Jesu oure Lorde is resen agayne. | <i>conceal</i> |
| | THOMAS Do waie, thes tales is but a trayne | <i>trick</i> |
| 136 | Of fooles unwise.
He that was so fully slayne,
Howe schulde he rise? | |
| | JACOBUS Thomas, trewly he is on lyve | <i>alive</i> |
| 140 | That tholed the Jewes his flessh to riffe;
He lete us fele his woundes fyve,
Oure Lorde verray. | <i>suffered; tear (wound)</i> |
| | THOMAS That trowe I nought, so motte I thryve,
Whatso ye saie. | |
| | PETRUS Thomas, we saugh his woundes wette, | |
| 146 | Howe he was nayled thurgh hande and feete;
Hony and fisshe with us he eette,
That body free. | |
| | THOMAS I laye my liff it was some sperit | <i>wager</i> |
| 150 | Ye wende wer hee. | <i>mistook for him</i> |

JOHANNES Nay, Thomas, thou hast misgone,
 Forwhy he bad us everilkon
 To grope hym grathely, bloode and bone
 And flessh to feele.
 155 Such thyngis, Thomas, hase sperite none,
 That wote ye wele.

mistaken
asked
directly
ghost

THOMAS What, leve felawes, late be youre fare.
 Till that I see his body bare
 And sithen my fyngir putte in thare
 160 Within his hyde
 And fele the wounde the spere did schere
 Right in his syde,
 Are schalle I trowe no tales betwene.

leave (cease); matter (argument)
skin
shear (cut)
Before

JACOBUS Thomas, that wounde have we seene.

THOMAS Ya, ye wotte nevere what ye mene,
 166 Youre witte it wantis;
 Ye muste thynke no synne me thus to tene
 And tule with trantis.

lacks
sin; be roused
assail; deceptions

DEUS Pees, brethir, be unto you,
 170 And Thomas, tente to me takis thou:
 Putte forthe thy fyngir to me nowe,
 Myn handis thou see,
 Howe I was nayled for mannys prowe
 Upon a tree.
 175 Beholde my woundis are bledand,
 Here in my side putte in thi hande
 And fele my woundis and undirstande
 That this is I,
 And be no more mistrowand
 180 But trowe trewly.

attention
benefit
bleeding
unbelieving
believe

THOMAS Mi Lorde, my God, full wele is me,
 A, blode of price, blessid mote thou be.
 Mankyd in erth, behold and see
 This blessid blode.
 185 Mercy nowe, Lorde, ax I thee,
 With mayne and mode.

[high] value
(i.e., supernatural power)

DEUS Thomas, for thou hast sene this sight
 That I am resen as I thee hight,
 Therfore thou trowes it, but ilka wight,

- 190 Blissed be thou evere,
That trowis haly in my rising right
And saw it nevere. *believes wholly*
- 195 My brethir, fonde nowe forthe in fere,
Overe all in ilke a contré clere;
My rising both ferre and nere
And preche it schall ye.
And my blissyng I giffe you here
And my menghe. *go forth; company*
every country
far
people (household)

[42. THE ASCENSION]

The Tailoures

PETRUS O mightfull God, how standis it nowe,
In worlde thus will was I nevere are;
Butte he apperes, bot I ne wote howe,
He fro us twynnes whanne he will fare.
5 And yitt may falle that for oure prowe
And alle his wirkyng lesse and mare.
A, kyng of conforte, gudde arte thou,
And lele and likand is thy lare.

perplexed; before
know not
separates when; go
benefit
working (efforts)
good
true; felicitous; lore (teaching)

JOHANNES The missing of my maistir trewe
10 That lengthis not with us lastandly,
Makis me to morne ilke a day newe
For tharnyng of his company.
His peere of gudnes nevere I knewe,
Of myght ne wisdome yit any.

remains; always
mourn; every; anew
lack
equal; goodness

PETRUS That we hym tharne sore may us rewe,
16 For he luffed us full faithfully.

lose; be sorry
loved

Bot yitt in all my mysselykyng,
A worde that Christe saide comfortis me;
Oure hevynes and oure mournyng
20 He saide to joie turned schuld be.
That joie he saide in his hetyng,
To reve us none schulde have no posté,
Wherfore aboven all othir thyng
That joie me longis to knowe and see.

sorrow
promise
deprive; power
I long

MARIA Thou, Petir, whanne my Sone was slayne
26 And laide in grave, ye wer in were
Whedir he schulde rise, almoste ilkane,

doubt
each one

- | | | |
|--------------|---|--|
| | But nowe ye wotte thurgh knowyng clere.
Some that he saide schulde come is gane
And some to come, but ilkane sere,
Whedir it be to come or none,
Us awe to knowe it all in fere. | <i>Some [things]; would happen have happened
each one separately
ought; all together</i> |
| JESUS | Almyghty God, my Fadir free,
In erthe thi bidding have I done
And clarified the name of thee,
To thyselffe clarifie the Sone.
Als thou haste geven me pleyne posté
Of ilke a flesh, graunte me my bone
That thou me gaffe myght lyffand be
In endles liffe and with thee wonne. | <i>revealed
glorify
request
gave; living
to live</i> |
| | That liffe is this that hath none ende,
To knawe thee, Fadir, moste of myght,
And me thy Sone, whame thou gon sende
To dye for man withouten plight;
Mankynde was thyne whome thou bekende
And toke me to thi yemying right.
I died for man, mannes misse to mende,
And unto spiteous dede was dight. | <i>whom; did
called (summoned)
care
spiteful death; put</i> |
| | Thy wille unto them taughte have I
That wolde unto my lare enclyne;
Mi lare have they tane buxsomly,
Schall none of them ther travaille tyne.
Thou gaffe them me but noght forthy,
Yitt are they thyne als wele as myne;
Fleme them not fro oure compayne
Sen thyne are myne and myne er thyne. | <i>law incline
taken obediently
harm
gave; [to] me
Banish
Since; are yours</i> |
| | Sen they are oures, if thame nede ought
Thou helpe them, if it be thy will,
And als thou wate that I thame boght,
For faute of helpe latte them not spill.
Fro the worlde to take them pray I noght,
But that thou kepe thame ay fro ill,
All thois also that settis thare thought
In erthe my techyng to fulfill. | <i>anything
know; purchased
lack; bring to ruin
are firm in their</i> |
| | Mi thythandis tane has my menghe
To teche the pepull wher they fare.
In erthe schall thei leve aftir me
And suffir sorowes sadde and sare.
Dispised and hatted schall thei be | <i>tidings received; company
live
hated</i> |

- 70 Als I have bene, with lesse and mare,
 And suffered dede in sere degré,
 For sothfastnesse schall none them spare.
- death in many ways
loyalty to truth*
- 75 Thou halowe thame, Fadir, forthy,
 In sothfastnes so that thei may
 Be ane as we ar, thowe and I,
 In will and werke, both nyght and day,
 And knawe that I am verilye
 Both sothfastnes and liffe alway.
 Be the whilke ilke man that is willy
 May wynne the liffe that laste schall ay.
- bless
one
truth; life eternal
willing
(i.e., everlasting life)*
- 80 Bot ye, my postelis all bedene,
 That lange has wente abowte with me,
 In grete wanne trowyng have ye bene
 And wondir harde of hartis ar ye.
 Worthy to be reproved, I wene,
 Ar ye forsothe, and ye will see
 In als mekill als ye have sene
 My wirkynge proved and my posté.
- apostles; forthwith
for a long time
weakness in trusting
wondrous; hearts
power*
- 85 Whan I was dede and laide in grave,
 Of myne upryse ye were in doute,
 And some for myne uprysing strave
 When I was laide als undir clowte
 So depe in erthe, but sithen I have
 Ben walkand fourty daies aboute,
 Eten with you, youre trouthe to save,
 Comand emange you inne and oute.
- resurrection
argued
ground
Eaten
Coming among*
- 90 And therfore beis no more in were
 Of myne upperysing, day nor nyght;
 Youre misbelieve leves ilkone seere,
 For witte ye wele, als man of myght
 Over whome no dede may have poure,
 I schall be endles liffe and right.
 But for to schewe you figure clere,
 Schewe I me thusgatis to youre sight,
- confusion
disbelief everyone abandons*
- 95 Howe man by cours of kynde schall ryse
 Allthough he be roten ontill noght;
 Oute of his grave in this same wise
 At the daye of dome schall he be broght
 Wher I schall sitte as trewe justise
 And deme man aftir he has wrought:
- death; power
eternal life; righteousness
[by] sign
in this manner
nature
decayed to nothing
Last Judgment
judge; according to [what]*

- The wikkid to wende with ther enmyse,
The gode to blisse thei schall be broght.
- Anodir skill forsoth is this:
In a tre man was traied thurgh trayne,
115 One man, forthy, to mende that misse
On a tree boght mankynde agayne.
In confusioune of hym and his
That falsely to forge that frawde was fayne
Mankynge to bringe agayne to blisse,
120 His foo the fende till endles peyne.
- The thirde skille is, trewly to tell,
Right als I wende als wele will seme,
So schall I come in flessh and fell
Atte the day of dome whan I schall deme
125 The goode in endles blisse to dwell,
Mi fomen fro me for to fleme
Withouten ende in woo to well.
Ilke levand man here to take yeme.
- But intill all the worlde wendand
130 The gospell trewly preche schall ye
Tille ilke a creatoure liffand.
Who trowes, if that he baptised be,
He schall, als yhe schall undirstande,
Be saved and of all thraldome free;
135 Who trowis it not, as mistrowand,
For faute of trouthe dampned is he.
- But all ther tokenyngis bedene
Schall folowe tham that trowis it right,
In my name devellis crewell and kene
140 Schall thei oute caste of ilka wight,
With newe tongis speke, serpentis unclene
Fordo, and if thei day or nyght
Drinke venom wik, withouten wene,
To noye thame schall it have no myght.
- 145 On seke folke schall thei handes lay
And wele schall thei have sone at welde;
This poure schall thei have alway,
My menghe, bothe in towne and felde.
And witte ye wele, so schall thei
- 150 That wirkis my wille in youthe or elde,
A place for thame I schall purveye
In blisse with me ay in to belde.
- enemies
good
- reason
tree; betrayed; trick
lapse (sin)
purchased
- ready
- foe; fiend; pain
- (i.e., bodily)
- foemen (enemies); banish
suffer
living; heed
- going
preach
To every; living
believes
- bondage
disbelieving
lack
- signs altogether
believes
sharp
expel each man
- venom deadly
annoy them
- sick
health; in keeping
power
company
- provide
dwell

- Nowe is my jornay brought till ende,
Mi tymē that me to lang was lende. too long
- 155 To my Fadir nowe uppe I wende,
And youre Fadir that me doune sente:
Mi God, youre God, and ilk mannes frende
That till his techyng will consente to
Till synneres that no synne thame schende, To; overcomes
160 That mys amendis and will repente. sin
- But for I speke thes wordis nowe
To you, youre hartis hase hevynes,
Fullfillid all be it for youre prowe benefit
That I hense wende, als nedful is. go
- 165 And butte I wende, comes noght to yowe unless
The conforteoure of conforteles.
And if I wende, ye schall fynde howe
I schall hym sende, of my goodnesse.
- Mi Fadirs will fullfillid have I;
170 Therfore fareswele, ilkone seere.
I goo make youe a stede redye place ready
Endles to wonne with me in feere. dwell
Sende doune a clowde, Fadir, forthy
I come to thee, my Fadir deere.
- 175 The Fadir blissing moste myghty
Giffe I you all that leffe here. Give; live

Tunc cantat angelus Ascendo ad patrem meum.¹

- MARIA** A, myghtfull God, ay moste of myght,
A selcouth sight is this to see, wondrous
- My Sone thus to be ravished right
180 In a clowde wendande uppe fro me. ascending up from
Bothe is my herte hevy and light,
Hevy for swilke twynnyng schulde be
And light for he haldis that he hight
And thus uppe wendis in grette posté. such separation
holds [to] what; promised
- 185 His hetyngis haldis he all bedene
That comfortis me in all my care,
But unto whome schall I me mene?
Thus will in worlde was I nevere
To dwelle amonge thes Jewes kene, promises; forthwith
- 190 Me to dispise will thei not spare. address (speak)
confused; (before)

¹ *Then the angel sings “I ascend to my Father”*

JOHANNES All be he noght in presens seene,
Yitt is he salve of ilka sare;

*Even if he is
remedy; every affliction*

But, lady, sen that he betoke
Me for to serve you as youre sonne,
195 You nedis nothyng, lady, but loke
What thyng in erthe ye will have done.
I ware to blame if I forsoke
To wirke youre wille, midday or none,
Or any tyme yitt of the woke.

since

am

week

MARIA I thanke thee, John, with wordis fune;

?fond

201 Mi modirhed, John, schall thou have,
And for my sone I wolle thee take.

motherhood

JOHANNES That grace, dere lady, wolde I crave.

MARIA Mi Sone sawes will I nevere forsake.
205 Itt were not semand that we strave
Ne contraried noght that he spake.
But John, tille I be broght in grave,
Schall thou never see my sorowe slake.

Son's words (sayings)

*appropriate; argue
contradicted*

diminish

JACOBUS Owre worthy Lorde, sen he is wente
210 For us, lady, als is his will,
We thanke hym that us thee hath lente
With us on lyve to lenge her stille.
I saie for me with full concente,
Thi likyng all will I fulfille.

left behind

remain here

consent

desires

ANDREAS So wille we all with grete talent,
216 Forthy, lady, giffe thee noght ill.

resolution

I ANGELUS Ye men of the lande of Galilé,
What wondir ye to hevene lokand?
This Jesus whome ye fro youe see
220 Uppetane, ye schall wele undirstande,
Right so agayne come doune schall he
When he so comes with woundes bledand,
Who wele has wrought full gladde may be,
Who ill has leved full sore dredand.

looking

Ascended

down

bleeding

dreading

II ANGELUS Ye that has bene his seruaunis trewe
226 And with hym lengand, nyght and day,
Slike wirkyngh als ye with hym knew,
Loke that ye preche it fourthe alway.

dwelling

Such

forth

- Youre mede in hevene beis ilke day newe,
 230 And all that servis hym wele to paye;
 Who trowes you noght, it schall thame rewe,
 Thei mon have peyne encresand ay.
- reward; is
satisfy
trusts; be sorry
increasing always*
- JACOBUS** Loved be thou, Lorde, ay, moste of myght
 That thus, in all oure grete disease,
 235 Us comfortist with thyne aungellis bright.
 Nowe aught ther Jewes thare malise meese
 That sawe thameselue this wondir sight
 Thus nere thame wrought undir ther nose.
 And we have mater day and nyght,
 240 Oure God more for to preyse and plesē.
- Praised
discomfort (misery)*
- ANDREAS** Nowe may ther Jewes be all confused
 If thai onthinke thame inwardly
 Howe falsely thei have hym accused
 And sakles schente thurgh ther envy.
 245 Ther falsed, that thei long have used,
 Nowe is it proved here opynly.
 And they were of this mater mused,
 Itt schulde thame stirre to aske mercy.
- reflect on them
innocent killed
falsehood
conscious
encourage*
- PETRUS** That wille thei noght, Andrewe, late be,
 250 For thei are full of pompe and pride.
 Itt may noght availe to thee ne me,
 Ne none of us with thame to chide.
 Prophite to dwelle can I none see,
 Forthy late us no lenger bide
 255 But wende we unto seere contré
 To preche thurgh all this worlde so wide.
- Profitable; dwell [among them]
let; longer abide
various countries*
- JOHANNES** That is oure charge, for that is beste
 That we lenge nowe no lenger here,
 For here gete we no place of reste
 260 To lenge so nere the Jewes poure.
 Us to fordo thei will thame caste,
 Forthy come forthe, my lady dere,
 And wende us hense, I am full preste
 With you to wende with full goode chere.
- remain; longer
have
dwell
attempt
(i.e., in haste)*
- 265 Mi triste is nowe ever ilk a dele
 In yowe to wirke aftir youre counsaill.
- trust; entirely*
- JACOBUS** Mi lady dere, that schall ye fele
 In oght that evere us may availe;
- experience*

Oure conforte, youre care to kele
 270 Whill we may leve we schall not faile.

*assuage
live*

MARIA Mi brethir dere, I traste itt wele,
 Mi Sone schall quyte you youre travaile.

*trust (believe)
requite; [for] your effort*

PETRUS To Jerusalem go we agayne
 And loke what fayre so aftir fall;
 275 Oure Lorde and maistir moste of mayne,
 He wisse youe and be with youe all.

*events; besfall (happen)
direct*

[43. PENTECOST]

The Potteres

PETRUS Brethir, takes tente unto my steven,
 Thanne schall ye stably undirstande
 Oure maistir hende is hente to hevyn
 To reste there on his Fadirs right hande.
 5 And we are leved alyve, ellevyn,
 To lere his lawes lely in lande.
 Or we begynne us muste be even
 Ellis are owre werkis noght to warande.
 For parfite noumbre it is none,
 10 Off elleven for to lere,
 Twelve may be asoundir tone
 And settis in parties seere.
*Nobis precepit Dominus predicare populo et testificare
quia prope est iudex vivorum et mortuorum.¹*

*Brethren; pay attention; speech
firmly
gracious; received into*

15 Oure Lord comaunded us, more and lesse,
 To rewle us right aftir his rede;
 He badde us preche and bere wittenesse
 That he schulde deme bothe quike and dede.
 To hym all prophettis prevys expresse
 20 All tho that trowis in his Godhede,
 Off synnes thei schall have forgiffenesse;
 So schall we say mekill rede.
 And senne we on this wise
 Schall his counsaile disrie,
 25 Itt nedis we us avise
 That we saye noght serely.

*left alive, eleven
teach; faithfully
Before; an even [number]
Or; matter
perfect
inquire
apart taken
several*

*rule (control); advice
bear
living and dead
prove explicitly
those; believes
great counsel
since
proclaim
advise
differently*

¹ Lines 13–14: *The Lord commanded us to teach to the people, and to testify / that he will be judge of the living and the dead.*

JOHANNES	Serely he saide that we schulde wende In all this worlde his will to wirke, And be his counsaile to be kende 30 He saide he schulde sette haly kirke. But firste he saide he schulde doune sende His sande, that we schuld noght be irke, His Haly Gaste on us to lende And make us to melle of materes mirke.	<i>Surely</i> <i>known</i> <i>establish holy Church</i> <i>messenger; oppressed</i> <i>be concerned with; obscure</i>
35	Us menis he saide us thus Whan that he fared us froo: <i>Cum venerit paraclitus</i> <i>Docebit vos omnia.</i> ¹	<i>We remember</i> <i>went away from</i>
JACOBUS	Ya, certaynely, he saide us soo, 40 And mekill more thanne we of mene: <i>Nisi ego abiero,</i> Thus tolde he oftetymes us betwene. He saide forsoth, “But if I goo The Holy Goste schall not be sene	<i>(i.e., have known)</i> <i>Unless I go away</i>
45	<i>Et cum assumptus fuero;</i> Thanne schall I sende you conforte clene.” Thus tolde he holy howe That oure dedis schulde be dight. So schall we trewly trowe	<i>And after I have ascended</i> <i>entirely</i> <i>done</i> <i>believe</i> <i>promised</i>
50	He will holde that he us highte.	
IV APOSTOLUS	He highte us fro harme for to hyde And holde in hele both hede and hende Whanne we take that he talde that tyde, Fro all oure foois it schall us fende.	<i>well-being; head; hand</i> <i>told; time</i> <i>foes; defend</i> <i>misery</i>
55	But thus in bayle behoves us bide To tym that sande till us be sende. The Jewis besettis us in ilke a side That we may nowdir walke nor wende.	<i>messenger</i> <i>assail</i> <i>neither</i>
V APOSTOLUS	We dare noght walke for drede 60 Or conforte come us till; Itt is moste for oure spedē Here to be stokyn still.	<i>benefit</i> <i>stock</i>
MARIA	Brethir, what mene ye you emelle To make mournyng at ilk a mele? 65 My Sone that of all welthe is well, He will you wisse to wirke full wele.	<i>thus</i> <i>continually</i> <i>direct</i>

¹ Lines 37–38: *Whereas the Paraclete will come / to teach you all things.*

For the tente day is this to telle
 Sen he saide we schull favoure fele.
 Levys wele that lange schall it not dwell,
 70 And therfore drede you nevere a dele,
 But prayes with harte and hende
 That we his helpe may have;
 Thanne schall it sone be sende,
 The sande that schall us save.

*tenth; count
experience
Relieve; long [in time]*
*pray
soon
messenger*

I DOCTOR Harke, maistir, for Mahoundes peyne,
 76 Howe that thes mobbardis maddis nowe;
 Ther maistir that oure men have slayne
 Hase garte thame on his trifullis trowe.

*fools (villains) rave
made; lies trust*

II DOCTOR The lurdayne sais he leffis agayne;
 80 That mater may thei nevere avowe,
 For as thei herde his prechygng pleyne,
 He was away, thai wiste noght howe.

*rascal; lives
assert
plain
know not*

I DOCTOR They wiste noght whenne he wente;
 Therfore fully thei faile
 85 And sais tham schall be sente
 Grete helpe thurgh his counsaille.

to them

II DOCTOR He myghte nowdir sende clothe nor clowte;
 He was nevere but a wrecche alway.
 But samme oure men and make a schowte,
 90 So schall we beste yone foolis flaye.

*piece of cloth
gather; shout
frighten*

I DOCTOR Nay, nay, than will thei dye for doute.
 I rede we make noght mekill dray
 But warly wayte when thai come oute
 And marre thame thanne, if that we may.

*riot (disturbance)
surreptitiously
harm*

II DOCTOR Now, certis, I assente thertille,
 96 Yitt wolde I noght thei wiste;
 Yone carles than schall we kill
 But thei liffe als us liste.

*knew
curls (peasants)
Unless; live; wish*

Angelus tunc cantare Veni creator spiritus.¹

MARIA Honnoure and blisse be ever nowe
 100 With worschippe in this worlde alwaye
 To my soverayne Sone, Jesu,

¹ *Then the angel shall sing “Come Holy Spirit”*

- Oure Lorde allone that laste schall ay.
 Nowe may we triste his talis ar trewe
 Be dedis that here is done this day.
- 105 Als lange as ye his pase pursue
 The fende he fendis yow for to flay.
 For his high Hali Gaste
 He lattis here on you lende,
 Mirthis and trewthe to taste
- 110 And all misse to amende.
- be everlasting
 believe; stories (narratives)
 deeds
 As long; steps
[From] the fiend; prevents; flee
 Holy Ghost
 allows; to give
 experience
 sin (error)
- PETRUS** All mys to mende nowe have we myght,
 This is the mirthe oure maistir of mente;
 I myght noght loke, so was it light,
 A, loved be that Lorde that itt us lente.
- 115 Now hase he holden that he us highte,
 His Holy Goste here have we hente,
 Like to the sonne itt semed in sight,
 And sodenly thanne was itt sente.
- power
 it was so
 kept; promised
 received
 sun
- II APOSTOLUS** Hitt was sente for oure sele,
 120 Hitt giffis us happe and hele;
 Methynke slike forse I fele,
 I myght felle folke full feele.
- spiritual health
 It gives; good fortune; health
 such power
 many; overcome
- III APOSTOLUS** We have force for to fighte in felde
 And favour of all folke in feere,
 125 With wisdome in this worlde to welde,
 Be knowing of all clerye clere.
- all together
 wield (use)
 By knowledge; clearly
- IV APOSTOLUS** We have bewteis to be oure belde
 And langage nedis us none to lere
 That Lorde us awe yappely to yelde
 130 That us has yemed unto this yere.
- virtues; protection
 learn
 ought readily; yield up
 guarded; year
- V APOSTOLUS** This is the yere of grace
 That musteris us emang,
 As aungellis in this place
 That sais thus in ther sange.
- manifests; among
 song
- I APOSTOLUS** In thare singing saide thei thus
 136 And tolde ther talis betwene them two,
Veni creator spiritus,
*mentes tuorum visita.*¹
 Thei praied the Spirite come till us

¹ Lines 137–38: *Come, Holy Spirit, / visit the souls of your own [people].*

140 And mende oure myndis with mirthis ma,
 That lerid thei of oure Lorde Jesus,
 For he saide that itt schulde be swa.
joys more
taught

II APOSTOLUS He saide he schulde us sende
 His Holy Goste fro hevyn
 145 Oure myndis with mirthe to mende:
 Nowe is all ordand evyn.
come to pass

III APOSTOLUS Even als he saide schulde to us come,
 So has bene schewid unto oure sight,
Tristitia implevit cor vestrum,
 150 Firste sorowe in herte he us hight;
Sed convertetur in gaudium;
 Sen saide he that we schulde be light.
 Nowe that he saide us, all and summe,
 Is mefid emange us thurgh his myght.
been shown
Sorrow will fill your heart
promised
But will be converted into joy
Then; without care
told; some
occurred among

IV APOSTOLUS His myght with mayne and mode
 156 May conforte all mankynde.
(i.e., strength of will)

I DOCTOR Harke, man, for Mahoundes bloode,
 Ther men maddis oute of mynde.
are insane

Thei make carpyng of ilke contré
 160 And leris langage of ilk a lande.
talk; every country
have learned

II DOCTOR They speke oure speche als wele as we
 And in ilke a steede it undirstante.
place; understand it

I DOCTOR And alle are noght of Galilee
 That takis this hardinesse on hande.
 165 Butt thei are droucken, all these menghe,
 Of muste or wyne, I wolle warande.
presumptuous action
drunk; company of men
new wine; warrant

II DOCTOR Nowe certis this was wele saide,
 That makis ther mynde to marre;
 Yone faitours schall be flaied
 170 Or that thei flitte aught ferre.
deceivers; punished
Before; flee; any farther

IV APOSTOLUS Harke, brethir, waites wele aboute,
 For in oure fayre we fynde no frende.
 The Jewes with strength are sterne and stoute
 And scharpely schapes them us to schende.
affair (matter)
intends

I APOSTOLUS Oure maistir has putte alle perellis oute
 176 And fellid the falsed of the fende.
perils
destroyed; falsehood

Undo youre dores and haves no doute,
For to yone warlowes will we wende.
warlocks; go

II APOSTOLUS To wende have we no drede,
180 Nought for to do oure dette,
For to nevyn that is nede
Shall none on lyve us lette.
*if for; debt (obligation)
say; needful
alive; prevent*

PETRUS Ye Jewez that in Jerusalem dwelle,
Youre tales are false, that schall ye fynde.
185 That we are dronken we here you telle
Because ye hope we have bene pynnyd.
A prophette preved, his name is Johell,
A gentill Jewe of youre awne kynde,
He spekis thus in his special spell
190 And of this matere makis he mynde.
Be poyntis of prophicie
He tolde full ferre before,
This may ye noght denye,
For thus his wordis wore:
195 *Et erit in novissimus diebus, dicit dominus,*
*effundam de spiritu meo super omnem carnem.*¹
long
were

III APOSTOLUS Loo, losellis, loo, thus may ye lere
Howe youre elders wrotte alway.
The Holy Goste have we tane here
200 As youre awne prophettis prechid ay.
wretches; learn
wrote
received
own

IV APOSTOLUS Hitt is the myght of oure maistir dere,
All dedis that here are done this daye:
He giffis us myght and playne power
To conclude all that ye can saie.
deeds
gives

I DOCTOR There men hasemekill myght
206 Thurgh happe thei here have tone.
taken (received)

II DOCTOR Wende we oute of ther sight
And latte them even allone.
leave

I APOSTOLUS Nowe, brethir myne, sen we all meffe
210 To teche the feithe to foo and frende,
Oure taryng may turne us to mischeffe,
go forth

¹ Lines 196–96: *And it shall come to pass, in the last days, saith the Lord, / I will pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh.*

Wherfore I counsaille that we wende
Untille Oure Lady and take oure leve.

II APOSTOLUS Sertis so woll we with wordis hende.

215 Mi Lady, takis it noght to greve;
I may no lenger with you lende.
. . .

remain

[four lines missing]

MARIA Nowe, Petir, sen itt schall be soo
That ye have diverse gatis to gang,
Ther schall none dere you for to doo
220 Whils my Sone musteris you emang.
Butt John and Jamys, my cosyns twoo,
Loke that ye lenge not fro me lange.

ways; go

harm

manifests

linger; long

JOHANNES Lady, youre wille in wele and woo,
Itt schall be wroght, ellis wirke we wrang.

well-being

or else; wrong

JACOBUS Lady, we bothe are boune
226 Atte youre biddyg to be.

obliged

MARIA The blissing of my Sone
Be boith with you and me.

[44. THE DEATH OF MARY]

The Draperes

GABRIEL Hayle, myghtfull Marie, Godis modir so mylde,
Hayle be thou, roote of all reste, hayle be thou ryall.
Hayle floure and frewte noght fadid nor filyd,
Haile, salve to all synnefull; nowe saie thee I schall,
5 Thy Sone to thiselv me has sente
His sande, and sothly he saies,
No lenger than ther thre dayes
Here lefte thee this liffe that is lente.

royal

flower; fruit; defiled

remedy

messenger; truthfully

life; given

And therfore he biddis thee loke that thou blithe be,
10 For to that bigly blisse that berde will thee bring
There to sitte with hymselfe, all solas to see,
And to be crowned for his quene and he hymselfe kyng
In mirthe that evere schall be newe.
He sendis to thee worthely, iwis,
15 This palme oute of paradise
In tokenyng that it schall be trewe.

glad

great; Lord

joy

sign; true

- | | | |
|-----------------|--|--------------------------------|
| MARIA | I thanke my Sone semely of all his sandis sere; | many messages |
| | Unto hym lastandly be ay lovyng | everlastingly; praising |
| | That me thus worthely wolde menske on this manere | honor |
| 20 | And to his bigly blisse my bones for to bringe. | perfect |
| | But, gode ser, nevenes me thi name? | say to me |
| GABRIELL | Gabriell, that baynly ganne bringe | did |
| | The boodworde of his bering, | message; bearing |
| | Forsythe, Lady, I ame the same. | |
| MARIA | Nowe, Gabriell, that sothly is fro my Sone sent, | |
| 26 | I thanke thee ther tythyngis thou tellis me untill, | |
| | And loved be that Lorde of the lane that has me lente, | gift; given |
| | . | [line missing] |
| | And dere Sone, I beseke thee, | beseech |
| | Grete God, thou graunte me thi grace, | |
| 30 | Thyne appostelis to have in this place | |
| | That thei at my bering may be. | burial (funeral) |
| GABRIELL | Nowe, foode faireste of face, most faithfull and fre, | person |
| | Thyne askyng thi Sone has graunte of his grace, | [For] your asking; has granted |
| | And saies all same in sight ye schall see | together |
| 35 | All his appostelis appere in this place | |
| | To wirke all thi will at thi wending. | passing away |
| | And sone schall thi peynes be paste | finished |
| | And thou to be in liffe that schall laste | |
| | Evermore withouten any ending. | |
| JOHANNES | Marie, my modir, that mylde is and meke | |
| 41 | And cheffe chosen for chaste, nowe telle me, what chere? | chief; chastity |
| MARIA | John, sone, I saie thee forsothe I am seke; | sick |
| | My swete Sone sonde I hente, right nowe it was here | message; received |
| | And douteles he saies I schall dye. | without doubt |
| 45 | Within thre daies, iwis, | |
| | I schall be beldid in blisse | sheltered |
| | And come to his awne company. | own |
| JOHANNES | A, with thi leve, Lady, thou nevene it me noght, | speak |
| | Ne telle me no tydingis to twynne us in two, | separate |
| 50 | For be thou, blissid birde, unto bere broght | Lady; bier |
| | Evermore whils I wonne in this worlde will me be full woo; | dwell |
| | Therfore lete it stynte, and be still. | cease |
| MARIA | Nay John, sone, myselfe nowe I see. | son |
| | Atte Goddis will moste it nedis be; | |
| 55 | Therfore be it wrought at his will. | |

- JOHANNES** A, worthy, when thou art wente will me be full woo,
But God giffe the apostelis wiste of thi wending. knowledge
- MARIA** Yis John, sone, for certayne schall it be so.
All schall thei hardlye be here at myne ending. Yes
60 The sonde of my Sone saide me thus,
That sone schall my penaunce be paste
And I to be in liffe that evere schall laste,
Than baynly to belde in that blisse. forthwith
messenger
soon
willingly; dwell
- PETRUS** O God, omnipotent, the giffer of all grace,
65 *Benedicte Dominus*, a clowde now full clere Praise God
Umbelappid me in Jude prechand as I was,
And I have mekill mervayle how that I come here. Encircled; Judea preaching
- JACOBUS** A, sesse, of this assemelyng can I noght saie
 Howe and in what wise that we are here mette,
70 Owthir myrthe or of mornyng mene wele it maye
For sodenly in sight here sone was I sette. cease; assembling
Either joy; mourning
- ANDREAS** A, bredir, be my wetand and iwisso so wer we
In diverse landes lely I wotte we were lente,
And how we are semelid thus can I noght see
75 But as God of his sande has us same sente. so far as I know
assembled
message; together
- JOHANNES** A, felawes, late be youre fare,
For as God will it moste nedis be,
That pereles is of posté,
His myght is to do mekill mare. matter
- 80 For Marie, that worthy, schall wende now, I wene,
Unto that bigly blisse that high barne baynly us boght peerless; power
That we in hir sight all same myght be sene
Or sche dissever us froo, hir Sone sche besoght. much more
- 85 And thus has he wrought atte hir will
Whanne sche shal be broght on a bere bier
That we may be neghand hir nere
This tyme for to tente hir untill. coming near her
attend
- MARIA** Jesu, my darlyng that ding is and dere,
I thanke thee my dere Sone of thi grete grace worthy
90 That I all this faire felawship atte hande nowe has here,
That thei me some conforte may kythe in this case. show
- This sikenes it sittis me full sare;
My maidens, take kepe nowe on me
And caste some watir uppon me.
95 I faynte, so febill I fare. sickness; sore

- I ANCILLA** Allas, for my Lady that lemed so light
 That evere I leved in this lede thus longe for to lende,
 That I on this semely schulde se such a sight. *shone; brightly
lived; place (land)
beautiful one*
- II ANCILLA** Allas, helpe, sche dyes in oure hende. *hands*
 100 A, Marie, of me have thou mynde
 . . .
 Some conforte us two for to kythe,
 Thou knowes we are comen of thi kynde. *[line missing]
people*
- MARIA** What ayles yow women for wo thus wynly to wepe? *excessively
harm; crying*
 Yhe do me dere with youre dynne, for me muste nedis dye.
 105 Yhe schulde, whenne ye saw me so slippe and slepe,
 Have lefste all youre late and lette me lye.
 John, cosyne, garre thame stynte and be still. *(i.e., go to sleep)
your fuss
make; to stop*
- JOHANNES** A, Marie, that mylde is of mode,
 When thi Sone was raised on a rode,
 110 To tente thee he toke me thee till,
 And therfore at thi bidding full bayne will I be.
 Iff ther be oght, modir, that I amende may,
 I pray thee, myldest of mode, meve thee to me,
 And I schall, dereworthi dame, do it ilke a daye. *mood
cross
attend
ready
speak
excellent; this same day*
- MARIA** A, John, sone, that this peyne were overe paste. *passed over (concluded)*
 116 With goode harte ye alle that are here
 Praies for me faithfully in feere,
 For I mon wende fro you as faste. *Pray; all together
must go*
- I JUDEUS** A, foode fairest of face, moste faithfull to fynde,
 120 Thou mayden and modir that mylde is and meke,
 As thou arte curtaise and comen of oure kynde
 All oure synnes for to sesse thi Sone thou beseche
 With mercy to mende us of mys. *person
humble
courteous
cease; beseech
sin (error)*
- II JUDEUS** Sen thou, Lady, come of oure kynne,
 125 Thou helpe us nowe, thou veray virginne,
 That we may be broght unto blisse.
- MARIA** Jesu, my Sone, for my sake beseke I thee this,
 As thou arte gracious and grete God, thou graunte me thy grace.
 Thei that is comen of my kynde and amende will there mys,
 130 Nowe specially thou thame spedē and spare thame a space,
 And be ther belde, if thi willis be;
 And dere Sone, whane I schall dye, *people
assist
their defender*

I pray thee than, for thi mercy,
The fende thou latte me noght see.

fiend

- 135 And also, my blissid barne, if thi will be,
I sadly beseke thee, my Sone, for my sake,
Men that are stedde stiffly in stormes or in see
And are in will wittirly my worschippe to awake
And thanne nevenes my name in that nede,
140 Thou late thame not perissh nor spille;
Of this bone, my Sone, at thi will,
Thou graunte me specially to spedē.

*solemnly
steadfast; sea
willing wisely
call on
allow them; perish
request*

- Also, my bliste barne, thou graunte me my bone,
All that are in newe or in nede and nevenes me be name,
145 I praie thee, Sone, for my sake, thou socoure thame sone,
In alle ther schoures that are scharpe thou shelde thame fro schame.
And women also in thare childing,
Nowe speciall thou thame spedē,
And if so be thei die in that drede,
150 To thi blisse thane baynly thou thame bringe.

*trouble; call on me by
troubles; shield
their childbirth
dread*

- JESUS** Marie, my modir, thurgh thee myght nowe of me
For to make thee in mynde with mirthe to be mending,
Thyne asking all haly here heete I nowe thee.
But modir, the fende muste be nedis at thyne endyng
155 In figoure full foule for to fere thee;
Myne aungelis schall than be aboute thee.
And therfore, dere dame, thou thar noght doute thee,
For douteles thi dede schall noght dere thee.

*wholly; promise
form; frighten
worry yourself
death; harm*

- 160 And therfore, my modir, come myldely to me,
For aftir the Sonne my sande will I sende,
And to sitte with myselfe all solas to se
In aylastand liffe in likyng to lende.
In this blisse schall be thi biling,
Of mirth schall thou nevere have missing
165 But evermore abide in my blissing.
All this schall thou have at thi welding.

*everlasting; bliss to dwell
dwelling
wielding (control)*

- MARIA** I thanke thee, my swete Sone, for certis I am seke.
I may noght now meve me, for mercie almoste
To thee, Sone myne that made me, thi maiden so meke,
170 Here thurgh thi grace, God Sone, I giffe thee my goste.
Mi sely saule I thee sende
To hevene that is highest on heghte;
To thee, Sone myne, that moste is of myght,
Ressayve it here into thyne hande.

*move (speak)
through; spirit
simple
Receive*

- | | | |
|--------------------|--|---|
| JESUS | Myne aungellis lovely of late, lighter than the levene, | <i>aspect; brighter; lightning</i> |
| 176 | Into the erthe wightly I will that ye wende
And bringe me my modir to the highest of hevene
With mirthe and with melody hir mode for to mende,
For here schall hir blisse never be blynnande. | <i>humanly
ceasing</i> |
| 180 | Mi modir schall myldely be me
Sitte nexte the high Trinité
And nevere in two to be twynnand. | <i>meekly by
separated</i> |
| I ANGELUS | Lorde, atte thi bidding full bayne will I be,
That floure that nevere was fadid full fayne will we fette. | <i>ready
flower; gladly; bring</i> |
| II ANGELUS | And atte thi will, gode Lorde, wirke will we
186 With solace on ilke side that semely umsitte. | <i>of that lovely one be seated around</i> |
| III ANGELUS | Latte us fonde to hir faste hir fors to deffende,
That birde for to bringe unto this blis bright.
Body and sawle we schall hir assende
190 To regne in this regally be regentte full right. | <i>go; strength
Lady
reign; dominion</i> |
| IV ANGELUS | To blisse that birde for to bringe,
Nowe Gabriell, late us wightly be wendand;
This maiden mirthe to be mendand
A semely song latte us sing. | <i>Lady
let; going
joy; mending
let</i> |

Cum uno diabolo. *With one devil*

*Et cantant antiphona, scilicet, Ave regina celorum.*¹

[44A. THE FUNERAL OF THE VIRGIN (“FERGUS”)]

The Lynwevers

[Text not entered in Register]

[45. THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN (THOMAS APOSTOLUS)]

The Wefferes

- THOMAS** In waylyng and weping, in woo am I wapped,
In site and in sorowe, in sighng full sadde,
Mi Lorde and my luffe, loo, full lowe is he lapped:
*engulfed
In sadness
love; brought low*

¹ And they shall sing an antiphon, for example, "Hail, queen of heaven"

- That makes me to mourne nowe full mate and full madde. *distraught*
- 5 What harling and what hurlyng that hedesman he hadde, *buffeting; violence; leader*
 What breking of braunches ware brosten aboute hym, *breaking; were broken*
 What bolnyng with betyng of brothellis full badde. *swelling; beating; worthless fellows*
 Itt leres me full lely to love hym and lowte hym, *teaches; worship*
 That comely to kenne. *gracious one; know*
- 10 Goddis Sone Jesus,
 He died for us;
 That makes me thus
 To mourne amange many men. *among*
- Emange men may I mourne for the malice thei mente *intended*
 15 To Jesus, the gentillest of Jewes generacioun. *lineage*
 Of wisdome and witte were the waies that he wente
 That drewe all tho domesmen derffe indignacioun,
 For douteles full dere was his diewe dominacioun.
 Unkyndely thei kidde them ther kyng for to kenne *those judges' hostile*
 20 With carefull comforthe and colde recreacioun, *costly; rightful*
 For he mustered his miracles amange many men, *showed; know*
 And to the pepull he preached. *grievous; unhappy*
 But the Pharases fers *performed*
 All his resouns revers, *fierce*
 25 And to ther hedesmen rehers *turn around*
 That untrewe were the tales that he tecched. *leaders report*
- He tecched full trewe, but the tirauntes were tened, *tyrants; angry*
 For he reproved ther pride, thai purposed thame preste *planned them quickly*
 To mischeve hym, with malis in ther mynde have thei menyd, *harm; meant*
 30 And to accuse hym of cursednesse the caistiffis has caste. *wickedness; endeavored*
 Ther rancoure was raised, no renke might it reste, *man*
 Thai toke hym with treasoune, that tuttill of treuthe; *turtledove; truth*
 Thei fedde hym with flappes, with fersnesse hym feste, *blows; [held] fast*
 To rugge hym, to riffe hym: ther reyned no rewthe. *pull violently; tear; was found; mercy*
 35 Undewly thei demed hym, *Unjustly; judged*
 Thei dusshed hym, thei dasshed hym, *struck; hit violently*
 Thei lusshed hym, thei lasshed hym, *beat*
 Thei pusshed hym, thei passhed hym, *smashed*
 All sorowe thei saide that it semed hym. *befitted*
- 40 Itt semed hym all sorowe, thei saide in ther seggyng. *saying*
 Thei skippid and scourged hym, he skapid not with scornes. *escaped*
 That he was leder and Lorde in there lawe lay no leggyng,¹ *pressed; thrust down*
 But thrange on and thristed a croune of thik thornes. *tiny piece; turtledove*
 Ilk tag of that tuttill so tatterid and torne es

¹ *That he was leader and Lord in their law made no difference*

- 45 That that blissid body blo is and bolned for betyng,
 Yitt the hedesmen to hyng hym with huge hydous hornes
 As brothellis or briboirs were belyng and bleyting.
 "Crucifie hym," thei cried.
- Sone Pilate in parlement
 50 Of Jesus gaffe jugement,
 To hyng hym the harlottis hym hente;
 Ther was no deide of that domesman denied.
- Denyed not that domesman to deme hym to dede,
 That frendly faire foode that nevere offended.
- Thei hied thame in haste than to hyng uppe there heede,
 What woo that thei wroghte hym no wyght wolde have wende it.
 His true titill thei toke thame no tome for to attende it,
 But as a traitour atteynted thei toled hym and tuggid hym;
 Thei schonte for no schoutis his schappe for to schende it,
- 60 Thei rasid hym on rode als full rasely thei rugged hym.
 Thei persed hym with a spere
 That the blode riall
 To the erthe gun fall,
 In redempcion of all
 65 That his lele lawes likis to lere.
- To lere he that likis of his lawe that is lele
 Mai fynde in oure frende here full faithfull feste,
 That wolde hyng thus on hight to enhauunce us in hele
 And by us fro bondage by his bloode that is beste.
- 70 Than the conforte of oure compayne in kares were keste,
 But that Lorde so allone wolde not leffe us full longe.
 On the thirde day he rose right with his renkis to reste;
 Both flesch and fell fersly that figour gon fange
 And to my brethir gonne appere.
- 75 Thai tolde me of this,
 Bot I leved amys;
 To rise fleschly, iwis,
 Methought that it paste mans poure.
- But the poure of that prince was presiously previd
 80 Whan that soverayne schewed hymselffe to my sight.
 To mene of his manhode my mynde was all meved,
 But that reverent redused me be resoune and be right.
 The woundes full wide of that worthy wight,
 He frayned me to fele thame, my faith for to feste,
- 85 And so I did douteless, and doune I me dight;
 I bende my bak for to bowe and obeyed hym for beste.
 So sone he assendid
 Mi felaus in feere
- livid; swollen; beating
 rulers; hang; hideous
 swindlers; bellowing; bleating
 Soon
 gave
 took hold
 deed (hit); not executed
 person
 hurried; head (leader)
 man; thought
 legal rights; time; consider
 convicted; pulled
 held back; figure; injure
 cross; brutally
 pierced; spear
 royal
 did
 true; learn
 feast (spiritual)
 hang; improve; well-being
 buy
 cares; plunged
 leave
 men
 in the body; figure did take
 brethren; did appear
 believed amiss (wrongly)
 passed; power
 expensively proved
 think; moved
 disabused
 asked; secure
 (i.e., reverenced)
 soon; ascended
 all together*

	Ware sondered sere,	[sent] apart
90	If thai were here	
	Mi myrthe were mekill amended.	
	Amendid were my mirthe with that meyné to mete,	company
	Mi felaus in fere for to fynde woll I fonde;	fellows; attempt
	I schall nott stedde in no stede but in stall and in strete,	remain; place; street
95	Grath me be gydis to gette thame on grounde.	Directly; guides; come to them
	O soverayne, how sone am I sette here so sounde!	safe
	This is the Vale of Josophat, in Jury so gente.	Josephat; Jewry
	I will steme of my stevene and sted here a stounde,	control; voice; stay; time
	For I am wery for walkyng the waies that I wente	
100	Full wilsome and wide.	desolate
	Therfore I kaste	cast (decide)
	Here for to reste;	
	I halde it beste	
104	To buske on this banke for to bide.	hasten

[ANGELS, *singing*] *Surge proxima mea columba
mea tabernaculum glorie vasculum vite, templum celeste.*¹

I ANGELUS Rise, Marie, thou maiden and modir so milde.

II ANGELUS Rise, lilly full lusty, thi luffe is full likand. *lily; lovely; desirable*

III ANGELUS Rise, chefteyne of chastité, in chering thi childe. *chief; suckling*

IV ANGELUS Rise, rose ripe redolent, in reste to be reynand. *reigning*

V ANGELUS Rise, douffe of that domesman all dedis is demand, *dove; deeds; judging*

VI ANGELUS Rise, turtour, tabernacle, and tempull full trewe. *turtledove*

VII ANGELUS Rise, semely in sight, of thi Sone to be semande. *lovely; fitting*

VIII ANGELUS Rise, grathed full goodely in grace for to grewe. *endowed; grow*

IX ANGELUS Rise uppe this stounde. *time (this instant)*

X ANGELUS Come, chosen childe.

XI ANGELUS Come, Marie milde.

¹ *Rise up, my dearest one, my dove, / tabernacle of glory, container of life, heavenly temple* (see explanatory note)

XII ANGELUS Come, floure unfiled. *undefined*

VIII ANGELUS Come uppe to the kyng to be crouned.

[ANGELS, singing] *Veni de libano sponsa, veni coronaberis.*¹

THOMAS O glorious God, what glemes are glydand. gleams; gliding
 I meve in my mynde what may this bemene? signify
 120 I see a babbe borne in blisse to be bidand youth (i.e., Lady); abiding (see note)
 With aungelus companye, comely and clene.
 Many selcouth sittis in sertis have I sene, wondrous sights
 But this mirthe and this melody mengis my mode. confuses

MARIA Thomas, do way all thi doutes bedene,
 125 For I ame foundyng fourthe to my faire fode, going forth; child
 I telle thee this tyde.

THOMAS Who, my soverayne Lady?

MARIA Ya, sertis I saie thee.

THOMAS Whedir wendes thou, I praye thee?

MARIA To blisse with my barne for to bide. child; dwell

THOMAS To bide with thy barne in blisse to be bidand! abiding
 132 Hayle, jentilest of Jesse in Jewes generacioun, lineage
 Haile, welthe of this worlde all welthis is weldand, controlling
 Haile, hendest enhaunsed to high habitacioun, most worthy
 135 Haile, derworth and dere is thi diewe dominacioun. worthy; dear; due
 Haile, floure fresshe florished, thi frewte is full felesome. fruit; delicious
 Haile, sete of oure Saveour and sege of salvacioun, seat; throne
 Haile, happy to helde to, thi helpe is full helesome. incline; wholesome
 Haile, pereles in plesaunce, peerless
 140 Haile, precious and pure, [soul's] remedy
 Haile, salve that is sure, preventer; sickness
 Haile, lettir of langure, remedy; obedience
 Haile, bote of oure bale in obeyesaunce.

MARIA Go to thi brethir that in bale are abiding sorrow
 145 And of what wise to welthe I ame wendande going
 Withoute taryng thou telle thame this tithyng, joy; is; (i.e., returning)
 Ther mirthe so besse mekill amendande.

¹ *Come forth Libanus [Lebanon], my spouse, come forth, thou shalt be crowned* (see explanatory note)

For Thomas, to me were thei tendande attending
 Whanne I drewe to the dede, all but thou. death

THOMAS Bot I, Lady, whillis in lande I amē lendande, remaining

151 Obeye thee full baynly my bones will I bowe.

Bot I, allas,

Whare was I thanne

When that barettē beganne?

anguish

155 An unhappy manne

Both nowe and evere I was.

Unhappy, unhende am I holden at home, unworthy; regarded
 What drerye destonye me drewe fro that dede?

MARIA Thomas, sesse of thy sorowe, for I am sothly the same.

THOMAS That wote I wele, the worthiest that wrapped is in wede. clothing

MARIA Thanne spare nott a space nowe my speche for to spedē,¹

162 Go saie them sothely, thou sawe me assendinge.

THOMAS Now douteles, derworthy, I dare not for drede,

For to my tales that I telle thei are not attendinge,

165 For no spelle that is spoken.

word

MARIA I schall thee schewe

A token trewe,

Full fresshe of hewe;

Mi girdill, loo, take thame this tokyn.

token (sign)

THOMAS I thanke thee as reverent rote of oure reste,

root (basis)

171 I thanke thee as stedfast stokke for to stande,

stock

I thanke thee as tristy tre for to treste,

trust (rely on)

I thanke thee as buxsom bough to thee bande,

bound

I thanke thee as leeffe, the lustiest in lande,

leaf

175 I thanke thee as bewteuous braunche for to bere,

fading

I thanke thee as floure that nevere is fadande,

fruit

I thanke thee as frewte that has fedde us in fere,

180 I thanke thee for evere.

If thay repreve me,

challenge

Now schall thei leve me.

believe

Thi blissinge giffe me

give

And douteles I schall do my devere.

duty

¹ Then don't delay now my speaking for to prosper

- MARIA** Thomas, to do thanne thy devere be dressand,
He bid thee his blissinge that beldis aboven,
prepared
185 And in sightte of my Sone ther is sittand
Shall I knele to that comely with croune
That who dispaire be dale or be doune
With piteous playnte in perellis will pray me;
If he swynke or swete, in swelte or in swoune,
dwells
whoever despairs; hill
perils
190 I schall sewe to my soverayne Sone for to say me
He schall graunte thame ther grace.
Be it manne in his mournyng
Or womanne in childinge,
All thes to be helpinge
195 That prince schall I praye in that place.
toil; sweat; sickness; swooning
sue (beg)
childbirth
- THOMAS** Gramercy, the goodliest grounded in grace,
Gramercy, the luffiest Lady of lire,
Gramercy, the fairest in figure and face,
Gramercy, the derrest to do oure desire.
(i.e., Give thanks)
loveliest; form (body)
most worthy

MARIA Farewele, nowe I passe to the pereles empire;
201 Farewele, Thomas, I tarie no tyde here.

- THOMAS** Farewele, thou schynyng schappe that schyniste so schire,
Farewele, the belle of all bewtes to bide here,
Farewele, thou faire foode,
205 Farewele, the keye of counsaile,
Farewele, all this worldes wele,
Farewele, oure hope and oure hele,
Farewele nowe, both gracious and goode.
form; shines; brightly
beauties
person (term of endearment)
well-being
health

[**ANGELS, singing**] *Veni electa mea et ponam in te tronum meum*
*Quia concupivit rex speciem tuam.*¹

- THOMAS** That I mette with this may here my mirthe is amend;
210 I will hy me in haste and holde that I have hight,
To bere my brethir this boodeword my bak schall I bende
And saie thame in certayne the soth of this sight.
Be dale and be doune schall I dresse me to dight
To I fynde of this felawschippe faithfull in fere,
215 I schall renne and reste not, to ransake full right.
Lo, the menye I mente of I mete thame even here
At hande.
maid
hurry; promised
message
address
run; not rest; search
company

¹ *Come, my chosen one, and I will place you on my throne / Because the king greatly desires your beauty* (see explanatory note)

God saffe you in feere, *all together*
 Say, brethir, what chere?

PETRUS What dois thou here?
 221 Thou may nowe of thi gatis be gangand. *ways; going*

THOMAS Why, dere brethir, what bale is begune?

PETRUS Thomas, I telle thee, that tene is betidde us. *sorrow; happened [to]*

THOMAS Me forthinkith for my frendis that faithfull are founē. *am sorry; found*

JACOBUS Ya, but in care litill kyndnes thou kid us. *misery; show*

ANDREAS His bragge and his boste is he besie to bid us, *busy; tell*
 227 But and ther come any cares he kepis not to kenne; *if; sorrows; (i.e., wishes not to know)*
 We may renne till we rave or any ruth rid us *continue; grief escape from*
 For the frenschippe he fecched us, be frith or be fenne. *wood; fenland*

THOMAS Sirs, me mervailes, I saie yowe,
 231 What mevis in youre mynde. *moves*

JOHANNES We can wele fynde
 Thou arte unkynde.

THOMAS Nowe, pees thanne, and preve it, I pray yowe. *peace*

PETRUS That thou come not to courte here unkyndynes thou kid us, *show*
 236 Oure treuth has of-turned us to tene and to traye; *(i.e., diverted); misery; suffering*
 This yere haste thou rakid, thi reuth wolde not ridde us, *been away; grief; help us*
 For witte thou wele that worthy is wente on hir waye.
 In a depe denne dede is scho dolven this daye, *grave; she buried*
 240 Marie, that maiden and modir so milde.

THOMAS I wate wele, iwis. *am well aware*

JACOBUS Thomas, do way.

ANDREAS Itt forse noght to frayne hym, he will not be filde.¹

THOMAS Sirs, with hir have I spoken
 244 Lattar thanne yee. *More recently*

JOHANNES That may not bee.

¹ *It will not work to question him; he will not be polite*

THOMAS Yis, knelyng on kne.

PETRUS Thanne tite can thou telle us some token? *quickly; sign*

THOMAS Lo, this token full tristy scho toke me to take youe. *trustworthy*

JACOBUS A, Thomas, whare gate thou that girdill so gode? *received*

THOMAS Sirs, my message is mevand some mirthe for to make youe,¹
 251 For foudning flesshly I fande hir till hir faire foode, *walking bodily; person*
 And when I mette with that maiden it mendid my mode.
 Hir sande has scho sente youe, so semely to see. *message; she*

ANDREAS Ya, Thomas, unstedfaste full staring thou stode,
 255 That makis thi mynde nowe full madde for to be. *insane*
 But herken and here nowe:
 Late us loke where we laid hir
 If any folke have affraied hir. *disturbed*

JOHANNES Go we groppe wher we graved hir, *search; buried*
 260 If we fynde oughte that faire one in fere nowe. *alive*

PETRUS Behalde, nowe hidir youre hedis in haste; *heed (give attention to)*
 This glorious and goodely is gone fro this grave.

THOMAS Loo, to my talking ye toke youe no tente for to traste. *did not attend; trust*

JACOBUS A, Thomas, untreuly nowe traspassed we have;
 265 Mercy full kyndely we crie and we crave.

ANDREAS Mercye, for foule have we fautid in faye. *wrongly; faulted [you] in faith*

JOHANNES Mercye, we praye thee, we will not deprave. *disparage*

PETRUS Mercye, for dedis we did thee this daye. *deeds; [to] you*

THOMAS Oure Saveour so swete
 270 For giffe you all,
 And so I schall.
 This tokyn tall *good [in appearance]*
 Have I brought yowe youre bales to beete. *assuage*

PETRUS Itt is welcome, iwis, fro that worthy wight,
 275 For it was wonte for to wapple that worthy virgine. *enwrap*

¹ *Sirs, my message is intended to bring you some joy*

JACOBUS Itt is welcome, iwis, fro that Lady so light,
For hir wombe wolde scho wrappe with it and were it with wynne. *happy
abdomen; wear; joy*

ANDREAS Itt is welcome, iwis, fro that salver of synne,
For scho bende it aboute hir with blossom so bright. *healer*

JOHANNES Itt is welcome, iwis, fro the keye of oure kynne,
281 For aboute that reverent it rechid full right. *from; people
holy one; (i.e., was worn)*

PETRUS Nowe knele we ilkone
Uponne oure kne.

JACOBUS To that Lady free.

ANDREAS Blissid motte sche be,
286 Ya, for scho is Lady lufsome allone. *gracious*

THOMAS Nowe, brethir, bese besie and buske to be bownand,
To Ynde will I torne me and travell to teche. *busy; hurry; going
India; return; teach*

PETRUS And to Romans so royll tho renkis to be rownand
290 Will I passe fro this place, my pepull to preche. *men; speaking*

JACOBUS And I schall Samaritanus so sadly enserche,
To were tham be wisdome thei wirke not in waste. *Samaria; solemnly search out
warn*

ANDREAS And to Achaia full lely that lede for to leche,
Will hy me to helpe thame and hele thame in haste. *land (people); heal
hurry; heal*

JOHANNES This comenaunt accordis;
296 Sirs, sen ye will soo,
Me muste nedis parte youe froo.
To Assia will I goo.
He lede you, that Lorde of all lordis. *agreement is suitable
part from you
Asia
[May] he lead*

THOMAS The Lorde of all lordis in lande schall he lede youe
301 Whillis ye travell in trouble, the trewethe for to teche,
With frewte of oure feithe in firthe schall we fede youe,
For that laboure is lufsome, ilke lede for to leche.
Nowe I passe fro youre presence the pepull to preche,
305 To lede thame and lere thame the lawe of oure Lorde.
As I saide, us muste asoundre and sadly enserche
Ilke contré to kepe clene and knytte in o corde
Off oure faithe.
That frelye foode
310 That died on rode *faith; woods; feed
person; heal
lead; teach
go apart; solemnly search out
in unity (accord)
noble one*

With mayne and moode,
He grath yowe be gydis full grath.

cause (that); guides; diligent

[46. THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN]

The Osteleres

- JESUS** Myne aungellis that are bright and schene, *shining*
 On my message take ye the waye
 Unto Marie, my modir clene; *pure*
 That berde is brighter than the daye, *Lady*
 5 Grete hir wele haly bedene *Greet; wholly forthwith*
 An to that semely schall ye saye,
 Off hevene I have hir chosen quene
 In joie and blisse that laste schall aye.
- I wille you saie what I have thoughte
 10 And why that ye schall tille hir wende;
 I will hir body to me be brought
 To beilde in blisse withouten ende. *dwell*
- Mi flesshe of hir in erthe was tone; *taken*
 Unkindely thing it were, iwis,
 15 That scho schulde bide be hire allone *by herself*
 And I beilde here so high in blis.
- Forthy tille hir than schall ye fare
 Full frendlye for to fecche hir hedir; *lovingly; bring; hither*
 There is nothyng that I love more
 20 In blisse thanne schall we belde togedir.
- I ANGELUS** O, blisful Lorde, nowe moste of myght,
 We are redye with all oure myght
 Thy bidding to fulfille,
 To thi modir, that maiden free,
 25 Chosen cheffe of chastité,
 As is thy wille.
- II ANGELUS** Off this message we are full fayne; *glad*
 We are redy with myght and mayne *power*
 Bothe be day and be nyght.
 30 Hevene and erthe nowe gladde may be
 That frely foode nowe for to see
 In whome that thou did light. *worthy person
(i.e., In whose womb)*

- III ANGELUS** Lorde Jesu Criste, oure governoure,
 We are all boune atte thi bidding: *obliged*
 35 With joie and blisse and grete honnoure,
 We schall thi modir to thee bringe.
- IV ANGELUS** Hayle, the doughtir of blissid Anne,
 Thee whiche consayved thurgh the Holy Goste, *conceived*
 And thou brought forthe both God and manne,
 40 The whiche felled doune the fendis boste. *put down; boast*
- V ANGELUS** Haile, roote of risse, that fourthe brought
 That blissid floure, oure Saveoure, *branch; forth flower*
 The whiche that made mankynde of noght
 And brought hym uppe into his toure. *tower (i.e., heaven)*
- VI ANGELUS** Of thee allone he wolde be borne
 46 Into this worlde of wrecchidnesse
 To save mankynde that was forlorne
 And bringe thame oute of grete distresse.
- I ANGELUS** Thou may be gladde, bothe day and nyght
 50 To se thy Sone oure Saveoure;
 He will thee croune nowe, Lady bright,
 Thou blissid modir and faire floure.
- II ANGELUS** Marie, modir and mayden clene,
 Chosen cheffe unto thi childe, *chief*
 55 Of hevene and erthe thou arte quene;
 Come uppe nowe, Lady, meke and mylde.
- III ANGELUS** Thi Sone has sente us aftir thee
 To bringe thee nowe unto his blisse;
 Ther schall thou belde and blithe be, *dwell; happy*
 60 Of joie and mirthe schall thou noght misse.
- IV ANGELUS** For in his blisse withouten ende
 There schall thou alkynne solas see, *every kind of solace*
 Thi liffe in likyng for to lende *bliss; live*
 With thi dere Sone in Trinité.
- MARIA** A, blissid be God, Fadir all weldand,
 66 Hymselffe wottith best what is to doo; *controlling*
 I thanke hym with harte and hande *knows*
 That thus his blisse wolde take me too.
- And you also, his aungellis bright
 70 That fro my Sone to me is sente,

I am redy with all my myght
For to fulfille his comaundement.

V ANGELUS Go we nowe, thou worthi wight,
Unto thi Sone that is so gente; *gracious*
75 We schall thee bringe into his sight
To croune thee quene, thus hase he mente. *intended*

VI ANGELUS Alle hevene and erthe schall worschippe thee
And baynnely be at thi biddinge; *obediently*
Thy joie schall evere incressid be,
80 Of solas sere than schall thou synge.

Cantando.

[*The angels*] are to sing

I ANGELUS Jesu, Lorde and heveneis Kyng, *heaven's*
Here is thi modir thou aftir sente.
We have her brought at thi biddynge;
Take hir to thee as thou haste mente.

MARIA Jesu, my Sone, loved motte thou be.
86 I thanke thee hartely in my thought
That this wise ordand is for me, *ordained*
And to this blisse thou haste me broght.

JESUS Haile be thou, Marie, maiden bright,
90 Thou arte my modir and I thy Sone.
With grace and goodnesse arte thou dight, *adorned*
With me in blisse ay schall thou wonne. *dwell*

Nowe schall thou have that I thee hight, *promised*
Thy tyme is paste of all thi care: *passed; trouble*
95 Wirschippe schall the aungellis bright, *Worship [you]*
Of newe schall thou witte nevere more. *annoyance; know (experience)*

MARIA Jesu my Sone, loved motte thou be.
I thanke thee hartely in my thought
That on this wise ordand is for me *ordained*
100 And to this blisse thou has me broght.

JESUS Come forth with me, my modir bright,
Into my blisse we schall assende
To wonne in welthe, thou worthi wight,
That nevermore schall it have ende.

105 Thi newis, modir, to neven thame nowe, *annoyances; speak*
Are turned to joie, and soth it is

- All aungellis bright thei schall thee bowe
 And worschippe thee worthely, iwis.
 For mekill joie, modir, had thou
- 110 Whan Gabriell grette thee wele be this
 And tolde thee tristly for to trowe
 Thou schulde consayve the kyng of blisse.
- Nowe maiden, meke and modir myne,
 Itt was full mekill myrthe to thee
- 115 That I schuld ligge in wombe of thine
 Thurgh gretynge of an aungell free.
 The secounde joie, modir, was syne
 Withouten Payne whan thou bare me.
 The thirde aftir my bittir peyne
 Fro dede on lyve thou sawe me be.
- The fourthe was when I stied uppe right
 To hevene unto my Fadir dere.
 My modir, when thou saught that sight,
 To thee it was a solas seere.
- 125 This is the fifte, thou worthy wight,
 Of the jois this has no pere;
 Nowe schall thou belde in blisse so bright
 Forever and ay, I highte thee here.
- For thou arte cheffe of chastité,
 Off all women thou beris the floure,
- 130 Nowe schalle thou, Lady, belde with me
 In blisse that schall evere indowre.
 Full high on highte in magesté
 With all worshippe and all honnoures
 135 Wher we schall evere samen be,
 Beldand in oure bigly boures.
- Alle kynnys swetnesse is therin
 That manne upon may thynke, or wiffe,
 With joie and blisse that nevere schall blynne;
- 140 Ther schall thou, Lady, lede thy liffe.
- Thou schalte be worshipped with honnoure
 In hevene blisse that is so bright
 With martiris and with confessouris,
 With all virginis, that worthy wight.
- 145 Before all othere creatours
 I schall thee giffe both grace and might
 In hevene and erthe to sende socoure
 To all that servis thee day and nyght.
- greeted
trustfully; believe
- lie
- since (when)
- From death to life
- climbed (went)
- peer
- promise
- bears; flower
- continue
- together
- commodious bowers
- types of sweetness
- woman
- lead
- martyrs
- person (i.e., Mary)

- I graunte thame grace with all my myght
 150 Thurgh askyng of thi praier
 That to thee call be day or nyght
 In what disease so that thei are. *misery*
- Thou arte my liffe and my lekyng,
 Mi modir and my mayden schene. *liking (desire)*
 155 Ressayve this croune, my dere darlyng,
 Ther I am kyng, thou schalte be quene. *bright*
- Myne aungellis bright, a songe ye singe
 In the honnoure of my modir dere,
 And here I giffe you my blissing
 160 Haly nowe, all in fere. *Wholly; all together*

[47. DOOMSDAY]

Merceres

DEUS INCIPIT

- Firste when I this worlde hadde wroght,
 Woode and wynde and wateris wan *dark*
 And allkynne thyng that nowe is oght,
 Fulle wele methoght that I did thanne.
- 5 Whenne thei were made, goode me thame thought. *them*
 Sethen to my liknes made I man, *Then*
 And man to greve me gaffe he noght; *grieve [for] me; had no concern*
 Therfore me rewis that I the worlde began. *am sorry*
- Whanne I had made man at my will,
 10 I gaffe hym wittis hymselfe to wisse, *intelligence; direct*
 And paradise I putte hym till
 And bad hym halde it all as his. *bid; (to) hold*
- 15 But of the tree of goode and ill
 I saide, "What tyme thou etis of this,
 Manne, thou spedes thiselv to spill; *eat*
 Thou arte broght oute of all blisse."
- Therfore me rewis that I the worlde began. *destroy*
- Belyve brak manne my bidding,
 He wende have bene a god therby;
 He wende have wittyne of allkynne thyng,
 20 In worlde to have bene als wise as I.
 He ete the appill I badde schulde hyng; *hang [on the tree]*
 Thus was he begilid thurgh glotony.
 Sithen both hym and his ospring
 To pyne I putte thame all forthy. *Thus; descendants*
suffering

- 25 To lange and late methoghte it goode
 To catche thois caitiffis oute of care,
 I sente my Sone with full blithe moode
 Till erthe, to salve thame of thare sare.
 For rewthe of thame he reste on roode
 30 And boughte thame with his body bare.
 For thame he shedde his harte bloode,
 What kyndinesse myght I do thame mare?
- Too long
 rescue those; from misery*
- heal; sore (misery)
 pity; cross
 ransomed
- Sethen afterwarde he heryed hell
 And toke oute thois wrecchis that ware thareinne.
- harrowed
 those; were*
- 35 Ther faughte that free with feendis feele
 For thame that ware sounkyn for synne.
 Sethen in erthe than gonne he dwelle,
 Ensaumpill he gave thame hevene to wynne,
 In Tempill hymselffe to teche and tell
 40 To by thame blisse that nevere may blynne.
- fought; worthy one; many
 were sunk in
 did
 Example
 buy; end*
- Sethen have thei founde me full of mercye,
 Full of grace and forgiffenesse,
 And thei als wrecchis wittirly
 Has ledde ther liffe in lithirnesse.
- knowingly
 wickedness*
- 45 Ofte have thei greved me grevously,
 Thus have thei quitte me my kyndinesse;
 Therfore no lenger, sekirlye,
 Thole will I thare wikkidnesse.
- repaid
 Endure*
- 50 Men seis the worlde but vanité,
 Yitt will no manne beware therby.
 Ilke a day ther mirroure may thei se,
 Yitt thynke thei noght that thei schall dye.
 All that evere I saide schulde be
 Is nowe fulfillid thurgh prophicie;
- Every; reflection*
- 55 Therfore nowe is it tyme to me
 To make endyng of mannes folie.
- folly*
- I have tholed mankynde many a yere
 In luste and likyng for to lende,
 And unethis fynde I ferre or nere
 60 A man that will his misse amende.
 In erthe I see butte synnes seere;
 Therfore myne aungellis will I sende
 To blawe ther bemys, that all may here
 The tyme is comen I will make ende.
- endured
 remain
 scarcely; far
 sin (error)
 (i.e., everywhere)*
- 65 Aungellis, blawes youre bemys belyve
 Ilke a creatoure for to call;
- suddenly
 Every creature (person)*

	Leerid and lewde, both man and wiffe Ressayve ther dome this day thei schall. Ilke a leede that evere hadde liffe,	<i>Learned; unlettered</i> <i>judgment</i> <i>person</i>
70	Bese none forgetyn, grete ne small. Ther schall thei see the woundes fyve That my Sone suffered for them all.	
75	And sounderes thame before my sight, All same in blisse schall thei not be. Mi blissid childre, as I have hight,	<i>separate</i> <i>All together</i> <i>promised</i>
	On my right hande I schall thame see. Sethen schall ilke a weried wight On my lifte side for ferdnesse flee.	<i>accursed person</i> <i>left; fear</i> <i>sentences; ordered</i>
80	This day ther domys thus have I dight To ilke a man as he hath served me.	
150	I ANGELUS Loved be thou, Lorde of myghtis moste, That aungell made to messengere, Thy will schall be fulfillid in haste That hevene and erthe and helle schalle here.	<i>Praised</i> <i>to be</i>
155	Goode and ill, every ilke a gaste, Rise and fecche youre flesh that was youre feere, For all this worlde is broght to waste, Drawes to youre dome, it neghes nere.	<i>ghost (spirit)</i> <i>fetch; companion</i> <i>judgment; comes near [in time]</i>
160	II ANGELUS Ilke a creature, bothe olde and yhing, Belyve I bidde you that ye ryse. Body and sawle with you ye bring And comes before the high justise,	<i>young</i> <i>Quickly</i>
165	For I am sente fro hevene kyng To calle you to this grette assise; Therfore rise uppe and geve rekenyng How ye hym served upon sere wise.	<i>court trial (judgment)</i> <i>give accounting</i> <i>in diverse ways</i>
170	I ANIMA BONA Loved be thou, Lorde, that is so schene That on this manere made us to rise, Body and sawle togedir clene	<i>bright</i>
175	To come before the high justise. Of oure ill dedis, Lorde, thou not mene That we have wroght uppon sere wise, But graunte us for thy grace bedene	<i>complete</i>
180	That we may wonne in paradise.	<i>speak not</i>
185		<i>forthwith</i>
190		<i>dwell</i>
195	II ANIMA BONA A, loved be thou, Lorde of all, That hevene and erthe and all has wroght, That with thyne aungellis wolde us call Oute of oure graves hidir to be broght.	<i>hither</i>

- Ofte have we greved thee, grette and small,
110 Theraſtir, Lorde, thou deme us noght,
Ne suffir us nevere to fendis to be thrall
That ofte in erthe with synne us soght. grieved
devils; enslaved
pursued
- I ANIMA MALA** Allas, allas, that we were borne,
So may we synfull caitiffis say.
115 I here wele be this hydous horne;
Itt drawes full nere to domesday.
Allas, we wrecchis that are forlorne
That never yitt served God to paye,
But ofte we have his flesshe forsworne.
120 Allas, allas, and welaway! *caitiffis (reprobates)*
hear; hideous
please [him]
body (in Eucharist) abjured
- What schall we wrecchis do for drede,
Or whedir for ferdnes may we flee
When we may bringe forthe no goode dede
Before hym that oure juge schall be?
125 To aske mercy us is no nede,
For wele I wotte dampned be we.
Allas, that we swilke liffe schulde lede
That dighte us has this destonye. *fright*
such life
prepared for us
- Oure wikkid werkis thei will us wreye
130 That we wende never schuld have bene weten;
That we did ofte full pryvely,
Appertely may we se them wreten.
Allas, wrecchis, dere mon we by,
135 Full smerte with helle fyre be we smetyn.
Nowe mon nevere saule ne body dye,
But with wikkid peynes evermore be betyne. *denounce*
thought; revealed
Openly; written
dearly may we purchase
sharply; smitten
beaten
- Allas, for drede sore may we quake,
Oure dedis beis oure dampnacioune;
For oure mys menyng mon we make,
140 Helpe may none excusacioune.
We mon be sette for oure synnes sake
Forevere fro oure salvacioune
In helle to dwelle with feendes blake
Wher never schall be redempcioune. *are*
sin moaning must
Excuses will not help
placed
[apart] from
black
- II ANIMA MALA** Als carefull caitiffis may we ryse,
146 Sore may we wringe oure handis and wepe.
For cursidnesse and for covetise
Dampned be we to helle full depe.
Rought we nevere of Goddis servise,
150 His comaundementis wolde we noght kepe, *As sorrowing*
deep
Took heed (Wrought)

But ofte than made we sacrafise
To Satanas when othir slepe.

- Allas, now wakens all oure were. *misery*
- Oure wikkid werkis may we not hide,
- 155 But on oure bakkis us muste them bere; *denounce*
Thei wille us wreye on ilke a side. *terrify us*
I see foule feendis that wille us feere,
And all for pompe of wikkid pride.
Wepe we may with many a teere.
- 160 Allas, that we this day schulde bide.
- Before us playnly besē fourth brought *is forth*
The dedis that us schall dame bedene, *deeds; condemn*
That eres has herde or harte has thoght *ears; heart*
Sen any tyme that we may mene *mean (speak of)*
- 165 That fote has gone or hande has wroght, *seen*
That mouthe hath spoken or ey has sene, *dearly; is it purchased*
This day full dere thanne besē it boght. *if we had not been born*
Allas, unborne and we hadde bene.

III ANGELUS Standis noght togedir, parte you in two,

- 170 All sam schall ye noght be in blisse. *together*
Mi Fadir of hevene woll it be soo, *wills*
For many of yowe has wroght amys. *amiss*
The goode on his right hande ye goe, *direct*
The way till hevene he will you wisse. *accursed*
- 175 Ye weryed wightis, ye flee hym froo, *wills [that]*
On his lefte hande as none of his.

DEUS This woffull worlde is brought till ende,

- Mi Fadir of hevene he woll it be; *wills [that]*
Therfore till erthe nowe will I wende,
180 Miselve to sitte in magesté. *issue my judgments*
To deme my domes I woll descende,
This body will I bere with me,
Howe it was dight, mannes mys to mende. *put [to suffering]*
All mankynde there schall it see.

- 185 Mi postelis and my darlyngis dere, *apostles*
The dredfull dome this day is dight.
Both heven and erthe and hell schall here *hear*
Howe I schall holde that I have hight: *promised*
That ye schall sitte on seetis sere *seats various*
- 190 Beside myselfe to se that sight, *judge; far*
And for to deme folke ferre and nere *works*
Aftir ther werkyng, wronge or right.

I saide also whan I you sente
 To suffre sorowe for my sake,
 195 All tho that wolde thame right repente *those*
 Schulde with you wende and wynly wake; *joyfully*
 And to youre tales who toke no tente *attention*
 Shulde fare to fyre with fendis blake. *fire (flames)*
 Of mercy nowe may noght be mente,
 200 Butt astir wirkynge, welth or wrake. *well-being (bliss); retribution*

My hetyng haly schall I fullfille; *promise wholly*
 Therfore comes furth and sittis me by *hear*
 To here the dome of goode and ill.

I APOSTOLUS I love thee, Lord God allmyghty.

205 Late and herely, lowde and still, *early*
 To do thy bidding bayne am I; *willing*
 I obbliss me to do thi will *oblige*
 With all my myght, als is worthy.

II APOSTOLUS A, myghtfull God, here is it sene

210 Thou will fulfille thi forward right, *plan rightly*
 And all thi sawes thou will maynteyne. *sayings*
 I love thee, Lorde, with all my myght;
 Therfore us that has erthely bene,
 Swilke dingnitees has dressed and dight. *Such honors; prepared*

DEUS Comes fourthe, I schall sitte you betwene,

216 And all fullfille that I have hight.

Hic ad sedem judicii cum cantu angelorum.¹

I DIABOLUS Felas, arraye us for to fight,
 And go we faste oure fee to fange.
 The dredefull dome this day is dight;
 220 I drede me that we dwelle full longe.

*Fellows, prepare
property (lit.: livestock); grasp*

II DIABOLUS We schall be sene evere in ther sight
 And warly waite, ellis wirke we wrange,
 For if the domisman do us right
 Full grete partie with us schall gang.

*sneakily; work; wrong
judge
part (portion); go*

III DIABOLUS He schall do right to foo and frende,
 226 For nowe schall all the soth be sought.
 All weried wightis with us schall wende

*truth
wicked*

¹ *Here he goes to the seat of judgment, with the song of angels*

To Payne endles thei schall be broght.

[four lines missing]

DEUS Ilke a creature, takes entent

Everyone, pay attention

230 What bodworde I to you bringe:

message

This wofull worlde away is wente,
And I am come as crouned kynge.

Mi Fadir of hevene, he has me sente
To deme youre dedis and make ending.

235 Comen is the day of jugement,
Of sorowe may ilke a synful synge.

each sinful [one] sing

The day is comen of kaydyfnes,
All tham to care that are unclene,
The day of bale and bittirnes.

*wretchedness
misery*

240 Full longe abedyn has it bene,
The day of drede to more and lesse,
Of ire, of trymbelyng, and of tene,
That ilke a wight that weried is
May say, "Allas, this daye is sene."

*awaited
trembling; grief
accursed*

245 Here may ye see my woundes wide
The whilke I tholed for youre mysdede
Thurgh harte and heed, foote, hande, and hide
Nought for my gilte butt for youre nede.
Beholdis both body, bak, and side

*suffered
skin
guilt*

250 How dere I bought youre brotherhede.
Thes bittir peynes I wolde abide
To bye you blisse thus wolde I bleede.

purchase

Mi body was scourged withouten skill,
As theffe full thraly was I thrette,
255 On crosse thei hanged me on a hill,
Blody and bloo, as I was bette,
With croune of thorne, throsten full ill.
This spere unto my side was sette,
Myne harte bloode spared noght thei for to spill,
260 Manne, for thy love wolde I not lette.

*reason
violently; threatened*

*livid; beaten
thrust*

prevent [this]

The Jewes spitte on me spitously;
Thei spared me no more than a theffe.
Whan thei me strake I stode full stilly,
Agaynste them did I nothyngre greve.
265 Behalde, mankynde, this ilke is I
That for thee suffered swilke mischeve;
Thus was I dight for thy folye.
Man, loke, thy liffe was to me full leffe.

*thief
struck; stood; silently*

*same
affliction
put [to pain]
dear*

- Thus was I dight thi sorowe to slake,
assauage
270 Manne, thus behoved thee to borowed be.
redeemed
In all my woo toke I no wrake,
vengeance
Mi will itt was for the love of thee.
Man, sore aught thee for to quake,
ought
This dredfull day, this sight to see.
275 All this I suffered for thi sake.
Say, man, what suffered thou for me?
- Mi blissid childre on my right hande,
verdict; need not dread
Youre dome this day ye thar not drede,
coming
For all youre conforte is command,
lead
280 Youre liffe in likyng schall ye lede.
everlasting
Commes to the kyngdome aylastand
prepared; deeds
That you is dight for youre goode dede.
Full blithe may ye be where ye stande,
reward
For mekill in hevene schall be youre mede.
- 285 Whenne I was hungrye ye me fedde,
clad
To slake my thirste youre harte was free,
Whanne I was clothles ye me cledde;
Ye wolde no sorowe upon me see.
In harde presse whan I was stedde,
difficulties; placed
290 Of my payns ye hadde pitee,
sick
Full seke whan I was brought in bedde
Kyndely ye come to coumforte me.
- Whanne I was wille and werieste
perplexed; most troubled
Ye herbered me full hartefully,
sheltered
295 Full gladdie thanne were ye of youre geste
guest
And pleyned my povertie piteuously.
lamented
Belyve ye brought me of the beste
Quickly
And made my bedde full esyly.
Therfore in hevene schall be youre reste,
300 In joie and blisse to be me by.

