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THE TECHNIQUE OF OBJECT-PERSONIFICATION IN THE DREAM OF THE ROOD AND A COMPARISON WITH THE OLD ENGLISH RIDDLES

By PETER ORTON

In the longer version of the Old English poem *The Dream of the Rood*, which occupies ff.104v/106r of the Vercelli Book, the poet tells of a vision of the cross which appeared to him one night (1-27), relays a speech delivered to him by the cross which includes an account of Christ's crucifixion (28-121) and describes the reorientation of his life which this vision has worked (122-56).[1] Though the controlling consciousness throughout the poem is technically that of the visionary, it would be anachronistic to attempt to explain the entire vision, including the cross's speech, in terms of his peculiar psychology. The cross is dramatically and psychologically independent, though its speech constitutes, in part, an explication of the image it presents initially to the visionary. Throughout its speech the cross speaks from a physical point of view largely consistent with its identity as the cross of Calvary and as an inert piece of wood; but it is not a disinterested eye-witness, for it reveals in the course of its narrative a view of itself, of human beings and its relationship with them and a set of human senses, emotions and capacities, all of which belie its actual nature as an inanimate object.

So much is a natural consequence of the poet's adoption of the formal device of prosopopoeia to which Margaret Schlauch drew attention over thirty-five years ago.[2] It is to be expected that the cross's speech should reflect its paradoxical nature as a humanized object. But the implications of prosopopoeia for the interpretation of the cross's narrative and the impressive assurance with which the device is handled have not been fully recognized. The aim of this essay is to examine the means by which the cross's peculiar character is portrayed, and to consider the account of the crucifixion and other episodes in the light of its special perspective. This line of approach will lead on to consideration of comparable features of poetic procedure in the Old English *Riddles* which, taken as a group, represent a more elaborate exploitation of prosopopoeia (the *Dream* excepted) than any other English work of the period.

The quality of the cross's manifestation and its impact on the visionary are alike enigmatic. The latter's initial perception is of a bright, bejewelled, golden image raised in the sky and beheld by angels, men and all creation. Despite considerable emphasis on the image's visual qualities, the visionary responds to it in various ways not immediately explicable on the basis of its physical appearance as described. Emotional responses are represented by his fear (21 *Forht*) and sorrow (20 *sorgum*, 25 *hreowcearig*) after the cross

begins to bleed (19b-20a). A moral emanation of some nature is suggested by the visionary's awareness of himself as *synnum fah,/ forwunded mid wommum* (13b-14a) before the cross in its radiant manifestation. Epithets he applies to it (4, 13 *syllic[re]*, 27 *selesta*), expressions like *wuldres treow* (14), *wealdes treow* (17)[3] and *sigebeam* (13) and the assertion: *Ne wæs ðær huru fracodes gealga* (10b) all appear to represent intuitive judgements in response to aspects of the image not describable in graphic terms. More remarkable than these is the visionary's statement: *Hwæðre ic þurh þæt gold ongytan meahte / earmra ærgewin, þæt hit ærest ongan / swætan on þa swiðran healfe* (18-20a). Possibly this simply represents the visionary's recognition, triggered by the bleeding, that this is the cross on which Christ died; but if taken more literally, it may represent an intuitive grasp of some unspecified visual quality he sees through or beyond the gold which is revealed to him when the cross begins to bleed. This latter interpretation is more in keeping with the general emphasis in this part of the poem on the visionary's intuitive, unreasoned responses to symbolic aspects of the cross's appearance. His perception of the struggle as "former" (19 *ærgewin*) in particular suggests his sense of the gold as the final stage in a kind of metamorphosis.[4]

The following lines (21b-3) suggest a fresh development, with both manifestations of the cross alternating in this temporal dimension. The cross later claims that its wounds suffered at the crucifixion are still visible (46b-7) which would imply that both manifestations are available to the visionary throughout the cross's speech. These strangely visible qualities of struggle, time and change find reflection later in the cross's own account of its transformation.

The poet endows the cross with both natural and supernatural characteristics in its address. Whilst granting it speech, mind, vision, hearing and (to a limited extent) emotion, he does not allow it any *independent* action or feeling. Such claims as the cross makes for capacities of this kind are always linked with external events which provide a justification for them.[5] The effect of this treatment is remarkable. A fusion of what may be termed its literal and poetic roles, each to a large extent in rational conflict with the other, is achieved within a unified dramatic portrayal. The reader, whilst remaining aware of strict limitations imposed on the potential role of the cross by the poet's adherence to its status as an inanimate object, is forced by his art to accept a nature in it which, though far from its actual nature as an object, emerges easily from it with little sense of strain or falsification.

The techniques used to achieve this are various. Firstly, the cross's various claims to the ability to bend, break or fall are uttered only when (and, indeed, whenever) it is affected by external physical forces, i.e. when the earth trembles (35-8), when embraced by Christ (42-3), when raised up bearing Him (44-5) and when it is nailed (46-7). When finally it bows down willingly (59-60), this is in response to the hands of the *secgum* who come for Christ's body. It says much for the poet's skill that the external forces at work on the cross and their potential results (or actual results in 42-3) in terms of its movement are varied in such a way that the relationship

between external cause and effect is not overpoweringly obvious. The cross's inclination to *bugan oððe berstan* is presented as a response to its perception (36 *geseah*) of the shaking of the earth, not as an inevitable, physical result of it. The counteracting influence of *Dryhtnes word* (35) reinforces the image of mental processes at work in the cross. Similarly, the trembling of the cross when embraced is automatically accepted by the reader as an emotional response. In 44-5, awareness that the cross is actually raised by men (prompted by 44a *Rod ic wæs aræred*) is diffused by the contiguous presentation of the incident as a positive action of the cross: *Ahof ic ricne Cyning, / heofona Hlaford* (44b-5a). In 46-7, emphasis on the severity of the cross's wounds in conjunction with its statement that it dared not harm the inflicters compels respect for the cross's steadfast obedience to its lord even in such extreme circumstances, thus diverting attention from the factor of external physical disturbance. And finally, our impression of the willed nature of its deliverance of Christ's body to His followers (59-60) is fortified by a detailed description of its state of mind at this point (*Sare . . . mid [sorgum] gedrefed, eaðmod elne mycle*), with which its movement is automatically linked as motive to action. Indeed, an opportunity is never lost for portraying the cross as active, albeit in obedience to Christ or men: the way in which its raising up is presented, by a skilful manipulation of sentence-structure, in such a way that it is felt to act, has been mentioned above. Similarly, in 31 the cross is ordered (*heton*) to raise up (*hebban*) those regarded by its enemies as criminals, which implies a potential for refusal. Even when the cross must be static according to natural laws and Biblical narrative, its steadfastness is emphasized, as in 38 *Hwæðre ic fæste stod* and 43 *Ac ic sceolde fæste standan*. As a result, the impression is that the cross's immovability is willed and an expression of a retainer's obedience to its *Dryhten* (35). It is possibly significant that these utterances are attached only to the first two episodes wherein the cross is physically disturbed: having established an impression of its volition in this connection, too frequent repetition of the fact that it "stood firm" subsequently would elicit the logical response that, according to natural law and gospel narrative, the cross could not do otherwise. The device is used sparingly so that it does not rebound. It is also effectively varied later, in the passage where the cross remains behind, seemingly willingly, after the departure of the mourners (70-73).

The cross is able to see and hear (it hears creation's lament *[55-6]* and the *sorhleoð* of Christ's mourners): so much must be granted to a personified object. But its sentience is limited; nowhere does it lay claim, for example, to have felt physical pain. How, then, does the poet create so powerful an impression of physical suffering that critics have often remarked on the effective transfer of Christ's suffering to the cross? Certainly the cross describes in detail the violence to which it is subject: its first felling in the forest (29-30), fashioning as a cross (31) and transportation to the *beorg* where it is made fast (32-3); then the nailing (46-7) and its final felling and burial after the deposition (73-5). In the first series of episodes, covering its early history (29-33) outrage is conveyed simply by the rapid piling up of violent event on event, the reader's sense of physical anguish resulting, in the

usual way, by emotional inference. That the first event recalled by the cross is of great violence is important: simply by the conjunction of the first personal pronoun (29) with the verb *wæs aheawen* the reader is shocked into identification with the speaker, and so into acceptance of a personality in it; sympathy with the pain it must have felt follows naturally and inevitably. Then immediately a swift sequence of verbs denoting abduction (30 *astyred*), seizing (30 *Genaman*), mutilation (31 *geworhton*), carrying (32 *Bæron*) and fastening (33 *gefæstnodon*) compounds this response by promoting a lingering image of the cross as an enslaved prisoner-of-war. The undercurrent of realism which flows here beneath the developing personality of the cross is available to the reader but is not in destructive opposition to its poetic image as a sentient being.

The cross's recollection of the nailing reinforces the impression of pain: *on me syndon þa dolg gesiene, / opene inwid-hlemmas* (46b-7a), but, as usual, there is no violation of literal truth: the wounds are still visible and "open" (wood does not heal) and their second quality (*inwid-* "malicious") refers rather to the manner of their inflicting than to the result. Both elements, however, conspire to impress on the reader the cross's physical anguish: "open, malicious" wounds could not be other than painful. Again, the appropriate emotional response is inescapable.

The cross's reference to its bloodied state (48) is explicitly linked with the piercing of Christ's side (49 *begoten of þæs guman sidan, siððan he hæfde his gast onsended*). But later, a quite different image is established: *Genamon hie þær ælmihtigne God, / ahofon hine of ðam hefian wite. Forleton me þa hilderincas / standan steame bedrifenne: eall ic wæs mid strælum forwundod* (60b-62a). Here, the juxtaposition of the tortured Christ, the wounded, bloodied cross and the *strælum* "arrows" (probably the nails) conveys a powerful image of the cross as Christ's comrade in arms, wounded and bloodied on its own account.

The theme of the sorrowing cross is introduced in 58 *Sare ic wæs mid [sorgum] gedrefed* and developed in 70-71a *Hwæðere we ðær [h]reotende gode hwile / stodon on staðole*. While sorrow is an internal emotion, *[h]reotende*, if construed as "weeping", is an observable, physical reaction. The notion of the weeping cross is possibly anticipated in 62 *steame bedrifenne*: for *steame* "moisture" can denote either blood or water, and both, according to John 19.34, flowed from Christ's side.[6]

Some general remarks are now possible concerning the cross's veracity. It misrepresents its nature as a material object chiefly in that it claims inner motivation towards action or stillness and the capacity for feeling. When, for example, it says that it dare not fall or bow down contrary to the word of its lord, it lays claim to mind, volition, obedience and hence to a human relationship, but remains peculiarly true to its own material substance; movement, albeit of a strictly circumscribed kind, is open to it here because it is vertical and because external forces are at work upon it which might well make it fall;[7] the poet never cheats by separating any of these external events from the cross's claims to willed movement, actual or potential. Similarly, the cross draws attention to violence

towards it, to its bloodied state and to its wounds, but does not claim to feel pain; however, a sense of its pain is impressed on the reader by the manner of its description.

This simultaneous control of literal and poetic meanings in the speech of the cross finds a close and obvious parallel in the riddle genre.[8] The large and varied vernacular collection in the Exeter Book affords a suitable frame of reference. Those riddles to which the solution is a weapon, tool or other manufactured object used by men generally provide the closest parallels with the *Dream*; in these, the use of certain conventions (e.g. the power of speech in the subject and the servant-master relationship with its owner or user) enable the author not only to disguise the identity of his subject, but also to construct an enigmatic narrative or monologue with its own kind of internal consistency which incorporates the history and day-to-day life of the subject's invented persona. The aim of the riddle is to mislead but not to deceive, and the most successful examples of the genre are not necessarily those most difficult to solve, but rather those in which this narrative or monologue reflects a consistent and dramatically vivid persona, and is varied and interesting in its own right, whilst remaining true (given the accepted conventions) to the making, use and substance of the subject. Full appreciation of a riddle is thus possible only on a second reading or hearing, after the solution is known, for only then do both these qualities - the fidelity of the invented narrative to its base in reality and its dramatic coherence and imaginative variety independent of the solution - become clear.

The narrative of the personified cross is constructed according to similar principles. But whereas the *Riddles* challenge the reader to pierce the surface-meaning to discover the underlying base-object, in the *Dream* it is the significance of the object which is veiled rather than its actual identity. The cross is fully described by the visionary; but it clearly means more to him than a mere description of its appearance can convey, and the function of the cross's narrative is to make this meaning clear, not to conceal its identity. The naming of the cross as cross at a fairly late stage in its narrative (44 *Rod*) does not represent a "solution" to earlier clues to its identity, but rather a particular stage in the object's history which is reflected in one of the two images it presents to the visionary, and which is important for an understanding of its total significance.

Certain techniques whereby inanimate objects are endowed with volition, emotion and capacity for action are to be found in both *Dream* and *Riddles*, and these are listed and discussed below. It should be stressed that these parallels represent similarities of method only; neither the language used nor the images evoked are at all similar in most cases. Furthermore, the number of examples of these methods afforded by the *Riddles* is usually small, and are almost confined to riddles which have weapons, tools and other functional objects as their solutions; 20 "Sword", 4 "Flail" and 93 "Inkwell" exemplify these categories. The presentation follows the order of themes identified above in the *Dream* as closely as possible. The essential technique common to both texts is first defined, followed by an indication of the *Dream* context. References to the

Riddles are by number, solution and line. Comments are added where appropriate.

I Movement (actual or potential) as a result of external physical force presented as a response by the subject to action towards it (*Dream* 42-3a *Bifode ic þa me se beorn ymbclypte; ne dorste ic hwæðre bugan to eorðan,/ feallan to foldan sceatum*): 87 "Bellows" 6-7a *[Þegn] bleowe on eage; hio borcade, / wancode willum* "The thane blew in its eye; it barked and willingly moved up and down"; 54 "Churn" 6b *wagedan buta* "they both shook"; (cf. also 65 "Onion" 5 *Monnan ic ne bite nympþe he me bite* "I do not bite a man unless he bite me").[9] Whereas the *Riddle* subjects move as part of their intended function, in the cross this capacity is a feature of vitality created by the poet's exploitation of its position.

II Movement as a result of external physical force presented as the subject's willed carrying, raising or delivering of an object or being attached to it (*Dream* 44b-5a *Ahof ic ricne Cyning, / heofona Hlaford*; 59b . . . *hnag ic hwæðre þam secgum to handa*, . . .): 20 "Sword" 6b-8a *Þonne ic sinc wege / þurh hlutterne dæg, hondweorc smiþa, / gold ofer geardas* "Then through the bright day I bear treasure through the dwellings, gold, the handiwork of smiths"; (cf. also 58 "Draw-well" 11b-14a). The capacity of the *Riddle* object to carry its ornamentation is little more than a natural extension of its personification, whereas in the *Dream* the opportunity provided by the raising and lowering of the cross is used more positively.

III Stillness or rigidity in an inanimate object presented as "standing fast" through moral restraint (*Dream* 38b . . . *hwæðre ic fæste stod*; 43b *ic sceolde fæste standan*; 70-71a *Hwæðere we ðær [h]reotende gode hwile / stodon on staðole*): no examples in which the moral element is emphasized are to be found in the *Riddles*, but some degree of volition is implied in 60 "Reed" 2b-3a . . . *minum gewunade / frumstaþole fæst* "I remained fast in my native abode" and 88 "Horn" 21-2 . . . *ac ic sceal broþorleas bordes on ende / staþol weardian, stondan fæste* ". . . but, brotherless, I must hold my place at the end of the table, stand fast". In the *Dream*, the way in which the natural stillness of the cross is exploited to establish its relationship with Christ and its role in His service is particularly striking.

