The Towneley Plays

Edited by
Garrett P. J. Epp

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Introduction to The Towneley Plays

Huntington MS HM 1 is a unique, beautiful, and puzzling manuscript collection of biblical plays now in the Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens, in San Marino, California; it was formerly owned by the Towneley family of Towneley Hall near Burnley, Lancashire, and the plays themselves have long been known by that family name. These plays include some of the best and best-known examples of medieval English drama, including several pieces attributed to a single anonymous poet problematically dubbed the 'Wakefield Master.' The Towneley plays have often been referred to as the Wakefield Cycle, and asserted to have been performed by guilds in the town of Wakefield in the West Riding of Yorkshire, yet evidence for this identification has largely been discredited, along with the collection's status as a coherent cycle of plays for sequential production. What was deemed clear only a few decades ago is again in question; the origins and purpose of the manuscript remain unknown, as does the nature of its connection to Wakefield — a name that appears on its first extant page, and on the first page of the third play. With some significant exceptions, the plays are arranged in chronological order from Creation to Judgment, much like the guild cycles of York and Chester; however, more like the N-Town manuscript, HM 1 contains a disparate collection of plays, of varied origin and production requirements. Several plays have been borrowed almost verbatim from the York cycle, some of which may preserve earlier readings than the York register itself,[1] although they also show clear signs of editing and adaptation, like other plays in the collection. This edition of the Towneley manuscript does not presume the unity of its contents, but rather treats it simply as a collection of biblical plays, in the hope that readers will be able to find new insights, and new connections.

The Manuscript and its History

The manuscript consists of 132 folio leaves of parchment or vellum, written largely by a single scribe in a style of Anglicana script particularly associated with legal use. While most of the plays were likely written much earlier, the manuscript itself is now thought to have been produced as late as the mid-sixteenth century. The initial letters at the beginning of the first two plays imitate those of sixteenth-century English printed books — a decorated letter in a black square, outlined in red — while the plays that follow begin with (increasingly) elaborate strapwork capitals, of a style found in sixteenth-century northern

[1] Plays borrowed from York include the plays of Pharaoh, the Doctors, the Harrowing of Hell, the Resurrection, and Judgment, but likely also the play of the Dice, although no equivalent from York is extant. There are other apparent York connections and borrowings as well, including a single stanza in the play of the Offering of the Magi (see 10.595–606 and note), and a significant portion of the Scourging (see the headnote to play 19).

England.[2] The edges of the pages were all significantly trimmed at some point,[3] presumably when rebinding the volume, but relatively little of the primary text was affected. However, up to 28 of the original leaves are missing, including the two middle leaves from two different quires or gatherings (each originally containing eight leaves), and four middle leaves from another, all of which were likely lost accidentally. As discussed below, two other lacunae are more interesting, and more controversial: one entire gathering is apparently lost from the beginning of the manuscript, and parts of two other gatherings are missing near the end; these leaves are often assumed to have been deliberately removed due to censorship. Another leaf has been left blank. The plays are usually said to number 32, although this includes a fragmentary poetic monologue by Judas, added by someone other than the main scribe sometime after the completion of the manuscript and included here only as an appendix. Several plays are also misplaced in terms of chronology, and are reordered here, while some plays have been recombined, changing the traditional numbering as well as the order, as outlined in a table at the end of this Introduction.

The Towneley plays have been previously edited in full three times, not including the 1961 translation of the entire collection by Martial Rose, under the title *The Wakefield Mystery Plays*. The first of the two editions produced for the Early English Text Society, published in 1897, was edited by George England with an Introduction and side-notes by Alfred W. Pollard, but was based less on the manuscript itself than on the Surtees Society edition of 1836, entitled *The Towneley Mysteries* and edited by James Raine (with a Preface by Joseph Hunter and Glossary by James Gordon, sometimes credited as editors). The second, now standard scholarly edition was produced by Martin Stevens and A. C. Cawley, and published in two volumes by the Early English Text Society in 1994. Cawley himself had already edited what he called *The Wakefield Pageants in the Towneley Cycle* for the University of Manchester's Old and Middle English Texts series in 1958. These and other plays have also been published individually. The second of Towneley's two Shepherds plays, with its unbiblical subplot involving the sheep-stealing Mak, now the most anthologized and studied of all pre-Shakespearean drama, was first edited separately and privately printed by John Payne Collier in 1835 as "The Adoration of the Shepherds: A Miracle Play," and assembled as one of *Five Miracle Plays, or Scriptural Dramas* in 1836, the same year as the Surtees Society volume. But already in 1818 the Roxburghe Club had printed several excerpts from the plays of Noah and Herod the Great as a "Postscript" to an edition by James Heywood Markland of *Chester Mysteries: De Deluvio Noe, De Occisione Innocentium*. This was the first printed edition of any portion of what Markland called "the Townley [sic] Mysteries,"[4] although the manuscript was no longer owned by a member of the Towneley family. The first individual play to be published in its entirety, however, was the Judgment play, likewise published by the Roxburghe Club, edited by Francis Douce, under the title *Judicium, A Pageant. Extracted from the Towneley Manuscript of Ancient Mysteries*, in 1822.

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[2] The first page of the Burnley Parish register, for example, begun in 1562 and now in the Lancashire Records Office in Preston (Ref. PR 3027/1/1), has an initial R with similar strapwork, among other decoration.

[3] The average page size is 12 x 8.25 inches, yet the library pressmark on the first page (13½ : 35 above F : 35) implies a height of 13.5 inches, and thus indicates the extent of the trimming. (As Meg Twycross has informed me in personal communication, the rest of the pressmark indicates that the bound copy was #35 on Bookshelf F in the library, along with other volumes of the same height.)

[4] Markland, p. xvii.

By that point the manuscript was back in Towneley hands. Following the death of John Towneley, son Peregrine Edward Towneley had put his father's library up for sale in order to pay for renovations to Towneley Hall. The play manuscript was sold at auction in 1814 to John Louis Goldsmid, whose coat of arms is on the present binding,[5] and sold again late the following year to John North, who gave permission for those first excerpts to be published by the Roxburghe Club. The manuscript returned to Towneley Hall only in 1819, after North's death, when it was repurchased by Peregrine Edward Towneley. It would be sold again only in 1883, to Bernard Quaritch, who was the owner when the 1897 EETS edition was published, but who sold it in 1900 to Edward F. Coates; Coates died in 1921, after which the manuscript was purchased by the influential American rare book dealer A. S. W. Rosenbach on behalf of Henry E. Huntington and brought to its current home in California. Yet while this later history is easily documented, the manuscript's earlier history is obscure.

The first printed description of the manuscript was prepared by Francis Douce for the June 1814 auction catalogue for R. H. Evans entitled *Bibliotheca Towneleiana. A Catalogue of the Curious and Extensive Library of the late John Towneley, Esq.* (item 894). Douce described it then as "A volume, very fairly written on vellum, in the reign of Henry VI. or Edw. IV.; and, as it is supposed, formerly belonging to the Abbey of Widkirk, near Wakefield, in the county of York."[6] However, in his introduction to the 1822 Roxburghe Club edition of the Judgment, which he prepared on behalf of member and 'presenter' Peregrine Edward Towneley,[7] Douce gave the manuscript both a later date and a notably different provenance:

> The following Pageant has been extracted from a Manuscript Volume supposed to have belonged to the Abbey of Whalley, and which, on the dissolution of the Monasteries by Henry the 8th, found shelter in the family library at Towneley Hall in the county of Lancaster.
>
> This Manuscript has been very fairly written on velum in the reign of Henry the 7th, or in the early part of that of Henry the 8th. From the words "In Dei nomine Amen. Assit principio Sancta Maria meo, *Wakefeldus*," we are probably made acquainted with the name of the author, who must have been a member of the above Abbey; for there can be no doubt that the composition of all these dramatic pieces, or Mysteries as they were termed, is to be ascribed to the clergy of their times.[8]

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[5] When Henry Huntington acquired the manuscript, the coats of arms were concealed beneath diamond-shaped pieces of pasted leather; Louis Wann ("A New Examination," p. 139) misidentified the arms as those of Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, also an avid book collector. Stevens and Cawley take the misidentification further, asserting that the MS was sold "to John Louis Goldsmid on behalf of his brother-in-law, Sir Isaac Lyon Goldsmid, whose coat of arms appears on the covers of the present binding" (*The Towneley Plays*, p. xvi; see also p. xix). The two men were actually cousins (and both cousins to Sir Isaac's wife, Isabel).

[6] *Bibliotheca Towneleiana*, p. 45.

[7] According to the Roxburghe Club website, "Peregrine Edward Towneley, Esq. was one of 7 people co-opted into the Roxburghe Club by the first 18 members at the St. Albans Tavern on 17 June 1812," as was James Heywood Markland ("Peregrine Edward Towneley").

[8] *Judicium*, p. ix.

Some splendid ecclesiastical vestments from Whalley did indeed find shelter at Towneley Hall (and are now on permanent display there), along with a number of documents relating to the abbey. However, as already noted, this manuscript is now thought to have been produced later still, likely during the reign of the Catholic Queen Mary in the 1550s. It is not known when or how the Towneley family might actually have acquired the volume.

The first description of the manuscript, in any case, found greater acceptance than the second. In his Preface for the Surtees Society edition, Joseph Hunter admitted that there was no "Abbey of Widkirk, near Wakefield" yet argued that the attribution "has upon it remarkably the characteristics of a genuine tradition."[9] For "Widkirk" he substituted Woodkirk, which had no abbey but was indeed near Wakefield and had been home to some Augustinian friars. Two years later, in 1838, William Marriott included five plays (Pharaoh, second Shepherds, Crucifixion, Harrowing, and Judgment) in *A Collection of English Miracle-Plays or Mysteries: Containing Ten Dramas from the Chester, Coventry, and Towneley Series*; he quotes the Surtees Preface at length in his introduction, but refers nonetheless to "the Towneley or Widkirk" series.[10] The 1897 EETS edition, too, quotes extensively from the Surtees Preface.[11] Unfortunately, Douce apparently never explained or elaborated upon his implicit retraction; he died two years before the Surtees edition was published. By the time Henry Huntington acquired the volume in 1922, even Woodkirk had been effectively abandoned for Wakefield itself both as home to the plays and as source of the manuscript.

THE WAKEFIELD CONNECTION

As Douce's second description notes, and as shown in Figure 1 (p. 20), the first of the Towneley plays begins not with a title but with a colophon in the form of an invocation: *In dei nomine, Amen. Assit principio sancta Maria meo. Wakefeld* ("In the name of God, Amen. May holy Mary be present at my beginning. Wakefield"). The particular colophon itself is highly common, a fairly standard opening for a late medieval manuscript, but the name is not. That same name also follows the title of the Noah play — the third play in the manuscript, and the first of several plays written in a particular 13-line stanza (written in the manuscript as a 9-line stanza with internal rhymes) associated with the putative 'Wakefield Master.' Between these two plays is the Cain and Abel play, sometimes ascribed to the same author due to its lively dialogue and characterization, despite differences in both form and vocabulary from the plays written in the 13-line stanza; yet this play contains an allusion to Goodybower, the medieval quarry at Wakefield. Most other commonly-cited allusions to places near Wakefield, however, have proven dubious: an often-cited reference to "ayll of Hely" in the first Shepherds play (8.352), for example, acknowledges the fame of ale from Ely, as attested elsewhere in the period, not from the village of Healey near Wakefield (or indeed any of the other places by that name).[12] And while Stevens and Cawley describe

[9] *The Towneley Mysteries*, ed. Raine, p. ix.

[10] Marriott, *A Collection*, p. xxxviii.

[11] Indeed, Alfred W. Pollard's Introduction (*Towneley plays*, ed. England, pp. x–xiv) quotes or summarizes all but a few paragraphs of the Preface to the Surtees edition, which as noted was also George England's base text for the EETS edition itself, as evident from various reproduced errors.

[12] The Ely attribution occurs in an Anglo-French "List of English Towns in the Fourteenth Century," transcribed and published by C. Bonnier in 1901. See also Epp, "Re-Editing Towneley," p. 89.

Watling Street (see 27.186) as "the Roman road which crossed the parish of Wakefield,"[13] the ancient road best known by that name — there being several, usually with alternate names — ran from Wroxeter past London to Dover. Moreover, "Wakefeld" itself could name the scribe rather than the place, although not "the author" as Douce suggested, authorship being clearly multiple, especially given the inclusion of plays originally from York. A line initially written below the title of the Noah play, and thus immediately after the second mention of the name, might well have carried an important clue or explanation; however, that line was long ago erased and crossed-out, and is now illegible.

It is worth noting that even some of the earliest critics of the play suspected that at least some of the plays originated outside of Yorkshire. Samuel Astley Dunham, describing the plays in an entry for *The Cabinet Cyclopædia* in 1836, states:

> some of the words, and two or three of the allusions, in the Towneley dramas, are said to be local, and to be perfectly intelligible, if not peculiar, to the inhabitants of the district surrounding Wakefield. All this evidence is certainly entitled to some weight; but we would not confidently affirm that *all* the dramas were exhibited in the same place, still less that all were written or transcribed by the same hand. We meet with several words, and with several allusions, that we believe peculiar to Lancashire.

He then abruptly concludes, "On this subject, however, we will not dwell. It is one on which the curious reader may satisfy himself, the whole of this series having recently been published by the Surtees Society."[14] A thorough lexical study still remains to be done.

Regardless, the idea that Wakefield was home to the Towneley plays was widely accepted throughout most of the twentieth century, thanks largely to the work of two Wakefield residents: Matthew H. Peacock, Headmaster at the Wakefield Grammar School, and historian J. W. Walker, both of whom published sixteenth-century records pertaining to dramatic production, ostensibly from Wakefield's Burgess Court Rolls. In 1988, half a century after the publication of the definitive two-volume second edition of Walker's *Wakefield: Its History and People* (1939), all but three of those records were discovered to be Walker's invention, or borrowings from elsewhere, while others were mis-transcribed and misdated.[15] However, Wakefield did indeed have a play of some sort in the mid-sixteenth century, around the time that the manuscript was likely compiled. The first of the three genuine records is from 1556, during the reign of Queen Mary:

> Item a payne is sett that everye crafte and occupacion doo bringe furthe theire pagyauntes of Corpus Christi daye, as hathe bene heretofore used, and to gyve

[13] *The Towneley Plays*, ed. Stevens and Cawley, p. xx.

[14] *The Cabinet Cyclopædia*, p. 198; the entry, ostensibly a biography of playwright John Heywood, is subtitled "The Origin and Early History of the English Stage" and includes an extensive description of these and other plays.

[15] See Cawley et al., "References to the Corpus Christi Play in the Wakefield Burgess Court Rolls: The Originals Rediscovered." The rediscovery was in part due to the (uncredited) detective work of Barbara Palmer, who had earlier found evidence of the fabrication of records in Walker's private papers; see Palmer, "'Towneley Plays' or 'Wakefield Cycle' Revisited," especially pp. 324–33.

> furthe the speches of the same, in Easter holydayes, in payne of everye one not so doynge to forfett xl s.[16]

What is being ordered, under threat of the very substantial fine of forty shillings, is apparently the revival of a series of craft-produced pageants, with a shift in production date from the feast of Corpus Christi to Easter, some two months earlier. Yet it remains unclear what exactly might have been performed, or even whether the "speeches" constitute dramatic dialogue. Moreover, Barbara Palmer has demonstrated that, while other towns in the area such as Pontefract and Doncaster (not to mention others further afield) clearly could and did produce biblical drama, Wakefield itself "did not acquire a civic structure, organized craft guilds, or cultural environment which would suggest that Wakefield was the progenitive or even ultimate site for a Corpus Christi cycle performance."[17] The Towneley manuscript does contain some apparent guild ascriptions, but these are later additions and in no way authoritative. Indeed, marginal ascriptions to a Litsters (or Dyers' guild) are associated both with the play of Moses and Pharaoh, borrowed from York (where it was produced by the Hosiers' guild) and with the non-dramatic Judas fragment written in a later hand at the end of the manuscript; the very existence of the second ascription calls the others into question.

The other two genuine records from the Burgess Court Rolls are both from 1559, the year in which the English Parliament under Queen Elizabeth reversed Queen Mary's re-establishment of Catholicism: "Item a payn ys layd that Gyles Dolleffe shall brenge in or causse to be broght the regenall of Corpus Christy play before this & Wytsonday," and "Item a payn ys layde that the mesteres of the Corpus Christi playe shall come & mayke thayre acountes before the gentyllmen & burgessus of the town before thys & May day next, In payn of euere on not so doynge — xx s."[18] The reference to multiple "masters" and accounts clearly suggests the existence of multiple pageants, but the first of these records refers to a single *regenall* — that is, the "original" text or exemplar, possibly of a single play, as opposed to a transcription or copy of works of varied origin such as the Towneley manuscript.[19] Moreover, given the date of these records, it is likely that this *regenall* was being collected for theological inspection, not for copying into a new manuscript collection. It is thus unlikely that either this record or this *regenall* has anything to do with the extant Towneley manuscript. It is worth noting that York's craft guilds not only produced their own pageants for the Corpus Christi cycle but were also involved, under the auspices of the Corpus Christi guild to which many individual craftsmen would have belonged, in the production of the much shorter multi-pageant Creed Play, the text of which unfortunately

[16] The text here and below is slightly modernized from the transcription by Cawley et al., "References . . . Rediscovered," pp. 87–88.

[17] Barbara Palmer, "Corpus Christi 'Cycles' in Yorkshire," p. 228.

[18] Cawley et al., "References . . . Rediscovered," p. 88.

[19] Martin Stevens has asserted that the *regenall* of the 1559 record "was almost certainly the Towneley MS" (*Four Middle English Mystery Cycles*, p. 94n3); however, see Dane, *Abstractions of Evidence*, pp. 71–74. The York records mention payment, coincidentally for 1559, "for entryng in the Regyster the Regynall of the pagyant pertenyng to Craft of Fullars whiche was never before Regestred" (*REED: York*, p. 330), making a clear distinction between the city's official Register and the individual guild-held exemplars.

does not survive.[20] Wakefield's assorted craftsmen could well have been involved in something similar; they could even have produced or co-produced a series of biblical pageants, some of which did indeed get copied at some point into the Towneley manuscript. Contrary to the supposition most closely associated with V. A. Kolve's landmark study, *The Play Called Corpus Christi*, full-scale Creation to Judgment cycles were by no means the norm for biblical drama in medieval England.[21]

Despite the demanded collection of the *regenall*, Wakefield's play apparently did continue to be performed in Wakefield until at least 1576, the same year that Richard Burbage built The Theatre in Shoreditch. A document dated 27 May of that year records an intervention by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners of York:

> This daie upon intelligence geven to the saide Commissioners that it is meant and purposed that in the towne of Wakefeld shalbe plaied this yere in Whitsonweke next or thereabouts a plaie commonlie called Corpus Christi plaie which hath been heretofore [u]sed there, wherein they ar done t'undrestand that there be many thinges used which tende to the derogation of the maiestie and glorie of god, the prophanation of the sacramentes, and the maunteynaunce of superstition and idolatrie. The said Commissioners decred a lettre to be written and sent to the Balyffe Burgesses and other the inhabitantes of the said towne of Wakefeld that in the said playe no pageant be used or set furthe wherin the maiestye of god the father, god the sonne, or god the holie ghoste, or the administration of either the sacramentes of baptisme or of the lordes supper be counterfeyted or represented, or anything plaied which tende to the maintenaunce of superstition and idolatrie or which be contrarie to the laws of god or of the Realme.[22]

The Towneley text includes a partial representation "of the lordes supper," but not the institution of the Eucharist, and not due to any obvious censorship such as the removal of pages, as in the case of the York manuscript. The Towneley Conspiracy play is an interesting but awkward amalgamation of at least two earlier plays, one of which likely contained representation of the sacrament itself;[23] however, the extant play is clearly not part of the "Corpus Christi plaie" the Commissioners objected to and evidently hoped to suppress.

In two other plays, however, stanzas that mention sacraments have been obviously cancelled, in red ink: one in the Resurrection play referring to the doctrine of transubstantiation (23.345–50), and another in the play of John the Baptist referring to the

[20] See A. F. Johnston, "Religious Guilds," and Jeremy Goldberg, "Tableaux to Text." One of the surviving records of the Creed Play refers to three different copies, including both "the Original . . . newly written. . . . And another old book of the same play" (Johnston, "Religious Guilds," p. 83); Wakefield's *regenall* need not have been the oldest copy of its contents, merely the official one. Yet the term implies singularity; the official copy of the text for the cycle, where individual guilds retained control of individual pageants, was not the "Original" but the "Register."

[21] See for example Lawrence M. Clopper, *Drama, Play and Game*, pp. 155–57, regarding the Norwich plays.

[22] *The Wakefield Pageants*, ed. Cawley, p. 125, slightly modernized.

[23] See Epp, "The Towneley Conspiracy."

number of sacraments (15.193–200).[24] In the margin beside the latter cancellation someone has also written "corected & not playd." However, the objectionable portion of the cancelled stanza amounts to one easily alterable (and indeed, apparently altered) word in one line; the representation of the baptism itself in the previous stanza is unaltered and unmarked. The marginal comment may represent a later reader's attempt to explain a curious cancellation, itself possibly by an earlier reader, rather than having anything to do with an actual performance, or even doctrinal objection. The hand that wrote the marginal note may have been responsible for yet another puzzling annotation: "no Maters ben as sade" ("no matters are as said") is written in the margin of the Purification play beside lines in which Simeon asks God to let him see the savior before death; nothing said there is objectionable from the point of view of virtually any Christian doctrine (see the Textual Note for 13.59–72). Anti-papist sentiment is very likely behind the attempt to erase part of a line in Herod the Great where the villainous king vows to make someone "a pope" (12.381). However, some annotation suggests a more positive readerly response: the Angel's assertion in the pageant of Joseph's Trouble that Mary "hase consavyd the Holy Gast" (7.e.179) has been underlined, and beside it, cut off at the trimmed margin, someone has written "note this very [well?]"; as Theresa Coletti and Gail McMurray Gibson have pointed out, such a note "is much more likely to inscribe devotional comment than objection."[25]

MISSING AND MISPLACED PARTS

Some of the various lacunae or missing portions of the Towneley manuscript are generally understood to be the effects of censorship, but again the evidence is ambiguous. As mentioned earlier, as many as 28 leaves have been lost, most of which are conjoined pairs that were likely lost by accident; see the table at the end of this Introduction for a play-by-play listing. The leaves missing from the beginning of the manuscript are often asserted to have contained the banns — a public announcement made sometime prior to the actual production of a play. Martin Stevens has stated that:

> These banns, from all indications, were extensive. The average length of full gatherings in the Towneley MS is between 800 and 900 lines. Thus, if the first quire was made up of the same number of leaves as the remaining ones, and if the leaves were filled with writing, the missing Towneley banns must have been considerably longer than the N-Town 528-line banns of the plays, the longest set of banns surviving from the English mystery cycles.[26]

However, as Murray McGillivray has pointed out, we know neither the number nor the contents of the missing leaves. Having explained that "This now-missing gathering might certainly have been of a different extent than other gatherings in the manuscript, tailored to whatever introductory materials — perhaps, so late after the introduction of printing, a title page and dedication, a table of contents, and so on," McGillivray notes the possibility "that this front matter was never prepared, although planned for at the time of signing the

[24] Both cancellations were first noted by John Payne Collier, in *History of English Dramatic Poetry* 2:198, although he wrongly describes the cancelled lines regarding transubstantiation as being "from the mouth of the Saviour on the cross," rather than as part of a post-resurrection speech.

[25] "Tudor Origins of Medieval Drama," p. 241.

[26] Stevens, "Missing Parts," p. 257.

extant quires."[27] The opening invocation itself — *Assit principio sancta Maria meo* ("May holy Mary be present at my beginning") — suggests that the extant, heavily worn first page was always the first page, the beginning of this work.

The other major lacuna is more problematic: fully twelve leaves are evidently missing from near the end of the manuscript, following the first leaf of the *S*-gathering; the final *U/V* gathering begins four leaves later. The missing leaves certainly contained the ending of the Ascension play and the beginning of the Judgment, likely totaling no more than two full pages of material, in theory leaving sufficient room for at least two but as many as four more plays. The most common conclusion is that the missing pages contained Marian plays (dramatizing Mary's death and heavenly assumption, as in the York cycle) removed on doctrinal grounds; however, the awkward placement of the Lazarus play, following the Judgment (and thus the end of the world), should serve as a caution against over-trusting chronological arrangement. Nor, at least without unbinding the manuscript, can we even be certain that a gathering of fully eight pages was ever actually removed: the gathering could have been intentionally shorter, or planned to accommodate material that proved unavailable and so abandoned entirely (if indeed the signatures are not simply erroneous). The sole surviving signature for the missing gathering (*S1*) is unusually inscribed in red rather than in black ink, perhaps to indicate an issue with the signature itself. It is possible that only four or fewer leaves are actually missing, and due to accidental loss rather than deliberate removal.

One other signature is similarly written in red: the *L* gathering is complete, and contains all but the first page of the play of John the Baptist and the last page of the Conspiracy play, which begins on the last of the four marked signatures, *L4*, on folio 67r of the manuscript. The Lazarus play belongs between these two plays, chronologically, raising the possibility that the red signature *S* was intended to note its proper placement, although no other extant markings indicate this, unlike the "tokens" that indicate two accidentally reversed pages in the Abel play (see the Textual Note to 2.274). The gathering that follows was clearly altered during the compilation process: as Louis Wann long ago pointed out, a large decorated initial D on the recto of folio 80, blocked off and unconnected to anything else written on the same page, was apparently intended for the opening of the Buffeting play, but written on the wrong side of the leaf, leaving no room for the completion of the Conspiracy play; the fold between the conjoined outer leaves of the gathering was reversed, so that folio 73 became folio 80.[28] The decorated initial remains, but the text is otherwise unaffected.

One play was evidently left incomplete by the main scribe. The play of the Prophets ends abruptly before the bottom of a page, followed by an entire leaf that has been left blank. The opening of the Pharaoh play, which should have preceded the Prophets, has been written and erased from the verso side of the leaf, while the other side was left empty although neatly ruled (another hand has copied the first line of the previous page on the first line). The Annunciation pageant gives a clue as to at least part of what might be missing, as indicated in the Explanatory Notes, but the blank leaf could accommodate an entire short play. The scribe evidently intended to copy a significant amount of text onto that leaf at a later date, but never did so. The intended text might well have been another portion of what originally constituted a separate series of pageants, here reconstructed as

[27] See McGillivray, "Tudor Recycling?," p. 56 (and p. 68n27).

[28] See Wann, "A New Examination," p. 143.

the Advent sequence, and accordingly renumbered along with the Pharaoh play that now precedes it. The Prophets pageant opens the sequence, followed immediately by Caesar Augustus and the Annunciation. However, the episode of Joseph's Troubles, which has been copied continuously with the Annunciation, out of chronological sequence, has been extracted and placed after the Salutation where it belongs.[29]

Unlike the continuously written Towneley manuscript with its single blank leaf, the York manuscript — the city's official register for the Corpus Christi cycle — contains numerous blank leaves, indicating a significant difference in the compilation process. Individual York pageants were copied only if and when the producing guilds made them available, but arranged in the manuscript in the order of chronology and performance; some pageants, such as the Vintners' Marriage at Cana, were never registered although space was left for them. Obviously no space was left for Towneley's Lazarus play; the play is thus awkwardly placed at the end of the manuscript. The York pageants were also registered under the names of the producing guilds, whereas the Towneley plays are given titles, although these do not always accurately reflect the content, and were likely invented for and at the time of the compilation. The Pharaoh play was likely given that title simply because Pharaoh is the first-named speaker, not because he is more important than Moses; the play of Noah is far more concerned with the relations between Noah and his wife than with his sons, who are nonetheless mentioned in the original title. Titles also vary between incipit and explicit for some plays: the Conspiracy (*Conspiracio*) is called the Capture of Jesus (*Capcio Iesu*) in the explicit, while the Crucifixion play (*crucifixio Cristi*) begins as the "pageant of the Cross" (*processus crucis*). And of course the famous "Second Shepherds Play," which like the first of the two is referred to in the explicit as a Shepherds play (*pagina pastorum*), is initially referred to simply as "another of the same" (*alia eorundem*; see Figure 2, p. 131). Thomas of India was initially entitled the Resurrection of the Lord (*Resurreccio domini*), the same as a previous play; however, that title has been crossed out and "Thomas Indie" written in small letters below,[30] to accord with the play's explicit, evidently written only after the scribe realized the duplication.

This and other evidence strongly suggests that, while written continuously, the Towneley manuscript is not a copy of a single prior exemplar — one *regenall* — but of many. As Coletti and Gibson have suggested, the manuscript may have been compiled as "a response to the short-lived return to official Catholicism under Mary Tudor."[31] They go on to explain that:

> Until very recently, recusant secrecy, as well as the prejudices of nineteenth- and twentieth-century historians, have obscured the evidence that not only the Towneley Plays but also a number of other late-medieval religious drama manuscripts were collected, compiled, read, and so *performed* in recusant halls and libraries and chapels.[32]

The manuscript's format itself, in combination with the relatively late date, does indeed suggest that it may have been compiled for devotional reading, rather than for any sort of

[29] For further explanation, see the Headnote to the Advent sequence, and Epp, "Re-editing Towneley," pp. 97–98.

[30] This leaf serves as the color frontispiece for the facsimile edition.

[31] "The Tudor Origins of Medieval Drama," p. 237.

[32] "The Tudor Origins of Medieval Drama," p. 242.

staged performance, or even as a record of plays associated with any particular place or performance history as was the case for the surviving manuscripts of the Chester plays, written after the suppression of that civic cycle.

EDITING TOWNELEY

With the exception of the Martial Rose translation, in which the Prophets and Lazarus plays and the Judas fragment have been restored to their chronological positions, previous editions have retained the manuscript order of the plays, and numbered them accordingly. This edition takes a more radical approach, with an eye toward both convenience of classroom study and background for theatrical production, as well as toward scholarly argument. While the manuscript constitutes a collection of disparate plays from varied sources, it also bears evidence of an attempt to shape the collection into a coherent whole; the current edition effectively continues that editorial process, while attempting to clarify some of the existing disparities. The Advent sequence has been reconstructed, as noted, and the apparently separate plays of Isaac and Jacob have been joined into one, while the non-dramatic Judas fragment has been eliminated from the sequence, although included as an appendix. The plays can thus be read as a relatively coherent and chronological whole, resembling the biblical cycles of medieval York and Chester, much as the compiler seems to have intended, for whatever reason. However, the inclusion of two Shepherds plays in a row, here as in the manuscript, along with other less evident discontinuities, should serve as a reminder that this is indeed a compilation — an anthology.

This edition is also informed by performance practice and experience, although not always explicitly. No stage directions have been added and, while a number of staging difficulties are discussed in the notes, others have guided the annotation in less obvious ways to help clarify terms and context and thereby the performance possibilities. As in the bulk of early English drama, including the works of Shakespeare, the dialogue itself frequently guides the onstage action — what I have elsewhere referred to as gestic writing.[33] However, the need for a particular action or choice of actions often becomes evident only when and if one attempts to perform the work, or portions thereof, as I have regularly encouraged students to do.

I am conscious of many interesting staging issues in this text, having served as Artistic Director for a 1985 production of the plays under the auspices of the *Poculi Ludique Societas* (PLS) in Toronto.[34] By then I had already heard Barbara Palmer voice her suspicions that these were not the Wakefield plays,[35] but it was the production of the plays themselves that convinced me that they were never intended to be performed as a coherent processional cycle. Martial Rose had argued for place-and-scaffold staging with a single cast, stating that "the Passion sequence . . . sweeps on in continuous action from play to play and from stage to stage."[36] His evidence for such staging centered almost entirely on the Conspiracy play, in which the action flows between a variety of locations, including Pilate's hall, a room for the Last Supper, and Mount Olivet, where Jesus must speak with a character problematically

[33] See Epp, "Visible Words" and "Be ye thus trowing."

[34] The text for this production was an unpublished translation by David Parry.

[35] Palmer, "The Relation Between Drama and Art in the West Riding Yorkshire."

[36] Rose, *The Wakefield Mystery Plays*, p. 35.

designated as "Trinitas" (that is, the Trinity, of which he himself is a part), who should presumably be seated in a separate but adjacent "Heaven" scaffold.[37] Still, while a majority of the plays, even aside from those borrowed from York, could easily be performed on a single wagon stage, one must take any exceptions into account in order to envisage or stage them as a cycle. Besides, even a wagon play from York such as Pharaoh, with its scene of drowning in the Red Sea, could doubtless benefit from the opportunity to spread out the action.[38] Thus the 1985 Toronto production was indeed staged on multiple scaffolds, which surrounded the audience. As for previous PLS productions of the York and Chester cycles, groups from across North America were invited to produce individual plays, but using the pre-set scaffolds rather than individual wagon stages. This required very careful and precise organization. The stage design (by Ralph Blasting) worked well, and created an illusion of unity and iconographic resonance even where there was none in the individual texts. Lazarus and Jesus were raised from the same tomb, and all the various tyrants ranted from the same "Palace" scaffold; Jesus was crucified in exactly the same place where the tree of knowledge had earlier stood, and where Isaac was to have been sacrificed. Yet the changes of cast and location served to disguise the disappearance of Malchus, for example, who at the end of the Conspiracy leads Jesus to see "Syr Cayphas" but is not part of the Buffeting that follows (see note to 17.778–79). The staging also helped minimize the effect of certain redundancies, such as the double gambling for the robe of Jesus, briefly below the cross in the Crucifixion play, and at greater length but on another scaffold in the play of the Dice. No one seemed to notice the absence, either, of Herod in the Passion sequence, despite some pointed references especially in the Scourging play, where one of the torturers claims to be bringing Jesus "From Syr Herode" (19.54) and Pilate refers to Herod's having found Jesus guiltless (19.120–23). Even the lack of a Nativity seemed relatively untroubling to observers. Still, the second of the two Shepherds plays was taken out of sequence and offered as a stand-alone indoor production.

Such a mode of performance contradicts the 1556 Wakefield reference to bringing forth "pagyauntes of Corpus Christi daye," not to mention other records that J. W. Walker claimed for Wakefield, which in 1985 had not yet been proven false. Yet even Walker and Peacock had ultimately argued for stationary 'place and scaffold' rather than processional staging, if only because some of the plays themselves, like the sprawling Conspiracy, clearly demanded it.[39] Seeing these plays as a cycle — as a Wakefield cycle in particular — almost necessarily prevents seeing their different staging requirements, their different rhetorical and iconographic modes and resonances; one instead expects, and seeks out, unity and internal resonance. Problematic lines and obscure stage actions are interpreted primarily in relation to lines and action in other plays within the same collection, even where these may not be relevant. I long ago referred to such problems as "The Hazards of Cycling." Any

[37] For further discussion, see Epp, "The Towneley Conspiracy."

[38] What is required for staging is of course not the same as what one might consider ideal. In "Noah's Flood, the River Jordan, the Red Sea: Staging in the Towneley Cycle," Cynthia Haldenby Tyson argues that "It is not to be supposed that the Towneley playwright who makes such a point of the presence of water (particularly in the Noah and Pharaoh plays) did so without having at his disposal the means to present such plays as spectacularly as he has written them" (p. 109); she thus ignores the York origin of the Pharaoh play and production practices in York that simply would not allow the kind of staging she envisions. See also Epp, "Hazards of Cycling."

[39] See Epp, "Corected & not playd," for further discussion.

edition by a single editor of these same plays as a group risks similar hazards, simply through imposition of a singular editorial view or bias on the collection as a whole. Yet it remains a singular collection, a unique manuscript written largely by a single scribe; commonalities between plays should clearly be sought out and studied, but not presumed. Cross-references between the plays have thus been kept to a minimum in the Explanatory Notes, as have references to the very large body of critical commentary on the plays, precisely because the bulk of this work is built at least in part on the presumption of unity — the presumption, indeed, that these plays constitute a Wakefield cycle. I have tried in the notes to signal various issues and explain potential obscurities without unduly limiting either critical or theatrical options. For example, while the boy in the first Shepherds play is likely a ghost character whose lines should be reassigned to Shepherd 3, his speech headings have been left intact (see 8.257 and note), as in previous editions. Both Cain's plow-team (see note to 2.25) and the feast in the first Shepherds play (see notes to 8.300, 341–42, and 396–97) are likely imaginary, yet the evidence in both cases is sufficiently ambiguous to have encouraged significant scholarly debate; such ambiguities must be acknowledged. What happens in performance clearly matters, and creates meaning — meaning that is not always clearly evident from the extant text itself. My hope is simply that each play can and will be read, understood, studied, and even staged on its own terms, in so far as these terms might be recoverable.

THE WAKEFIELD MASTER, A.K.A. BOB

While numerous references to the 'Wakefield plays' can be found in print and continue to proliferate on the internet, the majority of scholarly criticism has always referred to these collectively as the Towneley plays. The chief exception is in regard to the plays that A. C. Cawley published in 1958 as *The Wakefield Pageants in the Towneley Cycle*: the Killing of Abel and the five plays written entirely in a particular 'bob and wheel' stanza form, namely, Noah, the two Shepherds plays, Herod the Great, and the Buffeting — all attributed to a single anonymous poet, sometimes argued to be the compiler or primary author of the 'cycle.'[40] In a 2009 essay entitled "Myths of the Wakefield Master," Joseph A. Dane has examined what he calls an "extreme example of authorial fiction; evidence from the Towneley manuscript is allegorized into a figure who in a happy coincidence embodies many of the virtues defined by early twentieth-century literary history and criticism — the Wakefield Master."[41] The critical ubiquity of the name alone bolsters the assumption that these are indeed Wakefield plays, and promotes the perception of unity, particularly given that over a dozen additional plays include at least one supposed 'Wakefield Master' stanza. Yet the 'Master' might well be several different poets, none of whom is from Wakefield.

They might also have written at different times. When Mendal G. Frampton published his influential 1935 article on "The Date of the Flourishing of the 'Wakefield Master,'" he, like others, believed that he was dealing with a coherent cycle; his conclusion, "that the Wakefield Master did his work upon our cycle entirely within the reign of Henry VI — more

[40] See for instance Gardner's *Construction of the Wakefield Cycle*, as well as Martin Stevens' work on the plays, including the EETS edition.

[41] P. 57. A similar process gave rise to the York "Realist" and "Metrist" as putative author-revisers of the York plays; see Johnston, Jr., "Notes on the Dialect of the York Corpus Christi Plays," offered as an appendix to Davidson's edition of the York Plays.

specifically, within the second quarter of the fifteenth century,"[42] relied heavily on costume references within the extensive dialogue (specifically, in lines 27.373–96 and 447–68) added to the now-incomplete Judgment play borrowed from York. However, Frampton does not comment on the possible significance of a record that he mentions regarding a 1454 agreement between the York Mercers and three men — two guildsmen from York and the parish clerk from Leeds — concerning production of the guild's Judgment pageant.[43] The date is tantalizingly consistent with Frampton's costume evidence. The 1454 record may well indicate a more precise date for the Towneley Judgment play as it stands; however, it does not suggest a Wakefield connection of any kind. Moreover, the dating makes this play, and possibly others, a full century older than the manuscript itself, belying the assertion that the author of those 13-line stanzas "was a major redactor of the full cycle, if not the compiler himself."[44]

In teaching these plays, I long ago took to referring not to a 'Wakefield Master' but to 'Bob,' the 'bob and wheel' stanza form. After all, much the same form is used in the York pageant of the death of Jesus (York 36), among other places; it is not unique.[45] Indeed, this is one reason for the choice here to present it as a 13-line stanza, as is done in the Stevens and Cawley EETS edition; in the manuscript and in most modern editions, including Cawley's 1958 edition, it is normally written as a 9-line stanza with interior rhymes in the first four lines.[46] And while the five plays written entirely in that stanza form do share other characteristics as well, including vocabulary (in contrast to the Abel play, with which they share little, linguistically or poetically),[47] the differences have been ignored. This includes apparent linguistic differences: for example, where Herod the Great resembles the York plays in its use of a form such as *ilkon* ("each one"), the Noah play uses more the typically

[42] "The Date," p. 660. Frampton also argues that an earlier dating is impossible because Wakefield was too small to produce the entire 'cycle,' while lamenting the lack of "historical evidence whereby we may presume to continue to trace intimately the growth of the town for the next century or more" (p. 654).

[43] See *REED: York*, p. 87, pp. 763–64.

[44] *The Towneley Plays*, ed. Stevens and Cawley, p. xxxi.

[45] Variations abound: the East Anglian morality play, *The Castle of Perseverance*, for example, uses the same form but with longer lines; as Stevens and Cawley point out (*The Towneley Plays,* p. xxxi), the Towneley Flight into Egypt is written in a somewhat different 13-line stanza. Examples of the 13-line 'bob and wheel' stanza have also been identified in the Towneley plays of Abel, Lazarus, the Conspiracy, the Scourging, the Crucifixion, the Dice, the Pilgrims, the Ascension, and of course Judgment, although variations exist between some of these as well.

[46] See the Introduction to the EETS edition by Stevens and Cawley (*The Towneley Plays,* p. xxix–xxxi) for a detailed explanation of the stanza form and the choice to represent it as a 13-line stanza; Dane (*Abstractions of Evidence*, pp. 64–70) has contested their reasoning (mostly as outlined in earlier work by Martin Stevens), but not the similarity of this to other 13-line stanzas.

[47] Warren Edminster, in a conference paper entitled "Authorship and Lexical Source Analysis of the Towneley Cycle" (39th International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, MI, May 2004), gave striking evidence of differences in vocabulary between this play and the five traditionally ascribed to the 'Wakefield Master.'

Lancastrian or Midland *ichon*.[48] On the other hand, Cain's boy, in the only play with a clear Wakefield allusion, to the medieval Goodybower quarry, refers in his opening speech to "Harlottys everichon" (2.22), not "everilkon" (used at 10.79); individual plays may well have been written in a dialect at odds with that of the scribe, and consciously or unconsciously altered. Certainly there are notable, obvious connections between some of these plays. For example, one of the 13-line stanzas added to the Judgment play, otherwise based on the York Mercers' pageant as noted, effectively quotes the Buffeting, written entirely in that stanza form (see the notes to 18.202, 27.812, and 27.814); another stanza in the Judgment uses some relatively distinctive terms that also appear in the Conspiracy and the Scourging, again all in 13-line 'bob and wheel' stanzas (see the notes to 17.36–39, 19.23–26, and 27.270–71). While such instances could represent deliberate quotation of one author by another, using the same stanza form, one would still need in each case to account for the availability of one play to the author of another; in some cases, at least, a single author seems more plausible. In short, some whole plays and stanzas in the Towneley collection written in the 'Bob' stanza might well be written by one playwright-poet, but this should not be assumed.

THIS TEXT

This edition is based on the manuscript itself, but is obviously deeply indebted to its predecessors, as well as to a wide body of critical work on these plays. As should be clear, it also represents something of a departure, in its rearrangement of plays and critical assumptions regarding the unity of the collection. However, the aim has been to make these plays accessible to a non-specialist student audience, while remaining useful to scholars in the field of early English drama. Punctuation has been added, and abbreviations have been expanded, including roman numerals, which have been spelled out in Middle English (normally following the England and Pollard EETS edition). The text has also been lightly modernized in accordance with METS convention. Orthography has been altered where necessary (the medieval letter *thorn* [*þ*] becoming *th*), and some spellings modernized (*the* or *thee* as appropriate for *þe*; *us* for *vs* and *love* for *loue*) or otherwise altered for clarity (*thé* for *the* meaning "thrive"; *magesté* for *mageste*, and so forth). In addition, speakers' names have been translated and regularized into modern English: thus Mak's wife — *uxor eius* or simply *uxor* in the manuscript, but referred to in dialogue as Gill — like Noah's wife is given the speech heading "Wife" (a designation that can elicit useful discussion in the classroom). A list of *dramatis personae* has been added at the beginning of each play, primarily for the convenience of anyone thinking about performance. The play titles have mostly been translated from the original Latin incipit (or explicit, which as noted is sometimes different), but sometimes altered to accord with convention, as in the case of the Harrowing of Hell: the term "harrowing" has no real equivalent in Latin, but is the common English term for what the explicit refers to as "The Deliverance of Souls from Hell." As explained in the headnote to the play of the Dice, that play's original title — both in the incipit and explicit

[48] See Epp, "The Towneley Conspiracy," pp. 103–04. Different portions of the Conspiracy play, too, use these different forms, likely indicating different regional origins. Analysis of possible dialect differences within and between the supposed 'Wakefield Master' plays in particular has been hampered by their inclusion, as a group, as West Riding sources for the 1986 *Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*, now online (eLALME).

— represents an apparent misreading of the Latin, corrected here as in the Stevens and Cawley edition. Also, the two Shepherds plays are here entitled simply Shepherds I and II (I have too often seen the latter title rendered as the "Second Shepherd's Play"). Unless otherwise indicated, quotations from the Bible in the notes are all from the Douay-Rheims translation of the Latin Vulgate.

Capitalization is perhaps more problematic. Capitalized, a declaration such as "Mary," used more than once in the second Shepherds play prior to the meeting of the shepherds and the Virgin Mary, usefully demonstrates both the word's origin as an oath "by Mary" and the use of anachronism in the plays; however, it also separates that word from the relatively familiar declarative "marry" of many later texts, including the plays of Shakespeare; where it is not the first word in a line or sentence, then, it has been left uncapitalized (as at 9.949, for example). More obviously religious terms pose a slightly different problem. "God" is capitalized when used as a name (unlike the original scribe, who only capitalizes "god" where it is the first word in a line); perhaps problematically, this includes a line in which Caesar Augustus swears "by Mahowne, God all-weldand" (7.b.226) — a line in which the word is arguably merely a descriptor, distinguishing a (false) god from the mere human messenger that Caesar addresses. Another religious title is even more problematic: capitalizing "Lord" when the word refers to Jesus but not when it refers to a secular leader erases or at least obscures a political metaphor of importance both to medieval and to biblical societies: for some readers, "Lord" — capitalized — can mean only one thing, one "God", although for an increasing number of readers this capitalization is merely another source of confusion in an already obscure text. Nor is it always easy to decide in particular cases whether or not the modern religious convention applies: in the Herod play, for example, a woman facing the soldier who is about to kill her child cries out, "Mercy, lord" (12.506–07); she could be addressing the soldier or God. Even clear referents can pose difficulties: when the Doctors (repeatedly) address the young Jesus as "son," they are evidently referring to Jesus not in his capacity as Son of God, but as a child that they have just met; when Mary in the same play tells Joseph to "fetche youre son and myne" (14.218), on the other hand, she speaks both as the human mother of an apparently wayward son, and as the Mother of God. I have tried to balance such concerns with the METS policy of standard capitalization of terms designating God (including Father, Son, and Holy Ghost).[49]

The Explanatory Notes concentrate on issues affecting the potential meaning of the text itself. They thus mention some but not all of the marginalia in the manuscript. Various names, for instance, such as Thomas Hargraves (or Hargreaves) of Burnley (whose name shows up twice), William Lyng, and "James blake bowrne," all as yet untraced, are mentioned only in the Textual Notes. For these and other matters regarding the physical manuscript, one should consult the facsimile edition, if not the lovely manuscript itself. Matters such as rubrication — difficult to examine in the black and white facsimile, but explained in the Introduction to that volume — are similarly mentioned in the notes only if considered relevant to an issue at hand. Folio numbers are indicated here in the left margin, except wherever the speakers' names limit space; in such cases, folio numbers are indicated in the right margin.

[49] Stevens and Cawley are inconsistent in this particular case: "holy gost" (in various spellings) is capitalized in only two of four instances in the Thomas play (28.107 and 194, but not 233 and 345), for example. See Epp, "Re-Editing Towneley," p. 89, an essay that overlaps significantly with this introduction.

One aspect of rubrication perhaps worth pointing out here, however, pertains to stage directions. These vary greatly in number and type from play to play, but also vary in color. More than half of the plays in the manuscript have stage directions written in black ink, typically written outside the main text and underlined in red; two plays have stage directions written within the text in red ink, while three plays have both. The rest have no stage directions at all. Interestingly, three of the plays borrowed from York (and indeed the three that most resemble their York counterparts) — the plays of Pharaoh, the Doctors, and the Resurrection — all include stage directions in red, as is typical in the York Register, and which was perhaps the case for the Towneley scribe's exemplars as well; on the other hand, neither the Pharaoh or Doctors pageants in the extant York register include any stage directions. The plays that precede the Pharaoh play in the manuscript, incidentally, employ rubrication differently from those that follow: the initial letter of each speaker's name and the initial letter of the first word of each new speech is typically touched in red for the first seven plays, but not thereafter; other than the misplaced Lazarus play, the Prophets play is also the last to have its explicit written in black (and the only one to have a miniature "E" written in red inside the "E" of the word "Explicit").[50]

Aside from the facsimile volume, Louis Wann's 1928 article, "A New Examination of the Manuscript of the Towneley Plays" remains highly valuable, despite some errors, to anyone wishing to know more about the manuscript itself, including its scribal practices and varied marginalia. And of course the Stevens and Cawley edition for EETS remains indispensable. While I clearly take issue with the pervasive assumption that the manuscript represents the *regenall* of a Wakefield cycle, and correct a number of errors both in their commentary and occasionally in the text itself, I happily confess my admiration for their work; they provided much of the foundation upon which this current edition has been built, even where my own work might seem oppositional.

[50] Plays with stage directions in black include 1, 3, 4, 5 (a–b), 9, 10, 13, 15, 16, 19, 22, 25, 26, and 27; those without any, excluding the Judas fragment, include 2, 7 (that is, the entire Advent series), 8, 11, 12, 18, 20, and 21. Wann (p. 141) oddly listed the Prophets (7.a) as one of the plays with stage directions in black, although it has none of any sort.

Order in this Edition	Title	MS Order	Folio Numbers	MS Title (according to incipit/explicit)	Lines	Roles	Lacunae
1	The Creation	1	1–2v	In dei nomine Amen. Assit principio sancta maria meo. Wakefeld	267	9	4 leaves: ending
2	The Killing of Abel	2	3–7	Mactacio Abel. Secunda pagina	476	4	
3	Noah	3	7v–12v	Processus Noe cum filiis. Wakefeld	806	9	
4	Abraham	4	13–15v	Abraham	286	6	2 leaves: ending
5.a	Isaac	5	16–16v	Isaac	70	4	2 leaves
5.b	Jacob	6	16v–17v	Jacob	142	5	
6	Pharaoh	8	21–25v	Pharao	430	7	
7.a	The Prophets	**7**	**17v–19v**	Processus prophetarum	234	4	ending [text + blank leaf 20]
7.b	Caesar Augustus	9	25v–28	Cesar Augustus	240	5	
7.c	The Annunciation	10	28–29v	Annunciacio	154	3	
7.d	The Salutation	11	31v–32v	Salutacio Elezabeth	90	2	
7.e	Joseph's Trouble	**10[b]**	**29v–31v**	[. . .]	219	3	
8	The Shepherds (1)	12	32v–38	Pagina pastorum	724	6	
9	The Shepherds (2)	13	38–46v	Alia eorundem	1088	7	
10	The Offering of the Magi	14	46v–53	Oblacio Magorum	642	9	
11	The Flight Into Egypt	15	53–55	Fugacio Josep et Marie in Egiptum	181	3	
12	Herod the Great	16	55–60	Magnus Herodes	741	10	

Order in this Edition	Title	MS Order	Folio Numbers	MS Title (according to incipit/explicit)	Lines	Roles	Lacunae
13	The Purification of Mary	17	60v–61v	Purificacio Marie	141	5	2 leaves: ending
14	The Doctors	18	62–64v	Pagina doctorum	280	6	beginning
15	John the Baptist	19	64v–67	Johannes Baptista	288	4	
16	Lazarus	**31**	**129–131**	Lazarus	237	7	
17	The Conspiracy	20	67–73	Conspiracio &c. / capcio Jesu	779	17	
18	The Buffeting	21	73v–78v	Coliphizacio	650	6	
19	The Scourging	22	78v–84	Flagellacio	572	12	
20	The Crucifixion	23	84–91v	Processus crucis / crucifixio Cristi	724	11	
21	The Dice	24	92–97	Processus talentorum	438	5	
22	The Harrowing of Hell	25	97v–101	Extraccio animarum &c. / extraccio animarum ab inferno	416	11	
23	The Resurrection	26	101–107v	Resurreccio domini	659	14	
24	The Pilgrims	27	107v–111v	Peregrini	386	3	
25	Thomas of India	28	111v–117	Thomas Indie [Resurreccio domini]	648	13	
26	The Ascension	29	117–121v	Ascencio domini etc.	451	13	4–12 leaves: ending
27	Judgment	30	122–128v	Judicium	830	13	beginning
Appen-dix	The Hanging of Judas	32	131v–132	Suspencio Jude	96	1	ending
				Total:	14385	237	

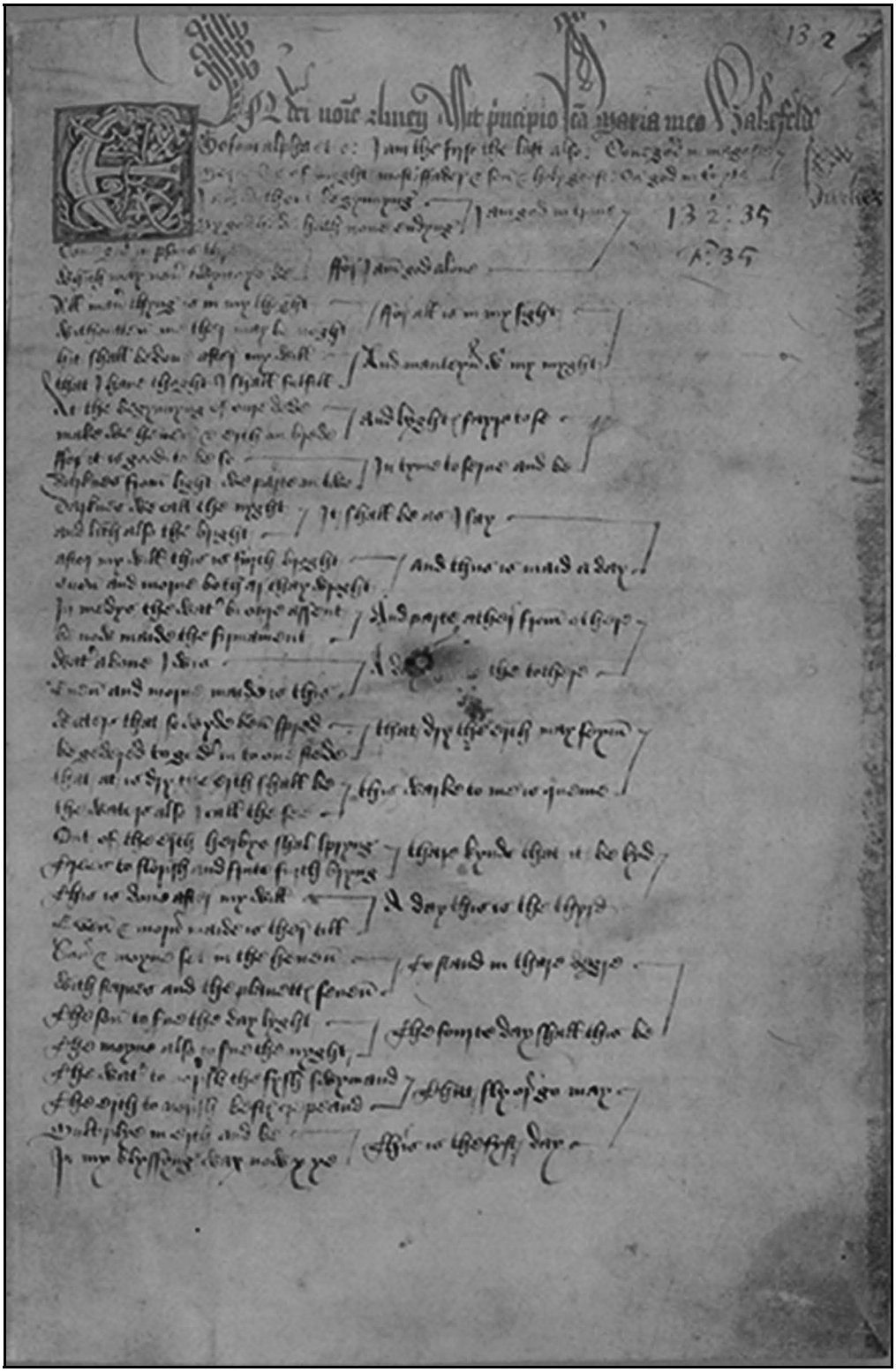

Figure 1. Huntington MS HM 1, fol. 1r: The Creation. Photo courtesy of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

THE TOWNELEY PLAYS

1. THE CREATION

God
Cherubin
Lucifer
Good Angel 1
Good Angel 2
Bad Angel 1 / Demon 1
Bad Angel 2 / Demon 2
Adam
Eve

[fol. 1r] *In dei nomine, Amen. Assit principio sancta Maria meo. Wakefeld.*[1]

GOD *Ego sum alpha et o*:[2]
I am the first the last also,
Oone God in magesté,
Mervelus of myght most, *marvelous*
5 Fader and Son and Holy Goost, *Father; Spirit*
One God in Trinyté.

I am without begynnyng;
My godhede hath none endyng. *has no*
I am God in trone, *throne*
10 Oone God in persons thre
Which may never twynnyd be, *separated*
For I am God alone.

All maner thyng is in my thoght; *manner of*
Withoutten me ther may be noght
15 For all is in my sight.
Hit shall be done after my will: *It*

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[1] *In the name of God, amen. May Holy Mary be present at my beginning. Wakefield*

[2] *I am Alpha and Omega* (Apocalypse 1:8)

That I have thoght I shall fulfill — *All that*
And manteyn with my myght. — *maintain*

At the begynnyng of oure dede — *task*
Make we heven and erth on brede — *far and wide*
And lyghtys fayre to se,
For it is good to be so;
Darknes from light we parte on two — *in*
In tyme to serve and be.

Darknes we call the nyght
And lith also the bright; — *light*
It shall be as I say.
After my will this is furth broght: — *forth*
Even and morne both ar thay wroght — *evening and morning; made*
And thus is maid a day. — *made*

In medys the water, bi oure assent, — *the middle of*
Be now maide the firmament,
And parte ather from othere — *either*
Water above, iwis. — *certainly*
Even and morne maide is this.
A day, this is the tothere. — *second*

Waters that so wyde ben spred — *are spread*
Be gedered togeder into one stede — *gathered; place*
That dry the erth may seym. — *seem*
That at is dry the erth shall be; — *that which*
The waters also I call the see. — *sea*
This warke to me is queme. — *pleasing*

Out of the erth, herbys shal spryng:
Trees to florish and frute furth bryng,
Thare kynde that it be kyd. — *made known*
This is done after my will:
Even and morn maide is thertill; — *in addition*
A day, this is the thryd.

Son and moyne set in the heven — *Sun and moon*
With starnes and the planettys seven — *stars; planets*
To stand in thare degré, — *their*
The son to serve the day lyght,
The moyne also to serve the nyght.
The fourte day shall this be. — *fourth*

The water to norish the fysh swymand, — *nourish; swimming*
The erth to norish bestys crepeand — *creeping*

That fly or go may.
Multiplye in erth and be
In my blyssyng; wax now ye. *blessing; grow*
60 This is the fyft day. *fifth*

CHERUBIN Oure lord God in Trynyté, ***[fol. 1v]***
Myrth and lovyng be to thee, *praise*
Myrth and lovyng over al thyng.
For thou has made with thi bidyng
65 Heven and erth and all that is,
And giffen us joy that never shall mys. *given; fail*
Lord, thou art full mych of myght *great*
That has maide Lucifer so bright.
We love thee, Lord; bright ar we,
70 Bot none of us so bright as he.
He may well hight Lucifere, *be named*
For lufly light that he doth bere; *lovely*
He is so lufly and so bright.
It is grete joy to se that sight.
75 We lofe thee, Lord, with all oure thoght *love*
That sich thyng can make of noght. *such*

Hic Deus recedit a suo solio et Lucifer sedebit in eodem solio.[1]

LUCIFER Certys, it is a semely sight *certainly; fair*
Syn that we ar all angels bright *since*
And ever in blis to be;
80 If that ye will behold me right
This mastré longys to me. *belongs*

I am so fare and bright:
Of me commys all this light,
This gam and all this gle; *pleasure; delight*
85 Agans my grete myght
May nothyng stand then be. *nor be*

And ye well me behold:
I am a thowsandfold
Brighter then is the son. *sun*
90 My strengthe may not be told;
My myght may nothyng kon. *know*
In heven therfor wit I wold *think; would*
Above me who shuld won.

[1] *Here God leaves his throne, and Lucifer will sit in the same throne*

For I am lord of blis
95 Over all this warld, iwis; *certainly*
My myrth is most of all.
Therfor my will is this:
Master ye shall me call.

And ye shall se full sone onone *you; immediately*
100 How that me semys to sit in trone *I seem*
As kyng of blis.
I am so semely, blode and bone; *beautiful; blood*
My sete shall be ther as was his. *seat*

Say, felows, how semys now me
105 To sit in seyte of Trynyté? *the seat*
I am so bright of ich a lym, *in every limb*
I trow me seme as well as hym.
BAD ANGEL 1 Thou art so fayre unto my syght;
Thou semys well to sytt on hight, *high*
110 So thynke me that thou doyse. *does*
GOOD ANGEL 1 I rede ye leyfe that vanys royse *advise; leave that vain boasting*
For that seyte may non angell seme *seat; suit*
So well as hym that all shall deme. *judge*
GOOD ANGEL 2 I reyde ye sese of that ye sayn, *cease*
115 For well I wote ye carpe in vayne; *know; chatter*
Hit semyd hym never, ne never shall, *it suited; nor*
So well as hym that has maide all.
BAD ANGEL 2 Now and bi oght that I can witt, *anything; know*
He semys full well theron to sytt.
120 He is so fayre, withoutten les, *lie*
He semys full well to sytt on des. *dais*
Therfor, felow, hold thi peasse
And umbithynke thee what thou saysse. *consider*
He semys as well to sytt there
125 As God hymself, if he were here.
LUCIFER Leyf felow, thynk thee not so? *Dear*
BAD ANGEL 1 Yee, God wote, so dos othere mo *knows; do; more;* ***[fol. 2r]***
GOOD ANGEL 1 Nay, forsoth, so thynk not us. *truly*
LUCIFER Now, therof a leke what rekys us? *leek; troubles*
130 Syn I myself am so bright,
Therfor will I take a flyght.

Tunc exibunt demones clamando, et dicit primus,[1]

[1] *Then the demons will exit, crying out, and the first says*

DEMON 1	Alas! alas and welowo!	*(see note)*
	Lucifer, whi fell thou so?	
	We that were angels so fare	*fair*
135	And sat so hie above the ayere,	*air*
	Now ar we waxen blak as any coyll	*grown; coal*
	And ugly, tatyrd as a foyll.	*tattered; fool*
	What alyd thee, Lucifer, to fall?	*ailed*
	Was thou not farist of angels all,	
140	Brightist and best and most of luf	*love*
	With God hymself that syttys aboyf?	*sits above*
	Thou has maide neyn; there was ten.	*nine*
	Thou art foull comyn from thi kyn.	*descended; kind*
	Thou art fallen that was the teynd,	*tenth*
145	From an angell to a feynd;	*fiend*
	Thou has us doyn a vyle dispyte	*done a vile thing*
	And broght thiself to sorow and sitt.	*grief*
	Alas, ther is noght els to say,	
	Bot we ar tynt for now and ay.	*lost; always*
DEMON 2	Alas, the joy that we were in	
151	Have we lost for oure syn.	
	Alas, that ever cam pride in thoght,	
	For it has broght us all to noght.	
	We were in myrth and joy enoghe	*enough*
155	When Lucifer to pride drogh.	*drew*
	Alas, we may warrie wikkyd pride,	*curse*
	So may ye all that standys beside.	
	We held with hym ther he saide leasse	*supported; lies*
	And therfor have we all unpeasse.	
160	Alas, alas, oure joye is tynt.	*ruined*
	We mon have payne that never shall stynt.	*must; cease*
GOD	Erthly bestys that may crepe and go,	
	Bryng ye furth and wax ye mo.	*increase*
	I se that it is good.	
165	Now make we man to oure liknes,	
	That shall be keper of more and les,	
	Of fowles and fysh in flood.	
	Et tanget eum.[1]	
	Spreyte of life I in thee blaw;	*spirit; blow*
	Good and ill, both shall thou knaw.	*know*
170	Rise up and stand bi me.	
	All that is in water or land	

[1] *And he will touch him*

It shall bow unto thi hand
And sufferan shall thou be. *sovereign*

I gif thee witt, I gif thee strenght;
175 Of all thou sees of brede and lengthe *far and wide*
Thou shall be wonder wise,
Myrth and joy to have at will,
All thi likyng to fulfill *pleasure*
And dwell in paradise.

180 This I make thi wonnyng playce, *dwelling*
Full of myrth and of solace,
And I seasse thee therin. *place*
It is not good to be alone,
To walk here in this worthely wone *worthy place*
185 In all this welthly wyn. *rich delight*

Therfor a rib I from thee take;
Therof shall be maide thi make *mate*
And be to thi helpyng,
Ye, both to governe that here is
190 And evermore to be in blis,
Ye wax in my blissyng. *increase*

Ye shall have joye and blis therin
Whils ye will kepe you out of syn,
I say withoutten lese.
[fol. 2v] Ryse up, myn angell cherubyn.
196 Take and leyd theym both in,
And leyf them there in peasse. *leave*

Tunc capit cherubyn Adam per manum and dicit eis dominus,[1]

Heris thou, Adam and Eve thi wife: *hear*
I forbede you the tre of life, *forbid*
200 And I commaund that it be gat. *guarded*
Take which ye will, bot negh not that. *approach*
Adam, if thou breke my rede, *break; command*
Thou shall dye a dulfull dede. *die a dreadful death*
CHERUBIN Oure Lord, oure God, thi will be done.
205 I shall go with theym full sone. *soon*
Forsoth, my Lord, I shall not sted *Truly; tarry*
Till I have theym theder led. *there*
We thank thee, Lord, with full good chere

[1] *Then the cherubin takes Adam by the hand, and the Lord says to him*

	That has maide man to be oure feere.	*companion*
210	Com furth, Adam, I shall thee leyd;	*forth; lead*
	Take tent to me, I shall thee reyd.	*Pay attention; tell*
	I rede thee thynk how thou art wroght,	*wrought*
	And luf my Lord in all thi thoght	*love*
	That has maide thee thrugh his will,	
215	Angels ordir to fulfill,	*order*
	Many thyngys he has thee giffen	*given*
	And maide thee master of all that liffen;	*lives*
	He has forbed thee bot a tre.	*forbidden; only*
	Look that thou let it be,	
220	For if thou breke his commaundment	
	Thou skapys not bot thou be shent.	*escape; punished*
	Weynd here into paradise,	*Go*
	And luke now that ye be wyse	*look*
	And kepe you well, for I must go	
225	Unto my Lord ther I cam fro.	*came from*
ADAM	Almyghty Lord, I thank it thee,	
	That is and was and shall be,	
	Of thi luf and of thi grace,	
	For now is here a mery place.	
230	Eve, my felow, how thynk thee this?	
EVE	A stede, me thynk, of joye and blis	*place*
	That God has giffen to thee and me,	
	Withoutten ende, blissyd be he.	
ADAM	Eve, felow, abide me thore,	*there*
235	For I will go to viset more	
	To se what trees that here been.	
	Here ar well moo then we have seen:	*more than*
	Gresys, and othere small floures	*grasses*
	That smell full swete, of seyr coloures.	*several*
EVE	Gladly, syr, I will full fayne;	*glad*
241	When ye have sene theym, com agane.	*return*
ADAM	Bot luke well, Eve my wife,	*look*
	That thou negh not the tree of life,	*approach*
	For if thou do, he bese ill-paide;	*displeased*
245	Then be we tynt as he has saide.	*ruined*
EVE	Go furth, and play thee all aboute;	
	I shall not negh it whils thou art oute,	
	For be thou sekyr, I were full loth	*certain; loath*
	For any thyng that he were wroth.[1]	
LUCIFER	Who wend ever this tyme have seyn?	*thought; to have seen*
251	We that in sich myrth have beyn,	
	That we shuld suffre so mych wo,	

[1] *That he should be angry for any reason*

	Who wold ever trow it shuld be so?	*believe*
	Ten orders in heven were	
255	Of angels that had offyce sere	*diverse duties*
	Of ich order in thare degré;	*each*
	The teynd parte fell downe with me,	*tenth*
	For thay held with me that tyde	*supported; time*
	And mantenyd me in my pride.	*maintained*
260	Bot herkyns, felows, what I say:	*listen*
	The joy that we have lost for ay,	*ever*
	God has maide man with his hend	*hands*
	To have that blis withoutten end,	
	The neyn ordre to fulfill	*nine orders to complete*
265	That after us left; sich is his will.	*such*
	And now ar thay in paradise,	
	Bot thens thay shall if we be wise.	*from there*

[…]

2. THE KILLING OF ABEL

Boy (Pikeharness)
Cain
Abel
God

[fol. 3r] *Mactacio Abel, secunda pagina*.[1]

BOY	All hayll, all hayll, both blithe and glad,	*joyful*
	For here com I, a mery lad!	
	Be peasse youre dyn, my master bad,	*peaceful; noise; bade*
	Or els the dwill you spede.	*devil; help you*
5	Wote ye not I com before?	*know*
	Bot who that janglis any more,	*chatters*
	He must blaw my blak hoill bore	*blow; bore-hole*
	Both behynd and before	
	Till his tethe blede.	*teeth*
10	Felows, here I you forbede	*forbid*
	To make nother nose ne cry;	*neither noise nor*
	Whoso is so hardy to do that dede,	
	The dwill hang hym up to dry.	*devil*
	Gedlyngys, I am a fulle grete wat.	*Scoundrels; person*
15	A good yoman my master hat;	*yeoman; is called*
	Full well ye all hym ken.	*know*

[1] *The killing of Abel, the second pageant*

	Begyn he with you for to stryfe,	
	Certys, then mon ye never thryfe.	*Certainly; must; thrive*
	Bot I trow bi God on life	*believe; alive*
20	Som of you ar his men.	
	Bot let youre lippis cover youre ten,	*lips; teeth; (see note)*
	Harlottys everichon;	*Scoundrels*
	For if my master com, welcom hym then.	
	Farewell, for I am gone.	
CAIN	Io furth, Greynhorne, and war oute, Gryme!	*go forth; look out*
26	Drawes on, God gif you ill to tyme.	*pull; give; fare*
	Ye stand as ye were fallen in swyme!	*swoon*
	What, will ye no forther, mare?	*further; mare*
	War, let me se how Down will draw.	*Beware*
30	Yit, shrew, yit pull on a thraw.	*villain; awhile*
	What, it semys for me ye stand none aw.	*seems to me; do not stand in awe*
	I say, Donnyng, go fare!	
	Aha! God gif thee soro and care.	*give; sorrow*
	Lo, now hard she what I saide?	*heard*
35	Now, yit art thou the warst mare	*worst*
	In plogh that ever I haide.	*plough; had*
	How, Pikeharnes, how! com heder, belife.	*here; at once*
BOY	I fend, Godys forbot, that ever thou thrife.	*forbid; forbid*
CAIN	What, boy, shal I both hold and drife?	*drive*
40	Heris thou not how I cry?	*hear*
BOY	Say, Mall and Stott, will ye not go?	
	Lemyng, Morell, Whitehorne, io!	*go*
	Now will ye not se how thay hy?	*hasten*
CAIN	Gog gif thee sorow, boy.	*God give*
45	Want of mete it gars.	*Lack of food causes it*
BOY	Thare provand, syr, forthi	*Their provisions; therefore*
	I lay behynd thare ars,	*their asses*
	And tyes them fast bi the nekys	*tie; necks*
49	With many stanys in thare hekys.	*stones; hay-racks*
CAIN	That shall bi thi fals chekys!	*abide; cheeks;* ***[fol. 3v]***
BOY	And have agane as right!	*Right back at you!*
CAIN	I am thi master; wilt thou fight?	
BOY	Yai, with the same mesure and weght	*weight*
54	That I boro will I qwite.	*What I receive; repay*
CAIN	Wé, now nothyng bot call on tyte	
	That we had ployde this land.[1]	

[1] Lines 55–56: *What, now do nothing but shout quickly [to the animals] / Until we have plowed this field*

Harrer, Morell! io furth, hyte! *Giddy-up; go*
And let the plogh stand.

ABEL God, as he both may and can,
60 Spede thee, brother, and thi man. *Assist*
CAIN Com kis myne ars! Me list not ban,
As welcom standys ther oute.[1]
Thou shuld have bide til thou were cald. *stayed; called*
Com nar, and other drife or hald, *near; either*
65 And kys the dwillis toute. *kiss; devil's ass*
Go grese thi shepe under the toute *grease*
For that is thee moste lefe. *to you; agreeable*
ABEL Broder, ther is none here aboute
That wold thee any grefe. *grief*

70 Bot, leif brother, here my sawe: *dear; hear; speech*
It is the custom of oure law
All that wyrk as the wise *All who*
Shall worship God with sacrifice.
Oure fader us bad, oure fader us kend, *bade; taught*
75 That oure tend shuld be brend. *tithe; burnt*
Com furth, brothere, and let us gang *go*
To worship God; we dwell full lang. *delay too long*
Gif we hym parte of oure fee, *wealth*
Corne or catall wheder it be. *Grain or livestock; whichever*

80 And therfor, brother, let us weynd *go*
And first clens us from the feynd *cleanse; devil*
Or we make sacrifice; *Before*
Then blis withoutten end
Get we for oure servyce

85 Of hym that is oure saulis leche. *soul's physician*
CAIN How! let furth youre geyse, the fox will preche. *geese*
How long wilt thou me appech *delay*
With thi sermonyng? *preaching*
Hold thi tong, yit I say, *tongue*
90 Even ther the good wife strokid the hay, *where; stroked*
Or sit downe in the dwill way *devil's way*
With thi vayn carpyng. *vain chatter*

Shuld I leife my plogh and all thyng *leave*
And go with thee to make offeryng?
95 Nay, thou fyndys me not so mad. *crazy*

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[1] Lines 61–62: *Come kiss my ass! I do not want to curse, / so you are welcome elsewhere*

	Go to the dwill and say I bad.	*I told you to*
	What gifys God thee to rose hym so?	*gives; praise*
	Me gifys he noght bot soro and wo.	*sorrow and woe*
ABEL	Caym, leife this vayn carpyng,	*leave;* ***[fol. 4r]***
100	For God giffys thee all thi lifyng.	*living*
CAIN	Yit boroed I never a farthyng	*borrowed; a quarter penny*
	Of hym; here my hand.	*From; (see note)*
ABEL	Brother, as elders have us kend	*taught*
	First shuld we tend with oure hend	*hands*
105	And to his lofyng sithen be brend.[1]	
CAIN	My farthyng is in the preest hand	*priest's*
	Syn last tyme I offyrd.	*Since*
ABEL	Leif brother, let us be walkand;	*Dear; walking*
	I wold oure tend were profyrd.	*tithe; offered*
CAIN	Wé! wherof shuld I tend, leif brothere?	*with what*
111	For I am ich yere wars then othere.	*each year worse off*
	Here my trouth, it is none othere:	*belief*
	My wynnyngys ar bot meyn;	*earnings; meager*
	No wonder if that I be leyn.	*lean*
115	Full long till hym I may me meyn,	*complain*
	For bi hym that me dere boght	
	I traw that he will leyn me noght.	*believe; loan*
ABEL	Yis, all the good thou has in wone	*in abundance*
	Of Godys grace is bot a lone.	*loan*
CAIN	Lenys he me? As come thrift apon thee so,	*prosperity*
121	For he has ever yit beyn my fo.	*been; foe*
	For had he my freynd beyn	
	Othergatys it had beyn seyn.	*It would have appeared otherwise*
	When all mens corn was fayre in feld	
125	Then was myne not worth a neld.	*needle*
	When I shuld saw and wantyd seyde	*sow; seed*
	And of corn had full grete neyde,	
	Then gaf he me none of his;	
	No more will I gif hym of this.	
130	Hardely hold me to blame	*Boldly*
	Bot if I serve hym of the same.	*Unless*
ABEL	Leif brother, say not so,	
	Bot let us furth togeder go.	
	Good brother, let us weynd sone;	*depart soon*
135	No longer here I rede we hone.	*advise; tarry*

[1] Lines 104–05: *First we should take the tenth of what we have, / which is then to be burned for the love of God*

CAIN Yei, yei, thou jangyls waste. *chatter uselessly*
The dwill me spede if I have hast *help me; haste*
As long as I may lif
To dele my good or gif, *give*
140 Ather to God or yit to man,
Of any good that ever I wan. *goods; gained*
For had I giffen away my goode,
Then myght I go with a ryffen hood, *torn*
And it is better hold that I have
145 Then go from doore to doore and crave. *beg*
ABEL Brother, com furth in Godys name.
I am full ferd that we get blame; *afraid*
Hy we fast that we were thore. *Hurry; there*
CAIN Wé, ryn on in the dwills nayme before. *Ah, run;* ***[fol. 4v]***
150 Wemay, man, I hold thee mad.
Wenys thou now that I list gad *Think; wish to wander*
To gif away my warldys aght? *worldly possessions*
The dwill hym spede that me so taght. *assist*
What nede had I my travell to lose, *work; waste*
155 To were my shoyn and ryfe my hose? *wear out my shoes; tear*
ABEL Dere brother, hit were grete wonder
That I and thou shuld go in sonder. *go apart*
Then wold oure fader have grete ferly. *wonder*
Ar we not brether thou and I? *brothers*
CAIN No, bot cry on, cry whyls thee thynk good. *while*
161 Here my trowth: I hold thee woode. *truth; crazy*
Wheder that he be blithe or wroth
To dele my good is me full lothe.
I have gone oft on softer wise *in a gentler way*
165 Ther I trowed som prow wold rise *Where I believed; advantage*
Bot well I se go must I nede;
Now weynd before, ill myght thou spede, *prosper*
Syn that we shall algatys go. *in any case*
ABEL Leif brother, whi sais thou so? *says*
170 Bot go we furth both togeder.
Blissid be God we have fare weder. *fair weather*
CAIN Lay downe thi trussell apon this hill. *bundle*
ABEL Forsoth, broder, so I will.
174 Gog of heven take it to good.
CAIN Thou shall tend first, if thou were wood. *tithe; even if; mad*
ABEL God that shope both erth and heven, *created*
I pray to thee thou here my steven *voice*
And take in thank, if thi will be,
The tend that I offre here to thee, *tithe*
180 For I gif it in good entent
To thee my lord, that all has sent.
I bren it now with stedfast thoght *burn*

	In worship of hym that all has wroght.	
CAIN	Ryse, let me now, syn thou has done.	
185	Lord of heven, thou here my boyne,	*prayer*
	And over Godys forbot be to thee	*prohibition*
	Thank or thew to kun me.[1]	
	For as browke I thise two shankys,	*as I enjoy the use of these two legs*
	It is full sore, myne unthankys,	
190	The teynd that I here gif to thee	*tenth*
	Of corn or thyng that newys me.	*grows for me*
	Bot now begyn will I then,	
	Syn I must nede my tend to bren.	*tithe; burn*
	Oone shefe, oone, and this makys two,	*sheaves*
195	Bot nawder of thise may I forgo.	*neither*
	Two, two, now this is thre;	
	Yei, this also shall leif with me,	*remain*
	For I will chose and best have —	
	This hold I thrift — of all this thrafe.	*profit; bundle*
200	Wemo, wemo! foure, lo, here.	
	Better greved me no this yere.	*grew*
	At yere tyme, I sew fayre corn,	*In season*
	Yit was it sich when it was shorne.	*harvested*
	Thystyls and brerys, yei, grete plenté,	*briars*
205	And all kyn wedys that myght be.	*all sorts of weeds*
	Foure shefys, foure; lo, this makys fyfe.	*sheaves*
	Deyll! I fast thus long or I thrife.	*Devil; before I thrive*
	Fyfe and sex, now this is sevyn,	*Five and six; seven*
	Bot this gettys never God of heven.	
210	Nor none of thise foure at my myght	
	Shall never com in Godys sight.	
	Sevyn, sevyn, now this is aght.	*eight*
ABEL	Cam, brother, thou art not God betaght.	*come; committed to God*
CAIN	Wé, therfor is it that I say	
215	For I will not deyle my good away.	*divide; goods*
[fol. 5r]	Bot had I gyffen hym this to teynd	*given; tithe*
	Then wold thou say he were my freynd,	
	Bot I thynk not, bi my hode,	*head*
	To departe so lightly fro my goode.	
220	Wé! aght, aght, and neyn, and ten is this.	
	Wé, this may we best mys.	*miss*
	Gif hym that that ligys thore;	*lies; there*
	It goyse agans myn hart full sore.	*goes against; heart*
ABEL	Cam, teynd right of all bedeyn.	*tithe; together*
CAIN	Wé, lo! twelve, fyfteyn, sexteyn.	

[1] Lines 186–87: *God forbid that you show me gratitude or courtesy*

ABEL	Caym, thou tendys wrang and of the warst.	*wrongly; worst*
CAIN	Wé, com nar and hide myne een.	*near; eyes*
228	In the wenyand, wist ye now at last!	*waning [moon], know*
	Or els will thou that I wynk?	*close my eyes*
230	Then shall I doy no wrong, me thynk.	*do*
	Let me se now how it is.	
	Lo, yit I hold me paide.	
	I teyndyd wonder well, bi ges,	*by estimation*
234	And so even I laide.	
ABEL	Came, of God me thynke thou has no drede.	
CAIN	Now and he get more, the dwill me spede,	*if he get more; devil*
	As mych as oone reepe!	*handful*
	For that cam hym full light chepe,	
	Not as mekill grete ne small	
240	As he myght wipe his ars withall.	
	For that and this that lyys here	
	Have cost me full dere.	
	Or it was shorne and broght in stak	*Before; stacked*
	Had I many a wery bak.	*weary back*
245	Therfor aske me no more of this,	
	For I have giffen that my will is.	
ABEL	Cam, I rede thou tend right	*advise that you*
	For drede of hym that sittys on hight.	
CAIN	How that I tend, rek thee never a deill,	*tithe; care; not at all*
250	Bot tend thi skabbid shepe wele.	*scabbed sheep*
	For if thou to my teynd tent take	*tithe; pay attention*
	It bese the wars for thi sake.	*will be the worse*
	Thou wold I gaf hym this shefe or this sheyfe?	*sheaf*
	Na, nawder of thise two wil I leife.	*neither*
255	Bot take this, now has he two.	
	And for my saull now mot it go.	*must*
	Bot it gos sore agans my will	
	And shal he like full ill.	
ABEL	Cam, I reyde thou so teynd	
260	That God of heven be thi freynd.	
CAIN	My freynd? Na, not bot if he will.	*not unless he so wishes*
	I did hym never yit bot skill.	*what is reasonable*
	If he be never so my fo,	*foe*
	I am avisid gif hym no mo.	*more*
265	Bot chaunge thi conscience as I do myn.	
	Yit teynd thou not thi mesel swyne.	*diseased swine*
ABEL	If thou teynd right, thou mon it fynde.[1]	

[1] *You will find out whether you tithed correctly*

CAIN	Yei, kys the dwills ars behynde!	*kiss*
	The dwill hang thee bi the nek!	
270	How that I teynd never thou rek.	*care*
	Will thou not yit hold thi peasse?	
	Of this janglyng I reyde thou seasse	*cease*
	And, teynd I well or tend I ill,	
	Bere thee even and speke bot skill.	*steadily; reason*
[fol. 6r]	Bot now, syn thou has teyndid thyne,	
276	Now will I set fyr on myne.	*fire*
	Wé! out, haro! help to blaw!	
	It will not bren for me, I traw,	*burn; believe*
	Puf! this smoke dos me mych shame.	*much*
280	Now bren, in the dwillys name!	
	A, what dwill of hell is it?	
	Almost had myne breth beyn dit.	*been stopped*
	Had I blawen oone blast more,	
	I had beyn choked right thore!	*there*
285	It stank like the dwill in hell,	
	That longer ther myght I not dwell.	
ABEL	Cam, this is not worth oone leke;	*one leek*
	Thy tend shuld bren withoutten smeke.	*burn; smoke*
CAIN	Com kys the dwill right in the ars!	
290	For thee it brens bot the wars.	*worse*
	I wold that it were in thi throte —	
	Fyr and shefe and ich a sprote.	*fire; sheaf; each sprout*
GOD	Cam, whi art thou so rebell	*rebellious*
	Agans thi brother Abell?	
295	Thar thou nowther flyte ne chyde.[1]	
	If thou tend right, thou gettys thi mede,	*reward*
	And be thou sekir, if thou teynd fals,	*assured; falsely*
	Thou bese alowed therafter als.	*will be paid accordingly*
CAIN	Whi, who is that hob over the wall?	*(see note)*
300	Wé, who was that that piped so small?	*feebly*
	Com, go we hens for perels all;	*hence; perils*
	God is out of hys wit!	
	Com furth, Abell, and let us weynd;	
	Me thynk that God is not my freynd.	
305	On land then will I flyt.	*escape*
ABEL	A, Caym, brother that is ill done.	
CAIN	No, bot go we hens sone	*soon*
	And, if I may, I shall be	
	Ther as God shall not me see.	*Where*

[1] *It is imperative that you neither argue nor chide*

ABEL	Dere brother, I will fayre	*fare*
311	On feld ther oure bestys ar,	*field; are*
	To looke if thay be holgh or full.	*hungry*
CAIN	Na, na, abide; we have a craw to pull.[1]	
	Hark, speke with me or thou go;	*before*
315	What, wenys thou to skape so?	*escape*
	Wé, na! I aght thee a fowll dispyte	*owed; foul injury*
	And now is tyme that I hit qwite.	*pay it back*
ABEL	Brother, whi art thou so to me in ire?	*anger*
CAIN	Wé, theyf, whi brend thi tend so shyre?	*thief; burned; brightly*
320	Ther myne did bot smoked	
	Right as it wold us both have choked.	
ABEL	Godys will, I trow it were,	*believe*
	That myn brened so clere;	
	If thyne smoked, am I to wite?	*blame*
CAIN	Wé, yei, that shal thou sore abite!	*pay for*
326	With cheke bon, or that I blyn,	*bone; before I cease; (see note)*
	Shal I thee and thi life twyn.	*part*
	So lig down ther and take thi rest;	*lie*
	Thus shall shrewes be chastysed best.	*villains*
ABEL	Veniance! veniance, Lord, I cry!	*Vengeance*
331	For I am slayn and not gilty.	*guilty*
CAIN	Yei, ly ther, old shrew! ly ther, ly!	
	And if any of you thynk I did amys,	
	I shal it amend wars then it is,	*worse*
335	That all men may it se.	
	Well wars then it is	
	Right so shall it be.	
	Bot now, syn he is broght on slepe,	
	Into som hole fayn wold I crepe.	*fain*
[fol. 5v]	For ferd I qwake and can no rede,	*fear; know no counsel*
341	For be I taken I be bot dede.	*dead*
	Here will I lig thise fourty dayes.	*lie*
	And I shrew hym that me fyrst rayse.	*curse; annoys*
GOD	Caym! Caym!	
CAIN	Who is that that callis me?	
345	I am yonder may thou not se?	
GOD	Caym, where is thi brother Abell?	
CAIN	What, askys thou me? I trow at hell.	*believe*
	At hell I trow he be —	
	Whoso were ther then myght he se —	
350	Or somwhere fallen on slepyng.	

[1] *We have a crow to pluck [that is, a dispute to settle]*

	When was he in my kepyng?	
GOD	Caym, Caym! thou was wode.	*mad*
	The voyce of thi brotherys blode	
	That thou has slayn on fals wise	*in a false manner*
355	From erth to heven venyance cryse,	*vengeance cries*
	And for thou has broght thi brother downe,	
	Here I gif thee my malison.	*curse*
CAIN	Yei, dele aboute thee, for I will none,	
	Or take it thee when I am gone.	
360	Syn I have done so mekill syn	*much sin*
	That I may not thi mercy wyn,	
	And thou thus dos me from thi grace,	
	I shall hyde me fro thi face.	
	And where so any man may fynd me	*wherever*
365	Let hym slo me hardely,	*slay; boldly*
	And where so any man may me meyte,	*meet*
	Ayther bi sty or yit bi strete.	*Either by path; street*
	And hardely, when I am dede,	*by all means*
	Bery me in Gudeboure at the quarell hede,	*Bury; quarry head*
370	For may I pas this place in quarte.	*good health*
	Bi all men set I not a fart!	*care I not*
GOD	Nay, Caym, it bese not so;	
	I will that no man other slo.	
	For he that sloys thee, yong or old,	
375	It shall be punyshid sevenfold.	
CAIN	No force, I wote wheder I shall.	*No matter*
	In hell, I wote, mon be my stall.	*must; place*
	It is no boyte mercy to crave	*no use*
	For, if I do, I mon none have.	
380	Bot this cors I wold were hid,	*body; would*
	For som man myght com at ungayn.	*inconveniently*
	"Fle fals shrew" wold he bid,	
	And weyn I had my brother slayn.	*suppose*
	Bot were Pikeharnes my knafe here,	
385	We shuld bery hym both in fere.	*bury; together*
	How, Pykeharnes, scapethryft! how Pikeharnes, how!	*spendthrift*
BOY	Master, master.	
CAIN	Harstow, boy, ther is a podyng in the pot.	*You listen; pudding*
	Take thee that, boy, tak thee that!	
BOY	I shrew thi ball under thi hode	*curse*
391	If thou were my syre of flesh and blode.[1]	

[1] Lines 390–91: *I would curse your head, / even if you were my actual father*

	All the day to ryn and trott,	*run*
	And ever amang thou strykeand,	*striking*
394	Thus am I comen bofettys to fott.	*blows to receive*
CAIN	Peas, man, I did it bot to use my hand.	*but*
[fol. 6v]	Bot harke, boy, I have a counsell to thee to say:	
	I slogh my brother this same day;	*slew*
	I pray thee, good boy, and thou may,	*if*
	To ryn away with the bayn.	*(see note)*
BOY	Wé, out apon thee, thefe!	
401	Has thou thi brother slayn?	
CAIN	Peasse, man, for Godys payn.	
	I saide it for a skaunce.	*joke*
BOY	Yey, bot for ferde of grevance	*fear of injury*
405	Here I thee forsake.	
	We mon have a mekill myschaunce	*must; much misfortune*
	And the bayles us take.	*If; bailiffs*
CAIN	A, syr, I cry you mercy! Seasse,	*cease*
	And I shall make you a releasse.	
BOY	What, wilt thou cry my peasse	*(see note)*
411	Thrughout this land?	
CAIN	Yey, that I gif God a vow, belife.	*at once*
BOY	How will thou do, long or thou thrife?[1]	*before*
CAIN	Stand up, my good boy, belife.	
415	And thaym peasse, both man and wife.	*silence them*
	And whoso will do after me	*whoever*
	Full slape of thrift then shal he be.	*Very fortunate*
	Bot thou must be my good boy,	
419	And cry oyes, oyes, oy!	
BOY	Browes, browes to thi boy.	*Pottage*
CAIN	I commaund you in the kyngys nayme —	
BOY	And in my masteres, fals Cayme.	*false*
CAIN	That no man at thame fynd fawt ne blame —	*with them; fault nor blame*
BOY	Yey, cold rost is at my masteres hame.	*home*
CAIN	Nowther with hym nor with his knafe —	*neither; boy*
BOY	What, I hope my master rafe.	*raves*
CAIN	For thay ar trew full manyfold —	*utterly true*
BOY	My master suppys no coyle bot cold.	*eats only cold cabbage soup*
CAIN	The kyng wrytys you untill.	*orders*
BOY	Yit ete I never half my fill.	*eat*

[1] *How will you do this (may it be long before you prosper)?*

CAIN	The kyng will that thay be safe —	
BOY	Yey, a draght of drynke fayne wold I hayfe.	*gladly; have*
CAIN	At thare awne will let tham wafe.	*own; move*
BOY	My stomak is redy to receyfe.	*receive*
CAIN	Loke no man say to theym on nor other —	
BOY	This same is he that slo his brother.	*slew*
CAIN	Byd every man thaym luf and lowt —	*praise and obey*
BOY	Yey, ill spon weft ay comes foule out.[1]	
CAIN	Long or thou get thi hoyse, and thou go thus aboute![2]	
440	Byd every man theym pleasse to pay —	
BOY	Yey, gif Don, thyne hors, a wisp of hay.	*horse*
CAIN	Wé, com downe in twenty dwill way!	*(see note)*
	The dwill I thee betake.	
[fol. 7r]	For bot it were Abell my brothere	*Unless*
445	Yit knew I never thi make.	*equal*
BOY	Now, old and yong, or that ye weynd,	*before you go*
	The same blissyng withoutten end	
	All sam then shall ye have	
	That God of heven my master has giffen.	
450	Browke it well whils that ye liffen;	*Enjoy; live*
	He vowche it full well safe.	*May he grant it*
CAIN	Com downe yit in the dwillys way,	
	And angre me no more.	
	And take yond plogh, I say,	
455	And weynd thee furth fast before,	
	And I shall if I may	
	Tech thee another lore.	*Teach; lesson*
	I warn thee lad, for ay,	*ever*
	Fro now furth evermore	*From*
460	That thou greve me noght.	
	For bi Codys sydys, if thou do	*God's loins*
	I shall hang thee apon this plo	
	With this rope, lo, lad! lo,	
	By hym that me dere boght.	*bought*
465	Now, fayre well, felows all,	
	For I must nedys weynd,	
	And to the dwill be thrall,	*slave*
	Warld withoutten end.	*World*

[1] *Yes, ill-spun weft always comes out foul* (see note)

[2] *Long before you are old enough to wear hose, and [already] you behave thus!*

Ordand ther is my stall *Ordained; place*
470 With Sathanas the feynd, *Satan the fiend*
Ever ill myght hym befall,
That theder me commend *there*
This tyde. *time*
Fare well les, and fare well more,
475 For now and evermore!
I will go me to hyde. *hide*

Explicit mactacio Abell; sequitur Noe.[1]

3. NOAH

Noah
God
Wife
Son 1
Son 2
Son 3
Woman 1
Woman 2
Woman 3

[fol. 7v] *Processus Noe cum filiis. Wakefeld*[2]

NOAH Myghtfull God veray, *true*
Maker of all that is,
Thre persons, withoutten nay, *without a doubt*
Oone God in endles blis,
5 Thou maide both nyght and day, *made*
Beest, fowle, and fysh;
All creatures that lif may *live*
Wroght thou at thi wish *Wrought*
As thou wel myght.
10 The son, the moyne, verament, *sun; moon; truly*
Thou maide the firmament, *heavens*
The sternes also full fervent *stars; glowing*
To shyne thou maide ful bright.

Angels thou maide ful even,
15 All orders that is,
To have the blis in heven;

[1] *Here ends the killing of Abel; Noah follows*

[2] *The pageant of Noah with his sons. Wakefield* (see note)

This did thou more and les,
Full mervelus to neven. *marvelous to mention*
Yit was ther unkyndnes *unkindness*
20 More bi foldys seven *seven-fold*
Then I can well expres,
Forwhi *Because*
Of all angels in brightnes
God gaf Lucifer most lightnes,
25 Yit prowdly he flyt his des,
And set hym even Hym by.[1]

He thoght hymself as worthi
As Hym that hym made,
In brightnes, in bewty. *beauty*
30 Therfor He hym degrade,
Put hym in a low degré
Soyn after, in a brade, *soon; torment*
Hym and all his menye, *companions*
Wher he may be unglad.
35 Forever
Shall thay never wyn away *escape*
Hence unto domysday, *until doomsday*
Bot burne in bayle for ay, *torment forever*
Shall thay never dyssever. *depart*

40 Soyne after, that gracyous lord *soon*
To his liknes maide man,
That place to be restord
Even as he began.
Of the Trinité bi accord
45 Adam and Eve that woman,
To multiplie without discord,
In Paradise put he thaym, *them*
And sithen to both *then*
Gaf in commaundement *gave*
50 On the Tre of Life to lay no hend, *hands*
Bot yit the fals feynd *false fiend*
Made hym with man wroth, *angry*

Entysyd man to glotony, *Enticed; gluttony*
Styrd him to syn in pride. *Stirred*
55 Bot in Paradise securly *But; truly*
Myght no syn abide,
And therfor man full hastely

[1] Lines 25–26: *Yet proudly he fled his dais (seat of honor) / and set himself next to God*

Was put out in that tyde *time*
In wo and wandreth for to be *misery*
60 In paynes full unrid *pains; severe*
To knowe.
Fyrst in erth and sythen in hell *earth; afterwards*
With feyndys for to dwell, *devils*
Bot he his mercy mell *Unless; deals out*
65 To those that will hym trawe. *trust*

Oyle of mercy he hus hight, *promises to us*
[fol. 8r] As I have hard red, *heard said*
To every lifyng wight *living creature*
That wold luf hym and dred; *love; dread*
70 Bot now before his sight
Every liffyng leyde *living person*
Most party day and nyght *For the most part*
Syn in word and dede *Sin*
Full bold,
75 Som in pride, ire, and envy,
Som in covetous and glotyny,
Som in sloth and lechery,
And otherwise manyfold. *in many other ways*

Therfor I drede lest God
80 On us will take veniance, *vengeance*
For syn is now alod
Without any repentance.
Sex hundreth yeris and od *and a few*
Have I, without distance, *without dispute*
85 In erth as any sod
Liffyd with grete grevance *Lived; great grievance*
Allway, *Always*
And now I wax old, *grow*
Seke, sory, and cold, *Sick; sorry*
90 As muk apon mold *muck; earth*
I widder away. *wither*

Bot yit will I cry
For mercy, and call:
Noe, thi servant am I, *Noah*
95 Lord over all;
Therfor me and my fry *children*
Shal with me fall
Save from velany, *villainy*
And bryng to thi hall
100 In heven,
And kepe me from syn

This warld within.
Comly kyng of mankyn,
I pray thee, here my stevyn. *hear my voice*

GOD Syn I have maide all thyng
That is liffand, *living*
Duke, emperour and kyng
With myne awne hand,
For to have thare likyng
Bi see and bi sand,
Every man to my bydyng
Shuld be bowand *obedient*
Full fervent
That maide man sich a creatoure,
Farest of favoure,
Man must luf me paramoure *passionately*
By reson, and repent.

Me thoght I shewed man luf
When I made hym to be
All angels abuf, *above*
Like to the Trynyté,
And now in grete reprufe. *reproof*
Full low ligys he, *lies*
In erth hymself to stuf *glutting himself*
With syn that displeasse me
Most of all.
Veniance will I take
In erth for syn sake,
My grame thus will I wake *anger*
Both of grete and small.

I repente full sore
That ever maide I man;
Bi me he settys no store
And I am his soferan. *sovereign*
I will distroy therfor
[fol. 8v] Both beest, man, and woman;
All shall perish, les and more.
That bargan may thay ban
That ill has done.
In erth I se right noght
Bot syn that is unsoght;
Of those that well has wroght
Fynd I bot a fone. *few*

Therfor shall I fordo *destroy*
All this medill erd *middle-earth*
With floodys that shall flo *flow*
And ryn with hidous rerd. *run; hideous noise*
I have good cause therto,
For me no man is ferd. *afraid*
As I say shal I do:
Of veniance draw my swerd
And make end
Of all that beris life,
Sayf Noe and his wife, *Except*
For thay wold never stryfe
With me then me offend. *nor*

Hym to mekill wyn, *much joy*
Hastly will I go
To Noe my servand, or I blyn, *before I cease*
To warn hym of his wo.
In erth I se bot syn
Reynand to and fro *Prevailing here and there*
Emang both more and myn, *Among*
Ichon other fo *Each one the other's foe*
With all thare entent.
All shall I fordo
With floodys that shall floo;
Wirk shall I thaym wo
That will not repent.

Noe, my freend, I thee commaund
From cares thee to keyle, *preserve*
A ship that thou ordand *made*
Of nayle and bord ful wele.
Thou was alway well wirkand, *working*
To me trew as stele,
To my bydyng obediand;
Frendship shal thou fele
To mede. *reward*
Of lennthe thi ship be *length*
Thre hundreth cubettys, warn I thee,
Of heght even thrirté
Of fyfty als in brede. *breadth*

Anoynt thi ship with pik and tar *pitch; tar*
Without and als within,
The water out to spar; *keep*
This is a noble gyn. *contrivance*
Look no man thee mar. *damage*

Thre chese chambres begyn; *tiered*
Thou must spend many a spar *use; piece of timber*
190 This wark or thou wyn *work before*
To end fully.
Make in thi ship also
Parloures, oone or two,
And houses of offyce mo *many*
195 For beestys that ther must be.

Oone cubite on hight *in*
A wyndo shal thou make, *window*
On the syde a doore, with slyght, *skill*
Beneyth shal thou take.
200 With thee shal no man fyght,
Nor do thee no kyn wrake. *no kind of injury*
When all is doyne thus right,
[fol. 9r] Thi wife that is thi make *mate*
Take in to thee;
205 Thi sonnes of good fame,
Sem, Japhet, and Came,
Take in also hame, *home*
Thare wifys also thre.

For all shal be fordone *destroyed*
210 That lif in land bot ye
With floodys that from abone *above*
Shal fall, and that plenté.
It shall begyn full sone
To rayn uncessantlé *incessantly*
215 After dayes seven be done,
And induyr dayes fourty *endure*
Withoutten fayll.
Take to thi ship also
Of ich kynd beestys two,
220 Mayll and femayll, bot no mo
Or thou pull up thi sayll.

For thay may thee avayll *aid*
When al this thyng is wroght,
Stuf thi ship with vitayll, *supplies*
225 For hungre that ye perish noght,
Of beestys, foull, and catayll, *fowl; cattle*
For thaym have thou in thoght.
For thaym is my counsayll
That som socour be soght,
230 In hast:
Thay must have corn and hay

And oder mete always. *other food*
Do now as I thee say,
In the name of the Holy Gast.

NOAH A, benedicité!
236 What art thou that thus
Tellys afore that shall be?
Thou art full mervelus.
Tell me for charité
240 Thi name so gracius.
GOD My name is of dignyté
And also full glorius
To knowe:
I am God most myghty,
245 Oone God in Trynyty
Made thee and ich man to be; *each*
To luf me well thou awe. *ought*

NOAH I thank thee, Lord so dere,
That wold vowchsayf *deign*
250 Thus low to appere
To a symple knafe. *servant*
Blis us, Lord, here,
For charité I hit crafe, *crave*
The better may we stere
255 The ship that we shall hafe, *have*
Certayn.
GOD Noe, to thee and to thi fry *descendants*
My blyssyng graunt I.
Ye shall wax and multiply
260 And fill the erth agane

When all thise floodys ar past
And fully gone away.
NOAH Lord, homward will I hast
As fast as that I may.
265 My wife will I frast *ask*
What she will say,
And I am agast *terrified*
That we get som fray *disturbance*
Betwixt us both,
270 For she is full tethee, *bad-tempered*
For litill oft angré; *little*
If anythyng wrang be
Soyne is she wroth.

[fol. 9v] *Tunc perget ad uxorem:*[1]

God spede, dere wife, *assist [you]*
275 How fayre ye?
WIFE Now as ever myght I thryfe *thrive*
The wars I thee see. *worse*
Do tell me, belife, *immediately*
Where has thou thus long be?
280 To dede may we dryfe
Or lif, for thee,
For want.
When we swete or swynk *sweat or toil*
Thou dos what thou thynk,
285 Yit of mete and of drynk
Have we veray skant. *real scarcity*

NOAH Wife, we ar hard sted *beset*
With tythyngys new.
WIFE Bot thou were worthi be cled *to be clad*
290 In Stafford blew, *blue*
For thou art alway adred, *afraid*
Be it fals or trew.
Bot God knowes I am led, *overruled*
And that may I rew,
295 Full ill.
For I dar be thi borow *I'll be bound*
From even unto morow;
Thou spekys ever of sorow —
God send thee onys thi fill. *at once*

300 We women may wary *curse*
All ill husbandys.
I have oone, bi Mary,
That lowsyd me of my bandys.[2]
If he teyn I must tary, *annoys; tarry*
305 Howsoever it standys,
With seymland full sory, *demeanor*
Wryngand both my handys
For drede;
Bot yit otherwhile, *sometimes*
310 What with gam and with gyle,
I shall smyte and smyle
And qwite hym his mede. *give; reward*

---

[1] *Then he turns to his wife [saying]*

[2] Lines 302–03: *I have one [a husband], by Mary, / that released me from confinement at childbirth*

NOAH Wé, hold thi tong, ramskyt, *sheep-shit*
Or I shall thee still. *make quiet*
WIFE By my thryft, if thou smyte *strike*
316 I shal turne thee untill.
NOAH We shall assay as tyte. *quickly*
Have at thee, Gill!
Apon the bone shal it byte.
320 A, so, Mary — thou smytys ill! *smite*
WIFE Bot I suppose
I shal not in thi det *debt*
Flyt of this flett. *Leave this place*
Take thee ther a langett *thong*
325 To tye up thi hose.

NOAH A, wilt thou so?
Mary, that is myne.
WIFE Thou shal thre for two,
I swere bi Godys pyne, *suffering*
NOAH And I shall qwyte thee tho
331 In fayth or syne. *before long*
WIFE Out apon thee, ho!
NOAH Thou can both byte and whyne
With a rerd. *roar*
335 For all if she stryke,
Yit fast will she skryke. *shriek*
In fayth I hold none slyke *no such other*
In all medill erd.

Bot I will kepe charyté
340 For I have at do. *things to do*
WIFE Here shal no man tary thee; *hinder*
I pray thee, go to.
Full well may we mys thee,
As ever have I ro; *peace*
345 To spyn will I dres me. *prepare myself*
NOAH Wé, farewell, lo.
Bot wife,
Pray for me beselé *diligently*
To eft I com unto thee. *Until again*
WIFE Even as thou prays for me,
351 As ever myght I thrife.

NOAH I tary full lang
[fol. 10r] Fro my warke, I traw.
Now my gere will I fang *get*
355 And thederward draw;

I may full ill gang,
The soth for to knaw;
Bot if God help amang
I may sit downe daw
360 To ken.[1]
Now assay will I
How I can of wrightry, *construction*
In nomine patris, et filii,
Et spiritus sancti. Amen.[2]

365 To begyn, of this tree
My bonys will I bend.
I traw from the Trynyté
Socoure will be send.
It fayres full fayre, thynk me,
370 This wark to my hend. *hands*
Now blissid be he
That this can amend.
Lo, here the lenght,
Thre hundreth cubettys evenly;
375 Of breed, lo, is it fyfty; *breadth*
The heght is even thyrty
Cubettys full strenght.

Now my gowne will I cast
And wyrk in my cote. *coat*
380 Make will I the mast
Or I flyt oone foote. *move*
A, my bak I traw will brast! *break*
This is a sory note.
Hit is wonder that I last,
385 Sich an old dote, *fool*
All dold, *dull*
To begyn sich a wark. *work*
My bonys ar so stark, *stiff*
No wonder if thay wark, *ache*
390 For I am full old.

The top and the sayll
Both will I make;
The helme and the castell
Also will I take.
395 To drife ich a nayll *each nail*

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[1] Lines 358–60: *Unless God helps me now, / I may be thought lazy*

[2] Lines 363–64: *In the name of the Father, and the Son, / and the Holy Ghost. Amen*

Will I not forsake
This gere may never fayll,
That dar I undertake *assert*
Onone. *Immediately*
400 This is a nobull gyn: *excellent contrivance*
Thise nayles so thay ryn *run*
Thoro more and myn *through; less*
Thise bordys ichon. *boards; each one*

Wyndow and doore
405 Even as he saide;
Thre ches chambre, *tiered rooms*
Thay ar well maide,
Pyk and tar full sure
Ther apon laide.
410 This will ever endure,
Therof am I paide, *content*
Forwhy *Because*
It is better wroght
Then I coude haif thoght.
415 Hym that maide all of noght
I thank oonly.

Now will I hy me, *hurry*
And nothyng be leder, *If; sluggish*
My wife and my meneye *family*
420 To bryng even heder. *here*
Tent hedir tydely, *Pay attention; quickly*
Wife, and consider:
Hens must us fle, *Hence*
All sam togeder, *together*
425 In hast.
WIFE Whi, syr, what alis you? *ails;* ***[fol. 10v]***
Who is that asalis you? *assails*
To fle it avalis you *avails*
And ye be agast. *If*

NOAH Ther is garn on the reyll *yarn; [other] reel*
431 Other, my dame.
WIFE Tell me that ich a deyll, *every part*
Els get ye blame.
NOAH He that cares may keill, *may relieve worries*
435 Blissid be his name;
He has for oure seyll *good fortune*
To sheld us fro shame,
And sayd
All this warld aboute

440 With floodys so stoute,
That shall ryn on a route, *run together*
Shall be overlaide. *covered*

He saide all shall be slayn
Bot oonely we,
445 Oure barnes that ar bayn, *children; obedient*
And thare wifys thre.
A ship he bad me ordayn *build*
To safe us and oure fee; *possessions*
Therfor with all oure mayn *might*
450 Thank we that fre, *noble [one]*
Beytter of bayll. *Healer of ills*
Hy us fast; go we thedir.
WIFE I wote never whedir; *whither*
I dase and I dedir *am confused; tremble*
455 For ferd of that tayll. *fear*

NOAH Be not aferd; have done.
Trus sam oure gere *Bundle together*
That we be ther or none *before noon*
Without more dere. *mischief*
SON 1 It shall be done full sone;
461 Brether, help to bere. *brothers*
SON 2 Full long shall I not hoyne *delay*
To do my devere. *duty*
Brether, sam. *together*
SON 3 Without any yelp, *boast*
466 At my myght shall I help.
WIFE Yit for drede of a skelp, *slap*
Help well thi dam.

NOAH Now ar we there
470 As we shuld be.
Do get in oure gere,
Oure catall and fe, *cattle; possessions*
In to this vessell here,
My chylder fre. *noble children*
WIFE I was never bard ere, *confined before*
476 As ever myght I thé, *thrive*
In sich an oostré as this. *hostelry*
In fath I cannot fynd
Which is before, which is behynd.
480 Bot shall we here be pynd, *penned*
Noe, as have thou blis?

NOAH Dame, as it is skill, *reasonable*
Here must us abide grace.
Therfor, wife, with good will
485 Com into this place.
WIFE Sir, for Jak nor for Gill
Will I turne my face
Till I have on this hill
Spon a space *Spun a while*
490 On my rok. *distaff*
Well were he myght get me. *(see note)*
Now will I downe set me;
Yit reede I no man let me *advise; prevent*
For drede of a knok. *blow*

NOAH Behold to the heven:
496 The cateractes all, *floodgates*
Thai ar open full even,
Grete and small,
And the planettys seven
500 Left has thare stall. *station*
Thise thoners and levyn *thunderbolts and lightning*
Downe gar fall *cause [to]*
Full stout *Fiercely*
[fol. 11r] Both halles and bowers,
505 Castels and towres.
Full sharp ar thise showers
That renys aboute. *run*

Therfor, wife, have done;
Com into ship fast.
WIFE Yei, Noe, go cloute thi shone; *patch your shoes (mind your own business)*
511 The better will thai last.
WOMAN 1 Good moder, com in sone, *mother*
For all is overcast,
Both the son and the mone.
WOMAN 2 And many wynd blast
516 Full sharp
Thise floodys so thay ryn. *run*
Therfor, moder, come in.
WIFE In fayth, yit will I spyn;
520 All in vayn ye carp. *chatter*

WOMAN 3 If ye like ye may spyn,
Moder, in the ship.
NOAH Now is this twyys com in, *twice*
Dame, on my frenship. *friendship*
WIFE Wheder I lose or I wyn,

526 In fayth, thi felowship
Set I not at a pyn.
This spyndill will I slip *spindle*
Apon this hill
530 Or I styr oone fote. *Before*
NOAH Peter, I traw we dote.
Without any more note,
Com in, if ye will.

WIFE Yei, water nyghys so nere *comes*
535 That I sit not dry;
Into ship with a byr, *rush*
Therfor, will I hy, *hurry*
For drede that I drone here. *drown*
NOAH Dame, securly, *surely*
540 It bees boght full dere
Ye abode so long by
Out of ship.
WIFE I will not for thi bydyng
Go from doore to mydyng. *dungheap*
NOAH In fayth, and for youre long taryyng
546 Ye shal lik on the whyp. *have a taste of*

WIFE Spare me not, I pray thee,
Bot even as thou thynk
Thise grete wordys shall not flay me. *frighten*
NOAH Abide, dame, and drynk,
551 For betyn shall thou be *beaten*
With this staf to thou stynk. *until you fart*
Ar strokys good? say me. *tell*
WIFE What say ye, Wat Wynk?
NOAH Speke!
556 Cry me mercy, I say.
WIFE Therto say I nay.
NOAH Bot thou do, bi this day,
Thi hede shall I breke.

WIFE Lord, I were at ese
561 And hertely full hoylle, *heartily; whole*
Might I onys have a measse *once; serving*
Of wedows coyll. *widow's pottage; (see note)*
For thi saull, without lese,
565 Shuld I dele penny doyll. *mass penny*
So wold mo, no frese, *more, no doubt*
That I se on this sole *site*
Of wifys that ar here,
For the life that thay leyd,

570 Wold thare husbandys were dede;
For as ever ete I brede,
So wold I oure syre were.

NOAH Yee men that has wifys,
Whyls they ar yong, *while*
575 If ye luf youre lifys,
Chastice thare tong. *tongues*
Me thynk my hert ryfys, *breaks*
Both levyr and long, *liver and lung*
To se sich stryfys
580 Wedmen emong; *Among those wedded*
Bot I,
[fol. 11v] As have I blys,
Shall chastyse this.
WIFE Yit may ye mys,
585 Nicholl Nedy. *Needy*

NOAH I shall make thee still as stone,
Begynnar of blunder.
I shall bete thee, bak and bone,
And breke all in sonder. *apart*
WIFE Out, alas! I am gone.
591 Oute apon thee, mans wonder! *you monster*
NOAH Se how she can grone
And I lig under. *lie*
Bot wife,
595 In this hast let us ho, *violence; stop*
For my bak is nere in two.
WIFE And I am bet so blo *beaten; blue*
That I may not thryfe.

SON 1 A, whi fare ye thus,
600 Fader and moder both?
SON 2 Ye shuld not be so spitus, *spiteful*
Standyng in sich a woth. *danger*
SON 3 Thise ar so hidus *hideous*
With many a cold coth. *pestilence*
NOAH We will do as ye bid us.
606 We will no more be wroth,
Dere barnes. *children*
Now to the helme will I hent *take hold*
And to my ship tent. *pay attention*
WIFE I se on the firmament, *in the heavens*
611 Me thynk, the seven starnes. *stars*

NOAH	This is a grete flood;	
	Wife, take hede.	
WIFE	So me thoght as I stode,	
615	We ar in grete drede,	*dread*
	Thise wawghes ar so wode.	*waves; furious*
NOAH	Help, God, in this nede.	
	As thou art stereman good,	*pilot*
	And best, as I rede,	
620	Of all,	
	Thou rewle us in this rase,	*rule; current*
	As thou me behete hase.	*have promised*
WIFE	This is a perlous case;	*perilous*
624	Help, God, when we call!	
NOAH	Wife, tent the stere-tre	*attend to the helm*
	And I shall asay	*test*
	The depnes of the see	*deepness*
	That we bere, if I may.	
WIFE	That shall I do ful wysely.	
630	Now go thi way,	
	For apon this flood have we	
	Flett many day	*Floated*
	With pyne.	*suffering*
NOAH	Now the water will I sownd:	*sound [the depth of]*
635	A, it is far to the grownd.	
	This travell I expownd	*labor*
	Had I to tyne.	*waste*
	Above all hillys bedeyn	*together*
	The water is rysen late	*recently*
640	Cubettys fyfteyn,	
	Bot in a highter state	*higher*
	It may not be, I weyn.	*suppose*
	For this well I wate:	*know*
	This fourty dayes has rayn beyn;	
645	It will therfor abate,	
	Full lele.	*truly*
	This water in hast	
	Eft will I tast.	*Again; test*
	Now am I agast;	
650	It is wanyd a grete dele.	*has waned*
	Now ar the weders cest	
	And cateractes knyt,[1]	

[1] Lines 651–52: *Now the storms have ended, / and [heaven's] floodgates have closed*

Both the most and the leest.
WIFE Methynk bi my wit
655 The son shynes in the eest;
Lo, is not yond it?
We shuld have a good feest
Were thise floodys flyt, *removed*
So spytus. *vexing*
NOAH We have been here, all we,
661 Thre hundreth dayes and fyfty.
WIFE Yei, now wanys the see. *wanes*
Lord, well is us.

NOAH The thryd tyme will I prufe *prove*
665 What depnes we bere. *deepness;* ***[fol. 12r]***
WIFE How long shall thou hufe; *linger*
Lay in thy lyne there.
NOAH I may towch with my lufe *oar*
The grownd evyn here.
WIFE Then begynnys to grufe *grow*
671 To us mery chere.
Bot husband,
What grownd may this be?
NOAH The hyllys of Armonye. *Armenia*
WIFE Now blissid be he
676 That thus for us can ordand.

NOAH I see toppys of hyllys he, *high*
Many at a syght;
No thyng to let me, *hinder*
680 The wedir is so bright. *weather*
WIFE Thise ar of mercy
Tokyns full right.
NOAH Dame, thi counsell me: *therefore*
What fowll best myght
685 And cowth *could*
With flight of wyng
Bryng, without taryying,
Of mercy som tokynyng, *token*
Ayther bi north or southe?

690 For this is the fyrst day
Of the tent moyne. *tenth month*
WIFE The ravyn, durst I lay, *I dare wager*
Will com agane sone;
As fast as thou may,
695 Cast hym furth, have done. *forth*
He may happyn today *happen [to]*

	Com agane or none	*before noon*
	With grath.	*speed*
NOAH	I will cast out also	
700	Dowfys, oone or two;	*doves*
	Go youre way, go.	
	God send you som wathe.	*booty*
	Now ar thise fowles flone	*flown*
	Into seyr countré.	*different lands*
705	Pray we fast ichon,	
	Kneland on oure kne,	
	To hym that is alone	
	Worthiest of degré,	
	That he wold send anone	*soon*
710	Oure fowles som fee	*gift*
	To glad us.	
WIFE	Thai may not fayll of land;	
	The water is so wanand.	*waning*
NOAH	Thank we God all-weldand,	*almighty*
715	That Lord that made us.	
	It is a wonder thyng,	
	Me thynk, sothlé	*truthfully*
	Thai ar so long taryyng,	
	The fowles that we	
720	Cast out in the mornyng.	
WIFE	Syr, it may be	
	Thai tary to thay bryng.[1]	
NOAH	The ravyn is a hungrye	
	Allway;	
725	He is without any reson,	
	And he fynd any caryon,	*carrion*
	As peraventure may befon,	*perhaps; befall*
	He will not away.	
	The dowfe is more gentill;	
730	Her trust I untew,	*unto*
	Like unto the turtill,	*turtledove*
	For she is ay trew.	*always*
WIFE	Hence bot a litill	
	She commys — lew, lew!	
735	She bryngys in her bill	
	Som novels new.	*novelties*
	Behald,	

[1] *They may tarry until they can bring something*

It is of an olif tre, *olive*
A branch, thynkys me.
NOAH It is soth, perdé, *truly*
741 Right so is it cald.

Doufe, byrd full blist, *blessed*
[fol. 12v] Fayre myght thee befall.
Thou art trew for to trist *as trustworthy*
745 As ston in the wall.
Full well I it wist *knew*
Thou wold com to thi hall.
WIFE A trew tokyn ist
We shall be savyd all,
750 Forwhi *Because*
The water, syn she com,
Of depnes plom *straight down*
Is fallen a fathom
And more, hardely.

SON 1 Thise floodys ar gone,
756 Fader, behold!
SON 2 Ther is left right none
And that be ye bold. *[of] that you may be sure*
SON 3 As still as a stone
760 Oure ship is stold. *stalled*
NOAH Apon land here anone
That we were, fayn I wold. *glad*
My childer dere,
Sem, Japhet, and Cam,
765 With gle and with gam
Com, go we all sam; *together*
We will no longer abide here.

WIFE Here have we beyn,
Noy, long enogh *Noah*
770 With tray and with teyn *grief; harm*
And dreed mekill wogh. *much dreadful suffering*
NOAH Behald on this greyn: *green*
Nowder cart ne plogh *Neither*
Is left, as I weyn; *suppose*
775 Nowder tre then bogh
Ne other thyng,
Bot all is away.
Many castels, I say,
Grete townes of aray,
780 Flitt has this flowyng. *Removed*

WIFE	Thise floodys not afright	*undeterred*
	All this warld so wide	
	Has mevid with myght	*moved*
	On se and bi side.	*sea; shore*
NOAH	To dede ar thai dyght,	*They are put to death*
786	Prowdist of pryde,	
	Everich a wyght	*Every creature*
	That ever was spyde	*observed*
	With syn;	
790	All ar thai slayn	
	And put unto payn.	
WIFE	From thens agayn	*this place*
	May thai never wyn.	*escape*
NOAH	Wyn? No, iwis,	
795	Bot he that myght hase	*have*
	Wold myn of thare mys	*remember their loss*
	And admytte thaym to grace.	
	As he in bayll is blis,	*misery*
	I pray hym in this space,	
800	In heven hye with his,	
	To purvaye us a place	*prepare*
	That we,	
	With his santys in sight	*saints*
	And his angels bright,	
805	May com to his light.	
	Amen, for charité.	

Explicit processus Noe; sequitur Abraham.[1]

[1] *Here ends the pageant of Noah; Abraham follows*

4. ABRAHAM

Abraham
God
Isaac
Boy 1
Boy 2
Angel

[fol. 13r] *Sequitur Abraham.*[1]

ABRAHAM Adonay, thou God veray, *true*
Thou here us when we to thee call, *hear*
As thou art he that best may;
Thou art most socoure and help of all. *comfort*
Mightfull lord, to thee I pray:
Let onys the oyle of mercy fall. *one day*
Shall I never abide that day? *[see] that day arrive*
Truly yit I hope I shall.

Mercy, lord omnipotent.
Long syn he this warld has wroght, *since*
Wheder ar all oure elders went,
This musys mekill in my thoght.[2]
From Adam unto Eve assent, *When; agreed*
Ete of that appyll sparid he noght *refrained*
For all the wisdom that he ment;
Full dere that bargan has he boght.

From Paradise thou bad hym gang; *go*
He went mowrnyng with symple chere *mourning; sad countenance*
And after liffyd he here full lang, *lived*
More then thre hundreth yere,
In sorow and in travell strang, *hard work*
And every day he was in were. *distress*
His childre angred hym amang; *continually*
Caym slo Abell, was hym full dere. *slew*

Sithen Noe that was trew and good, *Since*
His wife and his chyldre thre, *children*
Was saved when all was flood,
That was a wonder thyng to se.
And Loth fro Sodome when he yode *went*

---

[1] *Abraham follows*

[2] Lines 11–12: *Where all our elders have gone / is a matter of great wonder for me*

30	Thre cytees brent, yit eschapyd he.	*burned; escaped*
	Thus for thai menged my Lordys mode	
	He vengid syn thrugh his pausté.[1]	
	When I thynk of oure elders all	
	And of the mervels that has been,	
[fol. 13v]	No gladnes in my hart may fall;	
36	My comfort goys away full cleyn.	*goes*
	Lord, when shall dede make me his thrall?	*death; slave*
	An hundreth yeris, certys, have I seyn	
	Ma fa, sone I hope he shall,	*By my faith*
40	For it were right hie tyme, I weyn.	*high; suppose*
	Yit Adam is to hell gone,	
	And ther has ligen many a day,	*lain*
	And all oure elders everychon,	*every one*
	Thay ar gone the same way,	
45	Unto God will here thare mone.	*hear their lament*
	Now help, Lord Adonay,	
	For certys, I can no better wone	*live*
	And ther is none that better may.[2]	
GOD	I will help Adam and his kynde,	
50	Might I luf and lewté fynd,	*love; loyalty*
	Wold thay to me be trew and blyn	*cease*
	Of thare pride and of thare syn.	
	My servand I will found and frast,	*tempt and test*
	Abraham, if he be trast;	*trustworthy*
55	On certan wise I will hym prove	
	If he to me be trew of louf.	*love*
	Abraham, Abraham!	
ABRAHAM	Who is that? War, let me se!	*take heed*
	I herd oone neven my name.	*speak*
GOD	It is I; take tent to me	*pay attention*
61	That fourmed thi fader Adam	
	And everythyng in it degré.	*in its rank*
ABRAHAM	To here thi will redy I am,	
	And to fulfill whatever it be.	
GOD	Of mercy have I herd thi cry;	
66	Thi devoute prayers have me bun	*prepared*

[1] Lines 31–32: *Thus because they aroused my lord's anger, / he took vengeance on [their] sin through his power*

[2] Lines 47–48: *For surely I know no better alternative, / and there is no one who may better help [than God]*

If thou me luf, look that thou hy — *hurry*
Unto the land of Visyon, — *(see note)*
And the thryd day be ther, bid I,
70 And take with thee Isaac, thi son,
As a beest to sacryfy; — *sacrifice*
To slo hym look thou not shon, — *slay; shun*

And bren hym ther to thyn offerand. — *burn; offering*
ABRAHAM A, lovyd be thou Lord in throne!
75 Hold over me, Lord, thy holy hand,
For certys thi bidyng shall be done.
Blissyd be that Lord in every land
Wold viset his servand thus so soyn. — *visit; soon*
Fayn wold I this thyng ordand,
80 For it profettys noght to hoyne.[1]

This commaundement must I nedys fulfill
If that my hert wax hevy as leyde. — *grows; lead*
Shuld I offend my Lordys will?
Nay, yit were I leyffer my child were dede. — *I would rather*
85 Whatso he biddys me, good or ill, — *Whatever*
That shal be done in every steede; — *everywhere*
Both wife and child if he bid spill, — *kill*
I will not do agans his rede. — *against his counsel*

Wist Isaac, wherso he were,
90 He wold be abast now,
How that he is in dangere.[2]
Isaac, son, wher art thou?
ISAAC All redy, fader, lo me here. — *see;* ***[fol. 14r]***
Now was I commyng unto you.
95 I luf you mekill, fader dere. — *love; much*
ABRAHAM And dos thou so, I wold wit how.

Lufys thou me, son, as thou has saide?
ISAAC Yei, fader, with all myn hart,
More then all that ever was maide.
100 God hold me long youre life in quart. — *in good health*
ABRAHAM Now who wold not be glad that had
A child so lufand as thou art? — *loving*
Thi lufly chere makys my hert glad
And many a tyme so has it gart. — *done*

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[1] Lines 79–80: *Gladly would I have this thing arranged, / since it profits nothing to delay*

[2] Lines 89–91: *If Isaac — wherever he is — / knew what danger he was in, / he would now be afraid*

105 Go home, son; com sone agane *come soon*
And tell thi moder I com ful fast. *mother*
Go now; God thee saif and sayne. *[may] God bless and protect you*

Hic transsiet Isaac a patre.[1]

Now well is me that he is past;
Alone right here in this playn
110 Might I speke to myn hart brast. *until my heart breaks*
I wold that all were well, ful fayn,
Bot it must nedys be done at last.

And it is good that I be war; *careful*
To be avised full good it were. *cautious*
115 The land of Vision is ful far;
The thrid day end must I be there.
Myn ase shall with us, if it thar, *ass; if necessary*
To bere oure harnes, les and more, *provisions*
For my son may be slayn no nar. *no nearer*
120 A swerd must with us yit therfore,

And I shall found to make me yare. *strive; ready*
This nyght will I begyn my way,
Thof Isaac be never so fayre *Though*
And myn awn son, the soth to say; *truly*
125 And thof he be myn right haire *rightful heir*
And all shuld weld after my day, *possess*
Godys bydyng shall I not spare
Shuld I that ganstand? Wé! Nay, ma fay. *oppose; Never, by my faith*

Isaac.
ISAAC Sir.
ABRAHAM Luke thou be bowne, *Look; ready*
130 For certan, son, thiself and I
We two must now weynd furth of towne *go forth*
In far country to sacrifie. *[make our] sacrifice*
For certan skyllys and encheson, *reasons and causes*
Take wod and fyere with thee in hy; *wood; fire; haste*
135 Bi hillys and dayllys both up and downe, *hills and dales*
Son, thou shal ride and I will go bi.

Looke thou mys noght that thou shuld nede; *nothing*
Do make thee redy, my darlyng.
ISAAC I am redy to do this dede

[1] *Here Isaac will leave his father*

140 And ever to fulfill youre bydyng.
ABRAHAM My dere son, look thou have no drede; *dread*
We shal com home with grete lovyng. *praise*
Both to and fro I shal us lede;
Com now, son, in my blyssyng.

145 Ye two here with this asse abide, *You two; remain*
For Isaac and I will to yond hill. *the hill over there*
It is so hie, we may not ride;
Therfor ye two shal abide here still.
BOY 1 Sir, ye ow not to be denyed; *ought*
150 We ar redy youre bydyng to fulfill.
BOY 2 Whatsoever to us betide, *happens*
To do youre bidyng ay we will.

ABRAHAM Godys blyssyng have ye both in fere; *together*
I shall not tary long you fro. *stay away; from*
BOY 1 Sir, we shal abide you here; ***[fol. 14v]***
156 Oute of this stede shall we not go. *place*
ABRAHAM Childre, ye ar ay to me full dere; *always*
I pray God kepe you ever fro wo.
BOY 2 We will do, syr, as ye us lere. *instruct*
ABRAHAM Isaac, now ar we bot we two.

161 We must go a full good paase, *pace*
For it is farther then I wend. *thought*
We shall make myrth and grete solace
Bi this thyng be broght to end.
165 Lo, my son, here is the place.
ISAAC Wod and fyere ar in my hend. *hands*
Tell me now, if ye have space, *a moment*
Where is the beest that shuld be brend? *burned*

ABRAHAM Now, son, I may no longer layn, *be silent*
170 Sich will is into myne hart went.
Thou was ever to me full bayn, *faithful*
Ever to fulfill myn entent,
Bot certanly thou must be slayn,
And it may be as I have ment.
ISAAC I am hevy and nothyng fayn *sorrowful; glad*
176 Thus hastely that shall be shent. *destroyed*

ABRAHAM Isaac.
ISAAC Sir.
ABRAHAM Com heder, bid I. *here*
Thou shal be dede whatsoever betide.
ISAAC A, fader, mercy, mercy!

ABRAHAM That I say may not be denyde.
181 Take thi dede therfor mekely. *death; meekly*
ISAAC A, good syr, abide!
Fader.
ABRAHAM What, son?
ISAAC To do youre will I am redy,
Wheresoever ye go or ride.

185 If I may oght overtake youre will, *understand*
Syn I have trespast I wold be bet. *trespassed*
ABRAHAM Isaac.
ISAAC What, syr?
ABRAHAM Good son, be still.
ISAAC Fader.
ABRAHAM What, son?
ISAAC Thynk on thi get. *child*
189 What have I done?
ABRAHAM Truly, none ill.
ISAAC And shall be slayn?
ABRAHAM So have I het. *promised*
ISAAC Syr, what may help?
ABRAHAM Certys, no skill. *(see note)*
ISAAC I ask mercy.
ABRAHAM That may not let. *prevent [this]*

ISAAC When I am dede and closed in clay, *enclosed in earth (buried)*
194 Who shall then be youre son?
ABRAHAM A, lord, that I shuld abide this day.
ISAAC Syr, who shall do that I was won? *accustomed to do*
ABRAHAM Speke no sich wordys, son, I thee pray.
ISAAC Shall ye me slo?
ABRAHAM I trow I mon. *believe; must*
199 Lyg still; I smyte. *strike*
ISAAC Syr, let me say —
ABRAHAM Now, my dere child, thou may not shon. *escape*

ISAAC The shynyng of youre bright blayde ***[fol. 15r]***
It gars me quake for ferde to dee. *makes; fear to die*
ABRAHAM Therfor groflyngys thou shall be layde; *face downward*
204 Then when I stryke thou shal not se.
ISAAC What have I done, fader; what have I saide?
ABRAHAM Truly, no kyns ill to me. *no kind of*
ISAAC And thus gyltles shall be arayde. *guiltless; disposed with*
ABRAHAM Now, good son, let sich wordys be.

ISAAC I luf you ay. *always*
ABRAHAM So do I thee.

ISAAC Fader.
ABRAHAM What, son?
ISAAC Let now be seyn *seen*
211 For my moder luf.[1]
ABRAHAM Let be, let be.
It will not help that thou wold meyn. *intend*
Bot ly styll till I com to thee;
I mys a lytyll thyng, I weyn. *suppose*
215 He spekys so rufully to me *sorrowfully*
That water shotys in both myn eeyn. *shoots*

I were lever then all wardly wyn *would rather; worldly profit*
That I had fon hym onys unkynde, *found; once*
Bot no defawt I faund hym in. *fault*
220 I wold be dede for hym or pynde; *tortured*
To slo hym thus I thynk grete syn. *slay*
So rufull wordys I with hym fynd
I am full wo that we shuld twyn, *part*
For he will never oute of my mynd.

225 What shal I to his moder say?
For "where is he," tyte will she spyr. *quickly will she ask*
If I tell hir "ron away" *run*
Hir answere bese belief "nay sir," *will be*
And I am ferd hir for to flay. *afraid; frighten*
230 I ne wote what I shal say till hir. *know not*
He lyys full still ther as he lay,
For to I com dar he not styr. *until*

GOD Angell, hy with all thi mayn. *go; might*
To Abraham thou shall be sent.
235 Say Isaac shall not be slayn;
He shall lif and not be brent.
My bydyng standys he not agane; *against*
Go put hym out of his intent. *intention*
Byd hym go home agane;
240 I know well how he ment.

ANGEL Gladly, lord, I am redy. ***[fol. 15v]***
Thi bidyng shall be magnyfyed; *respected*
I shall me spede ful hastely,
Thee to obeye at every tyde. *at all times*
245 Thi will, thi name to glorifye
Over all this warld so wide,

---

[1] Lines 210[c]–11: *Let [your] love now be seen for my mother's sake*

And to thi servand now in hy, *haste*
Good, trew Abraham will I glyde. *fly*

ABRAHAM Bot myght I yit of wepyng sese *cease*
250 Till I had done this sacrifice.
It must nedys be, withoutten lesse, *falsehood*
Thof all I carpe on this kyn wise, *talk in this way*
The more my sorow it will incres.
When I look to hym I gryse; *tremble*
255 I will ryn on a res, *go in haste*
And slo hym here right as he lyse.

ANGEL Abraham, Abraham!
ABRAHAM Who is ther now?
War, let thee go! *Beware*
ANGEL Stand up, now, stand!
Thi good will com I to alow;
260 Therfor I byd thee hold thi hand. *restrain*
ABRAHAM Say who bad so, any bot thou.
ANGEL Yei, God, and sendys this beest to thyn offerand. *offering*
ABRAHAM I speke with God latter, I trow,[1]
And do as he me commaund.

ANGEL He has persauyd thy mekenes *perceived*
266 And thi good will also, iwis. *certainly*
He will thou do thi son no distres,
For he has graunt to thee his blys.
ABRAHAM Bot wote thou well that it is
270 As thou has sayd?
ANGEL I say thee yis.
ABRAHAM I thank thee, lord, well of goodnes,
That all thus has relest me this.

To speke with thee have I no space
With my dere son till I have spokyn.
275 My good son, thou shal have grace;
On thee now will I not be wrokyn. *avenged*
Ryse up now, with thi frely face. *noble*
ISAAC Sir, shall I lif?
ABRAHAM Yei, this to tokyn. *as a sign*

Et osculatur eum.[2]

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[1] *I spoke with God recently, I believe*

[2] *And he kisses him*

Son, thou has skapid a full hard grace; *escaped*
280 Thou shuld have beyn both brent and brokyn

ISAAC Bot fader, shall I not be slayn?
ABRAHAM No, certys, son.
ISAAC Then am I glad.
283 Good syr, put up youre sword agayn.
ABRAHAM Nay, hardely, son, be thou not adrad. *afraid*
ISAAC Is all forgeyn? *forgiven*
ABRAHAM Yei, son, certan.
ISAAC For ferd, syr, was I nerehand mad. *nearly*

[…]

5. ISAAC AND JACOB

5.a. ISAAC

Isaac
Jacob
Esau
Rebecca

[…]

ISAAC Com nere, son, and kys me, *near;* ***[fol. 16r]***
That I may feyle the smell of thee. *feel*
The smell of my son is lyke
To a feld with flouris or hony bike. *field; honeycomb*
5 Where art thou, Esaw, my son?
JACOB Here, fader, and askys youre benyson, *benediction*
ISAAC The blyssyng my fader gaf to me, *gave*
God of heven and I gif thee.
God gif thee plenté grete *great quantity*
10 Of wyne, of oyll, and of whete,
And graunt thi childre all *children*
To worship thee, both grete and small.
Whoso thee blyssys, blyssed be he; *blesses, blessed*
Whoso thee waris, wared be he. *curses, cursed*
15 Now has thou my grete blyssyng;
Love thee shall all thyne ofspryng.
Go now wheder thou has to go. *wherever*
JACOB Graunt mercy, syr, I will do so.

Recedet Iacob.[1]

ESAU	Have ete, fader, of myn huntyng,	*eat*
20	And gif me sythen youre blyssyng.	*afterwards*
ISAAC	Who is that?	
ESAU	I, youre son;	
	Esaw bryngys you venyson.	
ISAAC	Who was that was right now here	
	And broght me bruet of a dere?	*broth*
25	I ete well and blyssyd hym,	
	And he is blyssyd ich a lym.	*in every limb*
ESAU	Alas, I may grete and sob.	*weep*
ISAAC	Thou art begylyd thrugh Jacob	*deceived by*
	That is thyne awne german brother.	*of the same parents*
ESAU	Have ye kepyd me none other	*reserved*
31	Blyssyng then ye set hym one?	
ISAAC	Sich another have I none,	
	Bot God gif thee to thyn handband	*covenant*
	The dew of heven and frute of land;	*fruit*
35	Other then this can I not say.	
ESAU	Now alas and waloway!	
	May I with that tratoure mete,	*meet*
	My faders dayes shall com with grete,	*weeping*
	And my moders also;	
40	May I hym mete I shall hym slo.	*slay*
REBECCA	Isaac, it were my deth	*death*
	If Jacob weddeth in kynd of Heth.[2]	
	I will send hym to Aran;	
	There my brothere dwellys, Laban,	
45	And there may he serve in peasse	
	Till his brothers wrath will seasse.	*cease*
	Why shuld I apon a day	
	Loyse both my sonnes? Better nay.	*Lose*
ISAAC	Thou says soth, wife; call hym heder	*[the] truth; here*
50	And let us tell hym where and wheder	*why and where to go*
	That he may fle Esaw,	
	That us both hetys bale to brew.	*promises to do us both injury*
REBECCA	Jacob, son, thi fader and I	
	Wold speke with thee; com stand us by.	
55	Out of contry must thou fle	*country*
	That Esaw slo not thee.	*slay*
JACOB	Whederward shuld I go, dame?	
REBECCA	To Mesopotameam,	

[1] *Jacob leaves*

[2] *If Jacob were to marry into the tribe of Heth (the Hittites)*

[fol. 16v] To my brothere and thyn eme *uncle*
60 That dwellys besyde Jordan streme, *river*
And ther may thou with hym won. *live*
To Esaw myne other son *Until*
Forget, and all his wrath be dede.
JACOB I will go, fader, at youre rede.
ISAAC Yei, son, do as thi moder says;
66 Com, kys us both and weynd thi ways.

Et osculatur.[1]

JACOB Have good day, syr and dame.
ISAAC God sheld thee, son, from syn and shame.
REBECCA And gif thee grace good man to be,
70 And send me glad tythyngys to thee. *news of*

Explicit Isaac.[2]

5.B. JACOB

Jacob
God
Rachel
Leah
Esau

Sequitur Iacob.[3]

JACOB Help me, Lord Adonay,
And hald me in the right way *keep*
To Mesopotameam,
For I cam never or now where I am; *before*
5 I cam never here in this contré.
Lord of heven, thou help me,
For I have maide me in this strete
Sore bonys and warkand feete. *bones; aching*
The son is downe; what is best? *sun*
10 Her purpose I all nyght to rest; *Here I propose*
Under my hede this ston shal ly.
A nyghtys rest take will I.
GOD Jacob! Jacob, thi God I am,

---

[1] *And he kisses [him]*

[2] *Here ends Isaac*

[3] *Jacob follows*

Of thi forfader Abraham
And of thi fader Isaac.
I shall thee blys for thare sake; *bless; their*
This land that thou slepys in
I shall thee gif, and thi kyn.
I shall thi seede multyply
As thyk as powder on erth may ly;
The kynd of thee shall sprede wide
From eest to west on every syde,
From the south unto the north.
All that I say I shall forth, *accomplish*
And all the folkys of thyne ofspryng
Shal be blyssyd of thy blyssyng.
Jacob, have thou no kyns drede; *no kind of dread*
I shall thee clethe, I shall thee fede. *clothe*
Whartfull shall I make thi gate. *Prosperous; path*
I shal thee help, erly and late,
And all in qwart shall I bryng thee *health*
Home agane to thi countré.
I shall not fayll, be thou bold,
Bot I shall do as I have told.

Hic vigilet.[1]

JACOB A, Lord, what may this mene? *mean*
What have I herd in slepe and sene? *seen*
That God leynyd hym to a stegh[2]
And spake to me, it is no leghe. *lie*
And now is here none otheregate *none else*
Bot Godys howse and hevens yate. *house; gate*
Lord, how dredfull is this stede
Ther I layde downe my hede. *where*
In Godys lovyng I rayse this stone, *praise*
And oyll will I putt theron.
Lord of heven that all wote, *know*
Here to thee I make a hote: *promise*
If thou gif me mete and foode *meat*
And close to body as I behoved, *clothes; need*
And bryng me home to kyth and kyn *kind and kin*
By the way that I walk in,
Without skathe and in quarte, *harm; health*
I promyse to thee with stedfast hart
[fol. 17r] As thou art Lord and God myne,

---

[1] *Here let [Jacob] awake*

[2] *That God leaned upon a ladder* (see note)

And I, Jacob, thi trew hyne, *servant*
55 This stone I rayse in sygne to day *sign*
Shall I hold holy kyrk for ay, *church*
And of all that newes me *comes to*
Rightwys tend shall I gif thee. *a tenth*

Hic egrediatur Iacob de Aran in terram natiuitatis sue.[1]

A, my Fader, God of heven,
60 That saide to me, thrugh thi steven *through; voice*
When I in Aran was dwelland, *living*
That I shuld turne agane to land *return*
Ther I was both fed and borne, *Where*
Warnyd thou me, Lord, beforne
65 As I went toward Aran
With my staff and passyd Jordan,
And now I com agane to kyth *my native country*
With two ostes of men me with. *hosts (armies)*
Thou hete me, Lord, to do well with me, *promised*
70 To multyplye my seede as sand of see. *sea*
Thou save me, Lord, thrugh vertew, *virtue*
From veniance of Esaw, *vengeance*
That he slo not for old greme *anger*
These moders with thare barne-teme. *brood of children*
RACHEL Oure anguysh, sir, is manyfold *anguish*
76 Syn that oure messyngere us told
That Esaw wold you slo
With foure hundreth men and mo.
JACOB Forsoth, Rachell, I have hym sent *Truly*
80 Of many beestys sere present. *different*
May-tyde he will oure giftys take *Perhaps*
And right so shall his wrath slake. *decrease*
Where ar oure thyngys? Ar thay past Jordan?
LEAH Go and look, sir, as ye can.

Hic scrutetur superlectile et luctetur angelus cum eo.[2]

GOD The day spryngys; now lett me go.
JACOB Nay, nay, I will not so
87 Bot thou blys me or thou gang; *Unless; before you go*
If I may, I shall hold thee lang. *long*
GOD In tokynyng that thou spekys with me,
90 I shall toche now thi thee, *touch; thigh*

---

[1] *Here Jacob leaves the land of Aran for the land of his birth*

[2] *Here he should examine his household things, and the angel should wrestle with him* (see note)

That halt shall thou evermore, *limp*
Bot thou shall fele no sore.
What is thy name, thou me tell?
JACOB Jacob.
GOD Nay, bot Israell,
95 Syn thou to me sich strengthe may kythe; *show*
To men of erth thou must be stythe. *unyielding*
JACOB What is thy name?
GOD Whi askys thou it?
"Wonderfull," if thou wil wyt. *know*
JACOB A, blys me, Lord.
GOD I shall thee blys,
100 And be to thee full propyce, *propitious*
And gyf thee my blyssyng for ay *always*
As Lord and he that all may. *can do anything*
I shall grayth thi gate, *prepare; path*
And full well ordeyn thi state;
105 When thou has drede, thynk on me *fear*
And thou shal full well saynyd be, *protected*
And look thou trow well my sayes; *believe; words*
And farewell now, the day dayes. *dawns*
JACOB Now have I a new name, Israell.
110 This place shall hight Fanuell, *be called*
For I have seyn in this place *seen*
God of heven, face to face.
RACHEL Jacob, lo, we have tythand *news*
That Esaw is here at hand.

Hic diuidit turmas in tres partes.[1]

JACOB Rachell, stand thou in the last eschele, *line [of defense]*
116 For I wold thou were savyd wele. *well protected*
Call Joseph and Benjamin
And let theym not fro thee twyn. *part*
If it be so that Esaw
120 Us before all to-hew, *cut down*
[fol. 17v] Ye that ar here the last;
Ye may be savyd if ye fle fast.

Et vadat Iacob osculando Esaw; venit Iacob flectit genua, exorando deum.[2]

JACOB I pray thee, Lord, as thou me het, *promised*
That thou save me and my gete. *offspring*

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[1] *He divides the crowd into three parts*

[2] *And Jacob goes to kiss Esau; Jacob comes, bends his knees, praying to God*

Et leuando, occurrit illi Esaw in amplexibus.[1]

ESAU Welcom, brother, to kyn and kyth, *native land*
126 Thi wife and childre that comes thee with.
How has thou faren in far land?
Tell me now som good tythand.
JACOB Well, my brother Esaw,
130 If that thi men no bale me brew. *mischief prepare for me*

Dicit seruis suis:[2]

ESAU Wemo, felows, hold youre hend. *hands*
Ye se that I and he ar frend,
And frenship here will we fulfill,
Syn that it is Godys will.
JACOB God yeld you, brothere, that it so is, *reward*
136 That thou thi hyne so wold kys. *servant*
ESAU Nay, Jacob, my dere brothere,
I shall thee tell all anothere:
Thou art my lord thrugh destyny.
140 Go we togeder, both thou and I ,
To my fader and his wife
That lofys thee, brother, as thare lyfe. *loves; their*

Explicit Iacob.[3]

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[1] *And [Jacob] rising, Esau rushes to his embrace*

[2] *[Esau] speaks to his servants*

[3] *Here ends Jacob*

6. PHARAOH

Pharaoh
Soldier 1
Soldier 2
Moses
God
Boy 1
Boy 2

[fol. 21r] *Incipit Pharao.*[1]

PHARAOH Peas! Of payn that no man pas,[2]
Bot kepe the course that I commaunde,
And take good hede of hym that has
Youre helth all holy in hys hande. *wholly*
5 For Kyng Pharro my fader was,
And led thys lordshyp of thys land.
I am hys hayre, as age wyll asse, *heir; demand*
Ever in stede to styr or stand; *[this] place*
All Egypt is myne awne *own*
10 To leede aftyr my law.
I wold my myght were knawne *known*
And honoryd as hyt awe. *it ought to be*

Full low he shall be thrawne
That harkyns not my sawe, *command*
15 Hanged hy and drawne,
Therfor no boste ye blaw. *boast*

Bot as for kyng I commaund peasse
To all the people of thys empyre.
Looke no man put hymself in preasse *(see note)*
20 Bot that wyll do as I desyre,
[fol. 21v] And of youre wordys look that ye seasse; *cease*
Take tent to me, youre soferand syre, *Pay attention; sovereign lord*
That may youre comfort most increasse,
And to my lyst bowe lyfe and lyre.[3]
SOLDIER 1 My lord, if any here were
26 That wold not wyrk youre wyll, *work*
If we myght com thaym nere, *them*
Full soyn we shuld theym spyll. *soon; kill*

---

[1] *Here begins Pharaoh*

[2] *Peace! On pain of punishment, let no man pass*

[3] *And submit your life and body to my desire*

PHARAOH Thrughout my kyngdom wold I ken, *know*
30 And kun hym thank that wold me tell, *offer him thanks*
If any were so waryd men *cursed*
That wold my fors downe fell.
SOLDIER 2 My lord, ye have a maner of men
That make great mastrés us emell: *mischief among us*
35 The Jues that won in Gersen. *live; Goshen*
Thay ar callyd chyldyr of Israel; *children*
Thay multyplye full fast,
And sothly we suppose
That shall ever last,
40 Oure lordshyp for to lose.