I ANIMA BONA Whanne hadde we, Lorde, that all has wrought,
When was it
Meete and drinke thee with to feede,
Sen we in erthe hadde nevere noght
But thurgh the grace of thy godhede?

II ANIMA BONA Whanne waste that we thee clothes brought
306 Or visite thee in any nede?
Or in thi sikenes we thee sought,
Lorde, when did we thee this dede?

- DEUS** Mi blissid childir, I schall you saye
 310 What tyme this dede was to me done:
 When any that nede hadde, nyght or day,
 Askid you helpe and hadde it sone.
 Youre fre hartis saide them nevere nay,
 Erely ne late, mydday ne none,
 315 But als ofte sithis as thei wolde praye,
 Thame thurte but bide and have ther bone.
- They need but endure; request*
- Ye cursid caytiffis of Kaymes kynne
 That nevere me conforte in my care,
 I and ye forever will twynne,
 320 In dole to dwelle for evermare.
 Youre bittir bales schall nevere blynne
 That ye schall have whan ye come thare.
 Thus have ye served for youre synne,
 For derffe dedis ye have done are.
- Cain's kin*
separate
sufferings; stop
deserved
evil deeds; previously
- 325 Whanne I had mister of mete and drynke,
 Caytiffis, ye cacched me from youre yate;
 Whanne ye were sette as sirs on benke
 I stode theroute, werie and wette;
 Was none of yowe wolde on me thynke,
 330 Pyté to have of my poure state.
 Therfore till hell I schall you synke,
 Weele are ye worthy to go that gate.
- need*
drove; gate
judges on bench
outside, weary
poor
Well; way
- Whanne I was seke and soriest
 Ye visitte me noght, for I was poure;
 335 In prisoun faste whan I was feste
 Was none of you loked howe I fore.
 Whenne I wiste nevere where for to reste,
 With dyntes ye draffe me fro your dore,
 Butte ever to pride thanne were ye preste;
 340 Mi flessh, my bloode ofte ye forsware.
- incarcerated*
fared
knew
blows; drove
pressed (motivated)
body, my blood (of Eucharist)
- Clothles whanne I was ofte and colde,
 At nede of you, yede I full naked,
 House ne herborow, helpe ne holde
 Hadde I none of you, thof I quaked.
 345 Mi mischeffe sawe ye manyfolde,
 Was none of you my sorowe slaked,
 Butt evere forsoke me, yonge and alde.
 Therfore schall ye nowe be forsaked.
- Lacking clothes*
went
shelter
old
- I ANIMA MALA** Whan had thou, Lorde that all thing has,
 350 Hungir or thirste sen thou God is?

Whan was thou in prisounے was,
Whan was thou naked or herberles?

homeless

- II ANIMA MALA** Whan was it we sawe thee seke, allas;
Whan kid we thee this unkyndinesse?
355 Werie or wette to late thee passe,
When did we thee this wikkidnesse?

showed

Weary; let

- DEUS** Caistiffis, als ofte als it betidde
That nedfull aught askid in my name,
Ye herde them noght, youre eris ye hidde:
360 Youre helpe to thame was noght at hame.
To me was that unkyndines kyd;
Therefore ye bere this bittir blame.
To leste or moste whan ye it did,
To me ye did the selve and the same.

happened

anything

ears; covered

available

shown

bear

[the] least

- 365 Mi chosen childir, comes unto me,
With me to wonne nowe schall ye wende
There joie and blisse schall ever be.
Youre liffe in lyking schall ye lende.
Ye cursed kaitiffis, fro me ye flee
370 In helle to dwelle withouten ende;
Ther ye schall nevere butt sorowe see
And sitte be Satanas the fende.

dwell

bliss; remain

beside

- Nowe is fulfillid all my forthoght,
For endid is all erthely thyng;
375 All worldly wightis that I have wroght
Aftir ther werkis have now wonnyng.
Thei that wolde synne and sessid noght
Of sorowes sere now schall thei syng,
And thei that mendid thame whils thei moght
380 Shall belde and bide in my blissing.

dwelling [places]

ceased

various

were able

dwell

*Et sic facit finem cum melodia
angelorum transiens a loco ad locum.¹*

¹ Lines 381–82: *And thus he makes an ending, with the melody / of angels passing from place to place.*



EXPLANATORY NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS: *AV*: *Authorized (“King James”) Version*; **Meditations**: *Meditations on the Life of Christ*, trans. Ragusa and Green; **MED**: *Middle English Dictionary*; **OED**: *Oxford English Dictionary*; **RB**: Richard Beadle, ed., *York Plays*; **REED**: *Records of Early English Drama*; **YA**: Davidson and O’Connor, *York Art*; **York Breviary**: *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesie Eboracensis*; **York Missal**: *Missale ad usum insignis ecclesiae Eboracensis*.

References to the *Ordo paginarum* are to *REED: York*, 1:16–27.

1. THE CREATION OF THE ANGELS AND THE FALL OF LUCIFER

The initial pageant in the cycle was produced by the Barkers — that is, the Tanners, thus identified in the *Ordo paginarum* of 1415 where the action of the drama is briefly summarized and its conclusion indicated as the involuntary ejection of the rebellious angels from heaven and their fall into hell. A heaven stage, on the pageant wagon, accommodated the action up to line 92, when Lucifer, illegitimately seating himself above on a throne, tumbles with his cohorts into a hellmouth on a lower level. Heaven is associated with harmony and light, and hell with cacophony, dirt, darkness, and smoke as well as, most likely, an evil odor, which the Tanners were equipped to supply.¹ The play is written in eight-line stanzas and introduces alliteration typical of the alliterative revival of the late Middle Ages (see Introduction). It has a symmetrical pattern involving a four-part structure of scenes in heaven before and after the creation of the angels, then noisy and disordered hell, and finally heaven again. Richard Rastall notes also a division of its 160 lines according to exact principles of proportion.² The narrative upon which the pageant depends is traditional and appeared in English literature as early as the Anglo-Saxon *Genesis* and its accompanying illustration in Bodleian Library, MS. Junius 11.³ A panel contemporary with the earlier years of playing the Corpus Christi plays appears in the Great East Window (1405–08) in York Minster where God is shown as the Creator while Lucifer and one of his fellow angels fall across the cosmos toward their future abode in hell.⁴ Biblical sources include Isaías 14:12 (“How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, who didst rise in the morning? how art thou fallen to the earth, that didst wound the nations”) and Luke 10:18 (“I saw Satan like lightning falling from heaven”). For Church Fathers such as Gregory of Nyssa, Lucifer’s fall and transformation occurred before the creation

¹ See Seiler, “Filth and Stench,” and Rastall, *Heaven Singing*, pp. 199–215.

² Rastall, *Heaven Singing*, pp. 245–46.

³ *Caedmon Manuscript*, ed. Gollancz, p. 16.

⁴ French, *York Minster: The Great East Window*, pl. 1.

of the world or any of its creatures.⁵ The sponsoring craft of Barkers (Tanners) was prosperous, though not high in prestige on account of the odiferous leather tanning process in which they were engaged. They were called Barkers because the tanning process utilized tannin derived from the bark of trees.

The opening Latin words in the playtext may not have been spoken, and are not numbered here. See Apocalypse 1:8, 21:6, 22:13.

- 1–8 It was a commonplace and orthodox doctrine that God is eternal, without beginning or end, uncreated and all-powerful. The Creation, on the other hand, is temporally finite in Christian tradition. As in medieval iconography, God was given a *body* in his role as the Father-Creator, for he would make man in his image and likeness (see Genesis 1:26–27).
- 23 *Nyen ordres of aungels.* In tradition, there initially were ten orders, with the tenth comprising those who became followers of Lucifer. The nine orders, among whom the seraphim and cherubim have speaking roles in the pageant, were popularly represented in such media as stained glass, extant examples of which appear in churches along and near the pageant route, including St. Michael Spurriergate, St. Martin Coney Street, and All Saints North Street, the latter in proximity to Barker Row (later Tanner Row), the neighborhood inhabited by members of the guild that produced this play.
- 24 s.d. *Te Deum.* A portion of the *Te Deum* is sung by the angels. Since this ancient and well-known monophonic chant as included in York service books does not require great musical ability, Rastall suggests that amateurs could have been used rather than more skilled musicians from the Minster or singers from one of the more affluent parish churches (*Heaven Singing*, p. 331). Text and translations are available in Dutka, *Music*, p. 42. There is useful discussion in Sheingorn, “Te Deum Altarpiece and the Iconography of Praise.”
- 25 *nexile.* Imagining the tripartite cosmos — heaven, earth, and hell — as wings of a building draws attention to God as a master craftsman; in a set of window panels of c.1430 now in York Minster but formerly in the church of St. Martin Coney Street, directly along the pageant route, God appears accompanied by angels who sing the *Te Deum* in his praise (Brown, *York Minster*, p. 287).
- 36 *Lucifer, als berar of lyghte.* Lucifer’s name was conventionally glossed as the “Light bearer.” His appearance demanded a splendid costume (shimmering and shining at line 69), which appeared to be changed utterly into one that is dirty and tattered after his fall. If, as in glass in St. Michael Spurriergate, he had a feather costume (YA, p. 20, fig. 3), it could only have then appeared nastily filthy or else already transformed into a disgusting hair coat — an effect easily performed in the play by the exchange of one actor playing the role for another who had been waiting to emerge from within hellmouth. Such was the punishment for Lucifer’s pride, as the pageant makes clear, and, quite consistent with Patristic arguments, his pride is characterized by the will to power as well as sheer envy of his Creator.

⁵ See Russell, *Satan*, p. 187.

- 40 s.d. *Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus.* A continuation of the *Te Deum*, though these words also appear in the *Sanctus* of the Mass that was sung immediately prior to the canon.
- 60 *felyng of fylth.* The unfallen angels are undefiled. They maintain their pure state, in contrast to Lucifer and his companions who are consigned to a habitat that is dirty and dark, both indicative of their separation from the source of purity and light that is God. Also, it is taken for granted that they establish a kingdom that is violent, disordered, and a source of subversion to be reckoned with throughout history.
- 62 *stabyll in thoughte.* The good angels have willed obedience to the deity in opposition to the bending of will that is characteristic of Lucifer in his pursuit of his perceived interests. The concept of stability affects the gestures of the angels, with those who are fallen engaging in rapid and indecorous movements, as will also be typical of evil characters throughout the pageants in the York cycle.
- 76 *fede with the fode of thi fayre face.* There may be a subtle echo of the Eucharist here, since *seeing* the Host was considered a kind of visual communing. See Nichols, “Bread of Heaven.”
- 89 *Ther sall I set myselfe.* The *Cursor Mundi* reports that Lucifer took his seat “In the north syde” (line 459, 1:34–35) where he expected to be reverenced by all the angels.
- 117 *smoke.* The Coventry dramatic records identify a fire at hellmouth in the Drapers’ Doomsday play (*REED: Coventry*, p. 478), while the Anglo-Norman *Adam* directs the devils in hell to “make a great smoke [*fumum magnum*] to arise” (*Medieval French Plays*, p. 36; Butterworth, *Theatre of Fire*, p. 12). Suggestions for the design and use of hellmouth in plays such as the Barkers’ pageant may be found in Meredith, “The Iconography of Hell in the English Cycles: A Practical Perspective,” and see also Sheingorn, “Who can open the doors of his face’: The Iconography of Hell Mouth.” The hellmouth will also be present in the *Harrowing* (Play 37) and the Mercers’ *Doomsday* (Play 47).
- 141 *Mankynde of moulde.* See Genesis 2:7, which describes the creation of Adam from the “slime of the earth.” This will not happen, as God explains in lines 142–44, until he has completed forming the earth itself and all else that is in it as a support system for humankind.
- 154 *The nighte even fro the day.* Separating light and darkness, the work of the first day. See Genesis 1:4.

2. THE CREATION THROUGH THE FIFTH DAY

A monologue, presented by the Plasterers, also known as Daubers. The pageant presents the Creation narrative according to Genesis 1, the first account presented in the Bible (the second follows in Genesis 2). Here the earth and all that is in it except for humans are brought into existence in five days. There is overlap with the previous play since in it the work of the first day had already been introduced. The verse form is a twelve-line stanza.

- 1–4 The Latin lines are immediately glossed by English translations. They are indicative of the placement of God on a higher level, with such effects of his creation as the animals, fish, and plants appearing below.
- 10 *Up for to trine my trone.* A reference to Lucifer's attempt to seat himself in God's throne in the previous pageant.
- 17 *Thare mys may never be amendid.* A theological puzzle is introduced since it would appear that God created some of the angels with a flaw in their design, but the usual explanation is that they were given a free will, which they abused of their own accord. God is utterly unforgiving, and the devils fall into their role as the opposition party and proponents of disobedience and evil throughout history as depicted by the play cycle. They are the ultimate source of conflict in the pageants and represent the absence of good.
- 31 *Noght by my strenkyth but by my steyn.* The cosmos exists within God's forethought, but it is his Word that brings it into existence, not an exercise of raw power such as Lucifer wished to display — and which only led to the establishment of a kingdom of darkness in the void that is entered through hellmouth. See John 1:1: "In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God."
- 41–42 *The firmament sal nought move, / But be a mene.* The cosmos has as its purpose the enclosing of the world, which will be, according to the pre-Copernican cosmology of the time, at its center. Heaven is a fixed place, unchanging and stable. See below, where the sun and moon are fixed in the pageant heavens, which are decorated with stars.
- 90 *Mesurid and made.* Here again God appears as a craftsman, and very possibly he actually appeared thus in this pageant, where he could have held a set of large masons' compasses, as sometimes occurs in the visual arts of the period; see above and also, for example, the fourteenth-century *Holkham Bible Picture Book*, fol. 2.
- 120 *serlayne signes.* Implying the signs of the zodiac, commonly appearing in association with the depictions of the seasons of the year, as on the early sculpture reset over the south porch doorway of the church of St. Margaret in York (see Halfpenny, *Fragmenta Vetusta*, pl. 24).
- 129 *fysch.* A panel in the Great East Window of the Minster shows the creation of fish and birds, and other panels also show other events in the creation story. In the *Te Deum* window formerly in St. Martin Coney Street, the parish church closest to the Common Hall, the Creator appears with birds, animals, and flowers, the products of his work following the creation of fish. Whales are specifically mentioned in Genesis 1:21.
- 154–56 *Serpentis.* The serpent is apparently flawed from its creation and thus apparently would not seem to fit the "and God saw that it was good" formula applied to all creatures in Genesis 1.
- 167 *wax furth.* See Genesis 1:22: "Increase, and multiply." The stanza, and the pageant, will conclude with God's blessing.

3. THE CREATION OF ADAM AND EVE

The Cardmakers, or Combsmiths, a craft that made the necessary tools for carding wool and presumably other similar items of manufacture, produced this pageant, which required that the actors who played Adam and Eve must appear in simulated nudity, probably effected with tawed leather suits as in the Cornish *Creacion of the World* which specifies suits of “*whytt lether*” (line 343 s.d.). The same type of costume would presumably have been used for other pageants in which Adam and Eve appear. The creation of Adam is shown in a panel in the Great East Window of the Minster, though this glass is heavily restored and hence should be cited with care.⁶ The play was copied into the Register twice; see textual notes.

- 23 *Efylr my schape and my lyknes.* Genesis 1:26 reports that God made Adam after his image (*imaginem*) and likeness (*similitudinem*). The primacy of Adam is implied in that he was first created, then Eve, and this is reinforced in the second Creation account in Genesis which has her made from one of Adam’s body parts.
- 31–32 Death is already assumed as part of life, as if God already has foreknowledge of Adam’s fall, resulting eventually in his death and the death of all humans throughout history.
- 35 *erthe.* In the second Creation story in Genesis, the “slime of the earth” is the substance from which Adam was made; see Genesis 2:7.
- 38 *lyft rybe.* While the second Creation account contains the story of Eve’s creation from the rib of Adam, it does not specify the *left*. The left side was traditionally associated with the feminine, considered weaker, and in some locales in northern Europe women and children were relegated to the left side in church, the men to the right. The 1565 property list of the Norwich Grocers’ play included a “Rybbe Colleryd Redd” (*REED: Norwich*, p. 53).
- 41 *gaste of lyffe.* The account in the second chapter of Genesis reported that God caused Adam and Eve to live by breathing life into them (2:7). Spirit (*gaste*, modern *ghost*) is identified with breath. In ancient Jewish thought, life hence begins when the newly created (and, subsequently, the newborn) takes his or her first breath.
- 70 *made of noght.* A return to the concept of the Creation as made out of nothing by God, but somewhat curious in this context since Adam was made from mud and Eve from his rib.

4. THE PROHIBITION OF THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE

Although the Fullers, or Walkers, who were an integral craft essential to the cloth industry, had been involved with this pageant as early as 1415 when their participation was noted in the *Ordo paginarum*, their play was not copied into the Register until 1559 (see

⁶ French, *York Minster: The Great East Window*, p. 49.

textual notes).⁷ Their play, in ten-line stanzas, is very short and rather undramatic, though it sets forth an important view that has been maintained by some until the present day: the idea of man as in charge of the imperium. In line 16, all other creatures are recognized as man's subjects, and in lines 60–64 he is told to see himself as the master and lord of all things; see Genesis 1:29–30. A detailed discussion of gestures appropriate to the present play and subsequent plays in the Garden of Eden is contained in Natalie Crohn Schmitt, "The Body in Motion."⁸

- 31–36 The description of the Garden is abbreviated and general in nature. Was there an elaborate stage set with a full-scale garden setting?
- 68 *The frute of it negh none.* God's command denies Adam and Eve the right even to approach the fruit of the tree upon pain of death. The source is in the second Creation story (Genesis 2:17).

5. THE FALL

The *Ordo paginarum* description of this pageant is not consistent with the text, for it calls for Adam and Eve to be standing on each side of the forbidden tree as Satan deceives them — i.e., precisely the scene depicted in a panel in the Great East Window in the Minster. In James Torre's seventeenth-century description of the glass, the serpent is "twisted about a great Tree like a fair woman with his face toward Eve who is with one hand reaching to take an Apple from the Tree; And with her right hand delivering a golden Apple to Adam, who receives it with his left hand and eats it out of the other elevated to his Mouth."⁹ The pageant text introduces Satan in his fallen state, having taken the form of a serpent (see line 23); his main grievance appears to have derived from his envy of God and of the power of the Creator, but clearly his thinking is confused, as he himself admits. Yet he is able to seduce Eve, who only thereafter convinces Adam to eat. According to St. Augustine, Eve's sin was less than Adam's since she was deceived, while Adam ate knowingly.¹⁰ The pageant was produced by the Coopers, makers of casks, tubs, buckets, and similar wares. It is written in an eleven-line stanza.

- 3–11 The notion that Satan's envy centered on his expectation that God would assume the form and status of an angel seems curious, but it calls attention to how Lucifer was self-deceived by his appearance as the brightest of the heavenly host.
- 12–13 Satan is envious of God's decision to create man and his female companion as a substitute for the angels of heaven whom he has lost through their rebellion. He especially sees Eve as prey (line 18), and is certainly not the friend he claims

⁷ The heading *Regynall* presumably indicates that the text was copied directly from the guild's original copy.

⁸ See also C. Davidson, "Gesture."

⁹ Torre, *Antiquities of York Minster*, p. 71.

¹⁰ Augustine, *City of God*, 14.11.

- to be. Traditionally he appears with a woman's face; see Bonnell, "Serpent with a Human Head."
- 26–82 An elaboration of the account in Genesis 3:1–5.
- 69–73 *yhe shalle be wyse . . . als wise as he.* Compare Genesis 3:5: "your eyes shall be opened: and you shall be as Gods, knowing good and evil." The York Satan adds that Eve will be God's equal in every way, "als wise as he."
- 104–05 Adam impulsively eats with the hope that the promise of divinity is true. Ironically, of course, it is, since this "bad bargayne" (line 119) is an essential moment in the "happy fall," *felix culpa*, that ultimately will culminate in the coming into time of Christ to effect salvation and in the promise of bliss for all humans who perform the Corporal Acts of Mercy and believe on his name — the culmination too of the cycle in the Mercers' Doomsday pageant (Play 47).
- 110–11 *Me shames . . . I am naked.* See Genesis 3:7; compare *Cursor Mundi*: "For shame thei stode bothe and quaked" (line 800, 1:55). In the Expulsion scene in York Minster glass in the Great East Window, Eve holds one hand over her breast and another over her genitals (French, *York Minster: The Great East Window*, p. 51). In the pageant, at her suggestion (line 131), they will cover themselves with "fygge leves," for which, on account of their unavailability in medieval York, another type of leaf would necessarily have been substituted in production.
- 138 *Where art thou.* A direct quote from Genesis 3:9, but in the biblical account God has been walking in the garden of paradise when he calls to Adam and Eve. In performing the play they probably were hiding like guilty children, which would be quite consistent with Genesis.
- 150–59 *A wikkid worme . . . ete and drynke.* God's curse on the serpent. Compare Genesis 3:14–15.
- 160–63 *Adam and Eve alsoo . . . we synke.* They are condemned to "swete and swynke," but no mention is made here of the travail in childbirth to which Eve and her descendants are condemned or of the rule that they should be under the domination of their husbands. These commands appear, however, in the Expulsion pageant, where they are pronounced to Adam and Eve by the angel (lines 69–74).
- 166–67 *Now, Cherubyn, . . . To middilerth tye go dryve there twoo.* The Expulsion is mentioned as part of the Coopers' play in the *Ordo paginarum*, though this is in fact the subject of the next pageant.
- 175–76 *for sorowe and care, / Ovre handis may we wryng.* A conventional gesture of despair.

6. THE EXPULSION FROM THE GARDEN

At the conclusion of the previous pageant, Adam and Eve have already been expelled from the garden. To be sure, a different angel must play the angel of the Expulsion here. Since in this case the angel, identified in the biblical account (Genesis 3:24) as a cherubim, traditionally holds a flaming sword, as in another panel in the East Window of the Minster (French, *York Minster: The Great East Window*, p. 51), the Armorers, or Furbishers, would seem

to have been a logical choice for producers of this pageant, especially since over time this craft gravitated more toward weaponry than protective gear. However, while the *Ordo paginarum* says nothing about the sword, it does have the angel supplying Adam and Eve with a spade and spindle with which they are to begin their work. The Armorer's most prosperous period was the early fifteenth century, though by 1444 they were pleading for aid for themselves and their pageant (*REED: York*: 1:62). The play is written in six-line stanzas, also including irregular stanzas of five lines.

- 47 *sele fandyngis manyfolde.* Middle earth, to which Adam and Eve have been banished, is a place of temptation that will mark the race from henceforth, even affecting St. Peter immediately after the Crucifixion when he denies his Lord three times.
- 58 *Adam, have this.* The angel hands the spade to Adam with an admonition that this will be needed for earning his living. The spade is generally taken to be Adam's identifying symbol in the iconography of the later Middle Ages; see May, "Medieval Stage Property."
- 70–74 *Travell herto shalle thou ta . . . To man ay be.* The point at which Eve presumably must receive the spindle from the angel. This seems verified by the following lines in which she laments that she can no longer have the kind of tranquility that she enjoyed in the garden but must work. Adam also refers to the tool that has been given him in line 77. For a typical depiction of Eve, seated outside and spinning at the left, and Adam working with his spade "in the sweat of his brow" to break up the hard ground at the right, see the *Speculum humanae salvationis* (Wilson and Wilson, *Medieval Mirror*, p. 145).
- 90–91 *At prime of the day. / Be tyme of none alle lost had wee.* The creation of the first parents took place at the beginning of the day (specifically at *prime*, the second of the canonical hours), and already by noon the Fall had taken place. The rapidity of the Fall is a medieval commonplace.
- 131 *We mon go nakid.* So in the garden, but now they cannot do this on account of their awareness of their bodies, of which they are ashamed. The biblical account has them dressed in skins (Genesis 3:21).
- 160 *Dede wolde I be.* A sign of despair, though in Adam's case it will not be a sickness unto death, for he will be rescued from Limbo along with Eve by the second Adam, Jesus Christ, at the Harrowing. The despair here is not the remorse of Judas but of a penitent now that he has finished his blaming of Eve for his deed. Traditional gestures are beating one's breast and wringing one's hands, which would have been appropriate for Adam and Eve as they wend forth at the end of the pageant, presumably as they set off toward the next station where the pageant will be repeated.

7. SACRIFICIUM CAYME ET ABELL

The Glovers, whose trade was in white (tawed) leather products, were joined with the manufacturers of such items in the *Ordo paginarum*. Their play, based on Genesis 4 and written in an eleven-line stanza unique in the cycle, is unfortunately incomplete in the Register,

from which two leaves have been lost. The missing pages included the story of the sacrifices of Abell (a lamb) and Cayme, the latter being unsatisfactory (wheat, in the Towneley play involving the worst sheaves, which create a noxious smoke), God's reaction to the sacrifices, and Cayme's murder of Abell, traditionally in English iconography with the jawbone of an ass,¹¹ as in otherwise heavily restored glass at York Minster.¹² The two leaves were lost by the time of John Clerke, who added the Brewbarret episode in his distinctive sixteenth-century hand (lines 73–99). For further comment, see RB, p. 76. The biblical account does not give the reasons for the rejection of Cain's offering, and attempts at historical explanation have not been convincing. In the play prior to the loss of the leaves, the sacrifice of a lamb would have been seen as prefiguring the sacrifice of the Lamb of God, Jesus, on the cross. The angel messenger who explains the obligation of tithing — an obligation about which the medieval Church was insistent — and demands the sacrifices is not in Genesis, but a portion of the biblical account forms the basis of a responsory for Septuagesima Sunday in the *York Breviary*.¹³

- 14–15 *Nothyng hym thoughte was wroughte in waste . . . to bide.* The author of the play was aware of the theological problem of how God, infinitely good, could create something that could be corrupted. As Abelard remarked, “Goodness, it is evident, can produce only what is good” (qtd. Lovejoy, *Great Chain of Being*, p. 71). There is no satisfactory answer to the problem.
- 45 *wilde waneand.* Beadle glosses as “i.e., an evil hour” (RB, p. 530).
- 45–46 Cayme's hostile attitude is even more pronounced, if possible, in the Towneley *Mactacio Abel*. In the visual arts of the period such as the example cited above from the Great East Window of 1405–08 in York Minster or the somewhat earlier *Holkam Bible Picture Book*, fols. 5–6, Cain has remarkably belligerent facial expressions and body language. The *Cursor Mundi* implies that he was the son of the devil, apparently the result of Satan's seduction of Eve (1:69). His antagonism to tithing would have put him at odds with the ecclesiastical courts; the penalty for failing to tithe was intended to be excommunication, but might be a fine (see Ault, “Village Church,” pp. 208–09). See the extended discussion of Cain in medieval British drama in C. Davidson, *History, Religion, and Violence*, pp. 97–123.
- 73–99 Oddly, Cayme sends his boy Brewbarret to obtain sheaves “of the best,” and indicates he should have a drink before he goes, prior to the time when the angel appears to demand the whereabouts of Abel, who has already been killed. The angel curses Cayme in God's stead; in Genesis 4:11 God curses Cain directly. This portion of the interpolation is a not very satisfactory attempt to link up with the text that follows.
- 89 *Quia non sum custos fratris mei.* Adapted from Genesis 4:9.

¹¹ See Schapiro, “Cain's Jaw-Bone,” and Guilfoyle, “Staging of the First Murder.”

¹² French, *York Minster: The Great East Window*, p. 52.

¹³ *York Breviary*, 1:235–36. For attention to this and other citations to the York Missal and Breviary, I am grateful to King, *York Mystery Cycle*.

- 109–17 Inconsistently, Cayme is destined to till the soil though unfruitfully, but also to become a wanderer and an outcast.
- 119 *My synne it passis al mercie.* Despair is the deeply held feeling that one is beyond salvation, and indeed Cain is frequently said to be the first permanent resident of hell and a precursor of Judas — a contrast, again, to the despair of Adam, noted above. For a useful discussion of despair leading to damnation, see Snyder, “Left Hand of God.”
- 130 *Who that thee slees.* The murderer will be Lamech, who was believed to have been blind and to have done the deed unintentionally through the perfidy of his son. The only English dramatization appears in the Noah play in the N-Town collection, but the scene is depicted in the *Holkham Bible Picture Book*, fol. 6v; see also Woolf, *English Mystery Plays*, p. 135, and Reiss, “Story of Lamech and Its Place in Medieval Drama.”
- 132–33 *a token . . . prentyd so in thee.* The mark of Cain, which also functions as a sign of his damnation; see Genesis 4:15. In the Cornish *Creacion*, God makes the “marcke in his forehedd; this worde: Omega” (line 1179 s.d., p. 98).

8. THE BUILDING OF NOAH'S ARK

The Shipwrights' pageant is a demonstration of the craft's skills as God orders Noah to build a ship and then informs him to go about his work. The complexity of the task seems to call for non-speaking workmen to help Noah, but in the text of the play he says, “Al be myselfe I will assaye” (line 96). As Richard Beadle suggests in “Shipwrights' Craft,” the author of the play evidently was very familiar with clinker-built ship construction, and must have had close relations with the ship builders themselves. The shipwrights' occupation went into severe decline in the course of the fifteenth century when the Ouse became less navigable due to silting and the larger seagoing ships became the norm. The text of the pageant in the Register has been extensively corrected by a later hand, identified in at least in part as John Clerke's (see RB, pp. 420–21). The story of Noah and the Flood appears in Genesis 6–8, adapted from earlier Babylonian mythology after the return from exile of the Jews in Babylon in the fifth century B.C.E. It appears in the lessons and responsories for Septuagesima and Sexagesima. The eight-line stanza adopted in the play also is used in a number of other pageants in the cycle.

- 14–24 *synne is nowe reynand so ryffe . . . I wille al newe.* As in the biblical account, God repents that he ever made humankind on account of the wickedness of everyone except Noah, who is solemn and pure of heart (see line 33). Hence God decides to make a new beginning. Noah and his family are to be saved, the others drowned in the waters of the great Flood. This provides the motive for both the present play and the Fishers and Mariners' pageant of the Flood which follows, but there is also a common reading of their story as foreshadowing the Last Day, dramatized as the concluding pageant in the cycle by the Mercers.

- 50 *I am full olde and oute of qwarre.* When the ark is finished, Noah will be six hundred years of age, but his argument with God over his ability as an old man to perform the task inspires some lively dialogue.
- 74–80 The directions for building the ship are accurately presented. The trees must be carefully selected and squared before boards and batten are cut. It is important that the seams be masterfully joined “and naylid wele” so that they do not come apart when the boat is floated. Instead of nails in the modern sense, rivets would presumably have been used; see the diagram in C. Davidson, *Technology, Guilds*, esp. pp. 8–9, figs. 11–12.
- 81–86 The ark specified by God is immensely large in size. Beadle suggests that it would have “a displacement of some 40,000 tons” (“Shipwrights’ Craft,” p. 58). No wonder it would take a hundred years to build (see lines 114–15)!
- 97–111 The listing of tools suggests that these were borrowed from members of the craft. Noah begins by laying on a chalk line and pretending to work on a board, then using a tool to join it to the ark, which must of course have been prefabricated. The Cornish *Creacion* specifies “*Tooles and tymber . . . redy, with planckys to make the Arcke*” (line 2254 s.d.). Since normally the interior ribs were added last, these would not be needed. Then Noah picks up a caulking tool to cement (as if with pitch) the boards to seem to make them water-tight. In the next stanza, he explains that the boards will be held in place with rivets fitted into roves (large metal washers) and flattened; these are easily seen in depictions of clinker-built ships. A set of shipbuilders’ tools from the wreck of Henry VIII’s Mary Rose shows mallets, augurs, measuring sticks, and other implements of the type perhaps displayed in the York play; see C. Davidson, *Technology, Guilds*, fig. 15.
- 114 *A hundereth wyntres away is wente.* Diller remarks about this scene that it “is remarkable for skipping a hundred years in a single line” (*Middle English Mystery Play*, p. 92)!
- 127–41 *Dyverse stages must ther be . . . lyffes to laste.* In the visual arts, the ark often had three levels, which were determined by the symbolism of the vessel as a representation of the Church. Like the Church at the Day of Judgment, the ark was a providentially chosen means to safety when all the world would be destroyed.

9. THE FLOOD

Fishing and fish farming in the Ouse are well documented in the civic records, but the Fishers’ craft, like that of the Mariners, also involved setting out to sea by way of Hull. Their play of the Flood, written in a fourteen-line stanza with some alliteration, required a pageant ship, perhaps fitted with animals painted on boards or some such innovation. But it is the farce involving the recalcitrance of Noah’s wife which can be traced to an Eastern legend that supports the action of the first part of the play. On the one hand, Uxor may be seen as a target of medieval anti-feminism, while on the other her weakness represents all humankind

in need of salvation, for she, like every one of us, is in need of rescue from destruction.¹⁴ The Genesis account only mentions Noah's wife's boarding of the ark in 7:7 without hint of reluctance on her part. The Newcastle *Noah*, however, has the devil tempting her as a second Eve to subvert God's plan of saving Noah's family and subsequently the salvation of the race, and M. D. Anderson calls attention to a depiction of such a temptation in the *Queen Mary Psalter*.¹⁵ Noah and his family are shown in the ark, interestingly with a mast and a sail, in a panel in the Great East Window in the Minster; the hull of the ship, however, has been restored with scraps and hence is not original.¹⁶

- 5 *worthy wiffe*. Not consistent with the view of her that appears subsequently in the pageant. Noah's piety and appreciation of his family are set against a warning from God that has already taken place (see line 12: "This world wastyd shalle be").
- 15–28 *My fadir Lamech . . . than was I borne*. Noah's father is not the person who was the murderer of Cain, but was a man noted for his piety. He therefore was one who already knew by "sarteyne signes" that God would take vengeance on humankind's wickedness (lines 34–40).
- 145 It would appear that the rain has begun. If a stage effect were involved, as is quite likely, there is no indication of how it was produced. By line 152 Uxor's "frendis" are already drowned in the Flood.
- 149 *modir, mende youre moode*. The first daughter encourages her mother, but the general mood of the family during the watery holocaust will generally remain solemn. Only at lines 197–98 does Uxor's mood change to one of appreciation for being saved from the Flood through God's grace, but by then the forty days and forty nights of rain are over (see line 183) and the waters are subsiding.
- 161 *Wendes and spers youre dores bedene*. An imbedded stage direction, implying that some openings, or at least one entry door, in the ark could be closed. Did the actors appear on the deck, or was there a large window (hardly practical) in which they could speak their lines?
- 171–76 The sons care for "thes catelles" and the women the "foules," most likely a common division of labor in the York region.
- 190 *catteraks*. From the Vulgate *cataractae caeli*, which now have been "shut up" (Genesis 8:2).
- 199 *caste leede*. A plumb bob was cast down to sound the depth of the water, as would have been the practice among contemporary mariners. The water is still at its full height of fifteen cubits (Genesis 7:20) but is waning (line 204).
- 212–16 *The raven is wighte . . . lande or tree*. Though this bird has a bad reputation, its intelligence marks it as a choice for a reconnaissance mission to see if the time

¹⁴ See C. Davidson, *From Creation to Doom*, pp. 51–52.

¹⁵ Davis, ed., *Non-Cycle Plays*, pp. 22–23 and 28–29; Anderson, *Drama and Imagery*, p. 108; Stanton, *Queen Mary Psalter*, fig. 25.

¹⁶ French, *York Minster: The Great East Window*, p. 53.

will soon come for their departure from the ark. It will not return; according to the *Cursor Mundi*, 1:117, this is because it fed on the flesh of the creatures drowned in the Flood — and hence could not return to the ark, a symbol of the Church. In the Cornish *Ordinalia*, Noah predicts in advance that if the raven finds carrion it will not come back to him (*Ancient Cornish Drama*, 1:82–85). Thus the raven was cursed and its color changed from white to black.

- 237–60 *Thou douse . . . now may we synge.* A dove is then sent out, and brings back a token; see Genesis 8:8–11. The token is an “olyve braunche,” a sign that Noah and his family will “be saved.”
- 264 *The hillis of Hermony.* Noah’s first sight of land, but a pun is implied, since harmony is returning to the cosmos.
- 266 s.d. *Tunc cantent Noe et filii sui.* A time for singing by Noah and his sons had been announced in line 260, with the inclusion of song by them in early performances confirmed by this late stage direction. Rastall suggests a procession by the family from the ark (*Heaven Singing*, p. 243).
- 278 *Dum dixit “penitet me.”* Adapted from the Vulgate (Genesis 6:7).
- 283 *Arcum ponam in nubibus.* Genesis 9:13. The rainbow will also figure in the Mercers’ Doomsday play; see REED: *York*, 1:55.
- 301 *be waste with fyre.* In answer to his son’s suggestion that the world might last forever, Noah explains that at last — that is, at the Last Judgment — the earth will be consumed by flames. The destruction of the world by fire appears as one of the signs of Doomsday in a panel in a window in All Saints, North Street — i.e., when, according to the caption in the glass, the time will come when “sall betyde The werlde sall bryn on ilk a syde” (Gee, “Painted Glass of All Saints’ Church,” pls. XXIII–XXIV). The Flood is connected typologically with Doomsday in Luke 17:26–27, a passage which is part of the Gospel reading for the final day of Sexagesima in the *York Missal*, 1:42).

10. ABRAHAM AND ISAAC

The Parchment Makers were a specialized leather craft whose members appear in the list of freemen of the city after 1350, while the Bookbinders, who probably lived in the liberties controlled by the Minster rather than the city, seem never to have sought the freedom of the city. Their play, written in twelve-line stanzas used in nearly a quarter of the pageants in the cycle, is based on Genesis 22, which tells the story of the sacrifice of Isaac, with some details from previous chapters. However, it also is influenced by the *Middle English Metrical Paraphrase of the Old Testament*.¹⁷ The story was regarded as a prefiguring of the sacrifice of Jesus Christ, the Lamb of God.¹⁸ In demonstrating the typological relationship, the woodcut in the *Biblia*

¹⁷ See *Middle English Metrical Paraphrase*, ed. Kalén and Ohlander, and Beadle, “Origins of Abraham’s Preamble.”

¹⁸ See Daniélou, *From Shadows to Reality*, pp. 115–30; Mirk, *Festial*, pp. 76–78; and the surveys in Woolf, “Effect of Typology,” and C. Davidson, *History, Religion, and Violence*, pp. 124–48, esp. 126–31.

Pauperum shows Abraham poised to sacrifice his son immediately to the left of a depiction of Christ on the cross. In the York pageant the point is underlined by the fact that Isaac is not a young child but of the age of Jesus at the time of his ministry and Crucifixion (line 82: “Thyrt yere and more sumdele”). In a city with a high mortality rate (church records show that over the years the pageants were played, deaths exceeded births, with a precipitous decline in population that could not be stemmed by immigration), the loss of a son would have been a potential calamity. The civic predicament was such that here especially the play would have been expected to be particularly compelling — indeed, narrating a terrifying story that, as Søren Kierkegaard would demonstrate in *Fear and Trembling*, pitted the ethical against the higher demands of loyalty to God. The play presents a very human and compelling story, made all the more so in this telling. But the outcome is happy, for Abraham is also the patriarch from whom, through Isaac, both Judaism and Christianity would spring, as indicated in the final speech of the angel that reinforces God’s earlier promise. In the York lectionary, the story of Abraham appears in responsories in the days leading up to Lent.

- 13–20 God has told the patriarch Abraham that his progeny will be like the sands of the sea, and in Genesis 17 has made a covenant with him that includes the rite of circumcision in order to satisfy “the lawe.”
- 14 *telde under a tree*. Compare *Middle English Metrical Paraphrase*: “Abraham was tyllyd under A tre” (ed. Kalén and Ohlander, line 554).
- 15–16 *my seede shulde be multyplyed / Lyke to the gravell of the see*. Compare *Middle English Metrical Paraphrase*: “Ose gravell in the se is multyplyd, / So sall I multiplye thi sede” (ed. Kalén and Ohlander, lines 476–77).
- 29–40 Because she was barren, Sarah gave her handmaid Agar to Abraham as a second wife, and with her he had a son Ishmael, who is only said in the pageant to be handsome. See Genesis 16.
- 65 *ANGELUS*. In the pageant God communicates with Abraham through the angel, his messenger, rather than directly, as in Genesis.
- 71 *lande of Vyssyon*. The “land of vision” will be the place chosen by God where, upon a mountain, the sacrifice, by burning, is to take place (Genesis 22:2). The three-day journey is biblical, as are the servants (line 94) who accompanied Abraham and Isaac.
- 151 *My sone, this wode behoves thee bere*. In iconography, as for example in the *Biblia Pauperum*, Isaac carries the bundle of wood for the sacrifice. Sometimes the wood is bundled into the shape of a cross to underline the typological connection with Christ carrying the cross to the place of his execution.
- 161–62 Isaac becomes increasingly concerned about the lack of a sacrificial animal, especially since clearly Abraham is becoming more and more agitated. At last, at line 188, Abraham can no longer hold back the truth that he is about to sacrifice his own son, and he will do it at God’s command.
- 194–96 Isaac is terrified at the thought of being dismembered and burned, but he nevertheless is willing to allow himself to be sacrificed — just as Jesus, suffering the terror of his Agony in the Garden, will give himself up to his Father’s will, even

- death on the cross. By line 270, Isaac will be deeply fearful and will report that his “flesshe waxis faynte.”
- 212 *My force youre forward to withstande.* As noted above in the headnote to this pageant, at line 82 Isaac is described not as a child but as “sumdele” more than thirty years of age. While differing opinions concerning his age were put forward in the Middle Ages, the reason for depicting Isaac thus is that he “was fygor of Crystys passyon long er he wer borne” (Mirk, *Festival*, p. 78). See Wells, “Age of Isaac”; Woolf, “Effect of Typology,” p. 811; and C. Davidson, *From Creation to Doom*, pp. 52–54. Isaac’s “force” or strength is thus plausibly much greater than his aged father’s.
- 213 *beste that ye me bynde.* In the pageant it is Isaac who suggests that he should be bound. Later, he will ask that a kerchief be placed over his eyes as well (line 288).
- 229 *Nowe kysse me hartely.* The son is asked to show normal reverence for a parent with a kiss, as would be expected of offspring even into adulthood. Isaac later will ask his father for forgiveness for any trespasses he may have done in speech, deeds, “or any waye” (lines 255–58).
- 271 *take youre swerde.* Abraham’s sword is a standard item in iconography, usually shown lifted by him to strike his son on the altar. Yet there is further delay, until at last it must be raised to strike at lines 301–03, when the angel calls to him and orders him to desist. In most examples in the visual arts (e.g., the *Biblia Pauperum*, p. 96), the angel grasps his arm to prevent the sword from striking. In glass, possibly with connections to the York school of glass painting, in the Priory Church at Great Malvern, the angel appears only to be admonishing the patriarch who holds the uplifted sword, but here Abraham has his left hand on the head of Isaac, who is blindfolded and kneeling as in prayer (Rushforth, *Medieval Christian Imagery*, pp. 170–71, fig. 80).
- 304 *Take here a schepe.* The substitute for the son Isaac, in Christian theology mirroring the Son of God, the Lamb of God who will be a substitute for all humankind. In the pageant, the actual sacrifice of the sheep, surely not a live animal but rather a representation that Abraham and his son could pretend to burn, must have been very perfunctory, for at lines 329–32 the father and son are already prepared to return home.
- 365 *Rabek.* For the more complex story of Isaac’s love for and courtship of Rebecca, see Genesis 25.

11. PHARAOH AND MOSES

As the play assigned to the Hosiers, makers of stockings and undergarments, this pageant was also adapted for inclusion in the Towneley manuscript. The Exodus narrative appears among the readings for Lent in the York liturgy, and is considered one of the most important of Old Testament stories. Typologically it was believed to foreshadow the Har-

rowing, as in the *Speculum humanae salvationis*,¹⁹ but in its exposition of release from bondage and tyranny it surely would have resonated with people who felt they were living in this “vale of tears,” the condition of post-lapsarian humankind considered normal and from which only spiritual means can effect release. The story should have been popular in its own right on account of the Red Sea scene, which presumably involved considerable ingenuity in staging; the sea may have been represented by a cloth, as indicated at Coventry by the Smiths’ accounts.²⁰ The Hosiers, a cloth guild, would have been easily able to provide this sort of effect with the help of the Dyers. But it is another effect that is emphasized in the *Ordo paginarum*, which reports Moses’ raising up of the serpent before Pharaoh, apparently in the presence of eight Jews — an act for which he is suspected of witchcraft. God also appears in the burning bush at line 101, and this would presumably demand the use of a pyrotechnic device. In iconography, through a misreading of the Vulgate, Moses appears with horns, which at Lucerne in 1583 were produced by having two hornlike curls on his head.²¹ Moses has horns in a panel in the east window of York Minster that also contains a depiction of the Egyptians drowning in the Red Sea, the latter unfortunately now almost indecipherable and confused.²² The episode of Moses and the receiving of the Ten Commandments is omitted in the York pageant. The biblical source for the pageant is Exodus 2–14. The verse form is a twelve-line stanza common in the York plays.

- 7 *his hayre as elde will asse.* Affirming primogeniture.
- 21–24 The tyrant Pharaoh is accompanied by Consolators, who are his sycophants. Consolator I echoes and elaborates his concern about those who have other allegiances than to him — in other words, the Israelites. This is their role throughout. The term *Consolators* is abbreviated throughout, only once being thus spelled out (at line 219); see discussion in RB, p. 423.
- 41 *Thay come of Joseph.* See Genesis 37–47. While Pharaoh describes Joseph as “worthy to prayse” (line 42) the Israelites are now unwelcome aliens in Egypt and are an oppressed minority, albeit a large one since their numbers have grown to a multitude from the time when Joseph and his brothers arrived. Their numbers are calculated in lines 55–58 as upwards of 300,000 men, aside from women, children, and servants, who are not counted.
- 93–96 Moses is the keeper of his father-in-law Jethro’s sheep after fleeing from Pharaoh (Exodus 3). Jethro is identified as “the priest of Midian” (Exodus 3:1). Moses’ self-banishment was in response to his killing of an Egyptian who was mistreating an Israelite.
- 105 *come noght to nere.* See Exodus 3:5: “Come not nigh hither.” There is no indication that Moses should take off his shoes at this point, as in the biblical account. He is standing before God who has appeared in the burning bush, which he has first seen at line 101.

¹⁹ Wilson and Wilson, *Medieval Mirror*, p. 194.

²⁰ REED: *Coventry*, p. 251.

²¹ Meredith and Tailby, *Staging*, p. 135.

²² French, *York Minster: The Great East Window*, pp. 64–65.

- 147–52 *wande . . . myn entent.* The magical wand or rod that becomes a serpent. For discussion of magic tricks of legerdemain, see Butterworth, *Magic*, though he does not comment on this trick specifically. Moses' rod was noted in 1500 among the possessions of York Minster, but this was probably a representation, not a relic (*Fabric Rolls*, p. 224).
- 154 *lepre.* An emendation since the manuscript reading of *serpent* is clearly wrong (corroborated by Towneley). This effect would have taken less skill than the rod/serpent, but similarly would have depended for its effectiveness on the reaction of those standing by, especially Pharaoh.
- 173 *Ego sum qui sum.* Exodus 3:14; glossed in the following line.
- 209 *To wildernes he walde thei wente.* After their liberation will come the years of wandering in the wilderness before they settle in Israel.
- 219 *warlowe with his wande.* Already Pharaoh sees Moses as a wizard. This is previous to the miracle of the rod/serpent in lines 231–45.
- 251 *God sende sum vengeance sone.* This line introduces the plagues of Egypt, which begin to emerge in the next speech by I Egiptius. The plagues will be rapidly reported with the drama set in motion by Pharoah's duplicity and appearance of relenting from time to time behind a hypocritical front.
- 261–64 *watir . . . Is turned to rede blude.* The first plague.
- 271 *tadys and frosshis.* Plague of toads and frogs. The second plague.
- 273 *myses.* Gnats. The third plague.
- 293 *loppis.* The word is of Scandinavian derivation, meaning “fleas”; so L. T. Smith, who was deeply conversant with Northern dialects (*York Plays*, p. 544). RB suggests “flies” (p. 505). The biblical text describing the fourth plague clearly specifies flies (see Exodus 8:24–31), and it may be presumed that *loppis* either had been adapted in Northern English to signify flies, or that the author or scribe made an error in using the word incorrectly. Fleas of course do not “fly” (line 293). Whatever the case, Towneley uses the same term (*loppys*) and also indicates flying (line 305).
- 295 *beestis lyes dede and dry.* The fifth plague, “very grievous murrain” (Exodus 9:3).
- 315 *poudre.* Powder — i.e., ashes. In Exodus 9:8–11 the ashes were taken up by Moses and allowed to be blown by the wind, causing boils.
- 317 *Like mesellis.* Skin affliction, implying leprosy. The sixth plague.
- 320 *thondour-slayne.* The effect of storm and lightning which destroy vines everywhere. The seventh plague.
- 339 *Wilde wormes.* Locusts, the eighth plague. See Exodus 10:4.
- 343–44 *thre daies . . . So myrke.* Three days of darkness. The ninth plague.
- 345 *grete pestelence.* Terminology reminiscent of the bubonic plague, which, along with other lethal diseases, afflicted York from time to time after 1349. The tenth plague, in Exodus 11–12, afflicting the firstborn children of Egypt.

- 404 The Towneley pageant has a stage direction at approximately this point: *Tunc merget eos mare* ("Then the sea shall drown them" [line 413 s.d.]).
- 406 *Cantemus domino.* Rastall points out that in the York rite this is the incipit of a responsory for matins at Quadragesima and, with a slightly different text, as a tract for the Easter vigil (*Heaven Singing*, p. 237). See Exodus 15:1.

12. THE ANNUNCIATION TO MARY AND THE VISITATION

The long opening monologue in twelve-line stanzas with interpolated Latin quotations by the Doctor serves the purpose of introducing the prophecies of the Incarnation from the Old Testament and is related to the *Ordo Prophetarum* in the liturgical drama. The quotations from the Vulgate in Latin that are included in the text are brief and are glossed in English. John Clerke's notation on the first page that "this matter is newly mayde wherof we have no copy" perhaps refers to revisions in the Doctor's speech that were never entered in the Register. However, since no reference to the Doctor appeared in the *Ordo paginarum*, this speech hence would appear to have been added after 1415. The body of the play treats the Annunciation and the visit to Elizabeth in two scenes, written in eight-line stanzas, with a variant form chosen for the conclusion of the Visitation. These events form the Gospel readings for Wednesday and Friday of the third week in Advent. The pageant was sponsored by the Spicers, a mercantile guild, at one time joined by the metal-working craft of Founders.

- 15 *prophet Amos.* The quotation at line 17 has not been identified.
- 25 *soule fende begyled.* The Incarnation was designed to beguile the beguiler Satan and hence to trick him, thus depriving him of his right to possess all the descendants of Adam. See especially the *Temptation* pageant and explanatory notes in this edition, and additionally, for background though with qualifications, see Marx, *Devil's Rights*, pp. 114–25.
- 26–27 *fedd / Be tyne.* Satan's anger blinds him to the truth, and will continue to do so in the New Testament plays in which he appears.
- 34 *Quoniam in semine . . . etc.* Genesis 22:18.
- 43 *Rorate celi desuper.* The incipit of an Advent introit, from Isaiah 45:8: "Drop down dew, ye heavens, from above, and let the clouds rain the just; let the earth be opened, and bud forth a savior." See the *York Breviary*, 1:47, though it is hard to imagine that this Latin extra-metrical quote and those that follow were sung. The dew was held to represent the Holy Spirit (lines 51–52); compare the famous fifteenth-century lyric "I syng of a myden that is makeles":
 He cam also stylle ther his moder was
 As dew in Apryll, that fallyt on the gras.
 (Brown, ed., *Religious Lyrics*, p. 119)
- 59 *Propter hoc . . . etc.* Isaias 7:14.
- 64 *Ecce virgo concipiett . . . etc.* Isaias 7:14; compare *Liber usualis*, p. 356.

- 71–72 *On David sege.* As a descendant of King David, he will sit on his throne as a Great High Priest who delivers judgment and separates truth from falsehood.
- 73 *Zelus domini faciet hoc.* Isaias 9:7.
- 75–77 Jesus is the Prince of Peace, who brings reconciliation.
- 80–89 *Egredietur virga de Jesse . . . bees borne.* Isaias 11:1. This prophecy is the inspiration for the Jesse tree, which appears frequently in iconography, including very damaged examples in the York parish churches of St. Denys and St. Michael Spurriergate. An early fourteenth-century example in the Minster has a restored Jesse at the bottom, from whose body a vine grows; this vine is the genealogical tree illustrating Christ's lineage. In the center at the top are the Virgin and Jesus, the latter conventionally represented as a Child within the flower (YA, p. 33, and *Inventory of the Historical Monuments*, vol. 5, pls. 52–53 and 62).
- 94 *Ero quasi ros . . . lilium.* Osee 14:6. The attribution to Joel in line 90 is incorrect.
- 97 *lelly floure.* The lily, separating Gabriel and the Virgin at the Annunciation, is part of the standard iconography, which appears, for example, in York parish churches and in the *Bolton Hours* (see YA, p. 44, fig. 9). An example in York Minster glass places a crucifix on the lily, which makes the connection between the Incarnation and the sacrifice on the cross, both of which were believed to have taken place on the same day, March 25 (YA, pp. 39–40).
- 99 *hegh Haly Gaste.* In iconography the dove of the Holy Spirit often accompanies rays of light extending between heaven and the Virgin Mary, but the rather heterodox representation of Jesus' soul as a small nude child also with a cross descending appears in the *Biblia Pauperum* (p. 48) and in the miniature cited above in the *Bolton Hours*, a work associated with the rich Blackburn and Bolton merchant families at York. See lines 190–93.
- 104 *hir clene liffe.* Mary is a perpetual virgin, both before and after the birth of her Son; see, for example, the antiphon *Alma redemptoris mater*: "You who . . . who gave birth to your own sacred Creator and yet remained a virgin afterward as before" (trans. A. Davidson, *Substance and Manner*, pp. 21–22; and see also Raby, *History of Christian-Latin Poetry*, p. 226). *Alma redemptoris mater* is the little clergeon's song sung in Chaucer's Prioress' Tale (*Canterbury Tales* VII[B²]518ff). Mary is the *porta clausa* of Ezekiel 44:2, widely accepted as prophetic by medieval theologians, including St. Thomas Aquinas (see Gibson, "Porta haec clausa erit," pp. 143–50).
- 114 *Godhed, maydenhed, and manne.* Asserting Mary's role as the Mother of God (*Theotokos*), as affirmed by the Council of Ephesus in 431 C.E. See especially the discussion of the Virgin Mary by Gibson and her illustration of a devotional image of Mary that, opened, contains a Trinity with Jesus on the cross in her womb (*Theater of Devotion*, pp. 137–76; esp. p. 145, fig. 6.2).
- 119–20 *Non auferetur . . . est.* Genesis 49:10a. An introit or responsory.
- 125 *Et ipse erit expectacio gencium.* Genesis 19:10b.

- 134–35 *Ecce mitto angelum . . . ante te.* Mark 1:2.
- 140–41 *Ego quidem baptizo . . . spiritu sancto.* Matthew 3:11. Responsory verse.
- 157 s.d. *Tunc cantat angelus.* Late stage direction by John Clerke, referring to the *Ave Maria* (Luke 1:28); the English paraphrase beginning in line 158 may not have been sung in earlier years. The Latin chant may have been added at some point, possibly as a replacement for the English text.
- 158 *Hayle.* On the gestures involved in this scene, see Palmer, “Gestures of Greeting,” esp. pp. 130–34.
- 165 s.d. *Tunc cantat angelus, Ne timeas, Maria.* See Luke 1:30. The English paraphrase follows. If the Latin chant was used, possibly here only a short segment would have been adopted, with the angel then speaking the remainder of the item in English.
- 172 *bodword.* The message that Gabriel brings concerns the gift of God’s grace extended to Mary in her pregnancy with the Son of God. The Annunciation will be the first of the Five Joys of the Virgin.
- 190 *The Holy Gast in thee sall lichte.* Based on Luke 1:35. The moment of conception, promised above, seems to have followed at the end of this speech. The event is conventionally depicted by means of rays extending down from heaven, where the Father is positioned. In some cases pyrotechnics were used, as in the famous Florentine *Annunciation* of 1439 in which “a fire comes from God and with a noise of uninterrupted thunder passes down the three ropes towards the middle of the scaffold . . . rising up again in flames and rebounding down once more, so that the whole church was filled with sparks” (Meredith and Tailby, *Staging*, p. 245). A stage direction in the N-Town collection specifies that “the Holy Gost discendit with three bemys to oure Lady, the Sone of the Godhed nest with three bemys to the Holy Gost, the Fadyr godly with three bemys to the Sone. And so entre all three to here bosom” (ed. Spector, Play 11, line 292 s.d.). The Conception was considered a most significant event for all of history, for this was the time when the Incarnation was effected (see C. Davidson, *From Creation to Doom*, p. 68).
- 198–205 *Thou aungell, blissid messanger / Of Goddis will I holde me payde . . . saide.* In this speech Mary accepts the gift of the Son. The Conception has occurred.
- 206 The beginning of the *Visitation* portion of the pageant in which Mary visits her cousin Elizabeth, who is pregnant with John the Baptist. This scene also was popular in the visual arts as a devotional image — e.g., a fine sculpture in the Victoria and Albert Museum (Cheetham, *English Medieval Alabasters*, p. 176, no. 103) — though there is little extant evidence for York (*YA*, pp. 43 and 45).
- 218–21 *Blissid be thou anely . . . nere.* Derived from the *Ave Maria*.
- 253 s.d. *Tunc cantat Magnificat.* The pageant ended with the singing of the *Magnificat*, or much more likely a portion of it; see Luke 1:40–55: “My soul doth magnify the Lord,” etc. Technically Mary should be the singer; the actor was most likely a boy soprano.

13. JOSEPH'S TROUBLES ABOUT MARY

The portion of the entry retained in the *Ordo paginarum* emphasizes Joseph's wish in his shame to send Mary away without public notice, and Gabriel's message to them (actually, in the play to Joseph only) to order them depart for Bethlehem. The text in the Register, however, makes much more of Joseph's confrontation of Mary and his accusation concerning the paternity of the child. He recounts the miraculous happening in the Temple—the flowering of the rod that he had been given—and knows about the prophecy that a virgin shall conceive, yet he cannot believe that this can possibly apply to him. The comedy involved in presenting Joseph as an old and impotent man (see line 196: "Thase games fra me are gane") emphasizes the anguish of his disbelief. In this he is much less the irascible old carpenter encountered in the Joseph of the N-Town plays. Tom Flanigan points out that, "in dramatic terms, his frustration is partially attributable to Mary's exasperating reticence."²³ But believing himself to be beguiled, he is, as Mary responds, himself "begiled" (line 214). Suggested by two biblical verses only (Matthew 1:19–20), the story of Joseph's doubts had been expanded and popularized in the *Protevangelium* and those later sources which the author would have had at hand, including the *Meditations* and chapter 5 of Nicholas Love's adaptation, *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*, that would easily have been available.²⁴ As the second Eve who is to play an essential role in reversing the Fall, Mary is of course exemplary in her chastity, and she was the universal object of devotion in the medieval city of York.²⁵ *Joseph's Troubles*, written in part in unique ten-line stanzas and, in lines 79–166, in eleven-line stanzas, was the responsibility of the Pewterers and Founders, whose craftsmanship involved the production of tin-alloy utensils and badges.²⁶ The Founders may also have worked in lead.

- 1–20 The beginning of a long lament. Joseph, returning to Mary after an absence, emphasizes how tired and weak he is. In the play, he likely was given a crutch, as frequently in iconography (e.g., the *Bolton Hours*, fol. 36). In the Coventry Shearmen and Taylors' pageant, Joseph by way of contrast simply returns, whereupon he discovers that Mary is with child and enters into a short dialogue with her prior to his vision of the angel, who will affirm her virginity. In the York play, he already knows of the pregnancy, and this informs his sour mood in the opening monologue.
- 21–40 Joseph's recounting of the episode in the Temple in which he is recognized as one who is chosen to marry by the miracle of the flowering rod. The scene appears in glass possibly by the York school of glass painters in a window at Great Malvern (Rushforth, *Medieval Christian Imagery*, p. 346, fig. 164).

²³ Flanigan, "Everyman or Saint," p. 33.

²⁴ James, ed., *Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 44; *Meditations*, trans. Ragusa and Green, pp. 26–30; Love, *Mirror*, pp. 34–37. For discussion, see Woolf, *English Mystery Plays*, pp. 169–73.

²⁵ For comparison with the same episode in the Towneley collection, see Lyle, *Original Identity of the York and Towneley Cycles*, pp. 54–56.

²⁶ See Blair and Ramsay, eds., *English Medieval Industries*, pp. 66–77.

- 43 *My yonge wiffe is with childe full grete.* According to the *Protevangelium* she is six months pregnant at the time of Joseph's return, but the York dramatist places her even later in her pregnancy. The York pageant emphasizes that this would be a matter of very great shame and would mark Joseph as a cuckold.
- 65 *why ne walde som yong man take her?* A suggestion of the old man with a young wife scenario of fabliaux; see Chaucer's January and May in the Merchant's Tale. The *Meditations* give Mary's age at the time of her marriage to Joseph as fourteen (p. 14).
- 66–70 *over ga hir . . . mylde.* He considers abandoning her in the forest, but fears that "wilde bestes might sla hir." His conflicted attitude is expressed by line 70: "She is so meke and mylde." The *Protevangelium* had reported that Joseph was contemplating letting "her go from me privily," which merely echoes the statement in Matthew 1:19, but the idea that legal ramifications are involved was also introduced there (James, ed., *Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 44). In line 49, he had said "The lawe standis harde agayns me" (see Deuteronomy 22).
- 81 *Sho sittis at hir boke full faste prayand.* An iconographic commonplace. The prayer-book either rests on her lap or on a lectern in many depictions of the Annunciation; there are useful examples in alabaster carvings (see Cheetham, *English Medieval Alabasters*, nos. 91–98 and 100).
- 108 *Say, maidens, how es this?* Mary's housemaids are there to provide certainty concerning Mary's celibacy, and hence are designed to counter what might be called the fabliaux effect of the scene. However, the mention of the visit of the angel will serve to increase Joseph's doubts and to reveal his extreme anxiety as he is about to confront Mary herself. The handmaidens are not noted in the *Ordo paginarum* and thus were in all likelihood added sometime between 1415 and c. 1463–77.
- 257–75 The angel of the Annunciation, Gabriel, comes to Joseph in a dream (see Matthew 1:20) to explain the Incarnation and to convince him of Mary's innocence. In York art the scene appears in a printed Missal of 1533 (*Missale secundum usum ecclesie Eboracensis*, sig. B7), but this is a book that had been produced in Paris (see YA, p. 45). Gabriel orders that Joseph, as the espoused husband, should call the child *Jesus*. Consistent with cultural practice, the playwright's assumption seems to have been that the espousal ceremony had legally made them like husband and wife, verified by Joseph's taking Mary into his household to live, but not yet confirmed by the Church's marriage rite.
- 279 *Brynge hir to Bedlem this ilke nyght.* Gabriel will thus provide motivation for the journey to Bethlehem; nothing is said about Caesar Augustus' census that would require Mary and Joseph to travel to the "city of David" (Luke 2:1–5).
- 301 *Slike poure wede.* Emphasis on the poverty of the Holy Family is conventional, though representations of them in images and other media often depicted them wearing rich garments, even in Mary's case, for example, wearing a gown lined with ermine in a window of c. 1430 at All Saints, North Street (Gee, "Painted Glass of All Saints' Church," pl. XXXII).

14. THE NATIVITY

The earlier history of this pageant, dramatizing the third Joy of Mary, is problematic in part on account of erasures in the *Ordo paginarum*, which in its present form also suggests a direct connection with the next pageant of the Offering of the Shepherds.²⁷ Were these two plays presented as a single drama in tandem, as appears to have been the case with the Masons' and Goldsmiths' Herod and Magi pageants? There is also reference in the *Ordo paginarum* to a midwife, following the *Protevangelium* a common character in earlier narratives of the Nativity but missing in the extant text. Further, the *Nativity* is based in part on the iconography introduced by the *Revelations* of St. Birgitta (Bridget) of Sweden that was prevalent only after c. 1420, as, for example, in an illustration in the *Speculum humanae salvationis*.²⁸ Its biblical source is mainly Luke 2:6–7.²⁹ That the play as it stands still was not a final version is suggested by the entry in the civic records in 1567 which specifies that John Clerke is to enter into the Register plays not previously included along with “of the Tylars the latr part of their pageant.”³⁰ The verse form is a seven-line stanza. The Tile Thatchers who produced the play were craftsmen involved in the building trades, specializing mainly in the tile roofs that were the norm in late medieval York.

- 1–28 Seeking such a desolate location for the night’s lodging was necessary on account of overcrowding in the city of Bethlehem, though the biblical explanation for the lack of space in any of the inns — that is, the census allegedly ordered by the emperor — is not cited. The stable is primitive, with a broken roof, which would have appealed to the sponsoring guild, and walls that have fallen down. The scene seems very much like a Flemish painting such as the Dijon Nativity by the Master of Flemalle to which Robinson has called attention (*Studies in Fifteenth-Century Stagecraft*, p. 124 and fig. 1).
- 39–44 *wolde I sayne we had sum light . . . bryng.* It is “right myrke” (the traditional time is midnight), and Joseph will go for a light and will also look for a source of “fewell,” presumably wood for a fire to heat the cold stable, but not to enlist the help of midwives as in earlier versions of the story. Joseph, having returned, holds a candle in the Dijon Nativity and in some other representations of the birth of Jesus such as a stained glass panel, possibly by a York glass painter, at Great Malvern (Rushforth, *Medieval Christian Imagery*, p. 278, fig. 136).
- 50–56 The birth of Jesus, as described by St. Birgitta (*Life and Selected Revelations*, p. 203; Cornell, *Iconography of the Nativity*, pp. 1–15). Mary would have been kneeling here with her hands held in a gesture of prayer, as suggested by St. Birgitta. She presumably remained in this posture through the recitation of the Hail lyrics that follow. The birth has been painless, for Jesus has been conceived without sin, and the Child appears as if miraculously on the ground before her. She only picks up the Child at lines 64–66, and wraps him in a “poure wede.”

²⁷ See RB, pp. 426–27.

²⁸ Wilson and Wilson, *Medieval Mirror*, p. 156.

²⁹ See especially Robinson, *Studies in Fifteenth-Century Stagecraft*, pp. 60–80.

³⁰ REED: *York*, 1:351.

- 78 *what light is this.* Joseph's amazement at the radiance from the Child which overwhelms the light of the candle he is carrying. The source of the light is the aureole surrounding the infant, who will be the light of the world; see Birgitta, *Life and Selected Revelations*, p. 203. At Barcelona in 1453, a tableau vivant of the Nativity presented Jesus as an infant, nude and "glowing with light" (Meredith and Tailby, *Staging*, p. 72). Special lighting effects are surveyed by Butterworth, *Theatre of Fire*, pp. 55–78.
- 91 *this foode.* In addition to the literal meaning (i.e., the actual Child) here, King supports a "sacramental reading" that links the Child with the food of the Eucharist, particularly appropriate for a pageant presented on Corpus Christi (*York Mystery Cycle*, p. 103). A Eucharistic reading was previously suggested by Robinson, who cites the carol "Wylam northe of York" that identified the Child as "blyesful fowde" (*Studies in Fifteenth-Century Stagecraft*, p. 77; Greene, ed., *Early English Carols*, no. 36). This would have been particularly appropriate in the play if, as King suggests, the newborn was taken up from the ground in a gesture reminiscent of the Eucharistic liturgy.
- 97 *a starne to be shynyng.* Conventional imagery and, as noted, consistent with prophecy (Numbers 24:17), but certainly part of the stage set.
- 106 *floure fairest of hewe.* Compare Isaias 11:1.
- 108–12 *Hayle . . . floure.* Hail lyrics, as in the Magi and Purification plays. The lines express reverence for Jesus as Creator, King, and Savior. He is the one, the *Mirour of Mans Salvacioune* explains, who at his birth was given to the world as "a soverein preste" whose flesh was like a "shelle" in which "was hidde his deitee" (lines 1078–80). Joseph's lines echo the idea, implicit in the Christmas Vigil liturgy, of the coming into time of the Redeemer who will judge the world, as King points out (*York Mystery Cycle*, p. 98), but these lyrics also are reminiscent of the texts of prayers designed to be spoken at the time of the elevation at Mass as an affirmation of God's presence (see Robbins, "Levation Prayers," and Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, pp. 155–63).
- 122–33 *beholde thes beestis mylde . . . warm hym with.* In Love's *Mirror*, the ox and the ass in the stable kneel down and place their mouths on the manger so as to warm the Child since they understood that on account of the cold he "hade nede to be hatte in that manere" (p. 37). These two animals are conventional in iconography (see, for example, the *Bolton Hours*, fol. 36) and are derived from the Hebrew text and the Septuagint version of Habakkuk 3:2 ("in the midst of two beasts will thou be known"), Isaias 1:3 ("The ox knoweth his owner, and the ass his master's crib"), Pseudo-Matthew, and other sources (see Schiller, *Iconography*, 1:60–61).
- 149 *My God, my Lorde, my Sone so free.* Robinson (*Studies in Fifteenth-Century Stagecraft*, p. 74) notes that these words echo St. Birgitta's *Revelations*: "Bene veneris deus meus, dominus meus et filius meus" (see Birgitta, *Life and Selected Revelations*, p. 203).

15. THE OFFERING OF THE SHEPHERDS

Like the previous play, the *Offering of the Shepherds* appears to have been rewritten after the compilation of the *Ordo paginarum* in 1415 and before the pageant was entered in the Register. In this case, however, the *Ordo paginarum* is consistent with the structure of the play aside from the missing leaf, first noticed by Beadle, which contained the angel's announcement of the newly born Child Jesus (after line 55).³¹ Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the pageant, however, is the connection, not fully understood by scholars, with the *Shrewsbury Fragments*, for there are parallels with the lines of the third shepherd in the *Officium Pastorum* in Shrewsbury, MS. Shrewsbury School VI, fols. 38r–39r.³² The biblical source in Luke 2:8–20 forms the ultimate basis for the pageant, but the story also was known through many other sources as well as from depictions in the visual arts. The one example from York that illustrates the Adoration is from the sixteenth century: a carved staircase panel from the Bar Convent.³³ There are, however, two instances of the Angel appearing to the shepherds in glass in the Minster and a fine full-page woodcut in the York *Book of Hours* printed on the Continent in 1517 which shows one shepherd falling, another on one knee, and a third shielding his face at the appearance of the angel, who holds a scroll.³⁴ Pamela King calls attention to the reading of a lesson recounting the event from the Venerable Bede in the York liturgy for Christmas Day.³⁵ The pageant, in a seven-line stanza except for the three beginning and three ending stanzas that have a common twelve-line form, was the responsibility of the Chandlers, who supplied the wax candles so very widely used in religious rites in pre-Reformation York.

- 5–12 *Oure forme fadres . . . by borne.* The first shepherd knows the prediction of the Patriarchs and Prophets that a prince shall be born in Bethlehem, and the other two will also prove themselves knowledgeable in this respect. They are thus not ordinary shepherds but rather in a symbolic sense also representative of spiritual shepherds, the clergy, who are leaders in maintaining the adoration of the Child in the liturgy. Yet they do simultaneously maintain their identity as shepherds, including their traditional musical ability, though their singing is less competent than the angel's song. Shepherds often appear with bagpipes (see Rastall, *Heaven Singing*, pp. 349–50).
- 15 *A sterne shulde schyne.* The account in Luke does not include the star, which is borrowed from the Magi story, but the reference by the second shepherd to "lightfull lemes" shining in darkness (line 16) is consistent with the medieval tradition; see, for example, the star to which the angel points in the upper right of the miniature in the *Holkham Bible Picture Book*, fol. 13.

³¹ Beadle, "Unnoticed Lacuna."

³² See Davis, ed., *Non-Cycle Plays*, pp. 1–2.

³³ *Inventory of the Historical Monuments*, vol. 3, pl. 42.

³⁴ YA, pp. 53–54.

³⁵ King, *York Mystery Cycle*, p. 104, citing the *York Breviary*, 1:83.

- 23–24 *als clene maye / As ever she was byforne.* Again an assertion of Mary's virginity both before and after the birth of Jesus. King cites a processional for Christmas Day: "You gave birth to your Maker, and you remain a virgin eternally" (*York Mystery Cycle*, p. 99, quoting *York Manual and Processional*, p. 138, in translation).
- 31 *The force of the feende to felle in fighte.* A glance at the Last Day of history, when Satan will finally and permanently be overcome, but also relevant to the everyday struggle against temptation.
- 37 *Hudde.* The second shepherd is called by name.
- 39 *Colle.* The first shepherd also calls the third shepherd by name.
- 42 *swilke a sight.* This would appear to refer to the star, not yet the angel or angels, though a *selcouthe sight* nevertheless.
- after 55 The missing leaf would have presented the coming of the angel, whose song was the *Gloria*, undoubtedly sung by a professional singer from one of the parish churches or the Minster since subsequent notice by the shepherds will be indicative of a higher level of skill. In the Shrewsbury *Officium Pastorum*, the third shepherd comments on the "nobull noyes" made by "an angel bright" (lines 16–17). The text of the *Gloria* is liturgical, differing from the Vulgate version in Luke 2:14 which has *altissimis* instead of *excelsis*, and would presumably have been sung from musical notation so would require an experienced church musician. A *Gloria*, simply represented by an incipit, from Chester in London, British Library, MS. Harley 2124 is reproduced in Rastall, *Heaven Singing*, pl. 7, though in the pageant a liturgical chant from the York service books would have been used. There is good reason to suspect that instruments might have been included since in iconography they appear frequently in representations of heavenly music. The first shepherd, in saying he can imitate "itt alls wele as hee" (line 60), is surely exaggerating his ability, though when joined by the others (as appears to be the case, and if so he must have been a lead singer) he is able, with their help, to command "a mery note" (line 65).
- 67 *I have so crakid in my throte.* "Crakid" may be little more than a generic term for singing here, but it nevertheless suggests that the shepherds sang harshly, with "sharp, sudden burst[s] of sound" (Carter, *Dictionary*, p. 102). The effect on the second shepherd's throat, suggested also by his dry lips, indicates a tight-throat singing technique.
- 78 *fynde that frely foode.* Compare Shrewsbury *Officium Pastorum*: "To fynde that frely fode" (line 37).
- 84–85 *myrthe and melody / With sange.* The shepherds sing in procession as they cross to where the Child and his parents are located. No indication in the York text is present to suggest the nature of the music, and the staging is not clarified either.
- 92–95 The third shepherd reveals that the angel had told them the Child should be found between the "two bestis tame," and this would presumably have been a spoken addition to his lost song on the leaf missing from the playtext.

- 103 *belle of tynne*. English shepherds used sheep bells to help locate their herds, but this must be a smaller bell, attached to a “baren” or poor brooch. Bells were considered to be a useful defense against the devil.
- 112 *Two cobill notis upon a bande*. Hazelnuts on a string, probably as a bracelet.
- 124 *horne spone*. A large spoon, designated as to size (large enough to hold forty peas). Spoons frequently appear in iconography in association with the infant Jesus; for discussion, see Ishii, “Spoon and the Christ Child.” The third shepherd’s gift to the Child in the Shrewsbury *Officium Pastorum* is an even larger horn spoon, which “may herbar an hundrith pese” (line 44). This speech (lines 39–49) and the third shepherd’s at York are nearly identical except for Shrewsbury’s “dayntesc” instead of York’s “novelté” and the addition of two final lines at York.
- 131 *make mirthe as we gange*. *Mirthe*, in this context, simply suggests singing; see Dutka, *Music*, p. 100. A partly erased addition by John Clerke, read by Beadle under ultraviolet light (RB, p. 428), suggests that a conclusion to the play was wanting. However, it is possible that Clerke was noting only a missing final song, already cited in the final line of text, and not any further matter.

16. HEROD QUESTIONING THE THREE KINGS AND THE OFFERING OF THE MAGI

In the *Ordo paginarum* of 1415 the pageant of how the three Magi, following the star, appear in Herod’s court and then present their gifts to the Christ Child is attributed to the Goldsmiths and Masons, though in that document the guild identifications and description of the play were at some time altered and hence are difficult to interpret. In the second list of c. 1422 in the *York Memorandum Book A/Y*, these guilds seem to be responsible for different plays, with further doubt introduced since the reference to the Masons is entered in a different hand and interlined. In the Register the guilds’ plays are entered separately with a portion copied twice. Lucy Toulmin Smith printed them as separate plays, but Beadle has described how, probably in 1432 or thereabouts, they had been revised to create a single drama that could be performed on two pageant wagons representing Herod’s court and the scene of the Holy Infant, the Masons then being given the responsibility for the former. Beadle’s argument is convincing in part also since the alliterative verse forms in the first fifty-six lines likewise argue for composition at about this time, with the remainder utilizing a familiar twelve-line stanza representing older strata in the text. In its present state, the play in the Register is only representative of how it was staged between c. 1432 and not long after c. 1470, since by 1477 the Masons were instead given responsibility for the Purification.³⁶ Information is lacking about the Masons’ portion of the drama between 1477 and 1561, when its “pageant of Herod inquyryng of the three kynges for the child Jesu” was given to the Minstrels; however, the earlier sponsorship was then still remembered as being formerly “brought forth by the late Masons.”³⁷ The Masons were much employed about York, especially on the city churches and the Minster, until the 1530s, which more or less marked the end of church building in York on account of the Reformation. The Goldsmiths,

³⁶ REED: *York*, 1:115.

³⁷ REED: *York*, 1:334.

who tended to live and work in the liberties, would have been uniquely able to supply the kings' crowns and other touches of gold signifying royalty, including the first Magi's gift. The Epiphany, the manifestation of the Godhead incarnate to the gentile princes of the world, is celebrated in the West on January 6; the play follows the narrative outlined in the Gospel lesson for that day (Matthew 2:1–12).

- 1–22 Herod reveals himself to be the typical ranting tyrant, the ridiculousness of what he says underlined by various claims such as his alleged ability to control the winds. In lines 17–18, he insists he is sixty-seven times “fairer of face and fressher on folde,” which is highly unlikely to have been the way he was represented in the pageant. He seems to be directing his claim to fair appearance against those who have the right to use heraldic red, a color common in coats of arms and represented as valued beyond the financial resources of ordinary people. King calls attention to the antiphon *Herode iratus* at the feast of the Massacre of the Innocents in which Herod precipitates an overflowing of anger resulting in terrifying atrocities (*York Mystery Cycle*, p. 111, citing *York Breviary*, 1:118 and 147). To symbolize such wrath at Beverley the actor playing Herod apparently appeared in blackface (Leach, “Some English Plays and Players,” p. 213), and a dark-faced Herod appears in thirteenth-century painted glass in the York Minster Chapter House (YA, p. 54, fig. 12). The reasons for his angry disposition are outlined in the *Stanzaic Life*, culminating in his fear that as an earthly monarch he will be destroyed by a heavenly king (pp. 63–64).
- 23–26 *All kynges to youre croune . . . fro light.* Herod's soldier-retainers are consummate flatterers, but here what they say has immediate meaning for the encounter with the three kings who will shortly meet with the tyrant. In the following lines Herod will assert his supremacy, threatened as he is by any challenge to his authority. He remains the villainous tyrant of the liturgical drama (for the *Officium Stellae* and Fleury *Herod*, see Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2:59–100), but since he is not restrained by the decorum of liturgical drama he can demonstrate much broader and more inappropriate gestures and loud speech. In his pride he thus serves as a foil to the gentle Mary and her infant Son, who represent peace and humility as they also are strong beyond anything that Herod can imagine, since theirs is the power that has formed the cosmos and continues to sustain all things. In stained glass in the church of St. Michael Spurriergate, Herod has been given a crown with a devil emerging from it (Skey, “Herod's Demon Crown”), an accouterment that well might also have appeared as part of his costume in this play on the feast of Corpus Christi. See also the discussion of masks for such characters in Twycross and Carpenter, *Masks and Masking*, pp. 216–20.
- 57–90 Beginning the Goldsmith's contribution to the pageant, the three kings are introduced as directly opposed to proud Herod. Entering from different directions, they praise God as the author of everlasting life. They are following the brilliant star stationary in the east that will stand over the place where Jesus has been born. Jacobus de Voragine's *Golden Legend*, citing Fulgentius, indicates that the star, instead of being “fixed in the firmament” was “suspended at a level of the air close to earth” and “was brighter than other stars, so bright indeed that sunlight could not dim it” (1:81). The same source mentions that when Jesus was born, the star

appeared in the shape of “a most beautiful child over whose head a cross gleamed” (1:80), iconography that has been traced to the Book of Seth in the fourth century (Trexler, *Journey of the Magi*, p. 27). The Child appears in the star in the Coventry Shearmen and Taylors’ pageant (line 536; *Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*, p. 99). In the York pageant, the star would have been required to be suspended at a high point above the Goldsmith’s wagon stage where it would be clearly seen by the audience, and it would need also to disappear over Herod’s court (see, for example, Mirk, *Festial*, p. 49). Its reappearance may have been produced, as in the York liturgical *Magi* play of 1220–25, by introducing a second star (*REED: York*, 1:1), presumably shining when the Magi depart from the tyrant’s court. The kings know, if they are a little vague about it, what they are looking for, and they are grateful for their meeting so that they may travel together. Their names are not specified in the pageant, but the *Golden Legend* identifies them as Gaspar, Baltasar, and Melchior.