IV The details of an object's manufacture or adaptation to human use presented as an accumulation of violent and warlike actions against it (*Dream* 29-33a . . . *ic wæs aheawen* . . . *astyred* . . . etc.): 53 "Battering Ram" 4b-8a . . . *oþþæt he frod dagum / on oþrum wearð aglachaðe / deope gedolgod, dumb in bendum, / wriþen ofer wunda, wonnum hyrstum / foran gefrætwed* ". . . until, old in days, it was changed, deeply wounded in its miserable state, dumb in bonds, bound over its wounds, adorned in front with dark trappings"; 93 "Inkwell" 17-24a *Siþþan mec isern innanweardne / brun bennade; blod ut ne*

com, / heolfor of hreþre, þeah mec heard bite / stiðecg style. No ic þa stunde bemearn, / ne for wunde weop, ne wrecan meahte / on wigan feore wonnsceaft mine, / ac ic aglæca ealle þolige, / þæt [. .]e bord biton "Later the brown iron wounded me within; no blood came out, gore from my breast, though the hard, strong-edged steel bit me. I did not lament that time, nor did I weep at the wound, nor might I avenge my misery upon the life of the warrior, but, wretch that I am, I endure all (those weapons) that bit the shield".

V The theme of an inanimate object's unhealable wounds (*Dream* 46b-7a *on me syndon þa dolg gesiene / opene inwid-hlemmas*): 5 "Shield" 10b-14 *Næfre læcecynn / on folcstede findan meahte,/ þara þe mid wyrtum wunde gehælde, / ac me ecga dolg eacen weorðað / þurh deaðslege dagum ond nihtum* "Never might I find on the battlefield the kind of physician who might heal my wounds with herbs; but the wounds from swords increase on me because of the deadly stroke night and day".[10]

The *Riddles* provide no analogues for the themes of an object's movement in response to visual perception (*Dream* 35-7), an object's potential movement in a direction unintended by those who physically disturb it (*Dream* 44-7), a bloodied object (*Dream* 48,62) or a weeping object (*Dream* 70); but *Riddle* 93 "Inkwell" 17-24a (quoted above under IV), in which bleeding and weeping are explicitly denied to the subject, provides an interesting contrast: in the *Riddle* the poet has exploited the dry, inhuman aspects of his subject to create a paradoxical image of a warrior who, though strong in self-discipline, is physically powerless against the aggressor and whose very durability (or inability to die) involves protracted suffering and dishonour; whereas in the *Dream*, the poet, by exploiting the proximity of Christ, has managed to endow the cross poetically with visible manifestations of human emotion and injury. The latter poem reflects the more adventurous technique.

Most of the passages cited from the *Riddles* bear little verbal resemblance to the *Dream* extracts. III is an exception, but even here there is no evidence of direct influence in either direction. It is clear, however, that in general the poets of *Dream* and *Riddles* followed similar procedures. For example, in the *Riddles*, the investment of animism in a material object was often the method used to veil its identity. Sometimes the resulting characterization was of an animal (as in 87 "Bellows" and 65 "Onion" under I above) but more often the greater imaginative scope provided by a human persona was preferred, as in the *Dream*. In some cases this provided an opportunity to exploit such themes as the extraction of the subject from a natural habitat, its carving, cutting or other shaping to its manufactured form and its new, enforced role in the service of man; these are often presented enigmatically by images of binding or abduction, mutilation or wounding and enslavement or control respectively, as, for example, in 53 "Battering Ram" and 93 "Inkwell" (under IV above). Only in the latter riddle are these ideas employed in the service of a fuller characterization as they are in the *Dream*. On the other hand, the *Dream* poet exercises a firm control over the extent of the cross's characterization. For example, the idea of an

object's unhealable wounds (under V above) is not over-emphasized: it would be unfortunate if the cross as an insentient object were seen to complain too much of wounds shared and actually suffered by its sentient lord. In contrast, the uprooting and subsequent violence suffered by the cross is given considerable emphasis: as Christ is not dramatically present during these incidents, the cross may do double duty as both retainer and symbolic representative of its lord who suffers comparable violence and degradation elsewhere. This level of organization, which transcends anything found in the *Riddles*, was required of the *Dream* poet by his choice of subject. None of the *Riddles* attempts a consecutive narrative of the same complexity, much less a well-known one; most range more or less widely over the various functions and typical circumstances of the subject, especially those mentioned above in which are related the subject's transformation from natural object to artefact. The *Dream* poet, however, was dealing, not simply with a particular object with a certain function, but also with a known narrative in which the object is variously involved with particular human characters and groups. Despite the fairly loose treatment of the gospel accounts of the crucifixion, he was not as free to select those aspects of his subject which were best suited to personification. He was faced with the problem of adapting a known narrative in such a way that the theological significance of the central event might appear prominent and unmistakable, while retaining its essential features in a recognizable form.

In the light of the cross's assumption, through the poet's art, of a set of human capacities and emotions foreign to its actual, inanimate nature, how should the reader expect the cross to describe an event like the crucifixion in which human figures act independently? Its description of this event and associated episodes reveals that it is no mere observer, but an involved participant. In the following analysis, some fragmentation of the textual evidence will be advantageous: aspects of the cross's narrative which reflect a particular viewpoint will first be assembled, and their interpretation subsequently modified in the light of other aspects.

To begin with, just as the reader is kept aware of the firm roots of the cross's poetic personality in its known history and in the natural world, similarly, though the cross speaks of Christ and the crucifixion from an apparently human standpoint, its fundamental relationship to Christ as object to person is not obscured. Thus Christ unambiguously "mounts" (34 *gestigan*, 40 *gestah*) the cross (an absurd notion unless the cross is understood to be a material object); cross and Christ are not presented as in some other, equivocal relationship (for example, as making a joint stand against a common foe) which might imply that both are human. Other reminders of this relationship are the cross's reference to the nails (46) and its description of the deposition (59-61a). In addition, the cross occasionally refers to its shape and function (40 *gealgan*, 56 *rode*), thus reminding the reader of its own non-human appearance. By these means, the poet ensures that the visual image of the cross as cross is maintained, along with an awareness of the unfolding gospel narrative. An important corollary of this is that, as an object,

the cross may be expected to speak of the crucifixion as a human narrator would not. As in certain *Riddles*, the reader is invited to associate imaginatively vision and mind with a material object in a world of men, rather than to accept a fully-realized human personality in the cross.

Nevertheless, its persona is of human type, and its environment is peopled with humans of whom it speaks as if it, too, were human, and identifiably so: it classifies its assailants *holtes on ende* (29) as *feondas* "enemies", not as gallows-makers. A second group is distinguished by the terms *secgum* (59), *hilderinca(s)* (61, 72) or *beornas* (66) and a third by *Dryhtnes þegnas* (75) or *freondas* (76). It is easy to identify the likely bases of these groups in traditional accounts of the cross's history, but the cross's own identifications are cruder and largely military. Its relationship with Christ, whom it designates as *Dryhten* (35, 75), *geong hæleð* (39), *beorn* (42), *guman* (49), *æðelinge* (58) or *mæran þeodne* (69) (amongst other terms) fits naturally into this system. Thus in the perceived world of its persona, the cross regards itself as a member of a comitatus and identifies groups and individuals according to the system this role would normally imply in OE battle-verse; and the "heroic" Christ is a natural and almost inevitable figure in the battleground which dominates the cross's horizon.[11]

It is, then, appropriate to view the cross's own story and its description of the crucifixion as an account of its lord's last battle in terms of this relationship and this world, at least in the first instance. Its description of events is characterized by a perspective and language proper to the praising of a dead hero who died gloriously. No other retainer is in a better position to commemorate his lord in this way, for the cross, by its own poetic testimony, played its part in this battle alongside its lord and, as we have seen, suffered on its own account.[12]

Their relationship and shared perspectives are clearly indicated. On His first appearance, Christ is immediately recognized by the cross as its *Dryhten* (35). A recognized set of attitudes shared by Christ and cross is suggested by the phrases *efstan elne mycle* (34, of Christ) and *eaðmod elne mycle* (60, of the cross) and the *strang ond stiðmod* Christ (40) recalls the cross's *ic fæste stod* (38, varied in 43). Thus they are united, in the cross's view, by heroic attitudes in common. The cross indicates that its rigidity is in willed obedience to its lord (35b *ofer Dryhtnes word*) and seems to imply that they are comrades-in-arms against a common foe (37b-8a *Ealle ic mihte / feondas gefyllan*, as Christ hastens to mount it). The fact that the cross considers itself mocked with Christ (48) shows that it perceives in the *feondas* equal malevolence towards itself and its lord. In the light of this, the cross's emphasis on its own physical condition (46-7a, 48b-9a etc.) is scarcely surprising: it is no more in a position to convey a first-hand account of its lord's anguish than is, say, Wiglaf in *Beowulf*. The obeisance it owes its lord is hinted by the latter's perceived embrace (42 *ymbclypte*) in conjunction with the cross's inclination to *bugan to eorðan* (42) or *feallan to foldan sceatum* (43). Other indications of the relationship - for example, the cross's impulse to protect its

lord by crushing its enemies (by implication shared by Christ) - have been mentioned above (p. 3). Its lord is killed (49b *he hæfde his gast onsended*, 53 *Wealdendes hræw*, 56 *Cyninges fyll*, 72 *Hræw colode*) and is mourned and interred by his followers as befits a hero (65-8) while the cross sustains severe war-wounds (62 *mid strælum forwundod*). A further suggestion of the cross's assumption of kinship with the people who surround it is found in 61b-2a *Forleton me þa hilderincas / standan steame bedrifenne*: there is perhaps an implication here of Christ's followers' neglect of the cross in favour of Christ himself. The cross's overriding concern throughout is for its lord as, humbly (60 *eaðmod*) it delivers his corpse to his followers and continues to mourn him (70) after other thanes have departed, exhausted in their grief (69 *meðe*).

The cross maintains its usual logical consistency in this description of the crucifixion. For example, the variation between 46 *næglum* "nails" and 62 *strælum* "arrows" (if these refer to the same objects) might suggest inconsistency - a mixture of objective accuracy and the military perspective which is so much in evidence in the cross's narrative. But both kinds of identification are acceptable from the cross: as a cross in shape and substance, it is liable to have nails driven through it; but its warrior-spirit leads to their equation with arrows. Disparate objects are thus conflated. Similarly, the cross's interpretation of the crucifixion as an alliance between itself and its lord against human enemies does not conflict with the visual image of Christ in physical contact with it: Christ (or its lord) must be attached to the cross in order to do battle because, as a cross, no other position in relation to it would be appropriate. On the other hand, the manner of the contact is viewed as an embrace (42) as a logical consequence of the cross's identification of its lord and master in Christ. The fact that this latter action is not associated by the cross with the subsequent nailing (treated of separately in 46-7) demonstrates its peculiar tendency to make distinctions between connected events which would constitute misrepresentation in a human narrator.

Turning again to the Exeter Book *Riddles*, we find that those aspects of the cross's description of its environment and relationships which have been identified so far find reflection there.[13] These are as follows:

VI Builders or makers of the subject recognized as enemies to its original, natural state (*Dream* 30, 33, 38 *feondas*): 26 "Book" 1 *Mec feonda sum feore besnyþede*, "An enemy deprived me of life"; 73 "Spear" 1-4 *Ic on wonge aweox . . . oþþæt me onhwyrfdon / gearum frodne, þa me grome wurdon, / of þære gecynde þe ic ær cwic beheold*, "I grew up on the plain . . . until, old in years, those who were hostile to me changed me from the nature I preserved before when living"; 93 "Inkwell" 22 *wigan* "warrior" (quoted in context above under IV). Noteworthy here is the extension, in the *Dream*, of this recognition into the cross's account of the crucifixion; the enemies to its natural state become the adversaries faced by both cross and Christ.

VII Mutual recognition, implied by the subject, between it and men or other objects, of a role in the same military force (see above, pp. 9-10): 14 "Horn" 4-5a . . . *hwilum ic to hilde hleoþre bonne / wilgehleþan*, ". . . sometimes by my voice I summon good comrades to battle"; the narrator implies the same recognition in 53 "Battering Ram" 8b-11a *Nu he fæcnum weg / þurh his heafdes mægen hildegieste / oþrum rymeð*. "Now he opens up a way with the might of his head for another cunning warrior". These *Riddle* objects are weapons or war-gear and their personification as soldiers follows naturally from this. The *Dream* poet's imposition of this role on the cross is logically connected with the extension noted under VI above.

VIII The subject's recognition of a man as lord (*Dream* 35 *Dryhten* etc.): 4 "Flail" 4 *hlaford*; 17 "Ballista" 5 *freo*; 20 "Sword" 2, 24 *frean*, 4 *waldend*, 9 *Cyning*, 23 *healdende*, 26 *þeodne* (cf. also 21 "Plough", 23 "Bow" etc.). Note, however, that the cross knows its lord intuitively, without previous acquaintance.

IX The subject's recognition of, and obedience to, its master's wishes (*Dream* 35-6a *Þær ic þa ne dorste ofer Dryhtnes word / bugan oððe berstan*): 4 "Flail" 5-7a *Oft mec slæpwerigne secg oðþe meowle / gretan eode; ic him gromheortum / wintercealde oncweþe*. "Often has a man or woman come to greet me whilst I am weary with sleep; winter-cold, I answer them who are angry at heart"; 58 "Draw-well" 13b-14a *hyreð swa þeana / þeodne sinum*. "Nonetheless it obeys its lord". Here the parallel is perhaps deceptive: *Dream* 35 *ofer Dryhtnes word* may well suggest the kind of intuitive recognition exemplified under VIII above rather than the speech-convention used in the *Riddles*.

X An object's obeisance to its lord expressed by bowing (*bugan*) (*Dream* 42-3 *bugan to eorðan, / feallan to foldan sceatum*): 73 "Spear" 6-7 . . . *gedydon þæt ic sceolde wiþ gesceape minum / on bonan willan bugan hwilum*. " . . . contrived that, contrary to my nature, I sometimes had to bow to the will of a slayer".

XI An object's misinterpretation (in human terms) of actions towards and around it (*Dream* 42 *me se beorn ymbclypte;*): 14 "Horn" 3b *Hwilum weras cyssað* "Sometimes men kiss me"; similarly, 63 "Beaker" 4-5 *Hwilum mec on cofan cysseð muþe / tillic esne;*[14] 23 "Bow" 8-14, in which men drink (i.e. are pierced by) the venom (arrows) spat out (shot) by the bow.

Like the first series of parallels, these vary in the degree of similarity they illustrate between the two texts, though the essential forms of poetic procedure are comparable in each case. In VI the method of operation is clearly identical. X provides an illuminating contrast as well as a parallel; in the *Riddle*, *bugan* is probably expressive literally of the levelling of the spear against an enemy (or, possibly, of its bending when thrust against an enemy) and, in terms of its invented persona, of its enforced submission to its

wielder, the *bonan*, whom it apparently associates closely with the men who originally uprooted it and shaped it, and whom the spear later recognizes as its lord (8 *mines frean*). The cross, on the other hand, may bow literally only by accident, but dramatically the impulse to do so is a product of regard for its lord. The cross does not adopt the *feondas* as its masters in the same way that the spear accepts service under the *bonan*, but recognizes as lord only the Creator of its substance, not the human creators of its present form.[15] In short, for the cross, unlike the spear, a change of shape does not entail new allegiances; the cross-makers remain *feondas* throughout the crucifixion. The importance of this assumed relationship between cross and Christ is obvious at the level of symbolic meaning, and helps to explain both the cross's ready identification of its lord when first encountered and its recognition of his wishes (see VIII and IX above). In this respect, the cross resembles the subjects of such *Riddles* as Nos. 1, 2 and 3, which are natural phenomena, not material objects.

Under XI are assembled examples from the *Riddles* of the kind of odd perspective on the external world which results when an object is given a descriptive role. Christ's perceived embrace of the cross is analogous with the *Riddle* extracts, and accords well with His active role in the crucifixion. But the general presentation of Christ as active and uncoerced cannot be justified simply in terms of the cross's personification. A more secure artistic basis for this central image lies in aspects of the cross's speech not yet considered, which reflect an advanced degree of understanding acquired after the event. For the cross's story is a blend of contemporary and retrospective perceptions and interpretations. Only now, exhumed and glorified (75b-7) can it understand that the apparent defeat was really a victory. Given this new knowledge, it is to be expected that it should not present the hero as passive and reluctant; for it is not with such qualities that heroic victories are won. In this connection should be mentioned the unusual emphasis given to images of rest and weariness beside those of death in the description of Christ's death. Though such images are common enough in Old English poetry (particularly in descriptions of death in battle), they are never as prominent as here (63 *limwerigne*, 64 *he hine ðær hwile reste, / meðe æfter ðam miclan gewinne*, 69 *reste he ðær* etc.).[16] But whereas in most other contexts these images serve to recall the heroic struggle which ended in death, in the *Dream* they have the added function of underlining the equivocal nature of this death in particular.