PHARAOH Why, how have thay sych gawdys begun? *tricks*
Ar thay of myght to make sych frayes? *disturbances*
SOLDIER 1 Yei, lord, full fell folk ther was fun *very many; found*
In Kyng Pharao youre fader dayes.
45 Thay cam of Joseph, was Jacob son;
He was a prince worthy to prayse.
And sythen in ryst have thay ay ron.[1] *increase; run*
Thus ar thay lyke to lose youre layse; *laws*
Thay wyll confound you cleyn
50 Bot if thay soner sesse.[2]
PHARAOH What, devyll, is that thay meyn, *mean*
That thay so fast incresse?

SOLDIER 2 How thay incres full well we ken,
As oure faders dyd understand.
55 Thay were bot sexty and ten *sixty*
When thay fyrst cam into thys land,
Sythen have sojerned in Gersen *Since; have [they] sojourned*
Foure hundreth wynter, I dar warand; *Four hundred; warrant*
Now ar thay nowmbred of myghty men *numbered*
60 Moo then thre hundreth thousand, *More*
Wythouten wyfe and chyld *Not counting*
Or hyrdys that kepe thare fee. *herders; livestock*
PHARAOH How thus myght we be begyld?
Bot shall it not be,

65 For wyth quantyse we shall thaym quell *cunning; subdue*
So that thay shall not far sprede.
SOLDIER 1 My lord, we have hard oure faders tell, *heard*

---

[1] *And since then they have always continued to increase [in population]*

[2] Lines 49–50: *They will confound you completely / unless they soon cease first [to multiply]*

	And clerkys that well couth rede,	*could*
	Ther shuld a man walk us amell	*among*
70	That shuld fordo us and oure dede.	
PHARAOH	Fy, on hym to the devyll of hell!	
	Sych destyny wyll we not drede.	
	We shal make mydwyfys to spyll them	*midwives; kill*
	Where any Ebrew is borne,	*Hebrew*
[fol. 22r]	And all menkynde to kyll them;	*to kill all male children*
76	So shall thay soyn be lorne.	*soon; lost*
	And as for elder have I none awe;	
	Sych bondage shall I to thaym beyde,	*bid*
	To dyke and delf, bere and draw,	*dig; delve; carry; pull*
80	And to do all unhonest deyde,	*unpleasant deeds*
	So shall these laddys be halden law,	*held low*
	In thraldom ever thare lyfe to leyde.	*slavery*
SOLDIER 2	Now, certys, thys was a sotell saw;	*clever speech*
	Thus shall these folk no farthere sprede.	
PHARAOH	Now help to hald theym downe;	
86	Look I no fayntnes fynde.	*faintness*
SOLDIER 1	All redy, lord, we shall be bowne	*ready*
	In bondage thaym to bynde.	
	Tunc intrat Moyses cum virga in manu, etc.[1]	
MOSES	Gret God that all thys warld began,	
90	And growndyd it in good degré,	*fixed*
	Thou mayde me, Moyses, unto man	
	And sythen thou savyd me from the se.	*afterwards; sea*
	Kyng Pharao had commawndyd than	
	Ther shuld no man chyld savyd be;	
95	Agans hys wyll away I wan.	*I got away*
	Thus has God shewed hys myght for me.	
	Now am I sett to kepe	*tend*
	Under thys montayn syde	*mountain*
	Byshope Jettyr shepe,	
100	To better may betyde.	*Until things are better*
	A, Lord, grete is thy myght;	
	What man may of yond mervell meyn?	*understand*
	Yonder I se a selcowth syght,	*wonderful*
	Sych on in warld was never seyn:	*Such a one*
105	A bush I se burnand full bryght	
	And ever elyke the leyfes ar greyn.	*alike; leaves*

[1] *Then Moses enters with a staff in his hand, etc.*

	If it be wark of warldly wyght	*work; earthly creature*
	I wyll go wyt, wythoutyn weyn.	*find out, without a doubt*
GOD	Moyses, Moyses!	
	Hic properat ad rubrum et dicit ei Deus, etc.[1]	
	Moyses, com not to nere	*too*
110	Bot styll in that stede thou dwell,	*place; remain*
	And harkyn unto me here;	*listen*
	Take tent what I thee tell.	*Pay attention to*
	Do of thy shoyes in fere	*Take off both your shoes*
	Wyth mowth as I thee mell.	*as I tell you*
115	The place thou standys in there	
	Forsothe is halowd well.	*blessed*
	I am thy Lord, wythouten lak,	*indeed*
	To lengthe thi lyfe even as I lyst;	*lengthen; desire*
	I am God that som tyme spake	
120	To thyn elders as thay wyst,	*knew*
	To Abraam and Isaac,	
	And Jacob I sayde shuld be blyst,	*blessed*
	And multytude of them to make	
	So that thare seyde shuld not be myst,	*seed; lacking*
125	Bot now thys kyng Pharao	
	He hurtys my folk so fast,	
	If that I suffre hym so	*allow*
	Thare seyde shuld soyne be past.	*seed; soon*
	Bot I wyll not so do,	
130	In me if thay wyll trast,	*trust*
[fol. 22v]	Bondage to bryng thaym fro.	*from*
	Therfor thou go in hast,	*haste*
	To do my message have in mynde,	*give*
	To hym that me sych harme mase.	*makes*
135	Thou speke to hym wyth wordys heynde	*gracious*
	So that he let my people pas,	
	To wyldernes that thay may weynde,	*go*
	To worshyp me as I wyll asse.	*demand*
	Agans my wyll if that thay leynd,	*Against; remain*
140	Ful soyn hys song shall be "alas."	*soon*
MOSES	A, Lord, pardon me wyth thy leyf.	*by your leave*
	That lynage luffys me noght;	*lineage*

[1] *Here he hastens to the bush, and God speaks to him, etc.*

Gladly thay wold me greyf
If I sych bodworde broght. *message*

145 Good Lord, lett som othere frast *try*
That has more fors the folke to fere. *force; unite*
GOD Moyses, be thou nott abast. *dismayed*
My bydyng shall thou boldly bere;
If thay with wrong away wold wrast, *turn*
150 Outt of the way I shall thee were. *protect*
MOSES Good Lord, thay wyll not me trast
For all the othes that I can swere;
To neven sych noytys newe *mention such new matters*
To folk of wykyd wyll
155 Wythouten tokyn trew,
Thay wyll not tent thertyll. *pay attention*

GOD If that he wyll not understand,
Thys tokyn trew that I shall sent:
Afore the kyng cast downe thy wand *Before; staff*
160 And it shall turne to a serpent;
Then take the tayll agane in hand,
Boldly up look thou it hent, *seize*
And in the state that thou it fand *found*
Then shal it turne by myne intent.
165 Sythen hald thy hand soyn in thy barme *Then; bosom*
And as a lepre it shal be lyke, *leper*
And hole agane withouten harme. *whole*
Lo, my tokyns shal be slyke, *thus*

And if he wyll not suffre then
170 My people for to pas in peasse,
I shall send venyance, neyn or ten, *vengeance*
Shall sowe full sore or I seasse; *grieve before*
Bot the Ebrewes won in Jessen *who live in Goshen*
Shall not be merkyd with that measse; *bothered; affliction*
175 As long as thay my lawes wyll ken, *acknowledge*
Thare comforth shall ever increasse.
MOSES A, lord, to luf thee aght us well,
That makys thy folk thus free.
I shall unto thaym tell
180 As thou has told to me.

Bot to the kyng, Lord, when I com,
If he aske what is thy name
And I stand styll both deyf and dom, *deaf; dumb*
How shuld I skape withoutten blame? *escape*
GOD I say thee thus: *Ego sum qui sum*; *I am who I am*

186 I am he that is the same. *(see note)*
If thou can nother muf nor mom *neither whisper nor mumble*
I shall sheld thee from shame.
MOSES I understand full well thys thyng;
190 I go, Lord, with all the myght in me.
GOD Be bold in my blyssyng; ***[fol. 23r]***
Thi socoure shall I be. *comfort*

MOSES A, Lord of luf, leyn me thy lare *incline me toward your teaching*
That I may truly talys tell. *tales*
195 To my freyndys now wyll I fare,
The chosyn childre of Israell,
To tell theym comforth of thare care,
In dawngere ther as thay dwell. *danger*
God manteyn you evermare,
200 And mekyll myrth be you emell. *much joy; among*
BOY 1 A, master Moyses dere,
Oure myrth is all mowrnyng; *[turned to] mourning*
Full hard halden ar we here
As carls under the kyng. *tenants*

BOY 2 We may mowrn both more and myn. *mourn; less*
206 Ther is no man that oure myrth mase, *makes*
Bot syn we ar all of a kyn
God send us comforth in thys case.
MOSES Brethere, of youre mowrnyng blyn; *Brothers; leave off*
210 God wyll delyver you thrugh his grace,
Out of this wo he wyll you wyn *deliver*
And put you to youre pleassyng place,
For I shall carp unto the kyng *call*
And fownd full soyn to make you free. *start*
BOY 1 God graunt you good weyndyng *journey*
216 And evermore with you be.

MOSES Kyng Pharao, to me take tent. *pay attention*
PHARAOH Why, boy, what tythyngys can thou tell?
MOSES From God hymself hydder am I sent *here*
220 To foche the chyldre of Israell; *fetch*
To wyldernes he wold thay went.
PHARAOH Yei, weynd thee to the devyll of hell. *go*
I gyf no force what he has ment. *do not care*
In my dangere, herst thou, shall thay dwell *At my mercy*
225 And, fature, for thy sake *traitor*
Thay shalbe put to pyne. *punishment*
MOSES Then wyll God venyance take
Of thee and of all thyn.

PHARAOH	On me? Fy on thee, lad; out of my land!	
230	Wenys thou thus to loyse oure lay?	*Think; destroy our law*
	Say, whence is yond warlow with his wand	*from where; warlock*
	That thus wold wyle oure folk away?	*lead*
SOLDIER 1	Yond is Moyses, I dar warand,	
	Agans all Egypt has beyn ay.	*always*
235	Greatt defawte with hym youre fader fand;	*default; found*
	Now wyll he mar you if he may.	*ruin*
PHARAOH	Fy on hym! Nay, nay, that dawnce is done.	*dance*
	Lurdan, thou leryd to late!	*Lout; learned*
MOSES	God bydys thee graunt my bone	*request*
240	And let me go my gate.	*way*
PHARAOH	Bydys God me? Fals losell, thou lyse.	*deceitful scoundrel; lie*
	What tokyn told he, toke thou tent?	*sign; heed*
MOSES	He sayd thou shuld dyspyse	
[fol. 23v]	Both me and hys commaundement;	
245	Forthy apon thys wyse	*Therefore; way*
	My wand he bad in thi present	*presence*
	I shuld lay downe and thee avyse	*advise*
	How it shuld turne to oone serpent;	
	And in hys holy name	
250	Here I lay it downe.	
	Lo, syr, here may thou se the same.	
PHARAOH	A ha, dog, the devyll thee drowne!	
MOSES	He bad me take it by the tayll	
	For to prefe hys powere playn;	*prove*
255	Then he sayde wythouten fayll	
	Hyt shuld turne to a wand agayn.	
	Lo, syr, behold.	
PHARAOH	Wyth yla-hayll,	*With a curse*
	Certys, this is a sotell swayn.	*clever boy*
	Bot thyse boyes shall abyde in bayll;	*remain; misery*
260	All thi gawdys shall thaym not gayn,	*tricks; help*
	Bot wars both morn and none	*worse; morning and afternoon*
	Shall thay fare for thi sake.	
MOSES	I pray God, send us venyance sone	*soon*
	And on thi warkys take wrake.	*vengeance*
SOLDIER 1	Alas, alas, this land is lorn!	*ruined*
266	On lyfe we may no longer leynd.	*Alive; remain*
	Sych myschefe is fallen syn morn	*since*
	Ther may no medsyn it amend.	*medicine*
PHARAOH	Why cry ye so, laddys, lyst ye skorn?	*desire*
SOLDIER 2	Syr kyng, sych care was never kend	*known*
271	In no mans tyme that ever was borne.	

PHARAOH	Tell on, belyfe, and make an end.	*at once*
SOLDIER 1	Syr, the waters that were ordand	*ordained*
	For men and bestys foyde	*nourishment*
275	Thrughoutt all Egypt land	
	Ar turnyd into reede bloyde;	*red blood*
	Full ugly and full yll is hytt	
	That both fresh and fayre was before.	
PHARAOH	O ho! this is a wonderfull thyng to wytt,	*see*
280	Of all the warkys that ever wore.	*deeds; were*
SOLDIER 2	Nay, lord, ther is anothere yit	
	That sodanly sowys us full sore,	*pains*
	For todys and froskys may no man flyt;	*toads and frogs; flee*
	Thay venom us so both les and more.	*poison*
SOLDIER 1	Greatte mystys, syr, ther is both morn and noyn,	*gnats*
286	Byte us full bytterly;	*bitterly*
	We trow that it be doyn	*done*
	Thrugh Moyses oure greatte enmy.	*enemy*
SOLDIER 2	My lord, bot if this menye may remefe,	*unless these people leave*
290	Mon never myrth be us amang.	*Must; joy*
PHARAOH	Go say to hym we wyll not grefe,	*vex*
	Bot thay shall never the tytter gang.	*more quickly go*
SOLDIER 1	Moyses, my lord gyffys leyfe	*gives leave;* ***[fol. 24r]***
	To leyd thi folk to lykyng land	*promised land*
295	So that we mend of oure myschefe.	
MOSES	Full well I wote thyse wordys ar wrang,	*untrue*
	But hardely all that I heytt	*promised*
	Full sodanly it shall be seyn;	
	Uncowth mervels shal be meyt	*Unknown; encountered*
300	And he of malyce meyn.	*intends anything malicious*
SOLDIER 2	A, lord, alas, for doyll we dy.	*sorrow*
	We dar look oute at no dowre.	*door*
PHARAOH	What, ragyd the dwyll of hell, alys you so to cry?	*ails; (see note)*
SOLDIER 1	For we fare wars then ever we fowre.	*fare worse; fared*
305	Grete loppys over all this land thay fly	*flies*
	And where thay byte thay make grete blowre,	*blisters*
	And in every place oure bestys dede ly.	*dead*
SOLDIER 2	Hors, ox, and asse,	
	Thay fall downe dede, syr, sodanly.	*suddenly*
PHARAOH	Wé, lo, ther is no man that has	
311	Half as mych harme as I.	
SOLDIER 1	Yis, syr, poore folk have mekyll wo	*much*
	To se thare catall thus out cast.	*cattle*
	The Jues in Gessen fayre not so;	

315	Thay have lykyng for to last.	*pleasure*
PHARAOH	Then shall we gyf theym leyf to go	
	To tyme this perell be on past;	*Until; peril*
	Bot or thay flytt oght far us fro	*But before*
	We shall them bond twyse as fast.	*bind*
SOLDIER 2	Moyses, my lord gyffys leyf	
321	Thi meneye to remeve.	*people*
MOSES	Ye mon hafe more myschefe	*must have*
	Bot if thyse talys be trew.	*Unless*
SOLDIER 1	A, lord, we may not leyde thyse lyfys.	
PHARAOH	What, dwyll, is grevance grofen agayn?	*grown*
SOLDIER 2	Ye, syr, sich powder apon us dryfys,	*drives*
	Where it abidys it makys a blayn;	*settles; blisters*
	Mesell makys it man and wyfe.	*Leprous*
	Thus ar we hurt with hayll and rayn.	*hail; rain*
330	Syr, vynys in montanse may not thryfe;	*vines; mountains*
	So has frost and thoner thaym slayn.	*frost; thunder*
PHARAOH	Yei, bot how do thay in Gessen,	
	The Jues, can ye me say?	
SOLDIER 1	Of all thyse cares no thyng thay ken;	
335	Thay feyll noght of oure afray.	*fear*
PHARAOH	No, the ragyd dwyll, sytt thay in peasse	
	And we every day in doute and drede?	
SOLDIER 2	My lord, this care wyll ever encrese	
	To Moyses have his folk to leyd,	*Until*
340	Els be we lorn, it is no lesse;	*lost; lie*
	Yit were it better that thai yede.	*went*
PHARAOH	Thes folk shall flyt no far	
	If he go welland wode.	*boiling mad*
SOLDIER 1	Then will it sone be war;	*worse;* ***[fol. 24v]***
345	It were better thay yode.	*went*
SOLDIER 2	My lord, new harme is comyn in hand.	
PHARAOH	Yei, dwill, will it no better be?	
SOLDIER 1	Wyld wormes ar layd over all this land;	
	Thai leyf no floure nor leyf on tre.	*leave; flower nor leaf*
SOLDIER 2	Agans that storme may no man stand,	
351	And mekyll more mervell, thynk me,	*much*
	That thise thre dayes has bene durand;	*during*
	Sich myrk that no man may other se.[1]	*darkness*

[1] Lines 351–53: *And I think it is much more of a marvel / that during these three days there has been / such darkness that nobody can see anyone else*

SOLDIER 1 A, my lord.
PHARAOH Hagh!
SOLDIER 1 Grete pestilence is comyn;
355 It is like ful long to last.
PHARAOH Pestilence, in the dwilys name,
Then is oure pride over past.

SOLDIER 1 My lord, this care lastys lang, *long*
And will to Moyses have his bone; *request*
360 Let hym go, els wyrk we wrang.
It may not help to hover ne hone. *linger nor delay*
PHARAOH Then will we gif theym leyf to gang, *leave to go*
Syn it must nedys be doyn. *done*
Perchauns we sall thaym fang, *Perchance; capture*
365 And mar them or to-morn at none.[1]
SOLDIER 2 Moyses, my lord he says
Thou shall have passage playn.
MOSES Now have we lefe to pas;
My freyndys, now be ye fayn. *glad*

370 Com furth, now sall ye weynd *go*
To land of lykyng you to pay. *please*
BOY 1 Bot Kyng Pharao, that fals feynd,
He will us eft betray; *again*
Full soyn he will shape us to sheynd *soon; contrive; destroy*
375 And after us send his garray. *army*
MOSES Be not abast; God is oure freynd *frightened*
And all oure foes will slay.
Therfor com on with me;
Have done, and drede you noght.
BOY 2 That Lord, blyst myght he be
381 That us from bayll has broght. *misery*

BOY 1 Sich frenship never we fand, *found*
Bot yit I drede for perels all: *perils*
The Reede See is here at hand;
385 Ther shal we byde to we be thrall. *remain; slaves*
MOSES I shall make way ther with my wand,
As God has sayde to sayf us all; *save*
On ayther syde the see mon stand *either; must*
To we be gone, right as a wall. *until*
390 Com on wyth me, leyf none behynde. *leave;* ***[fol. 25r]***
Lo, fownd ye now youre God to pleasse. *hasten*

[1] Lines 364–65: *Perchance we shall capture them, / and hinder (or destroy) them before tomorrow at noon*

Hic pertransient mare.[1]

BOY 2 O Lord, this way is heynd; *pleasant*
Now weynd we all at easse. *proceed*

SOLDIER 1 Kyng Pharao, thyse folk ar gone.
PHARAOH Say, ar ther any noyes new? *new annoyances*
SOLDIER 2 Thise Ebrews ar gone, lord, everichon. *every single one*
PHARAOH How says thou that?
SOLDIER 1 Lord, that tayll is trew. *tale*
PHARAOH Wé, out! Tyte that they were tayn. *Quickly; caught*
That ryett radly shall thay rew. *revelry promptly; grieve*
400 We shall not seasse to thay be slayn, *until*
For to the see we shall thaym sew; *pursue*
So charge youre chariottys swythe *quickly*
And fersly look ye folow me. *fiercely*
SOLDIER 2 All redy, lord, we ar full blyth *glad*
405 At youre byddyng to be.

SOLDIER 1 Lord, at youre byddyng ar we bowne, *ready*
Oure bodys boldly for to beyd; *bodies; obey*
We shall not seasse, bot dyng all downe *strike*
To all be dede, withouten drede. *Until; doubtless*
PHARAOH Heyf up youre hertys unto Mahowne: *Lift*
411 He will be nere us in oure nede.
Help, the raggyd dwyll! We drowne!
Now mon we dy for all oure dede. *must; deeds*

Tunc merget eos mare.[2]

MOSES Now ar we won from all oure wo, *rescued*
415 And savyd out of the see.
Lovyng gyf we God unto;
Go we to land now merely. *merrily*

BOY 1 Lofe we may that Lord on hyght, *Love*
And ever tell on this mervell. *of this marvel*
420 Drownyd he has Kyng Pharao myght; ***[fol. 25v]***
Lovyd be that lord Emanuell.
MOSES Heven, thou attend, I say in syght,
And erth, my wordys here what I tell: *hear*
As rayn or dew on erth doys lyght, *does alight*
425 And waters herbys and trees full well,

---

[1] *Here shall they pass through the sea*

[2] *Then the sea shall drown them*

Gyf lovyng to Goddys magesté. *praise*
Hys dedys ar done, hys ways ar trew;
Honowred be he in Trynyté.
To hym be honowre and vertew. *virtue*
430 Amen.

Explicit Pharao.[1]

7. THE ADVENT SEQUENCE

7.A. THE PROPHETS

Moses
David
Sibyl the Prophet
Daniel

[fol. 17v] *Processus prophetarum*.[2]

MOSES *Prophetam excitabit deus de fratribus vestris;*
Omnis anima que non audierit prophetam illum
Exterminabitur de populo suo.
Nemo propheta sine honore nisi in patria sua.[3]

All ye folk of Israell
Herkyn to me: I will you tell *Listen*
Tythyngys farly goode. *greatly*
All wote ye how it befell *know*
5 Wherfor Adam was dampnyd to hell, *Why; damned*
He and all his blode.

Therfor will God styr and rayse
A prophete in som man dayes *man's*
Of oure brethere kyn, *brothers'*
10 And all trowes as he says *all who believe*
And will walk in his ways
From hell he will theym twyn. *part*

When his tyme begynnys to day *to dawn*
I rede no man fro hym dray, *advise; draw away*

---

[1] *Here ends Pharaoh.*

[2] *The pageant of the prophets*

[3] *God will raise a prophet from among our brothers; / everyone that will not listen to that prophet / shall be banished from his people. / No prophet is without honor except in his own country* (see Acts 3:22, Luke 4:24)

15	In way ne stand on strut,	*nor stand contentiously in the way*
	For he that will not here his sagh	*hear his words*
	He be shewed as an outlagh	*outlaw*
	And from his folkys be putt.	
	I warne you well that same prophete	
20	Shall com hereafterward full swete	*sweetly*
	And many mervels shew;	
	Man shall fall till his feete	*to*
	For cause he can bales beete	*Because; relieve misery*
	Thrugh his awn thew.	*courtesy*
25	All that will in trowth ren	*proceed*
	Shall he save, I warne you then;	
	"Christ" shall his name be.	
	Bot all over will man prophete ken	*know*
	With worship amangys men,	
30	Bot in his awne countré.	*Except*
[fol. 18r]	Herkyns all, both yong and old:	*Listen*
	God that has all in wold	*who controls all things*
	Gretys you bi me.	*Greets*
	His commaundementys ar ten;	
35	Behold, ye that ar his men,	
	Here ye may theym se.	
	His commaundementys that I have broght,	
	Looke that ye hold thaym noght	
	For tryfyls ne for fables,	*idle tales*
40	For ye shall well understand	
	That God wrote theym with his hand	
	In thyse same tables.	*tablets*
	Ye that thyse in hart will hald	*hold*
	Unto heven shall ye be cald	*called*
45	That is fyrst to com,	
	And ye that will not do so	
	Till hell pyne mon ye go	*To hell's punishment you must go*
	And byde a bytter dome.	*await; judgment*
	Do now as I shall you wys.	*tell*
50	The fyrst commaundement is this	
	That I shall you say:	
	Make no God of stok ne stone,	*wood nor*
	And trow in none God bot oone	*trust in no*
	That mayde both nyght and day.	

Anothere bydys thou shall not swere
For no mede ne for no dere — *reward; injury*
Falsly bi Godys name;
If thou swere wrongwosly — *wrongfully*
Wit thou well and wytterly — *Know; certainly*
Thou art worthi grete blame. — *worthy of*

The thyrd is thou shall well yheme — *observe*
Thi holy day and serve to wheme — *please*
God with all thi hart.
The fourt commaundement is bi tayll — *tally*
Fader and moder worship thou shall
In povert and in qwarte. — *health*

The fyft commaundys thou shall forsake
Fornycacyon and take thee a make, — *mate*
And lyf in rightwys state.
The sext commaundys thou shal not be
Mansloer for gold ne fee — *Manslayer*
Ne for luf ne for hate. — *Neither; nor*

The seventh commaundys that thou shall leve — *stop*
And nather go to stele ne reve — *steal; rob*
For more then for les. — *nor*
The aght bydys both old and yong — *eighth*
That thay be traw of thare tong — *true; tongue*
And bere no fals witnes.

The nenth bydys thee, bi thi lif,
Thou desyre not thi neghburs wife
Ne mayden that is his.
The tent bidys thee for no case — *cause*
Desyre not wranwosly thyng thi neghbur has; — *wrongfully*
Do thus and do no mys. — *sin*

I am the same man that God chase — *chose;* ***[fol. 18v]***
And toke the ten commaundementys of peasse
In the Monte Synay; — *Mount Sinai*
Thise wordys I say ar no les.
My name is callyd Moyses,
And have now all good day.

DAVID *Omnes reges adorabunt eum; omnes gentes servient ei.*[1]

Herkyn all that here may
And perceyf well what I shall say, *perceive*
All with rightwisnes.
Loke ye put it not away
95 Bot thynk theron both nyght and day,
For it is sothfastnes. *truth*

Jesse son ye wote I am; *Jesse's son; know*
David is my right name,
And I bere crowne.
100 Bot ye me trow ye ar to blame; *Unless you trust me*
Of Israel both wyld and tame
I have in my bondon. *power*

As God of heven has gyffyn me wit
Shall I now syng you a fytt *verse*
105 With my mynstrelsy. *music*
Loke ye do it well in wrytt *write it down well*
And theron a knot knytt, *(see note)*
For it is prophecy.

Myrth I make till all men
110 With my harp and fyngers ten,
And warn theym that thay glad, *rejoice*
For God will his Son down send
That wroght Adam with his hend *made; hands*
And heven and erth mayde.

115 He will lyght fro heven towre *tower*
For to be mans saveyoure *savior*
And save that is forlorne. *that which*
For that I harp and myrth make
Is for he will manhede take,
120 I tell you thus beforne.[2]

And thider shall he ren agane *hasten*
As gyant of mych mayne *giant; much strength*
Unto the hyest sete.
Ther is nawther kyng ne swayn *servant*

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[1] *All kings shall adore him; all nations shall praise him* (see Psalm 71:11)

[2] Lines 118–20: *The reason that I play the harp and make mirth (melody) / is that he will take on human form; / I tell you this beforehand [in prophecy]*

125	Then nothyng that may hym layn	*nor anything; conceal himself*
	Ne hyde from his hete.	*command*
	He shall be lord and kyng of all;	
	Tyll hys feete shall kyngys fall	*To*
	To offre to hym, wytterly.	*certainly*
130	Blyssyd be that swete blome	*blossom*
	That shall save us at his com;	*coming*
	Joyfull may we be.	
	Riche gyftys thay shall hym bryng	
	And till hym make offeryng	
135	Kneland on thare kne.	
	Well were hym that that lordyng	
	And that dere derlyng	*darling*
	Myght bide on lyfe and se.	*Might live to see*
[fol. 19r]	Men may know hym bi his marke:	
140	Myrth and lovyng is his warke;	*praise*
	That shall he luf most.	*love*
	Lyght shall be born that tyme in darke	
	Both to lawd man and to clark:	*unlearned; clerk*
	The luf of rightwys gost.	*the spirit of righteousness*
145	Therfor both emperoure and kyng,	
	Ryche and poore, both old and ying,	*young*
	Temper well youre gle	*Tune; music*
	Agans that kyng lyght downe	*Before*
	For to lowse us of pryson	*release us from*
150	And make us all free.	
	Ostende nobis domine misericordiam tuam	
	Et salutare tuum da nobis.[1]	
	Thou shew thi mercy, Lord, tyll us,	*to*
	For to thou com, to hell we trus;	*until; we go to hell*
	We may not go beside,	*do otherwise*
	Lord, when thi will is for to dele	*to give*
155	Tyll us thi salve and thi hele	*healing*
	Whom we all abyde.	
	Now have I songen you a fytt;	*verse*
	Loke in mynd that ye have it,	
	I rede with my myght.	*advise*

[1] *Show us your mercy, lord, and give us your salvation* (Psalm 84:8)

He that maide us all with his wytt
Sheld us all from hell pytt
And graunt us heven lyght.

SIBYL THE PROPHET *Iudicii signum: tellus sudore madescit;*
E celo rex adveniet per secla futurus
Scilicet in carne presens ut iudicet orbem.[1]

Whoso wyll here tythyngys glad — *hear good news*
Of hym that all this warld made,
Here me wytterly. — *certainly*
Sibill sage is my name.
Bot ye me here, ye ar to blame; — *hear me*
My word is prophecy.

All men was slayn thrugh Adam syn
And put to pyne that never shall blyn — *suffering; end*
Thrugh falsnes of the feynd.
A new kyng comes from heven to fyght
Agans the feynd to wyn his right; — *fiend*
So is his mercy heynd. — *gracious*

All the warld shall he deme — *judge*
And that have servyd hym to wheme — *those who; [his] satisfaction*
Myrth thaym mon betyde; — *shall befall*
All shall se hym with thare ee, — *eyes*
Ryche and poore, low and hye;
No man may hym hyde. — *hide himself*

Bot thay shall in thare flesh ryse
That every man shall whake and grys — *quake; tremble*
Agans that ilk dome; — *very judgment*
With his santys many oone — *his many saints*
He shall be sene in flesh and bone
That kyng that is to com.

[fol. 19v] All that shall stand hym before
All shal be les and more
Of oone eld ichon.[2]
Angels shall qwake then for ferd — *fear*
And fyre shall bren this mydyll erd — — *burn*
Yei, erth and all ther apon.

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[1] *The sign of judgment: the ground will be wet with dew; / the king of future generations will come from heaven, / truly present in the flesh, to judge the world* (see note)

[2] Lines 188–89: *All shall be more or less / of the same age, each one [at the Last Judgment]*

Shall nothyng here in erth be kend *known*
Bot it shall be strewyd and brend, *scattered and burned*
All waters and the see.
Sythen shall both hill and dale *Afterwards*
Ryn togeder, grete and smale,
And all shall even be.

At hys commyng shall bemys blaw *trumpets blow*
That men may his commyng knaw.
Full sorowfull shall be that blast;
Ther is no man that herys it
Bot he shall qwake for all his witt
Be he never so stedfast.

Then shall hell gape and gryn *open*
That men may know thare dome therin
Of that hye justyce.
That ill have done to hell mon go, *[Those] who; must*
And to heven the other also
That has been rightwys. *righteous*

Therfor I rede ilka man *advise every*
Kepe as well as he can
Fro syn and fro mysdede.
My prophecy now have I told.
God you save, both yong and old,
And help you at youre nede.

DANIEL *Cum venerit sanctus sanctorum cessabit uncio vestra*.[1]

God that maide Adam and Eve
Whils thay dyd well he gaf thaym leve
In Paradise to dwell;
Sone when thay that appyll ete
Thay were dampned sone and skete *soon and hastily*
Unto the pyne of hell

Thrugh sorow and paynes ever new.
Therfor wyll God apon us rew *take pity*
And his son downe send
Into erth, flesh to take;
That is all for oure sake,
Oure trespas to amend.

---

[1] *When the holy of holies comes, your anointing will cease* (see Daniel 9:24)

Flesh with fleshe will be boght
230 That he lose not that he has wroght *that which*
Wyth hys awne hend; *hands*
Of a madyn shal he be borne
To save all that ar forlorne,
Evermore withoutten end.

[…] *(see note)*

7.B. CAESAR AUGUSTUS

Emperor (Caesar Augustus)
Counselor 1
Counselor 2
Messenger (Lightfoot)
Sirinus

[fol. 25v] *Incipit Cesar Augustus*.[1]

EMPEROR Be styll, beshers, I commawnd yow *fair sirs*
That no man speke a word here now
Bot I myself alon,
And if ye do I make a vow
5 Thys brand abowte youre nekys shall bow; *sword; fall*
Forthy be styll as ston. *Therefore*

And looke ye grefe me noght *grieve*
For if ye do it shall be boght, *paid for*
I swere you by Mahowne.
10 I wote well if ye knew me oght, *know; at all*
To slo you all how lytyll I roght, *slay; cared*
Ston styll ye wold syt downe.

For all is myn that up standys:
Castels, towers, townys, and landys
15 To me homage thay bryng,
[fol. 26r] For I may bynd and lowse of band. *bondage*
Everythyng bowys unto my hand;
I want none erthly thyng. *lack no*

I am lord and syr over all.
20 All bowys to me both grete and small,

[1] *Here begins Caesar Augustus*

As lord of every land
Is none so comly on to call. *fair*
Whoso this agane-says fowll shall befall, *disputes*
And therto here my hand. *(see note)*

For I am he that myghty is,
And hardely all hathennes *certainly; heathendom*
Is redy at my wyll,
Both ryche and poore, more and les,
At my lykyng for to redres, *put in order*
Whether I wyll save or spyll. *destroy*

Cesar August I am cald.
A fayrer cors for to behald *body*
Is not of bloode and bone;
Ryche ne poore, yong ne old,
Sych anothere as I am told
In all thys warld is none.

Bot oone thyng doys me full mych care: *does bother me*
I trow my land wyll sone mysfare *soon fare badly*
For defawte of counsell lele. *lack; loyal*
My counsellars so wyse of lare, *lore*
Help to comforth me of care;
No wyt from me ye fele. *knowledge; conceal*

As I am man moost of renowne,
I shall you gyf youre waryson *reward*
To help me if ye may. *For helping me*
COUNSELOR 1 To counsell you, lord, we ar bowne, *ready*
And for no man that lyfys in towne
Wyll we not let, perfay. *desist, by faith*

Youre messyngere I reede ye call *advise*
For any thyng that may befall.
Byd hym go hastely
Thrughout youre landys overall,
Amang youre folk both grete and small
Youre gyrth and peasse to cry. *protection*

For to commaunde both yong and old
None be so hardy ne so bold *nor*
To hold of none bot you; *To maintain allegiance to anyone*
And whoso doth, put them in hold *custody*
And loke ye payn theym manyfold. *punish; many times*
EMPEROR I shall, I make a vowe.

61	Of thys counsell well payde am I;	*pleased*
	It shall be done full hastely	
	Wythouten any respytt.	*delay*
COUNSELOR 2	My lord, abyde awyle, for why	*because;* ***[fol. 26v]***
65	A word to you I wold cleryfy.	*clarify*
EMPEROR	Go on, then, tell me tytt.	*quickly*
COUNSELOR 2	All redy, lord, now permafay.	*by my faith*
	Thys have I herd syn many day	*since*
	Folk in the contré tell,	
70	That in this land shuld dwell a may	*maiden*
	The which sall bere a chylde, thay say,	
	That shall youre force downe fell.	*defeat*
EMPEROR	Downe fell? Dwyll, what may this be?	*[by the] Devil*
	Out, harow, full wo is me.	
75	I am full wyll of reede.	*at a loss for advice*
	A, fy and dewyls. Whens cam he	*fie; devils; From where*
	That thus shuld reyfe me my pawsté	*rob me of my power*
	Ere shuld I be his dede?	*Before I should be the death of him*
	For certys then were my worshyp lorne	*lost*
80	If sych a swayn, a snoke-horne,	*snot-nose*
	Shuld thus be my suffrane.	*sovereign*
	May I wyt when that boy is borne	*know*
	In certan, had the dwyll hit sworne,	
	That gadlyng shuld agane.	*fellow should die*
COUNSELOR 1	Do way, lord, greyf you not so.	
86	Youre messyngere ye cause furth go	*to go forth*
	Aftyr youre cosyn dere	*kinsman*
	To speke with you a word or two;	
	The best counsell that lad to slo	*slay*
90	Full soyn he can you lere.	*teach*
	For a wyse man that knyght men know.[1]	
EMPEROR	Now I assent unto thi saw;	*words*
	Of witt art thou the well.	
	For all the bost men of hym blowys,	*boast*
95	He shall never dystroy my lawes	
	Were he the dwyll of hell.	*[Even if] he were*
	Com, Lyghtfote, lad: loke thou be yare	*ready*
	On my message furth to fare.	

[1] *Men know that knight to be a wise man*

Go tytt to Syr Syryn. *quickly*
100 Say sorow takys me full sare; *sore*
Pray hym to comforth me of care
As myn awne dere cosyn,

And bot if thou com agane tonight, *unless*
Look I se thee never in syght
105 Neverwhere in my land.
MESSENGER Yis certys, lord, I am full lyght. *nimble*
Or noyn of the day I dar you hyght *Before noon; promise*
To bryng hym by the hand.

EMPEROR Yai, boy, and as thou luffys me dere *love;* ***[fol. 27r]***
110 Luke that thou spy both far and nere
Over all in ych place,
If thou here any saghes sere *hear various stories*
Of any carpyng far and nere *idle talk*
Of that lad where that thou gase. *go*

MESSENGER All redy, lord, I am full bowne *ready*
116 To spyr and spy in every towne *ask*
After that wykkyd queyd. *evil person*
If I here any runk or rowne *murmur; whisper*
I shall fownd to crak thare crowne *hasten*
120 Over all in ylka stede. *each place*

And therfor, lord, have now good day.
EMPEROR Mahowne he wyse thee on thi way *guide*
That weldys water and wynde, *governs*
And specyally here I thee pray
125 To spede thee as fast as thou may.
MESSENGER Yis, lord, that shall ye fynde.

Mahowne thee save and se, Syr Syryne.
Cesar, my lord and youre cosyn,
He gretys you well by me.
SIRINUS Thou art welcom to me and myn.
131 Com nere and tell me tythandys thyn *your news*
Tyte, what thay may be. *Quickly*

MESSENGER My lord prays you as ye luf hym dere
To com to hym, if youre wyll were
135 To speke with hym awhyle.
SIRINUS Go grete hym well, thou messyngere;
Say hym I com and that right nere *Tell; right away*
Behynd thee not a myle.

MESSENGER All redy, lord, at youre byddyng.
140 Mahowne thee menske, my lord kyng, *favor*
And save thee by see and sand.
EMPEROR Welcom, bewshere: say, what tythyng? *fair sir*
Do tell me tyte for anythyng, *quickly*
What herd thou in my land?

MESSENGER I herd nothyng, lord, bot goode.
146 Syr Syryn that I after yode *went*
He wyll be here this nyght.
EMPEROR I thank thee by Mahownes bloode.
Thise tythyngys mekyll amendys my mode. *much; mood*
150 Go rest, thou worthy wyght. *person*

SIRINUS Mahowne so semely on to call *pleasing*
He save thee, lord of lordys all
Syttyng with thi meneyé. *retinue*
EMPEROR Welcom, Syr Syrynne, to this hall.
155 Besyde myself here sytt thou shall;
Com up belyf to me. *immediately*

SIRINUS Yis, lord, I am at youre talent. *at your disposal*
EMPEROR Wherfor, syr, I after thee sent *Why*
I shall thee say full right,
160 And therfor take to me intent: *pay attention;* ***[fol. 27v]***
I am in poynt for to be shent. *destroyed*
SIRINUS How so, for Mahownes myght?

EMPEROR Syr, I am done to understand
That a qweyn here in this land *whore*
165 Shall bere a chyld, I wene, *think*
That shall be crowned kyng lyfand *living*
And all shall bow unto his hand.
Thise tythyngys doth me teyne. *annoy*

He shall commaunde both ying and old;
170 None be so hardy ne so bold
To gyf servyce to me.
Then wold my hart be cold
If sich a beggere shold
My kyngdom thus reyf me. *steal from*

175 And therfor, syr, I wold thee pray
Thy best counsell thou wold me say
To do what I am best; *What is best for me to do*
For securly, if that I may, *surely*

If he be fonden I shall hym slay — *found*
180 Aythere by eest or west. — *Either in*

SIRINUS Now wote ye, lord, what that I reede. — *know; advise*
I counsell you as ete I brede
What best therof may be:
Gar serche youre land in every stede — *Make [others]*
185 And byd that boy be done to dede — *put to death*
Who the fyrst may hym see. — *By the first who*

And also I rede that ye gar cry
To fleme wythall that belamy[1]
That shuld be kyng with crowne.
190 Byd ych man com to you holly — *without exception*
And bryng to you a heede penny — *poll tax*
That dwellys in towere or towne.

That this be done by the thyrde day,
Then may none of his freyndys say
195 Bot he has mayde homage.
If ye do thus, syr, permafay — *by my faith*
Youre worship shall ye wyn for ay — *forever*
If thay make you trowage. — *tribute*

EMPEROR I thank you, syr, as myght I thé, — *thrive*
200 For thyse tythyngys that thou tellys me;
Thy counsell shall avayll.
Lord and syre of this cowntré
Wythouten ende here make I thee
For thy good counsell.

205 My messyngere, loke thou be bowne
And weynd belyf from towne to towne — *go at once*
And be my nobyll swane; — *servant*
I pray thee as thou luffys Mahowne
And also for thy waryson — *reward*
210 That thou com tytt agane. — *quickly*

[fol. 28r] Commaunde the folk holly ichon, — *each and every one*
Ryche ne poore forgett thou none,
To hold holly on me — *depend*
And lowtt me as thare lord alone. — *submit to*
215 And who wyll not thay shall be slone; — *slain*
This brand thare bayll shal be. — *sword; misery*

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[1] Lines 187–88: *And also I advise that you order, by proclamation, / that fair friend into exile*

Therfor thou byd both old and ying
That ich man know me for his kyng *recognize*
For drede that I thaym spyll, *kill*
220 That I am lord, and in tokynyng *sign*
Byd ich man a penny bryng
And make homage me tyll.

To my statutys who wyll not stand *laws; obey*
Fast for to fle outt of my land
225 Byd thaym withouten lyte. *delay*
Now by Mahowne, God all-weldand, *almighty*
Thou shall be mayde knyght with my hand
And therfor hye thee tyte. *go; quickly*

MESSENGER All redy, lord, it shall be done;
230 Bot I wote well I com not sone
And therfor be not wroth. *angry*
I swere you, syr, by son and moyne *sun and moon*
I com not here byfore eft-none *afternoon*
Wheder ye be leyfe or loth. *willing or reluctant*

235 Bot hafe good day; now wyll I weynd,
For longer here may I not leynd *remain*
Bot grathe me furth my gate. *prepare myself to go on my way*
EMPEROR Mahowne that is curtes and heynd *courteous; gracious*
He bryng thi jornay well to eynd
240 And wysh thee, that all wate. *guide; who knows all*

Explicit Cesar Augustus.[1]

[1] *Here ends Caesar Augustus*

7.c. THE ANNUNCIATION

God
Gabriel, the archangel
Mary

Incipit annunciacio.[1]

GOD Sythen I have mayde all thyng of noght, *Since; out of nothing*
And Adam with my handys hath wroght
Lyke to myn ymage att my devyse, *will*
And gyffen hym joy in Paradyse
5 To won therin as that I wend, *live; as I thought*
To that he dyd that I defend; *Until he did that which I forbade*
[fol. 28v] Then I hym put out of that place,
Bot yit I myn I hight hym grace. *remember; promised*
Oyll of mercy I can hym heyt *promise*
10 And tyme also his bayll to beytt, *to mend his misery*
For he has boght his syn full sore *paid for*
Thise fyfe thowsand yeris and more,
Fyrst in erthe and sythen in hell. *then*
Bot long therin shall he not dwell;
15 Outt of payn he shall be boght.
I wyll not tyne that I have wroght. *forget that [which] I have made*
I wyll make redempcyon
As I hyght for my preson, *promised; prisoner*
All wyth reson and with right,
20 Both thrugh mercy and thrugh myght.
He shall not therfor ay be spylt, *be destroyed forever*
For he was wrangwysly begylt. *wrongfully beguiled*
He shall out of preson pas *prison*
For that he begyled was *Because*
25 Thrugh the edder and his wyfe: *adder*
Thay gart hym towch the tree of lyfe *made*
And ete the frute that I forbed,
And he was dampned for that dede.
Ryghtwysnes wyll we make; *Rectitude*
30 I wyll that my son manhede take,
For reson wyll that ther be thre:
A man, a madyn, and a tre;
Man for man, tre for tre,
Madyn for madyn, thus shal it be.
35 My son shall in a madyn light,
Agans the feynd of hell to fight,

[1] *Here begins the annunciation*

	Wythouten wem, os son thrugh glas,	*stain, as sun*
	And she, madyn as she was.	
	Both God and man shall he be,	
40	And she, moder and madyn fre.	
	To Abraham I am in dett,	*debt*
	To safe hym and his gett,	*descendants*
	And I wyll that all prophecye	
	Be fulfyllyd here by me,	
45	For I am Lord and lech of heyle.	*physician of healing*
	My prophetys shall be funden leyle:	*loyal*
	As Moyses sayd, and Isay,	
	Kyng David and Jeromy,	
	Abacuk and Daniell,	
50	Sybyll sage that sayde ay well,	
	And myne othere prophetys all;	
	As thay have said it shall befall.	
	Ryse up, Gabriell, and weynd	*go*
	Unto a madyn that is heynd,	*gracious*
55	To Nazareth in Galilee,	
	Ther she dwellys in that cytee,	
	To that vyrgyn and to that spouse,	
	To a man of David house,	
	Joseph also he is namyd by,	
60	And the madyn name Mary.	
	Angell must to Mary go,	
	For the feynd was Eve fo —	*a foe to Eve*
	He was foule and layth to syght,	*loathsome*
	And thou art angell fayr and bright —	
65	And hayls that madyn, my lemman,	*greet; beloved*
	As heyndly as thou can.	*graciously*
	Of my behalf thou shall hyr grete:	*her*
	I have hyr chosen, that madyn swete;	
	She shall conceyf my derlyng	*conceive*
70	Thrugh thy word and hyr heryng.	
	In hyr body wyll I lyght	
	That is to me clenly dyght.	*prepared*
	She shall of hyr body bere	
	God and man, wythouten dere.	*harm*
[fol. 29r]	She shall be blyssyd wythouten ende.	
76	Grayth thee, Gabriell, and weynd.	*Prepare; go*
Gabriel	Hayll, Mary gracyouse.	
	Hayll, madyn and Godys spouse;	
	Unto thee I lowte.	*bow*
80	Of all vyrgyns thou art qwene,	*queen*
	That ever was or shall be seyn,	
	Wythouten dowte.	

Hayll, Mary, and well thou be.
My Lord of heven is wyth thee
85 Wythouten end.
Hayll, woman most of mede. *merit*
Goodly lady, have thou no drede,
That I commend.

For thou has fonden all thyn oone *found*
90 The grace of God that was out gone
For Adam plyght. *Because of Adam's sin*
This is the grace that thee betydys: *befalls you*
Thou shall conceyve within thi sydys *womb*
A chyld of myght.

95 When he is comen, that thi son,
He shall take cyrcumsycyon. *circumcision*
Call hym Jesum.
Mightfull man shall be he that *Mighty*
And Godys son shall he hat *be called*
100 By his day com. *When*

My Lord also shall gyf hym tyll *give to him*
Hys fader sete David at wyll,[1]
Therin to sytt.
He shall be kyng in Jacob kyn; *of Jacob's kind*
105 Hys kyngdom shall never blyn, *cease*
Lady, well thou wytt. *know*

MARY What is thi name?
GABRIEL Gabriell,
Godys strengthe and his angell
That comys to thee.
MARY Ferly gretyng thou me gretys: *Wondrous*
111 A child to bere thou me hetys? *you promise [to] me*
How shuld it be?

I cam never by mans syde
Bot has avowed my madynhede *virginity*
115 From fleshly gett; *procreation*
Therfor I wote not how *know*
That this be brokyn as a vow
That I have hett. *promised*

[1] Lines 101–02: *My Lord shall also give to him / the seat of his ancestor David, at his will*

	Nevertheles, well I wote	*know*
120	To wyrk thi word and hold thi hote.	*promise*
	Mightfull God is,	
	Bot I ne wote of what manere;	*know not*
	Therfor I pray thee, messyngere,	
	That thou me wysh.	*instruct*
Gabriel	Lady, this is the prevaté:	*secret*
126	The Holy Gost shall light in thee,	
	And his vertue	
[fol. 29v]	He shall umshade and fulfyll	*protect; (see note)*
	That thi madynhede shall never spyll	*perish*
130	Bot ay be new.	*remain unaltered*
	The child that thou shall bere, madame,	
	Shall Godys son be callid by name;	
	And se, Mary,	
	Elesabeth, thi cosyn that is cald geld,	*barren*
135	She has conceyffed a son in elde	*in old age*
	Of Zacary,	*By Zacharias*
	And this is, who wyll late,	*seek [to know]*
	The sext moneth of hyr conceytate	*sixth; pregnancy*
	That geld is cald.	
140	No word, lady, that I thee bryng	
	Is unmyghtfull to heven kyng,	*impossible for*
	Bot all shall hald.	
Mary	I lofe my Lord all-weldand.	*almighty*
	I am his madyn, at his hand	
145	And in his wold;	*keeping*
	I trow bodword that thou me bryng.	*message*
	Be done to me in all thyng	
	As thou has told.	
Gabriel	Mary, madyn heynd,	*gracious*
150	Me behovys to weynd.	*I must go*
	My leyf at thee I take.	*leave of you*
Mary	Far to, my freynd,	
	Who thee can send	
	For mankynde sake.[1]	
	Explicit annunciacio beate Marie.[2]	

[1] Lines 152–54: *Go, my friend, / to the one who sent you / for the sake of humankind*

[2] *Here ends the annunciation of the blessed Mary*

7.D. THE SALUTATION

Mary
Elizabeth

[fol. 31v] *Incipit salutacio Elezabeth.*[1]

MARY My Lord of heven that syttys he, *high*
And all thyng seys with ee, *sees; eye*
Thee safe, Elezabeth *Save you*
ELIZABETH Welcom, Mary, blyssed blome. *blossom*
5 Joyfull am I of thi com *arrival*
To me from Nazareth.

MARY How standys it with you, dame, of qwart? *health*
ELIZABETH Well, my doghter and dere hart,
As can for myn elde. *considering my age*
MARY To speke with you me thoght full lang,
11 For ye with childe in elde gang *go*
And ye be cald geld. *barren*

ELIZABETH Full lang shall I the better be
That I may speke my fyll with thee,
15 My dere kynswoman,
To wytt how thi freyndys fare *know*
In thi countré where thay ar.
Therof tell me thou can,

And how thou farys, my dere derlyng.
MARY Well, dame, gramercy youre askyng, *thank you for;* ***[fol. 32r]***
21 For good I wote ye spyr. *ask*
ELIZABETH And Joachym, thy fader at hame,
And Anna, my nese and thi dame, *kinswoman; mother*
How standys it with hym and hir? *fares*

MARY Dame, yit ar thay both on lyfe, *alive*
26 Both Joachym and Anna his wyfe.
ELIZABETH Els were my hart full sore. *Otherwise*
MARY Dame, God that all may *can do anything*
Yeld you that ye say *render to*
30 And blys you therfore. *bless*

---

[1] *Here begins the salutation of Elizabeth*

ELIZABETH Blyssed be thou of all women,
And the fruyte that I well ken *fruit; know*
Within the wombe of thee;
And this tyme may I blys
35 That my Lordys moder is
Comen thus unto me.

For syn that tyme, full well I wote, *since; know*
The stevyn of angell voce it smote *sound; struck*
And rang now in myn ere. *ear*
40 A selcouth thyng is me betyde;[1]
The chyld makys joy as any byrd *bird*
That I in body bere.

And als Mary, blyssed be thou *also*
That stedfastly wold trow
45 The wordys of oure heven kyng;
Therfor all thyng now shall be kend *known*
That unto thee were sayd or send *ordained*
By the angell gretyng.

MARY *Magnificat anima mea dominum*.[2]

My saull lufys my Lord abuf, *loves; above*
50 And my gost gladys with luf *spirit rejoices*
In God that is my hele, *salvation*
For he has besene agane *considered*
The buxumnes of his bane, *humility; willing one*
And kept me madyn lele. *true*

55 Lo, therof what me shall betyde?
All nacyons on every syde *nations*
Blyssyd shall me call,
For he that is full of myght
Mekyll thyng to me has dyght. *Great; ordained*
60 His name be blyssed over all,

And his mercy is also
From kynde to kynde, tyll all tho *generation; to all those*
That ar hym dredand. *afraid of*
Myght in his armes he wroght
65 And dystroed in his thoght *destroyed*
Prowde men and hygh berand. *overbearing*

---

[1] *A wonderful thing has happened to me*

[2] *My soul praises the Lord*

Myghty men furth of sete he dyd, *expelled from their seats*
And he hyghtynd in that stede *raised*
The meke men of hart;
70 The hungré with all good he fyld *filled;* ***[fol. 32v]***
And left the rich outt-shyld *empty*
Thaym to unquart. *distress*

Israell has under law
His awne son in his awe
75 By menys of his mercy, *means*
As he told before by name
To oure fader Abraham,
And seyd of his body. *seed*

Elezabeth, myn awnt dere, *cousin*
80 My lefe I take at you here, *leave; of*
For I dwell now full lang.
ELIZABETH Wyll thou now go, Godys fere? *companion*
Com kys me, doghter, with good chere *kiss*
Or thou hens gang. *Before you go hence*

85 Farewell now, thou frely foode, *noble child*
I pray thee be of comforth goode,
For thou art full of grace.
Grete well all oure kyn of bloode.
That Lord that thee with grace infude *infused*
90 He save all in this place.

Explicit salutacio Elezabeth.[1]

7.E. JOSEPH'S TROUBLE

Joseph
Mary
Angel

JOSEPH Allmyghty God, what may this be? ***[fol. 29v]***
Of Mary my wyfe mervels me: *amazes*
Alas, what has she wroght? *done*
A, hyr body is grete and she with childe. *large*
5 For me was she never fylyd; *By me; violated*
Therfor myin is it noght. *mine*

[1] *Here ends the salutation of Elizabeth*

	I irke full sore with my lyfe	*feel deeply troubled by*
	That ever I wed so yong a wyfe;	
	That bargan may I ban.	*business; curse*
10	To me it was a carefull dede.	
	I myght well wyt that yowthede	*know; youth*
	Wold have lykyng of man.	
	I am old, sothly to say.	
	Passed I am all prevay play;	*sexual intimacy*
15	The gams fro me ar gane.	*games; gone*
	It is ill cowpled of youth and elde.	
	I wote well, for I am unwelde,	*impotent*
	Som othere has she tane.	*taken*
	She is with chyld, I wote never how.	*know not*
20	Now who wold any woman trow?	*trust*
	Certys, no man that can any goode.	
	I wote not in the warld what I shuld do,	
	Bot now then wyll I weynd hyr to	*go to her*
	And wytt who owe that foode.	*owns; child; (see note)*
25	Hayll, Mary, and well ye be.	
	Why, bot woman, what chere with thee?	
MARY	The better, syr, for you.	
JOSEPH	So wold I, woman, that ye wore,	
	Bot certys, Mary, I rew full sore	
[fol. 30r]	It standys so with thee now.	
	Bot of a thyng frayn thee I shall:	*I will inquire [of] you*
	Who owe this child thou gose withall?	
MARY	Syr, ye and God of heven.	
JOSEPH	Myne, Mary? Do way thi dyn.	*Stop your noise*
35	That I shuld oght have parte therin	
	Thou nedys it not to neven.[1]	*mention*
	Wherto nevyns thou me therto?	*Why name*
	I had never with thee to do.	
	How shuld it then be myne?	
40	Whos is that chyld, so God thee spede?	
MARY	Syr, Godys and yowrs, withouten drede.	*doubtless*
JOSEPH	That word had thou to tyne,	*forget*

[1] Lines 35–36: *You need not suggest that I had any part in this [conception]*

For it is right full far me fro, *has nothing to do with me*
And I forthynkys thou has done so *regret that*
45 Thise ill dedys bedene, *together*
And if thou speke thiself to spyll *destroy*
It is full sore agans my wyll,
If better myght have bene.

MARY At Godys wyll, Joseph, must it be,
50 For certanly bot God and ye *except for*
I know none othere man,
For fleshly was I never fylyd. *defiled*
JOSEPH How shuld thou thus then be with chyld?
Excuse thee well thou can.

55 I blame thee not, so God me save,
Woman maners if that thou have, *Women's*
Bot certys, I say thee this:
Well wote thou, and so do I,
Thi body fames thee openly *defames*
60 That thou has done amys.

MARY Yee, God he knowys all my doyng.
JOSEPH Wé, now, this is a wonder thyng.
I can noght say therto *say nothing*
Bot in my hart I have greatt care,
65 And ay the longer mare and mare. *more and more*
For doyll what shall I do? *sorrow*

Godys and myn she says it is. *mine*
I wyll not fader it; she says amys. *speaks falsely*
For shame, yit shuld she let
70 To excuse hir velany by me? *villainy*
With hir I thynk no longer be;
I rew that ever we met. *regret*

And how we met ye shall wyt sone.
Men use yong chyldren for to done
75 In temple for to lere;[1] *teach*
Soo dyd thay hir to she wex more *until she grew*
Then othere madyns wyse of lore. *learning*
Then byshopes sayd to hir,

"Mary, thee behowfys to take *you should*
80 Som yong man to be thi make, *mate*

[1] Lines 74–75: *People are accustomed to leaving young children / at the temple for their education*

As thou seys other hane, *As you see others have done*
In the temple which thou wyll neven." *name*
And she sayd, "none bot God of heven,"
To hym she had hir tane. *taken*

[fol. 30v] She wold none othere for any sagh. *(see note)*
86 Thay sayd she must, it was the lagh; *law*
She was of age thertill. *for that*
To the temple thay somond old and ying, *summoned*
All of Juda ofspryng,
90 The law for to fulfill.

Thay gaf ich man a white wand *gave*
And bad us bere them in oure hande
To offre with good intent.
Thay offerd thare yerdys up in that tyde. *wands; time*
95 For I was old I stode besyde; *Because*
I wyst not what thay ment. *knew*

Thay lakyd oone, thay sayde in hy. *lacked; in haste*
All had offerd, thay sayd, bot I,
For I ay withdrogh me. *withdrew*
100 Furth with my wande thay mayd me com;
In my hand it floryshed with blome. *flourished; bloom*
Then sayde thay all to me,

"If thou be old, mervell not thee,
For God of heven thus ordans he:
105 Thi wand shewys openly;
It florishes so withouten nay *doubt*
That thee behovys wed Mary the may." *you should; maid*
A sory man then was I. *sorry*

I was full sory in my thoght.
110 I sayde for old I myght noght *because of my age*
Hir have never-the-wheder; *nonetheless*
I was unlykely to hir so yong. *unsuitable*
Thay sayde ther helpyd none excusyng
And wed us thus togeder.

115 When I all thus had wed hir thare,
We and foure madyns home can fare *maidens; go*
That kyngys doghters were.
All wroght thay sylk to fynd them on;[1]

[1] *All of them wove silk, with which to provide for themselves*

Marie wroght purpyll, the oder none *others*
120 Bot othere colers sere. *various other colors*

I left thaym in good peasse, wenyd I. *I thought*
Into the contré I went on hy *in haste*
My craft to use with mayn; *might*
To gett oure lyfyng I must nede. *living*
125 On Marie I prayd them take good hede
To that I cam agane. *Until*

Neyn monethes was I fro that myld; *mild one*
When I cam home, she was with chyld.
Alas, I sayd, for shame.
130 I askyd ther women who that had done
And thay me sayde an angell sone *soon*
Syn that I went from hame. *since*

"An angell spake with that wyght *creature*
And no man els, bi day nor nyght,
135 Sir, therof be ye bold." *confident*
Thay excusyd hir thus sothly
To make hir clene of hir foly
And babyshed me that was old. *scorned*

[fol. 31r] Shuld an angell this dede have wroght?
140 Sich excusyng helpys noght,
For no craft that thay can.
A hevenly thyng forsothe is he *truly*
And she is erthly; this may not be,
It is som othere man.

145 Certys, I forthynk sore of hir dede *Certainly; regret*
Bot it is long of yowthhede *because of youth*
All sich wanton playes,
For yong women wyll nedys play them
With yong men if old forsake them;
150 Thus it is sene always.

Bot Marie and I playd never so sam. *together*
Never togeder we usid that gam;
I cam hir never so nere.

She is as clene as cristall clyfe *cut crystal*
155 For me, and shal be whyls I lyf.
The law wyll it be so, *(see note)*
And then am I cause of hir dede; *death*

Forthi then can I now no rede. *advice*
Alas, what I am wo.

160 And sothly if it so befall *truly*
Godys son that she be with all,
If sich grace myght betyde, *occur*
I wote well that I am not he
Which that is worthi to be
165 That blyssed body besyde,

Nor yit to be in company.
To wyldernes I will forthi *therefore*
Enfors me for to fare, *Force myself to go*
And never longer with hir dele,
170 Bot stylly shall I from hir stele *stealthily; steal*
That mete shall we no mare.

ANGEL Do wa, Joseph, and mend thy thoght. *away*
I warne thee well and weynd thou noght
To wyldernes so wylde.
175 Turne home to thi spouse agane;
Look thou deme in hir no trane, *consider; treachery*
For she was never fylde. *defiled*

Wyte thou no wyrkyng of werkys wast; *Blame no doing of idle deeds*
She hase consavyd the Holy Gast, *conceived by*
180 And she shall bere Godys son.
Forthy with hir in thi degré *Therefore*
Meke and buxom looke thou be,
And with hir dwell and won. *live*

JOSEPH A, Lord, I lofe thee all alon
185 That vowches safe that I be oone *grants*
To tent that chyld so ying, *attend to; young*
I that thus have ungrathly gone *wrongly*
And untruly taken apon *dealt with*
Mary, that dere darlyng.

190 I rewe full sore that I have sayde *deeply regret that which*
And of hir byrdyng hir upbrade, *birthing; reproached*
And she not gylty is.
[fol. 31v] Forthy to hir now wyll I weynde *Therefore; go*
And pray hir for to be my freynde *beg*
195 And aske hir forgyfnes. *forgiveness*

A, Mary, wyfe, what chere?
MARY The better, syr, that ye ar here.

	Thus long where have ye lent?	*been*
JOSEPH	Certys, walkyd aboute lyke a fon	*fool*
200	That wrangwysly hase taken apon.	*wrongly*
	I wyst never what I ment.	*knew*
	Bot I wote well, my lemman fre,	*beloved*
	I have trespast to God and thee.	
	Forgyf me, I thee pray.	
MARY	Now all that ever ye sayde me to,	
206	God forgyf you, and I do	
	With all the myght I may.	
JOSEPH	Gramercy, Mary, thi good wyll,	*thank you [for]*
	So kyndly forgyfys that I sayde yll	
210	When I can thee upbrade.	
	Bot well is hym hase sich a fode,	*[who] has such a person*
	A meke wyf withouten goode;	*without possessions*
	He may well hold hym payde.	*well-paid (lucky)*
	A, what I am light as lynde.	*linden tree*
215	He that may both lowse and bynde	
	And every mys amend	*sin*
	Leyn me grace powere and myght	*Give*
	My wyfe and hir swete yong wight	
	To kepe to my lyfys ende.	

8. THE SHEPHERDS (1)

Shepherd 1 (Gib)
Shepherd 2 (John Horn)
Shepherd 3 (Slowpace)
Boy
Angel
Mary

[fol. 32v] *Incipit pagina pastorum.*[1]

SHEPHERD 1	Lord, what thay ar weyll	*well off*
	That hens ar past,	*hence*
	For thay noght feyll	*feel*
	Theym to downe cast.[2]	

[1] *Here begins a pageant of shepherds*

[2] Lines 1–4: *Lord, those who are gone from here are well off, for they do not feel themselves too downcast*

5	Here is mekyll unceyll	*much misery*
	And long has it last:	
	Now in hart, now in heyll,	*good spirits; health*
	Now in weytt, now in blast,	*wet; wind*
	Now in care,	
10	Now in comforth agane;	
	Now is fayre, now is rane,	*rain*
	Now in hart full fane	*glad*
	And after full sare.	*sore*
[fol. 33r]	Thus this warld, as I say,	
15	Farys on ylk syde,	*each*
	For after oure play	
	Com sorows unryde;	*severe*
	For he that most may	*can do most*
	When he syttys in pryde,	
20	When it comys on assay	*to the test*
	Is kesten downe wyde.	*thrown; far*
	This is seyn:	*seen (evident)*
	When ryches is he	*wealth; high*
	Then comys poverté;	
25	Horsman Jak Copé	*Jack Plenty*
	Walkys then, I weyn.	*think*
	I thank it God.	
	Hark ye what I mene:	
	For even or for od	*odd*
30	I have mekyll tene;	*much anger*
	As hevy as a sod	
	I grete with myn eene	*weep; eyes*
	When I nap on my cod	*pillow*
	For care that has bene	
35	And sorow.	
	All my shepe ar gone;	
	I am not left oone.	*one*
	The rott has theym slone.	*slain*
	Now beg I and borow.	
40	My handys may I wryng	
	And mowrnyng make,	*mourning*
	Bot if good will spryng	*Unless*
	The countré forsake;	
	Fermes thyk ar comyng.	*Abundant taxes*
45	My purs is bot wake;	*purse; of little worth*
	I have nerehand nothyng	
	To pay nor to take.	
	I may syng,	

With purs penneles
50 That makys this hevynes, *heaviness*
"Wo is me this dystres" *distress*
And has no helpyng. *There is no help for it*

Thus sett I my mynde,
Truly to neven, *say*
55 By my wytt to fynde
To cast the warld in seven. *(see note)*
My shepe have I tynde *lost*
By the moren full even; *murrain*
Now if hap will grynde, *chance; oppress*
60 God from his heven
Send grace.
To the fare will I me *fair*
To by shepe, perdé, *buy; by God*
And yit may I multyplé *thrive*
65 For all this hard case.

SHEPHERD 2 Bensté, bensté *[God's] blessing*
Be us emang, *among*
And save all that I se
Here in this thrang. *crowd*
70 He save you and me,
Overtwhart and endlang, *Crosswise; lengthwise*
That hang on a tre.[1]
I say you no wrang. *wrong*
Cryst save us
75 From all myschefys,
From robers and thefys,
From those mens grefys *griefs*
That oft ar agans us.

[fol. 33v] Both bosters and bragers *boasters; braggarts*
80 God kepe us fro,
That with thare long dagers
Dos mekyll wo, *much woe*
From all byll hagers *(see note)*
With colknyfys that go. *long knives*
85 Sich wryers and wragers *betrayers; wranglers*
Gose to and fro
For to crak. *boast*
Whoso says hym agane

[1] Lines 70–72: *May he who hung upon a cross save you and me, wholly and completely*

	Were better be slane;[1]	
90	Both ploghe and wane	*wagon*
	Amendys will not make.	
	He will make it as prowde	
	A lord as he were,	*as if*
	With a hede lyke a clowde,	*cloud*
95	Felterd his here.	*Tangled; hair*
	He spekys on lowde	*aloud*
	With a grym bere	*clamor*
	I wold not have trowde,	*believed*
	So galy in gere	*gaily; attire*
100	As he glydys.	
	I wote not the better	*know*
	Nor wheder is gretter,	*which*
	The lad or the master,	
	So stowtly he strydys.	*proudly*
105	If he hask me oght	
	That he wold to his pay,[2]	
	Full dere bese it boght	*dearly be it*
	If I say nay.	
	Bot God that all wroght	
110	To thee now I say,	
	Help that thay were broght	
	To a better way	
	For thare sawlys,	*souls*
	And send theym good mendyng	*correction*
115	With a short endyng,	*quick death*
	And with thee to be lendyng	*abiding*
	When that thou callys.	
	How, Gyb, goode morne.	
	Wheder goys thou?	*Where*
120	Thou goys over the corne.	*grain*
	Gyb, I say, how!	
SHEPHERD 1	Who is that? John Horne,	
	I make God a vowe.	
	I say not in skorne,	
125	Jhon, how farys thou?	
SHEPHERD 2	Hay, ha,	
	Ar ye in this towne?	
SHEPHERD 1	Yey, by my crowne.	*head*

[1] Lines 88–89: *Whoever speaks against him / would be better off killed*

[2] Lines 105–06: *If he should ask me for anything / that he desires*

SHEPHERD 2	I thoght by youre gowne	
130	This was youre aray.	*attire*
SHEPHERD 1	I am ever elyke;	*alike*
	Wote I never what it gars,	*Know; causes*
	Is none in this ryke	*realm*
	A shepard farys wars.[1]	
SHEPHERD 2	Poore men ar in the dyke	*ditch*
136	And oft-tyme mars;	*often perish*
	The warld is slyke	*such*
	Also helpars	
	Is none here.	
SHEPHERD 1	It is sayde full ryfe,	*frequently*
141	A man may not wyfe	*marry*
	And also thryfe	*thrive*
	And all in a yere.	
SHEPHERD 2	Fyrst must us crepe	*crawl*
145	And sythen go.	*then*
SHEPHERD 1	I go to by shepe.	*buy*
SHEPHERD 2	Nay, not so.	
[fol. 34r]	What, dreme ye or slepe?	
	Where shuld thay go?	
150	Here shall thou none kepe.	
SHEPHERD 1	A, good syr, ho!	
	Who am I?	
	I wyll pasture my fe	*livestock*
	Wheresoever lykys me.	
155	Here shall thou theym se.	
SHEPHERD 2	Not so hardy.	*bold*
	Not oone shepe tayll	*tail*
	Shall thou bryng hedyr.	*here*
SHEPHERD 1	I shall bryng, no fayll,	
160	A hundreth togedyr.	
SHEPHERD 2	What, art thou in ayll?	*Have you been drinking*
	Longys thou oght-whedir?	*Do you hope to go anywhere*
SHEPHERD 1	Thay shall go saunce fayll.	*without fail*
164	Go now, bell-weder.	*(see note)*
SHEPHERD 2	I say, tyr!	
SHEPHERD 1	I say, tyr, now agane.	
	I say, skyp over the plane.	*field*

[1] Lines 131–34: *I am always the same; / though I do not know the cause, / no one in this realm / fares worse than a shepherd*

SHEPHERD 2	Wold thou never so fane.	*glad*
	Tup, I say, whyr!	*Ram*
SHEPHERD 1	What, wyll thou not yit,	*yet*
171	I say, let the shepe go?	
	Whop!	
SHEPHERD 2	Abyde yit.	*wait*
SHEPHERD 1	Will thou bot so?	
	Knafe, hens I byd flytt,	*Knave; depart*
175	As good that thou do	
	Or shall I thee hytt	
	On thi pate — lo,	*head*
	Shall thou reyll.	*reel*
	I say, gyf the shepe space.	
SHEPHERD 2	Syr, a letter of youre grace.	*small part*
181	Here comys Slawpase	*Slowpace*
	Fro the myln-whele.	*mill wheel*
SHEPHERD 3	What ado, what ado	
	Is this you betweyn?	
185	A good day, thou and thou.	
SHEPHERD 1	Hark what I meyn	*Listen; mean*
	You to say:	
	I was bowne to by store,	*going to buy livestock*
	Drofe my shepe me before;	*Drove*
190	He says not oone hore	*hair*
	Shall pas by this way.	
	Bot and he were wood	*even if; mad*
	This way shall thay go.	
SHEPHERD 3	Yey, bot tell me good:	
195	Where ar youre shepe, lo?	
SHEPHERD 2	Now, syr, by my hode,	*head*
	Yit se I no mo	*no more*
	Not syn I here stode.	*since*
SHEPHERD 3	God gyf you wo	
200	And sorow!	
	Ye fysh before the nett,	*(see note)*
	And stryfe on this bett.	*quarrel; wager*
	Sich folys never I mett	*fools*
	Evyn or at morow.	*Evening; morning*
205	It is wonder to wyt	*know*
	Where wytt shuld be fownde.	
	Here ar old knafys yit	*rogues [who] still*
	Standys on this grownde;	
	These wold by thare wytt	

210	Make a shyp be drownde.	*ship*
	He were well qwytt	*paid*
	Had sold for a pownde	
	Sich two.[1]	
	Thay fyght and thay flyte	*fight; argue*
215	For that at comys not tyte.	*that which; quickly*
	It is far to byd "hyte"	*giddy up*
	To an eg or it go.	*egg; before*
[fol. 34v]	Tytter want ye sowll	*Sooner; food; (see note)*
	Then sorow, I pray.	
220	Ye brayde of Mowll	*resemble Moll*
	That went by the way;	
	Many shepe can she poll	*shear*
	Bot oone had she ay.	*always*
	Bot she happynyd full fowll:	*fared badly*
225	Hyr pycher, I say,	*pitcher*
	Was broken;	
	"Ho, God" she sayde,	
	Bot oone shepe yit she hade.	
	The mylk pycher was layde;	*broken*
230	The skarthis was the tokyn.	*shards; evidence*
	Bot syn ye ar bare	
	Of wysdom to knawe,	
	Take hede how I fare	
	And lere at my lawe.	*learn; rule*
235	Ye nede not to care	
	If ye folow my sawe.	*suggestion*
	Hold ye my mare;	
	This sek thou thrawe	*sack; throw*
	On my bak	
240	Whylst I with my hand	
	Lawse the sek band.	*Loosen; tie*
	Com nar and by stand,	
	Both Gyg and Jak.	
	Is not all shakyn owte	*shaken*
245	And no meyll is therin?	*meal*
SHEPHERD 1	Yey, that is no dowte.	
SHEPHERD 3	So is youre wyttys thyn.	*thin*
	And ye look well abowte	*If*
	Nawther more nor myn.	*Neither; less*
250	So gose youre wyttys owte	

[1] Lines 211–13: *He who sold such a pair for a pound would be well paid*

	Evyn as it com in.	
	Geder up	*Gather*
	And seke it agane.	*pack*
SHEPHERD 2	May we not be fane?	*glad*
255	He has told us full plane	*plain*
	Wysdom to sup.	*taste*
BOY	Now God gyf you care,	
	Foles all sam.	*Fools together*
	Sagh I never none so fare	*Saw; behave*
260	Bot the foles of Gotham.	
	Wo is hir that yow bare,	
	Youre syre and youre dam;	
	Had she broght furth an hare,	
	A shepe, or a lam,	
265	Had bene well.	
	Of all the foles I can tell	*count*
	From heven unto hell,	
	Ye thre bere the bell.	*(see note)*
	God gyf you unceyll.	*misfortune*
SHEPHERD 1	How pastures oure fee?	*livestock*
271	Say me, good pen.	*(see note)*
BOY	Thay ar gryssed to the kne.	*in grass*
SHEPHERD 2	Fare fall thee.	*May good things happen to you*
BOY	Amen.	
	If ye will, ye may se	
275	Youre bestes, ye ken.	*beasts; know*
SHEPHERD 1	Sytt we downe all thre	
	And drynk, shall we then?	
SHEPHERD 3	Yey, torde,	*turd*
	I am lever ete.	*would rather*
280	What is drynk withoute mete?	*food*
	Gett mete, gett,	
	And sett us a borde.	*table*
	Then may we go dyne	
284	Oure bellys to fyll.	
SHEPHERD 2	Abyde unto syne.	*until later*
SHEPHERD 3	Be God, syr, I nyll.	*will not*
	I am worthy the wyne.	
	Me thynk it good skyll	*reasoning*
[fol. 35r]	My servyse I tyne;	*service; waste*
290	I fare full yll	
	At youre mangere.	*feast*
SHEPHERD 1	Trus, go we to mete.	*Pack up; dinner*
	It is best that we trete;	*negotiate*

I lyst not to plete — *desire; argue*
295 To stand in thi dangere. — *power*

Thou has ever bene curst — *disagreeable*
Syn we met togeder.
SHEPHERD 3 Now in fayth, if I durst,
Ye ar even my broder. — *brother*
SHEPHERD 2 Syrs, let us cryb furst — *eat*
301 For oone thyng or oder
That thise wordys be purst, — *put away*
And let us go foder — *feed*
Oure mompyns. — *teeth*
305 Lay furth of oure store: — *provisions*
Lo, here, browne of a bore. — *brawn*
SHEPHERD 1 Set mustard afore;
Oure mete now begyns. — *feast*

Here a foote of a cowe,
310 Well sawsed I wene, — *sauced; suppose*
The pestell of a sowe — *leg*
That powderd has bene, — *seasoned*
Two blodyngys I trow, — *blood puddings*
A leveryng betwene. — *liver pudding*
315 Do gladly, syrs, now,
My breder bedene, — *together*
With more:
Both befe and moton
Of an ewe that was roton —
320 Good mete for a gloton.
Ete of this store.

SHEPHERD 2 I have here in my mayll — *bag*
Sothen and rost — *Boiled meat; roasted*
Even of an ox tayll
325 That wold not be lost.
Ha ha, goderhayll. — *good luck*
I let for no cost
A good py or we fayll — — *pie*
This is good for the frost
330 In a mornyng —
And two swyne gronys, — *pig snouts*
All a hare bot the lonys. — *loins*
We myster no sponys — *need; spoons*
Here at oure mangyng. — *feasting*

SHEPHERD 3 Here is to recorde
336 The leg of a goys — *goose*

	With chekyns endorde,	*glazed chickens*
	Pork, partryk to roys,	*praise-worthy partridge*
	A tart for a lorde.	
340	How thynk ye this doys?	*does*
	A calf lyver skorde	*scored*
	With the veryose —	*verjuice*
	Good sawse.	*sauce*
	This is a restorité	*restorative*
345	To make a good appeté.	*appetite*
SHEPHERD 1	Yee speke all by clergé	*learnedly*
	I here by your clause.	*hear; conclusion*
	Cowth ye by youre gramery	
	Reche us a drynk	
350	I shuld be more mery;[1]	
	Ye wote what I thynk.	*know*
SHEPHERD 2	Have good ayll of Hely.	*ale of Ely*
	Bewar now, I wynk,	*close [my] eyes*
	For and thou drynk drely	*if; slowly*
355	In thy poll wyll it synk.	*head*
SHEPHERD 1	A, so,	
	This is boyte of oure bayll,	*remedy; misery*
	Good holsom ayll.	
SHEPHERD 3	Ye hold long the skayll;	*drinking cup*
360	Now lett me go to.	
SHEPHERD 2	I shrew those lyppys	*curse; lips*
	Bot thou leyff me som parte.	*Unless; leave*
SHEPHERD 1	Be God, he bot syppys;	*sips*
	Begylde thou art —	*Beguiled*
365	Behold how he kyppys.	*snatches;* ***[fol. 35v]***
SHEPHERD 2	I shrew you so smart	*curse; severely; (see note)*
	And me on my hyppys	*hips*
	Bot if I gart	
	Abate.	*cease*
370	Be thou wyne, be thou ayll,	*wine; ale*
	Bot if my brethe fayll	*Unless; breath*
	I shall sett thee on sayll;	*sail*
	God send thee good gayte.	*journey*
SHEPHERD 3	Be my dam saull, Alyce,	*mother's soul*
375	It was sadly dronken.	*deeply*
SHEPHERD 1	Now as ever have I blys	
	To the bothom it is sonken.	*bottom; sunken*

[1] Lines 348–50: *I would be happier / if, by means of your learning, / you could offer us a drink*

SHEPHERD 2	Yit a botell here is.	
SHEPHERD 3	That is well spoken.	
380	By my thryft we must kys.	
SHEPHERD 2	That had I forgoten.	
	Bot hark,	
	Whoso can best syng	
	Shall have the begynnyng.	
SHEPHERD 1	Now, prays at the partyng,	*(see note)*
386	I shall sett you on warke.	*to work*
	We have done oure parte	
	And songyn right weyll;	*sung*
389	I drynk for my part.	
SHEPHERD 2	Abyde, lett cop reyll.	*[the] cup go round*
SHEPHERD 1	Godys forbot thou spart	*forbid; spare it*
	And thou drynk every deyll.	*Even if; portion*
SHEPHERD 3	Thou has dronken a quart;	
	Therfor choke thee the deyll.	*devil*
SHEPHERD 1	Thou rafys.	*raves*
396	And it were for a sogh	*sow*
	Ther is drynk enogh.	
SHEPHERD 3	I shrew the handys it drogh.	*emptied*
	Ye be both knafys.	*rogues*
SHEPHERD 1	Nay, we knaves all;	*servants*
401	Thus thynk me best,	
	So, syr, shuld ye call.	
SHEPHERD 2	Furth let it rest;	
	We will not brall.	*fight*
SHEPHERD 1	Then wold I we fest.	*feast*
406	This mete who shall	
	Into panyere kest?[1]	*basket cast*
SHEPHERD 3	Syrs, herys,	*hear*
	For oure saules lett us do	
410	Poore men gyf it to.[2]	
SHEPHERD 1	Geder up, lo, lo,	
	Ye hungré begers frerys.	*begging friars*
SHEPHERD 2	It draes nere nyght.	*draws*
	Trus, go we to rest;	*Pack up*
415	I am even redy dyght.	*prepared*
	I thynk it the best.	
SHEPHERD 3	For ferde we be fryght	*fear; frightened*

[1] Lines 406–07: *Who shall toss this meat into the basket?*

[2] Lines 409–10: *Let us for the sake of our souls ensure / that it is given to poor men*

A crosse lett us kest: *(see note)*
Cryst crosse benedyght *blessed*
420 Eest and west,
For drede.
Jesus onazorus
Crucyefixus
Morcus, Andreus, *(see note)*
425 God be oure spede. *aid*

ANGEL Herkyn, hyrdes, awake! *Listen; shepherds*
Gyf lovyng ye shall.
He is borne for youre sake,
Lorde perpetuall;
430 He is comen to take
And rawnson you all *ransom*
Youre sorowe to slake. *relieve*
Kyng emperiall,
He behestys *promises*
435 That chyld is borne
At Bethelem this morne;
Ye shall fynde hym beforne
Betwix two bestys. *Between*

SHEPHERD 1 A, Godys dere Dominus, *Lord;* ***[fol. 36r]***
440 What was that sang?
It was wonder curiose, *marvelously skillful*
With small noytys emang. *brief notes intermingled*
I pray to God, save us
Now in this thrang. *crowd*
445 I am ferd, by Jesus. *frightened*
Somwhat be wrang: *wrong*
Me thoght
Oone scremyd on lowde; *screamed aloud*
I suppose it was a clowde.
450 In myn erys it sowde, *ears; resounded*
By hym that me boght.

SHEPHERD 2 Nay, that may not be,
I say you certan,
For he spake to us thre
455 As he had bene a man. *As if*
When he lemyd on this lee *shone; meadow*
My hart shakyd than.
An angell was he,
Tell you I can,
460 No dowte.
He spake of a barne: *child*

We must seke hym, I you warne;
That betokyns yond starne *star*
That standys yonder owte *out there*

SHEPHERD 3 It was mervell to se,
466 So bright as it shone;
I wold have trowyd veraly *believed truly*
It had bene thoner-flone, *thunderbolt*
Bot I sagh with myn ee *eye*
470 As I lenyd to this stone. *leaned upon*
It was a mery gle, *music*
Sich hard I never none, *heard*
I recorde: *remember*
As he sayde in a skreme, *scream*
475 Or els that I dreme,
We shuld go to Bedleme *Bethlehem*
To wyrship that lorde.

SHEPHERD 1 That same childe is he
That prophetys of told
480 Shuld make them fre
That Adam had sold.
SHEPHERD 2 Take tent unto me: *Pay attention*
This is inrold *recorded (enrolled)*
By the wordys of Isae, *Isaiah*
485 A prynce most bold
Shall he be,
And kyng with crowne
Sett on David trone; *throne*
Sich was never none
490 Seyn with oure ee.

SHEPHERD 3 Also, Isay says
Oure faders us told
That a vyrgyn shuld pas *virgin*
Of Jesse that wold
495 Bryng furth by grace
A floure so bold; *flower*
That vyrgyn now has
These wordys uphold
As ye se.
500 Trust it now we may
He is borne this day:

Exiet virga
De radice Jesse.[1]

SHEPHERD 1 Of hym spake more,
505 Sybyll as I weyn,
And Nabugodhonosor, *Nebuchadnezzar*
From oure faythe alyene: *alien*
In the fornace where thay wore *furnace; were*
Thre childre sene,
510 The fourt stode before, *fourth*
Godys son lyke to bene.
SHEPHERD 2 That fygure
[fol. 36v] Was gyffen by revalacyon *given*
That God wold have a son;
515 This is a good lesson
Us to consydure.

SHEPHERD 3 Of hym spake Jeromy *Jeremiah*
And Moyses also
Where he sagh hym by *saw*
520 A bushe burnand, lo! *burning*
When he cam to aspy *see*
If it were so,
Unburnyd was it truly
At commyng therto —
525 A wonder!
SHEPHERD 1 That was for to se
Hir holy vyrgynyté
That she unfylyd shuld be, *undefiled*
Thus can I ponder,

530 And shuld have a chyld,
Sich was never sene.
SHEPHERD 2 Pese, man, thou art begyld. *Peace; deluded*
Thou shall se hym with eene — *eyes*
Of a madyn so myld,
535 Greatt mervell I mene,
Yee, and she unfyld,
A virgyn clene —
So soyne. *soon*
SHEPHERD 1 Nothyng is inpossybyll, *impossible*
540 Sothly, that God wyll; *Truly*
It shal be stabyll *secure*
That God wyll have done.

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[1] Lines 502–03: *A branch shall sprout from the root of Jesse* (Isaiah 11:1)

SHEPHERD 2	Abacuc and Ely	*Habakkuk; Elijah*
	Prophesyde so,	
545	Elezabeth and Zacharé	*Zacharias*
	And many other mo,	*more*
	And David as veraly	*truly*
	Is witnes therto,	
	John Baptyste sewrly,	*surely*
550	And Daniel also.	
SHEPHERD 3	So sayng,	
	He is Godys son alon;	*alone*
	Without hym shal be none.	*Besides*
	His sete and his trone	*throne*
555	Shall ever be lastyng.	
SHEPHERD 1	Virgill in his poetré	
	Sayde in his verse	
	Even thus by grameré,	*learning*
	As I shall reherse:	
	Iam nova progenies celo demittitur alto;	
	Iam rediet virgo redeunt Saturnia regna.[1]	
SHEPHERD 2	Wemé, tord! what speke ye	*turd*
561	Here in myn eeres?	
	Tell us no clergé.	*learning*
	I hold you of the frères;	*friars*
	Ye preche.	
565	It semys by youre laton	*Latin*
	Ye have lerd youre Caton.	*learned; Cato*
SHEPHERD 1	Herk, syrs, ye fon,	*fools*
	I shall you teche:	
	He sayde from heven	
570	A new kynde is send,	
	Whom a vyrgyn to neven,	*name*
	Oure mys to amend,	*sin*
	Shall conceyve full even.	
	Thus make I an end.	
[fol. 37r]	And yit more to neven,	
576	That Saturne shall bend	
	Unto us	
	With peasse and plenté,	*peace*
	With ryches and menee,	*retinue*

[1] *Now a new progeny is sent down from high heaven; / Now a virgin returns, the reign of Saturn returns* (see note)

580	Good luf and charyté	*love*
	Blendyd amanges us.	
SHEPHERD 3	And I hold it trew,	
	For ther shuld be,	
	When that kyng commys new,	
585	Peasse by land and se.	
SHEPHERD 2	Now brethere, adew.	*adieu (goodbye)*
	Take tent unto me:	*Pay attention*
	I wold that we knew	
	Of this song so fre	
590	Of the angell;	
	I hard by hys steven	*voice*
	He was send downe fro heven.	
SHEPHERD 1	It is trouth that ye neven;	
	I hard hym well spell.	*say*
SHEPHERD 2	Now by God that me boght,	
596	It was a mery song.	
	I dar say that he broght	
	Foure and twenty to a long.	*(see note)*
SHEPHERD 3	I wold it were soght,	
600	That same, us emong.[1]	
SHEPHERD 1	In fayth, I trow noght,	*expect nothing*
	So many he throng	*pressed together*
	On a heppe.	*heap*
	Thay were gentyll and small,	
605	And well tonyd withall.	*toned*
SHEPHERD 3	Yee, bot I can thaym all.	*know*
	Now lyst I lepe.	
SHEPHERD 1	Brek outt youre voce;	
	Let se as ye yelp.	
SHEPHERD 3	I may not for the pose	*head cold*
611	Bot I have help.	*Unless*
SHEPHERD 2	A, thy hart is in thy hose.	*you are [too] downhearted*
SHEPHERD 1	Now in payn of a skelp	*slap*
	This sang thou not lose.	*ruin*
SHEPHERD 3	Thou art an yll qwelp	*whelp*
616	For angre.	
SHEPHERD 2	Go to now, begyn.	
SHEPHERD 1	He lyst not well ryn.	*wishes; proceed*
SHEPHERD 3	God lett us never blyn;	*cease*
620	Take at my sangre.	*song*

[1] Lines 599–600: *I wish that we could sing the same music*

SHEPHERD 1	Now an ende have we doyn	*done*
	Of oure song this tyde.	*time*
SHEPHERD 2	Fayr fall thi growne.	*May good things befall your snout*
	Well has thou hyde.	*sped*
SHEPHERD 3	Then furth lett us ron;	*forth; hurry*
626	I wyll not abyde.	*stay*
SHEPHERD 1	No lyght mase the mone	*makes; moon*
	That have I asspyde.	*seen*
	Nevertheles,	
630	Lett us hold oure beheste.	*promise*
SHEPHERD 2	That hold I best.	
SHEPHERD 3	Then must we go eest,	
	After my ges.	*guess*
SHEPHERD 1	Wold God that we myght	
635	This yong bab see.	*babe*
SHEPHERD 2	Many prophetys that syght	
	Desyryd veralee	*verily*
	To have seen that bright.	
SHEPHERD 3	And God so hee	*And if; high; (see note)*
[fol. 37v]	Wold shew us that wyght,	*creature*
641	We myght say, perdé,	*by God*
	We had sene	
	That many sant desyryd	*saint*
	With prophetys inspyryd;	
645	If thay hym requyryd,	*required*
	Yit closyd ar thare eene.	
SHEPHERD 2	God graunt us that grace.	
SHEPHERD 3	God so do.	
SHEPHERD 1	Abyde, syrs, a space.	
650	Lo yonder, lo!	*Look over there*
	It commys on a rase,	*in a rush*
	Yond sterne us to.	*star*
SHEPHERD 2	It is a grete blase.	*blaze*
	Oure gate let us go.	*path*
655	Here he is.	
SHEPHERD 3	Who shall go in before?	*first*
SHEPHERD 1	I ne rek, by my hore.	*know; hair*
SHEPHERD 2	Ye ar of the old store;	*stock*
	It semys you, iwys.	*befits; certainly*
SHEPHERD 1	Hayll, kyng I thee call;	
661	Hayll, most of myght!	
	Hayll, the worthyst of all!	
	Hayll, duke, hayll knyght!	

Of greatt and small
665 Thou art Lorde by right.
Hayll, perpetuall;
Hayll, faryst wyght! *fairest creature*
Here I offer:
I pray thee to take
670 If thou wold for my sake
With this may thou lake, *play*
This lytyll spruse cofer. *spruce box*

SHEPHERD 2 Hayll, lytyll tyn mop, *tiny baby*
Rewarder of mede! *merit*
675 Hayll, bot oone drop
Of grace at my nede.
Hayll, lytyll mylksop! *infant*
Hayll, David sede! *[King] David's seed*
Of oure crede thou art crop. *faith; top*
680 Hayll, in godhede,
This ball
That thou wold resave. *receive*
Lytyll is that I have;
This wyll I vowchesave *give*
685 To play thee withall.

SHEPHERD 3 Hayll, maker of man!
Hayll, swetyng,
Hayll, so as I can.
Hayll, praty mytyng! *pretty child*
690 I cowche to thee, than, *bow*
For fayn here gretyng. *joy*
Hayll, Lord, here I ordan *ordain*
Now at oure metyng
This botell. *bottle*
695 It is an old byworde: *proverb*
It is a good bowrde *jest*
For to drynk of a gowrde. *gourd*
It holdys a mett potell. *exactly two quarts*

MARY He that all myghtys may, *is almighty*
700 The makere of heven —
That is for to say,
My son that I neven — *name*
Rewarde you this day
As he sett all on seven.
705 He graunt you for ay *forever*
His blys full even
Contynuyng;

[fol. 38r]	He gyf you good grace.	
	Tell furth of this case!	
710	He spede youre pase,	*pace*
	And graunt you good endyng.	
SHEPHERD 1	Farewell, fare Lorde,	*fair*
	With thy moder also.	
SHEPHERD 2	We shall this recorde	*repeat*
715	Whereas we go.	*Wherever*
SHEPHERD 3	We mon all be restorde;	*shall*
	God graunt it be so.	*may*
SHEPHERD 1	Amen to that worde!	
	Syng we therto	
720	On hight:	*high*
	To joy all sam	*together*
	With myrth and gam,	*game*
	To the lawde of this lam	*praise; lamb*
	Syng we in syght.	
	Explicit una pagina pastorum.[1]	

[1] *Here ends one pageant of the shepherds*

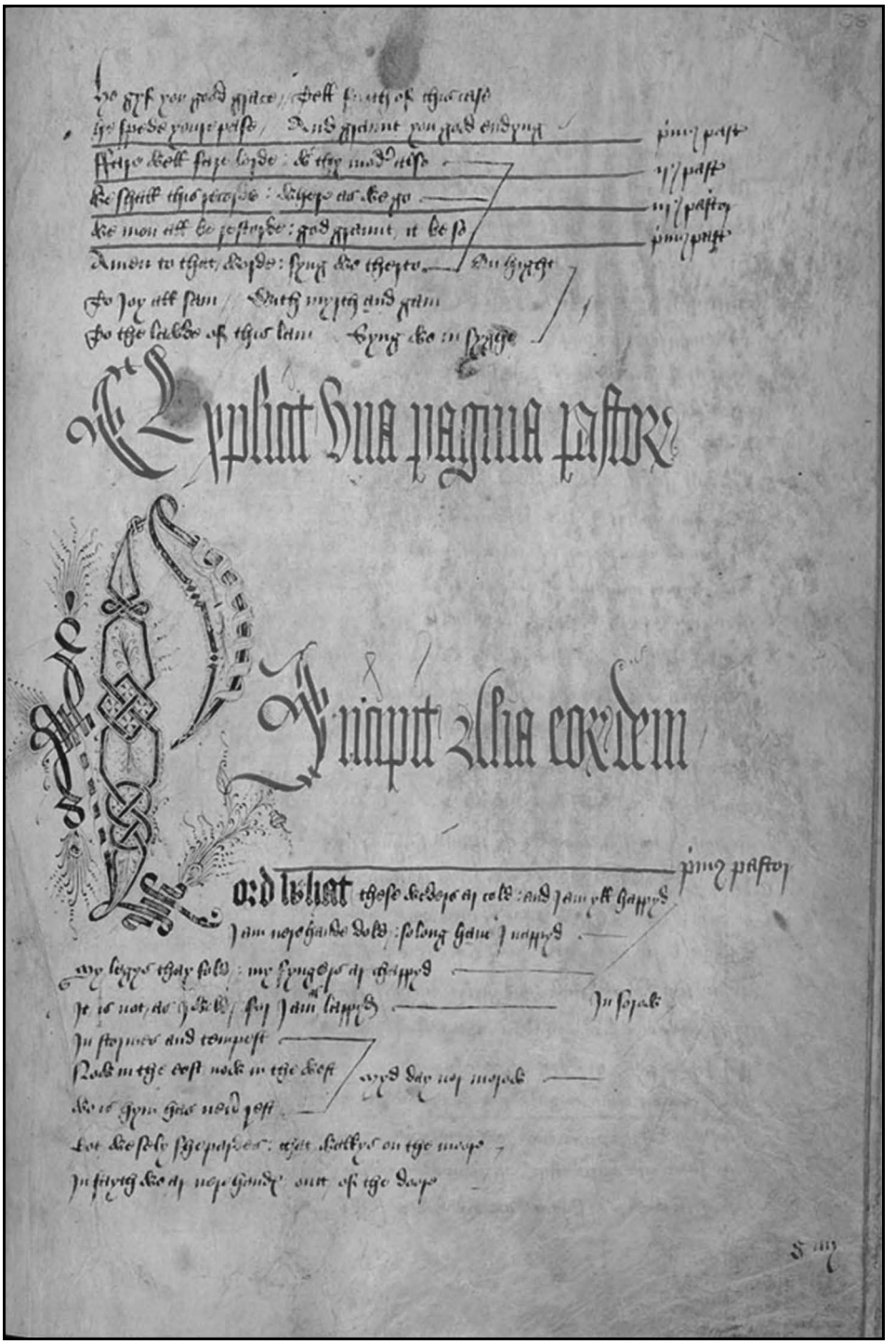

Figure 2. Huntington MS HM 1, fol. 38r: The Shepherds (2). Photo courtesy of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

9. THE SHEPHERDS (2)

Shepherd 1 (Coll)
Shepherd 2 (Gib)
Shepherd 3 (Daw)
Mak
His Wife (Gill)
Angel
Mary

Incipit alia eorundem.[1]

SHEPHERD 1 Lord, what these weders ar cold, *storms*
And I am yll happyd. *covered*
I am nerehande dold, *almost inert*
So long have I nappyd.
5 My legys thay fold;
My fyngers ar chappyd.
It is not as I wold,
For I am al lappyd *wrapped*
In sorow.
10 In stormes and tempest,
Now in the eest now in the west,
Wo is hym has never rest
Mydday nor morow.

Bot we sely husbandys *simple*
15 That walkys on the moore,
In fayth we ar nerehandys *nearly*
Outt of the doore. *irrelevant*
[fol. 38v] No wonder as it standys
If we be poore,
20 For the tylthe of oure landys *our arable land*
Lyys falow as the floore
As ye ken. *know*
We ar so hamyd, *restrained*
Fortaxed and ramyd, *Overtaxed; beaten down*
25 We ar mayde hand-tamyd *submissive*
With thyse gentlery men. *gentry*

Thus thay refe us oure rest, *deprive us of*
Oure lady theym wary. *curse*
These men that ar lord-fest *bound to a lord*
30 Thay cause the ploghe tary,

[1] *Here begins another of the same*

That men say is for the best;
We fynde it contrary.
Thus ar husbandys opprest
In ponte to myscary *point*
35 On lyfe.[1]
Thus hold thay us hunder; *under*
Thus thay bryng us in blonder.
It were greatte wonder
And ever shuld we thryfe. *If*

40 For may he gett a paynt slefe. *painted sleeve*
Or a broche now on dayes; *broach; nowadays*
Wo is hym that hym grefe *grieve*
Or onys agane-says. *once*
Dar no man hym reprefe, *no one; reprove*
45 What mastry he mays, *Whatever*
And yit may no man lefe *neglect*
Oone word that he says,
No letter.
He can make purveance *purveyance*
50 With boste and bragance, *bragging*
And all is thrugh mantenance
Of men that are gretter.

Ther shall com a swane *swain*
As prowde as a po, *peacock*
55 He must borow my wane, *wagon*
My ploghe also;
Then I am full fane *obliged*
To graunt or he go. *before*
Thus lyf we in payne,
60 Anger and wo,
By nyght and day.
He must have if he langyd
If I shuld forgang it;[2]
I were better be hangyd
65 Then oones say hym nay. *once*

It dos me good as I walk
Thus by myn oone *by myself*
Of this warld for to talk
In maner of mone. *complaint*
70 To my shepe wyll I stalk

---

[1] Lines 33–35: *Thus are farmers oppressed to the point of suffering death*

[2] Lines 62–63: *He must have whatever he desires, / even if I must go without it*

And herkyn anone,
Ther abyde on a balk *ridge*
Or sytt on a stone
Full soyne. *soon*
75 For I trowe, perdé, *by God*
Trew men if thay be,
We gett more compané
Or it be noyne. *Before; noon*

SHEPHERD 2 Bensté and Dominus,
80 What may this bemeyne? *signify*
Why fares this warld thus?
Oft have we not sene.
Lord, thyse weders ar spytus *spiteful*
And the wyndys full kene,
[fol. 39r] And the frostys so hydus *hideous*
86 Thay water myn eeyne, *eyes*
No ly.
Now in dry, now in wete,
Now in snaw, now in slete,
90 When my shone freys to my fete *shoes freeze*
It is not all esy.

Bot as far as I ken
Or yit as I go,
We sely wedmen *married men*
95 Dre mekyll wo. *Endure much*
We have sorow then and then;
It fallys oft so.
Sely Copyle oure hen *Silly Copple; (see note)*
Both to and fro
100 She kakyls,
Bot begyn she to crok, *croak*
To groyne or to clok, *groan; cluck*
Wo is hym is oure cok, *cock*
For he is in the shakyls.

105 These men that ar wed
Have not all thare wyll;
When they ar full hard sted *ill served*
Thay sygh full styll. *sigh quietly*
God wayte thay ar led *knows*
110 Full hard and full yll;
In bower nor in bed
Thay say noght thertyll
This tyde.
My parte have I fun; *found*

115	I know my lesson.	
	Wo is hym that is bun	*bound*
	For he must abyde.	
	Bot now late in oure lyfys	
	A mervell to me,	
120	That I thynk my hart ryfys	*breaks*
	Sich wonders to see,	
	What that destany dryfys	*destiny drives*
	It shuld so be:	
	Som men wyll have two wyfys,	
125	And som men thre	
	In store;	
	Som ar wo that has any.	
	Bot so far can I:	
	Wo is hym that has many	
130	For he felys sore.	
	Bot yong men of wowyng,	*wooing*
	For God that you boght,	
	Be well war of wedyng	*wary; wedding*
	And thynk in youre thoght,	
135	"Had I wyst" is a thyng	*known*
	That servys of noght.	
	Mekyll styll mowrnyng	
	Has wedyng home broght,	
	And grefys	
140	With many a sharp showre,	*misfortune*
	For thou may cach in an owre	*hour*
	That shall sow thee fulle sowre	
	As long as thou lyffys.[1]	
	For as ever rede I pystyll	*epistle*
145	I have oone to my fere:	*one for my companion*
	As sharp as thystyll,	
	As rugh as a brere,	*briar*
	She is browyd lyke a brystyll	*bristle*
	With a sowre-loten chere.	*sour-looking demeanor*
[fol. 39v]	Had she oones wett hyr whystyll,	*once; whistle*
151	She couth syng full clere	
	Hyr *Paternoster*.	*"Our Father"*
	She is as greatt as a whall;	*whale*
	She has a galon of gall.	

[1] Lines 141–43: *For you may catch in an hour / that which shall grieve you full bitterly / for as long as you live*

155 By hym that dyed for us all
I wald I had ryn to I had lost hir. *run until*

SHEPHERD 1 God looke over the raw! *crowd*
Full defly ye stand. *deafly*
SHEPHERD 2 Yee, the dewill in thi maw, *mouth*
160 So tariand.[1] *tarrying*
Sagh thou awre of Daw? *Saw; anywhere*
SHEPHERD 1 Yee, on a leyland *fallow land*
Hard I hym blaw; *heard; blow*
He commys here at hand,
165 Not far.
Stand styll.
SHEPHERD 2 Qwhy?
SHEPHERD 1 For he commys, hope I.
SHEPHERD 2 He wyll make us both a ly *lie to us both*
Bot if we be war. *Unless; wary*

SHEPHERD 3 Crystys crosse me spede, *assist*
171 And Sant Nycholas!
Therof had I nede.
It is wars then it was:
Whoso couthe take hede *could; heed*
175 And lett the warld pas,
It is ever in drede
And brekyll as glas, *brittle*
And slythys. *slips*
This warld fowre never so, *never fared so before*
180 With mervels mo and mo,
Now in weyll, now in wo,
And all thyng wrythys. *everything changes*

Was never syn Noe floode *since Noah's flood*
Sich floodys seyn,
185 Wyndys and ranys so rude *rains*
And stormes so keyn. *keen*
Som stamerd, som stod *staggered*
In dowte, as I weyn. *suppose*
Now God turne all to good.
190 I say as I mene,
For ponder:
These floodys so thay drowne
Both in feyldys and in towne

[1] Lines 159–60: *Yes, may the devil be in your mouth / because of your lingering [without speaking]*

	And berys all downe,	*bears*
195	And that is a wonder.	
	We that walk on the nyghtys	*at night*
	Oure catell to kepe,	*livestock*
	We se sodan syghtys	*see unexpected sights*
	When othere men slepe.	
200	Yit me thynk my hart lyghtys;	*is cheered*
	I se shrewys pepe.	*rascals peep*
	Ye ar two allwyghtys;	*monsters*
	I wyll gyf my shepe	
	A turne.	
205	Bot full yll have I ment;	*spoken*
	As I walk on this bent	*heath*
	I may lyghtly repent,	*do light penance*
	My toes if I spurne.	*stub*
	A, syr, God you save,	
210	And master myne.	
	A drynk fayn wold I have	
	And somwhat to dyne.	*something to eat*
SHEPHERD 1	Crystys curs, my knave,	
	Thou art a ledyr hyne.	*lazy servant*
SHEPHERD 2	What, the boy lyst rave.	*wishes to*
216	Abyde unto syne	*Wait until after*
	We have mayde it,	*eaten*
[fol. 40r]	Yll thryft on thy pate.	*luck; head*
	Though the shrew cam late,	
220	Yit is he in state	
	To dyne, if he had it.	
SHEPHERD 3	Sich servandys as I	
	That swettys and swynkys	*sweat; toil*
	Etys oure brede full dry,	*Eat*
225	And that me forthynkys.	*displeases me*
	We ar oft weytt and wery	*wet; weary*
	When master men wynkys,	*sleep*
	Yit commys full lately	*very slowly*
	Both dyners and drynkys;	*dines*
230	Bot nately	*quickly*
	Both oure dame and oure syre,	
	When we have ryn in the myre,	*run*
	Thay can nyp at oure hyre	*reduce our wages*
	And pay us full lately.	
235	Bot here my trouth, master:	*promise*
	For the fayr that ye make	*fare*

I shall do therafter,
Wyrk as I take. *receive*
I shall do a lytyll, syr,
240 And emang ever lake, *play*
For yit lay my soper
Never on my stomake
In feyldys.
Wherto shuld I threpe? *argue*
245 With my staf can I lepe,
And men say lyght chepe *a cheap bargain*
Letherly foryeldys. *Poorly repays*

SHEPHERD 1 Thou were an yll lad
To ryde on wowyng *(see note)*
250 With a man that had
Bot lytyll of spendyng. *wealth*
SHEPHERD 2 Peasse, boy, I bad. *bade*
No more janglyng *idle chatter*
Or I shall make thee full rad, *afraid*
255 By the hevens kyng,
With thy gawdys. *For your tricks*
Where ar oure shepe, boy? Wé, skorne!
SHEPHERD 3 Sir, this same day at morne
I thaym left in the corne
260 When thay rang lawdys. *Lauds*

Thay have pasture good;
Thay cannot go wrong.
SHEPHERD 1 That is right, by the roode;
Thyse nyghtys ar long,
265 Yit I wold or we yode *before we go*
Oone gaf us a song.
SHEPHERD 2 So I thoght, as I stode,
To myrth us emong.
SHEPHERD 3 I grauntt. *agree*
SHEPHERD 1 Lett me syng the tenory. *tenor*
SHEPHERD 2 And I the tryble so hye. *treble*
SHEPHERD 3 Then the meyne fallys to me. *mean*
273 Lett se how ye chauntt.

Tunc intrat Mak in clamide se super logam vestitus.[1]

MAK Now, Lord, for thy naymes sevyn, *(see note)*
275 That made both moyn and starnes *moon; stars*

[1] *Then Mak enters wearing a cloak over his tunic*

	Well mo then I can neven,	*more; name*
	Thi will, Lorde, of me tharnys.	*Your will, Lord, is unclear to me*
[fol. 40v]	I am all uneven;	
	That moves oft my harnes.	*brains*
280	Now wold God I were in heven,	
	For ther wepe no barnes	*children*
	So styll.	
SHEPHERD 1	Who is that pypys so poore?	*pipes*
MAK	Wold God ye wyst how I foore.	*knew; fared*
285	Lo, a man that walkys on the moore	
	And has not all his wyll.	
SHEPHERD 2	Mak, where has thou gone?	
	Tell us tythyng.	*tidings*
SHEPHERD 3	Is he commen? then ylkon	*each one*
290	Take hede to his thyng.	*heed; things*
	Et accipite clamidem ab ipso.[1]	
MAK	What? Ich be a yoman,	*I am a yeoman*
	I tell you, of the kyng,	
	The self and the same,	
	Sond from a greatt lordyng	*Messenger*
295	And sich.	*such*
	Fy on you! Goyth hence.	
	Out of my presence;	
	I must have reverence.	
	Why, who be ich?	
SHEPHERD 1	Why make ye it so qwaynt?	*strange*
301	Mak, ye do wrang.	
SHEPHERD 2	Bot Mak, lyst ye saynt?	*do you wish to play the saint*
	I trow that ye lang.	*yearn [to]*
SHEPHERD 3	I trow the shrew can paynt;	*counterfeit*
305	The dewyll myght hym hang.	
MAK	Ich shall make complaynt	
	And make you all to thwang	*be flogged*
	At a worde.	
	And tell evyn how ye doth?	
SHEPHERD 1	Bot Mak, is that sothe?	
311	Now take outt that sothren tothe	*southern tooth*
	And sett in a torde.	*turd*

[1] *And he takes the cloak from him*

SHEPHERD 2	Mak, the dewill in youre ee,	*eye*
	A stroke wold I leyne you.	
SHEPHERD 3	Mak, know ye not me?	
316	By God, I couthe teyn you.	*could harm*
MAK	God looke you all thre;	
	Me thoght I had sene you.	
319	Ye ar a fare compané.	
SHEPHERD 1	Can ye now mene you?	*be earnest*
SHEPHERD 2	Shrew, pepe!	*Rascal, look*
	Thus late as thou goys,	
	What wyll men suppos?	
	And thou has an yll noys	*reputation*
325	Of stelyng of shepe.	
MAK	And I am trew as steyll,	*steel*
	All men waytt,	*know*
	Bot a sekenes I feyll	*sickness; (see note)*
	That haldys me full haytt.	*hot*
330	My belly farys not weyll;	
	It is out of astate.	*order*
SHEPHERD 3	Seldom lyys the dewyll	
	Dede by the gate.	
MAK	Therfor	
335	Full sore am I, and yll.	
	If I stande stone styll,	
	I ete not an nedyll	*needle*
	Thys moneth and more.	*month*
SHEPHERD 1	How farys thi wyff, by thi hoode?	
340	How farys sho?	*she*
MAK	Lyys walteryng, by the roode,	*[She] lies sprawling; cross*
	By the fyere, lo,	
[fol. 41r]	And a howse full of brude.	*brood*
	She drynkys well, to;	
345	Yll spede othere good	
	That she wyll do.	
	Bot sho	
	Etys as fast as she can,	
	And ilk yere that commys to man	*each year*
350	She bryngys furth a lakan,	*baby*
	And som yeres two.	
	Bot were I now more gracyus	*Even if I were*
	And rychere be far,	
	I were eten outt of howse	*would be*
355	And of harbar.	*shelter*
	Yit is she a fowll dowse,	*sweetheart*

	If ye com nar.	
	Ther is none that trowse	*vouch for*
	Nor knowys a war	*worse*
360	Then ken I.	*know*
	Now wyll ye se what I profer:	
	To gyf all in my cofer	
	To-morne at next to offer	*Tomorrow directly*
	Hyr hed mas penny.	*funeral mass; (see note)*
SHEPHERD 2	I wote so forwakyd	*know; tired*
366	Is none in this shyre;	
	I wold slepe if I takyd	*even if; took*
	Les to my hyere.	*hire*
SHEPHERD 3	I am cold and nakyd	
370	And wold have a fyere.	*fire*
SHEPHERD 1	I am wery, forrakyd,	*overly tired*
	And run in the myre;	
	Wake thou.	
SHEPHERD 2	Nay, I wyll lyg downe by	*lie; beside*
375	For I must slepe, truly.	
SHEPHERD 3	As good a mans son was I	
	As any of you.	
	Bot Mak, com heder; betwene	
	Shall thou lyg downe.	
MAK	Then myght I lett you bedene	*hinder; together*
381	Of that ye wold rowne,	*whisper*
	No drede.	*fear*
	Fro my top to my too,	*head; toe*
	Manus tuas commendo	
385	*Poncio Pilato;*[1]	
	Cryst crosse me spede.	*Christ's; assist*
	Tunc surgit pastoribus dormientibus et dicit,[2]	
	Now were tyme for a man	
	That lakkys what he wold	*lacks; wants*
	To stalk prevely than	*secretly then*
390	Unto a fold,	*sheepfold*
	And neemly to wyrk than,	*nimbly*
	And be not to bold	
	For he myght aby the bargan,	*pay the consequences*
	If it were told,	

[1] *I commend your hands to Pontius Pilate* (see note)

[2] *Then he rises while the shepherds are sleeping and says*

395 At the endyng.
Now were tyme for to reyll, *rush*
Bot he nedys good counsell
That fayn wold fare weyll
And has bot lytyll spendyng. *wealth*

400 Bot abowte you a serkyll *circle*
As rownde as a moyn *moon*
To I have done that I wyll, *Until; what*
Tyll that it be noyn, *noon*
That ye lyg stone styll *lie*
405 To that I have doyne, *Until; finished*
And I shall say thertyll
Of good wordys a foyne *few*
On hight: *Aloud*
[fol. 41v] Over youre heydys my hand I lyft;
410 Outt go youre een, fordo your syght *eyes; destroy*
Bot yit I must make better shyft *effort*
And it be right. *If*

Lord, what thay slepe hard *how*
That may ye all here. *hear*
415 Was I never a shepard
Bot now wyll I lere; *learn*
If the flok be skard *scared*
Yit shall I nyp nere. *seize [a sheep] tightly*
How, drawes hederward! *come here*
420 Now mendys oure chere
From sorow.
A fatt shepe, I dar say,
A good flese, dar I lay, *fleece; wager*
Eft whyte when I may
425 Bot this will I borow.[1]

How, Gyll, art thou in?
Gett us som lyght.
WIFE Who makys sich dyn *such din*
This tyme of the nyght?
430 I am sett for to spyn.
I hope not I myght
Ryse a penny to wyn. *to earn*
I shrew them on hight; *curse them aloud*
So farys
435 A huswyff that has bene *housewife*

[1] Lines 424–25: *Afterwards, I will repay when I can, / but this [sheep] I will borrow [now]*

	To be rasyd thus betwene.	*Continually interrupted*
	Here may no note be sene	*profit*
	For sich small charys.	*chores*
MAK	Good wyff, open the hek.	*hatch*
440	Seys thou not what I bryng?	
WIFE	I may thole thee dray the snek.	*allow; draw the latch*
	A, com in my swetyng.	*sweetheart*
MAK	Yee, thou thar not rek	*need; consider*
	Of my long standyng.[1]	
WIFE	By the nakyd nek	*(see note)*
446	Art thou lyke for to hyng.	*hang*
MAK	Do way,	
	I am worthy my mete,	*food*
	For in a strate can I gett	*bind*
450	More then thay that swynke and swette	*toil; sweat*
	All the long day.	
	Thus it fell to my lott.	*lot*
	Gyll, I had sich grace.	*fortune*
WIFE	It were a fowll blott	*disgrace*
455	To be hanged for the case.	
MAK	I have skapyd, Jelott,	*escaped*
	Oft as hard a glase.	*blow*
WIFE	Bot so long goys the pott	
	To the water, men says,	
460	At last	
	Comys it home broken.	
MAK	Well knowe I the token,	*omen*
	Bot let it never be spoken.	
	Bot com and help fast.	
465	I wold he were flayn;	*skinned*
	I lyst well ete.	*wish to*
	This twelmothe was I not so fayn	*year; glad*
	Of oone shepe mete.	
WIFE	Com thay or he be slayn	*they; before*
470	And here the shepe blete —	*hear; bleat*
MAK	Then myght I be tane.	*taken*
	That were a cold swette.	*sweat*
	Go spar	*lock*
[fol. 42r]	The gaytt doore.	*entry*
WIFE	Yis, Mak,	
475	For and thay com at thy bak —	*if; behind you*

[1] Lines 443–44: *You need not consider how long I have been standing [here]*

MAK	Then myght I by, for all the pak,	*suffer*
	The dewill of the war.	*worse*
WIFE	A good bowrde have I spied,	*jest*
	Syn thou can none:	*know*
480	Here shall we hym hyde	*hide*
	To thay be gone,	*until*
	In my credyll abyde;	*cradle*
	Lett me alone	
	And I shall lyg besyde	*lie*
485	In chylbed and grone.	*childbed*
MAK	Thou red,	*get ready*
	And I shall say thou was lyght	*delivered*
	Of a knave childe this nyght.	*boy*
WIFE	Now well is me day bright	*happy to me is the day*
490	That ever was I bred.	*conceived*
	This is a good gyse	*disguise*
	And a far cast;	*clever trick*
	Yit a woman avyse	*woman's advice*
	Helpys at the last.	
495	I wote never who spyse;	*spies*
	Agane go thou fast.	*Back again*
MAK	Bot I com or thay ryse	*Unless; before*
	Els blawes a cold blast.	
	I wyll go slepe,	
500	Yit slepys all this meneye,	*crowd*
	And I shall go stalk prevely	*walk stealthily*
	As it had never bene I	*As if*
	That caryed thare shepe.	*took their sheep*
SHEPHERD 1	*Resurrex a mortruis*,	*(see note)*
505	Have hald my hand.	
	Judas carnas dominus,	*(see note)*
	I may not well stand;	
	My foytt slepys, by Jesus,	*foot sleeps*
	And I walter fastand.	*stumble with hunger*
510	I thoght that we layd us	
	Full nere Yngland.	
SHEPHERD 2	A, ye!	
	Lord, what I have slept weyll.	
	As fresh as an eyll,	*eel*
515	As lyght I me feyll	*feel*
	As leyfe on a tre.	*leaf*
SHEPHERD 3	Bensté be herein!	*Blessed*
	So me qwakys;	*I quake*

	My hart is outt of skyn,	*[my] skin*
520	Whatso it makys.	*Whatever the cause*
	Who makys all this dyn?	*noise*
	So my browes blakys	*brows; pale*
	To the dowore wyll I wyn.	*door; go*
	Harke, felows, wakys!	*wake up*
525	We were fowre;	*four*
	Se ye awre of Mak now?	*anywhere*
SHEPHERD 1	We were up or thou.	*before*
SHEPHERD 2	Man, I gyf God a vowe,	
	Yit yede he nawre.	*went; nowhere*
SHEPHERD 3	Me thoght he was lapt	*wrapped*
531	In a wolfe skyn.	
SHEPHERD 1	So are many hapt,	*dressed*
	Now namely within.	*especially*
SHEPHERD 3	When we had long napt	
[fol. 42v]	Me thoght with a gyn	*trick*
535	A fatt shepe he trapt	
	Bot he mayde no dyn.	*noise*
SHEPHERD 2	Be styll,	
	Thi dreme makys thee woode.	*mad*
540	It is bot fantom, by the roode.	*illusion; cross*
SHEPHERD 1	Now God turne all to good,	
	If it be his wyll.	
SHEPHERD 2	Ryse, Mak, for shame;	
	Thou lygys right lang.	*long*
MAK	Now Crystys holy name	
546	Be us emang.	
	What is this? For Sant Jame,	*Saint James*
	I may not well gang.	*walk*
	I trow I be the same.	*will recover*
550	A, my nek has lygen wrang	*lain wrong*
	Enoghe.	
	Mekill thank. Syn yister-even,	*Since last evening*
	Now by Sant Stevyn,	*Saint Stephen*
	I was flayd with a swevyn;	*frightened by; vision*
555	My hart out of sloghe.	
	I thoght Gyll began to crok	
	And travell full sad	*labor; hard*
	Welner at the fyrst cok	*Well-nigh; cock-crow*
	Of a yong lad	
560	For to mend oure flok.	*add to our flock*
	Then be I never glad;	
	I have tow on my rok	*(see note)*

More then ever I had.
A, my heede.
565 A house full of yong tharmes; *bellies*
The dewill knok outt thare harnes. *brains*
Wo is hym has many barnes *children*
And therto lytyll brede. *bread*

I must go home, by youre lefe, *leave*
570 To Gyll, as I thoght.
I pray you looke my slefe *examine my sleeve*
That I steyll noght; *steal nothing*
I am loth you to grefe
Or from you take oght. *anything*
SHEPHERD 3 Go furth, yll myght thou chefe. *fare*
576 Now wold I we soght
This morne
That we had all oure store. *livestock*
SHEPHERD 1 Bot I will go before; *ahead*
580 Let us mete.
SHEPHERD 2 Whore? *Where*
SHEPHERD 3 At the crokyd thorne. *thorn tree*

MAK Undo this doore; who is here?
How long shall I stand?
WIFE Who makys sich a bere? *noise*
585 Now walk in the wenyand. *waning [moon]*
MAK A, Gyll, what chere?
It is I, Mak, youre husbande.
WIFE Then may we be here,
The dewill in a bande.
590 Syr Gyle, *Guile*
Lo, he commys with a lote *sound*
As he were holden in the throte. *held by*
I may not syt at my note *work*
A handlang while. *brief moment*

MAK Wyll ye here what fare she makys *fuss*
596 To gett hir a glose, *comment*
And dos noght bot lakys *plays*
And clowse hir toose. *scratches; toes*
WIFE Why, who wanders, who wakys?
600 Who commys, who gose?
Who brewys, who bakys?
What makys me thus hose? *hoarse*
And than
It is rewthe to beholde,
605 Now in hote, now in colde,

Full wofull is the householde
That wantys a woman.

[fol. 43r] Bot what ende has thou mayde
With the hyrdys, Mak? *shepherds*

MAK The last worde that thay sayde
611 When I turnyd my bak,
Thay wold looke that thay hade
Thare shepe, all the pak.
I hope thay wyll nott be well payde *expect; well-pleased*
615 When thay thare shepe lak,
Perdé. *By God*
Bot how so the gam gose *game*
To me thay wyll suppose, *suspect*
And make a fowll noyse
620 And cry outt apon me.

Bot thou must do as thou hyght. *promised*

WIFE I accorde me thertyll.
I shall swedyll hym right *swaddle*
In my credyll. *cradle*
625 If it were a gretter slyght *greater trick*
Yit couthe I help tyll. *could*
I wyll lyg downe stright; *immediately*
Com hap me. *cover*

MAK I wyll.

WIFE Behynde.
630 Com Coll and his maroo, *companion*
Thay will nyp us full naroo. *(see note)*

MAK Bot I may cry "out, haroo" *help*
The shepe if thay fynde.

WIFE Harken ay when thay call; *Listen*
635 Thay will com onone *soon*
Com and make redy all
And syng by thyn oone;
Syng "lullay" thou shall
For I must grone
640 And cry outt by the wall
On Mary and John
For sore.
Syng "lullay" on fast *quickly*
When thou heris at the last, *hear*
645 And bot I play a fals cast *unless; trick*
Trust me no more.

SHEPHERD 3 A, Coll, goode morne.
Why slepys thou nott?
SHEPHERD 1 Alas, that ever was I borne.
650 We have a fowll blott: *disgrace*
A fat wedir have we lorne. *ram; lost*
SHEPHERD 3 Mary, Godys forbott! *God forbid*
SHEPHERD 2 Who shuld do us that skorne?
That were a fowll spott.
SHEPHERD 1 Som shrewe. *rascal*
656 I have soght with my dogys *searched*
All horbery shrogys, *sheltering brushwood*
And of fefteyn hogys *young sheep*
Fond I bot oone ewe.

SHEPHERD 3 Now trow me if ye will,
661 By Sant Thomas of Kent,
Ayther Mak or Gyll *Either*
Was at that assent. *Was involved*
SHEPHERD 1 Peasse, man, be still.
665 I sagh when he went; *saw*
Thou sklanders hym yll. *slanders*
Thou aght to repent, *ought*
Goode spede.
SHEPHERD 2 Now as ever myght I thé, *thrive*
670 If I shuld evyn here de *die*
I wold say it were he
That dyd that same dede.

SHEPHERD 3 Go we theder, I rede, *thither*
And ryn on oure feete; *run*
675 Shall I never ete brede *bread*
The sothe to I wytt. *Until I know the truth*
SHEPHERD 1 Nor drynk in my heede
With hym tyll I mete.[1] *meet*
SHEPHERD 2 I wyll rest in no stede ***[fol. 43v]***
680 Tyll that I hym grete, *accost*
My brothere.
Oone I will hight: *promise*
Tyll I se hym in sight
Shall I never slepe one nyght
685 Ther I do anothere. *Where*

SHEPHERD 3 Will ye here how thay hak? *warble*
Oure syre lyst croyne. *likes to croon*

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[1] Lines 677–78: *Nor shall I drink / until I meet with him*

SHEPHERD 1	Hard I never none crak	*Heard*
	So clere out of toyne.	*tune*
690	Call on hym.	
SHEPHERD 2	Mak,	
	Undo youre doore soyne.	*soon*
MAK	Who is that spak	*spoke*
	As it were noyne	*noon*
	On loft?	*aloud*
695	Who is that, I say?	
SHEPHERD 3	Goode felowse, were it day.	
MAK	As far as ye may,	
	Good, spekys soft	
	Over a seke womans heede	*sick*
700	That is at maylleasse.	*unwell*
	I had lever be dede	*rather; dead*
	Or she had any dyseasse.	*Before; annoyance*
WIFE	Go to anothere stede.	
	I may not well qweasse;	*breathe*
705	Ich fote that ye trede	*Each footstep*
	Goys thorow my nese	*Goes; nose*
	So hee.	*high*
SHEPHERD 1	Tell us, Mak, if ye may,	
	How fare ye, I say?	
MAK	Bot ar ye in this towne today?	
711	Now how fare ye?	
	Ye have ryn in the myre	*run*
	And ar weytt yit.	*wet*
	I shall make you a fyre	
715	If ye will sytt.	
	A nores wold I hyre.	*nurse; hire*
	Thynk ye on yit?	*Do you still remember; (see note)*
	Well qwytt is my hyre;	*paid; wages*
	My dreme this is itt,	
720	A seson.	
	I have barnes, if ye knew,	*children*
	Well mo then enewe,	*more; enough*
	Bot we must drynk as we brew,	
	And that is bot reson.	
725	I wold ye dynyd or ye yode;	*dined before you went*
	Me thynk that ye swette.	*sweat (work hard)*
SHEPHERD 2	Nay, nawther mendys oure mode	*neither*
	Drynke nor mette.	
MAK	Why, syr, alys you oght bot goode?	*ails*
SHEPHERD 3	Yee, oure shepe that we gett	*tend*

731	Ar stollyn as thay yode;	*stolen*
	Oure los is grette.	
MAK	Syrs, drynkys.	*drink [this]*
	Had I bene thore	
735	Som shuld have boght it full sore.	*paid dearly*
SHEPHERD 1	Mary, som men trowes that ye wore	
	And that us forthynkys.	*displeases*
SHEPHERD 2	Mak, som men trowys	
	That it shuld be ye.	
SHEPHERD 3	Ayther ye or youre spouse,	*Either*
741	So say we.	
MAK	Now if ye have suspowse	*suspicion*
	To Gill or to me,	
	Com and rype oure howse	*search*
745	And then may ye se	
	Who had hir.	*took her*
	If I any shepe fott,	*obtained*
	Aythor cow or stott,	*steer*
	And Gyll my wyfe rose nott	
750	Here syn she lade hir,	*since*
[fol. 44r]	As I am true and lele	*loyal*
	To God here I pray	
	That this be the fyrst mele	*meal*
	That I shall ete this day.	
SHEPHERD 1	Mak, as have I ceyll,	*happiness*
756	Avyse thee, I say.[1]	
	He lernyd tymely to steyll	*quickly; steal*
	That couth not say nay.	*could*
WIFE	I swelt!	*faint*
760	Outt, thefys, fro my wonys.	*home*
	Ye com to rob us for the nonys.	*purposely*
MAK	Here ye not how she gronys?	
	Youre hartys shuld melt.	
WIFE	Outt, thefys, fro my barne;	*child*
765	Negh hym not thor.	*Do not go near him there*
MAK	Wyst ye how she had farne	*Knew; fared*
	Youre hartys wold be sore.	
	Ye do wrang, I you warne,	
	That thus commys before	
770	To a woman that has farne,	*given birth*
	Bot I say no more.	

[1] Lines 755–56: *Mak, as I hope for happiness, / I tell you to consider [what you say]*

WIFE	A, my medyll.	*middle*
	I pray to God so mylde,	
	If ever I you begyld,	
775	That I ete this chylde	
	That lygys in this credyll.	*lies; cradle*
MAK	Peasse, woman, for Godys payn,	
	And cry not so;	
	Thou spyllys thy brane	*destroy; brain*
780	And makys me full wo.	*woeful*
SHEPHERD 2	I trow oure shepe be slayn;	
	What fynde ye two?	
SHEPHERD 3	All wyrk we in vayn;	
	As well may we go.	
785	Bot hatters!	*by the holy garments; (see note)*
	I can fynde no flesh	
	Hard nor nesh,	*soft*
	Salt nor fresh,	
	Bot two tome platers.	*empty plates*
790	Whik catell bot this,	*Livestock*
	Tame nor wylde,	
	None, as have I blys,	
	As lowde as he smylde.	*strong; smelled*
WIFE	No, so God me blys,	
795	And gyf me joy of my chylde.	
SHEPHERD 1	We have merkyd amys;	*been mistaken*
	I hold us begyld.	*beguiled*
SHEPHERD 2	Syr, don.	*thoroughly*
	Syr, oure lady hym save,	
800	Is youre chyld a knave?	*boy*
MAK	Any lord myght hym have	
	This chyld to his son.[1]	
	When he wakyns he kyppys,	*grabs*
	That joy is to se.	
SHEPHERD 3	In good tyme to hys hyppys	*(see note)*
806	And in celé.	*happy*
	Bot who was his gossyppys	*godparents*
	So sone redé?	*soon ready*
MAK	So fare fall thare lyppys!	*fair; (see note)*
SHEPHERD 1	Hark now, a le!	*lie*
MAK	So God thaym thank,	
812	Parkyn and Gybon Waller, I say,	***[fol. 44v]***

[1] Lines 801–02: *Any lord would be proud to have / this child for his son*

And gentill John Horne, in good fay,
He made all the garray, *He who; disturbance*
815 With the greatt shank. *long leg*

SHEPHERD 2 Mak, freyndys will we be,
For we ar all oone. *united*
MAK Wé, now I hald for me, *look after myself*
For mendys gett I none. *amends*
820 Farewell all thre;
All glad were ye gone.
SHEPHERD 3 Fare wordys may ther be
Bot luf is ther none *love*
824 This yere.
SHEPHERD 1 Gaf ye the chyld any thyng?
SHEPHERD 2 I trow not oone farthyng. *farthing*
SHEPHERD 3 Fast agane will I flyng; *rush*
Abyde ye me there. *Wait for*

Mak, take it to no grefe
830 If I com to thi barne. *child*
MAK Nay, thou dos me greatt reprefe, *disgrace*
And fowll has thou farne. *fared*
SHEPHERD 3 The child will it not grefe, *grieve*
That lytyll day starne. *day star*
835 Mak, with youre leyfe, *leave (permission)*
Let me gyf youre barne
Bot sex pence. *sixpence*
MAK Nay, do way, he slepys.
SHEPHERD 3 Me thynk he pepys. *peeps (is awake)*
MAK When he wakyns he wepys;
841 I pray you go hence.

SHEPHERD 3 Gyf me lefe hym to kys *leave*
And lyft up the clowtt. *cloth*
What the dewill is this?
845 He has a long snowte.
SHEPHERD 1 He is merkyd amys; *deformed*
We wate ill abowte. *(see note)*
SHEPHERD 2 Ill spon weft, iwys, *(see note)*
Ay commys foull owte.
850 Ay, so,
He is lyke to oure shepe.
SHEPHERD 3 How, Gyb, may I pepe?
SHEPHERD 1 I trow kynde will crepe *nature; crawl*
Where it may not go. *walk*

SHEPHERD 2	This was a qwantt gawde	*clever trick*
856	And a far-cast;	*shrewd scheme*
	It was a hee frawde.	*high fraud*
SHEPHERD 3	Yee, syrs, wast.	*it was*
	Lett bren this bawde,	*burn; slut*
860	And bynd hir fast.	
	A fals skawde	*false scold*
	Hang at the last.	*Will hang*
	So shall thou!	
	Wyll ye se how thay swedyll	*swaddle*
865	His foure feytt in the medyll?	*middle*
	Sagh I never in a credyll	
	A hornyd lad or now.	*before*
MAK	Peasse, byd I. What!	
	Lett be youre fare.	*fuss;* ***[fol. 45r]***
870	I am he that hym gatt	*begat*
	And yond woman hym bare.	
SHEPHERD 1	What, dewill, shall he hatt,	*be named*
	Mak? Lo, God, Makys ayre.	*Mak's heir*
SHEPHERD 2	Lett be all that,	
875	Now God gyf hym care,	
	I sagh!	*saw*
WIFE	A pratty child is he	*pretty*
	As syttys on a wamans kne,	*woman's knee*
	A dyllydowne, perdé,	*darling, by God*
880	To gar a man laghe.	*make; laugh*
SHEPHERD 3	I know hym by the eere marke;	*ear mark*
	That is a good tokyn.	*proof*
MAK	I tell you, syrs, hark,	
	Hys noyse was brokyn.	*nose*
885	Sythen told me a clerk	*Afterwards*
	That he was forspokyn.	*bewitched*
SHEPHERD 1	This is a fals wark.	
	I wold fayn be wrokyn;	*avenged*
	Gett wepyn.	*weapon*
WIFE	He was takyn with an elfe;	*attacked by*
891	I saw it myself.	
	When the clok stroke twelf	*clock*
	Was he forshapyn.	*transformed*
SHEPHERD 2	Ye two ar well feft,	*(see note)*
895	Sam in a stede.	*Same; place*
SHEPHERD 3	Syn thay manteyn thare theft	*affirm*
	Let do thaym to dede.	*Let them be put to death*
MAK	If I trespas eft	*again*

	Gyrd of my heede;	*Cut off*
900	With you will I be left.	*I am at your mercy*
SHEPHERD 2	Syrs, do my reede:	*take my advice*
	For this trespas	
	We will nawther ban ne flyte,	*curse; argue*
	Fyght nor chyte,	*chide*
905	Bot have done as tyte	*immediately*
	And cast hym in canvas.	
SHEPHERD 1	Lord, what I am sore,	
	In poynt for to bryst;	*burst*
	In fayth I may no more,	
910	Therfor wyll I ryst.	*rest*
SHEPHERD 2	As a shepe of sevyn skore	*score (group of 20)*
	He weyd in my fyst.	*weighed; (see note)*
	For to slepe aywhore	*anywhere*
	Me thynk that I lyst.	*desire*
SHEPHERD 3	Now, I pray you,	
916	Lyg downe on this grene.	
SHEPHERD 1	On these thefys yit I mene.	*think*
SHEPHERD 3	Wherto shuld ye tene?	*be angry*
	Do as I say you.	

Angelus cantat "gloria in excelsis," postea dicat,[1]

ANGEL	Ryse, hyrd men heynd,	*virtuous shepherds*
921	For now is he borne	
	That shall take fro the feynd	*from the fiend*
	That Adam had lorne,	*Those that; lost*
	That warloo to sheynd.	*devil; destroy*
925	This nyght is he borne;	
	God is made youre freynd	*friend*
	Now at this morne,	
	He behestys.	*promises*
	At Bedlem go se	*Bethlehem*
930	Ther lygys that fre	*lies; noble one*
	In a cryb full poorely	
	Betwyx two bestys.	*Between; beasts*
SHEPHERD 1	This was a qwant stevyn	*the most marvelous voice;* ***[fol. 45v]***
	That ever yit I hard.	
935	It is a mervell to nevyn	*mention*
	Thus to be skard.	*scared*
SHEPHERD 2	Of Godys son of hevyn	

[1] *An angel sings "Glory to God in the highest" [and] then should say*

	He spak upward;	*aloft*
	All the wod on a levyn	*woods; flash of light*
940	Me thoght that he gard	*made*
	Appere.	
SHEPHERD 3	He spake of a barne	*child*
	In Bedlem, I you warne.	*Bethlehem*
SHEPHERD 1	That betokyns yond starne;	*So signifies that star*
945	Let us seke hym there.	*seek*
SHEPHERD 2	Say, what was his song?	
	Hard ye not how he crakyd it,	*Heard*
	Thre brefes to a long?	*(see note)*
SHEPHERD 3	Yee, mary, he hakt it;	*warbled*
950	Was no crochett wrong,	*quick note*
	Nor nothyng that lakt it.	
SHEPHERD 1	For to syng us emong	*meanwhile*
	Right as he knakt it	*trilled*
	I can.	
SHEPHERD 2	Let se how ye croyne;	*croon*
956	Can ye bark at the mone?	*moon*
SHEPHERD 3	Hold youre tonges, have done.	
SHEPHERD 1	Hark after than.	*Listen*
SHEPHERD 2	To Bedlem he bad	
960	That we shuld gang;	
	I am full fard	*afraid*
	That we tary to lang.	*tarry too long*
SHEPHERD 3	Be mery and not sad;	
	Of myrth is oure sang.	
965	Ever lastyng glad	
	To mede may we fang	*reward; receive*
	Withoutt noyse.	*fuss*
SHEPHERD 1	Hy we theder forthy,	*therefore*
	If we be wete and wery,	*Even if; wet; weary*
970	To that chyld and that lady;	
	We have it not to lose.	*must not lose [this opportunity]*
SHEPHERD 2	We fynde by the prophecy —	
	Let be youre dyn —	*noise*
	Of David and Isay,	*Isaiah*
975	And mo then I myn,	*more; remember*
	Thay prophecyed by clergy	
	That in a vyrgyn	
	Shuld he lyght and ly	*alight*
	To slokyn oure syn,	*suppress*
980	And slake it	*relieve*
	Oure kynde from wo;	

For Isay sayd so:
Ecce virgo
Concipiet a chylde that is nakyd.[1]

SHEPHERD 3 Full glad may we be
986 And abyde that day
That lufly to se, *lovable one*
That all myghtys may. *is almighty*
Lord, well were me
990 For ones and for ay *once and forever*
Myght I knele on my kne
Som word for to say
To that chylde.
Bot the angell sayd
995 In a cryb was he layde;
He was poorly arayd, *clothed*
Both mener and mylde. *lowly; gracious*

SHEPHERD 1 Patryarkes that has bene, *Patriarchs; (see note)*
And prophetys beforne,
1000 Thay desyryd to have sene
This chylde that is borne.
Thay ar gone full clene; *completely*
That have thay lorne. *lost*
[fol. 46r] We shall se hym, I weyn, *suppose*
1005 Or it be morne *Before*
To tokyn. *As a sign*
When I se hym and fele *touch*
Then wote I full weyll
It is true as steyll *steel*
1010 That prophetys have spokyn, *That which*

To so poore as we ar
That he wold appere,
Fyrst fynd and declare
By his messyngere.
SHEPHERD 2 Go we now, let us fare.
1016 The place is us nere.
SHEPHERD 3 I am redy and yare; *eager*
Go we in fere *together*
To that bright. *bright one*
1020 Lord, if thi wylles be —
We ar lewde all thre — *unlearned*

[1] Lines 983–84: *Behold, a virgin / will conceive* (Isaiah 7:14) *a child that is naked*

	Thou grauntt us somkyns gle	*some kind of merriment*
	To comforth thi wight.	*comfort; creature*
SHEPHERD 1	Hayll, comly and clene;	*fair; pure*
1025	Hayll, yong child!	
	Hayll, maker, as I meyne,	
	Of a madyn so mylde.	*maiden; gracious*
	Thou has waryd, I weyne,	*cursed; suppose*
	The warlo so wylde;	*devil*
1030	The fals gyler of teyn	*beguiler; harm*
	Now goys he begylde.	
	Lo, he merys.	*plays merrily*
	Lo, he laghys, my swetyng.	*laughs; sweet one*
	A welfare metyng;	*fortunate encounter*
1035	I have holden my hetyng.	*kept my promise*
	Have a bob of cherys.	*cherries*
SHEPHERD 2	Hayll, sufferan savyoure,	*sovereign savior*
	For thou has us soght.	
	Hayll, frely foyde and floure	*noble child; flower*
1040	That all thyng has wroght.	*made*
	Hayll, full of favoure	
	That made all of noght.	*out of nothing*
	Hayll! I kneyll and I cowre.	*cower*
	A byrd have I broght	*bird*
1045	To my barne.	*child*
	Hayll, lytyll tyné mop.	*baby*
	Of oure crede thou art crop.	*creed; top*
	I wold drynk on thy cop,	*from your cup*
	Lytyll day starne.	*day star*
SHEPHERD 3	Hayll, derlyng dere,	
1051	Full of godhede.	*divinity*
	I pray thee be nere	
	When that I have nede.	
	Hayll, swete is thy chere.	*countenance*
1055	My hart wold blede	
	To se thee sytt here	
	In so poore wede	*such poor clothing*
	With no pennys.	*pennies*
	Hayll, put furth thy dall;	*hand*
1060	I bryng thee bot a ball.	
	Have and play thee withall	
	And go to the tenys.	*tennis*
MARY	The Fader of heven,	
	God omnypotent,	

1065	That sett all on seven,	*created all in seven [days]*
	His Son has he sent.	
	My name couth he neven	*could; name*
	And lyght or he went.	*alighted before*
	I conceyvyd hym full even	
1070	Thrugh myght as he ment,	*intended*
	And now is he borne.	
	He kepe you fro wo;	
	I shall pray hym so.	
	Tell furth as ye go	
1075	And myn on this morne.	*remember*
SHEPHERD 1	Farewell, lady,	***[fol. 46v]***
	So fare to beholde	*fair*
	With thy child on thi kne.	
SHEPHERD 2	Bot he lygys full cold.	*lies*
1080	Lord, well is me.	
	Now we go, thou behold.	
SHEPHERD 3	Forsothe, all redy	*Truly*
	It semys to be told	
1084	Full oft.	
SHEPHERD 1	What grace we have fun.	*found*
SHEPHERD 2	Com furth, now ar we won.	*saved*
SHEPHERD 3	To syng ar we bun;	*bound*
	Let take on loft.	*Begin loudly*

Explicit pagina pastorum.[1]

[1] *Here ends the pageant of the shepherds*

10. THE OFFERING OF THE MAGI

Herod
Messenger
King 1 (Jaspar)
King 2 (Melchior)
King 3 (Balthesar)
Counselor 1
Counselor 2
Mary
Angel

Incipit oblacio magorum.[1]

HEROD Peasse, I byd both far and nere. *Peace*
I warne you, leyf youre sawes sere; *leave; various speeches*
Who that makys noyse whyls I am here,
I say, shall dy.
5 Of all this warld sooth far and nere *truly*
The lord am I.

Lord am I of every land,
Of towre and towne, of se and sand.
Agans me dar no man stand *dare*
10 That berys lyfe; *bears*
All erthly thyng bowes to my hand,
Both man and wyfe.

Man and wyfe, that warne I you
That in this warld is lyfand now, *living*
15 To Mahowne and me all shall bow *Mohammed*
Both old and ying; *young*
On hym wyll I ich man trow *each; believe*
For any thyng.

For any thyng it shall be so,
20 Lord over all where I go.
Whoso says agane I shall hym slo *against; slay*
Whereso he dwell;
The feynd if he were my fo *fiend*
I shuld hym fell.

[fol. 47r] To fell those fatures I am bowne *traitors; ready*
26 And dystroy those dogys in feyld and towne

[1] *Here begins the offering of the Magi*

That will not trow on Sant Mahowne, *believe in*
Oure God so swete;
Those fals faturs I shall fell downe
30 Under my feete.

Under my feete I shall thaym fare,
Those ladys that will not lere my lare, *lads; learn my commands*
For I am myghty man aywhare, *everywhere*
Of ilka pak, *(see note)*
35 Clenly shapen, hyde and hare, *hide; hair*
Withoutten lak.

The myght of me may no man mene, *convey*
For all that dos me any teyn *harm*
I shall dyng thaym downe bydeyn, *strike; together*
40 And wyrk thaym wo,
And on assay it shall be seyn *when put to the test*
Or I go. *Before*

And therfor will I send and se
In all this land full hastely,
45 To looke if any dwelland be
In towre or towne
That wyll not hold holly on me *wholly*
And on Mahowne.

If ther be fonden any of tho, *those*
50 With bytter payn I shall theym slo.
My messynger —
MESSENGER Lord?
HEROD Swyth looke thou go *Quickly*
Thrugh ilk countré *each*
In all this land, both to and fro,
I commaunde thee.

55 And truly looke thou spyr and spy *inquire*
In every stede ther thou commys by *place where*
Who trowes not on Mahowne most myghty,
Oure god so fre,
And looke thou bryng theym hastely
60 Heder unto me. *Here*

And I shall fownd thaym for to flay, *hasten; torture*
Those laddys that will not lede oure lay. *law*
Therfor, boy, now I thee pray
That thou go tytt. *quickly*

MESSENGER It shal be done, lord, if I may,
66 Withoutten let. *delay*

And certys, if I may any fynde,
I shall not leyfe oone of them behynde. *leave*
HEROD No, bot boldly thou thaym bynde
70 And with thee leyde.
Mahowne that weldys water and wynde *governs*
Thee wish and spede. *direct; assist*

MESSENGER All peasse, lordyngys, and hold you styll
To I have sayde what I will. *Until*
[fol. 47v] Take goode hede unto my skyll, *reasoning*
76 Both old and ying,
In message what is commen you tyll *that*
From Herode the kyng.

He commaundys you everilkon *each one*
80 To hold no kyng bot hym alon,
And othere God ye worship none
Bot Mahowne so fre,
And if ye do ye mon be slone; *must; slain*
Thus told he me.

Tunc venit primus rex equitans et respiciens stellam dicit,[1]

KING 1 Lord of whom this light is lent
86 And unto me this sight has sent,
I pray to thee with good intent
From shame me shelde,
So that I no harmes hent *receive*
90 By ways wylde.

Also, I pray thee specyally
Thou graunt me grace of company,
That I may have som beyldyng by *comfort*
In my travayll, *journey*
95 And certys for to lyf or dy
I shall not fayll

To that I in som land have bene, *Until*
To wyt what this starne may mene *know; star*
That has me led with bemys shene *bright beams*
100 Fro my cuntré.

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[1] *Then comes the first king riding, and seeing the star he says*

Now weynd I will withoutten weyn — *without a doubt*
The sothe to se. — *truth; seek*

KING 2 A, Lord, that is withoutten ende,
Whensever this selcouth light dyscende — *From where [does]; wonderful*
That thus kyndly has me kende — *guided*
Oute of my land,
And shewyd to me ther I can leynd, — *where; arrive*
Thus bright shynand? — *shining*

Certys, I sagh never none so bright. — *Certainly; saw*
I shall never ryst by day nor nyght — *rest*
To I wyt whens may com this lyght, — *Until; know*
And from what place,
He that it send unto my sight
Leyne me that grace. — *Give*

KING 1 A, syr, wheder ar ye away? — *whither*
Tell me, good syr, I you pray.
KING 2 Certys, I trow the sothe to say, — *believe; truly*
None wote bot I;
I have folowed yond starne veray — *verily*
From Araby, — *Arabia*

For I am kyng of that cuntré,
And Melchor ther call men me. — *Melchior*
KING 1 And kyng, syr, was I wont to be — *accustomed*
In Tars at hame, — *Tarsus*
Both of towne and cyté;
Jaspar is my name.

[fol. 48r] The light of yond starne sagh I thedyr. — *there*
KING 2 That Lord be lovyd that send me hedyr, — *here*
For it will grathly ken us whedyr — *readily show*
That we shall weynd.
We owe to love hym both togedyr — *ought*
That it to us wold send.

KING 3 A, Lord in land, what may this mene?
So selcouth sight was never sene: — *wonderful*
Sich a starne shynand so shene — *brightly*
Sagh I never none;
It gyffys lyght over all bedene — *together*
By hym alone.

What it may mene, that know I noght,
Bot yonder ar two, me thynk in thoght.

I thank hym that thaym heder has broght
Thus unto me;
I shall assay if thay wote oght *ask; know anything*
What it may be.

145 Lordyngys that ar leyf and dere,
I pray you tell me, with good chere,
Wheder ye weynd on this manere,
And where that ye have bene,
And of this starne that shynys thus clere
150 What it may mene.

KING 1 Syr, I say you certanly,
From Tars for yond starne soght have I. *this*
KING 2 To seke yond light from Araby,
Syr, have I went.
KING 3 Now hertely I thank hym forthy *heartily; therefore*
156 That it has sent.

KING 1 Good syr, what cuntré cam ye fra? *from*
KING 3 This light has led me fro Saba, *Saba [in Arabia]*
And Balthesar my name to say,
160 The sothe to tell. *Truly*
KING 2 And kyngys, syr, ar we twa
Ther as we dwell.