- 109 *offelashippe are we fayne*. Their meeting is fortuitous. They represent friendship, as opposed to the bully Herod who can have no real friends, and hence look forward to the sense of community that should exist among Christians — and should be reinforced by the Peace in the Mass when the pax brede or *osculatorium* is passed (see McLachlan, “Liturgical Vessels and Implements,” p. 420).
- 119–24 *Sir Herowde is kyng . . . drede*. They will ask for “his wille and his warande” in order to travel safely — in other words, the equivalent of a modern visa. In the Coventry Shearmen and Taylors’ pageant, Herod extravagantly offers a “pase-porte for a hundred deyis” (line 615, p. 102).
- 129ff. The action returns to Herod’s court as the Magi approach. Herod reveals himself to be a sadist, torturer, murderer, and, significantly, deceiver. In this he will be encouraged by the Consolators.
- 157 *Mahounde, my god*. Stereotypically, Mohammed is idolatrously worshiped and in league with Satan.
- 189–91 *Whedirward, in the develis name . . . bune in bande*. This must have been spoken as an aside, and so too the lines of the Consolators. Similarly, lines 235–46 are asides, which the kings should not hear.
- 215–34 Recitation of the prophecies of Christ’s coming by Balaam, Isaias, and Hosea.
- 215–16 *Balaham saide a starne shulde spryng / Of Jacob kynde*. Echo of the Epiphany sequence, portion sung on the second day of the season (see King, *York Mystery Cycle*, p. 114, citing *York Missal*, 1:32).
- 260 *Ye be bygilyd*. Spoken as soon as the kings have departed. Herod and his evil counsellors will, however, be the ones beguiled — another instance of the beguiler beguiled, an important theme in the York cycle.
- 268 *And playe us in som othir place*. The Masons are now free to move their pageant wagon and cast to the next station, which means that it would be placed forward, before the Goldsmiths’ wagon, on the pageant route.

- 272 s.d. *Harrode passeth and the three kynges commyth agayn.* At this point the Masons depart, and the Goldsmiths take up the remainder of the pageant.
- 285 *Whame seke ye, syrs.* Spoken by Mary's handmaiden and echoing the *Quem queritis* of the Easter *Visitatio sepulchri*, which is there spoken by the angel.
- 303 *gifis of gud aray.* They show the gifts they have brought. Love's *Mirror* states that they "offred and leide here giftes before him" upon a cloth before his feet (p. 44).
- 307–08 *for honnoure and elde, / Brother, ye shall begynne.* Showing the required deference to the eldest, who will present his gift and worship the Child first. In iconography, this is usually quite obvious, with the eldest, who is kneeling, having a long beard, and the youngest, still beardless, standing where he will be seen to be the last to present his gift. For an example, see the *Biblia Pauperum*, p. 52, but the iconography is ubiquitous. Among several York examples, see the painted glass in a window in All Saints, North Street (Gee, "Painted Glass of All Saints' Church," pl. XXIIa), and the Bowet Window in the Minster (YA, pp. 54–55, fig. 13). The king who is kneeling and presenting a gift invariably has removed his crown, and in the Bowet Window the second king is beginning to take his off in preparation for presenting his gift.
- 309–20 *Hayle . . . I pray thee.* The first king speaks a set of Hail lyrics, as will the others; compare the *Nativity*, lines 107–12. Jesus has come into time to give protection from the fiend and to unbind people from sin and hell — a suggestion of the power of the keys, the ability to bind and loose sins, later delegated to St. Peter and subsequently to the Church.
- 313 *marc us thi men.* To be marked (sealed) as Christ's own forever, normally in the baptismal rite.
- 319 *golde that is grettest of price.* Traditionally the first king's gift, an appropriate tribute to a king (see Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 1:83). In the window at All Saints, North Street, the gift is a gold cup. Love's *Mirror*, praising Mary's devotion to poverty, says that she gave the gold and other gifts "al to pore men" (p. 45).
- 321 *foode that thy folke fully may fede.* The word "foode" signifies *child*, but here is a pun since the infant in this case will also become the spiritually nourishing food of the Eucharist.
- 328 *Als the gleme in the glasse.* As the miraculous conception has taken place, so then his birth also happens in a way that will not to disturb Mary's virginity. In depictions of the Annunciation in some Flemish paintings, the beam of light representing the coming down of the Holy Ghost passes through a glass window on its way to the Virgin (Schiller, *Iconography*, 1:49), often to her right ear, to emphasize by this means the major Epiphany theme of the Word become Flesh (Scott, *Later Gothic Manuscripts*, figs. 204, 209, 346, and 448). See also the poems cited by Gray, *Themes and Images*, pp. 100–01.
- 331 *In sens to thi servis.* The second gift, explained in the *Golden Legend* as symbolizing sacrifice (Jacobus de Voragine, 1:83), foreshadowing the Crucifixion but also indicative of Christ's role as the Great High Priest.

- 334 *For our boote shall thou be bounden and bett.* In the course of the Passion, preparatory to the actual Crucifixion. In Love's *Mirror*, the kings prepared to leave by kissing Jesus' feet and hand — and the infant then blessed them (pp. 44–45). The kneeling king kissing the Child's feet appears in Italian art (see Trexler, *Journey of the Magi*, pp. 99 and 112, figs. 22 and 28), and the infant holding up his hand in blessing is common (see, for example, *YA*, pp. 49–50).
- 341–42 *sen thy body beryed shal be, / This mirre will I giffe to thi gravyng.* Myrrh, used for burial, foreshadows Christ's death and burial.
- 357ff *For solas ser now may we synge.* The kings possibly did engage in song as they processed away from the Bethlehem site, but there is no indication of what they sang. Processions were an important part of the Epiphany ceremonies. However, Rastall believes this reference to singing is merely metaphorical (*Heaven Singing*, pp. 45–46). Instead of then returning to Herod, the kings discover they are very tired, and, at the suggestion of the Third King, decide to “reste a thrawe” (line 365). In depictions in the visual arts, the kings retain their crowns as they sleep.
- 369–80 The vision of the angel, whose warning against returning to Herod's court will be heeded; they will flee to their own countries.

17. THE PURIFICATION OF THE VIRGIN

The Purification pageant is misplaced in the Register, from which it was initially omitted, very likely, according to Beadle, because it was not being played when the manuscript was assembled,³⁸ though it was to be taken up by the Masons, with financial assistance from the Laborers, in 1477.³⁹ The *Ordo paginarum* supplies proof that it was being produced by the religious guild associated with St. Leonard's Hospital in 1415, and at that time its dramatis personae included a midwife and two of Simeon's sons not present in the pageant text as we have it. At some time roles for the Presbyter and an angel were added. The pageant was not to be entered until John Clerke was assigned to do so in 1567, when it was given to the Laborers.⁴⁰ Then it was copied into the Register out of order, immediately following the Emmaus pageant. There is a reference to it, partly erased, at the location in the Register where it should have appeared.⁴¹ The inconsistency in the stanza forms may be attributed to changes as the play changed hands and was passed down, finally being subjected to some modernization by John Clerke as well. The Masons seem to have remained the principal guild producing the pageant in the sixteenth century until when, after the 1530s, their fortunes declined on account of the halt in ecclesiastical construction and the poverty of the city. As noted, the Laborers had been drawn in to give support, but what role the Hatmakers played is unclear, as Beadle observes.⁴² The Purification was commemorated on Candlemas (February 2), one

³⁸ See RB, p. 435.

³⁹ REED: *York*, 1:115.

⁴⁰ REED: *York*, 1:351.

⁴¹ RB, p. 436.

⁴² RB, p. 437.

of the major feasts of the late medieval Church, but it is also important to remember that the “churching” of women following childbirth was a practice that was maintained as late as the 1662 Book of Common Prayer, which retained most features of the medieval English Sarum rite. The woman was expected to wear a white veil, as likely was done by the actor playing Mary in the pageant. The play essentially follows the account in Luke 2:22–38 and other sources. It conflates the Purification ritual with that of the Presentation, which in Jewish tradition was a different ceremony.⁴³

- 1–56 The long speech by the Presbyter returns to the Creation and to the giving of the law to lapsarian humanity, and then proceeds to cite the rule on the purification of women required by Leviticus 12. Conception “having received seed” and subsequent childbearing result in a state of defilement for the woman. She will remain impure for forty days (longer for girl children), after which the purification ritual is specified. The “beistes good” (line 26) required for the ceremony were a dove and a lamb for sacrifice, or, if on account of poverty she is not able to provide the lamb, two doves may be brought to the priest of the law. Lines 53–56 indicate that the Presbyter is the one who will receive Mary and the Child at the Temple in Jerusalem. His initial speech shows signs of being patched onto the beginning of the play to identify the location at the Temple and to provide context.
- 5 *In nombur, weight, and mesure.* See Wisdom 11:21.
- 57–86 The widow and prophetess Anna, now in her eighties, has been living in the Temple and predicting the coming of the one who will be “the redempcion of Israel” (Luke 2:38, quoted in line 184). Her appearance in the story normally would come after the introduction of Simeon. Here she is the one to introduce him.
- 76 *The well of mekeness.* Mary is represented as a fountain, filled with grace and a conduit of grace to believers (see Gray, *Themes and Images*, p. 89). Pseudo-Matthew had placed Mary’s first encounter with the angel of the Annunciation at a well (James, ed., *Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 74).
- 91 *I ame wayke and all unwelde.* Simeon’s lament lays great stress on his age, presumably as a centenarian, and his weakness; he is only holding onto life in the hope of seeing the Messiah, as the prophets have predicted (see lines 107–18). The Holy Spirit has promised him that he will live to see the Child, a promise repeated by the angel (lines 167–70), and in the pageant he will be greatly strengthened as he performs the Temple ritual — a sign that the writer was thinking in terms of dramatic effect. In Love’s *Mirror* Simeon is described as a “rightwisman,” who will come to the Temple at the opportune time since he is led there by the Holy Spirit (p. 47).
- 113–14 *That he shulde comme with us to dwell . . . of light.* King notes that this is a paraphrase of the Candlemas antiphon *Lumen ad revelationem gentium* (*York Mystery Cycle*, p. 125, citing *York Missal*, 2:18).

⁴³ See Shorr, “Iconographic Development of the Presentation,” p. 17.

- 119–22 *he shulde comme and harro hell . . . all on syde.* Prophetic, predicting the Harrowing, when Jesus will come like “a gyant” to break down the gates of hell, release the captives in limbo, and put down the “feyndes.” In conventional iconography, Jesus at the Harrowing is depicted as much larger than the other figures, indeed like a giant.
- 130 *Knytt in oure kynde.* The “babb” (line 129) is of two natures, joining God and man inseparably.
- 137–64 *Nowe Lorde, thowe grant to me . . . owte of dowte.* These lines are mainly a prayer by Simeon asking that he might be allowed to have a sight of the holy one whom he craves to see.
- 166–67 *Bodworde to thee I bryng . . . of myght.* The messenger of the Holy Ghost is an angel, an intermediary who reinforces the promise that Simeon will see the Messiah.
- 195–222 *Here in this Temple . . . I wolde.* Mary, who has rehearsed the forty-day rule for purification, locates the holy family in Jerusalem, near the Temple to which they will proceed. In the lines which follow, they will discuss the need for the ritual, though Mary has not “conceyved with syn fleshely” (line 203). Mary will insist on fulfilling the law.
- 246–53 *To riche to offer bothe . . . Reddy at hand.* Their poverty is again stressed; thus they do not need to provide the lamb. The doves are ready in a basket, the conventional container that appears in iconography, as in the full-page woodcut in the Book of Hours printed at Rouen for York use in 1517 (*Hore beatissime virginis Marie*, fol. xviii; Y4, p. 56).
- 263–64 Because Jesus is “the lame of God . . . / That all our syns shall take away,” they have the required lamb for the ritual. These words are adapted in translation from the *Agnus Dei* in the Ordinary of the Mass.
- 274 *Lo, here is the Tempyll on this hyll.* The Temple must be on the pageant wagon, Mary and Joseph in the street. Their approach to it should be a short procession, perhaps holding candles as in the Candlemas ceremony; see C. Davidson, *Festivals and Plays*, pp. 20–21. Processions have been documented as early as the fourth century in commemorations of the Purification (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, pp. 499 and 548). The *Stanzaic Life* describes the approach of Jesus and his mother to the Temple as a procession, with candles (pp. 99–100).
- 281–99 The holy family has arrived at the Temple, and Mary prays that their offering may be accepted. In the following lines (299–323) the priest will focus entirely on the Child, the Savior of the world, since the mother is undefiled. As the *Mirour of Mans Saluacioune* says, Mary “ne had nothing nede of purificacioune” (line 1209, p. 79), confirming the pageant’s focus on the Presentation. Glass in Great Malvern Priory, perhaps by the York school of glass painters, shows Mary holding out the Child to be blessed; behind her is Anna, wearing a wimple and with a lighted taper (Rushforth, *Medieval Christian Imagery*, p. 106, fig. 38). In mid-fourteenth-century glass in York Minster, Anna has a candle in her left hand, and where there is now a patched area, her right hand had held the basket with the doves (Y4, p. 57, fig. 14).

- 326 *Welcome bright starne that shyneth bright as day.* The central image of Anna's welcome in lines 324–31. The emphasis on light is appropriate to Candlemas. Jesus is the Light of the World.
- 338–39 *welcomme with all honour / Here in this hall.* Joseph and Mary, with the Child, are prepared to come into the Temple, though in actual Jewish rites the woman would not have been allowed to enter. The English rites of Purification were done at the church door, and only thereafter the woman was allowed to come inside (see Rastall, *Heaven Singing*, p. 260). What follows seems dramatically unworkable without a time gap for the action that Simeon is directed to do.
- 341–42 *Dresse thee furth in thyne array, / Come to the Temple.* Simeon must put on his vestments, which, as in the *Speculum humanae salvationis*, may have involved garments and perhaps a miter reminiscent of those worn by contemporary bishops or abbots (Wilson and Wilson, *Medieval Mirror*, p. 160).
- 350 *Nowe wyll I to yon Temple goo.* The Temple must be nearby, but at least on account of his newly found youthful gait he can move quickly to where he will greet Mary and the "babb." He clearly stands before her by line 358 if not before.
- 366 *Hail floscampy and flower vrygynall.* Terminology applying to the Virgin Mary. She is a flower of the field, a "ryall roose" and "unfadyng" (lines 370–71). The well-known carol states: "There is no rose of suche virtue / As is the rose that bare Jesu" (J. Stevens, ed., *Mediaeval Carols*, pp. 10–11).
- 374 *mekly I beseke thee here where I kneyll.* Simeon has been kneeling, probably from about line 354. Compare Love's *Mirror*: "he kneled done and devoutly honourede and wirchiped him as he was in his modere armes born" (p. 47).
- 376 *in my narmes for to heve thee.* Simeon takes the Child in his arms (see Luke 2:28) and begins a long speech (lines 378–414) in which he asks the child to embrace him. There is no stage direction to indicate when Simeon will place the Child on the altar where he will be adored. Iconographic models suggest a freestanding square altar, with Simeon behind it and facing Mary.
- 415–23 *In peace, Lorde, nowe leyf thy servand, / For myne eys haith seyn that is ordand . . . For evermore.* Paraphrase of the *Nunc dimittis*. Simeon is now accomplishing that for which he has so long waited, and he can die in peace. The canticle is spoken in a paraphrase, not sung, while Simeon is still holding the Child. The *Nunc dimittis* would have been a very familiar canticle since it was sung daily for Compline, later absorbed into the service of Evening Prayer in the Book of Common Prayer of 1549. The text is from Luke 2:29–32. The *Stanzaic Life* explains that in this canticle Simeon specified three qualities of Jesus in order: "hele, light, joy of Israele" (line 2719, p. 92).
- 425–27 *That with thee in thy kyngdome shall dwell . . . great care.* An addition to the *Nunc dimittis*; at the Last Day, those destined for the heaven will be separated from those who will be "drevyn to hell."

- 441 *the sworde of sorro thy hart shal thryll.* Luke 2:35. A reference to the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin which will pierce her heart, sometimes depicted literally in Dominican iconography.
- 459 *God Son, thowe grant us thy blyssyng.* The baby is asked for his blessing. The infant Jesus performing a blessing at his Presentation is quite common and has been observed by Shorr as early as an illumination in the ninth-century Drogo Sacramentary (“Iconographic Development of the Presentation,” p. 25, fig. 13).

18. THE FLIGHT TO EGYPT

The Register contains the pageant as it was at the time it was entered, but possibly not as it stood in the sixteenth century. John Clerke notes that “This matter is mayd of newe after another form” — a comment that was subsequently deleted. The play then either differed substantially, or in this case Clerke could simply have been making a hasty (and mistaken) observation based on viewing the pageants at the first station at the gates of Holy Trinity Priory. If thus altered, the play would not have been unique among the York plays. The subject matter of the flight from Herod’s massacre of children is from a narrative point of view joined with the next pageant, which dramatizes that atrocity; see Matthew 2:13–21. Both were commemorated in the York liturgy, but the principal feast was of course Holy Innocents. The pageant of the Flight shows Joseph as the guardian of Mary, a traditional role, but also has less interest from the point of view of its drama than the following play. The Flight was produced by the Marshals, whose occupation involved the care of horses, so they presumably could have supplied an ass for Mary to ride upon, as the text suggests as a requirement. The verse is a unique form of twelve-line stanza, with irregularities.

- 1–24 Joseph begins with a lament, mainly concerning his age and his state of exhaustion, which supplies motivation for sleeping. This in turn provides the opportunity for the angel to appear and reveal to him the bad news concerning the threat represented by Herod. Joseph is not, however, rebellious, for his heart is “sette” on fulfilling the law (line 10) and on not allowing anyone to prevent him from doing so.
- 14 *That made me, man, to thy liknes.* See the first creation story in Genesis: “Let us make man to our image and likeness” (1:26).
- 29 *As thou me to thy modir chaas.* In her prayer, Mary appeals to God who has chosen her to be his mother — an essential paradox of Christianity, that the Father should choose her to bear the Son, who is part of the undivided Godhead.
- 37 *Wakyn, Joseph, and take entent.* This and a number of other lines are duplicated in the Towneley *Flight into Egypt*.
- 37–40 *Wakyn, Joseph . . . slepe no mare.* In Matthew 2:13, following the departure of the Magi, the angel of the Lord appears to Joseph in his sleep.
- 42 *So swete a voyce.* The angel is speaking, not singing, but has a clear, sweet voice comparable to the ideal singing voice (see A. Davidson, “High, Clear, and Sweet”). The word “shylle” is used to describe it in the next line; it is tempting

- to gloss this term as *shrill*, but that word has connotations which are not applicable here. The appeal of the voice leads Joseph to know the identity of the speaker, who will be revealed to be Gabriel, the angel of the Annunciation.
- 51–62 Gabriel's message is an expansion of the very brief biblical account of Joseph's vision that appears in Matthew's gospel, in which the angel tells Joseph to go to Egypt and to stay there until he tells him it is safe to return.
- 60 *Tille he be dede.* Referring to Herod, who dies, and is succeeded by Herod Antipater. There will be no dramatization of Herod's terrifying death here as there is in the N-Town play (Play 20, lines 233–85). Herod was generally thought to be, as Love insists, "the develes servant" (*Mirror*, p. 51).
- 84 *doughtir.* A term of endearment, appropriate for a young woman.
- 102 *his foo.* Joseph does not identify the foe by name until line 112. Mary will repeat "His foo" at the beginning of her speech in the next line (concatenation), but Joseph must wait until she has finished to announce that the enemy is Herod, who has chosen to slay all children under the age of two (lines 111–22).
- 139 *His harte.* Referring to Herod. Mary's speech (lines 135–46) is a lament over the very idea of someone wishing to kill her only son, who is of course also God's only Son.
- 148 *leve of thy dynne.* Indicative of the intensity of Mary's lament. Joseph will indicate that there is no time to lose, and they must be careful in their flight so that they meet no one who wishes to slay the Child (lines 153–55).
- 161 *such smale harnes as we have.* A reminder of the poverty of the Holy Family, for they have only a few household things to take with them.
- 168 *It fortheres to fene me.* While the general meaning may be surmised, the text as it stands is unclear. Bevington emends the line to read: "It fortheres [not] to fene me"; he glosses: "It's no use pretending or delaying (lit. it doesn't further matters to feign, shirk); I must bear this pack of all I'm responsible for and complain about (?)" (*Medieval Drama*, p. 434).
- 176 *To Egipte talde I thee.* Mary is frightened, and cannot remember what Joseph has said their destination was to be, but neither of them have a clue about where they are ordered to go. God will need to guide them.
- 188 *wilson wayes make us to wende.* Love emphasizes the difficulty of travel for an old man and a young wife with a baby along "a nuyes wey and herd and diverse, that was not inhabited and also a wey ful longe" which may have taken "the travaille of two monethes and more" (*Mirror*, p. 51).
- 194 Bevington suggests a stage direction: "*Mary mounts an ass with her child*" (*Medieval Drama*, p. 435). This would be a convenient way to have the actors set out toward the next station. Mary mounted on an ass and holding the Child appears in a window in the choir of York Minster (YA, pp. 57–58, fig. 15).

19. THE MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS

The *Ordo paginarum* of 1415, insofar as the damaged manuscript can be read, mentions Herod, two soldiers with lances, and four weeping mothers, but probably Consolators would have been included. The text in the Register again represents the pageant in c. 1463–77 in which presumably only two mothers have speaking roles, though in regard to speech designations the manuscript here is not reliable. By John Clerke's time, the text had been revised or, more likely, replaced, for he entered the comment that "This matter . . . agreyth not with the Coucher in no poynt, it begynnyth, 'Lysten lordes unto my lawe.'" The episode of Herod and the massacre of the children of Bethlehem, deriving ultimately from Matthew 2:16, was commemorated in the liturgy in association with the feast of Holy Innocents (December 28). Iconographic evidence from York, fourteenth-century glass in the Minster, suggests that the soldiers wore armor and that they appeared to impale the infants on their spears.⁴⁴ Herod witnesses the carnage, and may even participate in it. The York pageant, written in an eight-line stanza with three stresses to the line, was produced by two manufacturing crafts, the Girdlers, makers of belts and similar items, and the Nailers.

- 3 *Stente of youre stevenes stoutē*. Undoubtedly aimed at members of the audience, who presumably were jeering at Herod, the enemy of Christ and, by association, of all children. Herod is a worshiper of Mahounde, understood as a god, or an idol, directly opposed to the ideals of a Christian community. His evil advisors, identified as Consolators, will encourage him to act out his anger and hostility.
- 41–45 *I am noyed of newe . . . a swayne*. Herod is disturbed that the three kings have not returned, as they said they would — to which the Consolator in the following lines suggests that they had been wrong and hence were embarrassed to return to Herod without anything positive to relate.
- 57 *Tham shamys*. A dative of agency construction (now archaic) in which the subject is acted upon; i.e., a shame came to them. Compare "methinks."
- 63–69 This portion of Herod's speech is corrupt in the manuscript, though the gist of it is clear.
- 89 *boy, thou burdis to brode*. Herod accuses the messenger of jesting; it cannot be that the kings have gone on without fulfilling their promise. But in lines 103–05 the messenger will reveal the truth, which is that Herod is deceived. His response is anger, Herod's typical temperament being revealed; in iconography, as at Fairford, he is typically seen holding a child whom he is stabbing with a long sword (Wayment, *Stained Glass*, pp. 79–80, pl. XXXIX). Nevertheless, here he is somewhat less extreme than the Herod of the Coventry Shearmen and Taylors' play in which "*Erode ragis in the pagond and in the strete also*" (line 728 s.d.; *Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*, p. 105).
- 145 *it is past two yere*. There seems to be some confusion in the play about the length of time since Jesus was born. Later it seems to be recognized that Jesus was not yet two years of age.

⁴⁴ *YA*, pp. 58–60, fig. 16.

- 152 *knavē childir kepte in clowte.* The practice was to wrap children up rather tightly in swaddling clothes in lieu of diapers and the freedom given to modern infants; two years in such a condition would not have been unusual.
- 193 The soldiers have now arrived at Bethlehem. The missing line following line 193 would presumably have been an addition to the first soldier's speech rather than to that of the outraged mother. In the scene which follows, the infants would have been represented by dolls or puppets since it is of course unimaginable that a real child could have been jerked, pulled, and tossed about as violently as would have been required.
- 203 *And me, but itt be quytte.* A stage direction is implied here to indicate that the soldier is returning the mother's blows. Still, the scene is more subdued than the massacre in the Digby play of the *Killing of the Children*, nor is there any character like the cowardly and comic Watkin of that drama.
- 214 *And I hadde but hym allone.* An echo of Mary's line in the *Flight to Egypt*: "And I have but hym allone" (line 146).
- 226–30 *Allas, that we wer wroughte / In worlde women to be . . . spill.* The women lament their state; they will see the children whom they have brought into world in the pain of childbirth now literally butchered in their sight.
- 240 *How so they wraste or wryng.* Hand gestures, a common sign of grief and despair. See C. Davidson, "Gesture," pp. 82 and 97.
- 281 *we will wende before.* Herod will lead a procession on foot to the next station where the pageant will again be presented.

20. CHRIST AND THE DOCTORS

The play of the twelve-year-old Jesus in the Temple, a dramatization of the events recounted in Luke 2:41–51 and noted in the York Missal as a lesson in the Epiphany season,⁴⁵ is unusual in the York cycle for having a text that not only was borrowed for the Towneley collection but also shared structure and language with the Chester Blacksmiths' and Coventry Weavers' plays.⁴⁶ The York pageant, in twelve-line stanzas, was produced by the Spurriers, makers and sellers of spurs, and Lorimers, who were manufacturers of harnesses, bits for horses, and, at times, also spurs. This pageant stands at the end of the Infancy series. It commemorates an event in which Jesus was separated from his parents and, as Love comments concerning the young Christ's discussion in the Temple, found "sittynge among the doctours of lawe heryng hem entently, and askyng hem questiones wisly."⁴⁷ The description in the *Ordo paginarum* likewise describes the scene as that of a scholastic discussion or debate on a subject

⁴⁵ *York Missal*, 1:36.

⁴⁶ For a collation comparing these plays, see *Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*, pp. 175–89, but see also Greg's "Bibliographical and Textual Problems" and his chapter on the subject in his 1935 Malone Society volume (*Trial and Flagellation with Other Studies*, pp. 101–20), with corrections by Cawley, "Middle English Metrical Versions," pp. 134–40.

⁴⁷ Love, *Mirror*, p. 59.

of great sensitivity. But the incorporation of the Ten Commandments seems related to the campaign of religious education, encouraged by Archbishop Thoresby, that was the force behind the assembling and dissemination of the *Lay Folks' Catechism* and the specifying of the basic demands of laypersons' knowledge.⁴⁸

- 3 *solempne sightis.* Jesus has been taken by his parents to Jerusalem for the celebration of Passover (Luke 2:41).
- 15–20 Beginning Mary's lament upon discovering that her child is not with them. Joseph's response in the following lines should be seen as influenced by his age and feeble health, which make him at first the more reluctant partner in returning to Jerusalem. But he will be the one to recommend the return to look for him in the city. Their search for Jesus does not appear in iconography except for their discovery of him in the Temple at the end of the story.
- 45 *He is but twelve yere alde.* Jesus' age is specified in Luke 2:42.
- 49–50 The first Magister/Doctor asks that a scholastic disputation be organized. The final lines are a sign that the author was aware of the necessity to maintain the discussion within orthodox limits; the Coventry Weavers' play, as revised in the sixteenth century, refers to the "statute of this lande" and the "perell" of standing in opposition to "any artyccull." Those who oppose are heretics to be prosecuted and "in the face of peple oponnly slayne" (lines 855–56; *Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*, p. 138) — a glance at the statute *De heretico carburendo* (*Statutes of the Realm*, II Henry IV, c.15) perhaps.
- 67 *Laye fourthe oure bokes.* The Magisters will require their books; Jesus will not need to consult any. Late fourteenth-century painted glass at York Minster shows the Magisters reading at lecterns. In line 141, Jesus notes that they are "sette on rowes," which is consistent with representations in iconography. These are embedded stage directions.
- 93–94 *I wote als wele as yhe / Howe that youre lawes wer wrought.* The Coventry play is even more emphatic, for Jesus says he has actually been "in those placis" in which "all owre lawis furst were wrought" (lines 903–04; *Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*, p. 139). His ability to understand scripture is due to the presence with him of the Holy Spirit, as he explains in the York play (lines 101–04).
- 112 *Itt may falle wele in wirkyn.* An offer to test the boy Jesus.
- 113–16 *For David demys . . . loving.* The reference is to Psalm 8:3: "Out of the mouth of infants and of sucklings thou hast perfected praise." The Towneley play quotes the biblical text from the Vulgate.
- 145–50 *this is the firste bidding . . . lowde and still.* The first of the two commandments in the summary of the law in Matthew 22:37–40, but derived from Deuteronomy 6:5 and Leviticus 19:18.

⁴⁸ See also King, *York Mystery Cycle*, pp. 38–41.

- 153–56 *The secounde . . . sekirly.* To love your neighbor “Als youreselffe,” Jesus says; the manuscript reading is correct since he is lecturing the priests of the Temple and it would be inappropriate to include himself. Compare the Coventry Weavers’ pageant: “asse thyself” (line 963; *Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*, p. 141).
- 193–94 *he alleggis oure lawe / And lerid nevere on boke to rede.* Jesus astonishes the Magisters, especially since he has not had formal training and ought to be illiterate. But Jesus possesses all wisdom, to the point where in the following speech the third Magister will want him sent away since he would detract from their learning and hence receive more praise than they. He will, however, be defended by the first Magister, at which point Joseph and Mary appear again, having arrived at Jerusalem to look for Jesus.
- 221–22 *where he sittis . . . Emong yone maistiris.* The Coventry Weavers’ pageant has him sitting “aloft” (line 1022; *Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*, p. 143).
- 232 *They are so gay in furres fyne.* Probably ermine tippets are intended; in the example in Minster glass to which reference has been made above, the Magisters wear academic gowns and hats. Mary will refer to them in line 242 as “worthy wysse in wede,” which is suggestive but not specific. For further discussion of the iconography, see *Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*, pp. 268–69.
- 237 *When I come there, what schall I saye?* Joseph is very class conscious and also feels shy on account of his age and debility, which will not allow him to bow or kneel before the priests. Mary will have to take control of the situation.
- 259–60 *My Fadir werkis . . . am I sente for to fulfyll.* See Luke 2:49: “did you not know, that I must be about my father’s business?” This is beyond Mary’s comprehension, and she will have to contemplate what is to follow.

21. THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST

The lesson from Matthew 3:13–17 recounting the Baptism of Christ was read in the York rite at Mass on the first Sunday after the Octave of Epiphany⁴⁹ — that is, one week prior to the reading of the lesson from Luke which tells the story of Christ in the Temple which formed the subject matter of the previous pageant. Further elaboration crucial to the play is found in the other gospels, especially John 1:29–34. The Baptism and John the Baptist, the saint who effected it, were popular in York. The Minster’s fabric rolls reveal that it had several relics, and the saint was frequently depicted in ecclesiastical art in the city. Enough remains so that it is possible to determine how St. John was expected to appear.⁵⁰ In glass such as a panel of c. 1470 in the church of Holy Trinity Goodramgate, he is shown as he would have appeared in the desert: he wears a camel skin with head attached, with a

⁴⁹ *York Missal*, 1:34.

⁵⁰ YA, pp. 61–67 and 184.

cloak over it, and holds a roundel before him with the symbolic Agnus Dei.⁵¹ Because the Barbers were involved in the healing arts, their sponsorship of the Baptism play, depicting the institution of a Sacrament designed to heal the spiritual defects of humankind, seems appropriate. The York playtext, representing its status at or near the end of the third decade of the fifteenth century, would probably be rewritten during the time John Clerke came to supervise the production of the cycle, as his notations in the manuscript seem to imply. The verse is in seven-line stanzas.

- 3–4 *yf I preche . . . of thy comyng.* John was famous as a preacher and recognized by the Christian community as a prophet; see the Baptist's words in John 1:23: "I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness, make straight the way of the Lord, as said the prophet Isaias." These words are quoted in lines 27–28 of the pageant. Modern scholarship regarding John the Baptist has cast new light on his activities and on the prevalence of ritual washing in first-century Palestine, and the question remains whether the secretive Mandaean religious minority that survived in Iraq until modern times may be traced to the cult of John the Baptist.
- 29–49 As King notes, John's speech here tends increasingly "to vanquish historical verisimilitude" and to rely on manuals of instruction such as the *Lay Folks' Catechism* (*York Mystery Cycle*, p. 172). The necessity of baptism for salvation is indicated.
- 50–71 John is told what he already in part knows, but now he is provided with specifics by the two angels. The description of the descent of the Holy Spirit along with the sound of the loud and passionate voice of the Father may be regarded as a stage direction for what is to happen at lines 149–54: a dove will descend and the voice of the Father will proclaim, perhaps in Latin, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased" (Matthew 3:17; compare Love, *Mirror*, p. 67), omitted from the extant text of the play. The voice of the Father probably was heard without his actual presence as represented by a visible actor.
- 84–105 Jesus continues to explain baptism as an example (*myrroure*) for all *men* (i.e., all people) that is necessary for entering "endless blys."
- 101–05 *The vertue of my baptyme dwelle / In baptyme watir evere and ay . . . Haly Gaste.* Water used for baptism was considered holy even though the lengthy Continental rite of consecration was not present in English rites. Christian baptism was regarded as efficacious for the washing away of original sin and as a seal to signify being "Christ's own forever." For a brief description of the English rite, see Dudley, "Sacramental Liturgies," pp. 219–27.
- 120–21 *What riche man gose from dore to dore / To begge at hym that has right noght?* Proverbial, and here expressing John's reluctance to baptize Jesus. John will tremble with fear at what he has been asked to do (see lines 141–42). Woolf speaks of the "feeling of devout unwillingness" (*English Mystery Plays*, p. 219).

⁵¹ *Inventory of the Historical Monuments*, vol. 5, pl. 57; Knowles, "East Window of Holy Trinity." For a survey of the iconography in relation to the York play, see C. Davidson, *From Creation to Doom*, pp. 80–85; and for England generally, Rushforth, "Seven Sacraments Compositions," pp. 89–92, and Nichols, *Seeable Signs*, esp. pp. 193–206.

- 149–50 *I baptise thee here in the name / Of the Fadir and of the Sone and Holy Gost.* The Trinitarian formula required in baptism, following the York Manual. Jesus would appear to be standing in the river Jordan, but there is no reason to believe that he would be nude, as in representations in glass at Holy Trinity Goodramgate or St. John Ousebridge, the latter now inserted in a window in the Minster (YI, pp. 66–67, fig. 17). Blue cloth might have been used to represent the water rising up to Jesus' waist, and the posture of standing as if in the water would have been retained surely. Water probably would have been poured over his head from a shell by John. The anointing with oil and chrism which appear in the Towneley play are missing here.
- 154 s.d. *Tunc cantabunt duo angeli Veni creator spiritus.* Hymn for Whitsunday; see *York Breviary*, 1:503; translated by Dutka in *Music*, pp. 119–20. For York music, see *Hymni*, fols. 32v–35r; compare *Liber usualis*, pp. 885–86, for the usual musical setting, which may differ slightly from that used in the English rites. Rastall suggests that professional singing men may have been hired to sing, but the music, especially if abbreviated to the first stanza, would have been within the reach of amateurs, either from the Barbers' own guild or another (*Heaven Singing*, pp. 331–32). It is a devotional moment.
- 157 *The dragons poure.* Compare Psalm 73:13 (AV 74:13): “thou didst crush the heads of the dragons in the waters.” As King observes, this passage was adapted in an antiphon for the Epiphany season (*York Mystery Cycle*, p. 43, citing *York Breviary*, 1:193). The power of the dragon has now suffered defeat through the means of the baptism of Christ since he is sinless prior to the act. Yet that defeat may not be immediately obvious, and much more will be required of Jesus—that is, his death on the cross. The Baptism may be regarded as part of the elaborate trick that God is playing on Satan through hiding Jesus under the cover of his humanity.
- 162–68 Jesus reminds the audience that trusting and believing in him are necessary along with the ritual of baptism in order to “come to blisse.” On the other hand, those who fail “schal be dampned.”

22. THE TEMPTATION IN THE WILDERNESS

The tempting of Christ by Satan in the wilderness is reported in Matthew 4:1–11, the gospel lesson for Quadragesima Sunday in the period leading up to Lent in the liturgical calendar.⁵² The Smiths’ play on the subject begins with a monologue by Satan, who then approaches Jesus at the conclusion of his forty days of fasting in the desert. Jesus will be tempted, as Love points out in his *Mirror*, by gluttony, “veyn joy,” and a combination of avarice and idolatry. He was, says Love, “tempted in alle maner temptation that longeth to the infirmyte of man without synne”;⁵³ an illustration showing each of the temptations accompanies Love’s text in Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS. Advocates 18.1.7, fol. 49v.⁵⁴ The *Biblia*

⁵² *York Missal*, 1:52.

⁵³ Love, *Mirror*, pp. 74.

⁵⁴ See C. Davidson, *Deliver Us from Evil*, p. 66, fig. 9.

Pauperum places the image of this event, with the Savior holding up his hand, palm out against an ugly horned Satan, over against a depiction of Adam and Eve with the serpent in the Garden to show that Christ's role is to reverse the effects of the Fall by resisting the tricks and false promises of Satan.⁵⁵ The play presents some challenges in staging which the sponsoring guilds were likely well-positioned to solve. In the production of the pageant the Smiths were joined in 1530 by the Locksmiths, both occupations that had a long history in the city extending back to at least to Anglo-Scandinavian York. The *Temptation* is written in six-line stanzas.

- 1 *Make rome.* Diabolus' appearance here suggests folk drama, or at least a tradition of impromptu playing in the streets or in houses about which we know far less than we would like. He undoubtedly made his way through the audience to the pageant wagon; one would guess that by the second stanza he was already speaking from the stage and reporting on his fall "fro heven to hell" (line 8). In his role he was clearly intended to be comic, but he also, dressed in his demonic costume, would have been potentially terrifying to members of audiences who believed in him as the ultimate source of evil in the world.
- 9–18 Because Christ has not yet died for the sins of the world, salvation is not yet available; all who have previously died are in limbo or in the fearful depths of darkest hell. According to the abuse of power theory that emerges frequently in the theology of the York plays, Satan still maintains the right to possess them at their death as a consequence of the Fall and the inheritance by all of original sin.
- 19–30 *sum men spekis of a swayne . . . and morne.* Diabolus is not unaware of the Incarnation, but typically his thinking tends to be confused. Jesus' incarnation, he believes, is a trick, which indeed it is, for it deceives Satan and as one of its consequences makes possible the release in the Harrowing of those who have lived good lives in prior times. Jesus is the second Adam who has the power to reverse the effects of the Fall, a point implicit in the Epistle to the Romans 5:12–19.
- 43–44 *He has fastid, that marris his mode, / Ther fourty dayes.* Forty days "withowten foode" should, he believes, have weakened Jesus' moral fiber. The space of forty days of fasting has considerable resonance, since Lent was in York as elsewhere in Western Christendom a similar time of fasting, though not so stringent, obviously, as in Jesus' case. Diabolus, who initially hopes for success through the temptation to the sin of gluttony, is of course entirely wrong about what the effect of Jesus' fasting will be.
- 55 *Thou witty man.* Here Diabolus approaches Jesus and flatters him.
- 56–57 *If thou can ought of Godhede, / Byd nowe that ther stones be brede.* Translation of Matthew 4:3; compare Luke 4:3. Jesus' answer is paraphrased in lines 74–78: man shall not live by bread alone, for "Goddis wordis are gostly fode" that spiritually nourish humans "ilkone."

⁵⁵ *Biblia Pauperum*, p. 65.

- 91 *Upon the pynakill parfitely.* A representation of the Temple would have been required as an essential part of the stage set, though no evidence is extant to indicate the manner in which Jesus was placed on the pinnacle. It may be that the Smiths had invented a device to lift Jesus aloft and to bring him down again, or his return could have been effected by presenting him with a set of stairs by which to descend. The late stage direction calling for angels to sing *Veni creator* at this point is probably misplaced; it does not seem appropriate for the Temptation.
- 145 *For I have all this worlde to welde.* If Jesus will fall down before him and honor him, Diabolus, the prince of this world (so described in John 12:31), will give him all kingdoms and all countries. See Matthew 4:7–9, but Diabolus does not take Jesus up into a “very high mountain” in the play.
- 159 *To pyne of helle I bide thee passe.* At the end of this little drama, Jesus will perform a highly dramatic act, in contrast to the biblical account in which the devil merely leaves him. But in a thirteenth-century York Psalter (London, British Library, MS. Add. 54179, fol. 45), Christ is shown still on the roof of the temple, while the devil is falling headlong downward and into a dark hole. It indeed will be, as Diabolus says, “warre than evere it was” (line 176). The “felawship of fendis fell” (line 173) paradoxically can hardly be characterized by any sense of either friendship or community, both primary Christian values.
- 181–88, 200–204 The angels, who come in the biblical text to minister to him (Matthew 4:11), are intended to express appropriate wonderment at Jesus’ accomplishment in resisting the three temptations.
- 205–08 *My blissing have thei with my hande . . . the fende.* Conventional gesture of blessing, and directed to the audience, or at least the members of it who will “stiffly stande / Agaynste the fende” of hell.
- 209 *my tyme is faste command.* He is anticipating the “tyme” of his Passion when he must endure torture and death on the cross.

22A. THE MARRIAGE IN CANA

Only a portion of the first speech was entered in the Register. The *Ordo paginarum*, though in imperfect condition at this point, reported a play about Jesus, Mary, the bridegroom and bride, a steward, a servant, and six containers of water to be turned into wine. The attribution to the Vintners was recorded over an erasure. In the Register the play was to have followed the *Temptation*, whereas King has pointed out that the liturgical order should have placed it after the *Baptism* — the original order of the listing in the *Ordo paginarum*.⁵⁶ The Marriage at Cana was designated as a reading for Mass at the second Sunday following the octave of Epiphany.

⁵⁶ King, *York Mystery Cycle*, pp. 35–36.

23. THE TRANSFIGURATION

The synopsis in the *Ordo paginarum* lists the characters, the disciples Peter, James, and John, with Jesus “ascending onto the mountain” where he is transfigured. Elijah and Moses were also presumably named before damage to the manuscript. The pageant would have required special lighting effects in order to represent the transfigured Christ; Muir points out that in the Revello Passion play a convex silver reflector was specified to direct light from the sun or, if the day was cloudy, from a candle. Other effects, recorded in Continental plays, involved having Christ drop away his outer robe so as to appear in the dazzling white garment indicated in the gospels, and sometimes he was outfitted with a gold mask to represent his face, which in the York play “schynes as the sonne” (line 98).⁵⁷ A cloud was also lowered from which the Father was to speak. The account of the Transfiguration in the gospels was read in the York rite in the first week of Lent, on Ember Saturday, from Matthew 17:1–9. The Curriers, who produced the pageant, were leather workers specializing in the processing of hides. The verse is in twelve-line stanzas.

- 5 *sightis seere*. Supernatural effects; in the context of the theatrical event, the term implies the use of legerdemain.
- 8 *to yone mountayne will I goo*. Embedded stage direction. There must be a raised space on the pageant wagon to represent the mountain, which is said in the biblical accounts to be high.
- 17–20 “*Shewe us thy Fadir . . . Fadir thore*.” Citing John 14:8–9. The pageant makes clear that the apostles are still not able to understand the full meaning of Christ’s words, for this will only be revealed to them after the Resurrection.
- 27–28 *Quem dicunt homines / Esse filium hominis?* Luke 9:18, glossed in the following lines.
- 41–42 *biddis nowe / To tyme ye have my Fadir sonne*. Smith glosses: “Bide now till ye have seen my Father” (*York Plays*, p. 186).
- 49 Jesus now goes up onto the mountain; the disciples look up at lines 59–60 when Jesus appears, at first alone and then with Elijah and Moses, who have come from heaven and limbo respectively to testify to his divinity as God’s Son (see lines 215–16). The three figures were regarded as analogous to the Trinity; thus they reveal the triune nature of God symbolically though not literally (Elijah and Moses were never of course regarded as part of the Trinity). Moses normally appears again with horns in this scene, as in the *Biblia Pauperum* (pp. 69 and 71). The historical survey in Schiller, *Iconography*, 1:145–52, is useful.
- 87 *It marres my myght, I may not see*. Possibly “myght” is a mistake for *syght*, meaning here his eyesight. In any case, the *sight* must involve a brilliant effect, which would have been emphasized by having the disciples shield their eyes.
- 91 *Are was ther one, now is ther thre*. A comment about what they have seen, not about what is in view at this moment. See also line 187.

⁵⁷ Muir, *Biblical Drama*, p. 117. For possible lighting effects, see Butterworth, *Theatre of Fire*, pp. 55–78.

- 97 *His clothynge is as white as snowe.* See the headnote to this pageant, above.
- 118–20 *quyk schall we come / With Antecrist for to fyght /Beffore the day of dome.* The battle of Elijah and his brother Enoch against Antichrist at the end of history is only to be found in the Chester cycle, but other plays on the subject appear on the Continent (Muir, *Biblical Drama*, pp. 150–51). The Wycliffite *Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge* makes reference to one such drama: “Pley we a pleyn of Anticrist and of the Day of Dome that sum man may be convertid therby” (pp. 101–02). The Antichrist, based on a handful of references in the New Testament, was believed to herald the end times and to appear as the reverse of the Savior — in other words, as the epitome of evil. See Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, pp. 8–9, and the *Chester Mystery Cycle*, Play 23.
- 127–30 *Unto Crist come, this is the same . . . are bonne.* A reference to the Harrowing, when Adam and the others will be drawn out of the “dungeoun” of limbo by Jesus and taken to bliss.
- 152–56 Peter’s proposal to build a tabernacle to Jesus and others to Moses and Elijah (see Matthew 17:4) demonstrates his very considerable misunderstanding on his part of Christ’s nature.
- 169 s.d. *PATER IN NUBE.* The cloud has descended; the Father’s hand, held down from it in the gesture of blessing, likely was all that was visible of him, as the usual iconography suggests. His speech reaffirms his approval of Jesus, whose “sygnes sere” reveal him to be his Son (line 174).
- 183 *Rise uppe and tellis me what ye see.* See Matthew 17:6 for the description of the disciples’ response to the vision of God the Father in the cloud: they fall on their faces at the sight. Jesus now commands them to rise and report on what they have seen and to regain their composure. However, their act of falling down would have covered the vanishing of Elijah and Moses which could thus have appeared to happen suddenly; on sudden disappearances, see Butterworth, *Magic*, pp. 75–77.
- 204 *To seke all sydis seere.* In other words, the light was shining all around them, as had been the case also with the shepherds when the angel had sung to them of the birth of Christ (Luke 2:9).
- 205 *that noys noyed us more.* Even more than the sight that they saw with its brilliant light and the miraculous figures of Moses and Elijah joining Jesus, there was “noys.” Most likely at the appearance of the cloud some music would have been performed, not impossibly vocal with organ accompaniment.
- 223–28 A full view of the deity will not be revealed to persons living in this life, only in the life beyond death; the Father is, however, made known through the Son and revealed in part through “Poyntes of his privité” (line 226).
- 233–36 *This visioune lely loke ye layne . . . than clere.* They are not to reveal what they have seen until after the Crucifixion and Resurrection; see Matthew 17:9.

23A. THE FEAST IN SIMON'S HOUSE

Not recorded by either the original scribe or John Clerke, who was ordered to enter the Ironmongers' pageant in 1567;⁵⁸ nevertheless Clerke noted its contents in his handwriting in the Register, subsequently erased. Beadle's reading, under ultraviolet light, is as follows: "This matter lakkes, videlicet: *Jesus, et Symon leprosus rogans eum ut manducaret cum eo, duo discipuli, Maria Magdalena lavans pedes Jesu lacrimis et capillis suis tergens.*"⁵⁹ Jesus, invited by Simon the Leper to eat with him in his house, came with two disciples. While at the meal, Mary Magdalen washed Jesus' feet with her tears and then dried them with her hair. The erased entry in the Register is consistent with the description in the *Ordo paginarum*, but also describes the pageant as it probably existed in the final years when the cycle was being played.

24. THE WOMAN TAKEN IN ADULTERY AND THE RAISING OF LAZARUS

The pageants are based on readings (John 8:3–11 and 11:1–44) for Lent⁶⁰ and in fact began as separate plays. In the *Ordo paginarum* of 1415, the *Woman Taken in Adultery* and the *Raising of Lazarus* were listed individually, with the Capmakers being one of the guilds responsible for the latter along with the Pouchmakers and Bottlers. The *Woman Taken in Adultery* had been presented by the Plumbers and Pattenmakers. These pageants maintain something of their original identity, with *Lazare mortus* beginning at line 99. By 1422 the producer of the *Lazarus* was the guild of Hartshorners, who dealt with harts' horns, perhaps as a medicinal substance (see *MED*, s.v. *hertes-horn*). Both appear to have been written by the same author, and retain the same twelve-line stanza. By the time the Register was compiled, the plays had been amalgamated under the sponsorship of the Capmakers, with the Hat-makers being added in the sixteenth century.⁶¹ John Clerke noticed the missing pages in the manuscript, but it is hard to see how the play could have been mounted without their content. As Beadle has suggested, by then the play seems to have been recast, yet never entered in the Register in its new form, this in spite of an order as late as 1567 that this should be done.⁶² Why the Ministry stories were so poorly represented in the cycle is hard to explain, with the present pageant being, along with the *Transfiguration*, the only extant text between the *Temptation* and the *Entry into Jerusalem*, which to be sure incorporates some further miracles. The *Woman Taken in Adultery*, based as it is on a post-Patristic addition to John's gospel, focuses on the contrast between Christian values of community and forgiveness as set forth in the new law in contrast with the old law of ancient Judaism that would set firm penalties for lapses in human behavior and crimes against established values. The *Lazarus* is a foreshadowing of the Resurrection and helps to define this event's importance for human behavior.

⁵⁸ REED: *York*, 1:351.

⁵⁹ RB, p. 441.

⁶⁰ See King, *York Mystery Cycle*, pp. 79–83.

⁶¹ REED: *York*, 1:356.

⁶² RB, p. 441; REED: *York*, 1:351.

- 9 *and he a wedded man.* An elaboration of the story as reported in the gospel that increases the seriousness of the accusation in the eyes of the Jews. In N-Town, the man runs away holding up his trousers with his hand and with boots unlaced (Play 24, line 124 s.d.).
- 13 *false stodmere and stynkand strye.* Name calling. The *MED* supports the emendation of the text in the Register from “stroye,” which makes no sense here, to “strye.” In N-Town the woman is called a “fayre yonge qwene,” terms suggesting that she is a prostitute (Play 24, line 69).
- 20 *Sho schall be demed to ded.* Compare Leviticus 20:10: “both the adulterer and adulteress” are to be “both put to death.”
- 48 *stoned to dede.* See John 8:5, citing the law of Moses, presumably Leviticus 10:10, as requiring stoning.
- after 54 The missing leaf would have continued the accusation of the woman, including further mention of stoning as the appropriate punishment according to the old law. The suggestion is made to have Jesus weigh in on the trial as a way of entrapping him; then Jesus “bowing himself down, wrote with his finger on the ground.” As the Jews continued with their line of questioning him, he “said to them: He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her” (John 8:6–7). For relevant commentary, see Gibson, “Writing before the Eye.” The extant lines of the pageant which follow reveal what happened next.
- 57 *here will new gaudes begynne.* It is clear that the Jews are enjoying themselves; catching the couple *in flagrante* is regarded as a sport, as will be the (expected) summary execution of the woman. “Forgiveness” is not part of their lexicon. Interestingly, it is the fourth Jew who speaks, and he is supposed to be, like the third Jew, a figure of authority (see lines 25–26).
- 68 *Of all thy mys I make thee free.* Jesus’ act of absolution. This scene is particularly appropriate for Lent, a period of penitence for one’s sins, leading up to Easter, by which time one was to have confessed to a priest.
- 70–74 Absolution is without value without acceptance of one’s guilt and making a sincere determination to maintain oneself without sin. The woman is repentant and offers praise for being released from her sinful state.
- 85–86 *Whoso schall othir blame, / Loke firste thamself be clene.* Proverbial. See Tilley, *Dictionary of the Proverbs*, F107.
- 98a *Lazare mortus.* This is not a stage direction but rather is the beginning of the Lazarus play, announced by a heading in Latin.
- 107–08 *that sekeness / Is noght onlye to dede.* Conventionally, the “sickness unto death” is despair, but here death will be turned to life to show the joy of God’s goodness. Love’s *Mirror* follows traditional teaching in equating Lazarus prior to his death with the Lenten theme: he represents the sinful man, even the death of the soul, from which Jesus miraculously is able to resurrect him from the sleep of death (p. 125).

- 141 *His sisteres praye with bowsom beede.* Mary and Martha of Bethany, who pray with their rosary beads in their hands. Though they despair because the Resurrection has not yet made salvation available, they nevertheless attempt to pray for their departed brother without Christian hope. This is expressed in the laments at lines 147–70.
- after 171 Missing leaf. The narrative would have included Jesus going to Bethany, where he will stand before the tomb of Lazarus. It seems to be a coffer tomb, covered with a stone that requires to be removed much as in depictions of the Resurrection tomb. In the biblical text, when Jesus saw the sisters weeping and asked the location of the tomb, he wept. This effect may have been present in the part now missing from the pageant.
- 184 *Lazar, veni foras.* From the Vulgate, John 11:43; said with a loud voice.
- 204 *to Jerusalem will I wende.* The events commemorated on Palm Sunday and Holy Week will now follow.

25. THE ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM

Heavily dependent on the Palm Sunday liturgy, the Skinners' pageant begins the portion of the cycle that dramatizes the events of Holy Week. Its importance is signaled by its length, 544 lines, with indications of music both during the approach to Jerusalem and at the end of the play, in this case suggesting singing during a procession to the next station. The *Ordo paginarum* specifies the music in the first instance as *Benedictus Etc.* ("Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord"), perhaps the common form used following the *Sanctus* in the Mass. A *Benedictus qui venit* also appears as a responsory in the York Processional for use on Palm Sunday.⁶³ The *Pepysian Gospel Harmony* reports that "Jesus entred into the cite with gret processiou[n]."⁶⁴ Palm branches were specified, but these, not being available in northern England, would have been replaced, probably by willows. Typically, in presenting Christ as the King coming to the gates of his city Jerusalem, the influence of the Royal Entry, itself intended as a reflection of the Palm Sunday procession, has also been acknowledged. The pageant is written in seven-line stanzas.

- 9 *Rawnson.* Again mention of the ransom theory of the atonement. Jesus has been sent into the world to cancel the devil's rights to people's souls, releasing from bondage those who accept that he died for them and who follow his precepts — including those who were upright though they lived before his act of sacrifice.
- 13 *Petir, Phelippe.* The *Ordo paginarum* lists twelve apostles, with an interlinear correction to two, as in the play.

⁶³ But see Rastall, *Minstrels Playing*, pp. 17 and 54, and comment on lines 264–65, below. For descriptions of the Palm Sunday ritual, see, for example, Rastall, *Heaven Singing*, pp. 265–71; Erler, "Palm Sunday Prophets and Processions"; and King, *York Mystery Cycle*, pp. 131–42.

⁶⁴ *Pepysian Gospel Harmony*, p. 76.

- 15 *castell that is you agayne.* The Vulgate has *castellum quod contra vos* (Matthew 21:2). The Douay-Rheims translation corrects to *village*, where the ass and her colt are found that will carry the King of Kings into the city on a humble beast — that is, in a manner opposed to the pomp of earthly monarchs; see, for example, Love, *Mirror*, pp. 141–42.
- 26–28 *Doghtyr Syon . . . opon.* Matthew 21:5, quoting the prophecy of Zacharias (9:9).
- 57 *The beestis are comen.* The ass and its colt are held in common by the village; hence the disciples go there as directed by Jesus with confidence that they will have a reasonable chance of taking them.
- 65 *To loose thes bestis withoute leverie?* The disciples are challenged by the porter because they have not shown the documentation required for legal possession of the animals.
- 88 *That Lorde we lefte at Bephage.* Further locating the action in space. The disciples have traveled a short distance from Bethpage, and surely this has involved the street-level playing area. Nor can the procession which will follow have been confined to a wagon and rather must have made use of the street.
- 93–94 *I schall declare playnly his comyng / To the chiffe of the Jewes.* The porter offers to give advance warning of Jesus' coming into the city (his *adventus*). This he will do, thus informing the citizens of the news (see lines 120–26). There will be eight burgesses or leading citizens, presumably in livery designating their status, who, along with a group of children, will be present to represent those in attendance at the entry on the first Palm Sunday.
- 134 *five thowsand men with loves fyve.* Miracle story; as told in all four gospels.
- 136 *Watir to wyne.* At the marriage at Cana, dramatized in Play 22A, for which the text is lost; see above.
- 143 *new lawes.* Jesus was proclaimed to have set aside the old law and to have instituted a new dispensation of grace; the concept is asserted very strongly in the Pauline epistles.
- 152 *Yf thei were dyme.* The laws of Moses and the writings of the ancient prophets were considered dark, not capable of explanation without reference to the new dispensation; in iconography, this is illustrated in the contrast between the Synagogue, blindfolded, with crown falling off, and dropping the tables of the law, and the Church, which is represented as crowned and holding a model of a church, the place where the new law of mercy is proclaimed (*YA*, p. 182, for local examples).
- 200–01 *And sone will bringe agayne . . . beheste.* The porter trusts that the ass will be returned when the procession is completed, for “So thai beheste.”
- 230–31 *Emang youreself schall come grete seele . . . verray.* Unidentified quotation, presumably from an Old Testament prophet.
- 260–61 *Go we than with processioune / To mete that comely.* The two processions of citizens and of Jesus' party will set out from different places and then meet, as happened

- in the procession of the Host on Palm Sunday; see Erler, “Palm Sunday Prophets,” pp. 63–71, and Feasy, *Ancient Holy Week Ceremonial*, pp. 67–80. The two processions come together at the gates of the city.
- 262 *With braunches, floures, and unysoune.* The audience very likely may have joined in strewing flowers in Jesus’ way. The term *unisoune* implies monophonic singing *in tune* — i.e., “in agreement and concord” (Dutka, *Music*, p. 104; see also Carter, *Dictionary*, p. 536).
- 264–65 *Our childir schall / Go synge before.* As in the actual Palm Sunday procession, children sing “Osanna” in praise of “the sone of David” (see Play 30, line 343), presumably in Latin: *Hosanna filio David*. See, however, the specification in the *Ordo paginarum*, cited above. The Middle English *Gospel of Nicodemus* gives the meaning of *Osanna* as “Lord, save us, we thee pray” (pp. 28–29). The children probably were positioned not only at the head of the procession but also on the top of the city gates, as represented on a pageant wagon, for this seems be what is suggested by the Beadle in Play 30, lines 314–15. More certain is that the way was strewn with wildflowers and that some, representing rich men, put down *thare robes* before Jesus (Play 30, lines 343–45).
- 287 The dialogue now returns to the first procession, and at line 287 the children will begin to sing, if they have not already started to do so. Pauper in lines 310–12 calls attention to the second procession of the citizens who are going out to meet Jesus “with melodye.”
- 334–91 The healing of the blind and the lame does not occur in the New Testament narrative during the procession on Palm Sunday, but earlier. These miracles are merely noted at this time; see Matthew 21:14.
- 392–460 Zacheus, the rich publican and a short man, will climb a sycamore tree in order to see Jesus. This episode also occurs prior to Palm Sunday; see Luke 19:2–28.
- 447 *Me schamys with synne, but noght to mende.* He is ashamed of his sin, but now he is not any longer ashamed of mending his ways.
- 448–53 *I synne forsake . . . asith agayne.* The correction of *I* to *Mi* by a later hand in line 448 is not necessary. Zacheus is affirming his decision to forsake his sin. He will give half his available goods to the poor, and will make restitution to those he has wronged. This is the type of statement one might find in a contemporary will, where such charitable acts were commonly designated. Compare *Everyman*, lines 697–702. But in the York pageant these lines may be taken as a confession, leading to absolution in lines 454–57.
- 468 *Petir, take this asse me fro.* Jesus now dismounts; Peter will lead it away so that it can be returned, as promised. The porter is nearby, and Peter is able to hand it over to him already at lines 482–83.
- 470–71 *I murne, I sigh, I wepe also / Jerusalem on thee to loke.* See Luke 19:41–44, which is the only gospel to note Christ’s tears before Jerusalem. At lines 475–79, Jesus predicts the fall of the city. As Love, elaborating on Luke, explains, Jesus’ tears

- are for Jerusalem's "detrucion therof, that came aftere, and sorowynge for heere gostly blyndnes" (*Mirror*, p. 142).
- 489–541 *Hayll.* Hail lyrics, exuberantly lauding the triumphant king in a profusion of praise and metaphor and ending with reference to Jesus' role at Doomsday. Related to the Hail lyrics associated with the Nativity — and to the spirit of Levation prayers at the celebration of the Eucharist.
- 544 s.d. *Tunc cantant.* The singing resumes with perhaps, as Rastall suggests, *Ingredientie domino*, a responsory that was used at York for the entrance to the church on Palm Sunday (*Minstrels Playing*, p. 55).

26. THE CONSPIRACY

Attention to Judas' conspiracy and betrayal begins early, and the focus remains on this rather than on other events such as the episode of the money changers in the Temple in the period following Jesus' return to Jerusalem. The events will of course move quickly enough to the Passion, which was obviously considered the core of the cycle of plays as also in narrative accounts such as Love's *Mirror*. In the treatment of the role of Judas, there is considerable elaboration of the historical material as found in the gospels. The *Northern Passion*, for example, is typical in following the biblical linking of Judas' betrayal to the anointing of Jesus' feet by Mary Magdalene in the house of Simon, shown only in a missing play that was never entered in the Register containing the pageants in the York cycle. The *Conspiracy* as it appears in the Register shows signs of considerable rewriting of what would have been a simpler and shorter play in 1415 when the *Ordo paginarum* was compiled. An indication of this is the appearance of the alliterative line, which is evident throughout and which argues for a later date consistent with other pageants that use this verse form. In this edition, the verse is presented as in the manuscript, where, after a part of the opening speech, each alliterative half-line appears as a separate line on the page. As is the custom in this edition, the second part of each alliterative line is indented here with the first word uncapitalized. Stanzas are of fourteen lines, and, in contrast to Anglo-Saxon alliterative verse, contain rhyme.

- 2 *regent of rewle.* Pilate, the Roman governor of the region, has the task of preventing civil unrest — a common worry too of the authorities in late medieval England. Typically, he is concerned with his dignity, his wisdom, and the loyalty of others, the latter an important quality when viewed in light of Judas' action in the pageant. His bragging may be compared to Herod's in the Nativity plays.
- 14 *wyscus.* Perhaps an error for "vicious," or made up, in which case it probably means "firm, sure of himself."
- 20–21 Pilate's claim to be of countenance "as bright / as blossome on brere" may be ironic if he was fitted with a mask or provided with a painted face to make him appear ugly, as was usual with evil characters.
- 25–28 Not an offer to discuss, but a threat that all resistance will be handled severely since "all of youre helpe hanges in my hande" (line 28). Like other tyrants, his great fault is pride.

- 29ff. The appearance of Caiphas and Anna in Pilate's court at this point is odd, since in the gospels Judas goes to the chief priests in the Temple. In the pageant the meeting serves to link secular authority with the ecclesiastics, who are presented as unstable and vindictive, worse than Pilate. They are fixed in their interpretation of the law, which they have internalized to the point where to question it would be to "argue with themselves."
- 43a *in oure warde.* Within Pilate's jurisdiction. York was divided into wards for purposes of governance.
- 45–46 *But and his sawe be lawfull . . . to lende.* Pilate insists that the allegations against Jesus must be legitimate, though in the end the trial will be a charade and a demonstration of the abuse of power. Pilate makes the point concerning the necessity of a fair trial below at lines 105–07.
- 72–74 Reference to the overturning of the tables of the moneychangers in the Temple and Jesus' act of forcibly expelling them along with the animals to be purchased for sacrifices. This was Jesus' attack on the practices of the Second Temple that was understood as essential to his program of instituting a new law not based on the ritual practices introduced after the Babylonian captivity.
- 76 *appostita.* Caiphas accuses Jesus of committing perjury (line 75) and now of being an apostate, one who has rejected the truths of his religion in favor of allegedly false opinions. Caiphas wants him to be forced to submit as heretics were made to reject their heretical views in late medieval England. He will ask for the death penalty.
- 92b–93 *that makeles . . . full rawe.* Pilate's terminology identifies Jesus as the one who is matchless, which would have been seen as the correct designation. This is part of the author's strategy to maintain the audience's sympathy with Jesus. The high priests are guilty of allowing their imagination to be detached from reality. They are governed by their anger, which allows their reasoning faculties to wander idly and maliciously.
- 99 *uppon oure Sabbott day / the seke makes he saffe.* Jesus works and heals the sick on the Sabbath, and this is not permitted under a strict interpretation of Jewish law. It is a constant complaint during the trial, along with the charge that his sayings are untrue and inconsistent with Second Temple orthodoxy.
- 110 *than may we prophite oure pele.* Anna claims to have certified the accuracy of the allegations, and here Pilate agrees to advance the charges against Jesus.
- 127–54 Judas arrives on the scene and explains the connection with the meal at Simon's house when Mary Magdalen (actually an unnamed woman in the biblical account, but absorbed into the character of Mary Magdalen in late medieval tradition) was allowed to waste expensive ointment on Jesus when it should have been sold and the money given to the poor. But that is not his concern; as the treasurer of the apostles, he would have embezzled his tenth, which he has now lost. In his greed and general attitude as well as his ultimate despair he is related to Cain. Judas has come to make a bargain and thus to have his revenge.

- 155 *Do open, porter, the porte.* Embedded stage direction. There must be a gate and a porter on hand to guard it.
- 157–58 *thou glorand gedlyng . . . growe.* The porter (Janitor) provides a description of Judas, who, as in the visual arts, has a face that fails to hide his hostility. The reference to “fals face” (line 161) suggests a mask. The porter is clearly taken aback at the sight of this visitor, and in his next speech accuses him of treason, which of course is accurate. Further descriptive remarks will refer to his appearance as a sign of his disposition. What the audience sees must indeed be “uncomely to kys” (line 200).
- 163 *Mars he hath morteysed his mark.* Mars, as the god of war, was associated with wrath by the medieval mythographers, and his red color seems be an indicator also of the hue of Judas’ face. Traditionally Judas may have red hair and a beard of the same color, though Mellinkoff reports that the only firm evidence from dramatic records she has found is from Lucerne (*Outcasts*, 1:150–53). The reference to the “mark” may suggest Cain’s mark, directly opposed to the seal ceremonially given to the children of God as part of the rite of baptism. The point would have been made clearer if, as one must suspect, the character of Judas was presented as an ugly caricature.
- 188 *I schall buske to the benke / wher baneres are bright.* Embedded stage direction. The bench is the seat of judgment from which Pilate will be expected to issue a verdict. Banners are present during the Trial plays, where they are held by the soldiers; see Pageant 33, lines 160–83, below.
- 211 *be noght abayst to byde at the bar.* Literally at the bar of justice before Pilate.
- 215 *marchaundyse.* Jesus becomes a marketable item to be bought and sold. The *Meditations* had called Judas a “most evil merchant” (p. 325).
- 229b *thirti pens and plete, no more than.* The Harleian manuscript of the *Northern Passion* explains: “oure lord Jhesu was salde / for threty penis plainly talde, / And nowther for les ne for mare” (p. 19).
- 247 *fales fende.* The manuscript has *frende*, but Smith (*York Plays*, p. 227), followed by Beadle, plausibly emends to *fende*. This line and the ones that follow seem confused.
- 254a *of lande.* In context it is hard to see what is meant unless, though questionable, the “lurdayne” is to slip away to another “lande.”
- 276 *take ther thi silvere.* Embedded stage direction. Oddly, it seems to be Pilate who hands over the money, but he may simply be observing the transaction.
- 280 *jocounde and joly I am.* So is Judas now, in contrast with his despair later.
- 287–91 Pilate still insists that the “sotte” Jesus might be “sakles,” and hence he advises restraint in the torment to which he will be put. Nevertheless, this is insufficient to make Pilate a sympathetic character.

27. THE LAST SUPPER

The Bakers were an obvious choice for the *Last Supper* since bread was an essential requirement for the institution of the Eucharist. No event in biblical history could be of greater significance in relation to the feast of Corpus Christi, which was a celebration of the Sacrament of the Eucharist in liturgical rite and procession as well as, at York, the plays. It is thus all the more unfortunate that, due to the loss of a leaf between lines 89 and 90, the central portion of the narrative with its representation of the blessing of the bread and wine is missing. The actions performed by Jesus at the table very likely were modeled on the gestures of the priest in consecrating the elements at Mass. This is supported by the stage direction that has Jesus perform the *lavabo* rite by washing his hands after the foot washing and in preparation for the main rite of the Passover meal. King points out that the lesson for Maundy Thursday described the foot washing, and that at vespers the *York Missal* quite remarkably specifies a mimed representation of the ritual meal: “table-cloths and wafers, with wine, are to be placed before the bishop and the others sitting together by the ministers of the church, as if to dine.”⁶⁵ It is hard to know how the actors were arranged for the scenes involved in the Bakers’ pageant, but suggestions may be gained from entirely conventional mid-fourteenth-century painted glass in the choir of York Minster. In the Last Supper panel, Jesus is centrally placed and blessing with his right hand, while with the left he reaches out toward a dish on the cloth-covered table. The apostles are located on each side, except for Judas, who is in front of the table, as typically is the case so that he will be turned away from the viewer’s gaze. A chalice and a ciborium, with hosts, stand on the table.⁶⁶ At Great Malvern, a panel shows Judas receiving the Host and simultaneously stealing a fish, which he is hiding under the table cloth.⁶⁷ The classic article on the play is by Mill, “York Bakers’ Play of the Last Supper.” The pageant is written in twelve-line stanzas.

- 4 *feeste of Paas*. The Pascal feast, Passover, which is to be hereafter rejected in favor of the new Easter feast and the regular celebration of the Mass. The Eucharist was presented by Love and others in terms of a sacramental mysticism (see *Mirror*, pp. 153–56).
- 7–8 *Oure lambe is roste . . . / As Moyses lawe will lely lere*. Prescriptions for the roast lamb are found in Exodus 12:3–10.
- 9–10 *ilke man that has / Pepill in his awne posté*. Implying the authoritarian family, with the patriarch as head of the family responsible for organizing the feast.
- 19 *array you all on rawe*. Perhaps the disciples took places standing by the table, but the foot washing will intervene before they actually are allowed to eat.
- 25–26 *Of Moyses lawes here make I an ende / In som party*. The extensive rules specified in the Old Testament are abrogated, and the new law of Christ will be substituted. For example, the lamb will no longer be required, nor the ritualistic way of eating it. But not all the old rules will be declared obsolete.

⁶⁵ King, *York Mystery Cycle*, p. 173, quoting the *York Missal*, 1:97, 101 (in translation).

⁶⁶ See *YA*, p. 71.

⁶⁷ See Rushforth, *Medieval Christian Imagery*, pp. 57–63, fig. 13.

- 36 *wasshed clene.* The new law will declare that persons taking communion must be cleansed through penance and absolution.
- 40 *Do us have watir.* Embedded stage direction. In Mark 14:13–14 and Luke 22:10 two disciples are sent into the town to meet Marcellus for the pitcher of water, but there is no time for anything so time-consuming. Marcellus will also bring a towel for the foot-washing.
- 47–50 Peter objects to having his feet washed by Jesus, as in John 13:6–9.
- 60 s.d. *Tunc lavat manus.* The foot washing is completed, and it seems that among the disciples only Peter took part in it in the pageant. Now is the preparation for the meal, which is to be an example for all future generations.
- 79 *To whilke of you such fare schulde fall.* The disciples have been talking inappropriately about precedence among themselves.
- after 89 The missing leaf contained the Last Supper up to the moment when Jesus gives the sop to Judas. This is the detail depicted in the Great Malvern glass and very commonly in other works of visual art. In the popular *Biblia Pauperum* block books the event is aligned with Melchisedech's offering of bread and wine and with Moses in the desert who feeds himself with manna (pp. 81 and 83). In play production, as in depictions in the visual arts, it would probably have been the case that Judas was turned away from the audience so as not to make eye contact.
- 96 *thou sittist nexte his kne.* Spoken by James to John.
- 104–05 *Now is tyme to me to gang . . . of newe.* Embedded stage direction. Judas' exit is covered by the disciples seeming to be talking quietly among themselves.
- 116–23 Jesus' warning to the disciples. He especially has prayed for Peter, who will need to fend off the assaults of the devil — and, as indicated below in lines 132–37, will deny Jesus three times before the night is over.
- 142–43 *All that in worlde is wretyn of me / Shall be fulfilled.* All the ancient prophecies will be fulfilled and proven true.
- 144–47 *I am the herde, the schepe are ye . . . to save.* The brief parable of the shepherd and the sheep, told to the disciples by Jesus in Matthew 26:31–34 and Mark 14:27–31.
- 159 *on twelffe seuges sitte schall ye.* In heaven, the apostles are promised twelve thrones to sit beside Jesus at Judgment Day.
- 168–70 *swerdis . . . Shall selle his cote and bye hym one.* A rather confused adaptation of Luke 22:36 and 38. Andrew will report that they have two swords at line 176.
- 173–75 *And stones to stynte all strife.* They are to carry stones for protection? The editor is indebted to a suggestion by Russell Peck, who wonders if this might not be an echo of the Temptation pageant in which the Fiend would tempt Jesus to turn stones into bread; here Jesus will turn bread into the body of Christ “Yoursellfe for to save” (line 174).

28. THE AGONY AND BETRAYAL

The pageant falls into two parts, the first dramatizing the story of Jesus' Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane as he prays and looks forward with very human fear and apprehension to his death on the cross. The intended effect is to stimulate a sympathetic response from the audience, the feeling of devout compassion that Love insisted upon.⁶⁸ The second part builds on this sympathy as the arrest is prepared and Judas' betrayal is effected. It is clear that there were substantial changes between the compilation of the *Ordo paginarum* in 1415 and the entering of the pageant into the Register in 1463–77. In fact, as Beadle notes, "This play must have reached the main scribe in state of considerable confusion,"⁶⁹ probably due to the stages of revision to which the pageant had been subjected. The usual verse form is the twelve-line stanza, with the introduction of the long alliterative line, but with considerable irregularity and passages where the verse form thoroughly breaks down. At some time after the compilation of the Register the pageant appears to have been revised or rewritten but not re-entered in the manuscript, as a marginal note in the manuscript by a later hand explains. The Cordwainers, known from the York dramatic records to have been a troublesome craft on account of their running dispute in the final decades of the fifteenth century with the Weavers over precedence,⁷⁰ were a successful leather craft, mainly devoted to the making of shoes.

- 2 *My fleshe dyderis and daris for doute of my dede.* Because he is entirely human as well as entirely divine, his humanity fears the death which he must endure. As Love explains, while his reason was fully obedient, his flesh — that is, his humanity — "grucchede and dredde and wold not gladely suffre deth" (*Mirror*, p. 163). See too lines 48–49, where Jesus explicitly is filled with dread because of what he knows and fears will be the end of his life's journey as a human being.
- 8a *bidis me a stounde.* Embedded stage direction, telling the disciples, who are physically tired and perplexed, to remain alert as Jesus goes away a short distance from them to a "mounte" (see line 84) or raised space on the pageant wagon where he will be alone. At line 18 the disciples sit down. They will fall asleep swiftly even though they have been advised by Jesus to pray and not to succumb so as to resist temptation — a passage which carries a suggestion of the parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins in Matthew 25 but also has a direct source is Luke 22:40. Unfortunately, the text is defective following line 42.
- 50 *I swete now both watir and bloode.* See Luke 22:44. The effect was created at Revello and Lucerne with paint, applied by a hidden stage hand during Jesus' speech (Meredith and Tailby, *Staging*, p. 108). The usual iconography would dictate that Jesus should be kneeling during his prayer.

⁶⁸ Love, *Mirror*, pp. 153–56.

⁶⁹ RB, p. 444.

⁷⁰ See esp. REED: *York*, 1:126, 158–59, 162–65, and 166–74.

- 58 *if it possible be this Payne myght I overpassee.* In the biblical accounts Jesus asks that “this chalice [calicem]” may be taken from him (e.g., Luke 22:42); the chalice is sometimes depicted literally in iconography.
- 71–75 *I wolde that ye wakened . . . mildly with me.* Jesus goes to the disciples for the first time to find them sleeping, as will happen two more times.
- 90 *Be torned fro this turnement.* For this metaphor as used to describe the Crucifixion, see the discussion in Woolf, “Theme of Christ the Lover-Knight.” This motif is much stronger in the Towneley Crucifixion (Play 23, lines 89–124).
- 113–22 The angel is traditionally St. Michael (so identified in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, followed by the *Meditations*, p. 323). He comes to comfort and strengthen Jesus, but not to release him from the task of becoming the sacrifice for the misdeeds of humans both before and after the Crucifixion. Afterward Jesus is promised that he will reign in bliss as monarch of heaven. This detail appears only in Luke’s gospel.
- 127b *I schall you sayne.* Jesus probably signs — i.e., makes the sign of the cross over his disciples, who are again sleeping — but “sayne” may also not implausibly signify “heal.”
- 132–33 *als soon as I am tane / Than schall ye forsake me.* Jesus’ prediction, which will be proven correct in spite of their protests here. They will be like sheep that have been sheared and flee away. Peter is singled out.
- 153 Along with the high priests, Malcus, Judas, Peter, James, John, and fourteen soldiers, the *Ordo paginarum* reported the presence of Pilate, but this is either an error or a sign that the extant text was much altered from what it had been in 1415. It is more likely that only four soldiers and four Jews were needed for production of the play as presented in the extant text.
- 238 *I bere light for my lorde.* Malcus is the bearer of a lantern, as in numerous depictions, including stained glass in the church of St. Martin-cum-Gregory (*YA*, p. 72, fig. 19).
- 248 *All hayll.* Taken to be a sign of deception as late as Shakespeare; see *Macbeth* 1.3.48–50.
- 250 *I wolde aske you a kysse.* This is the instant nearly always represented in the iconography, as in the St. Martin-cum-Gregory glass where Peter has already attacked Malcus. In the *Bolton Hours*, Peter at the moment of the kiss has his sword lifted high, and in the foreground the small figure of Malcus has fallen (fol. 34v). In the pageant this is delayed until lines 274–75.
- 258 *leme of this light.* The bright light radiating from Jesus is rare in the visual arts. The light (for possible techniques of producing it in the play, see Butterworth, *Theatre of Fire*, esp. pp. 55–78) causes the soldiers to fall to the ground. John 18:6 only has the soldiers react by falling as a result of their recognition of Jesus; the scene is depicted in the *Speculum humanae salvationis* (Wilson and Wilson, *Medieval Mirror*, p. 174). Muir suggests that the great light, which also appears in the *Semur Passion*, was borrowed from the Conversion of St. Paul (*Biblical Drama*, p. 131).

- 259 *whome seke ye?* John 18:4, quoted in the *Stanzaic Life*, p. 194, but also perhaps an echo of *Quem queritis*, “Whom seek ye,” of the angel in the *Visitatio Sepulchri*, the liturgical Easter play.
- 282–90 *Of aungellis full many . . . at vayle.* Derived ultimately from Matthew 26:53–54. At the end of the speech Jesus heals Malcus’ ear, for which he receives no thanks but rather a curse.
- 298 *Even like a theffe.* Love reports that he has “hees handes bonden byhynde hym as a thefe, girde above his kote . . . and his mantile drawen fro him, and goyng barehede and stouping for the grete haste and travaile that thei made him to have” (*Mirror*, p. 167).