This more advanced view of Christ as a heroic lord who dies in battle but is not defeated represents a transitional perspective. It merges with a new one which reflects the cross's latest transformation and level of enlightenment at the time of its speech to the visionary. The cross's early history ends at line 77 with its Invention and adornment by *Dryhtnes þegnas* (75), but the remainder of its speech makes it clear that it has undergone a fundamental change, as evidenced, for example, by its use of the term *beacen* "symbol" for itself (83, 118). There is a greater sense of maturity and authority as the cross, abandoning its previous, military perspective, stands back from its earlier existence and makes a quite

fresh series of identifications and interpretations. The men who fashioned it as a cross are no longer *feondas* but *bealu-wara* (79) "evil men". Previously, it now claims, it was made to be *wita heardost,/leodum laðost* (87-8) "the harshest of punishments, most hateful to men"; no longer the unwilling slave of its captors, made to bear criminals, it acknowledges its earlier role, in retrospect, as an instrument of torture, in contrast with its present status as the key to eternal life (88-9). Now, rather than expressing outrage at its abduction from its companions at the edge of the wood, it regards itself as honoured, chosen above all trees, as Mary was chosen above all women (90-94), and recognizes the purpose of its lord's suffering as redemptive (98-100).

But the cross's latest point of view is also represented in the body of its story. Its perception of the true nature of its lord is indicated by its consistent employment of two types of word for him: some, listed above, can be taken to refer to a worldly lord;[17] to these may be added 35, 75 *Dryhtnes*, 44 *ricne Cyning*, 56 *Cyninges*; others unambiguously denote the Christian God (33 *Frea mancynnes*, 39 *God ælmihtig*, 45 *heofona Hlaford*, 51 *weruda God*, 53 *Wealdendes*, 56 *Crist*, 60 *ælmihtigne God*, 64 *heofenes Dryhten*, 67 *sigora Wealdend*). The function of this variation seems to be to encompass both the cross's present state of knowledge and its previous, limited, heroic viewpoint. Similarly, the cross illuminates its story with the light of present understanding by commentary (39 *Ongyrede hine þa geong hæleð, [þæt wæs God ælmihtig]*, 41b . . . *þa he wolde mancynn lysan*) which forges a link between past and present worlds.[18] It is as if the cross, no longer a member of a *comitatus* and knowing now the true nature of its lord, were reinterpreting an earlier set of experiences, perceptions, identifications and relationships in rather the same way that a riddle might be reread after its solving. This aspect of its narrative also elucidates the visionary's intuitive perception of time and change in the cross on its first appearance, when it constituted a kind of visual puzzle.[19] The themes of old and new simultaneously perceived, of past suffering and present glory and of the temporal and the eternal are all expressed both visually in the cross and in its narrative.

In a recent article which argues that the *Dream* poet "drew . . . upon the heroic convention of the personification of weapons for his portrayal of the cross of Christ",[20] Michael Cherniss says:

> I do not wish to suggest that the poet who composed *The Dream of the Rood* was directly influenced by the Old English riddles, or that his poem and the riddles shared a particular literary influence in the form of a common source. Quite apart from the possibility of direct relationships, what is important is that these poems share certain elements which appear to have been common in Old English heroic tradition. The riddles portray those aspects of their subjects that would have been most readily apparent to their poets and audiences, and by employing the heroic diction and the convention of personification they reveal fully certain tendencies inherent in the portrayal of the same subjects in

> narrative contexts. The tendencies which they reveal reappear in *The Dream of the Rood*, not, I suggest, because the poet necessarily knew the riddles, but because his habits of thought and expression had been shaped by the same poetic tradition as that which shaped the habits of the riddle poets.[21]

This is a more guarded statement than that of A.S. Cook, who identified the vernacular OE riddle as providing "the apparent genesis of the artistic procedure" in the speech of the cross.[22] But despite Cherniss's justifiable caution, it is clear that the *Dream* and the *Riddles* have a good deal more in common than the limited degree of object-personification which informs the treatment of weapons in heroic tradition. In both texts, a thorough exploration of the poetic possibilities of personification is well under way which has scarcely begun in such passages as *Beowulf* 1522b-8, which records the failure of the sword Hrunting, and which represents a level of elaboration somewhat higher than is usual in OE heroic verse generally:

> Ða se gist onfand,
> þæt se beadoleoma bitan nolde,
> aldre sceþðan, ac seo ecg geswac
> ðeodne æt þearfe; ðolode ær fela
> hondgemota, helm oft gescær,
> fæges fyrdhrægl; ða wæs forma sið
> deorum madme, þæt his dom alæg.
>
> (Then the stranger discovered that the light of battle would not bite, harm life, but the edge failed the prince in his need; it had endured many battles previously, had often cleft the helmet, the corslet of the doomed; that was the first time that the valued treasure's reputation failed.)

If the poetic technique of both *Dream* and *Riddles* poets was shaped solely by the level of object-personification exemplified here, it must be allowed that their use of the technique represents a considerable advance along remarkably similar lines.

On the question of possible connections between *Dream* and *Riddles*, Cherniss is surely right to reject direct textual influence in either direction. But these poems may be products of the same age. The dating of the *Dream* depends largely on the relationship between the two surviving texts. The longer version considered here is preserved in the late tenth-century Vercelli Book in the late West Saxon dialect (with a sprinkling of forms proper to Anglian dialects which may be interpreted as features of an OE poetic language).[23] The shorter version, consisting of extracts (in terms of the Vercelli version) from the speech of the cross, is inscribed in runes on the Ruthwell Cross, Dumfriesshire, in an early Northumbrian dialect. The date of this monument is probably late seventh or early eighth century, and its text "has all the appearance of reference to or quotation from some familiar text".[24] Even

if it is accepted that the Ruthwell text is an extract from a longer version, it is of course impossible to be certain whether or not the Vercelli version is a faithful rendering of this longer version; but theme and treatment alike suggest composition in the Northumbria of the Ruthwell Cross.[25] The age of the riddle in Anglo-Saxon culture extended from the seventh to the eighth century;[26] Latin cross-riddles by Tatwine and Hwætberht survive from this period, and parallels between that of Tatwine and the *Dream* have been identified recently.[27] But neither these poems nor the various collections of Anglo-Latin riddles which are products of the same general period are to be compared with the *Dream* in respect of its ambitious development of the device of prosopopoeia; the vernacular *Riddles*, taken as a group, provide the closest parallels for this. The evidence assembled in the present study suggests either that the composition of the *Dream* provided a stimulus towards the development of a more sophisticated form in the riddle genre, or (more probably) that the *Dream* poet was familiar with the conventions of vernacular riddles, and that he made good use of them to convey the significance of a complex event of supreme importance to his Christian audience.[28]

NOTES

1 Citations are to the Old English texts as printed in *The Dream of the Rood*, ed. Michael Swanton (Manchester, 1970); *The Exeter Book*, ed. G.P. Krapp and E.V.K. Dobbie, A.S.P.R., III (London and New York, 1936), for the *Riddles*; and *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*, ed. Fr. Klaeber 3rd ed. (Boston, 1950).

2 "*The Dream of the Rood* as Prosopopoeia", *Essays and Studies in Honor of Carleton Brown* (New York, 1940), pp.23-34.

3 Verse 17b *wealdes treow* is metrically defective and editors have often emended *wealdes* ("of power" or "of the forest") to *wealdendes* ("of the Lord"); see Swanton, *Dream*, p.107 for a defence of the MS form.

4 The event or events to which *earmra ærgewin* refers is in doubt; the phrase may denote Christ's, or others', crucifixion; see Swanton, *Dream*, pp.108-9 for these and other possible interpretations.

5 See also below, pp. 4-5.

6 See also Swanton, *Dream*, p.109, note on 20 *swætan*.

7 J.A. Burrow, in "An Approach to *The Dream of the Rood*", *Neophilologus*, XLIII (1959), 123-33, sees the cross's various expressions of its capacity to crush its enemies or to refuse to carry Christ as "more than simply a natural extension of the animism implicit in prosopopoeia. They refer properly to Christ. It was Christ who could have struck down his enemies," etc. The power claimed by the cross would normally suggest Christ's own to a Christian audience, but in this context the cross's claims do not seem to me to suggest "a kind of 'dream condensation' between Christ and the cross", as Burrow expresses it. Cross and Christ, though in all senses close, are physically differentiated (cf. 48 *unc butu ætgædere*), and the cross is subject to *Dryhtnes word* (35) which provides the authority for its rigidity here; the context implies that, had Christ wished to destroy his enemies, the cross *qua* cross in His service would have been the agent of destruction. See Robert B. Burlin, "The Ruthwell Cross, *The Dream of the Rood* and the Vita Contemplativa", *SP*, LXV (1968), 23-43, esp. 28-9.

8 See Swanton, *Dream*, p.67.

9 Cf. Aldhelm's riddle XLVI *Urtica*, 1-3: *Torqueo torquentes, sed nullum torqueo sponte / Lædere nec quemquam volo, ni prius ipse reatum / Contrahat et viridem studeat decerpere caulem*; Aldhelm's riddles are here cited from James H. Pitman, ed., *The Riddles of Aldhelm* (1925; rep. Hamden, Connecticut, 1970).

10 For the shield as a much-wounded soldier, cf. Aldhelm's riddle LXXXVII *Clipeus*, 5-6: *Quis tantos casus aut quis tam plurima leti / Suscipit in bello crudelis vulnera miles*?

11 The assumption made by Michael D. Cherniss, "The Cross as Christ's Weapon: the Influence of Heroic Literary Tradition on *The Dream of the Rood*", *ASE*, II (1973), 241-52, that the conception of Christ as warrior was a determinant of the poem's form (242, 249) is persuasive in view of the obviously didactic function of the work as a whole. The only problem is how this conception is to be reconciled with the cross's persona. It cannot be lightly assumed that the poet bypassed the

filtering consciousness of the cross and communicated directly with the reader. On this problem, see further, p.12 below. A measure of the uncertainty of critics in the face of the warrior-Christ is provided by the notion, stated in Robert E. Diamond, "Heroic Diction in *The Dream of the Rood*", *Studies in Honor of John Wilcox*, ed. A.D. Wallace and W.O. Ross (Detroit, 1958), pp.3-7 and echoed in John V. Fleming, "*The Dream of the Rood* and Anglo-Saxon Monasticism", *Traditio*, XXII (1966), 43-72, that the poet in his treatment of Christ was somehow at the mercy of fixed habits of heroic portrayal which here surfaced uncontrollably. Such an opinion of the poet's command over his material consorts oddly with the very high degree of structural organization which most critics now perceive in the poem as a whole.

12 The idea that the cross regards itself as the slayer of Christ is now widely accepted; see e.g. Fleming, 45; Burlin, 30; Swanton, *Dream*, note to line 66. The question is bound up with the reading *guman* in 146, where context indicates a plural "of men" (with late-West Saxon *-an* for normal OE genitive plural *-ena*) rather than a singular; Swanton, *Dream*, note to 146, suggests a generic singular, "of man" (i.e. mankind) though this meaning of *guma* is unattested elsewhere. If 66 *banan* is genitive singular, it can only refer to the cross; if plural, it must be taken as a reference to the *feondas*. The problem is difficult, but there are probably more objections to the former than to the latter interpretation. The cross does not elsewhere identify itself in the role of slayer until 87-8a *Iu ic wæs geworden wita heardost*, by which time it is speaking of itself from a different standpoint (see below, pp. 12-13); and even there, it emphasizes its enforced, medial role as instrument rather than agent. In the earlier part of the poem, the cross plays an active part in support of its lord. When, for example, it raises Christ up, it is not to kill Him but in order that battle may be joined. As an object, the cross, though "able" to fall, cannot itself crucify; the nails, over which it has no control, are the instruments of Christ's death, not the cross. Only after line 78 does the *Dream* poet abandon this kind of logic, when the cross stands back from its previous existence and reinterprets its role there in a spirit of detachment.

13 See above, p.5, for preliminary remarks on the general nature of the parallels between *Dream* and *Riddles* identified in the present study.

14 Cf. Aldhelm's riddle LXXX *Calix Vitreus*, 7-8: *Sed mentes muto, dum labris oscula trado / Dulcia compressis impendens basia buccis . . .*

15 See Cherniss, 249: "Given his formulation of Christ as heroic warrior, the poet of *The Dream of the Rood*, I believe, would have found it easy, indeed logical, to conceive of the cross - the only inanimate object which faces Christ's enemies with him - as the 'weapon' of heroic literary tradition". Cherniss adduces no evidence from the text that particularly suggests the idea of the cross as a weapon, and references to the resemblance in shape, the adornment of both swords and crosses with similar materials and the significance of both as symbols of kingship do not provide sufficient grounds for the identification. The parallels furnished by the *Riddles*, moreover, as in the theme of an object's natural origin and subsequent transformation by men for their use, are not confined to weapon riddles (cf. 26 "Book", 93 "Inkwell" etc.); and there are numerous functions and experiences of the cross, realized or potential, which could not be attributed to any weapon, particularly its various functions of raising and delivering (31, 44, 59) and its ability to be mounted (34, 40).

16 These images are especially striking in *Beowulf* 962-4, 1585-6 and 2901-02. In particular, compound adjectives with *-werig* as the second element (*Dream* 63 *limwerigne*) are often used to establish them (*Beowulf* 2125 *deaðwerigne* 962 *fylwerigne*, 1586 *guðwerigne*); see Swanton, *Dream*, p.73, footnote 1;

Burrow, "An Approach", 260. *limwerigne* is distinct from these *Beowulf* compounds, however, in that the weariness is associated directly with the body.

17 See above, p.9.

18 See also Burrow, 262: "The two sets of terms [i.e. for Christ] express the contrast between *humana natura* and *deitas patris*, the contrast which is summed up in line 39".

19 See above, pp.1-2.

20 Cherniss, 251-2.

21 Cherniss, 249.

22 Albert S. Cook, ed., *The Dream of the Rood* (Oxford, 1905), p.L.

23 Swanton, *Dream*, pp.6-7.

24 Swanton, *Dream*, p.41.

25 Swanton, *Dream*, pp.42-58.

26 Krapp and Dobbie, *The Exeter Book*, pp.lxvi-vii.

27 See W.F. Bolton, "Tatwine's *De Cruce Christi* and *The Dream of the Rood*", *Archiv*, CC (1964), 344-6.

28 This article has benefited considerably from criticisms of an earlier version made by my colleagues Dr Joyce M. Hill and Mr R.L. Thomson. They should not, however, be held responsible for the views it contains.

APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF MEDIEVAL SERMONS

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By L.J. BATAILLON

This attempt to review some of the ways in which medieval sermons may be classified is not intended to provide a series of definitive and perhaps delusive labels, but rather to assist generally in the description and analysis of these documents.[1] Studies of sermons may arise out of a variety of specialized interests, whose particular concerns may lead to neglect of some features which at first glance seem foreign to the research but may actually be highly relevant. In every case, the broader our concern, the better it is for our study.

It would seem logical to begin by considering general questions which have to be asked about all texts, that is, those concerning authorship, date and provenance, and then pass to more specific problems, such as liturgical practice, rhetorical patterns and matters of doctrine. But the two kinds of question are very intimately linked and we cannot, for instance, speak of chronology without alluding to liturgy. So it will be better to take the questions in the more practical order in which they often come to us when we have to study sermons. I should add that, as my main interest is in thirteenth-century sermons, this order is probably more suited to these than to earlier or later ones.

Collections

The first question to ask in any attempt at classification is whether the sermon is an isolated one or part of some collection. Here we have to deal with a twofold question: first, how has our sermon come to have the form in which we now find it? Second, what was its original condition?

In its spoken form, a sermon may be an occasional piece or it may be a part of an organized cycle, such as the three series of Lenten "collations" preached in 1267, 1268 and 1273 by Bonaventure, "De decem praeceptis", "De septem donis Spiritus sancti" and "In Hexaemeron". (Many of my examples will be taken from Bonaventure's preaching because the sermons he left are many, can be found easily in good editions, and were preserved in several different ways.[2])

As for the written text, a sermon which was originally isolated may very well be handed down to us in some collection. In practice we find sermons much more frequently in collections than singly, and it is not always easy to see what kind of collection we are dealing with.