KING 3 Now, syrs, syn we ar semled here, *since; assembled*
I rede we ryde togeder in fere *say; company*
165 Unto we wytt on all manere, *Until we know in all ways*
For good or yll,
What it may mene this sterne so clere
Shynand us tyll.

KING 1 A, lordyngys, behold the lyght
170 Of yond starne with bemys bright.
Forsothe I sagh never sich a sight *Truly*
In no kyns land,
A starne thus aboute mydnyght
So bright shynand.

175 It gyfys more light itself alone
[fol. 48v] Then any son that ever shone, *sun*
Or mone when he of son has ton *moon; taken*
His light so cleyn.
Sich selcouth sight have I sene none, *wonderful*
180 Whatsoever it meyn.

KING 2 Behold, lordyngys, unto his pase, *its pace*
And se how nygh the erth hit gase: *near; it goes*
It is a tokyn that it mase *it makes*
Of novelry; *novelty*
185 A mervell it is, good tent who tase *attention; take*
Now here in hy.

For sich a starne was never ere seyn, *before*
As wyde in warld as we have beyn,
For blasyng bemys shynand full sheyn *blazing; brightly*
190 From hit ar sent.
Mervell I have what it may meyn
In myn intent.

KING 3 Certys, syrs, the sothe to say,
I shall dyscry now if I may, *declare*
195 What it may meyn, yond starne veray
Shynand tyll us; *on*
It has bene sayde syn many a day
It shuld be thus.

Yond starne betokyns, well wote I, *signifies*
200 The byrth of a prynce, syrs, securely; *surely*
That shewys well the prophecy
That it so be,
Or els the rewlys of astronomy *rules*
Dyssavys me. *Deceive*

KING 1 Certan, Balaam spekys of this thyng,
206 That of Jacob a starne shall spryng
That shall overcom kasar and kyng *emperor*
Withoutten stryfe;
All folk shal be to hym obeyng
210 That berys the lyfe. *is alive*

Now wote I well, this is the same:
In every place he shall have hame; *home*
All shall hym bowe that berys name
In ilk cuntré.
215 Who trowys it not thay ar to blame, *believes*
Whatso thay be. *Whoever*

KING 2 Certys, lordyngys, full well wote I,
Fulfyllyd is now the prophecy
That prynce that shall overcom in hy *in haste*
220 Kasar and kyng;

	This starne berith witnes wytterly	*bears; certainly*
	Of his beryng.	*birth*
KING 3	Now is fulfyllyd here in this land	
	That Balaam sayd, I understand;	*That which*
[fol. 49r]	Now is he borne that se and sand	
226	Shall weyld at wyll,	
	That shewys this starne so bright shynand	
	Us thre untyll.	
KING 1	Lordyngys, I rede we weynd all thre	*say; go*
230	For to wyrship that chyld so fre,	
	In tokyn that he kyng shal be	
	Of alkyn thyng.	*all kinds of*
	This gold now wyll I bere with me	
	To myn offeryng.	
KING 2	Go we fast, syrs, I you pray	
236	To worship hym if that we may.	
	I bryng rekyls, the sothe to say,	*incense*
	Here in myn hende,	*hands*
	In tokyn that he is God veray	
240	Withoutten ende.	
KING 3	Syrs, as ye say right so I red:	
	Hast we tytt unto that sted	*quickly; place*
	To wirship hym as for oure hed	*as our ruler*
	With oure offeryng	
245	In tokyn that he shal be ded	*dead*
	This myrr I bryng.	*myrrh*
KING 1	Where is that kyng of Jues land	*Judea*
	That shal be Lord of se and sand,	
	And folk shall bow unto his hand,	
250	Both more and myn?	
	To wyrship hym with oure offerand	*offering*
	We wyll not blyn.	*cease*
KING 2	We shall not rest even nor morne	
	Unto we com ther he is borne.	*where*
KING 3	Folowe this light, els be we lorne,	*lost*
256	Forsothe I trowe,	
	That frely to we com beforne.[1]	
	Syrs, go we now.	

[1] *Until we come before that noble one*

MESSENGER Mahowne that is of greatt pausty, *power*
260 My lord, Syr Herode, thee save and se. *protect*
HEROD Where has thou bene so long fro me,
Vyle stynkand lad? *Vile stinking*
MESSENGER Lord, gone youre herand in this cuntré *errand [to run]*
As ye me bad.

HEROD Thou lyys, lurdan, the dewill thee hang! *lie; lout*
266 Why has thou dwelt away so lang?
MESSENGER Lord, ye wyte me all with wrang. *judge; wrong*
HEROD What tythyngys, say?
MESSENGER Som good, som yll mengyd emang. *mixed among*
HEROD How, I thee pray?

271 Do tell me fast how thou has farne; *quickly; fared*
[fol. 49v] Thy waryson shall thou not tharne. *reward; lack*
MESSENGER As I cam walkand, I you warne, *walking*
Lord, by the way,
275 I met thre kyngys sekeand a barne, *seeking a child*
Thus can thay say.

HEROD To seke a barne for what thyng?
Told thay any new tythyng? *news*
MESSENGER Yey, lord, thay sayd he shuld be kyng
280 Of towne and towre;
Forthy thay went with thare offeryng *Therefore*
Hym to honoure.

HEROD Kyng? the dewill! Bot of what empyre,
Of what land shuld that lad be syre?
285 Nay, I shall with that trature tyre; *traitor fight*
Sore shall he rewe. *Sorely; regret*
MESSENGER Lord, by a starne as bright as fyre
This kyng thay knew.

It led thaym outt of thare cuntré.
HEROD Wé, fy, fy! dewyls on thame all thre! *devils*
291 He shall never have myght to me, *over me*
That new borne lad.
When thare wytt in a starne shuld be,
I hold thaym mad.

295 Those lurdans wote not what thay say; *louts know*
Thay ryfe my hede, that dar I lay. *hurt*
Ther dyd no tythyngys many a day
Sich harme me to.

For wo my wytt is all away;
300 What shall I do?

Why, what the dewyll is in thare harnes? *brains*
Is thare wytt all in the starnes?
These tythyngys mar my mode in ernes, *mood; earnest*
And of this thyng
305 To wytt the sothe, full sore me yarnes, *yearns*
Of this new kyng.

Kyng, what the dewyll! Other then I?
Wé, fy on dewyls! Fy, fy!
Certys, that boy shall dere aby; *pay dearly*
310 His ded is dight. *death; ordained*
Shall he be kyng thus hastely?
Who the dewill made hym knyght?

Alas, for shame, this is a skorne. *insult*
Thay fynde no reson thaym beforne.
315 Shuld that brodell that late is borne *scoundrel*
Be most of mayn? *might*
Nay, if the dewyll of hell had sworne,
He shall agane. *disappear (be gone)*

[fol. 50r] Alas, alas, for doyll and care!
320 So mekyll sorow had I never are. *much; before*
If it be sothe, forevermare
I am undoyn. *undone*
At good clerkys and wyse of lare *But; teaching*
I wyll wyt soyn. *soon*

325 Bot fyrst yit will I send and se
The answere of those lurdans thre. *three louts*
Messyngere, tytt hy thou thee *quickly hurry*
And make thee yare. *ready*
Go, byd those kyngys com speke with me
330 That told thou of are. *before*

Say I have greatt herand thaym tyll. *message for them*
MESSENGER It shal be done, lord, at youre wyll;
Youre byddyng shall I soyn fulfyll
In ilk cuntré. *each*
HEROD Mahowne thee shelde from allkyns yll *every kind of ill*
336 For his pausté. *power*

MESSENGER Mahowne you save, syr kyngys thre.
I have message to you, prevé *privately*

From Herode, kyng of this cuntré,
340 That is oure chefe.
And lo, syrs, if ye trow not me,
Ye rede this brefe. *summons*

KING 1 Welcom be thou, belamy. *fair friend*
What is his wyll? Tell us in hy. *haste*
MESSENGER Certys, syr, that wote not I,
346 Bot thus he sayde to me:
That ye shuld com full hastely
To hym, all thre,

For nede herand, he sayd me so. *an urgent message*
KING 2 Messynger, before thou go
351 And tell thi lord we ar all thro *eager*
His wyll to do;
Both I and my felose two
Shall com hym to.

MESSENGER Mahowne you looke, my lord so dere. *watch over you*
HEROD Welcom be thou, messyngere.
How has thou farne syn thou was here? *fared*
Thou tell me tytt. *quickly*
MESSENGER Lord, I have traveld far and nere
360 Withoutten lett, *delay*

And done youre herand, syr, sothely. *delivered your message*
Thre kyngys with me broght have I
Fro Saba, Tars, and Araby,
Then have thay soght.
HEROD Thi waryson shall thou have forthy, *reward; therefore*
366 By hym me boght,

And certanly that is good skyll. *reasoning*
And syrs, ye ar welcom me tyll.
KING 3 Lord, thi bydyng to fulfyll
370 Ar we full thro. *eager*
HEROD A, mekyll thank of youre good wyll
That ye wyll so,

[fol. 50v] For certys, I have covett greattly *wanted*
To speke with you and here now why: *hear*
375 Tell me, I pray you specyally,
For any thyng,
What tokynyng saw ye on the sky
Of this new kyng?

KING 1 We sagh his starne ryse in the eest,
380 That shall be kyng of man and best; *beast*
Forthy, lord, we have not cest *ceased*
Syn that we wyst, *Since we knew that*
With oure gyftys riche and honest
To bere that blyst. *blessed [one]*

KING 2 Lord, when that starne rose us beforne,
386 Therby we knew that chyld was borne.
HEROD Out, alas! I am forlorne
Forevermare!
I wold be rent and al to-torne *destroyed*
390 For doyll and care. *sorrow*

Alas, alas, I am full wo.
Syr kyngys, syt downe and rest you so.
By scrypture, syrs, what say ye two?
Withoutten lytt, *delay*
395 What ye can say therto
Let se now tytt. *quickly*

These kyngys do me to understand
That borne is newly in this land
A kyng that shall weld se and sand. *govern sea and sand*
400 Thay tell me so,
And therfor, syrs, I you commaunde
Youre bookys go to,

And looke grathly for any thyng, *carefully*
If ye fynd oght of sich a kyng.
COUNSELOR 1 It shall be done at youre bydyng.
406 By hym me boght,
And soyn we shall you tythyngys bryng,
If we fynd oght.

COUNSELOR 2 Soyn shall we wyt, lord, if I may,
410 If oght be wretyn in oure lay. *written; law*
HEROD Now, masters, therof I you pray
On all manere.
COUNSELOR 1 Com furth, let us assay
Oure bookys, both in fere. *together*

COUNSELOR 2 Certys, syr, lo here fynd I,
416 Well wretyn in a prophecy,
How that profett Isay *prophet Isaiah*
That never begyld *misled*

Tellys that a madyn of hir body
420 Shall bere a chyld.

COUNSELOR 1 And also, syr, to you I tell
The mervellest thyng that ever fell:
[fol. 51r] Hyr madynhede with hir shall dwell
As dyd beforne;
425 That child shall hight Emanuell *be named*
When he is borne.

COUNSELOR 2 Lord, this is sothe, securely: *truly*
Wytnes the profett Isay.
HEROD Outt, alas! for doyll I dy
430 Long or my day. *before*
Shall he have more pausté then I? *power*
A, waloway!

Alas, alas, I am forlorne.
I wold be rent and all to-torne.
435 Bot looke yit as ye dyd beforne,
For luf of me, *love*
And tell me where that boy is borne.
Onone, lett se. *Immediately*

COUNSELOR 1 All redy, lord, with mayn and mode. *ready; fervently*
HEROD Have done, belyf, or I go wode. *at once, before; mad*
441 And certys, that gadlyng wer as good *fellow*
Have grevyd me noght;
I shall se that brodell bloode, *scoundrel's blood*
By hym that me has boght.

COUNSELOR 2 Micheas the prophett, withoutten nay, *Micah; doubt*
446 How that he tellys I shall you say:
In Bedlem, land of Juda, *Judea*
As I say you,
Out of it a duke shall spra, *spring*
450 Thus fynd we now.

COUNSELOR 1 Syr, thus we fynd in prophecy,
Therfor we say you securely, *truly*
In Bedlem we say you truly
Borne is that kyng.
HEROD The dewill hang you high to dry
456 For this tythyng!

And certys, ye ly; it may not be.
COUNSELOR 2 Lord, we wytnes it truly.

Here, the sothe youreself may se
460 If ye can rede.
HEROD A, waloway! full wo is me,
The dewill you spede. *assist you*

COUNSELOR 1 Lord, it is sothe all that we say;
We fynde it wretyn in oure lay. *written; law*
HEROD Go hens, harlottys, in twenty dewill way, *forth; scoundrels*
466 Fast and belyfe! *at once*
Mighty Mahowne, as he well may,
Lett you never thryfe.

Alas, wherto were I a crowne *why wear*
470 Or is cald of greatt renowne?
I am the fowlest borne downe *most foully overthrown*
That ever was man,
And namely with a fowll swalchon *(see note)*
That no good can.

[fol. 51v] Alas, that ever I shuld be knyght,
476 Or holdyn man of mekyll myght, *held to be*
If a lad shuld reyfe me my right *deprive me of*
All thus me fro.
Myn dede ere shuld I dyght
480 Or it were so.[1] *Before*

Ye nobyll kyngys, harkyns as heynd: *listen graciously*
Ye shall have save condyth to weynd, *safe conduct*
Bot com agane with me to leynd, *stay*
Syrs, I you pray.
485 Ye shall me fynd a faythfull freynd
If ye do swa. *thus*

If it be sothe, this new tythyng, *true*
Som worship wold I do that kyng;
Therfor I pray you that ye bryng
490 Me tythyngys soyn.
KING 1 Allredy, lord, at youre bydyng
It shal be doyn.

KING 2 Alas, in warld how have we sped?
Where is the lyght that us has led?
495 Som clowde forsothe that starne has cled *covered*
From us away.

---

[1] Lines 479–80: *I should have ordered my death earlier, / before this happened*

In strong stowre now ar we sted; *conflict; situated*
What may we say?

KING 3 Wo worth Herode, that cursyd wyght! *May woe come to*
500 Wo worth that tyrant day and nyght,
For thrugh hym have we lost that sight,
And for his gyle, *because of his deceit*
That shoyn to us with bemys bright *shone*
Within a whyle.

Here lyghtys the kyngys of thare horses.

KING 1 Lordyngys, I red we pray all thre
506 To that Lord whose natyvyté
The starne betokyned that we can se,
All with his wyll;
Pray we specyally that he
510 Wold show it us untyll. *to us*

Here knele all thre kyngys downe.

KING 2 Thou chyld, whose myght no tong may tell, *tongue*
As thou art Lord of heven and hell,
Thy nobyll starne, Emanuell,
Thou send us yare, *quickly*
515 That we may wytt by fyrth and fell *forest and hill*
How we shall fare.

KING 3 A, to that chyld be ever honoure,
That in this tyd has stynt oure stoure *time; ceased; conflict*
And lent us lyght to oure socoure *aid*
520 On this manere. *In*
We love thee, Lord of towne and towre,
Holly in fere. *All of us together*

Here ryse thay all up.

KING 1 We owe to love hym over all thyng *ought;* ***[fol. 52r]***
That thus has send us oure askyng.
525 Behold, yond starne has made shynyng.[1]
Syrs, securly *surely*
Of this chyld shall we have knowyng,
I hope in hy.

---

[1] *Behold, [God] has made the star to shine again*

KING 2 Lordyngys dere, drede thar us noght,
530 Oure greatt travell tyll end is broght. *journey*
Yond is the place that we have soght
From far cuntré;
Yond is the chyld that all has wroght.
Behold and se.

KING 3 I red we make offeryng all thre *say*
536 Unto this chyld of greatt pausté,
And worship hym with gyftys fre
That we have broght.
Oure boytt of bayll ay wyll he be; *relief from misery*
540 Well have we soght.

KING 1 Hayll be thou, maker of allkyn thyng *everything*
That boytt of all oure bayll may bryng.
In tokyn that thou art oure kyng
And shal be ay,
545 Resayf this gold to myn offeryng, *receive*
Prynce, I thee pray.

KING 2 Hayll, overcomer of kyng and of knyght, *conqueror*
That fourmed fysh and fowyll in flyght,
For thou art Godys Son, most of myght,
550 And all-weldand. *almighty*
I bryng thee rekyls, as is right, *incense*
To myn offerand.

KING 3 Hayll, kyng in kyth, cowrand on kne. *crouching; (see note)*
Hayll, oonefold God in persons thre. *onefold*
555 In tokyn that thou dede shal be *dead*
By kyndly skyll, *natural reason*
To thy gravyng this myr of me *For your burial; myrrh*
Resave thee tyll. *Receive*

MARY Syr kyngys, make comforth you betweyn,
560 And mervell not what it may mene:
This chyld that on me borne has bene
All bayll may blyn; *misery; relieve*
I am his moder and madyn clene,
Withoutten syn.

565 Therfor, lordyngys, whereso ye fare, *go*
Boldly looke ye tell aywhare *everywhere*
How I this blyst of bosom bare *blessed [one]*
That best shal be,

And madyn cleyn as I was are *ever*
570 Thrugh his pausté. *power*

[fol. 52v] And truly, syrs, looke that ye trow
That othere lord is none at lowe; *below (on earth)*
Both man and beest to hym shall bowe
In towne and feyld.
575 My blyssyng, syrs, be now with you
Whereso ye beyld. *Wherever you dwell*

KING 1 A, lordyngys dere, the sothe to say
We have made a good jornay.
We love this Lord that shall last ay
580 Withoutten ende;
He is oure beyld both nyght and day, *shelter*
Whereso we weynd.

KING 2 Lordyngys, we have traveld lang,
And restyd have we lytyll emang. *in between*
585 Forthi I red now or we gang *Therefore; advise; before*
With all oure mayn, *strength*
Let us fownde a slepe to fang; *try to get some sleep*
Then were I fayn, *glad*

For in greatt stowres we have ben sted. *conflict; placed*
590 Lo, here a lytter redy cled. *bed ready made*
KING 3 I love my Lord! We have well sped
To rest with wyn; *delight*
Lordyngys, syn we shall go to bed,
Ye shall begyn.

ANGEL Syr curtes kyngys, to me take tent, *pay attention*
596 And turne bytyme or ye be tenyd. *without delay; harmed*
From God hisself thus am I sent
To warne you as youre faythfull freynd
How Herode kyng has malyce ment,
600 And shapys with shame you for to sheynd, *plans; destroy*
And so that ye no harmes hent *suffer*
By othere ways God wyll ye weynd
Into youre awne cuntré.
And if ye ask hym boyn *favor*
605 For this dede that ye have done,
Youre beyld ay wyll he be. *shelter always*

KING 1 Wakyns, wakyns, lordyngys dere!
Oure dwellyng is no longer here.
An angell spake tyll us in fere, *together*

610	Bad us as heynd	*graciously*
	That we ne shuld on no manere	
	Home by Herode weynd.	*by [way of]*
KING 2	Allmyghty God in Trynyté,	
	With hart enterely thank I thee	
[fol. 53r]	That thyn angell send tyll us thre	
616	And kend us so,	*commanded*
	Oure fals foman for to fle	*enemy*
	That wold us slo.	
KING 3	We aght to love hym, more and myn,	*more or less*
620	That comly kyng of all mankyn.	*humankind*
	I rew full sore that we shall twyn	*part*
	On this manere,	*In*
	For commen we have with mekyll wyn	*much joy*
	By wayes sere.	*various*
KING 1	Twyn must us nedys, syrs, permafay,	*Part; by my faith*
626	And ilkon weynd by dyvers way.	*each one; diverse paths*
	This wyll me lede, the sothe to say,	
	To my cuntré;	
	Forthy, lordyngys, now have good day.	*Therefore*
630	God with you be.	
KING 2	Certys, I must pas by se and sand;	
	This is the gate I understand	*way*
	That wyll me lede unto my land	
	The right way.	
635	To God of heven I you commaunde,	
	And have good day.	
KING 3	This is the way that I must weynd.	
	Now God till us his socoure send,	*aid*
	And he that is withoutten end,	
640	And ay shal be,	
	Save us from fowndyng of the feynd,	*temptation by*
	For his pausté.	*By his power*

Explicit oblacio trium Magorum.[1]

[1] *Here ends the offering of the three Magi*

11. THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT

Angel
Joseph
Mary

Incipit fugacio Iosep et Marie in Egiptum.[1]

ANGEL	Awake, Joseph, and take intent	*take heed [that]*
	Thou ryse and slepe nomare;	
	If thou wyll save thyself unshent,	*harmed*
	Fownde thee fast to fare.	*Hasten; travel*
[fol. 53v]	I am an angell to thee sent,	
6	For thou shall no harmes hent,	*suffer*
	To cach thee outt of care.	*catch*
	If thou here longer lent,	*remain*
	For rewth thou mon repent	*must*
10	And rew it wonder sare.	*regret it very sorely*
JOSEPH	A, myghtfull God,	
	Whatever this ment,	
	So swete of toyn?[2]	*tone*
ANGEL	Lo, Joseph, it is I:	
15	An angell send to thee.	*sent*
JOSEPH	Wé, leyf, I pray thee, why?	*stop*
	What is thy wyll with me?	
ANGEL	Hens behufys thee hy,	*You should go hence quickly*
	And take with thee Mary,	
20	Also hir chyld so fre,	
	For Herode dos to dy	*is killing*
	All knave chyldren, securly,	*male*
	Within two yere that be	
	Of eld.	*age*
JOSEPH	Alas, full wo is me.	
26	Where may we beyld?	*find refuge*
ANGEL	Tyll Egypp shall thou fare	*To*
	With all the myght thou may,	
	And Joseph, hold thee thare	*there*
30	Tyll I wyll thee at say.	
JOSEPH	This is a febyll fare:	*feeble state of affairs*
	A seke man and a sare	*sick; sore*
	To here of sich a fray.	*hear; disturbance*

[1] *Here begins the flight of Joseph and Mary into Egypt*

[2] Lines 12–13: *What did this sweetly-intoned speech mean?*

My bonys ar bursyd and bare — *bones; tired*
35 For to do I wold it ware — *were*
Comen my last day
Tyll ende.
I ne wote which is the way; — *know not*
How shall we weynde? — *proceed*

ANGEL Therof have thou no drede;
41 Weynd furth and leyf thi dyn; — *stop; moaning*
The way he shall you lede,
The kyng of all mankyn.
JOSEPH That heynd til us take hede, — *gracious one*
45 For I had lytyll nede
Sich bargans to begyn. — *business*
No wonder if I wede, — *rage*
I that may do no dede.
How shuld I theder wyn — *go*
50 For eld? — *age*
I am full bare and thyn
And all unweld. — *feeble*

My fors me falys to fare, — *strength; fails*
And sight that I shuld se.
55 Mary, my darlyng dere,
I am full wo for thee.
MARY A, leyf Joseph, what chere? — *dear*
Youre sorow on this manere,
It mekill mervels me. — *greatly surprises*
JOSEPH Oure noyes ar neghand nere — *troubles; approaching near*
61 If we dwell longer here;
Forthi behofes us fle — *Therefore we must flee*
And flytt. — *move away*
MARY Alas, how may this be?
65 Whatever menys it? — *means*

JOSEPH It menys of sorow enoghe. — ***[fol. 54r]***
MARY A, dere Joseph, how so?
JOSEPH As I lay in a swogh, — *swoon*
Full sad slepand and thro, — *sleeping deeply; soundly*
70 An angell to me drogh, — *came*
As blossom bright on bogh,
And told, betwix us two, — *between*
That Herode wroght greatt wogh
And all knave children slogh — *slew*
75 In land that he myght to, — *take*
That feynd, — *fiend*

And he thy son wold slo — *slay*
And shamely sheynd. — *shamefully destroy*

MARY My son? Alas, for care!
80 Who may my doyllys dyll? — *sorrows relieve*
Wo worth fals Herode are! — *May woe come to; soon*
My son why shuld he spyll? — *kill*
Alas, I lurk and dare. — *cower; tremble*
To slo this barne I bare — *bore*
85 What wight in warld had wyll? — *creature*
His hart shuld be full sare
Sichon to forfare — *Such a one to destroy*
That never yit dyd yll
Ne thoght.
JOSEPH Now, leyfe Mary, be styll; — *dear*
91 This helpys noght.

It is no boytt to grete. — *remedy; weep*
Truly, withoutten trayn, — *deceit*
Oure bayll it may not beytt — *misery; help*
95 Bot well more make oure payn.
MARY Alas, how shuld I lete? — *cease [lamenting]*
My son that is so swete
Is soght for to be slayn.
Full gryle may I grete — *sorrowfully; weep*
100 My fomen and I mete. — *If I should meet my enemy*
Tell me, Joseph, with mayn, — *strength*
Youre red. — *advice*
JOSEPH Shortly swedyll us this swayn — *Quickly swaddle; boy*
And fle hys dede. — *flee from; death*

MARY His ded wold I not se
106 For all this warld to wyn.
Alas, full wo were me
In two if we shuld twyn; — *be parted*
My chyld so bright of ble, — *complexion*
110 To slo hym were pyté
And a full hedus syn. — *hideous sin*
Dere Joseph, what red ye? — *say you*
JOSEPH Tyll Egyp weynd shall we; — *To*
Forthi let be thi dyn — *Therefore*
115 And cry.
MARY How shall we theder wyn? — *go*
JOSEPH Fulle well wote I:

The best wyse that we may. — *way*
Hast us outt of this here; — *place*

120	Ther is noght els to say	
	Bot tytt pak up oure gere.	*quickly*
[fol. 54v]	For ferd of this affray	*fear*
	Lett us weynd hens away,	
	Or any do us dere.	*Before; harm us*
MARY	Greatt God, as he well may	
126	That shope both nyght and day,	*created*
	From wandreth he us were,	*misfortune; keep*
	And shame.	
	My chyld how shuld I bere	
130	So far from hame?	*home*
	Alas, I am full wo;	
	Was never wyght so wyll.	*creature; lost*
JOSEPH	God wote I may say so.	
	I have mater thertyll,	*concern*
135	For I may unyth go	*only with difficulty*
	To lede of land sich two.	*lead out of the land*
	No wonder if I be wyll	*lost*
	And sythen has many a fo.	*then have*
	A, why wyll no ded me slo?	*No [one]*
140	My lyfe I lyke yll,	*dislike*
	And sare.	*strongly*
	He that all doyls may dyll	*sorrows; relieve*
	He keyll my care.	*May he relieve*
	So wyll a wyght as I	*lost; creature*
145	In warld was never man.	
	Howsehold and husbandry	
	Full sore I may it ban;	*curse*
	That bargan dere I by.	*dear (expensively); buy*
	Yong men bewar, red I;	*say*
150	Wedyng makys me all wan.	*Marriage; gloomy*
	Take me thi brydyll, Mary	*Give; bridle*
	Tent thou to that page grathly,	*Attend; child carefully*
	With all the craft thou can,	
	And may	
155	He that this warld began	
	Wysh us the way.	*Show*
MARY	Alas, full wo is me;	
	Is none so wyll as I.	*lost*
	My hart wold breke in thre	
160	My son to se hym dy.	
JOSEPH	Wé, leyf Mary, lett be,	
	And nothyng drede thou thee,	
	Bot hard hens lett us hy	*strenuously from here; hurry*

To save thi foode so fre. *baby*
165 Fast furth now lett us fle,
Dere leyf; *beloved*
To mete with his enmy
It were a greatt myschefe,

And that wold I not wore, *I would not have happen*
170 Away if we myght wyn. *escape*
My hart wold be full sore
In two to se you twyn. *parted*
Tyll Egypp lett us fare.
This pak tyll I com thare
175 To bere I shall not blyn; *fail*
Forthi have thou no care. *Therefore; worry*
If I may help thee mare, *more*
Thou fyndys no fawte me in,
I say.
180 God blys you more and myn, *in every way*
And have now all good day.

[fol. 55r] *Explicit fugacio Iosep et Marie in Egiptum.*[1]

12. HEROD THE GREAT

Messenger
Herod
Soldier 1
Soldier 2
Soldier 3
Counselor 1
Counselor 2
Woman 1
Woman 2
Woman 3

Incipit magnus Herodes.[2]

MESSENGER Moste myghty Mahowne
Meng you with myrth. *make you merry*
Both of burgh and of towne, *borough*
By fellys and by fyrth, *hills; forest*
5 Both kyng with crowne

[1] *Here ends the flight of Joseph and Mary into Egypt*

[2] *Here begins Herod the Great*

	And barons of brith	*birth*
	That radly wyll rowne,	*promptly; whisper*
	Many greatt grith	*protection*
	Shall behapp.	
10	Take tenderly intent	*Take heed*
	What sondys ar sent,	*messages*
	Els harmes shall ye hent	*seize you*
	And lothes you to lap.	*injuries will enfold you*
	Herode the heynd kyng,	*gracious*
15	By grace of Mahowne,	
	Of Jury, sourmontyng	*Jewry, surmounting*
	Sternly with crowne,	
	On lyfe that ar lyfyng	*Alive*
	In towre and in towne,	
20	Gracyus you gretyng,	*Greeting you graciously*
	Commaundys you be bowne	*ready*
	At his bydyng.	
	Luf hym with lewté,	*Love; loyalty*
	Drede hym, that doughty;	*valiant*
25	He chargys you be redy	
	Lowly at his lykyng.	*Humbly; pleasure*
	What man apon mold	*on earth*
	Menys hym agane	*Threatens him*
	Tytt teyn shall be told;	*Shall quickly suffer harm*
30	Knyght, sqwyere, or swayn,	*servant*
	Be he never so bold,	
	Byes he that bargan	
	Twelf thowsandfold	
	More then I sayn,	
35	May ye trast.[1]	*trust*
	He is worthy wonderly,	
	Selcouthly sory;	*Wonderfully sad*
	For a boy that is borne her by	*here*
	Standys he abast.	*dismayed*
40	A kyng thay hym call,	
	And that we deny.	
	How shuld it so fall	
	Greatt mervell have I;	
	Therfor over all	
45	Shall I make a cry	
	That ye busk not to brall,	*prepare; brawl*

[1] Lines 32–35: *He will pay [for his transgression] / more than 12,000 times over, / I tell you — trust me*

	Nor lyke not to ly	*Nor are inclined to lie*
	This tyde.	
	Carpys of no kyng	*Talk*
50	Bot Herode that lordyng,	
	Or busk to youre beyldyng,	*hurry; shelter*
	Youre heedys for to hyde.	*heads*
[fol. 55v]	He is kyng of kyngys,	
	Kyndly I knowe,	
55	Chefe lord of lordyngys,	
	Chefe leder of law.	
	Ther watys on his wyngys	
	That bold bost wyll blaw;[1]	
	Greatt dukys downe dyngys	*strikes*
60	For his greatt aw	*reverence*
	And hym lowtys;	*bow to him*
	Tuskane and Turky	*Tuscany*
	All Inde and Italy	*India*
	Cecyll and Surry	*Sicily; Syria*
65	Drede hym and dowtys.	*Fear*
	From Paradyse to Padwa	*Padua*
	To Mownt Flascon,	*Montefiascone*
	From Egyp to Mantua	
	Unto Kemptowne,	*(see note)*
70	From Sarceny to Susa	
	To Grece it abowne,	
	Both Normondy and Norwa	*Normandy; Norway*
	Lowtys to his crowne.	*Bow*
	His renowne	
75	Can no tong tell,	*tongue*
	From heven unto hell;	
	Of hym can none spell	*speak*
	Bot his cosyn Mahowne.	
	He is the worthyest of all	
80	Barnes that ar borne;	*Children*
	Fre men ar his thrall,	*slaves*
	Full teynfully torne.	*grievously injured*
	Begyn he to brall,	
	Many men cach skorne.	*catch*
85	Obey must we all	
	Or els be ye lorne	*lost*
	Att onys.	*At once*

[1] Lines 57–58: *There attend on him / those who would make bold boasts* (see note)

	Downe dyng of youre knees	*Fall down on*
	All that hym seys;	
90	Dysplesyd he beys,	*he is*
	And byrkyn many bonys.	*breaks; bones*
	Here he commys now, I cry,	
	That lord I of spake.	
	Fast afore wyll I hy,	*in front*
95	Radly on a rake,	*Promptly in a rush*
	And welcom hym worshipfully,	
	Laghyng with lake,	*glee*
	As he is most worthy,	
	And knele for his sake	
100	So low,	
	Downe dervly to fall,	*promptly*
	As renk most ryall.	*rank*
	Hayll, the worthyest of all!	
	To thee must I bow.	
105	Hayll, luf lord! Lo,	
	Thi letters have I layde.	*presented*
	I have done I couth do,	*all I could do*
	And peasse have I prayd,	*peace*
	Mekyll more therto	*Much*
110	Opynly dysplayd.	
	Bot romoure is rasyd so	*rumor*
	That boldly thay brade	*outcry*
	Emangys thame.	*Among themselves*
	Thay carp of a kyng;	
115	Thay seasse not sich chateryng.	
HEROD	Bot I shall tame thare talkyng,	*tame*
	And let thame go hang thame.	
	Stynt, brodels, youre dyn —	*Cease, scoundrels*
	Yei, everychon.	*everyone*
120	I red that ye harkyn	*advise; listen*
	To I be gone,	*Until*
[fol. 56r]	For if I begyn	
	I breke ilka bone,	*each*
	And pull fro the skyn	
125	The carcas anone.	*soon*
	Yei, perdé,	*by God*
	Sesse all this wonder	
	And make us no blonder,	*error*
	For I ryfe you in sonder,	*[will] tear you asunder*
130	Be ye so hardy.	

Peasse, both yong and old
At my bydyng I red, *say*
For I have all in wold. *under [my] control*
In me standys lyfe and dede.
135 Who that is so bold,
I brane hym thrugh the hede. *strike*
Speke not or I have told *before*
What I will in this stede. *place*
Ye wote nott *know not*
140 All that I will mefe. *provoke*
Styr not bot ye have lefe, *unless; permission*
For if ye do I clefe *cleave*
You small as flesh to pott. *stewing meat*

My myrthes ar turned to teyn, *pleasures; suffering*
145 My mekenes into ire; *meekness; anger*
And all for oone, I weyn, *one person; believe*
Within I fare as fyre. *I burn inside*
May I se hym with eyn, *eyes*
I shall gyf hym his hyre. *wages*
150 Bot I do as I meyn *Unless; intend*
I were a full lewde syre *utterly worthless*
In wonys. *Exceedingly*
Had I that lad in hand,
As I am kyng in land
155 I shuld with this steyll brand *steel sword*
Byrkyn all his bonys. *Break*

My name spryngys far and nere:
The doughtyest, men me call, *most valiant*
That ever ran with spere,
160 A lord and kyng ryall. *royal*
What joy is me to here *hear*
A lad to sesse my stall. *seize; place*
If I this crowne may bere
That boy shall by for all. *pay*
165 I anger;
I wote not what dewill me alys. *ails*
Thay teyn me so with talys *annoy; tales*
That by Gottys dere nalys *God's dear nails*
I wyll peasse no langer. *remain peaceful*

170 What dewill! me thynk I brast *burst*
For anger and for teyn. *annoyance*
I trow thyse kyngys be past *believe*
That here with me has beyn;
Thay promysed me full fast

175	Or now here to be seyn,	*Before*
	For els I shuld have cast	*played*
	Anothere sleght I weyn.	*trick; think*
	I tell you,	
	A boy thay sayd thay soght	
180	With offeryng that thay broght;	
	It mefys my hart right noght	*moves*
	To breke his nek in two.	
	Bot be thay past me by,	
	By Mahowne in heven,	
185	I shall and that in hy	*in haste*
	Set all on sex and seven.	*(see note)*
	Trow ye a kyng as I	
	Will suffre thaym to neven	*name*
	Any to have mastry	
190	Bot myself full even?	
	Nay, leyfe	*gladly*
[fol. 56v]	The dewill me hang and draw.	
	If I that losell knaw,	*scoundrel recognize*
	Bot I gyf hym a blaw	
195	That lyfe I shall hym reyfe.	*rob*
	For parels yit I wold	*perils (on account of the possible danger)*
	Wyst if thay were gone.	*Know*
	And ye therof her told	*If you; hear*
	I pray you, say anone,	*soon*
200	For and thay be so bold,	*Even if*
	By God that syttys in trone,	
	The payn can not be told	
	That thay shall have ilkon,	*each one*
	For ire.	
205	Sich panys hard never man tell,	*pains; heard*
	For-ugly and for-fell,	*Overly ugly and savage*
	That Lucyfere in hell	
	Thare bonys shall all to-tyre.	*tear apart*
SOLDIER 1	Lord, thynk not ill if I	
210	Tell you how thay ar past;	
	I kepe not layn, truly.	*do not seek to conceal anything*
	Syn thay cam by you last,	
	Anothere way in hy	*in haste*
	Thay soght, and that full fast.	
HEROD	Why and ar thay past me by?	
216	Wé, outt, for teyn I brast!	*anger*
	Wé, fy!	
	Fy on thee dewill! where may I byde,	*stay*

Bot fyght for teyn and al to-chyde. *brawl violently*
220 Thefys, I say ye shuld have spyde
And told when thay went by. *told [me]*

Ye ar knyghtys to trast. *trust*
Nay, losels ye ar, and thefys!
I wote I yelde my gast, *spirit*
225 So sore my hart it grefys. *grieves*
SOLDIER 2 What nede you be abast? *dismayed*
Ther ar no greatt myschefys *(see note)*
For these maters to gnast. *gnash*
SOLDIER 3 Why put ye sich reprefys *reproofs*
230 Withoutt cause?
Thus shuld ye not thrett us *threaten*
Ungaynly to bete us; *Improperly*
Ye shuld not rehett us *rebuke*
Withoutt othere sawes. *speeches*

HEROD Fy, losels and lyars,
236 Lurdans ilkon! *Louts each one*
Tratoures and well wars, *worse*
Knafys, bot knyghtys none! *Knaves*
Had ye bene woth youre eres *worth; ears*
240 Thus had thay not gone.
Gett I those land-lepars, *vagabonds*
I breke ilka bone.
Fyrst vengeance
Shall I se on thare bonys. *their*
245 If ye byde in these wonys *places*
I shall dyng you with stonys – *hit*
Yei, ditizance doutance! *without a doubt*

I wote not where I may sytt
For anger and for teyn. *annoyance*
250 We have not done all yit,
If it be as I weyn. *think*
Fy, dewill! now how is it?
As long as I have eyn *eyes*
I thynk not for to flytt, *flight*
255 Bot kyng I will be seyn
Forever.
Bot stand I to quart, *in health*
I tell you my hart,
I shall gar thaym start, *cause*
260 Or els trust me never.

SOLDIER 1	Syr, thay went sodanly,	***[fol. 57r]***
	Or any man wyst,	*Before; knew*
	Els had mett we — yei, perdy,	*yes, by God*
	And may ye tryst.	*trust*
SOLDIER 2	So bold nor so hardy	
266	Agans oure lyst	*desire*
	Was none of that company	
	Durst mete me with fyst	*[That] dared*
	For ferd.	*fear*
SOLDIER 3	Ill durst thay abyde	*They dared not stay*
271	Bot ran thame to hyde;	
	Might I thaym have spyde,	
	I had made thaym a berd.	*outwitted them*
	What couth we more do	*could*
275	To save youre honoure?	
SOLDIER 1	We were redy therto,	
	And shal be ilk howre.	*each*
HEROD	Now syn it is so,	*since*
	Ye shall have favoure.	
280	Go where ye wyll go,	
	By towne and by towre;	
	Goys hens.	
	I have maters to mell	*discuss*
	With my prevey counsell.	*privy*
285	Clerkys, ye bere the bell;	*(see note)*
	Ye must me encense.	*lead*
	Oone spake in myne eere	
	A wonderfull talkyng,	
	And sayde a madyn shuld bere	
290	Anothere to be kyng.	
	Syrs, I pray you inquere	*inquire*
	In all wrytyng,	
	In Vyrgyll, in Homere,	
	And all other thyng	
295	Bot legende;	*holy texts*
	Sekys poecé tayllys.	*poetic tales*
	Lefe pystyls and grales;	*epistles; graduals; (see note)*
	Mes, matyns noght avalys.	*Matins*
	All these I defende.	*forbid*
300	I pray you tell heyndly	*graciously*
	Now what ye fynde.	
COUNSELOR 1	Truly, syr, prophecy	
	It is not blynd.	
	We rede thus by Isay:	

305	He shal be so kynde	*conceived*
	That a madyn sothely	
	Which never synde	*sinned*
	Shall hym bere	
	Virgo concipiet	
310	*Natumque pariet*,[1]	
	"Emanuell" is hete,	*named*
	His name for to lere:	
	"God is with us"	
	That is for to say.	
COUNSELOR 2	And othere says thus,	
316	Tryst me ye may,	
	Of Bedlem a gracyus	*From Bethlehem*
	Lord shall spray	*rise up*
	That of Jury myghtyus	*Jewry*
320	Kyng shal be ay,	
	Lord myghty;	
	And hym shall honoure	
	Both kyng and emperoure.	
HEROD	Why and shuld I to hym cowre?	*cower*
325	Nay, ther thou lyys lyghtly.	*lie readily*
	Fy, the dewill thee spede!	*assist*
	And me, bot I drynk onys.	*unless*
	This has thou done indede	
	To anger me for the nonys;	*on purpose*
[fol. 57v]	And thou, knafe, thou thy mede	*reward*
331	Shall have, by Cokys dere bonys.	*God's*
	Thou can not half thi crede.	*know; creed; (see note)*
	Outt, thefys, fro my wonys.	*dwelling*
	Fy, knafys!	
335	Fy, dottypols with youre bookys;	*blockheads*
	Go kast thaym in the brookys.	
	With sich wylys and crokys	*wiles; tricks*
	My wytt away rafys.	*wanders*
	Hard I never sich a trant	*Heard; trick*
340	That a knafe so sleght	*insignificant*
	Shuld com lyke a sant	*saint*
	And refe me my right.	*rob*
	Nay, he shall on-slant;	*aslant*
	I shall kyll hym downe stryght.[2]	

[1] Lines 309–10: *A virgin will conceive / and bear a son* (Isaiah 7:14)

[2] Lines 343–44: *No, he shall be brought down; / I shall kill him immediately*

345	War, I say, lett me pant.	*Beware*
	Now thynk I to fyght	
	For anger.	
	My guttys will outt thryng	*burst*
	Bot I this lad hyng.	*Unless; hang*
350	Withoutt I have a vengyng	*Unless; vengeance*
	I may lyf no langer.	
	Shuld a carll in a kafe	*churl; cave*
	Bot of oone yere age	
	Thus make me to rafe?	*rave*
COUNSELOR 1	Syr, peasse this outrage.	
356	Away let ye wafe	*put aside*
	All sich langage,	
	Youre worship to safe.	
	Is he oght bot a page	*child*
360	Of a yere?	
	We two shall hym teyn	*harm*
	With oure wyttys betweyn;	*combined*
	That if ye do as I meyn,	
	He shall dy on a spere.	*spear*
COUNSELOR 2	For drede that he reyn,	*reign*
366	Do as we red:	*say*
	Thrugoutt Bedlem	
	And ilk othere stede	*every other place*
	Make knyghtys ordeyn	*prepare*
370	And put unto dede	
	All knave chyldren	*male*
	Of two yerys brede	*age*
	And within;	
	This chyld may ye spyll	*kill*
375	Thus at youre awne will.	
HEROD	Now thou says heretyll	
	A right nobyll gyn.	*scheme*
	If I lyf in land	
	Good lyfe, as I hope,	
380	This dar I thee warand:	*warrant*
	To make thee a pope.	
	O, my hart is rysand	*rising*
	Now in a glope.	*palpitation*
	For this nobyll tythand	*information*
385	Thou shall have a drope	*small portion*
	Of my good grace:	
	Markys, rentys, and powndys,	*(see note)*
	Greatt castels and groundys	

Thrugh all sees and soundys, *seas; inlets (straits)*
390 I gyf thee the chace. *hunting rights*

Now wyll I procede
And take veniance. *vengeance*
All the flowre of knyghthede
Call to legeance, *allegiance*
395 Bewshere, I thee byd; *Fair sir*
It may thee avance. *advance*
MESSENGER Lord, I shall me spede
And bryng perchaunce *perhaps*
To thy syght.
[fol. 58r] Hark, knyghtys, I you bryng
401 Here new tythyng: *tidings*
Unto Herode kyng
Hast with all youre myght,

In all the hast that ye may,
405 In armowre full bright; *armor*
In youre best aray *array*
Looke that ye be dight. *equipped*
SOLDIER 1 Why shuld we fray? *fight*
SOLDIER 2 This is not all right.
SOLDIER 3 Syrs, withoutten delay
411 I drede that we fight.
MESSENGER I pray you,
As fast as ye may
414 Com to hym this day.
SOLDIER 1 What, in oure best aray?
MESSENGER Yei, syrs, I say you.

SOLDIER 2 Somwhat is in hand,
Whatever it meyn.
SOLDIER 3 Tarry not for to stand *Delay*
420 Ther or we have beyn. *before*
MESSENGER Kyng Herode, all-weldand, *almighty*
Well be ye seyn;
Youre knyghtys ar comand *coming*
In armoure full sheyn *bright*
425 At youre wyll.
SOLDIER 1 Hayll, dughtyest of all. *fearless*
We are comen at youre call
For to do what we shall,
Youre lust to fullfyll. *desire*

HEROD Welcom, lordyngys, iwys, *indeed*
431 Both greatt and small.

	The cause now is this	
	That I send for you all:	
	A lad, a knafe borne is	
435	That shuld be kyng ryall;	
	Bot I kyll hym and his	
	I wote I brast my gall.	*burst; gallbladder*
	Therfor, syrs,	
	Veniance shall ye take,	
440	All for that lad sake,	*lad's*
	And men I shall you make,	
	Where ye com aywhere, syrs.	*everywhere*
	To Bedlem loke ye go,	*look*
	And all the coste aboute.	*countryside*
445	All knave chyldren ye slo —	*slay*
	And lordys, ye shal be stoute —	*fierce*
	Of yeres if they be two	
	And within; of all that rowte	*crowd*
	On lyfe lyefe none of tho	*Alive leave; them*
450	That lygys in swedyll clowte,	*swaddling clothes*
	I red you.	
	Spare no kyns bloode;	
	Lett all ryn on floode.	*run in floods*
	If women wax woode,	*become mad*
455	I warn you, syrs, to spede you.	*hurry*
	Hens now, go youre way	
	That ye were thore.	*So that; there*
SOLDIER 2	I wote we make a fray,	
	Bot I wyll go before.	
SOLDIER 3	A, thynk syrs, I say:	
461	I mon whett lyke a bore.	*(see note)*
SOLDIER 1	Sett me before ay,	*Put me in front*
	Good enogh for a skore.	*score*
	Hayll, heyndly!	*graciously*
465	We shall for youre sake	
	Make a dulfull lake.	*dismal sport*
HEROD	Now if ye me well wrake,	*avenge*
	Ye shall fynd me freyndly.	
SOLDIER 2	Go ye now tyll oure noytt	*to our business*
470	And handyll thaym weyll.	
SOLDIER 3	I shall pay thaym on the cote	
	Begyn I to reyll.[1]	

[1] Lines 471–72: *I shall pay them on the coat (beat them) / once I begin to rampage*

SOLDIER 1 Hark, felose, ye dote. *fellows; speak foolishly;* ***[fol. 58v]***
Yonder commys unceyll *misfortune*
475 I hold here a grote *wager; a silver coin*
She lykys me not weyll
Be we parte. *By the time that*
Dame, thynk it not yll
Thy knafe if I kyll.
WOMAN 1 What, thefe, agans my wyll? *against*
481 Lord kepe hym in qwarte. *health*

SOLDIER 1 Abyde now, abyde.
No farther thou gose.
WOMAN 1 Peasse, thefe, shall I chyde
485 And make here a nose? *noise*
SOLDIER 1 I shall reyfe thee thy pryde. *rob you of*
Kyll we these boyse.
WOMAN 1 Tyd may betyde. *Come what may*
Kepe well thy nose, *Protect*
490 Fals thefe.
Have on loft on thy hode! *aloft; head*
SOLDIER 1 What, hoore, art thou woode? *whore; mad*
WOMAN 1 Outt, alas, my chyldys bloode!
Outt, for reprefe! *disgrace*

495 Alas, for shame and syn.
Alas, that I was borne.
Of wepyng who may blyn *end*
To se hir chylde forlorne?
My comforth and my kyn,
500 My son thus al to-torne. *slain*
Veniance for this syn *sin*
I cry both evyn and morne! *evening and morning*
SOLDIER 2 Well done.
Com hedyr, thou old stry; *hag*
505 That lad of thyne shall dy.
WOMAN 2 Mercy, lord, I cry.
It is myn awne dere son.

SOLDIER 2 No mercy thou mefe; *ask*
It mendys thee not, Mawd. *profits*
WOMAN 2 Then thi skalp shall I clefe! *cleave*
511 Lyst thou be clawd? *Would you like to be clawed*
Lefe, lefe now, bylefe! *Leave; at once*
SOLDIER 2 Peasse, byd I, bawd.
WOMAN 2 Fy, fy, for reprefe!
515 Fy, full of frawde, *fraud*
No man!

	Have at thy tabard,	*coat*
	Harlot and holard,	*Scoundrel; libertine*
	Thou shall not be sparde!	*spared*
520	I cry and I ban.	*moan*
	Outt! morder-man, I say,	*murderer*
	Strang tratoure and thefe!	*Flagrant traitor*
	Out, alas, and waloway!	
	My chyld that was me lefe,	*dear to me*
525	My luf, my blood, my play,	*love; joy*
	That never dyd man grefe!	*grief*
	Alas, alas, this day;	
	I wold my hart shuld clefe	*should break*
	In sonder.	*Asunder*
530	Veniance I cry and call	
	On Herode and his knyghtys all:	
	Veniance, Lord, apon thaym fall,	
	And mekyll warldys wonder!	*great; earthly*
SOLDIER 3	This is well wroght gere	*business*
535	That ever may be.	
	Comys hederward here,	*hitherward*
	Ye nede not to fle.	*flee*
WOMAN 3	Wyll ye do any dere	*harm*
	To my chyld and me?	
SOLDIER 3	He shall dy, I thee swere;	
541	His hart blood shall thou se.	*heart's*
WOMAN 3	God forbede.	
	Thefe, thou shedys my chyldys blood!	
	Out, I cry! I go nere wood	
545	Alas, my hart is all on flood	*overflowing*
	To se my chyld thus blede.	
[fol. 59r]	By God, thou shall aby	*pay for*
	This dede that thou has done.	
SOLDIER 3	I red thee not, stry,	*advise; hag*
550	By son and by moyn.	*sun; moon*
WOMAN 3	Have at thee, say I!	
	Take thee ther a foyn.	*thrust*
	Out on thee, I cry!	
	Have at thi groyn	*groin*
555	Anothere!	
	This kepe I in store.	
SOLDIER 3	Peasse now, no more!	
WOMAN 3	I cry and I rore!	*roar*
	Out on thee, mans mordere!	*murderer*

560 Alas, my bab, myn innocent, *babe*
My fleshly get! For sorow *offspring*
That God me derly sent,
Of bales who may me borow? *griefs; save*
Thy body is all to-rent. *torn apart*
565 I cry both even and morow *evening*
Veniance for thi blod thus spent:
Out, I cry, and horow! *shout*

SOLDIER 1 Go lightly. *nimbly*
Gett out of thise wonys *these places*
570 Ye trattys, all at onys, *hags*
Or by Cokys dere bonys *God's*
I make you go wyghtly. *quickly*

Thay ar flayd now, I wote; *frightened*
Thay will not abyde.

SOLDIER 2 Lett us ryn fote-hote — *run quickly*
576 Now wold I we hyde —
And tell of this lott
How we have betyde. *done*

SOLDIER 3 Thou can do thi note; *duty*
580 That have I aspyde. *observed*
Go furth now,
Tell thou Herode oure tayll.
For all oure avayll, *efforts*
I tell you, saunce fayll *without fail*
585 He wyll us alow. *praise*

SOLDIER 1 I am best of you all,
And ever has bene.
The devyll have my saull *soul*
Bot I be fyrst sene. *Unless; seen*
590 It syttys me to call *befits*
My lord, as I wene. *suppose*

SOLDIER 2 What nedys thee to brall? *brawl*
Be not so kene
In this anger.
595 I shall say thou dyd best,
Save myself as I gest. *thought*

SOLDIER 1 Wé, that is most honest.

SOLDIER 3 Go, tary no langer.

SOLDIER 1 Hayll, Herode oure kyng!
600 Full glad may ye be;
Good tythyng we bryng.
Harkyn now to me:
We have mayde rydyng

	Thrughoutt Juré;	*Jewry*
605	Well wyt ye oone thyng,	*know*
	That morderd have we	*murdered*
	Many thowsandys.	
SOLDIER 2	I held thaym full hote;	*violently*
	I payd them on the cote.	*beat their hides*
610	Thare dammys, I wote,	*mothers*
	Never byndys them in bandys.[1]	
SOLDIER 3	Had ye sene how I fard	*fared*
	When I cam emang them!	
	Ther was none that I spard,	*spared*
615	Bot lade on and dang them.	*attacked; beat*
[fol. 59v]	I am worthy a rewarde.	
	Where I was emang them,	
	I stud and I stard;	*stood; stared*
	No pyté to hang them	
620	Had I.	
HEROD	Now by myghty Mahowne	
	That is good of renowne,	
	If I bere this crowne,	
	Ye shall have a lady	
625	Ilkon to hym layd	*Each one; presented*
	And wed at his wyll.	
SOLDIER 1	So have ye lang sayde;	
	Do somwhat thertyll.	
SOLDIER 2	And I was never flayde,	*frightened*
630	For good ne for yll.	*nor*
SOLDIER 3	Ye myght hold you well payde	*pleased*
	Oure lust to fulfyll,	*desire*
	Thus thynk me,	
	With tresure untold,	
635	If it lyke that ye wold	
	Both sylver and gold	
	To gyf us greatt plenté.	
HEROD	As I am kyng crownde,	
	I thynk it good right;	
640	Ther goys none on grownde	*ground*
	That has sich a wyght.	*creature*
	A hundreth thowsand pownde	
	Is good wage for a knyght;	
	Of pennys good and rownde	*pennies*

[1] Lines 610–11: *Their mothers, I know, / will never [again] bind them in swaddling cloths*

645	Now may ye go light	*quickly*
	With store.	*abundance*
	And ye knyghtys of oures	
	Shall have castels and towres,	
	Both to you and to youres,	
650	For now and evermore.	
SOLDIER 1	Was never none borne,	
	By downes ne by dalys,	*hills; valleys*
	Nor yit us beforne	
	That had sich avalys.	*profits*
SOLDIER 2	We have castels and corne;	*grain*
656	Mych gold in oure malys.	*wallets*
SOLDIER 3	It wyll never be worne,	*wasted*
	Withoutt any talys.	*Truly*
	Hayll, heyndly!	*graciously*
660	Hayll, lord! Hayll, kyng!	
	We ar furth foundyng.	*hurrying forth*
HEROD	Now Mahowne he you bryng	
	Where he is lord freyndly!	
	Now in peasse may I stand.	
665	I thank thee, Mahowne,	
	And gyf of my lande	
	That longys to my crowne.	
	Draw therfor nerehande,	
	Both of burgh and of towne:	
670	Markys ilkon a thowsande	*A thousand marks each*
	When I am bowne	*ready*
	Shall ye have;	
	I shal be full fayn	*glad*
	To gyf that I sayn.	*what I say*
675	Wate when I com agayn	*Wait [until]*
	And then may ye crave.	*demand [it]*
	I sett by no good,	*deem it unimportant*
	Now my hart is at easse,	
	That I shed so mekyll blode.	*much*
680	Pes, all my ryches.	*kingdoms*
	For to se this flode	
	From the fote to the nese	*nose*
	Mefys nothyng my mode;	*Moves*
	I lagh that I whese.	*laugh so hard that I wheeze*
685	A, Mahowne,	
	So light is my saull	
	That all of sugar is my gall.	

I may do what I shall — *I do what I must*
And bere up my crowne.

[fol. 60r] I was castyn in care, — *cast*
691 So frightly afrayd,
Bot I thar not dyspare, — *need not despair*
For low is he layd
That I most dred are; — *feared before*
695 So have I hym flayd. — *tortured*
And els wonder ware,
And so many strayd — *strewn*
In the strete,
That oone shuld be harmeles
700 And skape away hafles — *escape; unhurt*
Whereso many chyldes — *children*
Thare balys cannot bete. — *suffering; relieve*

A hundreth thowsand, I watt, — *think*
And fourty ar slayn,
705 And four thowsand. Therat
Me aght to be fayn, — *I ought; glad*
Sich a morder on a flat — *field*
Shall never be agayn.
Had I had bot oone bat — *blow*
710 At that lurdan — *lout*
So yong,
It shuld have bene spokyn
How I had me wrokyn, — *avenged myself*
Were I dede and rotyn, — *rotten*
715 With many a tong.

Thus shall I tech knavys
Ensampyll to take, — *Example*
In thare wyttys that ravys — *rave*
Sich mastré to make.
720 All wantones wafys; — *wantonness put aside*
No langage ye crak. — *Do not speak loudly (boastfully)*
No sufferan you savys; — *saves*
Youre nekkys shall I shak — *shake*
In sonder. — *Asunder*
725 No kyng ye on call
Bot on Herode the ryall,
Or els many oone shall
Apon youre bodys wonder.

For if I here it spokyn — *hear*
730 When I com agayn,

Youre branys bese brokyn; *brains*
Therfor be ye bayn. *ready*
Nothyng bese unlokyn; *explained*
It shal be so playn.
735 Begyn I to rokyn, *(see note)*
I thynk all dysdayn *disdain*
For-daunche. *Overly fastidious*
Syrs, this is my counsell:
Bese not to cruell. *Be*
740 Bot adew, to the devyll! *adieu (goodbye)*
I can no more Fraunch. *I can speak no more French*

Explicit Magnus Herodes.[1]

13. THE PURIFICATION OF MARY

Simeon
Angel 1
Angel 2
Joseph
Mary

[fol. 60v] *Incipit purificacio Marie.*[2]

SIMEON Mightfull God, thou us glad, *make glad*
That heven and erthe and all has mayde;
Bryng us to blys that never shall fade,
As thou well may,
5 And thynk on me that is unweld. *feeble*
Lo, so I hobyll all on held *hobble; bent over*
That unethes may I walk for eld; *hardly; age*
Now help, Lord Adonay.

Bot yit I mervell, both evyn and morne,
10 Of old elders that were beforne,
Wheder thay be safe or lorne *lost*
Where thay may be: *Wherever*
Abell, Noye, and Abraham,
David, Daniell, and Balaam,
15 And all othere mo by name *more*
Of sere degré. *various*

[1] *Here ends Herod the Great*

[2] *Here begins the purification of Mary*

I thank thee, lord, with good intent
Of all thy sond thou has me sent, *gifts*
That thus long tyme my lyfe has lent, *continued*
20 Now many a yere;
For all ar past now, oonly bot I. *deceased*
I thank thee, Lord God almyghty,
For so old know I none, sothly,
Now lyfyng here. *living*

25 For I am old Symeon:
So old on lyfe know I none
That is mayde on flesh and bone
In all medyll erd. *middle-earth*
No wonder if I go on held: *bent over*
30 The fevyrs, the flyx make me unweld; *fevers; dysentery; feeble*
Myn armes, my lymmes ar stark for eld, *limbs; stiff*
And all gray is my berd. *beard*

Myn ees ar woren, both marke and blynd. *eyes; worn; dim*
Myn and is short; I want wynd. *breath; lack breath*
35 Thus has age dystroed my kynd *destroyed; nature*
And reft myghtys all. *taken*
That shortly mon I weynd away; *must*
What tyme ne when I can not say, *nor*
For it is gone full many a day
40 Syn dede began to call. *Since death*

[fol. 61r] Ther is no warke that I may wyrk, *work; do*
Bot oneths crall I to the kyrk; *crawl with difficulty; church*
Be I com home, I am so irk *weary*
That farther may I noght, *That I may not go further*
45 Bot settys me downe and grankys and gronys *groan; groan*
And lygys and restys my wery bonys, *lie*
And all nyght after grankys and goonys, *yawn*
On slepe tyll I be broght.

Bot nevertheles, the sothe to say, *truly*
50 If I may nather by nyght ne day *neither; nor*
For age nather styr ne play, *stir*
Nor make no chere,
Yit if I be never so old,
I myn full well that prophetys told, *remember; that which*
55 That now ar dede and layde full cold,
Sythen gone many a yere. *Since*

Thay sayde that God, full of myght,
Shuld send his Son from heven bright

In a madyn for to light,
60 Commen of David kyn,
Flesh and bloode on hyr to take
And becom man for oure sake,
Oure redempcyon for to make, *redemption*
That slayn were thrugh syn. *sin*

65 Bot Lord that us thy grace has hight, *promised*
Send me thy sond both day and nyght, *gifts*
And graunt me grace of lyfys light, *life's*
And let me never de *die*
To thou sich grace to me send *Until; such*
70 That I may handyll hym in my hend *hands*
That shall com oure mys to amend, *sin*
And se hym with myn ee. *eye*

ANGEL 1 Thou, Symeon, drede thee noght. *fear*
My Lord that thou has long besoght, *sought*
75 For thou has rightwys beyn, *righteous*
Thyn askyng has he grauntyd thee,
Withouten dede on lyfe to be
To thou thy Cryst have seyn. *Until*

ANGEL 2 Than, Symeon, harkyn a space;
80 I bryng thee tythyngys of solace.
Forthy ryse up and gang *Therefore; go*
To the temple; thou shall fynd thore *there*
Godys Son thee before
That thou has yernyd lang. *long yearned for*

SIMEON Lovyd be my Lord in wyll and thoght *Beloved*
86 That his servant forgettys noght,
When that he seys tyme.
Well is me that I shall dre *endure*
Tyll I have sene hym with myn ee
90 And no longer hyne. *hereafter; (see note)*

[fol. 61v] Lovyd be my Lord in heven
That thus has by his angell steven *angel's voice*
Warnyd me of his commyng.
Therfor will I with intent
95 Putt on me my vestment,
In worship of that kyng.

He shal be welcom unto me.
That Lord shall make us all fre,
Kyng of all mankyn,

100 For with his blood he shall us boroo, *save*
Both fro catyfdam and from soroo, *captivity; sorrow*
That was slayn thrugh syn.

Tunc pulsabunt.[1]

A, dere God, what may this be?
Oure bellys ryng so solemply *solemnly*
105 For whomsoever it is.
Now certys, I can not understand,
Bot if my Lord God all-weldand *Unless; almighty*
Be commen, that all shall wyse. *guide*

This noyse lyghtyns full well myn hart. *sound cheers*
110 Shall I never rest, and I have quart, *health*
Or I com ther onone. *immediately*
Now well were I and it so were,
For sich noyse hard I never ere. *heard; before*
Oure bellys ryng by thare oone! *on their own*

JOSEPH Mary, it begynnys to pas
116 Fourty dayes syn that thou was
Delyverd of thy son;
To the temple I red we draw *say; go*
To clens thee and fulfyll the law,
120 As oure elders were won. *accustomed to do*

Therfor, Mary, madyn heynd, *gracious*
Take thi chyld and let us weynd
The tempyll untyll,
And we shall with us bryng
125 Thise turtyls two to oure offryng; *turtledoves*
The law we will fulfyll.

MARY Joseph, that wyll I full well,
That the law every deyll *every part*
Be fulfyllyd in me.
130 Lord, that all myghtys may, *is almighty*
Gyf us grace to do this day
That it be pleassyng to thee.

Angeli cantant "Simeon iustus et timoratus."[2]

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[1] *Then [bells] shall ring*

[2] *The angels sing "Simeon, just and devout"* (see note)

ANGEL 1 Thou, Symeon, rightwys and trew, *righteous*
Thou has desyred both old and new
135 To have a sight of Cryst Jesu
As prophecy has told.
Oft has thou prayd to have a sight
Of hym that in a madyn light.
Here is that chyld of mekyll myght; *much power*
140 Now has thou that thou wold. *desired*

ANGEL 2 Thou has desyryd it most of all

[…]

14. THE DOCTORS

Teacher 1
Teacher 2
Teacher 3
Jesus
Mary
Joseph

[fol. 62r] […]

TEACHER 2 That a madyn a barn shuld bere, *child*
And his name thus can thay tell:
Fro the tyme that he born were *from*
He shal be callyd Emanuell.

5 Counselloure, and God of strengthe,
And Wonderfull also
Shall he be callyd, of brede and lenghthe *breadth*
As far as any man may go.

TEACHER 3 Masters, youre resons ar right good,
10 And wonderfull to neven. *mention*
Yit fynde I more by Abacuk. *Habakkuk*
Syrs, lysten a whyle unto my steven. *voice*

Oure bayll, he says, shall turn to boytt *misery; good*
Herafterward som day;
15 A wande shall spryng fro Jesse roytt, *branch; Jesse's root*
The certan sothe thus can he say, *truth*

And of that wande shall spryng a floure
That shall spryng up full hight;

	Therof shall com full swete odowre,	*odor*
20	And therapon shall rest and lyght	*on it*
	The Holy Gost, full mych of myght;	*much*
	The goost of wysdom and of wyt	*spirit*
	Shall beyld his nest with mekyll right	*build; much*
	And in it brede and sytt.	*brood*
TEACHER 1	Bot when trow ye this prophecy	
26	Shal be fulfyllyd in dede,	
	That here is told so openly,	
	As we in scrypture rede?	
TEACHER 2	A greatt mervell, forsothe it is,	
30	To us to here of sich mastry:	
	A madyn to bere a chyld, iwys,	*indeed*
	Without mans seyde, that were ferly.	*seed; wondrous*
TEACHER 3	The Holy Gost shall in hyr lyght	
	And kepe hir madynhede full clene;	
35	Whoso may byde to se that sight,	*abide*
	Thay ther not drede, I wene.	*suppose*
TEACHER 1	Of all thise prophetys wyse of lore	*learning*
	That knew the prophecy more and les	
	Was none that told the tyme before,	
40	When he shuld com to by us peasse.	
TEACHER 2	Wheder he be commen or not	
	No knowlege have we in certayn,	
	Bot he shall com, that dowt we not;	*doubt*
	Fele prophetys have prechyd it full playn.	*Faithful; clearly*
TEACHER 3	Mekyll I thynk that thise prophetys	*Greatly*
46	Ar holden to God that is on hight,	*obliged; high*
	That have knowyng of his behetys,	*commandments*
	And for to tell of his mekyll myght.	
	Tunc venit Jesus.[1]	
JESUS	Masters, luf be with you lent,	*may love remain*
50	And mensk be unto this meneye.	*honor; company*
TEACHER 1	Son, hens away I wold thou went,	*hence*
	For othere haft in hand have we.	*business*

[1] *Then Jesus comes*

	Son, whosoever thee hyder sent,	*here*
	Thay were not wyse, thus tell I thee,	
55	For we have othere tayllys to tent	*attend to*
	Then now with barnes bowrdand to be.	*Than; children jesting*
TEACHER 3	Son, if thou lyst oght lere	*desire at all to learn;* ***[fol. 62v]***
	To lyf by Moyses lay,	*live; law*
	Com heder, and thou shall here	*here; hear*
60	The sawes that we wyll say.	*wise words*
	For in som mynde it may thee bryng	*(see note)*
	To here oure sawes red by rawes.	*hear; read in order*
JESUS	To lere of you nedys me no thyng,	*learn from*
	For I knaw both youre dedys and sawes.	*know; deeds and words*
TEACHER 1	Hark, yonder barn with his bowrdyng!	*listen; foolishness*
66	He wenys he kens more then he knawys.	*thinks; understands; knows*
	Nay, certys, son, thou art over-ying	*too young*
	By clergy yit to know oure laws.	*learning*
JESUS	I wote as well as ye	
70	How that youre lawes was wroght.	
TEACHER 2	Com sytt; soyn shall we se	*soon*
	For certys so semys it noght.	
TEACHER 3	It were wonder if any wyght	*anyone*
	Untill oure resons right shuld reche,	*reach; (see note)*
75	And thou says thou has insight	
	Oure lawes truly to tell and teche.	
JESUS	The Holy Gost has on me lyght,	
	And anoynt me lyke a leche,	*anointed; physician*
	And gyffen to me powere and myght	
80	The kyngdom of heven to preche.	
TEACHER 2	Whensever this barne may be	*Wherever from*
	That shewys thise novels new?	*tidings*
JESUS	Certan, syrs, I was or ye,	*before*
	And shall be after you.	
TEACHER 1	Son, of thi sawes, as we have ceyll,	*words; hope for happiness*
86	And of thi wytt is wonder thyng,	
	Bot nevertheles fully I feyll	*feel*
	That it may fayll in wyrkyng;	*fail*
	For David demys ever ilk deyll	*judges every way*
90	And thus he says of chylder ying:	*young children*
	Ex ore infancium et lactencium perfecisti laudem[1]	
	Of thare mowthes, sayth David wele,	*mouths; well*
	Oure Lord he has perfourmed loving.	

[1] *Out of the mouths of infants and suckling babes you have perfected praise* (Psalm 8:3)

	Nevertheles, son, yit shuld thou lett	*cease*
	Her for to speke in large,	*Here; copiously*
95	For where masters ar mett	*meet*
	Chylder wordys ar not to charge.	*Children's; do not matter*
	For certys, if thou wold never so fayn	*were; glad*
	Gyf all thi lyst to lere the law,	*desire*
	Thou art nawther of myght ne mayn	*neither might nor strength*
100	To know it as a clerk may knaw.	
JESUS	Syrs, I say you in certan	
	That sothfast shall be all my saw,	*truthful; words*
	And powere have I plener and playn	*fuller and complete*
	To say and answere as me aw.	*as I ought*
TEACHER 1	Masters, what may this mene?	***[fol. 63r]***
106	Mervell, me thynk, have I	
	Whereever this barne has bene	
	That carpys thus conandly.	*talks; cunningly*
TEACHER 2	In warld as wyde as we have went	
110	Fand we never sich ferly fare.	*Found; wondrous*
	Certys, I trow the barn be sent	
	Sufferanly to salfe oure sare.	*Divinely to heal our suffering*
JESUS	Syrs, I shall preve in youre present	*prove*
	All the sawes that I sayde are.	*before*
TEACHER 3	Which callys thou the fyrst commaundement,	
116	And the most in Moyses lare?	*teaching*
JESUS	Syrs, synthen ye syt on raw	*since; in company*
	And hafe youre bookys on brede,	*spread out*
	Let se, syrs, in youre saw	*words*
120	How right that ye can rede.	*correctly; interpret*
TEACHER 1	I rede that this is the fyrst bydyng	
	That Moyses told us hereuntyll:	*concerning this matter*
	Honoure thi God over ilka thyng,	*every*
	With all thi wyt and all thi wyll,	
125	And all thi hart in hym shall hyng,	*hang*
	Erly and late, both lowde and styll.	*loud*
JESUS	Ye nede none othere bookys to bryng,	*(see note)*
	Bot fownd this to fulfyll.	*attempt*
	The seconde may men profe,	*prove*
130	And clerly knaw therby:	
	Youre neyghburs shall ye lofe	*love*
	Right as yourself, truly.	
	Thus commaunded Moyses tyll all men	*to*
	In his commaundes clere.	
135	In thise two bydyngys, shall ye ken,	*know*

Hyngys all the law we aght to lere. *Hangs; ought to learn*
Whoso fulfylles thise two then
With mayn and mode and good manere, *Fervently and well*
He fulfyllys truly all ten
140 That after thaym folows in fere; *together*
Then shuld we God honowre
With all oure myght and mayn,
And luf well ilk neghboure
Right as oureself, certayn.

TEACHER 1 Now, son, synthen thou has told us two, *since*
146 Which ar the aght, can thou oght say? *eight; anything*
JESUS The thyrd bydys whereso ye go
That ye shall halow the holy day. *worship*

[fol. 63v] From bodely wark ye take youre rest; *physical work*
150 Youre household looke the same thay do,
Both wyfe, chyld, servande, and beest.
The fourt is then, in weyll and wo, *good fortune; woe*

Thi fader, thi moder, thou shall honowre,
Not only with thi reverence,
155 Bot in thare nede thou thaym socoure, *their; comfort*
And kepe ay good obedyence.

The fyft bydys thee no man slo, *slay*
Ne harme hym never in word ne dede, *nor*
Ne suffre hym not to be in wo
160 If thou may help hym in his nede.

The sext bydys thee thi wyfe to take,
Bot none othere lawfully;
Lust of lechery thou fle and fast forsake,
And drede ay God whereso thou be. *always fear*

165 The seven bydys thee be no thefe feyr, *thief's accomplice*
Ne nothyng wyn with trechory; *treachery*
Oker ne symony thou com not nere, *Usury; simony*
Bot conscyence clere ay kepe truly. *always*

The aght byddys thee be true in dede,
170 And fals wytnes looke thou none bere;
Looke thou not ly for freynd ne fede, *lie; friend nor foe*
Lest to thi saull that it do dere. *soul; harm*

The neyn byddys thee not desyre
Thi neghburs wyfe ne his women,

175	Bot as holy kyrk wold it were,	*church*
	Right so thi purpose sett it in.	
	The ten byddys thee for nothyng	
	Thi neghburs goodys yerne wrongwysly,	*yearn for wrongfully*
	His house, his rent, ne his hafyng,	*belongings*
180	And Crysten fayth trow stedfastly.	*Christian faith hold steadfastly*
	Thus in tabyls shall ye ken	*tablets*
	Oure Lord to Moyses wrate;	*wrote*
	Thise ar the commaundementys ten,	
	Whoso will lely layt.	*Whoever; honestly seek*
TEACHER 2	Behald, how he lege oure lawes	*cites*
186	And leryd never on booke to rede.	*learned; read*
	Full sotell sawes me thynk he says,	*subtle*
	And also true if we take hede.	
TEACHER 3	Yei, lett hym furth on his wayes,	*go forth*
190	For if he dwell, withoutten drede,	*remain; doubtless*
	The pepyll will ful soyn hym prayse	*people; soon*
	Well more then us, for all oure dede.	*deeds*
TEACHER 1	Nay, nay, then wyrk we wrang;	*wrongfully*
	Sich spekyng will we spare.	*avoid*
195	As he cam, let hym gang,	*go*
	And mefe us not no mare.	*move*
	Tunc venient Ioseph et Maria et dicet Maria,[1]	
MARY	A, dere Joseph, what is youre red?	*advice*
	Of oure greatt bayll no boytt may be;	*misery; relieve*
	My hart is hevy as any lede,	*lead*
200	My semely son to I hym se.	*fair; until; see*
	Now have we soght in every sted	*place*
	Both up and downe thise dayes thre,	
	And wheder he be whik or dede	*alive or dead*
	Yit wote we not, so wo is me.	*know*
JOSEPH	Sorow had never man mare.	*more*
206	Bot mowrnyng, Mary, may not amend.	*mourning*
	Farther do I red we fare	*advise*
	To God som socoure send.	*Until*
[fol. 64r]	Abowtt the tempyll if he be oght,	*About; at all*
210	That wold I that we wyst this nyght.	*knew*
MARY	A, certys, I se that we have soght!	*that which we have sought*

[1] *Then come Joseph and Mary, and Mary says*

In warld was never so semely a sight. *fair*
Lo, where he syttys. Se ye hym noght *sits*
Amangys yond masters mekyll of myght?
JOSEPH Blyssyd be he us heder broght;
216 In land now lyfys there none so light. *lives; carefree*

MARY Now, dere Joseph, as have ye seyll, *happiness*
Go furth and fetche youre son and myne;
This day is goyn nere ilka deyll, *is nearly over*
220 And we have nede for to go hien. *hence*
JOSEPH With men of myght can I not mell, *speak*
Then all my travell mon I tyne; *work must I waste*
I can not with thaym, that wote ye well;
Thay are so gay in furrys fyne. *furs*

MARY To thaym youre erand forto say, *therefore*
226 Surely that thar ye drede no deyll. *you need not fear at all*
Thay will take hede to you alway
Because of eld, this wote I weyll. *age; know*
JOSEPH When I com ther, what shall I say?
230 For I wote not, as have I ceyll, *as I hope for happiness*
Bot thou will have me shamyd for ay, *all*
For I can nawthere crowke ne knele. *neither; bow*

MARY Go we togeder, I hold it best,
Unto yond worthy wyghtys in wede, *[fine] garments*
235 And if I se, as have I rest,
That ye will not, then must I nede.
JOSEPH Go thou, and tell thi tayll fyrst;
Thi son to thee will take good hede.
Weynd furth, Mary, and do thi best;
240 I com behynd, as God me spede. *assists*
MARY A, dere son, Jesus!
Sythen we luf thee alone, *Since; love*
Whi dos thou tyll us thus, *Why do you do this to us*
And gars us make this mone? *cause*

245 Thi fader and I, betwix us two,
Son, for thi luf has lykyd yll; *have worried*
[fol. 64v] We have thee soght both to and fro,
Wepeand sore as wyghtis wyll. *Weeping; creatures*
JESUS Wherto shuld ye, moder, seke me so? *Why*
250 Oft-tymes it has bene told ye tyll: *Often*
My Fader warkys, for wele or wo, *my [heavenly] father's works*
Thus am I sent for to fulfyll.
MARY Thise sawes, as have I ceyll, *words, as I hope for happiness*
I can not understonde.

255 I shall thynk on them weyll,
To fownd what is folowand. *find what [conclusions] follow*

JOSEPH Now sothly, son, the sight of thee
Has comforthed us of all oure care.
Com furth now with thi moder and me;
260 At Nazareth I wold we ware. *were*
JESUS Beleyf then, ye lordyngys fre, *Stay*
For with my freyndys now wyll I fare.
TEACHER 1 Son, whereso thou shall abyde or be,
God make thee good man evermare.
TEACHER 2 No wonder if thou, wife,
266 Of his fyndyng be fayn; *glad*
He shall, if he have lyfe,
Prefe to a full good swayn. *Prove; youth*

TEACHER 3 Son, looke thou layn, for good or yll, *be silent*
270 The noyttys that we have nevened now, *matters; discussed*
And if thou lyke to abyde here styll
And with us won, welcom art thou. *live*
JESUS Gramercy, syrs, of youre good wyll. *Thank you*
No longer lyst I byde with you; *choose; [to] remain*
275 My freyndys thoght I shall fulfyll
And to thare bydyng baynly bow. *readily*
MARY Full well is me this tyde;
Now may we make good chere.
JOSEPH No longer wyll we byde.
280 Farewell, all folk in fere. *together*

Explicit pagina doctorum.[1]

[1] *Here ends the pageant of the doctors*

15. JOHN THE BAPTIST

John, the Baptist
Angel 1
Angel 2
Jesus

Incipit Johannes baptista.[1]

JOHN God that mayde both more and les,
Heven and erth at his awne wyll, *own*
And merkyd man to his lyknes *formed*
As thyng that wold his lyst fulfyll, *pleasure*
5 Apon the erth he send lightnes, *light*
Both son and moyne lymett thertyll, *directed*
[fol. 65r] He save you all from synfulnes
And kepe you clene both lowd and styll.

Emang prophetys then am I oone *Among*
10 That God has send to teche his law
And man to amend, that wrang has gone,
Both with exampyll and with saw. *words*
My name, forsothe, is Baptyst John. *truly*
My fader Zacary ye knaw, *Zacharias; know*
15 That was dombe and mayde great mone *dumb; lament*
Before my byrth, and stode in awe.

Elezabeth my moder was,
Awntt unto Mary, madyn mylde, *Aunt; (see note)*
And as the son shynys thorow the glas, *shines through glass*
20 Certys in hir wombe so dyd hir chyld.
Yit the Jues inqueryd me has *Jews inquired of*
If I be Cryst; thay ar begyld. *misled*
For Jesus shal amend mans trespas
That with freylté of fylthe is fylyd. *frailty; defiled*

25 I am send bot messyngere *only as*
From hym that alkyn mys may mend. *(see note)*
I go before, bodword to bere, *message*
And as forgangere am I send *forerunner*
His wayes to wyse, his lawes to lere. *guide; teach*
30 Both man and wyfe that has offende *offended*
Full mekyll barett mon he bere *much anguish must*
Or tyme he have broght all tyll ende. *Before*

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[1] *Here begins John the Baptist*

	Thise Jues shall hyng hym on a roode —	*hang; cross*
	Mans saull to hym it is so leyfe —	*soul; dear*
35	And therapon shall shede his bloode	*shed*
	As he were tratoure or a thefe,	*As if*
	Not for his gylt, bot for oure goode,	*guilt*
	Because that we ar in myschefe.	
	Thus shall he dy, that frely foode,	*noble child*
40	And ryse agane tyll oure relefe.	*relief*
	In water clere then baptyse I	
	The pepyll that ar in this coste,	*people; countryside*
	Bot he shall do more myghtely	
	And baptyse in the Holy Goost,	
45	And with the bloode of his body	
	Wesh oure synnes, both leste and moost;	*Wash*
	Therfor, me thynk, both ye and I	
	Agans the feynde ar well endoost.	*fiend (devil); defended*
	I am not worthy for to lawse	*loosen*
50	The leste thwong that longys to his shoyne,	*lace; belongs; shoes*
	Bot God almyghty that all knawes	
	In erth thi will it must be done.	
	I thank thee, Lord, that thi sede sawes	*seed sows*
	Emong mankynde to groyf so sone,	*grow*
55	And every day that on erth dawes	*dawns*
	Feydys us with foode, both even and none.	*Feeds; evening and noon*
	We ar, Lord, bondon unto thee	*bound*
	To luf thee here both day and nyght,	*love*
	For thou has send thi Son so fre	
60	To save mans saull that dede was dight	*[to] death was condemned*
	Thrugh Adam syn and Eve foly	
	That synnyd thrugh the feyndys myght,	*devil's*
	Bot Lord, on man thou has pyté,	
	And beyld thi barnes in heven so bright.	*shelter your children*
ANGEL 1	Harkyn to me, thou John Baptyst.	*Listen*
66	The Fader of heven he gretys thee weyll,	*Father; greets*
	For he has fon thee true and tryst,	*found; faithful*
	And dos thi dever every deyll.	*duty*
	Wyt thou well his will thus ist,	*is*
70	Syn thou art stabyll as any steyll,	*steel*
	That thou shall baptyse Jesu Cryst	
	In flume Jordan, mans care to keyll.	*river; relieve*

JOHN A, dere God, what may this be? *[fol. 65v]*
I hard a steven, bot noght I saw. *heard a voice*
ANGEL 1 John, it is I that spake to thee;
76 To do this dede have thou none aw. *awe*
JOHN Shuld I abyde to he com to me? *until*
That that shall never be, I traw, *trust*
I shall go meyt that Lord so fre, *meet*
80 As far as I may se or knaw.

ANGEL 2 Nay, John, that is not well syttand; *fitting*
His Fader will thou must nedys wyrk. *Father's will; do*
ANGEL 1 John, be thou here abydand, *wait here*
Bot when he commys be then not yrk. *troubled*
JOHN By this I may well understand
86 That childer shuld be broght to kyrk *children; church*
For to be baptysyd in every land;
To me this law yit is it myrk. *obscure*

ANGEL 2 John, this place it is pleassyng,
90 And it is callyd flume Jordan. *river*
Here is no kyrk, ne no bygyng, *building*
Bot where the fader wyll ordan, *ordain*
It is Godys wyll and his bydyng.
JOHN By this, forsothe, well thynk me than
95 His warke to be at his lykyng,
And ilk folk pleasse hym that thay can. *each*

Sen I must nedys his lyst fulfyll, *Since; desire*
He shall be welcom unto me;
I yeld me holy to his will *yield; wholly*
100 Wheresoever I abyde or be.
I am his servande, lowd and styll,
And messyngere unto that fre; *noble one*
Whethere that he will save or spyll, *destroy*
I shall not gruch in no degré. *grudge*

JESUS John, Godys servand and prophete:
106 My fader that is unto thee dere
Has send me to thee, well thou wytt, *know*
To be baptysyd in water clere;
For reprefe unto mans rytt, *reproof; custom*
110 The law I will fulfyll right here.
My Fader ordynance thus is it, *Father's ordinance*
And thus my will is that it were.

I com to thee baptym to take, *baptism*
To whome my fader has me sent,

115 With oyle and creme that thou shal make *oil and chrism*
Unto that worthi sacrament;
And therfor, John, it not forsake
Bot com to me in this present,
For now will I no farther rake *proceed*
120 Or I have done his commaundement. *Before*

JOHN A, Lord, I love thee for thi commyng.
I am redy to do his will
In word, in wark, in alkyn thyng, *everything*
Whatsoever he sendys me tyll.
125 This bewteose Lord to me to bryng, *beauteous*
His awne servande, this is no skyll. *own; not right*
A knyght to baptyse his lord kyng,
My pausté may it not fulfyll. *power*

And if I were worthy
130 For to fulfyll this sacrament,
I have no connyng, securly, *knowledge, truly*
To do it after thyn intent.
And therfor, Lord, I ask mercy:
Hald me excusyd as I have ment.
135 I dar not towche thi blyssyd body; *touch; blessed*
My hart will never to it assent.

JESUS Of thi connyng, John, drede thee noght; ***[fol. 66r]***
My Fader hisself he will thee teche. *himself*
He that all this warld has wroght
140 He send thee playnly for to preche.
He knawys mans hart, his dede, his thoght; *deed*
He wotys how far mans myght may reche. *knows*
Therfor hedir have I soght; *here*
My Fader lyst may none appeche. *desires; hinder*

145 Behold, he sendys his angels two
In tokyn I am both God and man;
Thou gyf me baptym or I go, *give; before*
And dyp me in this flume Jordan.
Sen he will thus, I wold wytt who *Since*
150 Durst hym agan stand? John, com on than *Dares; stand against*
And baptyse me, for freynde or fo,
And do it, John, right as thou can.

ANGEL 1 John, be thou buxom and right bayn *obedient; ready*
And be not gruchand in no thyng. *reluctant*
155 Me thynk thou aght to be ful fayn *ought; glad*
For to fulfyll my Lordys bydyng,

Erly and late, with moyde and mayn. *fervently*
Therfor to thee this word I bryng:
My Lord has gyffen thee powere playn, *given*
160 And drede thee noght of thi conyng. *knowledge*

ANGEL 2 He sendys thee here his awne dere chylde;
Thou welcom hym and make hym chere. *welcome*
Born of a madyn meke and mylde,
That frely foode is made thi fere. *noble child; companion*
165 With syn his moder was never fylde; *defiled*
Ther was never man neghyd hyr nere. *approached*
In word ne wark she was never wylde;
Therfor hir Son thou baptyse here.

ANGEL 1 And securly I will thou knaw *tell*
170 Whi that he commys thus unto thee:
He commys to fulfyll the law
As pereles prynce most of pausté; *peerless; power*
And therfor, John, do as thou awe *ought*
And gruch thou never in this degré *grudge*
175 To baptyse hym that thou here saw,
For wyt thou well this same is he.

JOHN I am not worthy to do this dede;
Nevertheles I will be Godys servande.
Bot yit, dere Lord, sen I must nede, *since*
180 I will do as thou has commaunde.
I tremyll and I whake for drede; *tremble; quake; dread*
I dar not towche thee with my hande. *touch*
Bot certys, I will not lose my mede. *reward*
Abyde, my Lord, and by me stande.

185 I baptyse thee, Jesu, in hy, *haste*
In the name of thi Fader fre,
In nomine patris et filii,
Sen he will that it so be,
Et spiritus altissimi,[1]
190 And of the Holy Goost on he, *high*
I aske thee, Lord, of thi mercy,
Hereafter that thou wold blys me. *bless*

Here I thee anoynt also
With oyle and creme in this intent,
195 That men may wit whereso thay go, *know*

[1] Lines 187, 189: *In the name of the Father and the Son / And the most high Spirit*

This is a worthy sacrament.
Ther ar sex othere and no mo *(see note)*
The which thiself to erthe has sent,
And in true tokyn oone of tho,
200 The fyrst, on thee now is it spent.

Thou wysh me, Lord, if I do wrang; *direct*
My will it were for to do weyll.
I am ful ferd yit ay emang; *afraid continuously*
[fol. 66v] If I dyd right I shuld done knele. *kneel down*
205 Thou blys me, Lord, hence or thou gang, *before you leave*
So that I may thi frenship fele.
I have desyryd this sight ful lang;
For to dy now rek I no dele. *I care not at all*

JESUS This beest, John, thou bere with thee; *beast*
210 It is a beest full blyst.

Hic tradat ei agnum dei.[1]

John, it is the lamb of me,
Beest none othere ist. *is*
It may were thee from adversyté, *protect*
And so looke that thou tryst; *trust*
215 By this beest knowen shall thou be
That thou art John Baptyst.

JOHN For I have sene the lamb of God
Which weshys away syn of this warld, *washes*
And towchid hym, for even or od. *touched*
220 My hart therto was ay ful hard. *until now; always*
For that it shuld be better trowed, *believed*
An angell had me nerehand mard, *nearly harmed*
Bot he that rewlys all with his rod, *rules*
He blys me when I draw homward.

JESUS I graunt thee, John, for thi travale, *labor*
226 Ay lastand joy in blys to byde, *Everlasting; live*
And to all those that trowys this tayll, *believe*
And saw me not yit gloryfyde,
I shal be boytt of all thare bayll *remedy; misery*
230 And send them socoure on every syde. *comfort*
My fader and I may thaym avayll,
Man or woman that leyffys thare pryde. *leave their pride*

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[1] *Here he delivers to him the Lamb of God*

Bot John, weynd thou furth and preche
Agans the folk that doth amys, *do amiss*
And to the pepyll the trowthe thou teche.
To rightwys way look thou tham avys, *righteous; advise*
And as far as thi wyt may reche
Byd thaym be bowne to byde my blys, *ready*
For at the day of dome I shall thaym peche *judgment day; impeach*
That herys not thee, nor trowys not this. *hear; believe*

Byd thaym leyfe syn, for I it hate;
For it I mon dy on a tre, *must*
By prophecy full well I wate. *know*
My moder, certys, that sight mon se; *surely*
That sorowfull sight shall make hir maytt, *distraught*
For I was born of hir body.
Farwell, John, I go my gaytt. *way*
I blys thee with the Trynyté. *(see note)*

JOHN Almyghty God in persons thre,
All in oone substance ay ingroost, *gathered*
I thank thee Lord in magesté,
Fader and Son and Holy Goost.
Thou send thi Son from heven so he *sent; high*
To Mary mylde into this cooste, *countryside*
And now thou sendys hym unto me
For to be baptysid in this oost. *multitude*

Farwell, the frelyst that ever was fed. *most noble*
Farwell, floure more fresh then floure de lyce. *flower; fleur de lis*
Farwell, stersman to theym that ar sted *pilot; beset*
In stormes, or in desese lyse. *disease lies*
Thi moder was madyn and wed;
Farwell, pereles, most of pryce. *worth*
Farwell, the luflyst that ever was bred; *loveliest*
Thi moder is of hell emprise. *empress of hell*

Farwell, blissid both bloode and bone;
Farwell, the semelyst that ever was seyn. *fairest*
To thee, Jesu, I make my mone. *prayer*
Farwell, comly of cors so cleyn. *fair of body*
Farwel, gracyouse gome; whereso thou gone, *gracious man*
Ful mekill grace is to thee geyn. *much; given*
Thou leyne us lyffyng on thi lone; *give us life as your gift*
Thou may us mende more then we weyn. *think*

[fol. 67r] I wyll go preche both to more and les
As I am chargyd, securly. *truly*
275 Syrs, forsake youre wykydnes, *wickedness*
Pryde, envy, slowth, wrath, and lechery.
Here Gods service, more and lesse.
Pleas God with prayng, thus red I; *praying*
Be war when deth comys with dystres,
280 So that ye dy not sodanly. *suddenly*

Deth sparis none that lyf has borne; *spares*
Therfor thynk on what I you say:
Beseche youre God both even and morne
You for to save from syn that day.
285 Thynk how in baptym ye ar sworne
To be Godys servandys withoutten nay. *doubt*
Let never his luf from you be lorne. *lost*
God bryng you to his blys for ay. Amen.

Explicit Johannes Baptista.[1]

16. LAZARUS

Jesus
Peter
John
Thomas
Martha
Mary (Magdalene)
Lazarus

[fol. 129r] *Incipit Lazarus.*[2]

JESUS Commes now, brethere, and go with me; *brothers*
We will pas furth untill Judé. *Judea*
To Betany will we weynde, *Bethany*
To vyset Lazare that is oure freynde. *visit Lazarus*
5 Gladly I wold we with hym speke,
I tell you sothely he is seke. *sick*
PETER I red not that ye thider go. *there*
The Jues halden you for thare fo; *Jews; their*
I red ye com not in that stede, *place*
10 For if ye do then be ye dede. *dead*

[1] *Here ends John the Baptist*

[2] *Here begins Lazarus*

JOHN	Master, trist thou not on the Jue,	*trust*
	For many day sen thou thaym knewe,	*since*
	And last tyme that we were thore	*there*
	We wenyd till have bene ded therfor.	*thought to; dead*
THOMAS	When we were last in that contré	
16	This othere day, both thou and we,	
	We wenyd that thou ther shuld have bene slayn.	
	Will thou now go thider agane?	
JESUS	Herkyn, breder, and takys kepe:	*Listen, brother; take heed*
20	Lazare oure freynde is fallyn on slepe;	*asleep*
	The way till hym now will we take.	*to*
	To styr that knyght and gar hym wake,	*stir; make*
PETER	Sir, me thynke it were the best	
	To let hym slepe and take his rest,	
25	And kepe that no man com hym hend,	*near*
	For if he slepe then mon he mend.	
JESUS	I say to you, withoutten fayll,	
	No kepyng may till hym availl,	*treatment*
[fol. 129v]	Ne slepe may stand hym in no stede;[1]	
30	I say you sekerly he is dede.	*certainly*
	Therfor I say you now at last,	
	Leyfe this speche, and go we fast.	*Leave*
THOMAS	Sir, whatsoever ye bid us do,	
	We assent us well therto.	*agree*
35	I hope to God ye shall not fynde	
	None of us shall lefe behynde;	*remain*
	For any parell that may befall,	*peril*
	Weynde we with oure master all.	*Go*
MARTHA	Help me, Lorde, and gif me red.	*advice*
40	Lazare my broder now is dede	
	That was to thee both lefe and dere;	
	He had not dyed had thou bene here.	*would not have*
JESUS	Martha, Martha, thou may be fayn;	*glad*
	Thi brothere shall rise and lif agayn.	
MARTHA	Lorde, I wote that he shall ryse	
46	And com before the good justyce,	
	For at the dredfull day of dome	*judgment*
	There mon ye kepe hym at his come	
	To loke what dome ye will hym gif;	
50	Then mon he rise, then mon he lyf.	
JESUS	I warne you, both man and wyfe,	
	That I am rysyng and I am life,	*resurrection*
	And whoso truly trowys in me,	*believes*
	That I was ever and ay shall be,	*always*

[1] Lines 28–29: *No treatment will help him; / sleep is of no advantage to him*

55	Oone thyng I shall hym gif:	
	Though he be dede, yit shall he lif.	
	Say thou, woman, trowys thou this?	
MARTHA	Yee, forsothe, my Lorde of blys,	
	Ellys were I greatly to mysprase,	*Else; blame*
60	For all is sothefast that thou says.	*truthful*
JESUS	Go tell thi sister Mawdlayn	*Magdalene*
	That I com, ye may be fayn.	*glad*
MARTHA	Sister, lefe this sorowful bande;	*confinement;* ***[fol. 130r]***
	Oure Lorde commys here at hande,	
65	And his apostyls with hym also.	*apostles*
MARY	A, for Godys luf, let me go.	*love*
	Blissid be he that sende me grace,	
	That I may se thee in this place.	
	Lorde, mekill sorow may men se	*much*
70	Of my sister here and me;	
	We ar hevy as any lede	*lead*
	For oure broder that thus is dede.	
	Had thou bene here and on hym sene,	
	Dede, forsothe, had he not bene.	
JESUS	Hider to you commen we ar	*Here*
76	To make you comforth of youre care,	
	Bot loke no fayntyse ne no slawth	*faithlessness; sloth*
	Bryng you oute of stedfast trawthe,	*faith*
	Then shall I hold you that I saide.	*keep my promise to you*
80	Lo, where have ye his body laide?	
MARY	Lorde, if it be thi will,	
	I hope be this he savers ill,	*expect by this [time]; smells*
	For it is now the fourt day gone	*fourth*
	Sen he was laide under yonde stone.	*Since*
JESUS	I told thee right now ther thou stode	*where*
86	That thi trawth shuld ay be goode,	*faith*
	And if thou may that fulfill	
	All bees done right at thi will.	*be*
	Et lacrimatus est Jesus dicens,[1]	
	Fader, I pray thee that thou rase	*raise*
90	Lazare that was thi hyne,	*servant*
	And bryng hym oute of his mysese	*affliction*
	And oute of hell pyne.	*hell's punishment*
	When I thee pray, thou says allwayse,	
	Mi will is sich as thyne;	*such*

[1] *And Jesus wept, saying* (John 11:38)

95 Therfor will we now eke his dayse, *lengthen*
To me thou will inclyne. *be inclined*

Com furth, Lazare, and stande us by;
In erth shall thou no langere ly. *longer*
Take and lawse hym foote and hande, *loosen; (see note)*
100 And from his throte take the bande *throat*
And the sudary take hym fro, *face-covering*
And all that gere, and let hym go.

LAZARUS Lorde that all thyng maide of noght,
Lovyng be to thee
105 That sich wonder here has wroght;
Gretter may none be. *Greater*
When I was dede to hell I soght, *went*
And thou, thrugh thi pausté, *power*
Rasid me up and thens me broght. *hence*
110 Behold and ye may se.

Ther is none so styf on stede, *stalwart; horse*
Ne none so prowde in prese, *Nor; valiant in conflict*
Ne none so dughty in his dede, *valiant; deeds*
Ne none so dere on deese, *honored on throne (dais)*
115 No kyng, no knyght, no wight in wede, *creature; clothing*
From dede have maide hym seese, *When death; cease*
The flesh he was wonte to fede,
It shall be wormes mese. *food*
Youre dede is wormes coke. *worms' food*
120 Youre myrroure here ye loke *mirror*
And let me be youre boke. *book*
Youre sampill take by me; *example*
Fro dede you cleke in cloke. *(see note)*
Sich shall ye all be.

[fol. 130v] Ilkon in sich aray *Each one*
126 With dede thai shall be dight, *prepared*
And closid colde in clay *closed*
Wheder he be kyng or knyght; *whether*
For all his garmentes gay
130 That semely were in sight,
His flesh shall frete away *decay*
With many a wofull wight. *creature*
Then wofully sich wightys
Shall gnawe thise gay knyghtys,
135 Thare lunges and thare lightys, *lungs*
Thare harte shall frete in sonder; *waste away*

	Thise masters most of myghtys	*most mighty*
	Thus shall thai be broght under.	
	Under the erthe ye shall	
140	Thus carefully then cowche;	*lie*
	The royfe of youre hall	*roof*
	Youre nakyd nose shall towche.	*touch*
	Nawther great ne small	*Neither*
	To you will knele ne crowche.	*bow*
145	A shete shall be youre pall;	*sheet; garment*
	Sich todys shall be youre nowche.	*toads; ornament*
	Todys shall you dere,	*injure*
	Feyndys will you fere,	*(see note)*
	Youre flesh that fare was here	*fair*
150	Thus rufully shall rote;	*piteously; rot*
	In stede of fare colore	
	Sich bandys shall bynde youre throte.	*cloths*
	Youre rud that was so red,	*complexion*
	Youre lyre the lylly lyke,	*hue; lily*
155	Then shall be wan as led	*dark as lead*
	And stynke as dog in dyke.	*ditch*
	Wormes shall in you brede	*breed*
	As bees dos in the byke,	*hive*
	And ees outt of youre hede	*eyes*
160	Thus-gate shall paddokys pyke.	*Thus; toads pluck*
	To pike you ar preste	*pick; ready*
	Many uncomly beest;[1]	
	Thus thai shall make a feste	
	Of youre flesh and of youre blode.	
165	For you then sorows leste	*least; (see note)*
	The moste has of youre goode.	
	Youre goodys ye shall forsake,	
	If ye be never so lothe,	*Even if; loath*
	And nothyng with you take	
170	Bot sich a wyndyng clothe.	
	Youre wife sorow shall slake,	*wife's; decrease*
	Youre chylder also both	*children*
	Unnes youre mynnyng make,	*With difficulty; commemoration*
	If ye be never so wrothe.	*angry*
175	Thai myn you with nothyng	*They remember*
	That may be youre helpyng,	
	Nawthere in mes syngyng	*mass-singing*

[1] Lines 161–62: *Many ugly beasts are ready to reduce you to bones*

	Ne yit with almus dede;	*alms-giving*
	Therfor in youre levyng	*living*
180	Be wise and take good hede.	
	Take hede for you to dele	*divide [your property]*
	Whils ye ar on life;	*alive*
	Trust in no freyndys frele,	*frail*
	Nawthere of childe then wife,	*nor*
[fol. 131r]	For sectures ar not lele,	*executors; honest*
186	Then for youre good will stryfe.	*will quarrel over your goods*
	To by youre saules hele,	*buy; health*
	There may no man thaym shrife.	*shrive*
	To shrife no man thaym may	
190	After youre endyng day,	
	Youre saull for to glad.	
	Youre sectures will swere nay	
	And say ye aght more then ye had.	*owed*
	Amende thee, man, whils thou may;	*while*
195	Let never no myrthe fordo thi mynde.	*destroy*
	Thynke thou on the dredefull day	
	When God shall deme all mankynde.	*judge*
	Thynke thou farys as dothe the wynde;	
	This warlde is wast and will away.[1]	*profitless*
200	Man, have this in thi mynde	*keep*
	And amende thee whils that thou may.	
	Amende thee, man, whils thou art here,	
	Agane thou go anothere gate.	*(see note)*
	When thou art dede and laide on bere,	*bier*
205	Wyt thou well thou bees to late;	*you are too late*
	For if all the goode that ever thou gate	*goods; got*
	Were delt for thee after thi day,	
	In heven it wolde not mende thi state;	
	Forthi amende thee whils thou may.	*Therefore*
210	If thou be right ryall in rente	*royal in revenue*
	As is the stede standyng in stall,	*horse*
	In thi harte knowe and thynke	
	That thai ar Goddys goodys all;	
	He myght have maide thee poore and small	
215	As he that beggys fro day to day.	*from*
	Wit thou well, acountys gif thou shall;	*give*
	Therfor amende thee whils thou may.	

[1] Lines 198–99: *Remember that you fare as the wind does; / this world is profitless and will vanish*

And if I myght with you dwell
To tell you all my tene, *anger*
220 Full mekill couthe I tell *much could*
That I have harde and sene,
Of many a great mervell
Sich as ye wolde not wene, *would not believe*
In the paynes of hell
225 Ther as I have bene. *Where*
Bene I have in wo,
Therfor kepe you therfro. *from there*
Whilst ye lif do so,
If ye will dwell with hym
230 That can gar you thus go, *make*
And hele you lith and lym. *heal; joint and limb*

He is a Lorde of grace,
Umthynke you in this case, *Consider*
And pray hym, full of myght,
235 He kepe you in this place
And have you in his sight.
Amen.

Explicit Lazarus.[1]

[1] *Here ends Lazarus*

17. THE CONSPIRACY

Pilate
Caiaphas
Annas
Soldier 1
Soldier 2
Judas
John
Jesus
Peter
Householder
Andrew
Simon
Philip
Thaddeus
James
The Trinity
Malchus

[fol. 67r] *Incipit conspiracio etc.*[1]

PILATE Peas, carles, I commaunde. *fellows (churls)*
Unconand I call you. *Ignorant*
I say stynt and stande *cease*
Or foull myght befall you
5 Fro this burnyshyd brande. *polished sword*
Now when I behald you
I red ye be shunand, *advise; fleeing*
Or els the dwill skald you *devil scald*
At onys.
10 I am kyd as men knawes *renowned*
Leyf leder of lawes; *Beloved ruler*
Seniours, seke to my sawes
For bryssyng of youre bonys.[2]

Ye wote not wel, I weyn, *know; think*
15 What wat is commen to the towne *person*
So comly cled and cleyn: *well-dressed; clean*
A rewler of great renowne, *ruler*
In sight if I were seyn,
The granser of great Mahowne. *grandfather*
20 My name Pylate has beyn;

[1] *Here begins the conspiracy etc.*

[2] Lines 12–13: *Sirs, follow my commands, / to prevent the breaking of your bones*

	Was never kyng with crowne	
	More worthy.	
	My wysdom and my wytt	
	In sete here as I sytt,	*seat*
25	Was never none lyke it	
	My dedys thus to dyscry.	*deeds; declare*
	For I am he that may	
	Make or mar a man,	*destroy*
	Myself if I it say.	
30	As men of cowrte now can	*court*
	Supporte a man today,	
	To-morn agans hym than,	*Tomorrow; then*
	On both parties thus I play	
	And fenys me to ordan	*pretend; prepare*
35	The right,	
	Bot all fals indytars,	*accusers*
	Questmangers and jurers,	*Questmongers; jurors*
	And all thise fals outrydars	*false tax collectors*
	Ar welcom to my sight.	
[fol. 67v]	More nede had I never	
41	Of sich servand, now I say you,	*such [a] servant*
	So can I well consider	*(see note)*
	The trowth I most displeas you,	
	And therfor com I hedyr.	*here*
45	Of peas therfor I pray you.	
	Ther is a lurdan ledyr	*lazy lout*
	I wold not shuld dysmay you	*dismay*
	Abowtt.	
	A prophete is he prasyd	*esteemed*
50	And great unright has rasyd,	*wrong; incited*
	Bot be my banys her blasid	*But by my banns here proclaimed*
	His deth is dight, no dowtt.	*ordained*
	He prechys the pepyll here,	*preaches to*
	That fature, fals Jesus,	*impostor*
55	That if he lyf a yere	*live a year*
	Dystroy oure law must us.	
	And yit I stand in fere:	*fear*
	So wyde he wyrkys vertus	*works miracles*
	No fawt can on hym bere	*fault; bear*
60	No lyfand leyde tyll us,[1]	*living person*
	Bot sleyghtys	*tricks*

[1] Lines 58–60: *He is so virtuous in his actions / that no living person can accuse him / of any fault to us*

Agans hym shall be soght
That all this wo has wroght.
Bot on his bonys it shall be boght; *paid for*
65 So shall I venge oure rightys. *avenge*

That fatoure says that thre *impostor; three*
Shuld ever dwell in oone godhede,
That ever was and shall be
Sothfast in manhede. *Truly in manhood*
70 He says of a madyn born was he
That never toke mans sede, *seed*
And that hisself shall dy on tre *himself*
And mans sawll out of preson lede. *soul; prison lead*
Let hym alone;
75 If this be true in deyd *indeed*
His spech shall spryng and sprede
And overcom everylkone. *everyone*

CAIAPHAS Syr Pilate, prynce of mekyll price *much worth*
That prevyd is withoutten pere, *proved; without equal*
80 And lordyngys that oure laws in lyse, *lords on whom our laws depend*
On oure law now must us lere *study*
And of oure warkys we must be wyse, *works*
Or els is all oure welthe in were. *trouble*
Therfor say sadly youre avyse *firmly; advice*
85 Of hedus harmes that we have here *hideous*
Towchyng that tratoure strang *Concerning; flagrant*
That makys this beleyf, *belief*
For if he may thus furth gang *go forth*
It will over-greatly grefe. *excessively offend*

ANNAS Sir, oure folk ar so afrayd *afraid*
91 Thrugh lesyns he losys oure lay, *lies; destroys; law*
Som remedy must be rayd *prepared*
So that he weynd not thus away. *goes*
PILATE Now certan, syrs, this was well sayd, *certainly*
95 And I assent right as ye say,
Som prevay poynt to be purvayd *surreptitious; arranged*
To mar his myght if we may.
And therfor, sirs, in this present,
What poynt so were to prase *Whatever point is deserving of praise*
100 Let all be at assent.
Let se what ilk man says. *each*

CAIAPHAS Sir, I have sayde you here beforne:
His soteltyes and grefys to sare, *subtle tricks; injuries too grievous*
He turnes oure folk both even and morne *misleads; evening; morning*

105	And ay makys mastrés mare and mare.	*always; mischief more*
ANNAS	Sir, if he skape it were great skorne;	*escapes; insult*
	To spyll hym tyte we will not spare.	*kill him quickly*
	For if oure lawes were thus-gatys lorne	*thus lost*
	Men wold say it were lake of lare.	*lack of command*
PILATE	For certan, syrs, ye say right weyll	***[fol. 68r]***
111	For to wyrk witterly;	*skillfully*
	Bot yit som fawt must we feyll	*fault; discover*
	Wherfor that he shuld dy.	*Why*
	And therfor, sirs, let se youre saw,	*let us know your words*
115	For what thyng we shuld hym slo.	*slay*
CAIAPHAS	Sir, I can rekyn you on a raw	*enumerate; in order*
	A thowsand wonders and well moo,	*more*
	Of crokyd men that we well knaw	*lame*
	How graythly that he gars them go,	*readily; makes*
120	And ever he legys agans oure law,	*makes allegations*
	Tempys oure folk and turnys us fro.	*Tempts; turns them from us*
ANNAS	Lord, dom and defe in oure present	*dumb; deaf; presence*
	Delyvers he by downe and dayll;	*hill and valley*
	What hurtys or harmes thay hent,	*Whatever; suffer*
125	Full hastely he makys theym hayll.	*healthy*
	And for sich warkys as he is went	*such works; (see note)*
	Of ilk welth he may avayll,	*profit*
	And unto us he takys no tent,	*pays no attention*
	Bot ilk man trowes unto his tayll.	*each man believes his tale*
PILATE	Yei, dewill, and dos he thus	*devil*
131	As ye well bere wytnes?	*bear witness*
	Sich fawte fall to us	*Such fault*
	Be oure dom for to redres.	*judgment; amend*
CAIAPHAS	And also, syr, I have hard say	*heard*
135	Another noy that neghys us nere:	*annoyance; concerns us*
	He will not kepe oure Sabate day	*Sabbath*
	That holy shuld be haldyn here,	*held*
	Bot forbedys far and nere	*forbids [everyone]*
	To wyrk at oure bydyng.	
PILATE	Now by Mahowns bloode so dere	
141	He shall aby this bowrdyng.	*pay for this foolishness*
	What dewill will he be there?	*What the devil might he be up to*
	This hold I great hethyng.	*mockery*
ANNAS	Nay, nay, well more is ther:	
145	He callys hymself hevens kyng,	
	And says that he is so myghty	
	All rightwysnes to rewll and red.	*rule and govern*

PILATE	By Mahowns blood that shall he aby	*pay for*
	With bytter baylls or I ett bred.	*torments before I eat bread*
SOLDIER 1	Lord, the loth Lazare of Betany	*loathsome Lazarus of Bethany*
151	That lay stynkand in a sted	*stinking; place*
	Up he rasyd bodely	*raised bodily*
	The fourt day after he was ded.	*fourth*
SOLDIER 2	And for that he hym rasyd	*because*
155	That had lyne dede so long a space	*lain dead; time*
	The people hym full mekyll prasyd	*much praised*
	Over all in every place.	
ANNAS	Emangys the folke has he the name	*Among*
	That he is Godys son and none els,	
160	And hisself says the same,	*himself*
	That his fader in heven dwelles,	
	That he shall rewll both wyld and tame;	*rule*
	Of all sich maters thus he mels.	*speaks*
PILATE	This is the dwylls payn.	*devil's pain*
165	Who trowys sich talys as he tels?	*believes; such tales*
CAIAPHAS	Yis, lord, have here my hand,	
	And ilk man beyldys hym as his brother;	*defends*
	Sich whaynt cautelys he can,	*clever stratagems*
	Lord, ye knew never sich anothere.	
PILATE	Why, and wotys he not that I have	*knows*
171	Bold men to be his bayn?	*torment*
	I commaunde both knyght and knave	
	Sesse not to that lad be slayn.	*Cease not until*
SOLDIER 1	Sir Pylate, mefe you now no more,	*anger*
175	Bot mese youre hart and mend youre mode;	*calm; mood*
	For bot if that losell lere oure lore	*scoundrel*
	And leyf his gawdys he were as goode,	*tricks*
[fol. 68v]	For in oure tempyll we will not spare	
	To take that losell if he were woode.	*mad*
PILATE	In oure tempyll? The dwill, what dyd he thare?	*devil; there*
181	That shall he by, by Mahouns blode.	*pay for; blood*
SOLDIER 2	Lord, we wist not youre wyll.	*knew*
	With wrang ye us wyte;	*You blame us wrongfully*
	Had ye so told us tyll,	
185	We shuld have takyn hym tyte.	*quickly*
PILATE	The dwill he hang you high to dry.	
	Whi, wold ye lese oure lay?	*lose our law*
	Go, bryng hym heder hastely	*here*
	So that he weynd not thus away.	*go*
CAIAPHAS	Sir Pilate, be not to hasty,	

191	Bot suffer over oure Sabote day,	
	In the menetyme to spyr and spy	*make inquiries*
	Mo of his mervels if men may.	*More*
ANNAS	Yei, syr, and when this feste is went	*feast is over*
195	Then shall his craftys be kyd.	*tricks be known*
PILATE	Certys, syrs, and I assent	
	For to abyde then as ye byd.	*wait*
	Tunc venit Judas.[1]	
JUDAS	Masters, myrth be you emang	*among you*
	And mensk be to this meneye.	*honor; company*
CAIAPHAS	Go, otheregatys thou has to gang	*otherwise; go*
201	With sorow. Who send after thee?	*sent for*
JUDAS	Syrs, if I have done any wrang	
	At youre awne bydyng will I be.	
PILATE	Go hence, harlot, hy mot thou hang.	
205	Where in the dwill hand had we thee?	*devil's hand*
JUDAS	Goode syr, take it to no grefe,	*do not be offended*
	For my menyng it may avayll.	*purpose*
ANNAS	Wé, lad, thou shuld ask lefe	*leave*
	To com in sich counsayll.	*enter such an assembly*
JUDAS	Sir, all youre counsell will I ken:	*know*
211	Ye mene my master for to take.	
ANNAS	Aha, here is oone of his men	
	That thus unwynly gars us wake.	*unpleasantly makes*
PILATE	La hand on hym and hurl hym then	*Lay; throw*
215	Emangys you for his master sake,	
	For we have maters mo then ten	*more*
	That well more myster were to make.	*are more necessary to do*
CAIAPHAS	Set on hym buffettys sad	*heavy blows*
	Sen he sich mastrys mase,	*makes such mischief*
220	And teche ye sich a lad	*teach*
	To profer hym in sich a place.	*present himself*
JUDAS	Sir, my profer may both pleas and pay	*offer*
	To all the lordys in this present.	
PILATE	Wé, go hens in twenty dwill way.	*hence; devils'*
225	We have no tome thee for to tent.	*leisure to attend to you*
JUDAS	Yis, the profete that has lost youre lay	*prophet*
	By wonder warkys as he is went,	*wondrous deeds*
	If ye will sheynd hym as ye say,	*destroy*
	To sell hym you I wyll assent.	

[1] *Then Judas comes*

PILATE	A, syr, hark, what says thou?	*listen*
231	Let se, and shew thi skyll.	*reason*
JUDAS	Sir, a bargan bede I you;	*offer*
	By it if ye will.	*Buy*
ANNAS	What is thi name, do tell in hy,	*quickly*
235	If we may wit if thou do wrang.	
JUDAS	Judas Scarioth, so hight I,	*I am named*
	That with the profet has dwellyd lang.	
PILATE	Sir, thou art welcom, witterly.	*certainly*
	Say what thou will us here emang.	
JUDAS	Not els bot if ye will hym by;	*buy*
241	Do say me sadly or I gang.	*firmly before I go*
CAIAPHAS	Yis, freynd, in fathe will we	*friend; faith*
	Noght els bot hartely say	*Nothing else; heartily*
	How that bargan may be	
245	And we shall make thee pay.	*payment*
ANNAS	Judas, for to hold thee hayll	*healthy;* ***[fol. 69r]***
	And for to fell all fowll defame	*defeat; foul slander*
	Looke that thou may avow thi sayll,	*guarantee your sale*
	Then may thou be withoutten blame.	
JUDAS	Sir, of my teyn gyf ye never tayll	*affliction; account*
251	So that ye have hym here at hame.	*home*
	His bowrdyng has me broght in bayll,	*jesting; torment*
	And certys hisself shal have the same.	
CAIAPHAS	Sir Pylate, tentys heretyll	*attend hereto*
255	And lightly leyf it noght;	*neglect*
	Then may ye do youre wyll	
	Of hym that ye have boght.	
ANNAS	Yei, and then may we be bold	*(see note)*
	Fro all the folk to hald hym fre	
260	And hald hym hard with us in hold,	*custody*
	Right as oone of youre meneye.	*retinue*
PILATE	Now, Judas, sen he shal be sold,	*since*
	How lowfes thou hym, belyfe let se.	*value; at once*
JUDAS	For thryrty pennys truly told,	
265	Or els may not that bargan be.	
	So mych gart he me lose	*much made*
	Malycyusly and yll;	*Maliciously*
	Therfor ye shall have chose	*choice*
	To by or let be styll.	*buy*
ANNAS	Gart he thee lose? I pray thee, why?	*Caused*
271	Tell us now pertly or thou pas.	*openly; before*
JUDAS	I shall you say, and that in hy,	*quickly*

Every word right as it was.
In Symon house with hym sat I *Simon's*
275 With othere meneye that he has. *followers*
A woman cam to company
Callyng hym "Lord," sayng "alas"
For synnes that she had wroght;
She wepyd sore always,
280 And an oyntment she broght
That precyus was to prayse. *precious in value*

She weshyd hym with hir terys weytt *washed; tears wet*
And sen dryed hym with hir hare. *then; hair*
This fare oyntment hir bale to beytt *misery to end*
285 Apon his hede she put it thare *head; there*
That it ran all abowte his feytt. *feet*
I thoght it was a ferly fare; *strange affair*
The house was full of odowre sweytt. *odor sweet*
Then to speke myght I not spare, *refrain*
290 For certys I had not seyn
None oyntment half so fyne; *No other*
Therat my hart had teyn *affliction*
Sich tresoure for to tyne. *waste*

I sayd it was worthy to sell
295 Thre hundreth pens in oure present *pence*
For to parte poore men emell, *among*
Bot will ye se wherby I ment?
The tent parte, truly to tell, *tenth part*
To take to me was myne intent.
300 For of the tresure that to us fell
The tent parte ever with me went,
And if thre hundreth be right told
The tent parte is even thryrty;
Right so he shal be sold.
305 Say if ye will hym by. *buy*

PILATE Now for certan, syr, thou says right wele,
Sen he wate thee with sich a wrast, *ill treats; trick*
For to shape hym som uncele. *misfortune*
And for his bost be not abast. *boast; abashed*
ANNAS Sir, all thyn askyng, everydele, *everything*
311 Here shall thou hafe, therof be trast; *assured*
Bot looke that we no falshede fele. *ascertain no falsehood*
JUDAS Syr, with a profe may ye frast: *test; try*
[fol. 69v] All that I have here hight *promised*
315 I shall fulfill in dede, *deed*

And well more at my myght
In tyme when I se nede.

PILATE Judas, this spekyng must be spar, *confidential*
And neven it never nyght ne day; *mention*
320 Let no man wyt where that we war *know; persecute*
For ferdnes of a fowll enfray. *fear; foul disturbance*
CAIAPHAS Sir, therof let us moyte no mare. *converse no more*
We hold us payde; take ther thi pay.
JUDAS This gart he me lose lang are; *he made me lose long before*
325 Now ar we even for onys and ay. *once and for all*
ANNAS This forwarde will not fayll; *promise*
Therof we may be glad.
Now were the best counsayll
In hast that we hym had.

PILATE We shall hym have, and that in hy, *in haste*
331 Ful hastely here in this hall.
Sir knyghtys that ar of dede dughty, *valiant deeds*
Stynt never in stede ne stall, *Cease; place or position*
Bot looke ye bryng hym hastely,
335 That fatur fals, what so befall. *false impostor*
SOLDIER 1 Sir, be not abast therby, *abashed*
For as ye byd so wyrk we shall.

Tunc dicet sanctus Johannes:[1]

JOHN Sir, where will ye youre Pask ette? *eat your Passover meal*
Say us, let us dight youre mete. *Tell; prepare your meal*
JESUS Go furth, John and Peter, to yond cyté.
341 When ye com ther, ye shall then se
In the strete as tyte a man *immediately*
Beryng water in a can. *Bearing*
The house that he gose to grith, *takes shelter in*
345 Ye shall felow and go hym with; *follow*
The lord of that house ye shall fynde
A sympyll man of cely kynde. *simple; blessed nature*
To hym ye shall speke and say
That I com here by the way;
350 Say I pray hym if his will be
A lytyll whyle to ese me, *accommodate*
That I and my dyscypyls all *and my disciples*
Myght rest a whyle in his hall,
That we may ete oure Paske thore. *there*

[1] *Then Saint John says*

PETER Lord, we shall hy us before *hurry*
356 To that we com to that cyté; *Until*
Youre Paske shall ordand be. *prepared*

Tunc pergent Johannes et Petrus ad ciuitatem et obuiet eis homo etc.[1]

Sir, oure master the prophett
Commys behynde in the strete,
360 And of a chamber he you prays
To ete and drynk therin with easse.
HOUSEHOLDER Sirs, he is welcom unto me,
And so is all his company;
With all my hart and all my will
365 Is he welcom me untyll.
Lo, here a chambre fast by, *at hand; (see note)*
Therin to make youre mangery, *feast*
I shal warand fare strewed; *well-strewn*
It shuld not els to you be shewed. *shown*

Tunc parent Johannes et Petrus mensam.[2]

JOHN Sir, youre mett is redy bowne. *meal; ready*
371 Will ye wesh and syt downe? *wash*
JESUS Yei, gyf us water tyll oure hande. *give; for*
Take we the grace that God has send.
Commys furth both oone and othere; *Come forward*
375 If I be master, I will be brothere.

Tunc comedent et Judas porrigit manum in discum cum Jesu.[3]

[fol. 70r] Judas, what menys thou? *mean*
JUDAS Nothyng, Lord, bot ett with you. *but to eat*
JESUS Ett on, brether, hardely, *brothers; by all means*
For oone of you shall me betray.
PETER Lord, whoever that be may,
381 Lord, I shall never thee betray.
Dere master, is it oght I?
JESUS Nay thou, Peter, certanly.
JOHN Master, is oght I he then?
JESUS Nay, for trowth, John, I thee ken. *know*
ANDREW Master, am I oght that shrew? *scoundrel*
JESUS Nay, forsothe, thou Andrew. *truly*

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[1] *Then John and Peter shall proceed to the city and a man should meet them etc.*

[2] *Then John and Peter prepare the meal*

[3] *Then they eat, and Judas extends his hand into the dish with Jesus*

SIMON Master, then is it oght I?
JESUS Nay thou, Simon, securly. *assuredly*
PHILIP Is it oght I that shuld do that dede?
JESUS Nay, Philyp, withoutten drede. *doubtless*
THADDEUS Was it oght I that hight Thadee?
JAMES Or we two Jamys?
JESUS Nay, none of you is he,
Bot he that ett with me in dysh; *dish*
395 He shall my body betray, iwys. *certainly*
JUDAS What then, wene ye that I it am? *suppose*
JESUS Thou says sothe; thou berys the blame. *truth; bear*
Ichon of you shall this nyght *Each one*
Forsake me, and fayn he myght. *willingly*
JOHN Nay, certys, God forbeyd *forbid*
401 That ever shuld we do that deyd. *deed*
PETER If all, master, forsake thee,
Shall I never fro thee fle.
JESUS Peter, thou shall thryse apon a thraw *three times in a moment*
405 Forsake me or the cok craw. *before the cock crows*
Take up this clothe and let us go,
For we have othere thyngys at do. *to do*

Hic lavet pedes discipulorum.[1]

Sit all downe, and here and sees,
For I shall wesh youre feet on knees. *wash; on my knees*

Et mittens aquam in pelvim venit ad Petrum.[2]

PETER Lord, shuld thou wesh feytt myne?
411 Thou art my Lord and I thy hyne. *servant*
JESUS Why I do it thou wote not yit; *know not yet*
Peter, herafter shall thou wytt.
PETER Nay, master, I thee heytt: *promise*
415 Thou shall never wesh my feytt.
JESUS Bot I thee wesh thou mon mys *Unless; shall miss*
Parte with me in hevens blys.[3]
PETER Nay, Lord, or I that forgo, *before*
Wesh heede, handys, and feytt also.
JESUS Ye ar clene, bot not all;
421 That shall be sene when tyme shall fall.
Who shall be weshyn, as I weyn, *washed; think*

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[1] *Here he will wash the feet of the disciples*

[2] *And putting water into a basin he comes to Peter* (see John 13:5–6)

[3] Lines 416–17: *Unless I wash you, you shall fail / to share in heaven's bliss with me* (see John 13:8)

	He thar not wesh his feytt clene.	*need*
	And forsothe, clene ar ye,	
425	Bot not all as ye shuld be.	
[fol. 70v]	I shall you say, take good hede,	
	Whi that I have done the dede.	
	Ye call me master and lord by name;	
	Ye say full well for so I am.	
430	Sen I, both lord and master, to you wold knele	*Since*
	To wesh youre fete, so must ye wele.	*indeed*
	Now wote ye what I have done:	*know*
	Ensampyll have I gyffen you to;	*An example; given*
	Loke ye do so eftsone.	*Look; hereafter*
435	Ichon of you wesh othere fete, lo.	*Each one; the other's*
	For he that servand is,	*a servant*
	Forsothe, as I say you,	
	Not more then his lord he is	*than*
	To whome he servyce owe.	
440	Or that this nyght be gone	*Before*
	Alone will ye leyf me,	*leave*
	For in this nyght ilkon	*each one*
	Ye shall fro me fle.	*from*
	For when the hyrd is smeten	*shepherd; smitten*
445	The shepe shall fle away,	*flee*
	Be skaterd wyde and byten,	*scattered; bitten*
	The prophetys thus can say.	
PETER	Lord, if that I shuld dy,	*even if*
	Forsake thee shall I noght.	
JESUS	Forsothe, Peter, I say to thee,	*Truly*
451	In so great drede shall thou be broght	
	That or the cok have crowen twyse	*before; twice*
	Thou shall deny me tymes thre.	
PETER	That shall I never, Lord, iwys,	
455	Ere shall I with thee de.	*die*
JESUS	Now loke youre hartys be grefyd noght,	*grieved*
	Nawthere in drede ne in wo,	*Neither; nor*
	Bot trow in God that you has wroght,	*trust*
	And in me trow ye also.	
460	In my Fader house, forsothe,	
	Is many a wonnyng stede	*dwelling place*

That men shall have aftyr thare trowthe *in accordance with their faith*
Soyn after thay be dede.

And here may I no longer leynd, *remain*
465 Bot I shall go before,
And yit if I before you weynd, *go*
For you to ordan thore, *To prepare [a place] for you there*

I shall com to you agane
And take you to me,
470 That wheresoever I am
Ye shall be with me.

And I am way and sothefastnes *truth*
And lyfe that ever shal be,
And to my Fader commys none, iwys, *certainly*
475 Bot oonly thorow me. *through*

I will not leyf you all helples, *leave*
As men withoutten freynd,
As faderles and moderles,
Thof all I fro you weynd; *Though I go from all of you*

480 I shall com eft to you agayn. *come back*
This warld shall me not se,
Bot ye shall se me well, certan,
And lyfand shall I be. *living*

And ye shall lyf in heven.
485 Then shall ye knaw, iwys, *indeed*
That I am in my Fader even, *equally*
And my Fader in me is,

And I in you and ye in me,
And ilka man therto *each*
490 My commaundement that kepys trulé
And after it will do.

Now have ye hard what I have sayde: *heard*
I go and com agayn.
[fol. 71r] Therfor loke ye be payde *content*
495 And also glad and fayn, *eager*

For to my Fader I weynd, *go*
For more then I is he.
I let you wytt as faythfull freynd
Or that it done be, *Before*

500 That ye may trow when it is done. *believe*
For certys I may noght now
Many thyngys so soyn *soon*
At this tyme speake with you,

For the prynce of this warld is commyn
505 And no powere has he in me, *over*
Bot as that all the warld within
May both here and se *hear and see*

That I owe luf my Fader to *love*
Sen he me hyder sent, *Since; here*
510 And all thyngys I do
After his commaundement.

Ryse ye up, ilkon, *everyone*
And weynd we on oure way
As fast as we may gone
515 To Olyvete to pray. *Mount Olivet*

Peter, Jamys, and thou, John,
Ryse up and folow me.
My tyme it commys anone; *soon*
Abyde styll here, ye thre.

520 Say youre prayers here byneth *beneath*
That ye fall in no fowndyng. *temptation*
My sawll is hevy agans the deth
And the sore pynyng. *suffering*

Tunc orabit et dicit:[1]

Fader, let this great payn be styll,
525 And pas away fro me,
Bot not, Fader, at my wyll,
Bot thyn fulfyllyd be. *fulfilled*

Et reuertet ad discipulos.[2]

Symon, I say, slepys thou?
Awake, I red you all. *advise*

---

[1] *Then he shall pray and say*

[2] *And he shall return to his disciples*

530 The feynd ful fast salys you,
In wanhope to gar you fall.[1]

Bot I shall pray my Fader so
That his myght shall not dere. *harm*
My goost is prest therto; *soul; ready*
535 My flesh is seke for fere. *sick for fear*

Et iterum orabit:[2]

Fader, thi Son I was.
Of thee I aske this boyn: *favor*
If this payn may not pas,
Fader, thi will be doyn. *done*

Et reuertet ad discipulos.[3]

540 Ye slepe, brether, yit I see *brothers*
It is for sorow that ye do so.
Ye have so long wepyd for me *wept*
That ye ar masyd and lappyd in wo. *confused; wrapped*

Et tercio orabit:[4]

Dere Fader, thou here my wyll: *hear*
545 This passyon thou put fro me away; *suffering*
And if I must nedys go thertyll,
I shall fulfill thi wyll today.

Therfor this bytter passyon
If I may not put by,
550 I am here redy at thi dom; *judgment*
Thou comforte me that am drery.

THE TRINITY My comforte, Son, I shall thee tell
Of thyngys that fell by reson,
As Lucyfer for syn that fell
555 Betrayd Eve with his fals treson.

Adam assent his wyfe untyll; *yielded to his wife*
The wekyd goost then askyd a bone *wicked spirit; favor*

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[1] Lines 530–31: *The fiend heartily assails you / To make you fall into despair*

[2] *And again he prays*

[3] *And he shall return to his disciples*

[4] *And for the third time he shall pray*

Which has hurt mankynde full yll.
This was the wordys he askyd soyn: *soon*

560 All that ever of Adam com
Holly to hym to take, *Wholly*
With hym to dwell withoutten dome *judgment*
In payn that never shall slake, *cease*

[fol. 71v] To that a chyld myght be borne *Until*
565 Of a madyn, and she wemles, *immaculate*
As cleyn as that she was beforne,
As puryd sylver or shynand glas, *refined; shining glass*

To tyme that childe to deth were dight *Until; condemned*
And rasyd hymself apon the thryd day
570 And stevend to heven thrugh his awne myght. *ascended; own*
Who may do that bot God veray? *verily*

Sen thou art man and nedys must dee, *Since; die*
And go to hell as othere done,
Bot that were wrong withoutten lee *lie*
575 That Godys Son there shuld won *live*

In payn with his underlowte. *subjects*
Wytt ye well withoutten weyn *Know; without a doubt*
When oone is borod all shall owtt *ransomed; [come] out*
And borod be from teyn. *suffering*

JESUS Slepe ye now, and take youre rest.
581 My tyme is nere command. *approaching*
Awake a whyle, for he is next *nearby*
That me shall gyf into synners hand. *give*

PILATE Peas, I commaunde you, carles unkynde, *unnatural churls*
585 To stand as styll as any stone.
In donyon depe he shal be pynde *dungeon; confined*
That will not sesse his tong anone. *stop his tongue at once*

For I am governowre of the law;
My name it is Pilate.
590 I may lightly gar hang you or draw; *pull [you] apart*
I stand in sich astate *position*

To do what so I will.
And therfor peas I byd you all,
And looke ye hold you still
595 And with no brodels brall *scoundrels' brawl*

Tyll we have done oure dede.
Whoso makys nose or cry, *noise*
His nek I shall gar blede *make*
With this I bere in hy.

600 To this tratoure be take *Until this traitor is caught*
That wold dystroy oure lawe,
Judas, thou may it not forsake,
Take hede unto my sawe. *words*

Thynk what thou has doyn, *done*
605 That has thi master sold.
Performe thi bargan soyn; *soon*
Thou has thi money takyn and told. *counted*

JUDAS Ordan ye knyghtys to weynd with me, *Prepare*
Richly arayd in rewyll and rowtt, *in rank and file*
610 And all my covandys holden shall be *covenants*
So I have felyship me abowte.

PILATE Wherby, Judas, shuld we hym knaw
If we shall wysely wyrk, iwys?
614 For som of us hym never saw.
JUDAS Lay hand on hym that I shall kys. *kiss*

PILATE Have done, syr knyghtys, and kythe youre strengthe, *show*
And wap you wightly in youre wede. *dress yourselves quickly*
Seke over all both brede and lengthe; *Seek; breadth; length*
Spare ye not, spende and spede.

[fol. 72r] We have soght hym les and more
621 And falyd ther we have farn. *failed where; labored*
Malcus, thou shall weynd before
And bere with thee a light lantarne.

MALCHUS Sir, this jornay I undertake
625 With all my myght and mayn; *strength and might*
If I shuld for Mahowns sake *Even if*
Here in this place be slayn,
Crist that prophett for to take,
We may be all full fayn. *glad*
630 Oure weppyns redy loke ye make *weapons; look*
To bryng hym in mekyll grame *great misery*
This nyght.
Go we now on oure way
Oure mastres for to may. *make*

635 Oure lantarnes take with us alsway *also*
And loke that thay be light.

SOLDIER 2 Sir Pilate, prynce pereles in pall, *peerless; scarlet*
Of all men most myghty merked on mold *formed on earth*
We ar evermore redy to com at thi call
640 And bow to thi bydyng as bachlers shuld. *knights*
Bot that prynce of the apostyls pupplyshed beforne, *proclaimed*
Men call hym Crist, comen of David kyn,
His lyfe full sone shal be forlorne *lost*
If we have hap hym for to wyn. *luck*
645 Have done,
For as ever ete I breede, *eat I bread*
Or I styr in this stede *Before; place*
I wold stryke of his hede. *strike off*
Lord, I aske that boyne. *favor*

SOLDIER 1 That boyn, lord, thou us bede, *offer*
651 And on hym wreke thee sone we shall *avenge*
Fro we have lade on hym good spede *struck him down quickly*
He shall no more hym Godys son call;
We shall marke hym truly his mede. *allot; reward*
655 By Mahowne, most God of all,
Siche thre knyghtys had lytyll drede *Such*
To bynde the dwill that we on call *devil*
In nede.
For if thay were a thowsand mo, *more*
660 That prophete and his apostels also,
With thise two handys for to slo *slay*
Had I lytyll drede.

PILATE Now, curtes kasers of Kamys kyn, *(see note)*
Most gentyll of Jure to me that I fynde, *Jewry*
665 My comforth from care may ye sone wyn *comfort; deliver*
If ye happely may hent that unheynde. *seize; discourteous one*
Bot go ye hens spedely, and loke ye not spare. *do not let [him] escape*
My frenship, my fortherans, shall ever with you be. *support*
And Mahowne that is myghtfull, he menske you evermare, *may he favor*
670 Bryng you safe and sownde with that brodell to me *scoundrel*
In place,
Wheresoever ye weynd,
Ye knyghtys so heynde, *gracious*
Sir Lucyfer the feynde
675 He lede you the trace. *way*

JESUS Ryse up, Peter, and go with me,
And folowe me withoutten stryfe.

Judas wakys and slepys not he;
He commys to betray me here belyfe. *at once*

680 Wo be to hym that bryngys up slaunder;
He were better his dethe to take.
Bot com furth, Peter, and tary no langere. *longer*
Lo, where thay com that will me take.

JUDAS Rest well, master Jesus fre. ***[fol. 72v]***
685 I pray thee that thou wold kys me enys; *once*
I am commen to socoure thee. *comfort*
Thou art aspyed whatso it menys.[1]

JESUS Judas, whi makys thou sich a brayde? *deceit*
Trowys thou not I knowe thi will? *Believe*
690 With kyssyng has thou me betrayd;
That shall thou rew som tyme ful yll. *regret*

Whome seke ye, syrs, by name?
SOLDIER 2 We seke Jesu of Nazarene.
JESUS I kepe not my name to layn; *seek; conceal*
695 Lo, I am here, the same ye mene. *mention*

Bot whome seke ye with wepyns kene? *weapons*
SOLDIER 1 To say thee sothe and not to ly,
We seke Jesu of Nazarene.
JESUS I told you ere that it was I.

MALCHUS Dar no man on hym lay hand;
701 I shall cach hym if I may.
A flateryng foyll has thou bene lang, *fool*
Bot now is commen thyn endyng day.

PETER I wold be dede within short space
705 Or I shuld se this sight. *Before*
Go pleyn thee to Syr Cayphas *complain*
And byd hym do thee right. *heal you; (see note)*

MALCHUS Alas, the tyme that I was borne,
Or today com in this stede! *place*
710 My right ere I have forlorne. *lost*
Help, alas, I blede to dede. *death*

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[1] *You are discovered, whatever this might portend*

JESUS	Thou, man, that menys thi hurt so sare,	*bemoans; sore*
	Com heder, let me thi wounde se.	
	Take me thi ere that he of share.	*Give me; cut off*
715	*In nomine patris*, hole thou be.	*In the name of the Father; whole*
MALCHUS	Now am I hole as I was ere;	
	My hurt is never the wars.	*worse*
	Therfor, felows, drawe me nere;	
	The dwill hym spede that hym spars.	
JESUS	Therfor, Peter, I say thee this,	
721	My will it is that all men witten:	*learn*
	Put up thi swerde and do no mys,	*sword; misdeed*
	For he that smytys he shal be smyten.	*strikes; stricken*
	Ye knyghtys that be commen now here,	
725	Thus assemblyd in a rowte	*company*
	As I were thefe or thefys fere,	*thief; companion*
	With wepyns com ye me abowte.	*weapons*
	Me thynk, forsothe, ye do full yll	
	Thus for to seke me in the nyght,	
730	Bot what penance ye put me tyll,	*whatever; to*
	Ye let my felows go with gryth.	*peace*
SOLDIER 2	Lede hym furth fast by the gate;	*securely; way*
	Hangyd be he that sparis hym oght.	*at all*
SOLDIER 1	How thynk thee, Syr Pilate,	
735	Bi this brodell that we have broght?	*By; scoundrel*
PILATE	Is he the same and the self, I say,	
	That has wroght us this care?	*worry*
	It has bene told sen many a day	*since*
	Sayngys of hym full sare.	*Reports; painful*
[fol. 73r]	It was tyll us greatt woghe	*It was to us great woe*
741	From dede to lyfe thou rasyd Lazare,	*death to life*
	Sen stalkyd stylly bi the see-swoghe;	*(see note)*
	Both domb and defe thou salfyd from sare.	*mute; deaf; healed; suffering*
	Thou passys Cesar bi dede,	*by deed*
745	Or Syr Herode oure kyng.	
SOLDIER 2	Let deme hym fast to dede	*judge; death*
	And let for no kyn thyng.	*relent; nothing at all*
SOLDIER 1	Sen he has forfett agans oure lawe,	*transgressed*
	Let us deme hym in this stede.	

PILATE	I will not assent unto youre saw;	*speech (words)*
751	I can ordan well better red.	*ordain far better a decree*
MALCHUS	Better red? Yei, dwill, how so?	*Yes, devil*
	Then were oure sorow lastand ay.	*everlasting*
	And he thus furth shuld go	
755	He wold dystroy oure lay.	*will destroy*
	Wold ye all assent to me,	
	This bargan shuld be strykyn anone.	*struck at once*
	By nyghtertayll dede shuld he be,	*night time*
	And till oure awnter stand ilkon.	*If each one stands by our undertaking*
PILATE	Peasse, harlottys, the dwill you spede.	*scoundrels*
761	Wold ye thus prevaly morder a man?	*secretly murder*
MALCHUS	When every man has red his red,	*given his advice*
	Let se who better say can.	
PILATE	To Cayphas hall loke fast ye wyrk,	
765	And thider right ye shall hym lede.	
	He has the rewll of holy kyrk;	*rule of holy church*
	Lett hym deme hym whyk or dede.	*judge him alive or dead*
	For he has wroght agans oure law;	*acted against*
	Forthi most skyll can he theron.	*Therefore*
SOLDIER 2	Sir, we assent unto youre saw.	*command*
771	Com furth, bewshere, and lett us gone.	*fair sir*
MALCHUS	Step furth in the wenyande.	*waning moon*
	Wenys thou ay to stand styll?	*Think; forever*
	Nay, luskand losell, lawes of the land	*sluggish scoundrel*
775	Shall fayll bot we have oure will.	*unless*
	Out of my handys shall thou not pas	
	For all the craft thou can.	
	Till thou com to Syr Cayphas,	
	Save thee shall no man.	
	Explicit capcio Jesu.[1]	

[1] *Here ends the capture of Jesus*

18. THE BUFFETING

Torturer 1
Torturer 2
Caiaphas
Annas
Jesus
Froward

[fol. 73v] *Incipit coliphizacio.*[1]

TORTURER 1	Do io, furth io,	*Go; go forth*
	And trott on a pase!	*walk on a bit*
	To Anna will we go	
	And Syr Cayphas.	
5	Witt thou well, of thaym two	
	Gettys thou no grace	
	Bot everlastyng wo,	
	For trespast thou has	
	So mekill.	*much*
10	Thi mys is more	*misdeed*
	Then ever gettys thou grace fore;	*before*
	Thou has beyn aywhore	*everywhere*
	Full fals and full fekyll.	*fickle*
TORTURER 2	It is wonder to dre,	*endure*
15	Thus to be gangyng.	*going*
	We have had for thee	*(see note)*
	Mekill hart-stangyng,	*Much heartache*
	Bot at last shall we be	
	Out of hart-langyng,	*yearning*
20	Be thou have had two or three	
	Hetys worth a hangyng.	*Beatings*
	No wonder!	
	Sich wyles can thou make	*wiles*
	Gar the people farsake	*[That] make; forsake*
25	Oure lawes, and thyne take;	*yours*
	Thus art thou broght in blonder.	*brought into trouble*
TORTURER 1	Thou cannot say agaynt	*deny [it]*
	If thou be trew.	*honest*
	Som men holdys thee sant	*consider you a saint*
30	And that shall thou rew;	*regret*
	Fare wordys can thou paynt	

[1] *Here begins the buffeting*

	And lege lawes new.	*put forward*
TORTURER 2	Now be ye ataynt,	*convicted*
	For we will persew	*pursue*
35	On this mater.	
	Many wordys has thou saide	
	Of which we ar not well payde;	*pleased*
	As good that thou had	
	Halden still thi clater.	*Held*
TORTURER 1	It is better syt still	*[to] sit*
41	Then rise up and fall.	
	Thou has long had thi will	*your way*
	And made many brall;	*fight*
	At the last wold thou spill	*destroy*
45	And fordo us all,	*undo*
	If we dyd never yll.	*Even though*
TORTURER 2	I trow not he shall	*think not*
	Indure it,	*Endure*
	For if other men ruse hym,	*praise*
50	We shall accuse hym;	
	Hisself shall not excuse hym,	
	To you I insure it,	
	With no legeance.[1]	
TORTURER 1	Fayn wold he wynk	*Gladly; sleep*
55	Els falys his countenance;	*Or else falls*
	I say as I thynk.	
TORTURER 2	He has done us grevance;	
	Therfor shall he drynk.	*suffer*
[fol. 74r]	Have he mekill myschaunsce	
60	That has gart us swynke	*work*
	In walkyng,	
	That unneth may I more.[2]	*with difficulty*
TORTURER 1	Peas, man, we ar thore.	*are there*
	I shall walk in before	
65	And tell of his talkyng.	
	Haill, syrs, as ye sytt,	*sit*
	So worthi in wonys,	*exceedingly worthy*
	Whi spyrd ye not yit	*asked*
	How we have farne this onys?	*fared on this occasion*
TORTURER 2	Sir, we wold fayn witt.	*gladly know*

[1] Lines 51–53: *He shall not excuse himself, / I guarantee it to you, / by means of any plea*

[2] Lines 59–62: *May he have much misfortune / who has made us work so hard / at walking / that I can continue only with difficulty*

71	All wery ar oure bonys;	*weary are our bones*
	We have had a fytt	*struggle*
	Right yll for the nonys,	*for this purpose*
	So tarid.	*long delayed*
CAIAPHAS	Say, were ye oght adred?	*afraid of anything*
76	Were ye oght wrang led,	*led at all astray*
	Or in any strate sted?	*tight place*
	Syrs, who was myscaryd?	*hurt*
ANNAS	Say, were ye oght in dowte	*at all in doubt*
80	For fawte of light	*want of light*
	As ye wached therowte?	*watched outside*
TORTURER 1	Sir, as I am true knyght,	
	Of my dame sen I sowked	*since I suckled*
	Had I never sich a nyght;	*such a night*
85	Myn een were not lowked	*eyes; closed*
	Togeder right	
	Sen morowe.	*Since morning*
	Bot yit I thynk it well sett	*well arranged*
	Sen we with this tratoure met.	*Since*
90	Sir this is he that forfett	*transgressed*
	And done so mekill sorow.	*caused so much*
CAIAPHAS	Can ye hym oght apeche?	*accuse him of anything*
	Had he any ferys?	*companions*
TORTURER 2	He has bene for to preche	
95	Full many long yeris,	*years*
	And the people he teche	*taught*
	A new law.	
TORTURER 1	Syrs, heris:	*listen*
	As far as his witt reche,	*knowledge reaches*
	Many oone he lerys.	*teaches*
100	When we toke hym,	
	We faunde hym in a yerde,	*garden [of Gethsemane]*
	Bot when I drew out my swerde	
	His dyscypyls wex ferde,	*disciples became afraid*
	And soyn thay forsoke hym.	*soon*
TORTURER 2	Sir, I hard hym say he cowthe dystroew	*could destroy*
106	Oure tempyll so gay,	*bright*
	And sithen beld a new	*then build*
	On the thrid day.	*third*
CAIAPHAS	How myght that be trew?	*true*
110	It toke more aray;	*took; preparation*
	The masons I knewe	
	That hewed it, I say,	*built*
	So wyse	*wise*

That hewed ilka stone. *crafted each and every*
TORTURER 1 A, good syr, let hym oone. *alone*
116 He lyes for the quetstone; *lies; whetstone*
I gyf hym the pryce. *give; prize*

TORTURER 2 The halt rynes, the blynd sees *lame; runs*
Thrugh his fals wyles; *wiles*
120 Thus he gettys many fees *rewards*
Of thym he begyles. *From those he deceives*
TORTURER 1 He rases men that dees, *raises; die;* ***[fol. 74v]***
Thay seke hym be myles, *for miles*
And ever thrugh his soceres *sorceries*
125 Oure Sabate day defyles, *defiles*
Evermore, syr.
TORTURER 2 This is his use and his custom:
To heyll the defe and the dom *heal; deaf; dumb*
Wheresoever he com.
130 I tell you before, syr.

TORTURER 1 Men call hym a kyng
And Godys son of heven;
He wold fayn downe bryng *gladly*
Oure lawes bi his steven. *command*
TORTURER 2 Yit is ther anothere thyng
136 That I hard hym neven: *heard him mention*
He settys not a fle wyng *fly's wing*
Bi Syr Cesar full even; *indeed*
He says thus.
140 Sir, this same is he
That excusyd with his sotelté *subtlety*
A woman in avowtré; *adultery*
Full well may ye trust us.