29. THE TRIAL BEFORE CAYPHAS AND ANNA

In this play, produced by the Bowers and Fletchers (makers of bows and arrows), Jesus now comes before the Sanhedrim: he will face the high priest, Caiphas, and Anna for the initial stage of his trial in an ecclesiastical court. The injustice effected here and throughout the trial scenes may, according to King, have been a deliberate reminder of legal irregularities in the trial of the popular Archbishop Scrope in 1405, when he was convicted of treason for his involvement in a rebellion against Henry IV and executed.⁷¹ The play, along with the other trial plays, illustrates the law applied as an instrument of injustice and tyranny, with which the people of York were not unfamiliar. The pageant begins with a speech by Caiphas, a bully and braggart who boasts about his power over lower clergy and the people as well as about his wisdom. He begins with a call for “Pees,” that is, silence, which indicates an intentionally confrontational approach to the audience, and it is clear that his pursuit of the “boy” (a pejorative designation) is vindictive and hardly a pursuit of true justice. The playtext presents considerable difficulty, especially on account of the irregularity of the verse, which more or less falls into quatrains and, after line 170, the long alliterative line within twelve-line stanzas. In its present state, the text must be seen as differing from the pageant described in the 1415 *Ordo paginarum* which appears to have focused on the Bufeting. Numerous corrections were made by later hands in the manuscript.

- 7 *semely in seete.* In the seat of judgment, as judge in an ecclesiastical court.
- 33 *I have sente for that segge halfe for hethyng.* As an unjust judge, Caiphas expects to enjoy the proceedings, which will involve the working out of a vindictiveness that will cloud all sense of partiality in his treatment of the accused. In line 41 he admits his “ire,” his predominant emotion and, since it causes him to be out of control, a sign of his unsympathetic character. He is a contrast to Jesus, and must have reflected this in his gestures, surely indecorous and directly opposed to the restraint displayed by his victim.
- 35–50 Caiphas’ charges against Jesus throughout include sorcery (he will name witchcraft outright at line 57) and sabbath-breaking in violation of the Mosaic law. He also believes that, by calling himself God’s Son, Jesus is committing an act of

⁷¹ King, “Contemporary Cultural Models,” p. 212.

- blasphemy and that, by founding a new sect, he is an apostate and heretic under the old law.
- 51–56 Anna tries to contradict Jesus' claim to be the Son of God by pointing to his parents, Mary and Joseph, the latter an ordinary craftsman, a carpenter.
- 60 *To take hym with a traye.* They will use deception to catch Jesus, as in fact has already been done in the Betrayal scene. Legally, the case against Jesus involves malicious prosecution here and elsewhere in the Trial plays (see Tiner, "English Law," pp. 145–46).
- 80 *Do on dayntely and dresse me on dees.* The dais, on which he is also being prepared for bed, serves as the location of his bishop's throne. The bed must be nearby. After he sleeps and Anna leaves the set, the scene moves to Peter's predicted denial of his Lord. This cannot be in the same location but rather where Jesus can be brought by, bound with ropes, as later he is being brought to the high priest's palace. A flame will be required by which Peter hopes to be warmed in the cold night.
- 130a *youre felawschuppe.* The manuscript has *oure felawship*, but Peter remains an outsider, all the more so since he has deserted his Master, as Malcus points out upon his recognition of him.
- 137a *hurled hym hardely.* So Jesus will be treated in his captivity as, with his hands tied, he will be dragged from place to place and tortured. It will be Malcus who points out, at line 161, that Peter has thrice denied his Lord. Then Jesus will pass by for a short speech in which he confirms the denial, whereupon Peter must repent since he stands as a direct contrast to Judas, who is unable to do so. There is a problem with the time scheme here, since Peter's recognition of what he has done in denying Jesus comes at the cock crow — i.e., morning — and otherwise in this pageant the action is taking place in the depths of the night.
- 169 *full sadde sorowe sheris my harte.* Peter's sight of Jesus is stressed in the *Northern Passion*, which reports that at that point the apostle was "ful drery in his thought" and went forth, weeping "sare" (1:75; Harleian manuscript), the stage action implied here. The lines that follow will be in the long alliterative line.
- 177 *nowe of the nyght.* Noon of the night, midnight, but again the nighttime here is in fact very indeterminate. The third and fourth soldiers must be outside, with the first and second inside the gate to the priests' palace.
- 247 *we myght als wele talke tille a tome tonne.* The image of an empty barrel as inappropriately signifying Jesus, who is the silent one, noted for his patience. The soldiers are a hardened lot, while Jesus, as frequently noted, is presented as one who is silent "as a sheep to the slaughter, and shall be dumb as a lamb before his shearer, and he shall not open his mouth" (Isaias 53:7). Woolf suggests the influence of the *Meditations* and related writings (*English Mystery Plays*, p. 257). At line 248 Anna says that he thinks Jesus is "witteleſ." But, as Robinson notes, Anna's charge is premature "since Jesus has not yet been asked any questions or given a chance to speak" (*Studies in Fifteenth-Century Stagecraft*, p. 183).

- 256–57 The interrogation begins in earnest, with the listing of charges. No lawyer is allowed for the defense. The scene may not have appeared very different from that depicted in an alabaster to which attention is called by Hildburgh, “English Alabaster Carvings,” pp. 77–78, pl. XVI.d; here Caiphas is seated on a throne, with hands raised as he interrogates Jesus, who has his hands tied before him. In the background are a man with a scroll of parchment and a number of others. Caiphas is wearing a miter, and is clean shaven.
- 266–69 One of the charges against him involves his prophecy of the destruction of the Temple, and his claim to be able to raise it up again in three days. See Matthew 26:61, Mark 14:58.
- 274–75 *Jesus of Jewes will have joie / To spille all thy sporte for thy spellis.* Beadle would amend to “we will have joie” (RB, p. 250), but the line is more likely ironic. Of course, as bullies the priests will have pleasure on account of what they are able to inflict on Jesus. See also line 288: “we schall have game or we goo.”
- 286 *by Beliall bloode and his bonys.* The blood and bones are relics of a demon, Belial, and represent the reverse of the cult of relics of saints.
- 292 *Yf thou be Criste, Goddis Sonne, telle till us two.* See Matthew 26:61, Mark 14:58. Jesus will not fall into the snare, but now will speak briefly, answering that Caiphas has made this statement himself. He is aware of the priests’ strategy to obtain a conviction and subsequently execution, as lines 312–18 demonstrate. But here the priests take his answer to be as good as a guilty plea. To Jesus’ complaint about the proceedings, Caiphas will only become irate, and the first soldier, calling him a beggar, chides him for “bourn[ing] with oure busshoppe” (line 327a).
- 331 *Wherfore thou bourdes to brode for to bete me.* It is presumably Caiphas, not the soldier who is the deceitful witness (“wrongs witteness,” line 329), so Jesus turns the charge of jesting or playing (as “to brode”—i.e., too broadly—or hastily) back upon his accuser.
- 336 *prelatis estatis.* The arrogance of Caiphas and Anna would have resonated from time to time with York’s citizens, who frequently did not have good relations with the higher clergy associated with the Minster and the archbishop; York wills demonstrate that, as an index of their affection, citizens’ bequests were very generous to parish churches, while little was usually given by them to the Minster.
- 340 *ye muste presente this boy unto Sir Pilate.* The decision to execute someone would need to be made by the secular authorities, just as in late medieval England. There a person could not be condemned to die by the ecclesiastical authorities, though he could be turned over to the civil government to do the deed.
- 344 *late men lede hym by nyght.* Injustice is best hidden, rather than exposed to the public. This is another reason for proceeding speedily through the night with Jesus’ trial, in addition to the requirement imposed of reaching a conclusion before the Jewish Sabbath; see Caiphas’ orders to the soldiers at lines 388–89.
- 355 *play popse.* A “common game” in which a person is blindfolded, then is to guess who hit him; “until he rede him that smote him, he will be blindfold stille and

hold in for the post of player" (Owst, *Literature and Pulpit*, p. 510, quoting MS. Bodley 649, fol. 82). In the Towneley *Coliphizacio* the game is called "A new play of Yoyll" (Play 21, line 498), but elsewhere it is called *Hot Cockles* (Owst, *Literature and Pulpit*, p. 510).

- 356–57 *stole . . . hatir.* The Buffeting. Jesus will sit on the stool, like a "foole" in this game (line 358), with the cloth (*hatir*) over his head so that he cannot see those who are hitting him with the palms of their hands in what the torturers consider a game. In this and other episodes of torture during the Passion, the iconographic evidence indicates that the tormentors surrounding Jesus should appear to be like animals, as in the *Holkham Bible Picture Book* (fol. 29v), to be consistent with Psalm 21 (AV 22), the psalm read in the liturgy on Good Friday: "Many dogs have encompassed me," etc. The relevance of this psalm to illustrations of the Passion is discussed by Marrow, "*Circumdederunt me multi.*" Part of the torment at this time, according to the accounts in Matthew and Mark, involved being spit upon (and so too in later redactions of the story, as in Love's *Mirror*, p. 168), and something of this may have been effected, though the text of this pageant does not specify it. For a depiction of spitting, see the *Speculum humanae salvationis* (Wilson and Wilson, *Medieval Mirror*, p. 178) and the discussion in Marrow, *Passion Iconography*, pp. 132–34.
- 369 *Wassaile, wassaylle.* As if raising a drink to offer a toast.
- 373 *Quis te percussit.* Garbled quotation in manuscript, as emended by Beadle on the basis of Luke 22:64.
- 376 *stode in a foles state.* The point has been missed by those who wish to speak of Christ as a "fool king," for the pageant is in fact trying make clear that it is the tormentors who are the fools, not the Christ who is keeping his silence out of "hie pacience" (Love, *Mirror*, p. 168). His wits are hardly "awaye," as the fourth soldier believes (line 375b).
- 395 *daunce forth in the devyll way.* Concluding Caiphas' curse. The Dance of Death, leading to that which lies beyond the hellmouth — i.e., the realm of the *fende*.

30. THE FIRST TRIAL BEFORE PILATE

The most noteworthy aspect of the dramatization of the initial trial before secular authority is perhaps the addition to the story of Pilate's wife Procula, here called Percula, derived from a single brief biblical reference (Matthew 27:19) and given extensive treatment in the Middle English *Gospel of Nicodemus*.⁷² This material seems not to have been part of the Tapiters and Couchers' play at the time the *Ordo paginarum* was compiled, and the differences in versification noted by Richard Beadle and others suggest stages of composition,⁷³ though the presence of the long alliterative line is maintained. Thus the entire drama must be later than

⁷² Middle-English *Harrowing of Hell* and *Gospel of Nicodemus*, pp. 34–37; compare James, ed., *Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 98.

⁷³ See especially RB, pp. 446–47.

the *Ordo paginarum*, and probably was written at least in part at about the same date as the previous pageant and others in the Passion series with similar use of the alliterative line, which here falls into nine-line stanzas but with differing rhyme. Lineation and the frequent errors in the text have necessitated considerable editorial attention, and in this the early edition of Lucy Toulmin Smith as well as the more recent work of Richard Beadle must be acknowledged. Nevertheless, the writer of the pageant has been admired for his skill in dramatizing the episodes included by him in the pageant and for making them come to life.⁷⁴ The scenes with Percula, leading up to her dream in which the devil tempts her (a parallel that quite deliberately is intended with the temptation of Eve, a connection noted by Woolf as deriving from the *Glossa Ordinaria*),⁷⁵ are particularly vivid. The trial itself likewise is a complex presentation designed to make the events believable as part of the collective memory. The trial certainly suggests considerable familiarity with the legal system and common-law criminal trials.⁷⁶ King identifies the procedure from a legal standpoint as summary justice existing outside of the usual order of statute law.⁷⁷ In general, there is careful attention to detail and argumentation, even in the monologues of Pilate and the devil, as has been noted by Hans-Jürgen Diller.⁷⁸ The guilds that produced the play also, on account of their work in making ornamented cloths and bed covers, would have been able to add substantially to the visual effect of the pageant.

- 1–27 The ranting introduction and self-flattery of the Roman procurator distinguishes him as a bragging tyrant, historically a brutal enforcer of Roman rule. Here he is characterized by two of the Seven Deadly Sins — i.e., Pride and Wrath — in his attitude toward potential challengers (see Mussetter, “York Pilate”). He holds up a sword, a symbol of his authority, to threaten his audience, but his tone changes abruptly at lines 25–27 when his wife appears. Other complexities in Pilate’s character appear in the course of the pageant; he is anxious to maintain justice, but ultimately as a politician he will of course fail to do so under pressure. For Pilate’s parentage, see also the *Stanzaic Life*, p. 219.
- 37–45 Percula (identified in the speech tags as Uxor or Domina) describes herself as *dame precious* and the prize of princes and thus is a parody of the vain stereotypical woman. Presented in terms familiar in medieval anti-feminist discourse, she is dressed “in richesse of robis” that would likely have been extravagant to the extreme and hence probably ridiculous. What follows is a parody of a love scene, interrupted by Bedellus. It is to be expected that she was played by a young, fair-faced boy.
- 59 *howe you javell jangill of Jewes*. Disappointed and angry about the interruption, Percula engages in highly indecorous conduct, in this serving as a reminder of

⁷⁴ For a survey of iconographic traditions upon which the dramatist has drawn, see Schiller, *Iconography*, 2:61–64.

⁷⁵ Woolf, *English Mystery Plays*, p. 245.

⁷⁶ See Tiner, “English Law,” p. 144, who also calls attention to proceedings before the King’s Council.

⁷⁷ King, “Contemporary Cultural Models,” p. 207.

⁷⁸ Diller, *Middle English Mystery Play*, p. 144 and *passim*.

- her perverse role — perverse as was Eve's in the Garden, for, as noted above, she will be seduced by the devil in her dream to attempt to prevent the sacrifice of Christ on the cross. The present scene presents her as utterly self-centered and as a sex object, suggesting the sin of Luxuria or Lechery.
- 73–85 The description of the sun descending toward sunset is a purple patch, leading up to the suggestion that Percula should leave her husband's court and go home to their dwelling. A curfew is specifically applied to her, here defended by the claim that she might "stakir in the strete" (line 85). Curfews were the rule in medieval York, and, with streets being dark and unlighted, it is not unreasonable that she should have been expected to be safely at home. But it will emerge that Pilate will have work to do as a judge, a role that was a male prerogative.
- 93b *with wynne ye had wette yowe.* They must have a drink of wine before she leaves, suggesting another of the deadly sins, Gluttony. Indeed, the scene reaches the height of ridiculousness when Pilate praises Percula at line 109 as the "fayrest figure that evere did fode fede."
- 118 *telle me yf any tythyngis betyde.* Pilate is a jealous husband and wants his wife watched. This introduces another of the deadly sins, since jealousy is a species of Envy.
- 127–39 *to bedde that I wer broght . . . me nere.* Having "wette . . . with wyne" (line 135b), Pilate is clearly drunk and, as the preceding half-line shows, he is overweight. He will allow no noise or interruption, thus making way for a change of scene to Domina/Uxor, Percula's maid, and his son, who organize her going to bed, necessary if she is to dream.
- 158a *Owte owte, harrowe!* Extrametrical, here added to the first half of line 158. A noisy entry, with the sleeping lady nearby. The devil's gestures are invariably indecorous and exaggerated.
- 162 *And he be slone, oure solace will sese.* Diabolus' fear is that Jesus, through his sacrifice on the cross, will take away the captives who sit in darkness in his den, which is hell. He will lose his rights to those who have died and are now in his custody. His "solace" comes from tormenting and denying solace to his prisoners.
- 163 *He will save man saule fro oure sonde.* Ironic, since hell is hardly a place of safe-keeping.
- 167–75 Percula's dream, the devil speaking directly to her in her sleep. His appeal to her is directed to her wealth, position, and fear of deprivation. The deadly sins of Pride and Covetousness are invoked.
- 176 *I am drecchid with a dreme.* Compare the Middle English *Gospel of Nicodemus*: "I have ben dreched with dremes so / all this nyght" (p. 35, lines 197–98). She is affected, as Eve was, by the devil, and will do his bidding; she will send her lazy son, who is very unwilling to go to her husband at this time since he does not want to rise from sleep at this midnight hour.
- 196 *Sir Cayphas . . . this caytiffe we have cached.* Anna is speaking, and since he is a new arrival in this pageant — and a different actor than the one playing Anna in the previous pageant — he will address Caiphas by name, as the latter will also ad-

dress Anna by name in the next speech. They have Jesus in their custody when they arrive at Pilate's hall where they will charge him with capital offenses, but also they seem to be enjoying the "sporte" (see line 205) of so doing even though they are consumed by anger.

- 206 *I am pontificall prince of all prestis.* Caiphas' position is high priest of the Temple for the year.
- 214 *rugge hym in ropes.* The dragging of Jesus, passive as a lamb (for he is the Lamb of God), becomes progressively more cruel and inhumane. Marrow quotes Ludolphus of Saxony's *Vita Christi*, 2:61, concerning the way he is led to Pilate "*to be devoured by the wicked judge as by a mad dog [rabido cani]*" (*Passion Iconography*, p. 36). In line 222, the term "hurled," signifying violent action (*MED*), is used to describe the manner of dragging him, and the second soldier has indicated that they will "pulle on with pride till his poure [strength] be paste" (line 218). Anna will also use the term "drawe" (line 227b), which might have the connotation of *drawing* either to execution or to death by being pulled apart, for which usage see Play 32, lines 230–31. See also Filius' statement in line 391: "No ruthe were it to rug thee and ryve thee in ropes." In Love's *Mirror* he is said to have been "ladde as a thefe" (p. 169).
- 223 *he stonyes for us, he stares where he standis.* Embedded stage direction, and also one of the indications that the bullying soldiers consider him to be a fool for his passivity.
- 233b *may rayse with oure rolyng.* The soldiers with Jesus make a considerable ruckus; their agitation would perhaps have been described in contemporary terms as "riot."
- 263a *am I light as a roo.* Pilate has sobered up.
- 269 *stronge in youre state for to stande.* That is, in the dock.
- 275 *to the benke.* To the bench for a legal proceeding or trial, but Caiphas and Anna explain that as priests of the Temple they cannot enter a secular court (line 278). Their involvement in a capital case would be a violation of British law; see Tiner, "English Law," pp. 146 and 149 n. 28, citing William Lyndwood, *Provinciale* (1689), 3:29.
- 280–90 Filius arrives with his message from Pilate's wife concerning her "swevene" relating to Jesus, whom she hopes to save from execution.
- 312–15 The Beadle, recalling the veneration extended to Jesus on Palm Sunday, must bow and kneel and worship Jesus. This will be dismissed by Jesus' accusers and tormentors. At lines 338–46, the Beadle returns to his Palm Sunday experience, when he saw the crowd singing psalms and venerating him.
- 361 Pilate takes up his role as examiner, with Anna and Caiphas as accusers.
- 392–93 *Why falles thou noght flatte here . . . / For ferde of my fadir so free?* Jesus remains upright and does not bow, kneel, or fall down here, nor does he acknowledge Pilate's authority in any way.

- 402 *of a Payne, and appere.* Jesus is being summoned to the bar, where he will be accused by the priests from the Temple. They will present the charges, which are so flimsy that Pilate is not impressed. As Pilate notes, their allegations have no merit.
- 509 *fro Galey.* Pilate's discovery that Jesus comes from Galilee allows him to evade making a judgment, since this is a region under the jurisdiction of King Herod (see Luke 23:6–8). Jesus will be passed on, again being dragged to his next location. In the pageant, this could have involved dragging him from one station to the next where this play will be repeated.

31. THE TRIAL BEFORE HEROD

The trial before Herod Antipas is told only in Luke 23:6–12, where the most significant detail is Jesus' refusal to speak and the subsequent Mocking, after which he will be sent back to Pilate. The story appears in expanded form in the *Gospel of Nicodemus* and the *Stanzaic Life*, and was reputed to have been illustrated in a window in Christ Church on King's Square along the pageant route.⁷⁹ An extant example in York glass from c. 1420–30 is present in the choir of the Minster,⁸⁰ and the subject appears elsewhere, as in the *Holkham Bible Picture Book*, fol. 30.⁸¹ The play, presumably from around the same date as the other plays written in the long alliterative line, is thus undoubtedly later than the defective and decidedly unrevealing entry in the *Ordo paginarum*, and only in the second list, also in the *York Memorandum Book A/Y*, is a play of the Presentation of Christ before Herod given to the “Lyttesters” or Dyers.⁸² The extant text, characterized by irregularity of the verse and stanza forms,⁸³ presents many difficulties, as do the other plays written in the long alliterative line.

- 1–26 The ranting introduction by the tyrant, perhaps here confused with his father Herod the Great who was the villain of the Massacre of the Innocents, should by now be recognized as a familiar formula. It is again a mock challenge to the audience. In line 4, he brandishes a sword, specified at line 255 as the curved falchion that would have been considered the sign of a Middle Eastern tyrant. However, this iconography is not necessarily typical. For example, the enthroned and crowned king in the *Holkham Bible Picture Book*, fol. 30v, holds a conventional ceremonial sword in place of a scepter, and is pointing at Jesus with his *left* hand. His extended index finger is a gesture signifying accusation, and his crossed legs suggest a figure whose personality is out of balance, as also evident in this introductory passage in the pageant.
- 36 *ilke a renke . . . gone to ther reste.* Designating the time as during the night; all are asleep, and Herod will shortly call for his nightcap, a glass of wine, before going to “wynke” (line 41). He will drink after line 42, as the stage direction indicates.

⁷⁹ Gent, *Antient and Modern History*, p. 188.

⁸⁰ Y4, p. 73.

⁸¹ See also, for example, Schiller, *Iconography*, 2:63, fig. 218.

⁸² REED: York, 1:26.

⁸³ See RB, pp. 447–48.

- 43 *unlase you.* “Points,” or laces, were used for closing garments and shoes.
- 52–53 *Ser Satan, oure sire, / And Lucifer.* Invoked, along with Mohammed, by characters to show their moral and spiritual allegiances. Significant for understanding the dualism of medieval popular religion.
- 55–60 While Herod sleeps, the soldiers arrive with Jesus in the platea before a representation of a gate on the wagon stage. The Register lacks stage directions, but, as has been seen above, they are frequently embedded in the dialogue. The soldiers’ purpose is to deliver Jesus so that Herod will do as expected — i.e., condemn him to death.
- 74 *sloppe.* Herod’s loose outer garment needs adjustment; in the fifteenth century this normally reached below the knees. The garment specified here could be expected to have been colorful and to have displayed the ingenuity of the sponsoring guild.
- 96 *nemys hym no more.* Pilate and Herod had been in conflict, as the biblical account indicates (Luke 23:12). Note also Herod’s hope that Pilate will recognize his greater authority (line 131).
- 109–19 Having allowed Jesus and Pilate’s knights to enter, Herod is only willing to deal with Jesus if there is opportunity for entertainment. When he discovers his name, he recognizes that this man is one whom he is indeed happy to see, and he anticipates the “games” that he believes will begin. Luke’s gospel indicates that Herod was anxious to see a miracle, and this aspect of the story was expanded in later accounts. *The Mirour of Mans Salvacioune* says that Herod “was fulle gladde, hoping of thee [i.e., Jesus] some meruelle to se, / Holdyng a fals wikked nygromancere thee to be” (lines 4617–18, p. 212).
- 142 *I hope we gete some harre hastyly at hande.* Signifying Herod’s wish to learn something, even something useful (actionable intelligence?).
- 145–46 *Saie, beene-venew . . . parle remoy.* Herod speaks in a parody of diplomatic French.
- 160 *bryngis ye hym nygh.* Embedded stage direction. Now Jesus will be brought directly to the king, before whom he will stand silently. This will lead to the accusation that he is a “sotte,” or fool. There will be little courtesy in Herod’s court. In this pageant particularly, Jesus’ silence will be the source of frustration and a motive for the subsequent action: the further elaboration of Jesus as the silent sufferer being led, at first to be sure from place to place, but eventually as a sheep, in this case the *Agnus Dei*, to the slaughter.
- 184 *He knawes nocht the course of a kynge.* Herod excuses Jesus, who has failed to kneel before him, on the basis of his presumed ignorance.
- 201–13 For the miracle of the five loaves and two fishes, and twelve baskets of leftovers, see Matthew 14:14–21 and Mark 6:35–44. The two dukes, as representatives of Caiphas and Anna, are the accusers.
- 239–46 Herod, having been frustrated by Jesus’ unwillingness to kneel or otherwise acknowledge his authority, explodes into inexplicable nonsense, including words

- that mimic the sound of Anglo-Norman French. Smith wrote, “There seems little attempt at sense (purposely) in this jumble of French and Latin” (*York Plays*, p. 300).
- 251 *it astonys hym, youre steven is so store. Store*, from Old Norse *stórr*, “great, huge.” Embedded stage direction. Herod has been shouting, indeed a “*byg blure*” (line 253).
- 254 *be Mahoundes bloode*. An oath, but one not used by Englishmen! Swearing by Christ’s wounds was common.
- 261–64 *Si loqueris . . . parantur*. Unidentified quotation.
- 267–68 Apparently naming the dukes as Dewcus and Udins and identifying their sovereign Herod, but otherwise a parody of French.
- 275–76 *as a knave cledde, / Wherto calle ye hym a kyng?* In his dress Jesus does not appear to be an aristocrat, and thus he cannot convince Herod that he is a royal and divine king, as he alleges to be. See Herod’s statement in line 284: “Grete lordis aught to be gay”—i.e., impressively dressed. As he is dragged about after his arrest, he will appear more and more like a victim and less and less like one who might indeed be the Savior of the world. In lines 279–83 the notion is put forward that Jesus is intimidated by the rich array of Herod, but in no sense would he have mistaken the tyrant Herod and his men for angels!
- 337 *clothe hym in white*. See Luke 23:11: “And Herod with his army set him at nought, and mocked him, putting on him a white garment, and sent him back to Pilate.” “White garment” (Vulgate: *vesta alba*) is a mistranslation of the Greek text, which specified “gorgeous apparel.” Compare the *Northern Passion*: “He sufferd all thaire werkes ill, / And no word wald he say thar till. / Than Herod gert for grete despite / Cleth him all in clathes white” (1:101, Harleian manuscript, lines 998a–1000). At line 355 the article of clothing is called a “*haterell*,” probably a generic term for a gown, and at line 357 a “*joppon*,” the latter term likely to have been chosen for alliteration rather than accuracy in reporting the actual costume chosen. In any case, he will be returned to the king thus arrayed at line 369.
- 371a *crye in my courte*. Crying out for anyone who knows anything against Jesus as a way of assuring fairness in the trial, such as it is.
- 382–83 *saiet to Pilate / We graunte hym our frenschippe*. See Luke 23:12: “And Herod and Pilate were made friends that same day.”
- 399 *We fynde no defaute hym to slee*. Ultimately Herod must admit that the charges against Jesus are inadequate to condemn him.
- 401 *rollis of recorde*. Tiner explains that this is “a common-law technical phrase referring to the written documents of a court” which “contain previous judgments as well as evidence touching the case at hand” (“English Law,” p. 145).
- 411–13 *Bidde hym wirke as he will . . . motte he thee*. Herod’s dismissal of Jesus.
- 424 *Daunce on, in the devyll way*. Compare Caiphas’ similar concluding curse in Play 29, line 395.

32. THE REMORSE OF JUDAS

The 1415 description of the *Remorse of Judas* in the *Ordo paginarum* is too fragmentary to be useful except for the reference to the thirty coins as pieces of silver, as in the *Conspiracy* (Play 26, line 276) and in the biblical account. Thirty pennies, designated here in the playtext, would have been a small amount of money, by the end of the fifteenth century equivalent to perhaps a week's wages, depending on one's occupation.⁸⁴ The biblical sources are the brief accounts in Matthew 27:3–10, which includes Judas' suicide, and Acts 1:18–19. The pageant as we have it is a much expanded version of the story, again a new play or rewriting in the long alliterative line, mostly in eight-line or eleven-line stanzas and based on the elaboration of the narrative as found in the *Northern Passion*. The extant text likewise adds Pilate to the characters noted in the *Ordo paginarum*. While the second listing of pageants in the *Memorandum Book A/Y* additionally lists a *Suspensio Jude* pageant, also noted in 1432 as having Judas "burst in the middle,"⁸⁵ this play is lost. The dramatic ending of Judas' life in which a devil emerges from his bowels, though included elsewhere as at Coventry where a hook was purchased in 1578 for his hanging,⁸⁶ was never added to Cooks and Waterleaders' (or Watercarriers') drama about his remorse. The selfishness and callousness of the priests and of Pilate are emphasized, culminating in what can only be described as theft of land by these bullies that will be the field of blood from the knight who only wants to mortgage it.

- 16 *Nor no man to grath hym no gate.* Purvis' translation "Begin not to go on your gate" (*York Cycle of Mystery Plays*, p. 248) is speculative. The *MED*, citing this line, glosses "grath . . . gate" as "go away, set off, depart."
- 23 *golde wyre.* Pilate's self-flattery reveals at least that his hair color is blond.
- 26 *prince prevyd undir palle.* Here a generic secular gown distinguishing a man of authority, but it would have been sufficiently elaborate to identify Pilate's high status.
- 75 *faute in hym I fynde none.* Pilate is rejecting as legal grounds for conviction the recital once more of allegations by Anna and Caiphas. Compare Luke 23:4. He will, however, give them a chance to confront Jesus again and to accuse him by summoning him back to court (the legal term is "racleyme," in line 79).
- 85–87 *on the raynebowe . . . oure dedis.* Jesus has referred to the rainbow as a sign that appeared to Noah and that will again appear at the Last Day when he returns to judge the living and the dead "aftir oure dedis."
- 90 *wene ye be wiser than we.* Here is highlighted the contrast between the view of Jesus that Pilate and the others have of him on the one hand, and the audience's perception of him as both God and Man. The arrogance of his accusers undercuts audience sympathy for them and helps to focus attention on the suffering Savior.

⁸⁴ Dyer, *Standards of Living*, p. 215.

⁸⁵ REED: *York*, 1:48, trans. 2:733.

⁸⁶ REED: *Coventry*, p. 289.

- Note the use of the word “sauterell,” implying “babbler,” in relation to Jesus in line 93.
- 115–16 *be Beliall bonis . . . of golde.* Swearing by Belial’s bones, or relics. No bribe will be sufficient in this instance to effect Jesus’ release.
- 129 *comaundis us to drynke.* Embedded stage direction; they drink as Judas appears in order to recite his monologue prior to greeting Pilate and the chief priests in line 153.
- 130–52 Judas reveals his plan to return the thirty pence, which would be his only chance of redemption, but despairs about his own spiritual condition, for he has performed such a heinous deed as to betray his innocent (“Sakles,” line 142) master.
- 168 *we bought hym.* Caiphas insists that Jesus has been purchased like a piece of property and regards him like a slave who can be killed, if that is their wish. This is a violation of human rights as understood in the fifteenth century as clearly as today, for Judas had absolutely no legal right to sell him in the first place.
- 214–24 Judas’ trespass is beyond redemption because he is able only to express remorse and not to be truly repentant; as the Harleian manuscript of the *Northern Passion* states, “He thoght his wikkednes was so grete / That forgifnes might he none gete” (1:87, line 856a–b). His offer to serve Sir Pilate faithfully will only be greeted with derision. Judas is indeed a celebrity (see line 212), but only as one of the prize villains of history along with Cain.
- 270 *Take it agayne that ye toke me.* Embedded stage direction. Judas hands over the bag of coins to Anna, who will not accept it but will pass it back quickly to the traitor (line 274).
- 289 *traytoure attaynte.* Caiphas regards Judas as a convicted criminal; he has accepted the fact of his guilt, the equivalent of pleading guilty in the court. Legal terms, such as would have been recognized in fifteenth-century England, are used here and subsequently by Caiphas and Judas himself.
- 305–06 *Me thare aske no mercy, for none mon I gete, / . . . schall fordo me.* Judas shows himself to be in the depths of despair, which is the lack of the hope of salvation and expectation of hell as a just reward. This is of course presumption, theologically speaking, since no one is beyond salvation if one uses the means of penance and absolution available to all; see Snyder, “Left Hand of God,” p. 34, citing Origen, *In Matt.* 117. Despair without repentance is often depicted as leading to suicide, and is so depicted in numerous illustrations of the Vices, most famously in Giotto’s representation in fresco in the Arena Chapel at Padua; for further examples, see the list in Hourihane, *Virtue and Vice*, pp. 350–52. Judas’ death was particularly gruesome since his mouth had kissed Jesus and thus his soul could not leave him by that route with his last breath, as normally; instead, as the *Northern Passion* explains, his soul left “his wambe” and “went out / And his entrailes so fell him fra” (1:87, Harleian manuscript, lines 861–62).
- 318 *take me nowe unto my dede.* The suicide will be offstage. As Judas leaves, he flings down the money bag (see line 324). Oddly, Pilate will be the one to say that the

money shall not come into their *corbonan* (they use the Latin term from the Vulgate signifying “treasury” in Matthew 27:6 and also in the Harleian manuscript of the *Northern Passion*, 1:89, line 873).

- 347 *A place . . . wolde I wedde sette.* The knight’s wish is to mortgage his land, not to sell it (see line 352). In the Cornish *Ordinalia*, the man who arrives to offer sale of property, for “thek-warn-ugans [thirty] sterlyn [sterling],” is the Crozier Bearer (*Ancient Cornish Drama*, 1:346, line 1554), but it is a straightforward sale, not a dishonest one in which he is cheated.
- 349 *fre be my fredome.* He is a freeman, able to own property, and he holds legal title to the plot of land, called Calvary.
- 371 *The Felde of Bloode.* See Acts 1:19; *Northern Passion*, 1:91.

33. THE SECOND TRIAL BEFORE PILATE

Concluding the series of Trial pageants, the Tilemakers’ play, in spite of missing a leaf that was lost sometime after the middle of the sixteenth century, is one of the longer plays in the cycle. It was at one time two separate plays, as verified by the second list of pageants in the *York Memorandum Book A/Y*. These presented the trial as distinct from the Flagellation and Crowning with Thorns or Mocking.⁸⁷ The episodes therein dramatized were brought together by a dramatist who adopted the long alliterative line found elsewhere in the Passion series, but in this case choosing a twelve-line stanza that, as Beadle notes, is not elsewhere used.⁸⁸ Pilate’s hand-washing appears commonly in iconography⁸⁹ and is depicted in a devotional woodcut inserted in a local Book of Hours of c. 1420 in the York Minster Library (MS. XVI.K.6, fol. 45). Pilate typically appears with his servant, who has a ewer and a towel draped over his shoulder. In the play a basin would also of necessity have been included. However, local spirituality focused much more on the Flagellation and Mocking, which were culminating moments in the suffering of Christ in the Trial scenes. Love stresses the importance of imagining these events “by inwardre meditacion of alle hees peynes abidynghly, and bot thou fynde thi herte melte in to sorouful compassion, suppose fully and halde, that thou hast too harde a stonene herte.”⁹⁰ The pageant plausibly was regarded as an aid to such meditation since, made vivid in being staged, the sight would impress itself vividly on the memory. As Diller points out, these Trial plays are characterized by a conscious and serious effort by the York dramatist (or dramatists) to “de-carnivalize” the Torture scenes.⁹¹

- 1 *Lordyngis.* Pilate opens with a term of polite address; see *MED*, s.v. *lording* 7b. However, he soon begins threatening and reminds his listeners that he has the power of life and death over his subjects.

⁸⁷ See Meredith, “*Ordo paginarum* and the Development of the York Tilemakers’ Pageant.”

⁸⁸ RB, p. 450.

⁸⁹ Schiller, *Iconography*, 2:64–65.

⁹⁰ Love, *Mirror*, p. 171.

⁹¹ Diller, “Torturers,” p. 62.

- 37 *ye prelates of pees.* Caiphas and Anna are consistently seen as bishops “of the hoold lawe,” as the N-Town writer describes them (Play 26, line 164 s.d.), but peaceable they are not since they have been urging vengeance against the Prince of Peace.
- 46–51 Pilate has been awaiting news of the trial before Herod, and now is approached by the soldiers who have returned from his court. The first soldier in his “Hayll” greeting will parody the Hail lyrics directed to Christ, but here involving pure flattery.
- 55 *As his gud frende.* See also line 75, below, and comment on Play 31, lines 82–83, above. Herod and Pilate, who had previously been enemies, were cemented in friendship at this time, according to the account in Luke 23:12.
- 97–104 *Agayne Ser Cesar hymselfe he segges and saies . . . be slayne.* Citing Jesus’ answer to those who wished to entrap him with the question “Is it lawful for us to give tribute to Caesar, or no?” (Matthew 22:17, Mark 12:14, Luke 20:22). In Caiphas’ speech the charges against Jesus culminate in the accusation of blasphemy on account of his claim to be God’s Son and in his insistence that he deserves execution.
- 112–16 *Simon, Yarus, and Judas . . . Togithere.* Caiphas’ list of witnesses is adapted from the Middle English *Gospel of Nicodemus* (p. 25), which differs from the Latin original; see Craigie, “*Gospel of Nicodemus and the York Mystery Plays*,” p. 54.
- 131 *youre langage so large.* That is, Anna and Caiphas would say anything to prejudice Pilate against Jesus. Pilate recognizes here that this is a case of malicious prosecution; see Tiner, “*English Law*.”
- 142–45 *Uncleth hym, clappe hym, and clowte hym . . . lord badd.* Preco, the beadle, will do whatever is commanded, including torture, but here will only ask the knights to “bryng him to barre”—i.e., before the bar of justice. The soldiers are equally vicious and look forward in anticipation to the extreme torment to which Jesus will be put.
- 157 *stirre noght fro that stede.* Jesus is like a prisoner in the dock in an English court, but iconographic evidence only suggests that Jesus stands before Pilate, seated as judge. Jesus is said to have been brought “to barr” in the Middle English *Gospel of Nicodemus* (p. 34).
- 160–83 The episode of the banners in which the soldiers who hold them involuntarily lower them to show reverence for Jesus as for a king and as God’s Son; see the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, in which they explain that the “schaftes” were not under their control and “lowtyd noght at oure wyttinge” (p. 33), all very much to the shock of the high priests and Pilate.
- 205ff. Preco will round up “right bigg men and strange,” a “company of kevallis” (lines 217–18), but, as in the Middle English *Gospel of Nicodemus* (pp. 32–35), these strong men will also not be able to prevent their banners from bowing before Jesus in spite of the stern warning that they must not allow this to happen.
- 258 *the cokkis has crowen.* Identifying the time of day as morning, when a cry can be made for the final stage of the trial to begin. It is subsequent to the cry that the second set of strong men, along with Pilate himself, will bow to Jesus. In an

embedded stage direction (lines 274–75), Pilate explains that he had risen from his seat, unable to “abstene / To wirschip hym” in deed and in thought. It was, he explains, “past all my powre,” though he had tried very hard to restrain himself (line 278).

- 288 *Be his sorcery.* Caiphas’ claim that Jesus is a necromancer has been taken too seriously as *the charge against him*; it is only one of a number of allegations.
- 300–07 Jesus finally breaks his silence, in an oblique answer to Pilate only briefly rebuking those who are speaking ill against him. As the silent sufferer who will be led to his death like a sheep to the slaughter, he otherwise will not speak, even when severely tortured. He is an exemplar of patience, like Job, understood to be an Old Testament type of Christ.
- 322–23 *Us falles not, nor oure felowes in feere, / To slo no man.* The ecclesiastical courts cannot act on a capital case, but they are able to turn the person over to be convicted and sentenced by the secular authority.
- 326–27 *He is faulles . . . his gate.* Pilate objects to the procedure on the basis of his determination that Jesus is innocent, and would prefer to let him go free. To this Caiphas brings up the charge of treason against Pilate’s power (lines 329–32). This has an effect.
- 342 *Do wappe of his wedis.* The stripping of Jesus has a deeper typological significance, but it is doubtful that this would have been on the minds of either players or audience. Nevertheless, the act was something taken very seriously, for thereupon Jesus will stand, as Love reminds us, “nakede before hem alle” (*Mirror*, p. 170) like one in utter disgrace. He will be bound to a pillar (line 351), and the scourging, in which he patiently allows himself to be beaten bloody, will begin. His torturers again are modeled on Psalm 21 (AV 22), the Good Friday psalm, in which he is as if encircled by vicious attacking dogs, most vividly depicted in the fourteenth-century *Holkham Bible Picture Book*, where they use whips fitted with small pieces of metal attached to leather thongs (fol. 29v). In the *Bolton Hours* Jesus is depicted as wounded all over his body, from his head to his feet (York Minster Library, MS. Add. 2, fol. 57v). The Northern tradition associated with Richard Rolle has the number of wounds at 5,475 or thereabouts (Breeze, “Number of Christ’s Wounds,” pp. 87–90); the Towneley Resurrection play mentions 5,400 (Play 26, lines 291–92). He is beaten, according to Love, until “there was none semlynnesse nor beutyne in hym, and we helde him as foule as a leprose manne . . .” (*Mirror*, p. 171). In line 431 Jesus’ *flesh* will be described as “al . . . beflapped.” The description has its source in part in Isaiahs 1:6: “From the sole of the foot unto the top of the head, there is no soundness therein: wounds and bruises and swelling sores.” For further discussion, see Marrow, *Passion Iconography*, pp. 134–41. As in the case of the Coventry Smiths’ *Passion* pageant (*REED: Coventry*, p. 231), the Tilemakers’ Jesus would presumably have had a white leather body garment to simulate nudity as well as to provide a surface for simulated wounds. For detailed discussion of such a violent act in drama, Jesus’ nudity, and the veneration of his blood, see C. Davidson, *History, Religion, and Violence*, pp. 180–204.

- 380 *tarand*. If a tarandre is meant, as may be the case, this creature was chameleon-like in being able to change color; Beadle cites *OED* (RB, p. 524).
- 383 *He swounes or sweltes*. Previously the suffering Jesus had been accused of falling asleep; now the pain is so intense that he seems to lose consciousness.
- 386 *Nowe unboone is this broll, and unbraced his bandes*. Embedded stage direction; the unloosening that was begun “lyghtly” at line 384 is now completed, though it may appear that the ropes were not entirely removed. The Mocking will follow.
- 389 *We will kyndely hym croune with a brene*. The crowning with thorns as a mock king; the common model for the crown was the relic at Sainte-Chapelle in Paris (see Horne, “Crown of Thorns in Art,” and Réau, *Iconographie*, 2:2:457–59). It will be pushed into place at lines 400–01, so painfully that his brain “begynnes for to blede.”
- 390–92 *but first this purpure and palle / . . . sall he were / For scorne*. A purple gown. Love called it “an olde silken mantelle of redde” (*Mirror*, p. 171).
- 397 *sette hym in this sete*. A mock throne, as if he were seated in the great hall of a palace.
- 403–05 *rede . . . For his septure*. The fourth soldier places a reed in his right hand (Matthew 27:29). Mark, however, says the reed was used to strike him on the head (15:19), while John merely reports that the soldiers “gave him blows” (19:3).
- 408–16 Mock reverence for the King as *rex judeorum*. The soldiers presumably kneel, as Matthew’s account specifies.
- 420–21 Embedded stage direction. They lead Jesus back to Pilate — not an easy task because he is so sorely wounded.
- 434 *beholde upon hight and ecce homoo*. In John 19:13–14, Pilate, having seated himself in the judgment seat, shows Jesus to the people. In depictions in the late Middle Ages, he is shown dressed only in a loincloth, with hands still bound and consistent with Psalm 21:8: “All they that see me have laughed me to scorn: they have spoken with the lips, and wagged the head”; see Schiller, *Iconography*, 2:75–76. This was not infrequently presented as a devotional image, typically still bound and wearing the crown of thorns.
- 439 *In race*. Uninterpretable, appearing prior to the missing leaf which must have included the Jews’ demand that Jesus be executed and that Pilate should release the criminal Barabbas; see Matthew 27:15–23. On the next extant folio, Pilate’s hand washing follows in which he is attempting to deny his responsibility for the conviction of Jesus.
- 450–61 Pilate announces his judgment. Criminals will be hung on crosses on “aythir side” of Jesus on Golgotha.
- 472 *Nowe feste is he*. Jesus is more securely tied up; embedded stage direction.
- 474 *Drawe hym faste hense*. He will be violently led like an animal to the slaughter; the reference to “his tree” (line 481) suggests the presence of the cross, on which he

will be dragged away. But this is not consistent with the next pageant. It is indeed an evil hour, as the final line of the pageant suggests.

34. THE ROAD TO CALVARY

The passing of Jesus from Pilate's palace to Calvary is a continuation of the torment and suffering experienced by him during the legal proceedings against him. Only one of the tormentors appears at the beginning of the pageant, to be joined by a second and then at line 59 by a third, who is, unusually, given a name, Wymond. The path representing the road to Calvary must utilize the ground level, the playing area or *place*. The *Ordo paginarum* described a play in which Jesus, carrying his cross, appeared "covered with blood."⁹² The role of the tormentors as extreme bullies amplifies the action.⁹³ Love comments that Jesus "was drawene and hastede by grete violence, without reste, til he came to that foule stinkyng place of 'Calvarie,' where was set the ende and the reste of this harde bataile that we speken of."⁹⁴ The audience is asked to "make rome" for them to pass (line 16), and at the end they set off for "Calvarie," again passing through the audience. The *Meditations* cited Peter Comestor's *Historia scholastica* for the view that the cross was fifteen feet in height, and reports that Jesus, "the most gentle Lamb," took it up "patiently" and carried it.⁹⁵ But such a large cross would not have been easily brought onto the set by Wymond. Less familiar will be the playwright's use of the story of the wood of the cross that had been told in the *Northern Passion*⁹⁶ and other sources, ultimately deriving from the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. The history is complex. Grown from seed from Eden that was interred with Adam at his death, the tree was cut down for use in building Solomon's Temple, but failed to fit and was rejected. Thereafter it was used for a bridge over the brook Cedron (see line 64), and eventually a third of the wood from it was used for making the cross. A variant of this account appears in the *Golden Legend*.⁹⁷ The pageant's biblical source, which says nothing about the origin of the wood of the cross, is mainly Luke 23:26–32. Written principally in ten-line stanzas, the pageant was presented by the Shearmen, a trade that specialized in finishing wool cloth.

1–15 The first two stanzas seem to be additions to the text and are not in the ten-line stanzas in which the rest of the play mainly is written. In lines 9–11, the first soldier commands the audience not to give vocal support to the "traytoure" Jesus. This provides evidence for inherent audience sympathy for the victim and contradicts modernist views of subversive and "destabilizing" acting and widespread irreverence in response to the York mysteries. The pageant continues to present the tormentors as doglike, indecorous in their movements and barking their outbursts as they place Jesus on the cross. See the *Meditations* for reference to them as like "terrible and ferocious dogs," once more keeping Psalm 21 in

⁹² REED: *York*, 1:21, trans. 2:717.

⁹³ For illuminating commentary on bullying behavior, see S. White, "Psychodynamic Perspective."

⁹⁴ Love, *Mirror*, p. 175.

⁹⁵ *Meditations*, p. 331.

⁹⁶ *Northern Passion*, 1:135, 148–67.

⁹⁷ Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 1:277–78.

- mind (p. 319). Even porcine masks would have been appropriate for them, one would imagine.
- 52–54 *sties and ropes . . . nayles and othir japes.* Ladders were used in some accounts of the Crucifixion in which Jesus is attached to the cross while it is erect, though that will not be the case at York. Nails, in this case large spikes, were important objects of devotion; see their designation as *dulces clavos*, “sweet nails,” in the antiphon *Crux fidelis*, sung on Good Friday; see *Hymni*, fol. 22. The nails were frequently depicted in the visual arts of a devotional nature (see the example from a prayer roll of the young Henry VIII, illustrated in Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, fig. 110), most usually along with other instruments of the Passion, including the ropes and hammers, also displayed in the pageant (see line 92).
- 65 *Men called it the kyngis tree.* The tree had flourished in King David’s garden and hence came to be called the King’s Tree.
- 67 *balke.* Compare the *Northern Passion*, 1:161 (Harleian manuscript, line 617: “A mekill balk tham bud have ane”).
- 80–83 *I toke the measure . . . an ende.* The holes in the cross are already bored. Inevitably, however, an error has been made, not only showing the incompetence of the workmen but also proving the rightness of the prophetic passages in the Old Testament.
- 106–41 John’s *planctus* or lament, which breaks off on account of the loss of a leaf in the manuscript following line 141. The loss unfortunately hampers understanding of the scene and possible interaction with the soldiers.
- 127 *Mi modir.* Anachronistic reference to the Virgin Mary as John’s “modir,” since only at the scene of the Crucifixion is he designated as her son, a substitute for Jesus who is dying on the cross.
- 160–79 *Doughteres of Jerusalem . . . and dighte.* Jesus’ speech to his mother and the other Marys, based on Luke 23:28–31, is understood as a prediction of the final days of history and the Last Judgment.
- 183–86 *lete clelse thy face . . . This signe schalle bere witnesse.* Normally an act assigned to Veronica, here transferred to the third Mary. Jesus’ face makes an imprint on the cloth, which becomes a sign — and a valued relic — of the Passion. Extant examples of the “vernicle” from York appear in the *Bolton Hours*, fol. 174, and a fifteenth-century York Psalter (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. O.3.10), fol. 11v.
- 190–92 *Saie, wherto bide ye here . . . stevenis steere.* Unless there has been previous interaction lost with the missing leaf, this is the first notice by the soldiers of the lamenting holy women. The first soldier insultingly calls them “quenys,” or harlots.
- 193 *Go home, casbalde, with thi clowte.* Referring to the third Mary holding the vernicle. In lines 196–97 she responds that “This signe schall vengeance calle / On yowe.” The word “casbalde” is a term of abuse.
- 200 *Lady, youre gretlyng greves me sore.* In the extant text, he has not been greeted by the Virgin, though the next lines in which she asks for assistance suggest a

lacuna here. There is no indication in the stanza structure of something missing, however. That the holy women and John depart for Calvary is revealed by John in lines 203–04.

- 217 *oure tooles are before*. They do not have their tools in hand, but rather they will be waiting for them at the site of the Crucifixion.
- 225 *He swounes*. On account of being “forbledde” (line 223), Jesus is like one who is drunk and hence unable to carry the cross. For discussion, see Marrow, *Passion Iconography*, pp. 142–49. In the *Biblia Pauperum* (p. 93) and the *Speculum humanae salvationis* (Wilson and Wilson, *Medieval Mirror*, p. 184), Jesus carries his cross himself and is being led like an animal by a rope attached around his waist.
- 228–92 The enlisting of Symon of Cyrene to carry the cross is much expanded over the accounts in the synoptic gospels. Symon is on a journey to complete a vital business matter which is urgent and requires that he be at his destination on this day. The soldiers will be unbending and unfeeling, extremely mean and violent — once again like the “terrible and ferocious dogs” noted in the *Meditations* (p. 319, quoting Psalm 21:17).
- 309 *He muste be naked nede*. Jesus has been wearing his customary garments — i.e., his seamless cloak. This will now be taken from him and placed “in stoore” (line 331) until later. His blood makes the cloth stick to his sides (line 314).
- 341 *he is boune as beeste in bande*. Now shorn of his garment, he is led like a “sheep going to the slaughter,” here made explicit. He would have projected an image of one disgustingly bruised who could hardly be an object of affection and reverence if he were not the Savior, regarded as one who is like a beloved member of one’s family. Recognizing the force of such feeling is crucial to understanding the aesthetic and spiritual context of this pageant and the others in the Passion series.

35. CRUCIFIXIO CHRISTI

The *Crucifixio Christi*, presented by the Pinners (and Painters), dramatizes the cruel placing of Jesus onto the cross by four soldiers, who would dominate the pageant if it were not for the Savior who is the silent center of the action. Their quick and impulsive gestures, movement, and speech would have been regarded as being typical of evil as opposed to the equanimity of more stable good characters. They attach Christ to the cross on the ground, as in the alternate way of doing it noted in the *Meditations* and in Love’s adaptation of this work.⁹⁸ This is the manner in which the crucifying is done, for example, in a panel of painted glass now in the church of All Saints, Pavement, where, as too in the account in the *Northern Passion*, ropes are required to extend the body to fit the pre-drilled holes on the cross.⁹⁹ Jesus speaks only twice, once before being nailed to the cross, and the second time reciting a variant of very popular verses from the cross — the *O vos omnes* speech addressed

⁹⁸ *Meditations*, p. 334; Love, *Mirror*, p. 177. See also the discussion in Pickering, *Literature and Art*, pp. 237–48.

⁹⁹ C. Davidson, *From Creation to Doom*, pp. 125–26, fig. 11; *Northern Passion*, 1:188–89.

to those who pass by. The play, in twelve-line stanzas, represents a different style from the previous plays in the alliterative long line, and has some confusion in its speech designations. In this regard, the present text follows the edition of Beadle,¹⁰⁰ who in turn was guided by J. P. R. Wallis.¹⁰¹

- 7 *Sen we are comen to Calvarie.* Locating the scene. There is some difficulty again with imagining the pageant's action since much of it is as if on the ground; sight lines when Jesus is lying down, as he is during much of the play, are problematic even when using wagon staging. The *Ordo paginarum* specified that the crucifixion itself should be "super montem calvarie," which must have been a raised area on the pageant wagon.
- 25–26 *to this werke us muste take heede / So that oure wirkynge be noght wronge.* This statement has been taken as a sign that the soldiers are good workmen who are anxious to do a good job, just as craftsmen in the city of York are expected to do quality work. It is tempting to invoke the concept of the "banality of evil" introduced by Hannah Arendt (*Eichmann in Jerusalem*). The executioners in this case may be energetic, but they are certainly sadistic bullies who go out of their way to torment and cause pain — acts which they clearly enjoy in spite of their frustration with the process of attaching Jesus to the cross. The soldiers are too much like out-of-control guards at a concentration camp or similar prison facility to be sympathetic. Research such as the Stanford Prison Experiment demonstrates how ordinary human beings are capable of participating in torment and torture under circumstances in which they can see their victims as the "other" (see Zimbardo, *Lucifer Effect*). The executioners in this pageant are betrayed by circumstances and their lack of vision so that they too become like the other rabid torturers who have been observed in the previous Passion pageants in the cycle.
- 49–60 Jesus' prayer before being nailed to the cross may be compared to the prayer in the *Meditations* (p. 334) and also to the *Northern Passion*, 1:179.
- 75 *hymselffe has laide hym doun.* The *Meditations* and other sources report instead a violent action. Love wishes his readers to imagine Jesus being cast upon the cross by the soldiers, who are like mad thieves trying to pull his hands and feet so as to nail him to it (*Mirror*, p. 177); see also the *Northern Passion*, 1:179–80.
- 79–80 *he claymeth kyngdome with croune . . . schall hee.* Possible stage direction. He may have been given a crown here, but if so it could have been a mock crown such as was worn by a fool king in play; compare the paper crown placed on the head of the Duke of York in Shakespeare's *Henry VI, Part 3*, 1.4.93–95.
- 102 *a stubbe.* A short, thick nail (*MED*); see C. Davidson, *Technology, Guilds*, fig. 40 (p. 39), for an illustration, though the nail in this instance is not exactly a stub.

¹⁰⁰ RB, p. 451.

¹⁰¹ Wallis, "Miracle Play of 'Crucifixio Christi.'"

- 107 *It failis a foote and more.* Compare the *Northern Passion*: “If the tone hand at the bore ware, / That other failed a fute and mare” (1:189, Harleian manuscript, lines 1608–09).
- 131–32 *A roope schall rugge hym doune / Yf all his synuous go asoundre.* All Jesus’ sinews and bones indeed will be pulled asunder (see lines 147–48, 223–24), and this was regarded as having been predicted by Old Testament prophecy; see Psalm 21 (*AV* 22), particularly verses 15 and 18. Verse 18 also says, “They have dug my hands and feet,” predicting the driving of nails through Jesus’ hands and feet. Pickering notes that ropes had been mentioned in connection with the Crucifixion by Hilary of Poitiers in the fourth century (*Literature and Art*, p. 244). The account in the *Stanzaic Life* is even more violent and bloody than in the pageant.
- 144 *fourre bullis.* The suggestion that even four bulls would be ineffectual in pulling Jesus’ limbs into place is an echo of Psalm 21:13 (*AV* 21:12): “fat bulls have besieged me.”
- 161 *The mortaise is made fitte.* Having the cross fit into a mortise in a Passion drama may be reflected in a drawing of the Crucifixion in the *Carthusian Miscellany* (London, British Library, MS. Add. 37049, fol. 30). This therefore may be an instance in which art imitates the drama, a view promoted by Émile Mâle (*Religious Art*) and M. D. Anderson (*Drama and Imagery*), who believed that the artists were influenced by the stage. In general, however, a very healthy skepticism is required with regard to this theory.
- 225–26 *This fallyng was more felle / Than all the harmes he hadde.* The cross is now raised high. At first it will wobble until wedges are driven to stabilize it. The terrible pain of Jesus’ torment is consistently emphasized, and in this late medieval writers stressed the importance of sympathizing and identifying with the pain. For its greater intensity and the visible signs — e.g., the flow of blood caused by the shock of the fall — see Mâle, *Religious Art*, 3:85.
- 253–64 *Al men that walkis by waye or strete . . . saules to save.* Jesus’ address from the cross to those who pass by — i.e., in this case the audience watching the pageant. The words are again adapted from *O vos omnes*, the cry from Lamentations 1:12, chosen also as the text of an antiphon on Good Friday as well as a responsory on Holy Saturday, and incorporated in the Improperia. See Gray, *Themes and Images*, pp. 140–42. Jesus’ forgiveness of his persecutors is based on Luke 23:34.
- 273 *Vath, qui destruit templum.* Matthew 27:40, following the Vulgate text.
- 293 *I rede we drawe cutte for this coote.* Compare Psalm 21:19 (*AV* 22:18): “They parted my garments amongst them; and upon my vesture they cast lots.”

36. MORTIFICACIO CHRISTI

As the narrative and emotional climax of the Passion story, the Butchers’ pageant opens with Christ on the cross along with the two thieves, but with Pilate in front and center to tell his version of events in his long initial speech. The play comprises both the death of Jesus and his burial, both of which are specified for this pageant in the *Ordo paginarum* of 1415, though

since the verse adopts the long alliterative line, it is highly unlikely to have retained its early fifteenth-century form. Pilate still holds his equivocal position as one who was reluctant to kill Jesus but is compromised ethically in allowing the Crucifixion to proceed, while the high priests put forward their charges against him as vociferously as ever. Pilate is the author of the writing placed above Jesus on the cross, and he refuses to modify it. However, he must bear responsibility in spite of his effort to shift all blame to the high priests. The middle section in which the Virgin Mary and the others come onto stage is more or less consistent with the liturgical drama *Planctus Mariae*,¹⁰² and the death of Jesus and the final Deposition scene are of course closely related to the actual Good Friday rituals performed each year in the churches.¹⁰³ If the hostile Wycliffite *Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge* may be invoked, this pageant could have been the most *affecting* in the cycle, not unlikely moving members of the audience “to compassion and devocion, wepinge bitere teris.”¹⁰⁴ The verse of the *Mortificacio Christi* is in thirteen-line stanzas.

- 25–26 *Transgressours als / On the crosse schalle be knytte.* After mentioning hanging as a punishment for felons (lines 23–24), Pilate speaks of crucifixion and perhaps points upward to the three men on crosses, with Jesus noted as being “on yone hill . . . so hye” (line 34). Depictions of the crucified Christ at York show the central figure, sometimes along with Mary and John and others but never with the two thieves. They are, for example, present in the *Speculum humanae salvationis* (Wilson and Wilson, *Medieval Mirror*, p. 188) and the *Holkham Bible Picture Book* (fol. 32r–32v), where the thieves have their arms tied over the cross-arms of their crosses and only Jesus is nailed to his cross. Also, in the latter example, Jesus’ bloodied body stands in contrast with the thieves, whose clear white skin shows that they have not been tortured in the way he has been. Love reports that “stremes of that holiest blode” ran from all the “grete wondes” in his body (*Mirror*, pp. 177–78). It is not unusual, as in a panel of painted glass now in All Saints, Pavement (*Inventory of the Historical Monuments*, vol. 5, pl. 47), to see angels holding chalices to catch the streaming blood—a clear connection between the blood of Christ and the Eucharist.
- 82 *Thou saggard.* In late medieval art, Jesus usually hangs with arms upraised in the shape of a V to emphasize the pain, and his body most often is twisted into an S shape with the ribs clearly visible — a way of imagining the Crucifixion that became popular in the twelfth century and developed into more exaggerated forms in the later Middle Ages. See the emphasis in the pageant on the way Jesus’ back is bent (e.g., in line 123). Jesus’ shape approximated that of a harp, literalizing the stretching of the strings of the *cithara* of the psalms of David, with whom he was identified; in this way Jesus’ act of dying on the cross could be seen as symbolically achieving harmony between this world and heaven just as his own

¹⁰² See Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 1:503–13.

¹⁰³ See Sheingorn, *Easter Sepulchre in England*.

¹⁰⁴ *Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge*, p. 98, and, for brief commentary on the affective piety involved, pp. 132–33.

- nature united the human and divine. For discussion, see Pickering, *Literature and Art*, pp. 285–98, and C. Davidson, *From Creation to Doom*, p. 126.
- 97–104 *To save nowe thiselffe late us see . . . trewelye, ilkone.* Reported in the synoptic gospels as a collective mocking of Jesus on the cross by the rulers, chief priests, and others. Love cites this and other similar statements by Jesus' persecutors as blasphemy (*Mirror*, p. 178), itself in the Middle Ages considered a deadly sin and deserving of very severe punishment; see *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, s.v. *Blasphemy*.
- 107–17 *wipe ye yone writyng away*, etc. The argument over the motto placed at the head of Jesus' cross by Pilate. The objections are only reported in John 19:20–22. The Harleian text of the *Northern Passion* reports that Pilate's text was “wretyn in the parchemyne” in Greek, Hebrew, and Latin (1:195, lines 1659–60). St. John reports that words proclaimed “This is the King of the Jews.”
- 114 *Quod scripsi, scripsi.* John 19:22; see also the *Northern Passion*, 1:197.
- 118–30 *Thou man that of mys here has mente.* Jesus' speech is again based on the Good Friday *Improperia* or Reproaches. Jesus allowed himself to suffer on the cross thus because of his love for humankind, an emphasis that connects with the theme of Christ as a knight doing battle on the cross for his lady — i.e., the Church. See Woolf, “Theme of Christ the Lover-Knight.”
- 131–82 The laments of Mary. Mary presumably enters, having been brought onto stage by John, either before Jesus' speech or at line 131, but there is no rubric in the manuscript to indicate the moment of her arrival. As noted above, this section roughly parallels the liturgical drama *Planctus Mariae*, but with only two short speeches for Maria Cleophe and none for Mary Jacobi, who is also specified in the *Ordo paginarum*. Mary's weeping must be seen within the context of affective piety. The reference to the sword of sorrow derives from the prophecy of Simeon in the York *Purification* (Play 17, line 441), and here she is so traumatized that she despairs and wishes to die. Jesus has just given her John to serve as a new son in his place. Mary and John are the most frequent figures to appear with the crucified Christ on roods in churches, nearly always the most prominent images at or near the high altar, but they were common in other locations. When John, addressing the Virgin Mary as “modir” (line 161), suggests that they ought to leave the site of the cross, she will object, for she wishes to stay by her Son's side until he passes away.
- 183–91 *With bittirfull bale have I bought . . . And treste.* Christ as sacrifice has taken on himself all of the sins of the world. His sorrow is entirely suffered “for thy sake.” The *Golden Legend* quotes *Cur Deus homo* of Anselm of Canterbury: “There is nothing more painful or difficult that a man can do for God's honor than to suffer death voluntarily and not for debt but of his own free will, and no man can give himself more fully than by surrendering himself to death for God's honor” (Jacobus de Voragine, 1:208). In this way Jesus is the Great High Priest who sacrifices himself to release humankind from the powers of darkness, though, as conventional in Western tradition, not all members of the race — indeed, only a small minority — will be saved. In contrast to the belief of some early Christians such as Isaac the Syrian who believed that it would be blasphemous to impute to

- God the eternal condemnation to hell of sinners, the damned are to live in that place of darkness and punishment forever.
- 192–95 *For foxis ther dennys have thei . . . heed for to reste.* See Matthew 8:20.
- 196–99 *If thou be Goddis Sone . . . for to spille.* Spoken by the bad thief, Gesmas, at Jesus' *left*; this is his traditional position. Only Luke (23:39) among the synoptic gospels records a repentant thief; the others say that both thieves reviled Jesus. The thieves' names appear in the Middle English *Gospel of Nicodemus* (pp. 63 and 65).
- 200–08 *Manne, stynte of thy steven and be stille . . . to thi bliss.* Spoken by the thief on Jesus' *right*, Dismas. Following Luke 23:40–41, he rebukes Gesmas and accepts his own punishment with humility. He also proclaims Jesus' innocence: "Noon ille did hee."
- 209–12 *to thee schall I saie . . . principall.* Jesus' forgiveness is extended to the thief on his right, who is promised a place with him in paradise "this daye."
- 213–15 *Heloy! heloy! . . . Lama zabatanye.* *Heloy*, from Mark 15:34, is the Aramaic word for "My God"; in *Lama zabatanye* (Vulgate: *lama sabacthani*) Jesus is quoting from the incipit of Psalm 21 (AV 22): "O God, my God, look upon me: why hast thou forsaken me?" The source in Psalm 21 is noticed in the *Pepysian Gospel Harmony* (p. 99).
- 222–25 The character identified as Garcio is conventionally named Stephaton; he appears here as a boy, who offers a sponge with vinegar and gall (line 244). Stephaton appears frequently in iconography, as in a window of c. 1339 in the west end of the Minster, where he is dressed as a soldier (French and O'Connor, *York Minster: The West Windows*, p. 79).
- 248–60 *Thi drinke it schalle do me no deere . . . in manus tuas.* Jesus' final speech, beginning with his rejection of the sponge offered by Garcio/Stephaton, but ending with his affirmation that his work is finished and his commendation of his "spirite" to the hands of his Father ("in manus tuas"), echoing Psalm 30:6 (AV 31:5): "Into thy hands I command my spirit." This is the moment of his death, confirmed by his mother's moving six-line lament that follows.
- 272 *Lede we her heyne.* Embedded stage direction. Now that Jesus is dead, John and the Marys will leave the scene.
- 287 *Tho caytiffis thou kille with thi knyffe.* Pilate orders the soldiers to kill the two thieves, who are not yet dead. That Jesus died first was probably taken as a sign that the thieves were not tortured as Jesus was.
- 291–99 *Ser Longeus, steppe forth . . . grounde.* Longeus, or Longinus, is given the "spere" which he is to thrust into Jesus' side to create a wound that will, along with those in his feet and hands, serve to be an object of devotion, as in an illumination that has been associated with York and local veneration in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Lat. liturg., fol. 4v. See also Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 244–45, fig. 111. Longeus is blind, so another soldier, presumably the Centurion who speaks next, must guide the spear as he pierces the side of Jesus.

- 300–12 *O, maker unmade . . . markid in me.* Longeus immediately recognizes that Jesus was God, for, according to the Middle English *Gospel of Nicodemus*, he is given his sight on account of contact with Jesus' blood, which "sprent on Longeus eghen there, / And sone he sawe withouten doute" (p. 63, MS. Add., lines 629–30).
- 314–16 *This weedir is waxen full wan.* Compare the words of the Centurion in the Middle English *Gospel of Nicodemus*: "The sonne at his dede wex alle wanne" (p. 67, MS. Add., line 703). Jesus' death is marked by an eclipse and other marvels. The expectation would have been that these should be represented by sound and lighting effects; see, for example, Muir, *Biblical Drama*, p. 136. The Centurion is immediately inspired to believe in Jesus.
- 341–42 *Delyver . . . / And sewe, sir, oure Sabott to saffe.* Pilate is depicted as a Jew, which of course he was not. The rush to justice was one reason for the failure to achieve legal fairness. Now the burial must take place quickly. Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus will undertake that task.
- 370 *Nowe blemysght and bolned with blode.* Compare Love, *Mirror*, who describes Jesus' "lovely face alle defiled with spittynges and blode, and the heres of his berde drawen awey fro his chekes, as the prophete Ysaie speketh in his persone thus, *I gaf my body to hem that smyten it, and myn chekes to hem that drowen the her aweye*" (p. 185, quoting Isaia 50:6). For discussion of the significance of Jesus' blood at the Crucifixion, see C. Davidson, *History, Religion, and Violence*, pp. 180–204.
- 377 *Take we hym dounے us betwene.* The conventional iconography of the Deposition will pertain as they lovingly remove the nails and lower him to the ground. Love, in his adaptation of the *Meditations*, describes the process, which requires the use of ladders and pincers to remove the nails. In a painted glass panel formerly in St. Savour's Church and now in All Saints, Pavement at York, Joseph of Arimathea holds Jesus, whose hands have been released from the cross, while Nicodemus, below, pulls the nail from his feet (*Inventory of the Historical Monuments*, vol. 5, pl. 48). The holy women and John are not, however, present in the pageant as they are in the glass. In the play the two men perform an act of devotion.
- 381 *Late us halde hym and halse hym with hande.* Embedded stage direction. They must hold him more or less as the Virgin (who is not present) does in the *Pietà*. Because of the length of the play, this action could not have been given much time in performance.
- 382 *A grave have I garte.* Presumably a coffer tomb, as in another panel of glass now in All Saints, Pavement (*Inventory of the Historical Monuments*, vol. 5, pl. 48), where he is laid out. Joseph has a shroud (line 387), and Nicodemus has "oym-mentis" to "anoynte" him "With myrre and aloes" (lines 400–03).
- 406 *on knes here I knele.* Embedded stage direction. The Burial too is an act of devotion. For extensive kneeling in the Good Friday *Depositio* rite at Durham, see Sheingorn, *Easter Sepulchre in England*, pp. 129–30.

37. THE HARROWING OF HELL

The Harrowing of Hell, detailing the story of Christ's acts between his death and resurrection from the dead, has only a slight biblical source in 1 Peter 3:19 that reports Jesus "preach[ing] to those spirits that were in prison," augmented by Old Testament predictions believed to be present in Isaiahs 9:2 and Psalm 23:7 (*AV* 24). The story, which is still considered of great significance by the Eastern Church and is mentioned in the Apostles' Creed, developed a full narrative in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*.¹⁰⁵ In England this source made the story accessible not only through the Middle English version of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* but also by means of other sources such as the *Golden Legend*.¹⁰⁶ As King remarks, the *Desensus* is integral to the Holy Saturday liturgy.¹⁰⁷ The York pageant, produced by the Saddlers, is nearly identical to the corresponding play in the Towneley manuscript, which, however, must have derived from an exemplar separate from the Register. According to the *Ordo paginarum*, the characters were twelve good spirits and six bad, but obviously the others present in the extant play could hardly have been left out. The verse form is an eleven-line stanza. Music is returned to the cycle in this play, with the singing of the patriarchs and prophets at the beginning and again especially as they are taken up into heaven by Michael. The stage set must have a typical hellmouth, at the doors of which Jesus will appear. The doors will fall before him so that he can enter to rescue the patriarchs and prophets. The iconography may be studied in glass now in All Saints, Pavement but formerly in the Church of St. Saviour.¹⁰⁸

- 7–8 *aboute nowe woll I bee / That I have bought for to unbynde.* Jesus, or actually his soul (*Anima Christi*) since his "bodie bidis in grave" (line 23), will unbind those who have been in bondage in limbo on account of their lack of access to grace up to this time. With his (innocent) blood he has *purchased* those who will be released (lines 11–12) and hence in so doing he will have tricked the devil into surrendering his right to them.
- 36 s.d. *Tunc cantent.* The singing is ordered in a late addition to the manuscript, but no specific song is noted.
- 39 *Foure thowsande and sex hundereth yere.* Compare the lyric "Adam lay i-bowndyn": "fowre thowsand wynter thowt he not too long" (Brown, ed., *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*, p. 120).
- 41–42 *see I signe of solace seere, / A gloriouſ gleme.* A bright light that in the next speech by Eve will be identified with paradise. Possible means of creating such an effect are discussed by Butterworth, *Theatre of Fire*, pp. 55–78.

¹⁰⁵ See James, ed., *Apocryphal New Testament*, pp. 123–42. An overview appears in Turner, "Descendit ad Inferos."

¹⁰⁶ Middle-English *Harrowing of Hell and Gospel of Nicodemus*, pp. 97–121; Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 1:222–24.

¹⁰⁷ King, *York Mystery Cycle*, pp. 157–58.

¹⁰⁸ YA, p. 88, fig. 25. For discussion, see especially Sheingorn, "Who can open the doors of his face?," and, for practical aspects, Meredith, "Iconography of Hell."

- 50–54 *I, Ysaias . . . lende.* Referring to Isaias 9:2, which reports the great light shining into the darkness unto “them that dwelt in the region of the shadow of death,” but with borrowing from the Middle English *Gospel of Nicodemus*, p. 99; for example: “folke in merkenes dwellande” (MS. Add., line 1193).
- 58 *That seede to save us nowe.* Christ is the Son descended of the Father, hence derived from his “seede.”
- 65–68 *Lorde, late thy servaunt . . . in lande.* The *Nunc dimittis*; see the *Purification* pageant, Play 17, lines 415–27, above.
- 85–96 *Of that same light lernyng have I . . . fro Payne.* Moses too has had previous experience of the light, at the Transfiguration when Elijah also had been present. Following his speech, the action turns to the denizens of hell.
- 101 *this uggely noyse.* The devils have heard the singing, and interpret the harmonious as its opposite. Devils were believed to be unmusical, capable of noise but not harmony to which they are hostile. Their shouting represents lack of restraint.
- 110 *sperde in speciaill space.* That is, in limbo, mentioned above (line 102). Belsabub claims to be the “prince and principall” of this “space” (line 111).
- 119 *Lucifer, lovely of lyre.* Irony. The devils are conventionally very ugly indeed, and this is a sign that their values pertaining to physical beauty are upside down. For a fine example of the devil in the window of a York parish church (St. Martin Coney Street, located next to the Common Hall), see *Inventory of the Historical Monuments*, vol. 5, color pl. 61.
- 121, 123 *Attollite portas . . . eternales.* Psalm 23:7 (AV 24:7). Jesus traditionally holds a cross staff with banner, and has a shroud draped over his body; see, for example, Hildburgh, “English Alabaster Carvings,” pp. 89–90, pl. XX. The staff would have been used to pound on the gates of hell, which do not collapse in this first instance; there is a similar use of a staff, in this case a bishop’s crozier, against the door in the consecration ritual of a church or cathedral. David’s speech (lines 127–32) affirms Jesus in the attack on the citadel of hell in terms of a battle. The *Golden Legend* reports that Jesus’ voice was “like thunder” (Jacobus de Voragine, 1:223).
- 134 *All ertheley men to me are thrall.* Satan is, of course, mistaken; since in the Crucifixion humans have been redeemed from their bondage to him by one who seems a most unlikely choice — a man without regular lodging, house, or hall appropriate to royalty.
- 140 *sette furthe watches on the wall.* Embedded stage direction; devils must be dispatched to the walls, suggesting an upper level above the hellmouth itself. Such devils, for example, appear on the walls in the Harrowing in the *Speculum humanae salvationis* (Wilson and Wilson, *Medieval Mirror*, p. 194); this illustration has flames coming from the space within hell behind them. See also C. Davidson, *From Creation to Doom*, pp. 142–43.

- 159 *I knowe his trantis fro toppe to taile.* But Satan indeed will be tricked: he will be the beguiler beguiled by Jesus, who has deceived him by means of his appearance in human form and his humility.
- 165 *I entered in Judas.* A conventional notion, but a number of inconsistencies, as also in the story of Pilate's wife, will be noted in Satan's attempt to undermine Jesus.
- 181–83 *Principes, portas tollite . . . rex glorie.* The second challenge based on Psalm 23:7, substituting the final portion of the verse and differing from the Vulgate reading.
- 187–91 *That may thou in my Sawter see.* David's reference is to Psalm 23, but see the Middle English *Gospel of Nicodemus*, p. 109, and Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 1:223.
- 194 *Opynne up and latte my pepul passe.* The third challenge, omitting Latin and echoing the Exodus theme. Now the gates must fall away, as the following speech by the first Devil indicates: "brosten are alle oure bandis of bras" (line 196). Limbo's fortifications have fallen. In the panel of painted glass at All Saints, Pavement cited above, Jesus steps forth over broken gates and chains. Glass, possibly with York connections, at Great Malvern shows metal hinges and a devil pinned under the gates (Rushforth, *Medieval Christian Imagery*, pp. 385–86, fig. 177).
- 229–33 *Thy fadir knewe I wele be sight . . . myght.* Satan is deceived. The substance of the debate that will follow is predicated on Satan's mistake in taking Jesus' death as a sign of his victory over him; but as earlier theologians such as Gregory of Nyssa had insisted, Satan is like a great hungry fish who will take Jesus' bait, while beneath his humanity is the hook of his divinity. Peter Lombard had spoken of the cross as a trap that had been baited by the blood of Christ, while Satan is the mouse caught therein; for discussion, see Nelson, "Temptation of Christ," p. 219; Macaulay, "Play of the Harrowing of Hell," pp. 115–19; and MacCulloch, *Harrowing of Hell*, pp. 203–04. See in particular lines 249–50: "Mi godhede here I hidde / In Marie modir myne."
- 255 *I schall thee prove be right resounē.* Satan is a rationalist and sceptic, fully believing that he still has the right to the souls of those in limbo. Jesus will counter with Old Testament prophecy which predicts with certainty that he will "have thame boughte with bale" (line 275).
- 277–88 *Nowe sen thee liste allegge the lawes, / Thou schalte be atteynted . . . in helle.* Satan tries to turn biblical texts against Jesus. The citation of Job — "he that shall go down to hell shall not come up" (7:9) — is easily confuted by another familiar passage from Job regarded as prophetic. Jesus is a divine fisherman who can "draw out the leviathan with a hook, or . . . tie his tongue with a cord" (40:20; compare *AV* 41:1).
- 325 *Nowe here my hande.* A handshake was a normal way of concluding an agreement, and not, as today, a common sign of greeting. Satan is happy since he believes he is promised even more victims for torment in his torture house which is hell (line 328), and he plans to *turne* — i.e., corrupt — more people as a means to this end (line 332).

- 339–40 The archangel Michael is designated to bind Satan; among the apocalypse scenes in Great East Window in the Minster painted by John Thornton in 1405–08, Michael, who is chaining the Devil, holds a key; see French, *York Minster: The Great East Window*, p. 128. In the York pageant, Satan will be confined to a “selle” (line 342) where he must remain seated. It will do him no good to call on Ma-hounde. In the *Northern Passion*, it is Jesus who binds Satan, who will be “fested fast / With bandes that sall ever last, / And so he sall be bunden ay / Untill it be domes day” (1:213).
- 349–80 The Extraction of Souls. Conventionally Jesus takes Adam by the forearm and leads him out, followed by Eve and the others. In Dante’s *Divine Comedy*, Virgil recalls how “a Great Lord” wearing a crown of victory (*vittoria cornato*) “carried off the shade [*ombra*] of our first father, of his son Abel, and the shade of Noah, of Moses, the obedient legislator, of father Abraham, David the king, of Israel, his father, and his sons, and Rachel, . . . and many others” (*Inferno*, canto 4, lines 52–61). The Extraction is shown at York in the glass in All Saints, Pavement and in other depictions of the scene, including a restored wall painting at Pickering in the North Riding (YA, pp. 87–89, fig. 25; Tristram, *English Wall Painting*, p. 154). In the Pickering example, as in the Great Malvern glass cited above, Eve holds an unchewed apple that she will return to Jesus as a sign of the reversal of the Fall.
- 374–75 *Ne derelinquas, Domine, / Animam meam in inferno.* Psalm 15:10 (AV 16:10).
- 380 *full of filthe.* In the scene dramatizing the Fall of the Angels at the beginning of the York cycle, hell had been shown to be a filthy place. Its smell, as for Dante, was presumably of excrement (see Seiler, “Filth and Stench,” esp. p. 132).
- 384 s.d. *Tunc cantent.* Again a late rubric calling for singing, without identifying the piece to be sung. It appears that there will be a procession, with singing, as the souls are taken up by Michael into bliss.
- 400 *blisse us with thi holy honde.* In the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, Jesus holds out his hand and makes the sign of the cross, or, in a variant text of this work, makes a sign of the cross on Adam’s forehead (*Gospel of Nicodemus*, p. 119; James, ed., *Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 139).
- 408 *Laus tibi cum gloria, etc.* If this is a liturgical piece, it has not been identified. While it seems to be an incipit, with “etc.” signifying the continuation of the song, Rastall points out that this line, integral to the stanza, seems rather to introduce an unspecified song at the end of the pageant (*Minstrels Playing*, p. 35), in which case the citation of the song here is misplaced. It thus may be that the singing noted in the late rubrics added at line 384 was begun only after the last line of the play was spoken.