We have first to judge whether we have an ordered collection or what Italians call a "zibaldone". We often find manuscripts which contain sermons without any order: a man interested in preaching, when he found a sermon he thought valuable, had it copied, generally because he had some idea of using it for his own preaching. In such collections we often find, together with sermons, other texts not actually preached but useful as preaching material, such as *exempla*, *distinctiones*, or short moral or liturgical *opuscula*. In such cases the collection has little to teach us about each of its elements, except some paleographic or codicologic indications of dating.

But we also have better-ordered collections, such as series of sermons on specific biblical books: sermons on the Psalter by John of Abbeville;[3] on John's Gospel by Bonaventure;[4] or, not to forget one of the most famous medieval collections, the *Sermones in Cantica* of Bernard of Clairvaux.[5]

The sermons may be arranged in chronological order, sometimes by the author himself, as Matthew of Aquasparta probably did in his autograph manuscripts.[6] More often someone who heard it wrote up a succession of notes he had made (*reportatio*) when listening to the preaching. In this category we have very valuable collections of University sermons for the years 1230-1[7] and 1281-3.[8] A still more striking case is that of Peter of Limoges who wrote up his own "reportations" for the years 1260-3,[9] and provided a well-copied manuscript containing reports of many sermons preached in the parochial and monastic churches of Paris in 1272-3.[10]

We have some collections classified according to the type of congregation or occasion. Of this kind are several collections of *sermones ad status*,[11] with sermons to nobles, merchants, countrymen, widows or children; and series for clerical gatherings such as synods, ordinations, elections, pastoral visits and even the deposition of a prelate.[12]

But the order we find most frequently is liturgical. As sermons are ordinarily given on a liturgical occasion, chiefly during Mass or Vespers, and as their themes are normally chosen according to the liturgy, the most practical type of collection was that with a plan following the liturgical year. In liturgical books, especially Missals and Breviaries, there is a distinction between the series for Sundays and feasts of the Lord, including the movable Easter cycle, and that for the worship of the saints based on a fixed monthly calendar. Many collections of sermons are therefore characterized by the distinction between *sermones de tempore* and *sermones de sanctis*. In this case, the sermons for Christmas, Epiphany, Lent weekdays and Ascension, are to be found in the temporal series. But there is also another liturgical order where the distinction is between sermons for the Sundays, *dominicales*, and sermons for the feasts, either of the Lord or of his saints, *festiui*; then we find Christmas and Ascension in the *festiui*. If there are sermons for Lent weekdays, they normally form another series of *sermones quadragesimales*. Often there is a third or fourth collection, *de communi sanctorum*.

There are also some special dispositions, such as the collections of Cistercian sermons, like that of Guerric of Igny.[13] In the Cistercian use, preaching to the community was restricted to a list of fifteen to twenty occasions in the year.

We will look further at the implications and difficulties of the study of liturgical collections and how to distinguish them from chronological ones when we deal with the question of dating a sermon.

Versions

We have now to ask questions about the relation between the written text that was preserved and the oral speech that is the usual form of a sermon. First, was there always a spoken form? Some of the texts presented as sermons may have been spiritual treatises cast in the form of sermons as a literary device but actually made to be read and meditated upon: what Michel Zink calls "preaching in an armchair".[14] They may also have been parodies or satirical imitations intended to provoke laughter or indignation.

Even assuming that the sermon we are studying was actually preached, we may still be dealing with different situations. The text we have may be a preliminary draft, or the definitive text put into writing by the preacher before he delivered the sermon. Alternatively, it may have been written by the preacher himself after preaching; this case is very difficult to distinguish from the preceding one, even when we have the autograph text of the preacher as we have for Matthew of Aquasparta.[15] Again, our text may consist of notes taken by some hearer, which we call *reportatio*, or the reworking of such notes; or it may be a model written to be used by less gifted or more lazy preachers; and we can also find mixtures of these different types. If Servasanto of Faenza explains clearly that, being too old to preach himself he writes models for his younger confrères, these models are so personal that it is highly probable that they are in great part sermons that he actually preached when younger.[16] The collection *De sanctis* of Evrard de Valle Scolarium is also a model collection, but some of its elements are sermons which were in fact preached, as we also have reported versions of them.[17] In these cases the text we have corresponds to a sermon preached at least once, and perhaps many times.

Reported versions raise more intricate questions. We have to ask how they were made, if we can trust them and how we are to edit them. There were probably different ways of taking notes during a sermon. A case of what seems to be a *reportatio* in its primitive, rougher state was recently found by Nicole Bériou. It is more a series of key-words than a continuous text and is very difficult to understand, but we can compare it with a text which was made afterwards with the help of these notes and which is easily readable.[18] In this case we see the role of memory in the making of a *reportatio*, and though we must remember that medieval people had a much better training in memory than we have, even the best memory may have defects and there is a chance that the *reportator* has in some places used his own vocabulary instead of the preacher's.

However, even if every *reportatio* is subject to some influence

from the *reportator*, it can also be a more vivid witness of what was actually preached even than the same text written by the author himself. If we compare the same sermon written by Aquasparta in his own hand, and as reported by a hearer, we see that in the autograph an example is merely indicated as *exemplum de puero mutinensi*, the story of the young man of Modena, but that in the reported version there is a very lively description of a scene, witnessed by Aquasparta himself, between a cautious provincial and a generous young candidate for the Franciscan order.[19] So we should never discard a *reportatio* for the sole reason that we have a text written out by the author: we must always study both with equal care. The same is true when we have to deal with several reports of the same sermon. We have first to ask whether they come from different hearers, each having expanded his text independently; or whether they have their origin in a single report with independent elaborations; or whether we have before us some combination of these possibilities. If we have to prepare an edition of a sermon which has come down to us in different forms, we may choose one of them, we may publish all, but we must avoid combining them in an attempt at reconstitution.

Written out by the author or reported by hearers, the sermon could be afterwards abridged, and this fate befell a good many. Sometimes it was done out of thrift. Young Godfrey of Fontaines was one of the *socii* of the Sorbonne, of which the official title was "Poor Masters' College". His habit was to copy for himself the texts he needed, abridging them very carefully and cleverly. He did this with a collection of sermons belonging to Stephen of Abbeville, a canon of Amiens and benefactor of the Sorbonne. As the two manuscripts are still preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale, we can see how Godfrey was keeping essential things while eliminating others.[20] It may also have meant that the condensation of the sermon reduced it to a form more practicable for the light luggage of an itinerant preacher.

If Godfrey left unchanged important parts of the sermons he abridged, there are more severe shortenings, as is the case with several collections of Bonaventure's sermons, and two in particular. When we can compare the original version we see how drastic the cuts were: often there remain only the main articulations with a single biblical authority instead of a whole development.[21] Very often also, without suffering internal amputations, sermons are deprived of their prologue (*prothema*) or their *collatio*. The literary value of the complete text may of course be badly affected by such curtailments.

Language

After the problems arising from the writing and reporting of sermons, we may now turn to those that concern language. We have sermons written wholly in Latin, wholly in the vernacular, and in a mixture of both. The first conclusion would be to assume they were delivered as they are now written, and this was the position of Barthélemy Hauréau in a long discussion with Lecoy de la Marche.[22] Hauréau maintained that a great deal of preaching to lay people was

in a macaronic mixture, while Lecoy asserted that normally all sermons to the laity were preached in the vernacular. Lecoy was certainly right. We cannot however be sure of the original language used in any given case without some examination. Even sermons written in the vernacular can be translations of Latin ones. We have at least two examples: one in a collection of French translations of St Bernard; another, also in French, in Maurice of Sully's Latin models for parish priests.[23] Instances of sermons preached in the vernacular but written in Latin are much more numerous. In the Leipzig manuscript of Albert the Great's sermons, a great number bear the indication *in uulgari*, but nearly everything is in Latin, with a very few short phrases in German.[24] We also have many Latin sermons with the rubric *in gallico*. In these the Latin is sometimes a word for word rendering of French constructions, so that, to understand the Latin, we have first to reconstruct the French. A more interesting case is a sermon delivered by Bonaventure to the nuns of Saint Antoine in Paris for the feast of St Mark in 1273. The whole sermon is in Latin without any French words, but nonetheless the preacher comments on his poor command of French: "Licet ego nesciam bene loqui gallice, non tamen propter hoc uerbum Dei, quod debeo proferre, in se minus ualet. Ideo non curetis de hoc, dum tamen me intelligere possitis". The style of this sermon itself contains many gallicisms, such as "debemus . . . clamare misericordiam de bono corde ad exemplum unius bonae dominae . . .".[25]

Very often in a sermon written mostly in Latin we find phrases or words in the vernacular, and this can provide a good opportunity to discover the dialect of the preacher; but here also some caution is necessary. We have a very precious collection of *reportationes* made by Peter of Limoges during the years 1260-3 from sermons preached in Paris by such men as Robert of Sorbon and Barthélemy of Tours. These contain several vernacular expressions, but this vernacular is not the northern French used in Paris and natural to men from Champagne or Touraine: it is Occitan, the language of Limoges, the native region of the *reportator*.[26]

To explain these cases of sermons rendered in a language other than that which was actually used, we may postulate a translation, or perhaps notes taken in the vernacular but put into Latin by the reporter, but we cannot be sure: Latin seems to have become for many clerics a language as natural as their own vernacular and they may have translated at the same time as they reported. This seems to have been the case in the rough *reportatio* I alluded to above.[27]

Reported versions do not only give us Latin renderings of vernacular sermons. At the end of the eleventh century Ralph of Escures sent to some Norman abbots the Latin text of a sermon that, he says, "in conuentu fratrum, prout potui, uulgariter plus semel exposui".[28] Here it is the author himself who either published in Latin a sermon composed in the vernacular or delivered in Norman French what he had written in Latin. Yet it was not difficult to preach in the vernacular with the help of a Latin text or draft. Humbert of Romans tells us an illuminating story about Innocent III.[29] The Pope was preaching in Italian for the feast of St Mary Magdalen and was giving word for word a rendering of Gregory the

Great's homily. He had an assistant near him with the Latin text to prompt him in case of some lapse of memory. He was acting in this manner, he explained to some bewildered witnesses, to show by personal example that there is no shame in using works of predecessors. For us now this is a clear case of oral translation from one language to another. Innocent was used to preaching in Italian, for he says of his own sermons, in the preface to the collection: "quosdam sermones ad clerum et populum, nunc litterali, nunc uulgari lingua proposui et dictaui".[30]

Audience

"In Latin and in the vernacular, to the clergy and to the people": the question of language leads us naturally to questions about audience and places of preaching.

If some sermons were preached to highly mixed assemblies, as on solemn occasions when a great part of the clergy gathered with crowds of the people, generally speaking audiences were more specialized and the congregations were mostly either lay or clerical.

Sermons to laymen could be given in the open air, in some large area, such as the famous sermons at St Paul's Cross in London.[31] In some Italian towns outside pulpits for open air sermons still survive, such as the one at Santa Maria Nuova in Viterbo which is said to have been used by Thomas Aquinas. Here there is no room for a large number of people,[32] but in Florence the space before Santa Maria Novella was enlarged in the mid-thirteenth century to allow greater crowds to attend sermons by Dominican preachers.[33] This large Piazza retained its function until the beginning of the fourteenth century when Giordano da Pisa frequently preached in the morning during Lent to a large crowd of people. He had another open air gathering in the afternoons, often in some garden, for more specialized congregations, generally using the interior of the church only for the Vespers preaching.[34]

For, of course, the ordinary place for delivering sermons was a church or a chapter house. But a church could be used for different kinds of assemblies. In a parish church, the nave served for the most essential kind of preaching, the Sunday sermon given during the Mass to the parish flock; lateral chapels were the normal place for the instructions addressed to more restricted congregations, chiefly fraternities. A Cathedral church or its chapter house was normally reserved for great ceremonies and gatherings of the diocesan clergy for ordinations, synods, or elections. In monasteries or convents of men, the sermons to monks or friars were ordinarily given in the chapter house, *coram fratribus in capitulo*, as many rubrics of Bonaventure's sermons say,[35] but in religious houses for women, the sermons to nuns or beguines took place in the monastery church.

University sermons, at least in Oxford and Paris, were normally preached on Sundays *apud predicatores*, and on feasts occurring on weekdays *apud minores*.[36] We ought to use the expression "University sermon" with some care and restrict it to the official sermons *coram universitate*, delivered by Masters or Bachelors in Theology, which students and probably also masters were compelled to attend. Of

course there was only one such preaching, with morning Mass sermon and evening Vespers collation in one day. But too often the appellation "University sermon" has been given to sermons delivered by masters to an audience outside the University, and sometimes to sermons which have merely been preserved with true University sermons. Such mistaken usages can be very misleading.

If we sometimes have rubrics giving valuable indications about places and audiences these are unfortunately rather exceptional. In general we have no external clues and have to rely only on the content of the sermon. It is often easy to detect clerical or monastic sermons: ordinations, elections, synods were necessarily alluded to in sermons delivered on those occasions, while a preacher addressing monks or nuns would frequently speak of the virtues of the founder or of the special duties of religious life.

But apart from these cases it is often difficult to know the type of audience being addressed. We have some negative criteria. If a sermon was definitely given in Latin, it was made for a clerical audience, certainly not for a parish or a congregation of women; if it was clearly in the vernacular, it was not for the University. But we cannot be sure that regular or secular priests were always addressed in Latin: we have learned from the case of Ralph of Escures that some Norman monks of the end of the eleventh century received instructions in French,[37] and when a thirteenth-century bishop, Eudes Rigaud, wanted to be understood by his priests, he certainly had to speak to them in their native language. Even if we cannot be sure of the actual language, there is some probability that a very learned sermon with many patristic and classical quotations and using a highly theological or philosophical language, was preached *coram universitate*, but we have equally some University sermons very popular in manner, and even some sermons certainly preached to parish people or to nuns in which we find philosophical expression of some difficulty. Prayers for the good state of the University do not necessarily indicate a university audience: we find them also in sermons for Parisian parishes or monasteries.[38] So, in too many cases, we cannot be sure of the type of audience being addressed.

Sometimes we have some indications, if not of a precise place, at least of a region. Of course a vernacular sermon gives us some certainty of the country where it was preached, and sometimes a dialectal study may prove helpful; but we have to remember the case of Parisian sermons interspersed with Occitan expressions.[39] Some allusions to local events or institutions may be good evidence: if an *exemplum* concerning a king does not necessarily point to a kingdom, the use of *balliuus* or *senescalcus*, or *scabinus* or *potestas*, may usefully restrict the area. We may also find some clues in liturgical implications. Of course, if we know the author, even a great traveller like Bonaventure, we can generally make reasonable guesses about the places where he preached.

Authorship and Date

After questions of place and audience, we now turn to those concerning authorship and date, but as the dating of a sermon is very

often linked with liturgical elements we have to deal more or less simultaneously with medieval liturgy, chronology and authorship.

It is better to begin with the simplest cases, where some reliable indications give us the name of the preacher and the date of his sermon. We have this good luck in the case of the "Collationes de decem praeceptis" of Bonaventure: *Explicit expositio decalogi secundum fratrem Bonauenture ministri generalis ordinis minorum, quam predicauit parisius anno domini m.cc.lx.septimo in sacra quadragesima prout potuit notari dum ipse predicaret.*[40] Such indications of author, date, liturgical occasion, place and character of a reportation, are however seldom found together. Some rubrics may be less clear, such as: *Dominica eadem. Sermo fratris Willelmi de millac ordinis minorum qui legit sententias apud minores anno lxv°*. Here we cannot be sure whether William preached this sermon in the Franciscan church in 1265, or whether he was lecturing here on the *Sentences* at this date and preached later in this church, or in another one.[41]

Fortunately we have many solid attributions of the authorship of single sermons and of whole collections. Some identify important authors such as Pope Innocent III, Stephen Langton, the Chancellor Philip, the Cardinal Legate Eudes of Chateauroux or King Robert of Naples, but more often they bear lesser-known or unknown names, such as the William of Millac (or perhaps Nullac or Willach) I have just mentioned. Sometimes there is at least, as in this case, mention of an order or of an office, but some of the more widely spread collections of model-sermons of the thirteenth century come from very shadowy figures; Nicholas of Biard, William of Mailly, Thomas Brito. All we know of these is that they were religious, as their names are usually preceded by *frater*; that they spoke French, as they often quote French proverbs and expressions; and that they issued their collections before the years 1275-80, when they were included in the *exemplaria*-list of the University of Paris. It is often said that Biard was Franciscan and Mailly Dominican, but both of these assertions are without any solid foundation.[42]

If we have many correct attributions, there are also too often false ones, and confusions have arisen in the past as well as in recent times. Let us take a curious example.