TORTURER 1 Sir Lazare can he rase,
145 That men may persave, *perceive*
When he had lyne foure dayes *lain*
Ded in his grave. *Dead*
All men hym prase,
Both master and knave, *servant*
150 Such wychcraft he mase. *witchcraft; makes*
TORTURER 2 If he abowte wave *waves about*
Any langere, *longer*
His warkys may we ban, *works*
For he has turned many man
155 Sen the tyme he began, *Since*
And done us great hangere. *anger*

TORTURER 1	He will not leyfe yit	*stop*
	Thof he be culpabyll.	*Though; culpable*
	Men call hym a prophete.	*prophet*
160	A lord full renabyll.	*eloquent*
	Sir Cayphas, bi my wytt,	
	He shuld be dampnabill.	*damnable*
	Bot wold ye two as ye sytt	
	Make it ferme and stabyll	*firm and stable*
165	Togeder?	
	For ye two, as I traw,	*believe*
	May defende all oure law;	
	That mayde us to you draw	
	And bryng this losell heder.	*scoundrel here*
TORTURER 2	Sir, I can tell you before,	
171	As myght I be maryd,	*Or may I be destroyed*
	If he reyne any more	*reign*
	Oure lawes ar myscaryd.	*miscarried*
TORTURER 1	Sir, opposed if he wore,	
175	He shuld be fon waryd;	*found accursed*
	That is well seyn thore	*evident there*
	Where he has long tarid	*delayed*
	And walkyd.	
	He is sowre-lottyn.	*sour-looking*
180	Ther is somwhat forgottyn;	*something*
	I shall thryng out the rottyn	*drive out the rotten; (see note)*
	Be we have all talkyd.	*By [the time]*
CAIAPHAS	Now fare myght you fall	*fair*
	For youre talkyng.	
185	For certys, I myself shall	*certainly*
	Make examynyng.	
	Harstow, harlott, of all?	*Hear you scoundrel*
	Of care may thou syng;	*sing*
[fol. 75r]	How durst thou thee call	*dare*
190	Aythere emperoure or kyng?	*Either*
	I do fy thee	*defy*
	What the dwill doyst thou here?	*devil do you here*
	Thi dedys will do thee dere.	*cost you dearly*
	Com nar and rowne in myn eeyr	*near; whisper*
195	Or I shall ascry thee.	*denounce*
	Illa-hayll was thou borne!	*Cursed*
	Harke, says he oght agane?	*anything*
	Thou shall onys or to-morne	*right away or tomorrow*
	To speke be full fayne.	*glad*
200	This is a great skorne	*insult*

And a fals trane. *trick*
Now wolfys-hede and out-horne *(see note)*
On thee be tane, *taken up against*
Vile fature. *deceiver*
Oone worde myght thou speke ethe, *easily*
Yit myght it do thee som letht; *ease*
Et omnis qui tacet
Hic consentire videtur.[1]

Speke on oone word
Right in the dwyllys name. *devil's*
Where was thi syre at bord *living*
When he met with thi dame? *mother*
What, nawder bowted ne spurd *neither booted nor spurred*
And a lord of name?
Speke on, in a torde. *turd*
The dwill gif thee shame, *devil give*
Sir Sybré.
Perdé, if thou were a kyng, *By God*
Yit myght thou be ridyng.
Fy on thee, fundlyng! *Fie; foundling*
Thou lyfys bot bi brybré. *only by thievery*

Lad, I am a prelate,
A lord in degré,
Syttys in myn astate *[Who] sits*
As thou may se,
Knyghtys on me to wate *wait*
In dyverse degré.
I myght thole thee abate *allow you to bow*
And knele on thi kne
In my present. *presence*
As ever syng I mes, *I sing mass*
Whoso kepis the lawe, I gess, *guess*
He gettys more by purches *illegal gains*
Then bi his fre rent.

The dwill gif thee shame
That ever I knew thee.
Nather blynde ne lame *Neither blind nor lame*
Will none persew thee. *pursue*
Therfor I shall thee name,
That ever shall rew thee, *regret*
Kyng Copyn in oure game;

[1] Lines 207–08: *And everyone who is silent / appears herein to grant consent*

	Thus shall I indew thee	*invest*
	For a fatur.	*traitor*
	Say, dar thou not speke for ferde?	*fear*
245	I shrew hym, the lerd.	*curse; learned [one]*
	Wemé, the dwillys durt in thi berd,	*devil's dirt; beard*
	Vyle, fals tratur!	
	Though thi lyppis be stokyn,	*lips; closed*
	Yit myght thou say mom.	*mumble*
250	Great wordys has thou spokyn;	
	Then was thou not dom.	*dumb*
	Be it hole worde or brokyn,	*whole*
	Com owt with som,	*out*
	Els on thee I shal be wrokyn,	*revenged*
255	Or thi ded com	*death*
	All outt.[1]	
[fol. 75v]	Aythere has thou no wytt	*Either*
	Or els ar thyn eres dytt.	*ears stopped up*
	Why, bot herd thou not yit?	
260	So I cry and I showte.	
ANNAS	A, syr, be not yll payde	
	Though he not answere.	
	He is inwardly flayde,	*frightened*
	Not right in his gere.	*mind*
CAIAPHAS	No, bot the wordys he has saide	
266	Doth my hart great dere.	*heart; harm*
ANNAS	Sir, yit may ye be dayde.	*summoned to court*
CAIAPHAS	Nay, whils I lif nere.	
ANNAS	Sir, amese you.	*calm*
CAIAPHAS	Now fowll myght hym befall.	*evil (foul)*
ANNAS	Sir, ye ar vexed at all,	
272	And peraventur he shall	*perhaps*
	Hereafter pleas you.	
	We may bi oure law	
275	Examyn hym fyrst.	
CAIAPHAS	Bot I gif hym a blaw	*Unless; blow*
	My hart will brist.	*burst*
ANNAS	Abyde to ye his purpose knaw.	*until*
CAIAPHAS	Nay, bot I shall out thrist	*thrust out*
280	Both his een on a raw.	*eyes; together*
ANNAS	Syr, ye will not, I tryst,	
	Be so vengeabyll;	*vengeful*

[1] Lines 255–56: *Before your death becomes known*

	Bot let me oppose hym.	
CAIAPHAS	I pray you, and sloes hym!	*slay*
ANNAS	Sir, we may not lose hym	*destroy*
286	Bot we were dampnabill.	*damnable*
CAIAPHAS	He has adyld his ded;	*earned his death*
	A kyng he hym calde.	
	War, let me gyrd of his hede.	*Beware; chop off his head*
ANNAS	I hope not ye wold,	
291	Bot, syr, do my red	*take my advice*
	Youre worship to hald.	
CAIAPHAS	Shall I never ete bred	*eat bread*
	To that he be stald	*Until; placed*
295	In the stokys.	*stocks*
ANNAS	Sir, speke soft and styll.	*quietly*
	Let us do as the law will.	
CAIAPHAS	Nay, I myself shall hym kyll	
	And murder with knokys.	*blows*
ANNAS	Sir, thynk ye that ye ar	*consider*
301	A man of holy kyrk;	*church*
	Ye shuld be oure techere,	
	Mekenes to wyrk.	*Meekness*
CAIAPHAS	Yei, bot all is out of har,	*out of joint*
305	And that shall he yrk.	*loathe*
ANNAS	All soft may men go far;	*Moderately*
	Oure lawes ar not myrk,	*obscure*
	I weyn.	*think*
	Youre wordys ar bustus,	*rough*
310	*Et hoc nos volumus*	
	Quod de iure possumus;[1]	
	Ye wote what I meyn.	*know*
	It is best that we trete hym	
	With farenes.	
CAIAPHAS	Wé, nay!	
ANNAS	And so myght we gett hym	***[fol. 76r]***
316	Som word for to say.	
CAIAPHAS	War, let me bett hym.	*beat*
ANNAS	Syr, do away,	
	For if ye thus thrett hym,	*threaten*
320	He spekys not this day.	
	Bot herys:	*listens*
	Wold ye sesse and abyde,	*cease and desist*

[1] Lines 310–11: *And we wish to do that / because by law we can*

	I shuld take hym on syde	*aside*
	And inquere of his pryde	
325	How he oure folke lerys.	*teaches*
CAIAPHAS	He has renyd over lang	*reigned too long*
	With his fals lyys,	
	And done mekyll wrang.	*much mischief*
	Sir Cesar he defyes;	
330	Therfor shall I hym hang	
	Or I up ryse.	*Before I stand up*
ANNAS	Sir, the law will not he gang	*let him go*
	On no kyn wyse	*In any way*
	Undemyd.	*Unjudged*
335	Bot fyrst wold I here	
	What he wold answere;	
	Bot he dyd any dere	*Unless; harm*
	Why shuld he be flemyd?	*condemned*
	And therfor examynyng	
340	Fyrst will I make,	
	Sen that he callys hym a kyng.	*Since*
CAIAPHAS	Bot he that forsake	*refuses*
	I shall gyf hym a wryng	
	That his nek shall crak.	*crack*
ANNAS	Syr, ye may not hym dyng;	*hurt*
346	No word yit he spake	
	That I wyst.	*know*
	Hark, felow, com nar.	*near*
	Wyll thou never be war?	*wary*
350	I have mervell thou dar	*dare*
	Thus do thyn awne lyst.	*will*
	Bot I shall do as the law wyll,	
	If the people ruse thee.	*Even if; praise*
	Say, dyd thou oght this yll?	*any of this wickedness*
355	Can thou oght excuse thee?	
	Why standys thou so styll	
	When men thus accuse thee?	
	For to hyng on a hyll,	
	Hark, how thay ruse thee	*boast*
360	To dam.	*damn*
	Say, art thou Godys son of heven	
	As thou art wonte for to neven?	*are accustomed; mention*
JESUS	So thou says by thy steven,	*voice*
	And right so I am.	

365 For after this shall thou se
When that I com downe
In brightnes on he, *high*
In clowdys from abone. *clouds from above*
CAIAPHAS A, ill myght the feete be *task (feat)*
370 That broght thee to towne;
Thou art worthy to de. *die*
Say, thefe, where is thi crowne? *thief*
ANNAS Abyde, syr.
Let us lawfully redres.
CAIAPHAS We nede no wytnes;
376 Hysself says expres. *He himself speaks explicitly*
Whi shuld I not chyde, syr?

ANNAS Was ther never man so wyk *wicked*
Bot he myght amende
380 When it com to the pryk, *moment of death*
Right as youreself kend? *knew*
CAIAPHAS Nay, syr, bot I shall hym styk *pierce;* ***[fol. 76v]***
Even with myn awne hend, *hands*
For if he rene and be whyk *reign; alive*
385 We ar at an end,
All sam. *together*
Therfor, whils I am in this brethe, *alive*
Let me put hym to deth.
ANNAS *Sed nobis non licet*
390 *Interficere quemquam.*[1]

Sir, ye wote better then I *know*
We shuld slo no man. *slay*
CAIAPHAS His dedys I defy;
His warkys may we ban. *works*
395 Therfor shall he by. *suffer*
ANNAS Nay, on oder wyse than, *in another way*
And do it lawfully.
CAIAPHAS As how?
ANNAS Tel you I can.
CAIAPHAS Let se.
ANNAS Sir, take tent to my sawes: *pay attention; words*
401 Men of temporall lawes
Thay may deme sich cause, *such*
And so may not we.

[1] Lines 389–90: *But it is not lawful for us to put any man to death* (John 18:31)

CAIAPHAS	My hart is full cold,	
405	Nerehand that I swelt.	*Nearly; die*
	For talys that ar told	*tales*
	I bolne at my belt;	*swell*
	Unethes may it hold	*Only with difficulty*
	My body an ye it felt.	*if you felt it*
410	Yit wold I gif of my gold	
	Yond tratoure to pelt	*attack*
	Forever.	
ANNAS	Good syr, do as ye hett me.	*promised*
CAIAPHAS	Whi, shall he oversett me?	*overthrow*
415	Syr Anna, if ye lett me,	*prevent*
	Ye do not youre dever.	*duty*
ANNAS	Sir, ye ar a prelate.	
CAIAPHAS	So may I well seme,	
	Myself if I say it.	
ANNAS	Be not to breme.	*too violent*
421	Sich men of astate	*rank*
	Shuld no men deme	*judge*
	Bot send them to Pilate;	
	The temporall law to yeme	*observe*
425	Has he.	
	He may best threte hym	*threaten*
	And all to-rehete hym.	*severely rebuke*
	It is shame you to bete hym;	
	Therfor, syr, let be.	
CAIAPHAS	Fy on hym, and war!	*beware*
431	I am oute of my gate.	*perturbed*
	Say, why standys he so far?	*far off*
ANNAS	Sir, he cam bot late.	
CAIAPHAS	No, bot I have knyghtys that dar	*dare*
435	Rap hym on the pate.	*head*
ANNAS	Ye ar bot to skar.	*scare [him]*
	Good syr, abate,	*cease*
	And here:	*hear*
	What nedys you to chyte?	*chide*
440	What nedys you to flyte?	*argue*
	If ye yond man smyte,	
	Ye ar irregulere.	
CAIAPHAS	He that fyrst made me clerk	
	And taght me my lare,	*taught; lessons*
445	On bookys for to barke,	*read aloud from*
	The dwill gyf hym care!	*devil*
ANNAS	A, good syr, hark:	*listen;* ***[fol. 77r]***

Sich wordys myght ye spare.
CAIAPHAS Els myght I have made up wark
450 Of yond harlot and mare, *scoundrel; sorcerer*
Perdé. *By God*
Bot certys, or he hens yode *certainly; before he goes hence*
It wold do me som good
To se knyghtys knok his hoode *hit his head*
455 With knokys two or thre, *blows*

For sen he has trespast *since; trespassed*
And broken oure law
Let us make hym agast *afraid*
And set hym in awe.
ANNAS Syr, as ye have hast,
461 It shal be, I traw. *believe*
Com and make redy fast,
Ye knyghtys on a raw, *all together*
Youre arament, *equipment*
465 And that kyng to you take
And with knokys make hym wake.
CAIAPHAS Yei, syrs, and for my sake
Gyf hym good payment,

For if I myght go with you,
470 As I wold that I myght,
I shuld make myn avowe *oath*
That ons or mydnyght *once before midnight*
I shuld make his heede sow, *suffer*
Wher that I hyt right. *hit [it]*
TORTURER 1 Sir, drede you not now
476 Of this cursed wight
Today,
For we shall so rok hym *shake*
And with buffettys knok hym. *blows; knock*
CAIAPHAS And I red that ye lok hym *advise; lock him up*
481 That he ryn not away, *run*

For I red not we mete *meet*
If that lad skap. *escapes*
TORTURER 2 Sir, on us be it
485 Bot we clowt well his kap. *strike; head*
CAIAPHAS Wold ye do as ye heytt, *promise*
It were a fayr hap. *fair event*
TORTURER 1 Sir, sytt ye and see it
How that we hym knap *knock*
490 Oone feste. *One vigorously*
Bot or we go to this thyng, *before*

	Sayn us, lord, with thy ryng.	*Bless us*
CAIAPHAS	Now he shall have my blyssyng	
	That knokys hym the best.	*Who; hardest*
TORTURER 2	Go we now to oure noyte	*business*
496	With this fond foyll.	*silly fool*
TORTURER 1	We shall teche hym, I wote,	*think*
	A new play of Yoyll,	*Yule*
	And hold hym full hote.	*violently*
500	Fraword, a stoyll	*stool*
	Go fetch us.	
FROWARD	Wé, dote!	*fool*
	Now els were it doyll	*painful*
	And unnett.	*troublesome*
	For the wo that he shall dre	*suffer*
505	Let hym knele on his kne.	
TORTURER 2	And so shall he for me.	
	Go fetche us a light buffit.	*footstool*
FROWARD	Why must he sytt soft,	
	With a mekill myschaunce,	*great misfortune*
510	That has tenyd us thus oft?	*angered*
TORTURER 1	Sir, we do it for a skawnce.	*joke*
	If he stode up on loft	
	We must hop and dawnse	
[fol. 77v]	As cokys in a croft.	*cocks*
FROWARD	Now a veniance	*vengeance*
516	Com on hym.	
	Good skill can ye shew	
	As fell I the dew.	*(see note)*
	Have this; bere it, shrew,	
520	For soyn shall we fon hym.[1]	
TORTURER 2	Com, syr, and syt downe;	
	Must ye be prayde	*praised*
	Lyke a lord of renowne?	
	Youre sete is arayde.	*prepared*
TORTURER 1	We shall preve on his crowne	*prove*
526	The wordys he has sayde.	
TORTURER 2	Ther is none in this towne,	
	I trow, be ill-payde	*believe; displeased*
	Of his sorow,	
530	Bot the fader that hym gate.	*father; begat*
TORTURER 1	Now for oght that I wate	*know*

[1] Lines 519–20: *Have this; carry it, villain, / for soon we shall make a fool of him [Christ]*

All his kyn commys to late
His body to borow. *save*

TORTURER 2 I wold we were onwarde.
TORTURER 1 Bot his een must be hyd. *eyes; hidden*
TORTURER 2 Yei, bot thay be well spard
537 We lost that we dyd.
Step furth thou, Froward,
FROWARD What is now betyd? *happened*
TORTURER 1 Thou art ever a wayward.
FROWARD Have ye none to byd *no one*
Bot me?
543 I may syng ylla-hayll. *sing a curse*
TORTURER 2 Thou must get us a vayll. *blindfold*
FROWARD Ye ar ever in oone tayll. *in agreement*
TORTURER 1 Now ill myght thou thé *thrive*

Well had thou thi name,
For thou was ever curst.
FROWARD Sir, I myght say the same
550 To you if I durst, *dare*
Yit my hyer may I clame; *wage*
No penny I purst. *put in my purse*
I have had mekyll shame, *much*
Hunger, and thurst *thirst*
555 In youre servyce.
TORTURER 1 Not oone word so bold.
FROWARD Why, it is trew that I told?
Fayn preve it I wold. *Gladly*
TORTURER 2 Thou shal be cald to pervyce. *a legal disputation*

FROWARD Here a vayll have I fon; *blindfold*
561 I trow it will last.
TORTURER 1 Bryng it hyder, good son; *here*
That is it that I ast. *asked*
FROWARD How shuld it be bon? *put*
TORTURER 2 Abowte his heade cast.
TORTURER 1 Yei, and when it is well won, *wrapped*
567 Knyt a knot fast,
I red. *advise*
FROWARD Is it weyll?
TORTURER 2 Yei, knave.
FROWARD What, weyn ye that I rafe? *think; rave*
571 Cryst curs myght he have
That last bond his heade.

TORTURER 1	Now sen he is blynfeld,	
	I fall to begyn,	*decline*
[fol. 78r]	And thus was I counseld	
576	The mastry to wyn.	
TORTURER 2	Nay, wrang has thou teld;	*wrongly; declared*
	Thus shuld thou com in.	
FROWARD	I stode and beheld:	
580	Thou towchid not the skyn	*touched*
	Bot fowll.	*But poorly*
TORTURER 1	How will thou I do?	
TORTURER 2	On this manere, lo.	
FROWARD	Yei, that was well gone to;	
585	Ther start up a cowll.	*swelling*
TORTURER 1	Thus shall we hym refe	*rob*
	All his fonde talys.	*silly tales*
TORTURER 2	Ther is noght in thi nefe,	*fist*
	Or els thi hart falys.	
FROWARD	I can my hand uphefe	*raise up*
591	And knop out the skalys.	*(see note)*
TORTURER 1	Godys forbot ye lefe,	*cease*
	Bot set in youre nalys	*nails*
	On raw.	*Together*
595	Sit up and prophecy!	
FROWARD	Bot make us no ly.	
TORTURER 2	Who smote thee last?	
TORTURER 1	Was it I?	
FROWARD	He wote not, I traw.	*knows; believe*
TORTURER 1	Fast to Syr Cayphas	
600	Go we togeder.	
TORTURER 2	Ryse up with ill grace,	
	So com thou hyder.	*here*
FROWARD	It semys by his pase	*pace*
	He groches to go thyder.	*refuses; there*
TORTURER 1	We have gyfen hym a glase,	*blow*
606	Ye may consyder,	
	To kepe.	
TORTURER 2	Sir, for his great boost	*boast*
	With knokys he is indoost.	*punished*
FROWARD	In fayth, syr, we had almost	
611	Knokyd hym on slepe.	*asleep*
CAIAPHAS	Now sen he is well bett.	*beaten*
	Weynd on youre gate	*Go on your way*
	And tell ye the forfett	*explain; crime*
615	Unto Syr Pylate,	

	For he is a juge sett	*sits as a judge*
	Emang men of state,	*Among; rank*
	And looke that ye not let.	*cease*
TORTURER 1	Com furth, old crate,	*hag*
620	Belyfe.	*At once*
	We shall lede thee a trott.	*at a trot*
TORTURER 2	Lyft thy feet, may thou not.	
FROWARD	Then nedys me do nott	*need*
624	Bot com after and dryfe.	*drive*
CAIAPHAS	Alas, now take I hede.	*care*
ANNAS	Why mowrne ye so?	*mourn*
CAIAPHAS	For I am ever in drede,	*dread*
	Wandreth and wo,	*Misery*
	Lest Pylate for mede	*reward*
630	Let Jesus go;	
	Bot had I slayn hym indede	
	With thise handys two,	
	At onys,	*At once*
	All had bene qwytt than.	*ended*
635	Bot gyftys marres many man;	*gifts spoil*
	Bot he deme the sothe than	*Unless; truth*
	The dwill have his bonys.	*devil*
[fol. 78v]	Sir Anna, all I wyte you this blame,	*I lay all this blame on you*
	For had ye not beyn,	
640	I had mayde hym full tame —	
	Yei, stykyd hym, I weyn,	*pierced; think*
	To the hart full wan,	*dark*
	With this dagger so keyn.	*sharp*
ANNAS	Sir, you must shame	
645	Sich wordys for to meyn	*mean*
	Emang men.	
CAIAPHAS	I will not dwell in this stede,	*place*
	Bot spy how thay hym lede,	*see*
	And persew on his dede.	*press forward to his death*
650	Farewell! We gang, men.	*go*

Explicit coliphizacio.[1]

[1] *Here ends the buffeting*

19. THE SCOURGING

Pilate
Torturer 1
Torturer 2
Torturer 3
Counselor 1
Jesus
Counselor 2
John the Apostle
Mary (the mother of Jesus)
Mary Magdalene
Mary Jacobi
Simon

Incipit flagellacio.[1]

PILATE Peasse at my bydyng, ye wyghtys in wold![2]
Looke none be so hardy to speke a word bot I — *bold*
Or by Mahowne, most myghty maker on mold, — *creator; on earth*
With this brande that I bere ye shall bytterly aby. — *sword; abide*
5 Say, wote ye not that I am Pylate, perles to behold, — *peerless*
Most doughty in dedys of dukys of the Jury? — *valiant; Jewry*
In bradyng of batels I am the most bold; — *the rush of battle*
Therfor my name to you will I dyscry, — *cry out loud*
No mys. — *Without doubt*
10 I am full of sotelty, — *subtlety*
Falshed, gyll, and trechery; — *Falsehood; guile*
Therfor am I namyd by clergy
Os Malleatoris. — *(see note)*

[fol. 79r] For like as on both sydys the iren the hamer makith playn, — *iron*
15 So do I that the law has here in my kepyng:
The right side to socoure, certys, I am full bayn, — *aid; ready*
If I may get therby a vantege or wynyng; — *advantage or gain*
Then to the fals parte I turne me agayn,
For I se more vayll will to me be risyng. — *profit*
20 Thus every man to drede me shal be full fayn, — *fear; glad*
And all faynt of thare fayth to me be obeyng, — *their faith*
Truly.
All fals endytars, — *accusers*
Quest-gangars, and jurars, — *Questmongers; jurors*

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[1] *Here begins the scourging*

[2] *Peace at my bidding, you creatures under my command!*

And thise outrydars *tax collectors*
Ar welcom to me.

Bot this prophete that has prechyd and puplyshed so playn *proclaimed*
Cristen law, Crist thay call hym in oure cuntré.
Bot oure prynces full prowdly this nyght have hym tayn; *taken*
Full tytt to be dampned he shall be hurlyd byfore me. *Very quickly*
I shall fownde to be his freynd vtward, in certayn, *attempt; outwardly*
And shew hym fare cowntenance and wordys of vanyté,
Bot or this day at nyght on crosse shall he be slayn.
Thus agans hym in my hart I bere great enmyté *against; enmity*
Full sore.
Ye men that use bakbytyngys, *back-bitings*
And rasars of slanderyngys, *spreaders of slander*
Ye ar my dere darlyngys,
And Mahowns forevermore.

For nothyng in this warld dos me more grefe *grief*
Then for to here of Crist and of his new lawes; *hear*
To trow that he is Godys son my hart wold all to-clefe, *believe; break*
Though he be never so trew both in dedys and in sawes. *words*
Therfor shall he suffre mekill myschefe, *great misfortune*
And all the dyscypyls that unto hym drawes; *disciples*
For over all solace to me it is most lefe *most dear*
The shedyng of Cristen bloode, and that all Jury knawes, *Jewry*
I say you.
My knyghtys full swythe *quickly*
Thare strengthes will thay kyth, *demonstrate*
And bryng hym belyfe. *at once*
Lo, where thay com now.

TORTURER 1 I have ron that I swett *run so that I sweat*
From Syr Herode oure kyng
[fol. 79v] With this man that will not lett *cease*
Oure lawes to downe bryng.
He has done so mych forfett, *crime*
Of care may he syng;
Thrugh dom of Syr Pylate *judgment*
He gettys an yll endyng
And sore.
The great warkys he has wroght *works*
Shall serve hym of noght,
And bot thay be dere boght
Lefe me no more.[1]

[1] Lines 64–65: *And if they (his miraculous deeds) were not dearly bought, / believe me no more*

	Bot make rowme in this rese,	*room; crowd*
	I byd you, belyfe,	*at once*
	And of youre noys that ye sesse,	*noise; cease*
	Both man and wyfe.	
70	To Syr Pylate on dese	*dais*
	This man will we dryfe	*drive*
	His dede for to dres,	*To prepare for his death*
	And refe hym his lyfe	*rob*
	This day.	
75	Do draw hym forward.	
	Whi stand ye so bakward?	
	Com on, syr, hyderward	*this way*
	As fast as ye may.	
TORTURER 2	Do pull hym arase.	*quickly*
80	Whyls we be gangyng	*While; going*
	I shall spytt in his face,	
	Though it be fare shynyng.	*fair*
	Of us thre gettys thou no grace,	
	Thi dedys ar so noyng;	*annoying*
85	Bot more sorow thou hase,	*has*
	Oure myrth is incresyng,	
	No lak,	
	Felows all in hast,	
	With this band that will last	
90	Let us bynde fast	
	Both his handys on his bak.	
TORTURER 3	I shall lede thee a dawnce	*dance*
	Unto Syr Pilate hall;	
	Thou betyd an yll chawnce	*Bad luck befell you*
95	To com emangys us all.	*among*
	Sir Pilate, with youre cheftance,	*lords*
	To you we cry and call	
	That ye make som ordynance	*ordinance*
	With this brodell thrall	*scoundrel slave*
100	By skyll.	
	This man that we led,	
	On crosse ye put to ded.	*death*
PILATE	What, withoutten any red?	*council*
	That is not my wyll.	
105	Bot ye wysest of law	
	To me ye be tendand:	*attending*
	This man withoutten awe	*fear*
	Which ye led in a band,	*bound*

Nather in dede ne in saw — *Neither in deed nor in word*
110 Can I fynd with no wrang. — *wrong*
Wherfor ye shuld hym draw
Or bere falsly on hand
With ill?
Ye say he turnes oure pepyll; — *people*
115 Ye call hym fals and fekyll. — *deceitful*
Warldys shame is on you mekyll — *Worldly shame is much upon you*
This man if ye spyll. — *kill*

Of all thise causes ilkon — *reasons; each one*
Which ye put on hym,
[fol. 80r] Herode, truly as stone,
121 Coud fynd with no kyns gyn — *without any contrivance*
Nothyng herapon — *concerning this*
That pent to any syn. — *pertained*
Why shuld I then so soyn — *soon*
125 To ded here deme hym — *death; judge*
Therfor?
This is my counsell:
I will not with hym mell; — *speak*
Let hym go where he wyll
130 For now and evermore.

COUNSELOR 1 Sir, I say thee oone thyng
Without any mys: — *wrongdoing*
He callys hisself a kyng
Ther he none is; — *Whereas*
135 Thus he wold downe bryng
Oure lawes, iwys, — *certainly*
With his fals lesyng — *lying*
And his quantys — *cunning*
This tyde.
PILATE Herk, felow, com nere.
141 Thou knowes I have powere
To excuse or to dampne here, — *damn*
In bayll to abyde. — *misery; remain*

JESUS Sich powere has thou noght
145 To wyrk thi will thus with me,
Bot from my Fader that is broght,
Oonefold God in persons thre.
PILATE Certys, it is fallen well in my thoght
At this tyme, as well wote ye, — *you know*
150 A thefe that any felony has wroght — *thief; done*
To lett hym skap or go fre — *escape*
Away;

	Therfor ye lett hym pas.	
TORTURER 1	Nay, nay, bot Barabas,	
155	And Jesus in this case	
	To deth ye dam this day.	*death; condemn*
PILATE	Syrs, looke ye take good hede	
	His cloysse ye spoyll hym fro;	*clothes; strip*
	Ye gar his body blede	*make*
160	And bett hym blak and bloo.	*beat him black and blue*
TORTURER 2	This man, as myght I spede,	*help*
	That has wroght us this wo,	
	How *iudicare* comys in crede	*to judge; the law*
	Shall we teche or we go,	*before*
165	All soyne.	*Very soon*
	Have bynd to this pyllar.	*Bind him*
TORTURER 3	Why standys thou so far?	
TORTURER 1	To bett his body bar,	*beat*
	I haste withoutten hoyne.	*delay*
TORTURER 2	Now fall I the fyrst	
171	To flap on hys hyde.	*strike; skin*
TORTURER 3	My hartt wold all to-bryst	*burst*
	Bot I myght tyll hym glyde.	*Unless; go quickly to him*
TORTURER 1	A swap fayn if I durst	*blow; gladly; dare*
175	Wold I lene thee this tyde.	*lend; time*
TORTURER 2	War, lett me rub on the rust	*(see note)*
	That the bloode downe glyde	
	As swythe.	*Immediately*
TORTURER 3	Have att!	
TORTURER 1	Take thou that!	
TORTURER 2	I shall lene thee a flap	*lend; blow*
182	My strengthe for to kythe.	*show*
TORTURER 3	Whereon servys thi prophecy,	*serves;* ***[fol. 80v]***
	Thou tell us in this case,	
185	And all thi warkys of greatt mastry	
	Thou shewed in dyvers place?	
TORTURER 1	Thyn apostels full radly	*promptly*
	Ar run from thee arase;	*quickly*
	Thou art here in oure baly	*custody*
190	Withoutten any grace	
	Of skap.	*escape*
TORTURER 2	Do rug hym!	*tug*
TORTURER 3	Do dyng hym!	*hit*
TORTURER 1	Nay, I myself shuld kyll hym	
195	Bot for Syr Pilate.	

Syrs, at the feste of Architreclyn *feast*
This prophete he was;
Ther turnyd he water into wyn. *wine*
That day he had sich grace *such*
200 His apostels to hym can enclyn, *kneel*
And other that ther was.
The see he past bot few yeres syn, *He crossed the sea just a few years ago*
It lete hym walk theron apase *a pace*
At wyll;
205 The elementys all bydeyn, *together*
And wyndes that ar so keyn, *keen*
The firmamente, as I weyn, *believe*
Ar hym obeyng tyll.

TORTURER 2 A lepir cam full fast *leper*
210 To this man that here standys,
And prayed hym in all hast
Of bayll to lowse his bandys. *misery; relieve; bondage*
His travell was not wast *labor; useless*
Though he cam from far landys;
215 This prophete tyll hym past *to him went*
And helyd hym with his handys *healed*
Full blythe. *joyfully*
The son of Centuryon,
For whom his fader made greatt mone, *lament*
220 Of the palsy he helyd anone; *healed soon*
Thay lowfyd hym oft-sythe. *loved; often*

TORTURER 3 Sirs, as he cam from Jherico, *Jericho*
A blynde man satt by the way; *blind*
To hym walkand with many mo, *walking with many more*
225 Cryand to hym thus can he say: *Crying*
"Thou son of David, or thou go,
Of blyndnes hele thou me this day." *heal*
Ther was he helyd of all his wo;
Sich wonders can he wyrk all way
230 At wyll.
He rasys men from deth to lyfe, *raises; life*
And castys out devyls from thame oft-sythe. *often*
Seke men cam to hym full ryfe; *Sick; often*
He helys thaym of all yll. *heals*

TORTURER 1 For all thise dedys of great lovyng, *deeds; praise*
236 Thre thyngys I have fond, certanly, *found*
For which he is worthy to hyng: *hang*
Oone is oure kyng that he wold be;
Oure Sabbot day in his wyrkyng

240 He lettys not to hele the seke, truly; *ceases*
He says oure temple he shall downe bryng
And in thre daies byg it in hy, *(re-)build; haste*
All hole agane. *whole*
Syr Pilate, as ye sytt,
245 Looke wysely in youre wytt.
Dam Jesu, or ye flytt, *Condemn; before you depart*
On crosse to suffre his payne.

PILATE Thou man that suffurs all this yll, ***[fol. 81r]***
Why wyll thou us no mercy cry?
250 Slake thy hart and thi greatt wyll *Soften*
Whyls on thee we have mastry.
Of thy greatt warkes shew us som skyll. *reason*
Men call thee kyng, thou tell us why;
Wherfor the Jues seke thee to spyll *kill*
255 The cause I wold knowe wytterly, *truly*
Perdee. *By God*
Say what is thy name?
Thou lett for no shame. *hold back*
Thay putt on thee greatt blame,
260 Els myght thou skap for me. *escape*

COUNSELOR 2 Syr Pilate, prynce peerles,
This is my red: *advice*
That he skap not harmeles, *escape unharmed*
Bot do hym to ded. *to death*
265 He cals hym a kyng in every place;
Thus wold he overled *would; lead astray*
Oure people in his trace, *path*
And oure lawes downe tred
By skyll.
270 Syr, youre knyghtes of good lose *renown*
And the pepyll with oone voce *people; voice*
To hyng hym hy on a crosse *hang*
Thay cry and call you untyll. *unto you*

PILATE Now, certys, this is a wonder thyng *wondrous thing*
275 That ye wold bryng to noght
Hym that is youre lege lordyng; *liege lord*
In faith this was far soght.
Bot say why make ye none obeyng *obedience*
To hym that all has wroght.
TORTURER 3 Sir, he is oure chefe lordyng:
281 Syr Cesar, so worthyly wroght
On mold. *earth*
Pylate, do after us

And dam to deth Jesus, *condemn*
285 Or to Syr Cesar we trus *depart*
And make thy frenship cold. *friendship; cold*

PILATE Now that I am sakles *innocent*
Of this bloode shall ye see:
Both my handys in expres *in plain sight*
290 Weshen sall be. *Washed*
This bloode bees dere boght, I ges, *is dearly bought, I guess*
That ye spill so frelé. *freely*
TORTURER 1 We pray it fall endles
On us and oure meneye, *company*
295 With wrake. *vengeance*
PILATE Now youre desyre fulfyll I shall: *desire*
Take hym emangs you all; *among*
On crosse ye put that thrall, *slave*
His endyng ther to take.

TORTURER 1 Com on, tryp on thi tose *trip; toes*
301 Without any fenyng. *feigning*
Thou has made many glose *many a deceit*
With thy fals talkyng.
TORTURER 2 We ar worthy greatte lose *renown*
305 That thus has broght a kyng
From Syr Pilate and othere fose *foes*
Thus into oure ryng
Withoutt any hoyne. *delay*
Sirs, a kyng he hym cals; *himself*
310 Therfor a crowne hym befals. *belongs*
TORTURER 3 I swere by all myn elder sauls *the souls of my ancestors*
I shall it ordan soyne. *arrange soon*

TORTURER 1 Lo, here a crowne of thorne ***[fol. 81v]***
To perch his brane within *pierce; brain*
315 Putt on his hede with skorne, *scorn*
And gar thyrll the skyn. *make [it] pierce the skin*
TORTURER 2 Hayll, kyng, where was thou borne
Sich worship for to wyn? *Such*
We knele all thee beforne,
320 And thee to grefe will we not blyn, *grief; bring*
That be thou bold.
Now by Mahownes bloode
Ther will no mete do me goode *nourishment*
To he be hanged on a roode *Until; cross*
325 And his bones be cold.

TORTURER 1 Syrs, we may be fayn, *glad*
For I have fon a tree, *found; cross*
I tell you in certan
It is of greatt bewtee, *great beauty*
330 On the which he shall suffre payn,
Be feste with nales thre. *fast; nails*
Ther shall nothyng hym gayn
Theron to he dede be, *until he be dead*
I insure it. *guarantee*
335 Do bryng hym hence.
TORTURER 2 Take up oure gere and defence. *gear; weapons*
TORTURER 3 I wold spende all my spence *wealth*
To se hym ones skelpt. *once beaten*

TORTURER 1 This cros up thou take,
340 And make thee redy bowne; *ready*
Withoutt gruchyng thou rake, *reluctance; proceed*
And bere it thrugh the towne. *bear; through*
Mary thi moder, I wote, will make
Great mowrnyng and mone, *mourning and moan*
345 But for thy fals dedys sake
Shortly thou salbe slone, *shall be slain*
No nay.
The pepyll of Bedlem *people; Bethlehem*
And gentyls of Jerusalem,
350 All the comoners of this reme, *realm*
Shall wonder on thee this day.

JOHN Alas for my master moste of myght,
That yester-even with lanterne bright *yesterday*
Before Caiphas was broght.
355 Both Peter and I sagh that sight, *saw*
And sithen we fled away full wight *then; quickly*
When Jues so wonderly wroght. *Jews*
At morne thay toke to red, *counsel*
And fals witnes furth soght, *sought forth*
360 And demyd hym to be dede
That to thaym trespaste noght. *against them*

Alas, for his modere and othere moo, *many others*
My moder and hir syster also,
Sat sam with syghyng sore. *together*
[fol. 82r] Thay wote nothyng of all this wo; *know*
366 Therfor to tell thaym will I go
Sen I may mend no more. *Since*
If he shuld dy thus tyte *quickly*
And thay unwarned wore, *were*

370 I were worthy to wyte; *blame*
I will go fast therfor.

God save you, systers all in fere. *all together*
Dere lady, if thi will were,
I must tell tythyngys playn. *plain tidings*
MARY Welcom, John, my cosyn dere.
376 How farys my son sen thou was here? *fares; since*
That wold I wyt full fayn. *know; gladly*
JOHN A, dere lady, with youre leyff, *leave*
The trouth shuld no man layn, *conceal*
380 Ne with Godys will thaym grefe. *Nor; grieve*
MARY Whi, John, is my son slayn?

JOHN Nay, lady, I saide not so;
Bot ye me myn he told us two *remind me*
And thaym that with us wore *them; were*
385 How he with pyne shuld pas us fro, *suffering; from*
And efte shuld com us to *again*
To amende oure syghyng sore.
It may not stand in stede *be of advantage*
To sheynd youreself therfore. *destroy*
MARY MAGDALENE Alas, this day for drede.
391 Good John, neven this no more. *mention*

Speke prevaly, I thee pray, *privately*
For I am ferde if we hir flay *afraid; frighten her*
That she will ryn and rafe. *run and rave*
JOHN The sothe behowys me nede to say: *The truth must I of necessity say*
396 He is damyd to dede this day; *condemned to death*
Ther may no sorow hym safe. *save*
MARY JACOBI Good John, tell unto us two
What thou of hir will crafe, *desire of her*
400 And we will gladly go
And help that thou it have.

JOHN Systers, youre mowrnyng may not amende, ***[fol. 82v]***
And ye will ever or he take ende *And if; before*
Speke with my master free, *noble*
405 Then must ye ryse and with me weynd, *go*
And kepe hym as he shall be kend *seek; taken*
Withoutt yond same cyté. *Outside*
If ye will nygh me nere, *come close to*
Com fast, and felowe me. *follow*
MARY A, help me, systers dere,
411 That I my son may see.

MARY MAGDALENE Lady, we wold weynd full fayn, *go; gladly*
Hertely with all oure myght and mayn *Heartily; strength*
414 Youre comforth to encrese. *increase*
MARY Good John, go before and frayn. *inquire*
JOHN Lo, where he commes us even agayn,
With all yond mekyll prese, *that large crowd*
All youre mowrnyng in feyr *mourning together*
May not his sorow sese. *cease*
MARY Alas, for my son dere
421 That me to moder chese. *chose*

Alas, dere son, for care
I se thi body blede. *bleed*
Myself I will forfare *destroy*
425 For thee in this great drede. *dread*
This cros on thi shulder bare,
To help thee in this nede
I will it bere with greatt hart-sare, *heart's sorrow*
Wheder thay will thee lede. *Wherever; lead*
JESUS This cros is large in lengthe
431 And also bustus withall; *bulky*
If thou put to thi strengthe
To the erthe thou mon downe fall. *shall fall down*

MARY A, dere son, thou let me
435 Help thee in this case.

Et inclinabit crucem ad matrem suam.[1]

JESUS Lo, moder, I tell it thee
To bere no myght thou hase.
MARY I pray thee, dere son, it may so be:
To man thou gif thi grace; *give*
440 On thiself thou have pyté
And kepe thee from thi foyse. *foes*

JESUS Forsothe, moder, this is no nay: *Truly; beyond doubt*
On cros I must dede dre, *suffer death*
And from deth ryse on the thryd day;
445 Thus prophecy says by me.
Mans saull that I luffyd ay *soul; loved always*
I shall redeme securly; *truly*
Into blis of heven for ay *ever*
I shall it bryng to me.

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[1] *And he will lean the cross toward his mother*

MARY MAGDALENE It is greatt sorow to any wyght *creature*
451 Jesus to se with Jues keyn, *cruel*
[fol. 83r] How he in dyverse payns is dight; *maltreated*
For sorow I water both myn eeyn. *eyes*
MARY JACOBI This Lord that is of myght
455 Dyd never yll truly;
Thise Jues thay do not right *These*
If thay deme hym to dy.

MARY MAGDALENE Alas, what shall we say?
Jesus that is so leyfe *dear*
460 To deth thise Jues this day
Thay lede with paynes full grefe. *grievous*
MARY JACOBI He was full true I say,
Though thay dam hym as thefe; *condemn; thief*
Mankynde he lufed allway. *loved always*
465 For sorow my hart will clefe. *break*

JESUS Ye doghters of Jerusalem, *daughters*
I byd you wepe nothyng for me,
Bot for youreself and youre barn-teme. *brood of children*
Behald, I tell you securlé, *truly*
470 Sore paynes ar ordand for this reme *ordered; realm*
In dayes herafter for to be;
Youre myrth to bayll it shall downe streme *joy to sorrow; befall*
In every place of this cyté.

Childer, certys, thay shall blys *Children; bless*
475 Women baren that never child bare,
And pappes that never gaf sowke, iwys; *breasts; gave suck, certainly*
Thus shall thare hartys for sorow be sare. *hearts; sore*
The montayns hy and thise greatt hyllys
Thay shall byd fall apon them thare, *there*
480 For my bloode that sakles is *innocent*
To shede and spyll thay will not spare.

TORTURER 2 Walk on and lefe thi vayn carpyng; *chattering*
It shall not save thee fro thy dede, *death*
Wheder thise women cry or syng
485 For any red that thay can red. *counsel*

TORTURER 3 Say, wherto abyde we here abowte
Thise qwenes with scremyng and with showte? *whores*
May no man thare wordys stere? *restrain*
TORTURER 1 Go home, thou casbald with that clowte, *cloth; (see note)*
490 Or by that lord I leyfe and lowte *believe in and obey*

	Thou shall by it full dere.	*pay for it*
MARY MAGDALENE	This thyng shall venyance call	*vengeance*
	On you holly in fere.	*all of you together*
TORTURER 2	Go, hy thee hens withall	*hurry; hence*
495	Or yll hayll cam thou here.	*unluckily*
TORTURER 3	Let all this bargan be,	*business*
	Syn all oure toyles ar before;	
	This tratoure and this tre	*cross*
	I wold full fayn were thore.	*gladly; there*
TORTURER 1	It nedys not hym to harll;	*drag*
501	This cros dos hym greatt dere.	*harm*
	Bot yonder commys a carll	*churl*
	Shall help hym for to bere.	*carry [the cross]*
TORTURER 2	That shall we soyn se on assay.	*soon see by trying*
505	Herk, good man, wheder art thou on away?	*Listen; whither*
	Thou walkes as thou were wrath.	
SIMON	Syrs, I have a greatt jornay	*journey*
	That must be done this same day	
	Or els it will me skathe.	*harm*
TORTURER 3	Thou may with lytyll payn	*little pain;* ***[fol. 83v]***
511	Easse hym and thiself both.	
SIMON	Good syrs, that wold I fayn,	*gladly*
	Bot for to tary I were full loth.	*tarry*
TORTURER 1	Nay, nay, thou shall full soyn be sped.	*soon*
515	Lo, here a lad that must be led	
	For his yll dedys to dy,	*wicked deeds*
	And he is bressed and all for bled;	*bruised; bleeding all over*
	That makys us here thus stratly sted.	*sorely beset*
	We pray thee sir, forthi,	*therefore*
520	That thou will take this tre,	*cross*
	Bere it to Calvery.	*Bear*
SIMON	Good sirs, that may not be,	
	For full greatt hast have I.	*haste*
	No longere may I hoyn.	*delay*
TORTURER 2	In fayth, thou shall not go so soyn	*soon*
526	For noght that thou can say.	
	This dede must nedys be done	
	And this carll be dede or noyn,	*before noon*
	And now is nere mydday.	*midday*
530	And therfore help us at this nede	
	And make us here no more delay.	
SIMON	I pray you, do youre dede	*deed*
	And let me go my way,	

	And I shall com full soyn agane	*soon again*
535	To help this man with all my mayn	*might*
	At youre awne wyll.	*own*
TORTURER 3	What, and wold thou trus with sich a trane?	*depart; such a treachery*
	Nay, fatur, thou shall be full fayn	*impostor; glad*
	This forward to fulfyll,	*agreement*
540	Or by the myght of Mahowne	
	Thou shall lyke it full yll.	
TORTURER 1	Tytt, let dyng this dastard downe	*Quickly; strike; fool*
	Bot he lay hand thertyll.	*Unless*
SIMON	Certys that were unwysely wroght,	*unwisely done*
545	To beytt me bot if I trespast oght	*beat; at all*
	Aythere in worde or dede.	
TORTURER 2	Apon thi bak it shall be broght;	
	Thou berys it, wheder thou will or noght.	*whether*
	Dewyll, whom shuld we drede?	*Devil; fear*
550	And therfor take it here belyfe,	*at once*
	And bere it furth good spede.	*quickly*
SIMON	It helpys not here to strife;	*struggle*
	Bere it behoves me nede.	*I must of necessity bear it*
	And therfor, syrs, as ye have sayde,	
555	To help this man I am well payde,	*content*
	As ye wold that it were.	
TORTURER 3	A ha, now ar we right arayde.	*well set*
	Bot loke oure gere be redy grade	*gear; prepared*
	To wyrk when we com there.	
TORTURER 1	I warand all redy	*warrant;* ***[fol. 84r]***
561	Oure toyles both moore and les,	*toils*
	And Syr Symon truly	
	Gose on before with cros.	
TORTURER 3	Now by Mahowne, oure heven kyng,	
565	I wold that we were in that stede	*place*
	Where we myght hym on cros bryng.	
	Step on before and furth hym lede	*forth*
	A trace.	*The way*
TORTURER 1	Com on, thou!	
TORTURER 2	Put on, thou!	
TORTURER 3	I com fast after you	
572	And folowse on the chace.	*follow; chase*

Explicit flagellacio.[1]

[1] *Here ends the scourging*

20. THE CRUCIFIXION

Pilate
Torturer 1
Torturer 2
Torturer 3
Torturer 4
Jesus
Mary
John
Longeus
Joseph of Arimathea
Nichodemus

Sequitur processus crucis.[1]

PILATE Peasse I byd evereich wight! *Peace; every creature*
Stand as styll as stone in wall
Whyls ye ar present in my sight,
That none of you clattere ne call; *chatter nor yell*
5 For if ye do youre dede is dight, *death is ordained*
I warne it you both greatt and small,
With this brand burnyshyd so bright; *sword*
Therfor in peasse loke ye be all.

What, peasse in the dwillys name! *devil's*
10 Harlottys and dustardys all bedene, *Scoundrels and fools all together*
On galus ye be maide full tame; *gallows; made*
Thefys and mychers keyn, *robbers keen*
Will ye not peasse when I bid you?
By Mahownys bloode, if ye me teyn, *annoy*
15 I shall ordan sone for you *ordain soon*
Paynes that never ere was seyn, *before; seen*
And that anone. *soon*
Be ye so bold, beggars, I warn you,
Full boldly shall I bett you. *beat*
20 To hell the dwill shall draw yow
Body, bak, and bone. *back*

[fol. 84v] I am a lord that mekill is of myght; *much*
Prynce of all Jury, Sir Pilate I hight, *Jewry; I am named*
Next kyng Herode grettyst of all.
25 Bowys to my byddyng both greatt and small *Bow*

[1] *The pageant of the cross follows*

Or els ye be shentt; *destroyed*
Therfor stere youre tonges, I warn you all, *restrain; tongues*
And unto us take tent. *pay attention*

TORTURER 1 All peasse, all peasse, emang you all,
And herkyns now what shall befall *listen; happen*
Of this fals chuffer here, *false impostor*
That with his fals quantyse *false cunning*
Hase lett hymself as God wyse *regarded*
Emangys us many a yere. *Among*

He cals hymself a prophett,
And says that he can bales bete *heal sorrows*
And make all thyngys amende,
Bot or oght lang, wytt we shall *before very long; know*
Wheder he can bete his awne bale, *own misery*
Or skapp out of oure hende. *escape; hands*

Was not this a wonder thyng *wondrous*
That he durst call hymself a kyng, *dare*
And make so greatt a lee? *lie*
Bot by Mahowne, whils I may lyf
Those prowde wordes shall I never forgyf
Tyll he be hanged on he. *high*

TORTURER 2 Hys pride, fy, we sett at noght. *fie, we count for nothing*
Bot ich man now kest in his thoght *each; consider*
And looke that we noght wante,
For I shall fownde if that I may *attempt*
By the order of knyghtede today
To cause his hart pante. *heart; throb*

TORTURER 3 And so shall I, with all my myght,
Abate his pride this ylk nyght, *Cease; very*
And rekyn hym a crede. *recite*
Lo, he letys he cowde none yll, *pretends; could do*
Bot he can ay when he wyll *whenever*
Do a full fowll dede.

TORTURER 4 Yei, felows ye, as have I rest,
Emangys us all I red we kest *advise; plan*
To bryng this thefe to dede.
Loke that we have that we shuld nate *what we need*
For to hald this shrew strate. *securely*
TORTURER 1 That was a nobyll red. *noble advice*

[fol. 85r]	Lo, here I have a bande	*band*
66	If nede be to bynd his hande;	
	This thowng I trow will last.	*cord; trust*
TORTURER 2	And here oone to the othere syde	
	That shall abate his pride,	
70	Be it be drawen fast.	
TORTURER 3	Lo, here a hamere and nales also	*hammer; nails*
	For to festen fast oure foo	*fasten*
	To this tre full soyn.	*cross; quickly*
TORTURER 4	Ye ar wise, withoutten drede,	*doubtless*
75	That so can help youreself at nede	
	Of thyng that shuld be done.	
TORTURER 1	Now dar I say hardely	*certainly*
	He shall with all his mawmentry	*idolatry*
	No longere us betell.	*deceive*
TORTURER 2	Syn Pilate hase hym tyll us geyn,	*to us given*
81	Have done belyfe; let it be seyn	*at once; seen*
	How we can with hym mell.	*deal*
TORTURER 3	Now ar we at the monte of Calvarye.	*Mount Calvary*
	Have done, felows, and let now se	*see*
85	How we can with hym lake.	*play*
TORTURER 4	Yee, for as modee as he can loke,	*proud; look*
	He wold have turnyd an othere croke	*trick*
	Myght he have had the rake.	*opportunity*
TORTURER 1	In fayth, syr, sen ye callyd you a kyng,	*yourself*
90	You must prufe a worthy thyng	*prove*
	That falles unto the were:	*befits the defender*
	Ye must just in tornamente.	*joust; tournament*
	Bot ye sytt fast els be ye shentt,	*destroyed*
	Els downe I shall you bere.	*bear*
TORTURER 2	If thou be Godys son as thou tellys,	
96	Thou can thee kepe; how shuld thou ellys?	*[do] otherwise*
	Els were it mervell greatt.	
	And bot if thou can, we will not trow	*believe*
	That thou hase saide, bot make thee mow	*grimace*
100	When thou syttys in yond sett.	*that seat*
TORTURER 3	If thou be kyng, we shall thank adyll,	*earn thanks*
	For we shall sett thee in thy sadyll;	*saddle*
	For fallyng be thou bold.	*(see note)*
	I hete thee well tho bydys a shaft;	*promise; suffer a lance*

105	Bot if thou sytt well, thou had better laft	*Unless; left*
	The tales that thou has told.	
TORTURER 4	Stand nere, felows, and let se	*see*
	How we can hors oure kyng so fre	*put on horseback*
	By any craft.	*manner*
[fol. 85v]	Stand thou yonder on yond syde	*over there on that side*
111	And we shall se how he can ryde,	
	And how to weld a shaft.	*wield a lance*
TORTURER 1	Sir, commys heder and have done,	*come here*
	And wyn apon youre palfray sone	*mount; horse without delay*
115	For he is redy bowne.	*ready*
	If ye be bond till hym, be not wrothe	*bound to*
	For be ye secure; we were full lothe	
	On any wyse that ye fell downe.	*way*
TORTURER 2	Knyt thou a knott with all thi strenght	*Tie*
120	For to draw this arme on lengthe	
	Tyll it com to the bore.	*bore-hole*
TORTURER 3	Thou maddys, man, bi this light.	*are mad*
	It wantys, tyll ich mans sight,	*each*
	Othere half span and more.	*another half*
TORTURER 4	Yit drawe owt this arme and fest it fast	*fasten it securely*
126	With this rope that well will last,	
	And ilk man lay hand to.	*each*
TORTURER 1	Yee, and bynd thou fast that band;	
	We shall go to that othere hand	
130	And loke what we can do.	
TORTURER 2	Do dryfe a nayll ther thrughoutt,	*drive; there*
	And then thar us nothyng doutt	*need; doubt*
	For it will not brest.	*break*
TORTURER 3	That shall I do as myght I thryfe,	*thrive*
135	For to clynke and for to dryfe	*fasten*
	Therto I am full prest.	*ready*
	So lett it styk, for it is wele.	*remain; well*
TORTURER 4	Thou says sothe, as have I cele,	*truth; happiness*
139	Ther can no man it mende.	
TORTURER 1	Hald downe his knees.	
TORTURER 2	That shall I do.	
TORTURER 1	His norysh yede never better to.	*His nurse never went about it better*
	Lay on all your hende.	*hands*

TORTURER 3	Draw out hys lymmes — let se, have at!	*limbs*
TORTURER 4	That was well drawen, that that!	
145	Fare fall hym that so puld	*pulled*
	For to have getten it to the marke;	
	I trow lewde man ne clerk	*unlearned man nor clerk*
	Nothyng better shuld.	
TORTURER 1	Hald it now fast thor,	*there*
150	And oone of you take the bore	*go to the bore-hole*
	And then may it not fayll.	
TORTURER 2	That shall I do withoutten drede	
	As ever myght I well spede	*I might hurry*
	Hym to mekyll bayll.	*much misery*
TORTURER 3	So that is well; it will not brest.	*break;* ***[fol. 86r]***
156	Bot let now se who dos the best	
	With any slegthe of hand.	*dexterity*
TORTURER 4	Go we now unto the othere ende.	
	Felowse, fest on fast youre hende	*hands*
160	And pull well at this band.	
TORTURER 1	I red, felowse, by this wedyr,	*advise; weather*
	That we draw all ons togedir	*all at once together*
	And loke how it wyll fare.	
TORTURER 2	Let now se and lefe youre dyn.	*stop; noise*
165	And draw we ilka syn from syn	*each sinew*
	For nothyng let us spare.	
TORTURER 3	Nay, felowse, this is no gam.	*game; (see note)*
	We will no longere draw all sam,	*all the same*
	So mekill have I asspyed.	*much; seen*
TORTURER 4	No, for as have I blys,	*blessing*
171	Som can twyk, whoso it is	*pull with a jerk*
	Sekys easse on somkyn syde.	*Seeks*
TORTURER 1	It is better, as I hope,	
	On by hisself to draw this rope,	*One*
175	And then may we se	
	Who it is that erewhile	*earlier*
	All his felows can begyle	*trick*
	Of this companye.	
TORTURER 2	Sen thou will, so have here for me	*Since*
180	How draw I, as myght thou thé.	*thrive*
TORTURER 3	Thou drew right wele;	
	Have here for me half a foyte.	*half a foot*

TORTURER 4 Wema, man, I trow thou doyte! *think; dote*
Thou flyt it never a dele. *move it not at all*

185 Bot have for me here that I may.
TORTURER 1 Well drawen, son, bi this day.
Thou gose well to thi warke; *work*
188 Yit efte whils thi hande is in. *again while*
TORTURER 2 Pull therat with somkyn gyn. *some kind of contrivance*
TORTURER 3 Yee, and bryng it to the marke.

TORTURER 4 Pull, pull!
TORTURER 1 Have now.
TORTURER 2 Let se.
TORTURER 3 Aha!
TORTURER 4 Yit a draght. *tug*
TORTURER 1 Therto with all my maght. *might*
TORTURER 2 A ha, hold still thore. *there*
TORTURER 3 So, felowse, looke now belyfe *at once*
195 Which of you can best dryfe, *drive*
And I shall take the bore. *bore-hole*

TORTURER 4 Let me go therto, if I shall; ***[fol. 86v]***
I hope that I be the best mershall *marshal*
For to clynke it right. *fasten*
200 Do rase hym up now when we may,
For I hope he and his palfray *horse*
Shall not twyn this nyght. *part*

TORTURER 1 Com hedir, felowse, and have done,
And help this tre sone *soon*
205 To lyft with all youre sleght. *skill*
TORTURER 2 Yit let us wyrke a whyle,
And no man now othere begyle *deceive*
To it be broght on heght. *Until*

TORTURER 3 Felowse, fest on all youre hende *hold with; hands*
210 For to rase this tre on ende,
And let se who is last.
TORTURER 4 I red we do as that he says;
Set we the tre in the mortase *mortise*
214 And ther will it stand fast.

TORTURER 1 Up with the tymbre. *timber*
TORTURER 2 A, it heldys! *leans*
For hym that all this warld weldys, *governs*
Put fro thee with thi hande.
TORTURER 3 Hald even emangys us all. *evenly among*

TORTURER 4 Yee, and let it into the mortase fall,
220 For then will it best stande.

TORTURER 1 Go we to it, and be we strong
And rase it, be it never so long,
223 Sen that it is fast bon. *secure*
TORTURER 2 Up with the tymbre, fast on ende.
TORTURER 3 A, felowse, fayr fall youre hende. *let go; hands*
TORTURER 4 So, syr, gape agans the son. *at the sun*

TORTURER 1 A, felow, war thi crowne. *beware*
TORTURER 2 Trowes thou this tymbre will oght downe?
TORTURER 3 Yit help that it were fast. *secure*
TORTURER 4 Shog hym well, and let us lyfte. *Shake*
TORTURER 1 Full shorte shal be his thryfte. *luck*
TORTURER 2 A, it standys up lyke a mast.

JESUS I pray you pepyll that passe me by, *people*
That lede youre lyfe so lykandly, *pleasantly*
235 Heyfe up youre hartys on hight. *Lift; high*
Behold if ever ye sagh body *saw*
Buffet and bett thus blody, *Buffeted; beaten*
Or yit thus dulfully dight; *dolefully mistreated*
In warld was never no wight *world; creature*
240 That suffred half so sare. *sore*
My mayn, my mode, my myght *strength; determination*
Is noght bot sorow to sight, *see*
And comforth none bot care. *comfort*

[fol. 87r] My folk, what have I done to thee
245 That thou all thus shall tormente me?
Thy syn by I full sore. *buy*
What have I grevyd thee, answere me, *grieved*
That thou thus nalys me to a tre, *nail*
And all for thyn erroure? *error*
250 Where shall thou seke socoure? *seek help*
This mys how shall thou amende *misdeed*
When that thou thy saveoure *savior*
Dryfes to this dyshonoure, *Drives*
And nalys thrugh feete and hende? *hands*

255 All creatoures that kynde may kest, *nature; know*
Beestys, byrdys, all have thay rest *Beasts; birds*
When thay ar wo-begon; *beset with woe*
Bot Godys Son that shuld be best
Hase not whereapon his hede to rest
260 Bot on his shuder bone. *shoulder*

To whome now may I make my mone — *lament*
When thay thus martyr me
And sakles will me slone — *innocent; slay*
And beete me blode and bone
265 That my brethere shuld be? — *brothers*

What kyndnes shuld I kythe theym to? — *show*
Have I not done that I aght to do, — *ought*
Maide thee to my lyknes?
And thou thus refys me rest and ro — *rob; peace*
270 And lettys thus lightly on me, lo! — *disregard me this way*
Sich is thy catyfnes. — *wickedness*
I have thee kyd kyndnes; — *shown*
Unkyndly thou me quytys. — *rewards*
Se thus thi wekydnes; — *wickedness*
275 Loke how thou me dyspytys. — *despise*

Gyltles thus am I put to pyne, — *Guiltless; punishment*
Not for my mys, man, bot for thyne. — *misdeed*
Thus am I rent on rode, — *torn apart; cross*
For I that tresoure wold not tyne — *treasure; lose*
280 That I markyd and made for myne;
Thus by I Adam blode — *buy*
That sonkyn was in syn — *sunken*
With none erthly good — *no earthly*
Bot with my flesh and blode — *But*
285 That lothe was for to wyn. — *loath; gain*

My brethere that I com for to by — *buy*
Has hanged me here thus hedusly, — *hideously*
And freyndys fynde I foyn; — *friends; few*
Thus have thay dight me drerely — *mistreated me cruelly*
290 And all byspytt me spytusly, — *spit on; spitefully*
As helples man in won. — *everywhere*
[fol. 87v] Bot Fader that syttys in trone, — *throne*
Forgyf thou them this gylt; — *guilt*
I pray to thee this boyn. — *favor*
295 Thay wote not what thay doyn, — *They know not; do*
Nor whom thay have thus spylt. — *killed*

TORTURER 1 Yis, what we do full well we knaw.
TORTURER 2 Yee, that shall he fynde within a thraw. — *a moment*

TORTURER 3 Now with a myschaunce tyll his cors! — *body*
300 Wenys he that we gyf any force — *Thinks; give*
What dwill soever he ayll? — *devil; ails him*
TORTURER 4 For he wold tary us all day — *delay*

	Of his dede to make delay,	
304	I tell you sans fayll.	*without fail*
TORTURER 1	Lyft us this tre emanges us all.	
TORTURER 2	Yee, and let it into the mortase fall,	
	And that shall gar hym brest.	*break him*
TORTURER 3	Yee, and all to-ryfe hym lym from lym.	*tear; limb*
TORTURER 4	And it will breke ilk jonte in hym.	*each joint*
310	Let se now who dos best.	*does*
MARY	Alas, the doyll I dre!	*sorrow I suffer*
	I drowpe, I dare in drede.	*cower; tremble with fear*
	Whi hyngys thou, son, so hee?	*hangs; high*
	My bayll begynnes to brede.	*misery; broaden*
315	All blemyshyd is thi ble;	*complexion*
	I se thi body blede.	
	In warld, son, were never we	*a person; (see note)*
	So wo as I in wede.	
	My foode that I have fed,	*child*
320	In luf-longyng thee led,	
	Full stratly art thou sted	*securely; placed*
	Emanges thi foo-men fell.	*wicked foes*
	Sich sorow for to se,	
	My dere barn, on thee,	*babe*
325	Is more mowrnyng to me	*mournful*
	Then any tong may tell.	*tongue*
	Alas, thi holy hede	*head*
	Hase not wheron to helde;	*nothing on which to lean*
	Thi face with blode is red	
330	Was fare as floure in feylde.	*flower; field*
	How shuld I stand in sted	*this place*
	To se my barne thus blede?	
	Bett as blo as lede,	*Beaten as blue as lead*
	And has no lym to weylde:	*wield*
335	Festynd both handys and feete	*Fasten*
[fol. 88r]	With nalys full unmete,	*huge nails*
	His woundes wrynyng wete.	*wringing wet*
	Alas, my childe, for care,	
	For all rent is thi hyde.	*torn; skin*
340	I se on aythere syde	*either*
	Teres of blode downe glide	*Tears*
	Over all thi body bare.	
	Alas, that ever I shuld byde	*remain*
	And se my feyr thus fare.	*companion*

JOHN Alas, for doyll, my lady dere. *sorrow*
346 All forchangid is thi chere *changed; countenance*
To se this prynce withoutten pere *peer*
Thus lappyd all in wo. *wrapped*
He was thi fode, thi faryst foine, *child; offspring*
350 Thi luf, thi lake, thi lufsom son *delight; beloved son*
That high on tre thus hyngys alone
With body blak and blo. *black and blue*
Alas,
To me and many mo
355 A good master he was.

Bot lady, sen it is his will
The prophecy to fulfyll
That mankynde in syn not spill, *sin not perish*
For theym to thole this payn *To suffer this pain for them*
360 And with his dede raunson to make, *death ransom*
As prophetys beforn of hym spake, *spoke*
Forthi I red thi sorowe thou slake. *Therefore; advise; cease*
Thi wepyng may not gayn;
In sorowe
365 Oure boytt he byes full bayn, *deliverance; buys full readily*
Us all from bale to borowe. *misery; save*

MARY Alas, thyn een as cristall clere *eyes*
That shoyn as son in sight, *shone; sun*
That lufly were in lyere, *hue*
370 Lost thay have thare light *their*
And wax all faed in fere; *become all faded*
All dym then ar thay dight. *dim; made*
In payn has thou no pere
That is withoutten plight. *sin*

375 Swete son, say me thi thoght
What wonders has thou wroght
To be in payn thus broght,
Thi blissed blode to blende. *spoil*
A, son, thynk on my wo.
380 Whi will thou fare me fro? *go from me*
On mold is no man mo *earth; more*
That may my myrthes amende.

JOHN Comly lady, good and couth, *gentle;* ***[fol. 88v]***
Fayn wold I comforth thee. *Gladly*
385 Me mynnys my master with mowth *remember; [his] mouth*
Told unto his menyee *company*

That he shuld thole full mekill payn — *suffer*
And dy apon a tre, — *die*
And to the lyfe ryse up agayn;
390 Apon the thryd day shuld it be
Full right.
Forthi, my lady swete, — *Therefore*
Stynt a while of grete. — *Cease; weeping*
Oure bale then will he bete — *heal*
395 As he befor has hight. — *promised*

MARY Mi sorow it is so sad
No solace may me safe. — *save*
Mowrnyng makys me mad; — *Mourning*
None hope of help I hafe. — *have*
400 I am redles and rad — *perplexed; afraid*
For ferd that I mon rafe; — *fear; rave*
Noght may make me glad
To I be in my grafe. — *Until; grave*

To deth my dere is dryffen. — *driven*
405 His robe is all to-ryffen — *torn apart; (see note)*
That of me was hym gyffen, — *given*
And shapen with my sydys.
Thise Jues and he has stryffen — *fought*
That all the bale he bydys. — *pain he suffers*

410 Alas, my lam so mylde, — *lamb*
Whi will thou fare me fro? — *go from me*
Emang thise wulfes wylde — *wild wolves*
That wyrke on thee this wo,
For shame who may thee shelde? — *shield*
415 For freyndys has thou fo. — *friends; few*
Alas, my comly childe, — *fair*
Whi will thou fare me fro?

Madyns, make youre mone, — *Maidens; lament*
And wepe ye wyfes everichon — *all wives*
420 With me, most wrich in wone, — *wretched anywhere*
The childe that borne was best.
My harte is styf as stone
That for no bayll will brest. — *misery; break*

JOHN A, lady, well wote I — *know*
425 Thi hart is full of care
When thou thus openly
Sees thi childe thus fare.
Luf gars hym rathly — — *Love compels him swiftly*

Hymself will he not spare —
430 Us all fro baill to by, *from misery; buy*
Of blis that ar full bare *uncovered*
For syn.
My lefe lady, forthy *dear; therefore*
Of mowrnyng loke thou blyn. *cease*

MARY "Alas" may ever be my sang *song;* ***[fol. 89r]***
436 Whyls I may lyf in leyd. *live among people*
Me thynk now that I lyf to lang *too long*
To se my barne thus blede.
Jues wyrke with hym all wrang;
440 Wherfor do thay this dede? *Why*
Lo, so hy thay have hym hang;
Thay let for no drede. *cease*
Whi so?
His fo-men is he emang; *foe*
445 No freynde he has bot fo. *friend; few*

My frely foode now farys me fro. *child*
What shall worth on me? *become of*
Thou art warpyd all in wo *wrapped*
And spred here on a tre
450 Full hee. *high*
I mowrne, and so may mo *mourn; more*
That sees this payn on thee.

JOHN Dere lady, well were me
If that I myght comforth thee,
455 For the sorow that I see
Sherys myn harte in sondere *Tears (shears); asunder*
When that I se my master hang
With bytter paynes and strang; *cruel*
Was never wight with wrang *creature; wrong*
460 Wroght so mekill wonder.

MARY Alas, dede, thou dwellys to lang; *death; too long*
Whi art thou hid fro me?
Who kend thee to my childe to gang? *commanded; go*
All blak thou makys his ble, *black; complexion*
465 Now witterly thou wyrkys wrang. *certainly*
The more I will wyte thee, *blame*
Bot if thou will my harte stang *Unless; pierce*
That I myght with hym dee *die*
And byde. *remain*
470 Sore syghyng is my sang, *sighing; song*
For thyrlyd is his hyde. *pierced*

A, dede, what has thou done?
With thee will I moytt sone, *converse soon*
Sen I had childer none bot oone,
475 Best under son or moyn; *sun or moon*
Freyndys I had full foyn, *few*
That gars me grete and grone *make me weep and groan*
Full sore.
Good Lord, graunte me my boyn *request*
480 And let me lyf no more. *live*

Gabriell, that good,
Som tyme thou can me grete, *greet*
And then I understud
Thi wordys that were so swete,
485 Bot now thay meng my moode; *arouse my anger*
For grace thou can me hete *promise*
To bere, all of my blode,
A childe oure baill shuld bete *[who] our misery should relieve*
With right;
490 Now hyngys he here on rude. *[the] cross*
Where is that thou me hight? *promised*

All that thou of blys *bliss*
Hight me in that stede *Promised; place*
From myrth is faren omys *gone amiss*
495 And yit I trow thi red. *believe your counsel*
Thi councell now of this:
My lyfe how shall I lede
[fol. 89v] When fro me gone is
He that was my hede, *head*
500 In hy?
My dede now comen it is; *death*
My dere son, have mercy.

JESUS My moder mylde, thou chaunge thi chere.
Sease of thi sorow and sighyng sere; *Cease; manifold*
505 It syttys unto my hart full sore.
The sorow is sharp I suffre here,
Bot doyll thou drees, my moder dere, *sorrow; suffers*
Me marters mekill more. *martyrs me much more*
Thus will my Fader I fare *wills; [that] I go*
510 To lowse mankynde of bandys; *release; bonds*
His Son will he not spare
To lowse that bon was are *bound; before*
Full fast in feyndys handys. *fiends'*

The fyrst cause, moder, of my commyng
515 Was for mankynde myscarying; *wrongdoing*
To salf thare sore I soght. *heal their wound*
Therfor, moder, make none mowrnyng,
Sen mankynde thrugh my dyyng
May thus to blis be broght.
520 Woman, wepe thou right noght;
Take ther John unto thi chylde.
Mankynde must nedys be boght
And thou kest, cosyn, in thi thoght; *If you consider, kinsman*
John, lo, ther thi moder mylde.

525 Blo and blody thus am I bett, *Blue*
Swongen with swepys and all to-swett, *Beaten with blows; drenched*
Mankynde, for thi mysdede.
For my luf, lust when wold thou lett *forsake lust*
And thi harte sadly sett *make steadfast*
530 Sen I thus for thee have blede? *Since*
Sich lyf, forsothe, I led
That unethes may I more; *scarcely may I [do] more*
This suffre I for thi nede
To marke thee, man, thi mede. *allot; reward*
535 Now thryst I wonder sore. *thirst*

TORTURER 1 Noght bot hold thi peasse.
Thou shall have drynke within a resse; *in a hurry*
Myself shal be thy knave. *servant*
Have here the draght that I thee hete, *promise*
540 And I shall warand it is not swete *guarantee; sweet*
On all the good I have. *goods*

TORTURER 2 So, syr, say now all youre will,
For if ye couth have holden you styll *could*
Ye had not had this brade. *torment*
TORTURER 3 Thou wold allgaytt be kyng of Jues, *by all means*
546 Bot by this I trow thou rues *regret*
All that thou has sayde.

TORTURER 4 He has hym rused of great prophecyes *boasted*
[fol. 90r] That he shuld make us tempyl-les
550 And gar it cleyn downe fall; *make; clean*
And yit he sayde he shuld it rase *raise*
As well as it was within thre dayes.
He lyes that wote we all; *lies*

And for his lyes in great dispyte
555 We will departe his clothyng tyte, *divide; quickly*

	Bot he can more of arte.	*Unless; knows more trickery*
TORTURER 1	Yee, as ever myght I thryfe,	
	Soyn will we this mantyll ryfe	*Soon; mantle tear*
559	And ich man take his parte.	*each*
TORTURER 2	How wold thou we share this clothe?	*divide*
TORTURER 3	Nay, forsothe, that were I lothe,	
	Then were it allgate spylt.	*completely destroyed*
	Bot assent thou to my saw:	*words*
	Lett us all cutt draw,	
565	And then is none begylt.	*deceived*
TORTURER 4	How so befallys, now wyll I draw.	
	This is myn by comon law;	
	Say not theragayn.	*against that*
TORTURER 1	Now sen it may no better be	*since*
570	Chevich thee with it for me;	*Carry on*
	Me thynk thou art ful fayn.	*glad*
TORTURER 2	How, felowse, se ye not yond skraw?	*that scroll*
	It is writen yonder within a thraw	*moment*
	Now sen that we drew cut.	*since*
TORTURER 3	Ther is no man that is on lyfe	*alive*
576	Bot it were Pilate, as myght I thrife,	
	That durst it ther have putt.	*dare*
TORTURER 4	Go we fast and let us loke	*look*
	What is wretyn on yond boke,	*written; book*
580	And what it may bemeyn.	*mean*
TORTURER 1	A, the more I loke theron,	*there upon*
	A, the more I thynke I fon.	*am confused*
	All is not worth a beyn.	*bean*
TORTURER 2	Yis, forsothe, me thynk I se	*truly*
585	Theron writen langage thre:	*three*
	Ebrew and Latyn	*Hebrew and Latin*
	And Grew, me thynk, writen theron,	*Greek*
	For it is hard for to expowne.	*expound*
TORTURER 3	Thou red, by Appolyn.	*read; Apollyon*
TORTURER 4	Yee, as I am a trew knyght,	*true*
591	I am the best Latyn wright	*Latin craftsman*
	Of this company.	
	I will go withoutten delay	
	And tell you what it is to say.	
595	Behald, syrs, witterly:	*truly*

[fol. 90v] Yonder is wretyn "Jesu of Nazareyn
He is kyng of Jues," I weyn. *think*
TORTURER 1 A, that is writen wrang. *incorrectly*
TORTURER 2 He callys hym so, bot he is none.
TORTURER 3 Go we to Pilate and make oure mone; *complaint*
601 Have done, and dwell not lang. *long*

Pilate, yonder is a fals tabyll; *false tablet*
Theron is wryten noght bot fabyll. *fable*
Of Jues he is not kyng;
605 He callys hym so, bot he not is.
It is falsly writen, iwys; *certainly*
This is a wrangwys thyng. *wrongful*

PILATE Boys, I say, what mell ye you? *say*
As it is writen shall it be now,
610 I say certane:
Quod scriptum scripsi;[1]
That same wrote I.
What gadlyng gruches theragane? *fellow complains against that*

TORTURER 4 Sen that he is man of law, *Since*
615 He must nedys have his will.
I trow he had not writen that saw *those words*
Without som propre skyll. *reason*

TORTURER 1 Yee, let it hyng above his hede;
It shall not save hym fro the dede, *from death*
620 Noght that he can write. *No matter what*
TORTURER 2 Now ylla-hale was he borne. *unlucky*
TORTURER 3 Ma fay, I tell his lyfe is lorne. *[By] my faith; lost*
He shal be slayn as tyte. *quickly*

If thou be Crist, as men thee call,
625 Com downe emangys us all
And thole not thies myssaes. *suffer; these afflictions*
TORTURER 4 Yee, and help thiself that we may se,
And we shall all trow in thee *believe*
Whatsoever thou says.

TORTURER 1 He cals hymself God of myght,
631 Bot I wold se hym be so wight *brave*
To do sich a dede. *such*
He rasyd Lazare out of his delfe, *grave*

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[1] *What is written, I have written*

Bot he cannot help hymself
635 Now in his greatt nede.

JESUS *Hely, hely, lamazabatany*! *(see note)*
My God, my God, wherfor and why
Has thou forsakyn me?

TORTURER 2 How, here ye not as well as I
640 How he can now on Hely cry *Elias*
Apon his wyse? *In his manner*
TORTURER 3 Yee, ther is none Hely in this countré ***[fol. 91r]***
Shall delyver hym from this meneye *company*
On no kyns wyse. *no way*

TORTURER 4 I warand you now at the last
646 That he shall soyn yelde the gast, *soon yield; spirit*
For brestyn is his gall. *burst; gall-bladder*
JESUS Now is my passyon broght tyll ende. *passion*
Fader of heven, into thyn hende *hands*
650 I betake my saull. *soul*

TORTURER 1 Let one pryk hym with a spere,
And if that it do hym no dere *harm*
Then is his lyfe nere past.
TORTURER 2 This blynde knyght may best do that.
LONGEUS Gar me not do bot I wote what.
TORTURER 3 Not bot put up fast. *Nothing but thrust [your spear] upward*

LONGEUS A, Lord what may this be?
Ere was I blynde, now may I se. *Before*
Godys Son, here me, Jesu: *hear*
660 For this trespas on me thou rew; *take pity on me*
For Lord, othere men me gart *make*
That I thee stroke unto the hart.
I se thou hyngys here on hy
And dyse to fulfyll the prophecy. *dies*

TORTURER 4 Go we hence and leyfe hym here, *leave*
666 For I shall be his borghe to yere *surety this year*
He felys no more payn,
For Hely ne for none othere man.
All the good that ever he wan *goods; won*
670 Gettys not his lyfe agayn.

JOSEPH Alas, alas and walaway
That ever shuld I abyde this day *endure*
To se my master dede,

Thus wykydly as he is shent *destroyed*
675 With so bytter tornamente
Thrugh fals Jues red. *Through false Jews' advice*

Nychodeme, I wold we yede *Nichodemus; go*
To Syr Pilate, if we myght spede, *hurry*
His body for to crave. *demand*
680 I will fownde with all my myght *attempt*
For my servyce to aske that knyght
His body for to grave. *bury*

NICHODEMUS Joseph, I will weynde with thee, *go*
For to do that is in me *whatever I can*
685 For that body to pray. *request*
For oure good will and oure travale *labor*
I hope that it mon us avayll *shall assist us*
Hereafterward som day.

JOSEPH Syr Pylate, God thee save! ***[fol. 91v]***
690 Graunte me that I crave,
If that it be thi will.
PILATE Welcom, Joseph, myght thou be.
Whatso thou askys, I graunte it thee,
So that it be skyll. *As long as; reasonable*

JOSEPH For my long servyce, I thee pray,
696 Graunte me the body, say me not nay, *no*
Of Jesu dede on rud. *dead on the cross*
PILATE I graunte well, if he ded be,
Good leyfe shall thou have of me; *leave*
700 Do with hym what thou thynk gud. *good*

JOSEPH Gramercy, syr, of youre good grace *Thank you*
That ye have graunte me in this place.
Go we oure way.
Nychodeme, com me furth with,
705 For I myself shall be the smyth,
The nales out for to dray. *draw*

NICHODEMUS Joseph, I am redy here,
To go with thee with full good chere
To help thee at my myght.
710 Pull furth the nales on aythere syde, *nails; either*
And I shall hald hym up this tyde.
A, Lord, so thou is dight. *treated*

JOSEPH Help now, felow, with all thi myght,
That he were wonden and well dight, *wrapped; well prepared*
715 And lay hym on this bere. *bier*
Bere we hym furth unto the kyrke, *church*
To the tombe that I gard wyrk *prepared*
Sen full many a yere. *Since*

NICHODEMUS It shall be so, withoutten nay. *doubt*
720 He that dyed on Gud Fryday, *Good*
And crownyd was with thorne, *crowned*
Save you all that now here be,
That Lord that thus wold dee *would die*
And rose on Pasche morne. *Easter morning*

Explicit crucifixio Christi.[1]

21. THE DICE

Pilate
Torturer 1
Torturer 2 (Spill-pain)
Torturer 3
Counselor

[fol. 92r] *Incipit processus talorum*.[2]

PILATE *Cernite qui statis*
Quod mire sim probitatis.
Hec cognoscatis:
Vos cedam ni taceatis.
5 *Cuncti discatis*
Quasi sistam vir deitatis
Et maiestatis;
Michi fando ne noceatis,
Hoc modo mando.
10 *Neve loquaces*
Sive dicaces,
Poscite paces
Dum fero fando.[3]

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[1] *Here ends the crucifixion of Christ*

[2] *Here begins the pageant of the dice*

[3] Lines 1–13: *You who stand by, perceive / That I am of marvelous worth. / Know this: / I will kill you unless you are silent. / Learn, all of you, / That I am of divine nature / And majesty; / Do not injure me by speaking, / This I command. / [Being] neither talkative / Nor derisive, / Demand peace / While I am speaking*

	Stynt, I say; gyf, men, place	*Cease*
15	*Quia sum dominus dominorum;*	*Because I am the lord of lords*
	He that agans me says,	
	Rapietur lux oculorum.	*The light of his eyes will be ripped out*
	Therfor gyf ye me space,	
	Ne tendam vim brachiorum,	*Lest I extend the strength of my arm*
20	And then get ye no grace;	
	Contestor iura polorum.	*I invoke the authority of the heavens as witness*
	Caveatis!	*Beware*
	Rewle I the Juré	*Jewry*
	Maxime pure;	*Most absolutely*
25	Towne *quoque rure,*	*Those of town and of country*
	Me paveatis.	*Be terrified of me*
	Stemate regali,	*By royal lineage*
	Kyng Atus gate me of Pila;	*begat*
	Tramite legali	*In a legal manner*
30	Am I ordand to reyn apon Juda.	*ordained*
	Nomine vulgari	*My name in the vernacular [is]*
	Pownce Pilate, that may ye well say.	
	Qui bene vult fari	*Whoever wishes to speak well*
	Shuld call me fownder of all lay.	*laws*
35	*Judeorum*	
	Jura guberno.[1]	
	Pleasse me and say so.	
	Omnia firmo	*I affirm all this*
	Sorte deorum.	*By the oracle of the gods*
40	Myghty lord of all,	
	Me Cesar magnificavit.	*Caesar exalts me*
	Downe on knees ye fall!	
	Greatt God *me sanctificavit,*	*sanctifies me*
	Me to obey over all	
45	*Regi reliquo quasi David.*	*Like another King David*
	Hanged hy that he sall	
	Hoc iussum qui reprobavit.	*Who has rejected this command*
	I swere now:	
	Bot ye youre hedys	
50	Bare in thies stedys,[2]	
	Redy my swerde is	
	Of thaym to shere now.	*cut them off*

[1] Lines 35–36: *I govern the laws / Of the Jews*

[2] Lines 49–50: *Unless you bare your heads in this place*

[fol. 92v] *Atrox armipotens,* *Fierce and strong in battle*
Most myghty callyd in ylk place,
55 *Vir quasi cunctipotens,* *An almost omnipotent man*
I graunt men girth by my good grace. *protection*
Tota refert huic gens *The entire nation declares to him*
That none is worthier in face
Quin eciam bona mens *And indeed, fine mind*
60 Doith trowth and right bi my trew lays
Silete *Be silent*
In generali *In general*
Sic speciali; *And in particular*
Yit agane byd I:
65 *Jura tenete.* *Keep the law*

Loke that no boy be to bustus, blast here for to blaw, *too rude*
Bot truly to my talkyng loke that ye be intendyng. *look; listening*
If here be any boy that will not loutt till oure law, *submit*
By myghty Mahowne hygh shall he hyng. *hang*
70 South, north, eest, west,
In all this warld in lengthe and brede, *breadth*
Is none so doughty as I, the best, *valiant*
Doughtely dyntand on mule and on stede. *striking blows; horse*
Therfor I say
75 Loke that ye lowte to my lykance, *submit; pleasure*
For dowte of dynt in grevaunce; *dread; blow*
Dilygently ply to my plesance, *Diligently attend*
As prynce most myghty me pay. *please me*

And talke not a worde,
80 For whoso styrres or any dyn makys, *stirs; noise*
Deply in my daunger he rakys, *danger; goes*
That as soferan me not takys *sovereign; takes*
And as his awne lorde. *own*

He has myster of nyghtys rest that nappys not in noynyng. *need; at noon*
85 Boy, lay me downe softly and hap me well from cold; *cover*
Loke that no laddys noy me, nawder with cryyng nor with cronyng, *annoy*
Nor in my sight ones greve me so bold. *once; grieve; boldly*
If ther be any boyes that make any cry
Or els that will not obey me,
90 He were better be hanged hy
Then in my sight ones mefe me. *once disturb*

TORTURER 1 War, war, for now com I, *Beware*
The most shrew in this cuntry. *villainous; country*
I have ron full fast in hy *run; in haste*
95 Hedir to this towne; *Here*

[fol. 93r] To this towne now comen am I
From the mownt of Calvery
Ther Crist hang, and that full hy, *Where*
I swere you bi my crowne. *head*

100 At Calvery when he hanged was
I spuyd and spyt right in his face *spewed; spit*
When that it shoyn as any glas, *shone*
So semely to my sight; *beautiful*
Bot yit for all that fayr thyng *yet; fair*
105 I loghe hym unto hethyng *laughed; scorn*
And rofe of his clethyng. *tore off; clothing*
To me it was full light.

And when his clothes were of in fere, *removed altogether*
Lord, so we loghe and maide good chere, *laughed; made*
110 And crownyd that carle with a brere *churl; briar*
As he had bene a kyng.
And yit I did full propurly: *full rightly*
I clappyd his cors by and by; *struck his body again and again*
I thoght I did full curiously, *skillfully*
115 In fayth, hym for to hyng. *faith*

Bot to Mahowne I make avowe: *an oath*
Hedir have I broght his clethyng now *Here; clothing*
To try the trowthe before you, *truth*
Even this same nyght,
120 Of me and of my felowse two *companions*
With whom this garmente shall go.
Bot Sir Pilate must go therto,
I swere you by this light.

For whosoever may get thise close *these clothes*
125 He ther never rek where he gose, *care; goes*
For he semys nothyng to lose
If so be he theym were. *wear*
Bot now, now, felose, stand on rowme, *fellows; aside*
For he commes, shrewes, unto this towne, *villains*
130 And we will all togeder rowne, *converse*
So semely in oure gere. *attire*

TORTURER 2 War, war, and make rowme, *room*
For I will with my felose rowne, *fellows converse*
And I shall knap hym on the crowne *knock*
135 That standys in my gate. *path*
I will lepe and I will skyp
As I were now out of my wytt,

	Almost my breke thay ar beshyt	*breeches; beshitten*
	For drede I cam to late.	
[fol. 93v]	Bot by Mahowne now am I here,	
141	The most shrew, that dar I swere,	*villainous; dare*
	That ye shall fynde awwhere;	*anywhere*
	Spyll-payn, in fayth, I hight.	*(see note)*
	I was at Calvery this same day	
145	Where the kyng of Jues lay,	
	And ther I taght hym a newe play;	*taught*
	Truly me thoght it right.	
	The play, in fayth, it was to rowne	*whisper*
	That he shuld lay his hede downe,	*head*
150	And sone I bobyd hym on the crowne;	*soon I hit*
	That gam me thoght was good.	*game*
	When we had played with hym oure fyll,	*fill*
	Then led we hym unto an hyll,	
	And ther we wroght with hym oure will	
155	And hang hym on a rud.	*cross*
	No more now of this talkyng,	
	Bot the cause of my commyng:	
	Both on ernest and on hethyng	*in earnest; jest*
	This cote I wold I had,	*coat; would*
160	For if I myght this cote gett	
	Then wold I both skyp and lepe,	
	And therto fast both drynke and ete,	
	In fayth, as I were mad.	
TORTURER 3	War, war, within thise wones,	*in this place*
165	For I com rynyng all at ones.	*running at once*
	I have brysten both my balok stones,	*burst; testicles*
	So fast hyed I hedyr,	*hurried I here*
	And ther is nothyng me so lefe	*dear*
	As murder a mycher and hang a thefe;	*robber; thief*
170	If here be any that doth me grefe	*that cause me grief*
	I shall them thresh togedir.	*thrash*
	For I may swere with mekill wyn,	*much delight*
	I am the most shrew in all myn kyn	*of all my kind*
	That is from this towne unto Lyn.	*King's Lynn*
175	Lo, here my felowse two.	*fellows*
	Now ar we thre commen in,	*coming*
	A new gam for to begyn,	
	This same cote for to twyn	*divide*
	Or that we farther go.	*Before*

180	Bot to Syr Pilate, prynce, I red that we go hy,	*advise that we hurry*
	And present hym the playnt how that we ar stad;	*complaint; delayed*
	Bot this gowne that is here, I say you forthy,	
	By myghty Mahowne I wold not he had.	
TORTURER 1	I assent to that sagh by myghty Mahowne	*speech;* ***[fol. 94r]***
185	Let us weynde to Sir Pilate withoutten any fabyll	*go; lies*
	Bot syrs bi my lewté he gettys not this gowne	*by my faith*
	Unto us thre it were right prophetabyll	*Unless to us three; profitable*
	Spill-payn, what says thou?	
TORTURER 2	Youre sawes craftely assent I unto.	*words; agree*
TORTURER 1	Then will I streght furth in this place	
191	And speke with Sir Pilate wordys oone or two,	
	For I am right semely and fare in the face,	*pleasing*
	And now shall we se or we hence go.	*before*
TORTURER 3	Sir, I say thee, by my lewtee,	*faith*
195	Where is Sir Pilate of pryce?	*noble Sir Pilate*
COUNSELOR	Sir, I say thee, as myght I thé,	*thrive*
	He lygys here, in the dewyll servyce.	*lies; devil's service*
TORTURER 1	With that prynce, fowll myght he fall,	*foul*
	Must we have at do.	*something to do*
COUNSELOR	I shall go to hym and call	
201	And loke what ye will say hym to.	*examine*
	My lord, my lorde!	
PILATE	What, boy, art thou nyse?	*foolish*
204	Call nomore; thou has callid twyse.	*called twice*
COUNSELOR	My lord.	
PILATE	What mytyng is that that mevys me in my mynde?	*puny fellow; disturbs*
COUNSELOR	I, lord, youre counselloure, pight in youre saw.	*placed at your command*
PILATE	Say, ar ther any catyffys combred that ar unkynde?	*overburdened wretches*
COUNSELOR	Nay lord, none that I knawe.	
PILATE	Then noy us no more of this noyse.	*annoy*
211	You carles unkynde, who bad you call me?	*churls; bade*
	By youre mad maters I hald you bot boyes,	*concerns; boys*
	And that shall ye aby, els fowll myght befall me;	*pay for; foul*
	I shall not dy in youre dett.	*debt*
215	Bewshere, I byd thee up thou take me,	*Fair sir*
	And in my sete softly loke that thou me sett.	*seat; set*

Now shall we wytt, and that in hy, *know; haste*
If that saghe be trew that thou dyd say; *speech*
[fol. 94v] If I fynde thee with lesyng, lad, thou shall aby *lying; pay*
220 For to mell in the maters that pertenyth agans the lay. *meddle; pertain; law*

COUNSELOR Nay sir, not so: withoutten delay
The cause of my callyng is of that boy bold,
For it is saide sothely now this same day
That he shuld dulfully be dede, *dolefully*
225 Certayn,
Then may youre cares be full cold
If he thus sakles be slayn. *innocent*

PILATE Fare and softly, sir, and say not to far.
Sett thee with sorow, then semys thou the les; *smaller*
230 And of the law that thou leggys be wytty and war *claim; wary*
Lest I greve thee greatly with dyntys expres. *distinct blows*
Fals fatur, in fayth, I shall flay thee! *traitor*
Thy reson unrad I red thee redres, *impudent; advise; amend*
Or els of thise maters loke thou nomore mell thee. *concern yourself*

COUNSELOR Why shuld I not mell of those maters that I have you taght, *speak; taught*
236 Thoug ye be prynce peerles withoutt any pere?
Were not my wyse wysdom, youre wyttys were in waght, *peril*
And that is seen expresse and playnly right here, *clearly*
239 And done in dede.

PILATE Why, boy, bot has thou sayde? *finished speaking*
COUNSELOR Yee, lorde.
PILATE Therfor the devyll thee spede, thou carle unkynde. *devil speed you*
Sich felowse myght well be on rowme; *at a distance*
Ye knaw not the comon cowrs that longys to a kyng. *custom; pertains*

TORTURER 1 Mahowne most myghtfull, he mensk you with mayn, *honor; might*
246 Sir Pilate, pereles prynce of this prese,
And save you, sir, syttand semely suffrayn. *fair sovereign*
We have soght to thy sayll, no sayng to sesse *hall, not to cease talking*
Bot certyfie sone: *verify soon*
250 Ye wote that ye demyd this day apon desse; *dais*
We dowte not his doyng, for now is he done. *fear*

PILATE Ye ar welcom, iwys; ye ar worthy nowar. *certainly; nowhere*
Be it fon so of that fatur, in fayth, then am I fayn. *found; traitor; glad*
TORTURER 2 We have markyd that mytyng; no more shall he mar. *puny fellow;* ***[fol. 95r]***
255 We prayed you, Sir Pilate, to put hym to payn,
And we thoght it well wroght.

PILATE Lefe syrs, let be youre laytt and loke that ye layn;[1] *search*
For nothyng that may be, nevyn ye it noght. *name*

TORTURER 3 Make myrth of that mytyng full mekyll we may, *sport; much*
260 And have lykyng of oure lyfe for los of that lad, *pleasure*
Bot Syr Pilate peerles, a poynt I thee pray:
Hope ye with hethyng that harnes he had *scorn; apparel*
To hold that was hys?
PILATE That appentys unto me, mafa! Art thou mad? *belongs; by my faith*
265 I ment that no mytyng shuld mell hym of this. *concern himself with*

TORTURER 1 Mefe thee not, master, more if he mell, *Anger; speak*
For thou shall parte from that pelfe; thar thou not pleyte.[2]
PILATE Yit styrt not farer for noght that ye fell.[3]
I aske this gowne of youre gyfte; it is not so greatt,
270 And yit may it agayn you. *benefit*
TORTURER 2 How, all in fageyng; in fayth, I know of youre featte. *craftiness; conduct*
For it fallys to us four, fyrst will I frayn you. *Since; ask*

PILATE And I myster to no maner of mans bot myn.[4]
TORTURER 3 Yee, lord, let shere it in shredys. *tear*
PILATE Now that hald I good skyll. *hold*
275 Take thou this, and thou that, and this shall be thyn,
And by lefe and by law this may leyfe styll. *life; remain*
TORTURER 1 O lordyng, I weyn it is wrang! *think*
To tymely I toke it to take it thee untyll *early*
279 The farest and the fowllest thy felowse to fang. *capture*

PILATE And thou art payed of thi parte, full truly I trowe. *content with; believe*
TORTURER 1 It is shame for to se I am shapyn bot a shrede. *decreed; shred*
TORTURER 2 The hole of this harnes is holdyn to you, *whole; apparel belongs*
And I am leverd a lap is lyke to no lede,[5]
Fortatyrd and torne. *All tattered*
TORTURER 3 By myghty Mahowne that mylde is of mode, *manner*
286 If he skap with this cote it were a great skorne. *escape; coat*

PILATE Now sen ye teyn so at this, take it to you, *since; rage;* ***[fol. 95v]***
With all the mawgré of myn and myght of Mahowne.[6]

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[1] *Dear sirs, stop searching [for words] and see that you are silent*

[2] *For you shall give up that prize; you need not plead*

[3] *Yet go no further on account of nothing that belongs to you*

[4] *And I serve no manner of man but myself*

[5] *I am given a rag that is suitable for no one*

[6] *With all the displeasure of the will and might of Mahowne*

TORTURER 1	Drede you not doutles, for so will we dow;	*doubtless; do*
290	Grefe you not greatly, ye gett not this gowne	*Grieve*
	Bot in foure as it fallys.	
TORTURER 2	Had I a fawchon, then craftely to cutt it were I bowne.	*sword; ready*
TORTURER 3	Lo, it here that thou callys.	
294	It is sharp with to shere, shere if thou may.	
TORTURER 2	Even in the mydward to marke were mastré to me.	*middle; mastery*
TORTURER 1	Most semely is in certan the seym to assay.	*try [to cut] the seam*
TORTURER 2	I have soght all this syde and none can I se,	
	Of greatt nor of small.	
PILATE	Bewshers, abyd you, I byd you let be;	*Fair sirs*
300	I commaunde not to cutt it, bot hold it hole all.	
TORTURER 1	Now ar we bon, for ye bad withhald on youre hud.[1]	
PILATE	Wé, harlottys, go hang you, for hole shall it be.	*scoundrels*
TORTURER 3	Grefe you not greatly, he saide it for gud.	*good*
PILATE	Wyst I that he spake it in spytyng of me,	*Know; to spite me*
305	Tytt shuld I spede for to spyll hym.	*Quickly; kill*
TORTURER 2	That were hym loth, lord, by my lewté;	*loath; loyalty*
	Forthi grauntt hym youre grace.	*Therefore*
PILATE	No grevans I will hym.	*grievance*
TORTURER 1	Gramercy, thi gudnes.	*Thank you*
PILATE	Yee, bot greve me no more.	
	Full dere beys it boght, in fayth, if ye do.	*be it bought*
TORTURER 1	Shall I then save it?	
PILATE	Yee, so saide I or.	*before*
311	To draw cutt is the lelyst and long cut, lo,	*most fair*
	This wede shall wyn.	*garment*
TORTURER 3	Sir, to youre sayng yit assent we unto.	
314	Bot oone assay: let se who shall begyn.	*Only one attempt*
PILATE	Wé, me falles all the fyrst, and forther shall ye.	*afterwards*
TORTURER 2	Nay, drede you not doutles, for that do ye not.	*doubtless*
	O, he sekys as he wold dyssave us, now we se.	*seeks; deceive*
TORTURER 3	Bewshers, abyde you, heder have I broght	*here*
	Thre dyse us emang.	*dice; among*
TORTURER 1	That is a gam all the best, bi hym that me boght,	*game*
321	For at the dysyng he dos us no wrang.	*dicing; wrong*
PILATE	And I am glad of that gam: on assay — who shall begyn?[2]	***[fol. 96r]***
TORTURER 1	Fyrst shall ye, and sen after we all.	*then*

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[1] *Now are we obliged, since you ordered us to withhold, on your hood* (see note)

[2] *And I am glad of that game: one try — who shall begin?*

	Have the dyse and have done, and lefe all youre dyn,	*stop; noise*
325	For whoso has most, this frog shall he fall	*frock*
	And best of the bonys.	*dice*
PILATE	I assent to youre sayng; assay now I shall	*agree; try*
328	As I wold at a wap wyn all at ones.	*one throw; at once*
TORTURER 2	Aha, how now, here ar a hepe!	*are*
PILATE	Have mynde then emang you how many ther ar.	*Notice*
TORTURER 3	Thryrteen ar on thre, thar ye not threpe.	*you need not quarrel; (see note)*
PILATE	Then shall I wyn, or all men be war.	*beware*
TORTURER 1	Truly, lord, right so ye shall.	
	Bot grefe you not greatly, the next shall be nar	*nearer*
335	If I have hap to my hand — have here for all!	*luck*
PILATE	And I have sene as greatt a freke of his forward falyd;[1]	
	Here ar bot aght turnyd up at ones.	*eight; at once*
TORTURER 1	Aght? A, his armes, that is yll. What so me alyd?[2]	
	I was falsly begylyd with thise byched bones.	*betrayed; damned dice*
340	Ther cursyd thay be!	
TORTURER 2	Well, I wote this wede bees won in thise wones;	*garment; in this place*
	I wold be fayn of this frog, myght it fall unto me.	*glad; frock*
PILATE	It bees in waght, in fayth, and thou wyn.	*is in peril; if you*
TORTURER 2	No, bot war you away.	
TORTURER 3	Here is baddyst above, by Mahownes bonys.	
346	Seven is bot the seconde, the sothe for to say.	*truly*
TORTURER 2	Wé, fy, that is shortt.	*falls short*
TORTURER 3	Do shott at thi hud.	*hood*
	Now fallys me the fyrst,	
	And I have hap to this gowne; go now on gud,	*[a] chance at; good*
350	The byched bones that ye be. I byd you go bett!	*do well*
	Felowse, in forward here have I fefteen!	*(see note)*
	As ye wote, I am worthi; won is this wede.	*in this place*
PILATE	What, whistyll ye in the wenyande? Where have ye beyn?	*(see note)*
	Thou shall abak, bewshere; that blast I forbede.	*draw back, fair sir*
TORTURER 3	Here ar men us emang,	*are;* ***[fol. 96v]***
356	Lele in oure lay, will ly for no leyd[3]	
	And I wytnes at thaym if I wroght any wrang.	

[1] *And I have seen as great a man fail to keep his promise*

[2] *Eight? Ah, by God's arms that is poor. What was wrong with me?*

[3] *Loyal to our law, who will lie for no person*

TORTURER 1	Thou wroght no dyssaytt, forsothe, that we saw,	*deceit, truly*
	Forthi thou art worthi, and won is this weyd at thyn awne wyll.	
PILATE	Yee, bot me pays not that playng to puf nor to blaw.	*puff*
361	If he have right I ne rek or reson thertyll;	*neither care nor argue*
	I refe it hym noght.	*rob*
TORTURER 3	Have gud day, sir, and grefe you not yll,	*good; grieve*
	For if it were duble, full dere is it boght.	*[worth] double*
PILATE	Sir, sen thou has won this weyd, say, will thou vowchesafe	
366	Of thi great gudnes this garment on me?[1]	
TORTURER 3	Sir, I say you certan, this shall ye not have.	*certainly*
PILATE	Thou shall forthynk it in fayth. Fy, what, thou art fre?	*repent*
	Unbychid, unbayn.	*Accursed; disobedient*
TORTURER 3	For ye threttt me so throlé, were it sich thre,[2]	
371	Here I gif you this gud.	
PILATE	Now, gramercy agayn.	*thank you*
	Mekill thank and myn, and this shal be ment.[3]	
TORTURER 1	Bot I had not left it so lightly, had play me it lent.	
PILATE	No, bot he is faythfull and fre, and that shall be ment,	
375	And more if I may:	
	If he myster to me, amend hym I mon.	*is of service; must*
TORTURER 3	I vowchesafe it be so, the sothe for to say.	*truth*
TORTURER 1	Now thise dyse that ar undughty,	*these dice; worthless*
	For los of this good,	*loss*
380	Here I forswere hertely,	*heartily*
	By Mahownes blood,	
	For was I never so happy	*lucky*
	By mayn nor by mode	*so fervently*
	To wyn with sich sotelty	*subtlety*
385	To my lyfys fode,	*sustenance*
	As ye ken.	*know*
	Thise dysars and thise hullars,	*dicers; libertines*
	Thise cokkers and thise bollars	*wranglers; drunkards*
	And all purs-cuttars —	*thieves*
390	Bese well war of thise men.	*Be wary*
TORTURER 2	Fy, fy, on thise dyse!	*these dice*
	The devill I theym take.	
[fol. 97r]	Unwytty, unwyse,	
	With thaym that wold lake.	*play*

[1] Lines 365–66: *Sir, since you have won this wager, will you of your great goodness grant this garment to me?*

[2] *Because you threaten me so fiercely, as if it were triple the worth*

[3] *Many thanks and [good] remembrance, and this shall be kept in mind*

395 As Fortune assyse, *ordains*
Men wyll she make.
Hir maners ar nyse: *are wanton*
She can downe and uptake,
And rych
400 She turnes up-so-downe *upside down*
And under abone; *above*
Most chefe of renowne *men of renown*
She castys in the dyche. *casts; ditch*

By hir meanes she makys
405 Dysers to sell *Dicers*
As thay sytt and lakys *play*
Thare corne and thare catell; *Their grain and their cattle*
Then cry thay and crakkys, *speak sharply*
Bowne unto batell. *Ready for battle*
410 His hyppys then bakys *(see note)*
No symnell *simnel bread*
Forhote, *Piping hot*
Bot farewell, thryfte! *prosperity*
Is ther none other skyfte *trick; (see note)*
415 Bot syfte, lady, syfte?
Thise dysars thay dote. *talk foolishly*

TORTURER 3 What commys of dysyng,
I pray you hark after, *listen*
Bot los of good in lakyng *playing*
420 And oft-tymes mens slaghter? *often; slaughter*
Thus sorow is at partyng,
At metyng if ther be laghter; *laughter*
I red leyf sich vayn thyng *I advise you [to] leave such vain things*
And serve God herafter
425 For hevens blys.
That lord is most myghty
And gentyllyst of Jury; *Jewry*
We helde to hym holy. *support him completely*
How thynk ye by this?

PILATE Well worth you all thre, most doughty in dede. *valiant*
431 Of all the clerkys that I knaw most conyng ye be, *cunning*
By soteltes of youre sawes, youre lawes for to lede. *subtleties; words*
I graunt you playn powere and frenship frelé, *full; freely*
I say.
435 *Dew vows garde, monsenyours.*[1]

[1] *God keep you, sirs (Dieu vous garde, monseigneurs)*

Mahowne, most myghty in castels and towres,
He kepe you lordyngys and all youres,
And havys all gud day.

Explicit processus talorum.[1]

22. THE HARROWING OF HELL

Jesus
Adam
Eve
Isaiah
Simeon
John the Baptist
Moses
Ribald, a devil
David
Beelzebub, a devil
Satan

[fol. 97v] *Incipit extraccio animarum etc*.[2]

JESUS My Fader me from blys has send
Till erth for mankynde sake, *To earth*
Adam mys for to amend; *Adam's sin*
My deth nede must I take.

5 I dwellyd ther thryrty yeres and two
And somdele more, the sothe to say; *somewhat more, truly*
In anger, pyne, and mekyll wo *suffering*
I dyde on cros this day. *died*

Therfor till hell now will I go
10 To chalange that is myne; *lay claim to what*
Adam, Eve, and othere mo, *many others*
Thay shall no longer dwell in pyne. *pain*

The feynde theym wan with trayn *fiend; won; deceit*
Thrugh fraude of erthly fode; *(see note)*
15 I have theym boght agan
With shedyng of my blode.

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[1] *Here ends the pageant of the dice*

[2] *Here begins the deliverance of souls etc.*

And now I will that stede restore — *place*
Which the feynde fell fro for syn. — *fiend fell from*
Som tokyn will I send before — *token*
20 With myrth to gar thare gammes begyn. — *make their delight (games)*

A light I will thay have,
To know I will com sone; — *soon*
My body shall abyde in grave
Till all this dede be done. — *deed*

ADAM My brether, herkyn unto me here: — *brothers, listen*
26 More hope of helth never we had. — *health*
Foure thowsand and sex hundreth yere — *years*
Have we bene here in darknes stad; — *placed*
Now se I tokyns of solace sere, — *manifold*
30 A gloryous gleme to make us glad, — *gleam*
Wherthrugh I hope that help is nere
That sone shall slake oure sorowes sad. — *soon; relieve*
EVE Adam, my husband heynd, — *gracious*
This menys solace certan;
35 Sich light can on us leynd — *did shine*
In paradyse full playn. — *clearly*

ISAIAH Adam, thrugh thi syn — *sin*
Here were we put to dwell
This wykyd place within: — *wicked*
40 The name of it is hell;
Here paynes shall never blyn — *pains; cease*
That wykyd ar and fell. — *cruel*
Love that Lord with wyn
His lyfe for us wold sell.[1]

Et cantent omnes "Salvator mundi," primum versum.[2]

45 Adam, thou well understand,
I am Isaias, so Crist me kende. — *taught*
I spake of folke in darknes walkand; — *spoke; walking*
I saide a light shuld on theym lende. — *shine*
[fol. 98r] This light is all from Crist commande — *Christ*
50 That he till us has hedir sende; — *here sent*
Thus is my poynt proved in hand,
As I before to-fold it kende. — *twice taught*

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[1] Lines 43–44: *Love that Lord with joy / who would sell his life for us*

[2] *And they should all sing "Savior of the World," verse one* (see note)

SIMEON So may I tell of farlys feyll, *strange discoveries*
For in the tempyll his freyndys me fande. *found*
55 Me thoght daynteth with hym to deyll, *precious; deal*
I halsid hym homely with my hand. *embraced; intimately*
I saide "Lord, let thi servandys leyll *loyal*
Pas in peasse to lyf lastande; *life everlasting*
Now that myn eeyn has sene thyn hele *salvation*
60 No longer lyst I lyf in lande." *desire*
This light thou has purvayde *provided*
For theym that lyf in lede; *live on earth*
That I before of thee have saide
I se it is fulfillyd in dede. *deed*

JOHN THE BAPTIST As a voce cryand I kend *voice crying I taught*
66 The wayes of Crist as I well can.
I baptisid hym with both myn hende *hands*
In the water of flume Jordan; *river*
The Holy Gost from heven discende *descend*
70 As a white dowfe downe on me than; *dove; then*
The Fader voyce, oure myrthes to amende,
Was made to me lyke as a man:
"Yond is my Son," he saide,
"And which me pleasses full well."
75 His light is on us layde
And commys oure karys to kele. *cares to relieve*

MOSES Now this same nyght lernyng have I.
To me, Moyses, he shewid his myght
And also to anothere oone, Hely, *Elias*
80 Where we stud on a hill on hyght.
As whyte as snaw was his body; *snow*
His face was like the son for bright. *sun*
No man on mold was so myghty *earth*
Grathly durst loke agans that light, *Quickly*
85 And that same light here se I now
Shynyng on us certayn, *Shining; certainly*
Wherethrugh truly I trow *I believe*
That we shall sone pas from this payn. *soon pass*

RIBALD Sen fyrst that hell was mayde *Since*
90 And I was put therin,
Sich sorow never ere I had,
Nor hard I sich a dyn. *noise*
My hart begynnys to brade, *beat quickly*
My wytt waxys thyn;
95 I drede we cannot be glad,
Thise saules mon fro us twyn. *must; depart*

	How, Belsabub, bynde thise boys;	*Beelzebub*
	Sich harow was never hard in hell.	*clamor; heard*
BEELZEBUB	Out, Rybald, thou royes!	*exaggerate*
100	What is betyd, can thou oght tell?	*has happened*
RIBALD	Whi, herys thou not this vgly noyse?	
	Thise lurdans that in lymbo dwell	*louts*
	Thay make menyng of many joyse	*moaning*
	And muster myrthes theym emell.	*display joy among themselves*
BEELZEBUB	Myrth? Nay, nay, that poynt is past.	*point*
106	More hope of helth shall thay never have.	*health*
RIBALD	They cry on Crist full fast,	
	And says he shall theym save.	
BEELZEBUB	Yee, though he do not, I shall,	*(see note);* ***[fol. 98v]***
110	For they ar sparyd in specyall space;	*locked*
	Whils I am prynce and pryncypall	*chief*
	They shall never pas out of this place.	
	Call up Astarot and Anaball	*(see note)*
	To gyf us counsell in this case,	*give*
115	Bell-berith and Bellyall	*Baal-berith and Belial*
	To mar theym that sich mastry mase.	*such mischief make*
	Say to Sir Satan, oure syre,	*sire*
	And byd hym bryng also	
119	Sir Lucyfer, lufly of lyre.	*lovely of countenance*
RIBALD	All redy, lord, I go.	
JESUS	*Attollite portas principes vestras et elevamini*	
	porte eternales et introibit rex glorie.[1]	
RIBALD	Out, harro! Out, what devill is he	
	That callys hym kyng over us all?	
	Hark, Belzabub, com ne,	*near*
	For hedusly I hard hym call.	*hideously; heard*
BEELZEBUB	Go spar the yates, yll mot thou thé,	*bar the gates; thrive*
126	And set the waches on the wall.	*guards*
	If that brodell com ne,	*scoundrel*
	With us ay won he shall;	*always live*
	And if he more call or cry	
130	To make us more debate,	
	Lay on hym hardely	*boldly*
	And make hym go his gate.	*way*

[1] *Lift up your gates, O ye princes, and be ye lifted up, O eternal gates: and the King of Glory shall enter in* (Psalm 23/24:7)

DAVID	Nay, with hym may ye not fyght,	
	For he is kyng and conqueroure,	
135	And of so mekill myght	*much*
	And styf in every stoure;	*strong; struggle*
	Of hym commys all this light	
	That shynys in this bowre.	*room*
	He is full fers in fight,	*fierce*
140	Worthi to wyn honoure.	
BEELZEBUB	Honowre? Harsto, harlot, for what dede?	*Listen, scoundrel*
	All erthly men to me ar thrall;	*slaves*
	That lad that thou callys lord in lede	*lord in chief*
	He had never harbour, house, ne hall.	
145	How, Sir Sathanas, com nar	*near*
	And hark this cursid rowte.	*hear; cursed company*
SATAN	The devill you all to-har!	*torment*
	What ales thee so to showte?	*shout*
	And me if I com nar	*near*
150	Thy brayn bot I bryst owte.	*brain; burst*
BEELZEBUB	Thou must com help to spar;	*close*
	We ar beseged abowte.	*besieged all around*
SATAN	Besegyd aboute? Whi, who durst be so bold	*dare*
	For drede to make on us a fray?	*attack*
BEELZEBUB	It is the Jew that Judas sold	
156	For to be dede this othere day.	*dead*
SATAN	How, in tyme that tale was told;	
	That trature travesses us allway.	*traitor opposes*
	He shal be here full hard in hold,	*securely confined*
160	Bot loke he pas not, I thee pray.	
BEELZEBUB	Pas? Nay, nay, he will not weynde	*depart*
	From hens or it be war;	*before; worse*
	He shapys hym for to sheynd	*destroy*
	All hell or he go far.	*before*
SATAN	Fy, faturs, therof shall he fayll.	*traitors*
166	For all his fare I hym defy;	
	I know his trantes fro top to tayll.	*tricks*
	He lyffys by gawdys and gilory;	*lives by tricks and deceits*
[fol. 99r]	Therby he broght furth of oure bayll	*pain*
170	The lath Lazare of Betany.	*loathsome*
	Bot to the Jues I gaf counsayll	*gave counsel*
	That thay shuld cause hym dy;	
	I enterd ther into Judas	
	That forward to fulfyll.	*promise*
175	Therfor his hyere he has	*hire*
	Allwayes to won here styll.	*dwell*

RIBALD	Sir Sathan, sen we here thee say	*since*
	Thou and the Jues were at assent,	
	And wote he wan thee Lazare away[1]	
180	That unto us was taken to tent	*tend*
	Hopys thou that thou mar hym may	*Hope*
	To muster the malyce that he has ment?	*display; intended*
	For and he refe us now oure pray	*if; rob; prey*
	We will ye witt or he is went.	*before*
SATAN	I byd thee noght abaste	*be upset*
186	Bot boldly make you bowne	*ready*
	With toyles that ye intraste,	*toils; trust*
	And dyng that dastard downe.	*strike; fool*
JESUS	*Attollite portas principes vestras, etc.*[2]	
RIBALD	Outt, harro! What harlot is he	*scoundrel*
190	That sayes his kyngdom shal be cryde?	*proclaimed*
DAVID	That may thou in sawter se,	*psalter see*
	For of this prynce thus ere I saide:	
	I saide that he shuld breke	*break*
	Youre barres and bandys by name,	
195	And of youre warkys take wreke;	*vengeance*
	Now shall thou se the same.	*see*
JESUS	Ye prynces of hell, open youre yate	*gate*
	And let my folk furth gone;	*from there be gone*
	A prynce of peasse shall enter therat	
200	Wheder ye will or none.	*Whether*
RIBALD	What art thou that spekys so?	
JESUS	A kyng of blys that hight Jesus.	*bliss; is named*
RIBALD	Yee, hens fast I red thou go	*from here; say*
	And mell thee not with us.	*do not concern yourself*
BEELZEBUB	Oure yates I trow will last,	*gates*
206	Thay ar so strong I weyn;	*think*
	Bot if oure barres brast	*burst*
	For thee they shall not twyn.	*break in two*
JESUS	This stede shall stand no longer stokyn;	*closed*
210	Open up and let my pepill pas.	

[1] *And [you] know that he won Lazarus away from you*

[2] *Lift up your gates, princes, etc.*

RIBALD	Out, harro, oure bayll is brokyn,	*barrier*
	And brusten ar all oure bandys of bras!	*burst*
BEELZEBUB	Harro, oure yates begyn to crak;	*crack*
	In sonder I trow they go,	*Asunder; believe*
215	And hell I trow will all to-shak!	*shake*
	Alas, what I am wo.	
RIBALD	Lymbo is lorne, alas!	
	Sir Sathanas, com up;	
	This wark is wars then it was.	*worse*
SATAN	Yee, hangyd be thou on a cruke!	*hook*
221	Thefys, I bad ye shuld be bowne,	*Thieves; bade; ready*
	If he maide mastrés more,	
	To dyng that dastard downe,	*strike; fool*
	Sett hym both sad and sore.	*Cause him to be*
BEELZEBUB	To sett hym sore that is sone saide;	*easily spoken;* ***[fol. 99v]***
226	Com thou thiself and serve hym so.	
	We may not abyde his bytter brayde;	*bitter torment*
	He wold us mar and we were mo.[1]	
SATAN	Fy, faturs, wherfor were ye flayd?	*frightened*
230	Have ye no force to flyt hym fro?	*flee from him*
	Loke in haste my gere be grayd;	*Look; prepared*
	Myself shall to that gadlyng go.	*fellow*
	How, thou belamy, abyde	*fair friend*
	With all thi boste and beyr	*boast and noise*
235	And tell me in this tyde	*time*
	What mastrés thou makys here.	
JESUS	I make no mastry bot for myne.	
	I will theym save, that shall thee sow.	*pain*
	Thou has no powere theym to pyne,	*punish*
240	Bot in my pryson for thare prow	*their profit*
	Here have they sorjornyd, noght as thyne	*sojourned*
	Bot in this wayrd, thou wote as how.	*prison*
SATAN	Why, were has thou bene ay syn	*where; ever since*
	That never wold negh theym nere or now?	*go near; before*
JESUS	Now is the tyme, certan,	
246	My Fader ordand herfor	*ordained*
	That thay shuld pas fro payn	*from*
	In blys to dwell forevermore.	

[1] *He would destroy us even if there were more of us*

SATAN Thy fader knew I well by syght:
250 He was a wright his meett to wyn. *carpenter; earn*
Mary me mynnys thi moder hight, *I recall; is called*
The utmast ende of all thy kyn.
Say who made thee so mekill of myght? *much*
JESUS Thou wykyd feynde, lett be thi dyn. *noise*
255 My Fader wonnes in heven on hight *dwells*
In blys that never more shall blyn; *cease*
I am his oonly Son, *only*
His forward to fulfyll. *promise*
Togeder will we won, *dwell*
260 And sonder when we wyll. *separate*

SATAN Goddys son? Nay, then myght thou be glad,
For no catell thurt thee crave; *wealth; need*
Bot thou has lyffyd ay lyke a lad *lived always as if*
In sorow and as a sympill knave. *simple man*
JESUS That was for the hartly luf I had *earnest love*
266 Unto mans saull, it for to save, *soul*
And for to make thee masyd and mad, *confused*
And for that reson rufully to rafe. *remorsefully to rave*
My godhede here I hyd *hide*
270 In Mary, moder myne, *my mother*
Where it shall never be kyd *revealed*
To thee ne none of thyne. *nor*

SATAN How now? This wold I were told in towne.
Thou says God is thi syre;
275 I shall thee prove by good reson *reason*
Thou moyttys as man dos into myre. *argue*
To breke thi byddyng they were full bowne *ready*
And soyn they wroght at my desyre; *soon; desire*
From paradise thou putt theym downe
280 In hell here to have thare hyre. *their hire*
[fol. 100r] And thou thyself by day and nyght
Taght ever all men emang *Taught; among*
Ever to do reson and right,
And here thou wyrkys all wrang. *works all wrong*

JESUS I wyrk no wrang that shall thou wytt
286 If I my men fro wo will wyn; *deliver*
My prophetys playnly prechyd it, *plainly*
All the noytys that I begyn. *tasks*
They saide that I shuld be that ilke, *very one*
290 In hell where I shuld intre in, *enter*
To save my servandys fro that pytt
Where dampnyd saullys shall syt for syn, *damned souls*

And ilke true prophete tayll — *each true prophet's tale*
Shal be fulfillid in me.
295 I have thaym boght fro bayll; — *misery*
In blis now shall they be.

SATAN Now sen thou lyst to legge the lawes, — *desire to cite*
Thou shal be tenyd or we twyn, — *annoyed before we part*
For those that thou to witnes drawes
300 Full even agans thee shall begyn. — *against*
As Salamon saide in his sawes — *speeches*
Who that ones commys hell within — *once*
He shall never owte, os clerkys knawes; — *as clerks know*
Therfor, belamy, let be thy dyn. — *friend; noise*
305 Job, thi servande, also — *servant*
In his tyme can tell
That nawder freynde nor fo — *neither friend nor foe*
Shall fynde relese in hell. — *release from*

JESUS He sayde full soyth, that shall thou se, — *truthfully; see*
310 In hell shal be no relese,
Bot of that place then ment he — *meant*
Where synfull care shall ever encrese. — *sinful; increase*
In that bayll ay shall thou be, — *misery forever*
Where sorowes seyr shall never sesse, — *various; cease*
315 And my folke that were most fre
Shall pas unto the place of peasse; — *peace*
For they were here with my will
And so thay shall furth weynde. — *go forth*
Thou shall thiself fulfyll
320 Ever wo withoutten ende.

SATAN Whi, and will thou take theym all me fro? — *from me*
Then thynk me thou art unkynde.
Nay, I pray thee do not so;
Umthynke thee better in thy mynde, — *Consider*
325 Or els let me with thee go.
I pray thee, leyffe me not behynde. — *leave*
JESUS Nay, tratur, thou shall won in wo, — *traitor; remain*
And till a stake I shall thee bynde.

SATAN Now here I how thou menys emang — *hear; intend meanwhile*
330 With mesure and malyce for to mell, — *speak*
Bot sen thou says it shal be lang
Yit som let allwayes with us dwell.
JESUS Yis, wytt thou well, els were greatt wrang: — *wrong*
Thou shall have Caym that slo Abell, — *Cain; slew*
335 And all that hastys theymself to hang

As dyd Judas and Architophell,
And Daton and Abaron, *(see note)*
And all of thare assent, *those of like mind*
Cursyd tyranttys everilkon
340 That me and myn tormente.

And all that will not lere my law *learn*
That I have left in land for new,
That makys my commyng knaw *known*
And all my sacramentys persew, *sacraments pursue*
[fol. 100v] My deth, my rysyng, red by raw — *read in turn*
346 Who trow thaym not, thay ar untrewe — *believe them not*
Unto my dome I shall theym draw, *judgment*
And juge theym wars then any Jew. *worse*
And thay that lyst to lere *desire to learn*
350 My law and lyf therby
Shall never have harmes here,
Bot welth, as is worthy. *wealth*

SATAN Now here my hand, I hold me payde;
Thise poyntys ar playnly for my prow. *profit*
355 If this be trew that thou has saide,
We shall have mo then we have now.
Thies lawes that thou has late here laide *recently laid down*
I shall theym lere not to alow; *teach them not to recognize*
If thay myn take, thay ar betraide, *mine*
360 And I shall turne theym tytt, I trow. *quickly*
I shall walk eest, I shall walk west,
And gar theym wyrk well war. *make; do much worse*
JESUS Nay, feynde, thou shal be feste, *fiend; secure*
That thou shall flyt no far. *flee not far*

SATAN Feste? Fy, that were a wykyd treson!
366 Belamy, thou shal be smytt. *struck*
JESUS Devill, I commaunde thee to go downe
Into thi sete where thou shall syt.
SATAN Alas, for doyll and care *sorrow*
370 I synk into hell pyt.
RIBALD Sir Sathanas, so saide I are; *before*
Now shall thou have a fytt.
JESUS Com now furth, my childer all. *forth; children*
I forgyf you youre mys; *misdeeds*
375 With me now go ye shall
To joy and endles blys.

ADAM Lord, thou art full mekyll of myght
That mekys thiself on this manere, *commit yourself in this manner*

To help us all as thou had us hight *promised*
380 When both forfett, I and my fere. *transgressed; companion*
Here have we dwelt withoutten light
Foure thowsand and sex hundreth yere.
Now se we by this solempne sight, *solemn*
How that thi mercy makys us dere. *dear*

EVE Lord we were worthy
386 More tornamentys to tast. *torments to experience*
Thou help us, Lord, with thy mercy
As thou of myght is mast. *most*

JOHN THE BAPTIST Lord, I love thee inwardly
390 That me wold make thi messyngere, *would*
Thi commyng in erth to cry, *to earth to announce*
And tech thi fayth to folk in fere, *teach; faith; in company*
Sythen before thee for to dy *Subsequently*
To bryng theym bodword that be here, *message*
395 How thay shuld have thi help in hy; *high*
Now se I all those poyntys appere. *points appear*

MOSES David, thi prophete trew, *true*
Oft-tymes told unto us *Often*
Of thi commyng he knew,
400 And saide it shuld be thus.

DAVID As I saide ere, yit say I so: *before*
Ne derelinquas domine
Animam meam in inferno:[1]
Leyfe never my saull, Lord, after thee
405 In depe hell, wheder dampned shall go;
Suffre thou never thi sayntys to se *saints to see*
The sorow of thaym that won in wo, *dwell in woe*
Ay full of fylth, and may not fle. *Ever*

MOSES Make myrth, both more and les, *altogether;* ***[fol. 101r]***
410 And love oure Lord we may
That has broght us fro bytternes *from bitterness*
In blys to abyde, for ay. *always*

ISAIAH Therfor now let us syng *sing*
To love oure Lord Jesus;
415 Unto his blys he will us bryng,
Te Deum laudamus. *(see note)*

Explicit extraccio animarum ab inferno.[2]

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[1] Lines 402–03: *Do not leave my soul, Lord, in hell* (Psalm 15/16:10)

[2] *Here ends the deliverance of souls from hell*

23. THE RESURRECTION

Pilate
Caiaphas
Centurion
Annas
Soldier 1
Soldier 2
Soldier 3
Soldier 4
Jesus
Mary Magdalene
Mary Jacobi
Mary Salome
Angel 1
Angel 2

Resurreccio domini.[1]

PILATE Peasse, I warne you, woldys in wytt, *act reasonably*
And standys on syde or els go sytt, *aside*
For here ar men that go not yitt
And lordys of mekill myght; *much*
5 We thynk to abyde and not to flytt, *flee*
I tell you, every wyght. *person*

Spare youre spech, ye brodels bold, *speech; scoundrels*
And sesse youre cry till I have told *cease*
What that my worship wold
10 Here in thise wonys. *this place*
Whoso that wyghtly nold, *would not*
Full hy bese hanged his bonys. [2]

Wote ye not that I am Pilate *Know*
That satt apon the justyce late *lately*
15 At Calvarie, where I was att
This day at morne?
I am he, that great state *dignitary [who]*
That lad has all to-torne. *torn apart*

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[1] *The resurrection of the Lord*

[2] Lines 11–12: *Whoever does not quickly want that [which I want], may his bones be hung very high*

Now sen that lothly losell is thus ded — *since; loathly scoundrel*
20 I have great joy in my manhede;
Therfor wold I in ilk sted — *every place*
It were tayn hede — *taken heed [that]*
If any felowse felow his red — *fellows follow his advice*
Or more his law wold lede.

[fol. 101v] For and I knew it, cruelly — *if*
26 His lyfe bees lost and that shortly,
That he were better hyng ful hy — *hung on high*
On galow tre.
Therfor ye prelatys shuld aspy — *prelates; seek out*
30 If any sich be. — *such*

As I am man of myghtys most, — *most might*
If ther be any that blow sich bost — *such*
With tormentys keyn bese he indost — *cruel; punished*
Forevermore;
35 The devill to hell shall harry hys goost. — *ghost*
Bot I say nomore.

CAIAPHAS Sir, ye thar nothyng be dredand, — *you need nothing dread*
For Centurio, I understand,
Youre knyght, is left abydand — *waiting*
40 Right ther behynde;
We left hym ther for man most wyse,
If any rybaldys wold oght ryse, — *rascals*
To sesse theym to the next assyse — *seize; until; court session*
And then for to make ende.

Tunc veniet centurio velut miles equitans.[1]

CENTURION A, blyssyd Lord Adonay,
46 What may this mervell sygnyfy
That here was shewyd so openly
Unto oure sight,
When the rightwys man can dy — *righteous; die*
50 That Jesus hight? — *was named*

Heven it shoke abone, — *shook above*
Of shynyng blan both son and moyne, — *ceased; sun and moon*
And dede men also rose up sone — *dead; soon*
Outt of thare grafe, — *their graves*

[1] *Then the centurion will come riding like a knight*

55 And stones in wall anone *at once*
In sonder brast and clafe. *Burst asunder; split*

Ther was seen many a full sodan sight; *sudden*
Oure prynces forsothe dyd nothyng right, *truly*
And so I saide to theym on hight, *those of high degree*
60 As it is trew, *true*
That he was most of myght,
The Son of God, Jesu.

Fowlys in the ayer and fish in floode *Birds in the air*
That day changid thare mode *mood*
65 When that he was rent on rode, *torn on the cross*
That Lord veray; *verily*
Full well thay understode
That he was slayn that day.

Therfor, right as I meyn, *intend*
70 To theym fast will I ryde
To wyt withoutten weyn *know without a doubt*
What they will say this tyde *at this time*
Of this enfray; *disturbance*
I will no longer abyde *remain*
75 Bot fast ride on my way.

[fol. 102r] God save you, syrs, on every syde,
Worship and welth in warld so wyde.
PILATE Centurio, welcom this tyde,
Oure comly knyght.
CENTURION God graunt you grace, well for to gyde, *guide*
81 And rewll you right. *rule*

PILATE Centurio, welcom, draw nerehand, *close by*
Tell us som tythyngys here emang, *news; among*
For ye have gone thrughoutt oure land;
85 Ye know ilk dele. *every deal*
CENTURION Sir, I drede me ye have done wrang *wrong*
And wonder yll. *ill*

CAIAPHAS Wonder yll? I pray thee why?
Declare that to this company.
CENTURION So shall I, sir, full securly *surely*
91 With all my mayn: *might*
The rightwys man, I meyn hym by *righteous; refer to him*
That ye have slayn. *slain*

PILATE	Centurio, sese of sich saw!	*cease; speech*
95	Ye ar a greatt man of oure law,	
	And if we shuld any wytnes draw	*witness*
	To us excuse,	
	To mayntene us evermore ye aw,	*ought*
	And noght refuse.	
CENTURION	To mayntene trowth is well worthy.	
101	I saide when I sagh hym dy	*saw*
	That it was Godys Son almyghty	
	That hang thore;	*there*
	So say I yit, and abydys therby	
105	Forevermore.	
ANNAS	Yee, sir, sich resons may ye rew!	*regret*
	Thou shuld not neven sich notes new,	
	Bot thou couth any tokyns trew	*Unless; could*
	Untill us tell.[1]	
CENTURION	Sich wonderfull case never ere ye knew	*before*
111	As then befell.	
CAIAPHAS	We pray thee, tell us of what thyng?	
CENTURION	Of elymentys, both old and ying,	*elements; young*
	In thare manere maide greatt mowrnyng	
115	In ilka stede;	*Everywhere*
	Thay knew by contenaunce that thare kyng	*appearance*
	Was done to dede.	*death*
	The son for wo it waxed all wan,	*sun; became dull*
	The moyn and starnes of shynyng blan,	*ceased*
120	And erth it tremlyd as a man	*trembled*
	Began to speke;	
	The stone that never was styrryd or than	*before then*
	In sonder brast and breke,	*Asunder*
	And dede men rose up bodely, both greatt and small.	*dead; bodily*
PILATE	Centurio, bewar withall!	
126	Ye wote the clerkys the clyppys it call,	*know; eclipse*
	Sich sodan sight,	*Such a sudden sight*
	That son and moyne a seson shall	*season*
	Lak of thare light.	*Lack of their light*
CAIAPHAS	Sir, and if that dede men ryse up bodely,	***[fol. 102v]***
131	That may be done thrugh socery.	*sorcery*

[1] Lines 107–09: *You should not mention such new matters unless you can show us real proof*

Therfor nothyng we sett therby
That be thou bast. *frightened*

CENTURION Sir, that I saw truly,
135 That shall I evermore trast. *trust*

Not for that ilk warke that ye dyd wyrke, *same deed*
Not oonly for the son wex myrke, *became dark*
Bot how the vayll rofe in the kyrke *veil tore; church*
Fayn wyt I wold. *Gladly I would know*

PILATE A, sich tayles full sone wold make us yrke *such tales; disgusted*
141 If thay were told.

Harlot, wherto commys thou us emang *Scoundrel; among*
With sich lesyngys us to fang? *such lies; attack*
Weynd furth, hy myght thou hang, *Go; high*
145 Vyle fatur. *traitor*

CAIAPHAS Weynd furth in the wenyande, *waning moon*
And hold styll thy clattur. *chatter*

CENTURION Sirs, sen ye set not by my saw, *since you disregard what I say*
Haves now good day.
150 God lene you grace to knaw *lend*
The sothe allway. *truth*

ANNAS Withdraw thee fast, sen thou thee dredys, *since; dread*
For we shall well mayntene oure dedys. *deeds*

PILATE Sich wonderfull resons as now he redys *advises*
155 Were never beforne.

CAIAPHAS To neven this note nomore us nedys,
Nawder even nor morne,[1] *Neither*

Bot for to be war of more were *wary; danger*
That afterward myght do us dere. *harm*
160 Therfor, sir, whils ye ar here
Us all emang, *among*
Avyse you of thise sawes sere *Advise; various words*
How thay will stand.

For Jesus saide full openly
165 Unto the men that yode hym by *went*
A thyng that grevys all Jury, *grieves; Jewry*
And right so may:
That he shuld ryse up bodely *bodily*
Within the thryde day.

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[1] Lines 156–57: *We need not mention this business anymore, / neither evening nor morning*

170 If it be so, as myght I spede,
The latter dede is more to drede *deed*
Then was the fyrst, if we take hede
And tend therto. *pay attention*
Avyse you, sir, for it is nede, *necessary*
175 The best to do.

ANNAS Sir, nevertheles if he saide so, ***[fol. 103r]***
He hase no myght to ryse and go,
Bot his dyscypyls steyll his cors us fro[1]
And bere away; *bear [him]*
180 That were till us and othere mo *many others*
A fowll enfray. *foul disturbance*

Then wold the pepyll say everilkon *every single one*
That he were rysen hymself alon; *alone*
Therfor ordan to kepe that stone *guard*
185 With knyghtys heynd *fine*
To thise thre dayes be commen and gone *Until*
And broght till ende.

PILATE Now certys, sir, full well ye say,
And for this ilk poynt to purvay *very point to arrange*
190 I shall ordan, if that I may,
He shall not ryse,
Nor none shall wyn hym thens away
Of no kyns wyse.[2]

Sir knyghtys that ar of dedys dughty *valiant deeds*
195 And chosen for chefe of chevalry, *chief of chivalry*
As I may me in you affy, *have faith*
By day and nyght
Ye go and kepe Jesu body *guard*
With all youre myght.

200 And for thyng that be may, *anything*
Kepe hym well unto the thryd day
That no tratur steyll his cors you fray *traitor steal his body from you*
Out of that sted; *place*
For if thei do, truly I say,
205 Ye shall be dede. *dead*

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[1] *Unless his disciples steal his body from us*

[2] Lines 192–93: *Nor shall anyone take him away from here / by any means*

SOLDIER 1 Yis, Sir Pilate, in certan
We shall hym kepe with all oure mayn; *strength*
Ther shall no tratur with no trayn *trick*
Steyll hym us fro.
210 Sir knyghtys, take gere that best may gayn *gear; help*
And let us go.

SOLDIER 2 Yis, certys, we ar all redy bowne; *ready*
We shall hym kepe till youre renowne.
On every syde lett us sytt downe,
215 We all in fere, *all together*
And I shall fownde to crak his crowne *hasten*
Whoso commys here.

SOLDIER 1 Who shuld be where? Fayn wold I wytt. *Gladly would I know*
SOLDIER 2 Even on this syde wyll I sytt.
SOLDIER 3 And I shall fownde his feete to flytt. *hasten*
SOLDIER 4 Wé, ther, shrew! Ther. *curse*
222 Now, by Mahowne, fayn wold I wytt
Who durst com here. *dares*

[fol. 103v] This cors with treson for to take, *corpse*
225 For if it were the burnand drake, *burning dragon*
Of me styfly he gatt a strake; *From; a blow*
Have here my hand.
To thise thre dayes be past, *Until*
This cors I dar warand. *guarantee*

Tunc cantabunt angeli "Christus resurgens" et postea dicet Jesus:[1]

JESUS Erthly man that I have wroght,
231 Wightly wake, and slepe thou noght. *Quickly*
With bytter bayll I have thee boght *pain*
To make thee fre; *free*
Into this dongeon depe I soght, *dungeon deep*
235 And all for luf of thee. *love*

Behold how dere I wold thee by. *buy*
My woundys ar weytt and all blody; *wet*
The synfull man full dere boght I,
With tray and teyn. *grief; harm*
240 Thou fyle thee noght eft forthy, *defile yourself again therefore*
Now art thou cleyn. *clean*

[1] *Then the angels shall sing "Christ is risen" and afterwards Jesus shall say*

Clene have I mayde thee, synfull man;
With wo and wandreth I thee wan. *misery; distress; won*
From harte and syde the blood out ran, *heart and side*
245 Sich was my pyne. *Such; suffering*
Thou must me luf that thus gaf than *love; gave*
My lyfe for thyne.

Thou synfull man that by me gase, *goes*
Tytt unto me thou turne thi face; *Quickly*
250 Behold my body in ilka place *this place*
How it was dight, *treated*
All to-rent, *torn*
And all to-shentt, *destroyed*
Man, for thi plight.

255 With cordes enewe and ropys toghe, *enough; tough*
The Jues fell my lymmes outdrogh,
For that I was not mete enoghe
Unto the bore;[1]
With hard stowndys *fierce attacks*
260 Thise depe woundys
Tholyd I thefore. *Suffered*

A crowne of thorne that is so kene *sharp*
Thay set apon my hede for tene; *affliction*
Two thefys hang thai me betwene *thieves*
265 All for dyspyte.
This payn ilk dele *each deal*
Thou shall wyt wele *know well*
May I thee wyte. *teach*

Behald my shankes and my knees, *legs*
270 Myn armes and my thees, *thighs*
[fol. 104r] Behold me well, looke what thou sees
Bot sorow and pyne. *suffering*
Thus was I spylt,
Man, for thi gylt *guilt*
275 And not for myne.

And yit more understand thou shall:
In stede of drynk thay gaf me gall;
Asell thay menged it withall, *Vinegar; mixed*
The Jues fell; *cruel*
280 The payn I have,

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[1] Lines 256–58: *The cruel Jews stretched out my limbs / because I could not reach / the bore-hole*

Tholyd I to save — *Suffered*
Mans saull from hell. — *soul*

Behold my body, how Jues it dang — *beat*
With knottys of whyppys and scorges strang, — *scourges cruel*
285 As stremes of well the bloode out sprang — *from a well*
On every syde;
Knottes where thay hyt,
Well may thou wytt, — *know*
Maide woundys wyde.

290 And therfor thou shall understand,
In body, hede, feete, and hand — *head*
Four hundreth woundys and fyve thowsand
Here may thou se, — *see*
And therto seven,
295 Were delt full even — *dealt*
For luf of thee. — *love*

Behold on me noght els is lefte,
And or that thou were fro me refte,[1]
All thise paynes wold I thole efte — *suffer again*
300 And for thee dy.
Here may thou se
That I luf thee, — *love*
Man, faythfully.

Sen I for luf, man, boght thee dere, — *Since*
305 As thou thiself the sothe sees here, — *truth*
I pray thee hartely with good chere — *heartily*
Luf me agane, — *Love*
That it lyked me — *pleased*
That I for thee
310 Tholyd all this payn.

If thou thy lyfe in syn have led,
Mercy to ask be not adred; — *afraid*
The leste drope I for thee bled — *least drop*
Myght clens thee soyn, — *cleanse you quickly*
315 All the syn
The warld within — *world*
If thou had done.

[1] *And before you were torn away from me*

I was well wrother with Judas *more angry*
For that he wold not ask me no grace *would*
320 Then I was for his trespas
That he me sold.
I was redy *ready*
To shew mercy;
Aske none he wold.

325 Lo, how I hold myn armes on brede *out wide*
Thee to save ay redy mayde. *ready made*
That I great luf ay to thee had *always*
Well may thou knaw; *know*
Som luf agane
330 I wold full fayn *gladly*
Thou wold me shew.

[fol. 104v] Bot luf, noght els, aske I of thee, *But love nothing else*
And that thou fownde fast syn to fle; *hasten quickly; flee*
Pyne thee to lyf in charyté *Suffer*
335 Both nyght and day,
Then in my blys *bliss*
That never shall mys
Thou shall dwell ay. *always*

For I am veray prynce of peasse, *true*
340 And synnes seyr I may releasse, *manifold*
And whoso will of synnes seasse *cease*
And mercy cry,
I grauntt theym here a measse *portion*
In brede, myn awne body. *bread*

345 That ilk veray brede of lyfe *each true*
Becommys my fleshe in wordys fyfe; *five*
Whoso it resaves in syn or stryfe *receives*
Bese dede forever, *Are dead forever*
And whoso it takys in rightwys lyfe *righteous*
350 Dy shall he never. *Die*

MARY MAGDALENE Alas, to dy with doyll am I dyght! *misery; put*
In warld was never a wofuller wight. *more woeful creature*
I drope, I dare, for seyng of sight *cower; tremble*
That I can se;
355 My Lord that mekill was of myght *much*
Is ded fro me.

Alas, that I shuld se hys pyne *suffering*
Or that I shuld his lyfe tyne, *lose*

For to ich sore he was medecyne — *each sore*
360 And boytte of all, — *remedy*
Help and hold to everilk hyne — *support every servant [that]*
To hym wold call.

MARY JACOBI Alas, how stand I on my feete
When I thynk on his woundys wete? — *wet*
365 Jesus that was on luf so swete — *love*
And never dyd yll — *did ill*
Is dede and grafen under the grete, — *buried; ground*
Withoutten skyll. — *reason*

MARY SALOME Withoutten skyll thise Jues ilkon — *each one*
370 That lufly Lord thay have hym slone, — *lovely; slain*
And trespas dyd he never none,
In no kyn sted. — *Nowhere*
To whom shall we now make oure mone? — *lament*
Oure Lord is ded.

MARY MAGDALENE Sen he is ded, my systers dere, — *Since*
376 Weynd we will with full good chere — *Go*
With oure anoyntmentys fare and clere — *ointments fair*
That we have broght
For to anoyntt his woundys sere — *diverse*
380 That Jues hym wroght. — *gave*

MARY JACOBI Go we then, my systers fre, — ***[fol. 105r]***
For sore me longis his cors to see. — *corpse*
Bot I wote never how best may be; — *know*
Help have we none,
385 And which shall of us systers thre
Remefe the stone? — *Remove*

MARY SALOME That do we not bot we were mo, — *more*
For it is hogh and hevy also. — *huge; heavy*
MARY MAGDALENE Systers, we thar no farther go — *need*
390 Ne make mowrnyng. — *Nor*
I se two syt where we weynd to — *go*
In whyte clothyng.

MARY JACOBI Certys, the sothe is not to hyde;
The gravestone is put besyde. — *aside*
MARY SALOME Certys, for thyng that may betyde, — *whatever may happen*
396 Now will we weynde
To late the luf and with hym byde — *seek the loved one*
That was oure freynde.

ANGEL 1 Ye mowrnyng women in youre thoght,
400 Here in this place whome have ye soght?
MARY MAGDALENE Jesu that unto ded was broght,
Oure Lord so fre.
ANGEL 2 Certys, women, here is he noght.
Com nere and se. *near*

ANGEL 1 He is not here, the sothe to say, *truly*
406 The place is voyde therin he lay; *empty*
The sudary here se ye may *grave cloth*
Was on hym layde.
He is rysen and gone his way
410 As he you sayde.

ANGEL 2 Even as he saide so, done has he:
He is rysen thrugh his pausté; *power*
He shal be fon in Galalé *found in Galilee*
In fleshe and fell. *flesh and body*
415 To his dyscypyls now weynd ye *disciples*
And thus thaym tell. *them*

MARY MAGDALENE My systers fre, sen it is so
That he is resyn the deth thus fro *risen from death*
As saide till us thise angels two,
420 Oure lord and leche, *healer*
As ye have hard, where that ye go *heard*
Loke that ye preche. *preach*

MARY JACOBI As we have hard, so shall we say.
Maré, oure syster, have good day. *Mary*
MARY MAGDALENE Now veray God, as he well may, *true*
426 Man most of myght,
He wysh you, systers, well in youre way *guide*
And rewle you right. *rule*

[fol. 105v] Alas, what shall now worth on me? *become of me*
430 My catyf hart wyll breke in thre *wretched heart*
When that I thynk on that ilk bodye *same body*
How it was spylt; *destroyed*
Thrugh feete and handys nalyd was he *nailed*
Withoutten gylt. *guilt*

435 Withoutten gylt then was he tayn; *taken*
That lufly lord thay have hym slayn, *lovely*
And tryspas dyd he never nane, *trespass; none*
Ne yit no mys. *Nor yet no misdeed*

It was my gylt he was fortayn, *taken away*
440 And nothyng his.[1]

How myght I, bot I lufyd that swete *loved*
That for me suffred woundys wete
Sythen to be grafen under the grete, *Then; buried; ground*
Sich kyndnes kythe? *Make such kindness known*
445 Ther is nothyng till that we mete
May make me blythe. *happy*

SOLDIER 1 Outt, alas, what shall I say?
Where is the cors that here in lay? *body*
SOLDIER 2 What alys thee, man? Is he away *ails*
450 That we shuld tent? *watch over*
SOLDIER 1 Ryse up and se!
SOLDIER 2 Harrow! Thefe! For ay *Forever*
I cownte us shent.[2] *count; ruined*

SOLDIER 3 What devyll alys you two *devil; ails*
454 Sich nose and cry thus for to may? *make*
SOLDIER 2 For he is gone.
SOLDIER 3 Alas, wha? *who*
SOLDIER 2 He that here lay.
SOLDIER 3 Harrow, devill! Howswa *How*
Gat he away? *Got*

SOLDIER 4 What, is he thus-gatys from us went, *has he thus gone*
460 The fals tratur that here was lentt
That we truly to tent *watch over*
Had undertane? *undertaken*
Certanly, I tell us shent *ruined*
Holly ilkane. *Wholly each one*

SOLDIER 1 Alas, what shall I do this day
466 Sen this tratur is won away? *Since; traitor has gotten*
And safely, syrs, I dar well say
He rose alon. *alone*
SOLDIER 2 Wytt Sir Pilate of this enfray, *disturbance*
470 We mon be slone. *must be slain*

SOLDIER 4 Wote ye well he rose in dede? *death*
SOLDIER 2 I sagh myself when that he yede. *saw; went*
SOLDIER 1 When that he styrryd out of the stede, *place*

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[1] Lines 439–40: *It was for my guilt that he was taken away, / and not at all his own*

[2] Lines 451–52: *Ho! Thief! I think that we are forever destroyed*

	None couth it ken.	*could it know*
SOLDIER 4	Alas, hard hap was on my hede	*bad luck*
476	Emang all men.	*Among*
SOLDIER 3	Ye, bot wyt Syr Pilate of this dede,	
[fol. 106r]	That we were slepand when he yede,	*sleeping*
	We mon forfett withoutten drede	*forfeit*
480	All that we have.	
SOLDIER 4	We must make lees, for that is nede	*lies; necessary*
	Oureself to save.	
SOLDIER 1	That red I well, so myght I go.	*advise*
SOLDIER 2	And I assent therto also.	
SOLDIER 3	A thowsand shall I say and mo,	
486	Well armed ilkon,	*each one*
	Com and toke his cors us fro,	*corpse from us*
	Had us nere slone.	*slain*
SOLDIER 4	Nay, certys, I hold ther none so good	
490	As say the sothe right as it stude,	*stood*
	How that he rose with mayn and mode	*fervently*
	And went his way;	
	To Sir Pilate, if he be wode,	*mad*
	Thus dar I say.	*dare*
SOLDIER 1	Why, and dar thou to Sir Pilate go	
496	With thise tythyngys and tell hym so?	*tidings*
SOLDIER 2	So red I that we do also;	*advise*
	We dy bot oones.	
SOLDIER 3	Now he that wroght us all this wo,	
500	Wo worth his bones!	
SOLDIER 4	Go we sam, sir knyghtys heynd,	*together; valiant*
	Sen we shall to Sir Pilate weynd.	
	I trow that we shall parte no freynd	
	Or that we pas.[1]	*Before*
SOLDIER 1	Now and I shall tell ilka word till ende,	*each*
506	Right as it was.	
	Sir Pilate, prynce withoutten peyr,	*peer*
	Sir Cayphas and Anna both in fere,	*company*
	And all the lordys aboute you there	
510	To neven by name,	*mention*

[1] Lines 503–04: *I believe that we shall not part friends / before we finish*

Mahowne you save on sydys sere — *various*
Fro syn and shame.