38. THE RESURRECTION

The York pageant, mounted by the Carpenters who are known to have supported their own religious guild devoted to the Resurrection,¹⁰⁹ incorporates material typically associated with the liturgical *Visitato Sepulchri* but embeds it in the story of the four knights chosen by Pilate to guard the sepulcher. Their narrative may be read elsewhere, as, for example, in the *Northern Passion*, and they emerge as nearly necessary depictions on representations of the Resurrection.¹¹⁰ There is a strong connection in this pageant with image devotion, with a focus on seeing the rising of Jesus out of the tomb to the accompaniment of liturgical music, identified by Rastall as *Christus resurgens*, shared with the York *Elevatio* ceremony performed on Easter morning.¹¹¹ The Harleian text of the *Northern Passion* indicates that anyone who “heres or redes” (line 20) the narrative will be given Christ’s blessing and a hundred days of pardon in Purgatory granted by Pope Innocent,¹¹² and one would imagine that a similar blessing could likely have been expected from seeing and hearing the story as staged at Corpus Christi. At some point a copy of the York *Resurrection* was borrowed by a compiler of the Towneley collection, formerly thought to be the Wakefield cycle, and the two texts even share, as Beadle has noticed, a corrupt passage (York, lines 294–98; Towneley, lines 452–58).¹¹³ The Towneley version, which was derived from an independent copy of the play that is now lost, confirms the expected character designations for the Marys, with the first being Mary Magdalen, the second Mary the mother of James, and the third Mary Salome, and it also provides some readings that correct mistakes by the scribe who entered the play into the York Register. The York *Resurrection*, which in some ways is the climax of the York cycle, uses a six-line stanza.

- 1–36 The high priests have gone to Pilate and argue with him about the Crucifixion, which they claim was justified and reasonable. The Centurion will, however, contradict their assertions about its justice and even insist that Jesus “was Goddis Sone almyghty” (line 75).
- 86–97 In answer to Caiphas’ request for some “tokenyngis trewe” (line 81), the Centurion rehearses a list of remarkable signs, including an eclipse, that occurred at the Crucifixion. These are based on Matthew 27:51–54, and represent something “outside nature” that will be accepted as such by the audience (see Twycross, “Playing ‘The Resurrection,’” p. 279). Lines 93–94 are confused but refer to the arising of men from their graves in Matthew 27:52–53. Pilate, however, will dismiss the eclipse as a natural phenomenon (line 99), but more ominously Caiphas renews his charge of sorcery, for that is the only way he believes dead men could rise and walk (lines 103–04).

¹⁰⁹ *York Memorandum Book B/Y*, p. 254.

¹¹⁰ See *YA*, pp. 91–95.

¹¹¹ Rastall, *Minstrels Playing*, p. 35; Sheingorn, *Easter Sepulchre in England*, p. 365; and see the discussion by King, *York Mystery Cycle*, pp. 158–61.

¹¹² *Northern Passion*, 1:249.

¹¹³ See *RB*, p. 453.

- 123–24 *Such wondir reasouns as he redis / Was nevere beforen.* Sharply distinguishing the York Pilate from the more hostile high priests. Thereafter Caiphas and Anna will launch into a rehearsal of their charges, now including their fear that Jesus' body will be stolen from the grave (lines 147–48). Pilate agrees to guard the tomb and will appoint soldiers to do so.
- 183 *On ilke a side latte us sitte doune.* Embedded stage direction. The soldiers have arrived at the tomb and are taking their places at its four corners. They will sit, a convenient posture from which to show them sleeping. They are sometimes shown thus in iconography, and not infrequently take their places in niches in the tomb.
- 186 s.d. *Tunc Jhesu resurgente.* Rastall points out that this stage direction, by the main scribe, refers ahead to the speech by the first Mary as “warning her not to speak until Christ has risen from the tomb and left the playing area” (*Minstrels Playing*, p. 9n14). The silence of Jesus is striking when, if the usual iconography is maintained, he steps out of the coffer tomb, perhaps onto the back of one of the sleeping soldiers. As Sheingorn notes, this involved “a significant change in content from the Latin plays” and “underscored the theme of triumph which is an inseparable part of the celebration” (“Moment of the Resurrection,” p. 111). For further discussion, see C. Davidson, “Memory, the Resurrection, and Early Drama,” and Twycross, “Playing ‘The Resurrection.’” Whether Jesus’ rising is accompanied by a “gret erthe dyn” or earthquake as the angel descends to roll back the stone (see Matthew 28:2, and the *Pepysian Gospel Harmony*, p. 102) we do not know, but it was feasible and would have been a stunning introduction to the action and the singing of the angel. The Coventry plays are known to have had a “baryll for the yerthe quake” (*REED: Coventry*, p. 474), but not for the Resurrection pageant.
- Tunc angelus cantat Resurgens.* This is added in a later hand, but likely represents long-standing practice. As noted above, the item must be *Christus resurgens*, of which several possibilities are available, the most likely of which is perhaps the antiphon (see Rastall, *Minstrels Playing*, pp. 35–36). Dutka translates: “Christ having risen from the dead dies now no more: death shall have no more dominion over him. [For the life he lives, he lives with God. Alleluia, Alleluia]” (*Music*, p. 115). The first soldier, who has heard the singing in his sleep, will report that they “herde never sen we were borne / . . . Suche melodie” (lines 384–86). The angel traditionally wears an alb, taking the description in Mark 16:5 of a white garment as a prescription. The *Pepysian Gospel Harmony* describes the angel as wearing “clothes als white as snow” and having a “visage als rede as fyre” (p. 102).
- 187 *Allas, to dede I wolde be dight.* Beginning the laments of the Marys, leading up to their discovery at the tomb.
- 195–96 *he is medicyne / And bote of all.* Still the first Mary refers to Jesus as “medicyne,” a medical solution to the problems of guilt and despair; see 1 Peter 2:24, which asserts, referring to Jesus’ Passion and suffering on the cross, “by whose stripes you were healed.” The actor playing Jesus who has just been seen by the audience will still seem to bear the wounds of his suffering, perhaps still wet, as the second Mary remembers them in the next speech.

- 203 *graven under the grete*. The grave, however, is almost certainly a coffer tomb, not one that is sunk into the ground.
- 213 *anoynementis faire and clere*. Mary I, identified in Towneley as Mary Magdalen, traditionally would have carried a jar containing ointment and spices, iconography in part conflating her (incorrectly) with the reformed prostitute who anointed Jesus' feet in the house of Simon — an act which, as we have seen, plays a role in Judas' plot to kill his Master (see Play 36, lines 129–54).
- 230 *The hevy stone is putte aside*. Suggesting the cover of the coffer tomb usually seen in depictions in the visual arts (see *YA*, pp. 91–92) rather than the stone which requires rolling away in Mark 16:3 and Luke 24:2, nor is it a tomb that can be entered, as in John 20:5 and in some liturgical dramas (see especially Ogden, “*Visitatio Sepulchri*: Public Enactment and Hidden Rite”).
- 235–40 *Ye mournand women . . . / Here in this place whome have ye sought? . . . Come nere and see*. Compare the *Quem queritis* exchange in the liturgical Easter play, the *Visitatio sepulchri*, of which, however, there is no evidence in York service books.
- 243 *The sudary*. Love explains that the sudary was the head wrap that Jesus wore at his burial, but also indicates that the other “clothes that he was wrapped inne” were found (*Mirror*, p. 198). The grave clothes were presented as a prime piece of evidence of the Resurrection here as in such liturgical dramas as the well-known Fleury *Visitatio* (Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 1:394–95). The sudary will be shown to the audience. While Twycross suggests that the effect, in contrast with the liturgical drama, is “curiously distant” (“Playing ‘The Resurrection,’” p. 293), we can hardly be sure that this was the case. It is not a relic like the Turin shroud, but it *represents* the actual cloth in which Jesus was buried and hence is likely to have had a devotional role in the drama.
- 260 *To Galilé nowe late us wende*. Mary II and Mary III go to inform the disciples of what they have seen.
- 267–88 Mary I's lament, continued after the departure of the other Marys. This is made all the more urgent when it is remembered that this is Mary Magdalen, who is represented as the repentant “Sinner” and that this is a saint with whom personal identification was often very strong among some members of the audience. She is the woman who had a special love for Jesus, a point that is exploited tastelessly in the twentieth-century musical *Jesus Christ Superstar*. When she completes her lament, she must leave the stage, and just then the soldiers, who have been sleeping throughout the previous scene, rouse themselves to find that Jesus is gone from the grave.
- 310–11 *Witte Sir Pilate of this affraye, / We mon be slone*. While being witnesses to the Resurrection (note especially line 293a: “Rise uppe and see”), the soldiers are primarily motivated by their fear of being executed for dereliction of duty, here presented as a capital crime. At first they consider lying, but then resolve to tell the truth — that is, that it was a supernatural event; see line 332.
- 339 *We dye but onys*. Proverbial. See Whiting and Whiting, *Proverbs*, D243.

- 348ff. The soldiers, now back at Pilate's court, will try to explain their failure. Caiphas and Anna, who are also present, recognize the importance of the event but of course misunderstand its essential character. They will make suggestions for what, in the current jargon, will be a "cover-up." The knights will be bribed to remain quiet about the event. In Gréban's *Passion* the soldiers insist on a large payment "because they are selling something very rare and precious: Truth" (Muir, *Biblical Drama*, p. 140).
- 450–51 *Thus schall the sothe be bought and solde, / And treasoune schall for trewthe be tolde.* Pilate emerges as a politician, one more interested in himself and in public relations affecting him, than in the truth. These words are followed by a mock benediction in which the audience is urged to hold this advice "ay in youre hartis," a lesson quite at variance with the meaning of the Resurrection that the audience has just seen in representation.

39. THE APPEARANCE OF CHRIST TO MARY MAGDALEN

The *Ordo paginarum* indicates that in this play Mary Magdalen again appeared with her ointment or spice jar, as she had in the previous pageant, and confirms that its subject was her meeting with Jesus in the garden — the *hortulanus* scene. The play is a continuation of the Carpenters' drama but also initiates the post-Resurrection appearances, however abbreviated in the York cycle. In depictions in the visual arts in the late Middle Ages, Jesus may appear in this scene with a spade in hand like a gardener, hence accounting for the Magdalen's failure to recognize him. In other instances, such as the miniature in York Minster Library MS. XVI.K.6, fol. 91r, he is holding a cross staff, and his red wounds are very visible. The Magdalen typically has long blond hair. While it was presented by the Winedrawers in the fifteenth century, there is some confusion about the sponsorship of this pageant and the following *Peregrinus* in later years.¹¹⁴

- 1–27 The pageant begins with Magdalen's long lament, despairing at having lost Jesus. In spite of the angel's message to the holy women, she fears he cannot be found. Keeping in mind that, as noted above, the Magdalen is a composite figure in biblical interpretation of the time (see Malvern, *Venus in Sackcloth*, pp. 16–29), her role as a weeper seems to have been established in the scene at Simon's house, where she wept for her own sins, but her weeping, both at the tomb and at her unexpected meeting with the resurrected Jesus, is reported in John 20:11–15. In lines 38–41ff. she asks if the gardener has borne Jesus away.
- 62–63 *Marie, of mournyng amende thy moode / And beholde my woundes wyde.* Jesus reveals himself to the Magdalen. The wounds are proof of his identity.
- 68–69 *Trowe it wele, it turnes to goode / Whanne men in erthe ther flessh schall hyde.* The evil deed is actually a good thing. Line 69 seems to be a reference to the Last Judgment.

¹¹⁴ See RB, pp. 454–55, and Meredith, "John Clerke's Hand," pp. 260–61.

- ment, when those who have lived in pursuit of spiritual goals will be rewarded and the others will want to hide.
- 70–71 *A, Rabony . . . this day.* Magdalen recognizes Jesus. The iconography here is widespread, with the Magdalen dropping down on her knees and either folding her hands or, more commonly, reaching out with her hands toward Jesus, as in the *Biblia Pauperum* (p. 108).
- 72 *touche me noght.* See John 20:17: *noli me tangere*, in the Vulgate rendering. This is a curious episode, since later Jesus will confirm his identity to St. Thomas by having him place his hand in his side wound. Some believe that Jesus' response to the Magdalen reflects Middle Eastern anti-feminism and an apparent prohibition against touch between the sexes. Love could not believe that there would have been no touching between two who loved each other so much; he even speculated that she would have kissed Jesus' hands and feet before the end of this meeting (*Mirror*, p. 200).
- 81 *Thi woundes thai are nowe wette.* The freshness of Jesus' wounds is frequently insisted upon, and is a sign of life since after the heart stops at death wounds do not actually bleed. See also lines 111–13, below, for the statement that Jesus' wounds "hath made thi body wete."
- 82–85 *Negh me noght . . . I stigh noght yette.* This explanation for repulsing the Magdalen's touch has long puzzled scholars; see note to line 72, above.
- 94–109 Jesus speaks of his armor, symbolically referring to his effort as a lover-knight on the cross. The concept of the Christian warrior derives from St. Paul's injunction in Ephesians 6:11 ff. to "put you on the armor of God," with Jesus providing the example to be followed.
- 142 *To Galilé schall thou wende.* Jesus sends the Magdalen to report the news about her meeting with him, and insists (line 146) that she should give a complete account.

40. THE TRAVELERS TO EMMAUS

The play is assigned to the Woolpackers and Woolbrokers in the *Ordo paginarum*, which gives the names of the disciples as Luke and Cleophas. Confusingly the running title over the pageant in the Register lists the Winedrawers, and at the head of the first page the Sledmen are noted in a later hand. In the shorter list in the *Memorandum Book A/Y*, the "Wol-pakkers" are given the "Apparicio Christi peregrinis."¹¹⁵ The play is based on the Gospel reading, Luke 24:13–35, for the Monday after Easter.¹¹⁶ It also follows roughly the structure of the liturgical *Peregrinus*,¹¹⁷ a form that was documented in England in an example from Lichfield that is contained in the *Shrewsbury Fragments*, which were somehow related to the

¹¹⁵ For discussion, see RB, pp. 456–57.

¹¹⁶ *Missale*, ed. Henderson, 1:128.

¹¹⁷ Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 1:471–76.

York plays.¹¹⁸ The pageant's relevance to the feast of Corpus Christi, a celebration of the Eucharist, is obvious, since the central event of the pageant was the revelation of Jesus in the breaking of the bread, unfortunately imperfectly preserved in the York manuscript. F. C. Gardiner perceptively comments concerning the structure of this play, on account of what had been seen in previous pageants and will be seen in the subsequent ones, that it "assures the audience of a universe in which pilgrimage will evolve along the successive stages of an achieved transcendence."¹¹⁹ The long alliterative line appears in eight-line stanzas in the first 152 lines in the York play, while in the final section the verse adopts quatrains without abandoning alliteration.

- 9–10 The pageant has begun with a short speech by Luke, who is now joined by Cleophas. The text demands that they should be walking, as pilgrims. The most usual marks of a pilgrim are a staff, a distinctive hat, and a scallop shell. An early fifteenth-century set of panels in York Minster Chapter House shows them also with bare feet (*YA*, p. 97). For discussion see C. Davidson, *From Creation to Doom*, pp. 158–60.
- 14 *Emax, this castell.* Emmaus, identified as a *castellum* in the Vulgate (Luke 24:13), a mistaken translation of the Greek text, which specifies a village.
- 67–69 *What are thes mervailes . . . wayes?* Jesus, pretending ignorance, joins the two disciples, who are led to believe that he is a pilgrim returning from Jerusalem. The disciples will avoid towns for good reason, for they know that, on account of their relationship to Jesus, their lives may be in danger.
- 112 *nowe is this the thirde daye.* Identifying the day as Sunday, Easter day. The second disciple, Cleophas, will report that news has come of a remarkable sight; this has been relayed by the holy women who have witnessed the empty tomb and the angel messenger who "tolde thame ther Lorde was alyve" (line 120).
- 134–36 *And also to Moyses gan he saie . . . and teched.* See Luke 24:27: "And beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded to them in all the scriptures, the things that were concerning him."
- 154 *her is a sege.* Jesus will be seated for a meal. Depictions in the visual arts conventionally show his seat to be the place of honor. The table may already be outfitted with bread and other food and drink, or these are brought on by a servant without any delay.
- 157–58 *Nowe blisse I this brede . . . you to feede.* Jesus will bless the bread in a manner reminiscent of the ceremonial way in which it is done in the canon of the Mass, and will ask the disciples to eat "faithfully," again phrasing that suggests offering the Eucharistic bread in Communion. The missing segment of text at line 159 unfortunately occurs at the point when they recognize Jesus in the breaking of the bread — and the point at which he disappears. Butterworth comments on the

¹¹⁸ Davis, ed., *Non-Cycle Plays*, pp. 4–7; see also the brief discussion in C. Davidson, *Festivals and Plays*, pp. 31–32.

¹¹⁹ Gardiner, *Pilgrimage of Desire*, p. 147.

equivalent scenes in the Chester and Towneley plays, and indicates the importance of the disappearance happening like an instantaneous vanishing act to preserve the illusion (*Magic*, pp. 75–76).

- 185 *Menskfully in mynde thes materes now merkis.* The sight of Jesus at the blessing of the bread has left a mark on their minds. The concept needs to be understood by means of late medieval theory of vision, which, following the classic philosophers, involved impressions on the memory. The memory is like wax upon which images are imprinted or marked. See Plato, *Theaetetus* (191c), in *Collected Dialogues*, p. 897, and the discussion in Carruthers, *Book of Memory*, pp. 21–22.

41. DOUBTING THOMAS

The Scriveners' pageant is unique in that it exists in two copies, one in the Register (the copy text for this edition) and the other, a guild copy, in the damaged Sykes Manuscript (ed. Cawley, "Sykes MS"). Problems with the Register copy are noted by Beadle,¹²⁰ who also provides a full collation of the two manuscripts in the footnotes to his text of the play. The story of Thomas that is dramatized is closely related to the Emmaus play, and in the liturgical *Peregrinus* drama the section on his doubts was attached more or less as an epilogue to the main action. However, the biblical account in John 20:19–31 states that the appearance to Thomas took place one week later, and this reading was hence specified as the gospel for the first Sunday after Easter, known as *Quasi modo* Sunday (so known from the incipit of the Introit at Mass).¹²¹ The pageant begins with the revelation of Jesus to the disciples, who are in the midst of eating a meal, as reported in Mark 16:14, prior to the appearance to Thomas, at first as what appears to be an apparition that will be taken for a ghost. Jesus' appearances and disappearances would have involved some clever effects, one would assume, since the Bible refers to his ability to enter rooms when "the doors were shut" (John 20:19). The play is written in six-line stanzas throughout.

- 5–12 The disciples' fear of the Jews, here blamed for executing Jesus, is based on John 20:19.
- 29 *Itt was vanyté in oure thought.* At first the disciples tend to dismiss the apparition as the result of collective hallucination or overheated imagination, forming mental images without basis in sense perception. In spite of the miraculous radiance that accompanies Jesus, they remain skeptical until his third appearance in the pageant. The radiance about him, like his sudden appearances and disappearances, would necessarily have involved stage effects. Evidence from iconography suggests that Jesus would hold a vexillum as a sign that he is the risen Christ.
- 35 *Itt is a sperite.* James' view is that Jesus is a spirit, or ghost, confirmed by John (line 37). Their fear at this point seems justified, since it was believed that a spirit or ghost could indeed be the devil in the guise of a known person. Jesus accuses them of being "madmen," with thoughts distraught and at variance with reality (line 43).

¹²⁰ RB, p. 457.

¹²¹ *Missale*, ed. Henderson, 1:139.

- 50 *Behalde and se myn handis and feete.* These wounds, and the one at his heart, are offered as proof. All five wounds were primary objects of devotion; see Gray, “Five Wounds of Our Lord”; Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 243–56, figs. 98–99; and YA, pp. 77–78. Jesus will allow his wounds to be touched physically to prove that he is not a ghost.
- 63–66 *Bringe nowe forthe unto me here / Some of youre mette . . . to ete.* This is the second proof of his physical reality. The rapidity of James’ producing the honeycomb and roast fish indicates that these were on hand, probably on the table at which the disciples were eating.
- 75 *ye schall wanhope forgete.* They have been in despair, which is the “sickness unto death,” and now they must turn aside from it and revive their hope.
- 93–96 *Whome that ye bynde bounden schall be . . . in hevene.* The power of the keys, given to St. Peter (Matthew 16:19); the power to forgive sins or to withhold absolution (“whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven”). The clergy’s power (“posté”), derived from the apostles, to forgive sin is the underpinning of the doctrine of Penance.
- 97 Thomas comes into the acting area, mourning and in despair following the suffering and death of his Master. He approaches the other disciples at lines 125–26. He will dismiss their report of seeing Jesus as tricks “Of fooles unwise” (line 136) or thereafter as “some sperit” or ghost (line 149).
- 158–62 *Till that I see his body bare . . . in his syde.* See John 20:25. Touching the holy wounds was to be the ultimate proof that will cure his scepticism.
- 175 *Beholde my woundis are bledand.* Thomas will not only touch the wounds but will have direct contact with Jesus’ “blessid blode” (line 184), which was believed to have miraculous powers. Relics of his blood, as at Bruges, Westminster, or Hailes, were the objects of veneration and pilgrimage. Thomas calls it “blode of price” for its great value (line 182).
- 181 *Mi Lorde, my God.* Thomas’ speech translates the motto, taken from the Vulgate, on a window which shows the subject in the church of All Saints, North Street: *Dominus meus et deus meus* (John 20:28). Love says that Thomas “reverently” kneeled “don with bothe joy and drede” and “touchedede hees wondes as he badde and seide, *My Lorde and my God*” (*Mirror*, p. 208).
- 193–98 *My brethir . . . menghe.* Jesus’ admonition to the disciples to go forth and preach to all countries concludes the pageant.

42. THE ASCENSION

In addition to Mary and Jesus, only four apostles — John, Peter, Andrew, and James — have speaking roles in the Tailors’ pageant, but the *Ordo paginarum* indicates an early fifteenth-century cast of John the Evangelist and eleven apostles. Six angels were included — a plausible number, even if only two had speaking roles, since having four of them operate the cloud machine might have made good sense and yet have been quite consistent with

traditional iconography. Jesus' ascension would have been one of the high points of the drama, and was accompanied by music, noted by John Clerke as *Ascendo ad patrem meum*, replacing the clearly erroneous stage direction calling for *Gloria in excelsys deo*, which was canceled, presumably by Clerke, in the manuscript. We might imagine the cloud machine to have some affinity with the mechanism still used in the *Assumption* performed on August 14–15 each year at Elche in Spain,¹²² but it must have been more modest since it would have required technology that was manageable on a pageant wagon. The Virgin Mary also has a central role. It is usual for her to appear in the most prominent location in the grouping of apostles. The pageant is written in octaves.

- 1–24 The apostles remain very perplexed about Jesus' resurrection, especially since he comes and goes mysteriously. Mary then reminds Peter (lines 25–32) about his doubts immediately following the Crucifixion, though now he should have “knowyng clere.” But she too would like to achieve greater understanding.
- 33–80 *Almyghty God . . . schall ay.* Jesus' long prayer to his Father. He has died for humankind, and now will be reunited with the Father since he has accomplished what he was sent to earth to do.
- 81ff. Jesus will turn to the apostles to explain their predicament and to stress the urgency of maintaining their faith since thus the human body, subject to decay and dissolution, can transcend physicality. To do otherwise is to retain the bondage of the soul to the evil one, the devil of hell, who will supervise the “endles peyne” (line 120) to which the damned will be subjected. Finally, Jesus will return to judge those who will receive salvation and those who do not at Doomsday. The direct connection between the tree of the Garden of Eden and the cross will have been noted (lines 114–16). The speech, in which Jesus also reminds the disciples of their difficulties and martyrdoms to come, affirms the great strength that they will receive to do their work, whether it be exorcizing demons, healing the sick, speaking in tongues, handling serpents, or drinking “venym wik, withouten wene” (line 143).
- 93–98 *but sithen I have / Ben walkand fourty daies aboute.* King notes that the source of Jesus' argument here is a sermon by Gregory the Great which was read on Ascension Day (*York Mystery Cycle*, p. 165, citing *York Breviary*, 1:478). As seen in the two previous pageants, Jesus has appeared with the disciples and shared food with them in order to demonstrate the physicality of the Resurrection.
- 105–06 *Howe man by cours of kynde schall ryse / Allthogh he be roten.* Affirming the resurrection of the physical body at the Last Day.
- 175–76 *The Fadir blissing moste myghty / Giffe I you all that leffe here.* The *Stanzaic Life* says that Jesus “blessed hom all whit mild steven, / and befor hom alle tho / Stegh uppe into the blisse of heven” (p. 294).
- 176 s.d. *Ascendo ad patrem meum.* An antiphon for Ascension Day; see *York Breviary*, 1:480. Dutka translates: “I ascend to my Father and your Father, to my God and your

¹²² Massip, “Cloud”; C. Davidson, *Technology, Guilds*, 91–100.

God. Alleluia" (*Music*, p. 113). Rastall also cites a short responsory on this text and references modern editions of the chants in the *Liber usualis* and other sources (*Minstrels Playing*, p. 37).

- 179–80 *My Sone thus to be ravished right / In a clowde wendande uppe fro me.* Tradition says that Jesus rose triumphantly. Iconographic evidence suggests that he probably stepped into the cloud and, with the bottom of his robe and bare feet visible, was raised up, disappearing entirely into the cloud. The *Stanzaic Life* explains that Jesus' footprint remained on the "hard marbul stone" on which he was standing at the Ascension (p. 294), and this may indicate that in the play he was positioned higher than the apostles before his ascent so that his figure would stand out for the audience. While images such as a wooden roof boss (now replaced by a replica) in the nave of York Minster show the imprint of Jesus' feet after he is lifted up (J. Browne, *History of the Metropolitan Church*, pl. CXVI), this sort of detail would not have been practical in a pageant wagon production.
- 218 *What wondir ye to hevene lokand?* The angel's question embeds a stage direction. The apostles are all to look upward at the disappearing Jesus, as in illustrations in the visual arts such as the lost glass in the Bedern Chapel that was described by Torre, who also noted the Virgin "with hands conjoined on her breast" (O'Connor, "Bedern Stained Glass," pp. 564 and 566).
- 221–32 *Right so agayne come doune schall he . . . encresand ay.* Jesus will return "with woundes bledand" to judge humankind, the first angel informs them. The choice for humans will ultimately be binary, to heaven or hell. This, as the second angel says, the apostles are to preach to the world.
- 233–52 The speeches of James, Andrew, and Peter focus mainly on the Jews' malice and envy; they are described as false and "full of prompe and pride" so as to be impervious to Jesus' teachings even though they should be stirred to "aske mercy." This is typical of late medieval stereotyping of Jews as blind and headstrong at a time when their law was allegedly superseded by the new law of Jesus.

43. PENTECOST

Pentecost, or Whitsunday, is one of the major feasts of the Church year, along with Christmas and Easter. There are eleven apostles, all noted as present in the *Ordo paginarum*, along with the Virgin Mary and two angels. Mention is made of the dove of the Holy Spirit descending upon the disciples and Mary, and this would require a mechanical bird of some sort, as reported elsewhere in both British and Continental sources.¹²³ On the whole the effect in this regard might not have had the spectacular effect of the indoor Pentecost ceremony with the dove suspended from the roof of the church or cathedral such as St. Paul's in London and with incense filling the air inside.¹²⁴ But there is singing nevertheless. The two angels in the

¹²³ See C. Davidson, *Festivals and Plays*, pp. 125–26.

¹²⁴ See Young, *Drama of the Medieval Church*, 1:489.

York play will sing *Veni creator spiritus* antiphonally, as Rastall observes.¹²⁵ The play was produced by the Potters, and appears in twelve-line stanzas. The Latin passages are sometimes extra-metrical, but are included in the numbering throughout in this edition.

- 5–12 *we are leved alyve, ellevyn . . . seere.* Peter is concerned about the uneven number of apostles, to which no selection has yet been made to replace Judas in order to make up the original number of twelve. As a prime number, eleven has no divisible parts. Twelve, on the other hand, would enable the disciples to go out two by two, as Jesus suggested (see Mark 6:7), or by threes, fours, or even sixes, that is, “settis in parties seere” (line 12). As a superabundant number twelve is ideal for various kinds of missions, which is Peter’s central concern as they go forth in groups into the wider world to testify to the risen Christ, who will return at the Last Day to judge the living and the dead.
- 13–14 *Nobis precepit Dominus . . . mortuorum.* Compare Acts 10:42, but quoted from the *York Missal*, 1:154. On this and other liturgical connections in this pageant, see King, *York Mystery Cycle*, pp. 167–68.
- 30 *He saide he schulde sette haly kirke.* Pentecost was regarded as the historical moment at which the Church was established.
- 37–38 *Cum venerit paraclitus / Docebit vos omnia.* Compare John 14:26, contained within the Gospel for Whitsunday (*York Breviary*, 1:487).
- 41, 45 *Nisi ego abiero . . . Et cum assumptus fuero.* Antiphon in the vigil liturgy of Pentecost, and also sung at the Ascension; adapted from John 16:7–8.
- 76 *Howe that thes mobbardis maddis nowe.* The unconverted Jews begin their accusations thus with the charge that Jesus’ followers are mad. As caricatures, they are not the pious Jews of Acts 2:5, for they have been identified by the first line spoken (line 75) as followers of Mahound. This distorts the biblical story and adds a distinctly anti-Semitic twist. Further, they will be a threat to the lives of the apostles.
- 98 s.d. *Veni creator spiritus.* Pentecost hymn. Translation in Dutka, *Music*, pp. 119–20, but a portion of the text and translation appear below at lines 137–40. For York music, see *Hymni*, fols. 32v–33r. Having the angels sing the hymn “betwene them two” is affirmed by line 136. Very possibly the hymn may have been introduced by the loud sound of “a mighty wind” noted in Acts 2:2; such a sound effect could have been produced in a number of ways. The *Stanzaic Life* describes it as a “sowene dyn” (*loud sound*) and as occurring suddenly (p. 342).
- 105 *Als lange as ye his pase pursue.* The disciples and indeed all Christians are to follow in Jesus’ steps; see 1 Peter 2:21.
- 113–18 *I myght noght loke, so was it light . . . itt sente.* Peter comments on the intense light, for which a special effect would have been needed. Likely techniques to represent the “tongues as it were of fire” (Acts 2:3), perhaps utilizing both mirrors and flame, have been discussed by Butterworth, *Theatre of Fire*, pp. 55–78. Dublin’s St.

¹²⁵ See Rastall, *Minstrels Playing*, p. 38, and *Heaven Singing*, p. 330.

Patrick's Cathedral apparently used "little threads" which were "employed about the Holy Spirit on the feast of Pentecost" (Fletcher, *Drama, Performance, and Polity*, pp. 78–79). It is possible that the effect at York might have used strings soaked in "burning spirit" that could safely be lighted to show flame coming down, as upon Mary and the apostles in the Paris *Resurrection* (Meredith and Tailby, *Staging*, p. 107). One would assume that the "tonges of fir" noted in the *Stanzaic Life* (p. 342) and other sources would need to be represented somehow.

- 119ff. Through most of the remainder of the pageant the scribe changes to a system of numbering for the apostles. The second apostle is John, while the third is James. The fourth and fifth cannot be identified.
- 128 *langage nedis us none to lere.* They have received the gift of languages, both speaking knowledge and comprehension; see Acts 2:4 and 6. This will be a source of wonderment to the Jews, who serve as hostile observers (lines 157–67).
- 149, 151 *Tristicia implevit cor vestrum . . . Sed convertetur in gaudium.* Adapted from John 16:20, an Easter season gospel lesson. The *tristia to gaudium* theme is strongly presented in the post-Crucifixion pageants.
- 165–66 *Butt thei are droucken . . . / Of muste or wyne.* See Acts 2:13, when some of those standing about come to such a conclusion concerning the apostles. The Vulgate specifically refers to *mustus*, or "new wine." See also line 185 for Peter's answer to the charge.
- 188 *A gentill Jewe.* Joel, whose prophecy is invoked.
- 195–96 *Et erit in novissimus diebus . . . carnem.* Acts 2:17, quoting Joel 2:28. As King notes, this passage is designated for Mass on the Saturday in Whitsun week (*York Mystery Cycle*, p. 168, citing the *York Missal*, 1:161).
- 216 *I may no lenger with you lende.* John is now leaving and saying farewell to his adoptive mother, as Peter has directed all the apostles to do (lines 212–13). James also will graciously take his leave (lines 225–26).

44. THE DEATH OF MARY

The Drapers' Death of Mary appears to be the same play for which a character list was provided in *Ordo paginarum*, except that it has two devils instead of the one noted at the end of the pageant in the manuscript. The inclusion of a devil should be no mystery (see the rubric following line 194), since Mary begs that at death she should not see such a creature (lines 133–34). Jesus refuses, though he tells her that she will be safe and not to worry. Iconographic evidence for ordinary deathbed scenes will show the soul being threatened by one or more devils and, when merited, rescued by an angel, the latter understood to be one's guardian angel, illustrated in woodcuts in early English books on the art of dying.¹²⁶ Because of its Roman Catholic content, the play, along with the other dramas on the life of the Virgin Mary that followed, was suppressed in the period of Protestant ascendancy under

¹²⁶ See, e.g., Spinrad, *Summons of Death*, pp. 27–35.

Edward VI but apparently returned under Queen Mary, only to be laid aside once more when Queen Elizabeth came to the throne. The story, popularized by such sources as the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine¹²⁷ but ultimately derived from the apocryphal *Transitus Beatae Mariae* that narrated the concluding time in the life of Mary, is illustrated in a series in painted glass of c. 1350 in the choir of York Minster; one panel shows Gabriel with the palm “oute of paradise” (line 15) coming to her, and another illustrates her death with the apostles in her presence.¹²⁸ The York Minster glass confirms a direct comparison with the Annunciation, with the Virgin reading from a prayer book when the angel arrives on the scene, and this seems to be the setting imagined by the playwright at the beginning of this pageant as well. Eight-line stanzas, marked by alliteration, are the norm, but this is not always adhered to.¹²⁹

- 1–8 The announcement to Mary of her coming death, just as Gabriel in the Annunciation had addressed the very youthful Virgin with “Hayle Marie, full of grace and blysse” to tell her that she will conceive (Play 12, lines 158–61). Gabriel will specifically call her attention to the Annunciation, when he brought the “boodworde of [Jesus’] bering,” in lines 22–24. Mary is sometimes said to have been sixty years of age at her death, but the *Golden Legend* suggests that she was seventy-two.
- 30–31 *Thyne apostelis to have in this place.* Her request to her Son, Jesus, to have the apostles at her side at her death will be granted, as Gabriel immediately announces to her (lines 33–36). As soon as Gabriel withdraws (following line 39), the disciples start appearing, beginning with John, the one with a special relationship with Mary. The *Ordo paginarum* notes the presence of eight apostles, representing the eleven of the traditional account, Thomas, in far away India, being missing.
- 45 *Within thre daies, iwis, / I schall be beldid in blisse.* As Gabriel has told her (lines 7–8), she will live only for three days, which are condensed into the 194 lines of the play.
- 65–66 *a clowde now full clere / Umbelappid me.* In the *Golden Legend*, it is John who was taken up into a “shining cloud . . . and whisked . . . to Mary’s door,” and elsewhere this source explains that a great clap of thunder is heard with the disciples coming “down like a rain shower before the door of the Virgin’s house” (2:78 and 90). All the disciples are amazed at the miraculous way in which they have been transported to Mary’s bedside.
- 94 *caste some watir uppon me.* Embedded stage direction, as is also the case when the second handmaid announces that Mary is dying “in oure hende” (line 99)—i.e., as they are holding her she is slipping into a coma. There is similarly an embedded stage direction in Mary’s sharp reproaches to the women for weeping (lines 103–04).
- 103 *thus wynly.* The MED suggests possible error for “wanliche.”

¹²⁷ Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:77–80.

¹²⁸ See YA, p. 103.

¹²⁹ The classic study of the plays dramatizing the conclusion of Mary’s life is Mill, “York Plays of the Dying, Assumption, and Coronation.”

- 129–31 Jesus must now appear above and be seen by the audience, though he does not speak until line 151. To him Mary prays especially for those among her people who are devoted to her, and who will amend their ways. The idea of Mary as the protector and intercessor for those who extend devotion to her was a central tenet of late medieval traditional religion. Note the prayer to her of the two converted Jews (lines 119–26).
- 134 *The fende thou latte me noght see.* The *Golden Legend* places this request by the Virgin earlier, before her Son Jesus' Crucifixion (2:89). As noted above, the appearance of a greedy devil in deathbed scenes was conventional, but here she begs her Son that this will not occur at her death. Her request will be denied; the devil's "figoure full foule" will be present to frighten her but will not harm her (lines 154–55).
- 137–42 *Men that are stedde stiffly in stormes or in see.* Mary prays then for sailors, indeed for all those who venerate her and call on her in their need. For comment on the veneration of the Virgin, see, for example, Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 256–65.
- 143–50 *Also, my bliste barne . . . bringe.* Finally, Mary prays to her Son for all who call upon her name, those in trouble and in danger of being shamed, and women "in thare childing," a time of particular dread in the fifteenth century since so many women did in fact die in childbirth.
- 153 *Thyne asking all haly here heete I nowe thee.* Jesus is not able to resist whatever his mother requests, other than in the matter of erasing the fiend from the scene at her ending.
- 156 *Myne aungelis schall than be aboute thee.* The *Ordo paginarum* specified only two angels in this pageant, but four are required by the text to sing the final antiphon.
- 171–74 *Mi sely saule I thee sende . . . into thyne hande.* The *Golden Legend* reports in one place that "Mary's soul went forth from her body and flew to the arms of her Son" (Jacobus de Voragine, 2:80). The soul was conventionally visualized as a small doll-like figure emerging from the mouth of the dying person at his or her last breath; this could be represented in the pageant by a puppet, taken up into heaven to be received by Jesus.
- 194 s.d. *Ave regina celorum.* Marian antiphon. A convenient modern edition, though not derived from York service books, is available in the *Liber usualis*, pp. 274–75. Rastall suggests a more elaborate polyphonic setting here since four angel singers are involved (*Heaven Singing*, p. 330; "Heaven: The Musical Repertory," pp. 172–73). Dutka translates: "Hail Queen of heaven, hail Lady of angels, hail holy root from whom a light for the world has risen. Hail glorious one, beautiful above all. Farewell, great in comeliness; and always [prevail upon] Christ for us" (*Music*, p. 114).

44A. THE FUNERAL OF THE VIRGIN ("FERGUS")

The Funeral of the Virgin is assigned to the Linenweavers in the *Ordo paginarum* though this guild did not take it up until much later (the name of the guild is entered over an erasure). Other records indicate that it was the responsibility of the Masons until 1431–32,

when an entry in the *York Memorandum Book A/Y* notes the guild's complaint about its content (non-scriptural, with the beating of "Fergus," the Jew who attempted to overturn Mary's bier in the funeral procession and whose hand became attached to it) and audience reception ("more noise and laughter than devotion," resulting in disorder).¹³⁰ The Linen-weavers were assigned the play in 1476,¹³¹ but in fact it may have been seldom performed. The play was never entered in the Register. In general the pageant would have followed the presentation in the *Golden Legend*¹³² and other sources derived from Melito's *Transitus Beatae Mariae*, and finds a parallel in the N-Town play of Mary's Death and Assumption (Play 41). It would seem that the Jews in this anti-Semitic play were particularly incensed by singing, which Sullivan believes was the chanting of Psalm 113 (AV 114): "Exiit Israel de Egipto, domus Jacob de populo barbaro."¹³³ In N-Town the incipit of this psalm is sung by Peter, followed by the apostles continuing with "Facta est Judea sanctificacio eius, Israel potestas eius," and angels adding "Alleluia" (Play 41, lines 69–70). This is the chant indicated in the *Golden Legend*.¹³⁴ Dutka translates: "Israel departed from Egypt — the house of Jacob from a foreign people. Alleluia. Judea was made his sanctuary, Israel his dominion. Alleluia."¹³⁵ Painted glass in the York Minster choir shows the Jew with his hands stuck to the bier and then severed,¹³⁶ thus providing a suggestion that sleight of hand would have been involved in the production of the play, assuming that the same iconography was maintained. The name *Fergus* is unique to York.

45. THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN (THOMAS APOSTOLUS)

Prior to the Reformation, the Church in England celebrated the Assumption of the Virgin as a major feast on August 15. The Weavers' pageant dramatizes the legend of the apostle Thomas, absent from her death and burial, who was believed to be returning from his mission in India when he encountered the Virgin Mary being taken up into heaven. To provide him with verification that he had seen her, she removed the girdle from around her waist and gave it to him. The *Golden Legend* offers a simpler account, only saying that he again was filled with doubt, as he had been after the Resurrection, and her "girdle that had encircled her body fell intact into his hands" as proof.¹³⁷ The Assumption play at York, which appears to have been the most rich of all the York pageants in music, includes notation in the Register for *Surge proxima* and *Veni de libano sponsa* in two versions as well as two settings of *Veni electa mea*. Rastall has dated the compositions in the middle third of the

¹³⁰ REED: *York*, 1:47–48, trans. 2:732.

¹³¹ REED: *York*, 1:110.

¹³² Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:91–92.

¹³³ Sullivan, "Missing York Funeral."

¹³⁴ Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:81 and 91.

¹³⁵ Dutka, *Music*, p. 116. See also the commentary on the use of this psalm in N-Town in Rastall, *Minstrels Playing*, p. 119.

¹³⁶ YA, p. 103; Brown, *York Minster*, fig. 4.47.

¹³⁷ Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 2:82.

fifteenth century.¹³⁸ Since they are integral to the pageant, this would suggest a date when the play itself was rewritten in alliterative verse. If heaven is a place rich in music, as was commonly assumed, the singing and likely playing of angel instrumentalists would have been given a very high priority. Angels at York are very commonly depicted as musicians, often performing on instruments.¹³⁹ Practically speaking for polyphonic music at this time in York, the choices here would have been most likely portative organ and regals rather than the instruments played by minstrels, who were not expected to read music in score. Such instruments, along with harps, are noted in N-Town (Play 41, lines 117 s.d., 314 s.d.).¹⁴⁰ The York music for the Assumption involves a high level of musical sophistication, and may have been performed by twelve musicians, the number of roles for angels written into the text in the Register. This number of musicians could well have come from York Minster, though excellent musicianship may also be surmised at some of the parish churches and the monastic houses. The *Ordo paginarum*'s description of the apostle Thomas "preaching in the desert" is not a good fit with what is now present in lines 1–104; this again is indicative of the later date for the playtext as it appears in the Register. In the 1430s or thereabouts the Weavers were an extremely wealthy guild, unlike the same guild in the latter part of the century and in the following century after the migration of the industry to the West Riding.¹⁴¹ The verse appears in thirteen-line stanzas, marked again by alliteration as fully as important as rhyme.

- 1–97 Thomas rehearses his sorrow "waylyng and weping" over the by-now-familiar events of Christ's Passion and emphasizes Jesus' rejection by the Pharisees and his torments, with a more positive note introduced when he recognizes that he has been translated to the valley of Josephat, where, though he does not know it yet, Mary has been buried. Personal engagement over the Passion was encouraged, but Thomas' tone may seem to some to be out of place here just as Mary Magdalen's lament over the Crucifixion has been viewed as out of place after the assurances of the angel at the tomb (Play 38, lines 267–87).
- 98–104 *I will steme of my stevene and sted here a stounde . . . for to bide.* Embedded stage direction; he is to seat himself "on this banke." The dramatic purpose is obvious, since he must remain visible through the singing of the angels and the rising of Mary from her grave. Presumably he does not look up to see the angels and Mary until his next speech, beginning at line 118.
- after 104 *Surge proxima mea.* This item does not appear in any service book and, in both versions of the music, is unique to the York cycle. The second (designated the B version by Steiner in her transcriptions appended to Wall, "York Pageant XLVI") substitutes *propera* for *proxima*. As Wall notes, the words echo terms often used to

¹³⁸ Personal communication from Richard Rastall; he had previously suggested dating the music between 1430 and 1450 (*Heaven Singing*, p. 134).

¹³⁹ See *YA*, pp. 185–92, for discussion and a list of instruments in the parish churches, Minster, and other locations that will show the majority played by angel instrumentalists. See also Remnant, "Musical Instruments."

¹⁴⁰ See also Remnant, "Musical Instruments," pp. 174–75.

¹⁴¹ Palliser, *Tudor York*, pp. 208–11.

describe the Virgin Mary and derived from the Canticle of Canticles (e.g., 2:10 and 13). Dukta translates: “Rise up, my dearest one, my dove, tabernacle of glory, container of life, heavenly temple” (*Music*, p. 118). The rich imagery here of dove, tabernacle, temple, even “container of life” as applied to Mary had been developed by St. Bernard of Clairvaux and was a strong presence in fifteenth-century Mariology (see the useful commentary in M. Warner, *Alone of All Her Sex*, pp. 121–33), but in fact seems more immediately to have derived from the *Golden Legend* (Jacobus de Voragine, 2:95–97). John Stevens has noted that the scribe who inserted the music into the text was “perhaps one of the cantors of the cathedral” and that “he fully understood the notation he was using, with its complicated system of ligatures and coloured notes” (“Music of Play XLV,” p. 466). For a more extended discussion of the songs in the Weavers’ pageant, see especially Rastall, *Heaven Singing*, pp. 121–37.

- 105–17 The angels then speak, in rapid fashion urging the Virgin to arise from her grave and come up with them to heaven. The terminology they use through the eighth angel’s speech — rose, lily, dove especially — is again reminiscent of the Canticle of Canticles. Iconography suggests angels supporting Mary within an aureole as she ascends to the heights of heaven, where her Son is located (see Y4, pp. 105–07, and, for Torre’s description of the Virgin ascending with four angels surrounding her at the Bedern Chapel, O’Connor, “Bedern Stained Glass,” pp. 564 and 567).
- after 117 *Veni de libano sponsa, veni coronaberis.* The text is a direct quote from the Canticle of Canticles 4:8: “Come from Libanus [Lebanon], my spouse, come from Libanus, come: thou shalt be crowned.” The reference to the crowned bride in this Old Testament passage was regarded as foreshadowing the Assumption and Coronation of the Virgin. Wall points out further connections of these words with the liturgy (“York Pageant XLVI,” p. 695).
- 118–23 Thomas now is to look up to *see* Mary (perhaps “babbe” in line 120 should read “berde,” i.e., *Lady*, as Beadle believes). Thomas sees her gleaming shape as she glides up, an indication of movement that is surely very gentle. He will also comment on the “melody” of the angels’ singing, here referring to *Veni de libano*. This will lead to Mary’s notice of him in the following lines and her command “do way all thi doutes” (he is still temperamentally *doubting Thomas*).
- 131–43 Exchanging “thy” for “my,” Thomas repeats Mary’s line, and then continues with a set of “Hail” verses to complete the thirteen-line stanza. These lines contain entirely conventional terminology in praise of the Virgin, regarded as most worthy of women, the second Eve, the remedy for human misery, and one who will intercede at the throne of the Most High for those who are devoted to her. She must be suspended above the earth at this time and remain so until line 200, after which she must very slowly be taken up as the dialogue continues.
- 166–67 *I schall thee schewe / A token trewe.* In response to Thomas’ complaint in lines 164–65 that his fellow apostles will not believe him. The token will be her “girdill” (line 169), which she must toss down to him. If this is to be done effectively, he must catch it.

- 170–78 Mary is compared to a tree, from “reverent rote” to “floure” and “frewte.” There is a hint here of Jesse tree iconography in which she emerges at the top with the fruit of her womb, Jesus.
- 185–91 *in sightte of my Sone ther is sittand . . . grace.* She will “knele to that comely,” her Son, Jesus, in support of her followers, even when they have fallen into despair, if they beg her help. And she will prevail: “He schall graunte thame ther grace.”
- 193 *womanne in childinge.* As noted in commentary to Play 44, lines 143–50, prayers to the Virgin were believed to be particularly efficacious and especially needed at childbirth. A relic of her girdle at Westminster was lent out to women in childbirth.
- 202–08 Thomas’ farewells are spoken as Mary is received into heaven, and these again are laden with conventional Marian imagery.
- after 208 *Veni electa mea et ponam in te tronum meum / Quia concupivit rex speciem tuam.* A liturgical text, a Matins responsory for the feast of the Assumption in the Use of York, in this case celebrating Mary’s arrival in heaven; see Rastall, “Heaven: The Musical Repertory,” p. 186. Dutka translates: “Come, my chosen one, and I will place you on my throne because the king greatly desires your beauty” (*Music*, p. 120). She is the elect bride of the Canticle of Canticles, the Sponsa united with the Sponsus, and, as the chosen one, will be placed on a throne beside the Sponsus who is Jesus.
- 218 *God saffe you in seere.* Thomas now comes to the disciples and greets them. There are four, not the eight specified in the *Ordo paginarum*. He is cheerful, but they react negatively immediately on account of their sorrow at the loss of Mary; see Andrew’s charge that he is bragging and boasting (line 226). They are the ones who now need to see a physical sign, which he will finally show at line 248. Since they will require more physical evidence, they will visit the tomb and search it only to find that the “glorious and goodely is gone fro this grave” (line 262).
- 282–83 *Nowe knele we ilkone / Upponne oure kne.* Embedded stage direction, followed by the apostles’ brief prayer to Mary in heaven, and then their departure to their various places of evangelizing, with Thomas having the final speech (lines 300–12).

46. THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN

The Coronation pageant is given to the Hostelers, or Innholders, in the Register. However, in the *Ordo paginarum* the ascription to the “Hostilers” is written over an erasure, and the second list which follows in the *York Memorandum Book A/Y* reveals that it was originally the responsibility of the “Maior etc.,” meaning the Mayor and Council. The York records show that only in 1463 were the Hostelers given the play.¹⁴² The play is short and much less dramatic than the spectacular Assumption of the Virgin play. The versification, mainly tetrameter in octaves and quatrains but with some stanzas in tail-rhyme (lines 21–32), is hardly exciting. The Assumption is reenacted, with six angels who will sing some unspecified music, but only after eighty lines. Yet this should rightfully be the climactic pageant in the Marian

¹⁴² See Dorrell, “Mayor of York”; REED: *York*, 1:94.

series that begins with the Virgin's death, and so it perhaps may have been in its visual spectacle and its music before the affluent Weavers set out to outdo it with their pageant, as likely was the case. The iconography of the Coronation of the Virgin was extremely popular at York and, in spite of the effects of iconoclasm, a considerable number of images remain.¹⁴³ A common depiction was of the Trinity with Jesus crowning his mother as Queen of Heaven,¹⁴⁴ but in the play he seems to be alone with her among the angels of heaven. The recitation of the Five Joys of Mary (lines 113–28) and the following lines to the end of the play are clearly designed for Jesus, though in the extant text in the Register they were broken up into short segments distributed in order among the angels. This may be the way the lines were spoken in c. 1463–70, but the arrangement hardly makes logical sense and cannot have been the original intent of the playwright. An addition to the Coronation pageant, entered in the manuscript following the Last Judgment play, is not included here.¹⁴⁵ It dates from the sixteenth century and, as Beadle notes, "does not seem to have been framed with any particular metrical principles in mind."¹⁴⁶

- 1–36 The scene is in heaven. Jesus speaks concerning his mother to the angels and requests that they "fecche hir hedir" (line 18). The angels then descend.
- 37–40 *Hayle, the doughtir of blissid Anne . . . fendif boste.* The story of the Immaculate Conception, in which Mary was conceived without physical intercourse, was a popular one, and Anne frequently appeared in local devotional images (see *YA*, p. 35).
- 42–43 *oure Saveoure, / The whiche that made mankynde of noght.* Referring to the tradition that the Second Person of the Trinity was also the Creator. See, for example, the *Holkham Bible Picture Book*, fols. 2–3v, in which the Creator has a cross nimbus.
- 57 The angels have now come before Mary, but it is not clear whether she is emerging from a tomb, as presumably should be the case.
- 80 s.d. *Cantando.* The previous line suggests that it is Mary who should sing, but the late stage direction is for the angels, probably played or directed by clerks, at least in earlier times when the Mayor and Council were in control of the play. It is possible that minstrels also played in the pageant, but not necessarily in connection with the singing at this point in the pageant; see *REED: York*, 1:54, 75, 86, and 94, and Rastall, *Minstrels Playing*, p. 42. There is no information about the nature of the music, but it can be safely assumed that it would have been derived from the liturgy celebrating the Assumption and Coronation.
- 101 *Come forth with me.* Embedded stage direction; Mary is now to step forth onto the heaven stage, and at line 155 she will be crowned Queen of Heaven by Jesus.

¹⁴³ See *YA*, pp. 107–11.

¹⁴⁴ A good example, though damaged and lacking the original head of the Virgin Mary, is the Assumption in the east window of c. 1470 in the church of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, in York (*Inventory of the Historical Monuments*, vol. 5, color pl. 58).

¹⁴⁵ The addition is printed as a "later fragment" in RB, pp. 404–05.

¹⁴⁶ RB, p. 462.

That this is at a high level on the pageant wagon is specified by line 133: “Full high on highte.”

- 113–28 As noted above, the listing of Five Joys of the Virgin, culminating in the Ascension of Jesus into heaven, and finally her own Assumption and Coronation.
- 142–43 *In hevene blisse that is so bright / With martiris and with confessouris.* The saints, who are translated directly to heaven without having to pass through Purgatory.
- 157–58 *Myne aungellis bright, a songe ye singe / In the honnoure of my modir dere.* Another song will be sung, but again it is not specified. An appropriate liturgical piece for the Coronation of Mary must be assumed. This will occur after Jesus’ blessing is conferred on the audience — i.e., a *representation* of a blessing, surely with appropriate hand gestures.

47. DOOMSDAY

The final play of the cycle, the Mercers’ *Doomsday*, is also the one about which the most is known with regard to production. This is so because of the discovery of a 1433 indenture between the guild and the pageant master, Richard Louth, that provides a list of stage properties used for the pageant at that time.¹⁴⁷ It is clear that the Mercers, who dominated the city’s government, spared no expense to see that their show was a spectacle that would stand out as exemplary among the pageants in the cycle. There was a wagon with four wheels and a hellmouth, costumes for God, apostles, and devils, who were fitted with masks. Jesus wore a “Sirke [shirt] Wounded a diademe With a veserne [mask] gilded,” and equipment was provided to lower him from heaven to where he would be seated as a judge on a “Rainbow of tymber” and to raise him back to heaven. The good and bad souls were differentiated, probably by color coding like those in Coventry’s Corpus Christi Doomsday play.¹⁴⁸ Angels had trumpets for the announcement of the End Time, the required “last trumpet,” as mentioned by St. Paul, which “shall sound, and the dead shall rise” (1 Corinthians 15:52). Seven large and four small puppet angels held the Instruments of the Passion — including the crown of thorns, lance, and whips mentioned in the *Ordo paginarum* as belonging to the Passion as well as other executioners’ items. A set of nine smaller puppet angels, “payntid rede,” were designed “to renne aboute in the heven,” which was fitted with clouds and stars. In the early sixteenth century the pageant wagon was “substancialie” rebuilt by the prominent sculptor John Drawswerd, and again an inventory (from 1526) is available, though much less detailed and seemingly indicative of staging less elaborate than in 1433.¹⁴⁹

The Last Judgment story as presented here does not follow the elaborate account in the Apocalypse that was drawn upon for the design of the Great East Window in York Minster, but rather the dramatization derives from Matthew 25, specifically from the verses following the parable of the talents in which the “unprofitable servant” is cast “out into the exterior

¹⁴⁷ The Mercers’ indenture was brought to light in 1972 when the discovery was reported by A. Johnston and Dorrell, “York Mercers and Their Pageant of Doomsday”; for the document, see *REED: York*, 1:55–56.

¹⁴⁸ *REED: Coventry*, p. 237; see also Twycross, “With what body shall they come?”

¹⁴⁹ *REED: York*, 1:189, 205, and 241–42.

darkness” where there “shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth” (25:30). The test of one’s worthiness to enter into bliss in the pageant is whether one has performed the Corporal Acts of Mercy, the charitable acts specified in Matthew 25:35–46. Charity was an important value for the Mercers and other mercantile guilds that were in the main in control of the city government.

There is evidence that the people of York lived in expectation of Doomsday, the final day of history, which was believed to be at least potentially at hand, as proclaimed in 2 Peter 3:10: “But the day of the Lord shall come as a thief,” unexpectedly and violently. This would be the Second Advent, or Coming, of Jesus, the Son of God, into time, which then would have a stop. The early Church had hoped for the *parousia* as an event that was imminent, not just in some distant future, and this had been translated into the eschatology that pertained in the late Middle Ages when many appear to have kept alert to possible signs of the end.¹⁵⁰ It would not have been thought unusual for a person at York to leave a bequest to a parish church to fund a Mass that was to be continued “as long as the world shall endure.” The *Prick of Conscience*, formerly attributed to Richard Rolle and imbued with end-time theology as well as specific reciting of the Fifteen Signs of Doomsday, was one of the most widely-read books of Northern origin of the time, but see also the ever-popular *Golden Legend* and, for an example of a homily collection which emphasizes the Signs in a sermon for the first Sunday in Advent, John Mirk’s *Festial*.¹⁵¹ A recital of these signs appears in Play 22, lines 216–340, in the Chester Whitsun cycle. Though these signs foreshadowing the Last Judgment do not appear in the York pageant, they were known locally, for they were depicted in the Fifteen Signs window in the York church of All Saints, North Street.¹⁵² These signs possibly figure in the additions to the York text when it was adapted and added to the Towneley collection, formerly believed to be a Wakefield Corpus Christi cycle.¹⁵³ The versification in the York play maintains an eight-line stanza.

- 1 *DEUS*. Here God the Father. Subsequently *Deus* will signify the Son who comes back to earth as Judge.
- 34 *thois wrecchis that ware thareinne*. Adam, Eve, the patriarchs, prophets, those who were worthy but not able to receive the benefits of God’s grace until the Crucifixion, when they would be ransomed and released from limbo through the effects of Christ’s sacrifice on the cross.
- 65 *Aungellis, blawes youre bemys belyve*. All people, learned and “lewd” or unlettered, will be called up by the trumpet call of the angels, traditionally one at each corner of the world. These instruments may have been props only, with actual minstrels supplying the trumpet sounds. Trumpets are noted in the 1433 indenture and again in the Mercers’ records as being mended in 1461 and 1462 (*REED: York*, 1:55, 91–92, and 95; see also Remnant, “Musical Instruments,” pp. 176–77).
- 90 *I bidde you that ye ryse*. Embedded stage direction.

¹⁵⁰ See the useful collection prepared by McGinn, in *Apocalyptic Christianity*, trans. McGinn.

¹⁵¹ Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 1:7–9; Mirk, *Festial*, pp. 2–3.

¹⁵² Gee, “Painted Glass of All Saints’ Church,” pp. 158–60, pls. XXIII–XXIV.

¹⁵³ See C. Davidson, *History, Religion, and Violence*, pp. 267–92.

- 91 *Body and sawle with you ye bring.* The resurrection of the body is promised, though for shorthand those who rise at the Last Judgment are designated simply as “souls.” Body and soul together are again mentioned in line 99, which stresses the complete reunion of the two. Job 19:26 was regarded as prophetic: “And I shall be clothed again with my skin, and in my flesh I shall see my God.” It was an idea that already was circulating in some Jewish circles in Jesus’ time, but in St. Paul the concept was given a new twist in that it was to be a new and spiritual body, no longer subject to corruption, that was to be given life and returned to the soul (see 1 Corinthians 15:32–44). Additional accretions, including those resulting from Greek and Oriental influences, were the cause of further ambiguity in medieval thought about the expected event, and this was to be reflected in the York play, which to be sure is not a theological treatise.
- 95 *rise uppe and geve rekenyng.* Souls are being called to come up from their graves. Iconographic evidence shows that they were imagined to be rising with their grave clothes around them or in the nude, in order to be judged. Thereafter an exact accounting of sins and good deeds was expected, in some depictions of the Last Judgment including the *psychostatis* or weighing in a set of scales to achieve exactitude. The weighing of souls, however, does not appear in the Mercers’ pageant.
- 101 *Of oure ill dedis, Lorde, thou not mene.* The expectation is that only the saints could live pure lives, and that one’s ill deeds required forgiveness and expiation through the sacrament of Penance, which in turn was made effective only because of the act of sacrifice on the cross required to ransom humankind. But all one’s sins, even the smallest, would be a source of anxiety. See also line 109 for the second Soul’s statement “Ofte have we greved thee, grette and small.” The good souls express humility, the evil ones do not.
- 115 *this hydous horne.* Reference to the angel trumpeters, feared by the bad souls.
- 129 *Oure wikkid werkis thei will us wreye.* The traditional notion that a person’s evil deeds will testify against him or her at the Last Day, for all is written in God’s book of Creation, good and ill.
- 135 *Nowe mon nevere saule ne body dye.* Punishment will be eternal, unending, and cruel, dwelling with “feendes blake” (line 143) without hope of ever receiving redemption.
- 146 *Sore may we wringe oure handis and wepe.* Traditional gestures of utter despair. Tearing one’s hair was also a sign of hopelessness. Their condition is in fact utterly without hope, since the time of grace has passed. In contrast, the good souls would logically have held their hands in gestures of supplication; see C. Davidson, “Gesture,” pp. 81–86.
- 151–52 *made we sacrifise / To Satanas when othir slepe.* Invoking witchcraft with specific reference to the witches’ sabbath. Witches were reputed to worship the Devil in midnight ceremonies in which he celebrates the black mass, part of the ritual being “blessing” his followers with his left hand. Their crime is *infidelity*, considered by authors of the *The Hammer of Witches* to be an enormous sin and the most serious kind of apostasy.

- 169 *Standis noght togedir, parte you in two.* Embedded stage direction. The dead have been raised from their graves and now will be separated into those on God's left (the bad souls) and those on his right (the good). In depictions of the Last Judgment, this orientation is maintained, as in the well-known wall painting over the chancel arch at St. Thomas of Canterbury in Salisbury; for a pre-restoration illustration, see C. Davidson, *Deliver Us from Evil*, p. 135, fig. 19.
- 177–84 *DEUS.* Now the Son rather than the Father is speaking. He announces that this world, this vale of tears, “is brought till ende” and prepares to descend to earth to sit in majesty to judge all humankind. God the Father is a separate character who would stay behind in heaven; Jesus refers to him in lines 233–34 as the one who sent him down a second time to earth.
- 185 *Mi postelis and my darlyngis.* The apostles will be seated on seats, six to each side of Jesus (see line 215). However, they will have no active part in the judgments in the York play that will admit some to bliss and others “to fyre with fendis blake” (line 198). There is no role specified in the playtext for the Virgin Mary, although she had been noticed as a character in the *Ordo paginarum*.
- 216 s.d. *Hic ad sedem judicii cum cantu angelorum.* Stage direction and rubric designating music. It signals the lowering of the seat of judgment along with angelic singing, which would be quite a logical staging effect. The song sung by the angels is not indicated, but it likely was a polyphonic piece, as would be appropriate for heavenly music, perhaps adding organ or regals. Following this the devils come onto stage with the hope of obtaining their prey. The third devil mistakenly believes they will be permitted to have all the souls in their power (lines 227–28).
- 241–44 *The day of drede to more and lesse, / Of ire . . . is sene.* Compare the sequence for the dead, *Dies ire, dies illa*: “Day of wrath that will dissolve this world to ash. . . . Great will be the fear when the Judge comes to examine all strictly. . . .”
- 245–76 *Here may ye see my woundes wide . . . what suffered thou for me?* Spoken directly to the audience as well as to the souls. It is a central moment and reminiscent of a devotional tableau. See, for example, the Last Judgment miniature in the *Bolton Hours*, fol. 208, in which Jesus’ wounds in hands, feet, and side are streaming blood (YA, pp. 115–16, fig. 33). Mirk tells how Jesus, “veray God and man,” shall “come to the dome, and all seyntys with hym, and schow all his wondys all fresch, and newe, and bledyng, as that day that he deyet on the crosse.” The cross also will be shown “all blody, and all other ynstrumentys of his passyon” (*Festial*, p. 3). In the pageant, Jesus is rehearsing the details of the Passion, the shedding of his blood for the salvation of humankind, many of whom have rejected him, and concluding with the request to know what humans have done for him (line 276) as a lead-in to his address to those who are to be welcomed into bliss.
- 285–300 *Whenne I was hungry . . . In joie and blisse to be me by.* Paraphrase of Matthew 25:34–45. Jesus gives assurance to those on his “right hande” (line 277) since they have performed the Corporal Acts of Mercy: feeding the hungry, giving drink to the thirsty, clothing the “clothles,” succoring the sick and those in prison, giving shelter to the shelterless, but omitting the burial of the dead which is not noted in St. Matthew’s gospel. As these are done to others, it is as if they are

- done to the Lord Jesus. See the listing of the Corporal Acts in the influential *Lay Folks' Catechism*, p. 70.
- 301–08 As in Matthew 25:44, the good souls are modest and claim no credit for such deeds.
- 317–48 Now Jesus turns to the “cursid caytiffis of Kaymes kynne / That nevere me comforde in my care.” Like Cain, they have failed utterly to do the good works expected of them. Their deeds are characterized by selfishness, pride, greed, and disregard for others. Because they kept the stranger standing in the cold and wet outside their gates, now they will be denied entrance to the gate of heaven. Their response takes a very different tone from that of the good souls as they deny Jesus’ charges (lines 349–56).
- 365–72 Against the invitation to the “chosen childir,” Jesus will turn to those on his left to consign them to “sitte be Satanas the fende” — the final disposition of the trial, which to be sure has been different from any legal proceeding in contemporary England but which, we are implicitly assured, is entirely just.
- 379–80 *thei that mendid thame whils thei moght / Shall belde and bide in my blissing.* Jesus concludes with a blessing, undoubtedly with the physical sign of making a cross over the good souls — and the audience.
- 380 s.d. *Et sic facit finem . . . ad locum.* Rastall (*Heaven Singing*, p. 28) approves Happé’s paraphrase: “And thus crossing from the place to the place, he makes an end with the melody of angels” (*English Mystery Plays*, p. 694). Unfortunately, again no suggestion is available concerning the nature of the music, though once more it may be conjectured that competent musicians would have been procured and that they would have tried to approximate what would have been reasonably convincing as heavenly. The Towneley Judgment play specifies *Te Deum laudamus*, a portion of which had also been chosen for the music of heaven at the beginning of the York cycle. Whatever the melody was at York, it must have reinforced the certitude and hope of redemption — a joining of the blessed ones with the ultimate harmony of the cosmos — that is, at the last, in Caroline Walker Bynum’s words, “a concept of sublime courage and optimism” (*Resurrection of the Body*, p. 343).



TEXTUAL NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS: **Bevington:** David Bevington, ed., *Medieval Drama* (1975); **Köbling:** E. Köbling, “Beiträge zur Erklärung und Textkritik der York Plays”; **LTS:** Lucy Toulmin Smith, ed., *The York Plays* (1885); **MED:** *Middle English Dictionary*; **RB:** Richard Beadle, ed., *The York Plays* (1972) (incorporating numerous emendations from other sources); **RB²:** Richard Beadle, “Corrections to *The York Plays*,” in Gerald Byron Kinneavy, *A Concordance to the York Plays* (1986), pp. xxxi–xxxii; **s.d.:** stage direction; **Sykes:** A. C. Cawley, ed., “The Sykes MS of the York Scriveners’ Play”; **Towneley:** Martin Stevens and A. C. Cawley, eds., *The Towneley Plays*.

The base text for this edition is London, British Library, MS. Add. 35290, called the “Register” in the York civic records and here identified by the abbreviation **Reg**. Some variations in lineation from the manuscript are not noted here; see RB and Beadle and Meredith’s *The York Play: A Facsimile*. In most cases the line numbering in the present text is consistent with RB. Lineation of alliterative verse throughout is based on Reg, with line numbering adjusted accordingly to account for half lines. Scribes are identified as follows: **Scribe A**; **Scribe B**: main scribe; **JC**: John Clerke; **LH**: later scribal hand (unidentified).

1. THE CREATION OF THE ANGELS AND THE FALL OF LUCIFER

This pageant was copied by Scribe A, who also entered the second pageant and the A-text of the third. He omitted the speech attribution to *DEUS* for God’s first monologue, here supplied at line 1 (following LTS).

- 6 *hydande*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *hyndande*.
8 *Unendande*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *une dande*.
24 s.d. Reg: stage direction, in red; faded, with the following portions unreadable: . . . eli, . . . laudamus te domin. . . .
28 *welth*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *wethth*.
34 *merour*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *morour*.
39 *welth*. Letter *l* interlined in Reg.
41 s.d. Reg: stage direction, in red ink.
42 *A*. Interlined in Reg.
67 *es, I*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *es w I*.
129 *DEUS*. By LH, preceded by *Ihc*, also by LH. After line 144, Reg repeats *DEUS*.
130 *of mi mighte*. So RB; Reg: *of migh mighte*; LTS: *of mighte*.

2. THE CREATION THROUGH THE FIFTH DAY

- 1 *DEUS*. Reg: inserted following line 4.
 In. Reg: large capital letter *I*, in red.
 altissimis. Letter *i* following *m* in Reg is interlined.
 11 *lengger*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *legger*.
 21 *And.* Written over erasure by Scribe A in Reg.
 41 *nough*. So LTS; Reg, RB: *nough*.
 69 *tharon*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *tharon also*.
 71 *hyng*. Corrected, letter *y* overwritten, in Reg.
 77 *materis*. Reg: originally *wateris*, canceled and *materis* substituted by scribe.
 95 *Two*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *Towo*.
 101 *furth er*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *further*.
 109 *thei*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *ye I*
 117 *ye sall set*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *ye sall ye set*.
 140 *dwelland*. So LTS; Reg, RB: *dewlland*.
 156 *won*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *wo*.
 166 *erthe*. In Reg, letter *h* extends upward, with a face looking to left drawn in.
 171 *ye*. Interlined in Reg.

3. THE CREATION OF ADAM AND EVE

The Cardmakers' pageant was entered twice in Reg. The A-text is followed in this edition, with significant variant readings in the B-text listed here. Following the craft attribution in the A-text version, a later scribe, possibly JC, has written: "This is entryd afterwards."

- 1 *In.* Reg: large capital *I*, in red, incorporating line drawing of a man's face, facing left.
 2 *ende*. So A-text; B-text: *the ende*.
 4 *Methynke*. So A-text; B-text: *Me thynketh*.
 14 *I no*. So A-text; B-text, RB: *I here no*.
 15 *kynde and skyll*. So A-text; B-text: *kyndly skylle*.
 21 *mare*. Emended to *more* by LH in Reg.
 22 In Reg, *wyght* interlined by LH above *best*.
 24 *me*. So B-text, followed by RB; A-text: *my*.
 27 *hauittande*. So A-text; B-text: *haunttande*.
 31 *hym fynde*. So B-text, RB; A-Text: *fynde hym*.
 39 *nought*. So B-text; A-text, RB: *nough*.
 43 *The*. So A-text; B-text, followed by RB: *This*.
 44 Marginal notation by JC in both texts, indicating an omission, of which the B-text is more complete:

And leyd your lyves in good degré.
 Adam here make I thee a man of mykyll myght;
 This same shall thy subget be,
 And Eve her name shall hight.

- 51 *thi*. So B-text, followed by RB; A-text: *the*.
 52 *be*. So B-text; A-text, RB: *by*.
 53 *all degré*. So B-text, followed by RB; A-text: *all the degre*.
 55 *tyll us*. So A-text; B-text: *to us*.
 72 *I have*. So A-text; B-text: *is*.
 75 *ye kone*. Reg has extraneous letter between.
 81 *sene*. So RB; A-text, B-text: *sone*.
 82 *othir*. So B-text, followed by RB; A-text: *othithir*.
 85 *DEUS*. So B-text; added by LH in A-text.
 96 Marginal note added by LH, erased and faded, gives first two lines of the
 following play: *Adam and Eve this is [the place] / that I have grant you of my
 grace to have your . . .*

4. THE PROHIBITION OF THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE

The Fullers' pageant was entered by JC in 1559 (see REED: York, 1:330).

- 1 *Adam*. Reg: strapwork initial *A*.
 35 *on haugh*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *on to haugh*.
 40 *ay*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *a*.
 44 Reg: line following omitted by copyist.
 86 *Forwhy*. RB: *For-why*; LTS conjectures: “For-why [do my byddyng].”

5. THE FALL

This and subsequent pageants copied by Scribe B unless otherwise noted.

- 1 *DIABOLUS*. Added by JC.
 For. Reg: letter *F* is a large capital in red.
 6 *dedy ned*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *denied*.
 16 Reg: addition by LH, at right.
 25b *EVA*. Above, speech ascription at right in Reg, scribe has written *Eve*.
 25c *SATANAS*. JC has added: *Diabolus*.
 43 *matere*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *materere*.
 54 *SATANAS*. In Reg, written in large letters, in red, beside canceled *Eva*;
 below, at right, *Salanas* is written a second time.
 87 *wrothe*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *worthe*.
 119 *made*. Correction (added letter *a*) interlined by scribe.
 158 *be*. Corrected (from *by*) in Reg.
 159 Reg: in red, added by Scribe B.

- 165 *derfly*. So Bevington, RB; Reg, LTS: *defly*.
 170 Reg: Line entered by JC.

6. THE EXPULSION FROM THE GARDEN

- 1 *Alle*. Space provided for large capital *A*, not added in Reg. This omission
 is a characteristic of texts entered by Scribe B.
 69 Reg: added above line by JC as correction: “Eve for that thou beglyyd
 hym so.”
 159 *ADAM*. This edition; LTS and RB insert speech heading for Adam at line
 161 following emendation by LH.

7. SACRIFICIUM CAYME ET ABELL

- 7 Reg: line written at right, in red.
 10 Reg: line canceled in red ink, then written again.
 13 *world*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *wolrd*.
 33 *ensewe*. Reg, as emended by JC; RB: *sewe*.
 34–37 RB observes that these lines, having been omitted, were “added by main
 scribe at or immediately after rubrication” (p. 75n34–37).
 70 Reg: hereafter two missing leaves, followed by lines 71–72 written over
 erasure by JC, a large cross indicating Brewbarret interpolation to be
 inserted from next page. A cue also appears: *Caret inde; Lo, maister*
Cayme, what shaves bryng I.
 71–99 Reg: interpolation entered by JC. Following Brewbarret interpolation,
 a cue gives the next line: *What hais thowe done, beholde and here.*
 135 *fardir*. Corrected in Reg (medial letter *r* interlined).

8. THE BUILDING OF NOAH’S ARK

Many erasures and corrections are present in this pageant.

- 20 *ever*. Reg: erasure to remove *e* at end of word.
 27 *above*. Reg: *a bove*, as corrected by LH.
 29 *noght*. Reg: *not* written above *noght* by LH.
 45 *doo*. Reg: added by LH over erasure.
 59 *sownkyn*. Reg: letter *o* added in text.
 74 *skwyn*. Reg: correction overwritten by LH.
 75 *betwene*. Reg: corrected by LH.
 81 *lang*. Reg: originally *long* (corrected).
 83 *strang*. Reg: originally *strong* (corrected).
 86 *do*. Reg: added, over an erasure, by LH.
 99 Reg: *must* written above *bud* by LH.
 101 *gynn*. Corrected by Scribe B in Reg; originally *gyn*.

- 102–03 Lines written in right margin in Reg; they had been erroneously entered after line 110 (deleted).
- after 104 Line following is missing in Reg.
- 106 *ever*. Reg: erasure to remove final *e* at end of word.
- 110 *the bowe ther*. This edition; Reg, LTS: *ther bowe ther*; RB: *ther the bowe*.
- 113 *force*. Reg: an *e* was added as a correction.
- 119 *bowde*. Attempted emendation in Reg (to *bollde*).
- 120 *nere an*. Reg: corrected by LH, over erasure.
- 122 *yit*. Interlined by LH: *must*. Reg: correction over erasure.
- 124 *must*. Reg: correction over erasure.
- 126 *that*. Reg: interlined by LH in Reg.
- 127 *sam*. Reg: a final *e* at end of word erased.
- 127 *must*. Reg: correction by LH, over erasure.
- 131 *fere*. Reg: correction, in red ink, in right margin by Scribe B.
- 143 *awey be*. So RB; Reg: *awey be away be* (*away be* canceled).
- 147 Following *helpe* in Reg, extraneous *w* deleted.

9. THE FLOOD

- 14 *formefadres*. LTS: *forme ffadres*; RB: *forme-fadres*; Reg: *formed fadres*.
- 24 *As*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *And*.
- 30 Reg: by LH in right margin: *for ethē*.
- 71 *I FILIUS*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *Filius*.
- 80 *fellis*. Added in Reg by LH; also, in right margin in red: *fellys*.
- 106 *NOE*. Reg: speech attribution added by LH.
- 134 *had*. Reg: interlined by LH.
- 204 *wate*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *watir*.
- 215 *wynd*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *wymd*.
- 221 *mayd*. Reg: corrected by LH (*d* interlined).
- 266 s.d. *Tunc cantent Noe et filii sui*. Reg: stage direction inserted in right margin by LH.
- 270 *knwe*. So Reg, RB; LTS: *kn[e]we*.
- 288 *wast yt*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *wastyd*.
- 294 Reg: line added at right by LH, replacing misplaced *In ses* (canceled).

10. ABRAHAM AND ISAAC

- 15 *schulde be*. RB: *shulde be*; Reg, LTS: *schulde*.
- 25 *multyplied*. Reg: Final letter added by LH.
- 25 *Abram*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *Abraham*.
- 70 *over*. So LTS; RB: *our*.
- 90 Reg: following *that*, *I* interlined by LH.
- 95 *asse*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *Assee*.

- 108 *send.* Reg: emended by LH, originally *sand.*
 agayne. Reg: added by Scribe B.
- 145 Reg: added in right margin by LH: *Abram.*
- 165 Reg: in right margin, probably by JC, apparently in error: *father wold
 God / I shuld be slayne* (deleted).
- 235–38 Reg: at right, by LH: *hic*; also illegible text, erased.
- 268 Reg: in right margin, JC has added: *Nowe have I chose / whether I had
 lever etc.* Also: *My nowne swete son / to slo or greve my / God for ever.*
- 271 Reg: to right, *hic caret* added by LH.
- 272 *Methynke.* So RB; LTS: *Me thynke;* Reg: *Ye thynke.*
- 281–82 Reg: by LH at right: *Hic caret.*
- 297 Reg: added by LH in right margin: *hic.*
- 327 *he.* Reg: interlined, by LH, in red.
- 362 *lawez.* Reg: corrected by LH.
- 369 *ISAAC.* Reg: repeated in right margin, by LH.

11. PHARAOH AND MOSES

- 1 *O pees.* Words separated in Reg by deleted letter.
- 2 *comaunde.* Indefinite minims in Reg.
- 12 *als it.* So LTS; Reg: *as it als it;* RB: *as it.*
- 21 *CONSOLATOR.* So RB (throughout, following line 219 in Reg; see RB, p. 423).
- 32 *Israell.* Reg: corrected by LH.
- 41 *of.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *of of* (corrected).
- 42 *was a prince.* Reg: letter *a* interlined by LH.
- 61 *qwantise.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *qwantile.*
- 154 *as a lepre.* So RB, following Towneley; Reg, LTS: *serpent.*
- 159 *send.* Reg: interlined in hand of JC.
- 175 *meve.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *meke.*
- 183 *will I fayre.* Reg: written by JC above original scribe's *fayne* (deleted).
- 197 *Beith.* So RB, noting alteration in Reg by LH (from *?Beeth*); LTS: *Beeths.*
- 219 *Where.* So LTS; Reg, RB: *When.*
- 219–20 Reg: lines misassigned to *I Consolator* (ascription deleted).
- 240 *A.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *Al.*
- 255 *II EGIPTIUS.* Reg: Originally given to *II Consolator* (corrected by Scribe B).
- 257 *I CONSOLATOR.* So RB; Reg: *Consolator.*
- 284 *MOYES.* Reg: JC's emendation over erasure.
- 289 *I EGIPTIUS.* Reg: originally assigned to Moyses. JC's correction, over erasure.
- 291–92 Reg: Scribe B emended mistake in exchanging speech attributions.
- 299 *REX.* Reg: speech attribution to *I Egipcius* corrected by Scribe B.
- 315 *poudre.* So RB; Reg: *poure;* LTS: *pou[d]re.*
- 331 *Ellis.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *Ellis.*

- 342 *myscheff*. Reg: two final letters added by LH crudely.
 345 *pestelence*. Reg: added by LH above the line.
 351 *we*. Reg: interlined by LH.
 372 *us*. So RB, following Towneley; Reg, LTS: *thus*.