I have just mentioned Thomas Brito. Besides a collection *de communi sanctorum*, he has left a rather diffused series *de tempore*. As he was practically unknown, he was easily mistaken for a more famous "frater Thomas", namely Aquinas, and we have a fourteenth-century manuscript which bears an attribution to the Dominican Doctor. This manuscript is in the Vatican Library and was noticed by Pietro Uccelli, a good Thomist scholar but too easily swayed by his enthusiastic zeal to find new works of Aquinas, and so a part of Brito's collection was printed during the last century under the name of Aquinas.[43] Brito's popular style with its French quotations, is very different from that of Aquinas, and the great majority of scholars rejected Uccelli's attribution without hesitation. But, at almost the same time, the catalogue of the manuscripts of the Library of Troyes was compiled. This collection includes a manuscript which consists of two different parts: the first, anonymous,

is Thomas Brito's collection; the second contains the *Sermones de sanctis* of Guibert of Tournai. The two parts, with no special similarities, were bound together by chance. Nevertheless the author of the catalogue described the two series as one, giving Brito's incipit and the final attribution to Guibert, and this false authorship was followed for an anonymous manuscript of Bordeaux.[44] When August Pelzer made his otherwise excellent catalogue of a part of the *Vaticani latini*, he had to give a description of Brito's manuscript bearing Aquinas's name. He correctly rejected this attribution, but placing too much confidence in the catalogues of Troyes and Bordeaux, he then ascribed the sermons to Guibert, and was followed by Anneliese Maier for a Borghese manuscript.[45] More recently, misled by a Madrid manuscript, Schneyer put Brito's sermons under the name of Thomas de Lisle, an English Dominican of the fourteenth century.[46] There are several similar cases that show how cautious we have to be in the question of authorship.

As for provenance, we may sometimes not know the name of a preacher but still not be completely ignorant about him. We can at least identify the religious order of a monk or friar if he says *beatus pater noster Benedictus* or *Franciscus*. We may also sometimes draw inferences from his opinions: a fierce attack upon friars' privileges is not ordinarily the mark of a Dominican or Franciscan. But here also we must not be too hasty: an anonymous sermon in a Venice manuscript provides a clear example of strong Augustinism, the author attacking the use of Aristotelian philosophy in theology so heavily that a part of the sermon was regarded as the work of some Franciscan master. But there is another copy in Soissons which bears without equivocation the name of William of Luxi, colleague of Aquinas at St Jacques of Paris, a Dominican if not a Thomist.[47]

We have to be even more cautious in chronological questions. We rarely have precise rubrics and very seldom internal indications in the sermon itself, as when we find an invitation to pray for the election of a good pope.[48] So we have to take into account liturgical data, thus entering a field which is still too little known and in which some rather serious mistakes have been made, but which can be very instructive when investigated with proper care.

For instance, if we know that a sermon for an identified feast was given on a particular day of the week then the number of possible years is automatically narrowed down. When the details are fuller, as when we know for instance that the sermon was for a feast of the Annunciation which fell on Palm Sunday, the possible years may be only two or three in one century.[49] Occasionally a further element will allow us to know the actual year with certainty. The same criterion may be used for a collection of sermons: if we are sure that it follows a genuine chronological order, we may identify those years in which that order was possible.

But here we have to be very cautious, as there are two main temptations, and experience shows that it is easy to be ensnared by them. The first mistake is to take a purely liturgical order for a chronological one: we must realise that for one manuscript in chronological order, we have at least twenty in liturgical. This error may lead to serious mistakes. For instance, seven manuscript collections

were said to be from the academic year 1267-8, but only one of these is actually a chronological collection of this year: another perhaps may be, but the others contain sermons from at least 1249 to 1281.[50]

The second temptation is to forget that liturgy is not usually a fixed system. The stability of Roman liturgy between the councils of Trent and Vatican II has in fact led many people to use modern missals or breviaries for dating medieval sermons, but this has also caused many mistakes. Actually, there were as many liturgical variations as there were regions or orders. The Parisian use was not the Sarum use, and Dominican books differed largely from Franciscan ones: the former had a series of pericopes for Epistles and Gospels for Sundays very near the Parisian order, but the Franciscan used the Ordinary of the Roman Curia (a rather disturbed one) and so after Pentecost read a passage of the Gospel one or two weeks before Parisian or Dominican churches.[51] And so, when we do not know the liturgy in use at the church where a sermon was preached it may be very dangerous to attempt to place it chronologically solely on the basis of the liturgy; it is better not to use liturgical criteria if we are not very well acquainted either with liturgy or with reliable liturgists.

Structure

We arrive now at those internal criteria for classification which concern the structure and the style: the literary aspects of preaching.

We have first to see if our text is more a homily or a proper sermon. The two terms seem sometimes to have been used indifferently and never very clearly distinguished, but a useful distinction is to reserve the term 'homily' for the kind of preaching where a whole biblical pericope, normally one of the two or three read during the Mass, was explained thoroughly phrase after phrase to the listeners. This was the normal use in patristic times and it seems to have been kept up in Italy till the thirteenth century.[52] The sermon was more properly the type where only a short quotation, also normally taken from the lections or chants of the liturgy for the day, was divided and developed at length according to the technical patterns later systematized in the *Artes praedicandi*. This kind of preaching seems to have begun in northern Europe during the twelfth century.

Another distinction is between sermon and collation, but this last word is also ambiguous. Sometimes it is given to a series of sermons preached successively on a common theme. Such are the Lent preachings of Bonaventure and Thomas Aquinas. Sometimes it seems to designate a less formal discourse, such as instructions given to religious in their chapter. A third application, perhaps commoner from the thirteenth century onwards and chiefly used for the University sermons, indicates an address normally shorter in length and delivered at Vespers to complete the principal sermon given during Mass. Generally the collation is nothing more than the last part of the proper sermon, often introduced by a reminder of the general division given in the morning. It may happen that sermon and collation were copied together without marking the break, or that one of the two parts was dropped by the copyist; however the two

parts are generally both given.

It happens more often that the copyist omits the preliminary part of a sermon, the *prothema*, normally based on a different biblical passage from the sermon itself. The use of such introductions, seems to have developed in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, chiefly at the University. The *prothema* is intended as an invitation to pray for the good result of the preaching by asking God to bestow his grace and give wisdom and eloquence to the preacher and open minds and hearts to the hearers.[53] Very often there is a common word in both biblical quotations. In a sermon for St Andrew, Bonaventure takes for *thema*: *Lignum uitae desiderium ueniens*; and for *prothema*: *Lingua placabilis lignum uitae*.[54] This of course can be a good occasion for the preacher to demonstrate his subtlety. A University sermon normally has a *prothema*, but we have seen it may be omitted by the copyist, and there are sermons with *prothemata* even in parochial preaching.[55] We have also some collections of *prothemata*. If sermons may begin with a *prothema*, they may also end with a bidding prayer but these are seldom copied by the scribes.[56]

The inner structure of the sermon may be more or less sophisticated, but the general plans are often quite simple, consisting of three or four parts with a similar number of subdivisions, but rarely with subdivisions of subdivisions. When the principal parts are more numerous they are not normally subdivided. The general scheme seems to be with three parts, each subdivided in three, the preachers following the advice of the *Artes praedicandi*.[57]

We have next to see if the sermon does or does not conform to other rules of the *Artes*, noting whether it is rhymed or has rhymed divisions, or whether the preacher uses proverbs or allusions to secular literature. Even though the majority of quotations are normally biblical, the number of other authorities cited, the Fathers or the philosophers, may be very characteristic of some preachers and may sometimes give clues to the date: a citation of "Theophilus", for instance, is probably in fact a passage of Theophylact, found in Latin only in the *Catena aurea* of Aquinas, and therefore indicating a date after 1265.[58]

An important question concerns the use of *exempla*. Some authors give many, others few or none; sometimes they are told with many details, sometimes only summarized or even indicated by a short title. Some preachers who use few or even no *exempla*, instead develop lengthy comparisons taken generally from the *thema*; Peter of Rheims and William of Mailly have curious examples of this type, comparing oxen with the apostles, or a boat or medicine with penance.[59]

Nearly every thirteenth-century preacher built his sermons on *distinctiones*, classifications of the various interpretations of biblical terms. Study of these may prove interesting, but at present too few collections of *Distinctiones* are available for us to judge their influence.

Doctrinal Material

There remain now the doctrinal criteria for classification,

probably the most important, as sermons were intended for the Christian edification of their hearers. It would be very interesting to chart the evolution of doctrinal concerns over the years. We know the importance of eschatology for the preaching of Carolingian times, especially among the Anglo-Saxons,[61] and in the last years of the Middle Ages. But in the thirteenth century, the Last Judgment has a rather limited interest and the dominant theme is personal penance and moral conversion.[62] We can sometimes see the more precise positions of a preacher in disputed problems: if Bernard of Clairvaux and Geoffrey of Auxerre remind their auditors of the dangers of Abelard's and Gilbert's doctrines, we find in the following century much discussion of the use of secular philosophy or Roman law, of the plurality of benefices and, above all, the role and privileges of Mendicant Friars. We may find in such discussions suggestions of identification, but we have seen in the case of the Dominican William of Luxi, mistaken for a Franciscan, that here also we have to be cautious.

I have often urged the need for caution, but I would not wish recognition of the difficulties in the study of medieval sermons to be taken as a deterrent to work in this field. Rather it is because the field is rich but still not sufficiently cultivated that we often find ourselves in the position of pioneers, and pioneers must be acquainted with the problems of the terrain if they want to gather a plentiful harvest into their barns.

NOTES

1 A *more accurate analysis of the classification of medieval sermons*, with a careful study of the methodological problems, is being prepared by Jean Longere for *Typologie des sources médiévales* edited by Léopold Génicot.

2 St Bonaventure, *Opera omnia*, (Quaracchi, 1882-1902), vols. V and IX. The *Collationes* are printed in vol. V, pp.327-532. The collection of sermons for Sundays may now be consulted in the new edition: St Bonaventure, *Sermones dominicales*, ed. I.G. Bougerol, *Bibliotheca Franciscana Scholastica Medii Aevi*, XXVII (Grottaferrata, 1977).

3 J.B. Schneyer, *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit um 1150-1350*, *Beitrage zur Geschichte des Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters*, 43 (Munster, 1969-), vol. III, pp.534-58 (afterwards cited as Schneyer, *RLS* with volume, page, and if necessary, item numbers). F. Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, (Madrid, 1949-), vol. III, p.342 no.4541.

4 Bonaventure, *Op. om.* , vol. VI, pp.535-634.

5 St Bernard, *Sermones super Cantica Canticorum*, ed. J. Leclercq, C.H. Talbot, H.M. Rochais, (Rome, 1957-58), in *Opera*, vols. I and II.

6 Matthew of Aquasparta, *Quaestiones disputatae de gratia*, ed. V. Doucet, *Bibliotheca Franciscana Scholastica Medii Aevi*, XI (Quaracchi, 1935), pp.xxxviii-ix, cxxxix-lii.

7 MS Paris B.N.Nouv. acq.lat.338. See M.M. Davy. *Les sermons universitaires parisiens de 1230-31. Contribution à l'histoire de la prédication médiévale*, *Etudes de philosophie médiévale*, XV (Paris, 1931); Schneyer, *RLS* VI 13-16.

8 MSS Paris B.N.lat. 14947 and 15005. See B. Hauréau, *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, (Paris, 1890-93); vol. IV, pp.8-17, 190-255; Schneyer, *RLS* VI 36-46.

9 MS Paris B.N.lat. 15971, ff.68-132; 16482, ff.285-347. See Schneyer, *RLS* IV 665-86; A. Lecoy de la Marche, *La chaire francaise au moyen âge spécialement au XIIIe siècle*, 2nd ed., (Paris, 1886), pp.103, 106-7; M. Mabille, "Pierre de Limoges copiste de manuscrits", *Scriptorium*, 24 (1970) p.46; "Pierre de Limoges et ses méthodes de travail", in *Hommage à André Boutemy* (*Coll. Latomus* 145) p.249.

10 MS B.N. 16481. See Schneyer, *RLS* IV 686-94; N. Beriou, "La prédication au béguinage de Paris pendant l'année liturgique 1272-73", *Recherches Augustiniennes*, 13 (1978), pp.105-229; B. Hauréau, "Sermonnaires", in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, 26 (1873) pp.387-468.

11 The best known are, after the "Sermo generalis" of Honorius Augustodunensis in his *Speculum ecclesiae* (*Pat.Lat.* 172, cols. 861-70), those of Jacques de Vitry (Schneyer, *RLS* III 212-21), and of Guibert of Tournai (*RLS* II 299-307); also the second part of Humbert of Romans' "De eruditione praedicatorum", see Th. Kaeppeli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi* (Rome, 1970-), vol.II, p.287, no.2013.

12 Among many examples may be cited the twin collections of Erlangen Univ. Bibl. 322 *ff.1r-45r (2d foliation)* (Schneyer, *RLS* VI 140-2, nos.73-87) and München, Bayer.Staatsbibl. Clm 26491 ff.85r-105r, 129r-156v (*RLS* VI 65-7,

nos. 54-63, 71-87).

13 Guerric d'Igny, *Sermons*, ed. J. Morson and H. Costello, trans. P. Deseille, *Sources chrétiennes* 166, 202: *Série de Textes Monastiques d'Occident*, xxxi, xliii, (Paris, 1970, 1973); cf. vol. I, pp.22-3. (Schneyer, *RLS* II 248-52.)

14 M. Zink, *La predication en langue romane avant 1300, Nouvelle bibliothèque du moyen âge*, (Paris, 1976), p.478.

15 See note 6 above.

16 Assisi Comunale 520 f.99v; edited by V. Gamboso, "I sermoni festivi di Servasanto da Faenza nel codice 490 dell'Antoniana", *Il Santo* 13 (1973) 19.

17 Schneyer, *RLS* II 2-15, nos. 52 and 160; 142 and 153. Add no. 6 and MS Venezia Marciana, fondo antico lat. 92 ff.211ra-213ra (*RLS* VI 220 no. 11).

18 N. Bériou (see note 10 above) p.115.

19 L.J. Bataillon, "La predicazione dei religiosi mendicanti del secolo XIII nell'Italia Centrale", in *Mélanges de l'Ecole francaise de Rome, Moyen âge et temps modernes* 89 (1977) p.693, note 14.

20 MSS Paris B.N.lat. 15956 ff.211r-315r (Stephen of Abbeville); 16515 ff.461r-474r (Godfrey of Fontaines).

21 MSS Milano, Ambrosiana A.11 sup. and Paris B.N.lat. 14595. The abbreviated form is given (after the long one if this is known) in the Quaracchi edition of Bonaventure (see note 2), vol. IX; cf. p.102 and 106, 151 and 155 etc..

22 A. Lecoy de la Marche (see note 9: 1st ed., (Paris, 1868) pp.219-46; 2nd ed. pp.233-69). B. Hauréau (see note 10) pp.388-90. Phyllis B. Roberts, *Stephanus de Lingua-Tonante. Studies in the Sermons of Stephen Langton, Studies and Texts*, 16, (Toronto, 1968), pp.52-4. M. Zink, (see note 14) pp.85-107.

23 M. Zink, (see note 14) pp.32-6 (Maurice of Sully); 65-71 (St. Bernard).

24 J.B. Schneyer, "Predigten Alberts des Grossen in der Hs Leipzig Univ. Bibl. 683", *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, 34 (1964) pp.45-106. Idem., "Deutsche Bestandteile in einer scholastischen lateinischen Predigtsammlung des 13. Jahrhunderts (Hs. Leipzig, Univ. Bibl. 683)", *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*, 89 (1967) pp.54-71.