PILATE Ye ar welcom, oure knyghtys so keyn;
A mekill myrth now may we meyn. — *much joy; convey*
515 Bot tell us som talkyng us betwene[1]
How ye have wroght.
SOLDIER 1 Oure wakyng, lord, withoutten wene — *without a doubt*
Is worth to noght.[2]

CAIAPHAS To noght? Alas, seasse of sich saw. — *cease*
SOLDIER 2 The prophete Jesu that ye well knaw
521 Is rysen, and went fro us on raw — *us together*
With mayn and myght. — *strength*
PILATE Therfor the devill thee all to-draw, — *pull apart*
Vyle recrayd knyght. — *cowardly*

525 What, combred cowardys I you call. — *miserable*
Lett ye hym pas fro you all?
SOLDIER 3 Sir, ther was none that durst do bot small
When that he yede.
SOLDIER 4 We were so ferde we can downe fall — *afraid*
530 And qwoke for drede. — *trembled*

SOLDIER 1 We were so rad, everilkon, — *afraid, each and every one;* ***[fol. 106v]***
When that he put besyde the stone, — *aside*
We quoke for ferd and durst styr none, — *dared stir not*
534 And sore we were abast. — *frightened*
PILATE Whi, bot rose he bi hymself alone?
SOLDIER 2 Ye, lord, that be ye trast. — *assured*

We hard never, on evyn ne morne, — *heard; evening or morning*
Nor yit oure faders us beforne,
Sich melody, mydday ne morne, — *Such melody, midday nor morning*
540 As was maide thore. — *made there*
PILATE Alas, then ar oure lawes forlorne — *destroyed*
Forevermore.

A, devill, what shall now worth of this? — *become*
This warld farys with quantys. — *uses trickery*
545 I pray you, Cayphas, ye us wys — *guide*
Of this enfray. — *disturbance*

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[1] *But tell us something just between us (confidentially)*

[2] Lines 517–18: *Our keeping watch, lord, without doubt, / is [or has been] worthless*

CAIAPHAS Sir, and I couth oght by my clergys, *if I knew; learning*
Fayn wold I say. *Gladly*

ANNAS To say the best, forsothe, I shall;
550 It shalbe profett for us all: *profit*
Yond knyghtys behovys thare wordys agane-call
How he is myst.[1] *missing*
We wold not for thyng that myght befall
That no man wyst. *knows*

555 And therfor of youre curtessie *courtesy*
Gyf theym a rewarde forthy.
PILATE Of this counsell well paide am I; *pleased*
It shalbe thus.
Sir knyghtys that ar of dedys doghty, *valiant*
560 Take tent till us. *Pay attention to us*

Herkyns now how ye shall say *Listen*
Whereso ye go by nyght or day:
Ten thowsand men of good aray *attire*
Cam you untill *Came to you*
565 And thefyshly toke his cors you fray *thievishly; body from you*
Agans youre will. *Against*

Loke ye say thus in every land,
And therto, on this covande, *covenant*
Ten thowsand pounds have in youre hande
570 To youre rewarde,
And my frenship, I understande,
Shall not be sparde. *spared*

Bot loke ye say as we have kende. *commanded*
SOLDIER 1 Yis, sir, as Mahowne me mende,
575 In ilk contree whereso we lende *each; arrive*
By nyght or day,
Whereso we go, whereso we weynd, *journey*
Thus shall we say.

PILATE The blyssyng of Mahowne be with you nyght and day.
MARY MAGDALENE Say me, garthynere, I thee pray, *gardener;* ***[fol. 107r]***
581 If thou bare oght my Lord away. *carried*
Tell me the sothe, say me not nay, *truth*
Where that he lyys, *lies*

[1] Lines 551–52: *It behooves those knights to take back their declarations / that he is missing*

And I shall remeve hym if I may *remove*
585 On any kyn wyse. *In some manner*

JESUS Woman, why wepys thou? Be styll.
Whome sekys thou? Say me thy wyll
And nyk me not with nay. *deny*
MARY MAGDALENE For my Lord I lyke full yll *Because of my Lord I am very sad*
590 The stede thou bare his body tyll *place; bore*
Tell me, I thee pray,
And I shall if I may
His body bere with me;
Unto myn endyng day
595 The better shuld I be.

JESUS Woman, woman, turne thi thoght.
Wyt thou well I hyd hym noght
Then bare hym nawre with me. *nowhere*
Go seke, loke if thou fynde hym oght. *at all*
MARY MAGDALENE In fayth, I have hym soght,
601 Bot nawre he will fond be. *nowhere; found*
JESUS Why, what was he to thee,
In sothfastnes to say? *truth*
MARY MAGDALENE A, he was to me —
605 No longer dwell I may.
JESUS Mary, thou sekys thy God, and that am I.

MARY MAGDALENE Rabony, my Lord so dere! *Master*
Now am I hole that thou art here. *whole*
Suffer me to negh thee nere *approach*
610 And kys thi feete; *kiss*
Myght I do so, so well me were,
For thou art swete.

JESUS Nay, Mary, neghe thou not me,
For to my Fader, tell I thee,
615 Yit stevynd I noght. *ascended*
Tell my brethere I shall be *brothers*
Before theym all in Trynyté
Whose will that I have wroght.
To peasse now ar thay boght
620 That prysond were in pyne, *imprisoned; punishment*
Wherfor thou thank in thoght
God, thi Lord and myne.

Mary, thou shall weynde me fro: *from*
Myn erand shall thou grathly go; *quickly*
625 In no fowndyng thou fall. *temptation*

To my dyscypyls say thou so,
That wilsom ar and lappyd in wo, *bewildered; wrapped in woe*
That I thaym socoure shall.
By name Peter thou call,
630 And say that I shall be
Before hym and theym all
Myself in Galylé. *Galilee*

MARY MAGDALENE Lord, I shall make my vyage *voyage*
To tell theym hastely;
635 Fro thay here that message
Thay will be all mery.
[fol. 107v] This Lord was slayn, alas forthy, *therefore*
Falsly spylt, no man wyst why, *Falsely*
Whore he dyd mys; *Where*
640 Bot with hym spake I bodely *bodily*
Forthi commen is my blys

Mi blys is commen, my care is gone,
That lufly have I mett alone; *lovely one*
I am as blyth in bloode and bone *joyous*
645 As ever was wight. *any creature*
Now is he resyn that ere was slone, *risen; before; slain*
Mi hart is light. *heart*

I am as light as leyfe on tre *leaf on tree*
For joyfull sight that I can se,
650 For well I wote that it was he, *know*
My Lord Jesu.
He that betrayde that fre, *noble one*
Sore may he rew. *regret*

To Galylé now will I fare
655 And his dyscyples cach from care. *catch*
I wote that thay will mowrne no mare; *mourn no more*
Commyn is thare blys. *their bliss*
That worthi childe that Mary bare,
He amende youre mys. *lack*

Explicit resurreccio domini.[1]

[1] *Here ends the resurrection of the Lord*

24. THE PILGRIMS

Cleophas
Luke
Jesus

Peregrini.[1]

CLEOPHAS Almyghty God, Jesu! Jesu
That borne was of a madyn fre,
Thou was a lord and prophete trew
Whyls thou had lyfe on lyfe to be — *were alive*
5 Emangys thise men.
Yll was thou ded, so wo is me — *Wickedly were you put to death*
That I it ken. — *know*

I ken it well that thou was slayn
Oonly for me and all mankynde;
10 Therto thise Jues were full bayn. — *willing*
Alas, why was thou, man, so blynde
Thi lord to slo? — *slay*
On hym why wold thou have no mynde — *would*
Bot bett hym blo? — *beat; blue*

[fol. 108r] Blo thou bett hym bare;
16 His brest thou maide all blak. — *breast*
His woundes all wete thay ware. — *wet (bloody)*
Alas, withoutten lak. — *lack*

LUKE That lord, alas, that leche — *healer*
20 That was so meke and mylde,
So well that couth us preche, — *could*
With syn was never fylde. — *defiled*
He was full bayn to preche — *ready*
Us all from warkes wylde. — *works*
25 His ded it will me drech, — *death; torment*
For thay hym so begylde
This day.
Alas, why dyd thay so,
To tug hym to and fro?
30 From hym wold thay not go
To his lyfe was away. — *Until*

[1] *The pilgrims*

CLEOPHAS Thise cursyd Jues, ever worth thaym wo,
Oure lord oure master to ded gart go. *to death made go*
All sakles thay gart hym slo *innocent; made*
35 Apon the rode, *the rood (cross)*
And for to bete his body blo *beat; blue*
Thay thoght full good.

LUKE Thou says full sothe: thay dyd hym payn *truthfully*
And therto were thay ever fayn; *glad*
40 Thay wold no leyf or he was slayn *would not stop until*
And done to ded. *death*
Forthi we mowrne with mode and mayn *Therefore; mourn fervently*
With rufull red. *sorrowful words*

CLEOPHAS Yee, rufully may we it rew, *regret*
45 For hym that was so good and trew
That thrugh the falshede of a Jew *falsehood*
Was thus betrayd;
Therfor oure sorow is ever new,
Oure joy is layd.

LUKE Certys, it was a wonder thyng *Certainly*
51 That thay wold for no tokynyng *token*
Ne yit for his techyng *Nor yet; teaching*
Trast in that trew;
Thay myght have sene in his doyng
55 Full great vertu.

CLEOPHAS For all that thay to hym can say
He answard never, with yee ne nay, *yes nor no*
Bot as a lam meke was he ay *lamb; always*
For all thare threte; *their torment*
60 He spake never by nyght ne day
No wordes greatte. *emotional*

LUKE All if he wor withoutten plight, *Although; guilt*
Unto the ded yit thay hym dight. *death; condemned*
If he had never so mekill myght, *Although he was all-powerful*
65 He suffred all;
He stud as still that bright *stood*
As stone in wall.

CLEOPHAS Alas, for doyll, what was thare skyll *misery; their reason*
That precyous lord so for to spill *kill*
70 And he servyd never none yll, *Although*
In worde ne dede, *nor deed*

Bot prayd for theym his Fader till
To ded when that he yede? *death; went*

LUKE When I thynk on his passyon *passion;* ***[fol. 108v]***
75 And on his moder, how she can swoyn, *mother; swoon*
To dy nere am I bowne; *ready*
For sorow I sagh hir make *saw*
Under the crosse when she fell downe
For hir son sake. *son's*

CLEOPHAS Me thynk my hart is full of wo.
81 When I sagh hym to ded go, *saw*
The wekyd Jues thay were so thro *wicked; eager*
To wyrk hym woghe, *woe*
His fare body thay maide full blo *blue*
85 With strokes enoghe. *enough*

LUKE Me thynk my hart droppys all in bloode. *drops*
When I sagh hym hyng on the roode *hung*
And askyd a drynk with full mylde mode, *manner*
Right than in hy *in haste*
90 Asell and gall that was not good *Vinegar*
Thay broght hym then truly.

CLEOPHAS Was never man in no kyns steede *no other place*
That suffred half so greatt mysdede
As he, to ded or that he yede, *before he went to [his] death*
95 Ne yit the care;
Forthi full carefull is my red *Therefore; sorrowful; speech*
Wheresoever I fare.

LUKE Whereso I fare he is my mynde, *in my memory*
Bot when I thynk on hym so kynde,
100 How sore gyltles that he was pyynde *very guiltless; tortured*
Apon a tre, *cross*
Unethes may I hold my mynde, *Scarcely*
So sore myslykys me. *it displeases*

Hic venit Jesus in apparatus peregrini.[1]

JESUS Pylgrymes, whi make ye this mone *Pilgrims; lament*
105 And walk so rufully by the way? *sorrowfully*
Have ye youre gates ungrathly gone? *ways; mistakenly; (see note)*
Or what you alys to me ye say. *ails*

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[1] *Here Jesus comes in pilgrim's clothing*

What wordes ar you two emange *among*
That ye here so sadly gang? *go*
110 To here theym eft full sore I lang, *again; long*
Here of yow two.
It semys ye ar in sorow strang *intense sorrow*
Here as ye go.

CLEOPHAS What way for shame, man, has thou tayn *taken*
115 That thou wote not of this affray? *disturbance*
Thou art a man by thee alane; *yourself alone*
Thou may not pleasse me to my pay. *satisfaction*

JESUS I pray you, if it be youre will,
[fol. 109r] Those wordys ye wold reherse me tyll. *to me*
120 Ye ar all hevy and lykys yll *heavy and seemingly ill*
Here in this way;
If ye will, now shew me youre skyll, *show; reason*
I wold you pray.

LUKE Art thou a pilgreme, thiself alone,
125 Walkand in contry bi thyn oone, *on your own*
And wote not what is commen and gone
Within few dayes?
Me thynk thou shuld make mone *lament*
And wepe here in thi wayes.

JESUS Whi, what is done, can ye me say,
131 In this land this ylk day? *same*
Is ther fallen any affray *disturbance*
In land awrewhare? *anywhere*
If ye can me tell, I you pray,
135 Or that I farthere fare. *Before*

CLEOPHAS Why, knowys thou not what thyng is done
Here at Jerusalem thus sone *soon*
Thrugh wykyd Jues, withoutten hone *delay*
And noght lang syn? *not long since*
140 For the trewe prophete make we this mone, *we lament*
And for his pyne. *suffering*

LUKE Yee, for Jesu of Nazarene
That was a prophete true and clene,
In word, in wark, full meke I wene, *work; believe*
145 And that fonde we;
And so has he full long bene,
As mot I thé, *As I may thrive*

To God and to the people bath. *both*
Therfor thise daies he has takyn skath; *these days; harm*
150 Unto the ded withoutten hagh *reverence*
Thise Jues hym dight. *condemned*
Forthi for hym thus walk we wrath *Therefore; sorrowful*
By day and nyght.

CLEOPHAS Thise wykyd Jues trayed hym with gyle *betrayed; trickery*
155 To thare high preestys within a whyle, *their; priests*
And to thare prynces thay can hym fyle *their princes; defile*
Withoutten drede; *doubtless*
Apon a crosse noght hens a myle *not a mile from here*
To ded he yede. *To death he went*

LUKE We trowyd that it was he, truly,
161 His awne lyfe agane shuld by, *own life; redeem*
As it is told in prophecy
Of Cristys doyng,
And certys thay will never ly *certainly; lie*
165 For no kyns thyng. *not any*

Fro he was of the crosse tayn, *When; off; taken*
He was layde full sone agane *soon again*
In a grave under a stane, *stone*
And that we saw;
[fol. 109v] Wheder he be rysen and gane
171 Yit we ne knaw. *do not know*

JESUS Pilgremes, in speche ye are full awth. *idle*
That shall I well declare you why:
Ye have it hart, and that is rawth *heard; pity*
175 Ye can no better stand therby,
Thyng that ye here,
And prophetys told it openly *Although*
On good manere.

Thay saide a childe there shuld be borne
180 To by mankynde, combryd in care; *buy; miserable*
Thus saide David here beforne
And othere prophetys wyse of lare, *learning*
And Daniell.
Som saide he ded shuld be *dead*
185 And ly in erth by dayes thre,
And sithen thrugh his pausté *And then through his power*
Ryse up in flesh and fell. *skin*

CLEOPHAS	Now sir, forsothe, as God me save,	*truly*
	Women has flayed us in oure thoght.	*frightened*
190	Thay saide that thay were at his grave	
	And in that sted thay faunde hym noght,	*found*
	Bot saide a light	
	Com downe with angels and up hym broght	*Came*
	Ther in thare sight.	*their*
195	We wold not trow theym for nothyng	*believe*
	If thay were ther in the mornyng;	*Even if*
	We saide thay knew not his rysyng	
	When it shuld be;	
	Bot som of us, without dwellyng,	*delay*
200	Wentt theder to se.	*there; see*
LUKE	Yee, som of us, sir, have beyn thare	*there*
	And faunde it as the women saide:	*found*
	Out of that sted that cors was fare,	*body was gone*
	And also the grave stone put besyde,	
205	We se with ee.	*saw; eye*
	The teres outt of myn ees can glyde	*tears; eyes*
	For doyll I dre.	*misery; suffer*
JESUS	Ye foyles, ye ar not stabyll.	*fools*
	Where is youre witt, I say?	
210	Wilsom of hart, ye ar unabyll	*Errant of heart; incompetent*
	And outt of the right way,	
	For to trow it is no fabyll	*believe*
	That at is fallen this same day.	*That which*
	He wyst when he sat at his tabill	*knew; table*
215	That Judas shuld hym sone betray.	*soon*
	Me thynk you all untrist to trow	*unfaithful; believe*
	Both in mode and mayn	*fervently*
	All that the prophetys told to you	
	Before, it is no trane.	*treachery*
[fol. 110r]	Told not thay what wyse and how	*manner*
221	That Cryst shuld suffre payn,	
	And so to his Paske bow	*Passover submit; (see note)*
	To entre till his joy agane?	
	Take tent to Moyses and othere mo	
225	That were prophetys trew and good:	
	Thay saide Jesus to ded shuld go	*death*
	And pynde be on roode,	*tortured*
	Thrugh the Jues be maide full blo,	*blue*
	His woundys rynyng on red blode;	*running with red blood*

230 Sithen shuld he ryse and furth go *Then*
Before right as he yode. *went*

Crist behovid to suffre this, *was required*
Forsothe, right as I say,
And sithen enter into his blys *then; bliss*
235 Unto his Fader for ay, *always*
Ever to won with hym and his *dwell*
Where ever is gam and play; *game*
Of that myrth shall he never mys
Fro he weynde hens away.

CLEOPHAS Now, sir, we thank it full oft-sythes *often*
241 The commyng of you heder *here*
To us so kyndly kythes *makes known*
The prophecy all togeder.

JESUS Byleyff now, sirs, for I must weynde, *By your leave; go*
245 For I have far of my jornay.
LUKE Now sir, we pray you as oure freynde
All nyght to abyde for charité *charity*
And take youre rest.
At morne more prest then may ye be *prepared*
250 To go full prest. *quickly*

CLEOPHAS Sir, we you pray for Godys sake
This nyght penance with us to take,
With sich chere as we can make, *such cheer*
And that we pray.
255 We may no farthere walk ne wake; *nor stay awake*
Gone is the day.

LUKE Dwell with us, sir, if ye myght,
For now it waxes to the nyght. *becomes night*
The day is gone that was so bright;
260 No far thou shall. *further*
Mete and drynk, sir, we you hight *Food; promise*
For thi good tale.

JESUS I thank you both, forsothe, in fere. *together*
At this tyme I ne may dwell here. *may not remain*
265 I have to walk in wayes sere *diverse*
Where I have hight; *promised*
I may not be withoutten were *without distress*
With you all nyght.

CLEOPHAS Now as myght I lyf in qwarte, *live in good health*
270 At this tyme will we not parte
Bot if that thou can more of arte
Or yit of lare; *teaching*
Unto this cyté with good harte *heart*
Now let us fare. *go*

LUKE Thou art a pilgreme as we ar;
276 This nyght shall thou fare as we fare;
Be it les or be it mare, *less; more*
Thou shall assay. *try*
[fol. 110v] Then to-morne thou make thee yare *ready*
280 To weynde thi way.

JESUS Freyndys, for to fulfill youre will
I will abyde with you awhyle.
CLEOPHAS Sir, ye ar welcom, as is skyll, *reasonable*
To sich as we have, bi Sant Gyle. *by Saint Giles*

LUKE Now ar we here at this towne.
286 I red that we go sytt us downe *advise*
And for to sowpe we make us bowne *for supper; ready*
Now of oure fode;
We have enogh, sir, bi my crowne,
290 Of Godys goode.

Tunc parent mensam.[1]

CLEOPHAS Lo, here a borde and clothe laide, *a table is set*
And breed theron all redy graide. *bread; prepared*
Sit we downe, we shal be paide
And make good chere;
295 It is but penaunce; as we saide;
That we have here.

Tunc recumbent et sedebit Jesus in medio eorum;
tunc benediciet Jesus panem et franget in tribus partibus,
et postea evanebit ab ocullis eorum, et dicet Lucas:[2]

LUKE Wemmow! where is this man becom
Right here that sat betwix us two? *between*
He brake the breed and laide us som; *broke the bread; offered*

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[1] *Then they should prepare a table*

[2] *Then they shall recline and Jesus shall sit between them; / then Jesus shall bless the bread and break it in three pieces, / and afterwards he shall vanish from their sight, and Luke shall say*

300 How myght he hens now fro us go
At his awne lyst? *own desire*
It was oure Lorde, I trow right so, *believe*
And we not wyst. *did not know it*

CLEOPHAS When went he hens, whedir and how, *from here; where*
305 What, I ne wote in warld so wyde; *know not; world*
For had I wyten I make a vowe *thought*
He shuld have byden what so betyde. *remained whatever happened*

Bot it were Jesus that with us was,
Selcowth me thynke, the sothe to say, *Wonderful; truly*
310 Thus prevaly from us to pas; *secretly*
I wist never when he went away. *knew never*
We were full blynde, ever alas! *blind*
I tell us now begylde for ay. *deceived forever*
For spech and bewté that he has *speech; beauty*
315 Man myght hym knaw this day.

LUKE A, dere God, what may this be? *dear*
Right now was he here by me;
Now is this greatt vanyté, *vanity*
He is away. *gone*
[fol. 111r] We ar begylyd, by my lewté, *deceived; by my faith*
321 So may we say.

CLEOPHAS Where was oure hart, where was oure thoght, *heart*
So far on gate as he us broght, *on the road*
Knawlege of hym that we had noght *Knowledge*
325 In all that tyme?
So was he lyke, bi hym me wroght,
Till oon pylgryme. *To any*

LUKE Dere God, why couth we hym not knawe? *could*
So openly all on a raw *in turn*
330 The tayles that he can till us shaw *show*
By oone and oon, *one after another*
And now from us within a thraw *moment*
Thus sone is gone. *soon*

CLEOPHAS I had no knawlege it was he
335 Bot for he brake this brede in thre *Except that; three*
And delt it here to thee and me *dealt; you*
With his awne hande; *own*
When he passyd hence we myght not se
Here syttande. *sitting*

LUKE We ar to blame, yee, veramente, *yes truly*
341 That we toke no better tente *paid no better attention*
Whils we bi the way wente
With hym that stownd; *time*
Knowlege of hym we myght have hentt *received*
345 Syttyng on grownd.

CLEOPHAS Fro he toke breede, full well I wyst,
And brake it here with his awne fyste *own fist*
And laide it us at his awne lyst *desire*
As we it hent; *received*
350 I knew hym then and sone it kyst *kissed; (see note)*
With good intente.

LUKE That we hym knew wist he well enogh; *he knew well enough*
Therfor all sone he hym withdrogh *withdrew*
Fro he saw that we hym knogh *knew*
355 Within this sted. *place*
I have ferly what way and how *wonder [at]*
Away that he shuld glyde. *glide*

CLEOPHAS Alas, we war full myrk in thoght, *dim*
Bot we were both full will of red. *at a loss for advice*
360 Man, for shame, whi held thou noght *understood; (see note)*
When he on borde brake us this breede? *at the table*

He soght the prophecy more and les
And told it us right in this sted,
How that he hymself was
365 With wykid Jues broght to ded
And more.
We will go seke that kyng
That suffred woundes sore.

LUKE Ryse, go we hence fro this place;
370 To Jerusalem take we the pace *path*
And tell oure brethere all the case, *brethren*
I red, right thus: *advise*
From ded to lyfe when that he rase *death to life; rose*
He apperyd till us. *appeared*

CLEOPHAS At Jerusalem, I understande, ***[fol. 111v]***
376 Ther hope I that they be dwelland; *dwelling*
In that countré and in that land
We shall theym mete.
Weynd we furth, I dar warand, *promise*
380 Right in the strete.

LUKE Let us not tary ne mare, *any more*
Bot on oure feete fast lett us fare. *go*
I hope we shall be cachid fro care *taken from sorrow*
Full sone, iwys.
385 That blyssid childe that Marie bare
Grauntt you his blys.

Expliciunt peregrini.[1]

25. THOMAS OF INDIA

Mary Magdalene
Peter
Paul
Apostle 3
Apostle 4
Apostle 5
Jesus
Apostle 6
Apostle 7
Apostle 8
Apostle 9
Apostle 10
Thomas

Thomas Indie

MARY MAGDALENE Hayll, brether, and God be here. *brother*
I bryng to amende youre chere: *bring [news]*
Trist ye it and knawe *Trust; know*
He is rysen, the soth to say. *truly*
5 I met hym goyng bi the way;
He bad me tell it you.

PETER Do way, woman, thou carpys wast. *chatter uselessly*
It is som spirite or els som gast; *ghost*
Othere was it noght.
10 We may trow on no kyns wyse *believe in no other way*
That ded man may to lyfe ryse. *dead*
This then is oure thoght.

[1] *Here end the pilgrims*

PAUL	It may be sothe for mans mede	*true; reward*
	The Jues maide hym grymly blede	*grimly bleed*
15	Thrugh feete, handys, and syde;	
	With nayles on rode thay dyd hym hang,	*nails on rood (the cross)*
	Wherfor, woman, thou says wrang,	*On account of which; incorrectly*
	As myght I blys abide.	*bliss*
MARY MAGDALENE	Do way youre threpyng! Ar ye wode?	*quarreling; mad*
20	I sagh hym that dyed on roode	*saw*
	And with hym spake with mowth.	*mouth*
[fol. 112r]	Therfor you both, red I,	*advise*
	Putt away youre heresy;	
	Tryst it stedfast and cowth.	*Trust; known*
PETER	Do way, woman; let be thi fare	*fuss*
26	For shame and also syn;	
	If we make never sich care,	*lamentation*
	His lyfe may we not wyn.	
PAUL	And it is wretyn in oure law:	
30	Ther is no trust in womans saw,	*words*
	No trust faith to belefe,	*believe*
	For with thare quayntyse and thare gyle	*their cunning; trickery*
	Can thay laghe and wepe somwhile	*sometimes*
	And yit nothyng theym grefe.	*nothing troubles them*
35	In oure bookes thus fynde we wretyn —	
	All manere of men well it wyttyn —	*know*
	Of women on this wyse:	*of this manner*
	Till an appyll she is lyke;	
	Withoutten faill ther is none slyke	*such*
40	In horde ther it lyse.	*[the] hoard; where*
	Bot if a man assay it wittely,	*try it intelligently*
	It is full roten inwardly,	
	At the colke within.	*core*
	Wherfor in woman is no laghe,	*law*
45	For she is withoutten aghe,	*reverence (awe)*
	As Crist me lowse of syn.	*delivers me of sin*
	Therfor trast we not trystely,	*trust; faithfully*
	Bot if we sagh it witterly	*clearly*
	Then wold we trastly trow;	*truly believe*
50	In womans saw affy we noght,	*speech we have no faith*
	For thay ar fekill in word and thoght,	*fickle*
	This make I myne avowe.	*oath*

MARY MAGDALENE As be I lowsid of my care, *delivered*
It is as trew as ye stand thare, *true*
55 By hym that is my brothere.
PETER I dar lay my heede to wed *head as pledge*
Or that we go untill oure bed *Before; to*
That we shall here anothere. *hear*

PAUL If it be sothe that we here say, *true*
60 Or this thrid day be away
The sothe then mon we se. *must*
MARY MAGDALENE Bot it be sothe to trow
As ye mon here, els pray I you
For fals that ye hold me.

PETER Waloway, my lefe deres. *dear darlings*
66 There I stand in this sted, *Where; place*
Sich sorow my hart sheres *cuts*
For rewth I can no red. *grief; know no counsel*
Sen that Mawdleyn witnes beres *Since; Magdalene*
70 That Jesus rose from ded,
Myn ees has letten salt teres
On erthe to se hym trede. *see him tread*

Bot alas that ever I woke
That carefull catyf nyght, *unfortunate*
75 When I for care and cold qwoke *trembled*
By a fyre burnyng full bright,
[fol. 112v] When I my Lord Jesu forsoke
For drede of womans myght.
A rightwys dome I will me loke, *righteous judgment*
80 That I tyne not that semely sight. *lose*

Bot ever alas, what was I wode. *mad*
Myght no man be abastir. *more upset; (see note)*
I saide if he nede bestode *if he stood in need*
To hym shuld none be trastir; *more faithful*
85 And for a woman that there stode
That spake to me of frastir, *to test me; (see note)*
I saide I knew not that good
Creature, my master.

Alas, that we fro thee fled, *from*
90 That we ne had with thee gone. *never*
When thou with Jues was sted, *placed*
With thee was dwelland none
Bot forsoke thee that us fed, *nourished*
For we wold not be tayn; *caught*

95	We were as prysoners sore adred	*afraid*
	With Jues for to be slayn.	*By*
PAUL	Now Jesu, for thi lyfe swete	*sweet*
	Who hath thus mastryd thee,	
	That in the breede that we eytt	*bread; eat*
100	Thiself gyffen wold be,	*given*
	And sythen thrugh handys and feytt	*then*
	Be nalyd on a tre?	*nailed; cross*
	Grauntt us grace that we may yit	*yet*
	Thi light in manhede se.	*manhood*
	Tunc venit Jesus et cantat "pax vobis" et non tardabit.[1]	
APOSTLE 3	*Hec est dies quam fecit dominus:*[2]	
105	This is the day that God maide;	
	All be we glad and blythe.	*joyous*
	The Holy Gost before us glad	*glided*
	Full softly on his sithe.	*journey*
	Red clethyng apon he had	*clothing*
110	And blys to us can kith;	*bliss; show*
	Softly on the erthe he trade,	*trod*
	Full myldly he did lythe.	*mildly; go*
APOSTLE 4	This dede thrugh God is done	*deed*
	Thus in all oure sight.	
115	Mighty God, true kyng in trone,	*throne*
	Whose Son in Marye light,	
	Sende us, Lord, thi blissid bone,	*gift*
	As thou art God of myght,	
	Sothly to se hym sone	*soon*
120	And have of hym a sight.	
	Iterum venit Jesus et cantat "pax vobis" et non tardabit.[3]	
APOSTLE 5	Whoso commys in Goddys name	
	Ay blissid mot he be;	*may*
	Mightfull God shelde us fro shame	*shield*
	In thi moder name Marie.	*mother*
125	Thise wykid Jues will us blame;	*wicked*
	Thou grauntt us for to se	

[1] *Then Jesus comes and sings "Peace be with you" and he shall not stay* (see note)

[2] *This is the day that the Lord has made* (see note)

[3] *Jesus comes again and sings "Peace be with you" and he shall not stay*

The self body and the same
The which that died on tre.

JESUS Peasse emangys you everichon. *among*
130 It is I, drede you noght, *dread*
That was wonte with you to gone *accustomed; go*
And dere with ded you boght.
Grope and fele flesh and bone *feel*
And fourme of man well wroght; *form; made*
135 Sich thyng has goost none. *Such; ghost*
Loke wheder ye knawe me oght. *whether*

[fol. 113r] My rysyng fro dede to lyfe
Shall no man agane moytt; *argue against*
Behold my woundes fyfe *five*
140 Thrugh handys, syde, and foytt. *feet*
To ded can luf me dryfe
And styrryd my hart roytt; *heart's core*
Of syn who will hym shryfe *shrive*
Thyes woundys shal be his boytt. *deliverance*

145 For oon so swete a thyng
Myself so lefe had wroght, *dear*
Man sawll, my dere derlyng, *Man's soul*
To batell was I broght. *battle*
For it thay can me dyng *strike*
150 To bryng out of my thoght; *deflect my purpose*
On roode can thay me hyng,
Yit luf forgate I noght. *love*

Luf makys me, as ye may se,
Strenkyllid with blood so red; *Sprinkled*
155 Luf gars me have hart so fre
It opyns every sted. *opens*
Luf so fre so dampnyd me
It drofe me to the ded. *death*
Luf rasid me thrug his pausté; *through his power*
160 It is swetter then med. *sweeter than honey wine*

Wytterly, man, to thee I cry: *Truly*
Thou yeme my Fader fere. *heed; strong*
Thyn awne sawll kepe cleynly *own soul; cleanly*
Whyls thou art wardan here; *While; guardian*
165 Slo it not with thi body *Slay*
Synnyng in synnes sere. *Sinning in various sins*
On me and it thou have mercy,
For I have boght it dere.

Mi dere freyndys, now may ye se
170 Forsoth that it is I
That dyed apon the roode tre
And sythen rose bodely. *since then rose bodily*
That it allgatys sothfast be *in all ways; truthful*
Ye shall se hastely;
175 Of youre mett gif ye me *food*
Sich as ye have redy.

Paratur mensa et offerat sextus apostolus favum mellis et piscem, dicendo,[1]

APOSTLE 6 Lord, lo, here a rostid fish *roasted*
And a comb of hony
Laide full fare in a dish
180 And full honestly.
Here is none othere mett bot this *food*
In all oure company,
Bot well is us that we have this
To thi lykyng only.

JESUS Mi dere Fader of heven
186 That maide me borne to be
Of a madyn withoutten steven *alteration*
And sithen to die on tre,
From ded to lif at set stevyn, *at the appointed time*
190 Rasid me thrugh thi paustee *power*
With the wordys that I shall neven, *utter*
This mette thou blis thrugh me:

In the Fader name and the Son *Father's*
And the Holy Gast,
195 Thre persons to knaw and con *learn to know*
In oone godhede stedfast,
[fol. 113v] I gif this mett my benyson *blessing*
Thrugh wordys of myghtys mast. *greatest might*
Now will I ette as I was won *accustomed*
200 My manhede eft to tast. *again to prove*

My dere freyndys, lay hand till, *friends*
Eyttys for charité. *Eat*
I ette at my Fader will;
At my will ette now ye.
205 That I ette is to fulfill

[1] *The table is prepared and the sixth apostle should offer honeycomb and fish, saying*

That writen is of me
In Moyses law, for it is skyll *reasonable*
Fulfillyd that it be.

Myn ye noght that I you told *Remember; what*
210 In certan tyme and sted, *place*
When I gaf myself to wold *into your possession*
To you in fourme of bred, *form; bread*
That my body shuld be sold,
My bloode be spylt so red,
215 This cors gravyn ded and cold *body buried*
The thrid day ryse fro ded?

Youre hartes was fulfillyd with drede
Whyls I have fro you bene,
The rysyng of my manhede
220 Unethes wold ye weyn. *Scarcely would you believe*
Of trouth now may ye spede *truth; prosper*
Thorow stedfast wordys and cleyn.
Leyf freyndys, trow now the dede *believe*
That ye with ees have sene.

225 Ye have forthynkyng and shame *repentance*
For youre dysseferance; *estrangement*
I forgif you the blame.
In me now have affyance. *confidence*
The folk that ar with syn lame,
230 Preche theym to repentance. *Preach*
Forgif syn in my name;
Enjoyne theym to penance. *Impose penance on them*

The grace of the Holy Gost to wyn,
Resave here at me *Receive; from*
235 The which shall never blyn. *cease*

Hic respirat in eos.[1]

I gif you here pausté: *authority*
Whom in erth ye lowse of syn *deliver from sin*
In heven lowsyd shall be, *delivered*
And whom in erthe ye bynd therin
240 In heven bonden be he. *bound*

[1] *Here he breathes on them*

Hic discedet ab eis.[1]

APOSTLE 7 Jesu Crist in Trynyté,
Jesu to cry and call
That borne was of a madyn fre, *noble maiden*
Thou save us synfull all;
245 For us hanged apon a tre,
Drank asell and gall, *vinegar*
Thi servandys save fro vanyté *servants; from*
In wanhope that we not fall. *despair*

APOSTLE 8 Brethere, be we stabyll of thoght, *Brothers; stable*
250 Wanhope put we away *Despair*
Of mysbelefe that we be noght; *disbelief*
For we may safly say *safely*
He that mankynde on rood boght *[the] cross*
Fro dede rose the thryd day; *From death*
255 We se the woundys in hym was wroght,
All blody yit were thay.

APOSTLE 9 He told us fyrst he shuld be tayn *captured*
And for mans syn shuld dy,
Be ded and beryd under a stayn *dead and buried; stone*
260 And after ryse up bodely; *bodily*
[fol. 114r] Now is he quyk fro grafe gon *alive from [the] grave gone*
He cam and stode us by *stood*
And lete us se ilkon *let; each one*
The woundys of his body.

APOSTLE 10 Deth that is so kene
266 Jesu overcomen has;
As he us told yit may we mene *remember*
Fro ded how he shuld pas.
Jesu stode witnes betwene
270 That with hym dwelland was; *dwelling*
All his dyscyples has hym sene, *seen*
Safe oonly Thomas. *Save only*

THOMAS If that I prowde as pacok go, *Although I go proud as a peacock*
My hart is full of care; *heart*
275 If any sorow myght a man slo, *slay*
My hart in sonder it share. *apart; cuts*
Mi life wyrkys me all this wo; *inflicts*
Of blys I am full bare,

[1] *Here he shall depart from them*

Yit wold I nawthere freynd ne fo
Wyst how wo me ware.[1]

Jesu, my lyfe so good,
Ther none myght better be,
None wysere man then better food,
Nor none kyndere then he:
The Jues have nalyd his cors on rood, *nailed his body on the cross*
Nalyd with nales thre,
And with a spere thay spylt his blood;
Great sorow it was to se.

To se the stremes of blood ryn, *run*
Well more then doyll it was, *Much more than misery*
Sich great payn for mans syn, *Such*
Sich doyllfull ded he has. *sorrowful death*
I have lyfid withoutten wyn *lived; joy*
Sen he to ded can pas, *Since he passed into death*
For he was fare of cheke and chyn. *cheek and chin*
For doyll of ded, alas.

Hic pergit ad discipulos.[2]

Myghty God for to dyscryfe, *discern*
That never dyed ne shall,
Wo and wandreth from you dryfe *misfortune; drive*
That ye not therin fall.
PETER He thee save with woundys fyfe, *wounds five*
His Son Jesu to call,
That rose from deth to lyfe
And shewyd hym till us all. *to*

THOMAS Whannow, Peter, art thou mad?
On lyfe who was hym lyke?
For his deth I am not glad;
For sorow my hart will breke, *heart; break*
That with the Jues he was so stad *beset*
To ded they can hym wreke. *injure*
Thou hym forsoke, so was thou rad *afraid*
When they to thee can speke.

PAUL Let be, leyf brothere Thomas, *Stop, dear*
And turne thi thoght belyfe, *at once*

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[1] Lines 279–80: *Yet I wish neither friend nor foe / knew how sorrowful I was*

[2] *Here he goes to the [other] disciples*

315	For the thryd day Jesus rase	
	Fleshly fro ded to lyfe.	
	Till us all he cam apase	*came apace*
	And shewyd his woundys fyfe	*showed*
	And lyfyng man, and etten hase	*living; has eaten*
320	Hony takyn of a hyfe.	*Honey; hive*
THOMAS	Let be, for shame. Apartly	*Obviously;* ***[fol. 114v]***
	Fantom dyssavys thee.	*Illusion; deceives*
	Ye sagh hym not bodely;	*saw; bodily*
	His gost it myght well be,	*spirit*
325	For to glad youre hartes sory	*sad hearts*
	In youre adversyté.	*adversity*
	He luffyd us well and faythfully,	
	Therfor sloes sorow me.	*sorrow slays me*
APOSTLE 3	Thou wote, Thomas, and sothe it was,	*know; truth*
330	And oft has thou hard say	*heard*
	How a fysh swalod Jonas:	*swallowed*
	Thre dayes therin he lay,	
	Yit gaf God hym myght to pas	*gave*
	Whyk man to wyn away;	*[As] living man; escape*
335	Might not God that sich myght has	*such*
	Rase his Son apon the thryd day?	
THOMAS	Man, if thou can understand,	
	Cryst saide hisself, mynnys me,	*I remember*
	That all lokyn was in his hande,	*enclosed (locked)*
340	All oone was God and he,	
	The son wax marke, all men seand,	*sun became dark; seeing*
	When he died on the tre.	
	Therfor am I full sore dredand	*doubtful*
	That who myght his boote be.	*savior*
APOSTLE 4	The Holy Gost in Marye light,	*alighted*
346	And in hir madynhede	*virginity*
	Goddys Son she held, and dight	*prepared*
	And cled hym in manhede;	*clad*
	For luf he wentt as he had hight	*love he came; promised*
350	To fight withoutten drede;	
	When he had termynd that fight,	*finished*
	He skypt outt of his wede.	*escaped; clothing*
THOMAS	If he skypt outt of his clethyng	*clothing*
	Yit thou grauntys his cors was ded;	*body*
355	It was his cors that maide shewyng	*made showing*
	Unto you in his sted?	*place*

For to trow in youre carpyng — *believe; chatter*
My hart is hevy as led; — *heart; lead*
His dede me bryngys in great mowrneyng, — *death; mourning*
360 And I withoutten red. — *bewildered*

APOSTLE 5 The gost went to hell apase — *spirit; quickly*
Whils the cors lay slayn,
And broght the sawles from Sathanas — *souls; Satan*
For which he suffred payn. — *pain*
365 The thryd day right he gase — *goes*
Right unto the cors agayn;
Mighty God and man he rose
And therfor ar we fayn. — *glad*

THOMAS All sam to me ye flyte, — *Together you argue against me*
370 Youre resons fast ye shawe; — *show*
Bot tell me a skyll perfyte, — *perfect reason*
Any of you on raw: — *together*
When Cryst cam you to vysyte, — *visit*
As ye tell me with saw, — *speech*
375 A whyk man from spyryte, — *living; spirit*
Wherby couth ye hym knaw? — *could; know*

APOSTLE 6 Thomas, unto thee anone — *at once*
Herto answere I will:
Man has both flesh and bone,
380 Hu hyde and hore thertill; — *Color to [his] skin and hair*
Sich thyng has goost none.
Thomas, lo, here thi skyll: — *reason*
Goddys Son toke of Mary flesh and bone;
What nede were els thertill? — *(see note)*

THOMAS Thou has answerd me full wele — ***[fol. 115r]***
386 And full skylfully,
Bot my hart is harde as stele — *steel*
To trow in sich mastry. — *believe in such mastery*
Say, bad he any of you fele — *feel*
390 The woundys of his body,
Flesh or bone or ilka dele, — *any such thing*
To assay his body? — *examine*

APOSTLE 7 Yis, Thomas, he bad us se
And handill hym with hande — *handle*
395 To loke wheder it were he, — *whether*
Jesu, man lyfand — *living*
That dyed apon a tre.
Flesh and bone we fand; — *found*

	His woundes had bene pyté	*piteous*
400	To towch that were bledand.	*bleeding*
THOMAS	Waloway, ye can no good.	
	Youre resons ar defaced;	
	Ye ar as women, rad for blood	*afraid of*
	And lightly oft solaced.	*Yet often easily comforted*
405	It was a goost before you stod,	
	Lyke hym in blood betraced;	*streaked*
	His cors that dyed on rood	*body*
	Forever hath deth embraced.	
APOSTLE 8	Certys, Thomas, gretter care	
410	Myght no synfull wight have	*person*
	Then she had that wepyd so sare,	*wept; sore*
	The Mawdleyn at his grave;	
	For sorow and doyll hir awne hare	*own hair*
	Of hir hede she rent and rafe.	*head; ripped and tore*
415	Jesu shewid hym till hir thare,	*showed himself to her there*
	Hir sorow of syn to safe.	*save*
THOMAS	Lo, sich foly with you is,	*such folly*
	Wysemen that shuld be,	
	That thus a womans witnes trowys	*a woman's words [you] believe*
420	Better then that ye se.	
	In all youre skylles, more and les,	*reasons*
	For mysfowndyng fayll ye;	*misjudgment fail*
	Might I se Jesu, gost and flesh,	
	Gropyng shuld not gab me.	*deceive*
APOSTLE 9	Lefe, Thomas, flyte no more	*Cease; argue*
426	Bot trow and turne thi red,	*believe; change your judgment*
	Or els say us when and whore	*where*
	Crist gabbyd in any sted,	*deceived anywhere*
	For he saide us when thou was thore	*there*
430	When he hym gaf in bred	*gave himself in bread*
	That he shuld salfe all oure sore	*heal*
	Quyk rysand fro ded.	*Alive rising from death*
THOMAS	He was full sothfast in his sawes,	*truthful; words*
	That dar I hertly say,	*dare I heartily*
435	And rightwys in all his lawes	*righteous*
	Whils that he lyfyd ay,	*While he still lived*
	Bot sen he shuld thole hard thrawes	*But since; suffer; times*
	On tre whils that he lay,	
	Dede has determyd his dayes;	*Death*
440	His lyfe noght trow I may.	*believe*

APOSTLE 10	Thyne hard hart thi saull will dwyrd,	*destroy*
	Thomas, bot if thou blyn.	*cease*
	He has ded conquerd	*conquered death*
	And weshen us all fro syn;	*washed*
445	May nawder knyfe ne swerde	*neither; sword*
	Hym eft to ded wyn.	*Deliver him again to death*
	Goddys myght in hym apperd	*appeared*
	That nevermore shall blyn.	*cease*
THOMAS	That God I trow full wele	*believe*
450	Goostly to you light,	
	Bot bodely never a dele,	*bodily*
	Jesu that woundid wyght.	*creature*
	My hart is harde as stele	*steel*
[fol. 115v]	To trow in sich a myght,	
455	Bot if I that wounde myght fele	*Unless; feel*
	That hym gaf Longeus the knyght.	*gave; Longeus*
PETER	That wounde have we sene, Thomas,	
	And so has mo then we;	*have more than*
	With Lucas and with Cleophas	
460	He welke a day jurnee;	*walked; journey*
	Thare hartes that for hym sory was	*Their; were sorry*
	With prophecy comforted he.	
	To Emaus castell can thai pas	
	Ther hostyld thai all thre.	*lodged*
465	Jesu, Goddys Son of heven,	
	At sopere satt betweyn;	*supper*
	Ther bred he brake as even	*bread; broke*
	As it cutt had beyn.	*As [if]*
THOMAS	Nothyng that ye may neven	*mention*
470	His rysyng gars me weyn;	*makes me believe*
	If ye me told sich seven	*seven [times]*
	The more ye myght me teyn.	*annoy*
PAUL	Thomas, brothere, turne thi thoght	
	And trust that I say thee:	
475	Jesu so dere has boght	
	Oure synnes apon a tree,	*cross*
	Which rysyng hath broght	
	Adam and his meneyee.	*company*
THOMAS	Lett be youre fayr; shew it noght	*fuss; explain*
480	That he efte quyk shuld be.	*again living*

APOSTLE 3	That must thou nedelyngys trow	*of necessity believe*
	If thou thi saull will save,	
	For that we saw we dar avowe:	*dare swear*
	Jesu rose quyk from grave.	*alive*
THOMAS	I have you saide and yit dos now	*yet do now*
486	Thise wordes to wast ye have.	*waste*
	He shewid hym not to you;	
	For mysfoundyng ye rafe.	*misjudgment; rave*
APOSTLE 4	For we say that we have sene	*Because*
490	Thou holdys us wars then wode.	*worse than mad*
	Jesu lyfyng stod us betwene,	
	Oure Lord that with us yode.	*went*
THOMAS	I say ye wote never what ye mene.	*know; mean*
	A goost before you stode;	*ghost*
495	Ye wenyd that it had bene	*believed*
	The cors that died on roode.	*body*
APOSTLE 5	The cors that dyed on tre	
	Was berid in a stone;	*buried*
	The thurgh beside fande we	*gravestone; found*
500	And in that grave cors was none.	
	His sudary ther myght we se,	*grave cloth*
	And he thens whik was gone.	*from there; alive*
THOMAS	Noght bot stolne is he,	*Nothing but stolen is he*
	With Jues that hym have slone.	*By; slain*
APOSTLE 6	Certys, Thomas, thou sais not right.	
506	Thay wold hym not stele	
	For thay gart kepe hym day and nyght	*had him guarded*
	With knyghtys that they held lele;	*loyal*
	He rose has we have sene in sight	*as we have seen*
510	Fro all the Jues fele.	*treacherous*
THOMAS	I lefe not bot if I myght	*believe*
	Myself with hym dele.	*deal*
APOSTLE 7	He told us tythyngys, Thomas,	*tidings;* ***[fol. 116r]***
	Yit mynnys me,	*I remember*
515	That as Jonas thre dayes was	
	In a fysh in the see,	
	So shuld he be, and bene has	*been*
	In erth by dayes thre,	*earth*
	Pas fro ded, ryse — and rase	*rise; arisen*
520	As he saide, done has he.	
THOMAS	Certys, that worde I harde hym say,	*heard*
	And so harde ye hym all,	

Bot for nothyng trow I may
That it so shuld befall, *happen*
525 That he shuld ryse the thrid day
That dranke asell and gall. *vinegar*
Sen he was God and ded lay,
From ded who myght hym call?

APOSTLE 8 The Fader that hym sent
530 Rasid hym that was ded.
He comforth us in mowrnyng lent *[who] remained in mourning*
And counseld us in red: *advice*
He bad us trow with good intent
His rysyng in every sted. *place*
535 Thyne absens gars thi saull be shent *causes; injured*
And makys thee hevy as led.

THOMAS Thou says soth: harde and hevy am I
To trow that ye me say. *believe*
Mi hardnes I trow skilfully,
540 For he told us thus ay *always*
That his Fader was ever hym by
For all bot oon were thay. *they were but one [person]*
That he rose bodely *bodily*
For nothyng trow I may.

APOSTLE 9 May thou not trow withoutten mo *more [evidence]*
546 Forsothe that it was he? *Truly*
Thomas, wherto shuld we say so?
Then wenys thou fals we be. *you believe we are false*
THOMAS I wote youre hartes was full wo *hearts*
550 And fownd with vanyté. *foolish*
If ye swere all and ye were mo *Even if; more*
I trow it not or that I se.

APOSTLE 10 Thomas, of errowre thou blyn *error; cease*
And till us turne thi mode. *to; mind*
555 Trow his rysyng by dayes threyn *Believe; three*
Sen he died on the rode.
THOMAS Noght bot I myght my fynger wyn *finger; put*
In sted as nayle stode, *place*
And his syde my hande put in
560 Ther he shed his hart bloode. *Where; heart's blood*

JESUS Brethere, all be with you peasse. *peace*
Leaffe stryfe that now is here. *Leave strife*
Thomas, of thyn errowre seasse, *error cease*
Of sothe witnes thou bere. *true; bear*

565 Putt thi hande in my syde, no fres, *no doubt*
Ther Longeus put his spere. *Where*
Loke, my rysyng be no les; *falsehood*
Let no wanhope thee dere. *despair; harm*

THOMAS Mercy, Jesu, rew on me: *take pity*
570 My hande is blody of thi blode! *bloody*
Mercy, Jesu, for I se
Thi myght that I not understode.
Mercy, Jesu, I pray thee,
That for all synfull died on roode;
575 Mercy, Jesu, of mercy fre,
For thi goodnes that is so goode.

[fol. 116v] Kest away my staf will I *Cast*
And with no wepyn gang; *weapon go*
Mercy will I call and cry,
580 Jesu that on roode hang.
Rew on me, kyng of mercy; *Take pity*
Let me not cry thus lang. *long*
Mercy, for the velany *villainy*
Thou tholyd on Jues with wrang. *endured from; wrong*

585 Mi hat will I kest away, *cast*
My mantill sone onone; *cloak; quickly*
Unto the poore help it may,
For richere knawe I none. *richer know*
Mercy will I abyde and pray
590 To thee, Jesu, alone.
My synfull dede I rew ay; *deed; regret always*
To thee make I my mone. *lament*

Mercy, Jesu, Lorde swete, *sweet*
For thi fyfe woundys so sore:
595 Thou suffred thrugh handys and feete,
Thi semely side a spere it share. *fair; pierced*
Mercy, Jesu, Lord, yit *yet*
For thi moder that thee bare.
Mercy for the teres thou grett *tears you cried*
600 When thou rasid Lazare. *raised*

Mi gyrdill gay and purs of sylk *bright belt; silk purse*
And cote, away thou shall. *coat*
Whils I am werere of swylke *wearer of such things*
The longere mercy may I call.
605 Jesu that soke the madyns mylk *sucked*
Ware noght bot clothes of pall; *Wore; scarlet*

Thi close so can thai fro thee pyke,[1]
On roode thay left thee small. *few [clothes]*

Mercy, Jesu, honoure of man;
610 Mercy, Jesu, mans socoure; *help*
Mercy, Jesu, rew thi leman; *pity your beloved*
Mans saull thou boght full soure. *soul; dearly*
Mercy, Jesu, that may and can
Forgif syn and be socoure; *Forgive sin and be a comfort*
615 Mercy, Jesu, as thou us wan, *won*
Forgif and gif thi man honoure.

JESUS None myght bryng thee in that wytt[2]
For oght that thay myght say,
To trow that I myght flytt *believe; flee*
620 Fro ded to lyfe to wyn away. *To escape from death to life*
My saull and my cors have knytt *soul; body; tied*
A knott that last shall ay; *always*
Thus shall I rase well, thou wytt, *know*
Ilk man on domesday. *Every; judgment day*

625 Whoso hath not trowid right *believed*
To hell I shall theym lede, *them lead*
Ther evermore is dark as nyght
And greatt paynes to drede. *dread*
Those that trow in my myght
630 And luf well almus dede, *deeds of mercy*
Thai shall shyne as son bright *shine; sun*
And heven have to thare mede. *as their reward*

That blys, Thomas, I thee hete *bliss; promise*
That is in heven cytee, *city*
635 For I se thee sore grete; *weeping sorely*
Of thee I have pytee. *pity*
Thomas, for thi teres wete,
Thi syn forgiffen be;
Thus shall synfull thare synnes bete *their; beat*
640 That sore have grefyd me. *grieved*

[fol. 117r] Thomas, for thou felys me *feel*
And my woundes bare,
Mi risyng is trowed in thee, *believed by (within) you*
And so was it not are. *before*

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[1] *So did they steal your clothes from you*

[2] *No one [else] could bring you to that understanding*

645 All that it trowes and not se,
And dos after my lare, *command*
Ever blissid mot thay be
And heven be theym yare. *prepared for them*

Explicit Thomas Indie.[1]

26. THE ASCENSION

Thomas
John
Simon
Peter
Jesus
Andrew
James
Philip
Matthew
Angel 1
Angel 2
Bartholomew
Jude
Mary, mother of Jesus

Ascencio domini etc.[2]

THOMAS Brethere, all that now here bene, *Brothers; been*
Forgett my Lorde yit may I noght; *yet; not*
I wote not what it may mene *know; mean*
Bot more I weyn ther will be wroght. *think; done*
JOHN My Lord Jesus will wyrk his will, *work*
6 Pleatt we never agans his thoght; *Plead; against*
For us he wyrkes, as it is skyll, *works; reason*
His handwarke that he has wroght. *handiwork; made*
SIMON Apon his wordes will I ryst *rest*
10 That he hisself saide us untill *unto us*
Ay stedfastly on hym to tryst; *trust*
Mystrust we never for goode ne ill. *nor*

PETER In heven and erthe his myght may be,
His wytt and his will also;

[1] *Here ends Thomas of India*

[2] *The ascension of the Lord, etc.*

15	The Holy Gost, brethere, ment he;	*brothers; prophesied*
	Thus will he never fro us go.	*from*
	Fourty dayes now drawes nere	
	Sen his resurreccyon complete;	*Since*
	Afore that will he appere,	*Before*
20	Thus sodanly not lefe us yett.	*leave*
	In Bethany here let us abyde;	
	We knaw not yit what may befall.	*happen*
	Peraventur it may betyde	*Perhaps; occur*
[fol. 117v]	He shall full well comforth us all.	*comfort*
JESUS	Peasse, now, my dere freyndys.	
26	Peasse be with you ever and ay,	
	For it all wrangys amendys.	*wrongs amends*
	Peasse, brethere sam, I say.	*together*
	Brethere, in hartes be nothyng hevy	*hearts; sorrowful*
30	What tyme that I from you am gone;	
	I must go from you sone in hy,	*soon in haste*
	Bot nevertheles make ye no mone	*lament*
	For I shall send to you anone	*at once*
	The Holy Gost to comforth you,	
35	You to wysh in every wone.	*guide; place*
	I shall you tell what wyse and how	*in what way*
	It shal be for youre prow	*profit*
	That I thus-gatys shall do;	*thus*
	It has bene saide or now	*before*
40	My Fader must I to.	*[go] to*
	With hym must I abide and dwell,	*remain*
	For so it is his will;	
	For youre comforth thus I you tell,	*comfort*
	Be ye stedfast for good or ill.	
45	Abide me here right on this hill	*Wait for*
	To that I com to you agane;	*Until*
	This forwarde must I nedys fulfill,	*promise*
	I will no longer fro you lane.	*from; lean*
	And therfor loke that ye be bayn	*look; ready*
50	And also trew and stedfast	*true*
	For whosoever you oght frayn	*might ask anything of you*
	When that I am past.	

Hic recedit.[1]

PETER Full hevy in hart now may we be
That we oure master sall forgo, *go without*
55 Bot nevertheles yit saide he
He wold not dwell full lang us fro. *long from us*
What wonder is if we be wo
Thus sodanly shall oure master mys, *miss*
And masters on lyfe have we no mo *alive*
60 That in this warld shuld us wys. *guide*
He will pas furth to blys
And leyfe us here behynde; *leave*
No mervell now it is *marvel*
If we mowrne now in oure mynde. *mourn*

ANDREW In oure mynde mowrne we may
66 As men that masyd ar and mad, *are confused*
And yit also, it is no nay, *without doubt*
We may be blythe and glad *joyful*
Because of tythyngys that we had *tidings*
70 That hisself can us say.
He bad be blythe and noght adrad *bade [us to]; afraid*
For he wold not be long away, *would*
Bot yit both nyght and day
Oure hartes may be full sore,
75 As me thynk, by my fay, *by my faith*
For wordes he saide lang ore. *long before*

THOMAS Lang ore he saide full openly
That he must nedys fro us twyn *needs; part*
And to his fader go in hy *in haste*
80 To joy of heven that never shall blyn. *cease*
Therfor we mowrne, both more and myn, *mourn all*
And mery also yit may we be. *merry*
He bad us all both outt and in
Be glad and blythe in ich degré, *joyous; every way*
85 And saide that com shuld he
To comforth us kyndly.
Bot yit hevy ar we *sorrowful*
To we hym se truly. *Until*

JAMES With ee wold we hym se, *eye;* ***[fol. 118r]***
90 Oure saveoure Crist, Goddys Son, *savior*
That dyed apon a tre, *upon*

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[1] *Here he withdraws*

Yit trewe I that we mon. *trust; shall*
Now God grauntt us that boyn, *favor*
That with his bloode us boght,
95 To se hym in his throne,
As he maide all of noght.
His will now has he wroght
And gone from us away
As he noght of us roght, *As if he cared nothing for us*
100 And therfor mowrne we may. *mourn*

PHILIP We may mowrne, no mervell why, *marvel*
For we oure master thus shall mys *miss*
That shall go fro us sodanly, *suddenly*
And we ne wote what cause is.
105 Nevertheles, the sothe is this: *truth*
He saide that he shuld com agane *again*
To bryng us all to blys.
Therof may we be fane; *glad*
That commyng will us mych gane *gain*
110 And oure saules all save,
And put us fro that payn
That we were lyke to have.

JESUS Herkyns to me now, everichon, *Listen; everyone*
And here what I will say,
115 For I must nedys fro you gone, *needs; go*
For thus my Fader will allway;
And therfor, peasse be with you ay *always*
Whereso ye dwell in wone, *in the world*
And to save you fro all fray, *fear*
120 My peasse be with you, blood and bone.
I lefe it you bi oon and oone, *leave; one after another*
Noght as the warld here dos; *world*
It shal be true as any stone
To defende you fro youre foos. *foes*

125 Let not youre hartes be hevy;
Drede not for any kyns thyng. *any manner of thing*
Ye have harde me say full playnly *heard; clearly*
I go and to you am I commyng.
If ye luf me forthi, *love; therefore*
130 Ye shuld be glad of this doyng, *event*
For I go full securly *certainly*
To my Fader, hevyns kyng,
The which without lesyng *lying*
Is mekill more then I. *much*

135	Therfor be ye thus trowyng	*believing*
	When all is endid fully.	
	Ye have bene of mysbilefe,	*disbelief*
	Hard of harte and also of will;	
	To theym that my rysyng can prefe	*prove*
140	No credence wold ye gif theym till.	
	Mary Mawdlayn saide you till	*to you*
	That I was rysyn, bot ye ne wold	*but; would not*
	Hir trow for good or ill	*Believe her*
	The trouth all if she told.	
145	Sich harmes in hartes ye hold	*Such*
	And unstedfast ye ar,	
	Ye trowid no man of mold	*believed; on earth*
	Witnes of my rysyng that bare.[1]	
	Therfor ye shall go tech	*teach*
150	In all this warld so wyde,	
[fol. 118v]	And to all the people preche;	
	Who baptym will abyde	*Whoever will agree to be baptized*
	And trowe truly	*believe*
	Mi dethe and rysyng,	
155	And also myn upstevynyng,	*ascension*
	And also myn agane commyng,	*again*
	Thay shal be save suerly.	*saved surely*
	And who trowys not this	
	That now rehersyd is,	*told*
160	He shal be dampned, iwys,	*certainly*
	For veniance and for wreke.	*vengeance; punishment*
	Tokyns forsothe shall bene	*Tokens*
	Of those that trow withoutten weyn:	*without a doubt*
	Devyls shall thay kest out cleyn	*Devils; cast out clean*
165	And with new tongys speke;	*tongues*
	Serpentes shall thay put away,	
	And venymus drynk bi nyght and day	*poisonous*
	Shall not noy theym, as I say;	*trouble*
	And where thay lay on handys	
170	Of seke men far and nere,	*sick*
	Thay shal be hole withoutten dere	*whole; harm*
	Of all sekenes and sorowes sere,	*various*
	Ever in alkyn landys.	*every land*

[1] *Who bore witness of my resurrection*

And therfor now I byd that ye
175 Go not from Jerosolyme cité,
Bot abide the behest of my Fader fre *promise*
In land aywhore, *anywhere*
That ye have hard here of me. *heard here*
For John Baptist, dere in degré, *honorable*
180 In water forsoth baptysid me
Now herebefore.

And ye certan in every coste *countryside*
Shall baptise in the Holy Goost,
Thrug vertue of hym that is the moost, *Through*
185 Lord God of myght,
Within few dayes now folowyng;
And herof mervell ye nothyng, *marvel*
For this shal be his awne wyrkyng *working*
Shewyd in youre sight. *Shown*

Et recedit ab eis.[1]

PETER Farlee may we fownde and fare *In fear; depart; go*
191 For myssyng of oure master Jesus.
Oure hartys may sygh and be full sare; *sigh; sore*
Thise Jues with wreke thay waten us. *These vengeful Jews lie in wait for us*

Us to tray and teyn *grieve; harm*
195 Ar thay abowte bi nyght and day.
For Jesu that is so seldom sene
As masid men mowrne we may. *confused*

ANDREW Mowrnyng makys us masid and mad *Mourning; confused;* ***[fol. 119r]***
As men that lyff in drede; *live in fear*
200 Full comforthles ar we stad *placed*
For myssyng of hym that us shuld lede. *lead*

JAMES Thise Jues that folow thare faythles will *These; their faithless*
And demed oure master to be ded, *sentenced; to death*
With mayn and mode they wold hym spill *Fervently; wish to kill him*
205 If thay wist how, in towne or sted. *knew; place*

JOHN Let kepe us fro thare carpyng kene *their sharp chatter*
And com bot lytyll in thare sight. *but little; their*
Oure master will com when we leest weyn; *least expect*
He will us rewle and red full right. *rule and counsel*

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[1] *Here he withdraws from them*

THOMAS Of this carpyng now no more. *chatter*
211 It drawes nygh the tyme of day; *near*
At oure mette I wold we wore. *food; were*
He sende us socowre that best may. *succor*

MARY Socowre sone he will you sende
215 If ye truly in hym will traw; *believe*
Youre mone mekely will he amende, *lament; meekly*
My brethere dere, this may ye knawe. *know*

The hestys hyghly that he me hight *noble promises; promised*
He has fulfillid in worde and dede.
220 He gabbyd never, bi day nor nyght; *deceived*
Forthi dere brethere have no drede. *Therefore*

MATTHEW Certys, lady, thou says full wele *well*
He will us amende, for so he may;
We have fon sothe everilka dele *found [to be] entirely true*
225 All that ever we hard hym say. *heard*

JESUS Peter and ye, my derlyngys dere, *darlings*
As masid men me thynk ye ar; *confused*
Holly to you I have shewyd here *Wholly; shown [myself]*
To bryng youre hartys from care.

230 In care youre hartys ar cast
And in youre trowth not trew; *not true in your belief*
In hardnes youre hartys ar fast
As men that no wytt knew.

Sende was I for youre sake
235 Fro my Fader dere
Flesh and blode to take
Of a madyn so clere. *maiden so pure*

[fol. 119v] Sythen to me ye soght
And holly felowid me, *wholly followed*
240 Of wonders that I have wroght
Som have I letten you se.

The dombe, the blynde as any stone *dumb (mute)*
I helyd ther I cam by; *healed where*
The dede I rasid anone *raised at once*
245 Thrugh my myght, truly.

And othere warkys that wonderfull wor — *works; were*
I wroght wisely befor you all: — *did*
My payn, my passion, I told before
Holly thrugoutt as it shuld fall: — *throughout*

250 Mi rysyng on the thryd day,
As ye bi tokyns many oone have sene. — *by tokens; seen*
Youre trouth truly had bene away,
Had not my blissid moder bene. — *Had it not been for my blessed mother*

In hir it restyd all this tyde; — *her; time*
255 Youre dedys ye ow greatly to shame. — *owe*
Here may ye se my woundys wyde, — *wounds wide*
How that I boght you out of blame.

Bot John, thynk when I hang on rud — *hung on the cross*
That I betoke thee Mary mylde:
260 Kepe hir yit with stabull mode; — *Keep; stable disposition*
She is thi moder and thou hir childe. — *your mother*

Loke thou hir luf and be hir freynde, — *See to it [that] you love her*
And abide with hir in well and wo, — *happiness and sorrow*
For to my Fader now will I weynde;
265 Thar none of you aske wheder I go. — *None of you need ask where I go*

PHILIP Lord, if it be thi will,
Shew us thi Fader, we thee pray. — *Show*
We have bene with thee in good and ill
And sagh hym never, nyght ne day. — *saw*

JESUS Philipp, that man that may se me
271 He seys my Fader, full of myght. — *sees*
Trowys thou not he dwellys in me — *Believe*
And I in hym, if thou trow right?

In his howse ar dyverse place — *places*
275 I go to ordan for you now. — *prepare*
Ye shall all be fulfillyd with grace;
The Holy Goost I shall sende you.

[fol. 120r] He shall you in youre hartys wyse — *hearts guide*
In worde and dede, as I you say;
280 With all my hart I you blys. — *bless*
My moder, my brethere, have all good day.

Tunc vadit ad ascendendum.[1]

Fader of heven, with good intent
I pray thee, here me specyally: *hear*
From heven till erth thou me sent *unto earth*
285 Thi name to preche and claryfy. *preach; declare*

Thi will have I done, all and som; *some*
In erthe will I no longere be. *On*
Opyn the clowdes, for now I com *Open the clouds*
In joy and blys to dwell with thee.

Et sic ascendit, cantantibus angelis "Ascendo ad patrem meum."[2]

ANGEL 1 Ye men of Galylee, *Galilee*
291 Wherfor mervell ye? *marvel*
Hevyn behold, and se
How Jesus up can weynde *go*
Unto his Fader fre,
295 Where he syttys in majesté *majesty*
With hym ay for to be *always*
In blys withoutten ende.

And as ye sagh hym sty *saw; ascend*
Into heven on hy, *high*
300 In flesh and fell in his body *skin*
From erthe now here,
Right so shall he securly *certainly*
Com downe agane, truly,
With his woundys blody,
305 To deme you all in fere. *judge you all together*

ANGEL 2 Mervell have no wight, *creature*
No wonder of this sight,
For it is thrugh his myght
That all thyng may,
310 Whatso he will by day or nyght,
In hell, medyll erth, and on hight, *middle earth; on high*
Or yit in derknes or in light, *darkness*
Withoutten any nay. *any doubt*

For he is God all-weldand, *almighty*
315 Heven and hell, both se and sand, *sea*

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[1] *Then he goes to the ascending device* (see note)

[2] *And so he ascends with the angels singing "I ascend to my Father"* (see note)

Wod and water, fowll, fysh, and land — *Wood (forest)*
All is at his will.
He haldys all thyng in his hand *holds everything*
That in this warld is lyfand; *world is living*
320 Then nedys ye noght be mervelland,
And for this skyll. *reason*

ANGEL 1 Ryght as he from you dyd weynde, *did go;* ***[fol. 120v]***
So com agane he shall
In the same manere at last ende, *manner*
325 To deme both greatt and small. *judge*
ANGEL 2 Whoso his byddyng will obey *bidding*
And thare mys amende *their misdeeds amend*
With hym shall have blys on hy, *bliss on high*
And won ther withoutten ende. *dwell there forever*

330 And who that wyrk amys *whoever does amiss*
And theym amende will never *reform themselves*
Shall never com in heven blys,
Bot to hell banyshed forever.
MARY A selcouth sight yonder now is. *wonderful*
335 Behold now, I you pray:
A clowde has borne my chylde to blys; *cloud*
Mi blyssyng bere he ever and ay. *ever and always*

Bot son, thynk on thi moder dere *mother dear*
That thou has laft emangys thi foes. *left among*
340 Swete son, lett me not dwell here; *Sweet*
Let me go with thee where thou goes.

Bot John, on thee is all my trast; *trust*
I pray thee, forsake me noght. *not*
JOHN Lefe Marye, be noght abast, *Dear; afraid*
345 For thi will shall ay be wroght.

Here may we se and full well knaw
That he is God most of myght;
In hym is good we trawe, *It is good [that] we believe in him*
Holly to serve hym day and nyght. *Wholly*

PETER A mervellous sight is yone *there*
351 That he thus sone is taken us fro; *soon; from*
Fro his fomen is he gone, *enemies*
Withoutten help of othere mo. *any others*

MATTHEW Where is Jesus, oure master dere ***[fol. 121r]***
355 That here with us spake right now?

JAMES A wonderfull sight men may se here.
My brethere dere, how thynk you?

THOMAS We thynk it wonder all
That oure master shuld thus go;
360 After his help I red we call,
That we may have som tokyn hym fro. *some token from him*

BARTHOLOMEW A more mervell men never saw
Then now is sene us here emang: *seen*
From erthe till heven a man be draw *drawn*
365 With myrth of angell sang. *joy; song*
From us, me thynk, he is full long, *very far*
And yit longere I trow he will. *farther*
Alas, my hart it is so strong
That I ne may now wepe my fill
370 Anone. *At once*
A wonder sight it was to se
When he stevynd up so sodanly *ascended; suddenly*
To his Fader in majesté
By hisself alone. *himself*

MATTHEW Alon, forsothe, up he wentt *Alone*
376 Into heven till his Fader
And no man wyst what he ment *knows; thought*
Nor how he dyd of no manere, *Nor how he did in any manner*
So sodanly he was uphent *raised up*
380 In flesh and fell fro erthe up here. *flesh and skin from*
He saide his Fader for hym sent
That maide us all to be in dwere *in awe*
This nyght.
Nevertheles full well wote we
385 As that he will so must it be,
For all thyng is in his pausté, *power*
And that is right.

MARY Allmyghty God, how may this be?
A clowde has borne my childe to blys. *cloud*
390 Now bot that I wote wheder is he
My hart wold breke, well wote I this. *heart; break*
His stevynyng up to blys in hy *ascension; in haste*
It is the fourt of all my joyes. *fourth; (see note)*
Mi blyssyng barne, light on thi body. *child*
395 Let never thi moder be spylt with Jues. *killed by Jews*

Take me to thee, my son so heynd, *gracious*
And let me never with Jues be lorne. *lost*

Help, for my son luf, John, son kynde, *son's love*
For ferde that I with Jues be torne. *fear*
400 Mi flesh it qwakys as lefe on lynde
To shontt the showres sharper then thorne.[1]
Help me, John, if thou be kynde;
My son myssyng makys me to mowrne. *missing; mourn*

JOHN Youre servande, lady, he me maide, *made*
405 And bad me kepe you ay to qweme;[2]
Blythe were I, lady, myght I thee glad, *Glad*
And with my myght I shall thee yeme. *protect*

Therfor be ferd for no kyn thyng *afraid of no manner of thing*
For oght that Jues wold do you to;
410 I shall be bayn at youre byddyng *ready; bidding*
As my Lorde bad youre servande, lo.

MARY Glad am I, John, whils I have thee; ***[fol. 121v]***
More comforth bot my son can I none crave. *(see note)*
So covers thou my care and carpys unto me, *cares for me*
415 Whils I thee se, ever am I safe. *While I see you*

Was none safe my son more trusty to me; *except*
Therfor his grace sall never fro thee go. *shall; from*
He shall thee qwyte that died on a tre; *reward*
Well mendys thou my mode when I am in wo. *disposition*

SIMON Let hy us fro this hill and to the towne weynde, *hasten; go*
421 For fere of the Jues that spitus ar and prowde. *fear; spiteful*
With oure dere lady I red that we weynd *advise*
And pray till hir dere son hereapon lowde. *unto; concerning this aloud*
To hir buxumly I red that we bende, *obediently; submit*
425 Syn hir dere son fro us is gone in a clowde, *Since*
And hertely in hast haylse we that heynde;[3]
To oure master is she moder, semely in shrowde. *mourning garb*

A, Marie so mylde, thee myssid we have. *missed*
Was never madyn so menskfull here apon molde[4]
430 As thou art, and moder cleyne, bot this wold we crave: *pure; would*
If this were Jesu thi son that Judas has sold,

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[1] Lines 400–01: *My flesh quakes like a leaf on the linden tree / to avoid the torments, [which are] sharper than thorns*

[2] *And bade me to seek always to please you*

[3] *And heartily in haste we should salute that gracious one*

[4] *There was never a maiden so honorable here on earth*

	Shew us the sothe, us all may it save.	*Show; truth*
	We pray thee, dere lady, layn that thou nold	*that you should not be silent*
	Bot spell us oure spyryng, or els mon we rafe	*questioning*
435	Bot thou witterly us wysh, so fayn wyt we wold.[1]	
MARY	Peter, Andrew, John, and Jamys the gent,	*gentle*
	Symon, Jude, and Bartilmew the bold,	
	And all my brethere dere that ar on this bent,	*on this field*
	Take tent to my tayll till that I have told	*Pay attention to my tale*
440	Of my dere son what I have mentt,	*meant*
	That hens is hevyd to his awne hold.	*hence is risen; his own realm*
	He taght you the trouthe or he to heven went	*before*
	He was borne of my bosom as hisself wold.	*he himself commanded*
	He is God and man that stevynd into heven;	*ascended*
445	Preche thus to the pepyll that most ar in price.[2]	
	Sekys to thare savyng, ye apostilles aleven,	*eleven*
	To the Jues of Jerusalem as youre way lyse;	
	Say to the cyté as I can here neven,	*mention*
	Tell the warkys of my son warly and wyse.	*works; warily and wise*
450	Byd theym be stedfast and lysten youre steven	*voice*
	Or els be thay dampned as men full of vyce.	*damned; vice*

[…]

[1] Lines 434–35: *But respond to our questioning, or else we might rave / Unless you clearly guide us, so gladly would we understand*

[2] *Preach thus to the people who are of the greatest worth*

27. JUDGMENT

Bad Soul 1
Bad Soul 2
Bad Soul 3
Bad Soul 4
Angel 1
Jesus
Demon 1
Demon 2
Tutivillus
Good Soul 1
Good Soul 2
Good Soul 3
Good Soul 4

[fol. 122r] […]

BAD SOUL 2

Full darfe has bene oure dede, *wicked*
Forthi commen is oure care; *sorrow has come*
This day to take oure mede *reward*
For nothyng may we spare.

Alas, I harde that horne *heard*
That callys us to the dome. *judgment*
All that ever were borne
Thider behofys theym com. *requires [that] they come there*

May nathere lande ne se *neither land nor sea*
Us fro this dome hide;
For ferde fayn wold I fle, *fear gladly*
Bot I must nedys abide. *remain*

Alas, I stande great aghe *awe*
To loke on that justyce; *look*
Ther may no man of lagh *law*
Help with no quantyce. *cunning*

Vokettys, ten or twelfe, *Advocates*
May none help at this nede,
Bot ilk man for hisself *each; himself*
Shall answere for his dede.

Alas, that I was borne.
I se now me beforne
That Lorde with woundys fyfe:
How may I on hym loke *look*

25 That falsly hym forsoke
When I led synfull lyfe? *sinful life*

BAD SOUL 3 Alas, carefull catyfys may we ryse; *sorrowful wretches*
Sore may we wryng oure handys and wepe. *wring; weep*
For cursid and sore covytyse, *cursed; covetousness*
30 Dampnyd be we in hell full depe. *Damned; deep*
Roght we never of Godys servyce: *Took notice*
His commaundementys wold we not kepe,
Bot oft-tymes maide we sacrifice *often*
To Sathanas when othere can slepe. *others were asleep*

35 Alas, now wakyns all oure were. *awakens; trouble*
Oure wykyd warkys can we not hide
Bot on oure bakys we must theym bere *backs; bear*
That will us soroo on ilka syde. *afflict*
Oure dedys this day will do us dere; *cost us dearly*
40 Oure domysman here we must abide, *judge*
And feyndys that will us felly fere *fiends; fiercely frighten*
Thare pray to have us for thare pride. *Their*

Brymly before us be thai broght, *Speedily*
Oure dedys that shall dam us bidene, *damn us at once*
45 That eyre has harde or harte thoght, *ear; heart*
That mowthe has spokyn or ee sene, *mouth; eye*
That foote has gone or hande wroght
In any tyme that we may mene; *remember*
Full dere this day now bees it boght. *dearly; is*
50 Alas, unborne then had I bene.

BAD SOUL 4 Alas, I am forlorne.
A spytus blast here blawes, *spiteful*
I harde well bi yonde horne; *heard*
I wote wherto it drawes. *leads*
55 I wold I were unborne.
Alas, that this day dawes. *dawns*
Now mon be dampnyd this morne *must*
My warkys, my dedys, my sawes. *words*

Now bees my curstnes kyd; *wickedness known*
60 Alas, I may not layn *conceal*
All that ever I dyd,
It bees put up full playn
That I wold fayn were hyd: *desire; hidden*
My synfull wordys and vayn
65 Full new now mon be rekynyd *must be reckoned*
Up to me agayn.

[fol. 122v] Alas, fayn wold I fle *gladly; flee*
For dedys that I have done, *Because of deeds*
Bot that may now not be;
70 I must abide my boyn. *await my fate*
I trowed never to have sene *believed; seen*
This dredfull day thus soyn. *dreadful; soon*
Alas, what shall I say
When he sittys in his trone? *throne*

75 To se his woundys bledande, *bleeding*
This is a dulfull case. *sad*
Alas, how shall I stand
Or loke hym in the face?
So curtes I hym fand *courteous; found*
80 That gaf me life so long a space; *gave*
Mi care is all command. *misery; coming*
Alas, where was my grace?

Alas, catyffys unkynde, *unfortunate*
Whereon was oure thoght?
85 Alas, whereon was oure mynde,
So wykyd warkys we wroght?
To se how he was pynde, *tortured*
How dere oure luf he boght,
Alas, we were full blynde;
90 Now ar we wars then noght. *worse than nothing*

Alas, my covetyse, *covetousness*
Myn yll will, and myn ire; *wrath*
Mi neghbur to dispise
Most was my desyre.
95 I demyd ever at my devyse; *judged; will*
Me thoght I had no peyre. *peer*
With myself sore may I grise, *grievously may I shudder*
Now am I quyt my hyre. *my debt is paid*

Where I was wonte to go
100 And have my wordys at will,
Now am I set full thro *strongly*
And fayn to hold me still. *eager*
I went both to and fro;
Me thoght I did never ill
105 Mi neghburs for to slo *slay*
Or hurt withoutten skill.

Wo worth ever the fader
That gate me to be borne, *begot*
That ever he lete me stir,
110 Bot that I had bene forlorne. *I had perished*
Warid be my moder, *Cursed*
And warid be the morne *morning*
That I was borne of hir.
Alas, for shame and skorne. *scorn*

Cum gladio,[1]

ANGEL 1 Stand not togeder; parte in two.
116 All sam shall ye not be in blis; *All together*
Oure Lorde of heven will it be so,
For many of you has done amys.
On his right hande ye good shall go;
120 The way till heven he shall you wys. *guide*
Ye wykid saules, ye weynd hym fro *wicked souls; go from*
On his left hande as none of his.

JESUS The tyme is commen I will make ende;
My Fader of heven will it so be,
125 Therfor till erthe now will I weynde *to earth; go*
Myself to sytt in majesté. *sit; majesty*
To dele my dome I will discende; *deal my judgment; descend*
This body will I bere with me. *bear*
How it was dight, mans mys to amende, *prepared*; *sin*
130 All mans kynde ther shall it se.

DEMON 1 Oute, haro — out, out! ***[fol. 123r]***
Harkyn to this horne. *Listen*
I was never in dowte
Or now at this morne; *Before*
135 So sturdy a showte
Sen that I was borne *Since*
Hard I never here abowte, *Heard*
In ernyst ne in skorne —
A wonder.
140 I was bonde full fast *bound*
In yrens for to last, *iron shackles*
Bot my bandys thai brast *bands; broke*
And shoke all in sonder. *shook asunder*

[1] *With a sword*

DEMON 2	I shoterd and shoke,	*shuddered; shook*
145	I herd sich a rerd;	*heard; roar*
	When I harde it, I qwoke	*heard; quaked*
	For all that I lerd,	*learned*
	Bot — to swere on a boke —	*book (the Bible)*
	I durst not aperd;	*dared not [do so] openly*
150	I durst not loke	*dared not look*
	For all medill erd	*middle earth*
	Full payll,	*pale (feeble)*
	Bot gyrned and gnast.	*But grimaced and gnashed*
	My force did I frast,	*test*
155	Bot I wroght all wast;	*in vain*
	It myght not avayll.	
DEMON 1	It was like to a trumpe:	*trumpet*
	It had sich a sownde	*sound*
	I fell on a lumpe	*into a heap*
160	For ferd that I swonde.	*fear; swooned*
DEMON 2	There I stode on my stumpe	*Where; leg*
	I stakerd that stownde;	*staggered; time*
	There chachid I the crumpe	*caught; cramp*
	Yit held I my grounde,	
165	Halfe nome.	*numb*
DEMON 1	Make redy oure gere:	*ready*
	We ar like to have were,	*trouble*
	For now dar I swere	*dare*
	That domysday is comme,	
170	For all oure saules ar wente	*souls are gone*
	And none ar in hell.	
DEMON 2	Bot we go we ar shente;	*Unless; destroyed*
	Let us not dwell.	
	It sittys you to tente	*befits you to pay attention*
175	In this mater to mell	*discuss*
	As a pere in a parlamente,	*peer*
	What case so befell.	
	It is nedefull	
	That ye tente to youre awne	*pay attention to your own*
180	What draght so be drawne;	*Whatever happens*
	If the courte be knawen,	*known*
	The juge is right dredfull.	
DEMON 1	For to stand thus tome	*unoccupied*
	Thou gars me grete.	*make me weep*
DEMON 2	Let us go to this dome	*judgment*
186	Up Watlyn strete.	*(see note)*
DEMON 1	I had lever go to Rome	*would rather*

	Yet thryse on my fete	*three times by foot*
	Then for to grefe yonde grome	*grieve that boy*
190	Or with hym for to mete,	*meet*
	For wysely	
	He spekys on trete,	*at length*
	His paustee is grete,	*power*
	Bot begyn he to threte	*quarrel*
195	He lokys full grisly.	*looks*
	Bot fast take oure rentals;	*record of sins*
	Hy, let us go hence,	*Hurry*
	For as this fals	*accordingly; falls*
	The great sentence.	
DEMON 2	Thai ar here in my dals.	*hands;* ***[fol. 123v]***
201	Fast stand we to fence	*Firmly; protect*
	Agans thise dampnyd sauls	
	Without repentence,	
	And just.	*correctly*
DEMON 1	Howso the gam crokys,	*game turns*
206	Examyn oure bokys.	*books*
DEMON 2	Here is a bag full, lokys,	*look*
	Of pride and of lust,	
	Of wraggers and of wrears;	*wranglers; betrayers*
210	A bag full of brefes	*briefs*
	Of carpars and cryars,	*critics; accusers*
	Of mychers and thefes,	*robbers; thieves*
	Of lurdans and lyars	*louts; liars*
	That no man lefys,	*believes*
215	Of flytars, of flyars,	*quarrelers; outlaws*
	And renderars of reffys.	*plunder; (see note)*
	This can I	*I know*
	Of alkyn astates	*all ranks*
	That go bi the gatys;	*ways*
220	Of poore pride that God hatys,	*wretched*
	Twenty so many.	
DEMON 1	Peasse, I pray thee, be still.	*Peace*
	I laghe that I kynke.	*laugh [so much] that I choke*
	Is oght ire in thi bill?	*any wrath; inventory*
225	And then shall thou drynke.	
DEMON 2	Sir, so mekill ill will	
	That thai wold synke	
	Thare foes in a fyere still,	*Their; fire*
	Bot not all that I thynke	
230	Dar I say;	
	Bot before hym he prase hym,	*If he praises him to his face*

	Behynde he myssase hym;	*Behind [his back]; slanders*
	Thus dowbill he mase hym.	*duplicitous; confuses*
	Thus do thai today.	
DEMON 1	Has thou oght writen there	*anything written*
236	Of the femynyn gendere?	
DEMON 2	Yei, mo then I may bere	*more than; bear*
	Of rolles for to render.	
	Thai ar sharp as a spere	
240	If thai seme bot slender;	*Even if; slight*
	Thai ar ever in were	*always contentious*
	If thai be tender.	
	Yll fetyld,	*Ill prepared*
	She that is most meke;	*meek*
245	When she semys full seke	*sick*
	She can rase up a reke	*raise a commotion*
	If she be well nettyld.	*irritated*
DEMON 1	Thou art the best hyne	*servant*
	That ever cam beside us.	
DEMON 2	Yei, bot go we, master myne;	
251	Yit wold I we hyde us.	
	Thai have blowen long syne;	*long since*
	Thai will not abide us.	
	We may lightly tyne	*easily suffer loss*
255	And then will ye chide us	
	Togeder.	*Together*
DEMON 1	Make redy oure tolys	*tools (weapons)*
	For we dele with no folys.	*fools*
DEMON 2	Sir, all clerkys of oure scolys	*schools*
260	Ar bowne furth theder.	*heading there*
	Bot sir, I tell you before,	
	Had domysday oght tarid	*[been] delayed at all*
	We must have biggid hell more;	*enlarged*
	The warld is so warid.	*cursed*
DEMON 1	Now gett we dowbill store	*double*
266	Of bodys myscarid	
	To the soules where thai wore,	
	Both sam to be harrid.	*together; harried*
DEMON 2	Thise rolles	
[fol. 124r]	Ar of bakbytars	*backbiters*
271	And fals quest-dytars;	*false accusers*
	I had no help of writars	*writers*
	Bot thise two dalles.	*hands*

	Faithe and trowth, maffay,	*by my faith*
275	Has no fete to stande.	*feet*
	The poore pepyll must pay	
	If oght be in hande.	*anything*
	The drede of God is away	
	And lawe out of lande.	
DEMON 1	By that wist I that domysday	
281	Was nerehande	*nearly*
	In seson.	*season*
DEMON 2	Sir, it is saide in old sawes:	*speeches*
	The longere that day dawes,	*longer [before]; dawns*
285	Wars pepill, wars lawes.	*Worse people*
DEMON 1	I lagh at thi reson.	*laugh*
	All this was tokyn	*a sign (token)*
	Domysday to drede.	
	Full oft was it spokyn,	*often*
290	Full few toke hede.	*took heed*
	Bot now shall we be wrokyn	*avenged*
	Of thare falshede,	*their falsehood*
	For now bese unlokyn	*be revealed*
	Many dern dede	*stealthy deeds*
295	In ire.	*wrath*
	All thare synnes shall be knowen,	*their sins; known*
	Othere mens then thare awne.	*their own*
DEMON 2	Bot if this draght be well drawen,	*move be made; (see note)*
	Don is in the myre.	*mire*
TUTIVILLUS	Whi spir ye not, syr,	*ask*
301	No questyons?	
	I am oone of youre ordir	*order*
	And oone of youre sons;	
	I stande at my tristur	*station*
305	When othere men shones.	*stay away*
DEMON 1	Now thou art myn awne querestur.	*chorister*
	I wote where thou wonnes;	*know; live*
	Do tell me.	*Please tell me [more about yourself]*
TUTIVILLUS	I was youre chefe tollare	*chief tax collector*
310	And sithen courte rollar;	*Keeper of the court rolls*
	Now am I master Lollar,	*Lollard*
	And of sich men I mell me.	*with such; concern myself*
	I have broght to youre hande	
	Of saules dar I say	*souls dare*
315	Mo than ten thowsand	*More*
	In an howre of a day.	*hour*
	Som at ayll-howse I fande,	*alehouse found*

	And som of ferray;	*at plunder*
	Som cursid, som bande,	*cursed; chided*
320	Som yei, som nay.	
	So many	*(see note)*
	Thus broght I on blure;	*to grief*
	Thus did I my cure.	
DEMON 1	Thou art the best sawgeoure	*soldier*
325	That ever had I any.	
TUTIVILLUS	Here a roll of ragman	*list of accusations; (see note)*
	Of the rownde tabill,	
	Of breffes in my bag, man,	*briefs (legal notes)*
	Of synnes dampnabill;	*sins damnable*
330	Unethes may I wag, man,	*Hardly; move; (see note)*
	Forwery in youre stabill	*Exhausted; stable*
	Whils I set my stag, man.	*horse*
DEMON 2	Abide, ye ar abill	*able*
	To take wage.	
[fol. 124v]	Thou can of cowrte thew,	*know the customs of the court*
336	Bot lay downe the dewe	*that which is due*
	For thou will be a shrew	*villain*
	Be thou com at age.	
TUTIVILLUS	Here have I be gesse	*by estimation*
340	Of many nyce hoket,	*many a fancy trick*
	Of care and of curstnes,	*cursedness*
	Hethyng and hoket:	*Mockery; trickery*
	Gay gere and witles,	*gear*
	His hode set on koket;	*cocked*
345	As prowde as pennyles,	*proud as penniless*
	His slefe has no poket;	*sleeve; pocket*
	Full redles	*foolish*
	With thare hemmyd shoyn.	*their hemmed shoes*
	All this must be done,	
350	Bot fyre is out at hye noyn	*fire; high noon*
	And his barnes bredeles.	*children without food*
	A horne and a Duch ax,	
	His slefe must be flekyt,	*sleeve; multicolored*
	A syde hede and a fare fax,	*Long locks and fair hair*
355	His gowne must be spekytt.	*speckled*
	Thus toke I youre tax;	*took*
	Thus ar my bookys blekyt.	*blacked in*
DEMON 1	Thou art best on thi wax	*of your age (size)*
	That ever was clekyt	*hatched*
360	Or knowen;	
	With wordes will thou fill us.	

	Bot tell thi name till us.	*to us*
TUTIVILLUS	Mi name is Tutivillus;	
	My horne is blawen.	*blown*
	Fragmina verborum,	
	Tutivillus colligit horum;	
	Belzabub algorum,	
	Belial belium doliorum.[1]	
DEMON 2	What, I se thou can of gramory	*know grammar (learning)*
366	And somwhat of arte;	
	Had I bot a penny	
	On thee wold I warte.	*spend [it]*
TUTIVILLUS	Of femallys a quantité	*females*
370	Here fynde I parte.	
DEMON 1	Tutivillus, let se.	
	Godys forbot thou sparte.	*spare it*
TUTIVILLUS	So joly,	*pretty*
	Ilka las in a lande	*Each lass*
375	Like a lady nerehande,	
	So fresh and so plesande,	*pleasing*
	Makys men to foly.	*Brings; folly*
	If she be never so fowll a dowde,	*dowdy woman*
	With hir kelles and hir pynnes	*her hairnets; pins*
380	The shrew hirself can shrowde	*cover*
	Both hir chekys and hir chynnes.	*cheeks; chins*
	She can make it full prowde	*proud*
	With japes and with gynnes,	*tricks; schemes*
	Hir hede as hy as a clowde,	
385	Bot no shame of hir synnes	
	Thai fele.	*They feel*
	When she is thus paynt	*painted*
	She makys it so quaynte	*cunning*
	She lookys like a saynt,	*saint*
390	And wars then the deyle.	*worse; deal (lot)*
	She is hornyd like a kowe,	*horned like a cow*
	A new-fon syn:	*newfound sin*
	The culer hyngys so side now	*collar hangs; long*
	Furrid with a cat skyn.	*Furred*
395	All thise ar for you;	*these*
	Thai ar commen of youre kyn.	
DEMON 2	Now the best body art thou	*individual;* ***[fol. 125r]***

[1] After line 364: *Fragments of words, / Tutivillus collects those; / Beelzabub [collects] chills, / Belial, belly-ache* (see note)

That ever cam herein.
TUTIVILLUS An usage, *habit*
400 Swilk dar I undertake, *So dare I assert*
Makys theym breke thare wedlake *break; wedlock*
And lif in syn for hir sake *live in sin*
And breke thare awne spowsage. *their own marriage*

Yit a poynt have I fon, *found*
405 I tell you before,
That fals swerars shall hider com *false swearers; come here*
Mo then a thowsand skore. *More than twenty thousand*
In sweryng thai grefe Godys Son *grieve*
And pyne hym more and more; *punish*
410 Therfor mon thai with us won *must they; dwell*
In hell forevermore.
I say thus,
That rasers of the fals tax *raisers*
And gederars of greyn wax, *gatherers; green wax; (see note)*
415 *Diabolus est mendax*
Et pater eius.[1]

Yit a poynte of the new gett, *point; fashion*
To tell will I not blyn, *cease*
Of prankyd gownes and shulders up set, *pleated; raised shoulders*
420 Mos and flokkys sewyd wythin; *Moss and tufts*
To use sich gise thai will not let. *guise; cease*
Thai say it is no syn,
Bot on sich pilus I me set *such pillows*
And clap thaym cheke and chyn, *cheek and chin*
425 No nay.
David in his sawtere says thus, *psalter*
That to hell shall thai trus *depart*
Cum suis adinvencionibus,[2]
For onys and for ay. *once and for all*

430 Yit of thise kyrkchaterars *chatterers in the church*
Here ar a menee, *company*
Of barganars and okerars *vendors; usurers*
And lufars of symonee, *lovers of simony*
Of runkers and rowners. *whisperers; tattlers*
435 God castys thaym out, trulee,
From his temple all sich mysdoers;
I cach thaym then to me *catch them*

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[1] Lines 415–16: *The devil is a liar / and the father of lies* (John 8:44)

[2] *With their inventions* (Psalm 105/106:39)

	Full soyn,	*soon*
	For writen I wote it is	
440	In the gospell, withoutten mys,	
	Et eam fecistis	
	Speluncam latronum.[1]	
	Yit of the synnes seven	
	Somthyng speciall	
445	Now nately to neven	*quickly; mention*
	That renys over all:	*reigns*
	Thise laddys thai leven	*lads; live*
	As lordys riall,	*royal*
	At ee to be even	*eye; equal*
450	Purturd in pall	*Adorned; scarlet*
	As kyngys.	
	May he dug hym a doket,	*(see note)*
	A kodpese like a pokett,	*codpiece; pocket*
	Hym thynke it no hoket	
455	His tayll when he wryngys.	*(see note)*
	His luddokkys thai lowke	*buttocks; look*
	Like walk-mylne cloggys;	*fulling mill clogs*
	His hede is like a stowke,	*head; stook (sheaves of grain)*
	Hurlyd as hoggys;	*Bristled like hogs*
460	A woll-blawen bowke,	*well-inflated belly*
	Thise fryggys as froggys.	*fidget*
	This Jelian Jowke	*(see note)*
	Dryfys he no doggys	*Drives; dogs*
	To felter;	*tangle*
465	Bot with youre yolow lokkys,	*yellow locks*
	For all youre many mokkys,	*mockeries*
	Ye shall clym on hell-crokkys	*climb; hooks*
	With a halpeny heltere.	*half penny halter (hangman's noose)*
[fol. 125v]	And Nell with hir nyfyls	*trifles*
470	Of crisp and of sylke,	*light cloth; silk*
	Tent well youre twyfyls	*Attend; braids*
	Youre nek abowte as mylke,	*neck; milk*
	With youre bendys and youre bridyls	*bands; bridles; (see note)*
	Of Sathan, the whilke	*by which*
475	Sir Sathanas idyls	*makes idle*
	You for tha ilke,	*the like*
	This Gill knave.	*scoundrel*
	It is open behynde,	

[1] Lines 441–42: *And you have made it / a den of thieves* (Matthew 21:13)

Before is it pynde; *pinned*
480 Bewar of the west wynde
Youre smok lest it wafe. *smock; wave*

Of ire and of envy *wrath*
Fynde I herto,
Of covetyse and glotony *covetousness; gluttony*
485 And many other mo. *more*
Thai call and thai cry,
Go we now, go,
I dy nere for dry! *dryness (thirst)*
And ther syt thai so
490 All nyght
With hawvell and jawvell, *rascals; (see note)*
Syngyng of lawvell. *drinking cups; (see note)*
Thise ar howndys of hell; *hounds*
That is thare right. *their*

495 In slewthe then thai syn, *sloth*
Goddys warkys thai not wyrke; *works*
To belke thai begyn *belch*
And spew that is irke; *disgusting*
His hede must be holdyn *held*
500 Ther in the myrke, *darkness*
Then deffys hym with dyn *deafens; noise*
The bellys of the kyrke *church bells*
When thai clatter. *ring*
He wishys the clerke hanged
505 For that he rang it,
Bot thar hym not lang it *he need not long for*
What commys therafter.

And ye Janettys of the stewys *Janets; brothels*
And lychoures on lofte, *lechers above*
510 Youre baill now brewys; *punishment is being prepared*
Avowtrees full ofte *Adulteresses*
Youre gam now grewys. *pleasure; is troubled*
I shall you set softe; *softly*
Youre sorow enewes. *renews*
515 Com to my crofte *field*
All ye;
All harlottys and horres *scoundrels; whores*
And bawdys that procures *pimps that procure*
To bryng thaym to lures, *loss*
520 Welcom to my see. *abode*

	Ye lurdans and lyars,	*louts; liars*
	Mychers and thefes,	*Robbers; thieves*
	Flytars and flyars	*Quarrelers; outlaws*
	That all men reprefes,	*rebuke*
525	Spolars, extorcyonars,	*Spoilers; extortioners*
	Welcom, my lefes.	*dears*
	Fals jurars and usurars	*False jurors; usurers*
	To symony that clevys,	*cling*
	To tell,	*count*
530	Hasardars and dysars,	*Gamblers; dicers*
	Fals dedys forgars,	*deed forgers*
	Slanderars, bakbytars,	
	All unto hell.	
DEMON 1	When I harde many swilke,	*such;* ***[fol. 126r]***
535	Many spytus and fell	*spiteful; cruel*
	And few good of ilke,	*each*
	I had mervell;	*marvel*
	I trowd it drew nere the prik.	*believed; decisive moment*
DEMON 2	Sir, a worde of counsell:	
540	Saules cam so thyk	*Souls*
	Now late unto hell	
	As ever;	
	Oure porter at hell-yate	*hell's gate*
	Is haldyn so strate.	*held in such straits*
545	Up erly and downe late.	
	He rystys never.	*rests*
DEMON 1	Thou art pereles of tho	*peerless of those*
	That ever yit knew I.	
	When I will, may I go	
550	If thou be by;	
	Go we now we two.	
DEMON 2	Syr, I am redy.	
DEMON 1	Take oure rolles also;	
	Ye knawe the cause why.	
555	Do com,	
	And tent well this day.	*pay attention*
DEMON 2	Sir, as well as I may.	
DEMON 1	*Qui vero mala*	
	In ignem eternum.[1]	
JESUS	Ilka creatoure take tente	*Every creature pay attention*
561	What bodworde I shall you bryng:	*message*

[1] Lines 558–59: *He indeed who [does] evil, into eternal fire* (see note)

This wykyd warld away is wente
And I am commyn as crownyd kyng;
Mi Fader of heven has me downe sente
565 To deme youre dedys and make endyng. *judge; deeds*
Commen is the day of Jugemente;
Of sorow may every synfull syng.

The day is commen of catyfnes *wretchedness*
All those to care that ar uncleyn, *To trouble all those who*
570 The day of batell and bitternes; *battle*
Full long abiden has it beyn, *awaited; been*
The day of drede to more and les,
Of joy, of tremlyng, and of teyn. *trembling; suffering*
Ilka wight that wikyd is *Every person; wicked*
575 May say "alas, this day is seyn." *seen*

Tunc expandit manu suas et ostendit eis vulnera sua.[1]

Here may ye se my woundys wide
That I suffred for youre mysdede
Thrugh harte, hede, fote, hande, and syde,
Not for my gilte bot for youre nede. *guilt; need*
580 Behald both bak, body, and syde, *back*
How dere I boght youre broderhede. *dearly; brotherhood*
Thise bitter paynes I wold abide, *I have endured*
To by you blys thus wold I blede. *buy; bliss; bleed*

Mi body was skowrgid withoutten skill, *scourged; reason*
585 Also ther full throly was I thrett; *fiercely; threatened*
On crosse thai hang me on a hill.
Blo and blody thus was I bett, *Blue; bloody; beaten*
With crowne of thorne thrastyn full ill; *pierced*
A spere unto my harte thai sett, *spear*
590 Mi harte blode sparid thai not to spill. *spared*
Man for thi luf wold I not lett. *love; prevent [this]*

The Jues spytt on me spitusly; *spit on me spitefully*
Thai sparid me no more then a thefe. *thief*
When thai me smote, I stud stilly; *hit; stood still*
595 Agans thaym did I no kyns grefe. *no kind of grief*
Beholde, mankynde, this ilk am I *same one*
That for thee suffred sich myschefe; *such mischief*
Thus was I dight for thi foly *mistreated; folly*
Man, loke, thi luf was me full lefe. *look; was dear to me*

[1] *Then he stretches out his hands and shows them his wounds*

[fol. 126v]	Thus was I dight thi sorow to slake;	*ordained; relieve*
601	Man, thus behovid thee borud to be.	*borrowed*
	In all my wo toke I no wrake;	*woe took I no vengeance*
	My will it was, for luf of thee.	
	Man, for sorow aght thee to qwake	*you ought to quake*
605	This dredfull day this sight to se.	
	All this suffred I for thi sake;	
	Say, man, what suffred thou for me?	
	Tunc vertens se ad bonos dicit illis:[1]	
	Mi blissid barnes on my right hande,	*blessed children*
	Youre dome this day thar ye not drede,	*need; fate*
610	For all youre joy is now commande;	
	Youre life in likyng shall ye lede.	*pleasure; lead*
	Commes to the kyngdom ay lastande	*everlasting*
	That you is dight for youre good dede;	*[for] you is prepared; deed*
	Full blithe may ye be there ye stand,	*happy; where you stand*
615	For mekill in heven bees youre mede.	*much; shall be; reward*
	When I was hungré ye me fed;	
	To slek my thrist ye war full fre.	*quench; generous*
	When I was clothles ye me cled;	*clothed*
	Ye wold no sorowe on me se.	
620	In hard prison when I was sted,	*placed*
	On my penance ye had pyté.	
	Full seke when I was broght in bed,	*sick*
	Kyndly ye cam to comforth me.	
	When I was will and weriest,	*lost; weary*
625	Ye harberd me full esely.	*harbored; hospitably*
	Full glad then were ye of youre gest;	*guest*
	Ye plenyd my poverté full pituosly.	*deplored*
	Belife ye broght me of the best	*At once*
	And maide my bed there I shuld ly;	*made; where*
630	Therfor in heven shall be youre rest	
	In joy and blis to beld me by.	*dwell*
GOOD SOUL 1	Lord, when had thou so mekill nede?	*much*
	Hungré or thrusty, how myght it be?	*thirsty*
GOOD SOUL 2	When was oure harte fre thee to feede?	*generous*
635	In prison when myght we thee se?	
GOOD SOUL 3	When was thou seke, or wantyd wede?	*sick; clothing;* ***[fol. 127r]***

[1] *Then turning himself toward the good [souls] he says to them*

To harbowre thee when helpid we? *harbor; shelter*
GOOD SOUL 4 When had thou nede of oure fordede? *good deed*
When did we all this dede to thee?

JESUS Mi blissid barnes, I shall you say *children*
641 What tyme this dede was to me done:
When any that nede had, nyght or day,
Askyd you help and had it sone, *soon*
Youre fre harte saide theym never nay, *generous*
645 Erly ne late, mydday ne noyn, *Early; nor noon*
As oftesithes as thai wold pray *often*
Thai thurte bot aske and have thare boyn. *needed but to ask; request*

Tunc dicet malis:[1]

Ye cursid catyfs of Kames kyn *cursed wretches of Cain's kin*
That never me comforthid in my care, *comforted*
650 Now I and ye forever shall twyn, *shall part*
In doyll to dwell forevermare. *misery*
Youre bitter bayles shall never blyn *torments; cease*
That ye shall thole when ye com thare; *suffer; there*
Thus have ye servyd for youre syn
655 For derfe dedys ye have doyn are. *wicked deeds you have done*

When I had myster of mete and drynke, *need of food*
Catyfs, ye chaste me from youre yate; *Wretches; chased; gate*
When ye were set as syres on bynke *bench*
I stode theroute, wery and wate, *outside; weary; wet*
660 Yit none of you wold on me thynke
To have pité on my poore astate. *state*
Therfor to hell I shall you synke; *sink*
Well ar ye worthy to go that gate. *way*

When I was seke and soryest *sick; saddest*
665 Ye viset me noght for I was poore; *visited*
In prison fast when I was fest *imprisoned*
Wold none of you loke how I foore. *look; fared*
When I wist never where to rest, *knew*
With dyntys ye drofe me from youre doore, *blows; drove*
670 Bot ever to pride then were ye prest; *disposed*
Mi flesh, my bloode, ye ofte forswore. *often; (see note)*

[fol. 127v] Clothles when that I was cold,
That nerehande for you yode I nakyd, *nearly; went naked*

[1] *Then he should say to the bad [souls]*

	Mi myschefe sagh ye manyfolde;	*misfortune saw; often*
675	Was none of you my sorowe slakyd	*relieved*
	Bot ever forsoke me, yong and olde.	*young*
	Therfor shall ye now be forsakyd.	
BAD SOUL 1	Lorde, when had thou, that all has,	
	Hunger or thriste, sen thou God is?	*thirst, since*
680	When was that thou in prison was?	
	When was thou nakyd or harberles?	*unsheltered*
BAD SOUL 2	When myght we se thee seke, alas,	*sick*
	And kyd thee all this unkyndnes?	*show*
BAD SOUL 3	When was we let thee helples pas?	
685	When dyd we thee this wikydnes?	
BAD SOUL 4	Alas, for doyll this day.	*sorrow*
	Alas, that ever I it abode.	*endured*
	Now am I dampned for ay;	*forever*
	This dome may I not avoyde.	*judgment*
JESUS	Catyfs, alas, ofte as it betyde	*often as it happened*
691	That nedefull oght askyd in my name,	*the needy asked anything*
	Ye harde thaym noght, youre eeres was hid,	*heard*
	Youre help to thaym was not at hame,	*them; home*
	To me was that unkyndnes kyd;	*unkindness shown*
695	Therfor ye bere this bitter blame.	*bear*
	To the lest of myne when ye oght dyd,	*least*
	To me ye dyd the self and same.	
	Tunc dicet bonis:[1]	
	Mi chosyn childer, commes to me;	*chosen children*
	With me to dwell now shall ye weynde	*go*
700	Ther joy and blis ever shall be,	*Where*
	Youre life in lykyng for to leynde.	*pleasure; remain*
	Tunc dicet malis:[2]	
	Ye warid wightys, from me ye fle	*wretched creatures; flee*
	In hell to dwell withoutten ende.	
	Ther shall ye noght bot sorow se	*see nothing but sorrow*
705	And sit bi Sathanas the feynde.	*fiend*

[1] *Then he should say to the good [souls]*

[2] *Then he should say to the bad [souls]*

DEMON 1	Do now go furth, go!	
	Trus, go we hyne	*Depart; hence*
	Unto endles wo,	
	Aylastand pyne.	*Everlasting punishment*
710	Nay, tary not so,	*delay*
	We get ado syne.	*trouble afterwards*
DEMON 2	Hyte, hyderwarde, ho!	*Giddy-up, this way*
	Harry Ruskyne,	*(see note)*
	War oute!	*Watch out*
715	The meyn shall ye nebyll,	*nibble; (see note)*
	And I shall syng the trebill,	*treble*
	Arevant the devill	*(see note)*
	Till all this hole rowte.	*To this entire company*
TUTIVILLUS	Youre lyfes ar lorne	*lost*
720	And commen is youre care.	*trouble*
[fol. 128r]	Ye may ban ye were borne,	*curse [that]*
	The bodes you bare	*bodies that bore you*
	And youre faders beforne,	
	So cursid ye ar.	
DEMON 1	Ye may wary the morne	*curse*
726	And day that ye ware	*were*
	Of youre moder	
	First borne for to be,	
	For the wo ye mon dre.	*misery; must endure*
DEMON 2	Ilkone of you mon se	*Each of you must see*
731	Sorow of oder.	*[the] other*
	Where is the gold and the good	*goods*
	That ye gederd togedir,	*gathered*
	The mery menee that yode	*company; went*
735	Hider and thedir?	*Here and there*
TUTIVILLUS	Gay gyrdyls, jaggid hode,	*girdles (belts); slashed hoods*
	Prankyd gownes, whedir?	*Pleated*
	Have ye wit or ye wode?	*or do you go mad*
	Ye broght not hider	*nothing here*
740	Bot sorowe	*sorrow*
	And youre synnes in youre nekkys.	*necks*
DEMON 1	I beshrew thaym that rekkys;	*curse those who care*
	He comes to late that bekkys	*too late; beckons*
	Youre bodyes to borow.	*bodies to save*
DEMON 2	Sir, I wold cut thaym a skawte	*shroud; (see note)*
746	And make theym be knawne.	*revealed*
	Thay were sturdy and hawte;	*unruly; haughty*
	Great boste have thai blawne.	*boasts*
	Youre pride and youre pransawte,	*prancing*

750	What will it gawne?	*gain*
	Ye tolde ilk mans defawte	*each; fault*
	And forgate youre awne.	*forgot*
TUTIVILLUS	Moreover,	
	Thare neghburs thai demyd,	*judged*
755	Thaymself as it semyd,	*seemed*
	Bot now ar thai flemyd,	*banished*
	From sayntys to recover.	*saints*
DEMON 1	Thare neghburs thai towchid	*touched*
	With wordys full ill;	
760	The warst ay thai sowchid	*worst ever; suspected*
	And had no skill.	
DEMON 2	The pennys thai powchid	*pennies; pocketed*
	And held thaym still;	
	The negons thai mowchid	*misers; mooched*
765	And had no will	
	For hart-sare;	*contrition*
	Bot riche and ill-dedy,	*prone to evil deeds*
	Gederand and gredy,	*Covetous; greedy*
	Sore napand and nedy,	*grasping; needy*
770	Youre godys for to spare.	*goods; save*
TUTIVILLUS	For all that ye spard	*hoarded*
	And dyd extorcyon,	*extortion*
	For youre childer ye card,	*children you cared*
	Youre heyre and youre son;	*heir*
775	Now is all in oure ward.	*custody*
	Youre yeres ar ron;	*completed*
	It is commen in vowgard,	*vanguard*
	Youre Dame Malison	*Lady Curse*
	To bynde it.	
780	Ye set bi no cursyng	
	Ne no sich small thyng.	
DEMON 1	No, bot prase at the partyng,	
	For now mon ye fynde it.	*must*
[fol. 128v]	Youre leyfys and youre females,	*lovers*
785	Ye brake youre wedlake;	*break*
	Tell me now what it vales,	*avails*
	All that mery lake?	*sport*
	Se, so falsly it falys.	*fails*
DEMON 2	Syr, I dar undertake	*assert*
790	Thai will tell no tales;	
	Bot se, so thai quake	
	For moton,	*on account of sluts*
	He that to that gam gose,	*game; goes*

	Now namely on old tose.	*especially; toes*
TUTIVILLUS	Thou held up the lose,	*renown*
796	That had I forgotten.	
DEMON 1	Sir, I trow thai be dom	*believe; dumb*
	Somtyme were full melland.	*talking*
	Will ye se how thai glom?	*scowl*
DEMON 2	Thou art ay telland.	*You said it!*
801	Now shall thai have rom	*room*
	In pyk and tar ever dwelland;	*pitch and tar; dwelling*
	Of thare sorow no some	*sum*
	Bot ay to be yelland	*always; yelling*
805	In oure fostre.	*keeping*
TUTIVILLUS	By youre lefe, may we mefe you?	*leave; move*
DEMON 1	Showe furth, I shrew you.	*curse*
DEMON 2	Yit tonyght shall I shew you	
	A mese of ill ostre.	*serving of bad oysters; (see note)*
TUTIVILLUS	Of thise cursid forsworne	
811	And all that here leyndys,	*remain*
	Blaw wolfys-hede and oute-horne	
	Now namely, my freyndys	*particularly*
DEMON 1	Illa-haill were ye borne.	*Cursed*
815	Youre awne shame you sheyndys	*destroy*
	That shall ye fynde or to-morne.	*before tomorrow*
DEMON 2	Com now, with feyndys	*fiends*
	To youre angre;	*affliction*
	Youre dedys you dam.	*damn*
820	Com, go we now sam;	*together*
	It is commen, youre gam.	*game*
	Com, tary no langer.	*delay no longer*
GOOD SOUL 1	We love thee, Lorde, in alkyn thyng	*everything*
	That for thyne awne has ordand thus,	*ordained*
825	That we may have now oure dwellyng	
	In heven blis giffen unto us.	*given*
	Therfor full boldly may we syng	*sing*
	On oure way os we trus;	*go*
	Make we all myrth and lovyng	*praise*
830	With *Te Deum laudamus*.	*"God, we praise you"*

Explicit judicium.[1]

[1] *Here ends the judgment*

APPENDIX: THE HANGING OF JUDAS

[fol. 131v] *Suspencio Jude*.[1]

JUDAS

	Alas, alas and walaway!	
	Waryd and cursyd I have beyn ay.	*Afflicted and cursed; always*
	I slew my father and syn bylay	*then lay with*
	My moder der,	*mother dear*
5	And falsly aftur I can betray	
	Myn awn mayster.	*master*
	My fathers name was Ruben right,	
	Sibaria my moder hight;	*named*
	Als he her knew apon a nyght	
10	All fleshlé,	
	In her sleyp sche se a sighte,	*sleep; she saw*
	A great ferlé.	*wonder*
	Her thoght ther lay her syd within	
	A lothly lumpe of fleshly syn,	*loathly*
15	Of the which distruccion schuld begyn	
	Of all Jury;	*Jewry*
	That cursyd clott of Camys kyn	*clot (lump); Cain's kin*
	Forsoth was I.	
	Dreyd of that sight mad her awake,	*Dread; made*
20	And all hir body did tremyll and qwake;	*tremble*
	Her thoght hir hert did all to-brake.	*heart; break [to pieces]*
	No wonder was	
	The first word my moder spake	
	Was "alas, alas."	
25	"Alas, alas" sche cryed faste,	
	With that on weping owt sche braste.	*weeping; burst*
	My father wakyd at the laste	*finally awoke*
	And her afranyd;	*questioned*
	Sche told hym how she was agaste	*aghast*
30	And nothyng laynyd.	*concealed*
	My father bad "let be thy woo.	*bade*
	My cowncel is, if hit be soo	*counsel; it*
	A child be gettyn betwixt hus too,	*between us two*
	Doghter or son,	*Daughter*

[1] *The hanging of Judas*

35 Lett hit never on erth go
Bot be fordon. *destroyed*

Bettur hit is fordon to be *Better*
Then hit fordo both thee and me, *destroy*
For in a while then schall we se
40 And full well knaw
Wheder that swevyns be vanité *Whether dreams are false*
Or on to traw." *to believe in [them]*

The tyme was comyn that I was borne
Os my moder sayd beforn. *As*
45 Alas, that I had beyn forlorn *been lost*
Within hir syd, *side*
For ther then spronge a schrewid thorn *dangerous*
That spred full wyd. *wide*

[fol. 132r] For I was born withowtyn grace, *Because*
50 Thay me namyd and callyd Judas.
The father of the child ay hays *always has*
Great petye; *pity*
He myght not thoyle afor his face *suffer*
My deth to se. *death*

55 My ded to se then myght he noght. *death*
A lytyll lep he gart be wroght *basket; he had made*
And ther I was in bed broght
And bondon faste; *bound securely*
To the salt se then thay soght *sea; approached*
60 And in me caste. *threw*

The wawes rosse, the wynd blew; *waves rose*
That I was cursyd full well thai knew.
The storme unto the yle me threw, *isle*
That lytill botte, *little boat*
65 And of that land my to-name drew: *surname; (see note)*
Judas Skariott. *Judas Iscariot*

Thor os wrekke in sand I lay,[1]
The qweyn com passyng theraway *queen; in that direction*
With hir madyns to sport and play. *her maidens*
70 And prevaly *alone*
A child sche fond in slyk aray *found; such [miserable] condition*
And had ferly. *wonder*

---

[1] *There where I lay in the sand as a wreck*

	Neverthelesse sche was well payd	*pleased*
	And on hir lap sche me layd;	
75	Sche me kissid and with me playd	
	For I was fayre.	*fair*
	"A child God hays me send," sche sayd,	*has*
	"To be myn ayre."	heir
	Sche mad me be to norice done	*had me nurtured*
80	And fosterd os hir awn son,	*fostered as her own son*
	And told the kyng that sche had gon	*gone*
	All the yer with child,	*year*
	And with fayr wordys os wemen con	*[such] as women know*
	Sche hym begild.	*tricked*
85	Then the kyng gart mak a fest	
	To all the land of the best,	
	For that he had gettyn a gest,	*begotten a guest*
	A swetly thyng,	*sweet little thing*
	When he wer ded and broght to rest,	*dead*
90	That myght be kyng.	
	Sone aftur, within yers too,	*two years*
	In the land hit befell soo	*it so happened*
	The qweyn hirself with child can goo.	*got with child*
	A son sche bayr;	*bore*
95	A fayrer child from tope to too	*fairer; head to toe*
	Man never se ayre.	*saw before*

Finis huius.[1]

[1] *The end of this*

Explanatory Notes to the Towneley Plays

Abbreviations: ***Chester***: *The Chester Mystery Cycle*, ed. Lumiansky and Mills (1974); ***CT***: *The Canterbury Tales*, ed. Benson (1987); ***DSL***: *Dictionary of the Scots Language*; **Elliott**: *The Apocryphal New Testament*, ed. Elliott; **EP**: *The Towneley plays*, ed. England and Pollard (1897); ***MED***: *Middle English Dictionary*; **MS**: *Huntington MS HM 1* ("the Towneley manuscript"); ***N-Town***: *The N-Town Plays*, ed. Sugano (2007); ***OED***: *Oxford English Dictionary*; ***REED***: *Records of Early English Drama*; **SC**: *The Towneley Plays*, eds. Stevens and Cawley (1994); **s.d.**: stage direction; **Whiting**: Whiting, *Proverbs, Sentences, and Proverbial Phrases*; ***York***: *The York Corpus Christi Plays*, ed. Davidson (2011).

1. The Creation

All Middle English creation plays are based on the biblical account in Genesis 1, but divide the material differently. Both N-Town and Chester have separate pageants representing the creation of the heavens and the fall of the angels on the one hand, and the creation of the world and the creation and fall of Adam and Eve on the other, while York divides the latter material into a series of five separate pageants. The Towneley version, while now fragmentary due to missing leaves, evidently included all of this material as part of a single play. Yet this play was itself a compilation: the portion of the text dealing with the fall of angels appears to be an interpolation into a monologue by God (written in a fairly regular *aabccb* stanza form, unlike the varied intervening material); similarly, the switch at the end of God's (continued) monologue into couplets likely indicates a change in source material. The story of the creation and fall of the angels is not biblical, but is traditionally associated with the first day of creation, as represented in the pageants of York, Chester, and N-Town. Towneley alone places it immediately after the fifth day, further indicating that this episode is an interpolation, and perhaps not an especially well-considered one.

The extant play breaks off shortly after Lucifer's (re-)entrance and prior to any actual temptation of Adam and Eve; four leaves are apparently missing here, which to judge by the length of what remains of the play (267 lines on two leaves) could have contained well over 500 additional lines. It is difficult now to imagine what all might have been included: the York pageants of the temptation and fall and of the expulsion from Eden together contain only 341 lines (as opposed to 528 lines in the previous four pageants, effectively covering everything in the extant Towneley play, consisting of two leaves). It is possible that the gathering originally consisted of fewer than eight leaves, or that two leaves (that is, the bifolium from the center of the gathering) were removed and discarded for other reasons, such as an error in transcription or duplication of material, which in turn led to the accidental loss of two more leaves.

Before 1 The addition of the name "Wakefeld" to an otherwise common invocation remains curious, especially given its repetition after the title of the third (but no other) pageant, of Noah and the flood. While often assumed to indicate that the plays themselves belonged to the town of Wakefield in the West Riding of Yorkshire, "Wakefeld" could perhaps name the scribe, or the location at the time of transcription. For more, see the Introduction to this volume, pp. 13–15, and Figure 1, p. 20.

1–2 *Ego sum alpha . . . the last also*. These lines are adapted from Apocalypse (1:8, 21:6, and 22:13); the Latin line similarly opens the Creation plays of York, Chester, and N-Town.

5–6 *Fader and Son and Holy Goost / One God in Trinyté*. At the outset of the play, prior to the creation of anything else, God asserts the doctrine of the Trinity — God as three distinct 'persons' sharing one essential, divine nature: Father, Son (Jesus), and Holy Spirit.

23–24 *Darknes from light . . . serve and be*. The division of darkness and light (see Genesis 1:4) to form day and night itself creates time and temporality.

33–34 *And parte ather from othere / Water above*. That is, divide the water that is to be on the earth, under the newly-created firmament or heavens, from the water above. See Genesis 1:6–7.

50 *the planettys seven*. The seven planets of pre-Copernican cosmology included both the sun and the moon (already named in the previous line) along with Saturn, Mars, Jupiter, Venus, and Mercury.

61–76 *Oure lord God . . . . make of noght*. Cherubin's speech is in couplets, in contrast to the tail-rhymed stanzas of God's lines (aside from lines 198–203), and interrupts the creation of the world, likely indicating an interpolation; God's creative activity continues after the fall of the bad angels, but without explicit reference to the sixth (or the seventh) day. Lucifer speaks primarily in a 5-line tail-rhyme stanza form (*aabab*), perhaps a deliberate echo or parody of God's (*aabccb*) speech, until line 104 when he switches to couplets.

76, s.d. *Hic . . . Lucifer sedebit in eodem solio*. While this stage direction — unusually written in the right margin, separated from Cherubin's speech by a vertical red line — implies that Lucifer sits in God's throne as soon as it is empty, subsequent lines indicate otherwise; he sits only after line 103 ("My sete shall be ther as was his"), at which point he also begins to speak in couplets, as noted.

91 *My myght may nothyng kon*. That is, no other being can comprehend my strength (rephrasing the previous line).

129 *therof a leke what rekys us*. To "not care a leek" is to care not at all; see *MED lek* (n.), sense 1c) and Whiting L183.

131, s.d. *Therfor will I . . . et dicit primus.* As in the first of the York pageants, God does not explicitly or actively cast the bad angels out of heaven; rather, they fall due to their own actions. When he attempts to fly, Lucifer falls, along with the two bad angels. Two demons then appear and lament what has occurred. While they clearly represent fallen angels (see line 134), these two demons may or may not be played by the same actors who play the two bad angels prior to their fall: the reference to demons (*demones*) rather than bad angels both in the stage direction and in subsequent speech headings, along with the apparent disappearance of Lucifer after the fall (he does not speak again until he appears in Eden, and Demon 2 refers to him here only in the third person), may indicate that all three of the actors who 'fall' with Lucifer should simply vanish, out of sight of the audience, and be replaced by their demonic doubles; these two actors then presumably exit from an area below the stage, proper, on the level of the audience, whom Demon 2 later addresses as "ye all that standys beside" (line 157).

132 *welowo*. "Wellaway" (spelled in various ways in the MS), like "alas" in the same line, is a common "exclamation expressive of grief, dismay, or regret" (*MED wei-la-wei* (interj.), sense 1).

137 *And ugly, tatyrd as a foyll*. As SC point out, the line alludes to the traditional "jagged or slashed costume of a court jester" (SC p. 440). In Langland's *Piers Plowman* (Prol.75 and 16.89), the devil is called a "rageman" or "ragman" (see also the Judgment play, 27.326–27 and note).

142 *Thou has maide neyn; there was ten*. See note to lines 254–57 below.

151 *syn*. Isaiah 59:2 specifies that sin divides the sinner from God, a separation here made visible.

159 *all unpeasse*. The *MED* cites this line in support of its definition of *unpes* (n.) as "inquietude of mind or spirit, lack of mental peace, discontent, distress; also, the absence or lack of reconciliation with God" (sense b).

198 *Heris thou, Adam and Eve thi wife*. This line, which begins a sequence in couplets that ends the extant play, also seems at odds with the preceding instruction to the Cherubin to take the couple to Eden "And leyf them there in peasse" (line 197). The pattern of God's preceding lines (and those in parallel plays) might lead one to expect reference here to the conclusion of the sixth day, and perhaps conclusion of the play itself.

199 *the tre of life*. The tree of life is explicitly separate from the tree of knowledge in the biblical account (see Genesis 2:9, 17) but the two are frequently conflated as they are here and in two other Towneley plays — see 3.50 and 7.c.26.

209 *man to be oure feere*. Humankind is created to replace Lucifer and the fallen tenth order, set apart from the rest of earthly creation as a companion to the heavenly angels. See lines 215 and 254–57 (and note, below).

254–57 *Ten orders in heven . . . . with me.* Of the traditional nine orders of angels, only "Cherubin" is explicitly represented here, along with Lucifer and the other fallen — the tenth order, whose place in the order of creation is to be taken by humankind, as mentioned in lines 209 (see note, above) and 262–65. In the Chester Creation play, prior to his fall, Lucifer names all nine (*Chester* 1.52–59), and each is given a speaking role, although not quite in their hierarchical order, which is further divided by tradition into triads or spheres as follows: Seraphim, Cherubim, Thrones; Dominions, Virtues, Powers; Principalities, Archangels, Angels.

2. THE KILLING OF ABEL

The primary source for the story of Cain and his brother Abel is Genesis 4. The unbiblical and anachronistic presence of the boy, Pikeharness, provides an interesting but problematic connection to the now-incomplete *York* pageant, into which an episode involving a similar character, the servant Brewbarret, has been interpolated; it is impossible now to know whether, or which, one of these characters was created in conscious imitation of the other, particularly given the absence of two leaves from the York manuscript at this point. The Towneley play's highly colloquial, often obscene and sometimes obscure language poses difficulties, but has also rendered it one of the most popular in the collection, for students and critics alike. Other issues that have attracted significant critical attention include Cain's plow-team (see the note to line 25, below) and Cain's request to be buried in "in Gudeboure at the quarell hede" (line 370), which provides the sole clear reference in any of the Towneley plays to Wakefield as a place. A. C. Cawley included this play in his edition of what he called *The Wakefield Pageants in the Towneley Cycle*, although only the final stanzas resemble the particular 13-line 'bob and wheel' form identified with the so-called 'Wakefield Master.' Indeed, as Stevens and Cawley point out, the text of this play "contains virtually every form of versification that can be found" in the manuscript as a whole (SC p. 441).

Before 1 *Mactacio Abel, secunda pagina*. This is only numbered play in the manuscript and, while the text arguably focuses more attention on Cain as a character and on themes such as master-servant relations and tithing, the title directs attention toward the typologically significant death of Abel, which traditionally prefigures that of Christ.

3 *Be peasse youre dyn*. That is, be quiet.

7 *my blak hoill bore*. That is, his anus. Cain will repeatedly tell Abel to kiss the Devil's ass (see lines 65, 268, and 289), as well as his (line 61).

21 *Bot let youre lippis cover youre ten*. Let your lips cover your teeth (which precludes speech, snarling, and laughter).

25 *Io furth, Greynhorne, and war oute, Gryme*. "Yo" is an interjection used (especially in conjunction with "forth") to drive animals forward; see also lines 42 and 57, and 18.1. Cain's plow-team has been the subject of scholarly debate, but appears to consist of eight possibly imaginary animals. "Down" (line 29) is explicitly a horse (see line 441's "Don;" "Donnyng" of line 32 is likely the same beast, referred to as a "mare" at line 35), and "Morell" (lines 42 and 57) usually means a dark-colored horse, while "Greynhorne" here and "Whitehorn" at line 42 are, for obvious reasons, more likely oxen. "Stott" (line 41) most often refers to a young ox or steer (see 9.748), but can also mean a horse, or a heifer (as glossed by SC p. 714), while a mare (lines 28, 35) can be a horse of either sex. The last two are "Mall" (line 41) and "Lemyng" (line 42).

26 *God gif you ill to tyme*. That is, may you fare badly (*MED timen* (v.)).

39 *What, boy, shal I both hold and drife*. That is, shall I both hold the plow and drive the team, rather than having you help me, boy?

43 *Now will ye not se how thay hy*. Cain was having trouble driving his supposed team forward, but the Boy apparently entices them forward with food — hence Cain's response that their refusal to obey him due to "Want of mete" (line 45). The Boy then claims to have been leaving food behind them, and stones in the hay-racks (lines 46–49).

50–51 *That shall bi . . . agane as right*. Cain evidently slaps the boy in the face, and the boy strikes back.

55 *Wé*. This common interjection, indicating surprise, grief, anger, or emphasis, is used especially frequently in this play, often with the force of a rude expletive.

57 *Harrer . . . hyte*. Both "harrer" and "hyte" (*MED harri* (interj.) and *hait* (interj.)) are conventional cries to drive an animal forward, as is "io furth" (see line 25 and note; also see 18.1).

58 *let the plogh stand*. It is unclear what should happen to the team of animals at this point, if indeed they exist; nor is it clear what becomes of the boy. While Abel greets both Cain "and thi man" (line 60) upon his entrance, the boy does not again speak until after Abel's death, when Cain calls him (at line 386). However, the plough itself apparently remains in place until near the end of the play (see line 455 and note, below).

62 *As welcom standys ther oute*. That is, your absence would be more welcome than is your presence — go away!

66–67 *Go grese thi shepe . . . the moste lefe*. Go grease your sheep's ass, since that is what is most pleasing to you. These lines, with their innuendo of bestiality, ultimately refer to Genesis 4:4–5, where God is said to prefer Abel's offering "of the

firstlings of his flock, and of their fat" (translating the Vulgate's *de primogenitis gregis sui, et de adipibus eorum*) to Cain's offerings.

74–75 *Oure fader us bad, our fader us kend / That oure tend shuld be brend.* That is, our father Adam taught us that God, our heavenly father, commanded us to burn our tithes. Leviticus 27:30–33, for example specifies that one tenth of all crops and animals belongs to God, while other biblical passages (such as Deuteronomy 12:6) associate tithes with burnt offerings, but these were not actually the same thing.

79 *Corne or catall wheder it be.* The term *catall* can refer to any property or chattel, but here refers to livestock — more particularly sheep rather than cattle in the modern, bovine sense. As in Genesis 4:2–4, Cain is a farmer whose tithe is to be made in sheaves of grain, whereas Abel is a shepherd, and traditionally offers up a lamb as his burnt offering, which also associates him with Jesus as the Lamb of God.

90 *strokid the hay.* That is, where she wiped her ass.

97 *What gifys God thee to rose hym so*. That is, what does God give you to make you praise him so much?

102 *here my hand.* Cain is raising his hand in oath, and/or perhaps in a rude gesture. The manuscript here has the plural "hend" (see Textual Note), bracketed as rhyming with line 105 ("brend"), although it should evidently rhyme with lines 106 ("hand") and 108 ("walkand"); the gesture demands a single hand.

150 *Wemay*. An exclamation of impatience or surprise, related to "we" (see note to line 55 above); several variations appear in the Towneley plays (but rarely elsewhere), including *wemo* at line 200 in this play.

184 *Ryse, let me now*. Abel is apparently kneeling before the burning altar; Cain impatiently demands his turn, although his sacrifice is not yet ready, and his eventual sacrifice will not burn properly (see lines 276–88). Nor is it clear that Cain kneels meekly like his brother: his reference to his use of "thise two shankys" in line 188 suggests that he remains standing to give his "unthankys" (line 189).

224 *teynd right of all bedeyn.* Abel tells Cain to give a tenth of all he has, rather than just one ("of the warst" as he says in line 226) of the ten sheaves that he has just counted, or deliberately miscounted, given the repetition of numbers in the preceding lines.

227–29 *Wé com nar . . . . I wynk.* Cain tells Abel to cover his (Cain's) eyes in order to prevent him from choosing only the worst sheaves of corn, but ultimately opts to close his eyes himself, or pretends to do so; "in the wenyand" (line 228) is a mild curse, the waning moon being considered unlucky.

277 *haro*. "Harrow" is a common cry of anger or distress in Middle English, a means of sounding an alarm, and "to cry harrow" is to denounce something or someone (see *MED harou* (interj. & n.)). The interjection is used in several of the Towneley plays as in the York plays.

299–300 *hob over the wall . . . so small. Hob* is a familiar form of the name *Robert* (see *MED Hobbe* (n.)) or *Robin*, often used to refer to a rustic clown or to a hob-goblin or sprite (specifically Robin Goodfellow, or Puck). The reference to a wall could possibly indicate that God was expected to appear in production above the stage, proper, or that his voice was to be heard from behind or beyond the stage, unseen. This could account for the belittling reference to his "small" voice, although this could also be obvious sarcasm; on the other hand, God is said to speak to Elijah in "a still small voice" according to the King James translation of 1 Kings 19:12 (3 Kings 19:12 in the Vulgate, translated in the Douay-Rheims version as "a whistling of gentle air").

313 *we have a craw to pull*. Proverbial. See Whiting C572.

326 *cheke bon*. Tradition has Cain use the jawbone of a donkey as his murder weapon, as does Sampson in Judges 15:15.

358 *dele aboute thee, for I will none*. That is, give your curse (*malison*, line 358) to yourself, since I do not want it.

360–63 *Syn I have . . . . fro thi face*. Cain's expression of despair, with its inherent refusal of the possibility of God's grace and forgiveness, traditionally what keeps him condemned in hell, along with those who committed suicide, when others are set free at the Harrowing (see 22.334–36 and 23.311–24 and notes).

369 *Bery me in Gudeboure at the quarell hede*. Goody Bower, near the parish church (now cathedral) in Wakefield, was the site of a quarry (as well as of the original Queen Elizabeth Grammar School, founded by Royal Charter in 1591, and built of stone quarried there). For more on Wakefield, see Introduction, pp. 4–8.

395 *I did it bot to use my hand*. Chaucer's Wife of Bath similarly justifies her lechery as simple and appropriate use of her God-given anatomy: "In wyfhod I wol use myn instrument / As freely as my Makere hath it sent" (*CT* III[D] 149–50).

399 *bayn*. "Bayn" could mean "murderer" (as suggested by the line's inclusion in the *OED* and *MED* alike under *bane* (n.), sense 1), namely, Cain himself, but here more likely means "bones" or "corpse" (*MED bon* (n.1), sense 7) — that is, Cain is asking the boy to dispose of Abel's body.

402 *Godys payn*. The phrase is richly ambiguous, suggesting both punishment by God (unless the boy stops speaking) and, anachronistically, the pain and suffering of Jesus, as well as the penalty (*MED peine* (n.), sense 1c) that he paid on behalf of

humanity, not to mention God's bread (*MED pain* (n.)), the sacramental wafer that, in the Mass, becomes his body.

410–11 *What, wilt thou cry my peasse / Thrughout this land*. To "cry" here means to make a public proclamation (*MED crien* (v.), sense 7c, citing these lines), while "my peasse" signifies (royal) protection (see *MED pes* (n.), sense 6d).

417 *Full slape of thrift then shal he be*. He will be very slippery of fortune – that is, very fortunate, as glossed by SC (p. 709), but with the implication of cunning deception.

436 *This same is he that slo his brother*. Here the boy finishes Cain's sentence all too appropriately, so Cain starts again, several times, but never finishes the sentence himself.

438 *ill spon weft ay comes foule out*. That is, badly-spun wool will result in poorly woven cloth, or what is flawed from the start will remain flawed. The same proverb is used in the second Shepherds play, at 9.848–49. See Whiting W571.

439 *Long or thou get thi hoyse*. All children were similarly dressed until around age seven when boys were "breeched"; this "boy" (in the sense of "servant") is likely much older than that, but is being mocked.

442 *com downe in twenty dwill way*. The same phrase, an intensive variant of the common phrase "in the devil's way" (see lines 91 and 453), effectively a synonym for "away" expressing impatience or annoyance, is used both in the Offering of the Magi (10.465) and in the Conspiracy play (17.224). The boy has apparently climbed somewhere out of Cain's reach.

454 *take yond plogh*. The plough has evidently remained onstage since before Abel's entrance (see line 58 and note); the boy is now instructed to take it offstage. Before making his own exit, Cain threatens to hang the boy "apon this plo / With this rope" (lines 463–64) should he trouble him further, swearing anachronistically "By hym that me dere boght" (line 465). In his final separation from Cain, leaving with the plow, the boy is arguably aligned figuratively the medieval tradition of the plowman as good and humble Christian, as exemplified by Langland's Piers Plowman and Chaucer's plowman.

3. NOAH

The biblical source of the Noah play is Genesis 6–8; Genesis 9 includes God's post-flood blessing and injunction to procreate, along with the sign of the rainbow as divine promise never again to destroy the earth in this way, none of which is included in the play. Genesis 9 also focuses specifically, even exclusively, on Noah and his sons, much as per the manuscript title of the play (see the note to before 1, below), whereas the previous three chapters refer to their wives as well. The play itself focuses on the belligerent relationship between Noah and his wife, who — much like her counterparts in York and Chester, but with more force and less obvious reason — refuses to board the ark. This is the first of the

Towneley plays written entirely in the 13-line 'bob and wheel' stanza (arranged in the manuscript as a 9-line stanza with internal rhymes) that is associated with the putative 'Wakefield Master' — so called in part because "Wakefeld" is written beside this play's title. However, the meaning of that inscription remains unclear.

Before 1 *Processus Noe cum filiis. Wakefeld*. Underneath this title, in red, is a red paragraph sign, followed by a heavy black line written over an erasure. As at the beginning of the manuscript, the relation of the name "Wakefeld" to the rest of the title is unclear; it could relate to what is now erased (also originally in red). Nor does the reference to "Noah with his Sons" reflect the emphasis of the play on Noah's wife more than on his sons, named in the text as "Sem, Japhet, and Came" (line 206) but — like their wives — differentiated in speech headings only by number.

66 *Oyle of mercy*. According to a legend derived from sources such as the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus (see for instance Hulme, *Middle-English Harrowing of Hell*, pp. 100–02, lines 1249–80), Adam sends his son Seth to Paradise to retrieve a few drops of the oil of the Tree of Mercy to relieve the pain of death, but Seth is told that he will have to wait until the end of times; in some versions (see Hulme, p. l) he returns instead with seeds from the Tree of Life, which grow into a tree, ultimately producing wood for the Ark, for Moses' rod that opened the way to cross the Red Sea, and for Jesus' cross.

75–77 *Som in pride . . . . and lechery*. These lines name the traditional seven deadly sins, which are dealt with more fully in the Judgment play; see especially 27.443-46 and note.

79–82 *Therfor I drede . . . . without any repentance*. SC read these lines as meaning "Therefore I dread that God will take vengeance on us [who] are now ruined because of sin without repentance" (SC p. 448n79–82; see *MED alod* (pred. adj.), citing this instance); however, the lines can be read simply as stating a fear that God will take vengeance on all because sin is now, generally, unrepentantly sanctioned or commended — that is, allowed (see *MED allouen* (v.)).

83 *Sex hundreth yeris and od*. According to Genesis 7:6, Noah was 600 years old at the time of the flood itself; in the York plays, Noah refers to his having taken a century to build the ark (*York* 9.133–34), suggesting that he started this work around the time that his sons were born (see Genesis 5:31).

157 *Hym to mekill wyn*. That is, to increase his joy, or to his great joy (or profit).

180 *Thre hundreth cubettys*. A cubit, an ancient and biblical rather than medieval measurement, was roughly the length of a human forearm; the ark 'built' in performance would have been far smaller in its dimensions, and likely prefabricated for swift assembly (see note to line 362 below).

188 *Thre chese chambres*. That is, three tiered rooms, or three stories, following Genesis 6:16; see also line 406, and *OED chess* (n.2).

192–95 *Make in thi ship . . . . ther must be*. This passage goes beyond the biblical description of the ark (see Genesis 6:14–16) in its specification of interior details including "parloures," or private chambers, and "houses of offyce" — a term that normally refers to latrines, or storehouses, but which in this context likely means stables (as glossed by SC p. 683) for the "beestys."

219 *Of ich kynd beestys two.* See Genesis 6:20; Genesis 7:2–3 specifies taking aboard seven pairs of all ritually clean (and thus edible) animals, and of all birds, and two of everything else.

273, s.d. *Tunc perget ad uxorem*. Noah's wife is unnamed and barely mentioned in the biblical account, but is often treated in medieval sources (including Chaucer's Miller's Tale) as the archetypal shrewish wife.

290 *Stafford blew.* "Stafford blue" is a type of blue cloth, but here punningly signifies bruising from a beating with a staff.

300 *We women*. The wife here addresses the women in the audience (see lines 567–68), but perhaps also her sons' wives, who speak in lines 512–22.

303 *That lowsyd me of my bandys*. During the conventional month-long 'lying in' following birth, also known as "our Lady's bands," sexual and other activity was not permitted, making this at least potentially a time of rest and social pleasure, in the exclusive company of women.

315 *By my thryft*. That is, by my luck, or, as I hope to prosper — a common oath.

318 *Gill.* Gill (or Jill) may be the wife's name (see also the second Shepherds play, where it is the name of Mak's wife), but is also a contemptuous nickname for a woman, and homonymous with the word for guile or deceit (see *MED gile* (n.3)). The language that follows clearly indicates a physical fight.

322–23 *I shal not in thi det / Flyt of this flett.* That is, she will not lose this fight. The following lines indicate further physical action: reference to a "languet," a thong used to tie up men's hose (*MED langet* (n.), sense c), could mean that she kicks him with her shoe or that she hits him with something else — "languet" (literally "little tongue" in French) can also refer to the projecting sides of a spade (see *OED languet* (n.), etymology and sense 2b).

329 *Godys pyne*. That is, anachronistically, Christ's passion or suffering.

359–60 *I may sit downe daw / To ken.* "To sit down" here means "to put up with," while a "daw" is a fool or, in this context, a sluggard, and "to ken" means "to make known" — hence, "I may have to put up with being known as a lazy fool."

362 *wrightry*. In the York pageant of the building of the ark, produced by York's Shipwrights, Noah's professed ignorance of "shippecraft" (*York* 8.67) is followed swiftly by a fairly detailed technical description of his work and tools. The ark

itself, however, was likely prefabricated, as suggested here by Noah's measurement of the length, breadth, and height of the ark (lines 373–77) even before he casts off his gown to begin work (lines 378–79).

363–64 *In nomine patris, et filii, / Et spiritus sancti. Amen.* Noah's anachronistic use of the Trinitarian formula, adopted from Matthew 28:19, emphasizes the concept of the Trinity as pre-existing the birth of Jesus; see also 1.5–6, and 15.185–90.

391–93 *The top . . . . and the castell.* The "top" is a platform on a mast; the "castle" is any tall structure on the deck.

430–31 *garn on the reyll / Other.* Noah refers to having other plans than fleeing alone, as his wife has just suggested (lines 428–29), but his spinning metaphor is apt. Noah's wife will later be seen spinning actual yarn with a spindle and reel (see lines 488–90 and 528–29), and is likely holding if not already using her distaff (or "rok," line 490) which holds the unspun fibers. The distaff is also a traditional symbol of Eve.

464 *Brether, sam.* The word "sam" could be parsed here either as an adverb ("Brothers together" — see line 457: "Trus sam") or as an imperative verb ("Brothers, come together").

491 *Well were he myght get me.* That is, one would have to be lucky to catch me.

499–500 *the planettys seven / Left has thare stall.* Even the planets in the heavens (see 1.50–51) have left their position (orbiting around the earth) under the power of this flood from heaven.

505–06 *Full sharp ar thise showers / That renys aboute.* SC (p. 708) gloss showers here as "attack (of pain), pant" (see *MED shour* (n.), sense 4), which is possible, although the more usual meaning, of rain showers, seems more likely here (but see 9.140 and 26.401).

510 *go cloute thi shone.* Proverbial. See Whiting S259.

527 *Set I not a pyn.* I do not set the value (of the gain or loss of your fellowship) as high as that of a pin — that is, our relationship is worthless. Proverbial. See Whiting P212.

528–530 *This spyndill will . . . . styr oone fote.* The wife asserts that she will wind the spun yarn off the spindle, and onto the reel, before she leaves the hill.

531 *Peter, I traw we dote.* By Saint Peter, I think that we are — or that she is — acting foolishly.

543–44 *I will not . . . Go from doore to mydyng.* That is, I will not take a single step at your bidding. The term "midden" can refer either to an outdoor toilet or to a dump for kitchen refuse (see *MED midding* (n.) and *OED midden* (n.)).

554 *Wat Wynk*. This mocking alliterative nickname (compare "Nicholl Nedy" at line 585) could be translated as "Sleepy Walt" ("Wat" being a short form of Walter; see also *MED winke* (n.)).

562–65 *Might I onys . . . . penny doyll*. That is, if only I could be a widow, I would happily pay to have mass said on behalf of your soul; see the note to 9.361–64.

567 *on this sole*. The word *sole* here could refer to any level site, as glossed by SC (p. 710; see *MED sole* (n.), sense 2d, citing this line but with a question mark); however, it likely refers to the floor or foundation of a building (*OED sole* (n.1), sense 3a, also citing this line), suggesting indoor performance.

585 *Nicholl Nedy*. See note to line 554, above.

587 *Begynnar of blunder*. The phrase alludes to Eve; see the note to lines 430–31 above.

603 *Thise ar so hidus*. A word may be missing here. SC emend the line to read "Thise [weders] ar so hidus," (p. 42) citing a similar line in the second Shepherds play (9.83).

611 *the seven starnes*. While the planets (including the sun and moon; see lines 499–500 as well as 1.50–51 and note) were sometimes referred to as the "seven stars" (as glossed by SC p. 713, *starne*), the likely reference here is to the Pleiades constellation, also known as the Seven Sisters, and used for nighttime navigation.

636–37 *This travell I expownd / Had I to tyne*. That is, this effort is wasted.

661 *Thre hundreth dayes and fyfty*. According to the biblical account, the flood began "in the second month, in the seventeenth day of the month" (Genesis 7:11) and, including the forty days of rain, lasted just over a year: "In the second month, the seven and twentieth day of the month, the earth was dried" (Genesis 8:14). See also the note to lines 690–91, below.

666 *Now long shall thou hufe*. SC emend to "How long shall thou hufe?" (p. 44). However, the next lines imply that Noah uses an oar to sound the depth, in which case the wife may simply be telling him that, unless he uses a line as she suggests (line 667), he can expect to be there for a while due to the (presumed) depth of the water.

674 *hyllys of Armonye*. Genesis 8:4 refers in Hebrew to the mountains of Ararat, which the Vulgate translates as "montes Armeniae."

690–91 *For this is the fyrst day / Of the tent moyne*. According to Genesis 8:5–6, the tops of mountains appear "in the tenth month, the first day of the month," but the raven is sent out much later, "after that forty days were passed," where here it apparently happens immediately.

700 *Dowfys, oone or two*. In the biblical account, Noah sends out a single dove, but three times, at seven-day intervals: the dove returns with an olive branch in its beak only the second time (Genesis 8:11), and fails to return from the third flight. Reference here to more than one dove appears to be an accommodation of rhyme; subsequent lines (729–45) refer only to one, specifically female dove — likely a prop, as stage directions make clear for some plays, including the Chester Noah pageant (see *Chester*, Appendix IA, 1:464), although both live and artificial birds could be used in some cases (see Meredith and Tailby, *The Staging of Religious Drama*, pp. 118–19).