12. THE ANNUNCIATION TO MARY AND THE VISITATION

- 1 *DOCTOUR*. Speech tag in right margin by JC, who also noted: *this matter
is / newly mayde wherof / we have no copyy*.
 7 *Lord*. Large capital *L* sketched in by scribe.
 17 *disposuit*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *dispsuit*.
 34 *Quoniam*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *Qnia*.
 39–40 Line break in Reg after *ordande*.
 40 *Isay*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *I say*.
 78 *unto*. Reg: syllable *un* interlined by LH.
 88 *meves me*. So RB; Reg: *me meves*; LTS: *me meves he*.
 94 *Ero*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *Ego*.
 120 *donec*. So RB; Reg omits.
 143 *myghtis*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *myghtist*.
 154 *How*. So RB; Reg, TLS: *To*.
 157 s.d. *Tunc cantat angelus*. Reg: entered in right margin by JC.
 166 s.d. *Tunc cantat angelus*, Ne timeas, Maria. Reg: added by JC, in right margin.
 169 Erasure removing *all* between *over* and *othir* in Reg.
 181 Reg: line entered at right by LH.
 229 *unto*. So LTS, RB, after interlined emendation by JC; originally *alway to*
 (*alway* deleted).
 231 *grace*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *grrace*.
 253 s.d. *Tunc cantat*. Reg: added by JC; *Magnificat* in red, by Scribe B.

13. JOSEPH'S TROUBLES ABOUT MARY

- 1 *JOSEPH*. Reg: added by LH.
 11 *O*. Large capital *O* in Reg.
 18 *dase*. Reg: *tase*, changed by LH to *dase*.
 31 *me*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *we*.
 47 *I*. Added to line in Reg by LH.
 80 *might*. So RB; Reg: *mght*; LTS: *may*.
 82 *fra*. Altered to *fro* by LH, who also made similar changes (*a* to *o*) in Reg,
 as noted below.
 84 *tha*. Reg: altered to *tho*.
 91 *ga*. Reg: altered to *go*.
 91 *yhe*. Reg: altered to *ye* by LH.

- 103 *Nay, nay.* In Reg, misplaced at beginning of line 104.
 114 LH: *hic caret* in right margin (deleted) in Reg.
 116 Reg: line added in right margin by JC.
 129 *allane.* Reg: changed to *allone*.
 131 *gane.* Reg: altered to *gone*.
 157 *na.* Reg: changed to *no*.
 188 *knaewe, nane.* Reg: altered to *knowe, none* by LH.
 190 *mane.* Corrected in Reg to *mone*.
 193 *stane.* Reg: altered to *stone*.
 196 *gane.* Reg: altered to *gone*.
 218 *twa.* Altered in Reg to *two*.
 219 *tham.* So RB; Reg, LTS: *that*.
 220 *wa.* Reg: altered to *wo*.
 after 221 Following line is missing in Reg.
 222 *fra.* Reg: altered to *fro*.
 224 *I.* Interlined in Reg.
 fande. So RB; LTS: *frande*, following alteration (possible interlined *r*) in
 Reg.
 225 *swa.* Reg: altered to *swo*.
 235 Reg: line written at right in a different hand.
 246 Reg: in right margin, by a later scribe: *Hic deficit* (deleted).
 286 *have.* So RB; omit Reg.
 294 *forgifnesse.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *fo givnesse*.

14. THE NATIVITY

- 1 *All.* Reg: large initial *A*, perhaps by LH.
 47 *For.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *Fo*; Bevington: *Of*.
 71 *what.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *what what*, with initial *what* canceled.
 75–77 Reg: lines written at right; insertion by Scribe B.
 154 s.d. Added by later hands in Reg: *hic caret pastoribus* and *sequitur postea*.
 Another addition, visible under ultraviolet light: . . . with haste.

15. THE OFFERING OF THE SHEPHERDS

- 1 *I PASTOR.* Reg: supplied by JC.
 Bredir. Reg: large initial *B* sketched in.
 7 *a.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *I*.
 13 *II PASTOR.* Reg: supplied by JC.
 20 *al.* Reg: interlined by a LH.
 25 *III PASTOR.* Reg: supplied by JC.
 37–64 *I PASTOR.* Shepherds identified in Reg by *I*, *II*, and *III* only; here fol-
 lowing LTS, RB.
 41–42 Reg: designated for III Pastor (deleted).

- 43 *III PASTOR.* So LTS, RB. Reg: *II.*
 55 Missing leaf follows in Reg not noted by LTS.
 56 /[*III PASTOR.*] So RB. Presumably continuation of speech from previous page.
 64 s.d. *Et tunc cantant.* Reg: in red, by Scribe B. Added by JC in margin: *caret nova loquela* and *de pastores.*
 78 *I.* Reg: interlined by later scribe.
 85 *With.* At end of line 83 in Reg.
 savyour. Added to text by JC.
 85 s.d. *Et tunc cantant.* Reg: in red, by Scribe B.
 87 *burgh.* So RB; Reg, LTS: *burght.*
 99 Reg: additions in later hand(s) in margin: *hic caret* and *nova loquela.*
 106–07 On single line, lines in reverse order in Reg.
 108 Reg: addition in margin by LH: *hic caret.*
 118 *askis.* So LTS, RB; Reg, Bevington: *astir.*
 120 *hic.* Reg: at left, by LH.
 128 *Farewele.* So LTS, RB, citing Shrewsbury Fragment A47.
 131 Reg: following but erased, visible under ultraviolet light: *Here wantes the conclusyon of this matter* (in JC's hand). Under erasure is an indecipherable writing.

16. HEROD QUESTIONING THE THREE KINGS AND THE OFFERING OF THE MAGI

After ascription to Masons, LH has added *Mynstrells.*

- 1 *HERODES.* Reg: added by LH.
 6 *Listes.* So RB; Reg, LTS: *I list.*
 19 *is.* Reg: interlined by LH.
 56 ?*hic caret.* Reg: erased and a cross.
 64 *Of.* Misplaced at end of line 63 in Reg.
 73 *noght.* So LTS, RB; Reg omits.
 129–272 Entered in Reg in the texts of both the Masons and the Goldsmiths, of which the Masons' (abbreviated Reg/M) is presented here, with only the most substantive readings from the Goldsmiths' text (abbreviated Reg/G) included in these textual notes. For a parallel text edition, see RB (pp. 138–45).
 129 At left in Reg: *sequitur postea* (erased and now indecipherable except under ultraviolet light).
 131 Reg/G: *Sir, new nott is full nere this towne.*
 132 *harlott.* So Reg/M; Reg/G: *losell.*
 133 Reg/G: *Go bette boy and dyng tham downe.*
 136 *do.* So Reg/M; Reg/G omits.
 139 Reg/G: *Of one that is nowe borne.*
 141 *Sir, so I say.* Misplaced in Reg/M at beginning of next line.

- 147 Reg/G: *Have done. Dresse us in riche array.*
 151 *we.* Interlined in Reg/M.
 172 *will.* Reg/G: *schall.*
 175 *Forsoth.* Reg/G: *Sir.*
 177 *King?* So RB, Reg/G; Reg/M: *Kingis.*
 develes name: Reg/G: *devyl way.*
 178 *ye.* So Reg/G, RB; Reg/M: *thee.*
 rave. So RB, Reg/G; Reg/M: *rase.*
 180 *shulde ye.* So RB; Reg/M, Reg/G: *ye shulde.*
 181 *he is.* So Reg/M; Reg/G: *I am.* Reg/G omits *Filius* and assigns his speech
 to Herodes.
 183 *he is.* Reg/G: *I am.*
 187 *II REX.* So RB; Reg/G: *Lorde, we aske noght but leve.*
 189 *Whedirward.* So Reg/M; Reg/G: *Whedir.*
 194 *there hye wordis.* So Reg/M; Reg/G: *such wondir.*
 199 *thys.* So RB, after Reg/G: *this;* Reg/M: *thy.*
 thing. Added as emendation over deleted *counaille.*
 202 *kyth.* Overwritten by LH in Reg/M.
 205 *will saye.* So Reg/G; under ink blot in Reg/M.
 209 *I REX.* RB, after addition by LH in Reg/G.
 213 *II REX.* RB, after Reg/G.
 214 *newes.* So RB, following Reg/G; Reg/M: *newe.*
 217 *III REX.* RB, after Reg/G.
 218 *barne.* So Reg/M; Reg/G: *sone.*
 219 *contrees.* Deleted in Reg/M; JC emended to *the world.*
 221 *beiths.* So Reg/M; Reg/G: *shal be.*
 224 *here.* Reg/M: *her;* Reg/G: *now.*
 225 *I REX.* So RB, after entry by LH in Reg/G.
 227 *forsoth saide.* So Reg/M; Reg/G: *sais.*
 229 *childe consayved sall.* So Reg/M; Reg/G: *barne consayved shulde.*
 233 *II REX.* So RB, after late addition in Reg/G.
 238 Reg/G: *This bryge shall well to ende be broght.*
 245 *is.* So Reg/M; Reg/G: *was.*
 250 *is.* So Reg/M; Reg/G: *it is.*
 251 *grathely.* So Reg/M; Reg/G: *grathe.*
 255 *than were.* So Reg/M; Reg/G: *that is.*
 258 Reg/G: *Alle the soth of that childe.*
 259 *we.* So Reg/M; Reg/G: *that we.*
 263 *swytteron.* So Reg/M; Reg/G: *littil.*
 264 *all.* So Reg/M; Reg/G omits.
 272 Below in Reg/M, but erased: *Hic caret: I Rex. Alake fosoth what schall I say.*
 We lake that syne that we have sought. Also: *sequitur postea* (confirmed by
 RB). Reg/G: *Nota . . . offerynges.* Stage direction supplied in margin
 by JC.

- 295 *and se.* So RB. Misplaced in line 296 in Reg.
 318 *I soght sone, I.* So RB; Reg: *soght sone I.*
 329 *thow.* So RB²; LTS: *yow.*
 336 *fro the fende to thee fette.* So RB; Reg: *free thu fende fals thee to thy fette (thy
 canceled; obviously corrupt); LTS: *fro the fende fals thee to fette.**
 371 *God hymselfe.* So RB; Reg: *God of hymselfe (of deleted).*

17. THE PURIFICATION OF THE VIRGIN

In JC's hand, out of order in Reg. It is, however, noted by JC in Reg at fol. 74, where the pageant, identified as *Purificacio Marie*, should have appeared: *It is entryd in the latter end of this booke next after the Sledmen, Palmers, and it begynnyth by the pr . . . "Allmyghty God in heven."* This is written over text that had been erased.

- 15 *he.* Reg: Interlined by scribe.
 30 *Unto.* So LTS, RB; *Un-* deleted in Reg.
 as I yow tell. Corrected in Reg from *full yell.*
 33 *after.* So RB; Reg, LTS: *after that.*
 149 *relesse.* So RB; Reg, LTS: *reverse.*
 166 *Bodworde.* So RB; Reg, LTS: *Bolde worde.*
 180 *in.* So Köbling; Reg, LTS, RB: *that.*
 247 *poore.* So RB, following Köbling; Reg, LTS omit.
 268 *pay.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *pray.*
 389 *telles.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *tell.*
 407 Line added in left margin by scribe in Reg.
 433–60 The remainder of the pageant is entered on a sheet (a singleton) pasted
 into Reg.
 438 *wo.* So RB; Reg, LTS omit.
 449 *gyant.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *gyane.*
 460 *fyne.* So RB; Reg, LTS: *fynd.*

18. THE FLIGHT TO EGYPT

- 1 *Thow.* Reg has sketched in capital *T.*
 At right, in JC's hand: *This matter is mayd of new after another forme*
 (deleted).
 3 *thin.* So LTS; Reg: *thn* (final letter unclear); RB: *this.*
 12 Reg: at right, by LH: *Caret* (deleted).
 33 Reg: at right, by LH: *Maria ad huc.*
 34 Reg: text in margin at left deleted and illegible.
 47 *What that.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *What at that.*
 66 *nevere offende.* So RB; Reg: *nevere didde offende (didde canceled).*
 137 *tharne.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *thrane.*
 170 *Of all.* So LTS; Reg, RB: *Off of all.*

19. THE MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS

Top of previous page, in JC's handwriting: *This matter of the gyrdlers agreyth not with the Coucher in no poynt; it begynnyth, Lysten lordes unto my lawe.*

- 1 *HEROD*. Reg: centered above text, added in JC's hand.
- 90 *NUNCIUS*. So LTS, RB; Reg omits.
- 91 *HERODES*. So LTS, RB; Reg omits.
- 153 *and*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *and and*.
- 167 *I MILES*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *I CONSOLATOR*.
- 171 *boght*. This edition; Reg, LTS: *boght he*; RB: *bathe*.
- 173 *wathe*. RB; Reg, LTS: *waghe*.
- 176 *II MILES*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *II CONSOLATOR*.
- 193 The following line is missing in Reg.
- 223 *I MILES*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *II MILES*.
- 240–41 Lines reversed in Reg.
- 245 *thydingis*. So Reg (as corrected by ?LH).
- 274 *I CONSOLATOR*. So LTS, RB; Reg omits.
- 275 *than*. Misplaced in Reg at end of previous line.
- 276 *HERODES*. So RB; LTS: *II CONSOLATOR*; Reg omits.
- 279 *banne*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *bande*.

20. CHRIST AND THE DOCTORS

- 20 By LH, at right in Reg: *hic caret* (erased).
- 46–48 *JOSEPH*. RB, following Köbling; later scribe in Reg, LTS here only assign lines 47–48 to Joseph.
- 49ff. Reg: speech ascriptions in this pageant are inconsistent in that they use *Magister* and *Doctor* for the same set of characters.
- 56 *aught*. So RB; LTS: *might*.
- 82 *lyve*. Corrected in Reg; scribe originally wrote *lyke*.
- 89 *bowrdyng*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *brandyng*.
- 128 *To say*. Misplaced at end of previous line in Reg.
- 132 *That*. So RB, following Towneley; Reg, LTS: *And*.
- 134 *Yitt fande*. So RB²; LTS: *Itt fand*; Reg: *Itt fande*.
- 161 *then*. Misplaced at the beginning of line 162 by scribe in Reg.
- 181 *forbedis*. So RB; LTS: *foſrbedis*; Reg: *fobedis*.
- 209 *we*. So LTS, RB; omit Reg.
- 210 *dayes thre*. This edition; LTS, RB: *ther dayes thre*; Reg: *thre dayes thre*.
- 221 *ye se*. This edition; Reg: *y se*; LTS: *y[e] se*; RB: *se ye*.
- 227 *gone*. Altered to *done* by LH in Reg.
- 249 *MARIA*. Initially assigned by scribe to *Jhc* (deleted) in Reg.
- 253 *twa*. Reg: *twa son* (*son* deleted).
- 254 *Son*. Added by LH in Reg.

- 255 *and.* Ampersand interlined by LH in Reg.
 271 *or be.* Misplaced at the beginning of the following line in Reg.
 275 *and he.* Erasure between words in Reg.
 288 Below, Scribe B has listed *Jesu, Maria, Joseph, and Primus doctor, Secundus Doctor, et Tercius Doctor.*

21. THE BAPTISM OF CHRIST

- 1 Reg: at right, in LH: *De novo facto.*
 48 *with.* So RB; Reg: *wth;* LTS: *wfijth.*
 49 Reg: mark X at left; below, at bottom of page, in JC's hand: *Her wantes
a pece newly mayd for saynt John Baptiste.*
 50 *IANGELUS.* So RB; Reg, LTS: *ANGELUS.*
 52 *thys day.* Thus entered at beginning of line 53, canceled, moved to end
of line 52 and emended to *thys.* A later hand was responsible to
adding *day* after *thys.*
 59 *JOHANNES.* Omitted by Scribe B in Reg; Joseph later designated, cor-
rected by ?JC.
 71 Lacuna noted, as indicated by marginal note at right of line by LH in
Reg: *Hic caret.*
 83 Reg: later scribe wrote *Her wants a pece newly mayd for saynt John Baptiste.*
 84 In right margin in Reg, probably referring to lacuna in text: *De novo
facto.*
 88 *The.* So RB; Reg, LTS: *By.*
 94 *And.* So RB; Reg, LTS: *I.*
 101 *vertue.* Reg originally read *wittnesse* (deleted); *vertue* interlined by LH.
 104 *alway.* So RB; in Reg, misplaced at beginning of next line.
 107 At right, *hic caret* (deleted) in Reg.
 114 *Lorde.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *Lorede.*
 131 *Thrughe baptyme clere.* In red at right by Scribe B in Reg.
 141–44 Lines not in correct order in Reg, and lines 141 and 143 entered twice;
correct order indicated by letters *a* to *d* at left in Reg in red.
 154 s.d. *cantabunt duo angeli . . . spiritus.* Stage direction, in red by Scribe B in
Reg.
 175 At left, in JC's hand in Reg, *hic caret finem;* below, in same handwriting:
This matter is newly mayd and devyse wherof we have no coppy regystred.

22. THE TEMPTATION IN THE WILDERNESS

Craft assignment: *Lok-* interlined as addition to *Smythis.*

- 1 *Make.* Reg; large capital *M* is sketched in.
 22 *Thei.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *Thi.*

- 91 s.d. *Tunc cantant . . . creator.* Stage direction, for singers, added by JC in right margin in Reg.
- 92 *Diabolus* added in right margin by LH; this edition omits.
- 108 *tose.* Originally written *toce* and corrected in Reg.
- 154 Line misplaced following line 152 (deleted) in Reg, then written in red ink in right margin.
- 156 *As.* Reg: scribe began writing a lower case *a* at end of previous line (not canceled).
- 192 *thow leve.* Reg: deleted words, thereafter full line written in red at right.

22A. THE MARRIAGE IN CANA

Incipit for this play is only entered in handwriting of JC; subsequent folios blank, with catchword for *The Transfiguration* on page prior to its opening.

23. THE TRANSFIGURATION

- 5 *sightis.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *sighitis.*
- 13 Reg: added at right in LH: *cum Moysez et Elias.*
- 31 *Sum.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *sam.*
- 41 *and biddis nowe* misplaced at beginning of line 42 in Reg.
- 73 *of all welth is wele.* So RB; Reg: omits *of.*
- 83 *That.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *Than.*
- 145 *PETRUS.* Supplied in margin of Reg in LH.
- 168 s.d. *Hic descendunt nubes.* By Scribe B, in red at right.
- 169 *Pater.* Reg: (redundant) written in right margin by LH (deleted).
- 171 *grayde.* So RB; Reg, LTS: *grayth.*
- 180 At right by LH in Reg: *Hic caret* (deleted).
- 185 *may.* So LTS, RB; Reg: three minims only.
- 238 *me.* Reg has extra minim on *m.*

23A. THE FEAST IN SIMON'S HOUSE

Reg: under erasure, in JC's hand (following RB's reading): *This matter lakkes, videlicet: Jesus et Symon leprosus rogans eum ut manducaret cum eo, duo discipuli, Maria Magdalena lavans pedes Jesu lacrimis et capillis suis tergens.*

24. THE WOMAN TAKEN IN ADULTERY AND THE RAISING OF LAZARUS

At top, guild attribution: *and Hatmakers* (added by LH, probably in 1569; see REED: York, 1:356).

- 13 *strye.* This edition; Reg, LTS, RB: *stroye.*
- 29 *certayne.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *certaye.*

- 50 Reg: at right, JC has added *Hic deficit.*
 51 *hyde*. So RB, who suggests *byde* might have been intended.
 54 Missing leaf follows in Reg.
 after 98 *Lazare mortus*. Reg: written in red at top of page by Scribe B, preceding
 line 81. Placement in text after line 98 in this edition follows LTS, RB.
 124 *lange*. Emended to *longe* by LH in Reg.
 171 Missing leaf follows in Reg.
 186 Reg: at right, by JC: *Nota quia non concordat*, and *novo addicio facto*.
 189 LH has written *memorandum* and word (illegible) to right in Reg.

25. THE ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM

- 11 *is*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *is I*.
 33 *this thyng*. In Reg, *?ki* interlined between these words.
 41 *go*. So RB; Reg, LTS omit.
 71 *hartely*. Letter *t* interlined in Reg.
 85 *JANITOR*. Added by JC in Reg.
 108 *tham*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *hym*.
 162 *VII BURGENSIS*. So RB; Reg and LTS place at line 160.
 204 *I say*. So RB; Reg: *I say I* (second *I* canceled).
 211 *youre childer with*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *youre with*.
 228 *telle*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *felle*.
 247 *thought*. Reg: JC has *th* interlined above thorn (þ).
 248 *latt*. Written by JC above *consayte* (canceled) in Reg.
 260 *I BURGENSIS*. So RB; Reg locates at line 261.
 266 *II BURGENSIS*. So RB; MS has speech ascription on previous line.
 280 *this thing*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *thing*.
 286 *lyst*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *lyse*.
 287 s.d. *Tunc cantant*. Added in left margin by LH in Reg.
 296–337 Lineation scrambled in Reg; text follows LTS and RB.
 298 *bene of tendyr yere*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *of tendyr yere bene*.
 303 *I witte*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *witte*.
 320 *right*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *righ*.
 332 *aghe*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *age*.
 346 *syght*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *syght*.
 359 Reg: in margin by later scribe: *hic caret*.
 after 367 Following line is missing in Reg.
 382 Reg: line written on previous page, deleted, and then added by JC, in-
 correctly with *my* for *myn*, at right of line 381.
 after 402 Following line is missing in Reg; LTS suggested *New lawes to lare*.
 429 *hid*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *it*.
 431 *Wille*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *Whiche*.
 448 *I*. Reg: altered to *Mi* in LH.
 449 *Halve*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *Have*.

- 482 Reg adds *at hande* at end of line (deleted).
 495 *Hayll.* So RB; Reg: *hall*, as emended by LH.
 499 *bright.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *brigh.*
 501 *we.* So RB; Reg, LTS: *with.*
 544 s.d. *Tunc cantant.* Added in LH in left margin in Reg.

26. THE CONSPIRACY

- 1 *PILATUS.* Speech identification by LH in Reg.
 13 *grone.* So RB; Reg, LTS: *grume.*
 34a *thurgh.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *thurgh thurgh.*
 85b *tales.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *tales tales.*
 89b *deland.* So RB; Reg, LTS: *derand.*
 117 *PILATUS.* So Reg in LH, correcting ascription to *Cayphas* by JC.
 128 *Unjust.* So RB; LTS: *Un-just*; Reg: *Uncust.*
 133b *that.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *Tat.*
 183b *drawen.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *drawe.*
 191 Assignment to Judas deleted in Reg.
 211 *bar.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *bay.*
 226a *justified.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *justified b.*
 232 *hym.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *hm.*
 247 *fende.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *frenede.*
 250 *hastely hang.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *hastely hym hang.*
 252–54 Reg: lines initially ascribed to Pilatus (deleted).
 268 *saythe.* So RB; LTS: [*?saythe?*]; Reg omits.
 280 Reg: at right, by LH: *Caret hic*; JC has added: *Janitor* and *Judas*.
 284 In LH in right margin in Reg: *Caret hic.*

27. THE LAST SUPPER

- 1 *JESUS.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *Deus* in JC's hand.
 Above, top right of page in Reg: *caret hic principio.*
 Pees. Reg: Large *P* sketched in.
 2 Reg has *all* interlined; and *here* added by later scribe (replacing *?theryn*).
 60 s.d. *Tunc lavat manus.* Supplied by JC in right margin in Reg.
 61 Reg has ascription by JC: *Deus*. This edition omits.
 after 89 Missing leaf follows in Reg.
 96 *I hope.* So Reg, LTS; RB: *Jhon.*
 100 *is.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *is is.*
 148 *slayne.* So RB; Reg, LTS: *allone.*
 151 *mende.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *mened.*
 173 *stones.* So Reg, LTS, RB; Kölbing: *swordes.*
 177 *Us.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *Vis.*
 187 At left in margin in Reg: *Hic caret*, in LH; JC has added *novo loquela.*

28. THE AGONY AND BETRAYAL

- 1 *JESUS*. Added LTS, RB; omit Reg.
 Reg: at right, in LH: *de novo facto*.
- 12 *in*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *ni*.
- 42 Missing leaf follows in Reg.
- 111–12 Reg: text erased, partially recovered under ultraviolet light; corroborated by RB: *And seis . . . yght / With rappes full rudely . . . the rode rente*.
- 113 *ANGELUS*. LH adds *and archangels* in Reg.
- 142 Following in Reg is an intruded cue for the actor: *This sothly quod Petir*.
 Misplaced line, in Reg between lines 139 and 140.
- 143 *For*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *Fo*.
- 148a *se*. Interlined in Reg.
- 168–72 Speeches of Anna and Cayphas reversed in Reg. Lineation follows LTS, RB.
- 173–81 Confused lineation in Reg; text here follows RB.
- 181a Reg: line originally assigned to Cayphas at end of next line.
- 183 *Sir knyghtis, in hy*. Part of Cayphas' speech, but originally assigned to I Miles in Reg; Reg's ascription of line 183b to II Miles altered to I Miles; so LTS, RB.
- 193 *armed*. Altered to *myned* by LH in Reg.
- 199 Reg: at right, in LH, faint: *hic caret*.
- 204 *he*. So LTS, RB; Reg omits.
- 214 *slane*. Reg: *slone*, changed to *slane* by LH.
- 236a *CAYPHAS*. Speech designation added by RB. Originally assigned implausibly to Malcus in Reg.
- 247 *CAYPHAS*. Speech heading added RB.
- 249b *ye*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *he*.
- 272b Given to Malcus in RB; in Reg and LTS to Jesus.
- 278 *JESUS*. Inserted in LH in Reg.
- 295 Line incomplete in Reg.
- 300 *mekenes*. So Reg, LTS; RB: *merkenes*.

29. THE TRIAL BEFORE CAYPHAS AND ANNA

- 1 *CAYPHAS*. Entered by JC in Reg.
- 23b *Tunc dicant Lorde*. Added at right by JC in Reg.
- 73–74 At right in Reg, *Hic caret* (deleted); also, by JC: *Hic For be we ones well wett / The better we will reste*. At left: *Hic*.
- 86 *MULIER*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *I Mulier*.
- 128a *that*. Reg: written at end of line (deleted).
- 130a *youre*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *oure*.
- 145 *than*. So RB, LTS; Reg: *thon*.
- after 152 Line following 152 is missing in Reg.

- 153 Reg: at right, in LH: *Caret hic.*
 176 *III MILES.* So RB; *staste* (deleted), followed by *stande* in Reg.
 178b *I MILES.* So RB, for gap in Reg.
 178c *III MILES.* So RB; Reg: *I Miles.*
 198 *I MILES.* Added by RB.
 199 *CAYPHAS.* Reg: main scribe had written *I Miles*, altered by later scribe.
 200–07 Reg: speech designations emended by LH; initially assignments to Cayphas and Anna had been reversed.
 211 *are buxom.* This edition; Reg, LTS: *have buxom*; RB: *have ben buxom.*
 213b *I added,* emendation in Reg.
 214 *And felawes.* At end of previous line in Reg.
 226a Reg: *he* deleted between *to* and *take*.
 241 *IV MILES.* So LTS, RB.
 242 *CAYPHAS.* Originally *IV Miles*; emended by LH.
 255 *tere.* So RB; Reg, LTS: *stere.*
 261b *sidis seere.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *sere sidis seere.*
 262 *CAYPHAS.* Reg: speech designation entered by JC.
 272 *CAYPHAS.* Reg: main scribe had written *IV Miles*; emended by JC.
 275 Reg: at right, *Hic caret* in LH.
 304b *Sertis, so I schall.* In Reg written at beginning of next line.
 307 Reg: at right, JC has written: *Sir my reason is not to rehers. Jesus.* Incipit of Jesus' speech at line 308, hence cue to indicate that the speeches by Jesus and Anna, which follow in lines 308–11, are reversed.
 362–64 Lineation as in LTS, RB, to correct defective order in Reg.
 365 Reg repeats *III Miles*; this edition omits.
 372 *I saie.* So RB; Reg, LTS: *ysaie.*
 373 *Quis te.* So RB, following Köbling; Reg: *In juste*; LTS: *Injuste.*
 394a *thou.* So RB; LTS: *you.*
CAYPHAS. So RB; Scribe B: *Anna*, corrected by JC, but *Anna* retained by LTS.
 395 Speech designation *Cayphas* by Scribe B; this edition omits.

30. THE FIRST TRIAL BEFORE PILATE

- 7 *wrekis.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *werkis.*
 9 *trewys.* Reg: final *s* added by LH.
 13 *plight.* So RB; Reg, LTS: *pight.*
 22 *ther.* So RB; Reg, LTS: *the.*
 23–24 Lines reversed in Reg.
 28 *UXOR PILATI.* Entered twice in Reg; also *Uxor Pilaty* at line 30.
 34 *troned.* So RB; Reg, LTS: *stonyd.*
 46a *itt may.* So RB; LTS, Reg: *itt save may.*
 62–63 Lineation here follows LTS, RB.
 70a *wele.* Moved from line 70b in Reg.

- 75–76 As three lines in Reg. Realigned following LTS.
 79 *deme*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *dome*.
 after 85 Following line is missing in Reg.
 90 *for thee*. This edition; LTS, RB: *forthe*.
 92a *a repreve*. So RB, following Köbling; Reg, LTS: *appreve*.
 97 *Loke, nowe*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *Loke, what dose thou have done nowe*.
 97–98 Lineation follows LTS, RB.
 after 107 Two lines following are missing in Reg.
 112 *here is*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *he this*.
 115 *FILIUS*. Reg has *Filius Secundus* until line 180, subsequently *Filius Primus*.
 after 127 Following line is missing in Reg.
 135a *A, sir . . . wele*. Reg: added in left margin by Scribe B.
 after 135 Following line is missing in Reg.
 136 *here*. Added by LTS, RB.
 224 *II MILES*. Reg: in LH.
 225 *lawe*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *lawne*.
 227a Following *dowtiest* in Reg: *this day* (canceled).
 233a *I MILES*. Written over erasure in Reg.
 244 *batterand*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *battand*.
 263a *roo*. Corrected over erasure in Reg.
 265a *leve*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *leve i*.
 271a *there*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *thenne*.
 283 *leede*. So RB; in Reg, later scribe altered to *hede*. So LTS.
 296 *PILATUS*. So RB; Reg, LTS omit.
 297 *soth*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *soh*.
 310b *heyned*. So RB, who questions and, following MED, suggests possibly
hoyned.
 351a *Saviour*. Spelling corrected in Reg, *a* overwritten.
 370 Lineation follows RB.
 370d *Alowde*. Stage direction (not so designated as such in Reg).
 371a Reg: at right, in LH: *hic caret* (deleted).
 371b *lithe*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *light*.
 377 *thee*. This edition; Reg, LTS, RB: *he*.
 389 *FILIUS*. Reg has *Junior Filius*.
 404 *accusyng*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *accusymg*.
 after 419 Following line missing in Reg.
 after 431 Following line missing in Reg.
 446 *dede*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *dethe*.
 470 *to spedē*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *to speke*.
 488 *dewe*. This edition; Reg: *dewe als*; LTS, RB: *dewe of*.
 497 *be and*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *and be*.
 514b *and bredde*. Reg: supplied in margin by JC.
 This edition omits Scribe B's *and borne* at end of line in Reg.
 524 *PILATUS*. Reg, RB; LTS suggests *Anna*.

- 526b *MILITES*. So RB; omit in Reg.
 after 529 Line following is missing in Reg.
 533 *deme*. Alteration in Reg, from *dome*.
 534 *Is done*. In Reg at end of previous line; *Done* repeated at beginning of
 this line.

31. THE TRIAL BEFORE HEROD

- 1 *REX*. So LTS, RB; Reg omits.
 11 *Yae*. Follows at end of previous line in Reg.
 14–15 Lines reversed in Reg.
 33 *to*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *in*.
 42 s.d. *Tunc bibet Rex*. Reg: stage direction added by JC.
 94b *heynde*. Corrected in Reg (*y* written over *u*).
 111 *were*. So LTS, RB; Reg omits.
 189 *deffis*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *dethis*.
 190 Reg: *Say deynis thou not whare*. Intrusion from previous line; corrected
 RB.
 196 *tell hyme*. Reg: interlined in hand of JC.
 199 *This*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *Thus*.
 menyes. This edition; in Reg, *n* altered to *y* by LH; RB: *mennes*.
 201 *II DUX*. Reg: inserted by LH.
 202 *two*. Reg: added over an erasure by LH.
 214 *that*. Reg: *that that*.
 215 *REX*. Replaces deleted *IDux* in Reg.
 218 *light*. Alteration by LH in Reg; originally *lith*.
 256–60 Lineation follows LTS.
 276–77 Lineation follows LTS.
 308 *droune*. So RB; Reg: *drawe*; LTS: *drawe [sonne]*.
 Reg: at left, by LH: *Nota*.
 310 *roune*. So RB; LTS: *ronne*.
 Reg: at right, by LH: *Hic*.
 319 Reg: at left, by LH: *Nota*.
 Reg: at right: *hic*.
 329 Reg: at right, by LH: *Nota*.
 Reg: at left: *Pylatus*.
 333a *AL CHYLDER*. So RB; implied only in Reg, LTS.
 334 Reg: to right, by LH: *Nota*.
 347a *AL CHILDER*. Not distinguished as speech tag in Reg, LTS.
 355 *hende*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *hente*.
 375 Reg: at right, by LH: *Post Rex*.
 390 *rathely*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *yathely*.

32. THE REMORSE OF JUDAS

- 1 *Pees.* Reg: capital *P* sketched in (strapwork initial).
 me. Deleted in Reg, retained by LTS, RB.
 3 *lowte me.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *lord me* (*me* deleted).
 27 *to behold.* At right in Reg, misplaced at line 25, addition by JC.
 46 *His.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *This.*
 73 *not.* So RB; Reg, LTS: *nowe.*
 91 *neven it.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *nevenist.*
 110 *to hym.* So RB; Reg, LTS omit *hym.*
 111 *land.* Reg: entered at end of line by JC.
 123–24 Lineation as in RB.
 129 Reg: in right margin, by later hands: *Hic caret; loquela de primo filio* and
 et aliis.
 149 *bote myght be.* So RB; Reg: *myght be bote;* LTS suggests *loke howe beste that*
 bote myght be.
 154–55 Reg: in left margin, by LH: *Hic caret loquela magna et diversa.*
 170 *JUDAS.* Added in Reg in LH.
 231 *worthi.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *wothi.*
 after 239 Following line is missing in Reg; LTS suggests *I crye you sore.*
 Reg: notation at right: *caret hic* (canceled).
 261 Line written at right in Reg at line 258, and also by JC at line 260
 (deleted).
 277 *thus.* So RB; Reg, LTS: *thu.*
 after 282 Following line is missing in Reg; LTS suggests: *Nor mercy none.*
 298 *talke.* In Reg, *t* and *k* are corrected (overwritten).
 after 326 RB suggests a line might be missing here.
 329 *PILATUS.* So RB here; LTS at line 333.
 skill. So LTS, RB; Reg: *shall.*
 339 Reg: at left by LH: *Hic caret.*
 363 Reg: at right by LH: *Hic caret;* JC has added *loquela.*

33. THE SECOND TRIAL BEFORE PILATE

Craft assignment to *Mylners* added by LH.

- 24 *hym.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *hyn.*
 after 32 Following line missing in Reg; LTS suggests *and chasted.*
 35 *tasted.* Reg: letter *d* added by LH.
 42 *my.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *my my.*
 48 *yitt.* Reg: added by LH.
 49 *undre sylke on.* So RB (conjecture); Reg, LTS: *undre on.*
 108 *CAYPHAS.* Reg: speech tag added by JC.
 138 *PILATUS.* So RB; Reg, LTS omit.

- 146b *PRECO*. So RB; LTS: *Præco*; Reg omits.
 146c *I MILES*. So LTS, RB; Reg omits.
 147 *this*. So RB; Reg: *ths.*
 155 *name*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *named*.
 159 *his*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *hir*.
 175 *dastardes*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *dastard*.
 191 *unfittyng*. This edition; MS, LTS, RB: *unsittyn*.
 242 *barnes*. So Reg, LTS; RB: *baners*.
 of. So LTS, RB; Reg: *of of*.
 263 s.d. *They cry*. This edition.
 Oyes. Reg: added by JC.
 267 s.d. *Et Preco . . . Jesus*. Reg: stage direction entered, in red ink, in right margin
 by Scribe B.
 293 *convyk*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *covyk*.
 323 *man*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *nan*.
 360 *this*. Reg: letter *t* added by LH.
 361 *Swete*. Reg: original scribe had written *Swte*; missing letter added by LH.
 382 Reg: line deleted in red ink (duplicated on next page).
 403 *a rede*. Reg: *a* interlined by LH.
 432 *as*. Reg: letter *s* added by a late hand.
 after 439 Missing leaf follows in Reg.
 441 *fende*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *lende*.
 443 s.d. *Tunc laval manus suas*. Reg: stage direction added by JC.
 444 Reg: line deleted, then rewritten.
 465 *alone*. Reg: LH deleted *one* and substituted *alone*.

34. THE ROAD TO CALVARY

- after 11 Following line missing in Reg.
 after 141 Following leaf missing in Reg.
 142 *MARIA SANCTA*. This edition (conjecture).
 177 *seen*. So RB; Reg omits.
 198 *withalle*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *with ille*.
 201 *everemore*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *nevere more*.
 206 *I MILES*. Reg: added twice, in one instance in red, by later hands.
 208 *Go*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *To*.
 243 *III MILES*. Reg: added by LH.
 336 *as*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *of*.

35. CRUCIFIXIO CHRISTI

As addition to craft ascription, by LH: *and Paynters.*

- | | |
|--------|---|
| 80 | <i>hange.</i> So RB; Reg, LTS: <i>have.</i> |
| 98–107 | Speech identifications follow RB. |
| 118 | <i>suerly.</i> So Reg, LTS; RB: <i>snelly.</i> |
| 154 | <i>and.</i> So RB; Reg, LTS omit. |
| 155 | <i>Thei.</i> So RB; Reg, LTS: <i>I.</i> |
| 183a | <i>IV MILES.</i> So RB; Reg, LTS: <i>III Miles.</i> |
| 183–84 | <i>We are redy . . . fang.</i> Reg: added in margin by Scribe B. |
| 230 | <i>morteyse.</i> So LTS, RB; Reg: <i>moteyse.</i> |
| 264 | Reg: addition by JC in right margin: <i>In welth without end / I kepe noght elles to crave.</i> |

36. MORTIFICACIO CHRISTI

The title is written in red ink.

- | | |
|-----|--|
| 20 | <i>myght.</i> Altered in Reg by LH; originally <i>myne.</i> |
| 75 | <i>CAYPHAS.</i> Reg: added by JC. |
| 95 | <i>brade.</i> Emended (<i>o</i> changed to <i>a</i>) in Reg. |
| 105 | <i>pleasaunce.</i> So LTS, RB; Reg: <i>pleasaune.</i> |
| 126 | <i>Than I.</i> Reg: inserted by JC at right. |
| 133 | <i>thou.</i> So Reg, LTS; RB: <i>he.</i> |
| 155 | <i>to.</i> Reg: added in text, interlined. |
| 208 | <i>Whan.</i> So RB; Reg, LTS: <i>What.</i> |
| 241 | <i>spare.</i> So LTS, RB; Reg: <i>sware.</i> |
| 254 | Reg: at right JC has added: <i>for why</i> (canceled). |
| 259 | <i>thee.</i> Altered in Reg (from <i>me</i>). |
| 273 | Reg: at right, presumably indicative of the exit of Marys: <i>Hic caret.</i> |
| 313 | <i>CENTERIO.</i> So Reg; RB: <i>Centurio.</i> |
| 352 | <i>NICHODEMUS.</i> So throughout in this edition; Reg has <i>Nichomedis.</i> |
| | <i>I.</i> So LTS, RB; omit Reg. |
| 358 | <i>we.</i> So RB; Reg, LTS omit. |
| 395 | <i>To.</i> So LTS, RB; Reg: <i>Do.</i> |
| 404 | <i>JOSEPH.</i> So RB; Reg: <i>Joshep.</i> |
| 410 | <i>mende.</i> So LTS, RB; Reg: <i>wende.</i> |

37. THE HARROWING OF HELL

- | | |
|---------|--|
| 1 | <i>JESUS.</i> Reg: written by LH. |
| 10 | <i>frewte.</i> Compare Towneley: <i>fraude.</i> |
| 36 s.d. | <i>Tunc cantent.</i> Reg: stage direction by LH. |

- 40 *this stedde*. Compare Towneley: *darknes stad.*
 44 *sesse*. Compare Towneley: *slake*.
 49 *ISALAH*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *Isaac*.
 58 *seede*. Possibly an error (for *?deede*).
 61 *This*. This edition; Reg, RB: *Thhis*; LTS: *Yhis*.
 62 *the*. So Towneley, RB; Reg, LTS: *this*.
 64 *halsed homely*. Compare Towneley: *halsid hym homely*.
 83 *laide*. Letter *e* altered to *a* in Reg.
 97 *I DIABOLUS*. Compare Towneley: *Rybald*.
 99 *II DLABOLUS*. By a different hand in Reg; compare Towneley: *Belzabub*.
 135 *lad*. So Towneley; Reg, LTS, RB: *lady*.
 150 *traveses*. RB, following Towneley: *travesses*; Reg, LTS: *traves*.
 185 *what harlot*. So LTS, RB, interpolated from Towneley; Reg omits.
 195 *I DIABOLUS*. So RB; Reg omits *I*.
 196 *baill*. Added in LH in Reg; compare Towneley: *bayll*.
 209 *of*. Interlined by LH in Reg.
 211 *ferde*. Compare Towneley: *flayd*.
 228 At left, by JC: *nota caret nova loquela* (deleted).
 242 *wonne in mirthe*. Compare Towneley: *In blys to dwell*.
 244 *neyd thowe crave*. Reg: added by JC, canceling Scribe B's *thus thee I telle*;
 compare Towneley: *thurt thee crave*.
 253 *as*. Reg: interlined by later scribe.
 271 *knavie*. Reg: written over the Scribe B's *braide*.
 274 Line as written at bottom of page, deleted in red ink, and rewritten on
 next page in Reg.
 301 *servauntis*. So LTS, RB; Towneley: *servandys*.
 342 *in*. Added in Reg by LH.
 347 *movys*. So LTS; Reg: *monys*; RB, after Towneley: *menys*.
 354 *selle*. Compare Towneley: *sete*.
 375 *dolle*. This edition; Reg: *dolee*; LTS, RB: *dole*.
 378 *hundreth*. So Towneley.
 380 *in*. So LTS, RB, after Towneley; Reg omits.
 384 *saules fro thee be*. Compare Towneley: *thi sayntys to se*.
 384 s.d. *repleye*. Compare Towneley: *not fle*.
 400 *OMNIS*. So RB; Reg, followed by LTS, has *Omnis* as part of dialogue
 (notrulled off from previous speech).
 408 *Tunc cantent*. Reg: stage direction in LH.
 408 *honde*. Reg: Scribe B: *hende*, corrected by LH to *honde*.
 408 *etc*. Reg: added in LH at end of line.

38. THE RESURRECTION

- 1 *PILATUS*. Reg: entered by LH.
 52 Reg: line omitted by Scribe B, inserted at right by LH.

- 68 At left in Reg, by LH: *Hic deficit.*
 93 *tremeled, and also manne.* Compare Towneley: *tremlyd as a man.*
 147 *menne.* Compare Towneley: *dyscyplys.*
 158 *to.* So LTS, RB, after Towneley; Reg omits.
 163 Reg adds, interlined in LH after *knightis:* *Lorde.*
 175 *I MILES.* Added by LH in Reg.
 186 s.d. *Tunc Jhesu resurgente.* Reg: stage direction by Scribe B, in red, and, at right, JC's addition *Tunc angelus cantat Resurgens.*
 188 *werke.* Compare Towneley: *warlde.*
 198 *hym on.* This edition; Reg, LTS: *on hym on;* RB: *on hym.*
 217 *II MARIA.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *I Maria;* compare Towneley: *Maria Jacobi.*
 245 *his.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *his his.*
 254 Reg: at left, by LH: *Et hic deficit* (deleted).
 257 Reg: partially obscured by ink blot.
 259 *lende.* So RB; Reg: *layne;* so too LTS who, however, notes *lende* must have been intended (p. 410n).
 268 *Man most of myght.* This line, inserted by LTS from Towneley, replaces JC's addition in Reg: *A weryd wight.* Regarded as extra-metrical by RB.
 281 *My dede . . . for slayne.* Compare Towneley: *my gylt he was fortayn.*
 306 *I MILES.* So RB, after Towneley; Reg, LTS: *III Miles.*
 326 *hundereth.* Compare Towneley: *thousand.*
 346 *I MILES.* By LH in Reg.
 383 *I MILES.* By LH in Reg.
 397 *PILATUS.* Canceled but marked *stet* in Reg by LH.
 432 *CAIPHAS.* Added and ruled off in Reg by JC.

39. THE APPEARANCE OF CHRIST TO MARY MAGDALEN

Craft attribution by JC: *Sledmen*; in another hand: *Palmers.* Also barely legible and canceled handwriting by JC that was noted by RB, indicating connection to the following *Peregrinus* play.

- 67 *unride.* So RB; Reg, LTS: *unrude.*
 85 Reg: at left, by a LH: *Hic deficit.*

40. THE TRAVELERS TO EMMAUS

- 1 *PERIGRINUS.* So throughout in Reg.
That. In Reg, letter *T* is sketched in as strapwork initial enclosing outline of a face.
 4 Reg: at right in margin by JC: *hic de novo facto.*
 6 Reg: *Hic caret* in right margin (deleted).
 9 Reg: at right, in margin: *Hic de novo facto.*

- 11 Reg: at right, in margin: *De novo facto*.
 11–12 Lineation as in LTS.
 12 *brothere*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *brothe*.
 18 *tales*. Reg: letter *s* added by different scribe.
 20 *bales*. Reg: letter *s* added by a different scribe.
 83 *Forthy*. So RB; LTS: *For-thy*; Reg: *For they*.
 85 *of*. Reg: *of of*.
 87–88 Reg gives lines to *I Perigrinus*; LTS, RB reassign to *II Perigrinus*.
 92 *takkid*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *talkid*.
 96 Reg: *thei putte hym* appears at end of line; rearranged by LTS.
 107 *bolned*. Letter *l* added by LH.
 109 *we*. Reg has *w* written over *h*.
 111 *Israell*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *Iraell*.
 132 Reg: line 134 mistakenly entered here (deleted).
 136–37 Lines reversed in Reg.
 151 *dowte*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *dowe*.
 after 156 Two lines following are missing in Reg.
 159–60 Lines reversed in Reg. LTS suggests adding to beginning of line 159: *To feed theron unterly*.
 181 *wais*. Reg: letter *i* interlined by LH.
 186 *preche*. Altered from *prechid* in Reg.
 193 *it*. Interlined in Reg.
 193 *bringe*. RB queries whether *us* or *you* should follow this word.

41. DOUBTING THOMAS

For a complete collation with the Sykes MS, see RB.

- 1 *to . . . wer*. Compare Sykes: *the . . . are*.
 5 *ne*. Compare Sykes: *sens*.
 8 *Of oure . . . lange*. Compare Sykes: *And wyth owr lyvys owr lath we lyff so long*.
 9 *For sen . . . wrong*. Compare Sykes: *Sens that thes Jewys wrought this wrong*.
 25 *oure*. RB, after Sykes: *owr*; Reg, LTS: *youre*.
 27–28 Lineation as in RB.
 40 *So it us*. This edition, following Sykes: *So yt us*; LTS: *Dois us*; RB: *So is us*.
 44 Reg has extraneous *v* to right of line.
 46 *may*. So LTS, RB, following Sykes; Reg: *nay*.
 56 *Felys*. So Sykes, RB; Reg, LTS: *Folous*.
 66 *ete*. Reg: corrected (crudely overwritten) by LH.
 71 *here we thee*. Compare Sykes: *we wolde ye*.
 83 *remenaunte sone*. Compare Sykes: *remland unto*.
 85 *rayst*. So Sykes, RB; Reg, LTS: *dreste*.
 90 *Releffe*. So Reg, LTS; RB, following Sykes: *Resave*.

- 109 *Wan was his . . . wonderus.* So RB, following Sykes; LTS: *Whan lo! as his wondis . . . wondis;* Reg: *Whan lo as wonderus . . . wondis.*
- 110 *skelpis.* Compare Sykes: *swapis.*
- 121 *So wofull wightis.* So Sykes, RB; Reg, LTS: *A blistfull sight.*
- 133 *JOHANNES.* Added LTS, following Sykes.
- 135 *a trayne.* So Sykes, RB; Reg, LTS: *attrayne.*
- 167 *no syne.* So RB, following Sykes; Reg, LTS: *sen ye.*
to. So RB, following Sykes.
- 179 *more mistrowand.* So Reg, RB; LTS, following Sykes: *more so mystrowand.*
- 183 Line supplied by LTS from Sykes; Reg omits.
- 189 *wight.* Written over erasure in Reg.
- 190 *thou.* So Reg, LTS; RB, following Sykes: *they.*

42. THE ASCENSION

Supplementary ascription to Potters (canceled); indecipherable text under erasure at left.

- 7–8 *And lele.* Reg: deleted at end of line 7, added to beginning of next line by LH.
- 14 *yit any.* So RB; Reg, LTS: *it anly.*
- 29 *Some.* So RB; Reg, LTS: *Come.*
schulde come is. So RB; Reg: *schulde is.*
- 92 *clowte.* So RB; Reg, LTS: *lowte.*
- 107 *same.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *sane.*
- 115 *One.* This edition, for roman numeral *I* in Reg; RB: *Ane.*
- 129 *wendand.* So RB; Reg, LTS: *weldand.*
- 133 *He schall.* Deletion in Reg is reinstated by LH; at left, in LH: *I am* (deleted).
- 176 s.d. *Tunc cantat angelus.* Stage direction in right margin, in LH; Reg: *gloria in excelsys deo* deleted, and JC thereafter entered *Ascendo ad patrem meum.*
- 212 *on.* So LTS, RB; Reg: *no.*
- 261 *to fordo.* So RB; Reg, LTS: *for to do.*
- 263–64 Lineation follows LTS.

43. PENTECOST

- 1 *PETRUS.* Reg: speech tag omitted by Scribe B; *Deus* added (canceled) and *Petrus* inserted, both by later hands.
Brethir. Reg: strapwork initial *B* sketched in.
- 13–14 Latin quotations, written in red, are extra-metrical but are numbered in this edition; *judex* interlined in Reg.
- 15 Reg: at right, JC has written: *Nota a newe clause mayd for the eleccion of an apostle to make the nomber of twelve.*

- 22 Reg: the line is imperfect (word or words missing).
 37 Reg adds at right: *III APOSTOLUS*. So LTS; RB omits.
 45 *cum*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *dum*.
 98 s.d. *Angelus tunc cantare*. Reg: stage direction in red ink by Scribe B; *Veni creator spiritus* a later addition, possibly by JC.
 99 *MARIA*. Reg: added by LH at right.
 106 *he*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *ne*.
 135 *singing*. This edition; Reg, LTS, RB: *sigging*.
 152 LH in right margin in Reg identifies *I Apostolus* as *Petrus*.
 175 *we*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *he*.
 175 Reg: in left margin, added by JC: *De novo facto* (deleted).
 179 Reg: at left, by JC: *Hic de novo facto* (deleted).
 197 Reg: by LH, at left: *Nota*.
 after 216 Following four lines missing in Reg.
 227 Reg: in left margin, by LH: *Hic caret*.
 228 In JC's hand in Reg: *loquela de novo facta*.
 Below, in Reg, JC has added to the text of the pageant:

That with his grace ye may endewe
 And bryng yowe to his compayne.

44. THE DEATH OF MARY

- 1 *Hayle*. In Reg, large capital *H* sketched in.
 8 *lente*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *lentthe* (or *lent thee*).
 12 *kyng*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *leyng*.
 after 27 Following line is missing in Reg.
 43 *hente*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *hete*.
 66 *Umbelappid*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *Unbelappid*.
 82 *hir*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *high*.
 90 *felawschip*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *felawschp*.
atte. Overwritten in Reg.
 after 100 Following line is missing in Reg.
 104 *for*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *fo*.
 114 *daye*. Corrected (from *?deye*) in Reg.
 122 *beseke*. So RB; LTS: *be-seke*; Reg: *besoke*.
 128 *thy*. So RB; Reg, LTS: *my*.
 166 Line misplaced in Reg (after line 163).
 191 Misplaced line in Reg (after line 186).
 194 *sing*. So LTS, RB; Reg: *see*.
 194 s.d. *Cum uno diabolo*. At right, in red, by Scribe B in Reg.
Et cantant antiphona, scilicet. Reg: stage direction, in red, by Scribe B.

44A. THE FUNERAL OF THE VIRGIN (“FERGUS”)

Heading and text missing; not entered in the Register.

45. THE ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN (THOMAS APOSTOLUS)

TITLE	<i>Thomas Apostulus</i> . Reg: written as title, but also serving to designate speaker.
40	<i>thei . . . ther</i> . So RB; Reg, LTS: <i>the . . . the</i> .
47	<i>were</i> . So LTS, RB; Reg: <i>we</i> .
62–63	Reg: added by Scribe B in left margin.
104	Music for <i>Surge proxima</i> follows in Reg.
117	Music for <i>Veni de Libano</i> follows in Reg.
132	<i>in</i> . So LTS, RB; Reg: <i>an</i> .
187	<i>who</i> . This edition Reg, LTS: <i>what</i> ; RB: <i>who in</i> .
189	<i>swynke</i> . So RB; Reg, LTS: <i>synke</i> .
208	Music for <i>Veni electa mea</i> follows in Reg.
236	<i>has of-turned</i> . So RB; Reg, LTS: <i>of has turned</i> .
250	<i>message</i> . So RB; Reg, LTS: <i>messages</i> .
256	Line misplaced in Reg., which places it after line 258.
312	Reg: songs follow, with music: <i>Surge propera</i> [sic] <i>mea</i> (second version), and <i>Veni de Libano</i> (second version).

46. THE CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN

To right of Scribe B's craft ascription, in LH: *Inholderes*.

1	<i>Myne</i> . In Reg, large capital <i>M</i> sketched in. Reg: at right, above, by later hands: <i>caret</i> , and <i>memorandum</i> .
80 s.d.	<i>Cantando</i> . Reg: stage direction in red, at left; music not specified.
113–44	Lines here assigned to Jesus, following RB; assigned in Reg to angels, followed by LTS.

47. DOOMSDAY

4	<i>I</i> . Interlined in Reg.
31	<i>harte</i> . So RB; Reg, LTS: <i>harte and</i> .
37	<i>erthe</i> . Interlined in Reg by later scribe.
87	<i>waste</i> . Reg has <i>s</i> overwritten by Scribe B.
98	<i>us</i> . So LTS, RB; Reg: <i>vis</i> .
129	Reg: at left, in different hand: <i>Nota</i> .
156	<i>us</i> . Reg: interlined by LH.

- 161–68 Stanza omitted here in Reg, omission marked with large maltese cross and *nota* at right, and text added by Scribe B at the end of the pageant, where it is also so marked with a cross.
- 169 *III ANGELUS*. Compare Towneley: *I Angelus cum gladio*.
- 170 *sam*. Initially written *samen* (delete *-en*) in Reg.
- 175 *wightis*. Compare Towneley: *saules*.
- 177 *DEUS*. Compare Towneley: *JESUS*.
- 203 Reg: at left, by LH: *What thay shall have for ther folly*.
- 205 Reg: at right, in JC's hand: *hic caret o soverand savyour de novo facto*.
- 209 Reg: at right, JC has again written *de novo facto*.
- 216 s.d. *Hic ad sedem . . . angelorum*. Stage direction, by Scribe B, unseparated from Deus' speech in Reg.
- 228 Reg: at right, by LH: *hic caret*, and *de novo facto*.
- after 228 Following four lines are missing in Reg.
- 229 JC has written at right in Reg: *de novo facta*, and, presumably giving incipit of missing speech, *Alas that I was borne dixit Prima Anima Mala et II Anima Mala*.
- 230 Reg: JC has written: *de novo facta*.
- 231 *wofull*. Compare Towneley: *wykyd*.
- 239 *bale*. Compare Towneley: *batell*.
- 242 *ire*. Not canceled in Reg, but interlined *care* above (so LTS); compare Towneley: *joy*.
- 254 *I*. So LTS, RB (after Towneley); Reg omits.
- 268 *liffe*. Compare Towneley: *luf*.
- 289 *to*. Interlined in Reg; LTS omits, following Towneley.
- 290 *presse*. Compare Towneley: *prison*.
- 309 *payns*. Interlined over canceled *penaunce* in Reg.
- 363 *DEUS*. Speech designation repeated in Reg at lines 317, 324, 333, and 341.
- 372 *lestē or moste*. Compare Towneley: *the lest of myne*.
- 380 s.d. Reg: at left, by LH: *nota miseremini mei etc*.
- 380 s.d. *Et sic facit finem . . . ad locum*. Reg: stage direction in red ink.



APPENDIX: NOTES ON THE DIALECT OF THE YORK CORPUS CHRISTI PLAYS BY PAUL A. JOHNSTON, JR.

The forty-seven plays contained in London, British Library, MS. Add. 35290 might, at first glance, seem to be an easy set of texts in which to examine the language. For one thing, we know their provenance. They come from the city of York, and, while this is by no means a rock-solid assurance that the playwrights were residents of York (even if the actors were), it is highly likely that they were. We also know, at least approximately, in what period they were composed—that is, between the late fourteenth century and 1463–77, when the manuscript was copied.¹ This chronology, however, marks the period which signals the transition from Middle English to Early Modern English, and a number of sound changes are known to have been implemented in those years in this area—e.g., the Great Vowel Shift complex, and the monophthongization of /ai/.² We would thus expect that, like any manuscript of the period, there would be a fairly large amount of linguistic variation in the corpus, but that on the whole the plays would illustrate an identifiably Northern dialect.

To a large extent, they do, but only up to a point. As the analysis will show, the plays are written in a combination of Northern and Midland dialectal features. Some of the Midland features may be only scribal since it is not uncommon in these plays to find a Midland spelling for a word participating in a Northern rhyme. As my previous analysis of *The Worlde and the Chylde* demonstrated,³ such “concealed spellings” can be very useful in uncovering the original dialect of a piece of verse because (allowing for the odd near- or slant-rhyme) the rhyme evidence will accord with what the author intended. The picture here, though, is not that simple, since most plays have both rhymes that would only work in a Northern dialect, and others that are exact only in a Midland variety, while the ratio varies from play to play. In any case, most rhymes in these plays could indicate either dialect. Since the syntax and morphology are predominantly Northern, the overall impression is of a series of Northern texts with Midland borrowings, not the other way around.

There are a number of reasons why such a mixed dialect should appear here. First, the North/Midland boundary was not that far away, even if it was not as close as it is in modern times.⁴ The hinterland of York, though then the capital of the North, included a large number of Northeast Midland-speaking localities in the southern portion of the West Riding, Lincolnshire, and Nottinghamshire. It is likely that the audience at a major festival such as

¹ *York Plays*, ed. Beadle, pp. 10–11.

² Kniesza, “Problem of the Merger”; P. Johnston, “English Vowel Shifting,” pp. 76–77.

³ P. Johnston, “Dialect of *The Worlde and the Chylde*.”

⁴ Kristensson, *Survey of Middle English Dialects*, p. 238; McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin, *Linguistic Atlas*, 1:464. Airedale was probably Northern-speaking throughout the valley, so Leeds, Bradford, and other localities in the Central West Riding were on the Northern side of the line. These were not major centers compared to York, however.

Corpus Christi in what was then England's second city included those from both Northern- and Midland-speaking areas, and it would be logical that a stage dialect was used which was a mixture of the two.

In addition, farther afield, York enjoyed important religious (as the seat of an archbishop), trade, and political connections with London, especially at a time where, for twenty-four years, the crown was in the hands of the House of York. This would have naturally led to a flow of York-based civil servants and other professionals to the capital but also, over time, to a two-way connection.

Thirdly, while it is too early to talk about the influence of Standard English, and Standard-based judgments concerning the nature of "proper English," there was already a largely Midlands- and London-based movement to koinéize written English as witnessed first by the Central Midlands Standard (CMS)⁵ used by Wyclif and his followers, and later, by other writers wishing to emulate Wyclif in using a medium that would be easily understood by readers over a wide geographic zone. Still later, we see the growth of Chancery English,⁶ the direct ancestor of Standard English and a hybrid of CMS and London norms, used first by the civil service when they started to write records in the vernacular, then by the business community, and also by printers such as William Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde. This reason might account for the greater incidence of Midland spellings than Midland rhymes already, since CMS and its descendants were primarily written rather than spoken dialects at this point.

Finally, there is already evidence, even from Scotland, that the use of non-Northern forms was associated with a more formal "high-style" tone as the prestige of London-area writers such as Geoffrey Chaucer, John Gower, and John Lydgate was already present. The heyday of the Scottish Chaucerians such as William Dunbar and Gavin Douglas postdates all but the very latest emendations and additions to the play manuscript.⁷ But Robert Henryson also used Chaucerian forms, and he is very nearly contemporary with playwrights/revisers such as the York Realist. The alliterative form in which some of the plays are written also was associated with the Midlands, albeit the West Midlands of Langland and the *Gawain/Pearl*-poet, which has a far more localized and distinctive dialect than the East Midlands. The reason for admixture could be any, several, or all of these, but an exploration of the type as well as the frequency of Midland borrowings could shed light on which of these reasons is the strongest.

1. THE TEXTS AND THEIR CLASSIFICATION

Since there is so much variation in the play cycle, a linguistic analysis theoretically could determine which plays, or which parts of plays in several cases, might have been written by the same author. To do this, one would have to compile full profiles of the type used in the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Middle English* and compare each text to every other text.⁸ However, a smaller-scale survey, using rhyme evidence as the most likely to be authorial, will nevertheless serve to advance our knowledge, providing at least useful hypotheses about attribution that will refine or exclude previous suppositions.

⁵ See Samuels, "Some Applications of Middle English Dialectology."

⁶ Fisher, *Emergence of Standard English*, pp. 36–64.

⁷ Jack, "Language of Literary Materials," p. 232.

⁸ I am in fact working on a book-length study, which shall cover each play in the cycle, instead of only a sample.

In the past, much of the interest in the York cycle has concentrated on the plays that employ the alliterative long line as the basic structural unit. There are a number of such alliterative plays in the cycle with irregular meters (by modern standards), a fact first discovered by Alex Hohlfeld, who assigned Plays 28 (*The Agony and Betrayal*), 30 (*The First Trial before Pilate*, with the Dream of Pilate's Wife), 31 (*The Trial before Herod*), and 33 (*The Second Trial before Pilate*), together with part of Play 29 (the section of *The Trial before Cayphas and Anna* having to do with Peter's denial of Christ) to a single group.⁹ Charles Mills Gayley added a number of plays to this group, but the only addition subsequent researchers such as W. W. Greg or E. K. Chambers have unanimously agreed on is Play 26 (*The Conspiracy*). These were assigned to a putative playwright/reviser called the York Realist, or sometimes the Great Dramatist,¹⁰ who worked in the second quarter of the fifteenth century, in all likelihood the latest period of composition of the plays. Some credit the York Realist with writing other material also, such as the *Hail* sequences in *Herod Questioning the Three Kings and the Offering of the Magi* (Play 16), and at the end of *The Entry into Jerusalem* (Play 25).¹¹ Gayley believed that he reworked all of the Passion Play sequence but *The Last Supper* (Play 27).¹²

Greg and Chambers saw other alliterative plays as belonging to a different author, entitled the Great Metrist, who worked slightly earlier than the Realist. The Metrist also often uses the long alliterative line, but often seems to use a hybrid form, utilizing extensive alliteration but with regular syllabic meters. The *Mortificacio Christi* (Play 36) is the play that is most consistently assigned to this author, but Greg added *The Creation through the Fifth Day* (Play 2), and *Doomsday* (Play 47) to this group, while Chambers added *The Travelers to Emmaus* (Play 40), *The Death of Mary* (Play 44), and *The Assumption of the Virgin* (Play 45) as well.¹³ Reese points out that some of these plays are really syllabic in structure, however,¹⁴ and that there is at least one alliterative play, Play 39, *The Appearance of Christ to Mary Magdalene*,¹⁵ not assigned to either group. Reese also tries to separate the Metrist's and Realist's plays by frequency of types of lines with three alliterations instead of four, since the most frequent pattern is four alliterations per line for both supposed authors. He found that the alliteration sequences *xaaa* and *aaxa* are more frequent as a second choice in works attributed to the Metrist, while the Realist favors *aaax*. There is too much overlap, however, for a hard-and-fast distinction to be made, as the "Realist" Plays 26, 28, and 31 have *xaaa* as the second most-frequent pattern, while the "Metrist" Play 36 has *aaax*.

⁹ Hohlfeld, "Die Altenglischen Kollektivmisterien," p. 248; Reese, "Alliterative Verse in the York Cycle," p. 640.

¹⁰ Gayley, *Plays of Our Forefathers*, pp. 154–60; Greg, "Bibliographic and Textual Problems," pp. 291–92; Chambers, *English Literature at the Close of the Middle Ages*, p. 29; Reese, "Alliterative Verse in the York Cycle," pp. 640 and 643.

¹¹ Reese, "Alliterative Verse in the York Cycle," p. 649.

¹² Gayley, *Plays of Our Forefathers*, pp. 157–58; see also Reese, "Alliterative Verse in the York Cycle," p. 642. Greg believed Play 33 to be another reworked play from the early fifteenth century ("Bibliographical and Textual Problems").

¹³ See Reese, "Alliterative Verse in the York Cycle," pp. 642, 644, and 646–47; Greg, "Bibliographical and Textual Problems," p. 289n1; Chambers, *English Literature at the Close of the Middle Ages*, p. 29.

¹⁴ Reese, "Alliterative Verse in the York Cycle," p. 649.

¹⁵ According to my analysis, Play 39 is only semi-alliterative.

It must be noted that none of the earlier researchers founded their hypotheses on the similarity of dialect forms in the texts attributed to one author or the other. Could these features be used to test the attribution of the texts? Since all the plays mentioned but *The Creation through the Fifth Day* were copied by Scribe B, there is at least a good possibility that any other similarities and differences reflect authorial practices, or at least those of a late reviser, which the Realist is supposed to have been. To test for attribution, it is necessary to include (1) those plays assigned by any authority to either the Metrist or the Realist, even if other scholars disagree, to see if such assignments bear any weight, and (2) a control group of plays in the same area of the cycle, to make sure that such similarities and differences are not simply scribal. Table I shows the groupings which could be used to test attribution.

TABLE I: GROUPING OF PLAYS ARRANGED BY PREVIOUS ATTRIBUTION

GROUP A—GENERALLY ATTRIBUTED TO THE YORK REALIST:

- | | |
|------------|---|
| Play 16(b) | “Hails” in <i>Herod Questioning the Three Kings and the Offering of the Magi</i> (lines 309–44) |
| Play 25(b) | “Hails” in <i>The Entry into Jerusalem</i> (lines 489–544) |
| Play 26 | <i>The Conspiracy</i> |
| Play 28 | <i>The Agony and Betrayal</i> |
| Play 29(b) | “Peter’s Denial” in <i>The Trial before Cayphas and Anna</i> (lines 104–46 and 170–395) |
| Play 30 | <i>The First Trial before Pilate</i> |
| Play 31 | <i>The Trial before Herod</i> |
| Play 33 | <i>The Second Trial before Pilate</i> |
| Play 34(a) | <i>The Road to Calvary</i> (Stanza 1, lines 1–7) |

GROUP B—GENERALLY ATTRIBUTED TO THE YORK METRIST:

- | | |
|---------|---|
| Play 2 | <i>The Creation through the Fifth Day</i> |
| Play 36 | <i>Mortificacio Christi</i> |
| Play 40 | <i>The Travelers to Emmaus</i> |
| Play 44 | <i>The Death of Mary</i> |
| Play 45 | <i>The Assumption of the Virgin</i> |
| Play 47 | <i>Doomsday</i> |

GROUP C—OCCASIONALLY ATTRIBUTED TO THE REALIST AND/OR THE METRIST:

- | | |
|------------|--|
| Play 17(e) | Repetitive sequences in <i>The Purification of the Virgin</i> (lines 320–39, 354–73, 378–93, and 438–60) |
| Play 34(b) | <i>The Road to Calvary</i> (remainder) |
| Play 35 | <i>Crucifixio Christi</i> |
| Play 37 | <i>The Harrowing of Hell</i> |
| Play 38 | <i>The Resurrection</i> |

GROUP D—CONTROL GROUP PLAYS:

- | | |
|------------|---|
| Play 25(a) | <i>The Entry into Jerusalem</i> (remainder) |
| Play 27 | <i>The Last Supper</i> |

Play 29(a)	<i>The Trial before Cayphas and Anna</i> (remainder)
Play 32	<i>The Remorse of Judas</i>
Play 39	<i>The Appearance of Christ to Mary Magdalen</i>
Play 41	<i>Doubting Thomas</i>
Play 42	<i>The Ascension</i>
Play 43	<i>Pentecost</i>
Play 46	<i>The Coronation of the Virgin</i>

Upon analysis, the categories proposed in Groups A, B, and C are lacking in credibility. While previous scholars have discussed alliterative and syllabic-meter plays as if they were two discrete groups — and this division played a great role in their attribution¹⁶ — in actual fact there is something more like a continuum. There are plays which are purely alliteratively structured, usually employing the long line and with the alliteration even being evident on unstressed syllables; most of Group A and some of Group B fall into this category. There are others that use regular alliteration, but the alliteration largely coincides with syllabic-metrical peaks, resulting in a hybrid system, with the alliteration “used as ornamentation.”¹⁷ There are syllabic plays with two and/or three alliterative syllables in most lines, illustrating some rough familiarity with the alliterative style (which I here call *semi-alliterative*), and there are others where alliteration plays no role, or next-to-no role whatsoever, and which are thus in purely syllabic verse. Yet the above categories lump together different types into the same group, and not just with the Control Group plays, which one might expect to be heterogeneous; among the Metrist plays, Plays 2, 36, and 45 are hybrids, while 40 and 44 are fully alliterative, and 47 uses only partial alliteration.

Secondly, some plays are exceedingly complex, containing several changes in line and stanza length, necessitating testing if a change from one stanza type to another correlates with a change in alliteration frequency or not. In some cases, the different parts match in their alliterative structure. This is true of Plays 40 and 44, for instance, each of which use two stanzaic types, but the material in one type of stanza is just as fully alliterative as that in the other. Play 32, on the other hand, has both fully alliterative and semi-alliterative sections, with even a burst, probably due to corruption of the text, of purely syllabic verse.¹⁸ The small sections of Plays 16 (where most of the rest is hybrid), 17, and 29 (where it is syllabic) that are attributed to one or the other playwright have already been separated from the rest, but even here, the litany-like sections of Play 17, which are admittedly rough, are hybrid, and only the other two are fully alliterative.

According to my reckoning, the breakdown of examined texts by alliteration type results in the breakdown found below in Table II, which presents Table I attributions in the column at the right. Note that, even without considering the linguistic content of the plays but relying on the alliteration type alone, the general theories of attribution are called into question, especially where the identity of the Metrist is concerned. We are left with the possibility that either a given playwright was capable of varying their style (and why not, one may ask) or that there were multiple “Metrists” involved.

¹⁶ Reese, “Alliterative Verse in the York Cycle,” p. 646; *York Plays*, ed. Beadle, pp. 475–76.

¹⁷ Reese, “Alliterative Verse in the York Cycle,” p. 646.

¹⁸ See *York Plays*, ed. Beadle, p. 449.

TABLE II: TEXTS ARRANGED BY ALLITERATION TYPE AND ATTRIBUTION GROUP

GROUP E — FULLY ALLITERATIVE PLAYS:

Play 16(b)	“Hails” in <i>Herod Questioning the Three Kings and the Offering of the Magi</i> (lines 309–45)	
Play 25(b)	“Hails” in <i>The Entry into Jerusalem</i> (lines 489–544)	A
Play 26	<i>The Conspiracy</i>	A
Play 28	<i>The Agony and Betrayal</i>	A
Play 29(b)	“Peter’s Denial” in <i>The Trial before Cayphas and Anna</i> (lines 118–46 and 170–395)	A
Play 30(a)	<i>The First Trial before Pilate</i> (lines 1–156)	A
Play 30(b)	<i>The First Trial before Pilate</i> (lines 157–346)	A
Play 31	<i>The Trial before Herod</i>	A
Play 32(a)	<i>The Remorse of Judas</i> (lines 1–55)	D
Play 32(b)	<i>The Remorse of Judas</i> (lines 56–129 and 335–64)	D
Play 33	<i>The Second Trial before Pilate</i>	A
Play 34(a)	<i>The Road to Calvary</i> (Stanza 1, lines 1–7)	A
Play 40(a)	<i>The Travelers to Emmaus</i> (lines 1–152)	B
Play 40(b)	<i>The Travelers to Emmaus</i> (lines 153–90)	B
Play 44(a)	<i>The Death of Mary</i> (lines 1–63, 72–182, and 187–94)	B
Play 44(b)	<i>The Death of Mary</i> (lines 64–71 and 183–86)	B

TABLE I ATTRIBUTION

GROUP F — HYBRID PLAYS:

Play 2	<i>The Creation through the Fifth Day</i>	B
Play 17(e)	Repetitive sequences in <i>The Purification</i> (lines 320–39, 354–73, 378–93, and 438–60)	C
Play 32(c)	<i>The Remorse of Judas</i> (lines 130–283)	D
Play 36	<i>Mortificacio Christi</i>	B
Play 37	<i>The Harrowing of Hell</i>	C
Play 43	<i>Pentecost</i>	D
Play 45	<i>The Assumption of the Virgin</i>	B

GROUP G — SEMI-ALLITERATIVE PLAYS

Play 27	<i>The Last Supper</i>	D
Play 29(a)	<i>The Trial before Cayphas and Anna</i> (remainder)	D
Play 34(b)	<i>The Road to Calvary</i> (remainder)	C
Play 35	<i>Crucifixio Christi</i>	C
Play 39	<i>The Appearance of Christ to Mary Magdalen</i>	D
Play 47	<i>Doomsday</i>	B

GROUP H — PURELY SYLLABIC PLAYS:

Play 25(a)	<i>The Entry into Jerusalem</i> (remainder)	D
Play 38	<i>The Resurrection</i>	C
Play 41	<i>Doubting Thomas</i>	D

Play 42	<i>The Ascension</i>	D
Play 46	<i>The Coronation of the Virgin</i>	D

We see that, relying on alliterative type alone, without considering linguistic structure, the attribution of the Group A plays to a single author is still reasonable, but not the Group B plays, which include fully alliterative, hybrid, and semi-alliterative plays. The plays attributed to the Realist are all fully alliterative, although they do utilize a number of different stanzaic types. As one might expect, the Control Group is diverse, with the writers using alliteration only secondarily, if at all, while Plays 37 and 38, which Gayley believes the Realist “remodelled,” probably do not belong to him. Reese, following Greg and Chambers, is probably right to reject this attribution.¹⁹

Concerning the Metrist plays, however, we are left with a number of interpretations. There might not be a single Metrist, but rather a number of different playwrights involved who really have nothing in common with each other. Alternatively, there may be a Metrist, possibly the person who wrote or revised Plays 40 or 44 or both; however, some of the plays attributed to him are not his. On the other hand, if there were a single Metrist, we have to suppose that he was versatile enough to write in both alliterative, or at least hybrid, verse and syllabic verse. Further linguistic analysis might tell us the answer to this.

It must be said that this breakdown is really a starting point in our search for similarities and differences. Before exploring the rhyme evidence in my final section, however, I will proceed to describe the dialectal features that are found in the spellings of the plays, both ones where the texts of the plays seem to agree, and those that are more variable. These will constitute a mini-grammar of Yorkshire dialect of the late Middle English period — a dialect which tends to be conservative syntactically (at least in poetry) and innovative morphologically and phonologically, more akin in those respects to mainstream Early Modern English than, say, Chaucerian English or pre-Chaucerian Middle English.

2. THE FEATURES OF YORKSHIRE PHONOLOGY IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY: NORTHERN AND MIDLAND CONSONANTAL CHARACTERISTICS

In the next two sections, I will discuss in general what the spellings reveal about the phonology of the York dialect at the time when these plays were composed. In this analysis I have been guided by the glossary in Beadle’s edition of *The York Plays* along with my own observations of frequency made during my study. The statements made here refer to the corpus as a whole, unless otherwise indicated, and prominence is given to the sort of “occasional spellings” that form so much of the evidence on which traditional handbooks rely and which are, as the term implies, largely infrequent.

2.1 General Orthographical Characteristics

As usual in a manuscript from this period, <i> and <y> are virtually interchangeable, often with <y> found around letters made up of minims to break up any “forest of lines” that might appear if <i> were used. Whether used to represent consonants or vowels, <u>

¹⁹ Gayley, *Plays of Our Forefathers*, p. 157; Reese, “Alliterative Verse in the York Cycle,” p. 642.

and <v> obey a rule whereby the shape <v> is found initially, and usually though not invariably <u> is present medially.

The letters <þ> and <ȝ> still exist, but with restrictions. Thorn appears mostly for the initial consonant of *th*- pronominals and common adverbials — words such as *the*, *that*, *this*, *there*, *then*, and so on — and appears much less frequently in other words but never in final position. Since it is rare around the letter <y>, it is likely that thorn had its usual Northern <y>-like form with an open loop. Yogh is quite frequent for initial /j/, alternating with <y> /y> and occasionally is found for /x/ in <xt> combinations (particularly in <noȝt>), but is nowhere as frequent as <gh> for this sound.

2.2 Consonantal Phonemic Inventory

In English, the consonantal system is more stable than are the vowels so that many of the consonant values shown by the orthography in the plays are similar to other dialects of English at the time, particularly Older Scots. Like that dialect, the phonemic inventory was probably the stops /p b t d k g/ and affricates /tʃ ðʒ/; the fricatives /f v θ ð s z ʃ h~x/; the nasals /m n/ and probably /ŋ/ by this time; and the approximants /l r j w/, with /w/ as a possibility </xw/>. There are, however, some traces of earlier developments that are suggestive of a strong Norse adstratum, and a few imported Southern features.

2.3 The Stops and Affricates

The stops, represented by the same spellings as those found in any Middle English dialect, have not changed much to the present day, and exhibit very few developments that require comment: stop + stop clusters such as /kt/ are sometimes simplified to /k/ (*contek*, *convik*), and forms like *accept* for past participle *accepted* could indicate that /pt/ > /p/, if this is not a direct importation from Latin *acceptum*. The sequences /d/.../r/ and /ð/.../r/ interchange quite freely, a situation that produced the pronunciation of Standard *father*. In York, the solution is mainly in favor of /d/ in all cases (so *mother* becomes *modir*, etc.), but there are a few counter-examples such as *elthers* for *elders*. There are a few interesting examples of <th> spellings where we would expect a <t>. The word *tidings* can give *thiding-*, *thithynges*, *tythandes* (with confusion of verbal noun and participle forms), and <t> and <th> alliterate sporadically. Shetlandic and Orcadian, both dialects spoken in old Norse territory, have /θ/ and /ð/-stopping now, as did Gallovidian at this time;²⁰ it is conceivable that York dialect had once had it, but was losing it.

More salient is the presence of /k/ sounds where southern dialects have /tʃ/ and a parallel /g/ for /j/, a still noticeable trait of Northern English and Scots. This is not due to sound change, however, but use of Norse cognates rather than natively-derived English words. Thus it is really a lexical phenomenon, and one can get doublets, such as *carll* and *chorle*, as well as purely Norse-influenced forms like *skell* for *shell*, *gowlung* for *yowling*, and *kirke* for *church*. Again, there are a few Southern borrowings. Alongside the expected *swilke* and *slyke*, you can get *suche* as a minority form.

Apparently /kn/ is retained as a cluster since it alliterates with /k/ rather than /n/: *kende/knave/knele* (Play 26, line 124).

²⁰ P. Johnston, “Older Scots Phonology,” pp. 102–03.

A final /t/ is occasionally written as <th>, as in *comforth*, *fruth* (*fruit*), *hurth*, and *perfyth*. It is not clear if this designates a fricative, an aspirated stop, or something else. Glottal stop is common in this position in the modern dialect, but is usually counted as a recent change.

The affricates /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ are spelled <ch> and <j> or <g> (depending on their French spelling, as in Standard English) initially, and <cch> or <tch> and <gg> or <dg> medially after short vowels, with <cch> and <gg> predominating. Besides the usual <saie>, *say* can take forms such as <segge>, which is a Southwestern or West Midland form in origin (compare Old English *segan*), but this is the only word of this class that can. There is lexically-conditioned devoicing of /dʒ/ in words like *grucche* for *grudge*, but this is probably an extension of a more general rule applying mainly to fricatives.

2.4 The Fricatives

The fricative subsystem exhibits the most distinctively Northern forms of any subsection of the consonants, but also alternative outcomes for some of them. One typically Northern trait is /v/-deletion, which happens in Scots also.²¹ Examples include *ene* (*evening*), *abowne*, *our* (*over*), and *nenes* (*names v. <nevenes*). The first three are fairly widespread in Northern England and Scotland. Still, there seem to be fewer forms reflecting this change than one would expect; perhaps, since it is mainly present in low-style poems in Scots literature,²² it may have similar connotations here, which might be felt to be inappropriate for this kind of material. Instead, one might find spellings indicating that /v/ has devoiced to /f/ (see below). /θ/-deletion does not happen here, but /x/ is apparently weak and sporadically prone to disappear in /xt/ clusters: *dite*, *hytyng*, and *wyte* for more usual *dight*, *hygthyng*, and *wyght* are attested. Otherwise, /x/ is retained, and is usually spelled <gh>, or, more rarely in /xt/ clusters, <ȝt>.