25 Bonaventure, *op.om.* (see note 2) vol. IX, pp.519-24. The cited passages are pp.519 col.2 and 521 col.1.

26 MSS cited note 9. A. Lecoy de la Marche (see note 9) p.107.

27 See note 18 above.

28 A. Wilmart, "Les homélies attribuées à S. Anselme", *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 2 (1927) p.21.

29 "De eruditione praedicatorum", I, 7, in Humbert of Romans, *Opera de Vita Regulari*, ed. J.J. Berthier, vol. II (Rome, 1889), p.397.

30 *Pat.Lat.*, 217, col.311.

31 G.R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England. An Introduction to Sermon Manuscripts of the period c.1350-1450*, (Cambridge, 1921), p.198.

32 A. Walz, *Luoghi di San Tommaso*, (Rome, 1961), p.97.

33 S. Orlandi, "Il VII° Centenario della Predicazione di S. Pietro Martire a Firenze (1245-1945). I Ricordi di S. Pietro Martire in Firenze", *Memorie Domenicane* 64 (1947) pp.123-5. A. Dondaine, "Saint Pierre Martyr. Etudes", *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 23 (1953) p.77.

34 C. Delcorno, *Giordano da Pisa e l'antica predicazione volgare, Biblioteca di "Lettere" Italiane*, XIV, (Florence, 1975).

35 Bonaventure, *op.om.* (see note 2) pp.33, 39, 40, 42, 49, 51 etc.

36 A.G. Little, F. Pelster, *Oxford Theology and Theologians c. A.D. 1282-1302*, (Oxford, 1934), pp.170-1. P. Glorieux, "L'enseignement au moyen âge. Techniques et méthodes en usage à la Faculté de Théologie de Paris au XIII^e siècle, *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, 35/43 (1966), p.150.

37 See above note 28.

38 N. Bériou (see note 10) p.137 and note 86. Bonaventure, *Op.om.* (see note 2) vol. IX, p.524, col.1.

39 See above note 26.

40 MS Troyes 951 f.43r. Bonaventure, *op.om.* (see note 2), vol. V, p.xliii. P. Glorieux, "La date des 'collationes' de S. Bonaventure", *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 22 (1929) pp.257-72.

41 MS München Bayer. Staatsbibl. Clm 23372 p.35a; cf. ibid. p.115b, "Sermo fratris Willelmi Lectoris apud minores factus in uigilia ascensionis domini" and Vat.lat. 1265 f.133va, "In conuersione sancti pauli a fratre G. de wilach". See R.E. Lerner, "A collection of sermons given at Paris ca. 1267 including a new text by Saint Bonaventure on the life of Saint Francis, *Speculum* 49 (1974) 466-98, especially 489.

42 The arguments given by Haureau and Schneyer in support of the view that Nicholas of Biard was a Franciscan are taken from sermons which do not belong to his authentic works. B. Hauréau, *Notices et extraits de quelques manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, (Paris, 1890-93, vol. II, p.91. J.B. Schneyer, "Einige Sermoneshandschriften aus der früheren Benediktinerbibliothek des Mont Saint-Michel", *Sacris Erudiri*, 17 (1966), pp.188-9; ibid., "Eine Sermonesliste des Nicolaus de Byard, O.F.M.", *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 60 (1967) pp.3-4. On William of Mailly, see Th. Kaeppeli (see note 11), vol. II, p.118.

43 The most usual edition is, Thomas Aquinas, *Opera omnia*, ed., S.E. Fretté, vol. 32 (Paris, 1879), pp.694-790, 807-15.

44 MS Troyes 823 (*Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements*, vol. II, Troyes, (Paris, 1855), p.342). MS. Bordeaux 288 (*Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements*, vol. XXIII, Bordeaux, ed. C. Couderc (Paris, 1894) p.159).

45 MS Vat.lat. 812. (*Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codices manuscripti recensiti. Codices Vaticani Latini*, vol. II, 1, Cod.679-1134 rec. A. Pelzer, in *Bibliotheca Vaticana*, 1931, p.153-62). Cod. Borgh. 76 (*Codices Burghesiani Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, recensuit A. Maier, *Studi e Testi* 170, (Città del Vaticano, 1952), pp.94-5.

46 Schneyer, *RLS* V 631-9; the *Sermones de communi sanctorum* are on pp.663-70. The intermediate series *De sanctis*, pp.642-62, is from Tommaso Agni da Lentini.

47 MSS Venezia Marciana fondo antico lat.92, ff.191ra-195va; Soissons 125, ff.74va-79va. Schneyer, *RLS* II 477 nos.8-9. M. Mückshoff, "Die Quaestiones disputatae de fide des Bartholomäus von Bologna O.F.M.", *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters*, XXIV, 2 (Münster in W., 1940), pp.152-3, note 50. L.J. Bataillon, "Les crises de l'Université de Paris d'après les sermons universitaires", in *Die Auseinandersetzungen an der Pariser Universität im XIII. Jahrhundert Miscellanea Mediaevalia*, 10, pp.167-9.

48 MS Bruxelles B.R. II.1142 f.43va. This gives the date October 5th 1242 for a sermon of John of La Rochelle. J.G. Bougerol, "Le origini e la finalità dello studio nell' Ordine Francescano", *Antonianum* 53 (1978) p.419 note 50.

49 MS Oxford Merton Coll. 237, ff.46rb-48vb, giving the dates of 1263 and, more probably, 1274 for a sermon of Nicholas of Gorran. Cf. *Bulletin Thomiste* IX (1954-6) p.950, no.1804.

50 P. Glorieux, "Sermons universitaires parisiens de 1267-8", *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 16 (1949) pp.40-71. Cf. L.J. Bataillon, "Sur quelques sermons de S. Bonaventure", in *S. Bonaventura 1274-1974*, II, (Grottaferrata, 1974), p.503, note 37.

51 L.J. Bataillon (see previous note), p.503, note 38. N. Bériou (see note 10), p.127, note 76. A more detailed article on this topos by M. O'Carroll will appear in *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 49 (1979).

52 Thomas Waleys, "De modo componendi sermones cum documentis", ch.2, in Th.-M. Charland (ed.), *Artes praedicandi. Contribution à l'histoire de la rhétorique au moyen âge, Publications de l'Institut d'Etudes Médiévales d'Ottawa*, VII, (Paris, Ottawa, 1936), p.344: *in aliquibus partibus, puta in Italia, communiter quando praedicatur non clero sed populo, non accipitur breue thema, sed totum euangelium quod legitur in missa accipitur pro themate, et totum exponitur.* Cf. ibid. p.112. Some sermons of the Dominican Tommaso Agni da Lentini (see note 46), active during the second and the third quarters of the thirteenth century, are still built on homiletic patterns.

53 On the prothema and its function see J.B. Schneyer, *Die Unterweisung der Gemeinde über die Predigt bei scholastischen Predigern. Eine Homiletik aus scholastischen Prothemen Veröffentlichen des Grabmann-Instituts*, N.F. 4, (München-Paderborn-Wien, 1968).

54 Bonaventure (see note 2) IX, 463.

55 N. Bériou (see note 10), p.177.

56 Ibid. p.123-5.

57 Charland (see note 52), pp.150-2.

58 L.J. Bataillon, "Iacopo da Varazze e Tommaso d'Aquino", *Sapienza*, 32 (1979), 22-9.

59 Peter of Rheims: MS Soissons 125 f.7ra (Schneyer, *RLS* IV 753 no.469). William of Mailly, MS Paris B.N.lat. 15956 f.30va (the boat, Schneyer *RLS* IV 484 no.19); f.42vb (the medicine, ibid. no.26).

60 R.H. and M.A. Rouse, "Biblical Distinctions in the Thirteenth Century", *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, 41/49 (1974), 27-37.

61 M.McC.Gatch, *Aelfric and Wulfstan. Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England*, (Toronto-Buffalo, 1977).

62 J. Longère, *Oeuvres oratoires de maîtres parisiens au XIIe siècle. Etude historique et doctrinale*, (Paris, 1975), vol. I, pp.231, 255-70, 277-8, 354-5. N. Bériou (see note 10) pp.183-94.

DOCTRINA AND PREDICACIO: THE DESIGN AND FUNCTION OF SOME PASTORAL MANUALS

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By VINCENT GILLESPIE

When discussing the religious education of the laity (and the preliminary instruction of the clergy who were meant to carry it out) there has been an understandable tendency to concentrate on the pulpit as the cornerstone of the didactic edifice. As Roy Haines puts it "it is clear that preaching was considered the fundamental didactic tool for reaching a wide audience".[1] This is indisputable, but the centrality conferred upon preaching has meant that there has been proportionately less attention paid to other methods of catechesis; methods which the episcopal legislation of the thirteenth and early fourteenth century in England clearly thought essential parts of the *cura animarum*. The instructions to gather together and teach the young, for example, are worthy of attention. If the priest needed help for pulpit exposition, he was presumably just as needy in small-group teaching. Richard Poore, in his influential Salisbury statutes instructs his clergy: "Pueros quoque frequenter convocent et unum vel duos instruant vel instrui faciant . . .",[2] and the Exeter statutes add to this ". . . vel saltem instrui faciant ab expertis",[3] perhaps a reference to the teaching of the rudiments of the Faith in schools, a practice finally forbidden by Arundel in his constitutions of 1408. Similar rulings on the instruction of children can be found in most of the major constitutions. In addition, of course, the laity were to be examined and instructed when they came to confession. William of Blois in his Worcester statutes of 1229 requires the clergy to instruct the laity in the Articles of Faith before confession and in the Deadly Sins afterwards, and similar inquisition and instruction is envisaged by Mirk in the confessional paradigm included in his *Instructions for Parish Priests* written early in the fifteenth century.[4] Again the injunctions are widely repeated and Mirk may serve as proof of their continuing implementation.

Parents were also involved in catachesis. John Gervais says that parents should be encouraged to aid their children in reading and singing the psalter (presumably reinforcing the work of the song schools and other primary schools), while Poore's statutes state that parents should be encouraged to ensure that their children were adequately instructed in the basic truths of the Faith.[5]

The importance of this legislation lies as much in the diversification of teaching methods which it involved as in the formulation and codification of a fixed syllabus. Just as the twelfth- and thirteenth-century developments in sacramental theology encouraged the development of *summae* and handbooks of penitential canon law, so

the episcopal legislation of the thirteenth century in England (itself a response to the stimulus to reform provided by the Lateran Council of 1215) gave rise to and encouraged the development of a distinct manual literature, aimed at the parish clergy who were expected to implement the new theological and doctrinal developments despite labouring under the twin handicaps of limited latinity and almost total ignorance of canon law.[6] The simpler manuals of pastoral theology that are the concern of this paper avoid penitential niceties and canonical subtleties, concentrating rather on the practical problems of the *cura animarum*. Several important influences on their format and contents can be isolated.

First, the handbooks and tracts published by the bishops themselves. Initially they accompanied the decrees, although in the case of Stavensby's penitential tracts they often circulated independently in clerical miscellanies.[7] These were working texts, not reference books - in some dioceses clerics were expected to commit them to memory or to submit to examination on them from the archdeacon.[8] Poore wanted his decrees rapidly distributed "ut sacerdotes ipsos frequenter habentes pro oculis in ministeriis et dispensationibus sacramentorum sint instructiores".[9] These simple *summulae* (and even the mere syllabus provided in many decrees) created a kind of structural norm for manuals well before Pecham's post-hoc codification, and the distribution system created within dioceses to circulate decrees and manuals may have aided the circulation of unofficial manuals, and certainly increased the number of clerical commonplace books in circulation. These miscellanies may themselves have influenced the shape and design of eclectic compilations like the *Speculum Christiani*, which evolved into a kind of clerical *vade mecum*.[10]

Second, and more speculatively, the use of schools in catechesis has interesting implications. The tendency towards verse reading texts in the grammar school curriculum created a taste for such texts among the clergy, as the miscellanies show. One manifestation of this taste is that many large Latin *summae* also circulated in condensed verse form, like the *Summula Raymundi*, a metrical abridgement of Raymund of Pennaforte's massive canonical work.[11] These verse renderings are often equipped with glosses on the main text. In England, the most popular theological poem was probably the *Poeniteas cito* which, as well as being part of the regular collection of didactic reading texts (the *Octo Auctores*), circulated widely in clerical miscellanies because of its valuably economic presentation of penitential commonplace. The popularity of such texts is worth remembering when considering the comparable popularity of vernacular poems such as the *Speculum Vitae* which also provided convenient and easily memorable formulations of basic doctrine, and of course the didactic flexibility displayed by many of the vernacular lyrics.[12]

Finally, the developing emphasis on the role of parents and teachers in the instruction of children (and, where appropriate, servants) clearly led to a demand for handbooks among the laity, and the evidence of free movement of pastoral manuals between clergy and laity in the fifteenth century suggests that this may have influenced the compilers of later pastoral manuals. For example, John Drury of Beccles, a schoolmaster, wrote a *Tractatus de modo confitendi* for

his pupils in Lent 1434 probably, as Meech says "intended to sum up a long course of oral instructions". Drury uses the traditional Latin mnemonic tags found in penitential *summae* of all shapes and sizes. Further, there is, of course, the example of Peter Idley's *Instructions* written for his son, which displays an almost professional command of the materials basic to pastoral instruction.[13] The fifteenth-century vernacular version of Grosseteste's *Templum Domini* (which in its original Latin form is a masterpiece of compact instruction geared specifically to assisting the humbler members of the parish clergy) exemplifies the ambiguity of address that the developing lay taste for manuals gave rise to. At the outset of the poem, using the analogy that the priest's body is the temple of the Lord as the basis for an architectural allegory, the poet says of the tract "to prestes will it best befalle" (which itself refuses to exclude the possibility of lay use) while at the end the poet's peroration begins with a rhetorical flourish:

> Lerde and lewe, seclere and clerke
> I rede 3he sette 3oure hertes entere
> And in 3oure mynde þes wordes 3e marke (769-71)

thereby opening up the poem to a much wider audience. How right was McFarlane when he wrote that "the literate laity were taking the clergy's words out of their mouths".[14]

II

In the light of the variety of functions which the manuals were meant to fulfill, it is perhaps surprising that so many are lumped together under the heading of "Preaching Manuals". Not only does this generalised description do little justice to the versatility of the books, but also it can be positively misleading. As an example, let us take several writers' comments on the *Speculum Christiani*, a work which enjoyed enormous popularity in the fifteenth century and survived for a successful re-incarnation in print. Pfander in his article on pastoral manuals includes a brief discussion of the *Speculum Christiani*, and claims that "some sections are cast into finished sermon form", without specifying which sections of the work he means.[15] We shall return to this claim later, but it is clear that he sees the text as functioning primarily as a preaching aid. He quotes the citation of Pecham's *Ignorantia Sacerdotum* in the work's prologue and points to the injunction to expound the syllabus four times yearly, claiming that this illuminates the function of the rest of the work. In fact he seems to have failed to recognise the integrity of the quotation from Archbishop Pecham's decrees and assumes that it is part of the compiler's rubric on the use of the book. But this misunderstanding of the purpose of the Pecham citation is by no means uncommon among commentators on the text. The work's editor, Gustav Holmstedt, claimed that the first four *tabulae* were "directly modelled upon the contents of chapters IX-XIII of John Peckham's *Constitutiones*".[16] The parallels he quotes are confined to the prologue and the second *tabula* and even in this limited sample he is forced to admit that the source of the ninth and

tenth commandments is not Pecham but the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard. His claims for direct modelling are thus hardly convincing. In the first four *tabulae* the compiler covers the basic syllabus of religious knowledge (the Creed, the Decalogue, the Deadly Sins, the Works of Mercy and the Virtues) and inevitably parallels much existing writing on the same subject, but this is not enough to prove textual indebtedness.