735–36 *She bryngys in her bill / Som novels new*. "Novels" means "news" or "novelties;" the olive branch is not merely something new in itself, but signifies or announces a new beginning.

4. ABRAHAM

The concluding lines of this play are lost, along with the beginning of the next, due to a pair of missing leaves; given the line count on adjacent pages, the loss could amount to more than 200 lines in total. However, the Abraham play is very nearly complete as it stands, covering all of the narrative of the biblical source (Genesis 22:1–19) other than the actual sacrifice of the ram (which could nonetheless be performed; see note to line 283, below) and a final blessing (voiced by the angel in the biblical text, as in *York* 10.335–50) before the return home. The bulk of the missing material, then, likely belonged to the Isaac play that follows.

Before 1 *Sequitur Abraham*. This phrase uniquely repeats the end of the explicit for the previous play, Noah.

1 *Adonay*. The name of God (the Tetragrammaton based on Exodus 3:14, most often transliterated as Yahweh or "Jehovah" in early translations of the Bible) is not pronounced in Jewish tradition; Adonai, meaning "lord," served as the primary spoken substitute, finding its way into Christian tradition.

6 *oyle of mercy*. See note to 3.66.

20 *More then thre hundreth yere*. According to Genesis 5:5, Adam lived for 930 years. The manuscript has *CCC* (300), which should read *DCCCC* (as noted in SC p. 455n20 but otherwise unemended).

29–30 *And Loth fro Sodome . . . yit eschapyd he*. Sodom and Gomorrah have become synonymous with unrepentant sin, but were destroyed along with two other cities, not just a third as suggested here; of the five 'cities of the plain' only one — Bela or Zoar (see Genesis 19:20–25) — was spared as a refuge for Lot. "Thre" could be a misreading of a word such as "Thof" ("though" — see lines 123, 125) or "There." While Lot appears in the Chester play of Abraham, the fall of Sodom is not represented in any extant medieval English plays.

38 *An hundreth yeris certys have I seyn.* See Genesis 21:5.

68 *the land of Visyon.* The Vulgate translation of Genesis 22:2 has God tell Abraham to take Isaac "in terram visionis," for the Hebrew Moriah, the hill that 2 Paralipomenon (Chronicles) 3:1 and subsequent tradition identified with the site of the Temple in Jerusalem.

100 *God hold me long youre life in quart.* That is, may God long keep you safe for my sake.

107, s.d. *Hic transsiet Isaac a patre.* The stage direction is written in the margin beside lines 105–06 and 107–08 (the quatrain being written as two lines) but belongs here.

145 *Ye two here with this asse abide.* Abraham addresses the two servant boys, who will remain with the ass (see Genesis 22:3–5) while Abraham and Isaac climb the hill, possibly moving from ground level onto a stage of some sort. While this is the first mention of the two boys, they should likely appear along with the ass (whether real or artificial) at line 117. Isaac alone rides the ass toward the expected place of sacrifice (see line 136), providing a typological connection to Jesus at his entry into Jerusalem (see Matthew 21:1–11); the Chester Isaac carries wood (signifying the cross) up the hill, as does their York counterpart, who is also represented as being "Thyrty yere and more sumdele" (*York* 10.82) — that is, the age of Jesus at the crucifixion.

191 *no skill.* That is, there is nothing reasonable or right that can be done to avoid the situation.

258 *let thee go.* The angel is holding Abraham (or his sword) back to prevent him from killing Isaac. Abraham apparently then realizes what is happening, and prostrates himself before the angel — hence the order to stand in the next line.

262 *sendys this beest to thyn offerand.* In Genesis 22:13, Abraham sees a ram caught in a bush, which he then offers as sacrifice in place of Isaac.

264 *And do as he me command.* SC emend the original *doyng* – here emended to *do as* – to *do and*, where *and* is used in the sense of "if," arguing that the scribe mistook *do and* for a form of the present participle (p. 456n263–64). However, they gloss the line as here emended, without any conditional sense.

283 *put up youre sword agayn.* Abraham is presumably still holding his sword in order to sacrifice the ram; if the ram is slaughtered onstage after line 280, perhaps the sole opportunity in the extant portion of the play, the sword could be bloody.

5. ISAAC AND JACOB

While presented as separate works in the manuscript, the incomplete play of Isaac and the Jacob play that follows effectively form a single unit, with a continuous narrative involving the same characters written entirely in couplets; the subject — the feud between Isaac's twin

sons, Jacob and Esau, based on Genesis 25–33 — is unique in early English biblical drama. This edition therefore treats them as a single play, but respects the original manuscript division into two parts or pageants, giving separate lineation and retaining the original manuscript titles. It is impossible to know what exactly is missing from the Isaac pageant, but the action could well have begun with the episode in Genesis 25 in which a hungry Esau, the firstborn and Isaac's favorite, sells his birthright to Jacob, favored by their mother, Rebecca, for a bowl of lentil stew. The extant pageant begins with Jacob's gaining his father's blessing by deceit. Just prior to this in the biblical account, blind Isaac asks Esau to go hunting and to prepare a meal for him; Rebecca cooks meat and has Jacob bring it to his father, wearing Esau's clothing in order to smell like him, and with the skin of young goats wrapped around his arms and neck so that he better resembles his hairier brother (Genesis 27:1–17). The pageant continues with the encounter between Isaac and Esau, who realize the deception. Jacob is then sent away into Mesopotamia (line 58) for his protection; he is still on his way there at the beginning of the Jacob pageant, when he encounters God in a dream. A more significant break in the action occurs after this, when he returns to the land of his birth, suddenly accompanied by his wives and children and "two ostes of men" (line 5.b.68). The existing division between plays is likely an error: a copyist (whether the Towneley scribe or someone responsible for transcribing an earlier original) was perhaps confronted by a leaf beginning with a speech heading for Jacob, following a leaf that (like many medieval biblical plays) ends with a blessing, and thus mistook these for the ending of one play and the beginning of another. The title "Jacob" may have been supplied from this initial speech heading or from an explicit or colophon, the most common placement for a title; the now-separate first part of the play could then have been entitled "Isaac" in order to differentiate it from what followed.

5.a. ISAAC

36–40 *Now alas . . . . I shall hym slo*. Esau's lines here are addressed to the audience, and immediately precede his (unmarked) exit; he returns only at the end of the Jacob pageant.

42 *in kynd of Heth.* The Hittites were neighboring Canaanites, into which Esau has already married (Genesis 26:34).

43–44 *I will send hym to Aran . . . Laban*. See Genesis 27:43.

60 *besyde Jordan streme*. The Jordan river is far from Laban's home in Haran, in what is now Turkey; it is likely named here due to Genesis 32:10, in which Jacob refers to having crossed the Jordan when he initially left home to seek refuge with Laban.

5.b. JACOB

1 *Lord Adonay*. See note to 4.1.

37 *That God leynyd hym to a stegh.* This line translates Genesis 28:13 in the Vulgate: "Dominum innixum scalae." According to Genesis 28:11–12, this ladder stood on the earth and reached up to heaven, and accommodated the ascent and

descent of angels. God's later appearance in the form of an angel (line 84, s.d.; see note below) may indicate that an actual ladder or staircase was to be used onstage, leading to an upper level signifying heaven, from which God could descend (in the form of an angel; see note to line 84, s.d. below).

58, s.d. *Hic egrediatur Iacob de Aran in terram natiuitatis sue.* This stage direction effectively covers a gap of fourteen years during which Jacob worked for his uncle Laban, Rebecca's brother (see 5.a.59), and married Laban's daughters Leah and Rachel, prior to returning to Canaan.

70 *To multyplye my seede as sand of see.* See Genesis 32:12.

74 *These moders with thare barne-teme.* Jacob fathered twelve sons and a daughter, through two concubines as well as his two wives, but only Rachel's children, Joseph and Benjamin, are named in the play (line 117); in the biblical account Rachel dies giving birth to Benjamin (Genesis 35:16–19) well after their arrival in Canaan and the reconciliation with Esau.

84, s.d. *Hic scrutetur superlectile et luctetur angelus cum eo.* According to Genesis 32:24, a mysterious man wrestles with Jacob until morning and is subsequently recognized as a manifestation of God (see Genesis 32:30); Hosea 12:4 refers to this wrestler as an angel. In the play, as indicated by subsequent speech headings, this is God in the form of an angel, not an additional character.

110 *This place shall hight Fanuell.* See Genesis 32:30, which translates the Vulgate "Phanuhel" (Peniel or Penuel) meaning "face of God."

114, s.d. *Hic diuidit turmas in tres partes.* This division of those accompanying Jacob is based on Genesis 33:1–2. Facing what he thinks might be a hostile army sent by Esau, Jacob puts his two concubines and their children in front of Leah and her children, with Rachel and Joseph (see note to line 74, above, for Benjamin, named at line 117) safely in the rear ("in the last eschele," as in line 115). The "crowd" here would also include any supernumeraries onstage constituting the "two ostes of men" mentioned at line 68; however, these "hosts" could signify the audience itself.

140–41 *Go we togeder . . . and his wife.* This line suggests that the play as a whole should end with the reappearance of Isaac and Rebecca from the Isaac pageant; staging the reunion of the two sons with their parents at this point in the narrative has no biblical warrant.

6. PHARAOH

In the manuscript, this play follows the incomplete and misplaced Prophets pageant, reordered in this edition and rendered part of the Advent sequence. The misplacement could in part be due to Moses' being the first speaker in the Prophets pageant; the title given the play (much as for the Jacob pageant as explained above) could have been derived

from the first speech heading (on a presumably untitled exemplar), rather than from the importance of the Pharaoh in relation to Moses. The Pharaoh play itself closely parallels the Hosiers' pageant from York, from which it was clearly borrowed. Differences between the texts range from minor linguistic or stylistic variations to the presence or absence of entire lines and stanzas; several lines missing from the Towneley text can and likely should be supplied from York, while three isolated quatrains and the final 12-line stanza from Towneley are without parallel in York. SC suggest that the three quatrains may be "the remnants of full twelve-line stanzas" from the hypothetical copy-text for the Towneley play (p. 465), namely, an earlier version of what was copied into the official extant York Register in the late fifteenth century. However, as they note, all of these apparent interpolations continue the rhyme scheme of the final four lines or *cauda* of the preceding 12-line stanza, whereas the existing play has no such repetition between stanzas; nor does any of the interpolated material echo the likely source of the York pageant and its stanza form, namely, *The Middle English Metrical Paraphrase of the Old Testament* (see SC, p. 465, citing the work of Richard Beadle). The second of these quatrains, however, closely echoes a significant verse from the original biblical source that is absent from the *Paraphrase* (see note to lines 113–16 below), implying a carefully considered and informed addition to the text — either of the Towneley play or of its immediate source — while the other two add relatively little in comparison. The Towneley text also lacks two counselors that confer with Pharaoh in York, dividing their lines between the two soldiers (*Egiptius* 1 and 2 in the York manuscript). Another notable difference is that Towneley includes stage directions (following lines 88, 108, 391, and 413), which are entirely lacking in the extant York version (see the note to lines 418–30, below). The biblical source for the events represented here is Exodus 2–14.

1 *Peas! Of payn that no man pas.* "On (or 'of') pain" was a standard phrase, often followed by a specific penalty ("of death," or "of xx shillings"). This line is more forceful and alliterative than its parallel in the extant York pageant: "O pees, I bidde that no man passe" (*York* 11.1). Similarly, the reference to "helth" in line 4 reinforces the alliterative pattern of the line, unlike "liff" ("life") in the York text.

5 *Kyng Pharro my fader was*. According to the biblical book of Exodus, Moses knew at least two pharaohs (rulers) of Egypt: one who orders the killing of the firstborn sons (see lines 73–76 and Exodus 1:22) — a fate from which the infant Moses escapes, being subsequently raised by Pharaoh's daughter (as per Exodus 2) — and another whom he as an adult confronts, and who ultimately drowns in the sea pursuing the fleeing Israelites. Both York and Towneley apparently conflate the two (as does the Qur'an), although line 235 (see also *York* 11.223) refers to this Pharaoh's father as having found "Greatt defawte" with Moses. Nonetheless, the "father" referred to here is explicitly the Pharaoh associated with "Joseph, . . . Jacob son" (line 45).

7 *I am hys hayre, as age wyll asse*. I am his heir, as age demands — that is, as first-born son. The form *asse* (to ask or demand; see *MED asken* (v.) sense 5a), emended here from *has* on the basis of the equivalent line in York (see Textual

Note), is also used in this play at line 138 — an instance cited in the *MED* entry for *asken* (v.), sense 5a.

13–16 *Full low he . . . . boste ye blaw*. This quatrain is the first of three without parallel in the York Hosiers' pageant.

19 *put hymself in preasse*. The phrase can mean to get into trouble or find one's self under pressure, but can also refer to coming forward in a crowd, or more specifically coming forward with complaints (*MED presse* (n.), sense 1a(d)), something that would certainly trouble Pharaoh.

40 *Oure lordshyp*. SC, following York, emend the line to read "Youre lordship" (SC p. 466n39–40).

43 *full fell folk ther was fun*. Following York, which refers to "Tho felons folke" (*York* 11.39) in the parallel stanza, "fell" is glossed here as meaning "treacherous" (see *MED fel* (adj.)). However, given the references to population increase, the word could also mean "many" (*MED fele* (indef. num.)).

99 *Byshope Jettyr shepe*. See Exodus 3:1: "Now Moses fed the sheep of Jethro his father in law, the priest of Madian."

105 *A bush I se burnand*. See Exodus 3:2–3. The bush that burns but is not consumed and through which God speaks has been an important symbol throughout Judeo-Christian society and culture.

113–16 *Do of thy shoyes . . . . is halowd well*. This quatrain, the second passage unique to the Towneley text, is essentially a versification of Exodus 3:5, a passage without parallel in *The Middle English Metrical Paraphrase of the Old Testament*. The line "Wyth mowth as I thee mell" literally means "As I tell you with [my] mouth."

129–32 *Bot I wyll . . . . go in hast*. This, the last of the three quatrains unique to the Towneley play, serves as a clear (if arguably unnecessary) transition between the stanzas that precede and follow it.

159–64 *Afore the kyng . . . . by myne intent*. In Exodus 4:2–5, God has Moses throw down his rod in his presence, which then turns into a snake and back into a rod; here the action itself, involving what would doubtless have been an impressive stage effect, is reserved until the scene with Pharaoh at lines 246–57.

186 *I am he that is the same*. This line is an English paraphrase of the preceding line in Latin, from Exodus 3:14, closely associated with the Tetragrammaton, the four-letter Hebrew name of God (not to be spoken within Jewish tradition) usually transliterated (and extended) as Yahweh or, earlier, Jehovah.

199 *God manteyn you*. Moses here addresses the Israelites, having apparently left the area signifying "thys montayn syde" (line 98) where he speaks with God; after line 216 he moves to an area signifying Pharaoh's palace. At lines 368–69, he

will again address the Israelites, having just heard from Pharaoh and company within the same stanza. The distance between parties thus appears to have been minimal, here as in York, where a single wagon stage was likely used both for the mountain and for Pharaoh's palace, while the Israelites may well have remained at street level.

273–76 *the waters . . . . Ar turnyd into reede bloyde*. This is the first of the ten biblical plagues; see Exodus 7:17–21.

283 *For todys and froskys may no man flyt*. The second plague; see Exodus 8:2–14.

285 *Greatte mystys*. The third plague is of gnats; see Exodus 8:16–17.

294 *lykyng land*. The line in the manuscript (unlike its counterpart in *York* 11.282) ends with "lang," which preserves the expected rhyme but not the sense; like "land of lykyng" in line 371 (see note, below), the phrase refers to the promised land.

303 *ragyd the dwyll*. As SC suggest, *ragyd* ("ragged") may be used here as the proper name of a devil (SC p. 469n303); this word is missing from the equivalent line in York. However, it could be a verb ("What, raged the devil . . .") or a misplaced adjective, devils being associated with a ragged appearance (see the note to 1.137). Line 336 in the MS has "the ragyd the dwyll," here emended to "the ragyd dwyll" on the basis of line 412 ("the raggyd dwyll"); the equivalent lines in York all use the unqualified term "devil."

305–07 *Grete loppys over . . . . oure bestys dede ly*. Both York and Towneley conflate the fourth and fifth of the biblical plagues, of flies ("loppys" also means "fleas" but these do not fly) and of a disease affecting livestock. See Exodus 8:21–24 and 9:3–6.

307 *And in every place oure bestys dede ly*. The equivalent line in York begins a four-line speech that includes a line missing from the Towneley stanza: York has *1 Egiptius* respond to a three-line speech by *2 Egiptius*, saying "Lorde, oure beestis lyes dede and dry / Als wele on myddyng als on more," before adding "Both oxe, horse, and asse / Fallis dede doune sodanly" (*York* 11.295–98; see lines 308–09 here, ascribed to Soldier 2).

326–28 *sich powder . . . . man and wyfe*. In Exodus 9:8–10, throwing ashes into the air brings about the sixth plague, of boils, here associated with leprosy (*MED mesel* (n.), sense 2).

329 *Thus ar we hurt with hayll and rayn*. For the seventh plague, see Exodus 9:18–26.

336 *the ragyd dwyll*. See Textual Note, and the note to line 303, above.

339 *To Moyses have his folk to leyd*. The York text follows this line (assigned to *1 Egiptius*) with a three-line speech ascribed to *1 Consolator*: "Lorde, war they

wente, than walde it sese, / So shuld we save us and oure seede; / Ellis be we lorne, this is no lese" (*York* 11.329–31). The first two of these lines are missing from the Towneley text, while the last is equivalent to line 340 here.

348 *Wyld wormes*. These are the locusts of Exodus 10:4–15 — the eighth plague.

352–53 *thise thre dayes . . . Sich myrk that no man may other se*. The ninth plague is of darkness for three days; see Exodus 10:21–23.

354[c]–57 *Grete pestilence is comyn . . . .Then is oure pride over past*. The tenth plague was the death of all the first-born children of Egypt (Exodus 11:4–6); death is brought by "pestilence," a term associated with the bubonic plague. The Black Death was responsible for the death of a large portion of the population of England (as in continental Europe) in 1348, and struck periodically thereafter.

371 *land of lykyng*. The phrase, which (like "lykyng land" at line 294) could translate as "the land of pleasure," here refers to the promised land — "a land that floweth with milk and honey," according to Exodus 3:17.

372 *fals feynd*. The phrase used here to describe Pharaoh is commonly used to signify the devil (see for example 3.51); the York text, more unusually but with the same force, here has "felowns fende" (*York* 11.363: "wicked fiend").

391, s.d. *Hic pertransient mare*. MS: this stage direction, absent from the York text, is written beside line 390 (see Textual Note), but the action of crossing the sea (whatever way this may have been done in performance) should apparently follow line 391 with its exhortation to immediate action ("fownd ye now").

410 *Mahowne*. Devotion to Muhammad ("Mahownde" in *York* 11.400), and to the devil, is a common attribute of tyrants (including Jewish tyrants such as Herod) in medieval English biblical plays, signifying their status as un- or anti-Christian.

418–30 *Lofe we may . . . . Amen*. This final stanza is unique to Towneley, but might well have been the original final stanza in the York Hosiers' pageant. The extant copy, however, ends with a speech ascribed not to Moses but to the first boy:

> Now ar we wonne fra waa
> And saved oute of the see.
> *Cantemus domino*,
> To God a sange synge wee. (*York* 11.404–07)

"Cantemus domino" is the incipit or opening line of the song of Moses and the Israelites from Exodus 15:1–20 — a well-known text associated with the Lenten liturgy. The same song might suitably have followed the final Towneley stanza, as well; at several points in the York manuscript, sixteenth-century hands have added stage directions indicating singing where there is no clear indication of this in the dialogue itself, only occasionally specifying what is to be sung (see the stage directions at *York* 9.266; 12.157, 165, 253; 22.91; 25.287, 544; 37.36, 384;

and 38.186). Conversely, the York play may simply have been rewritten expressly to introduce the song, omitting the final stanza.

421 *Lovyd be that lord Emanuell*. This name is explicitly associated with Jesus in Matthew 1:23, quoting Isaiah 7:14; see also 10.425, 12.309–11, and 14.1–4, as well as the final note to 7.a (After 234).

7. THE ADVENT SEQUENCE

The sequence of Nativity-related plays in the Towneley manuscript is famously disordered: the incomplete Prophets pageant is followed not only by a blank leaf (see the final note to 7.a) but also by the Pharaoh play, which should precede it; there are two Shepherds plays, but no Nativity itself. Moreover, the works that immediately precede those two Shepherds plays, including the Prophets but excluding the Pharaoh play, appear to constitute a separate, cohesive sequence. These works are written mostly in variations of the same tail-rhyme stanza form (rhymed *aabaab* or *aabccb*), probably by a single author; prior to the compilation of the manuscript, they likely formed a single play, divided into short pageants or scenes, possibly for processional performance. However, the sequence as a whole could easily have been performed by five actors taking multiple roles, including four men, one of whom would play the role of Elizabeth (who is twice said to have conceived "in elde" — see lines 7.c.135 and 7.d.11), and a boy who would play Sibyl, Mary, and the messenger. The original sequence could conceivably have concluded with a now-lost Nativity pageant, but might well have been performed as an Advent play, as is, with an ending that looks forward to the ecclesiastical celebrations of Christmas rather than dramatizing that central event.

Reconstituting the sequence, however, requires more than removal of the misplaced Pharaoh play. According to the text as it stands in the manuscript, Elizabeth would have to be more than nine months' pregnant by the time of her visit with Mary (see the final note to 7.c). The Joseph's Trouble episode, treated in the manuscript as part of the Annunciation play, was likely a separate pageant and intended to follow rather than precede the Salutation. Its misplacement can be explained by the existence of a series of exemplars that were unbound, untitled, and thus easily confused: according to this scenario, the original Prophets pageant, possibly already damaged and incomplete, was accidentally copied prior to the Pharaoh play, while the Joseph's Trouble pageant was copied as if part of the Annunciation, and followed by the Salutation. The Salutation (rather than the Joseph's Trouble pageant) might originally have been part of a single pageant along with the Annunciation (as occurs in York); it is perhaps significant that these two pageants together (with a total of 244 lines) are almost exactly the same length as Caesar Augustus (240 lines) and only slightly longer than Joseph's Trouble (219 lines).

The Caesar Augustus pageant, too, may be misplaced, as Stevens and Cawley argue (SC p. 472): tradition (as recorded in the *Golden Legend* of Jacob de Voragine 1:40) held that Caesar learned of the birth of Christ on the day of the Nativity; however, the same tradition held that Caesar raised an altar in his honor, whereas this Emperor is conflated with King Herod in seeking to kill Christ as a rival. Moreover, Christ explicitly has not yet been born in this play (see line 7.b.71). The pageant could very effectively be placed between the Salutation and Joseph's Trouble, filling the time gap between these episodes; however, it

remains entirely possible that the pageant should follow The Prophets, and to precede the Annunciation, as it does in this edition.

7.a. PROPHETS

Before 1 *Processus prophetarum*. The term *processus* can refer to a pageant or to a procession; while the former meaning seems likely here, it is worth noting that the prophets do indeed appear to come and go in procession — see the note to line 90 below. The Latin speeches of each of the prophets have a single liturgical source, namely, the *lectio* or readings for the Matins service at Christmas, derived from a sermon attributed to Augustine, that in turn gave rise to more dramatic versions; see Karl Young's 1922 edition of the *Ordo Prophetarum*. The same source, from which the list of prophets and prophecies in the first Shepherds play (8.483–581) is also apparently derived, may help to give some sense as to what might be missing from this evidently incomplete text; see the final note to this pageant, with additional speeches in Latin by Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Habakkuk.

42 *In thyse same tables*. Moses is represented as holding the two stone tablets inscribed with the ten commandments; see Exodus 24:12 and Deuteronomy 9:10–11. The commandments themselves are listed in Exodus 20:1–17 and Deuteronomy 5:4–21, and the author recounts them in lines 50–84.

43–45 *Ye that thyse . . . . is fyrst to com*. That is, you who hold these commandments in your hearts shall be the first to be called to heaven (at the final judgment).

67–72 *The fyft commandys . . . . ne for hate*. The biblical order of the commandments against adultery and murder is here reversed; compare Exodus 20:13–14 and Deuteronomy 5:17–18.

90 *And have now all good day*. This line would seem to indicate an exit from the stage, not merely an end to Moses' speech. The prophets may appear only individually, in procession, rather than together on a single stage.

97 *Jesse son ye wote I am*. The name of King David's father (see Matthew 1:6) matters in this context due to its association with the common medieval image of the "Jesse tree" (the likely origin of the concept of a "family tree") tracing the lineage of Jesus back to Jesse, based on the (different) genealogies of Matthew 1:1–17 and Luke 3:23–38 in relation to Isaiah 11:1: "And there shall come forth a rod out of the root of Jesse, and a flower shall rise up out of his root." See also 14.15 and note.

107 *And theron a knot knytt*. That is, remember it well, tying a mental knot around the words — knotted threads being used as reminders.

109–50 *Myrth I make . . . . us all free*. King David, the supposed author of the Psalms and associated specifically with the harp in 1 Kings 16:16–23, should sing these lines, as he suggests in line 104 ("syng you a fytt;" compare line 157), accompanying

himself on the harp; it is possible that the singing should continue through to line 156, but the interruption of the Latin quotation after line 150 makes this a logical point to resume speaking.

121–23 *thider shall he ren . . . . Unto the hyest sete.* See Psalm 18:6–7: "and he . . . hath rejoiced as a giant to run the way: His going out is from the end of heaven, And his circuit even to the end thereof: and there is no one that can hide himself from his heat."

153–56 *We may not . . . . all abyde.* SC turn the last half of this stanza into a question, emending line 154 to read "when is thi will . . . ?" (SC p. 69). However, the lines may be read as a continuation of the previous line: God's will is that hell's inhabitants must wait for salvation to come to them at the harrowing of hell, in the person of Christ (the subject of play 22).

After 162 *Iudicii signum . . . . ut iudicet orbem.* The Sibyl's opening speech in Latin is ultimately derived from the third-century Sibylline Oracles; these particular lines are from a passage in Book 8 (attributed to the Erythraean Sibyl) that was famously shown by Augustine (*City of God* 18.23) to form an acrostic (in the original Greek) on the name of Jesus. The same Latin passage occurs in the *lectio* and in other relevant sources (see Young, pp. 10, 13, 22). In the Chester Nativity pageant (6.349–72), the Sibyl addresses her prophecy directly to the Emperor Octavian — that is, Caesar Augustus, who according to tradition met with the Tiburtine Sibyl — who ultimately orders the worship of Christ rather than of himself.

188–89 *All shal be . . . Of oone eld ichon.* Augustine asserted that, when the dead are resurrected, all would be the same age as Christ at his own resurrection, regardless of their age when they died (*City of God* 22.15). They are usually portrayed this way in medieval representations of the Last Judgment.

205 *Then shall hell gape and gryn.* The verb *gryn* here literally refers to grinning, showing the teeth; Hell was traditionally represented as a monstrous mouth.

229 *Flesh with fleshe will be boght.* Implicit here is the idea of Christ as a second Adam (see 1 Corinthians 15:45–47), and redemption as equal exchange or repayment; see also the more elaborate parallelism of "Man for man, tre for tre, / Madyn for madyn" in the Annunciation pageant (7.c.32–35), likewise part of the Advent sequence.

After 234 *Evermore withoutten end.* The text ends after this line, with room on the page for perhaps three additional lines, followed by a blank leaf (fol. 20, two pages). A sixteenth-century hand has scrawled the first line of the previous page (that is, line 187 of this play) at the top of the first empty page (the *recto*), while the opening of the misplaced play of Pharaoh — "Incipit Pharao" (and likely more) — has been written but then erased from the other side of the blank leaf (the *verso*), perhaps to make additional room for the completion of the Prophets pageant, which has no explicit and is apparently unfinished. However, it is worth

noting that these two blank pages (the first of which is neatly but unusually lined) would allow sufficient room for the entirety of the extant Salutation pageant. Still, it seems significant that God's opening speech in the Annunciation pageant (see 7.c.46–50) names all four prophets who speak in the extant text (Moses, David, Sibyl, and Daniel), along with three others (Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Habakkuk). What follows, then, to give a sense of what might be missing, are speeches in Latin by those three additional prophets, along with (my own) English translations, based on the same presumed liturgical source as the rest, namely, the *lectio* for the Christmas Matins service, as edited by Young (pp. 19–20, slightly emended):

Isaiah: *Ecce virgo concipiet [et] pariet filium, [et] vocabitur nomen eius Emanuel, quod est interpretatum: Nobiscum Deus.* ["Behold, a young woman shall conceive and bear a son, and his name shall be called Emmanuel, which means 'God be with us'" (Isaiah 7:14).]

. . . .

Jeremiah: *Hic est Deus noster, [et] non æstimabitur alius absque eo qui in[v]enit omnem viam scientiæ, [et] dedit eam Iacob puero suo [et] Israel dilecto suo. Post hæc in terris visus est, [et] cum hominibus con[v]ersatus est.* ["This is our God, and no other can be compared to him, who found the whole way to knowledge, and gave it to his servant Jacob and to Israel, whom he loved. After this, knowledge appeared on earth and lived among the people." (Baruch 3:36–38).]

. . . .

Habakkuk: *Domine, audi[v]i auditum tuum [et] timui, consideravi opera tua et expa[v]i. In medio duorum animalium cognosceris. Opera tua, Deus, [et] verbum caro factum est.* ["Lord, I have heard your word and am afraid; I have considered your works and am terrified. Between two animals you will be recognized. And by your work, God, the word is made flesh."]

(The last part of this final quotation is derived from John 1:14; the rest is a variant of Habakkuk 3:2 that, together with Isaiah 1:3, is the source of the tradition that the infant Jesus was laid between an ox and ass.)

7.b. CAESAR AUGUSTUS

5 *Thys brand abowte youre nekys shall bow*. The use of the word "bow" here suggests that Caesar's sword is curved like a scimitar, a weapon associated with the Saracens, thus serving as to identify Caesar as an enemy of Christianity. This is the only extant English play that focuses entirely on Caesar, and it represents him entirely as a villain, unlike the Chester Nativity, which briefly dramatizes his encounter with the Sibyl (see the note to the Sibyl's lines following 7.a.162).

9 *Mahowne*. That is, Muhammad represented as a false god (see note to 6.410). Such invocations, while common in medieval biblical drama, are unusually frequent in this play (as in the play of the Dice, see the note to 21.69); see also lines 122, 127, 140, 148, 151, 162, 208, 226, and 238.

16 *I may bynd and lowse of band*. In Matthew 18:18, Jesus refers to his disciples having power to bind and loose both on earth and in heaven, and in Matthew 16:19 he

uses the same words in specific reference to Peter, traditionally understood as the foundation of papal authority in the Catholic church.

24 *And therto here my hand*. The line requires a gesture of making a vow, such as a raised hand, or possibly placing his hand on his sword (see line 5 and note) as if to swear by it.

80 *snoke-horne*. The *OED* includes this otherwise unattested term as possibly meaning "a sneaking fellow" on the basis of the gloss in EP, while the *MED*, likewise citing this line, redefines it questioningly as "?one who snuffles into a horn, one who blows a horn, i.e., a worthless person" (*MED snoken* (v.), sense b). Yet the *MED* (but not the *OED*) also includes an entry for *snoke* (n.), which it defines (citing the *Promptorium Parvulorum*) as meaning "mucus." The "horn" here would appear to be the snuffling instrument, namely, the nose. Caesar is mocking the idea of a "snot-nose" child as his "sovereign" (line 81).

94 *all the bost men of hym blowys*. That is, however much people might boast about him (see *MED bost* (n.), sense 6).

97 *Lyghtfote*. The Messenger's name is appropriately a synonym for "speedy."

127 *Mahowne thee save and se, Syr Syryne*. The Messenger has ostensibly traveled a notable distance since the end of the previous stanza, but may simply have left the stage area representing Caesar's palace in order to meet with Sirinus — that is, the historical Quirinius (or Cyrenius), governor of Syria (including Judea), who is named in Luke 2:2 in connection with a census ordered by Caesar Augustus. He returns to that same stage area by line 139.

139 *All redy, lord, at youre byddyng*. The Messenger again addresses the Emperor; Sirinus in the meantime must prepare to make his way to this same location, addressing the Emperor at line 151, while the Messenger ostensibly rests nearby (see line 150).

152 *lord of lordys*. The epithet is applied to Christ in Apocalypse 17:14. Here, it indicates Sirinus' blasphemy.

155–56 *Besyde myself here sytt thou shall; / Com up*. The staging apparently requires two thrones, possibly on a raised dais, although the Emperor may simply be speaking from onstage to Sirinus who is at ground level. The retinue to which Sirinus refers in line 153 may be represented by the audience surrounding the stage, as well as the onstage actors including the Messenger and two Counselors who spoke earlier.

164–66 *a qweyn . . . . crowned kyng*. While "qweyn" is here used in a derogatory sense, meaning "whore" (see *MED quene* (n.1)), the term also draws attention to Mary's traditional status as Queen of Heaven (see *MED quene* (n.2)), mother to the "King of Kings and Lord of Lords" (see Apocalypse 17:14, and line 152 and note, above).

185 *And byd that boy be done to dede*. This threat to murder Jesus draws a parallel with the massacre attributed to Herod (see play 12) as means to the same end, and ultimately with the crucifixion.

188 *belamy*. This reference to a "fair friend" (*bel ami* in modern French) is clearly sarcastic.

190–98 *Byd ych man . . . . make you trowage*. See Luke 2:1–2 (and the note to line 127 above). Here the biblical census is represented as being rooted in perceived rivalry with the coming Messiah: paying the requisite poll tax will be taken as proof of loyalty to Caesar.

213 *To hold holly on me*. That is, to side with or cling to (see *MED holden* (v.), sense 24b) Caesar as their feudal lord, depending on him for their lives and possessions alike.

7.c. ANNUNCIATION

1–76 *Sythen I have mayde . . . . and weynd*. God's opening speech, unlike the rest of the Advent sequence, is written in couplets. It may be a later addition, but appears to be written specifically for this sequence, given the specific reference to the prophets who speak in the Prophets pageant (see the final note to 7.a), as well as to what follows here. The speech explicitly blames the fall of Adam on Eve as well as on Satan in the form of an "edder" (line 25), and explains that salvation must therefore come through the Incarnation of God as man ("the last Adam" according to 1 Corinthians 15:45), born of a pure maiden (Mary as the antithesis of Eve), and sacrificed on a wooden cross (corresponding to, and by tradition raised from the seed of, the Tree of Life, which here as in some other medieval sources is conflated with the Tree of Knowledge with its forbidden fruit). This idea of salvation as the perfect antithesis to original sin involving "man, maiden, and tree," is given an especially memorable formulation in lines 32–34. The biblical source for the play is Luke 1:26–38.

9 *Oyll of mercy*. See note to 3.66.

12 *fyfe thowsand yeris and more*. The number is commonplace. In the Harrowing of Hell pageant, Adam states that he has been in hell for "four thowsand and sex hundreth yere" (22.27; see *York* 37.39), having lived on earth for 930 years, according to Genesis 5:5.

18 *preson*. The prison he refers to is hell (see line 13), to which all the souls of the dead were condemned after the fall. See also line 23.

37 *os son thrugh glas*. Sunlight shining through glass is a common analogy for the virginal conception and birth of Christ; see also 15.19.

69–70 *She shall conceyf . . . and hyr heryng*. It was a poetic and theological commonplace that Mary conceived through the ear upon hearing the angel's message, Christ being the word of God itself, made flesh (see John 1:1, 14).

77 *Hayll, Mary*. The angel's greeting from Luke 1:28 (which does not name Mary) gave rise to the popular hymn and prayer (*Ave Maria* in Latin) that forms the basis of the rosary. See also 7.e.25.

96 *He shall take cyrcumsycyon*. See Luke 2:21. Circumcision was demanded of Abraham and all his male descendants (eight days after birth) as a sign of the covenant between him and God (see Genesis 17:10–14). The circumcision of Jesus, celebrated as an official feast of the church on 1 January, was also a popular subject in art, and more than one supposed church relic was claimed to be the original Holy Prepuce — the single part of the physical body of Jesus left on earth following his ascension into heaven.

128–29 *He shall umshade and fulfyll / That thi madynhede shall never spyll*. That is, the Holy Spirit will protect your virginity and ensure that it remains intact. The *MED* defines *umshaden* (v.) as meaning specifically for the Holy Spirit "to overshadow (the Virgin Mary), descend upon," this being the sole cited instance of the verb. However, *umshaden* is closely related to the verb *umshadwen*, which the *MED* defines as meaning "to protect," which is another meaning of "overshadow" (see also *OED umshade* (v.) and *overshadow* (v.), sense 2).

134 *Elesabeth, thi cosyn*. See Luke 1:36, and 7.d.23 and note, below. The term "cousin" can refer to virtually "any relative by blood or by marriage" (see *MED cosine* (n.)).

138 *The sext moneth of hyr conceytate*. See Luke 1:26.

140–42 *No word . . . . all shall hald*. That is, God will keep his word in all things.

After 154 *Explicit Annunciacio beate Marie*. In the manuscript, this rubric follows the scene of Joseph's Trouble, here treated as a separate pageant and placed after the Salutation. In the text as in the biblical source, Elizabeth is explicitly in the sixth month of her own pregnancy when Mary conceives (see line 138). By the time that Mary's body is visibly "great and she with child" as she is prior to Joseph's opening monologue in Joseph's Trouble (see 7.e.4 and note), Elizabeth must already have given birth; indeed, according to Luke 1:56, Mary stays with Elizabeth for three months (presumably until the birth). The Salutation therefore belongs between these two scenes, rather than after them.

7.d. SALUTATION

7 *How standys it with you, dame, of qwart*. That is, how is your health? (Elizabeth's answer in the next line, would translate: "As well as can be, considering my old age.")

11 *For ye with childe in elde gang*. To "go with child" means to be pregnant (see *MED gon* (v.), sense 15c).

23 *nese*. A niece can be any female relative (see *MED nece* (n.), sense d); at line 15 Elizabeth refers to Mary simply as "my dere kynswoman." See the note to 7.c.134).

32–48 *Blyssed be thou . . . . the angell gretyng*. Elizabeth's speech is based on Luke 1:41–45. Like the biblical account, the play implies that Elizabeth's knowledge of Mary's pregnancy, as yet unmentioned by Mary, is entirely miraculous.

37–39 *For syn that tyme . . . . in myn ere*. That is, after Mary appeared, the voice of an angel struck and rang (like a bell) in my ear. This apparently unique detail recalls the Annunciation by the angel Gabriel in the previous pageant, and suggests an explanation for how she knows what was "sayd . . . / By the angel gretyng" to Mary (lines 47–48).

41–42 *The chyld makys joy . . . in body bere*. See Luke 1:41. This child will of course grow up to be John the Baptist (see play 15).

After 48 *Magnificat anima mea dominum*. This is the first line of the biblical hymn known as the *Magnificat* (Luke 1:46–55), and is translated in lines 49–78; the inclusion here of this extra-metrical Latin line could indicate that Mary should sing the line (as she does in *Chester* 6.64, s.d.) or perhaps the entire hymn (as she does in *York* 12.253+SD, but without subsequent translation).

71 *left the rich outt-shyld*. That is, *sheeled* (or shelled) out, like empty husks of grain. See *MED shillen* (v.2).

85 *frely foode*. The adjective *freely* means "noble" or "goodly" (see *MED fre* (adj.), sense 2a). But the other part of this common alliterative phrase (see also 9.1039, 15.39 and 164, and 20.446) can mean either "child" (*MED fode* (n.2)) — as one who is fed or nurtured — and "food" in the more usual sense (*MED fode* (n.1)), making this a punning reference to the Eucharist, in which Christ's body and blood are consumed.

7.e. JOSEPH'S TROUBLE

4 *hyr body is grete and she with childe*. Prior to his entrance here, Joseph has been absent for "neyn monethes" (line 127); according to the Protevangelium of James 9:2, he has been working in construction (see Elliott, p. 61) and, on his return, finds that Mary is in the sixth month of her pregnancy (Elliott, p. 62, 13:1).

11–12 *I myght well wyt . . . lykyng of man*. That is, he might have known that a young woman would be attracted to a man in his prime, unlike himself, who is now old (see line 13), and incapable of amorous "gams" or sport (line 15). The tradition

that Joseph was an old man prior to the betrothal and chosen by a miraculous intervention (as outlined in Joseph's second monologue — see note to line 73–108 below) stems from the Protevangelium of James 9:1–2 (Elliott, pp. 60–61).

24 *wytt who owe that foode*. That is, he wishes to know who fathered that child. The word "owe" here and in line 32 is in the subjunctive, and could be translated as "should acknowledge (the child) as his own" (see *MED ouen* (v.), sense 1d).

25 *Hayll, Mary*. See Gabriel's greeting at 7.c.77, and the accompanying note.

46 *if thou speke thiself to spyll*. That is, if you speak such that you destroy yourself, by ruining your reputation.

66 *For doyll what shall I do*. This line, like the monologue that follows, is clearly addressed not to Mary but to the audience. In a wagon or single scaffold staging, Joseph might potentially leave Mary behind on the stage to wander among the audience; in line 199 he claims to have "walkyd aboute lyke a fon" (or fool).

73–108 *And how we met . . . . A sory man then was I*. Joseph's account of the betrothal is ultimately derived from the Protevangelium of James, but filtered through later sources such as the *Golden Legend*; in the Protevangelium 9.1 (Elliott, p. 60), for example, a dove miraculously flies from the rod, rather than flowers blooming much as in the biblical story of Aaron's rod (Numbers 17:8), as narrated in *York* 13.32. The scene is dramatized at length, complete with flowering rod, in *N-Town* 10: Marriage of Mary and Joseph, part of the unique Mary Play embedded in that collection.

85 *She wold none othere for any sagh*. That is, she did not want any husband other than God, no matter what others told her.

118 *to fynd them on*. The verb "find" here is used in the sense of "provide for" (see *MED finden* (v.), sense 15a, which cites this line) — in this case meaning to provide for themselves, by means of their work. According to the Protevangelium 10 (Elliott, p. 61), Mary and her companions were specifically engaged in making a veil for the temple.

151–53 *But Marie . . . . never so nere*. These lines constitute half of a regular stanza; the other half is apparently missing. The missing lines likely referred to the need to expose Mary's supposed adultery as a violation of the law (see Leviticus 20:10), although that would mean her death, as pointed out in lines 156–57 — lines that now seem obscure and out of place.

156 *The law wyll it be so*. See note to lines 151–53, above.

172 *Do wa Joseph and mend thy thoght*. In most sources (including Matthew 1:20–24) and medieval representations, the angel appears to Joseph in a dream as he sleeps. Although Joseph could potentially lie down immediately after he concludes his monologue, the lack of any mention of sleep or tiredness is

unusual; having the angel speak directly to Joseph, on the other hand, would effectively serve to raise his stature.

179 *She hase consavyd the Holy Gast*. This line is faintly underlined, with "note this very" written in the right margin by a later hand; SC suggest that the word "well" might have been cut off in rebinding, and argue that the comment must "point to a theological objection" (p. 478n333); however, as mentioned in the Introduction, p. 8, it could well suggest a positive response.

214 *light as lynde*. That is, as light as a leaf upon a linden tree. Proverbial. See Whiting L139.

215–19 *He that may . . . . my lyfys ende*. In the manuscript this line is followed by "Explicit Annunciacio beate Marie," moved in this edition to the ending of the Annunciation scene itself (see the final note to 7.c). While the original sequence might potentially have included a now-lost pageant representing the Nativity, Joseph's final lines of prayer and benediction provide a suitable conclusion. That said, these lines could well have been followed by a song — specifically an Advent or Christmas hymn. Some important musical cues in the York manuscript, for example, were added only later (including singing both by the Angel and by Mary in the Annunciation pageant; see *York* 12:166, 253), and by an observer of the performance rather than by a copyist; a musical conclusion may similarly have been treated as extra-textual in the exemplar available to the Towneley scribe.

8. THE SHEPHERDS (1)

The first of Towneley's two Shepherds plays, like the second, is written in the distinctive 13-line 'bob and wheel' stanza associated with the putative 'Wakefield Master' (written in the manuscript as a 9-line stanza with interior rhymes); however, despite numerous critical assertions to the contrary, neither text contains any clear link to Wakefield or its vicinity. Its plot, which like that of its varied counterparts expands significantly on the gospel account found in Luke 2:8–20, closely resembles that of Chester's Shepherds play with its joking banter, argument, feasting, and singing. While less audacious and original in conception than the second Towneley Shepherds play, which has always overshadowed it, the first is also interesting and entertaining in its own right. Its scenes of arguing over a flock of non-existent sheep and feasting on what is likely imaginary food are highly, even self-consciously theatrical, and the raucous comedy is aptly balanced by the tender Nativity scene at the end. Moreover, like the second, the first Shepherds play seems built for individual performance rather than as part of a sequence. One young actor could easily play both Mary and the angel, as well taking the role of the boy, unless those lines should indeed be ascribed to Shepherd 3 — see note to line 257 below. Either way, the play would require less than half the cast of its Chester counterpart — a guild play that was once performed individually rather than as part of a full cycle production (see Mills, *Recycling the Cycle*, pp. 36, 110).

19–21 *When he syttys . . . . is kesten down wyde*. These lines allude to the image of Fortune's turning wheel. From the highest point of the wheel the proud are cast down, and this echoes the earlier line about those who feel "downe cast" (line 4).

25 *Horsman Jak Copé*. The nickname *Copé* means "plenty" (see *MED copie* (n.), sense 1). Riding is also associated with wealth and social status in the play of the Buffeting (18.218–19).

27 *I thank it God*. The context of his poverty and misfortune renders ironic the shepherd's otherwise conventional assertion that he thanks God.

38 *The rott*. Liver-rot (often simply called "the rot") is a parasitic disease that commonly affects sheep grazed in damp pasture.

56 *To cast the warld in seven*. The phrase is taken from the game of hazard (a precursor to craps), where it refers to staking everything on a single throw of the dice (see also 12.186 and note). Shepherd 1 is saying that he intends to try to win back everything that he has lost.

58 *moren*. "Murrain" is a generalized term for infectious diseases (including plague), but particularly those affecting livestock.

68 *Bensté*. The word is a contraction of the Latin *benedicite* ("bless").

83 *byll hagers*. That is, those who hack with weapons. A "bill" is a typically English weapon consisting of a hooked, concave blade on a pole, similar to a halberd (*OED bill* (n.1), sense 2a), as well as an agricultural tool (also called a billhook; see *OED* (n.1), sense 4) used to prune (or "hag") hedges, from which the weapon was derived.

85 *Sich wryers and wragers*. The term *wryer* (see *OED wrayer* (n.)) may relate to the verb *wray* or betray, but could also indicate a quarrelsome person, making the alliterated terms here virtually synonymous (see SC p. 484n85, and *MED wragger* (n.)), or a person who turns away from God and goodness (see *MED wrien* (v.2)). The same pairing occurs in the Judgment play, likewise in a 13-line 'bob and wheel' stanza (27.209).

90–91 *Both ploghe . . . will not make*. These lines allude to the requisition or seizure of goods in a practice known as purveyance, explicitly mentioned in the second Shepherds play (see 9.49 and note).

118 *Gyb*. A common abbreviation of the name Gilbert, Gib is also the name of Shepherd 2 in the second Shepherds play. Gib is called "Gyg" at line 243.

144–45 *Fyrst must us crepe / And sythen go*. That is, we must crawl before we can walk — a common proverb exhorting patience (see Whiting C202).

164 *bell-weder*. Only the leader of the flock of sheep generally wore a bell (see *MED belle-wether* (n.)). This bell-wether is imaginary; Shepherd 2 has already pointed out that no sheep are or will be present (see lines 149–50 and 157–58).

165 *tyr*. A shepherd's call, used to drive sheep, from a verb meaning "go" or "move" (see *MED tiren* (v.2), sense d). See also *OED tyr* (int).

169 *Tup I say whyr*. Like "tyr" (lines 165, 166; see previous note) and "whop" (or "whoop," line 172), "whyr" is a herding call, here directed at an imaginary tup or male sheep. See *MED houp* (n.), *OED whyr* (int.), and *tup* (n.) respectively.

181–82 *Here comys Slawpase / Fro the myln-whele*. Shepherd 3 — here nicknamed "Slowpace" — enters with a sack of meal (possibly carried on the back of a horse; see line 237 and note), which he uses to make a point in lines 238–53.

183–91 *What ado . . . . this way*. This stanza is irregular; one quatrain (normally written as two lines in the MS) may be missing due to a copying error.

201–02 *Ye fysh before the nett, / And stryfe on this bett*. That is, you act prematurely, and quarrel over what you merely anticipate having.

216–17 *It is far to byd hyte / To an eg or it go*. That is, it is useless (far-fetched) to tell an egg to move before it hatches, "hyte" being a conventional cry to urge an animal forward (see 2.57 and note).

218–19 *Tytter want ye sowll / Then sorow*. May you sooner lack food than sorrow — that is, may things go very badly for you. The term "sowll" can refer to anything eaten with bread, the basic staple, such as meat or sauce, but also food or nourishment more generally (see *MED souel* (n.2), sense a).

220–30 *Ye brayde of Mowll . . . . was the tokyn*. These lines refer to the ancient fable, attributed to Aesop, of the milkmaid whose pitcher breaks as she imagines everything that she will acquire due to her selling the milk; here, like the two shepherds, she specifically imagines having more sheep.

237 *Hold ye my mare*. The "mare" or horse (see note to 2.25) is perhaps imaginary, like the flock of sheep over which the others have just argued. However, in the lines that follow, Shepherd 3 has the others help him empty meal or flour from an actual sack (see notes to lines 181 and 260).

243 *Both Gyg and Jak*. "Gyg" is an informal variation of Gib (the name of Shepherd 1, see line 118 and note), while "Jak" refers to John Horne (Shepherd 2; see note to line 257 below).

248–49 *And ye look well abowte / Nawther more nor myn*. That is, no matter how carefully you look, you will see neither more nor less meal in the sack.

257 *Boy* (speech heading). The three speeches assigned to the boy (lines 257–69, 272, and 273[b]–75) should likely be assigned to Shepherd 3, called Slowpace at line 181. The MS speech heading here reads *Jak garcio* while the next two refer just to *garcio* (meaning "boy"); while the first of these could be understood as naming the character — that is, "Jack, the boy" — it may rather designate

him as "Jack's boy," servant to Shepherd 2 (called "Jak" at line 243 — see note above). Shepherd 3, unlike the other two, never exchanges lines with the boy, but later refers to his own "servyse" (line 289); it is worth noting that Shepherd 3 in the second Shepherds play likewise plays an subservient role (see note to 9.210). Regardless, only three shepherds partake in the (likely imaginary) feast that follows line 276 (see also note to line 268 below). If the boy is an actual, separate character, his appearance is very brief. (For a more extended argument, see Cawley, "Iak Garcio of the *Prima Pastorum*.")

260 *foles of Gotham*. The fools of Gotham were the subject of a famous collection of humorous stories, the *Merie Tales of the mad men of Gotam*, first printed in London around 1565. The first story in the collection involves two men arguing over non-existent sheep, as the two shepherds here have just done (lines 146–95), until silenced by another who empties a sack of meal by way of commenting on their lack of wit, as Shepherd 3 does here (lines 238–53).

268 *Ye thre bere the bell*. That is, you three are the worst; only the leading cow or sheep bore a bell (see line 164 and note). If the boy is the same character as Shepherd 3 (see note to line 257 above), this line should read either "You two" or possibly "You there." The cross in the margin of the MS beside this line may indicate an error; see Textual Note.

271 *Say me, good pen*. That is, tell me, boy. By referring to the boy as a good pen (that is, a pin), the Shepherd calls him both useful (as a pin generally is) and insignificant (see 3.527 and note).

288–89 *Me thynk it good skyll / My servyse I tyne*. That is, I think it right that I leave behind my role as servant.

300 *cryb*. This is the sole authoritative citation of the word being used in this sense, namely, to eat as if at a crib or manger (*OED crib* (v.), sense 1; and *MED crib* (v.)); "mangere" is used at line 291 to mean a feast (from the French *manger*, "to eat"). The feast that follows, with its mixture of humble and courtly food items, is almost certainly imaginary, although each shepherd may well pull some actual food and drink from his bag (or "mail" — see line 322), such as simple bread and ale (see note to line 352 below).

319 *Of an ewe that was roton*. That is, mutton from a ewe that suffered from liver-rot (see note to line 38 above).

337 *chekyns endorde*. To *endore* — literally to gild, or make gold — meant to glaze with egg-yolk or saffron. See *MED endoren* (v.).

341–42 *calf lyver skorde / With the veryose*. The shepherd refers to this (imaginary) calf liver as being scored — in the culinary sense of making long parallel incisions — and served with or cooked (or marinated) in verjuice (literally "green [vert] juice"), the sour and aromatic juice of unripe grapes or crabapples, commonly used as

a condiment or as an ingredient in sauces, as indicated by the next line. See *OED verjuice*; *MED verjous* (n.), especially sense c.

352 *ayll of Hely*. While Stevens and Cawley, among other critics, identify Hely (MS *hely*) as the township of Healey near Wakefield (see SC p. 488n352), "Ceruyse" or ale is specifically noted as being characteristic of Ely, Cambridgeshire, in a fourteenth-century list of English towns and their attributes in the Bodleian's Douce MS 98; see Bonnier, "List of English Towns," p. 502, line 73.

353 *I wynk*. To wink or close one's eyes was associated with drinking much "at a draught" or all at once.

357 *boyte of oure bayll*. The phrase is commonly used in reference to Jesus as Savior.

366–69 *I shrew you . . . . Abate*. That is, I curse you sharply, and will be at a disadvantage unless I make you stop drinking, "on my hips" being an idiom from wrestling (see *MED hips* (n.1), sense 2b). Shepherd 2 wants to ensure that there is some left for him.

377 *To the bothom it is sonken*. That is, there is nothing left in the cup.

380 *By my thrift we must kys*. That is, by my luck (see 3.315 and note), I must put my lips to the bottle.

385 *prays at the partyng*. The phrase means "save your praise until the departure" — that is, until after the performance, which clearly follows on the next line, where all three sing together. Shepherd 1 claims his drink at line 389.

396–97 *And it were for a sogh / Ther is drynk enogh*. That is, there is enough (imaginary) drink left to satisfy a sow, or possibly, there is enough to fill a "sough," meaning a bog or small pool.

399 *Ye be both knafys*. Shepherd 3 curses the other two for draining the cup, calling them "knaves," but Shepherd 1 responds that they are all rightly called knaves, being poor laborers rather than knights (and thus not properly addressed as "sir" as at line 402).

412 *begers frerys*. The willingness of poor shepherds to support mendicant (begging) friars could be read as a sign of true charity if both fine food and friars were actually present; but in this context, the lines read as typical anti-fraternal satire, implying that friars are less "poor" or "hungry" than these shepherds.

418–25 *A crosse lett . . . . God be oure spede*. Shepherd 3 suggests making the sign of the cross, and then utters a 'night spell' in the form of a prayer that echoes, in garbled Latin, part of a prayer recorded in a 1555 book of York Hours, which likewise calls for making the sign of the cross: *In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus sancti. Marcus, Mattheus, Lucas, Joannes. Amen. / Jesus Nazarenus crucifixus, Rex Judeorum, Fili Dei, miserere mei. Amen* ("In the name of the Father and the Son

and the Holy Spirit. Mark, Matthew, Luke, John. Amen. / Jesus the Nazarene, crucified, King of the Jews, Son of God, have mercy on me. Amen." Translation mine.) For the full original text see *Horae Eboracenses*, p. 26.

426–38 *Herkyn hyrdes . . . . Betwix two bestys*. The parallel speech in the second Shepherds play (lines 920–932) is preceded by an explicit stage direction indicating that the angel sings before addressing the shepherds. In Luke 2:8–15, an angel speaks to the shepherds and is then joined by a multitude praising God, so the song referred to in line 440 might be sung after the speech (but by this single angel, in a florid style ("With small noytys emang" as Shepherd 1 describes it at line 442). In either case, the song would be "*gloria in excelsis deo*" ("Glory to God in the highest"), as designated both in the second Shepherds play and in Luke 2:14.

437–38 *Ye shall fynde hym beforne / Betwix two bestys*. See 9.929–32. The apocryphal gospel of Pseudo-Matthew 14 (Elliott, p. 94) refers to God as being revealed or made known "between two animals" largely on the basis of Habakkuk 3:2 (see the final note to the Prophets pageant, 7.a), although the canonical text refers to years, not animals. This misreading in part gave rise to the tradition of the beasts at the manger, evidently represented onstage.

449 *I suppose it was a clowde*. God spoke to the Israelites from cloud and fire when presenting them with the ten commandments (see Exodus 19:18, 20:18) and God's voice from a bright cloud terrified Peter, John, and James at the transfiguration of Jesus (Matthew 17:5–6). The Shepherd is not sure what he has heard or seen in the dark of night, but he is similarly afraid.

450 *In myn erys it sowde*. That is, the sound rang in my ears (see *MED swouen* (v.1), sense a: "To resound roar, sough; of the ears: ring"). Shepherd 1 has just described the angel's song as a frighteningly loud scream (see lines 445–48), and so could conceivably be describing the complex music as painful to his ears, employing the past tense of *sow*, meaning to cause pain or distress (see *MED souen* (v.2), sense a). However, he will alter describe those notes as "gentyll and small" (line 604).

463 *yond starne*. The biblical accounts refer to a star only in connection with the Magi (in Matthew 2), not the shepherds (in Luke 2). This star as stage property is moveable (see lines 650–52 and note) and its appearance likely accompanied that of the angel at line 426. The use of the past tense in lines 465–66 likely indicates that the star disappears from sight at this point; it reappears suddenly at lines 650–52, leading the way to the Nativity scene.

505–06 *Sybyll . . . And Nabugodhonosor*. The Sibyl appears in the Prophets play (see the note on her lines following 7.a.162), while Nebuchadnezzar similarly figures in the *lectio* that is the ultimate source for that play (see the first and last notes to 7.a; for the relevant dialogue, see Young, p. 35).

508–10 *In the fornace . . . . fourt stode before*. In Daniel 3, three young men are thrown in a furnace for refusing King Nebuchadnezzar's order to worship a golden statue, but are rescued after they are seen alive in the flames along with an unknown fourth figure.

517 *Jeromy*. For the messianic prophecy most closely associated with Jeremiah, taken from the book of Baruch (considered apocryphal in Protestant tradition), see the final note to 7.a.

518–20 *Moyses . . . . A bushe burnand*. See Exodus 3:2; the burning bush, unconsumed by flame, is often held to prefigure the Virgin conception and birth, as noted in lines 526–42 that follow; see also 6.105 and note.

543–50 *Abacuc and Ely . . . . And Daniel also*. The list of prophets and prophecies here, including Virgil (in the stanza that follows), Isaiah, Sibyl, Nebuchadnezzar, Jeremiah, and Moses (in the preceding stanzas), is ultimately derived from the *lectio* for the Christmas Matins service (see Young, and the initial note to 7.a), but with the substitution for Simeon (see 22.53–64) of "Ely" or Elijah. According to Malachias 4:5, Elijah was to return to earth prior to the coming of the Messiah; he is thus typologically identified with John the Baptist (see Matthew 11:10–14), the son of Elizabeth and Zacharias (see Luke 1:5–17), who according to tradition was only six months old when Jesus was born.

After 559 *Iam nove progenies . . . . redeunt Saturnia regna*. These extrametrical, disordered and slightly misquoted lines from Virgil's Fourth Eclogue (lines 6–7), often interpreted as Christian prophecy, are translated and interpreted by Shepherd 1 in the next stanza.

560 *Wemé*. An exclamation of impatience or surprise (see 2.150 and note).

565–66 *It semys . . . Ye have lerd youre Caton*. The fourth-century collection of Latin moral proverbs known as the Distichs of Cato was a standard medieval school textbook.

598 *Foure and twenty to a long*. That is, 24 notes (semiminims or crotchets, equivalent to modern quarter notes) to one "long" note or measure, indicating a highly elaborate style of music.

607 *Now lyst I lepen*. Now will I leap to it — that is, begin to sing.

609 *Let se as ye yelp*. Let us see how you yelp — that is, hit those high notes.

612 *thy hart is in thy hose*. Proverbial expression of downheartedness. See Whiting H295.

620 *Take at my sangre*. That is, join me in singing; as indicated by the next line, they do so immediately. Shepherd 3 has already stated that he did not want to sing alone (line 611). Much as the supposedly ignorant shepherds suddenly prove able to cite biblical prophecy and Latin poetry, what they sing could well be an

accomplished polyphonic version of what the angel sang solo. On the other hand, as in York and Chester, the shepherds' attempt may fall comically short of the angelic model, signifying the gap between the earthly and heavenly realms.

627 *No lyght mase the mone*. That is, the moon makes no light; it is dark. The star that they saw earlier at line 463 is not visible at this point.

639–46 *And God . . . . are thare eene*. That is, if God on high would show us that creature (the Christ child), by God, we could say that we had seen what many saints, inspired by the prophets, had desired to see; although they prayed to see him, they are now dead.

651–52 *It commys on a rase / Yond sterne us to*. The star is moving quickly toward us (see line 463 and note).

658 *Ye ar of the old store*. You are old stock — that is, the eldest person present.

659 *It semys you, iwys*. That is, it befits you as eldest to go first.

660–92 *Hayll . . . .* As Pamela King has pointed out, this sort of formulaic greeting, with multiple lines beginning with the word "Hayll" (a rhetorical figure known as *anaphora* or *repetitio*), is in English tradition closely tied to the Elevation of the Host as well as to the Annunciation and the well-known "Hail Mary" of Luke 1:28 (see King, *Worship of the City*, pp. 20–27).

672 *lytyll spruse cofer*. The wooden box or coffer suggests a coffin (see *MED cofre* (n.), sense 3a), symbolic of Christ's death. The other gifts, too, can be seen as symbolic, the ball (line 681) signifying the world or the regal orb, and the bottle (line 694) alluding to the biblical analogy of new wine in new bottles (Matthew 9:17).

704 *he sett all on seven*. That is, he created the world in seven days.

724 *Syng we in syght*. They sing to close the play — possibly a reprise of what they sang earlier (see note to line 620 above).

9. THE SHEPHERDS (2)

The second of Towneley's two Shepherds plays is the most famous example of medieval English biblical drama, yet perhaps the least typical. It opens with a shepherd complaining about the weather, much like the Chester version as well as the relevant portion of the Coventry Shearman and Tailors pageant, and it ends conventionally, with the shepherds visiting the scene of the Nativity and presenting their gifts. However, the intervening action takes the play in a very different direction, combining farce and contemporary social commentary, which has attracted a wide critical response. Over half of the play is devoted to the episode involving the trickster Mak who steals a sheep and, with the help of his wife, attempts to disguise it as their child in a parodic anticipation of the Nativity scene that

follows. Were the play performed as part of a biblical sequence as once assumed (even leaving aside any thought of performing the two Shepherds plays together), this subplot might seem strange and arguably sacrilegious. Performed on its own, outside of any biblical context (although likely during the Christmas season; see Alexandra F. Johnston, "The Second Shepherds' Play: a Play for the Christmas Season"), the revelation of the angel may have been as much a surprise and delight to the audience as to the shepherds.

The play seems ideally suited for a small touring company: the roles of Mak and his wife Gill could easily be doubled with those of the Angel and Mary, allowing for a cast of five. Moreover, a single set would easily accommodate both Mak's house, with its cradle for the sheep (line 623), and the Nativity scene with its crib for the Christ child (lines 931, 995). Mary would likely be seated on a chair or stool, which could be used for Gill as well, who is apparently "sett for to spyn" (line 430) when Mak first arrives — an activity that requires a spindle and reel but no other furniture. The transformation both of the actors and of the space itself, from secular to sacred, would thus echo and reinforce the careful parallel between the representations of the stolen sheep and the newborn Christ, the allegorical Lamb of God (John 1:29).

Before 1 *Incipit alia eorundem*. Here begins another of the same — that is, another Shepherds play; see Figure 2, p. 131, showing the opening of this play in the manuscript.

1 *weders*. In its plural form the term most often refers to adverse weather. In the York Nativity pageant, Joseph very similarly complains, "A, Lorde God, what the wedir is colde" (*York* 14.71).

14 *husbandys*. The MS reads *shepardes* (see Textual Note), emended here as in most modern editions for the rhyme; "husbandys" in this context, as at line 33, means "farmers," as opposed to the "wedmen" ("husbands" in the usual modern sense) of line 94.

20–39 *For the tylthe . . . . shuld we thryfe*. When open land was enclosed and made into separate walled or hedged fields suitable for the grazing of sheep, it was generally left fallow. Peasant farmers (or "husbands") with little or no land to till were thus forced to become shepherds by the actions of wealthy landowners ("gentlery men," line 26) and their bailiffs or stewards ("men that ar lord-fest," line 29).

40–41 *a paynt slefe / Or a broche*. This reference to overbearing retainers wearing livery, distinctive tokens given to them by the lord they serve as signs of their loyalty and authority, prepares the audience for the entrance of Mak in "a yeoman … of the king" (lines 291–92) demanding "reverence" (line 298) from others.

49 *purveance*. Purveyance, originally a royal prerogative for facilitating travel throughout the realm, but appropriated by lesser nobles, involved the requisition or seizure of goods at an arbitrary (or nonexistent) price. See *MED purveyance* (n.), sense 5b.

72 *balk*. While the term can refer to any sort of ridge or mound of earth, here it likely means "a strip of unplowed land between two fields" (*MED balke* (n.), sense 2a) and thus, as SC assert, suggests that the action of the play is set in arable lands near a township, rather than on the moors as line 15 would appear to indicate (SC p. 496n72); however, beyond providing the necessary rhyme, the term could simply be used to reinforce the earlier assertion that once-ploughed lands are now lying fallow (lines 20–21).

79 *Bensté and Dominus*. "Bless us" (*benedicite*) and "Lord" are used as interjections. Shepherd 2 here addresses the audience, having apparently not yet seen Shepherd 1.

98 *Sely Copyle oure hen*. A coppel is a "crest or comb (of a hen); — used as a name of a hen" (*MED coppel* (n.), citing as its sole source the northern English poem, "The Tournament of Tottenham").

101 *to crok*. Mak's wife will later be said "to crok" in childbirth (line 556).

124–26 *Som men wyll have two wyfys . . . . In store*. That is, some men remarry, and some more than once, but the phrase "in store" may suggest that some also keep mistresses.

144 *For as ever rede I pystyll*. While "epistle" could refer to any written communication but particularly ancient letters of literary value, the obvious (if anachronistic) reference here is to one of the apostolic letters from the New Testament, normally read as part of the Mass by a subdeacon but not by laity (shepherds included).

146 *As sharp as thystyll*. Proverbial. See Whiting T210.

147 *As rugh as a brere*. Proverbial. See Whiting B542.

150–52 *Had she oones . . . . Hyr Paternoster*. Once she has had a drink ("wet her whistle"), she can loudly sing the Lord's Prayer ("Our Father" — see Matthew 6:9–13). While anachronism of this sort is common in biblical drama, it takes on particular significance here if, as suggested, the play were to be performed on its own. Outside any obviously biblical context, having the shepherds refer to the Lord's Prayer (or to Christ's cross and Saint Nicholas, lines 170–71) would seem entirely appropriate, while making the eventual revelation of the Nativity still more surprising.

156 *I wald I had ryn to I had lost hir*. Russell Poole has argued that this unusually long line contains a stage direction, "Thay ryn to," mistakenly incorporated into the dialogue, which should be emended to read "I wald I had lost hir" ("A Disguised Stage Direction," pp. 317–18).

157 *God looke over the raw*. That is, may God watch over the audience. Shepherd 2 has been addressing the audience directly, perhaps from among them rather than from the same performance area where Shepherd 1 waits, unnoticed.

161 *Sagh thou awre of Daw*. That is, have you seen Daw anywhere? The name of Shepherd 3 is a diminutive of "David," but also means "fool" (see 3.359). Much like Shepherd 2 before him, Shepherd 3 will enter (at line 170) without initially noticing the others.

203–04 *I wyll gyf my shepe / A turne*. I will drive my sheep in another direction — that is, to avoid the other two shepherds whom he has just noticed.

210 *master myne*. It is uncertain as to which of the other two is addressed here; Shepherd 1 calls Shepherd 3 "my knave" in line 213, whereas Shepherd 2 refers to him more generically as "the boy" (line 215), but also refers to "oure shepe" (line 257). (See also the note to 8.257 regarding Shepherd 3 and the boy in the first Shepherds play.)

237–38 *I shall do therafter, / Wyrk as I take*. That is, I shall work according to the wages that I receive.

239–43 *I shall do . . . . In feyldys*. I shall work a little, sir, and play constantly in between, for my supper has never lain too heavily on my stomach while I am out in the pastures. That is, eating has never interfered with his ability to be active, because he has not had a full meal.

249 *ryde on wowing*. It was customary for a man to bring a companion when he went to woo a bride.

259–60 *I thaym left in the corne, / When thay rang lawdys*. That is, I left them in the grain field — a punishable offence — when the bell for Lauds was rung. Lauds is a daily office or set of prayers, sung at the first light of dawn (and thus variable by season in the medieval church).

270–73 *Lett me syng . . . . how ye chauntt*. The song that follows these lines would have been in three parts: the tenor is the lowest and the treble the highest, with the mean predictably in between; in English Discant style, the upper parts are usually improvised contrapuntally against the (written or known) tenor line, harmonizing in rhythmically equal time. Shepherd 3 takes the mean rather than the highest part, indicating that, while younger than the other two, he is not a child, but a 'boy' primarily in the sense of being subservient to the others.

274 *thy naymes sevyn*. Robert E. Jungmann ("Mak and the Seven Names of God") has argued that the phrase is connected not to the Jewish tradition of the seven names of God, but to witchcraft and the conjuring of spirits, as it is in a (seventeenth-century) text known as the *Lemegeton*, or "Lesser Key of Solomon." Mak appears unaware of the presence of the shepherds, although both his

entrance at the end of their song and his failure to respond to the first lines spoken to him suggests otherwise.

283 *Who is that pypys so poore*. That is, who is speaking in a weak or shrill voice? Cain uses a similar phrase to mock God at 2.300.

291 *Ich be a yoman*. To support his claim to be a yeoman, in service to the nobility, Mak attempts to disguise not only his appearance, by means of a cloak (which could also be used to hide anything he might steal), but also his speech, adopting several specifically southern dialect forms such as the first-person pronoun "ich" ("I") and imperative plurals such as "goyth" (line 296) and "doth" (line 309) — forms that Shepherd 1 dismisses as a "southern tooth" (line 311).

300 *Why make ye it so qwaynt*. Mak is "making strange" both in pretending to be someone else and in making his speech strange or elaborately affected.

328–29 *a sekenes I feyll / That haldys me full haytt*. That is, I feel a sickness that affects me intensely, or that keeps me feverish.

332–33 *Seldom lyys the dewyll / Dede by the gate*. That is, the devil does not truly suffer, and thus should not be trusted, or given sympathy.

336–38 *If I stande stone styll . . . . and more*. That is, as sure as I stand, still as a stone, I have not eaten anything in more than a month.

345–46 *Yll spede othere good / That she wyll do*. That is, may everything else that she does turn out badly.

361–64 *Now wyll ye se . . . . hed mas penny*. Much like Noah's wife (3.562–65), Mak expresses a willingness to spend all he has to see his spouse dead. While "head penny" can refer to any per-person fee (as in a poll tax) as well as to church offerings, a "head mass penny" (or simply "mass penny") is a payment to the church for having mass said, especially for one who has died.

365–68 *I wote so forwakyd . . . . to my hyere*. That is, I am certain that no one in this shire is as tired as I am; I will sleep even if it means I get less pay.

380–81 *Then myght . . . rowne*. That is, this way I might keep you all from assuming the worst about me.

384–85 *Manus tuas commendo / Poncio Pilato*. Mak's 'benediction' is a corruption of Jesus' final words on the cross: *In manus tuas commendo spiritum meum* (Luke 23:46, "Into thy hands I commend my spirit"), invoking Pontius Pilate who condemns Jesus to death (see 19.296–99). This is a more sinister 'night-spell' than that of Shepherd 3 in the previous play (8.418–25), especially taken in connection with the spell that follows. The stanza as a whole is irregular, and may be missing four lines due to a copying error.

400–12 *Bot abowte you a serkyll . . . . it be right*. Mak traces or otherwise creates a circle around the sleeping shepherds — the traditional magic circle of necromancy — and pronounces a spell over them to ensure that they remain sleeping until he returns. His reference to making a "better effort to make things right" (lines 411–12) may indicate some additional stage action necessary to complete or perfect the spell, prior to his catching a sheep.

430 *I am sett for to spyn*. Like Noah's wife (see 3.488–90 and 528–29), Gill is occupied with her spindle, an activity associated with Eve, but also important in many northern English communities in the later Middle Ages.

439 *open the hek*. A heck (or "hatch") is a door, or more particularly the lower part of a divided door (*MED hacche* (n.), sense 1a). This particular door is referred to repeatedly (see lines 474[a], 582, and 691) as needing to be opened or shut. Nowhere else in these plays, other than perhaps on Noah's ark (see 3.198, 404), is an actual door required as part of the stage action; however, in the N-Town pageant of Joseph's Doubt, Joseph twice asks Mary, "Undo youre dore," before Mary tells her handmaid to "Ondo the dore" and then welcomes him in (*N-Town* 12.1, 5, 8).

445–46 *By the nakyd nek / Art thou lyke for to hyng*. Mak's wife has evidently seen the sheep immediately; sheep-stealing was a hanging offence.

448 *I am worthy my mete*. Much the same phrase is used in the Wycliffite translation of Matthew 10:10: "for a werkman is worthi his mete."

456 *Jelott*. A diminutive form of the name of Mak's wife, Gill. On the name Gill, see note to 3.318.

458–61 *Bot so long goys the pott . . . . broken*. A common proverb. See Whiting P323.

476–77 *Then myght I by, for all the pak, / The dewill of the war*. Then might I suffer a devil of a bad time, from the whole pack of them.

487–88 *I shall say . . . this night*. Disguising the sheep not merely as a child but as a newborn baby boy sets up a parallel (if only in retrospect) with the Nativity scene that ends the play.

497–98 *Bot I com or thay ryse / Els blawes a cold blast*. Unless I return before they wake up, a cold wind will blow — that is, trouble. These lines are likely spoken as Mak returns to where the shepherds are sleeping, given that his next lines indicate that he is already there. He must then get into the position he was in before they fell asleep.

504–06 *Resurrex a mortruis . . . . Judas carnas dominus*. The first of these garbled Latin lines echoes the Creed (and part of a traditional morning prayer), "he rose from the dead" (*resurrexit a mortuis*), while the second — likely a parodic distortion of

a phrase such as *laudes canas domino* ("sing praises to the lord" — see SC p. 503n506) translates as "Judas, flesh, lord."

514 *As fresh as an eyll*. Proverbial. See Whiting E43.

522–23 *So my browes blakys / To the dowore wyll I wyn*. That is, as my brows turn pale (or *blake*, with fear) I will get to the door. This door, unlike the door to Mak's house (see note to line 439 above), does not exist; Shepherd 3 is too sleepy and frightened to remember that he is outdoors. If written for an indoor performance, the line would function as a metatheatrical joke, much like the various asides to the audience or Gill's concern about who might be watching at line 495, not to mention the reference to being "near England" in line 511.

550 *my nek has lygen wrang*. Mak complains that his neck is sore due to his lying on it awkwardly; he has of course been lying down only briefly, but the line also recalls his conversation with Gill regarding the punishment for sheep-stealing (lines 445–46).

552 *Mekill thank*. That is, much thanks. Another shepherd has evidently helped (or impatiently pulled) Mak to his feet.

554–55 *I was flayd . . . out of sloghe*. "Flayed" (or tortured) literally means "skinned" while a "slough" is either skin in a general sense (as in "my heart leapt out of my skin"), or skin that is shed (as by a snake, or by flaying). Mak attempts to delude the shepherds with an account of his fictional "swevyn," a visionary dream, while the supposed "fantom" or delusion (line 540) of Shepherd 2 turns out to be a true vision.

559–60 *a yong lad / For to mend oure flok*. Mak's choice of words not only alludes to the "young lad" being a sheep from the flock belonging to these shepherds, but also foreshadows the epiphany of Christ, the "good shepherd" of John 10:11, at the end of the play.

562 *I have tow on my rok*. I have flax on my distaff — that is, I have business to attend to.

578 *all oure store*. While "store" can refer to possessions in general, not just livestock as glossed here (see *MED store* (n.1), senses 1 and 2), Mak later notes that the last thing the shepherds said as he left was that they would look to ensure that they have all their sheep (lines 610–13).

581 *the crokyd thorne*. The Surtees edition (*The Towneley Mysteries*, p. xv) refers to "a remarkable thorn tree which was known by the name of the Shepherd's Thorn [that] stood in Mapplewell," south of Wakefield. However, both thorn trees and places named after these are common. As Milton suggests in his poem, "L'Allegro," "Every Shepherd tells his tale / Under the Hawthorn in the dale" (lines 67–68).

585 *Now walk in the wenyand*. A mild curse, the waning moon being considered unlucky; see note to 2.227–29.

588 *Then may we be here*. SC emend as "Then may we se [see] here" (p. 143), although *here* has more than one meaning that fits the context. While glossed as the adjective meaning "pleasant," making Gill's line a sarcastic response to Mak's unusually pleasant greeting, *here* can also mean "a crowd," which would then suggest that the next line means "the devil in a multitude," referring to the large number of people — mostly children — ostensibly occupying the house already.

628–29 *Come hap me . . . . Behinde*. That is, come cover me, and ensure that I am covered behind. Mak is to tuck her convincingly under bedclothes (although likely not on a bed, properly speaking, as they are poor).

631 *Thay will nyp us full naroo*. They will squeeze us tightly — that is, the shepherds will search us carefully.

638 *Syng lullay.* Mak is to sing a lullaby — possibly even the refrain of a lullaby carol as SC suggest in the note to this line, again anticipating the Nativity scene (SC p. 505n638).

651 *A fat wedir*. The term "wether" most often means a castrated ram, but can be applied to any male sheep. The stolen sheep needs to be small enough to pass for a newborn child, but mature enough to be both "fat" and "hornyd" (line 867; see also the notes to lines 658–59 and 911–12, below).

652 *Mary, Godys forbott*. The initial interjection (originally "by Mary" but later often spelled "marry," and used without religious intent or significance) refers to Mary, mother of Jesus, who will appear at the end of the play; the second part of the line literally means "God's forbidding."

657 *All horbery shrogys*. The line is usually rendered "All Horbery shrogys" (as it is in SC; see their note at p. 506n657), Horbury being the name of a town near Wakefield. However, *horbery* may be a variation or mistranscription of *herbery* (see *MED herberwe* (n.), senses 1 and 2) — that is, shelter, which scrogs or brush (see *MED scrogge* (n.)) provide for the sheep.

658–59 *And of fefteyn hogys / Fond I bot oone ewe*. Both this ewe and the missing "fatt wedir" (see line 651 and note) were expected to be with the younger sheep, a "hogg" being a sheep that is roughly 6–16 months old (after weaning but before first shearing). See *OED hog* (n.1), sense II4a.

661 *Sant Thomas of Kent*. That is, Saint Thomas Becket of Canterbury.

683–85 *Tyll I se . . . . anothere*. That is, I will never sleep twice in the same place until I see him.

686–87 *Will ye here how thay hak? / Oure syre lyst croyne*. Reference to Mak as "sire" alludes back to his ostentatious entrance near the beginning of the play, while the musical terms used anticipate the angel's song. Both "hack" and "crack" (line 688) mean to break up a note or line, trilling or singing a melismatic melody, with multiple notes to a syllable, as used in regard to the angel's song later in the play (see the note to line 948 below). However, both terms also have derogatory meanings, and are used here to indicate that Mak is mangling the music with his cracked voice.

696 *were it day*. That is, if only it were day — it is still very early in the morning.

717–20 *Thynk ye . . . . A seson.* Having just said that he needs to hire a nursemaid, Mak asks whether the shepherds remember what he told them earlier regarding his dream of having yet another child (lines 554–60) and says, in effect, "I have my expected reward; my dream has come true at the appointed time."

726 *Me thynk that ye swette*. That is, I think you work hard. His apparent generous offer of food and drink that precedes this line is at odds with his previous assertions of dire poverty and lack of food (as in lines 337–38).

729 *alys you oght bot goode*. That is, does anything other than what is good trouble you? "Good" can also mean "property," loss of which is indeed troubling the shepherds.

736–37 *som men trowes that ye wore / And that us forthynkys*. Some men — that is, the three of us — think that you were (there), and that displeases us.

746 *hir*. By referring to the stolen sheep as female, Mak hides his knowledge that the one he took was male — "a fat wedir" (see line 651 and note).

750 *syn she lade hir*. That is, since she was 'brought to bed' to deliver a child.

753–54 *this be the fyrst mele / That I shall ete this day*. Literally, of course, this is exactly the plan, while figuratively, eating the lamb/child signifies the Eucharist. See also lines 774–76.

770 *farne*. That is, "farrowed" — a term usually reserved for a sow that has given birth.

785 *hatters*. The term literally means clothing (see *MED hater(e* (n.1)), but is here used as an interjection meaning "by the holy garments" — that is, the seamless tunic of Christ, a relic claimed both by the cathedral at Trier, Germany, since at least the eleventh century, and by the parish church of Argenteuil, now a suburb of Paris. The latter relic was referred to in 1156 as the *cappa pueri Jesu* ("garment of the Child Jesus"), woven by the Virgin Mary, but believed to have grown with Jesus and thus become the *tunica inconsutilis* — the seamless garment of John 19:23 that is the focus of the Towneley play of the Dice. See *Catholic Encyclopedia*, "Holy Coat."

790–92 *Whik catell bot this . . . . None*. That is, no live ("quick") animals except this — the supposed child (which, as the shepherd goes on to say in line 793, smells as strongly as the lost sheep). "Cattle" was a generic term, inclusive not only of various livestock but of other possessions ("chattel") as well.

805–06 *In good tyme to hys hyppys / And in celé*. That is, a good and happy future to him — literally, to his hips. Being "on the hip" was a position of disadvantage or vulnerability in wrestling (see 8.366–69 and note). The phrase "his hips" is also used in the play of the Dice to refer to a person (see 21.410–12 and note).

807–08 *gossyppys / So sone redé*. For the Middle English term for godparents, see *MED god-sib(be* (n.), sense 1. Baptism (in the presence of godparents or "gossips") occurred as soon after birth as possible, to avoid the possibility that a child would die without the benefit of the sacrament.

809 *fare fall thare lyppys*. That is, bless them. Mak is all too clearly stalling for time as he thinks of a response to the question regarding identity of the godparents.

812–13 *Parkyn and Gybon Waller . . . And gentill John Horne*. "John Horne" is a relatively common name, but is notably shared by Shepherd 2 in the first Shepherds play, in which Shepherd 1, like Shepherd 2 in this play (see line 852), is named Gib (see 8.118–22). The name "Gybon" is a variation of Gib; however, the supposed godparent here is obviously not Shepherd 2 here. The coincidence of names, particularly given the subsequent reference to John Horne's long legs (or "greatt shank" — line 815) might suggest that these two plays shared an audience, and possibly even the same cast. Playing the two plays in succession could render the coincidence of names absurd, but the plays could easily have been performed in the same place at different times, perhaps even in successive years like N-Town's two-part Passion Play.

826 *farthyng*. A farthing was the smallest coin available, worth a quarter of a penny (twelve farthings were thus equivalent to sixpence — see line 837). Leaving a gift for the newborn was customary, but here anticipates the gift-giving at the Nativity.

834 *lytyll day starne*. The same phrase is used to describe the Christ child at line 1049.

847 *We wate ill abowte*. That is, we pry into things we should leave alone (see *MED waiten* (v.), sense 1a).

848–49 *Ill spon weft . . . / Ay commys foull owte*. That is, badly-spun thread always makes bad cloth. Proverbial. See Whiting W571. In cloth weaving, the weft crosses from side to side, at right angles to the warp on the loom.

867 *A hornyd lad*. A child with horns is suggestive of the devil, and antithetical to the Nativity that follows.

894–95 *Ye two ar well feft, / Sam in a stede*. That is, you are well suited to one another, two of a kind. To be "feoffed" is to be endowed or put in legal possession of something — in this case each other, through marriage. See *OED feoff* (v.).

906 *cast hym in canvas*. The significance of casting Mak in canvas has been variously explained, and the staging itself is problematic: unless *hym* is an error for *hem* ("them") as sometimes argued, Gill apparently escapes punishment, yet even one person is difficult for three persons to toss in a four-cornered blanket — the most common interpretation of the line. However, Thomas J. Jambeck has pointed out that canvas was used as winnowing cloth, for separating grain from chaff ("Canvas-Tossing," p. 50) — a prominent biblical (and medieval) metaphor for judgment; see Matthew 3:12, which in the Wycliffite version (c. 1385) explicitly refers to a "wynwing cloth," translating Latin *ventilabrum* (see also *MED canevas* (n.), sense 2a, and *windwe-cloth* (n.)). A winnowing cloth was relatively narrow, allowing two persons to toss and catch the grain while the wind blew away the chaff; Mak, and perhaps Gill as well, might be less tossed than violently rolled back and forth, possibly after some 'threshing' or beating, but the image would be clear to a contemporary audience. Jambeck ("Canvas-Tossing," p. 50) further notes that, according to Randle Cotgrave's popular *Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (1611), the French verb *berner* means "to vanne, or winnow corne; also, to canuasse, or tosse in a siue [sieve]; (a punishment inflicted on such as commit grosse absurdities;) also, to flout, mocke, deride, ride, abuse, ieast, scoffe at" (see also *OED canvass* (v.)). For the editorial reassignment of lines in this section, see Textual Note to line 901.

911–12 *As a shepe of sevyn skore / He weyd in my fyst*. That is, he weighed the same in my hands as a sheep of seven score — that is, 140 pounds (or 63.5 kilograms, roughly the weight of an average-sized ewe).

923 *That Adam had lorne*. That is, those who Adam doomed to destruction through his original sin in Eden.

932 *Betwyx two bestys*. See note to 8.437–38.

939–41 *All the wod . . . . Appere*. That is I thought that he made all the woods look bright. The term "levin" (see *MED leven* (n.)) can refer to a lightning flash or to any bright light.

948 *Thre brefes to a long*. While note values varied in the medieval mensural system, a *breve* or regular note was roughly equivalent to four *crotchets* (or two *minims*); "Thre brefes to a long" indicates the equivalent of 6/4 time in modern notation. In this stanza, the angel's song is enthusiastically described in terms that echo the earlier description of Mak's poor singing (see note to lines 686–87 above). Here the verbs "crack" and "hack" (lines 947–949) signify a swift, ornate style with short notes. The *MED*, citing this passage, defines *knakken* (v.) as "to trill (a musical note); also, sing (divine service) with trills or other artifices." The angel's

elaborately "hakt" and "crakyd" melody is to be swiftly and perfectly sung, or "knakt," without a wrong note — "no crotchet wrong" (line 950).

958 *Hark after than*. As earlier (line 270 and note), Shepherd 1 claims the tenor line, ostensibly imitating what the angel has just sung, with which the other two will harmonize — hence the requirement that they listen to ("Hark after") him. The song immediately follows, ending prior to the next spoken line.

998–1003 *Patryarkes that hase . . . . have they lorne*. That is, the prophets and patriarchs are all long dead, and have lost the chance to see the Christ whose birth they foretold.

1020–23 *Lord . . . . comfroth thi wight*. The poor shepherds have nothing to give the child, having apparently had "bot sex pence" (line 837) to give to Mak's child earlier. Their prayer for "somkyns gle" (that is, something joyful) to offer is apparently answered immediately and miraculously with symbolic gifts: an unseasonable "bob of cherries" (line 1036, reminiscent of the famous miracle, staged in the *N-Town* Nativity pageant, 15.25–43, in which a cherry tree not only produces fruit out of season but also bends down to give the fruit to Mary), a bird (line 1044, symbol of the Holy Ghost and of Creation — see Genesis 1:2, which Milton in *Paradise Lost*, 7.233–35 would memorably render as "Darkness profound / Covered the abyss, but on the watery calm / His brooding wings the spirit of God outspread"), and a ball (line 1060, the royal orb, representing dominion over the earth).

1024–59 *Hayll . . . .* See note to 8.660–92.

1030–31 *The fals gyler of teyn / Now goys he begylde*. The false and cruel beguiler — that is, the devil — is now beguiled. The theme of 'the beguiler beguiled' is commonplace.

1039 *frely foyde*. This punning Eucharistic reference (see 7.d.85 and note), suggesting both "noble child" and "excellent food," is particularly appropriate to this play with its parallel drawn between the infant Christ (whose body and blood are consumed in the Eucharist) and the disguised sheep (stolen to be eaten).

1048 *I wold drynk on thy cop*. The phrase suggests not only the cup of the Eucharist, but also a willingness on the part of the Shepherd to share in Christ's future suffering; see Matthew 20:22 and Mark 10:38–39.

1059 *put furth thy dall*. The only attestations in the *MED* for *dal* (n.) meaning "hand," come from the Towneley MS — here and twice (in plural form) in the Judgment play, 27.200 and 273.

1062 *go to the tenys*. Tennis was a sport with strong aristocratic associations (originally played with the hand, not a racquet — hence the French name, *jeu de paume*).

1067–68 *My name couth he neven / And lyght or he went*. That is, God spoke my name and he (the Son) alighted in me — was conceived — before he (the Father) left.

1087–88 *To syng . . . take on loft*. The shepherds close the play with a song as they depart.

10. THE OFFERING OF THE MAGI

The offering of the Magi to the infant Christ, based primarily on Matthew 2:1–12, was already subject to dramatic representation by the eleventh century in the form of the *Officium stellae* ("the ceremony of the star"), in association with the liturgical celebration of the Feast of Epiphany, the twelfth day of Christmas (6 January in the Gregorian calendar). Middle English pageants on this subject survive from Coventry, York, and Chester, as well as in the N-Town and Towneley collections. In Chester, the encounter with Herod and the offering itself are dramatized in separate pageants (see *Chester* 8 and 9), while in York the two episodes ultimately came to be performed as a single play through the cooperation of different guilds using two different wagons — one representing Herod's palace and the other the Nativity scene (see *York* 16.268 and 272, s.d. and notes). The Towneley version has an interesting connection to York: the Angel's speech to the three kings appears to have been borrowed almost word for word from the parallel York play (see note to lines 595–606 below); this is the only 12-line stanza in the play, the rest being written in the same 6-line *rime couée* stanza as four of the York plays (6, 22, 38, and 41). However, in most respects this play stands alone, and could well have been performed that way. The staging apparently requires three distinct loci: Herod's palace, presumably with a throne for Herod but also with discrete seating for the three kings; a space in which the kings meet Mary and her child; and — uniquely — a bed, where the Angel comes to them in a dream. The kings both enter and depart in different directions on horseback, and a messenger apparently goes in among the audience, remaining there through one scene. Interestingly, this is the only play in the collection that contains any stage directions in English (after lines 504, 510, and 522). The text is also unusually repetitive, with several formulaic alliterative phrases (such as "se and sand" at lines 8, 225, 248, 399, 631) and some entire lines being repeated, along with specific content such as the significance of the star and the kings' gifts — repetition that would be especially suited to a crowded outdoor performance.

6–7 *lord am I. / Lord am I*. Concatenation (a type of verbal repetition) links the first six (and occasional other) stanzas in this play.

33–34 *I am myghty man aywhare, / Of ilka pak*. That is, I am the mightiest man of (any and) every company. Herod is typically boastful — see the headnote to play 12, Herod the Great.

62 *Those laddys that will not lede oure lay*. SC emend *lede* to *lefe* — that is, "believe in our law" (SC p. 514n62) — although *lede* here could mean to administer, suffer, or conduct one's self according to that law (see *MED leden* (v.1), senses 1 and 9). In Scots, the verb *lede* had specific associations with the administration of the law and with conducting legal proceedings (see *DSL lede* (v.), sense 17, 18, and 19).

73–84 *All peasse, lordyngys . . . . told he mee*. The messenger addresses the audience, having left the area that represents Herod's palace; he may remain among the audience throughout the meeting of the three kings, which he apparently witnesses (see line 275).

81–82 *And othere God ye worship none / Bot Mahowne*. The order invoking the worship of Muhammad (see note to 6.410) parodies the biblical (and Islamic) commandment to worship none but God alone — see Exodus 20:3–5 and Deuteronomy 5:7–9.

84, s.d. *Tunc venit primus rex equitans* . . . . The biblical account (only in Matthew 2:1–12) does not mention three kings, only an unknown number of *magi* — magicians, astrologers, or wise persons — who follow a star from the east bringing gifts of gold, frankincense, and myrrh (Matthew 2:11); the naming of three gifts in part gave rise to the identification of three kings. In the Chester version of this episode, the kings initially ride horses (8.48, s.d.), but then find "dromodaryes to ryde upon" (8.102), which unlike the horses would likely have been wheeled props. While stage directions are lacking for the next two entrances here, these three kings all ride horses, as indicated in the stage direction following 504. The star may be carried by the Angel who speaks later in the play, following the tradition preserved in the *Golden Legend* that the star was not fixed in the firmament but "went before the Magi like a traveler, not going around in circles but straight ahead" (Jacobus de Voragine, *Golden Legend*, 1:81–82).

104–08 *Whensever this selcouth light* . . . . *Thus bright shynand*. That is, from where does this wonderful, brightly shining light descend, that has kindly guided me out of my land and has shown me my destination?

120–59 *From Araby* . . . . *my name to say*. Neither the traditional names of the Magi (Melchior, Jaspar, and Balthasar — lines 122, 126, 159) nor their places of origin are mentioned in the biblical account. The place names, however, are based on Psalm 71:10 (72:10 in many modern editions, a verse used in the Epiphany mass), which states that the kings of Tarsus, Arabia, and Saba (see lines 120–24 and 152–58) will all bring gifts to the great king.

183–84 *it mase / Of novelry*. That is, the star is a unique creation.

205 *Balaam spekys of this thing*. See Numbers 24:17.

233–46 *This gold* . . . . *I bryng*. The gifts are based on Matthew 2:11, but all are traditionally given symbolic as well as practical meanings: gold signifies royalty, and will alleviate the poverty of the holy family; frankincense (called "rekyls" or incense in line 237) signifies holiness ("In tokyn that he is God veray" — line 239) as well as prayer (rising like smoke into heaven), and can mitigate the stench of the stable; and myrrh signifies death (as stated in line 245), but could also be used as a healing balm.

293 *thare wytt in a starne shuld be*. That is, all their knowledge is derived from a star (see also line 302); Herod is not yet aware of the prophecies.

296 *Thay ryfe my hede*. Literally, they split or pierce my head. The word "rive" (like "reave") can also mean to steal from someone, in this case Herod's position as head or ruler.

331 *Say I have greatt herand thaym tyll*. The word "errand" here means "message." The messenger is also given a written summons ("brefe") that he in turn gives to kings at line 342.

366 *By hym me boght*. Herod ostensibly refers to "Mahowne," but the phrase (see also lines 406, 444) is normally reserved for Christ, who is said to have bought or redeemed humankind with his blood (see Acts 20:28, Ephesians 1:7, Colossians 1:14, 1 Peter 1:18–19, and Towneley 2.116 and 464; 8.107, 451, and 595; 9.132; and 17.257).

393 *what say ye two*. Herod here addresses the two counselors. The kings should sit as requested (line 392), possibly occupying the seats initially reserved for the two counselors as they come forward; they do not overhear Herod's ranting in the scene that follows. Herod does not address the kings again until line 481.

417–28 *profett Isay . . . . the profett Isay*. See Isaiah 7:14 (and the final note to the Prophets play, 7.a). The doctrine of the virgin birth (see lines 423–24, which also imply Mary's perpetual virginity, and Mary's own words at lines 563 and 569), as opposed to the virginal conception of Christ, is not biblical but rooted in the Protevangelium of James and in various early Christian theological writings.

434 *I wold be rent and all to-torne*. This line repeats line 389; overall, Herod's expressions of grief and rage are highly repetitive, as is the play as a whole.

445 *Micheas the prophett*. See Micah 5:2.

473 *swalchon*. This is the sole known instance of the word, defined doubtfully in the *MED* as "a servant or lowly attendant"; see the discussion in SC (p. 516n473). This could accord with the *OED* definition of *squall* (n.1) as "an insignificant person" (earliest attestation c. 1570). However, the word might possibly refer to a proud person (as a derivation of the verb "to swell" — see *MED swellen* (v.), sense 6c).

492 *It shal be doyn*. The kings must leave Herod at this point, mounting their horses; they dismount after line 504.

513–16 *Thy nobyll starne . . . . we shall fare*. That is, quickly show us your star so that we might know where we should go. The prayer is answered immediately, as is clear from the thankful speech by King 3 that follows.

553 *Hayll, kyng in kyth, cowrand on kne*. King 3 kneels (see *MED couren* (v.), sense 1), and says that he does so, as he greets the infant Jesus as "king in his own country."

594 *Ye shall begyn*. King 3 allows the other kings to lie down first, out of courtesy, which would also allow time for the audience to admire the apparently miraculous "lytter redy clad" (line 590) with bedclothes suitable for royalty. The Angel speaks only after they are all asleep (as specified in Matthew 2:12 but without mention of an angel).

595–606 *Syr curtes kyngys . . . . wyll he be*. The Angel's speech here closely parallels that in the York version of this episode (*York* 16.369–80), but with the last two lines reversed. SC reverse lines 605–06 in their edition, to better conform to the York text (SC p. 517n595–606), although the lines make sense as they stand; the stanza may have been deliberately altered to echo the *rime couée* form of the rest of this play. This is the only 12-line stanza in the play.

619 *more and myn*. This phrase literally means "more and less" but is commonly used to mean "everyone without exception" (see *MED more* (adj. comp.), sense 1b and *minne* (adj.), sense 1a).

11. THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT

The escape into Egypt immediately follows the visit of the Magi in the gospel account (Matthew 2:13–14), as it does here but not in York, where the Purification pageant intervenes (although it is misplaced in the York manuscript itself). Both in Chester and in N-Town, the angel appears to Joseph only after Herod sends out his soldiers in the pageant of the Slaughter of the Innocents (Matthew 2:16) — again after the Purification pageant in N-Town but not in Chester, where the order of episodes is otherwise closer to that of Towneley. This pageant, written in 13-line stanzas (with a single exception, lines 157–68) is closely linked to that of York (written in 12-line stanzas) by some striking parallels in wording — sufficiently many scattered throughout to have led some critics to assume that one play was a revised version of the other (see Lyle, *Original Identity*, pp. 1–2, 53, 60–63). However, the differences are also striking. For example, the York version begins with prayers by both Joseph and Mary that indicate their strong and steadfast character; after the Angel speaks, the York Joseph responds positively and graciously, rather than with argument and complaint regarding his age and infirmity — indeed, York's Joseph shows notable strength and calm in this episode, in relation to his earlier appearances, while Mary is more fretful, albeit less repetitively so than here in Towneley. The sheer amount of repetition within this text, much as in the York text, suggests that the Towneley play was written in deliberate if not always successful imitation.

5–7 *I am an angell . . . . To cach thee outt of care*. That is, I am an angel sent to get you out of trouble, in order to keep you from suffering harm.

11–13 *God . . . . toyn*. The rhyme is imperfect at best, possibly indicating an error in transcription.

21–24 *For Herode dos . . . . Of eld*. That is, Herod is killing all male children under the age of two, the age limit being based on what he has learned from the Magi, according to Matthew 2:16; see also 12.367–73.

81 *Wo worth fals Herode are*. The word *are* is most likely a variant spelling of *ere* (see 10.320, 330), in this context meaning "soon;" however, SC gloss *are* as "heir" and refer to the legend, dramatized in the Chester version of the Slaughter of the Innocents (which includes the flight into Egypt), that Herod's son falls victim to the slaughter (SC p. 519n81).

87 *Sichon for to fare*. That is, to do such a thing. SC echo the similar York text ("On slike a foode [child] hym to forfare," line 140 in Davidson's edition), rendering the line as "Sich-on to forfare" ("Such a one to destroy;" SC p. 520n87; 180).

121 *Bot tytt pak up oure gere*. The York Joseph tells Mary "Do tyte, pakke same oure gere / And such smale harnes [baggage] as we have" (*York* 18.160–61), telling her that he will carry the "pakald" or package (18.169); here, while one line is closely similar in wording, it is less clear as to who should do the packing, and Joseph offers to carry "this pak" only at the end of the play (line 174).

127–28 *From wandreth he us were, / And shame*. That is, may he keep us (*MED weren* (v.1), sense 3) both from misfortune and from shame.

137–38 *No wonder if I be wyll / And sythen has many a fo*. In his use of "sythen," here meaning "subsequently" or "since," Joseph is apparently referring to the time since Herod has given his order for the slaughter.

151 *Take me thi brydyll*. Traditionally Mary rides a donkey, carrying Jesus, Joseph walking alongside, both to Bethlehem for the birth and then to Egypt.

12. HEROD THE GREAT

Herod is the archetypal tyrant and an infamous stage character: already in the late thirteenth century, Chaucer's Absolon in the Miller's Tale "pleyeth Herodes upon a scaffold hye" (*CT* I[A] 3384), while just over two centuries later, Shakespeare's Hamlet denounces a bombastic acting style by stating that "It out-Herods Herod. Pray you avoid it" (*Hamlet* 3.2.12–13). As already noted (see the headnote to play 10), his encounter with the three Magi was given dramatic form in the liturgical *Officium stellae*, some examples of which include brief representation of the Massacre of the Innocents, deemed the first Christian martyrs by the Catholic church. Based on Matthew 2:16–18, this event is commemorated as the Feast of the Holy Innocents on 28 December, and has long been the focus of separate liturgical plays, and ultimately vernacular drama, in which Herod's raging was given more free reign. No less than six Middle English dramatizations (and records of still others) survive, including the "The Killing of the Children" in the Bodleian Library's MS Digby 133 as well as plays from York and Chester, N-Town and Towneley, and the Coventry Shearmen and Tailors' pageant in which Herod famously "ragis in þe pagond and in the street also" (line 728, s.d.) and three mothers sing the lullaby known as the Coventry Carol just before their children are slain. Herod rages in the Towneley Offering of the Magi, as well, and indeed consults with two counselors only to become enraged by their reports; however, as SC argue, this Herod is "more conspicuously used as a vehicle to parody contemporary courtly manners" (p. 522, headnote). Despite the grim subject, the text is both complex and

entertaining, much like the other plays written in the same 13-line 'bob and wheel' stanza. However, unlike his Chester, N-Town, and Digby counterparts, this Herod does not die at the end of the play (see Matthew 2:19); on its own, at least, the play gives no sense of any restoration of moral order, but leaves evil alive and well.

1 *Mahowne*. Muhammad is invoked as a (false) god, as often in these plays (see note to 6.410), this time not by a tyrant but by his messenger.

3–4 *Both of burgh and of towne, / By fellys and by fyrth*. That is, everyone — both from town and from country.

7–9 *That radly wyll . . . . Shall behapp*. That is, protection will be granted to all people who promptly quiet themselves down to a whisper. Calling for silence is standard at the beginning of plays featuring a tyrant.

32–35 *Byes he that bargan . . . . May ye trast*. That is, he will pay (for his transgression) more than 12,000 times over, I tell you — trust me.

53–55 *kyng of kyngys . . . . lord of lordyngys*. This phrase is explicitly associated with Christ in the New Testament (see 1 Timothy 6:15 and Apocalypse 17:14, 19:16).

57–58 *Ther watys on his wyngys . . . bost wyll blaw*. In keeping with the references to his great power, these lines describe Herod's retinue as divisions of an army at his sides (see *MED winge* (n.), sense 8), but also evoke the image of the winged angelic force that surrounds God.

62–73 *Tuskane and Turky . . . . to his crowne*. Largely alliterative lists of place names are similarly featured in plays as varied as the N-Town Temptation (23.161–75), *The Castle of Perseverance* (lines 170–78), and the *Croxton Play of the Sacrament* (lines 95–114).

69–70 *Unto Kemptowne, / From Sarceny to Susa*. Kempton was a royal manor in Surrey, near London; *Sarceny* is the land of the Saracens while Susa was the supposed capital of Prester John's mythical kingdom.

101 *dernly*. EP transcribe this word as *dernly*, glossed as "secretly, quietly" (see *MED derneliche* (adv.)), although the Messenger clearly wants to be seen kneeling before the king. This edition follows SC, which — noting the similarity between *n* and *u* throughout the MS — transcribe this as *deruly*, a variant of *derfly*, meaning "promptly" (SC p. 524n101; see *MED derfli* (adv.)). Both *dern* and *derfe* as well as the variant spelling *darfe* appear in the Judgment play (27.294, 655, and 1, respectively), but nowhere else in the MS.

143 *small as flesh to pott*. That is, like diced meat for a stew — for the pot.

146 *And all for oone*. The "oone" person referred to here is "that lad" (line 153), Christ.

152 *In wonys*. The same expression is used in a similar way in the Buffeting ("worthi in wonys," 18.67); while "wone" has a wide range of meanings, the phrase here likely indicates the degree to which Herod should be a considered "a full lewde syre" (line 153) if he does not do as he intends.

155 *this steyll brand*. Herod is brandishing a sword; he also wears a crown (line 163). Herod, the Jewish king, is often represented in late medieval sources as a Saracen, armed with a curved blade (see the note to 7.b.5).

168 *by Gottys dere nalys*. "God's nails" may refer to the nails of the cross or (as anachronistically) to Jesus' finger- or toenails (as religious relics); compare "Cokys dere bonys" at lines 331 and 571 (and see note to 27.408–09).

186 *Set all on sex and seven*. That is, cause disorder; the phrase derives from the game of hazard, and refers to betting everything on one throw of the dice (see note to 8.56).

192 *The dewill me hang and draw*. That is, may the devil hang and disembowel me. (Note that "to draw and hang" means to drag to the place of execution before hanging.)

206 *For-ugly and for-fell*. The prefix *for-* is used here (and at line 737) as an intensifier.

218–19 *where may I byde, / Bot fyght for teyn and al to-chyde*. Where might I stay without always fighting and scolding out of anger?

227–28 *Ther ar no greatt myschefys / For these maters to gnast*. That is, nothing so terrible has happened to give you cause to gnash your teeth.

234 *Withoutt othere sawes*. That is, without further evidence or hearing what we have to say.

247 *ditizance doutance*. The phrase is a corruption of the French "dites sans doutance" — that is, said without doubt. French appears to be used here, as in his addressing the messenger as "Bewshere" (*beau sieur* or "fair sir"), largely to indicate Herod's pretension; see the note to line 741 below.

257 *to quart*. The more usual phrase is "in quart" (as at line 481) — that is, in health.

284 *prevey counsel*. The privy (that is, private or personal) council — in this case, apparently just two Counselors — served as advisors to the monarch.

285–86 *Clerkys, ye bere the bell; / Ye must me encense*. He asks the clerks to lead the way, swinging incense in censers or thuribles as they might do before a priest at mass. While "you bear the bell" could mean "you are the best" (or worst — see 8.268 and note), here it more means simply that they should lead the way, as the bell-wether might lead the flock. It is possible, given the censing, that one of them also

literally carries and rings a bell, as was done to signal the beginning of the mass (and at the Elevation of the Host), emphasizing Herod's blasphemous pride.

287–90 *Oone spake . . . . to be kyng*. In the Offering of the Magi, the counselors, not the Magi, tell Herod about the prophecy of the virgin birth (see 10.417–20), as they will do in this play as well.

293 *In Vyrgyll, in Homere*. Virgil's Fourth Eclogue was widely interpreted as messianic prophecy (see 8.556–59 and note), and the work of Homer through the Latin Middle Ages was known largely through paraphrase or summary and often Christianized commentary; Herod's avoidance of the sacred, to a late medieval audience, may have appeared not merely misguided but comically impossible.

295 *Bot legende*. The modern sense of "legend" as inauthentic or non-historical is not attested until the seventeenth century (see *OED legend* (n.), sense 5b); prior to that the primary meanings relate to the lives of saints and scriptural readings for ecclesiastical services — holy texts that Herod wishes here to avoid.

297–98 *Lefe pystyls and grales; / Mes, matyns noght avalys*. That is, avoid the (apostolic) Epistles and hymns; the services of the mass and of Matins (early morning prayers) have no benefit. The counselors respond by giving readings from Jewish scripture — the Old Testament — rather than directly (and anachronistically) from the New Testament; these are nonetheless readings used prominently in Christian services.

304–14 *We rede thus by Isay . . . . for to say*. The same passage (Isaiah 7:14) is quoted in the second Shepherds play (9.982–84; see also 8.491–503) and is referred to in the Offering of the Magi (see 10.417–28 and note); see also the final note to 7.a.

315–20 *And othere says . . . . shal be ay*. The reference is to Micah 5:2; see also 10.445 and note.

327 *bot I drynk onys*. Most of the York tyrants and villains drink onstage as well (*York* 7.80, 29.74, 30.95, 31.37, 32.129).

332 *Thou can not half thi crede*. The creed was typically the first thing learned in school; this is thus equivalent to saying that one does not know the alphabet.

352 *a carll in a kafe*. According to the Protevangelium 18:1 (Elliott, p. 64) the nativity took place in a cave.

387–90 *Markys, rentys, and powndys . . . . the chace*. A mark was a monetary unit worth 160 pence or two-thirds of a pound sterling, while "rents" can refer to a variety of revenue sources or to the revenue itself. Herod also offers his counselors property and hunting rights, which only a king can grant. See *MED chace* (n.), sense 1b.

419–20 *Tarry not for to stand / Ther or we have beyn*. That is, do not pause until we get there.

437 *brast my gall*. The gall bladder was the proverbial seat of bitterness and anger, as the organ associated with yellow bile — the choleric humor.

441–42 *men I shall you make, / Where ye com aywhere*. That is, men of note, recognized everywhere. They are of course being sent to kill a defenseless child, making the line ironic; however, it is possible that Herod here gives them emblazoned tabards to wear, making them recognizably his men (see the note to line 517 below).

461 *I mon whett lyke a bore*. That is, I must prepare for attack, whetting my tusks like a boar; the soldier may literally be sharpening a sword or spear.

475 *grote*. A groat was worth four pence. He is making a wager that he will manage to offend the woman he approaches at line 478. In leaving Herod's palace, the soldiers have possibly moved into the audience, where — one by one — they meet the actors playing the mothers, effectively making the audience complicit as idle bystanders, but also under threat.

491 *Have on loft on thy hode*. She hits him on his head. As her next line indicates, the soldier immediately kills her child.

517 *Have at thy tabard*. She beats him. A tabard is a short, open-sided surcoat, worn over armor and generally emblazoned with armorial bearings — presumably here a symbol of Herod (see the note to lines 441–42, above). As before, the soldier kills her child as soon as he is attacked (see line 521), possibly taking advantage of her movement against him.

533 *mekyll warldys wonder*. That is, astonishing miracles or more particularly prodigious punishment.

538 *Wyll ye do any dere*. The third woman initially uses the polite singular pronoun *ye* in response to the soldier's coaxing, but switches to the familiar form "thou" (line 543) when the soldier kills her child.

556 *This kepe I in store*. That is, there is more where that came from. She has jabbed or stabbed him with something, possibly a spindle (see 3.430–41, 9.430 and notes).

575 *ryn fote hote*. That is, hot-foot it — run quickly.

642–44 *A hundreth thowsand pownde . . . . Of pennys good and rownde*. What he offers and what he tells them they are worth are drastically different; 100,000 pounds would be equivalent to 240 million pennies — far more than they could carry.

662–63 *Now Mahowne he you bryng / Where he is lord freyndly*. May Mahound bring you to where he reigns in friendly manner — that is, within the medieval Christian view, to hell. At this point the soldiers make their exit, leaving Herod alone, "in peasse" (line 664), to address the audience.

687 *all of sugar is my gall*. That is, all bitterness is turn to sweetness; see also line 437 and note.

696–702 *And els wonder . . . . cannot bete*. That is, it would be a marvelous thing that one should be unharmed and escape unhurt, given that so many lie strewn in the streets where many children cannot find relief for their suffering.

703–05 *A hundreth thowsand . . . And fourty . . . And four thowsand*. Herod's stated total of 144,000 dead alludes to the number of those marked as having served God in Apocalypse 7:4.

709–15 *Had I had bot oone bat . . . . many a tong*. That is, if I had had just one chance to hit that young child, how I avenged myself would be spoken about by many, even after I was dead.

718–19 *In thare wyttys that ravys / Sich mastré to make*. That is, who think wild thoughts about having such authority as I have.

735–37 *Begyn I to rokyn, / I thynk all dysdayn / For-daunche*. When I consider the matter, I think that all disdain is squeamish; that is, nothing is really contemptible. The MS has *rekyn*, emended here as in SC for rhyme (SC p. 530n735), but with the assumption that the meaning is the same, the form being a northern variant.

741 *I can no more Fraunch*. That is, no more than "adieu" (line 740) and the smattering of French forms he has used through the play (see line 247 and note).

13. THE PURIFICATION OF MARY

The Purification of Mary and Presentation in the Temple are celebrated at the Feast of Candlemas on 2 February, which follows both Epiphany (6 January) and the Feast of the Holy Innocents (28 December) in the liturgical calendar. This may explain the placement of this play here as in Chester (where it is paired with the episode of Christ and the Doctors, as it is in the Coventry Weavers' play as well). Chronologically, however, the play belongs earlier: as stated in lines 115–120, based both on Luke 2:21–39 (where it immediately follows the visit of the shepherds) and the law as laid out in Leviticus 12, the visit to the Temple occurs forty days after the birth, and thus prior to any sojourn in Egypt. The play is incomplete, due to the loss of two leaves (the bifolium at the center of the *K*-signature gathering) which also contained the beginning of the play of the Doctors. As it stands, the play of the Doctors likely lacks the equivalent of at least one full page of text (roughly 50 lines; see the headnote to play 14 below), which means that up to three full pages (and approximately 150 lines) may have been lost from the Purification play, almost certainly including an appearance by the prophetess Anna (see Luke 2:36–38, as well as other

dramatic versions of the episode), along with the Purification ceremony itself, and the presentation of the infant to Simeon, who utters the well-known *Nunc dimittis* ("Now dismiss . . . "; see Luke 2:29–32 and the note to 22.57–60) — a liturgically familiar Latin canticle that is clearly sung in at least two versions of the episode (see the stage directions following *Chester* 11.166 and *N-Town* 19.146; the Coventry version is missing a leaf at this point). The opening speech by Simeon and the final extant stanza, spoken by Angel 1 are written in 8-line, tail-rhymed stanzas, while the intervening dialogue (lines 73–132) is written in a similar 6-line stanza form.

6 *on held*. The phrase literally means "downhill" or "on an incline" (see *MED helde* (n.1)); compare *helden* (v.), senses 2–3). Simeon, like virtually all old men in medieval English drama, complains at length of his infirmity.

8 *Lord Adonay*. See 4.1 and note.

13–14 *Abell, Noye, and Abraham, / David, Daniell, and Balaam*. Simeon's brief list of "old elders" (line 10) includes five figures who are physically represented in this collection (Abel, Noah, and Abraham in their respective plays, and both David and Daniel in 7.a), along with the prophet Balaam (see 10.205 and note) who appears as a character only in the Chester plays (see *Chester* 5).

18 *Of all thy sond thou has me sent*. That is, for everything you have sent to me; see also line 66. The word *sond* can mean either the action of sending or, as here, what is sent, specifically by God's dispensation; see *MED sonde* (n.), senses 1a and b.

34 *Myn and is short; I want wynd*. Both nouns here mean "breath," but in slightly different senses, the first referring to breathing, the second more to the air breathed in; see *MED onde* (n.2) and *wind* (n.).

87 *When that he seys tyme*. That is, when God says that Simeon's time has come to die.

90 *And no longer hyne*. That is, not after that time. Simeon rejoices that he will live to see Christ, as requested, but can then die in peace.

102 *That was slayn thrugh syn*. That is, all humankind, who were condemned to die through Adam's sin.

106–08 *Now certys . . . . all shall wyse*. That is, I cannot understand why the bells are ringing, unless almighty God, who shall guide us all, has come (as the infant Christ). The ringing of the bells here is miraculous — see line 114.

125 *Thise turtyls two to oure offryng*. For those who cannot afford to bring a lamb, this is the minimal offering required by Levitical law prior to the purification ceremony of a woman, forty days after giving birth to a male child; see Luke 2:24 and Leviticus 12:8.

127–29 *Joseph . . . . fulfyllyd in me*. Joseph, I wish full well to do this, so that I fulfill every part of the law. In Christian tradition, Jesus and his parents are often anachronistically treated as Christians rather than as observant Jews; however, Christ is said to be the fulfillment of the law (see Matthew 5:17–18, Romans 10:4), so Jewish law must nonetheless be properly observed in relation to him.

132, s.d. *Angeli cantant "Simeon iustus et timoratus."* The antiphon that begins "Simeon, just and devout" (based on Luke 2:25 and echoed in line 133) is sung at Lauds on the Feast of the Purification.

14. THE DOCTORS

While incomplete (see headnote to play 13), the play of the Doctors has structural and verbal similarities to both the Chester and Coventry versions of this episode, and shares a notable amount of dialogue with the York version, having apparently been adapted from an earlier version of that play (see the section on "Christ and the Doctors: Inter-Relation of the Cycles" in Greg, *Bibliographical and Textual Problems*, pp. 69–108). However, the portions of these two plays that are closely parallel begin only with the entrance of the twelve-year-old Jesus at line 49 (see *York* 20.73), making it uncertain as to how much of the Towneley play, exactly, has been lost along with the ending of the Purification play. While both Chester and Coventry combine this episode with that of the Purification, the appearance of the teachers is preceded, as it is in York, by a discussion between Mary and Joseph who, leaving the Temple in Jerusalem, realize that Jesus is not with them. Such a discussion was almost certainly part of the Towneley play, as well. That dialogue in York occupies 48 lines, and the teachers in that version share only 24 lines before Jesus enters — only half as many as in the extant (and unique) Towneley text. For comparison, in Chester, the parallel scene between Mary and Joseph occupies only 20 lines, but Jesus is already among the teachers and speaks just four lines into that segment. The Towneley text begins mid-speech, which means — given the regularity of form here — that it was likely preceded by one or more likely two quatrains from the same speaker, Teacher 2, and by one or more quatrains (again likely four in total) assigned to Teacher 1 prior to that, likely all focused on prophecy as are the extant lines. The initial dialogue between Mary and Joseph was likely no longer than its York equivalent, and might well have been shorter, allowing for an estimate of between 48 and 72 missing lines in total.

The basis for the meeting between Christ and the Doctors can be found in Luke 2:41–52, but the Gospel account gives little idea as to what they might have spoken about. Focusing that discussion on the commandments, as Clifford Davidson states, "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" in late fourteenth-century England (*York* 20: headnote). The initial part of this discussion, though, also has a scriptural basis, namely conversation between (the adult) Jesus and a teacher of the law in Matthew 22:34–40 (and with a scribe in Mark 12:28–34; see the note to lines 115–16 below) regarding the greatest of the commandments and the summation of the law.

1 *Teacher 2* (speech heading). There is no extant speech heading here, but the regular 1-2-3 pattern of speakers through the earlier part of the play makes it

clear that these lines (along with at least one preceding quatrain) belong to Teacher 2. The MS speech heading for each of these three characters is *Magister*, or Master, a typical title or designation for a teacher — "teacher" being the literal translation of the Latin term *doctor* (from *docere*, to teach). While "Doctors" has been retained for the title for the play, the character designation used here avoids potential confusion between Masters and Doctors in a modern academic sense.

1–8 *That a madyn . . . . man may go*. These lines, which clearly continue a speech regarding messianic prophecy, refer to Isaiah 7:14, quoted in the second Shepherds play (9.982–84), and discussed by Herod's counselors in two other plays (see 10.417–28 and 12.304–14; see also the final note to the Prophets play, 7.a).

7–8 *of brede and lenghthe / As far as any man may go*. That is, everywhere.

11 *Abacuk*. The lines which follow do not actually refer to Habakkuk but to Isaiah 11:1–2 (partly quoted at 8.502–03); on Habakkuk, see 8.437–38 and the final note to 7.a.

15 *A wande shall spryng fro Jesse roytt*. A branch shall sprout from the root of Jesse (Isaiah 11:1); see also 8.502–03 and the note to 7.a.97, above.

22–24 *The goost of . . . . brede and sytt*. The image — ultimately derived from Deuteronomy 32:11 and Genesis 1:2 (see note to 9.1020–23 above) — is of the Holy Spirit as a brooding ben sitting on the nest.

44 *Fele prophetys have prechyd it full playn*. "Fele" here (see Textual Note) could mean either "worthy" or "many" (*MED fele* (adj.) and (indef. num.).

55 *othere tayllys to tent*. That is, other business (literally, "things told") to attend to. See *MED tale* (n.), sense 1a.

61–62 *For in som mynde it may thee bryng / To here oure sawes red by rawes*. That is, the law of Moses (line 58) may make you inclined to listen to what we recite, line by line; to be "read by row" also implies that something is correctly understood — see 22.345 and note.

71 *Com sytt*. As evident from lines 117–18, below, the teachers are seated together in a row (impressively dressed in furred garments — see line 224), likely facing the audience from behind a table or lectern on which books are laid out, possibly chained to the lectern, as in a medieval library. Jesus is still seated when Mary and Joseph find him at line 213.

74 *Untill oure resons right shuld reche*. That is, should correctly understand our discourse.

77–80 *The Holy Gost . . . . heven to preche*. These lines echo Luke 4:18, in which Jesus (in his first appearance in Nazareth's synagogue since his forty days in the desert) quotes Isaiah 61:1.

After 90 *Ex ore infancium et lactencium perfecisti laudem*. The extrametrical Latin quotation from Psalm 8:3, written by the main scribe beside line 90 in the MS, is not given in the York version, although arguably required by the context.

111–12 *I trow the barn be sent / Sufferanly to salfe oure sare*. I believe the child has been sent by (God's) supreme power to heal our wounds — that is, to ease our suffering.

115–16 *Which callys thou . . . . in Moyses lare*. The phrasing of the question here combines that of Matthew 22:36 ("greatest") and of Mark 12:28 ("first"); in both of those passages, however, Jesus immediately answers the question himself, rather than putting it back to his interlocutors.

121–25 *I rede that this is the fyrst bydyng . . . . hym shall hyng*. This rephrasing of the first of the ten commandments, spoken by Jesus in Matthew 22:37 and Mark 12:29–30, is ultimately derived from Deuteronomy 6:5.

127–28 *Ye nede none othere . . . this to fulfyll*. That is, you do not need the rest of the law if you can keep just this one. See Matthew 22:38: "This is the greatest and the first commandment."

129–32 *The seconde . . . . truly*. See Leviticus 19:18, as well as Matthew 22:39–40 and Mark 12:31.

141–44 *Then shuld we . . . . Right as oureself*. The York version switches to the second person plural after the first line ("all youre . . . . as youreselfe," *York* 20.166–168). Davidson comments: "the manuscript reading is correct since he is lecturing the priests of the Temple and it would be inappropriate to include himself" (*York* 20n153–56). However, the Towneley version is consistent with the influential description of the Last Judgment in Matthew 25; in the Towneley Judgment play, Jesus states that, whenever kindness or mercy was extended to a neighbor, "this dede was to me done" (27.641; see Matthew 25:40).

145–46 *synthen thou has told us two, / Which ar the aght*. The two commandments just expounded are not identical with the first two as given to Moses, which prohibit idolatry and taking God's name in vain, but are effectively a summary of all ten commandments, as stated in Matthew 22:40 and in lines 135–40 here. The other eight commandments are given in the subsequent lines 147–80 (at greater length than in the York version); however, in the Prophets pageant, Moses outlines all ten as listed in Exodus 20:1–17 and Deuteronomy 5:4–21, including the first two (see 7.a.50–60).

165 *no thefe feyr*. As SC point out (p. 538n165), this phrase seems to be an abbreviated version of one used in the *Speculum Christiani*, a likely source text, another version of which is used in the Conspiracy play: "thefe or thefys fere" (20.726).

167 *Oker ne symony thou com not nere*. Simony, the selling of sacred objects and benefits, named after Simon Magus (see Acts 8:18–20), and usury, charging interest for a loan, were both forbidden under church law, although Jews were exempt, and thus frequently employed as bankers and money-lenders to the Christian community. See also 27.527–29 and note.

196, s.d. *Tunc venient Ioseph et Maria*. Mary and Joseph likely remained at audience level after their initial appearance (in the missing portion of the play), but now come forward through the audience toward the stage area where Jesus and the teachers are seated. As noted in line 202, three days have elapsed since they realized that Jesus was not with them (see Luke 2:46).

223 *I can not with thaym*. That is, I cannot converse or *mell* (line 221) with them.

255–56 *I shall thynk on them weyll / To fownd what is folowand*. That is, I shall ponder these things well, to find what conclusions might follow; see Luke 2:51: "And his mother kept all these words in her heart."

265 *No wonder if thou, wife*. Doctor 3 here addresses Mary, to compliment her son.

15. JOHN THE BAPTIST

John the Baptist (son of Elizabeth and thus cousin to Jesus; see lines 17–18) is accorded notable attention in Christian writing, and his baptism of Jesus is the earliest event represented in all four gospels: Matthew 3, Mark 1:1–11, Luke 3:1–22, and John 1:6–34. Baptism plays are extant for both N-Town and York, but this one, with its cancelled stanza mentioning the sacraments (see note to lines 193–200 below), is uniquely problematic. That stanza, and the play as a whole, is unusually explicit about the form of baptism, which appears to be post-Reformation. The inclusion of a lamb as gift (lines 209–11) is also unusual; the Lamb of God is a prominent iconographical symbol of John the Baptist, but constitutes an unlikely presence at the baptism.

14–15 *My fader Zacary ye knaw / That was dombe*. Zacharias, husband of Elizabeth and father to John, is one of the prophets represented in the Christmas *lectio* (see the first note to 7.a); he is named in the Annunciation pageant (7.c.136) but is otherwise not represented in any of the Towneley plays. For the story of Zachary and his muteness, see Luke 1:18–22 and 59–64.

18 *Awntt unto Mary*. Elsewhere Elizabeth is referred to as Mary's cousin (following Luke 1:36), although this is an ambiguous term effectively meaning "relative" (see 7.c.134 and 7.d.23). Referring to her as "aunt" may be intended to stress the age difference, Elizabeth being much older than Mary (Luke 1:7 refers to her as being "well advanced in years").

19 *as the son shynys thorow the glas*. A common simile for the conception of Christ and virgin birth; see 7.c.37 and note.

21–22 *Yit the Jues inqueryd me has / If I be Cryst*. In John 1:19–23, John the Baptist answers such a query by quoting Isaiah 40:3 to describe himself as a "voice crying in the wilderness, make straight the way of the Lord" (John 1:23; see also Matthew 3:3, Mark 1:3, Luke 3:4, 15). This self-description is conspicuous by its absence here, given that it is quoted in the Harrowing of Hell (22.65–66) and in other Baptism plays (see *York* 21.24–30 and *N-Town* 22.1–2). However, the following stanza similarly emphasizes John's role as "messyngere" and "forgangere" (lines 25, 28; see also 102).

26 *alkyn mys may mend*. That is, who can amend every kind of fault, fix all that is wrong.

39 *frely foode*. This punning Eucharistic reference (food/child) is also used at line 164 (and in other plays; see 7.d.85 and note).

49–50 *I am not worthy for to lawse / The leste thwong that longys to his shoyne*. That is, I am not worthy to untie the least of his shoelaces; see John 1:27.

68 *dos thi dever every deyll*. That is, you do your duty entirely. The presence of the angels is not biblical but common in medieval iconography of the baptism. John hears but apparently does not see them (line 74) until Jesus refers to them (line 145), explicitly giving them symbolic value in relation to his dual nature.

78 *That that shall never be . . . I shall go meyt that lord*. That is, in order that he not come to me, I shall go to meet him. See Matthew 3:14–15.

85–88 *By this . . . . yit is it myrk*. John here links the baptism of Jesus to that of infants — a practice that was strongly affirmed in Cranmer's *Ten Articles* of 1536 (and later revisions) against some Protestant trends toward adult baptism. The linkage itself might seem "myrk" or obscure, as John says of "this law" (line 88); however, John's assertion is likely also connected to Mark 10:13–16, the Gospel passage read at baptism (in Anglican as well as Catholic tradition): when his disciples attempt to prevent people from bringing their children to Jesus to be blessed, he tells them that "the kingdom belongs to such as these" and so to let the children come to him (as he is to come to John for baptism).

91 *Here is no kyrk*. John has just referred to bringing children "to kyrk" (line 86), whereas the angel's response affirms that "Godys wyll" (line 94) may alter this standard requirement. The 1549 Book of Common Prayer laid out the formula for baptism of infants at home (section 6, "Of Them that be Baptized in Private Houses in Tyme of Necessitie") as might be followed by midwives when the life of a child appeared to be in danger; in 1604 that text was revised to exclude lay baptism.

109 *For reprefe unto mans rytt*. SC gloss as the final word as "writ" (p. 542n109) although such a spelling is otherwise unattested. Rather, the sense here seems to be that having sinless God being baptized by a man, even in fulfilment of God's law and ordinance (lines 110–11), overturns human expectation and religious rite.

115 *oyle and creme*. Holy oil (known as oil of catechumens, also used at confirmation) was used in the initial blessing, before baptism with water, following which one was anointed with chrism (normally a mixture of olive oil and balsam, or balm). However, at line 194 John explicitly refers to anointing Jesus with "oyle and creme" immediately after the baptism, and thus only to chrismation; the first Book of Common Prayer (1549) similarly makes reference to "puttyng on the Crysome, and enoyntyng" (section 6, "Of the Administracion of Publyke Baptisme to be Used in the Churche," omitted by 1552), but not to any initial use of holy oil.

127 *A knyght to baptyse his lord kyng*. This line translates an Epiphany week antiphon commemorating the baptism of Christ (there being no separate feast day set aside until 1955); the line continues the theme of John's sense of unworthiness to baptize Jesus (see the note to line 109, above), most plainly stated at line 177.

185–90 *I baptyse thee . . . . on he*. The familiar Trinitarian formula, here translated from the Latin, is associated with baptism in Matthew 28:19; see also line 248 (and note) and the note to 3.363–64.

193–200 *Here I thee anoynt . . . . now is it spent*. This entire stanza is framed in black, with a bracket in the left margin, and — like one stanza in the Resurrection play that deals with the sacraments (23.345–50) — cancelled with criss-crossed lines in red (but apparently not the same red ink as used for the rubrication of the MS, including the signature for this quire, unusually in red; citation?). Beside the stanza another hand has written "corected & not playd" (apparently in the same ink used to frame the stanza). However, this comment may represent a later reader's attempt to explain the curious cancellation itself, rather than pertaining to any actual performance. The only doctrinally objectionable portion of the stanza amounts to one easily alterable (and apparently altered) word in line 197 (see the next note below); the reference to anointing in line 194 could potentially have been seen as problematic by some in the sixteenth-century, but this repeats an earlier, apparently unobjectionable phrase — see line 115 and note.

197 *Ther ar sex othere and no mo*. SC argue that "the reason for the cancellation of these lines is that they mention the sacrament of Baptism and *vi othere*" (p. 543n193–200), yet this is not entirely clear, even in relation to the MS reading. The *v* of *vi* is badly formed and barely visible over an erasure (which takes up slightly more space than necessary for what remains). The phrase "no mo" compounds the problem, as no one involved in the religious controversies of the period asserted that there were more than seven sacraments. However, some did assert that there were three: the Ten Articles published by Thomas Cranmer

under Henry VIII in 1536 treats both penance and the Eucharist as "sacraments" along with baptism (see the note to lines 85–88, above). The original text here may plausibly have read "Ther ar two [or ij] othere and no mo." The erasure and correction could thus represent an effort to create Catholic orthodoxy within a Protestant text, rather than the other way around as SC and others have assumed. The subsequent cancellation could be due to a realization that the phrase *no mo* now appeared problematic — an issue that would not have affected the most likely Protestant emendation, to "Ther is one othere and no mo." Still, the sole other stanza in the MS that has been similarly crossed out in red ink refers to the doctrine of transubstantiation (see 23.345–50 and note); whether or not a recusant Catholic might be responsible for the erasure and perhaps the outlining as well, a subsequent Protestant reader is apparently responsible for the red ink.

209–11 *This beest . . . . is the lamb of me*. The lamb might possibly take the form of a wax tablet (as SC suggest, p. 543n212+SD) or a banner, but the standard iconography of John the Baptist features him holding or standing beside a lamb (or ram).

217–18 *the lamb of God / Which weshys away syn of this warld*. These lines translate John's exclamation upon seeing Jesus the day after the baptism in John 1:29.

222 *An angell had me nerehand mard*. This line seems at odds with the previous dialogue: while the angelic presence clearly frightened John, none of their lines indicates a threat.

227–28 *And to all . . . not yit gloryfyde*. These lines echo John 7:39–40 but in context, spoken to a post-biblical (but pre-judgment) audience, relate to the idea of belief without need of empirical evidence; as doubting Thomas states, "I trow it not or that I se" (25.552).

248 *I blys thee with the Trynyté*. The gesture required here is likely the standard sign of the cross, associated with the Trinitarian formula of blessing in the name of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, but also with Jesus' death as just mentioned (lines 242–43).

256 *oost*. The audience stands in for the attending multitude.

264 *Thi moder is of hell emprise*. "Empress of Hell" is one of the traditional (but largely British) titles of the Virgin Mary, indicating her powers of intercession in relation to the judgment of souls.

276 *Pryde, envy, slowth, wrath, and lechery*. Of the traditional seven deadly sins (see 3.75–77 and note), this list lacks only gluttony and covetousness (avarice), both of which were likely named in the next line, which now reads (framed in black, written over an erasure in a different hand following the word "Here"): "Gods service, more and lesse." There is little potential doctrinal controversy in naming these sins, so the erasure might represent a forgotten or abandoned correction, the lacuna being filled in later by someone who simply found an easy rhyme.

16. LAZARUS

The Lazarus play, written in the hand of the main scribe, is chronologically misplaced at the end of the manuscript, on five full pages following the Judgment (but before the Judas fragment in a different hand); its placement may be due to its being a late and unexpected addition to the collection of exemplars, from an independent source. As SC explain in a lengthy headnote to the play, some critics have suggested that the placement was intentional, citing the lack of any indication in the MS that the play belongs elsewhere (although see the Introduction, p. 9, regarding the unusually rubricated signature *L*), along with what are seen as problematic features of the play itself, notably the long concluding sermon by Lazarus, following the effective disappearance of Jesus from the play (p. 646–47). It is indeed difficult to imagine a sequence of Passion plays following this play and its sermon; however, once the assumption of sequential, processional production is removed, the play appears far less problematic. Other surviving Lazarus plays differ in notable ways: York pairs the raising of Lazarus with the encounter with a woman taken in adultery, and Chester pairs it with the healing of a blind man, while nearly half of the N-Town version is taken up with Lazarus' illness and death, and the reactions of friends and family. A closer parallel in the N-Town collection would be the Death of Herod, which similarly ends with a moralizing sermon by Death (*N-Town* 20.246–84). Yet the Towneley Lazarus seems clearly built for independent production, at least as it stands. The play was likely compiled from more than one source: the biblical first half of the play, based on John 11:1–44, is written largely in couplets; the sermon is more varied but written mostly in an unusual 14-line stanza with concatenation (see note to line 119 below), and an 8-line stanza with a refrain, "amende thee whils thou may," which likely comes from a separate poem.

Before 1 *Thomas* [character]. None of the disciples is named in the MS dialogue, so they may have been unidentifiable to the audience (although Peter might carry an obvious symbol such as keys); the three effectively stand in here for all twelve. However, Thomas is the sole disciple actually named in the gospel (John 11:16), which accounts for his being specifically named as a character along with Peter and John, the two most prominent of the disciples.

8 *The Jues halden you for thare fo*. See John 11:8. While this reference to "the Jews" in opposition to Jesus and his disciples (all Jewish, but not currently in Judea) is biblical, the next is not, advising distrust of "the Jue" (line 11). Overall, though, the dialogue adheres closely to its gospel source.

12 *many day sen thou thaym knewe*. That is, you have known them for a long time.

52–57 *I am rysyng and I am life . . . . trowys thou this*. See John 11:25–26.

61 *Mawdlayn*. Medieval tradition identified Mary Magdalene with Mary of Bethany, sister of Martha and Lazarus (and with other women from the gospel accounts as well).

84 *laide under yonde stone*. While the gospel account refers to Lazarus as being buried in a cave covered by a stone (John 11:38), late medieval artistic renderings normally show a coffin-style tomb.

99–102 *Take and lawse . . . . all that gere*. While "sudary" could refer to a handkerchief or, more pertinently, to a winding-cloth for burial, it apparently refers here specifically to a cloth used to cover the face of the deceased (see *MED sudarie* (n.), sense 2), which must be removed before Lazarus speaks along with the band around his throat (line 100) that holds the sudary in place. The other cloths binding him are loosened sufficiently to allow him to walk and talk, but are not removed, as he later refers to "Sich bandys" and "sich a wyndyng clothe" (lines 152, 170) as if still bound by them.

107 *When I was dede to hell I soght*. Like nearly every other human being to this point, Lazarus went to hell after death (Enoch and Elijah being exceptions — see Genesis 5:24 and 4 Kings 2:11).

110 *Behold and ye may se*. Lazarus turns his attention here to the audience, addressing them for the remainder of the play. As SC point out (p. 649n103), this sermon on death is closely based on one by fourteenth-century Dominican John Bromyard in his influential compilation entitled *Summa Predicantium*.

115 *no wight in wede*. That is, no one. This common alliterative phrase — variations of which are used in several plays here (see for example 14.234 and 20.318) — literally means "no person in clothing" (see *MED wede* (n.2), sense f).

116 *From dede have maide hym seese*. That is, from the time that death made you cease to be. The same syntactical structure is used in line 123.

119 *Youre dede is wormes coke*. Your death provides nourishment for worms. That is, Death, as cook, prepares the feast for worms (see *MED cok* (n.6), sense 3a). The word *wormes* is repeated from the previous line — a pattern of concatenation that typifies the 14-line stanzas in this play, linking the octave with the sestet, and one stanza to the next in most cases; the dual concatenation suggests that these could be configured as alternating 8-line and 6-line stanzas, as occurs briefly in a section of the Crucifixion play (see note to 20.396–423).

123 *Fro dede you cleke in cloke*. That is, from the time that death grasps you in its clutches, but with a possible pun on "cloak," in keeping with the reference to "array" in line 125.

132 *wight*. While the term is often used to refer to a human being, the wight referred to here is a worm (as in the concatenated line that follows).

135 *Thare lunges and thare lightys*. Both words mean "lungs" (see *MED lightes* (n. pl.)); the first should possibly be "livers" which is often paired with "lights" in phrases such as this.

145 *pall*. While used for a variety of garments, "pall" usually refers to very fine, rich cloth, often in royal purple (an expensive crimson or scarlet dye), but can also mean the cloth placed over a coffin or tomb (hence the term "pallbearer").

146 *todys shall be youre nowche*. A "nouche" (or ouche) is a clasped ornament such as a buckle, or the setting for a jewel; see *MED nouche*; *OED ouche*. Toads were widely associated with evil, but also thought to have a jewel hidden in their heads — the toadstone.

148 *Feyndys will you fere*. This line can mean either "fiends will frighten you" or "fiends will be your companions." Either sense, however, suggests going to hell.

158 *As bees dos in the byke*. According to *MED*, the term *bike* normally implies wild swarms as opposed to a hive of domestic honeybees (although see the reference to "hony-bike" in 5.a.4).

165–66 *For you then sorows leste / The moste has of youre goode*. That is, whoever possesses the bulk of your wealth will then be the least of your sorrows. This line begins a section decrying the greed of others after one's death.

187–88 *To by youre saules hele, / There may no man thaym shrife*. That is, there is no one who can shrive — hear confession and provide absolution for — executors, even if the health of your soul depended on it. The sentiment is repeated in the lines that follow (189–91). The reason for this is evidently that executors, being inherently dishonest (line 185), would be incapable of proper confession; lines 192–93 state that they will always swear falsely, claiming you owed more than you possessed (and thus gaining your wealth for themselves). Wills were regularly used to dispose of wealth in ways that would benefit the soul of the deceased, through intercessory masses and prayers, charitable donations, or even restitution for past wrongs, all of which thus depended on the honesty of the executor. Similar complaints abound; see for example the tales of avarice in Robert of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, pp. 200–09.

203 *Agane thou go anothere gate*. That is, as protection against that time when you will take a different path, to your death.

206–08 *For if all the goode . . . . mende thi state*. For even if all the goods that you accumulated in life were to be distributed on your behalf after your death, this would not help your case in heaven — that is, it is what you do and how you live during your life that matters. See the note to lines 187–88 above.

211 *As is the stede standyng in stall*. The term *stall* can refer to a seat or position of rank and dignity (*MED stal(le* (n.), sense 1c) as well as to a place for a single horse to stand (sense 1a); and the horse is notably a steed, a great stallion — a horse of great value and revenue, as opposed to a mere palfrey or riding horse.

17. THE CONSPIRACY

Much like the Towneley manuscript as a whole, the Conspiracy pageant has been cobbled together from several disparate sources; even the difference between its incipit ("The Conspiracy etc.") and explicit ("The Capture of Jesus") seems to point to different origins. The sections written in quatrains (see note to line 432 below) and in couplets appear to have once been separate plays with notable overlap in subject, written in different dialects; while the rest, including the opening and middle sections written in the distinctive 13-line 'bob and wheel' stanza and in a variety of other forms, appears to form a complete play on its own (for further discussion and reconstruction, see Epp, "The Towneley Conspiracy"). The extant whole is as interesting as it is inconsistent. Two different characterizations of Pilate have become one, while any trace of the institution of the Eucharist — the central event for a Corpus Christi cycle such as that of York, but also for the Church more generally — has disappeared. As it stands, unlike most of the others in the Towneley collection, the play clearly requires a place-and-scaffold staging, with separate areas for Pilate's palace, the room used for the Last Supper, and Mount Olivet (with a view to heaven), as well as undifferentiated space in between.

5 *this burnyshyd brande*. Pilate brandishes a sword, as the same character does in the plays of the Scourging (see 19.4) and the Dice (21.51–52), and as Caesar Augustus and Herod do in other plays (see 7.b.5 and 12.155 and notes); see also line 599. He is likely standing at this point, but is seated by line 24.

36–39 *all fals indytars . . . . to my sight*. All of those listed here were traditionally associated with falsehood. Outriders delivered summonses and collected taxes, but could abuse that power, while "juror" was long considered synonymous with false witness and slander (see *OED* (n.), sense 2), and questmongers were involved in judicial inquiries but reputed to initiate lawsuits for personal profit. Interestingly, these lines are repeated almost verbatim in another opening speech assigned to Pilate, in the same stanza form (19.23–26; see also 27.270–71).

42–43 *So can I well consider / The trowth I most displeas you*. I can so easily realize the truth that I must displease you. That is, I can see through your lies and corruption.

78 *Caiaphas* (speech heading). Caiaphas and Annas (his father-in-law, according to John 18:13) have apparently been onstage from the beginning, effectively exemplifying Pilate's "fals indytars" (see line 36 and note). In the biblical accounts, Pilate is not involved in the arrest or any prior conspiracy, which is arranged by the chief priests under Caiaphas (see Matthew 26:3–16).

120 *legys agans oure law*. That is, he makes allegations against our law; see *MED leggen* (v.1), sense 2a, which cites a similar phrase from the York play of Herod and the Magi ("legge agayne oure lay," *York* 16.203).

122–25 *dom and defe . . . . he makys theym hayll*. See also lines 741–43, where the healing of the deaf and dumb (based on Mark 7:31–37) is associated with the healing of

Lazarus. None of the Towneley plays other than the misplaced Lazarus play represents the public ministry of Jesus or the associated miracles.

126–27 *And for sich warkys as he is went / Of ilk welth he may avayll*. That is, for such works as he has gone about doing, he can profit from the wealth. The suggestion seems to be that he is paid for his miraculous work; however, "wealth" can refer to blessings, general well-being, or even a local populace.

150 *the loth Lazare of Betany*. Virtually the same line appears in the Harrowing of Hell play; see 22.170 and note.

166–67 *have here my hand, / And ilk man beyldys hym as his brother*. That is, I swear what I say to be true: every man defends him as if he were a brother. The first of these lines requires a raised hand as a gesture of oath-taking.

176–77 *For bot if that losell lere oure lore / And leyf his gawdys he were as goode*. For unless that scoundrel learns our doctrine and leaves his tricks he is as good (as slain — line 173).

180 *oure tempyll*. Pilate ahistorically identifies himself here as Jewish.

186 *The dwill he hang you high to dry*. Virtually the same phrase is used by Herod in the Magi play (10.455; see also 2.13).

191 *suffer over oure Sabote day*. In Matthew 26:5 the chief priests and elders advise that Jesus should not be arrested during the festival of Passover (not over the Sabbath) to avoid a public outcry; Jesus is traditionally thought to have celebrated the Passover with his disciples on a Thursday, killed the next day, and buried before sundown — the beginning of the Sabbath.

210 *all youre counsell will I ken*. I know all your council's will — that is, all that the council wishes to do (as clarified in the next line).

240 *Not els bot if ye will hym by*. That is, I have nothing else to do here unless you want to "buy" Jesus.

257 *hym that ye have boght*. This line reverses the traditional phrase referring to Jesus as "him that you/us bought" (see the note to 10.366).

258–61 *Yei, and then . . . . youre meneye*. Yes, and then we may be so bold as to separate him from his followers and hold him here in confinement as one of your retinue.

264 *thryrty pennys*. According to Matthew 26:15, Judas was paid thirty pieces of silver for his betrayal; John 12:4–6 asserts that Judas was a thief, upset that the feet of Jesus were anointed (by Mary of Bethany in John's gospel, but by an unnamed woman at the house of Simon the Leper in Mark 14:3–5, as related in lines 274–305; see also Matthew 26:6–9) using ointment that could have been sold for "three hundred pence" (according to early English translations, echoed in line

295). These details gave rise to the tradition — outlined in lines 298–305 — that Judas practiced a sort of reverse tithe, stealing the tenth part of the common purse, and felt aggrieved that he had lost thirty pence by not selling that ointment. This tradition also informs the York and Chester plays, and such works as the *Northern Passion*, which is often cited as an important influence both on York and on several of the Towneley plays. See also the headnote to the The Hanging of Judas, included as an appendix to this edition.

307 *Sen he wate thee with sich a wrast*. Since he inflicted such a trick on you. A closely similar line is spoken by one of Herod's counselors in *York* 16.243 (see *MED weiten* (v.), and *wreste* (n.), sense 1c).

325 *Now ar we even for onys and ay*. This is Judas' last line prior to the Last Supper; the lack of reference to him in the lines that follow suggests that he leaves Pilate's hall to join the other disciples immediately after speaking.

330 *We shall hym have and that in hy*. This line, joined by concatenation to the last line of the previous 12-line stanza, begins an 8-line stanza that is followed in the MS by a long series of couplets and one of two sections in quatrains (the other being the closing section, lines 676–779; see also the note to lines 588–89 below). Omitting these sections, such that line 337 is followed by lines 624–75 (with slight rearrangement — see note to lines 624–36 below), leaves intact what appears to be a coherent pageant (for further discussion, see Epp, "The Towneley Conspiracy").

342–43 *a man / Beryng water in a can*. See Mark 14:13, Luke 22:10. While the stage direction after line 357 is ambiguous (see note below), the man they follow and the man to whom they are to speak are evidently not the same person in the gospel accounts, or according to lines 344–48 (which lines are taken almost verbatim from the *Northern Passion*; see Foster, "The Mystery Plays and the *Northern Passion*," p. 170).

351 *A lytyll whyle to ese me*. While "ese" could mean the same as its modern equivalent, "ease" here means "to accommodate" or "to provide hospitality" (see *MED esen* (v.), senses 1 and 2); see also the similar use of the adverb "esely" in the play of Judgment 27.625, meaning "hospitably."

357, s.d. *Tunc pergent Iohannes et Petrus ad ciuitatem* . . . This apparent stage direction, based on Mark 14:16, is likely related to reading rather than staging (perhaps a reader's comment in the exemplar treated as or assumed to be a stage direction by the Towneley scribe), visual representation of a "city" being unnecessary to the action of the play. The number of apparent stage directions in this section is highly unusual, yet few if any would be useful to actual performance, relative to the dialogue itself (see the note to the stage direction following line 407 below).

361 *Householder*. The speech heading here translates the manuscript's *Paterfamilias* (on whose role see Luke 22:11) — literally "father of the family" but used to refer to the head of the household.

366–68 *Lo, here a chambre . . . . I shal warand fare strewed*. That is, here is a chamber that I guarantee to be well-strewn with rushes, in which you can have your feast. Rushes, traditionally used as a floor covering, were ceremonially strewn on church floors in England as late as the nineteenth century (a custom since revived in some parts of the country).