As in Older Scots, a morpheme-final /v/ or /z/ seems to be frequently devoiced, as spellings with <ff>, <ss> are quite common, and are responsible for many of the vowel-double consonant-e spellings of the language. This reflex of /v/ may compete with the voiced fricative (spelled <u>), so *give* may be *giffē* or *giue~geue*.

There is considerable variation in what spelling is used for /ʃ/ between the various plays. Some works show almost exclusively <sch> in all positions, while others may use <sh> or, medially and finally, <ssh>, which reflects Southern practice. Rarely, <(c)ch> occurs for this sound as in <fecche> = *fish* and possibly <mached>, if this represents *mashed*, which it seems to.

There is evidence of /s/-/ʃ/ interchange in a few cases,²³ certainly in Scribe A's *drynesch* for *dryness*, and perhaps in *asse* = *ask*, though *aske*, *ax*, and *axe* also occur. The Northern <sal(l)> for *shall* alternates with <s(c)hal(l)>, but the alliteration patterns show that the form with /s/ is the one truest to the author's intentions.

As in modern Yorkshire dialect, initial /h/ has seemingly disappeared, though it is mostly present in spelling. The clearest indications of this is the alliteration of /h/ with initial vowels; the occasional occurrence of <til> for <to>, which is more frequent before vocalic onsets, before words beginning with /h/, and the occasional /h/-less spelling.

²¹ P. Johnston, "Older Scots Phonology," p. 104.

²² Aitken, "Variation and Variety in Written Middle Scots."

²³ P. Johnston, "Older Scots Phonology," p. 105.

2.5 The Sonorants

Sonorants overall seem to have their modern values, though we usually cannot tell what allophony sonorant phonemes have. Where the nasals are concerned, we are in an area which is innovative as far as homorganic nasal + consonant clusters being simplified to nasals alone, as spellings showing the nasal like *<lyme>* (for /mb/), *<fone>* (for /nd/ in *found*) demonstrate. Given this, probably /ŋg/ has become a simple nasal also. Besides this, only two interesting developments involving the nasals occur: one concerns the cluster /mn/, where a /p/ or, at least, some sort of stop has been inserted in between the two nasals, shown in *<dampne, solempnyte>*, though /n/-less spellings implying modern pronunciation are also found for *damn*. The other one affects /gn/, taken in from French, where the <g> apparently nasalized to /ɲ/, as words like *reign, deign, malign, sign*, as well as *dignity*, as revealed by *<ngn>* spellings. The Scots-type palatal /n/ only is found in the word *menzie* = *<meyne>*, which is sometimes spelled *<menȝe, menȝhe>* as it is in Scots. Given what happens to words such as *contain*, *<contene>*, it is more likely that the /n/ lost its palatal timbre early, but raised the preceding vowel to /e:/.

In the North, /l/ apparently developed a velar or velarized allophone after back vowels when final or before consonants; this generated /u/ before it, just as /x/ did a century or so earlier, and then dropped to leave a diphthong. The full-blown outcome is already shown by one word, *<bowde>* = *bold*, but the intermediate stage, with the diphthong preceding the /l/, is found in several examples, such as *<stawllis>* = *stalls*. The modern dialects of the area traditionally had clear /l/ in other positions.

York dialect is now non-rhotic, but then /r/ seems to have been pronounced except possibly before /s/, as *<socery>* = *sorcery* attests.

The semivowels /j/ and /w/ generally seem to have had their modern values, although there is some /v/~/w/ interchange, illustrated by examples such as *<wochesaff>* = *vouchsafe* and *<vill>* = *<will>* (aux.). Since Old Norse /v/ actually was pronounced as [w], we cannot blame the Norse substratum for this alternation; in fact, it is more typical of a belt from Norfolk to Sussex.²⁴ It may simply be scribal here, as there is a tendency to use <w> in nearly complementary distribution to <v> and <u> when the sound represented is a vowel, and it is easy to extend this to the consonant as well. More typical of Norse areas (though found as far down as Norfolk) is the simplification of /skw/ to /sw/ shown by *square* = *<sware>* and the use of a letter combination beginning with <q> to represent /hw/. <Qw> is the traditional spelling of this sound, occurring sporadically, but <wh> is by far the most common representation. Also there is one hyper-form which reveals that /hw/ was becoming /w/, namely *<whe>* = *weigh*, which also shows monophthongization of the vowel.

3. THE FEATURES OF YORKSHIRE PHONOLOGY IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY: NORTHERN AND MIDLAND VOCALIC CHARACTERISTICS

By the fifteenth century, Northern English and Older Scots were beginning to diverge, particularly in vocabulary, syntax, and orthographical representations of local pronunciation. However, the systems are still close enough that Aitken and Macafee's classification

²⁴ McIntosh, Samuels, and Benskin, *Linguistic Atlas*, 1:549.

of vowels,²⁵ modified only slightly (Table III), can serve as an easy heuristic for describing the shape of Yorkshire vowel systems by assigning numbers (column 1). Pre–Great Vowel Shift values appear in column 2.

TABLE III: KEY FOR DESCRIBING NORTHERN VOWELS (MODIFIED)

VOWEL NO.	PRE-GVS VALUE	EXAMPLE	MAIN SOURCES
LONG VOWELS:			
1	/i:/	<i>myne</i> = mine	OE/ON/OF /i:/; OE/ON /y:/
2	/e:/	<i>sene</i> = seen ppt. <i>felde</i> = field	OE/ON/OF /e: e:o ø: æ:/ OE /ɛ/ by HL
2a	(i:/)	<i>speyr</i> = speir “ask”	OE /ɪ/ by OSL
3	/ɛ:/	<i>lene</i> = lean a.	OE /æ:/ ₂ ; OF /ɛ:/
3a	(/ɛ:/)	<i>bene</i> = bean	OE /æ:a/
3b	(/ɛ:/)	<i>ete</i> = eat	OE/ON/OF /ɛ œ/ by OSL
4	/æ:/ or /a:/	<i>bane</i> = bone	OE/ON /a:/
4a	/a:/	<i>name</i>	OE/ON/OF /a/ by OSL
5	/ɔ:/	<i>cole</i> = coal	OE/ON/OF /ɔ/ by OSL
6	/u:/	<i>downe</i>	OE/ON/OF /u:/
7	/y:/	<i>gude</i> = good	OE/ON/OF /o:/
DIPHTHONGS:			
8	/ai/	<i>gayne</i> = gain	OE /æj εj/; ON /εɪ œɪ/; OF /ai εi/
9	/ɔɪ/	<i>boy</i>	OF /ɔɪ/; Dutch /ɔ:j/
10	/oi/	<i>joyne</i> = join	OF /oi ui/
11	/e:i/	<i>dye</i> = die	OE/ON /e:jV/; ON /ø:jV/
12	/aʊ/	<i>law</i>	OE /aŋ/, /aw/; OF /au/; OF /aC/; OE /a/ + x OE/ON/OF /a/+ /lC/
12a	/aʊ/	<i>knawe</i> = know	OE /a:w aŋV a:ŋV/
13	/ɔu/	<i>growe</i>	OE /o:w, o:ŋV/; ON/OF / ɔu/; OE /ɔx/; /ɔ/ + /lC/ (rare)
14a	/eu/	<i>newe</i> = new	OE /i:w e:ow o:w/; OF /y: eu/
14b	/ɛu/	<i>bewte</i> = beauty	OE /æ:aw/; OF /ɛu εau/
SHORT VOWELS:			
15	/ɪ/	<i>bid</i>	OE/ON /ɪ y/; OF /i/
16	/ɛ/	<i>bedde</i> = bed	OE/ON /ɛ/; OF /e ε/
17	/a/	<i>blakkest</i> = blackest	OE/ON /æ a/; OF /a/

²⁵ Aitken and Macafee, *Older Scots Vowels*, p. 3.

18	/ɔ/	<i>God</i>	OE/ON/OF /ɔ/
19	/u/	<i>sonne</i> = sun	OE/ON /u/; OF /u/

3.1 The Most Salient Northern Features

Numerous phonological isoglosses separate the Northern dialect region from the Midlands. In the modern period, the most important ones involve the old long vowel system and roughly followed the line of the Humber, Wharfe, and Lune before leveling set in during the mid-twentieth century: the STANE/STONE line (Vowel 4 and 12a and related changes; the Northern limit of the early Middle English rounding and raising of /a:/ to /ɔ:/); the SPUNE/SPOON line (Vowel 7; the Southern limit of /o:/ fronting in the thirteenth century); and the OOT/OUT line (Vowel 6; the Northern limit of /u:/ diphthongization). York was on the Northern side of all of these, and the regular developments — [ɪə] for the first two (the second via [ɪy] > [ɪə] in the eighteenth century) and [u:] for the last, are in evidence in the *Survey of English Dialects* data for the city.²⁶ We cannot tell whether diphthongization of /u:/ had taken place at the time of the plays, since both monophthongs and close diphthongs would be spelled <ou, ow>. However, for the other two, spellings implying both Northern and Midland solutions are in evidence in the plays, though for all texts the Midland spelling is much more common: <o(o)> for both vowels alternating with <a(a), ai, ay> for the first and <u> for the second.

In addition, there is another set of isoglosses separating the somewhat transitional North Midland dialects of West Yorkshire and Lindsey from the rest of the Midlands. These are the BLAW/BLOW and AULD/O(U)LD lines (Vowel 12a). Though these are really outcomes of conditioned developments of Vowel 4, they take a more southerly course than the above-mentioned group, dipping down to include Southern Yorkshire, a corner of Nottinghamshire, and the whole of Lindsey within Lincolnshire. The course of these isoglosses may reflect the high-water mark of Northumbrian Old English, as there are a number of vocabulary isoglosses, and the southern limit of a very important morphological isogloss in Middle English, *-is~-es* vs. *-ith~-eth*, is found nearby.

The LANG/LONG isogloss is also associated with Vowel 4, since here the <o> forms result from an /a:/ created by a late Old English process called Homorganic Lengthening (HL). Whatever the outcome, the vowel was reshortedened under influence from the inflected forms of the affected words, where the lengthening was blocked in most cases due to syllable division. The lengthening happens before /mb/ (*comb, womb*) and /nd/ (*land*) as well, but not all the /amb/ words reshorte. Lengthening before /nd/, though attested in the work of Robert Mannyng, best known for his *Handlyng Synne*, and other Lincolnshire writers, is rare in the plays, though there are a few examples of *honde* (*hand*, with a frequent umlaut plural *hende*), and *stonde* (*stand*), *fonde* (*found* pret.), and *sonde* (*message; something sent*) seem to be usual spellings. In any case, there is a considerable amount of variability in this feature.

Ironically, the change /a/ > /ɔ/ before simple nasal, now as then associated with the West Midlands, was originally Northumbrian, but is only sporadic in the corpus. *Any* and *many*, frequently with <o> in Older Scots,²⁷ have only <a> here. <Gome> for *game*, attested once,

²⁶ Orton and Halliday, eds., *Survey of English Dialects*; York is listed as Y 19.

²⁷ Aitken and Macafee, *Older Scots Vowels*, p. 86.

and *tone* for *tane* may belong here, if they are not hyper-Midland spellings associated with the /ɔ:/ reflex of Vowel 4. The nearest place where this backing and rounding can be found natively is Lancashire and perhaps a few villages along the Yorkshire/Lancashire and Yorkshire/Derbyshire boundary.

Even more variable, even in twentieth-century York dialect, is the outcome of Vowel 11 as in *die*, *eye* and the inflected forms of *high*. These can either monophthongize to /e:/, with simple dropping of /j/, as is usual in Scots,²⁸ or develop, as in most of the Midlands, to /i:/, diphthongizing again in the Great Vowel Shift, as in Standard English. Occasionally encountered in the material are <egh> forms for this, and for the /e:xt/ class like *right*, *night*, as well as the spelling *he* for *high*.

Open Syllable Lengthening, by which short vowels in open syllables became long, operates in all English dialects, but the farther north one goes, the fewer constraints operate on the rule, and the differences can be quite noticeable. In York, we must assume that the low and low-mid vowels have been lengthened before an early Middle English final -*e*, which disappeared early, but there is variability in the lengthening of Vowel 15 to Vowel 2, which is not constrained by what the next syllable contains. Telltale <e> and <ei, ey> spellings appear in twenty-seven items, though many show <i> as well, and there is no way to tell this lengthening from a lowering without lengthening. However, though forms with modern /i:/ are not found in York today, they are common enough in Scots²⁹ to mark this change as a Northern one that has receded since the Middle Ages.

3.2 Changes Involving the Long Vowels and Diphthongs

Yorkshire is the focal area for the monophthongization of /ai/ to /a:/,³⁰ once thought to be an early change but now felt to be later and influenced by doublets of /a:/ and /ai/ due to either (1) English and Norse cognates of the same word, e.g., Old English *hál* vs. Old Norse *heill*, existing side by side, or (2) forms going back to earlier /a:j/ reflexes, with /j/ dropped between vowels when a sonorant follows (compare modern Received Pronunciation [fa:] <[faɪə] for a parallel process.³¹ Most of the <aCe> spellings for /ai/ do indeed occur in pre-sonorant environments, which is supported by the rhymes, parallel Scots developments, and in one case, <june> for *join* (attested in *Survey of English Dialects* for East Yorkshire),³² monophthongization is found for Vowel 12 as well as 8. It is hard to tell if the <e, ey> in words with -*tain* shows this monophthongization for mid front vowels also, or if it goes back to Vowel 3 or 2 forms in French. The much more frequent converse spellings <ai, ay> for /a:/ may be related to the monophthongization in part, but are more likely to reflect the use of <i, y> as a long mark, shared by Older Scots,³³ as <ey, ei> are much more frequently

²⁸ Aitken and Macafee, *Older Scots Vowels*, pp. 24–25.

²⁹ Aitken and Macafee, *Older Scots Vowels*, pp. 97–98.

³⁰ Kniesza, “Problem of the Merger.”

³¹ Aitken and Macafee, *Older Scots Vowels*, p. 142.

³² Compare *groan* for *groin* (Orton and Halliday, eds., *Survey of English Dialects*, 1:662, for Y 11).

³³ Aitken and Macafee, *Older Scots Vowels*, p. 66.

found for both /e:/ and /ɛ:/ than any monophthongal spelling and <oy, oi> a little more rarely for Midland or Northern /ɔ:/.³⁴

The spellings implying raising of long vowels, which are never in the majority, indicate that at least some Great Vowel Shift changes have taken place, a development supported by rhyme evidence (see Section 5). Surprisingly, there are few spellings supporting the raising of /a:/, since modern dialect evidence suggests that the change may have started in the vicinity,³⁵ but there are clear indications of the raising of /e:/ particularly before /n/, in <tyne> = *tene*, <wyne> = *ween*, and diphthongization of /i:/ in <heynd, leyfse, leythly> and perhaps <neyne> = *hind n., life, lightly* (without /x/), *nine*.³⁶ It is not clear if the spelling <tow> for *two*, which occurs only three times, is a transposition, a retention of Old English neuter *tú* or some sort of post-Great Vowel Shift spelling on a Midland base, but *flood* = <flowyd> (alongside <flode> and “native” <flud(d)e>) seems to show the modern West Yorkshire [ɔɪ], which is indeed a post-Great Vowel Shift reflex.

Otherwise, there is frequent interchange of the various subclasses of Vowel 3 with each other and Vowel 2 or 4, explored in detail in Section 5, since the outcome varies so much from play to play. The modern dialect has collapsed the various sources of Vowel 3 and merges it with at least 4a, but in the West Riding dialects next door, the reflexes of vowels lengthened by Open Syllable Lengthening never merge with any original vowel class except in very specific environments such as pre-rhotic position.

3.3 Changes Involving the Short Vowels

A peculiar characteristic in this land of frequent Open Syllable Lengthening involves spellings showing apparent shortening, particularly before the voiceless fricatives /f s/ (including where <ff> spellings alternate with <u> = /v/, e.g., *giffe~giue*) but also before /t d/ and even other consonants. Such shortenings are not unknown in the modern dialect where *make, take* = [mak tak]³⁷ and shortenings of words such as *close, yoke, throat* occur in a number of Scots dialects,³⁸ but the items in which the vowel-double consonant-e spellings occur are a completely different group of words, *abate, bide, case, chief, (dis)ease, feet, gait, heave, life, live, and sweet* among them.

Spellings showing raising of both short and long vowels are attested in the plays, but as far as we know, the two sets of changes have different causes. The raising of short /a/ to /ɛ/ and of /ɛ/ to /i/ is implied by spellings such as <eftyr, contek, fest, gedir, wex, blisse (bless), gytt, ryst>, where in many cases the following consonant is an alveolar or velar obstruent.

³⁴ One rhyme that could show either a long vowel or a diphthong is in Play 30, Stanza 4: *enioyned/perloined; perloined/troned/honed*. If the rhyme is on [ɔ:], it is a Northern one, with monophthongization; if on [ɔɪ], it is a West Yorkshire one, with diphthongization of lengthened /ɔ:/ to [ɔɪ]/.

³⁵ P. Johnston, “English Vowel Shifting,” pp. 213–17.

³⁶ *Nine* could conceivably have Vowel 11, by Open Syllable Lengthening of an [ɪ] diphthong to [eɪ]. If so, <ey> is only a long mark spelling.

³⁷ Orton and Halliday, eds., *Survey of English Dialects*, 1:1010 and 1012.

³⁸ P. Johnston, “Older Scots Phonology,” p. 85; Aitken and Macafee, *Older Scots Vowels*, p. 86.

This seems to be a favored environment for raising all over North Britain,³⁹ and in cases such as *after*, *bless*, and *gather* the raised forms can still be found.

Conversely, /ɛ/ + /r/ has a tendency to lower, giving <ar> spellings at times. This is a fairly frequent change in Old English — it is what gives us our pronunciation of words like *farm* and *barn*, after all — but in this area there was interplay at some point with a lengthening process of /ar/ (as in *arm*), giving doublets in Vowel 4, 16, and 17 in modern dialects. The spelling evidence suggests that the lengthening was a later process, with only lowering attested.

4. NORTHERN MORPHO-SYNTACTIC FEATURES

While it would take the space of a medium-sized monograph to do justice to the intricacies of the morphology and sentence structures exhibited in the plays, some of the more common and interesting features can be mentioned here.

Middle English was the time of decay of much of the rich inflectional morphology that characterized the old Germanic languages. The noun and adjective endings for the most part disappeared, destroying the old gender system and the case system. Verbal inflections survived better, particularly if they ended in consonants, but this led to only one ending surviving in the present tense in the North (*-is~es*) and hence the loss of person and number cues in the verb. Since these simplifications were at least as much the product of language contact as of anything else, the North, which had been highly bilingual after the Viking invasions, was in the lead in these developments.

The result is that, where inflectional morphology is concerned, the plays are nearly at the point of Modern English, though the spellings and frequent use of final *-e* may not show that until one reads the plays and scans them. Nearly every such *-e* is silent, although it still has a tendency to appear in spelling where it once had signified something. In all the plays I examined, for instance, the infinitive overwhelmingly ends in *-e* unless the verbal stem already ends in a vowel — by this point signifying nothing.

There are a number of inflections that do survive, such as the three *-s*'s: the noun plural, the possessive, and the third (and, locally, second) person singular present tense ending. The localized form for all these appears to be *-is~ys*, as in Older Scots, but this alternates with frequent *-es*. It can also be found in other verbal contexts due to a rule called the Northern Subject Agreement Rule, whereby any noun subject, or any subject when separated from the verb, triggers the *-s* ending. One can also get *-is~es*, a regular outcome of Old English *-as*, in plural imperatives, and occasionally, by extension, into singular ones. Both these cases display much variability, though, and it remains to be seen what conditions besides those mentioned above trigger the ending. Southern *-ith* appears in some plays sporadically.

Weak verbs can take *-id* as a past tense and past participle ending, though, depending on which consonant precedes, this can alternate with both *-t* and *-d*, particularly the latter after sonorants, and all of these alternate with *-ed*.

The present participle *-and(e)* and the verbal noun and gerundive ending *-ing(e)* and *-yng(e)* are kept apart in most cases, though the beginnings of *-ing* being used for both functions, and the confusing of the two is found in some plays.

³⁹ Aitken and Macafee, *Older Scots Vowels*, pp. 84–85.

In all cases, more study is needed to explore which plays are more conservative morphologically and which are more innovative — and whether or not there is any correlation with increased numbers of Midland forms.

While not strictly a matter of inflectional morphology, all plays share the same personal pronoun system, variable as to spelling only in a few cases:

First person — singular: *I, my~mi~myn, me*; plural: *we, oure~owre, vs.*

Second person — singular: *þou~þow(e)~thou~thow; þi~thy; þe;* plural: *ȝe~ye; ȝoure~ȝowre~youre~youre, ȝou~ȝow(e)~you~yow(e).*

Third person — singular, masculine: *he, his, hym*; feminine: *scho, hir, hir*; neuter: *it, it, it.*

Third person — plural: *þei~þai~þey~þay; paire~þare~þer; þame~þem*. Southern *hem* appears at about the same frequency of other marked Southern forms.

The syntax of the plays, often convoluted because of the demands of meter, alliteration, and end rhyme, could be the subject of an independent monograph. By way of a general remark, it can be confidently said, however, that the grammar of these works contains highly conservative Old English-like traits such as a preference for object pronouns to precede the things of which they are objects, whether verbs or prepositions, combined with innovations such as the progressive verbal aspect.

5. RHYME EVIDENCE FOR LINGUISTIC VARIATION AMONG THE GROUPS OF PLAYS

Section 5 builds on the previous description of word form and spelling, and focuses on the important matter of rhyme evidence — and what rhymes can reveal about authorship and attribution, among other things.

5.1 General Layout and Questions of Attribution

To analyze the rhymes contained within the plays under study, the procedure was first to collect all rhymes in each play (or each part of the play, in cases where parts were assigned to different groups). These were then categorized by whether they were “general rhymes” (i.e., those that would work in either dialect); rhymes that would work in Northern, but not Midland varieties, regardless of what the spelling showed; the opposite, rhymes working in Midland dialects but not Northern ones; and totally inexact rhymes that would work in neither dialect — and in most cases, no dialect of English.

A further category, not assigned elsewhere, of “merger rhymes,” involving examples that would work if certain sound changes in progress were assumed to have been completed, was also added. This category is an important one since one can measure where individual playwrights or revisers stand with regard to these changes; it thus provides help in both grouping them and dating them. Light is also shed on how these sound changes worked and what phonological environments favored or disfavored them. A full subsection is thus devoted to looking closely at these mergers.

To test the value of basing work on attribution plus type and extent of alliteration rather than the traditional attribution, I have arranged Table IV in two sections. The first classifies the plays according to Table I above and lists the plays individually. The second classifies the totals according to the main groups of Table II. The percentages of the different sorts

of rhymes are shown in Table IV, with the abbreviations N = Northern Alone, and M = Midland Alone.

TABLE IV: PERCENTAGE OF RHYME TYPES BY ATTRIBUTION AND ALLITERATION TYPE

GROUP A — GENERALLY ATTRIBUTED TO THE REALIST:

	NUMBER	GENERAL	N	M	INEXACT	MERGER
Play 16(b)	20	85.0%	0.0%	0.0%	5.0%	10.0%
Play 25(b)	24	83.3	4.2	0.0	0.0	12.5
Play 26	88	63.6	12.5	4.6	6.8	10.2
Play 28	104	68.8	11.4	5.8	1.9	12.5
Play 29(b)	73	84.9	4.1	1.4	2.7	8.2
Play 30	228	75.4	7.0	3.1	6.1	7.0
Play 31	134	76.1	6.0	5.9	2.2	11.9
Play 33	156	76.9	9.7	4.5	0.0	7.7
Play 34(a)	7	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
TOTAL	834	75.3	8.2	4.0	3.4	9.4

GROUP B — GENERALLY ATTRIBUTED TO THE METRIST:

Play 2	42	59.5%	11.9%	0.0%	2.4%	28.6%
Play 36	150	80.0	4.7	5.3	1.3	8.7
Play 40	96	82.3	0.0	3.1	2.1	10.4
Play 44	97	86.6	1.0	3.1	2.1	2.1
Play 45	114	78.9	0.9	3.5	1.8	10.5
Play 47	96	75.0	9.4	2.1	0.0	14.6
TOTAL	595	80.1	3.9	3.4	1.5	10.6

GROUP C — SOMETIMES ATTRIBUTED TO EITHER METRIST OR REALIST:

Play 17(e)	10	90.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Play 34(b)	100	81.0	8.0	9.0	2.0	3.0
Play 35	100	74.0	7.0	6.0	2.0	10.0
Play 37	135	79.3	1.5	4.4	1.4	4.4
Play 38	149	79.9	7.4	1.3	1.3	11.4
TOTAL	494	79.0	5.7	4.9	1.6	6.6

GROUP D — CONTROL GROUP:

Play 25(a)	176	80.7%	4.0%	2.3%	4.6%	9.1%
Play 27	58	67.3	13.8	3.4	5.2	15.5
Play 29(a)	113	79.6	6.2	0.9	3.5	10.7
Play 32	164	76.2	10.4	3.0	5.5	4.9
Play 39	36	75.0	5.6	0.0	2.8	19.4
Play 41	62	82.2	1.6	0.0	0.0	14.6
Play 42	70	80.0	8.6	1.4	1.4	8.6
Play 43	74	77.0	6.8	1.7	1.4	12.2
Play 46	68	88.2	3.0	1.5	0.0	5.9
TOTAL	821	78.8	6.2	1.8	3.3	9.6

BY ALLITERATION TYPE (SEE TABLE II):

E	1114	76.8%	6.8%	3.7%	3.1%	8.6%
F	597	78.4	4.5	3.7	1.8	8.9
G	477	77.6	8.6	3.4	2.3	13.0
H	531	81.0	5.3	1.7	2.3	9.6

Looking first at the General Rhyme column, we see a remarkable degree of uniformity in the percentages of rhymes that would be valid in both Northern and Midland English: the average figure hovers around 75–85% of such rhymes, with only six out of the twenty-nine texts outside of this range, disregarding the two having only ten rhymes or fewer. Though one would assume that the scribe was less important in this regard than the author, it is interesting that the most deviant play is *The Creation through the Fifth Day* (Play 2), the only work among the pageants closely under study here that was copied by Scribe A, with only about 60% general rhymes. It also has both a high degree of Northern-only rhymes and no Midland-only ones, making it the most localized of the plays. As one might expect if the play is a highly vernacular example, the writer was sensitive to ongoing sound changes in progress with a truly enormous figure of 28.6% merger rhymes, which reflect completion of these sound changes. Whether the peculiar profile is scribal or authorial, in no way is it consistent with the rest of the plays ascribed to the York Metrist, or any other play analyzed here, and authorities are right to reject it as a Metrist play unless it was massively reworked.

Also interesting is the fact that Plays 26, 27, and 28 have low scores for general rhymes, if not as low as Play 2, and that they have completely different attributions. Plays 26 (*The Conspiracy*) and 28 (*The Agony and Betrayal*) present related material in the Passion plays and flank the story of *The Last Supper* in Play 27. However, the former two plays show a playwright, presumably the Realist, employing the classic alliterative long line, while Play 27 is syllabic, or rather only semi-alliterative. One can conceive of an author using more than one style, but the semi-alliterative plays look like the work of someone used to writing syllabic-metered poetry trying out alliteration, not the work of a master of the alliterative genre. Again, these plays have high proportions of Northern-only rhymes combined with high ratios of sound change rhymes. Perhaps this points to the later date usually assigned to them. They are also next to each other in the cycle, and that in itself is suspicious as one wonders whether someone, maybe before the final scribe, copied out parts of the cycle that were contiguous. We may be faced here with mere coincidence, but then we would still probably be dealing with two playwrights of similar background and different styles.

Setting aside the short extracts, we have, at the high end of general rhymes, Plays 46 (*The Coronation of the Virgin*) and 44 (*The Death of Mary*) with over 85% general rhymes. Again, we have different styles and attributions. Play 44 is fully alliterative and often ascribed to the Metrist, while 46 is totally syllabic. However, both of these are almost devoid of localized rhymes, and also have few reflecting mergers in progress, which may mark them as older plays. As we have seen, the Metrist may have been capable of utilizing different styles if all the plays usually attributed to him (except Play 2) really were his.

In fact, if one were to single out rhyme characteristics of the Metrist plays from those of the Realist, we could make a generalization that the Metrist is a better rhymer than the Realist and utilizes fewer markedly Northern or inexact rhymes. All of the Metrist plays but Play 44 have quite a noted sensitivity to the sound changes in progress, however. About 8–14% merger rhymes are shown, in fact slightly more on average than the Realist.

The question is: do we have more than one Realist, or Metrist? And where do the “may-be” plays go? Any answer to these questions depends greatly on how versatile we believe these putative playwrights/revisers to be, and for us to be absolutely certain, we would need at least a detailed study of the vocabulary and a total stylistic analysis, using both linguistic and literary methodology. It is easier to make negative than positive statements here — that is, to exclude, rather than to include. Nevertheless, there seems to be no reason at this point to exclude anything here attributed to the Realist that is usually attributed to him except perhaps Peter’s Denial in Play 29, and this is highly speculative. The *Hails* are too short to judge, though particularly the sequences at the end of Play 25 “sound like” the Realist’s work.

The Metrist is harder to pin down, but the syllabic Play 47, *Doomsday*, written in metrical verse, showcases neither his usual alliterative style nor his lack of localization. Its frequency of Northern rhymes is more like the Realist’s, or a work such as Play 38 or 42, so perhaps we are dealing with another person here. If there was a candidate that could be added to his repertoire on the basis of what we have here, it would be *The Harrowing of Hell* (Play 37), but again, given a 4% figure of merger rhymes,⁴⁰ any conclusion would be tentative in the extreme.

There is only one linguistic feature that correlates with the extent and type of alliteration: the more alliterative the text is, the more Midland features appear in it: 3.7% for the fully alliterative texts vs. 1.7% for the wholly syllabic ones. The difference is tiny, but it makes perfect sense, seeing that the Midland dialect was the vehicle of the fourteenth-century alliterative revival. These forms may be used conventionally, just as the Scottish makars used Chaucerian language.

5.2 *The York Plays and Sound Changes in Progress in the Fifteenth Century*

The “merger rhymes” in the plays give a view of the cauldron of sound change that is going on not just in York but in the whole of Britain in the fifteenth century. The Great Vowel Shift is the best known component of the many transformations occurring at this time, by which process Vowel 1 diphthongized to something like [ɛɪ], with Vowel 2 moving into the [i:] slot. Farther down in the system, Vowel 4 raised to either [ɛ:] or something like [ɛæ] (it is [ɪə] today) and Vowel 3 became [e:] or [eɛ], and Vowel 5 moved in parallel, though possibly somewhat later, to [o:] or [oɔ].⁴¹ The gap in the low vowels is filled by Vowel 12, which monophthongizes to [ɑ:].[⁴²] However, in contrast to Southern or Midland dialects, Vowel 7 is a front rounded vowel, and therefore does not push Vowel 6 to diphthongize, so these two nuclei stay where they are for the moment. Vowel 7 eventually does diphthongize to [iu], coming close enough to Vowel 14a, at [iu], to be able to rhyme with it, though there could not have been a true merger, as the two classes stay separate.⁴³

On the whole, except for /ai/ > /a:/ and rarer examples of /ɛɪ ɔɪ ʊɪ/ > /ɛ: ɔ: u:/, the vowel change processes mentioned above do not cause mergers, at least in their first stages. Any rhyming of, say, Vowel 1 with Vowel 2 must be really a near-rhyme, of something like [iɪ] with

⁴⁰ See, however, Play 44, which comes in at 2.1%.

⁴¹ P. Johnston, “Older Scots Phonology,” pp. 84–85.

⁴² The one spelling that seems to illustrate this principle is *haales* = *hauls* in Play 35, but this alternates with *haylls* and probably shows the verb *hale*, *haul*’s predecessor, instead.

⁴³ One (near) rhyme may show this diphthongization: *gome/consume* (Play 26), rhymes Vowels 7 and 14a.

[i:], and the proximity of the sounds caused them to be perceived as merged for a time until the diphthongization grew wider, at which point the rhymes of these classes die away. There may be true mergers of Vowels 4 and 3, however, due to the raising of the first, since today both vowels tend to have [ɪə].

However, by far the commonest merger shown in rhymes is of Vowel 3 with Vowel 2, an outcome made difficult to explain by the frequent interplay between the two vowels and by the multiple sources of 3.⁴⁴ First, in Anglian dialects, we must count not only /e:/ but “original” or “Germanic” /æ:/ as in *needle*, *street* as an /e:/ sound, and so are cases of the French reflex of Latin /a:/ as in *clear* in this area. Second, it is not clear if the various sources of /ɛ:/ have fallen together in all positions, particularly because /ɛ/ lengthened by OSL is kept apart in the West Yorkshire dialects next door, and “umlaut” /æ:/, which exhibits some interplay with Vowel 2 in Older Scots to the north, with considerable allophony.⁴⁵ Traditional modern York dialect does collapse all the sources of Vowel 3 together, but merges it with 2 only before /r/, no matter what the source is. However, Vowels 3 and 2 are kept apart in other environments. Therefore, it is necessary to explore the phonetic environment, especially the consonant following the vowel, to establish what is going on.⁴⁶

Finally, and rarely, Vowel 14a goes to /u:/ after certain consonants, notably /j/ and other palatals, but also after /r/ and occasionally after alveolars. The first two changes are common to most dialects of English now. Table V outlines the patterns of merger spellings by play, attribution group, and alliteration type. The number of spellings, however, is only shown in the group totals; in the lines for the individual plays that which appears is the symbol for the following consonant. In the Post-Great Vowel Shift (Post-GVS) column the affected vowel (V) is given instead (ENV = following consonantal environment), and any patterns by environment are discussed in the text. The symbol # = final position.

TABLE V: PATTERNS OF MERGER SPELLINGS

MERGER	4/8	EI/3	9/5	14/6	6/5	POST- GVS	POST- GVS	3/2	3a/2	3b/2
	V				V	ENV				
GROUP A										
Play 16(b)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	dl	-	-
Play 25(b)	l	-	-	d	-	-	-	-	-	-
Play 26	-	-	-	-	-	iio	mn#	nr	l	p
Play 28	nn	-	-	r	-	i	n	#lnn	r	rrrr
Play 29(b)	-	-	-	-	n	e	d	l	r	r
Play 30	s	l	s	-	#n	a	k	ddklnnr	rv	rr
Play 31	l	-	-	-	#r	eao	llr	-	-	rv
Play 33	-	-	-	-	n	o (eu)	m#	nnrrrr	rrrrr	-

⁴⁴ Vowel 2 has multiple sources too, but the bulk of the native ones (Old Northumbrian /e: e:o/ and /ø:/) fell together early, to be joined by French /e/ and, even later, /e:/ from /i/ lengthened by OSL.

⁴⁵ Aitken and Macafee, *Older Scots Vowels*, pp. 119–20.

⁴⁶ Southern East Riding dialects do merge Vowels 3 and 2 variably, but there does not seem to be any phonological conditioning (Orton and Halliday, eds., *Survey of English Dialects*).

Play 34(a)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	4	1	1	1	7	11	11	21	10	10
GROUP B										
Play 2	n	-	-	t	#	ei	dn	#dln	-	krr
Play 36	nd	-	-	-	#n	i	#	lnr	ddr	drr
Play 40	q	z	-	-	-	-	-	dnn	rrr	dr
Play 44	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	d	-	r
Play 45	ndl	ds	-	-	-	-	-	ddnn	rr	dt
Play 47	-	-	-	-	-	ae	t#	ddddnnnr	r	trr
TOTAL	7	3	0	1	3	5	5	22	9	14
GROUP C										
Play 17(e)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Play 34(b)	-	-	-	-	n	-	-	d	r	-
Play 35	l	-	-	-	#	-	-	dddr	rr	r
Play 37	Dl	-	-	-	-	-	-	dr	r	rr
Play 38	snn#	-	-	-	n	-	-	dddddnnn	dD	dD
TOTAL	7	0	0	0	3	0	0	14	6	5
GROUP D										
Play 25(a)	m	-	-	-	###	n	Ee	d#	#lnn	rrrrr
Play 27	-	-	-	j	-	a	r	nnnvrr	r	-
Play 29(a)	ls	-	s	-	-	o	n	n	d	d
Play 32	d	-	-	-	n	ee	##	dnr	-	vr
Play 39	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	dddr	d	rr
Play 41	s	-	-	-	-	ae	r#	tttnr	-	r
Play 42	-	-	-	-	n	-	-	lnnn	r	-
Play 43	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	ddllnrr	-	r
Play 46	r	-	-	-	-	-	-	nn	-	-
TOTAL	6	0	1	1	6	8	8	37	5	11

By far, the most common merger pattern involves the falling together of the descendant of Old English “umlaut /æ:/” which generally is taken as a source of Middle English /ɛ:/ outside of Kentish and London dialects, and with /e:/. It is particularly prevalent in Plays 27, 38, 43, and 47, but is found to some degree in all the plays. It also exhibits noticeable conditioning, with all but five of the ninety-four examples involving positions before voiced alveolar sounds /d l n r/. Where /d n/ and probably /l/ are concerned, we are probably dealing with a raising, which may go back a long way; following /r/ tends to lower preceding vowels, however, so we are perhaps dealing with a lowering of /e:/ here. The same sort of pattern, though a little more restricted, is found in Older Scots poetry of the early sixteenth century in the work of Gavin Douglas.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ Aitken and Macafee, *Older Scots Vowels*, p. 119.

The other sources of Vowel 3 show some tendency to merge before /d/, particularly in the Metrist's work, but mainly only fall together with Vowel 2 before /r/. We are therefore dealing with a merger of all instances of /ɛ:/ and /e:/ generally in pre-rhotic position, which persists into the twentieth century, as both classes give [ɪə], although there has been some restructuring and replacement of [ɪə] by [ɛə] where Received Pronunciation has this nucleus.

The Post-Great Vowel Shift spellings and those showing /ai/ > /a:/ are identical, twenty-four instances in each case, but they show quite different patterning. The Group C plays show no instances of Post-GVS rhymes, but they do show quite a few monophthongizations, particularly Play 38. The Metrist plays, if we exclude Plays 2 and 47 as suggested above, show the same pattern. Group A and some of D (25(a), 32, and 41) have more Post-GVS rhymes than ones showing monophthongization, while the rest of the D plays have few rhymes showing either change.

Monophthongization seems to be favored overall by alveolar consonants, particularly voiced ones, but also voiceless fricatives, and sonorancy of the following consonant is less of a factor than for the raising of /ɛ:/. This is interesting, because modern examples of the same change usually show monophthongization rates highest before sonorants and in final position, and also have sensitivity to voicing. Evidently, this change had different weighting constraints, and, since vowels are generally lengthened more before consonants high on the sonorancy scale, it must depend less on something like the lengthening of the first element of the diphthong as a cause of monophthongization. Aitken and Macafee mention an early monophthongization of /ai/ before anterior fricatives.⁴⁸ Unless we take the view that words such as *save* went through a /saiv/ stage from the earlier /sauv/, there is no record of this change before /f v/, but it is plain that /s/ and the dental fricatives could foster it, and the sporadic monophthongization of other vowels occurs in the same environments as /ai/ > /a:/.

The Great Vowel Shift has been “taken apart” subsequent to the debate in the 1980s of Roger Lass vs. Robert Stockwell and Donka Minkova about whether or not it really was a chain shift, or even a series of sound changes as we usually understand them.⁴⁹ This author is on record as favoring a two-chain solution,⁵⁰ with the low- and low-mid vowels in one chain with the raising of /a:/ as the initiator, and the high- and high-mid vowels in a separate, and more co-varying chain. While there are only two plays that have the bottom-half raisings alone (Plays 27 and 30), an important though not crucial piece of evidence for the theory, the changes were favored by different environments. The raising of /a:/ takes place before /r/ or voiceless coronal stops, with the first echoing the Vowel 3/2 merger pattern. The change of /e:/ or /i:/, however, is most common in final position, before sonorants or /d:/, all positions promoting length. If the Great Vowel Shift were a unified process, there would be similarities in conditioning processes between its various stages.

Other mergers are only sporadic, except for the strangest of all, the merger of Vowel 4 with Vowel 5. This happens finally and before /n/, with one case before /r/. In the South, this would be a routine Great Vowel Shift stage, and ironically it works in modern traditional York dialect too, but due to a change that must have appeared in the late eighteenth or nineteenth century. However, it should not happen in the North, because of /o:/ -fronting.

⁴⁸ Aitken and Macafee, *Older Scots Vowels*, p. 67.

⁴⁹ Lass, “Vowel Shifts,” and Stockwell and Minkova, “English Vowel Shift.”

⁵⁰ P. Johnston, “Lass’s Law and West Germanic Vowel Shifts,” and P. Johnston, “English Vowel Shifting,” pp. 218–20.

In the Midlands, it technically could, and in any case, the Vowel 4 forms would have to be Midland ones but the modern dialects do not show it: the only word that does is *go*, which takes [u:] in much of the East Midlands and East Anglia.⁵¹ In West Yorkshire, the two classes are separate as [ʊə] and [u:] finally, and [ʊə] and [ʊɪ] before /n/. We are left with various hypotheses, none of which are very satisfying: perhaps there were sociolects where, as today in Standard varieties, Middle English /o:/ was never fronted, or perhaps these rhymes were eye-rhymes only, since the two classes are spelled alike for the most part.

While there is much room for further study, it is clear that the plays do furnish us with a snapshot of sorts of the York dialect of the late medieval period and suggest some ways in which other dialects were an influence on it. This implies that the speakers, or at least the literate ones, at this time did not always speak vernacular. Medieval York, which is shown not to have been an island unto itself but rather a city sustained in part by residents originally coming from outside its boundaries, had both Northern and Midland speakers. Writers took advantage of the sociolinguistic variation, though what the social meaning of using forms from each is yet something that needs to be further elucidated. We see a number of sound changes at an early enough time in their life cycle to be conditioned changes, and from examining the rhyme types, we can make some extremely tentative statements about attribution. Apparently, a Realist and a Metrist did exist, though they may not have written every play that modern authorities want to claim for them, and there may be Group C plays that one of them may have written, notably Play 37. The Metrist, in particular, was able to write in several alliterative styles. Alternatively, there seems to be a multitude of playwrights, but more variables require study before the question of which one wrote what plays can be conclusively answered.

⁵¹ Trudgill, *Social Differentiation of English in Norwich*, pp. 65–66.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

The references presented here include works cited in this edition. For an extensive bibliography of medieval drama, theater, and iconography up to 2003, see the following website: <<http://www.wmich.edu/medieval/resources/edam/index.html>>.

MANUSCRIPTS AND INCUNABULA

- Bolton Hours*. York, York Minster Library, MS. Add. 2.
Carthusian Miscellany. London, British Library, MS. Add. 37049.
Hore beatissime Virginis Mariae. Rouen: Guillaume Bernard and Jacques Cousin, 1517.
Hymni canori cum jubilo secundum. [York Hymnal.] ?1517.
Missale secundum usum ecclesie Eboracensis. Paris: F. Regnault, 1533.
N-Town Plays. London, British Library, MS. Cotton Vespasian D.8.
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Lat. liturg.f.2. (Book of Hours)
Psalter. London, British Library, MS. Add. 54179.
Psalter. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. O.3.10.
Skryveners [Pageant]. York, York City Archives, MS. Sykes.
Torre, James. *The Antiquities of York Minster*. York, York Minster Library, MS. L1 (7).
———. *Antiquities Ecclesiastical of the City of York*. York, York Minster Library, MS. L1 (8).
York Hours. York, York Minster Library, MS. XVI.K.6.
York Plays. London, British Library, MS. Add. 35290.

PRIMARY SOURCES (PRINTED)

- The Ancient Cornish Drama*. Ed. and trans. Edwin Norris. 2 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1859.
Reprint, New York: Benjamin Blom, 1968.
Apocalyptic Christianity. Trans. Bernard McGinn. New York: Paulist Press, 1979.
St. Augustine. *The City of God*. Trans. Marcus Dods et al. New York: Random House, 1950.
Bevington, David, ed. *Medieval Drama*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1975.
Biblia Pauperum: A Facsimile and Edition. Ed. Avril Henry. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987.
Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem. Ed. Robert Weber. Third ed. Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1969.
Birgitta of Sweden. *Life and Selected Revelations*. Ed. Marguerite Tjader Harris. Trans. Albert Ryle Kezel.
New York: Paulist Press, 1990.
Breviarium ad usum insignis Ecclesie Eboracensis. Ed. S. W. Lawley. 2 vols. Surtees Society 71 and 75.
Durham: Andrews, 1880–83.
Brown, Carleton, ed. *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939.
Caedmon Manuscript of Anglo-Saxon Biblical Poetry: Junius XI in the Bodleian Library. Intro. Israel Gollancz.
London: Oxford University Press, 1927.
Cawley, A. C. “The Sykes MS of the York Scriveners’ Play.” *Leeds Studies in English* 7–8 (1952), 45–80.

- The Chester Mystery Cycle.* Ed. R. M. Lumiansky and David Mills. 2 vols. EETS s.s. 3 and 9. London: Oxford University Press, 1974–86.
- Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Michael, Spurriergate, York, 1518–1548.* Ed. C. C. Webb. 2 vols. York: Borthwick Institute, 1997.
- The Coventry Corpus Christi Plays.* Ed. Pamela M. King and Clifford Davidson. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2000.
- The Creacion of the World: A Critical Edition and Translation.* Ed. and trans. Paula Neuss. New York: Garland, 1983.
- Cursor Mundi.* Ed. Richard Morris. 7 vols. EETS o.s. 57, 59, 62, 66, 68, 99, and 101. 1874–75; reprint, London: Oxford University Press, 1961–66.
- Dante Alighieri. *The Divine Comedy.* Trans. Allen Mandelbaum. 3 vols. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980–84.
- Davis, Norman, ed. *Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments.* EETS s.s. 1. London: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- Dives and Pauper.* Ed. Priscilla Heath Barnum. EETS o.s. 275. London: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- Everyman and Its Dutch Original, Elckerlike.* Ed. Clifford Davidson, Martin W. Walsh, and Ton J. Broos. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2007.
- The Fabric Rolls of York Minster.* Ed. James Raine. Surtees Society 35. Durham: George Andrews, 1869.
- Gospel of Nicodemus.* See *The Middle-English Harrowing of Hell and Gospel of Nicodemus*.
- Greene, Richard Leighton, ed. *Early English Carols.* Second ed. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977.
- Happé, Peter, ed. *English Mystery Plays: A Selection.* Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1975.
- Holkham Bible Picture Book.* Intro. and commentary W. O. Hassall. London: Dropmore Press, 1954.
- Holy Bible Translated from the Latin Vulgate.* Baltimore, MD: John Murphy, 1914.
- Jacobus de Voragine. *The Golden Legend.* Trans. William Granger Ryan. 2 vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.
- James, Montague Rhodes, ed. *The Apocryphal New Testament.* 1924; reprint, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980.
- The Lay Folks' Catechism.* Ed. Thomas Frederick Simmons and Henry Edward Noloth. EETS o.s. 118. London: N. Trübner, 1879.
- The Lay Folks Mass Book.* Ed. Thomas Frederick Simmons. EETS o.s. 71. London: N. Trübner, 1879.
- Liber Usualis.* Tournai: Desclée, 1959.
- Love, Nicholas. *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ.* Ed. Michael G. Sargent. New York: Garland, 1992.
- Mackay, Christopher S., trans. *The Hammer of Witches: A Complete Translation of the Malleus Maleficarum,* by Heinrich Kramer and Jacob Sprenger. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Meditations on the Life of Christ.* Trans. Isa Ragusa and Rosalie B. Green. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961.
- Meredith, Peter, and John E. Tailby, eds. *The Staging of Religious Drama in the Later Middle Ages: Texts and Documents in English Translation.* Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1982.
- The Middle-English Harrowing of Hell and Gospel of Nicodemus.* Ed. William Henry Hulme. EETS e.s. 100. London: Oxford University Press, 1907.
- A Middle English Metrical Paraphrase of the Old Testament.* Ed. Herbert Kalén and Urban Ohlander. 3 vols. Göteborg: Elanders, 1923–61.
- Mirk, John. *Festial.* Ed. Theodor Erbe. EETS e.s. 96. 1905; reprint, Millwood, NY: Kraus Reprint, 1987.
- The Mirour of Mans Saluacioune: A Middle English Translation of Speculum Humanae Salvationis.* Ed. Avril Henry. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987.
- Missale ad usum insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis.* Ed. W. G. Henderson. 2 vols. Surtees Society 59–60. Durham: Andrews, 1874.
- The Northern Passion.* Ed. Frances A. Foster. 2 vols. EETS o.s. 145 and 147. 1913–16; reprint, New York: Kraus Reprint, 1971.
- The N-Town Play: Cotton MS Vespasian D.8.* Ed. Stephen Spector. 2 vols. EETS s.s. 11–12. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- The N-Town Plays.* Ed. Douglas Sugano. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2007.
- Ordo paginarum.* See *Records of Early English Drama: York*.

- The Pepysian Gospel Harmony.* Ed. Margery Goates. EETS o.s. 157. 1922; reprint, Millwood, NY: Kraus Reprint, 1971.
- Plato. *The Collected Dialogues, Including the Letters.* Ed. Edith Hamilton and Huntington Cairns. 1963; reprint, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973.
- The Prick of Conscience.* Ed. Richard Morris. Berlin: A. Asher, 1863.
- Promptorium Parvulorum sive Clericorum, Dictionarius Anglo-Latinus Princeps.* Ed. Albertus Way. 3 vols. London: Camden Society, 1843–65. Reprint, New York: AMS Press, 1968.
- Records of Early English Drama: Chester.* Ed. Lawrence M. Clopper. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979.
- Records of Early English Drama: Coventry.* Ed. R. W. Ingram. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981.
- Records of Early English Drama: Norwich, 1540–1642.* Ed. David Galloway. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984.
- Records of Early English Drama: York.* Ed. Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Rogerson. 2 vols. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979.
- Sheingorn, Pamela. *The Easter Sepulchre in England.* Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1987.
- Statutes of the Realm.* Ed. T. Edlyn Tomlins et al. 11 vols. London: Eyre, 1808–21. Reprint, London: Dawson, 1963.
- A Stanzaic Life of Christ.* Ed. Frances A. Foster. EETS o.s. 166. London: Oxford University Press, 1926.
- Stevens, John, ed. *Mediaeval Carols.* Second ed. London: Stainer and Bell, 1957.
- The Tourney Plays.* Ed. Martin Stevens and A. C. Cawley. 2 vols. EETS s.s.13 and 14. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994.
- A Treatise of Miracles Pleyinge.* Ed. Clifford Davidson. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1993.
- York Civic Records.* Ed. Angelo Raine and Deborah Sutton. 9 vols. York: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1939–78.
- York Cycle of Mystery Plays, a Complete Version.* Trans. J. S. Purvis. London: SPCK, 1957.
- York Memorandum Book A/Y.* Ed. Maud Sellers. 2 vols. Surtees Society 120 and 125. Durham: Andrews, 1912–15.
- York Memorandum Book B/Y.* Ed. Joyce W. Percy. Surtees Society 186. Gateshead: Northumberland Press, 1973.
- York Mystery Plays: A Selection in Modern Spelling.* Ed. Richard Beadle and Pamela M. King. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.
- The York Play: A Facsimile of British Library MS Additional 35290.* Intro. Richard Beadle and Peter Meredith. Leeds: University of Leeds School of English, 1983.
- York Plays.* Ed. Lucy Toulmin Smith. 1885; reprint, New York: Russell and Russell, 1963.
- The York Plays.* Ed. Richard Beadle. London: Edward Arnold, 1982.
- Young, Karl. *The Drama of the Medieval Church.* 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933.

SECONDARY SOURCES

- Anderson, M. D. *Drama and Imagery in English Medieval Churches.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963.
- Arendt, Hannah. *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil.* Rev. ed. New York: Viking Press, 1965.
- Aslan, Reza. *No God but God: The Origins, Evolution, and Future of Islam.* New York: Random House, 2005.
- Ault, Warren O. "The Village Church and Village Community in Mediaeval England." *Speculum* 45 (1970), 197–215.
- Barker, Margaret. *The Great High Priest: The Temple Roots of Christian Liturgy.* Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 2003.
- Barnwell, P. S., Claire Cross, and Ann Rycraft, eds. *Mass and Parish in Late Medieval England: The Use of York.* Reading: Spire Books, 2005.

- Beadle, Richard. "An Unnoticed Lacuna in the York Chandlers' Pageant." In *So Meny People, Longages and Tonges: Philological Essays in Scots and Mediaeval English Presented to Angus McIntosh*. Ed. Michael Benskin and M. L. Samuels. Edinburgh: Benskin and Samuels, 1981. Pp. 229–35.
- . "The Origins of Abraham's Preamble in the York Play of 'Abraham and Isaac.'" *Yearbook of English Studies* 11 (1981), 178–87.
- . "The Shipwrights' Craft." In *Aspects of Early English Drama*. Ed. Paula Neuss. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1983. Pp. 50–61.
- . "Verbal Texture and Wordplay in the York Cycle." *Early Theatre* 3 (2000), 167–84.
- Beadle, Richard, and Alan J. Fletcher, eds. *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*. Second ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Beadle, Richard, and Peter Meredith. "Further External Evidence for Dating the York Register (BL Additional MS 35290)." *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 11 (1980), 51–58.
- Blair, John, and Nigel Ramsay, eds. *English Medieval Industries: Craftsmen, Techniques, Products*. London: Hambledon Press, 1991.
- Bonnell, J. K. "The Serpent with a Human Head in Art and in Mystery Play." *American Journal of Archaeology*, second ser. 21 (1917), 255–91.
- Brawer, Robert A. "The Characterization of Pilate in the York Cycle Play." *Studies in Philology* 69 (1972), 289–303.
- Breeze, Andrew. "The Girdle of Prato and Its Rivals." *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 33 (1986), 95–100.
- . "The Number of Christ's Wounds." *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 32 (1985), 84–91.
- Briscoe, Marianne G. "Some Clerical Notions of Dramatic Decorum in Late Medieval England." *Comparative Drama* 19 (1985), 1–13.
- Brown, Sarah. *York Minster: An Architectural History, c.1220–1500*. Swindon: English Heritage, 2003.
- Browne, E. Martin, with Henzie Browne. *Two in One*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Browne, John. *The History of the Metropolitan Church of St. Peter, York*. 2 vols. London: Longman, 1847.
- Butterworth, Philip. "The York Crucifixion: Actor/Audience Relationship." *Medieval English Theatre* 14 (1992), 67–76.
- . *Theatre of Fire: Special Effects in Early English and Scottish Theatre*. London: Society for Theatre Research, 1998.
- . *Magic on the Early English Stage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Bynum, Caroline Walker. *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200–1336*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1995.
- Carruthers, Mary. *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Carter, Henry Holland. *A Dictionary of Middle English Musical Terms*. Ed. George B. Gerhard et al. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961.
- Catholic Encyclopedia*. Ed. Charles G. Herbermann et al. 15 vols. New York: Appleton, 1907–12.
- Cawley, A. C. "Middle English Metrical Versions of the Decalogue with Reference to the English Corpus Christi Cycles." *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 8 (1975), 129–45.
- Cawley, A. C., Jean Forrester, and John Goodchild. "References to the Corpus Christi Play in the Wakefield Burgess Court Rolls: The Originals Rediscovered." *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 19 (1988), 85–104.
- Chambers, E. K. *English Literature at the Close of the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1945.
- Cheetham, Francis. *English Medieval Alabasters*. Oxford: Phaidon, Christie's, 1984.
- Clark, Eleanor Grace. "The York Plays and the Gospel of Nichodemus." *PMLA* 43 (1928), 153–61.
- Clopper, Lawrence M. *Drama, Play, and Game: English Festive Culture in the Medieval and Early Modern Period*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001.
- Collier, Richard J. *Poetry and Drama in the York Corpus Christi Play*. Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1978.
- Collins, Patrick J. "Narrative Bible Cycles in Medieval Art and Drama." *Comparative Drama* 9 (1975), 125–46.
- Cornell, Henrik. *The Iconography of the Nativity of Christ*. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1924.

- Cox, John D. *The Devil and the Sacred in English Drama, 1350–1642*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Craig, Hardin. *English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955.
- Craigie, W. A. “The Gospel of Nicodemus and the York Mystery Plays.” In *An English Miscellany Presented to Dr. Furnivall in Honour of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*. Ed. W. P. Ker, A. S. Napier, and W. W. Skeat. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1901. Pp. 52–61.
- Cross, F. L., and E. A. Livingstone, eds. *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. Third ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Crouch, David. “Paying to See the Play: The Stationholders on the Route of the York Corpus Christi Play in the Fifteenth Century.” *Medieval English Theatre* 13 (1991), 64–111.
- Curtiss, Chester G. “The York and Towneley Plays on *The Harrowing of Hell*.” *Studies in Philology* 30 (1933), 24–33.
- Daniélou, Jean. *From Shadows to Reality: Studies in the Biblical Typology of the Fathers*. Trans. Wulstan Hibbard. London: Burns and Oates, 1960.
- Davidson, Audrey Ekdahl. *Substance and Manner: Studies in Music and the Other Arts*. St. Paul, MN: Hiawatha Press, 1977.
- . “High, Clear, and Sweet: Singing Early Music.” In *Sacra/Profana: Studies in Sacred and Secular Music for Johannes Riedel*. Ed. Audrey Ekdahl Davidson and Clifford Davidson. Minneapolis: Friends of Minnesota Music, 1985. Pp. 217–26.
- Davidson, Clifford. *From Creation to Doom: The York Cycle of Mystery Plays*. New York: AMS Press, 1984.
- . *Illustrations of the Stage and Acting in England to 1580*. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1991.
- . “Positional Symbolism and Medieval English Drama.” *Comparative Drama* 25 (1991), 66–76.
- . “Northern Spirituality and the Late Medieval Drama and Art of York.” In Davidson, *On Tradition: Essays on the Use and Valuation of the Past*. New York: AMS Press, 1992. Pp. 30–55.
- . *Technology, Guilds, and Early English Drama*. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1997.
- . “Gesture in Medieval British Drama.” In Davidson, *Gesture in Medieval Art and Drama*. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001. Pp. 66–127.
- . *History, Religion, and Violence: Cultural Contexts for Medieval and Renaissance English Drama*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.
- . *Deliver Us from Evil: Essays on Symbolic Engagement in Early Drama*. New York: AMS Press, 2004.
- . “Memory, the Resurrection, and Early Drama.” In Davidson, *Selected Studies in Drama and Renaissance Literature*. New York: AMS Press, 2006. Pp. 3–37.
- . “York Guilds and the Corpus Christi Plays: Unwilling Participants?” *Early Theatre* 9 (2006), 11–33.
- . *Festivals and Plays in Late Medieval Britain*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007.
- . “The York Corpus Christi Plays and Visual Piety.” *Research Opportunities in Medieval and Renaissance Drama* 46 (2007), 25–50.
- . *Corpus Christi Plays at York: A Context for Religious Drama*. New York: AMS Press, forthcoming.
- , ed. *The Iconography of Heaven*. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1994.
- Davidson, Clifford, and David E. O’Connor. *York Art: A Subject List of Lost and Extant Art*. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1978.
- Davidson, Clifford, and Thomas H. Seiler, eds. *The Iconography of Hell*. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1992.
- Diller, Hans-Jürgen. “The Torturers in the English Mystery Plays.” In *Evil on the Medieval Stage*. Ed. Meg Twycross. Lancaster: Medieval English Theatre, 1992. Pp. 57–65.
- . *The Middle English Mystery Play: A Study in Dramatic Speech and Form*. Trans. Frances Wessels. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.
- Dobson, R. B. “Craft Guilds and the City: The Historical Origins of the York Plays Reassessed.” In *The Stage as Mirror: Civic Theatre in Late Medieval Europe*. Ed. Alan E. Knight. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1997. Pp. 91–105.

- Dorrell [later Rogerson], Margaret. "The Mayor of York and the Coronation Pageant." *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 5 (1971), 35–45.
- . "Performance in Procession: A Medieval Stage for the York Corpus Christi Play." *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 6 (1972), 77–111.
- Duchesne, L. *Christian Worship: Its Origin and Evolution*. Trans. M. L. McClure. Fifth ed. London: SPCK, 1920.
- Duclow, Donald F. "The Virgin's 'Good Death': The Dormition in Fifteenth-Century Drama and Art." *Fifteenth-Century Studies* 21 (1994), 55–86.
- Dudley, Martin R. "Sacramental Liturgies in the Middle Ages." In *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*. Ed. Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001. Pp. 215–43.
- Duffy, Eamon. *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England 1400–1580*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Dutka, JoAnna. *Music in the English Mystery Plays*. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1980.
- Dyer, Christopher. *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England, c. 1200–1520*. Rev. ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Elliott, John R., Jr. *Playing God: Medieval Mysteries on the Modern Stage*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989.
- Emmerson, Richard K., and Bernard McGinn. *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992.
- Epp, Garrett P. J. "Visible Words: The York Plays, Brecht, and Gestic Writing." *Comparative Drama* 24 (1990–91), 289–305.
- Erler, Mary C. "Palm Sunday Prophets and Processions and Eucharistic Controversy." *Renaissance Quarterly* 48 (1995), 58–81.
- Feasey, Henry John. *Ancient English Holy Week Ceremonial*. London: Thomas Baker, 1897.
- Flanigan, Tom. "Everyman or Saint? Doubting Joseph in the Corpus Christi Cycles." *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 8 (1996), 19–48.
- Fletcher, Alan J. "The N-Town Plays." In *A Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*. Second ed. Ed. Richard Beadle and Alan J. Fletcher. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008. Pp. 183–210.
- . *Drama, Performance, and Polity in Pre-Cromwellian Ireland*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.
- Florovsky, Georges. "The Work of the Holy Spirit in Revelation." *Christian East* 13 (1932), 49–64.
- Foster, Frances A. *A Study of the Middle-English Poem Known as the Northern Passion and Its Relation to the Cycle Plays*. London: Richard Clay and Sons, 1914.
- Frampton, Mendal G. "The Brewbarret Interpolation in the York Play the *Sacrificium Cayme and Abell*." *PMLA* 52 (1937), 895–900.
- . "The York Play of Christ Led up to Calvary (Play XXXIV)." *Philological Quarterly* 20 (1941), 198–203.
- French, Thomas. *York Minster: The Great East Window*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- French, Thomas, and David E. O'Connor. *York Minster: The West Windows of the Nave*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987.
- Friedman, John B. *Northern English Books, Owners, and Makers in the Late Middle Ages*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1995.
- Gardiner, F. C. *The Pilgrimage of Desire: A Study of Theme and Genre in Medieval Literature*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971.
- Gardiner, Harold C. *Mysteries' End: An Investigation of the Last Days of the Medieval Religious Stage*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1946.
- Gee, E. A. "The Painted Glass of All Saints' Church, North Street, York." *Archaeologia* 102 (1969), 151–202.
- Gent, Thomas. *The Antient and Modern History of the Famous City of York*. York: Thomas Hammond and A. Bettesworth, 1730.

- Gibson, Gail McMurray. “‘Porta haec clausa erit’: Comedy, Conception, and Ezekiel’s Closed Door in the *Ludus Coventriæ* Play of ‘Joseph’s Return.’” *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 8 (1978), 137–56.
- . *The Theater of Devotion: East Anglian Drama and Society in the Late Middle Ages*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989.
- . “Writing before the Eye: The N-Town Woman Taken in Adultery and the Medieval Ministry Play.” *Comparative Drama* 27 (1993–94), 399–407.
- Goldberg, Jeremy. “Craft Guilds, the Corpus Christi Play and Civic Government.” In *The Government of Medieval York: Essays in Commemoration of the 1396 Royal Charter*. Ed. Sarah Rees Jones. York: Borthwick Institute, 1997. Pp. 141–63.
- Grantley, Darryll. “The National Theatre’s Productions of *The Mysteries*: Some Observations.” *Theatre Notebook* 40 (1986), 70–73.
- Gray, Douglas. “The Five Wounds of Our Lord.” *Notes and Queries* 208 (1963), 50–51, 82–89, 127–34, and 163–68.
- . *Themes and Images in the Medieval English Religious Lyric*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972.
- Greg, W. W. “Bibliographical and Textual Problems of the English Miracle Cycles. III — Christ and the Doctors: Inter-Relation of the Cycles.” *Library*, third ser. 5 (1914), 280–319.
- . *The Trial and Flagellation with Other Studies in the Chester Cycle*. Oxford: Malone Society, 1935.
- Guilfoyle, Cherrell. “The Staging of the First Murder in the Mystery Plays in England.” *Comparative Drama* 25 (1991), 42–51.
- Halbwachs, Maurice. *On Collective Memory*. Trans. Lewis A. Cosner. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Halfpenny, Joseph. *Fragmenta Vetusta; or, the Remains of Ancient Buildings in York*. York: J. Halfpenny, 1807.
- Hanks, Dorrel T. “New Sources for York Play XLV, ‘The Death of Mary’: *Legenda Aurea* and Vincent’s *Speculum Historiale*.” *English Language Notes* 14 (1976), 5–7.
- Hanning, R. W. “You have begun a Parlous Pleye’: The Nature and Limits of Dramatic Mimesis as a Theme in Four Middle English ‘Fall of Lucifer’ Cycle Plays.” In *Drama in the Middle Ages*. Ed. Clifford Davidson, C. J. Gianakaris, and John H. Stroupe. New York: AMS Press, 1982. Pp. 140–68.
- Happé, Peter. “Devils in the York Cycle: Language and Dramatic Technique.” *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 37 (1998), 79–98.
- Hardison, O. B., Jr. *Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Press, 1965.
- Harrison, Tony. *The Mysteries*. London: Faber and Faber, 1985.
- Heffernan, Thomas J., and E. Ann Matter, eds. *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001.
- Hildburgh, W. L. “English Alabaster Carvings as Records of the Medieval Religious Drama.” *Archaeologia* 93 (1949), 51–101.
- Hill, G. F. “The Thirty Pieces of Silver.” *Archaeologia* 59 (1905), 235–54.
- Horne, Ethelbert. “The Crown of Thorns in Art.” *Downside Review* 53 (1935), 48–51.
- Hoskins, W. G. *Local History in England*. Third ed. London: Longman, 1984.
- Hourihane, Colum. *Virtue and Vice: The Personifications in the Index of Christian Art*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.
- Hughes, Jonathan. *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1988.
- Humphreys, K. W., ed. *The Friars’ Libraries*. London: British Library, 1990.
- Inventory of the Historical Monuments in the City of York*. 5 vols. London: Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England, 1962–81.
- Ishii, Mikiko. “A Spoon and the Christ Child.” In *The Dramatic Tradition of the Middle Ages*. Ed. Clifford Davidson. New York: AMS Press, 2005. Pp. 128–39.

- James, Mervyn. "Ritual, Drama and Social Body in the Late Medieval English Town." *Past and Present* 98 (1983), 3–29.
- Johnson, Stephen. "The Last Judgment." *Early Theatre* 3 (2000), 259–74.
- Johnston, Alexandra F., ed. *Editing Early English Drama: Special Problems and New Directions*. New York: AMS Press, 1987.
- . "What If No Texts Survived? External Evidence for Early Drama." In *Contexts for Early English Drama*. Ed. Marianne G. Briscoe and John C. Coldewey. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989. Pp. 1–19.
- . "Four York Pageants Performed in the Streets of York: July 9, 1988." *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 31 (1992), 101–04.
- . "The Word Made Flesh: Augustinian Elements in the York Cycle." In *The Centre and Its Compass: Studies in Medieval Literature in Honor of Professor John Leyerle*. Ed. Robert A. Taylor et al. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1993. Pp. 225–46.
- . "Traders and Playmakers: English Guildsmen and the Low Countries." In *England and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages*. Ed. Caroline M. Barron and Nigel Saul. Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1995. Pp. 99–114.
- . "The City as Patron: York." In *Shakespeare and Theatrical Patronage in Early Modern England*. Ed. Paul Whitfield White and Suzanne R. Westfall. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002. Pp. 150–75.
- . "The York Cycle and the Libraries of York." In *The Church and Learning in Later Medieval Society: Essays in Honour of R. B. Dobson*. Ed. Caroline M. Barron and Jenny Stratford. Donnington: Shaun Tyas, 2002. Pp. 355–70.
- Johnston, Alexandra F., and Margaret Dorrell [Rogerson]. "The York Mercers and Their Pageant of Doomsday, 1433–1526." *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 6 (1972), 11–35.
- Justice, Alan D. "Trade Symbolism in the York Cycle." *Theatre Journal* 31 (1979), 47–58.
- Kierkegaard, Søren. *Fear and Trembling and the Sickness unto Death*. Trans. Walter Lowrie. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968.
- King, Pamela M. "York Plays, Urban Piety, and the Case of Nicholas Blackburn, Mercer." *Archiv* 232 (1995), 37–50.
- . "Corpus Christi Plays and the 'Bolton Hours,' 1: Tastes in Lay Piety and Patronage in Fifteenth-Century York." *Medieval English Theatre* 18 (1996), 46–62.
- . "Contemporary Cultural Models for the Trial Plays in the York Cycle." In *Drama and Community: People and Plays in Medieval Europe*. Ed. Alan Hindley. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999. Pp. 200–16.
- . "The York Plays and the Feast of Corpus Christi: A Reconsideration." *Medieval English Theatre* 22 (2000), 13–32.
- . *The York Mystery Cycle and the Worship of the City*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2006.
- Kinneavy, Gerald Byron. *A Concordance to the York Plays*. New York: Garland, 1986.
- Kipling, Gordon. *Enter the King: Theatre, Liturgy, and Ritual in the Medieval Civic Triumph*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Knight, Alan. "Processional Theatre and the Rituals of Social Unity in Lille." In *Drama and Community: People and Plays in Medieval Europe*. Ed. Alan Hindley. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999. Pp. 99–109.
- . "Manuscript Painting and Play Production: Evidence from the Processional Plays of Lille." In *The Dramatic Tradition of the Middle Ages*. Ed. Clifford Davidson. New York: AMS Press, 2005. Pp. 195–202.
- Knowles, John A. "The East Window of Holy Trinity, Goodramgate, York." *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 28 (1924–26), 1–24.
- Köbling, E. "Beiträge zur Erklärung und Textkritik der York Plays." *Englische Studien* 20 (1895), 179–220.
- Leach, Arthur F. "Some English Plays and Players, 1220–1548." In *An English Miscellany Presented to Dr. Furnivall in Honour of His Seventy-Fifth Birthday*. Ed. W. P. Ker, A. S. Napier, and W. W. Skeat. New York: Benjamin Blom, 1901. Pp. 205–34.

- Lloyd, Megan S. "Reflections of a York Survivor: The York Cycle and Its Audience." *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 39 (2000), 223–35.
- Lovejoy, Arthur O. *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea*. 1936; reprint, New York: Harper and Row, 1965.
- Lyle, Marie C. *The Original Identity of the York and Towneley Cycles*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1919.
- Macaulay, Peter Stuart. "The Play of the Harrowing of Hell as a Climax in the English Mystery Cycles." *Studia Germanica Gandensia* 8 (1966), 115–34.
- MacCulloch, J. A. *The Harrowing of Hell: A Comparative Study of an Early Christian Doctrine*. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1930.
- Mâle, Émile. *Religious Art in France*. Trans. Marthiel Mathews. 3 vols. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1976–86.
- Malvern, Marjorie M. *Venus in Sackcloth: The Magdalen's Origins and Metamorphoses*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1975.
- Marrow, James H. "Circumdederunt me canes multi: Christ's Tormentors in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance." *Art Bulletin* 59 (1977), 167–81.
- . *Passion Iconography in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance: A Study of the Transformation of Sacred Metaphor into Descriptive Narrative*. Kortrijk: Van Ghemert, 1979.
- Marshall, John. "'The Crowning with Thorns and the Mocking of Christ': A Fifteenth-Century Performance Analogue." *Theatre Notebook* 45 (1991), 114–21.
- Marx, C. W. *The Devil's Rights and the Redemption in the Literature of Medieval England*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1995.
- Massip, Francesc. "The Cloud: A Medieval Aerial Device, Its Origins, and Its Use in Spain Today." In *The Dramatic Tradition of the Middle Ages*. Ed. Clifford Davidson. New York: AMS Press, 2005. Pp. 262–74.
- May, Steven. "A Medieval Stage Property: The Spade." *Medieval English Theatre* 4 (1982), 77–92.
- McKinnell, John. "The Medieval Pageant Wagons at York: Their Orientation and Height." *Early Theatre* 3 (2000), 79–104.
- McLachlan, Elizabeth Parker. "Liturgical Vessels and Implements." In *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*. Ed. Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Matter. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001. Pp. 369–429.
- Mellinkoff, Ruth. *The Mark of Cain*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981.
- . *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages*. 2 vols. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
- Meredith, Peter. "The *Ordo paginarum* and the Development of the York Tilemakers' Pageant." *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 11 (1980), 59–73.
- . "John Clerke's Hand in the York Register." *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 12 (1981), 245–71.
- . "The Iconography of Hell in the English Cycles: A Practical Perspective." In *The Iconography of Hell*. Ed. Clifford Davidson and Thomas H. Seiler. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1992. Pp. 158–86.
- Middle English Dictionary*. Ed. Hans Kurath and Sherman Kuhn. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press 1952–.
- Mill, Anna J. "The York Bakers' Play of the Last Supper." *Modern Language Review* 30 (1935), 145–58.
- . "The York Plays of the Dying, Assumption, and Coronation of Our Lady." *PMLA* 65 (1950), 866–76.
- Mills, David. "The Chester Cycle." In *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*. Second ed. Ed. Richard Beadle and Alan J. Fletcher. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008. Pp. 125–51.
- Montagu, Jeremy. *The World of Medieval and Renaissance Musical Instruments*. Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1976.

- Muir, Lynette R. *The Biblical Drama of Medieval Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Munson, William F. "Self, Action, and Sign in the Towneley and York Plays on the Baptism of Christ and in Ockhamist Salvation Theology." In *Nominalism and Literary Discourse: New Perspectives*. Ed. Hugo Keiper, Christoph Bode, and Richard J. Utz. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1997. Pp. 191–216.
- Mussetter, Sally. "The York Pilate and the Seven Deadly Sins." *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 81 (1980), 57–64.
- Nagler, A. M. *The Medieval Religious Stage: Shapes and Phantoms*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976.
- Nelson, Alan H. "The Temptation of Christ; or, The Temptation of Satan." In *Medieval English Drama: Essays Critical and Contextual*. Ed. Jerome Taylor and Alan H. Nelson. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972. Pp. 218–29.
- Nichols, Ann Eljenholm. "The Hierosiphitic Topos, or the Fate of Fergus: Notes on the N-Town Assumption." *Comparative Drama* 25 (1991), 29–41.
- . "The Bread of Heaven: Foretaste or Foresight?" In *The Iconography of Heaven*. Ed. Clifford Davidson. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1994. Pp. 40–68.
- . *Seeable Signs: The Iconography of the Seven Sacraments, 1350–1544*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1994.
- Nicholson, R. H. "The Trial of Christ the Sorcerer in the York Cycle." *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 16 (1986), 125–69.
- Oakshott, Jane. "Experiment with a Long-Range Cue: York Mystery Plays, 1994." *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 29 (1998), 249–55.
- . "York Guilds' Mystery Plays 1998: The Rebuilding of Dramatic Community." In *Drama and Community: People and Plays in Medieval Europe*. Ed. Alan Hindley. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999. Pp. 270–89.
- O'Connor, David E. "The Bedern Stained Glass." In *The Vicars Choral of York Minster: The College at Bedern*. Ed. Julian D. Roberts. York: Council for British Archaeology, 2001. Pp. 559–75.
- Ogden, Dunbar H. "The *Visitatio Sepulchri*: Public Enactment and Hidden Rite." *Early Drama, Art, and Music Review* 16 (1994), 95–102.
- Olson, Glending. "Plays as Play: A Medieval Ethical Theory of Performances and the Intellectual Context of *The Tretise of Miracles Pleyinge*." *Viator* 26 (1995), 195–221.
- Oosterwijk, Sophie. "'Long lullynge haue I lorn!': The Massacre of the Innocents in Word and Image." *Medieval English Theatre* 25 (2003), 3–53.
- Ostovich, Helen, and Alexandra F. Johnston, eds. *The York Cycle Then and Now*. Special issue of *Early Theatre* 3 (2000).
- Owst, G. R. *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England*. Second ed. 1961; reprint Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1966.
- Oxford English Dictionary*. Ed. James Murray et al. Rev. ed. 20 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.
- Pagels, Elaine. *The Origin of Satan*. New York: Random House, 1995.
- Palliser, D. M. *Tudor York*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979.
- Palmer, Barbara D. "'Towneley Plays' or 'Wakefield Cycle' Revisited." *Comparative Drama* 21 (1988), 318–48.
- . *The Early Art of the West Riding of Yorkshire*. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1990.
- . "The Inhabitants of Hell: Devils." In *The Iconography of Hell*. Ed. Clifford Davidson and Thomas H. Seiler. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1992. Pp. 20–40.
- . "Corpus Christi 'Cycles' in Yorkshire: The Surviving Records." *Comparative Drama* 27 (1993), 218–31.
- . "Gestures of Greeting: Annunciations, Sacred and Secular." In *Gesture in Medieval Art and Drama*. Ed. Clifford Davidson. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001. Pp. 128–77.
- Palmer, Barbara D., et al. "The York Cycle in Performance: Toronto and York." *Early Theatre* 1 (1998), 139–63.
- Parshall, Peter. "The Art of Memory and the Passion." *Art Bulletin* 81 (1999), 456–72.

- Phythian-Adams, Charles. "Ceremony and the Citizen: The Communal Year at Coventry, 1450–1550." In *Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500–1700*. Ed. Peter Clark and Paul Slack. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972. Pp. 57–85.
- Pickering, F. P. *Literature and Art in the Middle Ages*. Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami Press, 1970.
- Purvis, J. S. *From Minster to Marketplace*. York: St. Anthony's Press, 1969.
- Raby, F. J. E. *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages*. Second ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953.
- Raine, Angelo. *Mediaeval York: A Topological Survey Based on Original Sources*. London: John Murray, 1955.
- Rastall, Richard. "Heaven: The Musical Repertory." In *The Iconography of Heaven*. Ed. Clifford Davidson. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1994. Pp. 162–96.
- . *The Heaven Singing*. Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1996.
- . *Minstrels Playing*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001.
- . "The Mystery Plays 25 Years On." <<http://www.leeds.ac.uk/reporter/252/mysteryp.htm>> (accessed 7–2–08).
- Réau, Louis. *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*. 3 vols. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1955–59.
- Rees Jones, Sarah. "York's Civic Administration, 1354–1464." In *The Government of Medieval York: Essays in Commemoration of the 1396 Royal Charter*. Ed. Sarah Rees Jones. York: Borthwick Institute, 1997. Pp. 108–40.
- Reese, Jesse Byers. "Alliterative Verse in the York Cycle." *Studies in Philology* 48 (1951), 639–68.
- Reiss, Edmund. "The Story of Lamech and Its Place in Medieval Drama." *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 2 (1972), 35–48.
- Remnant, Mary. "Musical Instruments in Early English Drama." In *Material Culture and Medieval Drama*. Ed. Clifford Davidson. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1999. Pp. 141–94.
- Robb, David M. "The Iconography of the Annunciation in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries." *Art Bulletin* 18 (1936), 480–526.
- Robbins, Rossell Hope. "Levation Prayers in Middle English Verse." *Modern Philology* 40 (1942), 131–46.
- Robinson, J. W. "The Art of the York Realist." *Modern Philology* 60 (1963), 241–51.
- . "The Late Medieval Cult of Jesus and the Mystery Plays." *PMLA* 80 (1965), 508–14.
- . *Studies in Fifteenth-Century Stagecraft*. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1991.
- Rogerson, Margaret. "Living History: The Modern Mystery Plays in York." *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 43 (2004), 12–28.
- Rubin, Miri. *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Rushforth, Gordon McN. *Medieval Christian Imagery*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1936.
- . "Seven Sacraments Compositions." *Antiquaries Journal* 9 (1929), 83–100.
- Russell, Jeffrey Burton. *Satan: The Early Christian Tradition*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1981.
- Scarisbrick, J. J. *The Reformation and the English People*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984.
- Schapiro, Meyer. *Late Antique, Early Christian, and Mediaeval Art: Selected Papers*. New York: George Braziller, 1979.
- Schiller, Gertrud. *Iconography of Christian Art*. Trans. Janet Segilman. 2 vols. Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1971.
- Schmitt, Natalie Crohn. "The Body in Motion in the York *Adam and Eve in Eden*." In *Gesture in Medieval Art and Drama*. Ed. Clifford Davidson. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001. Pp. 158–77.
- Scott, Kathleen L. *Later Gothic Manuscripts, 1390–1490*. 2 vols. London: Harvey Miller, 1996.
- Seiler, Thomas H. "Filth and Stench as Aspects of the Iconography of Hell." In *The Iconography of Hell*. Ed. Clifford Davidson and Thomas H. Seiler. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1992. Pp. 132–40.
- Sharp, Thomas. *A Dissertation on the Pageants or Dramatic Mysteries Anciently Performed at Coventry*. Coventry: Merridew and Son, 1825.