Professor Boyle admits as much when he writes that "The editor of the *Speculum* has not shown that it is really a commentary on *Ignorantia Sacerdotum*". He claims that the work is "simply an extension of the Pecham programme", which is perhaps no more than an admission that the work contains much more than the basic syllabus.[17] This is, of course, true, although it is worth pointing out that the *Speculum* contains no reference to the "septem gracie sacramenta" required by Pecham. Bloomfield cites three manuscripts, each of which he describes as a *Compilatio super constitutionem Johannis Peckham*.[18] Boyle identifies these as manuscripts of the *Speculum Christiani*. However the three manuscripts are not copies of the *Speculum* but of the *Cibus Anime*, a radically different text used extensively by the compiler of the *Speculum*. Both works open in a similar fashion, so the false identification is not surprising, although the works are very different in style and *ordinatio*. In fact only one manuscript of the three (Lambeth Palace Library MS 460) actually precedes the text with a full citation of *Ignorantia Sacerdotum*.[19] The citation of Pecham in the *Speculum Christiani* may suggest the original design of the text but as we shall see, its development soon left behind this putative framework. In fact it may be misleading to attribute too much importance to the presence of Pecham. Its inclusion may be no more than a convenient way of fulfilling the various fifteenth-century requirements that priests should possess a copy of Pecham's decree. It may have been included as part of the work's aim of providing a complete but compact manual for clerical use.

Owst described the *Speculum* as "another manual drawn up explicitly for preachers with its crude rhymes and medley of Latin and English", and most recently David Jeffrey in his work on Franciscan Spirituality in the English lyric follows Pfander and argues that the Pecham decree can be seen as an accurate description of the intended use of the work. He says that it was "primarily designed for the advantage of the mendicant evangelist".[20]

If we examine these various claims a little more closely we may be able to cast some light on the real function of the work. First, Jeffrey's contention that the book was used by mendicants (which is supported by its editor's claim that the book probably had a Franciscan provenance, a claim based largely upon the argument that the text cites Pecham and that Pecham was a Franciscan!). In the, admittedly scanty, evidence of ownership and circulation of the *Speculum*, there is no sign of mendicant ownership. The clerical owners all appear to be secular priests (with a surprising concentration of ownership at York Minster).[21] Furthermore, the tone of admonition in the prologue warning priests to be active in teaching the people suggests that the text is aimed as much *at* the clergy as

for their use. Indeed the eighth *tabula* includes chapters on tithes, a discussion of the three things needed by curates (light, sight and salt) and of the four types of priests, which suggests an audience among those with the *cura animarum*, and an intention to instruct them - the section on the mass vestments is headed "Qualiter vestes sacerdotales instruunt sacerdotes".[22]

Owst's claim that the "crude rhymes" indicate a preaching function is more difficult to challenge, as is Pfander's suggestion that parts of the work are in finished sermon form. The mnemonic rhyme tags which introduce the discussions of the Commandments and the Deadly Sins might suggest that they were included with a view to aiding pulpit exposition, although given the, admittedly idiosyncratic, evidence of *The Ploughman's Paternoster*, and the less individual treatment of didactic material in the lyrics we perhaps ought not to rule out the possibility of their use in confessional instruction or indeed in small-group teaching.[23] Given the prevalence of Latin mnemonics in penitential literature, and other pastoral aids we should also avoid assuming that the vernacular rhymes were for the benefit of the laity alone. However the rhyme tags occur in only two of the eight sections so their presence in the work can not be considered overwhelming evidence in favour of a homiletic function. Furthermore the basic structure of the work is a *catena*-like string of citations from scriptural and patristic authorities with little or no connecting argument, so it is difficult to see how the putative preacher was intended to use these authorities. Pfander's claim can only apply to *tabula* 1 (the Creed), *tabula* 5 (on penance and confession) and tabula 7 (the so-called verse sermon). *Tabula* 1 ends with an appeal to the congregation "Nolite, karissimi, fidem catholicam uiolare", but quickly degenerates into unconnected *auctoritates*.[24] Otherwise it is a bald listing of the clauses of the Creed and could be used in any didactic context. The fifth *tabula* begins "My dere frendes, I 3ou pray, / Foure thynges in herte bere away." but changes to the singular form "dere frende" in the course of its exposition. Its concern with sin (including elaborate sin lists) and its concentration on penitential cleansing, on despair and presumption and on the pains of hell and the joys of heaven suggest that it is designed more for confessional use than for public exposition. This is especially true of the final exhortation "Ecce, karissime, nunc habes ante te bonum et malum, lucem et tenebras, diem et noctem, potes eligere, quod vis". The intimacy of tone here is striking. The basic schema for this *tabula* is remarkably similar to the structure of chapter 6 of Rolle's *Form of Living* and Miss Allen has suggested that they may have a common source.[25] This would tend to support the work's design for use in contexts other than public exhortation. Once again the problem of the string of authorities gathered together in no specific order, indeed largely reproduced in the order in which they were quarried from various parts of the *Cibus Anime*, and the presence of many short, tangentially related paragraphs, present a problem for those wishing to argue for a homiletic intention, which is less pressing if the *tabula* was intended for reference or for use in less formal teaching situations.

Similarly in *tabula* 7 the verse text is interspersed with patristic authorities which serve as a gloss on the text. If the

poem were intended for formal recitation the glosses would be superfluous. The key to this text's presence in the compilation lies in the fact that it provides an easily memorable summary of the contents of the rest of the compilation, including mnemonic listings of the Decalogue and the Deadly Sins. In this case the poem operates like the verse reading-texts discussed above or like the *Poeniteas cito* or *Summula Raymundi*, and the *auctoritates* can be compared with the glosses which often accompanied the verse texts. The poem is explicitly aimed at priests with cure "He calls everi man a kynge / That has cure or governinge" and criticises them for not teaching and for vainglory.[26] This attitude is consistent with the remarks on clerical responsibility made in the prologue. Once again, I do not wish to deny the possibility of homiletic recitation, but merely wish to suggest that the text may have a range of functions and that we should be flexible in our approach.

The relationship between the *Speculum* and the *Cibus Anime* is involved, and I shall be dealing with it in detail elsewhere; but it is worth drawing attention to the significant differences existing between them. The *Cibus Anime*, of which thirteen manuscripts are now known, is a large traditional *summa* divided into books and chapters, containing no English verses. There are two versions, the first consisting of two books on the Decalogue and on the Deadly Sins and related topics. The longer version adds exhortations and discussions of eremitical life and condemnations of the mendicants which suggest a monastic (possibly Carthusian) origin.[27]

There can be no doubt that the *Speculum Christiani* (a title also given to the *Cibus Anime* in one manuscript) is a deliberate and highly self-conscious reworking of material from the *Cibus* and other sources with the intention of producing a compact practical working manual.[28] What is most surprising about this remodelling is the change of structure from the rigorously subordinated framework of books and chapters with elaborate analytical tables of contents of the *Cibus Anime* to the loose-limbed and roughly articulated structure of the *Speculum* with no tables of contents or indices. There is a rough list of contents at the beginning of the work, but this is vague and imprecise and only indicates the general contents of the *tabulae*, and is, in any case, tucked away between the prologue and the first *tabula*. Apparatus is minimal - usually only a running title indicating the *tabula* number. It is not impossible that the *Cibus Anime* is intended as a preaching aid. Its apparatus makes the material readily accessible and the title itself is reflected in a quotation from Gregory in the work's opening chapter: "Cibus mentibus est sermo dei".[29] Perhaps significantly this quotation is omitted from the *Speculum Christiani*. Further, following the tradition of Alan of Lille and Robert Basevorn, the compiler of the *Cibus Anime* distinguishes between preaching and teaching. Traditionally the distinction is based on the nature of the audience. Alan says:

> Preaching must be public because it is not done for the benefit of one but of many: if it were offered to one person only it would be not preaching but teaching . . . preaching is an instruction for many given openly to teach them about their way of life: teaching is offered

> to one person or a group for the purpose of adding to their knowledge.

Robert similarly distinguishes between teaching many (*predicatio*) and few (*monitio/collatio*).[30] The *Cibus Anime* maintains the distinction:

> Magna differencia est inter predicacionem et doctrinam. Predicacio est, ubi est convocacio sive populi invitacio in diebus festivis in ecclesiis seu in aliis certis locis et temporibus ad hoc deputatis, et pertinet ad eos qui ordinati sunt ad hoc et iurisdictionem et auctoritatem habent, et non ad alios. Informare autem et docere potest unusquisque fratrem suum in omni loco et tempore oportuno, si videatur sibi expedite, quia hoc est Elemosina, ad quam quilibet tenetur.[31]

It is clear that the episcopal injunctions discussed earlier have here given new life to the distinction and have caused it to be modified slightly. But in the context of the *Cibus Anime*, surrounded by quotations like the Gregorian "Cibus mentibus est sermo dei", the homiletic side of the equation is given greater emphasis.

In the *Speculum Christiani*, however, the distinction is removed from its place in chapter two and placed at the opening of the work, shorn of its contextual support. The material from the opening chapter of the *Cibus Anime* is displaced and follows later, and references to preaching are minimised - the authorities cited concentrate more on ignorance and the need to conquer it. A quotation from Chrysostom not found in the *Cibus Anime* at this point is included to indicate the power and above all the versatility of the Word of God:

> Verbum dei docet ignorantes, terret contumaces, animat laborantes, confortat pusillanimes, deficit magnatos et sanat peccato vulneratos.[32]

It seems to me that the rearrangement undertaken by the compiler of the *Speculum* alters the thrust of the distinction between preaching and teaching by removing it from a context where homiletic intent was implied, and represents a liberation of purpose and a recognition that this new compilation could serve equally well in any didactic context.

The decision to use the *tabula* as the basic unit is hard to justify. It makes casual reference difficult unless the user is intimately acquainted with the text, and this in itself suggests a different intention than that behind the more conventional *Cibus Anime*. One possible explanation is that the work should not be regarded as an organic unity (either a commentary on Pecham or a preaching handbook) but as a series of loosely articulated units having no causal relationship with each other - in effect a compendium of eight (or possibly more) quasi-independent texts, supported by *auctoritates* drawn from a common source, but designed to serve different aspects of the *cura animarum*, to provide an instant miscellany. It is interesting to note that as many as ten manuscripts

of the work contain no other text of any size, which might support the contention that the text was regarded as being self-sufficient. There are analogues for this loose articulation of different texts in *tabulae*. The most striking occurs in Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 132, which contains a fragment of the *Speculum Christiani*. This manuscript, clearly a clerical miscellany, includes three texts which are described as being *tabulae*, and which are linked together by rubrics. The first is a moralisation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream from the Book of Daniel and consists of vernacular couplets followed by Latin *auctoritates*.[33] The second text provides a paradigm for the examination of conscience, to discover whether the soul is formed in the image of God. Again the vernacular text is accompanied by Latin citations from patristic sources. The third text is headed by a rubric: "Þis ys the disposicion of þe tabyll at our lady auter yn þe cathedrall kyrke of yorke" and describes the five ways in which the virgin is "ymagened". The *tabulae* are linked together by connecting rubrics and at the end of the third the series is rounded off on a colophon "Explicit quedam tabula et finis". What makes this group of texts particularly interesting for a study of the *Speculum Christiani* is that the Latin authorities supporting the vernacular texts are apparently drawn from the *Cibus Anime*, although the exact extent of this indebtedness is at present uncertain.[34] Thus we have the intriguing situation of two independent works supporting vernacular texts with material from the same Latin source and structuring the final product in the same way. It is tempting to assign this triptych to the compiler of the *Speculum Christiani*, but confirmation of this must await further research. *Tabulae* are also frequently found in schematic presentations of the rudiments of the Faith, as in the popular *Tabula Fidei Christiane*, a brief listing of twenty-one basic tenets which describes itself as a "bona et utile tabula". There is also a *Tabula de utilitate oracione dominice* which presents a schematic summary of the standard arguments on the Lord's Prayer. The manuscripts of Grosseteste's *Templum Domini* similarly make much use of tabular form.[35]

Thus although the design and function of the *Speculum Christiani* are by no means crystal clear, a case can be made for liberating it from the shackles of exclusively homiletic use.

III

Another opportunity to examine a pastoral manual as it were at the design stage is provided by John Gaytryge's translation and expansion of Archbishop Thoresby's instructions for the Province of York issued in 1357.[36] Thoresby's instructions are not remarkable for their contents which are commonplace and rudimentary, but because they mark a significant stage in the evolution of the vernacular pastoral manual by conferring official approval on and encouraging the circulation of a vernacular version of his Latin original.

Gaytryge's expansion of the Latin text contains several significant modifications to the original instructions which suggest a movement to a greater flexibility of usage. The first occurs right at the outset of the work where Gaytryge, like the compiler of the

Speculum Christiani, discusses knowledge, ignorance and the responsibility of the learned to teach. As his modifications here are indicative of his whole approach to the work of "translating", it is worth examining them in some detail.

Gaytryge opens by placing the teaching function of the church in a wider spiritual and historical context. Man was originally created with reason and with knowledge of Himself by God, but this gift was lost by the sin of Adam and Eve, and we, as their children, have that sin visited upon us. In contrast to the post-lapsarian state, their knowledge was instinctive, a gift from God:

> And all the knawyng þat we have in þis world of him,
> Is of heryng and leryng and techyng of othir,
> Of the lawe and þe lare þat langes till halikirke . . .
> (27-9)

This teaching should be learned and followed as the true way to everlasting life, but the world is full of people who are "noght wele ynogh lered to knawe god almighten".[37] This homiletic preamble, ending with criticism of the clergy who neglect their duty of teaching their parishioners, although a loose rendering of the formal, almost rhetorical lament for ignorance which opens Thoresby's Latin instruction, is more specific in its explanation of the church's teaching function. The directness is understandable in a work which was to be used primarily for the instruction of the laity who could not be relied upon to know or understand the basic premises of the Church's attitude to teaching and salvation. The value of instruction and the need for salvation can be taken for granted by Thoresby who is more concerned with the implementation of the programme than with discussing its rationale. Of course Gaytryge's discussion is simple and unsophisticated but it provides a suitable prologue to the announcement of Thoresby's programme. His will is "that al men be saufe and knawe god almighten" and is now seen against a background of the scheme of salvation and his syllabus, produced "for commune profet", is presented as a valuable aid to gaining heaven.[38]

This preamble is followed by a statement of the work's structural principle:

> The lawe and lore to knawe god allmighten
> That principali mai be shewed in this sex thinges (51-2)

Although the six points are present in the Latin original, they are not announced in this way, but are merely listed at the beginning of the work. Gaytryge's decision to specify the number, thus breaking the work up into a series of well defined units (each perhaps suitable for one session of exposition in whatever context the work was used) may be compared with the opening of *tabula* 5 of the *Speculum Christiani*:

> My dere frendes, I ȝou pray,
> Foure thynges in herte bere away.

where the four headings provide an umbrella for a discussion of all

the important issues concerning sin and penance.[39] A similar structural principle is used in the *Directorium Simplicium Sacerdotum* (also known as *Quinque Verba*) which, basing itself on a Pauline text, provides five headings under which are discussed the major premises of the Faith.[40] There is a clear pedagogic value in announcing at the outset of a didactic work the scope and subject matter of the treatise.

Gaytryge's work is intended to serve as a paradigm for religious education at home as well as in church. The laity are encouraged:

> That thai here and lere this ilk sex thinges,
> And oft sithes reherce tham til that thai kun thaime,
> And sithen teche tham thair childir, if thai any haue,
> What tyme so thai er of eld to lere tham. (62-5)

and clearly lay access to the work is seen as plausible. Gaytryge changes the target of the passage in Thoresby's original about culpable ignorance (where publication of the text is intended to prevent priests avoiding their catechetic duty) and re-states the principle, aiming it primarily at the laity:

> And forthi that nane sal excuse tham
> Thurgh unknalechyng for to kun tham,
> Our fadir the Ercebisshop of his godenesse
> Has ordayned and bidden that thai be shewed
> Openly on inglis omonges the folk. (72-6)

The other modifications undertaken by Gaytryge alter the order of the rudiments, perhaps under the influence of other manuals of a similar nature. The changes he introduces are largely practical - as for example in the section on Penance where the Latin formulation is intended to assist the priest in the administration of it and the vernacular version is primarily intended to educate the laity.[41] Elsewhere (as in the discussion of "trouthe" [Faith]) he expands on his original and improves the didactic value of the sparse Latin account provided by Thoresby.[42] Throughout he reveals his sensitivity to the needs of his audience and transforms an episcopal directive into a real, pragmatic and helpful manual.