375, s.d. *Tunc comedent et Judas porrigit manum in discum cum Jesu*. Jesus immediately (line 376) draws attention to this act, which as in gospel accounts he then uses to reveal his betrayer; see lines 394–95 and Matthew 26:23, Mark 14:20.

382 *is it oght I*. That is, is it I, in any respect, that would betray you? See Matthew 26:22, Mark 14:19.

393[a] *we two Jamys*. This is the only line assigned to the apostle James. It may indicate that two actors should speak in unison; however, a single actor could well speak for or represent both James, son of Zebedee (and brother to John; see also line 516), and James, son of Alphaeus — that is, only one actor is needed here along with the other seven named. Three other biblical disciples (see Matthew 10:2–4) are either unrepresented or silent, including Matthew, Bartholomew, and Thomas (the central character in Thomas of India and the first to speak in the Ascension play; see also the note to 16.15).

404–05 *thou shall thryse apon a thraw / Forsake me or the cok craw*. That is, you shall forsake me in an instant before the cock crows three times; see Matthew 26:34. This prediction (of an action that does not occur in any of the Towneley plays, but see *York* 29.86–169) is repeated in lines 450–53, part of the section in quatrains; these sections very likely have their origins as separate plays, imperfectly joined with another in longer stanzas (see note to line 330 above).

407, s.d. *Hic lavet pedes discipulorum*. The direction, based (like the next) on John 13:5–6, appears to be a reader's comment rather than anything related to performance; see the note to the stage direction following line 357 above. While it is clearly placed in the MS, written in red like all apparent stage directions in this play, the designated action clearly does not belong here, as the next lines of dialogue refer to preparation for the foot-washing. Indeed, it is unclear whether Jesus should actually wash anyone's feet but Peter's, given the lack of any dialogue to this effect; at line 435, following John 13:14, he tells them to wash each other's feet, which they could potentially do during the dialogue that follows.

420 *Ye ar clene bot not all*. See John 13:10. Inclusion here of this line implies that Judas has not left immediately after being revealed as traitor; compare John 13:26–30. He is again in Pilate's hall by line 602.

432 *Now wote ye . . . .* This line begins a passage in quatrains that, with the exception of lines 624–75, continues to the end of the extant play; it likely once formed a separate play, as mentioned in the headnote (for further discussion, see Epp, "The Towneley Conspiracy").

444–47 *For when the hyrd . . . . thus can say*. See Matthew 26:31, Zacharias 13:7.

453 *Thou shall deny me tymes thre*. See John 13:38. Peter's denial is not dramatized in any of the Towneley plays; see the headnote to play 18, the Buffeting, and the note to 25.77–78.

456–513 *Now loke . . . . on oure way*. This lengthy speech in quatrains closely follows John 14 in its entirety.

504 *the prynce of this warld*. That is, Satan; see John 14:30.

515 *Olyvete*. See Matthew 26:30, which specifies also that the disciples depart after a hymn, the singing of which (while not specified in the text, as can occur with extra-textual music) could mark the ostensible travel time to the next stage area. Mount Olivet, or the Mount of Olives, was the site of Gethsemane (see Matthew 26:36). The stage action that follows appears to require a multilevel staging, with Peter, James, and John at some distance from the other disciples (see lines 516–17, following Matthew 26:36–37 and Mark 14:32–33), but "beneath" (line 520) the area where Jesus prays.

535, s.d. *Et iterum orabit*. While such action is not indicated by this or any other stage direction, Jesus must here return to the area in which he has been praying.

552 *The Trinity* (speech heading). In Luke 22:43 an angel appears to Jesus to give him strength. The apparent presence here of the Trinity (MS: *Trinitas*) in addition to Jesus — the Son — is theologically awkward at best, but may indicate staging: the Trinity was often represented as a "Throne of Grace" figure with God the Father (here as sole actor) holding a crucifix (indicating the "bytter passyon" that the Son is about to endure — see line 548), on which is perched a dove representing the Holy Ghost.

572–76 *Sen thou art man . . . . with his underlowte*. These lines refer to the Harrowing of Hell, represented in play 22.

577 *Wytt ye well*. The shift from "thou" (line 572) to "ye" may indicate that God addresses the audience rather than Jesus in these, his final lines.

580 *Slepe ye now and take youre rest*. Jesus has evidently returned to address the three sleeping disciples. The scene shifts abruptly after this quatrain to Pilate's hall, the disciples and Jesus presumably remaining in place.

588–89 *For I am governowre of the law; / My name it is Pilate*. This (re-)introduction of Pilate as a character suggests that this section was once part of a separate play,

written in quatrains and unrelated to the longer stanzas that currently open the play (see note to line 330 above) as well as to the section in couplets (lines 338–431); Pilate's call for peace at line 584, which now functions to draw attention back from Mount Olivet to Pilate's hall, further suggests that this quatrain may once have been an opening speech.

599 *With this I bere in hy*. As at line 5 (see note above) Pilate brandishes his sword.

619 *spende and spede*. This proverbial expression means "expend yourselves and prosper" — "spend" can refer to exhaustion or bloodshed as well as simple expenditure of energy.

624 *Malchus*. Malchus is named as a servant of the high priest in John 18:10. See also note to lines 324–36 below.

624–36 *Sir . . . . thay be light*. This stanza appears to be misplaced, given the reference in line 628 to "Crist that prophett" a full stanza before Soldier 2 explains that "Men call hym Crist" (line 642). In the hypothetical reconstruction of the Conspiracy play with quatrains and couplets eliminated (see the headnote, and the note to 330 above), this stanza (reattributed to Soldier 2 rather than, uniquely, to *Malchus miles* — "Malchus the soldier" — as in the MS) follows rather than precedes the next two concatenated stanzas, and immediately precedes what becomes Pilate's closing speech (lines 663–75).

637 *pall*. The term refers to fine clothing, possibly in royal purple; see note to 16.145.

656 *thre knyghtys*. The proposed reconstruction of the Conspiracy play (see the headnote, and the note to 330 above) that excludes the couplets and quatrains requires only two soldiers; this line could originally have read "two knyghtys."

663 *Now, curtes kasers of Kamys kyn*. Now, courteous kaisers of Cain's kin. In the Judgment play, Jesus addresses "ye cursid catyfs of Kames kyn" (27.648). A *K* spelling for this name is also used in the parallel line from the York Doomsday pageant ("Kaymes," see *York* 47.317), but not in the Towneley or York plays of Cain and Abel.

707 *byd hym do thee right*. Bid him make you right — that is, heal you. Peter here cuts off Malchus' ear with a sword; see John 18:10.

715 *In nomine patris*. Jesus (the Son) here uses only the first part of the usual Trinitarian formula (involving the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; see for example 15.185–90 and note).

741–43 *From dede to lyfe . . . . salfyd from sare*. See the note to lines 122–25, above.

742 *Sen stalkyd stylly bi the see-swoghe*. That is, he then walked silently on the rushing sea. This line apparently refers to Jesus' walking on the Sea of Galilee (see for

example John 6:16–21) and contrasts Jesus' stillness with the storm, a *swoghe* or sough (*MED swough,* (n.1)) being a rushing sound as of wind or water. However, this event happens before rather than after the raising of Lazarus in John's gospel (the sole source for the Lazarus episode; see John 11), contrary to what these lines imply.

766 *He has the rewll of holy kyrk*. Caiaphas was likely commonly costumed much as a medieval archbishop would be.

772 *Step furth in the wenyande*. The "waniand" or waning moon was considered unlucky; the phrase is a common mild curse. See *MED waning(e* (ger.), sense 3c. See 9.585 and note to 2.227–29.

778–79 *Till thou com . . . shall no man*. Malchus does not appear in the Buffeting play involving "Syr Cayphas," which follows in the MS sequence.

18. THE BUFFETING

The last of the plays here written entirely in the 13-line 'bob and wheel' stanza is also the only English play that deals with the buffeting of Jesus to the exclusion of Peter's denial, those events being intertwined in all four gospel accounts. John 18:13–28 uniquely specifies the involvement of Annas, but to the exclusion of his son-in-law Caiaphas, whose subsequent meeting with Jesus (see John 18:24) is not actually described. In this play, in contrast to the York version (and indeed to the Towneley Conspiracy), relative to the volatile Caiaphas, Annas is the voice of reason and obedience to the law, although he orders the actual beating. Whereas John 18:22 mentions only a single blow, both Matthew 26:67–68 and Mark 14:65 have Jesus spat upon (see 19.81) and repeatedly beaten; Luke 22:63–64 supplies an influential detail in having Jesus beaten and mocked but then explicitly blindfolded and told to identify his attackers through "prophecy" (line 595) — a version of blind man's buff(et) (see note to line 498 below). Also, as in many visual representations of the buffeting, Jesus is seated on a footstool, which here is explicitly called a "buffit" (line 507). For his part, Jesus speaks only once (lines 363–68), suffering silently.

1 *Do io, furth io*. "Yo" is an interjection used to drive animals forward; see 2.1, 25 and note. At this point, Torturer 1 is apparently driving Jesus in front of him, but will later be ahead (see line 64), likely pulling Jesus behind him through the crowd (and onto the stage area representing the high priests' hall) by means of the rope that binds him, as occurs in many late medieval representations of the Passion, both narrative and visual; see line 621 and note to 19.75.

16–21 *We have had . . . . Hetys worth a hangyng*. That is, we have suffered heart pains (with all the walking we have done to get you here), but at last our hearts need yearn no longer, as you will have two or three beatings equivalent to a hanging. The term "heat" can refer to an intense, violent action (as in the heat of battle) or personal injury (see *MED hete* (n.1), sense 6 and *hete* (n.2)), and specifically, in this case, an intense buffeting or beating.

31 *Fare wordys can thou paynt*. The word "paint" in this context means "set forth" — that is, to speak or write — but can imply false eloquence or flattery.

38–39 *As good that thou had / Halden still thi clater*. That is, you might as well have held your tongue and kept silent.

44–46 *At the last . . . . we dyd never yll*. These lines invert the standard doctrine that Christ, though guiltless, dies to save sinners.

55 *Els falys his countenance*. Or else his countenance falls — that is, he looks dismayed (not merely tired).

58 *drynk*. The use of "drink" to indicate suffering stems from biblical references to the cup of suffering; see for example Luke 22:42, where Jesus in Gethsemane asks that the cup be taken from him (an expression not used in the Conspiracy play here).

64 *I shall walk in before*. In leading the way into the high priests' hall, Torturer 1 would also lead the bound Jesus (see note to line 1 above).

85–87 *Myn een were not lowked . . . . Sen morowe*. That is, I have not slept since (yesterday) morning.

92 *Can ye hym oght apeche*. That is, can you bring any charges against him? In the Conspiracy play, in contrast, Caiaphas and Annas are Jesus' chief accusers, making some of the same charges as they hear in this play. See note to lines 166–69 below.

105–08 *I hard hym say . . . . On the thrid day*. See Matthew 26:61, Mark 14:58.

116 *He lyes for the quetstone*. The whetstone served as an emblematic reward for lying. Proverbial. See Whiting W216. See also *MED whet-ston* (n.), sense d.

130 *I tell you before syr*. That is, I speak openly; he repeats this phrase at line 170.

137–38 *He settys not a fle wyng / Bi Syr Cesar full even*. That is, he does not care about or is disrespectful of Caesar; see Luke 23:2, and line 329. To "not set a fly wing" is proverbial; see Whiting F356.

141–42 *excusyd with his sotelté / A woman in avowtré*. The story of the woman taken in adultery, based on John 8:3–11, is dramatized in *York* 24, *Chester* 12, and *N-Town* 24.

151 *If he abowte wave*. That is, if he is allowed to move about freely.

166–69 *For ye two . . . . this losell heder*. These lines imply that the torturers have brought Jesus to Annas and Caiaphas of their own volition, in contrast to the Conspiracy

play, in which they are sent by Pilate, and to the gospel accounts, in which they are sent by the high priests themselves.

174–75 *opposed if he wore, / He shuld be fon waryd*. If he were to be prosecuted, he would be found accursed. They have accused Jesus, but have no power to prosecute; Caiaphas therefore begins his "examynyng" (line 186).

181–82 *I shall thryng out the rottyn / Be we have all talkyd*. By the time we have talked, I shall drive out the rotten — that is, whatever is keeping me from remembering what I have forgotten (line 180).

200 *This is a great skorne*. Caiaphas is upset by Jesus' silence; in John's account it is Jesus' apparently scornful response to Annas' questioning that provokes a blow from a servant (John 18:22).

202 *wolfys-hede and out-horne*. These two terms refer to raising an outcry in pursuit of an outlaw. The term "outhorn" can refer to the horn blown to raise the alarm, but here, like "wolf's-head," it refers to the cry of pursuit itself. The same phrase (here slightly emended) is used in the Judgment play (27.812, also in a 13-line 'bob and wheel' stanza).

217 *Sir Sybré*. The use of this particular name may relate to the term *sibred*, which refers to kinship or consanguinity (see MED *sibred* (n.), sense 1); Caiaphas has just sarcastically questioned Jesus regarding his parentage (lines 211–12) and social class ("lorde of name," line 214), and will go on to refer to him as a foundling (line 220).

239–43 *Therfor I shall thee name . . . . For a fatur*. Therefore I will give you the title "King Copyn" in our game, as you shall regret; thus I shall introduce (or invest) you as a traitor. The name itself is obscure: SC suggest that it might signify "coxcomb" and thus Christ as king of fools (p. 558n241); it might also derive from the verb *copen* meaning to dress in a cope (*MED copen* (v.1)), garb that Caiaphas as mock-archbishop would likely be wearing (see 17.766), or even to Jesus' seamless garment (see John 19:23, and the play of the Dice). The most likely meanings, however, derive from the verb *coupen* meaning either "pay the penalty" (*MED coupen* (v.4)) or "come to blows" (*MED coupen* (v.1)).

246 *Wemé*. This interjection, expressing anger, impatience, or surprise takes many forms in these plays; see 2.150 and note.

267 *yit may ye be dayde*. Yet may you be summoned to court. Annas repeatedly argues in the next stanzas that they must themselves at least appear to uphold the law or suffer the consequences.

306 *All soft may men go far*. That is, gentle moderation brings success.

342–44 *Bot he that forsake . . . . his nek shall crak*. I shall wring the neck of anyone who refuses respect (that is, Jesus).

352–60 *Bot I shall do . . . . To dam*. Annas uses the same verb, "ruse," in two contrasting ways, stating that he will do as the law requires even if "the people" (line 353) praise Jesus (see *MED rosen* (v.), sense 2; see also line 49), while pointing out that others boast (sense 1a) that they will condemn him.

363–68 *So thou says . . . . clowdys from abone*. See Matthew 26:64.

401–03 *Men of temporall lawes . . . . may not we*. These and other lines reflect both the distinction between Jewish religious law and Roman law that informs the biblical Passion accounts (see John 18:31, quoted at lines 389–90), and a distinction between ecclesiastic and civic law in the Middle Ages.

433 *he cam bot late*. That is, he came in after the others. Jesus is not within striking distance, having apparently been led in by a rope (see line 64) and therefore standing at some distance behind his captors. Lines 599–600 further indicate that the buffeting itself takes place at some distance from Caiaphas; Caiaphas and Annas may be seated on a high dais above the others.

449–50 *Els myght I have made up wark / Of yond harlot and mare*. Or else I would have made short work of that scoundrel and sorcerer. The word "mare" (as in "nightmare") in this context refers back to Jesus as a sorcerer (see"his soceres," line 124). See *MED mare* (n.2), sense b.

482–83 *I red not we mete / If that lad skap*. That is, you had better not see me if Jesus escapes.

492 *Sayn us lord with thy ryng*. Caiaphas is represented here (as in medieval art more generally) as a parody of the Christian bishop who wore a ring on the hand used to give his blessing; kissing the bishop's ring after such a blessing was a conventional sign of respect.

498 *A new play of Yoyll*. The 'game' that they play, striking a blindfolded person who must try to identify his attackers, while based on the gospel accounts (see headnote to the play, above) resembles hot cockles or blind man's buff (or buffet). The association here with Yuletide, or the Christmas season, December through January, might indicate that this play, like the Shepherds plays and possibly others in this collection, were intended for (individual) performance in that season. The prologue to the second part of *The Return to Parnassus* refers to this Cambridge Yuletide play as "a Christmas toy indeede, as good a conceit as [stanging] hotcockles, or blinde-man buffe" (*Pilgrimage to Parnassus*, p. 78; see *OED hot cockles* (n.)).

500 *Fraword, a stoyll*. Froward, whose name is synonymous with "perverse" (see *MED froward* (adj.), sense 1) has had no lines to this point, but is often assumed to come onstage with the other torturers at the beginning of the play, to allow for a visual consistency in a supposed sequential production, given that the Conspiracy play ends with Jesus being led away by two soldiers and one other

character, Malchus, while the Scourging includes three torturers (see SC p. 555n1). Froward refers to his being in service to one or both of the torturers (line 555), and apparently leaves with them at the end of the play (see lines 623–24), but such a character seems unlikely to be silent or unnoticed if onstage at the outset.

502–03 *Now els were it doyll / And unnett*. That is, it would be (more) painful and difficult for him to be handled another way, rather than allowing him to sit on a stool.

507 *Go fetche us a light buffit*. A *buffet* is a footstool (*MED* (n.1)), but the term also puns on *buffet* as blow (n.2) in this context.

512–14 *If he stode . . . . in a croft*. In response to Froward's questioning complaint that Jesus should not be allowed to sit on a stool, Torturer 1 states sarcastically that, if Jesus stood on top of the stool ("up on loft," line 512), they could not easily reach to hit him, but would hop and dance like fighting cocks.

518 *As fell I the dew*. SC transcribe this line *as fell i[n] the dew*, and offer several tentative readings (p. 561n518); however, one can read the line as written, with *fell* meaning "to make fall" — that is, you can show fine skill as easily as I can make the dew fall. Falling dew is frequently associated with divine blessing in Hebrew scripture.

519 *Have this; bere it, shrew*. Froward grudgingly gives a stool to one of the torturers, but apparently does not bring it to him, letting him do the work of carrying it.

521–24 *Com syr . . . . Youre sete is arayde*. Torturer 2 sarcastically treats Jesus as "a lorde of reknowne" with his use of "syr" and "ye" (rather than the usual "thou"), which gets picked up by Torturer 1 in the following line with a pun on "crown."

548 *thou was ever curst*. That is, froward, or perverse — see the note to line 500, above.

559 *Thou shalbe cald to pervyce*. That is, given your tendency to argue everything, you shall be called to a disputation at the Inns of Court. The "parvis" was named for the enclosed courtyard in front of a church (see *MED parvis(e* (n.)) where such disputations were originally held.

571–72 *Cryst curs myght he have / That last bond his heade*. Torturer 2 has put the blindfold around Jesus' head and tied it, while Froward asks questions (and possibly interferes as well); Froward now curses him, but obliquely, and with audacious anachronism: this is, after all, Christ's head that is being bound.

575 *thus*. The lines that follow repeatedly use the deictic or demonstrative adverb "thus," among other means, to indicate the blows with which Jesus is struck — thus building stage directions into the lines themselves. Froward joins in the beating by line 590.

586–87 *hym refe / All his fonde talys*. That is, to silence him. But of course — aside from his brief speech at lines 363–68 — Jesus is already silent throughout this play (see Isaiah 53:7).

591 *And knop out the skalys*. And knock out the scalls — that is, knock any scabs or dandruff off his head (see SC p. 563n591 for a more extensive discussion of this variously-interpreted line).

619 *Com furth, old crate*. The word "crate" may be a misreading for "trate" (see 12.570, "trattys"), referring to a hag or old woman (see *MED trot* (n.2)).

621 *We shall lede thee a trott*. Torturer 1 leads Jesus out, pulling him by the rope with which he is bound; see notes to line 1, above, and to 19.75.

643 *With this dagger so keyn*. Vice figures in morality plays commonly play with daggers; Caiaphas has likely been playing with one since the outset.

19. THE SCOURGING

With its highly varied stanza forms, changes in diction, and more, the Scourging shows evidence of much editing and revision from a variety of sources. Nearly two-thirds of the play, including the trial before Pilate and the scourging itself, is written in 13-line stanzas, including the 'bob and wheel' stanza (but unusually in this case written in the MS as 13-line rather than 9-line stanzas) as well as some metrical variations. While the torturers repeat here many of the same charges against Jesus leveled in the previous two plays, they also describe miracles that are not represented in any extant English plays (including in lines 196–98 the wedding at Cana, the subject of a play at York that was never copied into the official Register). Much of the final portion of the play, largely in 10-line stanzas, is likely a later addition, evidently adapted from the York Shearmen's play representing the Road to Calvary or from an earlier version of that play. This may well include a section that is missing from the York text due to a lost page; see the note to lines 352–471, below.

Before 1 *John (the Apostle)* [character]. At his first appearance in this play, at line 352, the MS speech rubrics designate this character as *Johannes Apostolus* ("John the Apostle"), although thereafter he is just called *Johannes* ("John").

7 *bradyng of batels*. While the *MED* (*breidinge* (ger.), sense c) cites this phrase alone as meaning "delivering blows; ?assaulting" (stretching the meaning of "battle"), EP's gloss of *bradyng* as "onset" (p. 398) is likely closer, given that the verb normally refers to sudden or rushing movement (see *MED breiden* (v.1)), here the charge into or rush of battle.

13 *Os Malleatoris*. Sister Nicholas Maltman convincingly argues that this is the correct reading for what in the MS reads *As mali actoris* — arguably translatable as "as evil doer," but nonsensical given the use of the genitive case ("Pilate — *Os Malleatoris*"). The manuscript reading appears to be a corruption or mistranscription of the phrase *Os Malleatoris*, meaning "mouthpiece of the devil" (literally "mouth of the hammerer"); this phrase, which also informs line 14, was

explicitly used by several scriptural commentators (the "clergy" of line 12) to designate Pilate.

14 *as on both sydys the iren the hamer makith playn*. That is, the hammer beats both sides of a piece of iron in order to flatten and mould it. As explained in the lines that follow, Pilate is an unjust judge who serves whichever side of a dispute will give him the greatest reward.

23–26 *All fals endytars . . . . Ar welcom to me*. These lines repeat almost verbatim 17.36–39 (see note), in the same position within another 13-line 'bob and wheel' stanza, and are echoed again in 27.270–71.

28 *Crist thay call hym*. Although the torturers explicitly refer to him by name as Jesus (see lines 155, 246, 284), Pilate will later ask him his name (line 257), effectively asking him to lay claim to being the Christ, the Messiah.

46–47 *it is most lefe / The shedyng of Cristen bloode and that all Jury knawes*. Pilate's assertion of a fondness for shedding Christian blood is of course anachronistic, but aligned here less with any historical persecution of Christians by the Romans than, through mention of "all Jewry," with an anti-Semitic implication of blood libel — the idea that Jews shed Christian blood for ritual use.

54 *From Syr Herode oure kyng*. The trial before Herod, based on Luke 23:7–12, is dramatized in York and Chester and in the N-Town Passion, but not in Towneley; see also lines 120–23 and note. It is possible that this play, or the source of this portion of it, was once part of a Passion sequence quite different from the selection of plays collected here.

75 *Do draw hym forward*. As this and line 79 indicate, Jesus is being pulled by a rope held by Torturer 3 (see line 92); however, lines 89–91 (see note, below) suggest that the rope is at this point either around his neck or his waist, rather than binding his hands; see note to 18.1.

81 *I shall spytt in his face*. See Matthew 26:67–68 and Mark 14:65; see also 21.101.

89–91 *With this band . . . . on his bak*. Jesus' hands are apparently not tied at the beginning of the play, although he is bound in some way by a rope; tying his hands behind his back, particularly at this point, may be intended to force Jesus to enter Pilate's court backward — the opposite of courtly etiquette, in which one does not turn one's back to the sovereign, even if it means walking backward. In the second part of Sir David Lindsay's *Satyre of The Thrie Estaitis*, characters representing the three estates enter "gangand backwart, led be thair vyces" (lines 2322–23), but by choice, not by force.

109–10 *Nather in dede . . . with no wrang*. See Luke 23:4.

120–23 *Herode . . . . to any syn*. See Luke 23:15 and note to line 54 above.

141–47 *Thou knowes . . . . in persons thre*. See John 19:10–11 (which follows the scourging). Jesus' lines here are the only ones he speaks to Pilate, unlike in John's gospel.

148–56 *Certys . . . . ye dam this day*. For the freeing of Barabbas, see John 18:39–40 (also Matthew 27:15–26, Mark 15:6–15, and Luke 23:17–25).

157–58 *looke . . . His cloysse ye spoyll hym fro*. In Matthew 27:26–31, Jesus is scourged before he is stripped and mocked, and dressed again in his own clothing prior to the crucifixion. Here care is taken to keep his clothing undamaged prior to the scourging, in apparent reference to the legend of his seamless robe — the subject of the Towneley play of the Dice (see the headnote to play 21).

163 *How iudicare comys in crede*. The word *iudicare*, "to judge," is from a line in the creed; to "teach the creed" is to teach a lesson, in this case with physical punishment (see 20.55, also 12.332 and note). However, the victim here is the very judge to whom the relevant line of the Nicene creed refers: *et iterum venturus est cum gloria iudicare vivos et mortuos* ("and he will come again in glory to judge the living and the dead").

166 *Have bynd to this pyllar*. The pillar to which Jesus is bound for the scourging is frequently represented as freestanding and solitary — that is, a whipping post, rather than an architectural support. Stage properties listed in a 1490 Coventry record include "iiij Scorges and a piller" (four scourges and a pillar; *REED: Coventry*, p. 74; see also the note to 21.131).

171 *flap*. To flap is to strike a blow (also called a flap — see line 181) with something loose, such as a lash or scourge. See *MED flappen* (v.), sense a, which cites this line.

176 *rub on the rust*. To "rub off the rust" can be used metaphorically to refer to eliminating corruption through punishment (see *MED rubben* (v.), sense 3b, and *rust* (n.), sense d), yet Jesus embodies the opposite of moral or spiritual corruption; the line might also allude to Matthew 6:19–20 with its contrast between the treasures of heaven and those of earth, "where the rust, and moth consume."

196–98 *feste of Architreclyn . . . . water into wyn*. That is, the wedding at Cana, site of Jesus' first public miracle. Used here as a name, the Latin term *architriclinus* means "master of the feast" — see John 2:8–9.

202–08 *The see . . . . hym obeyng tyll*. The reference is to Jesus walking on the Sea of Galilee; see John 6:16–21 and Matthew 14:25–33 (and the note to 17.742).

209–21 *A lepir cam . . . . lowfyd hym oft-sythe*. These two miracles are related in succession in Matthew 8:2–13. However, it is not a centurion's son as it is here (line 218)

who is healed, but his servant (and possible lover; the Vulgate refers to him as his *puer*, that is, boy).

222–34 *Sirs . . . . of all yll*. The healing of blind Bartimaeus is told in Mark 10:46–52.

239–40 *Oure Sabbot day in his wyrkyng / He lettys not to hele the seke*. That is, he does not desist on the Sabbath — a day of rest — from working to heal the sick.

254 *the Jues*. Here Pilate differentiates between himself and "the Jews" who seek the death of Jesus, whereas he is most often treated implicitly or explicitly as one of them; compare line 6 of his opening speech (see also line 47 and note). Jesus and his followers, on the other hand, regularly (even insistently) and anachronistically refer to "the Jews" as other (see lines 357, 451, 456, and 460 of this same play).

257 *Say, what is thy name*. See line 28 and note.

265 *He cals hym a kyng in every place*. The second Counselor repeats the same charge as the first — see lines 133–39.

276 *Hym that is youre lege lordyng*. See John 19:15.

285–86 *Or to Syr Cesar we trus / And make thy frenship cold*. That is, or we will go to Sir Caesar and end our friendship with you. See John 19:12.

289–90 *Both my handys in expres / Weshen sall be*. Here Pilate washes his hands, as in Matthew 27:24.

293–95 *We pray it fall endles . . . . With wrake*. The claim of eternal responsibility for the death of Christ based on Matthew 27:25 — "His blood be upon us and upon our children" — has long been used to justify Christian anti-Semitism. Note the oppositional references to "thise Jues" by the (Jewish) women in lines 450–61.

313 *here a crowne of thorne*. This scene is based on Matthew 27:28–29 and Mark 15:17–18, but without explicit mention of the scarlet (or royal purple) robe that they mockingly put on Jesus in those accounts, a common feature in visual representations; however, having earlier stripped him of his garments (see line 158), the torturers may well put a robe on him here nonetheless.

339–51 *This cros up . . . . thee this day*. This final 13-line stanza preceding a series of 10-line stanzas from York (see headnote and below, *passim*) effectively summarizes the action that follows, though not originally part of the same play. The original play may have ended shortly after this stanza; see also the notes to lines 482–85 and 564–72.

352–71 *Alas . . . fast therfor*. The first two stanzas of John's opening speech very closely parallel the first and third stanzas of the parallel speech in the York Road to Calvary play; see *York* 34.106–15 and 126–35. The last portion of a fourth stanza

in York, along with much else, is lost due to a missing page; some of the missing dialogue may be preserved here, in lines 372–433 (which are followed by a series of 8-line stanzas). The non-biblical scene of John meeting the Marys prior to the crucifixion is not dramatized in any other English plays.

363 *My moder and hir syster also*. Mary Salome, mother to the disciples John and James, does not appear in this play, although she is named as a witness to the crucifixion in Mark 15:40 and Matthew 27:56, along with Mary Magdalene and Mary Jacobi (mother to Joseph and the other disciple named James) — the two other Marys here along with Mary, mother of Jesus. John 19:25 alone states that Mary, mother of Jesus, was present, along with Mary Magdalene and Mary Cleophas (see headnote to play 24, the Pilgrims), the latter thus being commonly identified with Mary Jacobi. As is explicit in *N-Town* 36.25–28, both Mary Jacobi/Cleophas and Mary Salome were traditionally identified as sisters to the mother of Jesus. Perhaps, as Davidson suggests in his edition of the York text (p. 468n127), "mi moder" here refers not to John's biological mother but to the mother of Jesus, anachronistically prior to her being designated as John's mother at the crucifixion (see 20.524), "hir syster" here being Mary Jacobi. In York itself, on the other hand, such a reading is unnecessary, given both the reference in *York* 34.127 to her "sisteres" (a term that in Towneley's line 410 includes the non-related Mary Magdalene), and the designation in that text of those who accompany the mother of Jesus simply as *II Maria* and *III Maria* (as here, no names are mentioned in the dialogue), which allows the two to stand in for any and all other "sisters" in mourning, including Mary Salome.

385–86 *How he with pyne shuld pas us fro, / And efte shuld com us to*. See for example John 14:3, 18.

398 *tell unto us two*. That is, Mary Jacobi and Mary Magdalene, who have taken John aside to speak "prevaly" (line 392), in hopes of sparing Jesus' mother grief.

406 *And kepe hym as he shall be kend*. That is, seek after or meet him on the road along which he is to be led or directed (*MED kennen* (v.1), sense 1c) by the soldiers.

416 *he commes us even agayn*. That is, ahead of us, from the opposite direction that we are walking. The scene of Jesus meeting his mother on the *via crucis* (way of the cross) is not biblical (although it takes its cue from the mention of mourning women in Luke 23:27), but was important to later medieval devotional practices and frequently represented in both art and literature.

443–44 *On cros . . . on the thryd day*. See Matthew 16:21 and 17:21–22.

466–81 *Ye doghters of Jerusalem . . . . thay will not spare*. See Luke 23:28–29. This speech ends a section written in 8-line stanzas, and clearly not from York; for the equivalent speech, see *York* 34.160–79.

482–85 *Walk on . . . . thay can red*. This quatrain shares a rhyme scheme with lines 564–67 (see note below) and may originally have belonged to that (final) stanza.

486–95 *Say, wherto . . . . cam thou here*. This stanza again closely parallels the York text (*York* 34.190–99).

489 *Go home, thou casbald with that clowte*. The *MED* defines *casbalde* (attested only here and in the parallel line in *York* 34.193) as "a term of reproach; ?baldhead" (*MED casbald* (n.1)). Mary Magdalene has evidently removed a veil (thus uncovering either her head or her neck and breast, hence the reproach) and, taking the place of the legendary Saint Veronica, has used it to wipe the face of Jesus. According to tradition, "this thyng" (line 492) miraculously imprinted with an image of his face — known as the vernicle (from "Veronica" which means "true image") — became a famous relic, and is the subject of many artistic representations.

496–97 *Let all this bargan be, / Syn all oure toyles ar before*. Leave all this business — that is, conversing with the mourners — since our work lies ahead of us. This is the opening of an irregular 8-line stanza (or two separate quatrains) not in York.

504–63 *That shall we . . . . before with cros*. These six stanzas closely parallel *York* 34.230–49 and 34.260–99; the intervening stanza in York (34.250–59) is a speech by Simon, further explaining that he cannot stop to help.

524 *hoyn*. *York* 34.260 has the less obscure "wone" ("live, or stay") in place of "hone" ("delay").

564–72 *Now, by Mahound . . . . the chace*. This final portion of the play appears to be a 13-line stanza missing the initial quatrain — perhaps what are now lines 482–85 (see note above); this stanza may well have originally followed line 351, ending the original play. Note that this would also preserve the normal (but not absolute) 1-2-3 speaking order for the torturers, lines 339–51 being attributed to Torturer 1, and the stray quatrain to Torturer 2, and Torturer 3 being the speaker at lines 564–58.

567–68 *furth hym lede / A trace*. While *trace* commonly refers to a way or path taken, "to lead a trace" means to dance a measure (*MED trace* (n.1), sense 3a).

20. THE CRUCIFIXION

With its mix of styles and stanza forms, the Crucifixion appears to be a composite play, edited together from diverse original sources either for reading purposes or for independent performance, much like the Conspiracy (which likewise differs in its incipit and explicit) and the Scourging. The image of Christ crucified is of course central to late medieval devotional practices, and these have strongly influenced the current work; Jesus is left hanging on the cross for close to 500 lines — far longer than in York (where the Crucifixion and the Death and Burial are separate pageants) or Chester — while Jesus' mother Mary and his disciple John utter traditional lyrical laments. However, the presence of the two thieves, crucified alongside Jesus according to all gospel accounts, goes unnoted,

and the burial is referred to but not staged. The torturers gamble for the robe of Jesus, but differently than in the play of the Dice that follows.

23 *Prynce of all Jury*. As in some other plays (see for example 17.180), Pilate in these stanzas is represented not merely as complicit with the Jewish enemies of Jesus but also, ahistorically, as Jewish rather than Roman, although he also swears "by Mahownys bloode" in line 14.

29 *All peasse*. Much like Pilate before him (line 1 here, and both in the Conspiracy and in the Scourging), the Torturer enters with a call for peace, typical of opening speeches; this may once have been the opening line of a play written entirely in a 6-line stanza form (rhymed *aabccb*), to which Pilate's speech and much else has been added. Regardless, it is likely that the torturers, along with Jesus carrying the cross, enter through the audience in order to get to Calvary (which they reach only at line 83), making this cry for peace an appropriate, even necessary means of getting attention and silencing the audience.

68 *here oone to the othere syde*. Torturer 2, like Torturer 1, has a cord or leather thong with which to fasten Jesus to the cross. While binding his wrists to the cross ostensibly makes the nails appear redundant (historically placed through the wrist, although traditionally represented as through the palms), this is necessary to help the actor remain in place particularly during the lifting of the cross.

86–88 *Yee, for as modee . . . . had the rake*. Yes, for as sad as he can look, he would have played another trick if he had had the opportunity. SC paraphrase these lines as meaning, "For, as arrogant as he looks, he would have played another trick [i.e. behaved quite differently], if he had been put on the rack" (p. 576n86–8), although "to have the rake" means "to have the opportunity" to do something (*MED rake* (n.3)). Interestingly, while the Torturers have been stressing his pride in previous lines (see lines 47, 54, and 69) "moody" in this context could also mean "distressed" or "sorrowful" (see *MED modi* (adj.), sense 2b), befitting the traditional "Man of Sorrows" image.

92 *Ye must just in tornamente*. The idea of Jesus as warrior or knight is central to various works, including *The Dream of the Rood*, one of the oldest poems in English, but the specific metaphor of the crucifixion as jousting at a tournament is also used in Passus 18 of Langland's *Piers Plowman*.

100 *sett*. The seat is the cross, or more specifically the *sedile*, a small post or projection on the upright beam that allows Jesus, or rather the actor, to sit rather than hang, here metaphorically treated as the saddle (line 102) on his palfrey (see line 114 and note). The *sedile* (sometimes referred to as a *cornu* or horn) is mentioned in a number of different Latin sources, including works by Tertullian and Justin Martyr; the footrest more commonly pictured in medieval art was not likely a feature of Roman crucifixion, but is a practical necessity in theater.

103 *For fallyng be thou bold*. That is, do not fear falling; he will be securely fastened to the cross (see lines 116–17).

104 *I hete thee well tho bydys a shaft*. I promise you sincerely that you will suffer a lance. This continues the jousting metaphor and anticipates the spearing of his side by the "blind knight" Longeus (see lines 651–62).

105–06 *Bot if thou sytt well, thou had better laft / The tales that thou has told*. That is, unless you remain firmly seated, you would be better off having dispensed with those stories you told — specifically, of being king, a position he will (they assume) lose in losing this 'joust.'

114 *And wyn apon youre palfray sone*. And mount your horse without delay (see also line 201). A palfrey is not a war horse suitable for jousting, but a regular saddle-horse such as a lady might ride. In the York Crucifixion play, Jesus lays himself down on the cross (see *York* 35.75–76); here, given the lack of comment, he may be placed on the cross by the torturers, but without resistance — being "led as a sheep to the slaughter" (Isaiah 53:7).

119–99 *Knyt thou a knott . . . . clynke it right*. The stretching of Jesus' limbs to reach pre-bored holes on the cross is commonplace in meditative traditions, and is dramatized in York, Chester, and N-Town as well. The right hand is traditionally fastened first (as explicitly noted in a stage direction in the Chester version; see *Chester* 16A.After 192). Having realized that the holes are too far apart, they pull one arm into place (line 125); Torturer 2 ties it there (lines 125–28), and Torturer 3 hammers in the nail (see lines 131–37). Torturer 2 then goes to hold down the knees (line 140) while the others pull the left hand to the bore-hole, but he quickly thereafter joins them at the second bore-hole to hold the nail in position (see lines 150–54). They then attempt to draw the legs down. Initially they all pull together (lines 162–68), but they ultimately take turns before managing to align his feet with the bore-hole, at which point Torturer 4 hammers in the nail (see lines 195–99). Finally they go raise the cross together. (SC p. 577n119–99 give a notably different summary of the action in these same lines; see also note to line 150 below.)

123–24 *It wantys . . . Othere half span and more*. That is, as everyone can see, his hand falls short of the bore-hole for the nail by at least half a span (a span being the widest distance between the tips of one's thumb and little finger — roughly 9 inches or 23 cm).

144 *That was well drawen, that that*. That was well-pulled, that thing there. Torturer 4 goes on for four more lines about just how well-pulled it was, evidently taking the credit himself (and will later blame others for not pulling properly — see lines 170–72). Here Torturer 1 is giving orders, but apparently doing little more than that, while Torturer 2 is holding down Jesus' knees (line 140[b]; see note to lines 119–99 above). In line 143, Torturer 3 tells someone else to pull, likely Torturer 4; he himself may be otherwise occupied, holding the already fastened arm in place, or perhaps sitting on that arm while pushing the other toward the bore-hole.

150 *take the bore*. That is, hold the nail to ensure that it goes into the pre-bored hole (see *MED taken* (v.), sense 1c; see also lines 195–96 and note. SC understand this phrase to refer to boring a hole at the "marke" (lines 146, 190; see SC p. 577–78n119–99, and p. 661 *bore* (n.2)), in accordance with the *MED*, which cites this line in support of its definition for *taken* as meaning "to build (sth.), construct, make" (sense 42a). However "marke" likewise refers to the bore-hole itself, as in *York* 35.109, where one of the torturers complains that the "marke amisse be bored." The pulling and stretching of Jesus is necessary only if the holes are pre-bored, as in other accounts and dramatic representations.

159 *Felowse, fest on fast youre hende*. That is, fellows, grab hold tightly with your hands.

161 *by this wedyr*. That is, by heavens — a mild oath.

165 *draw we ilka syn from syn*. That is, pull his sinews apart, by tugging his legs toward the bore-hole.

167–69 *Nay, felowse, this is no gam . . . . So mekill have I asspyed*. Pulling together has clearly been unsuccessful, so they will make individual attempts. Torturer 4 goes on to state that their failure was due to someone seeking "ease" by jerking on the rope (lines 171–72), suggesting that when they pulled together they suddenly and simultaneously tumbled backward.

189 *Pull therat with somkyn gyn*. Torturer 1 is now taking his turn at pulling the rope. While "gin" here could simply mean "skill" or "strategem" — that is, Torturer 2 is telling him to pull on the rope in a different, more skillful way, since everyone else has been unsuccessful — it is also possible that some type of mechanical contrivance or tool is to be used here, such as piece of wood around which the cord is fastened to facilitate the pulling. See *MED gin(ne* (n.), sense 3.

195–96 *Which of you can best dryfe, / And I shall take the bore*. That is, whichever of you can best hammer, while I hold the nail in place at the bore-hole (see note to line 150 above). Torturer 4 offers to do this in the next line.

216–17 *For hym that all this warld weldys, / Put fro thee with thi hande*. That is, by the almighty creator — meaning Mahound (see line 181) rather than the one they are crucifying — push it with your hand. The cross is leaning to one side (line 215[b]) and in danger of falling over.

226 *gape agans the son*. That is, gape at the sun, referring to Jesus' open-eyed, open-mouthed (but silent) expression of pain after the cross is jarringly dropped into the mortise.

227 *war thi crowne*. Watch your crown — that is, the crown of thorns, which might well slip as the cross falls into place. The line gives an opportunity for Torturer 1 to push at the crown with a stick if necessary, and otherwise serves as mockery.

230 *Shog hym well and let us lyfte*. In order to ensure that the cross is securely placed in the mortise they will (following line 231) lift up the cross and let it fall once more. They will — extraordinarily — do this yet again, just for painful effect; see lines 305–10.

233–96 *I pray you pepyll . . . . have thus spylt*. The lament or reproach from the cross is a common lyrical subject in the later Middle Ages; this particular six stanza lament, along with the three stanza continuation at lines 503–35, may be adapted from such a lyric. Ultimately modeled on a verse from the biblical Lamentations of Jeremiah (1:12, "O all ye that pass by . . ."), the lament takes up themes that are central to affective piety, such as the specific pains that the sinless Jesus has suffered on account of human sin; the audience, as representative of all humankind, is deemed responsible even for the hammer blows that, in the context of this play, they have just witnessed. The couplet that follows Jesus' lines was likely once part of a regular 6-line stanza, but clearly responds to a similar evocation of Luke 23:34; see lines 292–95 and note.

241–43 *My mayn, my mode, my myght . . . . none bot care*. That is, all my strength — physical and emotional — has been reduced to a sorrowful spectacle, and the only comfort is grief.

255–60 *All creatoures . . . . his shuder bone*. See Matthew 8:20, Luke 9:58.

274 *Se thus thi wekydnes*. This stanza like the next is irregular; a line appears to be missing just before or after this one (and rhymed with "wekydnes").

281–85 *Thus by I Adam blode . . . . for to wyn*. Through his passion, Christ buys Adam's blood — his sinful descendants — with his own, seeking no gain or profit for himself. A line appears to be missing just before or after line 281 (and rhymed with "blode"); see the note to line 274 above.

290 *all byspytt me spytusly*. See Matthew 27:30, and the Scourging 19.81.

292–95 *Bot Fader . . . . Thay wote not what thay doyn*. See Luke 23:34. The couplet that follows these lines, shared by two torturers, was likely once part of a regular stanza, but clearly serves as a response to what Jesus has just said; the lyrical lament from the cross here might well have replaced four lines of a regular 6-line stanza comprised of a similar paraphrase of the well-known verse from Luke.

305–06 *Lyft us this tre . . . and let it into the mortase fall*. See line 230 and note.

311–44 *Alas the doyll . . . . thus fare*. The lament of Mary below the cross is another popular lyric subject and, like that of Jesus earlier, appears to have been derived from an independent source, which likely included the continuation of the lament in lines 367–82 (and possibly also lines 453–60, attributed to John, and written in the same stanza form). Mary and the disciple John are regularly

depicted together at the crucifixion based on John 19:25–27 (see the note to lines 520–24 below), which nonetheless mentions Mary Magdalene and Mary Cleophas as well (see note to 19.363). Although the exchange between Mary and John is likely derived from a different source from Mary's lament, or *planctus*, Frank Napolitano ("Discursive Competition") has shown how this *planctus* leads to a competitive exchange with John that is then resolved by Jesus, which indicates a deliberate dramaturgical principle behind the interwoven additions.

317–18 *In warld, son, were never we / So wo as I in wede*. That is, there was never, my son, a person (see *MED wie*, (n.), sense a) more woeful as I am. This variation of the alliterative phrase "wight in wede" (see note to 16.115) may indicate that Mary is wearing a garment akin to "widow's weeds" (which could be white rather than black) to indicate mourning.

380 *Whi will thou fare me fro*. This line serves as a sort of refrain through her speech; see lines 411 and 417, also 446.

385–90 *Me mynnys . . . . shuld it be*. See for example Matthew 16:21, 17:22, 20:19. This stanza is very similar in form to the 13-line 'bob and wheel' stanza.

396–423 *Mi sorow . . . . bayll will brest*. These alternating 8- and 6-line stanzas could be configured as 14-line stanzas of the sort used in much of the Lazarus play (see note to 16.119), as is done in SC (p. 299, lines 396–423).

405–07 *His robe is . . . . shapen with my sydys*. The flesh of Jesus, shaped in Mary's womb ("sydys"), is now torn like a garment, alluding to his seamless robe or "mantyll" (line 558) that will not be torn but gambled for later in the play; see lines 560–68 and note below). The seamless robe itself was often seen as a symbol of the mystical, indivisible body of Christ.

446 *frely foode*. See note to 7.d.85. Four lines from the original stanza may be missing just prior to this line, the stanza being otherwise the same in form as the two previous.

461–80 *Alas dede . . . . lyf no more*. These two stanzas constitute an apostrophe or address to death personified, ending in a prayer for death.

474 *Sen I had childer none bot oone*. That is, since I had no other children but this one. Two lines may be missing from this stanza, which otherwise resembles those immediately before and after.

481 *Gabriell, that good / Some tyme thou can me grete*. Mary addresses the (absent) angel Gabriel, referring to the Annunciation (Luke 1:26–38 and play 7c).

512 *To lowse that bon was are*. That is, to free those who previously were bound (in hell).

520–24 *Woman . . . . thi moder mylde*. See John 19:26–27. While the biblical passage does not actually name John, the identification of John with "the disciple that Jesus loved" in the gospel of John is traditional. Once Jesus names them mother and son in this way (addressing John only in line 524), they effectively vanish from the play. In the York version, Mary Cleophas explicitly asks that they lead Jesus' mother away from the cross (see *York* 36.272); similar action would be appropriate here, given their silence at the death of Jesus and lack of involvement in the deposition from the cross.

536 *Noght bot hold thi peasse*. The regular 6-line stanza resumes here. While this stanza's references to "drink" (see lines 537 and 539) respond to Jesus' complaint of thirst in the preceding lines, those preceding lines may nonetheless be an interpolation, replacing a stanza that contained a similar complaint by Jesus.

539–40 *Have here the draght . . . not swete*. Jesus is offered a drink of vinegar from a sponge on a reed according to Matthew 27:48 and Mark 15:36 (vinegar and hyssop according to John 19:29). Prior to the crucifixion, according to Matthew 27:34 (see Mark 15:23, but also Psalm 69:21), he is offered wine or vinegar mixed with bitter gall to dull the pain, which he refuses; see the references to "asell" and "gall" in plays 23.277–78, 24.90, and 25.246, 526. The two offers of drink are frequently conflated.

549 *That he shuld make us tempyl-les*. That is, that he should destroy the temple; see Matthew 27:40.

560–68 *How wold thou . . . . say not theragayn*. See Matthew 27:35 and John 19:23–24. The gambling for the seamless robe of Jesus — a famous ecclesiastical relic in the Middle Ages (see note to 9.785) — is also the subject of the play of the Dice, which follows in the MS. Here Torturer 4 draws the long straw and thus claims his prize (to the chagrin of Torturer 1).

572 *yond skraw*. Pilate has attached a scroll to the cross above Jesus' head; see John 19:19–20 and note to 596–97 below.

583 *All is not worth a beyn*. Proverbial. See Whiting B92.

589 *Appolyn*. Apocalypse 9:11 refers to Apollyon or Abaddon, "the destroyer," as the angel of the abyss; in Hebrew scripture the name Abaddon is used to refer to hell. Here, his name is used as an oath.

591 *I am the best Latyn wright*. That is, I am the best at understanding Latin — the primary language of medieval instruction. Torturer 4 is effectively asserting that he is the most literate.

596–97 *Jesu of Nazareyn / He is kyng of Jues*. See John 19:19–20 and Luke 23:38, both of which also explain that the inscription is written in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin

(see lines 584–87). However, in Western tradition the sign is conventionally represented with only the letters INRI, the acronym of the Latin inscription, *Iesus Nazarenus, Rex Iudaeorum*. According to the *Northern Passion*, the three languages are evident in that one line: "Nazaret was Grew, Jhesu Ebrew, / Kyng of Jues was Latyn . . ." (*Codex Ashmole*, lines 1594–95).

611–13 *Quod scriptum scripsi . . . . theragane*. The Latin here is a misquotation of John 19:22: *Quod scripsi scripsi* ("What I have written, I have written"). Otherwise these lines closely resemble those in *York* 36.114–17.

624–28 *If thou be Crist . . . . all trow in thee*. See Mark 15:30–32.

636 *Hely, hely, lamazabatany*. This line, transliterated from Aramaic in Matthew 27:46 and Mark 15:34 (usually now as *Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani*), is translated in the rest of this speech. Like the unnamed onlookers in Matthew 27:47 and Mark 15:35, Torturer 2 responds by stating that he must be calling on Elias — that is, the prophet Elijah — to save him (line 640).

650 *I betake my saull*. Jesus' last words on the cross are taken from Luke 23:46. The dialogue here makes no reference to the unnatural darkness, earthquakes, rending of the temple curtain, or resurrection of the dead mentioned in gospel accounts as occurring simultaneously with the death of Jesus (see for example Matthew 27:51–54 and Luke 23:44–45), as mentioned in the Resurrection play (23.51–56).

655 *Gar me not do bot I wote what.* Do not make me do anything other than what I know I do — that is, do not trick me. The response of Torturer 3 ("Not bot put up fast") means "[do] nothing other than to shove your spear upward, quickly," which the Torturer 'helps' or forces him to do (see lines 661–62). The story of the centurion whose spear pierces the side of Christ (the last of the Five Holy Wounds, the others being caused by the nails in his hands and feet) is based primarily on John 19:34–35 as elaborated in the apocryphal but highly popular Gospel of Nicodemus, which gives him the name *Longeus* (see Hulme, *Middle-English Harrowing of Hell*, p. 63, line 625) or Longinus (based on the Greek word for a lance — this particular lance or spear being famous both in the Grail legends and as a relic in Saint Peter's, Rome). In the Middle English translation, he is blind, but the blood that runs down his spear miraculously restores his sight (line 658) and makes him a believer. His next and final speech, lines 657–64, is in a different stanza form (4 couplets), suggesting a possible interpolation.

675 *bytter tornamente*. The phrase suggests "bitter torment" while extending the metaphor of the tournament from the earlier part of the play; see the note to line 92 above and also 22.386.

714 *wonden and well dight*. The body of Jesus is to be carefully wrapped in a linen shroud (Mark 15:46) for burial.

716–18 *Bere we hym . . . . many a yere*. The lines imply burial not merely near but in a church ("kyrke"), possibly a reference to an Easter sepulchre (see Sheingorn, *Easter Sepulchre in England*), where the sacramental host and crucifix were kept from Good Friday until Easter Sunday.

720–24 *He that dyed on Gud Fryday . . . . And rose on Pasche morne*. This final stanza takes the audience out of the world of the play, and — with its past-tense reference to the ostensibly subsequent resurrection — implies stand-alone rather than sequential performance.

21. THE DICE

Gambling for the robe of Jesus is mentioned in all four gospel accounts, and explicitly cited as fulfillment of prophecy (based on Psalm 21:19) both in Matthew 27:35 and in John 19:23–24, the latter being the source for the idea that the robe is seamless (see lines 296–98) and thus indivisible. The robe, one of the more important relics of the Middle Ages (see note to 9.785), is mentioned in several of the Towneley plays; the gambling itself is represented in the Crucifixion play (see 20.560–68 and note), which is problematic for the idea of the Towneley plays as a performable sequence. The play is problematic in other ways as well, even aside from its mix of sometimes ill-defined stanza forms. Both the incipit and the explicit for this play refer to the *processus talentorum* — that is, the pageant of the talents. However, the torturers here are not gambling for money (*talentorum*); nor do they draw lots here, as they do in the Crucifixion play and in the gospel sources. Instead they ultimately gamble by means of dice — that is, *talorum*, the genitive plural form of *talus*, meaning ankle-bone, from which a die was made (see line 339 and note). This is the sole extant play with such a focus, and commonly identified with York's lost "pageant of the Millers, in which Pilate and other soldiers used to play at dice [*ad talos*] for the clothing of Jesus and to cast lots for them and to divide them among themselves" (*REED: York*, p. 733; see also p. 48) — a pageant that was produced by the Millers prior to 1422, when it and others were replaced by a single, longer pageant. The original pageant may well be the basis of the current play, but with additions from different sources and in a variety of stanza forms, likely made at different times and altered or corrupted in the process (for further commentary see Peter Meredith, "The York Millers' Pageant and the Towneley *Processus Talentorum*"). Pilate's opening speech is in the distinctive 13-line 'bob and wheel' stanza, but in Latin and comically pretentious macaronic English-Latin verse; the 13-line stanzas at the end of the play turn it into a sort of morality play against dicing, suggesting individual, stand-alone performance.

28 *Kyng Atus gate me of Pila*. A slightly different version of the legend of Pilate's parentage, and the source of his name, is mentioned in *York* 30.10–18.

51–52 *Redy my swerde . . . to shere now*. Pilate is, typically, brandishing a sword; see 17.5 and note.

66–78 *Loke that no boy . . . . me pay*. SC break this irregular 13-line stanza into a quatrain followed by what they call one of two "truncated stanzas of the Wakefield form" (p. 583, the other such stanza being the last in the extant play). The next five

lines appear to be the end of a similar stanza followed by two quatrains — effectively another irregular 13-line stanza in reverse. These may once have been part of a more regular stanza sequence, but the lengthy, partly alliterated lines in two quatrains (lines 66–69 and 84–87) are unusual.

69 *By myghty Mahowne*. That is, Muhammad, as (generic) false god; see note to 6.410. Such references are very frequent in this play (see lines 116, 140, 183–84, 245, 285, 288, 345, 381, and 436) as in the pageant of Caesar Augustus in the Advent sequence (see note to 7.b.9).

85 *Boy, lay me downe softly*. Pilate is apparently speaking to the Counselor, whom he calls "boy" at lines 203 and 240. Herod makes precisely the same request of an attendant in *York* 31.48, while both Pilate (30.127) and Caiaphas (29.80–83) in the York Passion sequence similarly ask to be put to bed.

92 *War, war, for now com I*. Like the two who follow (see lines 132, 164), Torturer 1 enters through the audience, and addresses them.

101 *I spuyd and spyt right in his face*. See 19.81.

121 *this garmente*. That is, the seamless robe of John 19:23.

124–27 *For whosoever . . . . he theym were*. That is, whoever wears these clothes need never worry as to where he goes, since he seems to lose nothing. The robe is said in some sources such as the *Golden Legend* (see 1:212–13) to have the power to protect its wearer.

131 *So semely in oure gere*. In Coventry, according to a record from 1490, the torturers wore distinctive black clothing decorated "with nayles & dysse" (that is, nails and dice). See *REED: Coventry*, p. 73; the same record is cited at 19.166.

143 *Spyll-payn, in fayth, I hight*. In faith, I am called Spill-pain. The *MED* tentatively defines this name as meaning "one who indiscriminately causes pain" (*spillen* (v.), sense 9), citing this line. This is the only Torturer given a name.

146 *a newe play*. See also line 177. In the Buffeting, the torturers refer to their 'game' of hot cockles or blind man's buff as "a new play of Yoyll" (see 18.498 and note); however, as described in the lines that follow, this "play" could also refer to the scourging, which does immediately precede the crucifixion as suggested in lines 152–53.

174 *Lyn*. Presumably King's Lynn in Norfolk, an important port in the later Middle Ages.

211 *You carles unkynde*. Pilate either addresses more than one counselor here, one of whom never speaks, or refers to the single counselor as part of a noisy crowd that includes the torturers or perhaps the audience; see also line 242.

229 *Sett thee with sorow, then semys thou the les*. That is, be properly humble or else. The first phrase means to be or appear sorrowful — a wish for ill luck on someone — while the second refers to looking smaller or more inferior.

244 *Ye knaw not the comon cowrs that longys to a kyng*. That is, you (plural) do not know how to behave with a king. As indicated by the reference to "felowse" in the previous line, Pilate addresses more than one individual. Given that Torturer 1 speaks the next line, it is likely that Pilate addresses the Counselor along with the Torturers who have apparently been making noise since their entrance, albeit at a distance (see note to line 211, above).

250 *Ye wote that ye demyd this day apon desse*. You know that which you judged today on your dais — "that" being Jesus.

257 *Lefe syrs, let be youre laytt and loke that ye layn*. This line is the sole citation in both the *MED* and *OED* for the use of this noun as referring to search or seeking (*OED lait* (n.3); *MED leit* (n.2)). However, Pliate clearly focuses here on the Torturers' speech as such, advising them not simply to be silent, as is common in these plays, but to stop searching — that is, for words. The *OED* also notes a later dialectical use of the verb to refer to hesitating in speech, alongside another citation from Towneley, in which Jesus uses the same verb in relation to his explication to the Doctors of other words, namely, the ten commandments (14.184) — see *OED lait* (v.2), sense 2.

265 *I ment that no mytyng shuld mell hym of this*. "This" refers to the garments of Jesus, which Pilate evidently snatches away from the torturers in the previous line ("that appentys unto me"); in line 267, Torturer 1 refers to Pilate as having to give it up.

275 *Take thou this, and thou that, and this shall be thyne*. Pilate evidently deals out three small pieces of the robe, yet it clearly remains whole (see line 300). Either he is simply indicating the parts of the robe that he would theoretically give to the others if he were indeed to "shere it in shredys" as suggested (line 274[a]), or cheating by giving them other pieces of cloth, or the miraculous robe remains miraculously intact, much as in the multiplication of the loaves and fishes — a miracle that occurs in all four gospel accounts, but notably twice in Matthew (14:13–21, 15:32–39) and in Mark (6:31–44, 8:1–9).

278–79 *To tymely I toke it to take it thee untyll / The farest and the fowllest thy felowse to fang*. That is, I brought the robe too soon, allowing you to take the best and give your fellows the worst.

283 *lap*. That is, a mere piece or flap of cloth (see *MED lappe* (n.), sense 3). See also the note to line 275 above.

289–91 *Drede you not . . . . as it fallys*. Fear not at all, for we will do so (that is, take the garment, see line 287); grieve not greatly, you will only get this gown as it

divides by four (that is, you will get only the quarter that is your share). Both of the formulaic alliterative phrases that begin these lines are repeated later in the play; see lines 316, 303, and 334.

301 *on youre hud*. While similar to the phrase "by thy hood" (9.339; see also "my hode" at 2.218 and 8.196), this line appears to call for a gesture on the part of Pilate that could be taken for such an oath (perhaps mockingly — see line 304), such as touching his hat as he speaks. See also line 347[b] and note.

331 *Thryrteen ar on thre*. That is, the numbers on the three dice as thrown by Pilate add up to thirteen — a famously unlucky number associated with betrayal.

334 *the next shall be nar*. That is, the next throw will be better — nearer to a clear win.

339 *thise byched bones*. See also line 350. The same cursing reference to dice is found in Chaucer's Pardoner's Tale (*CT* VI[C] 656).

346 *Seven is bot the seconde*. That is, the second highest non-winning score, Torturer 1 having thrown eight.

347[b] *Do shott at thi hud*. This phrase is perhaps related to the common asseveration "by one's hood" (see line 301 and note) but with an abusive edge; "shot" can refer to defecation (see for instance the play of *Mankind*, lines 782–86).

351 *Felowse, in forward here have I fefteen*. The phrase *in forward* literally means "by agreement" (as glossed by SC p. 675) or "according to promise" — here referring to the third Torturer's promise to win, or his 'agreement' with the dice to "go now on gud" (line 349).

353 *whistyll ye in the wenyande*. The waning moon or *waniand* was considered unlucky (see note to 2.227–29), but here Pilate accuses Torturer 3 of whistling to push the dice toward a high score; see line 360.

364 *For if it were duble full dere is it boght*. Torturer 3 worries that he has won the robe at the expense of Pilate's good will, which could cost him greatly. See also line 370, where he refers to Pilate's threats as tripling the apparent cost.

395–96 *As Fortune assyse / Men wyll she make*. The image of Fortune with her wheel, which brings some upward while casting others down, making and breaking human success, is very common in medieval literature.

410–12 *His hyppys then bakys / No symnell / Forhote*. He then bakes no hot simnel — that is, fine bread, signifying the wealth lost by the turning of Fortune's wheel. The phrase "his hips" (see 9.805–06 and note) here effectively serves as a comic title, parallel in form to "his highness."

414–15 *Is ther none other skyfte / Bot syfte, lady, syfte*. That is, is there nothing other than constant trial? The word *skift* can refer to a trick or device, or to any attempt at

doing something, or to fate, while "to sift" — aside from its literal meaning of putting through a sieve — means to try or put to trial (see *MED siften* (v.) and *OED sift* (n.), sense 2).

22. THE HARROWING OF HELL

The story of Jesus' descent into hell and deliverance of all righteous souls, commonly known as the harrowing (robbing or despoiling) of hell, is ultimately based on 1 Peter 3:18–20 as elaborated in the apocryphal but highly popular Gospel of Nicodemus. A Middle English poetic version of this work was a direct source for the York Saddlers' pageant (see Craigie, "The Gospel of Nicodemus and the York Mystery Plays"), from which the Towneley version is derived, the York borrowings being recognizable by the 12-line "Northern Septenar" stanza — a common stanza form in York, also used in the Pharaoh and Doctors pageants borrowed here (plays 6 and 14).

Before 1 *Incipit extraccio animarum etc*. The play's explicit clarifies that *et cetera* here stands in for *ab inferno* — from hell. This edition, however, follows SC in assigning the more common title, the Harrowing of Hell.

7–8 *In anger, pyne, and mekyll wo / I dyde on cros this day*. That is, I died on the cross today in trouble, torment, and much woe (see *MED anger* (n.), sense 1). As Jesus has not yet been resurrected, it is his spirit that speaks here; in the N-Town Passion, the deposition and burial is framed by the two parts of the Harrowing of Hell, which is carried out by a character explicitly designated *Anima Christi* — the soul of Christ — who in medieval visual representations typically carries a cross-staff with a banner. It is likely that this character enters and speaks from audience level, outside the stage representing Hell (see the note to line 210 below).

10 *To chalange that is myne*. The verb "to challenge" is here a legal term meaning "to lay claim to" (see *MED chalengen* (v.), sense 4a), which cites this line.

14 *Thrugh fraude of erthly fode*. That is, through temptation using the forbidden fruit. The equivalent line in York redundantly reads "frewte of erthely foode" (*York* 37.10); as SC note (p. 593n14), "fraude" is likely the original reading.

17–20 *And now . . . . gar thare gammes begyn*. The "stede" that he will restore is the heavenly paradise from which the devil fell; as the next stanzas make clear, the token that he sends ahead of him into hell, to gladden the souls imprisoned there, is a bright light — a detail emphasized in the Gospel of Nicodemus 18:1 (Elliott, p. 186), with allusion to Isaiah 9:2 (see lines 47–48 and note). The plural "tokyns" is used at line 29 to refer to this light, where the equivalent line in *York* (37.41) refers to a singular "signe."

27 *Foure thowsand and sex hundreth yere*. The Gospel of Nicodemus 19:1 calculates the time between the creation of Adam and the incarnation to be 5,500 years (Elliott, p. 186; see also Hulme, *Middle-English Harrowing of Hell*, p. 130, lines 1723–24); subtracting the years of Adam's life (930, according to Genesis 5:5)

and adding the thirty-odd years of Jesus' life on earth (see line 5) gives Adam a total of 4,600 years in hell.

30 *A gloryous gleme to make us glad*. The repeated reference to this light (see note to lines 17–20 above) indicates that it was an important stage effect; for a discussion of such effects in medieval theater, see Butterworth, *Theatre of Fire*, pp. 55–78.

44, s.d. *Et cantent omnes Saluater mundi, primum versum*. The first verse of *Salvator mundi*, a hymn sung at Compline (the final office of the day) and particularly associated with Christmas in medieval and early modern England, is as follows:

Salvator mundi, Domine,	Saviour of the world, Lord,
Qui nos salvasti hodie,	Who has saved us today,
In hac nocte nos protege	In this night protect us
Et salva omni tempore.	And save (us) for all time.

Both text and translation are from Clay, *Private Prayers*, pp. 282 and 41. A late stage direction in the York MS specifies singing but no particular hymn.

47–48 *I spake of folke . . . on theym lende*. See Isaiah 9:2, and note to lines 17–20 above.

52 *to-fold it kende*. Isaiah 60:1–3, much like Isaiah 9:2, refers to the arrival of the light of God to those in darkness.

57–60 *I saide Lord . . . . No longer lyst I lyf in lande*. See Luke 2:29–32. This famous speech is known by its incipit in the Latin Vulgate: *Nunc dimittis* ("Now dismiss . . ."). The episode that should include this speech is missing from the incomplete Purification play; see the headnote to play 13.

65 *As a voce cryand I kend*. See John 1:23 and note to 15.21–22. The equivalent line in York is more regular in rhythm: "Als voyce criand to folke I kende" (*York* 37.73).

77 *Now this same nyght lernyng have I. / To me, Moyses, he shewid his myght*. The equivalent lines in York, like some others in the play, make more sense and preserve what is likely the original alliterative pattern: "Of that same light lernyng have I; / To me, Moyses, he mustered his myght" (*York* 37.85–86).

78–84 *To me Moyses . . . . agans that light*. This transfiguration of Jesus in the presence of Moses and Elijah, based on Matthew 17:1–9, is dramatized in York 23.

89 *Ribald* (speech heading). This character is given the speech heading of *1 Diabolus* (Devil I) in the York version, but is referred to as "rebalde" in that play (*York* 37:99), meaning "rascal" or "villain" (see *MED ribaud(e* (n.), sense 2a). His speech complains of "sorrow" and a great "dyn" (lines 91–92), which is likely a demonic response to the joy with which the souls are greeting the light of Jesus; see lines 101–04.

99 *Beelzebub* (speech heading). This name (usually translated as "lord of the flies") is mentioned in 2 Kings 1 as well as in the gospels (see for example Matthew 10:25–28 and 12:24–27). The character is simply designated as *II Diabolus* (Devil 2) in York.

102 *lymbo*. Limbo was the name for the outer portion of hell (the Latin term *limbus* meaning edge or boundary) reserved for those who died prior to the crucifixion and the benefit of Christ's salvation.

109 *Yee, though he do not, I shall*. That is, if Christ does not save them from hell (lines 107–08), I shall keep them safely here, locked in limbo (the "specyall space" of line 110).

113 *Astarot and Anaball*. The names Astharoth and Baal (or plural *Baalim*) are paired in several biblical passages, including Judges 2:13, 3:7, and 10:6, and (1 Kings) 7:4 and 12:10; the name Anaball, likely related to Baal, appears to be unique to these Towneley and York plays (see *York* 37.113). Here both names, like those in line 115, designate subordinate devils.

115 *Bell-berith and Bellyall*. Baalberith is named in Judges 9:4 as a false god, while Belial, meaning "wickedness," is contrasted with Christ in 2 Corinthians 6:15. See also *York* 37.115.

119 *Sir Lucyfer*. While mentioned here, as in York (37.119), Lucifer never actually appears; Lucifer and Satan (line 117) are often explicitly identified as one and the same.

After 120 *Attollite portas principes vestras et elevamini / porte eternales et introibit rex glorie*. This extrametrical Latin quotation is worked into the dialogue in York, where the line order and some speech ascriptions also differ through the next stanzas. See also the line (and note) following 188.

126 *And set the waches on the wall*. The action requires two levels: Ribald will later speak from up on the wall to Satan below at line 218; see also the note to line 210, below.

162 *From hens or it be war*. That is, Jesus will not get out of hell before things get worse for him. The equivalent line in York reads, likely in error, "Away or I be ware" (*York* 37.154).

170 *The lath Lazare of Betany*. The same phrase is used in the Conspiracy play (17.150), but differs from the parallel line in York, "Nowe late Lazar of Betannye" (*York* 37.162).

171–74 *Bot to the Jues . . . . forward to fulfyll*. Satan claims responsibility for the betrayal (see John 13:2) and the crucifixion in accordance with the "abuse of power" theory of medieval theology, which holds that Satan had rights over humanity

after the fall, but not over Jesus as God; by helping to bring about the death of Jesus, Satan lost those rights. However, no other play in either York or Towneley makes reference to diabolic influence over these events.

After 188 *Attollite portas principes vestras, etc*. See the line following 120 (and note). As before, the extrametrical Latin quotation is integrated into a regular 12-line stanza in the York text; here and in what follows, the stanza form has been lost, resulting in apparently separate quatrains. David refers to the quotation itself (from Psalm 23:7 in the Vulgate; 24:7 in many modern translations), along with Psalm 106:16, in his next lines (lines 193–94).

190 *shalbe cryde*. That is, shall be proclaimed. See *MED crien* (v.), sense 7; see also 2.410–11 and note.

197–208 *Ye prynces . . . . shall not twyn*. This exchange between Jesus and the devils has no direct parallel in York.

210 *Open up and let my pepill pas*. This line (quoting Moses' words to Pharaoh in Exodus 5.1; see also 6.136, spoken by God) serves as cue for stage action that sees the barrier to hell break, and the gates open, as the next lines indicate. However, Ribald evidently remains on top of the wall or battlements at line 218, indicating a two-level structure (see also note to line 126 above). In York, the stage was of course a pageant wagon, the main level of which was likely gated and barred (through which the patriarchs and devils alike are visible), but also shaped in part like a large mouth — the traditional hell-mouth found in most medieval representations of hell and of the harrowing. Jesus speaks from outside hellmouth, likely at the level of the audience.

225 *To sett hym sore that is sone saide*. "To set him sore" can mean either to make him sore or wretched (see line 224) or, similarly, to sorely beset him. Either way, as the second part of the line indicates, this will be easier said than done.

238 *I will theym save that shall thee sow*. As SC note (p. 597n238), the alliterative use of the obscure northern verb *sow* (see *DSL sow(e* (v.)), meaning to cause pain, is evidence that this line is older than York's "Thame wolle I save, I telle thee nowe" (*York* 37.218).

240–42 *Bot in my pryson . . . . thou wote as how*. As God, Jesus claims authority even over hell; Satan has served only as warden there (see also note to lines 171–74 above).

250 *He was a wright his meett to wyn*. That is, he made his living as a carpenter; "to win meat" means "to earn one's livelihood" (*MED mete* (n.1), sense 1a(b)).

252 *The utmast ende of all thy kyn*. That is, the best lineage you can claim. As the next lines indicate, he of course is wrong.

276 *Thou moyttys as man dos into myre*. You argue ("moot") such as to drive people into the mire — that is, by error ("all wrang," line 284; see *MED don* (v.1), sense 6a). *York* 37.256 reads "Thou motes his men into the myre."

289–90 *They saide that I shuld be that ilke, / In hell where I shuld intre in*. The correct reading is likely that of York, which also preserves the rhyme: "Thai saide that I schulde be obitte, / To hell that I schulde entre in" (*York* 37.269–70) — that is, they said that I should die, that I should enter hell.

301–03 *As Salamon saide . . . . os clerkys knawes*. See Proverbs 2:19.

305–08 *Job . . . . fynde relese in hell*. See Job 7:9.

310–18 *In hell shalbe no relese . . . . they shall furth weynde*. In the lines that follow, Jesus draws a distinction between hell, from which no release is possible, and limbo, from which he will soon release the souls of the faithful.

321–28 *Whi and will . . . . I shall thee bynde*. This irregular or incomplete stanza (missing four lines), in which Satan switches suddenly from argument to supplication, has no counterpart in York.

334–36 *Thou shall have Caym . . . . Judas and Architophell*. On the death of Judas, see Matthew 27:5; Achitophel was a counselor to King David who hanged himself after the failure of his conspiracy with David's son, Absolom (2 Kings 17:23). For the inclusion of Cain with this group, see the notes to 2.361–64 and 27.107–13. Suicide is considered an unforgivable sin, as it not only denies the power of God's grace (like despair more generally; see 23.311–24 and note), but also prevents the possibility of its being granted.

337 *Daton and Abaron*. These two men conspired against Moses and Aaron during the Israelites' sojourn in the wilderness, for which they and their families fall alive into hell (Numbers 16:30–33).

341–42 *And all that will not lere my law / That I have left in land for new*. Medieval theology considered the 'new' law of Christ, as embodied primarily in the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5–7), to be the completion or fulfilment of the 'old' Jewish law (see in particular Matthew 5:17–18). Romans 7:6 characterizes Jewish law as "the oldness of the letter" in contrast with "the newness of spirit."

345 *red by raw*. That is, correctly read or understood, with everything in order; see 14.61–62 and note.

353 *Now here my hand*. Satan — traditionally the Father of Lies (John 8:44) — here takes a vow, raising his hand in a traditional gesture of oath-taking.

367–68 *Devill . . . where thou shall syt*. While *York* 37.342 has "selle" (cell) rather than "sete", the Towneley reading accords with the final word in the line. In the York text, Jesus explicitly has the Archangel Michael bind Satan (*York* 37.339–40;

compare lines 363–64 here), prior to his sinking into the pit of hell — a lower level of hell where his seat awaits, in allusion to the heavenly throne that he once attempted to usurp (see 1.76, s.d. and note). In the Middle English Gospel of Nicodemus, Jesus himself binds Satan; see Hulme, *Middle-English Harrowing of Hell*, p. 112, lines 1441–44. The binding of Satan and his imprisonment in the lowest depths of hell is based on Apocalypse 20:1–3; see also the note to 27.140–41.

384 *How that thi mercy makys us dere*. How your mercy makes us worthy. The York text has *clene* (*York* 37.389), evidently an error for *clere* (likewise meaning "pure") as necessary for the rhyme, and a better reading overall than *dere*, here.

386 *More tornamentys to tast*. See 20.675 and note.

397–400 *David . . . . saide it shuld be thus*. These lines, along with the rest of the stanza, are assigned to John the Baptist in York.

416 *Te Deum laudamus*. This hymn ("God, we praise you"), well-known in the Middle Ages due to its use at the end of the Matins service, is sung both here (as in the Chester Harrowing of Hell; see *Chester* 17.276 s.d.) and at the end of the Judgment play (see 27.830 and note); in York it is sung during the first play, prior to the fall of the angels.

23. THE RESURRECTION

The resurrection of Jesus is a central event for Christianity, and was the subject of some of the earliest Christian drama, developing out of the Easter liturgy with its *quem queritis* — "whom do you seek?" — trope. Early dramatizations of the *Visitatio sephulchri* (the visit to the tomb), like the biblical text, focus on the empty tomb. The moment of resurrection was not witnessed, and is not described in any of the gospels; however, that miraculous moment itself has long been an important subject for representation. The visual tradition is divided, particularly in the later Middle Ages: *Christus patiens* (Christ suffering) displays his wounds and recalls his suffering, much as in lyrical appeals from the cross, whereas *Christus triumphans* (Christ triumphant) carries a banner aloft as he steps out of the open tomb, often onto a comatose soldier. The first tradition is clearly evident in Jesus' monologue (lines 230–350, which contains some verbal parallels to the Chester Resurrection pageant — see note below to line 229, s.d.), while the other likely informed performance traditions even where the action is unclear from the text. Like the Harrowing of Hell, the Towneley Resurrection is very closely related to, but different from, its counterpart in York. Again it may preserve some lines that were ultimately edited out of York, all in the same 6-line *rime couée* stanza that forms the basis of both plays, but its numerous omissions, alterations, and additions from varied sources ultimately make it a very different play.

1 *Peasse, I warne you, woldys in wytt*. Pilate's opening monologue (lines 1–36), beginning with this typical initial attention-getting call for peace, has no counterpart in York. The phrase "woldys in wytt," while plausibly emended by

SC to "woldys inwytt" ("wield conscience"), may be translated as "act reasonably" or "keep your wits about you."

15–16 *At Calvarie . . . at morne*. While Pilate is present for the crucifixion at Calvary in most plays, the accusation and judgment takes place at his hall, early in the morning a day prior to the current events; in lines 64 and 68, the Centurion more properly refers to the events of "that day," now past.

35 *The devill to hell shall harry hys goost*. Pilate is condemning those who would follow the teachings of Jesus, but his wording here recalls the harrowing or despoiling of hell and the devil by the "goost" or spirit of Christ.

41 *We left hym ther for man most wyse*. This line, midway through an atypical 8-line stanza here, is equivalent to the first line of a regular 6-line stanza in York (38.31) and begins a section that is largely but not entirely parallel to York; the central portion of the Centurion's speech describing sights and events associated with the crucifixion, for example, while written in the typical 6-line stanza, has no counterpart in the extant York text (see note to lines 51–68 below). While the last line of this stanza (line 44) refers casually and obliquely to the execution of offenders, the overall characterization of Caiaphas in this play is far milder than in others in Towneley. See headnote to play 18, the Buffeting.

44, s.d. *Tunc veniet centurio velut miles equitans*. The extant York text contains no equivalent stage direction and makes no reference in the dialogue (as in line 75 here) to the centurion's being on horseback.

51–68 *Heven it shoke . . . . slayn that day*. See Matthew 27:51–54. These lines, constituting three regular 6-line stanzas, have no parallel in York; the miraculous and portentous events described here, and again in lines 113–24, are not mentioned in the Towneley Crucifixion play, nor in *York* 36.

59–62 *And so I saide . . . . Son of God Jesu*. See Matthew 27:54. This scene is not represented in the Towneley Crucifixion, although it is in *York* 36.313–25.

118–24 *The son for wo . . . . both greatt and small*. These lines closely parallel not just the York text (38.91–97) but also the Centurion's speech in the Middle English Gospel of Nicodemus (Hulme, *Middle-English Harrowing of Hell*, pp. 66 and 68, lines 703–10), which also influenced the York Harrowing play.

138 *the vayll rofe in the kyrke*. See Matthew 27:51.

142–47 *Harlot . . . . hold styll thy clattur*. This stanza, for which there is no parallel in York, is followed by what in York constitute the final four lines of a regular 6-line stanza (see 38.115–20). The two missing York lines are attributed to Annas — an attribution that would make sense for the first lines of this particular stanza as well, given that the exclamatory initial epithet seems to disrupt rather than continue Pilate's speech. The subsequent reference by Caiaphas to "the wenyande" or the unlucky waning moon (line 146; see note to 2.227–29) is

typical both of York and of Towneley (although spelled consistently as "wenyand[e]" here and "wanyand" in York).

171 *The latter dede is more to drede*. That is, the resurrection is more to be feared than the crucifixion and portents described by the Centurion.

213 *We shall hym kepe till youre renowne*. We shall guard him, to your reknown; *York* 38.182 has "oure rennowne." The soldiers immediately go to the tomb of Jesus and then, in lines absent from the York version, take up their places around it — one to each side. As usual, Soldier 1 is in charge (although unsure as to where each soldier should go, line 218), and presumably takes position at the head of the tomb.

220 *And I shall fownde his feete to flytt*. And I shall go to his feet. When Soldier 3 attempts to take his position at the foot of the tomb, he is stopped by Soldier 4 (line 221) and presumably remains on the side.

227 *Have here my hand*. Soldier 4 raises his hand in a traditional gesture of oath-taking, just prior to action that effectively violates that oath — the resurrection and departure of Jesus, who likely steps out of a coffin-style tomb, as in most visual representations, and onto one of the soldiers, perhaps the boastful Soldier 4. The soldiers are generally represented as if sleeping at the moment of resurrection, as implied in line 478); Matthew 28:4 states that they are struck dumb with terror and thus appear as dead. Yet while they do not witness the resurrection (see line 472 and note), they do apparently hear the angelic music (see line 539, and the note below to 229, s.d.).

229 *This cors I dar warand*. That is, in context, I guarantee that this body will remain where it is, securely guarded, or, I dare to guard and protect this body against all who might try to take it (including fiery dragons, line 225). See *MED waranten* (v.), sense 2.

229, s.d. *Tunc cantabunt angeli Christus resurgens et postea dicet Jesus*. The traditional Easter antiphon *Christus resurgens* (Christ is risen) is sung by a single angel in York (38.186, s.d.; only one angel has a speaking role in that version, following Matthew 28), but by two angels in Chester's Resurrection pageant (as in Luke 24:4 and John 20:12). In Matthew's account, it is the angel that removes the stone from the tomb (Matthew 28:2); here, the two angels should remove the 'stone' covering from the (conventionally rectangular, coffin-shaped) tomb as they sing (music that the soldiers later recall hearing; see lines 537–40), and Jesus rises out of it. The lengthy monologue by Jesus that follows, partly in the regular 6-line stanza and partly in a 7-line stanza, has no parallel in York; however, as SC point out (p. 605n230–350), much of the section in 7-line stanzas has close parallels to an extant medieval lyric — a speech from the cross known as "Thou Sinful Man that by Me Goes" (see line 248; the lyric as found in Arundel MS 285 is printed in Brown's *Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century*, pp. 151–56). In addition, the first and last stanzas here (lines 230–35, 339–50),

including a cancelled stanza (see note to line 345–50 below), contain verbal parallels to the equivalent speech in the Chester Resurrection pageant (*Chester* 18.154–77).

231 *Wightly wake and slepe thou noght*. See Ephesians 5:14. The metaphor of spiritual sleep is literalized here by the soldiers around the tomb.

240–41 *Thou fyle thee noght oft forthy, / Now art thou cleyn*. Therefore do not defile yourself again, now that you are clean (of sin, through Jesus' sacrifice).

264 *Two thefys hang thai me betwene*. See Matthew 27:38 (and other gospel accounts). In Towneley, alone of the varied Middle English dramatizations, Jesus is not actually represented as crucified between two thieves. See headnote to play 20, the Crucifixion.

305–07 *As thou thiself . . . . Luf me agane*. The allusion is to Luke 10:27, but effectively combines the commandments both to love God and to love one's neighbor as one's self into a single demand.

311–24 *If thou thy lyfe in syn . . . . Aske none he wold*. These lines assert the power of God's mercy and grace against sin, and specifically the sin of despair — a refusal to recognize the possibility of divine forgiveness — as exemplified by Judas. See notes to 22.334–36 and 27.107–13, and the admonishments against *wanhope* or despair in the Conspiracy play (17.531) and in Thomas of India (25.248, 251, and 568).

325 *Lo how I hold myn armes on brede*. This line betrays its origin as a lyrical complaint from the cross; however, an actor playing Jesus could replicate the gesture in performance. On gestic writing, see Epp, "Visible Words."

345–50 *That ilk veray brede . . . . shall he never*. This stanza has been crossed out in red, like the cancelled stanza in the play of John the Baptist, but not bracketed or framed in black (see 15.193–200 and note). Here the cancellation makes more sense as a reaction to doctrinal concerns, given the explicit reference to transubstantiation "in wordys fyfe" — that is, *hoc est enim corpus meum* ("for this is my body"), the formula used at the consecration of the Eucharist, derived from Matthew 26:26 and Luke 22:19 (both of which lack the word *enim*). The rest of the stanza refers in part to John 6:51. The three Marys enter, likely through the crowd, immediately following this stanza. Jesus withdraws at the same, appearing to Mary Magdalene only at line 580 (as a gardener; see note below), while the two angels sit on the tomb (see line 391; John 20:12).

351 *Alas, to dy with doyll am I dyght*. That is, misery is killing me.

353–54 *I drope, I dare, for seyng of sight / That I can se*. That is, she continues to cower and tremble with fear at the sight that she has seen, of Jesus dying on the cross.

364 *woundys wete*. This phrase, used again at line 442, refers to bloody, but not necessarily fresh wounds; see *MED wet* (adj.), sense 6d).

393–94 *Certys the sothe is not to hyde / The gravestone is put besyde*. That is, the truth is clearly evident; the gravestone has been laid aside. However, the three Marys do not yet realize the significance — the truth — of what they see, neither of the stone nor of the angels just mentioned; *York* 38.229–30 more simply states "Sistirs, sertis, it is noght to hide: / The hevy stone is putte beside."

400 *whome have ye soght*. This line translates the *quem quaeritis* trope that gave rise to dramatic embellishment of the Easter liturgy.

407 *The sudary here se ye may*. As in the Lazarus play (see 16.99–102 and note), "sudary" here likely refers to the cloth wound around Jesus' head rather than to a larger winding-cloth. John 20:7 refers to a head-cloth being left behind along with other linen cloths in the empty tomb, but Jesus is conventionally shown as wearing the winding-cloth draped over him at the resurrection.

442 *woundys wete*. See line 364 and note above.

460 *The fals tratur that here was lentt*. That is, the false traitor that was buried here — "to lend" means to abide or dwell in a place; see *MED lenden* (v.), sense 3.

469–70 *Wytt Sir Pilate of this enfray, / We mon be slone*. If Sir Pilate finds out about this affray, we must be slain.

472 *I sagh myself when that he yede*. Soldier 2 here claims to have seen the event that according to lines 449–52 he knew nothing about; he is clearly lying, as Soldier 1 immediately affirms (lines 473–74).

527 *Sir, ther was none that durst do bot small*. That is, no one dared to do even the slightest thing.

545 *I pray you, Cayphas, ye us wys / Of this enfray*. That is, please advise us as to what to do about this affray.

579 *The blyssyng of Mahowne be with you nyght and day*. Pilate's final line here is, unusually, yoked to a 7- rather than 6-line stanza that otherwise does not relate to him in any way; neither the line nor the scene with Mary Magdalene that follows has any counterpart in the extant York version of the episode, which ends with a three-stanza speech by Pilate asserting that "Thus schall the sothe be bought and solde, / And treasoune schall for trewthe be tolde" (*York* 38.450–51). However, see the note to lines 642–59 below.

580 *garthynere*. See John 20:15. In artistic representations of the scene Jesus is usually depicted wearing a large gardener's hat, as is likely the case here.

594–95 *Unto myn endyng day / The better shuld I be*. That is, until my death I would be better off (if I could bear his body with me).

604–05 *A he was to me . . . / No longer dwell I may*. While there is no special punctuation in the MS, Mary clearly breaks off the first of these lines in a relatively naturalistic manner, unusual for the period; the rhetorical figure is known as *aposiopesis* or *praecisio*.

607 *Rabony*. See John 20:16; the Aramaic title *Rabboni* is related to the Hebrew *rabbi* and means "master" or "teacher."

613 *neghe thou not me*. The often-quoted Latin phrase from John 20:17 is *noli me tangere* — that is, "do not touch me" (although the original Greek would better translate as "stop clinging to me").

619–20 *To peasse now ar thay boght / That prysond were in pyne*. These lines allude to the harrowing of hell; see play 22.

630–32 *And say that I shall be . . . . in Galylé*. See Mark 14:28.

635–36 *Fro thay here that message / Thay will be all mery*. That is, they will all be merry from the moment that they hear that message. Jesus withdraws either during or immediately following these lines, the rest of Mary Magdalene's speech being addressed to the audience.

642–59 *Mi blys . . . . youre mys*. The three final stanzas of the play are in the regular 6-line stanzas borrowed from York, and may well derive from the original play; the extant York pageant that dramatizes the appearance to Mary Magdalene (in 8-line stanzas) ends with a speech by Jesus that is similar in content to his final speech in this play (lines 623–32). The final word here, "mys," typically alliterated with "amende," can in this context refer to wrongs and misdeeds (that is, what is amiss) or to any sort of loss or disadvantage (what is missing) and so serves as a general blessing directed at the audience.

24. THE PILGRIMS

The story of the encounter with the risen Jesus on the road to Emmaus, near Jerusalem (see note to line 158 below), is found only in Luke 24:13–33, which gave rise to the tradition that the unnamed pilgrim who accompanies Cleophas was the evangelist Luke himself. Some modern theologians, however, identify the second pilgrim as the wife of Cleophas — Mary Cleophas, traditionally identified with Mary Jacobi (see note to 19.363), who according to John 19:25 witnessed the crucifixion alongside her sister (or possibly sister-in-law), Mary, the mother of Jesus. Neither character is named in the dialogue itself. The play likely started as a pageant written entirely in a 6-line stanza form, but now includes a variety of forms, including a single 13-line 'bob and wheel' stanza (lines 19–31, but atypical in its metrical pattern). Despite this and other evidence of multiple revisions, the play is relatively straightforward and regular in form, each character speaking in full stanzas (of whatever form) except for one shared 7-line stanza (lines 244–50) and a quatrain (lines 281–84) that

refer, appropriately enough, to their sharing company. They ultimately share a meal through which the identity of the risen Jesus is revealed.

4–5 *Whyls thou had lyfe on lyfe to be / Emangys thise men.* That is, while you lived to be alive among these men, or simply, when you were alive.

7–8 *That I it ken / I ken it well.* The two first 7-line stanzas are linked by a type of verbal repetition known as concatenation, as are several other stanzas (see lines 14–15, 43–44, 97–98). Concatenation is used heavily throughout the York Emmaus pageant (play 40, produced by the Woolpackers and Woolbrokers).

17 *His woundes all wete thay ware*. See note to 23.364.

32 *ever worth thaym wo*. That is, forever worthy of woe. In regard to the anti-Semitic idea that Jews as a people are eternally cursed, see the note to 19.293–95.

50–53 *Certys . . . . that trew*. Certainly, it was a strange thing that they would not trust in that truthful one, neither on account of (miraculous) signs nor due to his teaching.

77–79 *For sorow . . . . For hir son sake*. That is, I saw her swoon (line 75) for sorrow, and fall down under the cross, for her son's sake.

90 *Asell and gall that was not good*. That is, vinegar and gall, which was unfit to drink (being very bitter); see the note to 20.539–40.

103, s.d. *apparatus peregrini.* Jesus is dressed like Luke and Cleophas, whom he immediately addresses as "Pylgrymes." Each likely bears a walking stick and satchel and wears a cloak as well as a distinctive wide-brimmed hat — the distinctive garb of a medieval pilgrim. Pilgrims' hats were often adorned with a badge of some sort — most famously a scallop shell from the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella or, from Jerusalem, a palm leaf or (appropriately for this play) a cross.

106 *Have ye youre gates ungrathly gone*. That is, are you lost?

110–11 *To here theym eft full sore I lang, / Here of yow two*. That is, I deeply long to hear the two of you repeat your words.

116 *a man by thee alane*. That is, you are a solitary man; see line 124. In the Vulgate Latin translation of Luke 24:18, Cleophas refers to Jesus with apparent annoyance (see line 117) as "solus peregrinus" ("the only pilgrim") in Jerusalem who seems not to know what has happened there.

158 *a crosse noght hens a myle*. According to Luke 24:13, Emmaus was sixty furlongs (roughly 7.5 miles or 12 kilometers) from Jerusalem. While the pilgrims arrive at "this cyté" at line 273 (see note below), referred to as "Emaus castell" in the

Towneley play of Thomas of India (see 25.463 and the note to 25.459–68), their destination is not actually named in this play.

161 *His awne lyfe agane shuld by*. Terminology normally reserved to refer to the redemption of humankind is here applied to Jesus saving his own life through resurrection.

170–71 *Wheder he be rysen and gane / Yit we ne knaw*. Luke will later claim to the contrary that "some of us" have seen the empty tomb; see lines 201–05, which is significantly part of a 7-line rather 6-line stanza such as this, and likely of a different origin.

174–76 *Ye have it hart . . . . Thyng that ye here*. That is, it is a pity that you cannot stand by what you have heard — specifically, prophecy of the resurrection. According to Luke 24:27, Jesus explained all the scriptural prophecies concerning himself to the two pilgrims, beginning with Moses (who is explicitly mentioned in the York Emmaus pageant, 40.134–36, as here in line 224).

192–94 *a light . . . . in thare sight*. No such incident is mentioned in the gospel accounts, although Luke 24:4 mentions two angels in shining garments at the empty tomb.

222 *And so to his Paske bow*. And so submit to his Passover — that is, to his role as the sacrificial lamb of God.

224 *Take tent to Moyses and othere mo*. That is, take note of Moses and others as well. See note to lines 174–76 above.

239 *Fro he weynde hens away*. That is, from the moment that he leaves this world, to go to heaven.

271–72 *Bot if that thou can more of arte / Or yet of lare*. That is, in case you know still more that you can teach us.

273 *Unto this cyté*. Luke refers in line 285 to "this towne." In the York Nativity play, Joseph refers to the little town of Bethlehem as "this cité" (*York* 14.9), while at the Entry into Jerusalem the citizens welcome Jesus to "owre cité" (*York* 25.544, 185), referring in each case both to the pageant wagon stage and to the city of York itself, which effectively stands in for these holy sites. It is unclear what city or what type of stage might be intended to stand in for Emmaus (here unnamed — see note to line 158 above).

284 *bi Sant Gyl*. Giles or Aegidius, the patron saint of cripples, was an eighth-century hermit.

296, s.d. *Tunc recumbent . . . et dicet Lucas*. They recline on either side of Jesus at a low table (covered with a cloth, line 291) on which they have placed bread (likely pre-cut to create three pieces); at line 345, Luke refers to their "Syttyng on

grownd." The rest of the stage direction, like the dialogue that follows, suggests a sudden and startling disappearance, such as by a mechanical device.

314–15 *For spech and bewté that he has / Man myght hym knaw this day*. That is, because of his words and his beauty, he should have been easily recognizable.

350 *I knew hym then and sone it kyst*. Luke 24:35 states that they knew him in the breaking of the bread; Cleophas takes this a step further and suggests here that he venerated the bread he was given with a kiss.

353–54 *all sone he hym withdrogh / Fro he saw that we hym knogh*. That is, Jesus suddenly vanished the moment he saw that they had recognized him.

357 *Away that he shuld glyde*. The word "glide" here implies smooth and swift as well as stealthy movement (see *MED gliden* (v.)), again suggesting use of a mechanical device (see note above to line 296, s.d.).

360–61 *whi held thou noght / When he on borde brake us this breede*. Cleophas upbraids Luke for not understanding that this was Jesus when he broke bread at the table ("on borde").

25. THOMAS OF INDIA

This play is problematic in several respects, from its awkward and anachronistic inclusion of the apostle Paul — a figure that enters the biblical narrative only later, initially as the Christian-persecuting Saul, and here a notably misogynistic presence (see note to line 97 below) — to its famously altered title, featured as the frontispiece to the manuscript facsimile. The original title of *Resurreccio domini* — the same as that of play 23 — has been crudely crossed out, and *Thomas Indie*, the title given in the explicit, written below. It is possible that the original title was taken from the exemplar itself, and altered simply to differentiate this play from the earlier Resurrection play. The latter, original title is arguably better suited to the extant play; only the second part focuses on Thomas and his doubts concerning the resurrection of Jesus, and does not allude to the apostle's legendary evangelization of India. That second part (lines 65–648, all in 8-line stanzas) forms a relatively coherent play in itself (likely intended as a stand-alone play — see note to line 272 below), largely based on Luke 24:36–49 and John 20:19–29, to which has been added a prologue (in 6-line stanzas rhymed *aabccb*) involving Mary Magdalene, Peter, and Paul, which focuses on news of the resurrection in relation to the supposed unreliability of women's witness (for further discussion, see Epp, "Doubting *Thomas*").

2 *I bryng to amende*. That is, I bring news, or a message, to cheer you up; see *MED bringen* (v.), sense 4b. Much like another Mary, the mother of Jesus, whose immediate response to the startling, miraculous news brought to her by the angel Gabriel was, in the Towneley version of the Annunciation, "I trow bodword that thou me bryng" (7.c.146), Mary Magdalene effectively serves here as the willing vessel for God's word, which is disbelieved even by men of faith.

24 *Tryst it stedfast and cowth*. That is, trust what I tell you as being a stable, known truth.

30 *Ther is no trust in womans saw*. The misogynist views attributed here to Paul are commonplace in medieval antifeminist writing, which frequently cites Paul's canonical letters (such as 1 Timothy 2) as an authority. This particular line echoes one by Adam in *York* 6.149–50.

38 *Till an appyll she is lyke*. The comparison of woman to a fair but rotten apple is proverbial, and provides an implicit link to Eve.

56–58 *I dar lay . . . . That we shall here anothere*. That is, I dare pledge my life that, before we go to bed, we shall hear another preposterous story from Mary Magdalene.

60 *Or this thrid day be away*. As SC note, the attempted emendation in the MS to this apparently defective line (*Or this [be the] thrid day*) makes little sense in context, this being the third day already (SC p. 617n60); this edition follows their own suggested emendation, making the line refer to the approaching end of the third day.

65 *Waloway my lefe deres*. That is, alas, my beloved friends. Peter's line is likely the beginning of the original play, written in 8-line stanzas. He addresses all the gathered disciples of Jesus, rather than just Paul and Mary Magdalene, who apparently vanishes from the text at this point. Mary Magdalene is mentioned in this stanza (line 69) and again at line 412 as a credible witness to the resurrection (in sharp contrast to the added prologue), but only in the third person; she does not speak.

77–78 *When I my lord Jesu forsoke / For drede of womans myght*. As he more fully narrates in lines 83–88, the first of Peter's predicted three denials (see John 13:38) occurs when he is asked by a female servant whether he is one of the disciples (John 18:15–18), as he goes to warm himself by a fire.

79–80 *A rightwys dome I will me loke / That I tyne not that semely sight*. That is, I will hope for a righteous judgment in order that I never lose that fair sight — namely, Jesus, who will of course be in heaven, where Peter still hopes to be, despite his denial.

82 *abastir*. SC's emendation from the evidently nonsensical MS reading *a barstir* (see Textual Note and SC p. 620n82) accords with *MED*, which suggests this as a comparative form of *abaishen* (v.), sense 1d (citing this line), meaning "more upset" or more abashed.

85–86 *And for a woman . . . spake to me of frastir*. That is, a woman who stood there spoke to me in order to test me. As noted by SC (p. 620n86) these lines were inadvertently left out of the Surtees edition of the plays, and subsequently from EP, and hence were not available to the compilers of the *MED* or *OED*. The

otherwise unattested form *frastir* is evidently a derivative of a verb that otherwise appears in the MS as *frast*, meaning "to test, to try, or to ask" (see *MED fraisten* (v.), sense 1); and in 3.265, 4.53, 6.145, 17.313, and 27.154.

97 *Paul* (speech heading). As noted in the headnote, Paul's presence in this play is highly anachronistic. However, here as at line 313 and 473 (similarly part of what was likely the original pageant), his name appears to have been substituted for that of John (who commonly speaks immediately after Peter) or for a more generic "Apostle 2" (where Peter would be Apostle 1); the next named speaker is Apostle 3, followed by Apostle 4, and so forth. Unlike Peter at lines 74–88 and 305, Paul is identified only by speech rubrics and never in the dialogue, even in the prologue (except arguably by the misogyny of his arguments there).

104, s.d. *Tunc venit Jesus et cantat pax vobis et non tardabit*. Jesus enters and sings the words ascribed to him in John 20:19 (which is also what a bishop would sing at mass, rather than the usual *Dominus vobiscum* — "the Lord be with you"), then immediately exits — an action repeated after line 120 (see Dutka, *Music in the English Mystery Plays*, p. 73). In SC as in prior editions, the subsequent line in the MS is treated as part of the stage direction, although it is clearly assigned to the Third Apostle (see the following note). The stage direction as translated in SC thus reads: "Then Jesus comes and sings: 'Peace be with you, and it shall not be long; this is the day that the Lord has made'" (p. 621n104+SD).

After 104 *Hec est dies quam fecit dominus*. This extrametrical Latin line (see previous note), translated in line 105, is from Psalm 117/118:24, and was sung as part of the Easter liturgy; it is possibly intended to be sung here.

107–10 *The Holy Gost before us glad . . . . Red clethyng apon he had*. The third Apostle mistakes Jesus for the Holy Spirit, who will light upon them at Pentecost (Acts 2; an event not represented in Towneley). The feast of Pentecost is associated with red vestments, but Jesus is frequently represented as wearing red clothing in his post-Resurrection appearances — red symbolizing his blood (but see also Isaiah 63:1–2, quoted at the ascension in *Chester* 20.121–24).

120, s.d. *Iterum venit Jesus et cantat pax vobis et non tardabit*. See note above to 104, s.d. Jesus reappears immediately prior to his first full speech at line 129, but that entrance is not marked with an additional stage direction.

121–22 *Whoso commys in Goddys name / Ay blissid mot he be*. These lines translate the second part of the *Sanctus* hymn of the Latin mass, *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini*, based on Matthew 21:9 and Psalm 117/118:26; in Matthew 23:39, after his entry into Jerusalem, Jesus says, "For I say to you, you shall not see me henceforth till you say: 'Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord.'"

133–35 *Grope and fele . . . . has goost none*. See Luke 24:39. His body would appear bloody, even aside from his red garments (see note to lines 107–10 above): in the next stanza he refers specifically to his visible "woundes fyfe" (line 139) but also to his being "strenkyllid with blood so red" (line 154).

143 *Of syn who will hym shryfe*. That is, whoever will confess his sins.

145–48 *For oon so swete a thyng . . . . To batell was I broght*. That is, I went to battle for one sweet thing that I had created — the human soul.

187 *Of a madyn withoutten steven*. The word "steven" here means alteration or mutability, as doubtfully defined by the *MED* (*stevene* (n.2), sense 2d), in relation to the term's use to refer to time: Mary is effectively outside time itself, not only as a perpetual virgin but also by virtue of her ascension into heaven according to Catholic doctrine, where she remains changeless.

200 *My manhede eft to tast*. That is, to prove that he is a living man.

205–08 *That I ette is . . . . Fulfillyd that it be*. See Luke 24:44.

233–40 *The grace of the Holy Gost . . . . bonden be he*. See John 20:22–23. Commentators regularly connect the divine breathing here with that of God giving life to Adam in Genesis 2:7 (the Greek texts share the same verb); the disciples will receive the gift of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, but here are symbolically reborn.

251 *Of mysbelefe that we be noght*. That is, in order that we should not disbelieve.

269–70 *Jesu stode witnes betwene / That with hym dwelland was*. That is, Jesus stood as witness (to his resurrection) among those who had lived with him.

272 *Safe oonly Thomas*. Thomas enters here (but remains apart from the others until after line 296), this line serving to tell the audience who he is. The story of Thomas' doubts is found only in John 20:24–29; the York Weavers' pageant (*York* 45) dramatizes the legend that, in a reversal of this story, Thomas was the sole (and hence disbelieved) witness to the Assumption of Mary — an event for which he was miraculously transported from India, where according to tradition he brought the gospel and was martyred (hence the name Thomas of India). As indicated by the reference to the peacock in his first line, Thomas is richly dressed, but vows by the end of the play to give his fine clothing — emblems of his wealth and pride (see lines 577, 585–86, and 601–02) — to the poor, allowing the biblical episode to serve as a stand-alone morality play.

319 *And lyfyng man*. That is, Jesus has shown himself to be alive.

321–22 *Apartly / Fantom dyssavys thee*. Obviously an illusion (or a ghost — see line 324) deceives you.

331–32 *How a fysh swalod Jonas / Thre dayes therin he lay*. The story of Jonah and the whale (Jonas 1–2) is treated in Matthew 12:39–40 as a sign of the resurrection of Jesus (see also lines 515–19).

343–44 *Therfor am I full sore dredand / That who myght his boote be*. That is, I am highly doubtful that anyone could save him (see *MED dreden* (v.), sense 6).

360 *And I withoutten red*. And I without any course of action — that is, bewildered (see *MED red* (n.1), sense 3a(d)).

384 *What nede were els thertill*. That is, why else would this — his becoming fully, physically human — be necessary?

416 *Hir sorow of syn to safe*. That is, to prevent her sorrow from becoming excessive and thus sinful.

425 *Lefe*. While this could mean "Dear," the adjective would normally be followed by a politely affectionate term such as "brother" as it is at line 313. The lack of a subsequent noun suggests it works better as an imperative verb.

436 *Whils that he lyfyd ay*. That is, while he was still alive; see *MED aye* (adv.), sense 3.

440 *His lyfe noght trow I may*. That is, I cannot believe that he is alive.

441–42 *Thyne hard hart thi saull will dwyrd / Thomas bot if thou blyn*. That is, your hard heart will destroy your soul, Thomas, unless you cease (to speak this way). The *MED* entry for the verb *dwirden* (defined doubtfully as "?to confound, lead astray; ?destroy"; and unattested in the *OED*) is based on this single instance as glossed in EP (p. 400, also doubtfully); *dwyrd* might be formed from *de-* (*OED*, sense 1c, meaning "completely") and *werde* (*OED* "harm or injure") to signify "harm completely" — that is, to destroy.

449–52 *That God . . . . that woundid wyght*. I believe full well that God appeared to you as a ghost (that is, in spirit) but not that Jesus, that wounded creature, appeared bodily.

456 *Longeus the knyght*. See line 566 as well as 20.655 and note.

459–68 *With Lucas . . . . cutt had beyn*. Reference to the Emmaus episode (here a castle rather than a city or town as in the Towneley Pilgrims play — see note to 24.273) strongly contradicts the expression of doubt concerning the resurrection and Mary Magdalene's witness in the added prologue (see also lines 497–502 and note below). The detail concerning Jesus breaking bread as cleanly as a knife could cut it also occurs in the poem *Cleanness* (lines 1105–08).

471–72 *If ye me told sich seven / The more ye myght me teyn*. That is, the more often you tell me such things, the more it will anger me.

497–502 *The cors that dyed on tre . . . . was gone*. This Apostle claims that he and others have already seen the empty tomb and so know that Jesus has risen, contrary to the prologue. In regard to the "sudary" (line 501), see the notes to 23.407 and 16.99–102.

535 *Thyne absens gars thi saull be shent*. That is, your absence at his appearance to the rest of us causes injury or confusion to your soul.

557–58 *Noght bot I myght my fynger wyn / In sted as nayle stode*. That is, unless I might reach (or touch) with my finger the place where the nail stood; see John 20:25.

565 *no fres*. The word "fres(e)" is only attested as part of such a phrase (see *MED fres(e* (n.1), sense b), used here to indicate that Thomas should fear no negative consequences in touching the wounds of Jesus.

577 *Kest away my staf will I*. In the lines that follow, Thomas will also cast away his fine clothing (see note to line 272, above).

606 *clothes of pall*. Jesus is wearing red clothing in this play (see note to lines 107–10 above), but the primary reference is to the scarlet robe of the passion (which is nonetheless not clearly represented in Towneley; see note to 19.313); the term can also refer to grave cloths.

641–48 *Thomas for thou felys me . . . . heven be theym yare*. See John 20:29.

26. THE ASCENSION

The primary biblical source for the ascension of Jesus into heaven, forty days after the resurrection (see lines 16–17), is Acts 1:1–14, although the event is also mentioned in Mark 16:19 and Luke 24:50–52. In the latter passage, Jesus is said to lead his disciples to where the Ascension takes place, as he does in both the Chester and N-Town versions of the episode; like its York counterpart, the Towneley Ascension play requires no such change of scene, but does apparently require machinery to lift Jesus into heaven on a cloud — a moment that was evidently spectacular (see note below to 281, s.d.). Before that, much as in the Thomas play (and likewise contrary to the biblical account), Jesus twice suddenly appears and disappears before the disciples (here including Mary, based on her presence in Acts 1:14 immediately following the ascension). While the play lacks an ending, due to the missing leaves that also contained the beginning of the Judgment play (see the Introduction, p. 9, for further discussion), the action seems substantially complete. On the other hand, the "etc." of the play's title in the MS could possibly imply that the play went on to deal with an additional event, such as the choosing of an additional apostle to replace Judas Iscariot — an event likewise recounted in Acts 1 and briefly dramatized in the N-Town Ascension pageant — or even Pentecost (see note to line 15 below), recounted in Acts 2 and the subject of separate plays in N-Town, Chester, and York. The versification of the play is highly varied but without any discernible pattern or compositional layers, likely pointing to heavy editing and rewriting over time as well as to diverse source materials.

Before 1 Jude [character]. See note to line 437 below.

15 *The Holy Gost, brethere, ment he*. That is, he prophesied the coming of the Holy Spirit; see lines 33–35, where he (again) does so. (For "ment," see *MED menen* (v.), sense 3d.) The descent of the Holy Spirit, commemorated as the feast of Pentecost (known as Whitsuntide in England, and the occasion of the biblical plays in Chester), occurred nine days after the ascension.

21 *In Bethany here let us abyde*. See Luke 24:50. Bethany — the home of Mary, Martha, and Lazarus, and site of several events recounted in the gospels — was located east of Jerusalem, on the eastern slopes of Mount Olivet (the Mount of Olives) where the ascension was said to occur; see Acts 1:12 and the note to line 45 below.

45 *Abide me here right on this hill*. They are ostensibly already on Mount Olivet rather than in Bethany, proper.

120–36 *My peasse . . . . is endid fully*. See John 14:27–29.

137–73 *Ye have bene . . . . in alkyn landys*. This monologue is largely based on Mark 16:14–18 — one version of what is known as the Great Commission to spread the gospel (see also Matthew 28:16–20).

190–91 *Farlee may we fownde and fare / For myssyng of oure master Jesus*. In fear we may depart and go, because of the absence of our master, Jesus. The *OED* cites this line in defining *farly* as an adverb meaning "Far, to a great extent or distance." However, the term is a form of *ferli* (see *MED ferli* (adj.) and *ferlien* (v.)), here meaning "fearful," in reference to the sorrow and threats that Peter mentions in this speech (lines 193–95).

198 *Mowrnyng makys us masid and mad*. See *York* 41.98, in which Thomas states, "Mornyng makis me mased and madde."

258–61 *Bot John . . . . She is thi moder and thou hir childe*. See 20:521–24 and John 19.26–27.

274–75 *In his howse . . . for you now*. See John 14:2.

281, s.d. *Tunc vadit ad ascendendum*. The ascension requires stage machinery (the *ascendendum* or "ascending thing" of the stage direction) involving the representation of a cloud (see lines 336, 389, and 425) in or on which Jesus rides up to heaven and out of sight, on the basis of Acts 1:9 (see SC p. 630n281+SD). A 1433 York Mercers' Indenture listing stage properties pertaining to their production of the Doomsday pageant includes "a brandreth [grate] of Iren [th]at god sall sitte vppon when he sall sty vppe to heuen With iiij rapes at iiij corners" (that is, one rope at each corner of the grate) as well as "a cloud & ij peces of Rainbow of tymber" for him to sit on (*REED: York*, p. 55, lines 34–35, 27–28).

289, s.d. *Ascendo ad patrem meum*. These are the first words of an ecclesiastical antiphon for the feast of the Ascension, sung here by two angels; it is sung by one angel in York (42.176, s.d.), and by Christ himself in Chester (20.104, s.d.), as he is greeted by four angels.

292–95 *Hevyn behold and se . . . . Where he syttys in majesté*. SC suggest that Jesus should go to "his place on the heaven scaffold at the right hand of God the Father" (p.

631n290–303). However, the text itself gives no evidence of a visible heaven but rather draws attention to the ascension itself — "How Jesus up can weynde" (line 293) — and to the cloud in which he ascends (see note above to 281, s.d.). Medieval visual representations of the ascension typically just show Jesus' feet above the heads of the disciples, below a curtain-like cloud.

308–39 *For it is thurgh his myght / That all thing may*. That is, this is done through the might of him who can do all things.

336 *A clowde has borne my chylde to blys*. Mary repeats this line verbatim in her next speech (line 389) — along with an appeal first to Jesus not to leave her with his enemies, and then to John to help her (lines 338–43 and 396–403) — possibly indicating duplication due to incomplete editing of the original text.

354–55 *Where is Jesus, oure master dere / That here with us spake right now*. SC question Matthew's apparent ignorance given his presence at the ascension along with the rest, and suggest a connection to the scribal error just prior to these lines (see Textual Note 26.354 and SC p. 631n354). However, Matthew's question is in regard to where exactly Jesus has gone: if neither he nor the audience can see Jesus at this point (see note to lines 292–95 above), the question makes more sense, although it would arguably indicate a lesser degree of faith than Mary demonstrates (see line 390 and note below). While Bartholomew does not question the ascension itself, he does ponder how far Jesus has gone from them; see lines 366–74. On the other hand, as already noted (see note to line 336 above), the text may well suffer from incomplete editing, including lines that were to have been removed; these lines would be more suitable immediately following the ascension, after line 297 — the last line in a previous series of quatrains.

362–87 *A more mervell men . . . . that is right*. These two stanzas are written in the 13-line 'bob and wheel' stanza.

367 *And yit longere I trowe he will*. That is, I believe that Jesus will go farther still away from us than he is now.

372 *he stevynd up so sodanly*. See also line 379. The emphasis on the suddenness of the ascension likely indicates swift action, in contrast to the lengthy scene in Chester 20, which has Jesus sing as he rises, and converse with four angels.

379–80 *So sodanly he was uphent / In flesh and fell fro erthe up here*. That is, he was so suddenly taken up bodily from earth above here.

390 *Now bot that I wote wheder is he*. That is, if I did not know where he was. See note to lines 354–55 above.

393 *It is the fourt of all my joyes*. The 'Joys of the Virgin Mary' are variously enumerated, there being as many as fifteen; however, the ascension of Jesus is frequently counted the fourth of five, the others being the Annunciation, the Nativity, the Resurrection, and the Assumption (of Mary into heaven) yet to come.

394 *light on thi body.* That is, may your body shine with radiance.

413 *More comforth bot my son can I none crave*. That is, I could ask no greater comfort than your (John's) presence, except the presence of my son.

414–15 *So covers thou my care and carpys unto me, / Whils I thee se, ever am I safe*. That is, you speak to me so caringly that, as long as I see you, I feel completely safe.

427 *semely in shrowde*. Mary often wears a nun's habit in medieval visual representations.

437 *Jude*. This character has no speaking role, and his absence would not be missed in performance, as few characters are clearly identified in the dialogue. Famously considered the patron saint of lost causes, this disciple is known both as Jude (or Judas, not to be confused with Judas Iscariot) and as Thaddeus ("Thadee" in the Towneley Conspiracy play; see 17.392), given the discrepancy between the names as given in Matthew 10:2–4 and Mark 3:14–19 as opposed to Luke 6:13–16 and Acts 1:13.

446–47 *Sekys to thare savyng, ye apostilles aleven, / To the Jues of Jerusalem as youre way lyse*. That is, seek the salvation of those who are most worthy (line 445), you eleven apostles, as you make your way to the Jews of Jerusalem.

27. JUDGMENT

The first of the Towneley plays to be edited in full for a modern audience, by Francis Douce on behalf of owner Peregrine Edward Towneley for the Roxburghe Club in 1822, the Judgment play appears to be an adaptation and extension of its York counterpart, with which it shares entire passages almost verbatim. As noted in the Introduction, p. 14, this borrowing might possibly relate to a 1454 agreement between the York Mercers and a group of men headed by one Robert Hewyk, the parish clerk of Leeds, concerning production of the guild's Judgment pageant (see *REED: York*, p. 87, pp. 763–64). In any case, the Towneley play includes speeches, verse forms, and characters that are not present in York, including lengthy dialogue between Tutivillus and two other demons, written in the 13-line 'bob and wheel' stanza (lines 131–559 and 706–822). Thanks to the similarities, however, the York text may give a good sense as to what is lost from the beginning of the Towneley play due to missing leaves. The York Doomsday pageant, written entirely in 8-line stanzas, opens with a ten stanza (80 line) monologue by God (much like Chester, but not N-Town — see note to line 115 below), followed by full-stanza speeches by two angels and two good souls; the first bad soul then speaks for four stanzas before the three-stanza speech by the second bad soul, which closely resembles that of Bad Soul 3 here, lines 27–50. The eight-stanza speech (in a variant 8-line form) by Towneley's Bad Soul 4 has no parallel in York, but the angelic speech that follows is again from York (see note to line 115), as is the speech by Jesus immediately after that, although the parallel stanza in York is not only slightly different in wording, but also part of a longer speech. In total, roughly a fifth of the extant Towneley play (174 out of 830 lines) is parallel in phrasing to the York pageant, which though complete is also much shorter (380 lines).

Other documents pertaining to the York Doomsday pageant may or may not be relevant here. The 1433 Mercers' Indenture (see *REED: York*, pp. 55–56) famously lists the stage properties used in their production at that time (nearly half a century prior to the registration of the text itself); at least some of those props might be required here (but see note to line 124 below). It may be significant that the description of the York pageant in the 1415 *Ordo paginarum* refers to four good souls and four bad souls, as are present in Towneley but not in the extant York text; however, that same description calls for six devils, along with characters such as Mary (who has no speaking role in either play as it stands) and twelve apostles (only two of whom speak in York). Moreover, the lines assigned to Towneley's second and fourth bad souls differ in form as well as content from anything in the York pageant. The relationship between the plays remains mysterious. However, particularly given the sheer length of the piece, which now gives significantly less stage time to the forces (and rewards) of heaven than to Tutivillus and his fellow demons (entirely in the added 'bob and wheel' stanzas), it appears that the Towneley play was (re-)designed for stand-alone rather sequential production. The focus here is more on the representation of worldly sin than on the end of the world as in the York original, which adheres fairly closely to the representation of the last judgment as given in Matthew 25:31–46.

1 *Full darfe*. The word *derf* can mean "bold" or "brave" but here refers to audacious wickedness. The speech of Bad Soul 2 (five quatrains along with one 6-line stanza that matches in form the first stanza spoken by the fourth bad soul, 51–56) has no counterpart in York.

5–6 *Alas, I harde that horne / That callys us to the dome*. At least one angel has blown a trumpet in the first, missing portion of the play, calling the dead to judgment; see 1 Thessalonians 4:16–17, and *York* 47.65: "Aungellis, blawes youre bemys."

7–8 *All that ever were borne / Thider behofys theym com*. That is, all humanity, alive or dead, is required come to the place of judgment. The good souls have evidently arisen from their graves or tombs and have spoken their lines, as has the first bad soul.

33–34 *Bot oft-tymes maide we sacrifice / To Sathanas when othere can slepe*. The bad soul confesses to having taken part in satanic rituals — the Witches' Sabbath (often described and evoked, although no evidence exists to suggest that such events actually ever took place). These lines, like the rest of this speech by Bad Soul 3, closely parallel the opening speech by the second bad soul in York (47.145–68).

36–38 *Oure wykyd warkys . . . . will us soroo on ilka syde*. The souls carry their deeds on their backs, in written form. The account of judgment in Apocalypse 20:12 refers both to the Book of Life in which the names of the saved are recorded, and to other books in which the deeds of individuals have been written. Later in this play, Tutivillus ('the recording demon' — see note to line 300 below) and the other two demons will sort through their bagfuls of "briefs" (see note to line 210 below) on which are registered the sins of individuals.

97 *With myself sore may I grise*. That is, I may shudder with horror at myself, for my sins.

107–13 *Wo worth ever the fader . . . . That I was borne.* Bad Soul 4, responds to recognition of his own sinful life by cursing his birth and his parents (see *MED warien* (v.), sense 1d, which cites these lines). However, in so doing he exhibits despair, a refusal of the possibility of grace and forgiveness, which is itself a damnable sin (see the notes to 2.361–64, 22.334–36, and 23.311–24). The phrase "bene forlorne" (line 110) here means "perished;" the same phrase, significantly in this context, can mean "been damned" (see *MED forlesen* (v.), sense 3).

115 *Stand not togeder; parte in two*. The Angel who divides the good souls from the bad is armed with a sword, and represents the Archangel Michael, who is typically associated with the Last Judgment. Both Michael and Gabriel explicitly appear alongside Jesus in the N-Town Judgment pageant, where Michael speaks the opening lines (42.1). Both likely appear in this play as well: the complete text would almost certainly have included a part for a second Angel although only the first speaks in the extant portion; the equivalent speech in York (47.169–76) is assigned to a third angel.

123 *The tyme is commen I will make ende*. A virtually identical line ends a stanza assigned to God in the York Doomsday, just prior to God's calling the angels to blow their trumpets (47.64); however, the rest of this stanza resembles the one in York (47.178–84) that, like this, immediately follows the angel's separation of the good souls from the bad (*York* 47.76–80) — see notes to line 115 above, and to 124 below.

124 *My Fader of heven will it so be*. In York, both this speech (which is notably longer and concludes in a dialogue with two apostles; see *York* 47.177–216) and the play's opening lines, spoken by God the Father (as is clear from his reference to the Son, *York* 47.27), are assigned to *Deus* (God), apparently played by a single actor; the actor would simply remove the mask he wears as the Father ("a diademe With a veserne [mask] gilted" according to the Mercers' Indenture, *REED: York* p. 55, line 29) in order to represent the (human) Son, neatly demonstrating that the two are one (see John 10:30). No such doubling is apparent in this play as it stands, given the speech heading of *Jesus* used here; it cannot now be known whether the opening included a speech by another actor playing God the Father.

131–32 *Oute haro . . . Harkyn to this horne*. For other instances of the phrase "out, harrow" see 2.277 (and note) and 7.b.74. The angelic trumpet call has awakened the dead and alerted hell's forces; SC presume a second trumpet blast occurs just prior to these lines (see p. 637n130 f.) although the demons speak largely in the past tense regarding their reaction to the sound. Dialogue between the demons occupies the bulk of this play, whereas the York Doomsday includes only a brief exchange between three devils (47.217–28; four additional lines, likely assigned to a fourth, are missing), at roughly this same point; the York pageant then cuts

immediately to the next, more lengthy speech by "Deus" (who speaks both as Father and as Son in York), which in Towneley starts at line 560.

140–41 *I was bonde full fast / In yrens for to last*. This line might seem to associate the first demon with Satan himself, bound in chains after the harrowing of hell; see Apocalypse 20:1–3 and the note to 22.367–68. However, according to Jude 1:6, "the angels who kept not their principality, but forsook their own habitation, he hath reserved under darkness in everlasting chains, unto the judgment of the great day."

146–47 *I qwoke / For all that I lerd*. That is, I quaked for fear when I learned, by hearing the trumpet, that this is the day of judgment.

161 *There I stode on my stumpe*. That is, where I stood; "stump" is a jocular term for a leg. See *MED stumpe* (n.), sense b, which cites this line.

174–77 *It sittys you to tente . . . . What case so befell*. That is, it would be best for you to pay attention in order to discuss this matter like a peer in Parliament, whatever might happen. The second demon, apparently the younger (see note to lines 715–16 below), uses the more formal "you" when addressing the first, who uses the familiar "thou" in response (see line 184). The second also addresses the first as his master at line 250.

180 *What draght so be drawne*. Whatever draught is drawn — that is, whatever happens. See also lines 298–99. The phrase comes from a chess term; see *MED drauen* (v.), sense 2a(e).

186 *Watlyn strete*. While SC and others have referred to this line as evidence of a Wakefield connection (see SC p. 637n186), Watling Street was the name of several Roman roads that ran across various parts of England, most notably between Wroxeter and Dover via London, but also through part of North Yorkshire, and from Manchester north through Lancashire, indeed, not far from Whalley or Towneley Hall.

196 *Bot fast take oure rentals*. That is, our written records or accounts (see *MED rental* (n.)) of sins committed; see also the note to lines 36–38 above.

198–99 *For as this fals / The great sentence*. That is, judgment will be dealt out according to this — the record of sins (see note to line 196 above).

200 *Thai ar here in my dals*. The only attestations in the *MED* for *dal* (n.) meaning "hand," come from the Towneley MS — here and at line 273, and in the second Shepherds play, 9.1059 (see note).

208 *Of pride and of lust*. This line explicitly names two of the traditional seven deadly sins, the others being wrath, envy, covetousness, gluttony, and sloth; see the note to lines 443–46, below, as well as 3.75–77 and note. Pride is mentioned almost immediately again, at line 220, and is implicated throughout much of the

demons' conversation, most particular in relation to clothing (being explicitly mentioned again in lines 345, 382); see also line 670.

209 *Of wraggers and wrears*. See note to 8.85.

210 *A bag full of brefes*. See note to lines 36–38 above. These briefs (also line 328) — lists or registers of individual sins — are also referred to as books (line 206) and bills (line 224), but mostly as rolls (lines 238, 269, 326, 553), and would likely be represented as lengthy, densely written parchment rolls kept in bags.

212–13 *Of mychers and thefes, / Of lurdans and lyars*. These same pairings are repeated in lines 521–22. The term *mitcher* can refer to a thief as well as to a sneak or loiterer. See *OED mitcher* (n.), senses 1 and 2.

216 *renderars of reffys*. The meaning of "renderer" here is unclear. The *MED* doubtfully glosses this same phrase — the sole entry under *renderer* (n.) — as "a bail bondsman associated with a sheriff or other municipal official" or "one who reports crimes to a sheriff or to a reeve" — that is, an informant. However, it could refer to those who commit robbery, or whose predation serves someone else, such as those who collect exorbitant taxes. See also line 238 and note.

217–21 *This can I . . . . Twenty so many*. That is, I know this concerning all ranks of people that pass by; I know twenty times as many whose sin is wretched pride, which God hates. The latter sinners would doubtless include the demons themselves as fallen angels — one source for the other demon's laughter (see line 223). But the first demon's listing of sins would likely also be accompanied by comic gestures.

227–28 *thai wold synke / Thare foes in a fyere still*. They would invariably push their enemies into a fire — that is, see to their destruction.

231–33 *Bot before hym . . . . he mase hym*. That is, if he should praise him to his face, he would also slander him behind his back, and thus confuse him with duplicity.

238 *Of rolles for to render*. The verb "render" here could mean either to read or to deliver up (see line 216 and note), but the sense — and the misogynist sentiment, made still more obvious in the lines that follow — is clear either way: women's sins are innumerable.

243–44 *Yll fetyld, / She that is most meke*. SC gloss *fetyld* as "ill-tempered" (p. 638n243), in evident contradiction of the meekness likewise asserted in these lines, but the term here means "shaped" (see *MED fetlen* (v.)) — that is, 'properly' meek women are inevitably ill-shaped or unattractive.

265–68 *Now gett we dowbill store . . . . Both sam to be harrid*. Now we shall get twice as many dead bodies (see *MED miscarien* (v.), sense 1a) as we had souls there — that is, in hell — to be harried or molested. All the souls that left hell (see lines 170–71)

join their resurrected bodies when summoned for judgment, doubling the demons' body count, however temporarily.

270–71 *bakbytars . . . And fals quest-dytars*. That is, slanderers and those who falsely arrange or testify at a trial or inquest. See 17.36–39 and 19.23–26 and notes regarding similar terms likewise used in 13-line 'bob and wheel' stanzas.

298–99 *Bot if this draght be well drawen, / Don is in the myre*. That is, unless this move is well-made (see line 180 and note), we are stuck. The second phrase, "Don is in the myre," is proverbial (see Whiting D434). Dun is a typical name for a horse.

300 *Tutivillus*. 'The recording demon' was associated with keeping accounts of sins, particularly minor verbal sins such as mumbling services and idle chatter in church (see line 430), and is often represented holding or writing on a scroll. While the origins of his name are obscure, they are likely rooted in a phrase from Plautus referring to a *titivillitio* or small trifle (see Jennings, *Tutivillus*, pp. 37–38). Here, however, much like Titivillus in the play of *Mankind*, he has greater scope in his collection of sins and sinners. On the other hand, the role here appears to have been intended for a young actor — see lines 337–38 and note.

306 *Now thou art myn awne querestur*. By referring to Tutivillus as his chorister — one who sings in response to him — the demon claims him as his follower.

310 *And sithen courte rollar*. That is, he has since served as keeper of the court rolls or records.

311 *master Lollar*. The Lollards, associated with the reformist teachings of John Wyclif, were considered heretical by the established church. They looked to scripture, which they believed should be available in the vernacular; most importantly, they did not believe in transubstantiation, by which the Eucharistic host becomes the true body and blood of Christ while retaining the appearance of bread. The name, though, appears to derive from a Dutch word for one who mumbles, linking them to Tutivillus in his primary role as collector of verbal sins (see note to line 300 above). On the other hand, Jennings (*Tutivillus*, p. 60) argues that the term here refers less to the historical Lollards (whose beliefs are not, after all, referred to in what follows) than to idlers — those who loll about. See *OED Lollard* (n.), sense 2.

318 *som of ferray*. The phrase "of foray" means to be on a foray or a raid — a hostile incursion of some sort, in contrast to sitting at an alehouse (line 317).

319–20 *Som cursid, som bande, / Som yei, som nay*. The verbs to curse and to ban mean roughly the same thing, but are frequently paired like this. The yay/nay pairing here effectively means "some came willingly, while others did not."

321–22 *So many / Thus broght I on blure*. Thus I brought many to grief. The term "blure" literally refers to bloating or blistering (see *OED blure* (n.)), here referred to ironically as a "cure" (line 323); see 6.306, where the plague of flies is said to "make grete blowre" ("makis mekill blure" in *York* 11.294).

326–27 *Here a roll of ragman / Of the rownde tabill*. While "ragman" is itself a term for a devil (see the note to 1.137), a Ragman roll is "a document recording accusations or offenses" (see *MED rag(e-man* (n.), sense 1b) — that is, one of the "briefs" that this devil carries in his bag (see line 328 and the note to line 210 above). It is also the name of a specific historical "collection of instruments of homage and fealty made in 1291 by which the nobility and gentry of Scotland pledged allegiance to Edward I" (*MED rag(e-man* (n.), sense 2d)), so named because of the many dangling strips to which individual seals were attached. But here it is associated with the Round Table of Arthurian legend.

330–32 *Unethes may I wag . . . . Whils I set my stag, man*. These lines may indicate that Tutivillus has entered riding a horse, giving additional force to the proverbial reference to a horse in the line just prior to his entrance; however, the horse (or "stag") and stable may be imaginary, like Cain's team of animals or the flock of sheep in the Shepherds plays.

333–34 *ye ar abill / To take wage*. That is, you have earned your wages.

336 *Bot lay downe the dewe*. That is, lay down the list of accounts of human sins that are due for judgment.

337–38 *thou will be a shrew / Be thou com at age*. These lines seem to indicate that the role of Tutivillus was to be played by a boy rather than by an adult actor (see also the note to lines 300 and lines 358–59), despite his claims to extensive experience (as in lines 309–11); also see the note to lines 715–16.

339–40 *Here have I be gesse / Of many nyce hoket*. That is, I guess that I have many nice tricks here. He goes on to cite examples of the sins he has collected. The first of these lines has been emended to include a verb (*have*; see Textual Note); given the repetition of the rhymeword "hoket," it is possible that the final word here was miscopied and that these lines should be emended differently.

343–51 *Gay gere and witles . . . . And his barnes bredeles*. Tutivillus describes not one but many men of a particular type (as suggested by the use of the plural "their" in line 348), the focus here being on wasteful extravagance — fashionable headgear on a foolish head, ample sleeves with no purse to hide within, and fancy shoes, even if it means that their children go hungry.

352 *A horne and a Duch ax*. "Dutch" here means "German" (*Deutsch*); both items here are fashionable accessories.

358–59 *Thou art best on thi wax / That ever was clekyt*. That is, for your size or age, you are the best ever born. See note to lines 337–38 above.

After 364 *Fragmina verborum . . . . belium doliorum*. The last phrase here appears to be a mock-Latin reference to belly-aches, "belium" being Latin only in form, and *dolorum* being the genitive plural form of *dolor*, meaning pain or suffering.

However, these extrametrical Latin lines begin with an oft-quoted line that appears in a late thirteenth-century work on penitence by John of Wales (see Jennings, *Tutivillus*, p. 16); the Roxburghe Club edition of this play cites an early fifteenth-century poem in which the same line follows a more extensive description of Tutivillus' targets, translated there as "Prating minstrels, jesters, nappers that sleep when they should sing, gapers or yawners, fellows who draw out and improperly lengthen their tones [and] skippers of words" (Douce, *Judicium*, pp. 26–27).

369–70 *Of femallys a quantité / Here fynde I parte*. That is, here I find something concerning many women.

372 *Godys forbot thou sparté*. That is, God forbid that you should spare it — telling us the part about women.

378 *If she be never so fowll a dowde*. That is, even if she is exceedingly unattractive — the word "dowd" (as in dowdy) being applied almost exclusively to women. See *MED doude* (n.).

382 *She can make it full prowde*. That is, she can make herself look splendid. The focus of this stanza is on older women who cunningly hide their flaws.

391–94 *She is hornyd like a kowe . . . . Furrid with a cat skyn*. The fashionable woman wears an elaborate headdress that looks like horns, and her collar is long and covered with the fur of a cat, mimicking something more expensive. According to Mendal G. Frampton ("The Date," pp. 632–44), the fashions described here and throughout this play (see especially lines 419–20 and 458–59) suggest a date of composition toward the mid-fifteenth century, a century or more prior to the Towneley manuscript itself.

396 *Thai ar commen of youre kyn*. They are descended from your kind — that is, devils.

403 *breke thare awne spowsage*. They — that is, men attracted to these falsely attractive women — commit adultery, breaking both their marriage vows and the sixth commandment (Exodus 20:14).

406 *fals swerars*. That is, those who violate the eighth commandment against bearing false witness (Exodus 20:16).

408–09 *In sweryng . . . more and more*. These lines refer to the widespread idea that swearing, particularly by various parts of the body of Jesus (see note to 12.168), subjected him to further torture.

414 *gederars of greyn wax*. That is, those who collect fines and other revenue on behalf of the king's Exchequer, whose documents were sealed with green wax.

419–20 *Of prankyd gownes . . . flokkys sewyd wythin*. Pleated gowns with padded shoulders (using moss and cotton wads — the "pillows" of line 423) were fashionable for men by about 1440, during the reign of Henry VI; see note to lines 391–94 above.

441–42 *Et eam fecistis / Speluncam latronum*. These lines quote Jesus' expulsion of the moneylenders from the temple in Matthew 21:13; Tutivillus claims authority over those who similarly sin in church.

443–46 *Yit of the synnes seven . . . . That renys over all*. Of the seven deadly sins, the first — named at line 208 (see note, above) and emblematized in this stanza — is pride. The others are lust (also named at line 208), envy (named at line 482), wrath or ire (lines 92, 224, 295, 482), covetousness (lines 29, 91 and 484; also called avarice or greed, see line 768), gluttony (line 484), and sloth (line 495). See also 3.75–77 and note.

449–51 *At ee to be even / Purturd in pall / As kyngys*. That is, they appear to be equal to kings, adorned with fine scarlet robes.

452 *May he dug hym a doket*. The meaning of this line is obscure. SC p. 641n452–5 follow the *MED*, which doubtfully defines *doket* (n.) as meaning "rag" on the basis of this line alone, and defines the otherwise unattested *dug* as "to cut out (a rag for sb.)," further suggesting that "he" here refers to the devil. As the *MED* definition might suggest, "dug" here is likely a variation on (or error for) the verb *daggen*, referring to the fashionable slashing of fabric for decoration — more specifically, in the mid-fifteenth century, the bottom edges of a garment, into points that were themselves termed "dags" (see *MED dagge* (n.1)). A more obvious meaning for "doket" here, then, would derive from *dock* (see *OED dock* (n.2) and *MED dok* (n.)) as referring to a (short) tail, anticipating line 455 with its sexual innuendo, following the reference to the codpiece in line 453 (see the following note).

453–55 *A kodpese like a pokett . . . . when he wryngys*. The codpiece came into fashion in the fifteenth century as upper garments for men grew shorter, exposing the gap between the shirt and the hose. Codpieces ("cod" being a word for a pillow — see 8.33 — as well as for a bag, or for the scrotum) did indeed serve as pockets or purses, as alluded to in lines 454–55, becoming ostentatious signs of pride rather than modest coverings; the stuffing (and other decoration) could also render access to the "tail" difficult — no "hoket," or easy trick (see *MED hoket* (n.), and lines 340 and 342). The final phrase here could also refer to urination — a figurative wringing out of his tail.

457 *walk-mylne cloggys*. Workers at a waulk or fulling mill wore wooden clogs for the purpose of cleaning and felting wool. The allusion here is to the visibility of separate buttocks due to pieced hose and fashionably short upper garments.

458–59 *His hede is like a stowke / Hurlyd as hoggys*. That is, his hair is like a stook (sheaves of grain; see *MED stouk(e* (n.)); it is bristled like a hog's. Short cropped hair was

popular throughout the fifteenth century, but particularly 1430–40 (see Frampton, "The Date," pp. 641–42, and note to lines 391–94 above).

460–61 *A woll-blawen bowke / Thise fryggys as froggys*. A well-inflated belly, these fidget like frogs. This appears to be the earliest attestation for the verb "to frig," which can also mean to rub or — at least in later usage — to engage in sexual intercourse; see *OED frig* (v.), sense 3.

462–64 *This Jelian Jowke . . . . To felter*. To jouk is to lie asleep or at rest (see *MED jouken*); thus "Julian Jouk" (see also "This Gill knave," line 477) would serve as a nickname for a lazy man, who would have little interest in driving dogs together to "felter" in any sense — that is, either to fight or to copulate. See *MED filteren* (v.), sense a, which cites this line. The use of second-person pronouns in the four lines that follow may indicate that Tutivillus goes on to address a specific member of the audience (blond — "with youre yolow lokkys," line 465) as an exemplar of such laziness.

471–72 *Tent well youre twyfyls / Youre nek abowte as mylke*. The phrase "as milk" refers to the whiteness of Nell's skin; "twyfyls" is otherwise unattested and obscure (see *MED twifil*). If not simply an error for "trifles," it would seem to refer to "twofold" braids or ribbons, or some other form of decoration worn around the neck. Again (see previous note), the use of second-person pronouns may indicate that Tutivillus is addressing a specific member of the audience, this time female.

473–77 *With youre bendys and youre bridyls . . . . This Gill knave*. That is, with your ribbons and other trifles that are the bridles of Satan, the means by which Satan controls you and makes you idle for the likes of this knave, Gill (or Julian, see line 462), specifically to tempt him into sloth and lust. Line 475 is the sole cited instance of "idle" as a verb in the *MED* (*idelen*), where it is glossed doubtfully as "?to make (sb.) vain; ?make (sb.) empty or worthless."

478 *It is open behynde*. That is, Nell's smock, which the wind can blow open (see line 481).

491 *hawvell and jawvell*. "Havel" and "javel" are frequently paired, and sometimes capitalized as nicknames, both referring to worthless fellows or rascals, often with an additional sense of brawlers or jabbering gossips (the related word "chavel" meaning to chatter idly or wag the jaws). See *OED havel* and *chavel*.

492 *Syngyng of lawvell*. That is, singing drinking songs. A lavel is a bowl or drinking cup; see *MED lavel*, which cites this line.

506–07 *Bot thar hym not lang it / What commys therafter*. That is, he need not long for the service that follows the ringing of the bells, given his sinful condition.

508 *ye Janettys of the stewys*. The name Janet, a diminutive of Jane, is used here as a term for prostitutes.

513 *I shall you set softe*. That is, I shall place you softly — ironic, given that he is to place them in hell. Softness was associated with sloth but also with lust, in part due to Saint Paul's condemnation in 1 Corinthians 6:9–10 of what the Vulgate translation calls *molles* ("soft ones" — often translated as "the effeminate") along with adulterers.

515 *Com to my crofte*. A croft is a small enclosed field, usually adjacent to a home, but ostensibly here refers to a section of hell. See *MED croft* (n.), sense 1c, which cites this line.

520 *Welcom to my see*. A see is the abode or seat of authority — normally the seat of a bishop or ruler.

521–22 *Ye lurdans and lyars / Mychers and thefes*. See lines 212–13 and note.

527–29 *usurars . . . . To tell*. To tell is to count or to be counted — an appropriate ambiguity given that he is referring to his enumeration of usurers, who lend money at interest, and who commit simony, the sale of sacred, ostensibly unsellable things; see 14.167 and note.

549–50 *When I will, may I go / If thou be by*. That is, if you (the second demon) are with me, I can go.

559 *In ignem eternum*. This Latin line quotes Matthew 25:41, where the damned are sent to hell, "into everlasting fire."

560–705 *Ilka creatoure take tente . . . . Sathanas the feynde*. In this speech by Jesus, correspondence with the York text resumes (see *York* 47.229–372, though with some alterations noted below). York's final stanza, also spoken by Jesus, has no equivalent here, although this play ends with an 8-line stanza typical of York, attributed to one of the good souls; see lines 823–30 and note.

573 *Of joy*. The equivalent line at *York* 47.242 reads "Of ire" (not cancelled but apparently corrected in the MS to "care"), which is consistent with the negative terms that follow, rather than opposed to them.

578 *hande and syde*. The York text (47.247) has the alliterative pairing of "hande" and "hide" (skin), and so avoids the duplication of the rhyme-word "syde."

585 *Also ther full throly was I thrett*. The equivalent line in York begins "As theffe . . ." (*York* 47.254), instead of with "Also ther."

589 *A spere unto my harte thai sett*. The York text refers to "This spere" (*York* 47.258), implying the presence of a specific stage property.

601 *thus behovid thee borud to be*. That is, you needed to be ransomed in this way.

608–705 *Mi blissid barnes . . . . sit bi Sathanas the feynde*. This section of the play, largely from York, is based on Matthew 25:34–46. The good deeds for which Jesus praises the good souls (and for lack of which he damns the bad) constitute six of the seven traditional corporeal acts of mercy, namely, to feed the hungry, give drink to the thirsty, clothe the naked, shelter the homeless, visit the sick, and visit the imprisoned; the seventh, based on Tobias 1:20–21, is to bury the dead.

638 *When had thou nede of oure fordede*. A "fordeed" is something done for or on behalf of someone else, like the corporeal acts of mercy (see the previous note, and *MED fore-dede* (n.)).

671 *Mi flesh, my bloode, ye oft forswore*. That is, they did not attend mass to receive the Eucharist.

673–74 *yode I nakyd, / Mi myschefe sagh ye*. The Towneley text is missing two lines between these two. See *York* 47.343–44: "House ne herborow, helpe ne holde / Hadde I none of you, thof I quaked." The reference to "harbor" or shelter is echoed in line 681 (as in *York* 47.352).

686–89 *Alas . . . . I not avoyde*. This four line stanza, which effectively interrupts the dialogue, separating the questions of the other bad souls from the response by Jesus, has no equivalent in York.

687 *Alas, that ever I it abode*. That is, alas that I ever saw this day come.

712 *Hyte, hyderwarde, ho. Hyte* and *ho* are conventional cries to urge an animal forward (see 2.57 and note).

713 *Harry Ruskyne*. This appears to be the name of the first demon. "Old Harry" was a common name for the Devil in northern England, at least in later centuries (see *OED Harry* (n.2), sense 4), while "ruskin" is a term for the red fur of a squirrel, suggesting that the demon wears a furred garment as costume.

715–16 *The meyn shall ye nebyll, / And I shall syng the trebill*. The second demon tells the first to "nibble" — that is, to attempt to sing — the mean (or middle voice) while he takes the higher part as they sing in harmony. Singing treble normally suggests a boy's part (see 9.270–72), which could mean that both the second demon and Tutivillus are played by boy actors (see the note to lines 337–38 above). On the other hand it is possible that these lines constitute a joking reference to other, more diabolical noises rather than to actual song.

717–18 *Arevant the devill / Till all this hole rowte*. The *MED* (*revant* (n.)) suggests that the original MS reading (*A revant*) involves a scribal error for *tenour* (n., sense 3), so that Tutivillus is to take the tenor part and sing with the two Demons, who take the (higher) mean and treble parts (see lines 715–16). SC argue instead that the otherwise unattested and obscure term *Arevant* is a form of the verb "to arrive" meaning "to bring" (*OED arrive* (v.), sense 4) — that is, they will sing, bringing

the devil Tutivillus to the company of bad souls (SC p. 644n717), although of course they also bring themselves, and bring those souls to the devil in hell. The phrase could possibly name the song they are to sing, which would translate as "robbing the Devil" (see *MED areven* (v.)). It is also possible that the lines should be emended to read "A revenant the devill / Till, all this hole rowte" — that is, a returning to the devil of this whole company of bad souls, back to hell.

736–37 *Gay gyrdyls, jaggid hode / Prankyd gownes, whedir*. That is, where are your delightful belts, fashionably slashed hoods, and pleated gowns? For similar costume references, see notes to lines 419–20 and 452 above; however, this line implies that the bad souls are not thus dressed.

741 *And youre synnes in youre nekkys*. This line refers to the concept of original sin, the common inheritance of the sin of Adam and Eve, inherent in the flesh from birth, but with an allusion to sin as an offense worthy of hanging.

742–44 *I beshrew thaym that rekkys / He comes to late that bekkys / Youre bodyes to borow*. That is, I curse those who take pity on you; it is too late for anyone to offer (indicate a willingness) to ransom your bodies and save you from this punishment.

745–46 *I wold cut thaym a skawte / And make theym be knawne*. The word *skawte* is obscure but likely related to the Old Norse *skaut*, which can refer to a sheet or to the skirt of a garment. SC follow the *MED* in suggesting that the word here refers to a shroud, in contrast to the fine clothes these sinners once wore (p. 645n745). These lines would thus mean: I would cut a shroud for each of them, and let them be gnawed by worms (thus reading the last verb as a possible, if uncited, variation of *MED gnauen* (v.) — see SC p. 685 *knawne*) or perhaps by devils as in various medieval depictions of hell. However, a shroud seems redundant at this point, post-resurrection. More likely, "knawne" here means "known" in the sense of "revealed" or even "notorious" (see *MED knouen* (v.), sense 14), and the reference to the "skawte" is a mocking reference to the kind of fashion that is a sign of their sinfulness.

756–57 *Bot now ar thai flemyd / From sayntys to recover*. That is, all bad souls are now banished to hell, to take the place of the saintly souls who can no longer be kept there; see the note to lines 265–68, above.

754–55 *Thare neghburs thai demyd / Thaymself as it semyd*. That is, in judging others they have judged themselves; see Matthew 7:1–2.

777–79 *It is commen in vowgard, / Youre Dame Malison / To bynde it*. That is, your life of sin and your ill-gotten gains have preceded you to hell, awaiting your curse (while the curses of others against you await as well, as the next few lines suggest). A "malisoun" is a curse (see *MED* and *OED malison*), though here "Dame Malison" is a play on the common name of Alison.

782 *prase at the partyng*. The proverbial phrase "praise at the parting" means "save your praise until the departure" or the end of a performance (see line 8.385 and

note), here referring not to praise, but to the curses laid upon sinners in life that now meet them in hell. See Whiting P39.

788 *so falsly it falys*. That is, lecherous and adulterous pleasures end falsely.

792 *For moton*. Mutton is of course the meat of a sheep, but also a slang term for 'loose' women and prostitutes. See *OED mutton* (n.), sense 4.

793–94 *He that to that gam gose / Now namely on old tose*. The *MED* glosses this last phrase as meaning simply "in old age," but the lines also allude to what Chaucer refers to as "the olde daunce," danced by the likes of the Wife of Bath (*CT* I[A] 476), old governesses (in the Physician's Tale, *CT* VI[C] 79), and of course Pandarus (in *Troilus and Cressida* 3.694–95); "that gam" (see *MED game* (n.), senses 1 and 2d) is played or danced on old — that is experienced — toes (see *MED olde* (adj.), senses 1c and 5d). Yet the association of lechery with old age, here as in Chaucer, also ties in with reference to women as "mutton" (line 792 and note) — old sheep, as opposed to young lamb — and may have additional force onstage if both Tutivillus and the second demon are played by actors notably younger than the first demon (see note to lines 337–38 above) and possibly much of the audience.

809 *A mese of ill ostre*. The term "ostre" here is also a pun on hostelry (see *MED hostri(e)* — the lodging in hell will make the souls as sick as eating bad oysters would do.

812 *Blaw wolfys-hede and oute-horne*. The same two terms, referring to raising an outcry in pursuit of an outlaw, are also used in the Buffeting (see 18.202 and note).

814 *Illa-haill were ye borne*. See 18.196 and the note above to 27.812 regarding another repetition from the same stanza in the Buffeting; "illa-hail" is also found in the Pharaoh play (6.258), borrowed from York (11.245[b]).

823–30 *We love thee . . . . With Te Deum laudamus*. This 8-line stanza resembles in form those of the York play, which ends with a speech by Jesus, extending by one stanza his speech at lines 690–705 here; his speech is then followed by a stage direction indicating that angels should sing an unspecified melody. This speech by the first good soul, with a clear direction to sing the well-known *Te Deum laudamus* (see 22.416 and note), could well have formed the original ending to the York play as well, following the speech by "Deus" (see note to line 131–32, above).