- Sheingorn, Pamela. "The Moment of the Resurrection in the Corpus Christi Plays." *Medievalia et Humanistica*, n.s. 11 (1982), 111–29.
- . "The Te Deum Altarpiece and the Iconography of Praise." In *Early Tudor England: Proceedings of the 1987 Harlaxton Symposium*. Ed. Daniel Williams. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1989. Pp. 171–82.
- . "'Who can open the doors of his face?' The Iconography of Hell Mouth." In *The Iconography of Hell*. Ed. Clifford Davidson and Thomas H. Seiler. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1992. Pp. 1–19.
- Shorr, Dorothy C. "The Iconographic Development of the Presentation in the Temple." *Art Bulletin* 28 (1946), 17–32.
- Skey, Miriam. "Herod's Demon Crown." *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 40 (1977), 274–76.
- Snyder, Susan. "The Left Hand of God: Despair in Medieval and Renaissance Tradition." *Studies in the Renaissance* 12 (1965), 18–59.
- Spector, Stephen. "Anti-Semitism in the English Mystery Plays." *Comparative Drama* 13 (1979), 3–16.
- Spinrad, Phoebe S. *The Summons of Death on the Medieval and Renaissance Stage*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1987.
- Stanton, Anne Rudloff. *The Queen Mary Psalter: A Study of Affect and Audience*. Philadelphia, PA: American Philosophical Society, 2001.
- Steiner, Ruth. "Note on the Transcriptions." See Wall, "York Pageant XLVI and Its Music."
- Stevens, John. "Music in Mediaeval Drama." *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 84 (1957–58), 81–95.
- . "The Music of Play XLV: The Assumption of the Virgin." In *The York Plays*. Ed. Richard Beadle. London: Edward Arnold, 1982. Pp. 465–74.
- Stevens, Martin. *Four Middle English Mystery Cycles: Textual, Contextual, and Critical Interpretations*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- Sullivan, Mark R. "The Missing York Funeral of the Virgin." In *The Dramatic Tradition of the Middle Ages*. Ed. Clifford Davidson. New York: AMS Press, 2005. Pp. 150–54.
- Swanson, Heather. "The Illusion of Economic Structure: Craft Guilds in Late Medieval English Towns." *Past and Present* 121 (1988), 29–48.
- . *Medieval Artisans: An Urban Class in Late Medieval England*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989.
- Tilley, Morris Palmer. *Dictionary of the Proverbs in England*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950.
- Tillott, P. M., ed. *A History of Yorkshire: The City of York*. London: Oxford University Press, 1961.
- Tiner, Elza C. "English Law in the York Trial Plays." In *The Dramatic Tradition of the Middle Ages*. Ed. Clifford Davidson. New York: AMS Press, 2005. Pp. 140–49.
- , ed. *Teaching with the Records of Early English Drama*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006.
- Trexler, Richard C. *The Journey of the Magi: Meanings in History of a Christian Story*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Tristram, E. W. *English Wall Painting in the Fourteenth Century*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1955.
- Turner, Ralph V. "Descendit ad Inferos: Medieval Views on Christ's Descent into Hell and the Salvation of the Ancient Just." *Journal of the History of Ideas* 27 (1966), 173–94.
- Turville-Petre, T. *The Alliterative Revival*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1977.
- Twycross, Meg. "Places to hear the play": Pageant Stations at York, 1398–1572." *REED Newsletter* (1978), 10–33.
- . "The Flemish Ommegang and Its Pageant Cars." *Medieval English Theatre* 2 (1980), 15–41 and 80–98.
- . "Playing 'The Resurrection.'" In *Medieval Studies for J. A. W. Bennett*. Ed. P. L. Heyworth. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981. Pp. 273–96.
- . "Apparell Comely." In *Aspects of Early English Drama*. Ed. Paula Neuss. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1983. Pp. 30–49.

- . “With what body shall they come?: Black and White Souls in the English Mystery Plays.” In *Langland, the Mystics, and the Medieval Religious Tradition: Essays in Honour of S. S. Hussey*. Ed. Helen Philips. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1990. Pp. 271–86.
- . “Forget the 4:30 a.m. Start: Recovering a Palimpsest in the York *Ordo paginarum*.” *Medieval English Theatre* 25 (2003), 98–152.
- . “The *Ordo paginarum* Revisited, with a Digital Camera.” In “*Bring furth the pagants*”: *Essays in Early English Drama Presented to Alexandra F. Johnston*. Ed. David N. Klausner and Karen Sawyer Marsalek. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007. Pp. 105–31.
- Twycross, Meg, and Sarah Carpenter. *Masks and Masking in Medieval and Early Tudor England*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002.
- Wall, Carolyn. “York Pageant XLVI and Its Music (With a Note on the Transcriptions by Ruth Steiner).” *Speculum* 46 (1971), 689–712.
- Wallis, J. P. R. “The Miracle Play of ‘Crucifixio Cristi’ in the York Cycle.” *Modern Language Review* 12 (1917), 494–95.
- Walters, Barbara R., Vincent J. Corrigan, and Peter T. Ricketts. *The Feast of Corpus Christi*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006.
- Warner, George. *Queen Mary’s Psalter: Miniatures and Drawings by an English Artist of the Early Fourteenth Century*. London: British Museum, 1912.
- Warner, Marina. *Alone of All Her Sex: The Myth and the Cult of the Virgin Mary*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1976.
- Watson, Arthur. *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934.
- Wayment, Hilary. *The Stained Glass of the Church of St. Mary, Fairford, Gloucestershire*. London: Society of Antiquaries, 1984.
- Wee, David L. “The Temptation of Christ and the Motif of Divine Duplicity in the Corpus Christi Cycle Drama.” *Modern Philology* 72 (1974), 1–16.
- Wells, Minnie. “The Age of Isaac at the Time of the Sacrifice.” *Modern Language Notes* 54 (1939), 579–82.
- White, Eileen. “Places for Hearing the Corpus Christi Play in York.” *Medieval English Theatre* 9 (1987), 23–63.
- . “Places to Hear the Play in York.” *Early Theatre* 3 (2000), 49–78.
- White, Sheila. “A Psychodynamic Perspective of Workplace Bullying: Containment, Boundaries, and a Futile Search for Recognition.” *British Journal of Guidance and Counseling* 32 (2003), 269–80.
- Whiting, Bartlett Jere, and Helen Wescott Whiting. *Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases from English Writings Mainly before 1500*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968.
- Williams, Rowan. *Why Study the Past? The Quest for the Historical Church*. Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2005.
- Wilson, Adrian, and Joyce Lancaster Wilson. *A Medieval Mirror: Speculum humanae salvationis 1324–1500*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.
- Woolf, Rosemary. “The Effect of Typology on the English Mediaeval Plays of Abraham and Isaac.” *Speculum* 32 (1957), 805–25.
- . “The Theme of Christ the Lover-Knight in Medieval English Literature.” *Review of English Studies*, n.s. 13 (1962), 1–16.
- . *The English Religious Lyric in the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.
- . *The English Mystery Plays*. Berkeley: University of California, 1972.
- Young, James M. “The York Pageant Wagon.” *Speech Monographs* 34 (1967), 1–20.
- Zimbardo, Philip. *The Lucifer Effect: Understanding How Good People Turn Evil*. New York: Random House, 2007.

DIALECT STUDIES

- Aitken, A. Jack. "Variation and Variety in Written Middle Scots." In *Edinburgh Studies in English and Scots*. Ed. A. Jack Aitken, Angus McIntosh, and Herman Pálsson. London: Longman, 1971. Pp. 177–209.
- Aitken, A. Jack, and Caroline Macafee. *The Older Scots Vowels: A History of the Stressed Vowels of Older Scots from the Beginnings to the Eighteenth Century*. Guildford: Scottish Text Society, 2002.
- Chambers, E. K. See entry in previous section.
- Cowling, George H. *The Dialect of Hackness, North-east Yorkshire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1915.
- Ellis, Alexander J. *Early English Pronunciation*. 5 vols. EETS e.s. 2, 7, 14, 23, and 56. London: Trübner, 1869–89.
- Fisher, John H. *The Emergence of Standard English*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1996.
- Gayley, Charles Mills. *Plays of Our Forefathers and Some of the Traditions upon Which They Were Founded*. New York: Duffield, 1907.
- Greg, W. W. "Bibliographical and Textual Problems of the English Miracle Cycles. III — Christ and the Doctors: Inter-Relation of the Cycles." *Library*, third ser. 5 (1914), 280–319.
- Hohlfeld, Alex. "Die Altenglischen Kollektivmysterien: Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Verhältnisses der York- und Towneley-spiele," *Anglia* 11 (1889): 219–310.
- Jack, Ronald D. S. "The Language of Literary Materials: Origins to 1700." In *The Edinburgh History of the Scots Language*. Ed. Charles Jones. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997. Pp. 213–63.
- Johnston, Paul A., Jr. "Lass's Law and West Germanic Vowel Shifts." *Folia Linguistica Historica* 10.2 (1989), 199–261.
- . "English Vowel Shifting: A Great Vowel Shift or Two 'Small Vowel Shifts'?" *Diachronica* 9 (1992), 189–226.
- . "The Dialect of *A Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge*." In *A Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge*. Ed. Clifford Davidson. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1993. Pp. 53–84.
- . "Older Scots Phonology and Its Regional Variation." In *The Edinburgh History of the Scots Language*. Ed. Charles Jones. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997. Pp. 47–111.
- . "The Dialect of *The Worlde and the Chylde*." In *The Worlde and the Chylde*. Ed. Clifford Davidson and Peter Happé. Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1999. Pp. 118–21.
- Jordan, Richard. *Handbook of Middle English Grammar: Phonology*. Fourth ed. Trans. Eugene J. Crook. The Hague: Mouton, 1974.
- Kniesza, Veronika. "The Problem of the Merger of Middle English /a:/ and /ai/ in Northern English." In *Current Topics in English Historical Linguistics*. Ed. Michael Davenport, Erik Hansen, and Hans Frede Nielsen. Odense: Odense University Press, 1983. Pp. 95–102.
- . "<ai> and <a> in Medieval Northern English Manuscripts." *Folia Linguistica Historica* 3.1 (2003), 45–53.
- Kristensson, Gillis. *A Survey of Middle English Dialects 1290–1350: The Six Northern Counties and Lincolnshire*. Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1967.
- Lass, Roger. "Vowel Shifts: Great and Otherwise; Remarks on Stockwell and Minkova." In *Luick Revisted: Papers Read at the Luick-Symposium at Schloss Liechtenstein, 15.–18.9.1985*. Ed. Dieter Kastovsky and Gero Bauer. Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1988. Pp. 395–410.
- Luick, Karl W. *Studien zur Englischen Lautgeschichte*. 2 vols. 1898; reprint, New York: Johnson, 1964.
- McIntosh, Angus, M. L. Samuels, and Michael Benskin, eds. *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English [LALME]*. 4 vols. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986.
- Moorman, Frederick W. *Yorkshire Dialect Poems, 1673–1915*. 1915; electronic reprint, David Fawthrop and David Widger, 2009: <www.gutenberg.org>, ebook #2888.
- Orton, Harold. *The Phonology of a South Durham Dialect: Descriptive, Historical, and Comparative*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Trübner, 1933.

- Orton, Harold, and Wilfred A. H. Halliday, eds. *The Survey of English Dialects*. Vol. I: *Basic Material: The Six Northern Counties and the Isle of Man*. 3 parts. Leeds: E. J. Arnold and Son, 1962.
- Reese, Jesse Byers. "Alliterative Verse in the York Cycle." *Studies in Philology* 48 (1951), 639–68.
- Samuels, M. L. "Some Applications of Middle English Dialectology." In *Middle English Dialectology: Essays on Some Principles and Problems*. Ed. Angus McIntosh, M. L. Samuels, and Margaret Laing. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1978. Pp. 67–80.
- Stockwell, Robert, and Donka Minkova. "The English Vowel Shift: Problems of Coherence and Explanation." In *Luick Revised: Papers Read at the Luick-Symposium at Schloss Liechtenstein, 15.–18.9.1985*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr, 1998. Pp. 355–93.
- Trudgill, Peter. *The Social Differentiation of English in Norwich*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974.
- Wales, Katie. *Northern English: A Social and Cultural History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Wright, Joseph. *A Grammar of the Dialect of Windhill, in the West Riding of Yorkshire*. 1892; reprint, London: Caffin, 2008.
- . *English Dialect Grammar*. London: Henry Frowde, 1905.



GLOSSARY

In keeping with the practice of the METS editions, the Glossary is a word-list intended for easy use. For musical terminology, see the Explanatory Notes.

Abacuc *Habbakuk*
abakke *back, away*
abaste, abayst, abasshed *afraid*
abatte, abate *abate, slacken, terminate*
abatyng *hesitation*
abedyn *awaited*
abowne *above*
aby, abie *abide, pay*
accordance, accordyng *appropriate*
accorde *agree*
actone *jerkin (as undergarment)*
adawe *to death*
adred, adreed *afraid*
adrygh *stand aside*
afferde *afraid*
affie *trust*
affraied *frightened, disturbed*
affraye, affrayse *trouble, assault*
agaste *fearful*
agayne *against*
aghe *ought*
alde *old*
algate *in all respects*
alkynne *every kind*
allegge *expound*
allone, allane *only, alone*
als *as*
amende *improve*
amisse, amys *amiss, wrongly*
an, and *if*
Ancilla *maid servant*
ane *one*
anes *once*
anlepy *solitary*

apas *apace*
aperte, appertly, appertely *openly*
appeyre *challenge*
appose, apose *question*
are, arr *ere, before*
arely *early*
arow *afraid*
array (n.) *manner, garment*
array (v.) *dress, arrange, cooperate*
arrore *error*
as armes *to arms*
asith *restitution*
aspise *consider*
assay, assaie, assaye *test, challenge, assault, undertaking*
assemeling *assembling*
assendid *ascended*
assewe *follow*
assize *assize, court session*
astonys *astonishes*
attaynte, atteynted *convict(ed)*
aughen *own*
aught *ought*
auter *altar*
avaunted *boasted*
avise *advise, consider*
avoutry, avoutery *adultery*
avowe *promise*
avoyde *gone away*
awe *ought*
awne *own*
ax, axe, asse *ask*
ay *always*
aylastand *everlasting*

ayles, eyles	<i>ails, troubles</i>
aysell	<i>vinegar</i>
babb	<i>baby</i>
badd, bade	<i>bade, ordered</i>
baile, baill, bale	<i>custody</i>
balde	<i>bold</i>
bale (n.)	<i>belly</i>
bale, bayle, balys, baill (n.)	<i>misery, misfortune</i>
balke	<i>timber</i>
bande(s)	<i>bond(s), rope(s)</i>
bandome	<i>bondage, power</i>
bane (n.)	<i>demise, slayer</i>
bane(s) (n.)	<i>bone(s)</i>
banne	<i>curse</i>
bare	<i>bore</i>
bared	<i>unclothed</i>
barely	<i>to the extreme</i>
barenhede	<i>time of childhood</i>
barett, barette	<i>strife, anguish</i>
bargayne	<i>undertaking, process</i>
barkis	<i>bursts</i>
barne(s)	<i>child, children, man, men</i>
bary	<i>beat</i>
bathe	<i>both</i>
batterand	<i>battering, beating</i>
bay	<i>obey</i>
baye	<i>shout</i>
bayne	<i>willing, obedient</i>
baynely	<i>now, obediently</i>
bedene	<i>altogether</i>
bedene, bydene	<i>now, forthwith</i>
beede	<i>prayer, prayer beads</i>
beflapped	<i>beaten, bruised</i>
begyle(d)	<i>beguile(d)</i>
beheste, beheest	<i>promised</i>
behete	<i>promise</i>
behewed	<i>colored</i>
behoves	<i>should, ought</i>
bekenne, bekende	<i>beckon(ed), identify, identified, summon(ed)</i>
beldand(e), beeldande	<i>supporting, dwelling</i>
belde, beelde, beilde	<i>protect, support, dwell, build, remain in a place</i>
belder	<i>protector</i>
beltid	<i>enclosed</i>
belyng	<i>bellowing</i>
belyve, belyffe	<i>quickly, suddenly</i>
bemene(s)	<i>signify, signifies</i>
bemes	<i>beams, rays</i>
bende	<i>oblige, bound</i>
bene	<i>bean</i>
benke	<i>bench</i>
bente	<i>place</i>
berde	<i>lady</i>
berde	<i>beard</i>
bere	<i>bier</i>
bere	<i>noise</i>
bere(s), beris	<i>bear(s), carry, carries</i>
bering	<i>bearing, birth</i>
beriyng	<i>burying</i>
berk	<i>bark, shout</i>
berne, bernes, bernys	<i>boy(s), knight(s), people</i>
bese, besse	<i>be</i>
beseke	<i>beseach</i>
besettis	<i>assails</i>
besie, besye	<i>busy</i>
best, beestes, beistes	<i>beast(s)</i>
betake	<i>entrust, commit</i>
Betanny	<i>Bethany</i>
bete, bett(is), bette	(v.) <i>beat(s), beaten</i>
bete, beat, beete	(v.) <i>relieve, comfort</i>
bete (adv.)	<i>quickly</i>
bethoughte	<i>contrived</i>
betidde, betyde	<i>happened (to)</i>
betyng	<i>beating</i>
betyng	<i>reward</i>
bewschere, bewscheris	<i>good sir, good men</i>
bewtes, bewteis	<i>beauties, virtues</i>
bib (v.)	<i>drink</i>
bid, bedde, byd	<i>bid, order, given</i>
bidand	<i>abiding</i>
bidding	<i>command, commandment</i>
bide	<i>abide, endure, wait</i>
bigly	<i>commodious, large, perfect</i>
binde	<i>oblige, tie up</i>
birde	<i>lady</i>
birrall	<i>beryl</i>
bittir	<i>cruel</i>
blad	<i>blade, sword</i>

blak, blake black
blanne stopped
blaw, blawe blow
blayne boil, sore
bledand bleeding
blee countenance, attitude
blemysght swollen, disfigured, fatally hurt
blenke radiance
bletyng bleating
bliss bless
bliste, blyste blessed
blithe happy
blo, bloo dark, discolored, livid
blonderande whirling
blondre dissension
blore boasting
blowes, blowes, blowen vent(s)
blowne vented
blude blood
blur, blure lament, bluster
blynnande declining
blynne relieve, cease, conclude, decline, end
bodes, bodis bodes, commands
bodis bodies
bodus forebodes
bodyword, bodeword, boodword message
boght, bought purchased, ransomed
bolned swollen
bolning swelling
bone, boone request, reward
bonis bones, relics
boone bound, caught
borde(s), bourde, burde sport(s), joke(s)
bordyng idle talk
bore bore hole
borowe(d) redeem(ed)
bost, boste boast
bostyng boasting
bot, bott but
bote, boote help, remedy, redemption
botht both
botment remedy
boudisch sullen

boundand going
boune (v.) going
boune, bon(n)e, bowne, bun(e) (adj.) obligated, bound, tied, prepared
bourde, bowrde jest
bourdeyne burden
bourdyng entertainment, enjoyment
bourne(s) bower(s)
bowand bowing
bowde very confident, bold
bowe (n.) bow (of a ship)
bowe (n.) rainbow
bowe (n.) bough
bowe (v.) bow, submit
bowne obliged
bowrde, bourde jest
bowsom buxom
boy, boye fellow (pejorative)
boyste box, container
brade broad, broadly
bragges large nails, spikes
braide, brayde, brayede (n.) attack, affliction, torment
brake, brak break, broke
bralland brawling
brande sword
brasshis blows
braste burst(s)
brathe, brayth angry, eager
brathely painfully
brawle brawler
brawlis, brawlest causes disorder, brawls
brawlyng rioting, misbehaving
brayde (v.) hasten
brede bread
brede breadth; **on brede** on every side
breke, brekis break(s)
brennand burning
brenne, brent burn(ed)
brere briar(s)
breste (n.) complaints
breste, bristis (v.) burst(s), smash(es)
brethell brothel, worthless fellow
brew(e) stir up
briboure briber, swindler
brigge conflict, situation

brittyn(d) *dismember(ed)*
bro *brew, unsavory business*
brodyr, brethir *brother*
brokke *badger*
brosid *bruised*
brosten *burst, broken*
brothel *worthless fellow*
browls, browlys, broll(s), brolle
brat(s), brawler(s)
broydenesse *broadness, referring to space*
bryme *angry, impatient*
brymly *roughly*
bune *bound*
burd *bird*
burde (n.) *board*
burde (v.) *must go*
burguns *blossoms*
bus, buse *must*
busk *bush*
buskand *going, moving*
buske *move about, hurry*
but *unless*
buxomly *humbly, eagerly*
buxsome *obedient*
by *close by*
by, bye *purchase*
byde *abide*
byhalde *behold*
bying *purchasing*
bylde *protect*

cache(d), cacche(d) *catch, drive, drove, pursue(d)*
cald *cold, distressing*
cant *cruel, eager*
cantely *eagerly*
care(s), caris *suffering(s), trouble(s)*
care, carre *go, went*
carefull *full of care, sorrow*
cares *comes*
carl(s), carle(s), karll, karle *slave(s), churl(s)*
carpand *talking*
carpe *talk, discuss*
caste, kaste *prepare, produce, attempt, throw, go away*

casting *applying*
catche *remove*
catel, catell *animals, property*
cautell, cautellis, kautelles *spell(s), tricks*
Cayme, Came *Cain*
caytyff, caysteffe, caystiff, catyf
rascal
cele *well-being, health*
certes, sertis *certainly*
cesse, seys, seece *cease*
chaas, chase *choose*
charge (n.) *punishment*
charred *chastised*
chastye *chastise*
chatt *jabber*
cheffe, chiftan (n.) *chief*
cheffe (v.) *overtake, befall*
chenys (v.) *obliges, chains*
chere (v.) *cheer (sometimes ironic)*
chering *suckling*
chesoune *reason*
cheynes, chynes (n.) *chains*
childe (n.) *man, knight*
childe (v.) *forbid, shield*
childing, chylding *childbirth*
choppe(s) *clap, blows*
churle(s), chorl *churl(s)*
chyned *chained*
clappe, clapped *beat(en), struck*
clapped, clappid *hugged*
clatterand *chattering*
uledde *clad*
cleke *catch*
clematis *regions*
clene *clean, without sin; entirely*
clere *pure, bright*
clethe *clothe*
clipsis *eclipse*
clogh *valley*
closed *held*
clowte (n.) *cloth*
clowte, cloute (v.) *strike*
clukis *clutches*
clyme *climb*
cobill notis *hazelnuts*
comand *coming*

comande <i>commend</i>	dale, dallys <i>dale(s), valley(s)</i>
comaunde <i>command</i>	dare, daris <i>fear(s)</i>
combere(d), combred, comeres <i>encumber, made unhappy</i>	dared <i>stupefied</i>
comely, comly (n.) <i>gracious one</i>	darfely, derfely <i>cruelly</i>
comely (adj.) <i>properly</i>	dasshes, dasshis <i>blows</i>
comenaunde, comenaunt <i>covenant</i>	daunger <i>subjection, dominion</i>
conant, conande <i>wise, knowledgeable</i>	dayne <i>insult</i>
confessouris <i>confessors (saints, but not martyrs)</i>	dayntely <i>graciously</i>
conjure <i>engage</i>	debate <i>difficulty, dispute</i>
connandly <i>knowledgeably</i>	ded, dede <i>did, performed</i>
connynge, conande <i>skill, cunning, wisdom</i>	dede (v.) <i>kill</i>
consayve <i>comprehend, conceive</i>	dede, ded <i>death</i>
construe, constrew <i>explain, expound</i>	dede, dedis <i>deed(s)</i>
contene <i>continue</i>	dedis <i>deed (to property)</i>
contraried <i>contradicted</i>	dedyned <i>was offended</i>
contre <i>country</i>	deere <i>harm</i>
contynuaunce <i>space of time</i>	dees <i>dais</i>
convik, convyk <i>convict, find guilty</i>	defame (n.) <i>disgraceful situation</i>
coote <i>coat, garment</i>	defaute <i>fault, error</i>
corbonan (Lat.) <i>treasury</i>	defayle <i>desert</i>
corde <i>agreement</i>	deffe(s), deffis (v.) <i>deafen(s)</i>
cordis <i>accords, agrees</i>	deffe (adj.) <i>deaf</i>
corious <i>curious, prying</i>	deffende, defende <i>forbid, protect, resist</i>
cors, corse, coarse <i>body, person</i>	deffie <i>defy</i>
costemes <i>customs</i>	deland <i>dealing, judging</i>
cover <i>relieve</i>	delfe, dolven <i>delve, delved</i>
coveyte, coveite <i>covet, wish for</i>	delyuere <i>deliver, acquit, hasten</i>
cowde, cowthe, couthe <i>could</i>	demand <i>judging</i>
crabbed <i>of ill disposition</i>	deme(d) <i>judge(d)</i>
crabbidly <i>bad-naturedly</i>	demene(d) <i>descend, endow(ed)</i>
craftely <i>skillfully, wisely</i>	demer(s) <i>judge(s)</i>
crake <i>break</i>	denne <i>grave</i>
crepillis <i>cripples</i>	denyed <i>denied, failed</i>
croke (v.) <i>bow</i>	departid <i>given</i>
cure <i>assist, heal</i>	deprave <i>disparage</i>
curssis <i>courses</i>	derand <i>injuring</i>
curstely <i>maliciously</i>	dere (v.) <i>harm</i>
curstnesse <i>malice</i>	dere (adj.) <i>dear, precious, costly, dangerous</i>
curtaise, curtayse <i>courteous</i>	dere (adv.) <i>dearly</i>
cutte <i>straw, (draw) straws</i>	derest, derrest <i>most dear</i>
cyte <i>city</i>	derfenes <i>sacrilege</i>
cytte <i>sorrow</i>	derffe <i>hostile, wicked</i>
dale <i>gift</i>	derfly <i>grievous, cruelly</i>
	dergh <i>length (of time)</i>
	derk <i>dark</i>
	derke <i>lurk, pull back</i>

derworth, derworthy *worthy*
dese *dais*
dette *obligation, debt*
dever(e), deyver *duty*
devoyde *stop, cease*
devyse, deuyse *devise, legal deposition, judgment*
dewe (n.) *dew*
dewe, diewe (adj.) *due, deserving*
dewly *duly*
deyd(es) *deed(s)*
dight, dyght *put, make, effected*
ding, dingne *worthy*
dingnite(s) *honor(s)*
discrie *proclaim*
disease *misery, discomfort*
dispite *malice*
disputously *cruelly*
dissever *separate*
dochard *fool*
doderon *wretch*
dole, doole, doulle *sadness, misery*
doluen *buried*
dome (n.) *judgment, verdict*
dome, dom, domme (adj.) *dumb*
domesmen *judges*
dong *struck*
doote (n.) *fool*
doote (v.) *act foolishly*
dore *door*
doughty, douty, dowty *bold, good fellow*
doulfully *sorrowfully*
doun (v.) *down*
doune(s), downe(s) (n.) *down(s), hill(s)*
doute, dowte *worry, to be distraught, fear*
douteles *without doubt*
dowte *worry*
dowtiest *boldest*
dowue, douf(f)e, doyf *dove*
draffe *drove*
drawe *pull, pull apart, as in drawing and quartering*
drawe *draw out, delay*
draye *disturbance, riot, outcries*
drecchid *tormented*

drecchyng *tormenting*
dred, drede (v.) *dread*
dredand(e) *afraid*
drede (n.) *dread*
dredles *undoubtedly*
drely *earnestly*
dremys *dreams*
dress(ed) *address(ed)*
dress(id), dreste *dress(ed), prepare(d), behave(d)*
drevyn, dreuen *driven, taken*
driffe *drive*
drofyng *riot*
drovyd *angered*
dryffe *drive*
drynesch *dry land*
dugeperes *leaders*
durdan *riot, noise*
dure *endure*
durst *dare*
dusshed *struck*
dyderis *trembles*
dynnite(s) *authority/ies*
dyme *difficult (to understand)*
dyne, dynne, dysns *noise, crying*
dyng, dynge *hit, strike, beat*
dyntes *blows*

efte *also*
eftsones *again*
egges *urges*
eghne, eghen *eyes*
eke (adv.) *also*
eke (v.) *increase, annoy*
elde, eelde *age*
ellis *else, or else*
elmys (gen.) *enemies'*
emange *among*
emell (adv.) *thus*
emell (prep.) *among*
emiddis *amidst*
enbrace, embraste *embrace(d), surround(ed)*
encheson *reason*
encrees, encresse *increase*
encresand *increasing*
enforce(s) *attempt(s)*

enmyse *enemies*
**ensampel(s), ensaumpill(is),
insaumpillis** *example(s), sign(s)*
enserche *search out*
entente *intent, (take) heed*
entere, entir, entirly *entirely, sincerely*
erbes, erbis, erbys *plants, vegetation*
ere, ert *are*
eres, eris *ears*
Esmael *Ishmael*
esse *ease*
estate *authority, dignity, social position*
ete *eat*
ete, ette *ate*
even *(n.) evening*
even *(adj.) equal*
everilkane, everilkone *everything*
evyn, even, ewen *(adv.) thus*
excusacioune *excuses, explanation*
exynatores *senators*
eyles *ails*
eyne, eys *eyes*
eyre *air*

faciound *fashioned*
fade *darken*
fage *deceive*
fagyng *deception*
faie *dead*
faie, fay, faye *faith*
faitour, faitor, faitoure(s), faytour *deceiver(s), liar(s)*
fales, fals *false*
fall, falle *befall*
falle *fail, separate*
fallis *befits, happens*
fasled *falsehood*
fame *reputation*
famed *made to be known*
fande, fand *found*
fandeling, fondelyng(is) *soundling(s), bastard(s)*
fandyng *temptation, difficulty*
fandyngis, fayndyngis *trials*
fang, fange *capture, take, achieve,
partake of, lift up*
fanges *cares for*

fantasie *apparition, falsehood*
fantome *guile*
far, fare *far*
fare *(n.) matter, opinion, practices*
fare(n) *(v.) fare(d)*
farly, farlis, farleis, farles *wonder(s)*
fast(e) *captured, secure*
fauchone *falchion*
faute(s), fawte(s) *fault(s), lack(s)*
fauty *fallible*
fayland *failing*
faylles, faylis *fails*
faynde *strive*
fayne *gladly, willingly*
fayner *more interested*
fayre *(n.) matter, affair*
fayre *(adj.) fair*
fecche *fish*
fecche(d) *bring, fetch(ed)*
fede *eat*
fee *livestock, property*
feele *discover, perceive, hide*
feere *(v.) terrify*
feese *punish*
feetour *features*
feill *hide*
feithe *faith*
felawe, felaus *fellow(s)*
felde *field*
fele *(adj.) many*
fele, feill, felys *(v.) experience,
touch(es)*
feled *perceived*
felesome *delicious*
fell *(n.) skin*
fell *(v.) overthrow, kill*
fell, fele *(adj.) cruel, wicked, evil,
painful*
felle *sharply*
felle(d) *knock down, cast down,
condemn, overcome, destroy*
fell(es) *(n.) hill(s)*
feloune *felon*
fende, feende *(n.) fiend*
fende *(v.) defend*
ferde *fear, afraid*
ferdest *most fearful*

ferdnes, ferdnesse <i>fear</i>	fole <i>fool, idiot</i>
fere <i>frighten</i>	fomen <i>foes</i>
fere, feir(e), feeres <i>company,</i> <i>companion(s), together</i>	fon, fone, founē, fun, funē, funne <i>found, shown, discovered</i>
ferlis, ferleis, farleis <i>wonders</i>	fonde, fone <i>attempt</i>
ferly, farly <i>wondrous</i>	fonde, fomed <i>foolish, mad</i>
ferre, fer far, asar, long	fone <i>few</i>
ferse, fers <i>fierce</i>	foo, fois, foois <i>foe(s)</i>
feruent <i>warm</i>	foode, fode <i>infant, child, fool,</i> <i>(sometimes) man; frely foode</i> <i>noble</i> <i>child</i>
fesid <i>discomfitted</i>	foole <i>foal</i>
feste <i>(n.) feast</i>	forbere <i>withhold</i>
feste <i>(v.) fasten, hold fast</i>	forbledde <i>weak from bleeding</i>
feste <i>(adj.) fast, incarcerated, certain</i>	force, forse, fors <i>strength</i>
fete <i>feat</i>	fordede <i>favor</i>
fete, fette <i>foot, feet</i>	fordele <i>advantage</i>
fette <i>fetch(ed)</i>	fordo <i>overcome, commit suicide</i>
fetys, fettis <i>fine</i>	fore <i>fared</i>
fewele <i>fuel</i>	forfare <i>execute</i>
fewle(s), fewell, fewlys <i>fowl</i>	forfette(s) <i>(n.) offense(s), punishment</i>
feyll <i>feel</i>	forfette <i>(v.) offend</i>
feylle <i>cover</i>	forge <i>contrive</i>
feyne(d), fene <i>feign, hold/held back,</i> <i>hesitate(d)</i>	formefaders <i>forefathers, patriarchs</i>
feyth <i>faith</i>	forpechyng <i>breathing heavily</i>
figure, figour, figoure, figuris <i>figure(s) sign(s), appearance</i>	fors <i>strength</i>
filde <i>polite</i>	forther <i>further, advance</i>
flappe(s) <i>blow(s)</i>	fortheraunce <i>favor</i>
flay <i>cause to flee</i>	forthi, forthy <i>therefore, thereby</i>
flay(ed), flaied <i>punish(ed), beat(en),</i> <i>torture(d)</i>	forthinkith <i>am sorry</i>
fleme, flemyd <i>condemn(ed), banish(ed),</i> <i>(made to) escape</i>	forwakid <i>sleepy, tired</i>
flenge <i>fling, throw</i>	forward, forwarde <i>underaking, plan,</i> <i>agreement, promise</i>
flesh, flessh, flesshe, flesche <i>body</i> <i>(sometimes in Eucharist)</i>	fote, fette <i>foot, feet</i>
fleshly <i>bodily</i>	foundyng <i>going</i>
flet <i>swim</i>	fraistyg <i>testing, trial</i>
flight, flyte <i>argue</i>	frappe <i>entire crowd</i>
flittand <i>departing</i>	frast(e) <i>test, taste</i>
flitte <i>flit, flee</i>	fray(es), frayis <i>trouble, riot(s)</i>
floode(s), flos, flodde <i>flood(s), waters</i>	frayes <i>dismays</i>
floure <i>flower</i>	frayne, frayne, freyne <i>ask, question</i>
flume <i>river</i>	frayste(d), fraist(e) <i>attempt(ed),</i> <i>discover(ed)</i>
flynge <i>strike</i>	free <i>(n.) freeman, worthy one</i>
fode, foode <i>child, person</i>	free <i>(adj.) liberal</i>
folde <i>earth</i>	freele <i>frail</i>
	freke <i>man</i>

frekly *with haste*
frely *willingly, freely*
frely(e) *noble*
frendely *lovingly*
fresshely *vigorously, brightly*
frewte *fruit*
freyke, frekys *bold man, men*
freymys *frames, makes*
frithe, firthe *wood, forest*
fro *from*
frushe *strike*
fudde *food*
fulgent *radiant*
full *great, very*
full, fuls *befoul(s), oppress(es)*
funne *found*
furth *forth*
fyle(d), file(d), fylid, fylde *defile(d)*
fyne (v.) *pass away, die*
fyne (adj.) *appropriate, fine*
fyrd *rejected*
fyre *fire, flames*

gaa *go*
gab, gabbe *talk*
gabbyngis *talking (idly)*
gadlyng, gedlyng(es) *rascal(s)*
gaffe *gave*
Galely, Galale *Galilee*
gales *complains*
game, gamme, gome(s), gamys
game(s), joy, mirth, proceeding
gan *began*
gan, gon *did*
gangand *going*
gang(e) *go*
ganne, gan *began, did*
gar, garre, garte *make, made, cause*
gaste *spirit*
gate (v.) *received, conceived*
gate(s), gatte, gatis (n.) *street(s), way(s), gate(s)*
gawdes, gaudes, gaudis *tricks*
gay(e) *fashionably dressed, dressed to impress*
gayne *agreeable*
gaynesaies *contradicts*

gaynest *most direct (route)*
gaynestande *withstand*
gedy *precipitously*
generacioun *lineage*
gent(e) *gracious*
gere *gear, clothes*
gest, geste *guest, stranger, man*
gete *get, catch*
gif, giff, giffe, gyffe *if*
giffe(s), gif *give(s)*
giffyne, geffyn *given*
gilery *guile*
gilte *guilt*
glee, gle *joy*
gleme(s) *gleam(s)*
glent *deception*
glide, glyde *move*
glorand *glowering*
glydand *gliding*
glyfftyng *glaring*
gode, good(e) *good*
gollyng *chattering, shouting*
gome(s) *man, men (see also game)*
gone *did*
gostly, gostely *spiritually*
gowlande *howling*
granyng *lamenting*
grath (adj.) *grave*
grath (adv.) *diligently*
grathed *made, endowed*
grathely, grath *truly, plainly, directly, courteously*
grave(d), graven *bury, buried*
gravyng *burial*
grayde, graide *formed, prepared, bestowed*
grayth *cause*
gree *suitable*
greffe, greefe *grief, grievance*
gres, gryse *grass*
gret(e), grett(e) *great*
grete, grette *weep, weeping*
grete (n.) *earth*
grete (v.) *greet*
greve(s), greves *aggrieve(s), harass(es), grieve(s)*
griffe *grief*

grissely sorrowfully
grith protection
grome(s), gromys retainer(s)
grop(e)s, groppe examine(s),
interrogate(s), discover(s)
grucchand complaining
grucche, grucchis, grughe grouch,
grudge(s)
gryll, grill angry, fierce
grymly angry
gryth, gyrrth protection
gud, gudde (adj.) good
gud, gudde, goode (n.) goods
gudnes, goodness(e) goodness
gulles red (heraldic)
gune did
gwisse certainly
gyde, gy, gydis guide(s)
gynne device, mechanism, tool
gyrnand(e) grimacing, snarling
gyrnes grins, grimaces
gyrth defend

haale pull
haffe have
haftis business
hakke hack, cut
halde, haldis hold(s)
hale whole
hales comes
halow(e) bless
halse neck
halsed held, fondled
halte lame
haly (adj.) holy
haly (adv.) wholly
Haly Gaste Holy Spirit
hame home
happe (n.) luck, fortune
happe (v.) wrap, cover
happed occurred
happing bedclothes
hardely fiercely, vigorously
hardinesse outrageousness,
presumptuous action
hardy bold
hare, hore hair

harle drag
harling buffeting
harlot, harlott(is), harlotte scoundrel
harnes brains
harnes, harnays, harneys harness,
household equipment
harneysed in armor
harre intelligence, order
harrow turmoil
harrowe, harro pull out (as from
limbo), rob
harstow hear you
hart(e), herte heart
hartefully sincerely
hartely earnestly, great
hartyng, hertyng encouragement
hastis hasten
hate (adj.) hot
hate (adv.) severely
hatell person
haterden maliciousness
haterell gown
hatir cloth, ?hood
hatte hate
hauittande haughty
hayre heir
hede, hedis heed(s)
hede, heed, heede, hedis head(s)
hedesman, hedesmen leader(s)
hedir, hedyr, hyder hither
heete promise
heffe lift, heave
hegh high
heild(e), heyld fell
helde held, favor, incline
hele, heyl, heel health, well-being, hale
heledande falling
helesome wholesome
helis, helys, helid heals, healed
helte hilt
helyng healing
hende (n.) end
hende (n.) hand(s)
hende (adj.) gracious, worthy
hendly, hendely graciously
heneusly heinously
henne hence

hent(e) *take, taken hold, experienced, received*

hepe, heppe *heap, crowd*

herber, herborow *dwelling, safe place*

herbered, herberd *taken in, harbored*

herberles *homeless*

herde (n.) *shepherd*

herde (v.) *heard*

here, herre *ear*

here(s), heris *hear(s)*

Hermone *Armenia*

harste *arest*

herely *early*

herre *order*

hert, herte(s), hertis *heart(s)*

heryed *harrowed*

hete (n.) *heat*

hete, hetis (v.) *threaten(s), promise(s)*

hetynge *promising*

hething *enjoyment, mockery*

heve, hef(f)e *lift(s), grieves*

heuenyng *vengeance*

heyne *hence*

heyned *waited*

hied *hurried*

high *tall*

high *loud*

hight, hyght(e) (v.) *called, named, promised*

hight (adv.) *high*

hilded *tipped over, bowed down*

hille, hillis *cover(s)*

hing, hyng(e), hyngis *hang(s)*

hire, hyre *pay, reward*

hold (n.) *captivity*

holde, holdis *embrace(s), support(s)*

holde, halde, hylde, holden
hold/held, regard(ed), believed

holy, whollye *wholly*

homely *affectionately*

honde *hand*

hone(d), hune *delay(ed)*

hope, hopis, hoppis *hope(s), expect(s), think(s)*

hore *hair*

horosonne *son of a prostitute*

hote *hot, heat*

hover *wait*

howsolde *household*

hurle(d) *drag(ged) violently*

hurling *violence*

hurth *injury, wounds*

hy, hye (v.) *go, get going (quickly); in hy come here*

hy, hye (adj.) *high*

hyde *hide, skin*

hydous *hideous*

hye *eye*

hyed *hurried*

hyne *hence*

hyne *man (lower-class), servant*

hythyn *hither*

hytist *are called*

ilkane, ilkon, ilkone *everyone, each one*

ilke *each, every*

ilke a side *every side*

ill, yll *evil*

inbrace *embrace*

indowre *continue*

ingendis *weapons*

inow, anow *very*

inowe *enough*

in soundre *asunder*

instore *restore*

inter, interly *wholly*

ire *anger*

irke *annoyed, oppressed*

Isay *Isaiah*

iwys *indeed*

japer *scoffer, deceiver, trickster*

jape(s), jappis *jest, tricks*

javell(is) *brawler(s)*

jeautis *giants*

jente *gracious*

Jessen *Goshen*

joged *cut*

Johell *Joel*

joies, jois *joys*

jolle *jostle*

joppon *jupon, tunic*

Jude *Judea*

Jues, Juuys <i>Jews</i>	lappe, lapped, lappid <i>find, enclose(d), cover(ed), surround(ed), caress(ed)</i>
jugge, juger <i>(n.) judge</i>	lare, lore <i>knowledge, lore, advice</i>
juggemen, juges <i>judges</i>	large <i>excessive</i>
june <i>join</i>	lascchis <i>lashes</i>
Jury <i>Jewry</i>	lassched <i>lashed, scourged</i>
kacched <i>caught</i>	late <i>(n.) fuss</i>
kantely <i>boldly</i>	late <i>(n.) aspect, appearance</i>
kaytiffe <i>(adj.) miserable, unhappy</i>	late, latte <i>(v.) let</i>
kele <i>cool, detract from, assuage</i>	lathe, lath <i>loathe</i>
kempis <i>strong soldiers</i>	laugher <i>lower, more humble</i>
ken, kenne, kone, kende <i>know, believe, teach; made known, recognized, shown</i>	laughte <i>caught</i>
kirke <i>church</i>	launce <i>rush</i>
kirtill <i>long-sleeved gown, worn under surcoat</i>	lawe <i>(v.) bring down</i>
knafe <i>boy, knave</i>	lawe <i>(adj.) low, short</i>
knotte <i>bargain</i>	lawmere <i>fool</i>
knyth <i>afflicts</i>	laye <i>wager</i>
knytte <i>concluded</i>	laye(s), layse <i>law, laws, customs</i>
kynd <i>nature</i>	layk(is) <i>(v.) play(s)</i>
kynde <i>species, lineage, tribe, people</i>	layke <i>play, entertainment</i>
kyndly <i>according to nature</i>	layne <i>(v.) conceal, remain silent</i>
kynne <i>kin, tribe</i>	layre <i>earth</i>
kyth <i>kinfolk, region, country</i>	Lazar(e) <i>Lazarus</i>
kythe, kith(e) <i>make known, reveal</i>	leche <i>(n.) cure, healer</i>
 	leche, lechis <i>(v.) cures, heals</i>
laby <i>burden</i>	ledde, led <i>expounded</i>
lach <i>capture, lock</i>	lede, leyd, ledis <i>(v.) lead(s)</i>
lad, ladde <i>person of no account</i>	lede(s), leede <i>(n.) lad(s)</i>
ladde <i>strap</i>	leder(s) <i>expounder(s), leader(s)</i>
lade <i>load</i>	lee <i>tranquility</i>
laite, layte <i>seek</i>	leede, lede <i>(n.) lead (metal)</i>
lake, layke <i>game, sport, entertainment</i>	leeffe <i>loved one</i>
lame <i>lamb</i>	leefull <i>lawful</i>
lame <i>limb</i>	leese <i>lose</i>
lane <i>gift</i>	lef(e), leffe <i>dear</i>
lang, lange <i>long, tall</i>	leffand <i>living</i>
lange <i>belong</i>	leffe <i>leave</i>
langes <i>longs, desires</i>	legge(s), ledge <i>allege(s), expound(s)</i>
langour <i>illness</i>	legyng <i>expounding</i>

- len, lene(s), lenne(s)** *lend(s), give(s), grant(s)*
- lende** *remain, bestow, give (including light)*
- leng(e)** *stay, remain*
- lengand** *remaining, dwelling*
- lengar, lenger** *longer*
- lenghe** *length*
- lengthis** *remains*
- lengtht, lenghe** *length, space*
- lente** *passed, gave, given*
- lefull** *baskets full*
- leppe, lepe** *leap, slip off, escape, go*
- leprous** *leper*
- lere, leere, lerne** *learn, teach, instruct, proclaim*
- lered** *learned*
- lese** *lies*
- lesid** *loosened, absolved*
- lesingis** *lies*
- lest** *least*
- lesyng** *lying, dishonesty*
- lete, lette, latt(e), lett(e)n, leteyn** *allow(ed)*
- lett, lett(e), lettis** *stop, refrain, prevent, hinder(s)*
- lette, latte** *let*
- lettir** *preventer*
- levand, levynge, lyffand, lewyn** *living*
- leve** *(n.) permission*
- leve** *(v.) believe*
- leve, lefe, leffe, leyf** *(v.) leave, depart*
- leve, liffis, lyfis, leyf, levyd** *(v.) live(s), live(d)*
- levene, leuyn** *lightning*
- lever(e)** *rather*
- levis** *(imp.) leave, relieve, cease*
- lewde** *unlettered*
- lewte, lewty** *truth, loyalty, faith*
- leyd** *(n.) man*
- leyd** *(v.) lead*
- leyf** *leaf*
- leyffe** *dear one*
- liaunce** *allegiance*
- lidderon, lidrone** *wicked fellow*
- liddir** *wicked*
- liffe, lyf, lyffe** *life*
- lifte, lyfte** *left*
- ligge** *lie*
- light** *(v.) illuminate*
- light** *(adj.) happy, superficial*
- light(e)** *brightness, light*
- lightly, leythly** *without effort*
- likand** *fair*
- lilly** *lily*
- lire** *body, appearance*
- lirte** *trick*
- lis** *lies*
- list** *desire*
- lith, litht** *limb, body part*
- lith(e)** *listen*
- lithirnesse** *wickedness*
- lithre** *wicked*
- locus** *(Lat.) place, playing area*
- loffely** *lovely*
- loghte** *seize*
- lok(id), loke(d), lokis** *look(ed), look(s)*
- lokand** *looking, gazing*
- loken, lokyn** *locked, shut*
- longed** *belonged*
- longis** *belongs, applies, in accord with*
- longis** *desires*
- lorell** *beggar, scoundrel, fool*
- lorne** *lost, destroyed*
- lose(d), louse** *untie(d), lost*
- losell(is)** *wretch(es)*
- loth, lothth** *loath*
- lothe, lathe, lothis** *loathly, despicable*
- lotterell(e)** *scoundrel*
- lourdayne(s), lordayne, lordan** *dull fellow(s), rascal(s)*
- louse, lowse** *loosen, untie*
- loved, lovid, louyd** *praised, worshiped*
- loves** *loaves*
- lovys, louffe** *praise, worship*
- lowe, lowte, loute** *worship, reverence, kneel, bow*
- luf, loffe** *(n.) love*
- luffand** *loving*
- luffe(s), luffis** *love(s)*
- luffely** *loved one*
- lufffull** *praiseworthy, loving*
- lufsome** *beneficial, gracious*
- lugg** *pull*

luk, luke <i>look</i>	martiris <i>martyrs</i>
lurdan(s), lurdane, lurdayne(s), lordan <i>rascal(s), fool(s)</i>	mase(d) <i>amaze(d), upset, bewilder(ed)</i>
lurkand <i>lurking</i>	mast <i>must</i>
lusschyd, lusshed <i>beat(en)</i>	mast <i>most</i>
lusshe (n.) <i>blow</i>	may <i>maid</i>
lusty (n.) <i>bold person</i>	mayne <i>moan</i>
lye <i>belie</i>	mayne <i>strength</i>
lyffelod <i>livelihood</i>	mede, meede <i>reward</i>
lygge, ligge <i>lay, lie (body position)</i>	medill <i>involve (with)</i>
lyghame <i>body</i>	meene <i>means</i>
lyk <i>desire</i>	meese <i>restrain, assuage</i>
lykand <i>pleasant</i>	meete <i>meat, food</i>
lykes <i>pleases</i>	meffe, mefid, mefte <i>move(d)</i>
lyking <i>bliss</i>	meke <i>submissive</i>
lymbo, lymbus <i>limbo</i>	meke, mekis (v.) <i>humbles</i>
lyme, lymes, lymmys <i>limb(s); lymme and lith</i> <i>life and limb</i>	mekill, mykyl(l), mykill <i>great, greatly</i>
lymett <i>bound</i>	Melachiell <i>Malachi</i>
lymme <i>leam, light</i>	mele <i>time</i>
lyne <i>linen</i>	mell, melle(s) <i> mingle(s), meddle(s), concern(s), consider(s), reveal(s)</i>
lyolti <i>truth</i>	mendand <i>mending, improving, restoring</i>
lyre <i>body, figure, face</i>	mende <i>restore, improve, redress</i>
lyste <i>listen</i>	mene, meene (v.) <i>think, consider, speak out</i>
 	mene, meene (adj.) <i>mean, low</i>
ma <i>more</i>	menge, mengis <i>unsettle(s), mate(s)</i>
mached <i>set upon</i>	menged <i>mingled, mixed</i>
madde, maddes <i>rave(s) [insanely], is/are insane</i>	mensk, menske, mensked, menskid
Mahownd(e), Mahounde <i>Mohammed</i>	<i>honor(ed), worship(ed)</i>
maistir(s) <i>master(s)</i>	menskfull <i>exalted</i>
maistrye, maystrie <i>mastery, important deeds</i>	mente <i>intended</i>
make <i>mate</i>	menye <i>company, family</i>
makeles <i>matchless</i>	merkis <i>marks</i>
mallise, malles <i>malice</i>	mervayll(es) <i>marvel(s)</i>
malyngne <i>accuse falsely</i>	mete, meete, mette (n.) <i>food</i>
malysoune <i>curse</i>	mete (v.) <i>meet</i>
mang <i>are confused</i>	mete (adv.) <i>ready</i>
mangery <i>meal</i>	meve, meyve <i>move, speak</i>
manhed(e) <i>manhood</i>	meyne, menyhe, mene (n.) <i>company, family</i>
manne, mane <i>man</i>	meyne, mene (v.) <i>speak, mention</i>
mantell <i>man's garment, with open sides</i>	Michill, Mighill <i>Michael</i>
mark(e) <i>designate, sign</i>	mirakillis <i>miracles</i>
marke <i>measurement</i>	mirre <i>myrrh</i>
marr, marre(s), mars, merr <i>injure(s), harm(s), obstructs</i>	mirroure, myrroure, merour
	<i>reflection, example</i>

misbelieve *unbelief*
mischeve *harm*
misgone *mistaken*
misseyis *errors*
miste *missed*
mistir, mystir, mystris *need(s)*
mistrowand *disbelieving*
misty *dark, obscure, portentous*
mobardis, mabbardis *villainous fools*
mode *mood, disposition*
modir, modyr *mother*
moght, mowght *might*
molde, moulde *earth*
momellis *mumbles*
momelyng, momeland, mummeland *mumbling*
mon, mone *may, might*
mone, moone *moan, complaint*
mone, moone *moon*
moo *more*
moote, mote(s) *argue(s)*
mop *simpleton, puppet*
more and myn *more and less*
mornand *mourning, sorrow*
morne *mourn*
morteysed *fixed*
mott, mot, motte *might*
move(d) *urge(d)*
mowe(s) *[make] mouth(es), face(s)*
mum *whisper*
mused *conscious*
muste *new wine*
muster(es), mustir, musteris *muster(s), create(s), perform(s), manifest(s)*
mutyng *disputing*
myldely *obediently, meekly*
mynde(s) *memory, thoughts*
myre *mire, ensnare*
myrke, mirke *dark*
myrknes, myrknes *darkness*
myron *retainer, lazy fellow*
myrroure *mirror, example*
myrthe(s), myrthis *joy, mirth, good news*
mys, mysse, misse *error, sin, evil*
mysdede, mysdedis *wrongful action(s)*

mysdone *sinned*
mysese *unhappiness, discomfort*
myslykyng, mysselykyng *sorrow, unhappiness*
mysse, mys *error, failing, sin, mishap*
mystir *need*
mytyng, mythyng *small one*

nape *ape*
nappe(d) *sleep, slept*
nare, nere *near*
narmes *arms*
natheles *nonetheless*
ne *nor*
nede *necessary*
nede, nedis *need(s)*
nedelyng, nedlyngis *necessarily*
neffes *fists*
negh(es) *near(s), come near*
neghand *coming near*
neghed *came near*
nemely *nimbly*
nemen, nemyn, nemyne, nemys *name(s), call(s)*
nere *ear*
nerre *nearer*
nerthrist *lowest*
nese *nose*
neven(e), neuuen *mention, identify, name*
nevenly *plainly*
nevill *evil*
newe, newis *annoyance(s)*
newes *renews*
newly *recently, readily, soon*
newsome *problematic*
nexile *wing [as of building]*
nociens *inclinations, notions*
noddill *hit*
nodir *other*
noght *not, naught, without value*
none *noon, midnight (noon of the night)*
none *nothing, not any*
noote *matter, news, task*
notis *nuts*
nott, notis *matter(s), evidence*
novellis *marvelous things*

now new
nowell owl
nowther, nowdir neither
nowys news, information
noye, noy (n.) annoyance
noye(d) annoy(ed)
noyes trouble
noyse, noys musical sounds
noysed heard, broadcast
noysomemare more noisome

obeyesaunce obedience
obitte dead
oblissh, obblissh(e) oblige
offerand(es), offrand offering(s)
ofte sithes oftentimes
omys amiss, wrong
ones once
ongayne bothersome
ongentill ungentle, cruel
onthinke reflect, consider
oon on
oondis breath
oppен careless
or ere; before
ordan, ordand, ordande, ordayne(d)
ordained
Osee Hosea
ospring descendants
oute tane, owtane, owte take except
outhir either
outrayes goes subversively, injures
overegone reduced, passed by
overewyn overcome, conquered
overhyld adorned
owre, oure hour
oyes hear ye

Paas Pasch, Easter
page(s) boy(s), young man/men
paie payment, reward; please, pleasure
paire, payre impair, reduce
pakald package, burden
palle piece of fabric, sign of authority
palmeres pilgrims
palys palace
panyer basket

pappe breast
parde pardé, by God
parfite perfect
performed made perfect
parred slayed
passhed smashed
paste passed, dead
patris patters
paye, paie(s) pays, reward(s),
satisfy/satisfies
payed, paied paid, pleased
pechyng accusing
peere, pere peer
penys pennies, pence
perellis, parellis perils
perelus, perelous fearful
perles, pereles peerless, unequaled
perte clever, open
pese, pece, pees peace, calm
pety, petie pity
peyzed forced
pight put, situated
pilche leather outer garment
pine, pyne pain
platly immediately
platte fall down
playe, plaias recreation, pageant(s),
play(s)
pleasaunce good will, pleasure
plete argue
plexitis wrangle
pleyned lamented
pleyntes complaints
plye submit
popse game [similar to blind man's buff]
porte gate
post, poste, pooste(e), pouste power
postelis apostles
pour, poure, poors power(s)
poure, powre, power poor
powll pull
poynte(s) point(s), charge(s) to be
proved, acts
praty bright, intelligent
pray, praye prey
praye, praias pray(s), beg(s)
preces presses

preche, prech(is), prechid *preach(es), preach(ed)*
prente(d) *print(ed), inscribe(d)*
presande *present, gift*
presiously *expensively*
press(e), pres *crowd, company, assembly*
presse (n.) *difficulty*
presse (v.) *repress*
prest(e) *quick, pressed*
prestly, prestely *urgently, quickly*
prevaly, pryvaly *privily, secretly*
preve(d) *prove(d), demonstrate(d)*
preyse *praise*
preysing *praising, flattering*
pris *value*
processe *progression, procession*
prokering *provoking, plotting*
propheres *offers*
prophete, prophite *prophet, profit, profitable*
prowe *credit, comfort*
pryvyte, private *mystery, privacy, secret*
puplisshid *proclaimed*
purchace *advantage*
purgens *purgung*
purpose(d) *plan(ned)*
purpure *purple*
purveye *put forth, provide, arrange*
putry *prohibited sex*
putt *pushed*
py *magpie*
pynne, pynde *to cause pain, suffering*
pynne *nail, torment*
pynyng *tormenting*
pytefull *one who pities*

quarte, qwarте *health*
quate, qwat *what*
quell(e) *put down, condemn*
quenys *shrews, whores*
quike, quyke *living*
quilke *which*
quyte(s), quytte *requite(s)*
qwantise *tricky*
qwfen *when*
qwritte *free, acquit, repaid*

Rabek *Rebecca*
racleyme (comys to) *is summoned (to court)*
radde *afraid*
radly *quickly*
raffe *rave, split, pull apart*
rafte *rest, taken away*
rakand *rushing*
rake *go, rush*
rakid *been away*
ranke *rebellious*
rankoure *rancor*
ransake *search*
rapes, rappes *ropes*
rapped *hit*
rappely *quickly*
rappes (n.) *blows*
rare, raris *roar(s)*
raryng *roaring, lamenting*
rase(d), rasid, rayse, rayst *raise(d), rose*
rasely *brutally*
rathely *quickly, fiercely*
raught *give*
rawe, rowe *row; on rawe* *in order*
rawnsoner *ransomer*
rawnsounе (v.) *ransom*
rawsom *ransom*
rayed *arrayed*
raykand *(idly) wandering, hurrying*
rayke(s) *rush, go(es), happen(s)*
rayst, rased *wounded*
read *advice*
rebalde(s), ribaldes, ribaldis
rascal(s), scoundrel(s), menial fellow(s)
reche, rechid *provide(d)*
recoveraunce *recovery*
red *understood, advised*
rede (n.) *reed*
rede, reede (n.) *advisor, counselor*
rede, redde, redis, reedis (v.)
advise(s), proclaim(s), interpret(s), understand(s)
redused *disabused*
refuse *reject, dismiss, condemn*
reflars *rises*

refte <i>lost</i>	robard <i>felon</i>
regally <i>dominion</i>	rode, roode <i>rood, cross</i>
regne(s), regnys <i>reign(s)</i>	rollis <i>parchment rolls, documents</i>
regynall <i>original</i>	rolyng <i>agitating</i>
rehete <i>rebuke, assail</i>	roo <i>peace, rest</i>
reke <i>trouble, riot</i>	roo <i>buck</i>
rekeles <i>foolhardy person</i>	roose <i>rose</i>
reken, rekenne <i>call up, give account of</i>	roppe, ropis <i>rope(s)</i>
rekenyng <i>accounting</i>	rore, rooris <i>shout(s)</i>
releffe <i>relieve, assist</i>	rotен <i>decayed, rotten</i>
reles <i>release</i>	rought <i>wrought</i>
relevē (n.) <i>remainder</i>	rouk <i>private talk</i>
relevē (v.) <i>assist</i>	roune, rowne <i>mutter</i>
reme, remys <i>realm(s)</i>	rownand <i>speaking</i>
remenaunte, remelaunt <i>remains</i>	rowses <i>boasts</i>
remewe <i>go, take away</i>	rowte <i>crowd</i>
renand <i>reigning</i>	rowted <i>beaten</i>
rengne, reyne <i>reign</i>	rowtes <i>blows</i>
renke, renkes, renkis, renkkis (n.) <i>man, men, people</i>	roye, royis <i>boast, talk nonsense</i>
renke (v.) <i>reign</i>	roye <i>king</i>
renne <i>run</i>	rude <i>great</i>
repaire <i>return</i>	ruffe <i>roof</i>
repleye <i>redeem</i>	rufffully <i>pitifully</i>
repreve <i>challenge</i>	rug, rugge(d) <i>pull(ed) harshly, violently</i>
reproffe <i>disgrace</i>	russhed <i>violently struck, dragged</i>
resen, resynne <i>risen</i>	ruth, ruthe, rewth(e), reuth <i>pity, grief</i>
ressayve <i>receive</i>	ryve (v.) <i>tear, split</i>
reste, ryste <i>peace, rest</i>	ryve (adj.) <i>abundant</i>
reverande <i>revering</i>	ryall <i>royal</i>
reve(s), refte <i>deprive(s), rob(s)</i>	ryally <i>royally</i>
revers <i>turn around</i>	ryffe <i>completely, thoroughly, abundantly</i>
rewē(s), rewis <i>feel sorry for, repents</i>	ryolest <i>most royal</i>
rewelles <i>rules, controls</i>	
rewfull <i>distressful</i>	saande, sand(e), sandis <i>message(s)</i>
rewle <i>rule</i>	sad, sadde <i>solemn</i>
rewly <i>calm, (well) behaved</i>	sadly <i>solemnly</i>
reynand <i>reigning</i>	sadnesse <i>soberness</i>
riall <i>royal</i>	saffe <i>healthy</i>
rialte <i>royalty</i>	saffe, safe (v.) <i>save, set aside, observe</i>
rid, ridde <i>escape from, release</i>	sagates <i>thus</i>
rigge <i>back</i>	saggard <i>one who sags, lazy fellow</i>
right <i>correct</i>	saie(s) <i>say(s)</i>
rightwisse <i>righteous</i>	sakles, satcheles <i>innocent</i>
rightwisseness, rightewysnes <i>righteousness</i>	sale(s) <i>hall(s)</i>
risse <i>branch</i>	sall, sal, salle, sale <i>shall</i>
	salus <i>assails</i>
	salve(d) <i>remedy/remedied, cure(d)</i>

- salver** healer
Samaritanus Samaria
same together
samen, samyn together
sande, sand, sonde message
sange song
sararre more sorrily
sare sore
sartayne, sarteyne certainly
satt allowed
sattles sinks down
sauffe save, preserve
saugh(e) saw
saule(s), sawle, sawlis soul(s)
saunteryng babbling
savely certainly
saverly confidently
saw(es), sawis saying(s), word(s), commands
sawen sown
sawntrelle, sauterell fake saint, hypocrite, babbler
sawter psalter
sayne (v.) [make] sign [of cross]
sayne (v.) say
scape escape
schaftes banner shafts, lances
schake flee away
schalke(s) fellow(s)
schall shall
schape, schappe (n.) shape, figure
schappe, shappis, shapist (v.) fashion(s), take(s) up, creates
scharid sheared
schath injury
schawe show, appearance
schende injure, destroy, exhaust
schene shining
schenely brightly
schenet(e) condemned, guilty, destroyed
schepe sheep
schew(e), schewys, shewed show(s), appear(s), show(ed)
schire brightly
scho she
schogged shook
- schone, schonnyss** hesitate(s), shuns, object(s)
schonte hold back
schope, schoppe formed, created
schotte jerked
schoures troubles
schowte, schoutis shout(s)
schrew(e) (v.) curse
schuke shook
scored marked
seall, seele, sale well-being
sees, sese cease
seete seat, judgment seat
seett sect, party
sege, seges thrones
segge, sege, seeg(e) man
segger braggart
segges speaks
seggid spoken
seggyng(es) speaking, saying(s)
seke sick
seke, sekis, sekist seek(s)
sekeness(e) sickness
selcouth(e), selcowthe spectacular, wonders
sele, seele, seill profit
selle prison cell
sely humble
semend (v.) psalming, singing psalms
semend, semande (adj.) appropriate, fitting
sembeland, semblant outward sign, appearance
semend, semid seemed, befitted
semelid assembled
semely handsome, lovely
semes (n.) seams
seme(s) (v.) seem(s), besit(s)
semlys assemble
sen, senne, synne since
sene seen
senge sign
sente assent
senyour senior, older man
septoure, septure scepter
ser special

serche, sers search, examine,
 interrogate
sere, seere differing, diverse,
 independently, apart
serly separately
sermones speak
serve(d) serve(d), obey(ed)
served, servid deserved
Sesar Caesar
sese(d), sees, sesse, sessid cease(d),
 complete(d), allot(ted)
sese(d), sesid seize(d)
sete, seetis seat(s)
sethen, sethyn since, then
sette set, establish, secured
sewe(s) pursue(s), afflict(s), sue(s)
sex six
seyd seed
shamously shamefully
shappe, shoppe form, attempt
shende, schende destroy
shene fair, bright
shente defeated, destroyed, overcome
sheris cuts, pierces
shon hesitate
shrewe, schrewe evil person
shrewednesse, schrewdnesse of
 malignant disposition, wickedness,
 trickery
shynand shining
signe(s), sygne(s), singnes, syné,
 signe sign(s)
sikenes, sikenesse sickness
siker, seker secure, accurate, true
sites sights
sithen, sythen since, then
sithfull, sytfull sorrowful
sittand(e) adjusted, proper, fitting
sittis sits [as judge]
skantely scantily, wrongly
skape escape
skath(e), skathes harm, malice, blows
skatheles, scatheles unscathed
skaunce deception, joke
skelpe (v.) whip
skelpes, skelpys blows
skelpte beat out

skiffte conspiracy
skill(e), skyl, skyll ability, reason,
 fitting
skyfte escape
skymeryng agitating
slaa, sla, slee(is) slay
slake, slakis diminish(es), slacken(s)
slane, slayne, slone slain
slang threw
slely slyly
slepand(e) sleeping
slike, slik, slyk(e) such
sloppe loose outer garment
smore smother
smyte, smitten hit
snell fast, wise
soght, soghte sought, pursued, gone
soile assoil, release
solace, solys, solas solace, favorable
 news
solempne splendid
sonde safekeeping
sonde message
sondre, sondered break/broken apart
sone (n.) son
sone (adv.) soon
sonne, son sun
soper(e) supper
sore pain, unhappiness
sori unhappy, in misery
sorssery witchcraft, sorcery
sotell(e) subtle
sotelte(s) subtleties
soth(e), suth(e) truth
sothfastness(e) truthfulness
sotilly subtly
sott(e) fool
sounderes separates
sounkyn, sownkyn sunken, drowned,
 deep in
soveraynely above all
soveraynes, soureynes, sofferayne,
 soferans masters
sowme sum, total
space space (of time), soon
spare(d), sparyd refrain(ed), hold/held
 back

spedar *facilitator*
spede (n.) *assistance, progress, benefit*
spede, speydes (v.) *hasten(s), prosper(s)*
spell *speak*
spell(is) *discourse, saying(s), word(s)*
spence *expense*
spens *pence*
sperde *imprisoned*
spere *spear*
sperate, sprete *spirit, ghost*
spetyffull *cruel*
spille, pilte *harm, destroy, condemn, kill(ed)*
spirre, spire, spere(s), sperre, speris *ask(s), inquire(s)*
spirringes *questions*
spites *insults*
spitous *spiteful*
spitte *spat*
spoile *strip*
sporne *stumble*
stabill (v.) *hold, stabilize*
stages, stagis *stages, enclosures*
stakir *stumble*
stale *stole*
stalland *stopping*
standerdes, standerdis *banners*
standyng (in court) *place to stand*
stare *am astonished*
stark(e) *strong, prostrated*
state(s) *estate(s)*
stately *fierce, legitimately*
sted, stede, stedde (v.) *hold, placed, situated, stabilize, delay*
steede (n.) *horse*
steede, steede, steedis (n.) *place(s)*
steeles *rungs*
steere *control*
stele (n.) *steel*
stele (v.) *steal*
stem, stemmys *stop, reduce(s)*
sterand *athletic, strong*
stere *bestir, steer (control)*
stered *stirred, moved*
sterne(s) *star(s)*
stertis *starts, goes*

steven(e), stevyn (n.) *voice, command*
stevened *called*
stevenyng *shouting*
stied *went up*
sties *ladders*
stiffe *strong*
stiffely *firmly, staunchly, boldly*
stigh *ascend*
stighill *intervene*
stilly *silently*
stirre *encourage*
stodmere *prostitute, loose woman*
stok *stump*
stokyn *stock, closed in*
stole *stool*
stonyd *astonished*
stonyes *is astonished*
store (n.) *products for sale, storage*
store (adj.) *strong*
stounde *time, moment, a while*
stoure *struggle, battle*
stoutely *haughtily*
stoutnes *moving about*
strake (v.) *struck*
strake, strakis *stroke(s)*
strang, strange, straunge *strong*
straue *argued*
stremys *(light) beams*
strenghe (n.) *strength*
strenghe, strenkyth (v.) *strengthen*
streynd *attacked*
stroye *destroy*
strye *witch, hag*
stryffe, stryfe *conflict*
stryvyng *unruliness*
stubbe *short, stubby nail*
styke *path*
stylly *quietly*
stynkand *stinking, foul*
stynt, stynte *stop*
stynter *suppressor*
suapped *smitten, killed*
subgette *obedient*
sudary(e) *shroud, burial cloth*
sufferand *patient*
suffirantly *patiently*
sugett, subgett *subject*

suld, sulde should	
sum, sume some	
suppowle support	
surete bond, legal obligation	
suthfast true	
suthly truly	
suttellte subtlety, craftiness	
suttely, suttily subtly, skillfully	
swa so	
swage stop	
swang swung	
swappes (n.) blows	
swappes (v.) cut off, smote	
swarand swear	
sware square	
swayne boy, young man	
sweght weight, force	
sweltes, sweltid is/was overcome	
swemyd overcome	
swet(e), swette sweat	
swetnes(se) pleasure	
swett(e), swete, sweyt sweet	
swetter, sweeter sweeter	
swettyng sweet, beloved one	
swetyng sweating, toil	
swevene dream	
sweying noise	
swilk(e) such	
swithe quickly	
swongen lashed (at)	
swonyng swooning	
swyngis whips, blows	
swynke work, toil	
swyre neck	
symonde caulk	
syn, syné since, later	
syne sin	
syne, synge sign	
synuous, senous sinews	
syte, sight(e) grief, sorrow	
tacche attach, fasten	
tag small piece	
takande taking, receiving	
taken received	
taken, takyn token	
takis takes	
takkid fastened, nailed	
takyng capturing	
talde told	
talde counted	
talent(e) resolution, inclination, ability	
tales, talis tales, stories, narratives	
tane, tone taken	
tase toes	
tast(e) experience, use, test	
tastyng touching, handling	
taynte (n.) criminal	
taynte (v.) convict	
taynted (adj.) suspect	
teche, teeche teach, inform	
telle count	
tendande attending	
tene, teene, teyn trouble, suffering, difficulty, anger	
tened, tenyd (v.) harmed, killed, grieved, angered	
tenfull grievous	
tent, tente, tentis (give) heed to, guard	
tent(e) tenth	
termyne pronounce, declare	
teynde tithe, tenth	
teynted convicted	
thame them	
than, thame then	
tharne lose	
tharnyng lack	
the succeed, thrive	
theff(e) villain, thief	
ther where	
thergatis in that manner	
therout(e) outside	
tho, thois those	
thoff though	
thole, tholed, tholedge, tholid	
endured, suffered, worked	
thraldome bondage	
thrall captive	
thrally(e), thraly fully, sincerely, entirely, violently	
thrang throng, crowd	
thrange (v.) pressed	
thrawe (n.) throng, crowd	
thrawe (v.) throw	

thrawe (adv.) *while; a thrawe a while*
threpyng *disputing*
threst, thraste *thrust*
threte, thrette *threaten(ed)*
thries, thryes *thrice*
thriffe *thrive*
throsten *forced down*
thrurgh, thurgh *through*
thryng *thrust, press*
thusgates *in this way*
tille *to, towards*
tille, tyll *labor*
tiraunte(s), tirauntis *tyrant(s), villain(s), bully/bullies*
tite *quick, quickly*
tithhands, tithyngē *tidings*
titill *title, legal rights*
tokyn, tokenyng(is) *sign(s)*
tole, toled *pull(ed)*
tole(s), tolis *tool(s), equipment*
tome (n.) *time*
tome (adj.) *empty*
tonne *cask*
torfoyr *calamity*
torne *act of trickery*
torne(d) *return(ed), change(d)*
touch *concern*
toune *town*
toure (n.) *tower*
toure (adj.) *excessive*
tow *two*
trace (n.) *way, course of action*
trace (v.) *seek out*
traied *betrayed*
traitoury *betrayal, treachery*
trante, trantis *trick(s)*
trasshes *ragged garments*
trast and trewe *trusted and true*
trast(e) *tested, trusted*
trast(is) *trust*
trastyng *testing, trusting, faith*
travaylle, traueylle, traueylis *effort, struggle, suffering*
traveses *attacks, contradicts*
traylle *drag*
trayne, traye *deceit, trick, deception*
tree, tre *cross*

tresorie *treasury*
tresoune *treason*
treoure *treasure*
treuth(e) *truth*
trewys *truth, good faith*
triffilis, truffillis *trifles, idle stories*
trist (adj.) *trusted*
triste, treste (n.) *hope, trust*
triste, tristis (v.) *trust(s)*
tristely *trustfully*
tristy *trustworthy*
troned *enthroned*
trouth(e) *truth*
trow(ed) *trust(ed), believe(d)*
trowe, trowis *trust(s)*
trusse, trus *gather up, go, depart*
trye (v.) *sort*
tugge(d), tuggid *pull(ed), stretched*
tule, tulles *assail*
tulles *tools*
tulyd *attacked*
turtill, turtour *dove, turtledove*
twyes *twice*
twynne(s) *separate(s)*
twynnyng, twynnnand *separating*
tyde, tide *time*
tyght *imprisoned ones*
tyne (v.) *anger, be angry*
tyne (v.) *lose/lost, give up, waste*
tyte *quickly, sharp*
tyte *tight (in chains)*
tytle *claim, deed [to property]*
txste *taxed, accused, charged*

umbelappid *encircled*
umbycast *bound*
unbaynely *cruelly*
unbende *untie*
unberid *unburied*
unbraste *unbound*
unbuxumnes *disobedient*
unclene *polluted, sinful*
uncleth *disrobe*
unconand, unconand *stupid, unwise*
uncouthe *strange*
undewe *contrary to law*
undewly *unjustly, unlawfully*

undughty weak
unethis scarcely
unfiled undefiled, unspoiled
ungayne harm
ungent not noble (commoner or peasant)
unhappe misfortune, unlucky
unhende ungracious, unworthy
unhendly ungraciously, evilly
unlappe reveal
unlele disloyal
unlely disloyally
unlokynne opened
unmeete wrong
unride monstrous, cruel
unseele lack of well-being
unwarly unexpectedly
unwelde weak
unwitty unwise
uphalde, upholde insist, support
uppetane ascended
upryse, uprysing resurrection
upsought sought out
upstritt rose up

vaile veil
vayne empty
velany(e) villainy
very, veray, verray very, true
voydes renders ineffectual

wa, waa woe
waferyng wandering
waffe (v.) wave
wage reward, bribe
waite(s), waitis attend(s)
wakand(e) awake
wake keep watch
waken incite
wakyng watching, as in vigil
walde would
wale choose
walkand walking
wan, wanne evil, dark
wande(s) (n.) rod(s), batten(s)
wande (v.) delay
wanderede wandering to point of exhaustion

wandyng thoughts, uncertain thoughts
wane(s) subside(s), recede(s)
wangges cheeks
wanhope despair
wanne won
wantis wants, lacks
wanyand, waneand waning [of the moon], evil time
wappe(d) tear/torn, wrapped
war worse
war, ware, warre was, were
warand(e) warrant, know
warde custody
ware (v.) were
ware (adj.) aware
warely circumspectly, surreptitiously
waried spoken against, cursed
warisoun reward
wark(e) deed(s), work(s)
warlowe(s), warlous warlock(s), wizard(s), sorcerer(s)
warne(d) inform(ed)
warred knotty, strong
wast(e) waste, destroy, decline, diminish;
in waste futilely
wasted destroyed
wathe, wathes, wothis perilous, perils
wave, wavyd move(d) about, wobble(d)
wax(e), waxen grow(n)
waye, wais way, ways
wayke weak
wayte keep watch
wayteskath troublemaker
we whee, alas
wedde (n.) wager
wedde (v.) marry [involving contract]
wedde set mortgage
wede madness
wede, wedis clothing
wedir, weedir weather
wedlak wedlock
weele well
wegge(s) wedges
weldand controlling, wielding
welde, walde, wolde wield, control, use
wele health
well (v.) boil, suffer

welle, wele *well, fountain, source*
welthe, welthis *state of well-being*
wendand, weendande *going*
wende *go, wend forth*
wend(e) *thought*
wending *passing away, dying*
wene *(n.) doubt*
wene, wenys, wyne *(v.) think(s), believe(s)*
were *(n.) suspicion, doubt, confusion*
were *(v.) defend, warn, guard; perplex*
were *(v.) wear*
were *(adj.) worse*
werie *wearily*
weried, wer(r)yd *wrongheaded, accursed*
wetand *knowledge*
wete, weten *thought, revealed*
wete, wette *moisten, refresh*
wetterly *entirely*
weyes *weighs*
weyke *weak*
whan(ne) *when*
whap(p) *blow*
whedir, wheder *whither*
whesid *wheezed*
whilke, wilke *which*
wiff(e) *woman*
wight *strong*
wight(e), wyte, wight(is) *person(s)*
wightly, wightely, whytely
immediately, briskly, frequently
wightness *strength*
wik *deadly*
wile, wilis *wile(s), trick(s)*
will *well*
will, wille *perplexed*
will(is) *will, permission*
willid *gone*
willy *willing*
wilsom, wilsome *(adj.) lonely, dangerous, confused*
wirkand *working, striving*
wirke(s) *work(s), produces*
wirkynge *behavior*
wise *manner*
wisse *keep, direct*

wiste *knew*
wite, wyte *blame, inform*
witte, wytt, wate, wete, wote *know, understand*
witterly *wisely, knowingly*
wittes, wyttes *wits, intelligence*
woke *week*
wol *will*
wolde *(n.) power*
wolde, walde *(v.) would*
wombe, wombis *abdomen(s)*
wone, wonne *(n.) place*
wone, wonne, wonnys *(v.) live(s), dwell(s)*
wonnand *living*
wonne *(n.) custom, belief*
wonning, wonnyng *dwelling*
wonnyd *lived*
woode, wode *wood*
woode, wode *mad*
word *world*
wordly *worldly*
wore *were*
worme(s), wormis *serpent(s)*
worthed *come*
wote, wotte, wootte *know, learn*
wraiste *twisted*
wrake, wreke *vengeance, retribution, violence*
wrang(e) *(n.) wrong, evil*
wranges *(v.) wrongs*
wraste, wrest *trick*
wraste(d) *twist(ed)*
wrathenesse *anger*
wrayste *(v.) twist*
wreke *revenge*
wrekis *disasters, vengeance*
wrekyng *punishment*
wrenchis *tricks*
wreth, wrethe, wrethe *anger, malice*
wretthid *endangered, upset*
wretyn, wreten *written*
wreye(s) *betray(s), denounce(s)*
wreyede *revealed*
wreyst *deceived*
wrie *go awry*
wright *record*

wring, wryng(e) *torture, twist (in grief)*
write, wright *carpenter*
wroken *revenged*
wroth, wrothe *anger, angry, vexed*
wrotte *wrote*
wrye *turn, avoid*
wryng *escape*
wrynkis *twistings, tricks*
wyelly *joyful*
wyghtest *strongest*
wynde *breath*
wyne *believe*
wynke *sleep*
wynly *worthily, joyfully, excessively*
wynne (n.) *joy*
wynne (v.) *flee, win*
wyshe, wysshe, wys *guide*
wyst(e) *thought*

yappely *nimbly*
yarne, yerne *yearn*
yate *gate*
yede *go forth, went*
yeme *give heed to*
yemyng *care*
yendless *everlasting*
yhere *year*
ying, yhing, yeng *young*
ylke *each*
Ynde *India*
yode, yoode *went forth*
Ysais *Isaiah*
yther *hither*

Zache *Zacheus*