APPENDIX: THE HANGING OF JUDAS

This fragment, written entirely in a different hand from that of the main scribe, is out of place in more than one sense. Like the Lazarus play that precedes it in the manuscript, it is out of chronological sequence — nothing can follow the last judgment and the end of the world — but unlike that piece, it is not a play (although see Meredith, "The Towneley Pageants," p. 165, for a contrary suggestion, tying it to one of the missing York pageants). Rather, it is a poetic monologue, with no speech heading even at the beginning, although another hand has

scrawled "sayd Iudas" along with some indecipherable words; each stanza is identified by a paragraph marker in the left-hand margin. Despite the evident non-dramatic status of the text, someone has written "Lysters pag" in the middle of the right-hand margin of the first page — that is, the pageant of the litsters or dyers, which serves as evidence of the untrustworthiness of the other apparent guild ascriptions in the manuscript (including mention of litsters at the outset of the Pharaoh play, performed in York by the Hosiers' guild). The poem is written in a 6-line *rime couée* stanza — a form used in several of the York plays (including the Resurrection play, which Towneley borrows), as well as in the Towneley Offering of the Magi and much of the Pilgrims play, but also typical of metrical romances. The text cuts off at the end of a stanza and at the bottom of a page, the other side of which is blank. Another hand has written *finis huius* ("the end of this") at the bottom of the page, which contains other marginalia as well, mostly cut off (see Textual Notes). Yet the poem is far from complete; it cuts off mid-narrative, long before the suicide that gives the poem its ostensible title, indeed well before any actual biblical elements enter the story.

The apocryphal legend of Judas Iscariot, likely written in the twelfth century, resembles the legend of Oedipus, with Judas unwittingly killing his father (while gathering apples for Pilate) and marrying his mother. When he discovers what he has done, he goes to Jesus to beg forgiveness. Later, as keeper of the disciples' collective purse, from which he regularly steals a tenth, he becomes outraged by the waste of expensive ointment poured onto the feet of Jesus, and resolves to win back what he has lost, by selling Jesus to Pilate (see note to 17.264). The story was included in Jacob de Voragine's influential collection known as the *Golden Legend* (1:167–69), as part of the story of Saint Matthias, who replaced Judas as one of the apostles according to Acts 1:23 (in which Judas is said not to hang himself but to die accidentally in the field that he bought with his blood money — see Acts 1:18). For further analysis of the Judas legend and its sources, see Baum, "Mediæval Legend of Judas Iscariot."

17 *That cursyd clott of Camys kyn*. See 17.663 and 27.648 for similar phrases.

45–46 *Alas, that I had beyn forlorn / Within hir syd*. That is, alas, if only I had been lost — had died — within her womb.

49–50 *For I was born withowtyn grace / Thay me namyd and callyd Judas*. His parents named him Judas because he was born without grace, anachronistically anticipating the reputation of the name after the betrayal.

51–54 *The father . . . . deth to se*. Because a father by nature has compassion for his child, he could not see him killed outright, in front of him.

65–66 *of that land . . . Judas Skariott*. Judas' surname — used in the gospels primarily to distinguish him from the other disciple bearing the relatively common name of Judas (see the headnote to the Ascension play) — in Hebrew means "of Kerioth," a village in Judea, but here the name of the island on which he is cast up.

85–86 *Then the kyng gart make a fest / To all the land of the best.* That is, then the king had a feast prepared, of all the best kind of fare, for everyone in the land.

Textual Notes

Abbreviations: **EP**: *The Towneley Plays*, ed. England and Pollard (EETS, 1897); **Facs**: *The Towneley Cycle: A Facsimile of Huntington MS HM 1*, ed. Cawley and Stevens; ***MED***: *Middle English Dictionary*; **MS**: Huntington MS HM 1 (base text); **SC**: *The Towneley Plays*, ed. Stevens and Cawley (EETS, 1994); **s.d.**: stage direction; **Surtees**: *The Towneley Mysteries*, ed. Raine; ***York***: *The York Corpus Christi Plays*, ed. Davidson (2011).

The edition by Stevens and Cawley for the Early English Text Society, along with the facsimile edition that they likewise co-edited, remains the chief source for analysis of the Towneley manuscript and its various textual annotations, corrections, marginalia, and other particularities. Unlike theirs, the current edition makes no note of most minor corrections, such as an obviously misplaced and crossed-out letter before a correctly written word, except where these might potentially affect understanding of the established text.

1. The Creation

Before 1 *Cherubin*. Both in the character list and in speech headings, I have used a modernized spelling of the Middle English singular form, *cherubyn*, given the connotations of the modern "cherub." The cherubim (plural) are the second order of angels after the seraphim, and the guardians of Eden after the expulsion of Adam and Eve (see Genesis 3:24), not winged children or *putti*.

Before 1 *Bad Angel / Demon*. The MS distinguishes between *Primus* and *Secundus Angelus* on the one hand and *Primus* and *Secundus Demones* on the other; while ostensibly representing the same characters, before and after their fall from heaven, the roles may or may not be played by the same actors; see the Explanatory Note to line 131, s.d.

7 *I am without begynnyng*. MS: in the right margin opposite this line a sixteenth century hand has written *Barker*. Below this is the Towneley pressmark 13½:35, above F:35 (indicating the height and shelf number of the bound manuscript). That pressmark is also written in the top corner of the page, but was cut off when the manuscript was trimmed for rebinding.

36 *day this is*. MS: a hole in the page, with rust staining and additional rubbing, has partially obscured these words.

48 *thryd*. MS: *thyrd*; emended for rhyme, following EP.

58 *be*. So MS. SC: emend to *se* ("sea").

62 *to thee*. MS: *to the* added in a different hand.

64 *has made*. MS: these words, run together, have been written over an erasure in the same hand as *to the* in line 62.
86 *May nothyng stand then be*. So SC. EP: *may nothing stand ne be*. MS: *may thing stand then be*.
97 *Therfor*. MS: *thefor*.
98 *ye shall*. A hole in the MS (see note to line 36) obscures the *e* and *sh*.
132 *welowo*. MS: the first *o* is indistinct due to a crease that runs the length of the leaf, obscuring many individual letters from here through to the end of the play, although the correct reading is generally clear, particularly in context.
136 *waxen*. MS: *n* indistinct.
138 *Lucifer*. MS: *ifer* indistinct.
142 *neyn . . . ten*. So EP. MS: *ix*, *x* (*x* indistinct).
144 *that*. MS: *a* indistinct.
148 *noght*. MS: *t* indistinct.
150 *we*. MS: indistinct.
152 *pride*. MS: *p* indistinct.
154 *and*. MS: *a* indistinct.
156 *warrie*. MS: *e* indistinct.
158 *hym*. MS: *m* indistinct.
162 *that*. t_2 obscured by crease.
164 *that*. t_2 missing due to a hole (corresponding to that at lines 36 and 98).
165 *man*. MS: *n* indistinct.
166 *of*. MS: *o* indistinct.
168 *thee*. MS: *the*, with *th* indistinct.
169 *shall*. MS: *ha* indistinct.
171 *water or*. MS: *t*, abbreviation for *-er*, and *or* indistinct.
172 *thi*. MS: *th* indistinct.
175 *brede*. MS: *b* indistinct.
177 *have*. MS: *haue*, *au* indistinct.
178 *fulfill*. MS: *ulfi* indistinct.
180 *wonnyng*. MS: *won* indistinct.
181 *of solace*. MS: *of* indistinct.
183 *be*. MS: *e* indistinct.
184 *this*. MS: *is* indistinct.
186 *from*. MS: *m* indistinct.
187 *Therof shall be maide thi make*. So EP, to restore meter. SC, MS: *therof shall be thi make* (*m* indistinct in MS).
189 *governe*. MS: final *e* indistinct.
190 *in*. MS: indistinct.
192 *and*. MS: abbreviation symbol effaced.
194 *withoutten*. So EP, SC. MS: *without*.
209 *oure*. MS: *r* indistinct.
213 *thoght*. MS: second *h* indistinct.
217 *liffen*. MS: *l* indistinct.
221 *be*. MS: *e* indistinct.
233 *he*. MS: indistinct.

237 *seen*. MS: *n* indistinct.
239 *coloures*. MS: *e* indistinct.
249 *wroth*. MS: *th* indistinct.
251 *beyn*. MS: *b* indistinct.
254 *Ten*. So EP. MS: *X*.
255 *Of angels that had offyce sere*. This line was accidentally omitted from SC.
257 *teynd*. So EP. MS: *x*.
260 *felows*. MS: *e* indistinct.
261 *ay*. MS: *y* indistinct.
263 *end*. MS: *nd* indistinct.
264 *neyn*. So EP. MS: *ix*.
After 267 MS: the next four leaves are missing (that is, the center half of the first extant gathering); see the headnote to the play in Explanatory Notes.

2. THE KILLING OF ABEL

Before 1 MS: a later hand has written *Glover* in the upper corner of the page, next to the title and first speech heading, and yet another hand has added *pag*, the rest of that word having been trimmed away in binding.
13 *dwill*. MS: another hand has superscribed *e* between the *d* and *w*.
43 *will ye not se*. MS: *ye* is preceded by what appears to be a partial, uncancelled letter such as *w* or *d*; *t* has been superscribed between the *o* and *s*.
102 *hand*. So SC. MS: *hend*, anticipating the final word of line 104.
116 *For bi hym that me dere boght*. MS: a red rule under this line has been partially erased.
122 *my*. MS: *beyn* has been crossed out before this word.
124 *When all mens corn was fayre in feld* . So MS. SC inadvertently duplicate line 126 here.
125 *a neld*. So EP, SC. MS: *an eld*.
215 *will*. MS: written in another hand in faded ink in the bottom margin directly below the same word in this line.
225 *twelve, fyfteyn, sexteyn*. So EP. MS: *xij xv xvj*.
254 *two*. So EP. MS: *ij*.
261 *Cain* (speech heading). MS: the letter *C* has been copied three times in the margin by a later hand, in faded ink.
274 *Bere thee even and speke bot skill*. MS: At the bottom of the page (fol. 5r) following this line, the scribe has written a catchphrase, the beginning of the next line, which is to be found not on the verso of this leaf but on the page following (fol. 6r); a catchphrase is also written on each of the next two pages. Two pages in a row begin with the same words (*Bot now syn*), which has apparently led to their inadvertent reversal. Overleaf, in the top left-hand corner, the scribe has written, in red (with the beginnings of some words cropped): "*Md that this syde of the leyfe shuld folow the other next syde accordyng to the tokyns here maide and then after al stondys in ordre*." The "tokens" referred to are symbols (also in red) placed beside each of the catchphrases, and the letters *a* and *b* placed beside the lines themselves at the top of those two successive pages, to help guide the reader.

324 *am I to wite*. MS: originally *I am not to wite*, with *I* and *not* crossed out (in red over black) and *I* superscribed after *am* in the hand of the main scribe.

373–76 *Nay Caym it . . . . be punyshid sevenfold*. MS: in the right margin opposite these lines, another hand has written "*and that shall do thy boddy der*" — a line that could conceivably belong below (rhyming with *here/fere* in lines 384–85) where there is apparent textual corruption, lines 386–87 being unmetrical and unrhymed.

375 *sloys thee, yong*. So SC, following Genesis 4:15. MS: *sloys yong*.

424 *fawt*. So EP, SC. MS: *sawt*.

453 *in the*. MS has a *t* and a partly erased *h* with a red stroke through it.

After 477 *Mactacio*. MS: this word is copied in a later hand and partly erased just below the same word in the *explicit*.

3. NOAH

Before 1 *Processus Noe cum filiis. Wakefeld*. MS: below this is a red paragraph mark followed by a black line over an erasure — see Explanatory Note.

51–59 *feynd . . . . glotony . . . . securly . . . . full . . . . for*. MS: a space has been left before each of these words due to an imperfection in the vellum affecting the odd-numbered lines.

62 *and*. So SC. MS: *in*.

101 *And kepe me from syn*. MS: *Ioh* written in a later hand in the margin beside this line, and crossed out.

188 *chese*. So EP, SC (as per line 406: *Thre ches chambre*). MS: *chefe*.

265 *My wife will*. So Surtees, EP, SC. MS: *My will*.

436 *He has for oure seyll*. A word may be missing after *has*. SC add *behete* ("promised"), citing a similar construction at line 622.

586 *thee*. MS: inserted above the line.

603 *This ar so hidus*. See Explanatory Note.

640 *fyfteyn*. So EP. MS: *xv*.

661 *Thre hundreth*. So EP. MS: *CCC*.

666 *How*. So SC. MS: *Now*.

4. ABRAHAM

13 *From Adam unto Eve assent*. MS: *Iohn* written in a later hand in the right margin.

17 *thou*. So SC. MS: *thai*. Abraham is addressing God, who cast Adam and Eve out of paradise.

20 *thre hundreth*. MS: *CCC*.

26 *His wife and*. So SC. MS: *His and*.

29 *yode*. So EP. MS: *yede*.

36 *My*. So EP, SC. MS: *M*.

38 *hundreth*. So EP. MS: *C*.

43 *And*. MS: *And and*.

80 *it*. MS: inserted above the line.

107 *saif*. MS: *faif*.

107, s.d. *Isaac*. MS: the last four letters of *Isaac* are cut off due to the page being trimmed. See also Explanatory Note.
158 *kepe you ever*. So EP, SC. MS: *kepe ever*.
169–70 *Now son I . . . myne hart went*. MS: a red rule, ostensibly a false cue line, has been drawn and largely erased under these two lines (written as one in MS).
186 *trespast*. MS: *trespat*.
196 *who*. MS: inserted above the line.
264 *do as*. MS: *doyng*. SC emend to *do and*. See Explanatory Note.

5. ISAAC AND JACOB
5.A. ISAAC

66, s.d. *Et osculatur*. MS: stage direction is written beside line 64.

5.B. JACOB

110 *shall hight Fanuell*. So EP, SC. MS: *shall Fanuell*.
124 *That thou save*. So SC. MS: *That save*.

6. PHARAOH

Before 1 MS: in the top right corner a later hand has written *Litsters pagonn*. The page prior to this appears originally to have contained the beginning of the Pharaoh play, given that the large title (*Incipit Pharaoh*) remains partly visible, but all the writing has been erased.
7 *as age wyll asse*. So SC. MS: *as age wyll has*. (*York* 11.7: *as elde will asse*; see Explanatory Note.)
11 *knawne*. So EP, emended for rhyme. MS: *knowne*.
13 *Full low he shall be thrawne*. MS: another hand has written *lyster play* in the right margin.
40 *Oure lordshyp*. See Explanatory Note.
47 *And*. So SC. MS: *In*, perhaps anticipating the third word of the line.
58 *Foure hundredth*. MS: *iiij C*.
60 *thre hundreth thousand*. So EP. MS: *CCC thousand*.
109 *Moyses, Moyses*. These words, which are extra-metrical and have no equivalent in the York pageant, are written in the margin in the same hand, in red like the stage direction that follows.
171 *neyn*. So EP. MS: *ix*.
182 *thy*. So SC. MS: *my*. The emendation is supported both by *York* 11.170 and Exodus 3:13.
184 *skape*. So SC. MS: *skake*.
252 *dog*. MS: letters erased after this word appear to be a *g* along with an abbreviation for *ys*.
263 *venyance*. So SC. MS: *venyange*.
266 *may no longer*. So SC. MS: *may longer*. *York* 11.254 supplies the missing word.
285 *mysys*. MS: *mystys*. *York* 11.273: *myses* (see *MED mise* (n. pl.3)).

287 *it*. MS has *is* crossed out before this word.
294 *land*. MS: *lang*. *York* 11.362: *lande*. See Explanatory Note.
307 *And in every place oure bestys dede ly*. MS: a line is evidently missing after this one; see Explanatory Note.
310 *Pharaoh* (speech heading). MS: *Phoraoh*.
330 *vynys*. MS: *vnys*. *York* 11.319: *wynes*.
336 *the ragyd dwyll*. MS: *the ragyd the dwyll*; the emendation is supported by the similarity of line 412; see Explanatory Note to line 303.
339 *To Moyses have his folk to leyd*. MS: two lines are evidently missing after this line; see Explanatory Note.
352 *thre*. So EP. MS: *iij*.
353 *myrk*. MS: *myst*. *York* 11.344 has *myrke*, darkness being the ninth plague.
356 *Pestilence*. MS: *pentilence*.
391, s.d. *Hic pertransient mare*. MS, SC: s.d. follows line 390; see Explanatory Note.

7. THE ADVENT SEQUENCE
7.A. PROPHETS

27 *Christ*. So SC. MS: *Trust*.
60 *Thou art worthi grete*. MS: *u* inserted above the line, and *gr* after *art* crossed out.
93 *rightwisnes*. MS: *righwisnes*.
112 *will his Son*. So SC. MS: *will that his son*.
230 *wroght*. MS has *boght* before this word (repeating the last word of the previous line), lightly crossed out.
234 *Evermore withoutten end*. MS: the text ends after this line, leaving enough room on the page for additional lines, followed by a blank leaf. See the Explanatory Note to this line and the first Textual Note to the Pharaoh play.

7.B. CAESAR AUGUSTUS

94 *bost*. So SC. MS: *best*. SC emends the MS reading to *bost* on the basis of similar phrasing in the play of Herod the Great (12.58, incorrectly cited by SC as line 39, its numbering in editions using a 9- rather than 13-line stanza form; see SC p. 473n94).

7.C. ANNUNCIATION

7–74 *Then I hym . . . . wythouten dere*. MS: this entire page (fol. 28v) is written unusually as two vertical columns.
12 *fyfe*. So EP. MS: *v*.
18 *preson*. So SC, MS. EP: *person*.
52 *said*. MS: written above the line in a different hand.
77 *Gabriel* (speech heading). MS: this speech heading was initially written close to the preceding lines (in couplets) near the top of the page, but was cancelled by the red rule separating the speeches and rewritten closer to

the edge of the page to better align with the lines and speech headings below.

7.D. SALUTATION

52 *besene*. So SC. MS: *bene sene*.

7.E. JOSEPH'S TROUBLE

71 *I thynk no*. MS: second *I* crossed out before *no*.
116 *foure*. MS: *iiij*. EP: *my*.
127 *Neyn*. So EP. MS: *ix*.
179 *She hase consavyd the Holy Gast*. MS: this line is faintly underlined; in the right margin, a later hand has written *note this very* — anything further being cut off due to the page being trimmed. See Explanatory Note.

8. THE SHEPHERDS (1)

125 *Jhon*. SC: *Ihon*. MS: *thom*.
232 *knawe*. So EP, emending for rhyme. MS, SC: *knowe*.
257 *Boy* (speech heading). MS: *Jak garcio*; lines 272 and 273 have the speech heading *garcio* ("boy"). See Explanatory Note.
268 *Ye thre bere the bell*. MS: there is a cross in the left margin beside the line. SC suggest that this "may indicate that *Ye thre* should be *Ye two*" (p. 487n257) and that the Boy may identified with Shepherd 3; see Explanatory Notes to lines 257 and 268. However, this marginal cross resembles that one beside line 413, and may indicate that the dialogue between these marks — the entire feast scene — was originally set off from the rest of the play, either as optional or as an addition to the copy text.
346 *clergé*. EP emend to *clergete* for rhyme.
365–97 *Behold how . . . . drynk enogh*. MS: in the outer margin, parallel to the edge, a late hand has written *Memoranndum that I Samul* (the tops of some letters cropped) and below that *Memorandum that I* followed by what looks like *S Humer* — the rest being cropped with the top edge of the leaf.
413 *It draes nere nyght*. MS: there is a cross in the left margin beside the line; see note to line 268 above.
428 *youre*. MS: the *y* has been added in a different hand.
575–85 *And yit more . . . . land and se*. MS: These lines, at the top of a page of writing that is notably worn and faded, have been overwritten in darker ink, as have a few parts of the text further down the page. In the top margin above the name of Saturn (*saturne*, line 576) a later hand has written *seith*.
617 *Go to now, begyn*. MS: in the right margin, a later hand has written *sing* (as the shepherds do a few lines later — see Explanatory Note to line 620).
627 *mase the*. So SC. EP: *makethe*. The words have been overwritten (see note to 575–85 above) such that they run together with a *k* written over the long *s* of *mase*.
632 *Then*. MS: badly faded.
646 *closyd*. EP: *I-closyd*. MS has an uncorrected stroke before *closyd*.

9. THE SHEPHERDS (2)

8 *al*. MS: inserted above the line.
14 *husbandys*. So SC. EP, MS: *shepardes*. See Explanatory Note.
84 *wyndys*. MS, EP: *weders*. SC emend to *wyndys*, assuming accidental repetition from the previous line, which seems likely.
85–149 *And the frostys . . . . a sowre-loten chere*. MS: much of the writing on this page (fol. 39r) is worn and faded, with some letters overwritten in darker ink by a later hand.
101 *she*. MS: *e* obscured by ink blot.
102 *or to clok*. MS: all but the first and last letters here are obscured by an ink blot.
103 *is oure*. So SC. EP: *is of oure*. MS: *is or oure*. The word *or* is partly obscured by an ink blot. While *or* in this context could plausibly mean "first" (as a variant spelling of *ere*; see *MED er* (adv.)), SC (p. 497n103) suggest that it may simply be a mistaken first attempt to write *oure*.
136 *That*. So SC. MS: *it*.
274 *sevyn*. So EP. MS: *vii*.
278–342 *I am all . . . . the fyere, lo*. MS: much of the writing on this page (fol. 40v) is worn and faded, with some letters touched up.
281 *ther*. So SC. EP: *there*. MS: *the*.
293 *same*. So EP. SC, MS: *some*.
297 *of*. MS: inserted above the line.
316 *teyn*. MS: a different hand has written *le* over the original *n*.
331 *is*. MS: inserted above the line in red ink over black.
339 *thi hoode*. So SC, MS. EP: *my hoode*. The upper part of the *h* in *thi* is no longer visible.
340 *How farys sho*. So EP. SC, MS: *How farys she*. The *w* of *How* is badly written over another letter. The northern form of "she" here is necessary for the rhyme, but was apparently unfamiliar to the scribe, as the same word is mistranscribed at 347; while relatively common in the York plays, *sho* does not (correctly) appear in this MS.
347 *sho*. So SC. MS: *so*. See note to line 340 above.
352 *now*. So SC. MS: *not*.
421 *From*. So SC. MS: *ffron*.
428 *Wife* (speech heading). The rubrics here and at her reappearance at line 584 specify that the speaker is *uxor eius* ("his wife"), rather than just *uxor* ("wife") as elsewhere.
509 *walter*. MS: *water*. SC (p. 504n509) accept the misspelling as phonetic, but scribal error seems more likely (compare *walteryng* at line 341).
518 *me*. So SC. EP: *my hart*. MS: *my*. Confusion regarding this variant spelling (*my* for reflexive "me") has led EP and some other modern editors to emend this line unnecessarily.
534 *Shepherd 3* (speech heading). The MS assigns this speech to Shepherd 2, and the next (lines 538–40) to Shepherd 3, preserving the typical 1–2–3

pattern, although these lines clearly continue the previous speech of Shepherd 3 regarding his dream; the next lines should go to Shepherd 2.

538 *Be styll*. The MS assigns this speech to Shepherd 3; see previous note.

553 *Stevyn*. MS: *strevyn*.

582 *who is here*. SC assign these words to Mak's wife, which is plausible in terms of content, but unnecessary; Mak is being impatient. Emendation also implies an unlikely scribal error: in similar instances of multiple speakers in a single manuscript line, including several instances in this same play, the scribe has written speech rubrics as part of the line, separating them from the dialogue itself by means of red lines or boxes. A similarly swift exchange between two speakers in the first Shepherd play, for example, has two boxed speech headings within a single manuscript line (written as three separate lines in this edition, but numbered as two: 8.272–73). SC's emendation would imply the accidental omission of two original speech headings.

584 *Wife* (speech heading). See note to line 428 above.

588 *Then may we be here*. See Explanatory Note.

607 *That*. MS: *A that*, with the *A* faintly crossed out.

618 *wyll suppose*. MS: *f* and part of another letter (likely *r*) are written between these words.

658 *fefteyn*. So EP. MS: *xv*.

799 *oure lady*. MS: the word *lady* has been crossed out and *lord* written faintly above in a later hand.

812 *Parkyn and Gybon Waller I say*. MS: a later hand has written in large letters at the top corner, *Be it kn* [*known?*], the flourish at the top of *B* being partly cropped.

837 *sex*. So EP. MS: *vi*.

868 *Peasse byd I. What*. MS: *Memorand* is written in another hand above this line in the top margin.

891 *myself*. MS: *my felf*.

901 *Shepherd 2* (speech heading). MS: *primus pastor*. SC reassign this speech to Shepherd 3, which requires them to reassign lines 896–97 to Shepherd 1 (assigned to Shepherd 3 in MS, as here). They further reassign to Shepherd 1 the beginning of the next stanza (lines 907–10), which in the MS is a continuation of the previous speech. They explain this extensive rearrangement by arguing that "the First Shepherd has already (at 889) called for the violent punishment of the offenders" (SC, p. 509n896–97, pp. 901–06). However, Shepherd 3 has similarly called for punishment for both Mak and Gill at lines 859–63. The only one who has not done so is Shepherd 2, to whom lines 901–06 are thus allocated in this edition. I have, though, followed SC (and effectively the MS as well) in the assignment of the beginning of the next stanza to Shepherd 1; having assigned the previous speech to Shepherd 1 (perhaps due to some confusion in the exemplar), the scribe would have omitted the rubric at line 907 in order to avoid assigning two speeches in a row to the same character.

907 *Shepherd 1* (speech heading). MS: no speech heading here, nor any line

separating this from the previous speech. See note to line 901 above.
911 *sevyn*. So EP. MS: *vii*.
934 *That ever yit I hard*. MS: *he spake upward*, anticipating line 938, is written in the same hand before this line, and crossed out in red.
971 *lose*. MS has a long *s* before *lose*.
983 *Ecce*. So SC, MS. EP: *Cite*.

10. THE OFFERING OF THE MAGI

21 *Whoso says*. MS: these words are separated by a hole in the leaf; after *Whoso*, at the top of the hole, the main scribe has written part of another letter (likely a long *s*). Line 23 is started to the right of this same large hole (line 22 being written to the right of the previous lines).
32 *will not lere*. So EP, SC. MS: *will lere*.
38 *all that dos*. So EP, SC. MS: *all dos*.
51 *Lord*. MS: this word is boxed in with black lines, but lacks the usual red rule line with speech rubrics to indicate the changes in speaker. Speech rubrics for the *Messenger* and for *Herod* have been added here.
128 *King 2* (speech heading). MS: *Secundus rex* is written in faded ink over the original speech rubric, *ijus rex*, in a sprawling later hand; the rule separating this line from the previous speech is in black, not red.
175 *light*. MS: final *t* obscured by smudge.
176 *Then any son that ever shone*. MS: above this line *Indentur* is written in faded ink. In the other corner, closer and parallel to the spine, three words are scribbled: something indecipherable and below that *Gran* — both cropped at the edge — and then *God*.
201 *shewys*. MS has *se* crossed out before this word.
202 *it*. MS: inserted above the line.
233 *This gold now*. So EP, SC. MS: *This now*.
238 *Here in myn hende*. MS: a different hand has written *ijus rex* to the right of this line.
239 *he is God*. So EP, SC. MS: *he god*.
241 *red*. MS: *reede* with the second *e* and final *e* lightly crossed out.
275 *thre*. So EP. MS: *iij*.
295 *thay*. MS: the main scribe initially wrote *I* but lightly crossed that out and added *thay* above the line.
299 *For*. So EP, SC. MS: *ffo*.
397 *understand*. MS: *vndestand*.
402 *go to*. MS: a long *s* is crossed out before these words.
446 *tellys I*. MS: *withoutten* written between these words (repeating the same word from the previous line, in the same abbreviated form), but crossed out.
465 *twenty*. So EP. MS: *xx*.
481 *nobyll*. So EP, SC. MS: *noble nobyll*.
511, s.d. *all thre kyngys*. So EP. SC: *all þe thre kyngys*. MS: a later hand has added *þe* above the line.
525 *shynyng*. So SC. EP, MS: *stynyng*, with a light correction over the *t*.
533 *all has wroght*. MS: the scribe initially repeated *we have soght* (line 531,

directly above in the MS) but crossed this out and continued the line as written.

603 *awne*. MS: this word is added above the line in small letters.

605–06 *For this dede . . . wyll he be*. SC reverse these lines, explaining that "These lines are reversed in the MS, with 605 written to the right and bracketed with 603 in the manner of the tail-rhyme stanza" (p. 176n605–06). However, the entire stanza is irregular in form and makes perfect sense as it stands.

628 *To*. So EP, SC. MS: *ty*.

11. THE FLIGHT INTO EGYPT

11–13 *A, myghtfull God, / Whatever this ment, / So swete of toyn*. These lines are written as one, with a metrical mark [:] separating lines 12 and 13, as is standard in MS, but no separation indicated between lines 11 and 12, much as in a parallel passage in *York* 18.41–42: *A, myghtfull Lorde, whatevere that mente? / So swete a voyce herde I nevere ayre*.

74 *And all knave children*. MS: these words were initially written to the right of the previous line, but erased and crossed out in red, and the (full) line rewritten below.

87 *to forfare*. So SC, following *York* 18.140. MS: *for to fare*. The phrase "for to fare" occurs in the Towneley Advent sequence, in the pageant of Joseph's Trouble (7.e.168), but means "to go."

94 *beytt*. So SC, restoring rhyme. MS: *boytt*, likely repeating *boytt* from two lines earlier.

155 *began*. So EP, SC. MS: *beban*.

157–68 *Alas, full wo . . . . a greatt myschefe*. This stanza has only 12 rather than 13 lines, but makes sense as it stands.

12. HEROD THE GREAT

16 *sourmontyng*. So SC. MS: *Iourmontyng*, having apparently mistaken a long *s* for an *I*, possibly assuming an alliterative pairing with *Iewry*.

43 *Greatt*. MS has an uncancelled stroke before this word.

101 *dervly*. So MS. SC: *deruly*. EP: *dernly*.

122 *For if*. MS: a later hand has scrawled these same words and more, smudged and faded, in the top margin above the line itself.

221 *And told when thay went by*. MS: a later hand has written a *B* in the margin after this line.

244 *Shall I se on thare bonys*. MS: there is a faint black cross in the margin before this line.

330 *knafe thou*. A later hand has written *ys* (*this*?) in the margin above these words.

381 *a pope*. The words have been partly erased.

389 *soundys*. So SC, restoring rhyme. MS: *sandys*.

409 *Soldier 2* (speech heading). MS: the speech heading (*secundus miles*) is written midline as if part of the dialogue, not boxed in red.

500 *al to-torne*. So SC. EP, MS: *alto torne*.

617 *emang*. SC, MS: *emangys*, here emended for rhyme.
735 *rokyn*. So SC, emending the rhyme. MS: *rekyn*.

13. THE PURIFICATION OF MARY

37 *That shortly mon*. So SC. EP: *Bot shortly mon*. MS: *That* is written in a different hand over an erasure; *mon* is in another hand over another word, crossed out and now illegible.
41 *I may wyrk*. MS: another hand has written *haue he* in the top margin above this.
59–72 *In a madyn . . . . with myn ee*. MS: *no Maters ben as sade* — that is, no matters are as said — has been scrawled upwards in the margin beside these lines, in another hand. SC suggest that these words "may voice a Protestant objection" (p. 532n59–72) to the content here, yet that content has at least as firm a biblical basis as virtually anything in these plays. Nor is it likely that the marginalia refers to later textual revision (as is the case at several points in the York manuscript, where the city clerk has noted deviations from the official script with marginalia such as "this matter is newly mayde"; see for example Davidson's headnotes to *York* 12 and 18), although it might conceivably refer to a difference between the text and a remembered text or performance. It is worth noting that the lines that follow, through to the final extant stanza of the play, are written in a different stanza form — a likely sign of revision of the original text prior to the compilation of this manuscript.
77 *dede*. MS: final *e* smudged and unclear.
110 *and I have*. MS: *I* inserted above the line.
117 *Delyverd*. SC: *Delyuerd*. EP: *Delyuer*. MS: *Delyu* with an ambiguous flourish.
125 *turtyls*. MS: the misspelling *tutyls* is crossed out before this word.
132 *to thee*. The word *to* is written in darker ink by a different hand above an ink blot.
132, s.d. *Angeli cantant "Simeon iustus et timoratus."* MS: the stage direction is worn and faint but still legible (contrary to EP).
140 *thou wold*. MS: all but the first and final two letters are badly worn.
141 *Thou has desyryd it most of all*. MS: this is the final line on a full page of writing; as explained in the headnote to the play in the Explanatory Notes, the next two leaves, which included the ending of this play and the beginning of the next, are missing.

14. THE DOCTORS

7 *brede*. MS: the word *lenght* (anticipating the final word in the same line) is crossed out before this word.
44 *Fele*. MS: *fful*, likely anticipating *full* later in the same line.
57 *Son if thou*. So SC, following *York* 20.81. MS: *Son thou*.
After 90 *Ex ore infancium et lactencium perfecisti laudem*. See Explanatory Note.
103 *plener*. So SC. *York* 20.127: *playnere*. MS: *plene*.
130 *clerly*. So SC, following *York* 20.154. MS: *clergy*.
133 *Thus*. MS: *us* badly worn.
146 *aght*. So EP. MS: *viij*.

165 *seven*. EP: *seuen*. MS: *vij*.
169 *aght*. So EP. MS: *viij*.
171 *fede*. So SC, restoring rhyme. MS: *syb* (that is, "sibling").
173 *neyn*. So EP. MS: *ix*.
177 *ten*. So EP. MS: *x*.
182 *Lord*. So EP. SC: *Lord*. MS: this word is inserted above the line in a different hand.
206 *mowrnyng*. So SC. *York* 20.214: *mourning*. MS: *mowryng*.
238 *thee*. So SC (*þe*), following *York* 20.246. EP, MS: *se*.
250 *tyll*. So SC. MS: *ityll* following partial erasure.
253–54 *Mary: Thise sawes . . . can not understand*. MS: the speech heading and rule separating this from the previous speech are missing. MS line 154 reads *I can well vnderstonde*. SC add the speech heading and correct *well* to *not* as done here (following *York* 20.262), but inadvertently begin the line as *hise sawes*.
257 *sothly*. So EP, SC. MS: *sothtly*.
273 *of youre*. MS: between these words is the letter *c*, or more likely a partial *g*, anticipating *good* later in this line.
After 280 *Explicit*. MS: *Explcit*.

15. JOHN THE BAPTIST

28 *And as*. So EP, SC. MS: *As as*.
After 72 MS: the signature "*Li*" (*L1*) in the bottom right-hand corner is, unusually, written in red, as are the other signatures for this gathering (this is, for *L2–4*). The only other red signature is for *S1*; see the note to 26.After 411, and the Introduction, p. 9.
125 *to me to bryng*. So SC. MS: *to bryng to me*, with slated double strokes above each instance of *to*, indicating the transposition.
127 *baptyse his lord kyng*. So EP, SC. MS: *bapsyse his lordyng kyng* with the first *yng* crossed out in red.
181 *for drede*. So EP, SC. MS: *for ferde drede*, the second word being partly erased.
197 *sex*. MS: *vj*, the *v* being barely visible. The entire stanza (lines 193–200) is cancelled; see Explanatory Notes to lines 193–200 and 197.
210, s.d. *Hic tradat ei agnum dei*. SC place this stage direction after line 212, but it more likely belongs here, as per EP; in the MS it is written to the right of the dialogue, between lines 209–10 and 211–12 (each written as one line).
272 *Thou may us mende more then we weyn*. MS: another hand has written *In the name of* in the middle of the bottom margin below this line, upside down, with any further words cropped off.
277 *Gods service, more and lesse*. MS: these words are written over an erasure, and (with the initial word *Here*) framed with black lines; see Explanatory Note to line 276.

16. LAZARUS

Before 1 *Incipit Lazarus*. This title is at the top of the page in the MS, the Judgment play having ended at the bottom of the previous page, with no indication of the play being misplaced or out of chronological order; see headnote to this play in Explanatory Notes.

3–4 *To Betany will . . . is oure freynde*. MS: these two lines are reversed, with the letters *b* and *a* in the hand of the main scribe in the left margin beside them, indicating the correct order.

11 *trist thou not on the Jue*. So EP, SC. MS: *trist thou on the Iue*.

14 *till*. MS: another hand has written an additional *e* after this word.

59 *mysprase*. MS: the letters *a* and *e* are very worn.

83 *fourt*. So EP. MS: *iiij*.

117 *The*. MS: *Ne*. The repetition of *Ne* in the previous lines would have allowed an easy slip here, particularly given the relatively obscure syntax of the previous line.

219 *tene*. So SC. MS: *tyme*.

After 237 *Explicit Lazarus*. The *explicit* is in a different sixteenth-century hand from that of the main scribe. Below this yet another hand has written *Finis* ("The End"), framed in black, possibly at a time when this was indeed the last page of writing in the manuscript; the play as it stands is followed by the Judas fragment (included here as an Appendix).

17. THE CONSPIRACY

[SC's edition of this play includes an unusual number of inadvertent formatting errors, such as speech headings included as part of the dialogue and lines joined to the wrong stanza, correctly placed here but otherwise unnoted; MS as usual marks some rhymes but no stanza divisions.]

Before 1 *Incipit Conspiracio etc.* So SC. MS has *c* with an abbreviation mark after *conspiracio*.

9 *onys*. So EP, SC. MS: *ony*; the rest of the word has been cropped with the edge of the page.

22 *worthy*. So EP, SC. MS: *wor*; the rest of word is cropped.

34 *And*. MS: another hand has faintly written what appears to be a *th* in the margin just before this word.

36 *indytars*. So EP, SC. MS: *indydytars*.

76 *spech*. So SC. MS: *shech*.

77 *And overcom everylkone*. MS: a space has been left just prior to this line (where two lines are normally written as one), evidently for the missing twelfth line of a regular 13-line stanza, but just prior to a group of (likewise regular) twelve-line stanzas.

113 *Wherfor*. MS: the r_1 is inserted above the line.

124 *harmes*. So EP, SC. MS: *hames*.

142 *be there*. MS: the word *þer* is crossed out between these words.

147 *rightwysnes*. So SC. MS: *rightwytnes*.

171 *his*. MS: the malformed *s* is written in darker ink over a smudge.
200 *Go*. MS: a *T* is crossed out before this, at the beginning of the line.
224 *twenty*. So EP. MS: *xx*.
264 *thryrty*. MS: *xxx*.
302 *thre*. So EP. MS: *iij*.
337 *so*. MS: the *s* is overwritten (as are several other words and letters on this page, due to faded ink) and disfigured.
368 *warand fare strewed*. So EP. SC: *warand it fare strewed*. The word *it* is barely visible in MS, having apparently been erased.
369, s.d. *Johannes et Petrus*. MS: the entire stage direction is written in red, like others here, but with the *s* of *Johannes* and the *r* of *Petrus* overwritten in black.
374 *Commys*. MS: the abbreviation sign for *ys* is overwritten with an *e*.
375, s.d. *Judas porrigit manum in discum cum Jhesu*. MS: the entire stage direction is written in red but with the first three of these words and the *h* (with abbreviation mark) of *Ihu* overwritten in black.
379 *shall me betray*. So EP, SC. MS: *shall betray*.
380 *Lord, whoever that be may*. MS: *Dere master, is it oght I?* (see line 382) written previous to this line, but crossed out in red.
386 *am I oght*. So SC. MS: *am oght* with a faint line in between.
388 *is it oght I*. So SC. MS: *is oght I*.
392 *hight*. MS: *t* inserted above the line.
410 *Peter* (speech heading). MS: *Petrus* written in red over an erasure.
503 *speake*. So EP, SC. MS: *spke*, with *ea* inserted above the line (with a caret mark below) in a different hand.
521 *fowndyng*. So SC. MS: *fowdyng*.
538 *If this*. So EP, SC. MS: *If* in left margin before *This* in the same hand.
562 *With hym to dwell withoutten dome*. MS: in the bottom margin below this line a later hand has written *Indenture*; toward the left margin are two parallel rows of four dots.
570 *stevend*. SC: *steuend*. MS: *steuen*.
584 *carles*. So EP, SC. MS: *cales*, with *r* inserted above the line (with a caret mark below) in a different hand.
618 *both brede*. MS: *le* (anticipating *lengthe*, later in this line) is crossed out between these words.
619 *spende*. MS: the *p* is overwritten and disfigured.
669 *myghtfull*. So SC. MS: *myghfull*.
740 *It was tyll us greatt woghe*. MS: above this line, vertically in the top margin, a later hand has written what appears to be *Spigart*.
756 *Wold ye all assent to me*. MS: an uncancelled red rule divides this line (and the three that follow) from the previous speech, but *tercius* — the beginning of a speech heading for an otherwise non-existent Soldier 3 — has been crossed out to the right of that line.

18. THE BUFFETING

Before 1 MS: in the top margin above the decorated initial a seventeenth-century hand has written *Thomas Hargreaues* (see note to 20.553–71 below); to the right of that, above the main title, is written *g holy* and just below that *holynes and godlynes ys the*, among other less decipherable scribbles.
8 *trespast*. So SC. MS: *trespass*.
12 *beyn*. So EP, SC. MS: this word has been inserted above the line in a later hand.
20 *two*. So EP. MS: *ij*.
106 *Oure tempyll so gay*. This line is repeated at the beginning of the next line in the MS, but crossed out in red, with small black crosses in the left margin and above *gay* (as the last cancelled word).
119 *wyles*. So EP, SC. MS: *lyes*.
131 *kyng*. So SC. MS: *prophete*, accidentally copying line 159.
146 *foure*. MS: *iiij*.
202 *wolfys-hede and out-horne*. MS: *wols hede and out horne*. See 27.812 and Explanatory Notes for both lines.
205 *ethe*. MS: written above the line in the hand of the main scribe.
307 *lawes ar not myrk*. MS: all but the first letters of the first and last of these words are heavily overwritten; several other words on this same page are overwritten due to faded ink.
309 *wordys*. MS has *wodys* before this word, with the *w* crossed out.
326 *renyd*. So SC. EP: *reuyd*.
366 *I*. So SC. EP: *I do*. MS: *do*, with *d* crossed out, likely anticipating *downe* at the end of the same line.
391 *ye*. MS: before this word is the first stroke of a *w* (likely anticipating *wote*).
455 *knokys*. MS: *knygh* (repeated from the previous line) is heavily crossed out before this word.
488 *sytt ye and see it*. So SC, emended for rhyme. MS: *see ye and sytt*.
499 *full*. MS: before this word is another letter, likely the first stroke of a *w*.
500 *Fraword*. MS: *Frawrord*.
547 *thi*. MS: inserted above line in the hand of the main scribe.
554 *thurst*. So EP. SC, MS: *thrust*.
611 *Knokyd*. So EP, SC. MS: *knokyp*.
621–22 MS: the speech headings for Torturer 2 and Froward have each been placed a line early, then crossed out and underlined with dots, the correct speech heading then being added in each case.
634 *All had bene qwytt than*. MS: *Bot he deme the sothe tha* (anticipating line 636) is written and crossed out at the beginning of this line, with a faint cross written in the left margin.

19. THE SCOURGING

Before 1 MS: after the title another hand has written *õylde*.
13 *Os Malleatoris*. MS: *As mali actoris*. See Explanatory Note.
44 *Therfor . . . suffre*. MS: *for* is written above the line in the hand of the main scribe, and the long *s* of *suffre* is written as an *f*.

87 *No lak*. MS has *k* and part of another letter between these words.

120–40 *Herode truly as . . . . felow com nere*. MS: to the left of these lines, in the top corner of the page, is a large ornamented capital *D*, partly boxed in with red lines, and unconnected to the extant text. This could have been intended as the first page of the Buffeting, which starts notably earlier in the manuscript (fol. 73v as opposed to fol. 80r) but with a decorated capital *D*.

145 *thus with*. MS: another word between these has been erased.

161 *This*. So EP, SC: *Þis*. MS: *yis* (*y* for *þ*).

180 *thou*. So EP, SC: *þou*. MS: *you* (*y* for *þ*).

236 *Thre*. EP: *fower*. SC, MS: *iiij*. As EP point out, this is an apparent error for *iij* — three separate actions being mentioned in the lines that follow, including defiling the Sabbath by healing the sick on that day (see lines 238–42).

242 *thre*. So EP. MS: *iij*.

260 *thou skaþ*. So EP, SC. MS: *skaþ*, preceded by an erasure (possibly of *thou*).

345–46 *But for thy . . . thou salbe slone*. MS: these lines have been written in a loose scrawl in a space left blank by the main scribe.

389 *therfore*. So EP. SC: *therfor*. MS: *therfor* with a flourish indicating final *e*.

455 *Dyd never yll*. MS: *Dyd never none yll*, with *none* crossed out in red and black dots above.

510 *with lytyll*. MS: another word between these has been erased.

512 *that wold*. MS: another word between these has been erased.

530 *therfore*. EP, SC: *therfor*. MS: *therfor* with a flourish indicating final *e*.

564 *oure*. MS: *oure oure*.

569 *Com on thou*. MS: *Com thou on thou* with the first *thou* crossed out in red.

20. THE CRUCIFIXION

1–2 *Peasse I byd . . . stone in wall*. MS: the first two lines are written in a formal variant of the main Anglicana hand.

11 *maide*. MS: *dr* crossed out before this word.

20 *yow*. MS: another hand has written *ow* in darker ink over the original letter.

32 *fals*. MS: written above line in hand of main scribe.

45 *Those prowde wordes shall I never forgyf*. MS: a later hand has written *send me* in the left margin before this line, any prior letters being cropped with the edge of the page.

83 *Now ar we at the monte of Calvarye*. MS: the rule above this line, separating speeches by different characters, is roughly drawn in black rather than the usual red.

84 *felows*. So SC. MS: *folows*.

115 *he is redy*. So EP, SC. MS: *he redy*.

132 *thar*. MS: *ther* is crossed out before this word.

190 *Torturer 3* (speech heading). MS: the speech heading (*iijus tortor*) is correctly placed in the middle of the line of text (given here as two separate lines) but not boxed off as is usual.

199 *For to clynke*. So EP, SC. MS: *ffor clynke*.

204 *help this*. So SC. MS, EP: *help that this*.
277 *for my mys*. So EP, SC. MS: *for mys*. Another possible reading would be *for my syn*.
320 *luf-longyng*. So SC. MS: *lyf longyng*.
358 *syn*. So EP, SC. MS: *sy*.
359 *For theym to thole this payn*. MS: below this line a later hand has copied *For theym to thole payn*.
374 *plight*. So SC. MS: *pight*.
396 *sorow*. MS: before this word *socoure* has been crossed out in red, with a row of black dots beneath.
430 *fro*. MS: the *r* is written over another letter.
456 *sondere*. So EP. SC: *sonder*. MS: *sonder* with a flourish indicating final *e*.
519 *broght*. So SC. MS: *boght*, likely anticipating the end of line 522.
532 *unethes*. So SC. MS: *vnothes*.
548 *prophecyes*. So SC. MS: *prophes*.
549 *tempyl-les*. So SC. MS: *tempylles*.
553–71 *He lyes that . . . . art ful fayn*. MS: in the right margin, parallel to the edge, a seventeenth-century hand has written *Thomas Hargraues of Burnleye* (see the first Textual Note to play 18 above), the top of most letters being cropped with the page.
594 *And tell you what it is to say*. MS: below this line in the bottom margin a later hand has written *James blake bowrne by*.
630 *God*. So SC. EP: *good*. MS: *good* with the second *o* faintly crossed out.
669 *that*. So SC. EP, MS: *tha*.

21. THE DICE

Before 1 *talorum*. So SC. MS: *talentorum*. See headnote to this play in Explanatory Notes.
1–4 *Cernite qui statis . . . . cedam ni taceatis*. MS: the first lines are written in a formal variant of the main Anglicana hand.
8 *noceatis*. So SC. MS: *neceatis*.
31 *vulgari*. SC: *wulgari*. MS: *wlgari*.
33 *vult*. SC: *wult*. MS: *wlt*.
53 *Atrox armipotens*. MS: this stanza begins at the top of the page with an uncancelled extra-metrical line, omitted here, combining lines 53 and 56: *Atrox armipotens: I graunt men girth by my good grace*.
90 *hanged*. So MS. SC: *hangyd*.
99 *swere*. So EP, SC. MS: *swe*.
124 *close*. MS: the long *s* is written over another letter.
166 *I have*. MS: *I* is written in the margin, the scribe having apparently first started the line with *have*.
216 *me*. MS: *se* is crossed out before this word.
252 *nowar*. So SC. EP: *ay war*; MS: *no war*, *no* badly worn and very faint.
273 *And I myster to no maner of mans bot myn*. MS: the rule separating speeches is written in black above this line and as far as the name *Pilatus*, with a short red line after that speech heading.

290 *Grefe you not greatly, ye gett not this gowne*. MS: before this line in the left margin a later hand has written *Omnipotenti* in brown ink, the *O* having been mostly cropped.
291 *foure*. MS: *iiij*.
292 *then craftely to cutt it were I bowne*. So EP, SC. MS: *then were I bowne craftely to cutt it*, emended for rhyme.
305 *Tytt shuld I spede for to spyll hym*. MS: before this line in the left margin in faded brown ink a later hand has written *reator* [*Creator*?], any previous letters having been cropped, and *The* below that in larger letters.
331 *Thryrteen*. So EP. MS: *xiij*.
337 *aght*. So EP. MS: *viij*.
346 *Seven*. So EP. MS: *vij*.
351 *fefteen*. So EP. MS: *xv*.
360 *puf*. MS: this word is preceded by a partial uncancelled letter (perhaps anticipating the *b* of *blaw* at the end of this line).
370 *throlé*. MS: *sore* crossed out before this word.
435 *Dew vows garde monsenyours*. So SC. MS: *Dew vows mon senyours*.
After 438 *talorum*. So SC. MS: *talentorum* (as in opening line); see headnote to this play in Explanatory Notes.

22. THE HARROWING OF HELL

Before 1 MS: in the top margin above the title a later hand has written *Your louinge frennd Willm* and below that, *lyng*.
1–2 *My Fader me . . . for mankynde sake*. MS: the first two lines are written in a formal variant of the main Anglicana hand.
22 *To know I will com sone*. MS: a later hand has written *you* in the right margin after this line.
27 *Foure thowsand and sex hundreth*. So EP. MS: *iiij m^l and vj C*.
97 *bynde thise boys*. MS has *bende oure bowes*, corrected by the main scribe.
99 *royes*. So SC, following *York* 37.99 (*royis*). MS: *rores*.
168 *gilory*. So SC, following *York* 37.160 (*gilery*). MS: *glory*.
240 *Bot*. MS has *ff* (=*F*) crossed out before this word.
251 *mynnys*. So EP, SC. MS: *mymnys*.
254 *dyn*. So EP, SC. MS: *dy*.
260 *And*. Following *York* 37.240. MS: *In*, likely misreading a symbol for *and*.
335 *hastys*. So EP, SC. MS: *haftys*.
378 *thiself*. MS: in the space above this word (after line 376) a sprawling hand has written *thie selfe*.
382 *Foure thowsand and sex hundreth*. So EP. MS: *iiij m^l and vj hundreth*.
397 *Moses* (speech heading). MS: just below this a later hand has written *Semeon*.
409 *Make myrth, both more and les*. MS: above this line in the top margin, vertical to the text, a later hand has written *Joh*, then *Slo*, then *g*, the end of each word having been cropped with the edge of the page.

23. THE RESURRECTION

1–2 *Peasse I warne . . . els go sytt*. MS: the first two lines are written in a formal variant of the main Anglicana hand.
4 *mekill*. So EP, SC. MS is missing most of this word, the line having been written in the cropped margin; the final word of the line is written below the rest.
72 *What*. MS: *tha* is crossed out before this word.
80 *you*. MS: uncancelled *g* before this word, likely anticipating the following word (*grace*).
154 *as now he redys*. So SC, following *York* 38.123. MS: *as now redys*.
186 *thre*. So EP. MS: *iij*.
190 *shall ordan if*. MS: *shall if*. SC emend to *shall ordayne if*, following *York* 38.159 (a spelling not otherwise found in Towneley; see for example line 184).
204 *For if thei do*. MS: *For if ther do*; compare *York* 38.173: *For and thei do*.
228 *thre*. So EP, MS: *iij*.
292 *fyve*. So EP, MS: *v*.
294 *seven*. SC: *vii*. MS: *ix*. Emendation is necessary for rhyme, and supported by at least one lyrical source (see SC, p. 606n294) although the total number of wounds given in different texts varies wildly.
345–50 *That ilk veray . . . . shall he never*. MS: this stanza has been crossed out in red; see Explanatory Note.
449 *Is he*. So SC, following *York* 38.291. MS: *he is*.
453 *Soldier 3* (speech heading). MS: the speech heading gives the *M* in *Miles* an extra minim but no *i* (as is the case for the speech heading at line 483).
485 *say*. So SC, following *York* 38.326. MS: *assay*.
517 *wakyng*. So SC, following *York* 38.358. MS: *walkyng*.
563 *Ten thowsand*. So EP. MS: *X m^{l}*.
569 *Ten thowsand pounds*. So EP. MS: *X m^{l} li*.
637 *This Lord was slayn, alas forthy*. MS: in the upper right hand corner above this line a later hand has written *al* and the beginnings of a third letter, likely *a*.

24. THE PILGRIMS

Before 1 MS: A sixteenth-century hand has written *fysher pagent* below the title in black ink, while another hand has written the name *Iohn* (John) above the decorated initial A — possibly the same hand that has written *Ind* and *Inde* in the top margin of the following page, above line 15 and 16.
1–2 *Almyghty God Jesu . . . a madyn fre*. MS: the first two lines are written in a formal variant of the main Anglicana hand.
18 *Alas*. MS: *w* crossed out before this word.
58 *lam*. MS: *bet* is cancelled before this word.
74 *Luke* (speech heading). MS: *Lucas* is wrongly cued to the next line with a red line separating this line (the first on the page) from line 75.
82 *The*. So EP, SC. MS: *Th*.
122 *youre skyll*. So SC. EP: *youre wyll*. MS: rhyme word missing after *youre*.

220 *what*. MS: *th* crossed out before this word.
248 *rest*. So EP, SC. All but the *r* is missing, a strip having been deliberately cut off the margin of the page.
258 *it*. So EP, SC. MS: *is*.
297, s.d. *evanebit*. MS: the *t* is not crossed.

25. THOMAS OF INDIA

Title *Thomas Indie*. The hand for this added title (see headnote to this play in Explanatory Notes) is normally asserted to be later than that of the main scribe, but may be the same, albeit written more finely. The few distinguishing marks are apparent elsewhere in MS; for example, the same *e*, with a slight ornamental flourish on the center stroke, shows up in the first line of the Lazarus pageant (which lacks the "distinctive script" that characterizes the first two lines of plays 20–27 as well as play 8 — see Facs, pp. xiii–xiv, and the first note below).
Before 1 A later hand has faintly written *Lyng* in the right margin beside the decorated initial *H*. (See the first Textual Note to play 22 above.)
1–3 *Hayll brether . . . . and knawe*. MS: the first three lines are written in a formal variant of the main Anglicana hand.
14 *hym grymly*. So EP, SC. MS: *hym s grymly*.
24 *Tryst it stedfast and cowth*. MS: above this line in the top margin is a partial bar of music, the top portion having been cropped.
27 *If*. MS: the word is written in the left margin, the scribe having apparently started the line with the next word, *we*.
43 *At the colke within*. MS: in the right margin following this line is a scrawled word that looks like *Grony h*, above which are two other scrawled and partial capital letters.
53 *Mary Magdalene* (speech heading). MS: beside this in the margin is a black cross.
60 *Or this thrid day be away*. MS: *Or this be þe thrid day*, with *be þe* written in another hand above the line with a caret mark. See Explanatory Note.
75 *When I for care and cold qwoke*. MS: a metrical mark intended to separate lines 75 and 76 is misplaced before *qwoke* but repeated in the correct position.
82 *abastir*. So SC. EP: *abarstir*. MS: *a barstir*. See Explanatory Note.
85–86 *And for a woman . . . of frastir*. These lines are missing from Surtees and subsequently from EP. See Explanatory Note.
97 *Paul* (speech heading). See Explanatory Note.
112 *Full myldly he did lythe*. So EP, SC. MS: *he did* is written in a different hand above the cancelled word *vs* ("us").
158 *It*. MS: *I* is written over *y*.
170 *Forsoth that it is I*. So EP. SC: *Forsoth that is I*. MS: *for soth that is I*.
215 *cors*. MS: the first half of this word is badly worn.
235, s.d. *Hic respirat in eos*. This marginal stage direction follows line 234 (that is, lines 233–34, written as one line in MS) both in EP and in SC, which is dramatically awkward.

389 *he*. MS: *h* is written over *y*.
429 *thou*. MS: this word is preceded by *he* with the *h* lightly cancelled.
466 *sopere*. So EP. SC: *soper*. MS: *soper* with a flourish indicating final *e*.
473 *brothere*. So EP. SC: *brother*. MS: *brother* with a flourish indicating final *e*.
521 *Certys*. MS: *rt* is rubbed and illegible.
624–27 *Ilk man on . . . . dark as nyght*. MS: in the right margin opposite these lines, parallel to the edge of the page, a later hand has written *In my nam*.

26. THE ASCENSION

1–2 *Brethere all that . . . may I noght*. MS: the first two lines are written in a formal variant of the main Anglicana hand.
5 *John* (speech heading). MS: *Iohannes Apostolus*.
64 *If we mowrne now in oure mynde*. So MS; however, as SC note (p. 629n64), the word *now* may be erroneously repeated from the previous line.
113–39 *Herkyns to me . . . . rysyng can prefe*. MS: a long strip has been cut from the leaf at the margin, but no visible text has been affected.
152 *Who baptym will abyde*. MS: above this line in the top margin a later hand has written *Be yt known*.
162 *Tokyns forsothe shall bene*. MS: following this line a later hand has written *Our name allso to*, another word (possibly *teach*) being smeared and illegible. The same hand has written *for I wyll* below line 165.
175 *Jerosolyme cité*. MS: *Jerosolyme*, emended for rhyme.
190–97 *Farlee may we . . . . mowrne we may*. SC inadvertently print these two quatrains as one stanza.
212 *At oure mette I wold we wore*. MS: in the left margin beside this line a late hand has written *Our*.
289, s.d. *Ascendo ad patrem meum*. So EP, SC. MS: *ancendo*, likely an accidental carryover from *angelis* in the same stage direction.
354 *Where is Jesus oure master dere*. Before this line in MS, at the top of the page and crossed out in black, is written *Certys lady thou says full wele : he will us*, repeating lines 222–23, likewise assigned to Matthew.
358 *We thynk it*. MS: before this line the name *Thomas* — evidently repeating the speech heading — has been lightly erased and crossed out in red.
After 411 MS: the signature "*S*[*i*]" in the bottom right-hand corner (partly cropped in the margin) is written in red. The rest of this signature is missing, having been cut out of the MS at some point.
412 *Glad am I John whils I have thee*. MS: above this line in the top margin a later hand has scrawled what looks like *P Haw* along with some indecipherable letters.
421 *prowde*. The last three letters in the MS are disfigured, and very close to the binding, but still visible.
438 *And*. MS: *And and*.
451 *Or els be thay dampned as men full of vyce*. MS: this is the last line on a full page of writing, the verso of the first leaf of a gathering (signature *S*; see note After 411 above); the rest of this gathering is missing.

27. JUDGMENT

37 *on oure*. MS: *oure on* with short double strokes above the *o* in each word to indicate the transposition.
98 *am I quyt*. So SC. MS: *am quyt*.
114, s.d. *Cum gladio*. While other editions place this descriptive stage direction after the speech heading (including Douce's 1822 Roxburghe Club transcription — see *Judicium*, p. iii), these two words are written above (and likely added after) the speech heading (*primus angelus* or Angel 1).
155 *all*. MS: written in a different hand over erasure.
157 *to*. MS: written in a different hand over erasure.
287 *tokyn*. So SC. MS: *to kon*.
315 *ten thowsand*. So EP. SC: *x m*^{l}. MS: *Xm*^{l}.
339 *Here have I be gesse*. MS: *Here I be gesse*, emended for sense and rhythm. (See Explanatory Note to lines 339–40.)
407 *thowsand*. So EP. MS: *M*^{l}.
426 *David in his sawtere says thus*. MS: *Yit of thise kyrkchaterars* (anticipating line 430) crossed out before this line.
443 *seven*. So EP. MS: *vij*.
450 *Purturd*. So SC. EP: *pictured*. MS: *puturd* (*d* with flourish possibly signifying final *e*).
575, s.d. *vulnera*. SC: *wulnera*. MS: *Wlnera*.
636 *Good Soul 3* (speech heading). MS: just below the speech heading (*Tercius bonus*) is a *T*, crossed out in red.
678 *Bad Soul 1* (speech heading). MS: the speech heading is wrongly cued to the following line.
688 *am I dampned*. MS: *I* inserted above line in another hand.
701, s.d. *Tunc dicet malis*. MS: the Latin stage direction is added in a different hand.
703 *hell*. So EP, SC. MS: *hall*.
706 *go furth go*. So SC. MS: the final word is smudged and nearly illegible.
717 *Arevant*. So SC. MS: *A revant*. See Explanatory Note to lines 717–18.
743 *comes*. MS: a partial letter is before this word.
766 *hart-sare*. MS: the long *s* is written heavily over another letter.
777 *in*. MS: written over an erasure and badly smudged.
After 830 *Explicit Judicium*. MS: underneath this, which is written in red, a later hand has written *Explicit iuditium* in small black letters.

APPENDIX: THE HANGING OF JUDAS

1 *Judas* (speech heading). MS: no speech heading. See headnote to this play in Explanatory Notes.
2 *cursyd*. MS: *r* inserted above the line.
9 *Als*. MS: the *s* resembles an abbreviation for *-ys*.
19–25 *Dreyd of that . . . . sche cryed faste*. MS: a later hand has written *Lysters pag*, now smudged, down the right-hand margin.
32 *if*. MS: added above the line.

40 *full well knaw*. MS: another hand has copied this phrase just above the existing line, now badly smudged.

49 *grace*. MS: *gce*. Above this word is the same mark used in the left margin to mark stanzas throughout these two pages.

74 *on*. MS: added above the line.

After 96 *Finis huius.* MS: written by a later hand. To the left of this in the bottom margin, mostly smudged, are the phrases *by me the* and below that *by me R^c^d D*; below these, upside down and partly cropped with the bottom of the page, is an inscription that apparently reads, in part, *being the first daye of*, the last portion being illegible.

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Glossary

a *ah, oh; one*
abak *back, away; draw back*
abast(e) *abashed, afraid, upset*
abastir *more upset, more abashed*
abate *cease; bow down*
abide, abyde, aby *wait (for), remain; endure*
abite, aby *pay for* (see **by**)
abone *above*
accord *agreement*
accorde *agree*
adew (adieu) *Fr. goodbye*
adyll *earn*
affray *fear, dismay, disturbance*
affy *trust, have faith*
afor(e) *before, in front*
afranyd *questioned*
agane, agayne *back, again; against*
agans *against; before*
agast *aghast, afraid*
aghe *awe*
aght *ought; owed; eight*
alane *alone*
algatis *in any case*
all-weldand *all-wielding, almighty*
allwyghts *monsters*
alow *commend*
alowd *allowed, allotted; requited*
als *as, also*
amang *continually, repeatedly; among, together*
amanges, amangys *among*
amell, emell *among*
amend *remedy, make amends*
amese *calm*
amys *amiss, wrongly*
anger *anger, sorrow, distress*
anone *anon, quickly*
apartly *obviously*
apase *apace, quickly*
apeche, appeche *delay*
apon *upon*
appentys *belongs*
arament *equipment, accoutrements*
arase *quickly*
aray *preparation, arrangement, plight; attire*
arayd(e) *well set, prepared; disposed with; dressed*
are *before, soon*
ars *arse*
ascry *denounce*
asell *vinegar*
assay *trial, test, attempt; try, learn, ask, examine*
asse *demand; ass*
assyse *ordains; assize, court session*
astate *state, estate, condition, position, order, rank*
avayll *aid, assist, profit*
avowtre *adultery*
awe *ought; awe, reverence, fear*
awn(e) *(one's) own*
awnter *adventure, undertaking*
awnt(t) *cousin, kinswoman*
awre *anywhere*
awth *idle*
awwhere *anywhere*
ayll *ail, trouble*
ayre *before*
ayther(e), ather *each, either*

bab *baby*
babyshed *scorned*
baill, bayll, bale, balys *misery, injury, punishment*
balk *ridge (in a field)*
balok-stones *bollocks, testicles*
baly *custody*
ban *curse*
band(e), bond *rope, fetters, bandage, bond, bondage, confinement*
bane *one who is willing, obedient servant*
bard *barred, confined*
barett *anguish, trouble*
bargan *bargain, business, consequences*
barme *bosom*
barne *child*
barn(e)-teme *brood of children, family*
bast *frightened, abashed*
bat *blow*
bayles *bailiffs, torments*
bayll (see **baill**)
bayn *quickly; ready, willing, obedient*
be *be; by the time that*
bede *offer*
bedeyn, bidene, bydeyn *together*
be(e)te *amend, heal*
behest(e) *promise*
behete *promised*
behofes, behovys, behufys *behooves, is necessary that*
belamy (bel ami) *Fr. fair friend*
belife, belyf *at once, immediately*
belke *belch*
bemeyne *mean, signify*
bemys *beams (of light); trumpets*
benedicité, bensté *(God's) blessing*
bent *field, heath*
benyson *blessing*
berd *beard*
bere *bear, carry*
bere, beyre *noise*
beryng *birth*
beselé *diligently*
bet *beaten*
betaght *committed, devoted*
betake *commend*
bete, beytt *save, heal*
betell *deceive*
betyde *happen, occur, befall*
bewar *beware*
bewsher (beau sir) *fair sir*
bewté, bewty *beauty*
bewteose *beauteous, beautiful*
be(y)ld *build; dwell, find shelter or refuge*
beyldyng *comfort, shelter*
beys *is*
beytter *mender, healer*
bid, byd *bid, command*
bide, byde *abide, await, stay, remain*
bidyng, byd(d)yng *bidding, commandment*
biggid *built, enlarged*
blakys *pales*
blan *ceased* (see **blyn**)
blaw *blow*
ble *color, complexion*
blekyt *blacked in, written in black ink*
blo *(black and) blue*
blome *bloom, flower*
blott *blot, defect, disgrace*
blowre, blure *blisters*
blowys *speak, proclaim*
blyn *cease, stop*
blys *bliss, heavenly glory*
blyssid, blyst *blessed*
bob *bunch, cluster*
bobyd *hit*
bodword(e) *message*
bollars *drunkards*
bolne *swell*
bon *bound*
bond (see **band(e)**)
bondon *bound; power, disposition*
bone *bone; favor, boon, request*
bones *bones; dice*
boote *savior, remedy*
bore *boar; bore-hole; anus*
borghe *pledge, surety* (see **boroo**)
boro *reward*
borod, borud *ransomed, saved*
boroo, borow(e) *ransom, save; borrow; pledge*
bost *boast, boasting*

bot *but; unless, except*
bow(e) *bow, submit*
bowke *belly, paunch*
bowne *ready, prepared; bound*
bowrdand, bowrdyng *jesting*
bowrde *jest*
boy *boy, servant, knave*
boyne *boon, petition, prayer*
boyte *remedy*
brade, brayde *torment, deceit; make a sudden movement*
bradyng *rush*
bragance *bragging, boasting*
brall *brawl, fight, make a disturbance*
brand *sword*
brast *burst*
brayde of *resemble*
bred(e) *bread*
brede *breadth*
brefe *brief, letter, summons; musical note*
breke *break; breeches*
breme *violent, fierce*
bren *burn*
brend, brent *burned*
brere *briar*
bressed *bruised*
brest *break; breast*
brestyn *burst*
brith *birth*
brodell *scoundrel*
browes *pottage, stew; brow, forehead*
browke *enjoy (the use of)*
browne *brawn, flesh*
brude *brood, children*
bruet *broth*
brusyd *tired, weakened*
brymly *speedily*
bryssyng *bruising, breaking*
bun *bound*
burnyshyd *burnished, polished, shining*
bursyd *bruised*
busk *prepare; hurry*
bustus *rough, boisterous, rude, crude; bulky*
buxom *obedient*
by *by; buy, redeem, pay for* (see **abite**, **aby**)
byched *cursed, damned*
byg *build*
bygyng *building*
byke *nest, hive*
bynd(e) *bind, wrap*
bynke *bench*
byr *rush*
byrdyng *birthing*
byrkyn *break*

cach *catch, get, take*
can *know; give (thanks); can, be able; do, does, did*
care *care, sorrow, misery*
carefull *careful, sorrowful*
carl(e), carll *churl, fellow*
carpe *talk, chatter*
cast(e), kast, kest *cast, throw, play, plan, make; trick*
catall *chattel, property; cattle, livestock*
catyf *wretch, wretched*
catyfdam *captivity*
catyfnes *wickedness, wretchedness*
cautelys *stratagems, tricks*
cele, ceyll *happiness, good fortune* (see **seyll**)
certan(e), certayn *certainly*
cest *ended, ceased*
chace *chase; hunting rights*
chachid *caught*
charys *chores*
chase *chose*
chauntt *sing, chant*
chefe *chief; fare, succeed*
cheftance *chieftains, lords*
chekyns *chickens*
chepe *cheap, a bargain*
chere *cheer, countenance, mood*
ches(e) *tiered*
chese *chose*
chose *choice*
chuffer *imposter, clown*
chyde, chyte *chide*
chylbed *childbed*
claf *cleaved, split*
clap *strike*
clark, clerk(e) *clerk, learned man*

claryfy, cleryfy *declare, clarify*
clat(t)er, clattur *clatter, noise; talk, make noise*
cled *clad, clothed, covered*
clefe *cleave, break*
cleke *hold fast*
clekyt *born, hatched*
clenly *handsomely, clearly*
clere *clear, pure; clearly*
clergé, clergy(s) *learning*
clethe *clothe, provide with clothing*
clethyng *clothing*
cloke *clutches, grasp*
cloute *patch, mend*
clowse *scratches, claws*
clyfe *cliff, mountain*
clym *climb, be raised*
clynke *fasten, secure*
clyppys *eclipse*
cod *bag, pillow*
Codys, Cokys *God's*
coke *cook*
cokkers *wranglers, fighters*
cokys *cocks*
colke *core*
colknyfys *long knives, cabbage knives*
combred *encumbered, burdened, overwhelmed*
comly *comely, fair, beautiful*
comon *common*
conandly *cunningly, skilfully*
conceytate *pregnancy*
condyth *conduct*
confound *confound; overthrow*
contenaunce, countenance *countenance, appearance*
co(o)ste *coast, region, countryside*
cop *cup*
corn(e) *corn, grain*
cors *body, corpse, person*
cosyn *cousin, kin, kinsman or kinswoman*
cote *coat, tunic; skin*
coth *disease, pestilence*
counsayll, counsell *counsel, advice, judgment; council*
couth *gentle, familiar*
couth(e), cowth *could; knew, known* (see **can**)
covande *covenant, agreement*
covers *protects*
covetous, covetyse, covytyse *covetousness, avarice*
covett *wanted, desired*
cowche *lie down; bow low*
cowll *swelling*
cowpled *coupled, married*
cowre *cower, crouch*
cowrs *custom, procedure*
coyle, coyll *pottage, cabbage; coal*
craft *craft, trade, skill; trickery*
crak *crack, boast, sing loudly*
craw *crow*
creme *cream, chrism (consecrated oil and balm)*
crisp *light wrinkled fabric*
crochett *short musical note*
croft(e) *enclosed field*
croke *trick*
cronyng *crooning, moaning*
crop *top, head*
crowke *bow*
croyne *croon, sing*
cruke *crook, hook*
crumpe *cramp*
cry *cry, lament, shout, entreat, proclaim*
cryars *accusers*
cryb *crib, manger; eat (as from a manger)*
culer *collar*
curiose *skillful, elaborate*
curtes *courteous*
cut(t) *cut; lot (from drawing lots)*

dal(l) *hand*
dam, dampne *condemn, damn*
dam(e) *dame, lady, mother*
dampnabill *damnable, deserving of condemnation*
dang *beat* (see **dyng**)
dangere, daunger *danger; control*
dar *dares*
dare *tremble with fear*
darfe, derfe *wicked*

dase *be dazed, confused*
dastard *fool, wretch*
daw *lazy fool*
dawes, dayes *dawns*
dawnce, dawnse *dance*
day(e) *day, daylight; to dawn, begin*
dayde *summoned to court*
dayllys, dalys *dales, valleys*
daynteth *precious, an honor*
debate *debate, quarrel*
de(e), dy *die*
ded(e) *dead; death; deed*
dedir *tremble*
deese (see **des(e)**)
defend(e) *defend; forbid, deny*
defly *deafly, as if deaf*
degré *degree, rank, position, manner, way*
deill, de(y)le, deyll *part, portion, amount*
dele, deyle *deal, give, share*
delf *dig*
delfe *grave*
deme *judge, condemn, think, declare*
dere *dear, noble; dearly; harm*
derfe, darfe *wicked*
derly *at great cost*
dern *secret, hidden, stealthy*
dervly *promptly*
des(e), desse, deese *dais, seat of honor*
desese, dyseasse *disease, discomfort*
det(t) *debt*
dever(e) *duty*
devyse *will, desire*
dewe *that which is due, accounts*
deyde, deede *deeds, work*
deyle, deyll, devyll, dewil, dwill *devil*
dight *prepare; prepared, equipped, ordained, condemned, (mis-)treated*
dispise, dyspyse *despise, scorn*
dispyte *despite, injury, scornful act*
ditizance, doutance *without a doubt*
do, doy *do, act, make*
dold *dull, inert*
dom, domb(e) *dumb, mute*
dome *doom, judgment*
dominus *lord*
domysday *doomsday, judgment day*
domysman *judge*
don *thoroughly, completely*
done *place, put*
dongeon, donyon *dungeon*
dote *fool, dotard; dote, speak foolishly*
dottypols *blockheads, fools*
doughty, dughty *valiant, brave*
dowde *unattractive woman, dowdy person*
dowse *sweetheart*
dowt(e), dowtt *doubt, fear*
doyll *sorrow, misery; dole, charitable gift*
doyn *done*
doys(e) *does*
draght *draw, tug, move; drink*
drake *dragon*
dray, draw(e) *draw, pull*
dre *suffer, endure*
drech *torment*
dred(e) *dread, fear; danger, doubt*
drely *slowly, deeply*
dres *prepare (for), get ready*
drogh *drew* (see **dray**)
drope *drop, portion*
dro(w)pe *cower*
dughtyest *doughtiest, bravest*
dulfull *doleful, dreadful, sad*
dustardys *dastards, fools*
dwell *dwell, live, stay, delay*
dwere *awe*
dwillis *devil's* (see **deyle**)
dwyrd *destroy*
dyght *prepare; prepared, made, condemned*
dyke *dig; ditch*
dyll *relieve, render dull*
dyllydowne *darling*
dyn *noise, din*
dyng *hit, strike*
dyntand *striking blows*
dysars *dice players*
dyscry *declare*
dyscryfe *discern, discover*
dysplayd *displayed, explained*
dyspytys *despise, disparage*

dysseferance *estrangement, separation*
dyssever *depart*
dytt *stop, plug*
dyvvers(e) *diverse, various*

easse *ease, comfort*
edder *adder, serpent*
ee *eye*
een(e), ees, eeyn(e), eyn *eyes*
eest *east*
eft(e) *again, afterward*
eft-none *afternoon*
eftsone *hereafter*
eld(e) *age, old age*
els *else, otherwise*
elyke *alike*
emang, emong *among*
eme *uncle*
emell *among*
encense *incense*
encheson *cause*
enclyn *incline, kneel*
endoost *defended*
endorde *glazed, gilded*
endytars, indytars *accusers*
enew, eno(u)gh(e) *enough*
enewes *renews, is renewed*
enfray *affray, disturbance*
ensampyll *example*
entent, intent(e) *intention, will, heed, attention, opinion*
entysyd *enticed*
enys *once*
errowre *error, heresy*
eschapyd *escaped*
ese *ease; accommodate; provide hospitality*
esely *easily, comfortably, hospitably*
ethe *easily*
even *even, equal; calmly; indeed*
everich, everilk(a) *every*
everichon, everilkon, everylkon *everyone*
examynyng *examination*
expowne *expound, explain*
expres *express; explicit, distinct; clearly*

fable, fabyll *fable, lies, idle tale*
fader *father*
faed *faded, dim*
fageyng *craftiness, deception*
fals *false, dishonest, deceitful*
fames *reports, defames*
fand *found*
fang *receive; attack, capture*
fantom *illusion*
far *far, further, much*
far-cast *shrewd scheme, clever deception*
fard, ferd(e) *afraid*
fare *food; fair; fuss; event, state of affairs*
fare, fayr(e) *fair, beautiful, good*
fa(y)re *fare, go, do; attack*
farenes *fairness, justice*
farly, farlee, ferli, ferly *strange, wondrous; in fear*
farly, ferlé, ferly *marvel, wonder*
farne *fared; given birth, farrowed*
farsake, forsake *forsake, leave, neglect*
fastand *fasting*
fathe fayth(e,) *faith, religion*
fatoure, fatur(e) *traitor, deceiver, impostor*
faund(e) *found*
fawchon *sword, falchion*
fawt(e) *fault, default, lack*
fax *hair*
fayn *glad; gladly; joy*
fayntyse *faithlessness, cowardice*
featte *feats, conduct*
febyl *feeble, unhappy*
fede *foe*
fe(e) *property, livestock*
fee *fee, gift, reward*
fe(e)de *feed, nourish*
feft *endowed*
feld *field*
fele *conceal*
fele *worthy, excellent*
fele, fell, feyll *many*
fele, feyle, feyll *feel, touch, sense; discover*
fell *skin; field; fell, strike down, defeat*
fell, fele *treacherous, cruel*
felly *fiercely*

felow *fellow, friend, companion, spouse*
felow(e) *follow, join, accompany*
felter *tangle, join together*
fema(y)ll *female*
fence *protect, defend*
fend *forbid, refuse*
fenyng *feigning*
fenys *pretend, feign*
ferd *fear; afraid*
ferdnes *fear*
fere *fear; frighten; gather together; strong*
fe(e)re, feyr *companion, friend; company*
ferly *wonder, marvel* (see **farly**)
ferme *firm*
fermys *taxes, rents due*
ferray *foray, plunder*
fers *fierce*
fersly *fiercely*
fervent *fervent, with great devotion; glowing, burning*
ferys *companions*
feste *feast*
feste *fast, fastened; secure, imprisoned; vigorously*
fest(en) *fasten, tie, hold*
fetyld *fettled, prepared, groomed*
feyll (see **fele**, **feyle**)
flap *strike, hit; blow*
flay *frighten; skin, torture*
fle *flee; fly*
flekyt *multicolored, spotted, flecked*
fleme *banish*
flemyd *banished, condemned*
flett *(flat) place; floated*
flokkys *tufts of wool or cotton*
flone *flown; arrow, dart* (see **thoner-flone**)
flo(o) *flow*
flume *river*
flyt(t) *flee, leave, move*
flyte *argue*
flytars *quarrelers, scolds*
flyx *flux, dysentery*
fo, fone, foyn(e) *few*
foche *fetch*
fo(o)de, foyde *child, (young) person; food, sustenance*
foine *fawn, offspring*
fon *fool; make a fool of, be foolish; am confused*
fon, fond(e), fonden, fownd(e) *found*
fond(e), fownd *silly, foolish*
fone *few* (see **fo**)
foore *fared*
for, fore *before, because (of), for*
forbed(e) *forbid, prohibit*
forbot *forbidding; prohibition*
for-daunche *overly fastidious*
fordede *good deed*
fordo *undo, destroy, ruin, perish*
fordon(e) *destroyed, killed*
forfare *destroy*
for-fell *overly savage*
forfett *forfeit, surrender; transgress; crime, offence*
forgangere *forerunner, predecessor*
forgars *forgers*
forgate *forgot*
forgeyn *forgiven*
forgo, forgang *forgo, go without*
forhote *piping hot*
forlorn(e) *forlorn, lost, destroyed*
forrakyd *overly tired from walking*
fors, force *force, strength, power*
forshapyn *transformed*
forspokyn *bewitched, enchanted*
forswere *forswear, renounce under oath*
fortatyrd *all tattered*
fortaxed *overtaxed*
fortayn *taken away*
forth *forth; accomplish, execute*
forther *afterwards*
fortherans *support*
forthi, forthy *therefore*
forthynk *displease; regret, repent*
forthynkyng *repentance*
for-ugly *overly ugly*
forwakyd *tired (from watching)*
forward(e) *agreement, promise*
foryeldys *yields, repays*
fostre *care, keeping*
fo(o)te, foyte, foytt *foot*
fote-hote *quickly, hot-footed*
fott *fetch, receive, obtain*

found, fownd(e) *hasten, depart; attempt; found*
foundyng, fowndyng *temptation*
fowre *fared; four*
foyde *child; nourishment* (see **fo(o)de**)
foyll *fool*
foyn *thrust, stab*
foyn(e) (see **fo**)
foyte *foot (twelve inches)*
frast *test, try, ask*
fra(y) *from*
fray *fight, attack; disturbance, fear* (see **affray**)
frayn *ask, inquire*
fre(e) *free, generous, noble; noble one*
freke *man, warrior*
frele *frail*
frelé *freely, without hindrance*
frely *noble; noble one* (see **fre(e)**)
fre(y)nd(e) *friend*
frendys *friends, kinfolk*
fres(e) *fear;* **no ~** *never fear, no doubt*
frog *frock, robe*
froskys, froggis *frogs*
fry *children, descendants*
fryggys *fidget(s), move(s) restlessly*
ful(l) *full, very, quite*
fun *found*
fundlyng *foundling, bastard*
furth *forth, forward, out*
fy *fie (exclamation of reproach)*
fyere *fire*
fyle *defile, render impure; reproach*
fylyd *defiled, violated (sexually)*
fynd(e) *find, find out; provide for*
fyrth *forest*
fytt *song, verse; struggle, conflict*

gab *deceive*
gad *wander*
gadlyng *fellow, scoundrel*
gaf *gave*
galus *gallows*
galy *gaily, richly dressed*
gam(e) *game, sport; pleasure, delight; lovemaking*
gang *go, walk*
ganstand *oppose*
gape *gape, stare; open*
gar *cause, make*
gard, gart *prepared, caused, made*
garn *yarn*
garray *disturbance, army*
garthynere *gardener*
gase *goes*
gast, go(o)st *ghost, spirit, soul, devil*
gate, gat(t) *got, begot*
gate, ga(y)te, gaytt *way, path*
gawde *trick*
gay *bright, fair, richly dressed*
gayn, gane, gawne *gain, help, prove helpful*
geder *gather*
gederand *covetous*
gederars *gatherers, tax collectors*
gedlyngis *fellows* (see **gadlyng**)
geld *barren, sterile*
gent, gentil, gentyl *gentle, well-born*
gere *gear, tools, goods, attire*
german *of the same parents*
ges(s), ges(se) *guess; estimation, opinion*
get(t) *get, earn*
get(t), gete *offspring, child, descendants, procreation*
gett *tend (sheep)*
gett *fashion*
geyn *given*
geyse *geese*
gise, gyse *guise, method, fashion, disguise*
glad *glad, gladden; joy*
glas *glass, mirror*
glase *blow*
gle *glee, joy, music*
gleme *gleam*
glom *scowl, look gloomy*
glope *palpitation*
glose *gloss, comment; deceit*
glyde *glide, pass, proceed, fly, go quickly*
gnast *gnashed (teeth)*
goderhayll *good luck*
gome *man*
goonys *yawn*

go(o)st (see **gast**)
gossyppys *godparents*
goys *goose; goes*
grace *grace, favor, goodwill, goodness, mercy*
gracius, gracy(o)us(e) *gracious*
grade, graide, grayd *prepared, made ready*
grafe, grave *grave*
grafen, gravyn *buried*
grales *graduals (antiphons sung at mass)*
grame *anger; misery*
gramercy *thanks, thank you*
gramery *grammar, learning*
grankys *groan*
granser *grandsire, grandfather*
grath *favor, readiness*
gravyng *burial*
grayth *prepare*
graythly *readily*
grefe, greyf, greve *grieve, trouble, vex, offend*
grefyd *grieved*
greme *anger*
grese *grease*
gresys *grasses, herbs*
grete *weep; weeping, sorrow; greet; ground*
grett *wept*
gretyng *greeting*
greved *grew* (see **groyf, grufe**)
grewys *suffers, is troubled*
grise, gryse *tremble, shudder*
grith *peace, protection, security* (see **gyrth**)
groches *begrudges, refuses* (see **gruch**)
grofen *grown*
groflyngys *groveling, face downward*
grome *groom, servant, boy*
gropyng *groping, feeling*
growne *snout*
groyf, grufe *grow*
gruch *grudge, refuse, complain*
gruchand *reluctant*
gruchyng *reluctance*
gryle *sorrowfully, sorely*
grymly *grimly, terribly*
gryn *gape open, grin*
gryssed *grassed, in grass*
gyle, gyll *guile, deceit, trickery*
gyn *contrivance, scheme, trick, skill*
gyrd *strike, chop (off)*
gyrth, gryth *peace, protection, security* (see **grith**)
gyse *guise* (see **gise**)

ha(y)fe, haif, have *have*
hafles *unhurt*
haft *business*
hafyng *belongings, property*
hagh *awe*
haire, hayre, heyre, ayre *heir*
hak *warble, trill*
hald, hold *hold, keep, maintain; consider, think*
hall *hall, residence, mansion*
halsid *embraced, fondled*
hame, home *home*
hamyd *hamstrung, restrained*
handband *covenant, bond, inheritance*
handlang *brief*
hangere *anger*
hap *luck, event; cover*
happely *by chance*
happyn *perhaps*
happynyd *fared*
har *hinge*
harbar, harbour *harbor, lodging, shelter*
harber, harbowre *harbor, shelter, give shelter to*
harberles *unsheltered*
hardely *boldly, certainly, by all means*
harll *drag*
harlot(t) *scoundrel, rascal, knave, buffoon*
harnes *provisions, apparel; brains*
haro(o), ha(r)row, harro, horow *cry of alarm, call for help; clamor*
harrer *quicker, giddy-up*
harsto(w) *listen, do you hear*
hart(e), hert *heart, spirit, disposition*
hartely, hertely *heartily, earnestly*

hart-langyng *heart's longing, yearning*
hart-sare *contrition, sorrow of the heart*
hart-stangyng *heartache, heart-piercing pain*
hasardars *gamblers*
hask *ask*
hast *hasten; haste, violence*
hast(e)ly *hastily, quickly, soon*
hat *be called* (see **het(e)**)
hathenness *heathendom*
hawte *haughty, proud*
hawvel *noisy rascal*
hayls(e) *greet, salute*
haytt *hot, feverish*
he(e), hy(e) *high, exalted, serious*
heade, he(e)de, heyde *head, ruler, king*
hede *heed*
hed(d)er, hedyr, hederward *hither, here, this way*
hedus *hideous* (see **hid(o)us**)
hedusly *hideously*
heght, hight, hyght *height; high, aloft; aloud*
hek *hatch, lower half of a divided door*
hekys *hay-racks*
held(e) *held, supported, understood; bend, lean, support*
he(y)le, heyll *health, healing, good fortune, salvation*
hele, heyll *heal*
hell-crokkys *gallows, devil's crooks*
hell-yate *hell's gate*
helme *helm, tiller, steerage*
helpyng *help, remedy, assistance*
heltere *halter, noose*
helth *health, salvation*
hemmyd *hemmed, fringed*
hence, hens, hyne *hence, from now, from here*
hend *near*
hend(e) *hands*
hent(t) *seize, grasp, suffer, receive; received*
hep(p)e *heap*
her(e) *hear, understand, listen (to)*
here *here, this place; here is*
here, hore *hair*
her(e)apon *hereupon, concerning this*
hereby *close by*
hereof, heretyll, hereuntyll, herto *concerning this*
herfor *for this reason*
hestys *promises*
het(e), heyt(t), hight *promise(d); be called, be named*
hete, hote *command, promise*
hethyng *scorn, jest, mockery*
hetys *beatings*
hevyd *lifted, risen*
heyf(e) *lift, raise*
heynd(e) *fine, gracious, pleasant, virtuous, valiant*
heyndly *graciously*
hid(o)us *hideous* (see **hedus**)
hien *hence*
hight (see **heght** and **het(e)**)
ho *stop (exclamation)*
hobyll *hobble*
hode, hood(e), hud *hood*
hogh *huge, very large*
hoill, hole *hole*
hoket *trick, trickery, obstacle*
holard *libertine, fornicator*
hold *hold, keep, consider; custody, support; realm*
hole, hoylle *whole, entire; contented*
holgh *hollow, empty, hungry*
homely *intimately, familiarly*
ho(y)n(e) *delay, wait*
honest *suitable, noble*
hony *honey*
hoore *whore*
horbery *harboring*
hore, here *hair*
hornyd *horned*
horow (see **haro(o)**)
horres *whores* (see **hoore**)
hors *horse; put on horseback*
hostyld *lodged*
hote *hot, violently*
hote *promise*
hover *linger, wait*
how *how (exclamation)*

howre, owre *hour*
howswa *how, howsoever*
hoyse *hose, stockings*
hu *hue, color*
hud (see **hode**)
hufe (see **hover**)
hunder *under*
hurl *hurl, throw*
hurlyd *hurled, driven forcibly; bristled, covered with bristles*
hus *us*
hy *hurry, hasten; haste; high*
hyer(e), hyre *hire; wages, debt*
hyght *promise* (see **het(e)**)
hyghtynd *raised, exalted*
hyne *servant; hereafter, hence* (see **hence**)
hyppys *hips; person*
hyrd *shepherd*
hyte *giddy-up (exclamation)*

I, ich *I*
ich *each, every*
ichon *each one* (see **ilkane**)
idyls *idles, makes idle*
ilk, ilk(a) *each, every; same*
ilkane *each one* (see **ichon**)
ill, yll *ill, wicked, unlucky; poorly, painfully, unluckily; wickedness, illness*
illa-haill, illa-hayll *unlucky, cursed*
ill-cowpled *ill-coupled, incompatible*
ill-dedy *prone to evil deeds*
ill-paid, ill-payde *displeased*
inclyne *be inclined, show favor, yield*
indew *invest, endow*
indo(o)st *punished, loaded with*
indure, induyr *endure*
indytars, endytars *accusers*
infude *infused, inspired*
ingroost *engrossed, gathered*
inqueryd *asked, inquired of*
inrold *enrolled, recorded*
insure *guarantee*
intendyng *listening*
intent(e), entent *intention, will, heed, attention, opinion*
intraste *trust*
inwardly *inwardly, earnestly*
io *go; exclamation*
ire *anger*
irk(e), yrk(e) *weary, troubled, disgusted; disgusting; loathe, be troubled*
irregulere *irregular, out of order*
ist *is it*
it(t), hit *it, its*
iwis *certainly, indeed*

jaggid *jagged, slashed*
janglis, jangyls *chatters, babbles*
janglyng *chatter, chattering*
jape *tricks*
jawvell *noisy rascal*
joly *pretty*
jonte *joint*
jornay, jurnee *journey*
Jues *Jews*
juge *judge*
jugement *judgment*
jurers, jurars *jurors*
Juré, Jury *Jewry*
just *correctly, exactly; joust*
justyce *justice, court*

kafe *cave*
kakyls *cackles*
kap *cap, head*
karys *cares*
kaser, kasar *Kaiser, emperor*
kast *cast*
keill, ke(y)le *cool, relieve, preserve*
kelles *cauls, hairnets*
ken, kon *know* (see **can**)
kend(e) *known, taken; knew, taught, guided, commanded*
kepe *keep, protect, preserve, guard, tend (herd), seek; heed*
kepyng *keeping; (medical) treatment*
kest(en) *cast, thrown* (see **cast(e)**)
keyn *keen, sharp, cruel*
kith, kythe *show, make known* (see **kyd**)
knafe, knave *knave, boy, servant*
knakt *hit, sang, trilled*

knap, knop *knock, strike*
knok *knock; blow*
knowyng *knowledge*
knyt(t) *knit, tie; closed*
koket *cocked, set at a rakish angle*
kon *know* (see **can**, **ken**)
kowe *cow*
kun *give (thanks)* (see **can**)
kyd *show(n), reveal(ed); make known, renowned*
kyn *kind, kin, kindred*
kynd(e) *kind, gentle; nature, natural; kindred, family, generation*
kynde *conceived*
kyndly *natural; kindly, readily, properly*
kynke *choke*
kyppys *seizes, snatches*
kyrk(e) *church*
kyrkchaterars *church-chatterers, those who chatter in church*
kyth *kith, kindred, native country*
kythe *make known* (see **kyd**)

la *lay*
lad *lad, boy, servant, rascal*
lade, laide, layd(e) *laid, lay down, offered, laid low, struck, presented* (see **lay**)
laft *left, relinquished*
lagh(e) *law, religion* (see **law(e)**)
lak(e) *lack, flaw; play; sport, delight*
lakan *baby, plaything*
lakyng *playing*
lam *lamb*
land(e) *land, country, earth*
land-lepars *vagabonds*
lane *lean, incline*
lang *long, wish, yearn*
lang, long *long, far*
langer(e), longer *longer*
langett *strap, thong*
langyd *longed*
lap *rag, flap of cloth*
lappyd, lapt *wrapped*
lare, lore *lore, learning, teaching, lesson, commands*
large *large, boldly*
las *lass, girl*
late, layt *seek, search*
late *late, lately, recently*
lately *lately, slowly*
la(y)th, loth(e) *loath, unwilling; loathsome, repulsive, hateful, hideous*
law *low*
law(e), lay *law, religion*
lawd *lewd, unlearned*
lawde *laud, praise*
lawdys *Lauds, morning prayers*
lawse, lowse *loosen, release, relieve, deliver*
lawvell *bowl, drinking songs*
lay *lay, put, wager*
lay (see **law(e)**)
layn *conceal, be silent; concealment*
layt, late *seek*
layth (see **la(y)th**)
laytt *search*
le(e), ly *lie*
leaffe *leave* (see **lefe**)
leasse, les(s)e *lies, falsehood*
lech(e) *doctor, physician*
led(e) *led* (see **le(e)de**)
led(e), leyde *lead (metal)*
lede, leyd(e) *man, person*
le(e)de, leyd(e) *lead, rule, teach, follow*
leder *leader*
leder, ledyr *lazy, sluggish*
lee *lea, meadow*
leest, leste *least*
lefe, leif, leyf(e) *dear, beloved; willing*
lefe, leife, leyf(f)(e), leve *leave, stop, remain*
lefe, leyf(e), leve *leave, permission*
le(y)fe *leaf*
le(y)fe, leve *believe*
lefer, lever, leyffer *rather*
lege *liege*
leg(g)e *cite, put forward*
legeance *allegiance; plea, excuse*
legende *holy texts*
leghe *lie, falsehood*
leif *dear* (see **lefe**)
leife *leave, stop* (see **lefe**)
leke *leek*

lele, leyle, leyll *loyal, true, honest; truly*
lely *loyally*
lelyst *most fair*
le(m)man *beloved, lover*
lemyd *shone*
lende, leynd(e) *arrive, remain, stay; shine*
lendyng *abiding, dwelling*
le(y)nyd *leaned (upon)*
lene, leyn(e) *give, lend*
lent(t) *remained; kept*
lep *basket*
lepir, lepre *leper*
ler(y)d *learned*
lere *teach*
les, les(s)e *lies* (see **leasse**)
les, lesse *less*
lese *lose* (see **lo(y)se**)
leste *least*
lesyns *lies*
lesyng *lying, falsehood*
let(e), lett *hinder, prevent, delay, cease*
let(t) *let, allow; regard, pretend, forsake*
letherly *poorly*
letht *ease, rest*
lett *delay, hindrance*
letter *letter, small part*
leve (see **lefe**)
leven *live* (see **lif**)
lever (see **lefer**)
leverd *given*
leveryng *liver pudding; sausage*
levyn *lightning, flash of light*
levyng *living, life*
levyr *liver*
lew, lo *lo, see, behold; interjection*
lewde *unlearned, worthless*
lewté, lewtee *loyalty, faith*
leyde (see **lede**)
leyf *dear one*
leyfe (see **lefe**, **le(y)fe**)
leyffer *rather* (see **lefer**)
leyland *fallow land*
leyle, leyll (see **lele**)
leyn *lean, thin; give, lend*
leyndys *remains*
leynyd *leaned* (see **lane**)
lif(e) *live*
lif, lyf(e) *life*
lif(f)yng *living*
lig, ly *lie*
light, lyght *light, radiance, lantern*
light, lyght *alight, descend; be conceived, delivered (of a child)*
lightly, lyghtly *lightly, easily, readily, quickly*
lightnes *light, brightness*
lik *lick*
like *like, similar to; likely; please, like*
likyng, lykyng *liking, pleasure*
lippis, lyppis, lyppys *lips*
list, lyst *desire, wish*
lith *light; limb, joint*
lo, lew *see, behold*
lofe *love, praise*
loft *aloft, high*
lofyng, lovyng *loving, praising, praise*
loghe *laugh*
lok *lock, secure, confine*
lo(o)k(e), lowke, luke *look, examine, beware, watch over, consider*
lokyn, lowked *closed, enclosed, locked*
lokys *behold, see*
Lollar, Lollard *Wycliffite, heretic*
lone *loan, gift*
long *lung; long*
longere *longer, farther*
longys *belongs*
lonys *loins*
loppys *flies*
lord, lordyng *lord*
lordshyp *lordship, power, authority*
lore (see **lare**)
lorn(e) *lost, ruined, taken away*
los *loss*
lose *reputation, renown*
lo(y)se *lose, forget, forfeit; destroy, ruin*
losell *scoundrel, rogue*
lote *sound, noise*
loth(e) *loath, loathsome* (see **la(y)th**)
lothes *injuries*
lott *lot, fortune*
loutt, lowt(e), lowtt *submit, bow, honor, obey*

love, louf *love, beloved*
lovyng *praise*
lowde *loud; loudly, strongly*
lowly *humbly*
lowse (see **lawse**)
luddokkys *buttocks*
luf *love, beloved; praise*
lufars *lovers*
lufe *oar for steering*
lufly *lovely, beautiful, loving*
lufsom *lovable*
luke (see **lo(o)k(e)**)
lullay *lullaby*
lurdan *lout, lazy person*
lures *destruction, loss*
lurk *cower*
luskand *sluggish, lazy*
lust *desire*
lyf(f)yng *living; livelihood*
lyghty(n)s *lightens, cheers, is cheered*
lykance *liking, pleasure*
lykandly *pleasantly*
lymett *directed, assigned*
lynage *lineage, people*
ly(e)re *hue, face, countenance*
lyre *flesh, body*
lyse, lyys *lies*
lyst *desire, wish, choose; pleasure, desire, ability*
lyte, lytt *delay*
lythe *go, pass*
lytter *bed*

mad *mad, crazy; made*
maddys *rave, are mad*
madyn *maiden, virgin*
madynhede *maidenhead, virginity*
mafa, maf(f)ay *by my faith, certainly* (see **per(ma)fay**)
maght *might, strength*
magnyfyed *honored, respected*
maid(e), mayd(e) *made*
make *mate, spouse, equal; make, cause*
malison *curse, malediction*
malyce *malice, wickedness*
malys *wallets, bags* (see **mayll**)
mangere *manger, feast*
mangery *feast*
mangyng *eating, feasting*
manhede *manhood, body, human form*
mankyn *humankind*
mansloer *murderer, killer*
manteyn, mayntene *maintain, uphold*
mantill, mantyll *mantle, cloak*
manyfold(e) *manifold, many times, many ways*
mar *hinder, stop, ruin, destroy*
mare *more; mare, horse; nightmare, sorcerer*
marke *mark, allot, reward, form; mark, appearance*
marke *dark, dim* (see **myrk(e)**)
maroo *companion, mate*
mase *makes; confuses*
masid, masyd *confused*
mastré, mastry *mastery, lordship, authority, mischief*
mater *matter, concern, business*
matyns *Matins, morning prayers*
maw *belly*
mawgré *ill will, displeasure*
mawmentry *idolatry*
may *maiden, virgin; may, can*
mayll *wallet, bag; male*
maylleasse *malaise, illness*
mayn(e) *power, might, strength*
mayntene *maintain, uphold*
may-tyde *perhaps*
maytt *dejected, sorrowful, distraught*
meanes *agency, influence, means*
measse *mess, serving, portion; affliction*
med *mead, honey wine*
mede *meed, reward, merit*
medyll *middle, waist*
medill erd, medyll erth, mydyll erd *middle earth, the world*
medsyn *medicine*
medys *midst, the middle of*
meett (see **mete**)
mefe *move, affect, excite, provoke*
mekill, mekyll *much, great; greatly*
mekys *makes*
mell *deal with, deal out, meddle, concern oneself; speak, tell, discuss*

melland *speaking, talking*
mend(e) *mend, increase, improve*
mendys *amends, restitution*
mene, meyn(e) *mean, signify, convey, indicate, remember*
menee, men(e)ye(e) *household, company, followers, retinue*
mener *more lowly*
meng *mingle, mix; disturb, arouse*
mensk(e) *dignify, honor, favor*
menskfull *honorable*
ment (see **mene**)
menyng *purpose, meaning; moaning*
menys *means; bemoans, laments*
merely *merrily*
merkyd (see **marke**)
mervel(l) *marvel, miracle; astonish, surprise, marvel*
mervellest *most marvelous*
mes *Mass*
mese *food, serving, meal; calm, assuage*
mesel(l) *diseased, leprous*
mete *fitting, the right size*
mete, meyt(e) *meet, encounter*
mett *measured; met*
mete, mett(e), meett *meat, food, meal*
metyng *meeting, encounter*
mevid, mevys (see **mefe**)
meyn *complain, moan; meager*
meyn(e) *middle part of a harmonized song*
meyne (see **mene**)
mo(o) *more*
mo(o)de *mind, mood, disposition, anger;* **~ and mayn(e)** *fervently*
modee *proud*
moder *mother*
mokkys *mockery*
mold(e) *earth*
mom *mutter*
mompyns *teeth*
mon *must, shall*
mone *moon; moan, lament*
moneth *month*
montayn *mountain*
mop *moppet, baby*
morder *murder*
morder-man, mordere *murderer*
mo(o)re, mare *more, greater; further*
moren *murrain, plague, disease*
morow(e) *morning, dawn*
mortase *mortise, notch, hole*
mos *moss, padding*
mot *must, may*
moton *mutton; sluts*
mow *grimace*
mowchid *mooched, hoarded*
mownt, monte *mount, mountain*
moyle *discuss, moot*
moyne, mone *moon*
moyte, moytt *speak, converse, argue*
muf *speak indistinctly, whisper*
muk *muck, dung*
multiply(e), multiplie, multyplé, multyply(e) *multiply, increase; prosper*
muster *display*
mych *much*
mycher *robber, sneak*
mydyng *dungheap*
mydward *middle*
mydwyfys *midwives*
myght *might, strength; mighty action*
myghtus *mighty*
myld(e) *mild, gracious; gracious one*
myle *mile*
mylksop *infant*
myln-whele *millwheel*
myn *less; remember, commemorate, remind; remembrance, recollection*
myn(e) *mine*
mynnyng *commemoration*
mynstrelsy *singing and playing*
myr(r) *myrrh*
myre *mire, bog*
myrk(e) *darkness; dark, dim, obscure* (see **marke**)
myrth(e) *joy, mirth, merriment, entertainment*
mys *sin, misdeed, loss, lack; amiss*
mys *miss, lack, do without*
mysbelefe, mysbilefe *disbelief*
myscary *miscarry, misbehave, come to harm, get hurt*

myscaryng *wrongdoing*
myschaun(s)ce *misfortune*
myschefe *mischief, misfortune, injury*
mysdede *misdeed, wrongdoing, harm*
mysdoers *wrongdoers, offenders*
mysese, myssaes *affliction(s)*
mysfoundyng *misjudgment, misperception*
mysprase *blame*
myssase *slanders, puts down*
myst *lacking, missing*
myster *need, be necessary, serve, be of service; need, requirement*
mystys *gnats*
mytyng *little child, puny fellow*

na, no *no, not, not any*
nacyons *nations*
name *name, reputation*
nane *none, any*
nap *take a nap*
napand *grasping, greedy*
nar, nere *near, nearly, almost* (see **nygh** and **next**)
naroo *tightly, carefully*
nate *need*
nately *quickly, thoroughly*
natyvyté *nativity, birth*
nawder, na(w)ther(e), nowder, no(w)ther *neither*
nawre *nowhere*
nay *nay, no; refusal, denial*
nayle, nayll *nail*
ne *nigh, near; not, nor*
nebyll *nibble, attempt*
ne(y)de *need, time of need; necessary; necessarily*
nede *need, require*
nedefull *necessary; those in need*
nedyll, neld *needle*
neemly *nimbly*
nefe *fist*
negh, nygh *go near, approach, concern*
negons *misers, niggards*
nekkys *necks*
nere (see **nar** and **never**)
nerehand(e), nerehandys *near, nearby, nearly, almost*
nese *niece, kinswoman*
nese, noyse *nose*
nesh *soft, tender*
neven, nevyn *name, mention, speak, discuss*
never, nere *never, not at all*
nevertheles, never-the-wheder *nevertheless*
neverwhere *nowhere*
new *new, unaltered*
newes, newys *renews, comes to, grows for*
new-fon *newfound, newly invented*
next *next, nearby, nearest*
neyn *nine*
no (see **na**)
no *nor*
no kyn(s) *no kind of, not any*
no mare, no more *nothing more, nothing further; never again, no more*
nobull, nobyll *noble*
noght, not(t) *nought, nothing, not*
nold *would not*
nome *numb*
non(e) *no, none*
no(y)ne, noynyng *noon, midday*
nonys *(for the) nonce, purpose, time*
nores, norysh *nurse*
norice *nurse, nurture, raise (a child)*
no(y)s(e) *sound, noise, disturbance, fuss; reputation*
no(y)te, noytt *affair, business*
notes *matters* (see **noytys**)
novelry *novelties*
novels *news, tidings, novelties*
nowche *ornament, brooch*
nowder (see **nawder**)
nowmbred *numbered*
noy *annoy; annoyance, trouble*
noyse *nose* (see **nese**)
noytys, noyttys *matters, tasks* (see **no(y)te** and **notes**)
noytys *musical notes*
nyce, nyse *foolish, wanton, fancy*
nyfyls *trifles, light kerchiefs*
nygh *nigh, near, close (to)*
nyghys, neghys (see **negh**)

nyghtertayl *night time*
nyk *deny*
nyll *will not*
nyp *nip, pinch, seize, reduce*

obediand *obedient*
obeyng *obeying, obedient; obedience*
oder *other, another*
odowre *odor, smell, fragrance*
offerand, offeryng *offering*
oftsythe(s) *often*
oft-tyme(s) *often*
oght *anything, at all, to any extent*
oght-whedir *to anywhere*
oker *usury*
okerars *usurers*
omes *amiss*
on(e) *on, upon, in, into, about, of, on account of*
on(s), onys, oon(e), o(o)nes *once*
oneths *scarcely, hardly, with difficulty* (see **unethes**)
onone *anon, quickly* (see **anone**)
oon(e), on *one, someone*
oone *one, single, alone*
oonefold *onefold, single*
oostré *inn, hostelry*
or(e) *ere, before*
orda(y)n, ordand, ordeyn *ordain, arrange, prepare, decree*
order, ordir *order, rank, degree*
ordynance *ordinance, decree*
os *as*
o(o)st *host, multitude, crowd, army*
ostes *hosts, armies* (see **o(o)st**)
ostre *oyster*
other(e) *other, another, either*
otheregate, othergatys *otherwise, or else*
otherwhile *another time, at other times, sometimes*
out(e), outt, owte *out, outside, away; exclamation of dismay or anger*
outdrough *stretched out*
out(e)-horne *cry of pursuit, alarm*
outlagh *outlaw, criminal*
outrage *outrage, passion*
outrydars *tax collectors (for a sheriff's court)*
outt-shyld *shelled-out, empty*
overall *overall, everywhere*
overcomer *conqueror*
over-greatly *excessively*
overlaide *covered, flooded*
overled *mislead, lead astray, oppress*
oversett *overthrow, overcome*
overtwhart *across, athwart, cross-wise*
over-ying *too young*
owe *owe; ought; owns, possesses*
owre *hour* (see **howre**)
owte *out* (see **out(e)**)
owte, owtt *get out, escape*
oy, oyes *oh yes; listen (call for silence)*
oyle, oyll *oil*

pacok *peacock*
paddokys *toads*
page *boy, servant*
paid(e), payde, payed *paid, requited, satisfied, pleased*
pak *pack, gang, flock; bundle; pack, bundle up*
palfray *palfrey, saddle horse*
pall *fine cloth, scarlet (or royal purple) robe, shroud*
pant(e) *pant, breathe hard, throb*
panyere *pannier, basket*
panys (see **payn(e)**)
pappes *breasts*
paramoure *passionately, as a lover*
parell, perell *danger, peril*
parloures *private chambers*
part(e), party *part, share, role; divide, separate, share*
partryk *partridge*
partyng *parting, departure*
pas(s), passe *pass, go, escape, surpass*
pa(a)se, pace *pace, way, passage, distance or speed of a step*
pask(e), Pasche *Passover meal, Easter*
passyon *passion, suffering, the Passion*
past *passed, crossed, past; ended, eliminated, deceased*
pate *pate, head*

Paternoster *the Lord's Prayer, "Our Father"*
patryarkes *patriarchs, founders of the faith*
pausté, paustee, pausty *power, authority*
pay *pay, satisfy, please; payment, satisfaction*
payde, payed (see **paid(e)**)
payn *punish, torture*
payn(e) *pain, torment, suffering; punishment, penalty*
paynt *painted, ornamented; set forth, counterfeit, flatter*
peas(se) *peace, salvation, silence; quiet, silent*
peas(se), pes(e) *calm, make silent; be silent*
peche *impeach, formally accuse*
pelfe *prize, plunder, booty*
pelt *attack, strike*
pen, pyn *pin*
pent *pertained, belonged*
people, pepyll *people*
pepe *peep, look*
peraventur(e) *perhaps, by chance*
perceyf, persave *perceive*
perch *pierce*
perchaunce, perchauns *perchance, by chance, perhaps*
perdé, perdee, perdy *by God, indeed*
per(ma)fay *by my faith, indeed*
perfyte *perfect, flawless*
per(e)les *peerless*
perlous *perilous*
persew *follow, persecute*
pertly *openly, boldly*
pervyce *parvis, legal disputation*
pestell *leg, haunch*
petye, pyté, pytee *pity, compassion*
peyr(e), pere *peer, equal, nobleman*
pight *placed*
pik, pyk *pitch*
pike, pyke *pick, take, steal, pluck out*
pilus *pillows, padded clothing*
pla(y)ce *place, location*
planettys *planets*
platers *platters*
play *play, make sport, make love; mirth, joy, game, sexual dalliance*
playn *full, complete; fully* (see **plener**)
playne, plane *plain, field; plain, clear, direct; plainly, clearly*
playnt *complaint*
pleasande *pleasant, pleasing*
pleatt, ple(y)te *plead, argue*
plener *plenary, full*
plenté *plenty, abundance*
plenyd *complained, bemoaned*
plesance *pleasure, delight*
pleyn *complain, bemoan*
plight, plyght *sin, guilt, plight*
plo, plogh(e) *plow*
plom *plumb, perpendicular, straight down*
ployde *ploughed*
ply *bend, attend to*
po *peacock*
podyng *pudding*
poecé *poesy, verse*
poll *head; shear*
ponte, poynt(e) *point, moment, position, matter, point of law*
poore *poor, wretched*
pose *head cold*
potell *pottle, two quarts*
powchid *pocketed, took possession of*
powder *dust*
powderd *seasoned*
pownde *pound*
poynt(e) (see **ponte**)
prankyd *pleated*
pransawte *prancing*
prase, prays *praise, commendation*
pra(y)se *praise, appraise, acknowledge*
prat(t)y *pretty*
pray *prey; pray, ask, request*
pre(as)se *crowd, throng;* **in ~** *in conflict, under pressure, forward*
prefe, preve, profe, prove, prufe *prove; test*
present *presence*
preson *prison, prisoner*
prest(e) *pressed, disposed, ready, prepared; quickly*

prevaly, prevely *privately, secretly, stealthily, alone*
prevaté *secret, revelation*
prevay, prevé, prev(e)y *privy, private, surreptitious; sexually intimate; privately*
preve, profe, prove (see **prefe**)
profe *proof, test*
profer *proposal; offer, present*
profet(t), profete *prophet*
profett *profit*
prophetabyll *profitable, beneficial*
propyce *propitious*
provand *provisions, food, fodder*
prow *profit, advantage*
pryce *prize, worth*
punyshid *punished*
pup(p)lyshed *proclaimed, published*
purches *illegal gains, purchase*
purpose *purpose, intention; propose*
purpyll *royal purple cloth*
purs *purse, bag*
purs-cuttars *cutpurses, thieves*
purst *put away, put into a purse*
purturd *portrayed, adorned*
purvay(e) *provide, prepare, arrange*
purveance *purveyance, providence, provision*
puryd *purified, refined*
py *pie*
pyk, pik *pitch*
pyke, pike *pick, take, pluck out*
pyn, pen *pin*
pynd(e) *pinned; penned, confined*
py(y)nde *pained, tortured*
pyne *pain, suffering, punishment; suffer, hurt, punish*
pynnes *pins, hairpins*
pynyng *suffering, pain*
pypys *squeaks, pipes*
pystyll *epistle, apostolic Epistle*
pyté, pytee, petye *pity, compassion*

quantyce, qua(y)ntys(e) *cunning, skill, wisdom, trickery*
quarell *quarry*
quart *quart, quarter gallon, four cups*
quart(e), qwart(e) *health, well-being*
quell *kill, subdue*
queme *pleasing, agreeable* (see **qweme**)
querestur *chorister, follower*
quest-dytars *plaintiffs, false accusers*
quest-gangars, questmangers *questmonger, those who attend or profit from judicial inquiries*
quetstone *whetstone*
queyd *evil person*
quyk, whik, whyk *living, alive*
quyt, qwite, whyte *reward, requite, pay back*
qwake, whake *quake, tremble*
qwaynt(e), qwant(t), whaynt *quaint, clever, marvelous, strange*
qweaase, whese *wheeze, breathe*
qwelp *whelp, puppy*
qweme, wheme *please, gratify* (see **queme**)
qwene, qweyn *queen, woman; quean, whore*
qwhy, whi *why*
qwoke *trembled* (see **qwake**)

rad *afraid*
rad(ly), rathly *quickly, promptly*
rafe *rave, talk wildly; tear*
ragman *document with seals, list of accusations*
rag(g)yd *ragged, demonic*
rake *course, path, opportunity; rush; proceed*
ram-skit *ram shit*
ramyd *beaten down*
rane, rayn *rain*
ranys *rains*
rap *rap, hit, knock*
rase *rush, water current*
ra(y)se *raise*
rasers *raisers, tax collectors*
rathly *swiftly, quickly, promptly* (see **rad(ly)**)
raunson *ransom, redemption*
ravyn *raven*
raw *row, crowd, company; together, (in) turn, (in) order*

rawnson *ransom, redeem*
rawth, rewth(e) *ruth, pity, grief* (see **rew(e)** and **rewth(e)**)
rayd *prepared, arrayed* (see **arayd(e)**)
rebell *rebellious*
receyf, resayf, resave *receive, accept*
reche *reach*
recrayd *recreant, cowardly*
red *get ready*
red(e), reede *advice, counsel, speech, plan*
red(e), reede, reyd(e) *advise, say, read, interpret*
redé, redy *ready, prepared*
redles *without counsel, perplexed, foolish*
redres *redress, amend, put in order*
reepe *handful*
refe, reyf(e), reve *reave, rob, steal, deprive of*
reffys *plunder*
reherse *repeat*
rehete, rehett *rebuke*
rek *care, consider*
reke *smoke, commotion*
rekyls *incense*
rekyn, rokyn *reckon, recite, enumerate, consider*
relefe *relief, deliverance*
relest *released*
reme *realm*
remefe, remeve *remove, leave, depart*
ren, ryn, ron *run, hurry, hasten, proceed; run out, complete*
renabyll *reasonable, eloquent*
rene, reyn(e) *reign, rule*
renk *rank, status*
rent *tear, torn*
rent(e) *rent, revenue*
rentals *rents, revenue*
repentance, repentence *repentance, remorse, regret*
reprefe, reprufe *reprove, rebuke; reproof, shame, disgrace*
requyryd *required, sought after*
rerd *noise, roar*
res(e), resse *race, hurry*
resave *receive* (see **receyf**)
rese *crowd*
reson *reason, sense, statement, argument; reasonable; argue*
respytt *respite, delay*
rest, ryst *rest, remain*
restord(e) *restored, renewed*
restorité *restorative*
reve (see **refe**)
revalacyon *(divine) revelation*
reverence *reverence, deference, respect*
rew(e), rue *rue, grieve, regret*
rewl(l), rewyll *domination, control, rule; row, order*
rewle, rewll *rule, govern*
rewth(e) (see **rawth** and **rew(e)**)
reyd(e) (see **red(e)**)
reyf(e) (see **refe**)
reyll *reel (for winding yard)*
reyll *reel, stagger; rampage, go wild; go around*
reyn(e), rene *reign, rule*
reynand *reigning, prevailing*
right *right, correct, proper; exactly, truly; justice, truth*
rightwys *righteous, lawful, rightful*
righ(t)wisnes(s), rightwytnes, ryghtwysnes *righteousness, integrity*
risyng, rysyng *rising, resurrection; accruing*
ro *rest, peace*
rode, rood(e), rud(e) *rood, cross*
roght *cared* (see **rek**)
rok *distaff*
rok *rock, shake*
ron (see **ren**)
rore *roar, bellow*
rose, ruse, roy(e)s *praise, boast, exaggerate*
ros(s)e *rose, arose*
rost *roast meat*
rote *rot*
roten, roton, rot(t)yn *rotten*
route, rowte, rowtt *company, crowd, ordered assembly*
rowme, rom *room, space, (at a) distance, aside*

rowne *whisper, converse, deliberate; whispering*
rowners *whisperers, tattlers*
roy(e)s (see **rose**)
royse *boasting, praise*
roytt *root, core*
rud *complexion, ruddiness*
rud(e) (see **rode**)
rude *rude, rough, violent*
rufull *rueful, piteous, sorrowful, remorseful*
rug *tug, pull*
rugh *rough*
runk *murmur*
runkers *murmurers*
ruse, rused (see **rose**)
rybaldys *rascals*
ryfe *rife, frequently, often*
ryfe *tear, break, hurt*
ryffen *torn*
ryke *realm*
rynes *runs* (see **ren**)
rype *search, ransack*
ryse *rise, get up, return to life*
ryst *increase*
ryst (see **rest**)
rytt *rite, custom*

Sabate *sabbath*
sacryfy, sacrifie *offer as a sacrifice*
sad *sad, regretful, heavy, weary; hard, heavily, deeply*
sadly *sadly, deeply, seriously, firmly, forcefully*
sadyl *saddle*
safe, save, sayf *safe, secure; save, restore, protect; except (for)*
sagh(e) (see **saw(e)**; **say**; **se(e)**)
sakles *innocent*
sal(l) *shall, should*
salf(e) *heal, salve*
salve *salve, healing, remedy*
salys *assails, attacks*
sam *together*
sampill *example*
sang, sangre, song *song*
sans, saunce *without*
santys *saints*
sare, sore *pain, suffering; sore, painful, distressed; sorely, strongly, deeply*
saull, sawll *soul*
savers *smells*
savyoure *savior*
saw *sow*
saw(e), sagh(e) *saying, speech, word(s), story, command, suggestion*
sawgeoure *soldier*
sawles, sawlys (see **saull**)
sawse *sauce*
sawsed *sauced, covered with sauce*
sawter(e) *psalter, book of psalms*
say *tell*
sayes (see **saw(e)**)
sayf (see **safe**)
sayll *sale; hall; sail*
sayn(e) *bless, protect*
sayng *saying, talking, report*
saynt *saint; act saintly, play the saint*
saynyd *protected*
scapethryft *spendthrift, wasteful person*
sche, sho *she*
schrewyd *dangerous, evil, shrewd*
schuld, s(c)huld *shall, should*
scolys *schools*
screme *scream*
se(e) *sea; see*
seas(s)e, seese, ses(s)e *cease, stop*
seasse, sesse *seize, place, install*
sectures *executors*
secur(e)ly, securlé, sekerly *surely, assuredly, truly*
se(e)de, seyd(e) *seed, offspring*
see-swoghe *rushing sea*
sek *sack*
seke *pack, put into a sack*
seke *sick; sick persons*
seke *seek, look for, adhere to*
sekeand *seeking*
sekir *sure, assured*
selcouth, selcowth *strange, wonderful*
seme, seym *seem, appear; suit, befit*
semely *fair, beautiful, pleasing*
semled *assembled*
sen *since, then, afterwards* (see **sithen**)

seniours *sirs, gentlemen*
serche *search*
sere, seyr *several, various, diverse, manifold*
serkyll *circle*
sermonyng *sermonizing, preaching*
servand(e), servant *servant*
serve *serve, obey, attend to*
servyce *service, allegiance*
ses(s)e (see **seas(s)e**)
seson *season*
set(t) *sit, be seated, set, put, place, cause to be*
sete, sett, seyte *seat*
sew *pursue, follow; sowed*
sewrly, suerly, sure(ly) *surely, certainly, indeed*
sewyd *sewn*
sex *six*
seyll *happiness, good fortune* (see **cele**)
seym *seam; seem*
seymland *semblance, demeanor*
seyn *seen, evident*
seyng *seeing*
shaft *lance, spear*
shak *shake*
shakyls *shackles*
shal(l), shold, s(c)huld *shall, should*
shame *shame, disgrace, harm; be ashamed*
shank *leg*
shape *shape, create, contrive, plan, cause, decree*
share *cut; divide, pierce(d)* (see **shere**)
shaw(e), shew *show, tell, appear*
sheld(e) *shield, protect*
she(y)nd *destroy*
shene, sheyn *bright, shining; brightly*
shepard *shepherd*
shere *shear, cut, divide*
shew (see **shaw(e)**)
shewyng *showing, appearance*
sho (see **sche**, **sho**)
shog *shake, jerk*
shoke *shook*
shon *shun, avoid, flee, escape*
shone, shoyes, shoyn(e) *shoes*
shontt *avoid, evade*
shope *shaped, created* (see **shape**)
shortly *shortly, quickly*
shoterd *shuddered*
shotys *shoots, pours*
showre *pang, threat, torment, misfortune*
showte *shout, loud noise*
shrew *curse*
shrife *shrive, absolve of sins*
shrogys *shrubs, brushwood*
shrowde *cover, adorn; shroud, mourning garb*
shuder *shoulder*
shuld (see **shal(l)**)
shunand *shunning, fleeing*
shyft *effort*
shynyng *shining*
shyre *brightly, clearly; shire, county*
siche *such*
sichon *such a one, that kind*
side *long, low down*
side, syde *side; seaside, shore*
sit, syt(t) *sit, dwell, brood; befit*
sithe *journey*
sithen, sy(n)then *since, then, afterwards* (see **sen**)
sitt *grief*
skabbid *scabby*
skant *scarcity, scant supply*
skap(e), skapp *escape*
skar *scare, frighten*
skard *scared*
skarthis *shards, fragments*
skaterd *scattered*
skath(e) *harm, injury, loss; harm, injure*
skaunce, skawnce *joke, jest*
skawde *scold*
skayll *drinking cup, bowl*
skelp *slap, blow; beat, strike*
skete *quickly, hastily*
skill, skyll *skill, reason, reasoning; proper, right, reasonable*
sklanders *slander*
skore *score, cut*
skorn(e) *scorn, insult, mock*
skraw *scroll*
skreme *scream*

skryke *shriek, screech*
skyfte *shift, trick, attempt; fate*
skylfully *reasonably*
slake, slek *slake, quench, relieve, decrease*
slape *slippery, cunning*
slefe *sleeve*
sleght *slight, insignificant*
sleght, slegthe, slyght *sleight, scheme, trick, skill*
slip *strip, empty (a spindle)*
slo, slone *slay, slain*
sloghe *slew; slough, skin*
slokyn *extinguish, suppress, quench*
slyght (see **sleght**)
slyk(e) *such*
slythys *slides, slips (away)*
smale, small *small, humble, few, brief, fine; feebly*
smart *sharply, severely*
smeke *smoke*
smylde *smelled*
smyte *smite, strike*
snaw *snow*
snek *latch*
snoke-horne *snot-nosed boy*
socery *sorcery, witchcraft*
socour(e) *help, comfort, aid; helper*
sodan *sudden*
soferan *sovereign* (see **sufferan**)
soft(e) *soft, softly, comfortably, moderately*
softer *gentler, more moderately*
sogh, sowe *sow*
soght *sought*
soierned *sojourned*
soke, sowked *sucked, suckled*
sole *site, foundation*
solempne *solemn, impressive*
somdele *somewhat*
somkyn(s) *some kind of*
somwhat *something*
somwhile *sometimes*
son *son; sun, sunlight*
sond *message, (God's) ordinance, gifts; messenger*
sonder(e) *separate, sundry, apart; asunder*
sone, soyn(e) *soon, quickly*
sonken *sunken*
sooth, soth(e), soyth *sooth, truth; true*
sorionyd *sojourned*
soroo *sorrow, afflict, cause sorrow*
sory *sorry, sad, miserable*
sotell *subtle, clever*
sothen *boiled meat*
soth(e)fast *truthful, truly*
soth(e)fastnes *truth, truthfulness*
sothlé, sothly *truly*
sothren *southern*
soure, sowre *bitterly, dearly*
sourmontyng *surmounting, excelling*
sowchid *suspected*
sow(e) *pain, grieve, suffer, tingle with pain*
sowde *soughed, resounded, made a rushing sound*
sowe, sogh *sow, pig*
sowke *suck* (see **soke**)
sowll *sauce, food, nourishment*
sowpe, sup *sup, dine, eat supper, taste*
sowre-loten, sowre-lottyn *sour-looking*
soyne *soon, quickly*
spar *sparing, confidential; shut, bar, secure; rafter, piece of timber*
spare *spare, shun, avoid, save, refrain (from), leave unharmed, allow to escape*
spart(e) *spare it*
sparyd *enclosed, locked up*
spech(e) *speech, speaking, expression*
specyally *specially, expressly, in particular*
spede *speed, swiftness, fortune, helper; hasten, fare, assist*
spekyng *speaking, conversation*
spekytt *speckled, variegated*
spell *speak, say, respond (to)*
spence *wealth*
spend(e) *spend, use, expend*
spendyng *wealth, money*
spere *spear*
spy *watch, observe, spy, discover*
spill, spyll *destroy, kill, perish, spill*

spin, spyn *spin (yarn, fiber)*
spir, spyr *ask*
spitus, spytus *spiteful, cruel, bitter*
spolars *spoilers, plunderers*
spon *spun* (see **spin**)
sponys *spoons*
spowsage *marriage, wedlock*
spoyll *despoil, strip*
spra(y) *spring (forth), rise up*
spred *spread, extend(ed)*
spreyte *spirit*
sprote *sprout*
spruse *spruce*
spryng *spring, arise, extend, begin, dawn*
spurd *spurred, wearing spurs*
spurne *spurn, kick, stub (toes)*
spuyd *spewed*
spyndill *spindle (for spinning)*
spyryng *question, asking*
spytyng *spite, annoyance*
sqwyere *squire*
stabill *stable, stall*
stabyll, stabull *stable, secure*
stad, sted *stay, stop, tarry, (be) delayed, placed, situated, served, beset*
stag *young or unbroken horse*
stak *(hay) stack*
stakerd *staggered*
stald, stold *stalled, installed, placed*
stalk *stalk, stride, walk softly, sneak*
stall *place, station, position*
stamerd *staggered, stumbled*
stane, stayn, ston(e) *stone*
stang *sting, pierce*
stanys *stones*
stard *stared, glowered*
stark *stiff*
starne, sterne *star*
state *state, condition, position, rank; dignitary*
stayn (see **stane**)
sted (see **stad**)
sted(e), steede *place, position, condition, advantage*
stede *steed, horse*
stegh *ladder*
stele, steyll *steel; steal, rob, steal away, sneak*
stelyng *theft*
stere *steer, guide; restrain, control*
stereman, stersman *steersman, pilot, guide*
stere-tre *tiller, helm*
sterne (see **starne**)
steven, stevyn *voice, sound, command; (appointed) time; alteration*
stevend, stevynd *ascended, directed one's course*
stevynyng *ascension*
stewys *brothels*
stok *wood, log*
stokyn *closed, fastened*
stold (see **stald**)
stollyn, stolne (see **stele**)
ston(e) (see **stane**)
store *store, stock, provisions, supply, livestock, value*
stott *young ox, steer*
stoure, stowre *affliction, conflict, struggle*
stout(e) *fierce, strong; fiercely*
stowke *stook, shock (of sheaves)*
stownde *time, moment*
stowndys *attacks*
stowtly *stoutly, proudly*
stoyll *stool*
strang, strong *strong, cruel, intense, flagrant*
strate *strait(s), bind, difficulty; tight, difficult; securely, sorely*
strayd *strewn*
streght *straight*
strenkyllid *sprinkled*
strete *street, road*
strewed, strewyd *scattered; strewn with rushes*
strife, stryfe *strive, quarrel, contend; strife, struggle*
stright, stryght *straightaway, immediately*
strut *contention*
stry *hag*
stud(e) *stood*
stumpe *leg*

sturdy *rough, harsh, violent, unruly*
sty *path, way; ascend*
styk *stick, pierce; stay, remain*
stynt *stop, cease, end*
styr *stir, move, rouse*
styrt *start, move suddenly, go further*
stythe *strong, unyielding*
sudary *burial cloth*
sufferan, suffrane, suffrayn *sovereign* (see **soferan**)
suffranly *with or by supreme power, divinely*
suspowse *suspicion*
swa *so, thus*
swalod *swallowed*
swane, swayn *swain, boy, servant, low-class person*
swap *blow, stroke*
swedyll *swaddle, wrap up*
swelt *faint, die*
swepys *blows* (see **swap**)
swerars *swearers, perjurers*
swerde, sword *sword*
swete, swett(e) *sweat*
swete, sweytt *sweet; sweetly*
swetyng *sweet one, sweetheart*
swevyn *dream, vision*
swine *swine, pig(s)*
swogh *swoon, sleep*
swonde *swooned, fainted*
swongen *beaten*
swylk(e) *such*
swymand *swimming*
swyme *swoon*
swynk(e) *work, toil*
swyth(e) *quickly, immediately*
sydys *sides; loins, womb*
syfte *sift, strain, make trial*
symnell *fine bread*
syn *sinew*
syn(e) *sin; since, then, after, afterwards*
syng *sing, bewail*
synke *sink, submerge*
sy(n)then *since, then, afterwards* (see **sen** and **sithen**)
syr(e) *sir, father, lord, master*
syt(t) (see **sit**)

tabard *emblazoned surcoat*
tabill *table*
tabyll, tables, tabyls *tablet(s) (inscribed)*
talent *service, disposal, desire*
takyn, tane, tayn, ton *taken, wedded, captured*
tar(r)y *tarry, delay, hinder*
tart *pie (sweet or savory)*
tase *takes*
tast *taste, experience; test, prove*
tatyrd *tattered*
tayll *tail; tale, account; tally, count*
techere *teacher*
tell *count, tell, explain, declare*
temporall *civil, secular (law)*
tempyl-les *without a temple*
tempys *tempts*
ten *teeth; ten, tenth*
tend, tent, teynd *tenth; tithe, give one-tenth*
tend, tent(e), teynd *tend, watch over, attend (to), heed; (pay) attention*
tendand *attending*
tene, teyn *anger, malice, annoyance, harm, suffering, affliction*
tene, teyn(e) *annoy, anger, harm, injure; be angry, rage*
tenory *tenor (part)*
tent, teynd (see **tend**)
tenys *tennis*
termynd *finished, terminated*
tethee *tetchy, bad-tempered*
teynfully *cruelly, grievously*
thai *they*
tham(e), thaym, th(e)ym *them*
thar, ther *need, must, be necessary*
thare, thor(e) *there, then*
tharmes *bellies*
tharne *lack*
thé *thrive, prosper*
theder, thedir, thider *thither, there*
thederward *thither*
thee *thigh; you*
thefe, theyf *thief, scoundrel, villain*
thefyshly *thievishly*

thens *thence, from there*
therafter *thereafter, accordingly*
theragayn, theragane *against that*
therat *there, at that, because of that*
theroute, therowte *outside, away*
thertill, thertyll, therto *to that, for it/them, for that purpose, in addition*
thew *courtesy, customs*
tho *those*
thof, thoug(h) *though*
thoght *thought(s), mind, purpose*
tho(y)le *allow, suffer, endure*
thoner *thunder, thunderbolt*
thoner-flone *lightning, thunderbolt*
thoro(w), thrug(h) *through, because of, by means of*
thowng, thwong *thong, cord, (shoe)lace*
thrafe *bundle, sheaf*
thrall *slave(s)*
thrang *throng, crowd*
thrastyn *thrust, pressed, pierced*
thraw *moment, (a)while, time(s)*
thrawe *throw*
thre, threyn *three*
threpe *quarrel, argue*
threpyng *quarreling, bickering*
thresh *thrash, strike*
threte, thrett *threaten*
thrid, thryd *third*
thrife, thryfe *thrive, prosper*
thrift, thryft(e) *thrift, profit, luck, prosperity*
thrirté, thyrty *thirty*
thro *eager, bold; strongly, firmly, soundly*
throlé, throly *fiercely, persistently*
throng *pressed together*
thrug(h) (see **thoro(w)**)
thryng *press, burst, drive out*
thurgh *gravestone, grave cover*
thurt(e) *needed* (see **thar**)
thus-gate, thus-gatys *thus, in this way*
thwang *be flogged*
thwong *thong, lace*
thyk *thick, abundant; abundantly*
thyn *thin, weak, deficient; thine, yours*
thyrle *pierce, penetrate*
thystyll, thystyls *thistles*
till, tyl(l) *to, towards; until*
to-brake *break apart*
to-bryst *burst apart*
towchyng *touching, concerning*
to-chyde *brawl violently*
to-clefe *break, cleave apart*
to-draw *pull apart*
todys *toads*
to-fold *twice, two-fold*
to-har *torment severely*
to-hew *cut down, hew to pieces*
token, tokyn, tokynyng *token, sign, omen, proof, evidence*
tollare *tax collector, tax-gatherer*
tolys, toyles *tools*
tome *empty, idle, unoccupied; leisure*
to-morn(e) *tomorrow*
ton (see **takyn**)
to-name *surname*
tong *tongue*
tonyd *toned, in tune*
too *toe; two*
top(e) *top, head; masthead platform*
tord(e) *turd*
to-rehete *severely rebuke*
to-rent *torn*
torne *torn, injured*
to-ryfe *tear apart*
to-ryffen *torn apart*
tose *toes*
to-shak *shake, tremble*
to-shentt *destroyed*
to-swett *drenched (in sweat or blood)*
tothe *tooth, speech*
tothere *second, other (of two)*
to-torne *torn apart*
to-tyre *tear apart*
toute *buttocks, posterior, arse*
tow *fiber for spinning*
to(w)che *touch*
towchyng *touching, concerning*
tow(e)re *tower*
toyn(e) *tone, tune*
trace *track, way, path, dance*
trade *trod*
trane, trayn *trick, deceit, treachery*
trant *trick*

trast *trust, faith; trust, have confidence; assured, confident, trustworthy*
trastir *more faithful*
tratoure, tratur(e) *traitor*
trattys *hags, old women*
travale, travayll, travell *labor, work, journey, travel*
traveld *traveled*
travell *labor, suffer pains of childbirth*
travesses *traverses, opposes*
traw, trew, true *true*
traw(e), trow(e) *trust, believe, think*
trawth(e), trouth, trowth(e) *truth, faith, belief, pledge*
tray *grief, misery; grieve, betray*
tre(e) *tree, wood, cross*
trebill, tryble *treble (part)*
tremyll *tremble*
trespas, tryspas *trespass, sin*
trete *treat, negotiate; treaty, discussion, (at) length*
trew(e), true *true, truthful, honest, trustworthy, rightful, faith, belief*
trist, tryst, trust *trust*
tristur *tryst, station*
trone *throne*
trott *trot, go quickly*
trow (see **traw(e)**)
trowage *tribute, allegiance*
trumpe *trumpet*
trus *pack up, bundle; depart, go away*
trussell *bundle*
try *try, test*
tryfyls *trifles, idle tales*
tryst, trust *trust*
trystely *faithfully*
tup *ram, male sheep*
turne *turn, change, mislead; return*
turtyl(l) *turtle dove*
twa, two *two*
twyfyls *braids, curls*
twyk *twitch, pull with a jerk*
twyn *twin, divide, break in two, separate, part, depart*
twyys *twice, second time*
tyd *happen*
tyde *time, season*
tydely *quickly*
tylthe *tilth, arable land*
tyme *time; happen, fare*
tymely *early, quickly*
tyn(é) *tiny*
tynde, tynt *lost*
tyne *forget, waste, lose, suffer loss*
tyr(e) *fight; go, move*
tyte, tytt *quickly, soon, immediately*
tythand(ys), tythyng(ys) *tidings, news*
tytter *quicker, sooner*

umshade *protect, shelter, overshadow*
um(bi)thynke *bethink, reflect, consider*
unable *unable, incompetent, ignorant*
unbayn *disobedient*
unburnyd *unburned*
unbychid *accursed*
uncele, unceyll *misery, misfortune, unhappiness*
uncessantlé *incessantly*
uncomly *uncomely, unattractive, ugly*
unconand *ignorant, unlearned*
uncowth *uncouth, unknown, strange*
undemyd *unjudged*
underlowte *inferiors, subjects*
undertake *undertake, affirm, attest*
undoyn *undone, ruined*
undughty *unworthy, worthless*
unethes, unnes, unneth, unyth *scarcely, hardly, (only) with difficulty*
uneven *at odds, unequally endowed*
unfyl(y)d *undefiled*
ungayn *inconvenient*
ungaynly *improperly*
unglad *unhappy, miserable*
ungrathly *improperly, mistakenly, wrongly*
unheynde *rude, discourteous (person)*
unhonest *unpleasant, dishonorable*
unkynde *unkind, unnatural, unfortunate, ungrateful*
unmete *huge*
unmyghtful *impossible*
unnes, unneth (see **unethes**)
unnett *difficult, troublesome*
unpeasse *absence of peace*
unquart *distress, cause discomfort*

unrad *impudent, foolish*
unrid, unryde *cruel, severe*
unright *wrong*
unsoght *un-atoned, unexamined*
unthankys *ingratitude*
untill *to, unto*
untold *untold, immense*
untrewe *untrue, faithless*
untrist *unfaithful*
unweld(e) *feeble, impotent*
unwynly *unpleasantly*
unwytty *ignorant*
unyth (see **unethes**)
upbrade *upbraid, reproach*
uphefe *lift, raise up*
uphent *raised up*
up-so-downe *upside-down*
upstevynyng *ascension*
uptake *raise up*
use *use, practise; practice*
utmast *utmost, final*
utward *outwardly*

vales *avails, profits*
vantege *advantage*
vanyté *vanity, foolishness, emptiness*
vayll *value, profit; veil, blindfold*
vayn(e), vanys *vain, useless, futile*
velany *villainy, dishonor, injury*
vengeabyll *vengeful, cruel*
vengeance, veniance, venyance *vengeance*
vengid *took vengeance*
vengyng *vengeance*
venom *poison, envenom, infect*
venymus *poisonous*
venyson *venison, deer meat*
veralee, veraly *verily, truly*
verament(e) *truly*
veray *true; truly*
vertew, vertue *virtue, power, miracle*
veryose *verjuice (the sour juice of unripe grapes or crabapples)*
viset, vyset, vysyte *visit*
vokettys *advocates, spokespersons*
vowche *affirm* (see **vowchesafe**)
vowchesafe, vowchsayf, vowchesave *vouchsafe, give, grant, deign*
vowgard *vanguard*
vyage *voyage*

wa(y) *away;* **do ~** *enough, cease*
wached *watched, kept vigil*
waches *watches, guards*
wafe, wave *wave, move, put aside, abandon*
wag *move, stir*
waght, woth *peril, danger*
wake *weak, insufficient, of little worth*
wake *wake (up), stay awake, stir, keep watch, be excited*
walaway, waloway, welowo *alas, lamentation*
wald *would, wish*
walk-mylne *fulling mill*
walter *stumble, sprawl*
wan *dark, evil, gloomy, sad, pale, dull; won, gained, escaped* (see **wyn**)
wanand, wanyd (see **wanys**)
wand(e) *wand, rod, staff, shoot, branch*
wandreth *misfortune, misery*
wane *wain, wagon*
wanhope *despair*
want(e) *want, lack, need*
wanton *wanton, lecherous, insolent*
wantones *wantonness, insolence*
wanys *wanes, diminishes*
wap *wrap, dress, clothe; (one) blow, throw*
war *call used to drive animals; make war, persecute*
war(e) *aware, alert, wary, prepared; beware*
war(e), wer(e), wor(e) *were*
war(s) *worse*
warand *warrant, promise, guarantee, undertake, protect*
wa(y)rd *ward, custody, guardianship*
wardan *warden, keeper, guardian*
wardly *worldly*
wared, waryd *cursed*
waris *curses*
wark *ache*

wark(e) *work, action, deed*
warkand *aching*
warld(e) *world, everything*
warldys *world's, worldly, earthly*
warlo(o), warlow *warlock, sorcerer, devil, enemy*
warly *warily*
warpyd *wrapped*
warst *worst*
warte *spend (it)*
wary, warrie *curse*
waryson *treasure, reward*
wast(e) *waste; profitless, useless; wastefully, uselessly, in vain*
wat *person*
wate *wet; wait, wait upon; lie in wait for, watch; (ill) treat*
wate, wa(y)tt, wayt(e) (see **wit(ten)**)
waten (see **wate**)
wathe *booty, prey, prize*
waw(gh)es *waves*
wax *grow, increase, become; size, stature; wax, wax seal*
way *way, journey, route; away* (see **wa(y)**)
we *we; person; interjection indicating surprise, grief, or emphasis*
wé *interjection indicating surprise, grief, anger, or emphasis*
wed *pledge, security; wed, marry*
wede *rage, go mad*
wede, weyd *garment(s), clothing*
weder, wedir, wedyr *weather, storm(s)*
wedir *wether, ram*
wedmen *married persons, husbands*
wedows *widows*
wedyng *wedding, marriage*
weft *weft, woof, woven fiber*
wel(e), we(y)ll *well, much, indeed, truly, kindly*
weld, weyld(e) *wield, possess, govern, command*
wele, weyll *happiness*
welke *walked*
welland *boiling, bubbling*
welner *well-nigh, almost*
welthly *delightful, happy, rich*
wem *spot, stain*
wema(y), wemé, wemo, wemmow *exclamation of surprise or impatience*
wemen *women*
wemles *spotless, immaculate*
wene, weyn *doubt*
wene, weyn(e) *think, expect, suppose, believe*
wenyand(e) *waning of the moon, an unlucky time*
wepyn *weapon*
wepyng *weeping*
wer(e) *were* (see **war(e)**)
were *wear, wear out; keep, protect; trouble, distress, war; contentious*
werere *wearer*
werkys *works*
wery *weary*
wesh *wash*
wex *grew, became* (see **wax**)
weyd *weighed*
weyld(e) (see **weld**)
weynd(e) *go, proceed, depart*
weyndyng *journey*
whake (see **qwake**)
whannow *what now*
whartfull *healthy, prosperous*
whatso *whatever, whoever*
whaynt (see **qwaynt(e)**)
wheder *which (of two), whichever, whatever; whether*
wheder, whedir *whither, where, wherever*
wheme (see **qweme**)
whens *whence, from where*
whensever *wherever from*
wher(e), whore *where, there*
wherby *whereby, how*
whereas *where, wherever*
wherfor *why, for what reason*
wherof *with what*
wher(e)on *on what, on which, to what end*
wher(e)so, wheresoever *wherever*
wher(e)thrugh *through which, whereby*
wher(e)to *where, why, to what end*
whese (see **qweaase**)
whete *wheat, grain*
whett *whet, sharpen*

whik, whyk (see **quyk**)
whilke *which*
whop *shepherd's call for driving sheep*
whore, wher(e) *where, there*
whoso, whosoever *whoever*
whyne *whine*
whyp *whip*
whyr *shepherd's call for driving sheep*
whystyll *whistle, mouth*
whyte *white* (see **quyt**)
widder *wither*
wife, wyf(e), wyff *wife, woman*
wight, wyght *creature, person, man, child; mighty*
wight(ly), wyghtly *bravely, actively, quickly*
will, wyll *will; uncertain, bewildered, lost, at a loss*
wilsom *bewildered, errant, doubtful*
wirship, wyrship, worship *worship, reverence*
wise, wyse *wise; way, manner*
wish, wys(e), wysh *wish; guide, direct, instruct, show, tell*
wisp *handful, bunch*
wist, wyst *know, knew*
wit(t), wyt(t) *wit, intelligence, reason, understanding*
wit(ten), wyt(t) *know, learn, find out*
wite, wyte, wytt *blame, censure*
withall *therewith, with (it), as well*
withoute, without(t)(en), wythouten, wythoutyn, withowtyn *outside, without, besides, unless*
witnes, wytnes *witness*
wittely *intelligently, wisely*
witterly, wytterly *certainly, clearly, truly, skillfully*
wo(o) *woe, misery*
wo-begon *woebegone, beset with woe*
wod *wood, woods*
wode, wood(e) *mad, furious*
wogh(e) *evil, harm*
wold *command, control, keeping, power*
wold(e) *would*
wolfys-hede *cry in pursuit of an outlaw*
woll-blawen *well-blown, well-inflated*
won *wont, accustomed; won, rescued, saved, gotten*
won, wonden *wound, wrapped*
won(e) *live, dwell, remain; place, dwelling, the world, anywhere; abundance*
wonder *wonder; wonderful, marvelous; wondrously*
wonnyng *dwelling*
worth *worth; become, come to*
worthely *worthy, stately*
wote (see **wit(ten)**)
woth, waght *peril, danger*
wowyng *wooing*
wrag(g)ers *wranglers*
wrake, wreke *avenge, injure; vengeance, injury, punishment*
wrang, wrong *wrong, mischief; false, untrue; wrongly, wrongfully, incorrectly, astray*
wrangwys *wrongful*
wrangwysly, wrongwosly *wrongfully*
wrast *turn (away); evil turn, trick*
wrate *wrote*
wrath *wrath, anger*
wrath, wroth(e) *angry, wrathful, sorrowful*
wrears, wryers *accusers, betrayers*
wreke (see **wrake**)
wretyn *written*
wrich *wretched*
wright *carpenter, worker*
wrightry *carpentry*
writars *writers*
wroght *wrought, made, worked, done*
wrokyn *avenged*
wryers (see **wrears**)
wryng *wring, twist*
wrynyng *wringing*
wrythys *twists, changes*
wrytt, wryting *writing, literature*
wulfes *wolves*
wyd(e) *far; wide*
wyfe (see **wife**); *marry, take a wife*
wyghtly (see **wight(ly)**)
wyk, wykid, wykyd *wicked*
wyle *wile, lead, delude*

wyles, wylys *wiles, tricks*
wyll *will, desire; lost, at a loss, perplexed*
wyn *joy, delight, profit; win, go, get, gain, earn, deliver, escape*
wyn(e) *wine*
wynk *wink, close eyes, sleep*
wynyng *winning, advantage, gain*
wyrk(e) *work, do, act, behave, inflict*
wyrkyng *working, doing, performance, deeds*
wys(e), wysh (see **wish**)
wyse, wise (see **wise**)
wyt(t) (see **wit(t)**)
wyte, wytt (see **wite**)
wytterly (see **witterly**)
wytty *witty, wise, prudent*

yai, ye(e), yei, yey *yes*
yare *ready, prepared, eager; quickly, promptly*
yarnes *yearns*
yate *gate*
ye *you* (plural and formal singular)
yede, yode *go, went*
yeld(e) *yield, reward, render to*
yelp *yelp, cry out, boast*
y(h)eme *observe, heed, protect*
yer(e) *year*
yerde *garden, yard*
yerdys *rods, wands*
yerne *yearn (for)*
yester-even, yister-even *yesterday evening*
ying *young*
yis *yes*
yit(t) *yet, still, again*
ylla-hale, ylla-hayll *unlucky, cursed; a curse*
yode (see **yede**)
yolow *yellow*
yoman *yeoman, attendant*
yond(e), yonder, yone *yonder, that*
yowthede *youth, youngness*
Yoyll *Yule, Christmas*
yrens *irons, iron shackles*
yrk(e) (see **irk(e)**)