Gaytryge's apparent awareness of the flexibility of his translations and the ambiguity of its appeal (being valuable to clergy and laity) is reflected in many of the manuscript colophons. The Lambeth copy of the expanded text, for example, records that Thoresby sent the instructions to all the vicars in his province "ad predicandum parochianis illorum", and other manuscripts refer to the work as a "sermo" or "predicacio".[43] However the colophon in the Thornton manuscript, where the text shows signs of having been "personalised", specifies that the intention of the work is to teach "how scrifte es to be made and whareof and in how many thyngez solde be consideride".[44] This illuminates the private aspect of the work. Certainly the surrounding texts in the manuscript indicate Robert Thornton's interest in meditation and personal devotional techniques, which suggests that he may have used Gaytryge's instructions as a

framework for personal private meditation and as a prelude to Confession. However it is also very likely that Thornton, as well as using his collection of texts for personal reading also made the book available for the general edification of his family (and possibly his servants, as the episcopal legislation sometimes required). Indeed recent work on the punctuation of the manuscript suggests that the text may have been punctuated to assist oral performance. Here again Gaytryge's manual has a valuable role to play at the level of fundamental instruction, and in Thornton's compilation it is assisted by works such as the *Speculum Ecclesie*, the *Abbey of the Holy Ghost* and simple treatises on the Commandments, the Gifts of the Spirit and the Lord's Prayer, and a fragment of the *Prick of Conscience*.[45]

Gaytryge's comment on the importance of parents educating their children, reflecting as it does the injunctions of the thirteenth-century, and itself reflected in the text's inclusion in Thornton's family library, serves as a valuable reminder that manuals in the fifteenth century had increasingly varied demands made upon their resources.[46]

NOTES

1 R.M. Haines, "Education in English Ecclesiastical Legislation of the Later Middle Ages", *Studies in Church History*, 7 (1971), 161-75; for this comment see 173. My indebtedness to Haines' work will be apparent throughout this section.

2 Statutes of Salisbury I (1217x19), c.5, *Councils and Synods*, ed. F.M. Powicke and C.R. Cheney, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1964), p.61. Subsequent references to *C & S*. See the discussion in Haines, 172. An important but neglected analysis is C.R. Cheney, "Some Aspects of Diocesan Legislation in England during the Thirteenth Century", in *Medieval Texts and Studies* (Oxford, 1973); still of some value for the backgrounds of the bishops is M. Gibbs and J. Lang, *Bishops and Reform, 1215-1272* (Oxford, 1934).

3 Statutes of Exeter I (1225x37), c.2, *C & S*, p.228; Haines 172, n.3.

4 Statutes of Worcester II (1229), c.8, *C & S*, p.172; *Instructions for Parish Priests by John Myrc*, ed. E. Peacock, EETS, OS 31 (1868 revised 1902), ll. 805-1398; *John Mirk's Instructions for Parish Priests*, ed. G. Kristensson, Lund Studies in English, 49 (1974), uses the same base manuscript as Peacock and corrects transcription errors. The EETS edition is used here because of its greater accessibility.

5 Statutes of Winchester III (1262x65), c.59, *C & S*, p.713; Statutes of Salisbury I (1217x19), c.5, *C & S*, p.61; on the song schools see N. Orme, *English Schools in the Middle Ages* (London, 1973), pp.60-8 and 245-7.

6 On the background to the manual literature, the basic works are P. Anciaux, *La Théologie du Sacrement de Pénitence au XIIe Siècle* (Louvain, 1949); P. Michaud-Quantin, "A Propos des Prèmieres *Summae Confessorum*", *Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale*, 26 (1959), 264-306 and *Sommes de Casuistique et Manuels de Confession au Moyen Age (XII-XVI Siècles)*, Analecta Medievalia Namurcensia, 13 (Louvain, 1962); L.E. Boyle, "*The Oculus Sacerdotis* and some other Works of William of Pagula", *TRHS*, 5th ser., 5 (1955), 81-110; D.L. Douie, *Archbishop Pecham* (Oxford, 1952), pp. 134ff., discusses the influence of *Ignorantia Sacerdotum* on pastoral manuals; W.A. Pantin, *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1955). For vernacular manuals see E.J. Arnould, *Le Manuel des Péchés dans la Littérature Religieuse de l'Angleterre* (Paris, 1940); H.G. Pfander, "Some Medieval Manuals of Religious Instruction in England and Observations on Chaucer's Parson's Tale", *JEGP*, 35 (1936), 243-58.

7 Haines, 163-4; Alexander Stavensby published tracts on Confession and the Deadly Sins in his Statutes of Coventry (1224x37), *C & S*, pp.214-26; Roger de Weseham, also of Coventry, issued a set of *Instituta* during his episcopate (1245-56), printed in C.R. Cheney, *English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford, 1941, repr. with new intro. 1968), pp.149-52; Walter de Cantilupe published a penitential tract which has not survived and specified its use in his Statutes of Worcester III (1240), cc.35 and 97, *C & S*, pp.305 and 320; Bishop Quivel of Exeter produced a penitential *summula* and published it with his Statutes of Exeter II (1287), *C & S*, pp.1061-77.

8 Statutes of Worcester II (1229), c.51, *C & S*, p.179; Haines, 166.

9 Statutes of Salisbury I (1217x19), c.114, *C & S*, p.96. Similarly pragmatic sentiments are expressed by Richard Wich who encourages his clergy to have his Constitutions "sepe pre manibus et pre oculis", and rules that "omnes sacerdotes in episcopatu nostro curam gerunt animarum has constitutiones

omnes habeant in libellis suis scriptas, eoque diligenter observent . . .", Statutes of Chichester I (1245x52), c.79, *C & S*, p.467.

10 The diocesan distribution system is suggested in Poore's instructions about the publication of his Salisbury statutes, c.114, ". . . provisuri nichilominus quod prescriptas constitutiones transcriptas et correctas habere faciant decanis et decani sacerdotibus aliis (infra festum proximum Sancti Michaelis)", *C & S*, 96; Cheney, *Synodalia*, pp.45-6, discusses the mechanics of dissemination; *Speculum Christiani*, ed. G. Holmstedt, EETS, OS 182 (1933).

11 On this genre of theological poems, see F.J. Ghellinck, "Medieval Theology in Verse", *Irish Theological Quarterly*, 9 (1914), 336-54; F.V. Taberner, "La 'Summula Pauperum' de Adam de Aldersbach", *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens*, 7 (1938), 69-83; P.A. Walz, "S. Raymundi de Penayfort auctoritas in re paenitentalia", *Angelicum*, 12 (1935), 346-96, especially 388.

12 On the *Octo Auctores*, see Orme, pp.103-4; William de Montibus (died 1213) may have been the author of the *Poeniteas cito* and certainly developed the use of didactic verse in the teaching of theology (adapting its use to grammatical training) through his *Versarius* and through his position as Chancellor of Lincoln with responsibility for the theological school. See H. Mackinnon, "William de Montibus, A Medieval Teacher", *Essays in Medieval History presented to Bertie Wilkinson*, ed. T.A. Sandquist and M.R. Powicke (Toronto, 1969), 32-45.

13 S.B. Meech, "John Drury and his English Writings", *Speculum*, 9 (1934), 70-83, the remark quoted is on p.74; *Peter Idley's Instructions to his Son*, ed. C. D'Evelyn (Oxford, 1935).

14 The vernacular *Templum Domini* is printed in R.D. Cornelius, *The Figurative Castle* (Bryn Mawr, 1930), pp.90-112; K.B. McFarlane, *Lancastrian Kings and Lollard Knights* (Oxford, 1972), p.204.

15 Pfander, 247.

16 Holmstedt, pp.clxxxi-ii.

17 L.E. Boyle, "A Study of the works attributed to William of Pagula with special reference to *Oculus sacerdotis* and *Summa Summarum*", unpublished D.Phil. thesis (Oxford, 1956), p.379.

18 M.W. Bloomfield, "A Preliminary List of Incipits of Latin Works on the Virtues and Vices", *Traditio*, 11 (1955), 306.

19 Folio 1r - folio 4r.

20 G.R. Owst, *Preaching in Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1926), p.291; D.L. Jeffrey, *The Early English Lyric and Franciscan Spirituality* (Nebraska, 1975), pp.197-200.

21 Holmstedt, p.clxxix. On owners of *Speculum Christiani* manuscripts, see M. Deanesly, "Vernacular Books in England in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries", *MLR*, 15 (1920), 349-58; and *Testamenta Eboracensia* III, Surtees Society, 45 (1864), pp.159 and 199.

22 Holmstedt, pp.5-7 and 173-81.

23 Printed in *The Oxford Book of Medieval English Verse*, ed. C. Sisam (Oxford, 1970), pp.514-21.

24 Holmstedt, pp.13-15.

25 Holmstedt, pp.74 and 123; H.E. Allen, *Writings ascribed to Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole*, MLA Monograph Series, 3 (New York, 1927), pp.404-5.

26 Holmstedt, p.133.

27 British Library MS Harley 237 bears the press mark of Mountgrace Charterhouse, but it is impossible to say whether the book was written there or merely acquired later.

28 Oxford, Balliol College MS 239 precedes the text of the *Cibus Anime* with a table of contents headed *Kalendarium Speculi Christiani* (f.27r); all quotations from the *Cibus Anime* are taken from this MS, a copy of the two-book version of the work.

29 Balliol 239, f.28r. Chapter 62 of Book 2 (*De doctrina*) discusses the importance of preaching *ad status* in a manner apparently geared to assist potential preachers.

30 Alan of the Isles, *A Compendium on the Art of Preaching; Preface and Selected Chapters*, trans. J.M. Miller, in *Readings in Medieval Rhetoric* ed. J.M. Miller, M.H. Prosser, T.W. Benson (Bloomington, Indiana, 1973), p.230; Robert of Basevorn, *Forma Praedicandi*, in Th. Charland, *Artes Praedicandi*, Publications de l'Institut d'Etudes Médiévales d'Ottawa, 7 (1936), p.238.

31 C.2, Balliol 239, f.28v. J. Leclercq, "Le Magistère du Prédicateur au XIIIe Siècle", *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinales et Littéraires du Moyen Age Latin*, 15 (1946), 105-47, prints various discussions of the nature of preaching and the sins possible through incorrect or unauthorised preaching. One such discussion occurs in a series of notes taken by a student at Paris between 1240 and 1250, which includes the quaestio: "Item quaeritur si peccet praedicans si non sit missus . . . Ad hoc dicendum quod est praedicatio quae est expositio articulorum sicut in symbolo continentur. Hujusmodi enarratio ad omnes pertinet. Est item expositio litteralis intellectus in doctrina quae est secundum pietatem, et haec est annexa ordini diaconatus et presbyterii. Item est expositio intellectus tropologici et allegorici et haec pertinet ad illos qui habent officium". (116-7). The hierarchy of expository activity envisaged here provides an interesting comparison with the distinction made in the *Cibus Anime*, and repeated in the *Speculum*.

32 Holmstedt, pp.3-5.

33 *IMEV*, 3373. The moralisation is based on Daniel ii, 25-49.

34 The *tabulae* run from f.63v to f.70r. I will discuss the relationship of the *Cibus Anime* to the *Speculum Christiani* and to these texts in my forthcoming Oxford thesis "The Literary Form of the Middle English Pastoral Manual, with particular reference to the Speculum Christiani and some related texts".

35 The *Tabula Fidei Christiane* is found in London, British Library MS Additional 15237, f.55r-57r; the *Tabula* on the Lord's Prayer occurs on f.78v of the

same manuscript. In London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 460, there is a similar *Tabula* devoted to the sacraments (f.120r - 123v). Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 631 consists entirely of *tabulae*; a *Summa de Modo Praedicandi* which tabulates eight methods of making a good sermon; a *Concordancie Bibliothece*, and a beautifully executed copy of the *Templum Domini*. The term *tabula* is also used for alphabetical indices to larger works, see M.B. Parkes, "The Influence of the Concepts of *Ordinatio* and *Compilatio* on the Development of the Book", in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays presented to R.W. Hunt*, ed. J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson (Oxford, 1976), 115-41. Parkes points out (132) that in some cases these *tabulae* circulated as works in their own right.

36 *The Lay Folk's Catechism*, ed. T.F. Simmons and H.E. Nolloth, EETS, OS 118 (1901), prints the Latin text and the translation as preserved in the Archbishop's Register and it is to these that I shall refer because of the authority granted them by their official preservation.

37 Simmons and Nolloth, p.4.

38 Simmons and Nolloth, pp.4-6.

39 Holmstedt, p.74.

40 1 Cor. xiv, 19: "nevertheless, in church I would rather speak five words with my mind, in order to instruct others, than ten thousand words in a tongue". (RSV); a similar *schema* is used by Thomas Brinton, see *The Sermons of Thomas Brinton, Bishop of Rochester (1373-89)*, ed. M.A. Devlin, Camden Society, 3rd. ser., 85 and 86(London, 1954), pp.301 and 445.

41 Simmons and Nolloth, pp.64-6. Gaytryge, following Thoresby, recommends that the confessional should be used to examine the religious knowledge of the laity, using the "six things" as a basic *schema*, illustrating its value in another didactic context (p.22, ll.67-68).

42 Gaytryge adds the standard Latin mnemonics for the Works of Mercy (Simmons and Nolloth, pp.70 and 76) and adds the Spiritual Works of Mercy to the syllabus (Simmons and Nolloth, p.74) again probably under the influence of other manuals.

43 Simmons and Nolloth, p.xvii; A.C. Cawley, "Middle English Metrical Versions of the Decalogue with reference to the English Corpus Christi Cycles", *Leeds Studies in English*, New Series, 8 (1975), 129-45, especially 130-2 and nn. 6-10.

44 The Thornton text is printed in *Middle English Religious Prose*, ed. N.F. Blake, York Medieval Texts (London, 1972), pp.73-87.

45 D.A. Lawton, "Gaytryge's Sermon, *Dictamen*, and Middle English Alliterative Verse", *Modern Philology*, 76 (1979), 329-43, which also includes a partial account of some of the textual modifications in other copies of the work. The context of Gaytryge's work can now be studied in the recent facsimile, *The Thornton Manuscript (Lincoln Cathedral MS 91)*, introduction by D.S. Brewer and A.E.B. Owen (London, 1975).

46 I should like to thank Professor R.H. Rouse for helpful comments on the paper in its original form. Any errors and inaccuracies are my own responsibility.

FURTHER EXTERNAL EVIDENCE FOR DATING THE YORK REGISTER (BL ADDITIONAL MS 35290)

By RICHARD BEADLE and PETER MEREDITH

The dating of the manuscript of the York Corpus Christi play (BL MS Additional 35290) remains a problem. The current tendency is to date it much later in the fifteenth century than has hitherto been thought, but there are signs of this going too far. Dr Margaret Rogerson has recently argued that external evidence points to a date after 1485, and perhaps near the beginning of the sixteenth century, for the manuscript.[1] Briefly her argument is as follows: because the scribe failed to register the lost *Fergus* pageant,[2] and indeed made no provision for its registration by leaving blank leaves for it to be added later, the manuscript must date from after 1485, the year in which the guild of Linenweavers was discharged from the obligation of performing it, and when, therefore, "*Fergus* was no longer part of the Corpus Christi play".[3]

The first objection to Dr Rogerson's argument is that it is an over-simplification to say that *Fergus* was "no longer part of the Corpus Christi play" after 1485. *Fergus* was given up by the Masons in 1432[4] and no more is heard of it until 1476 when it became the responsibility of the Linenweavers. The rise and fall of the Linenweavers' involvement with the pageant was as follows: in 1476 they "of þaire fre mocion and will haue bounden þayme and þayre Craft perpetually to kepe bryngforth and plaie or make to be plaied yerely vpon Corpus christi day a pageant and play Called ffergus".[5] This agreement was made after Corpus Christi day 1476,[6] so the first year of performance would have been 1477. It was also agreed in 1476 that the Linenweavers should be free of their 6s contribution to the Tapiters' pageant.[7] In 1479 ways were found of increasing the revenue of the Linenweavers for their pageant,[8] but even so by 1485 they are again contributory to the Tapiters (and Cardmakers), and *Fergus* is described as "late broght furth".[9] This arrangement was, however, dependent upon *Fergus* being "laid apart" by the Linenweavers. In 1486 the Linenweavers are listed as paying a forfeit to the City Chamberlains of 5s "de non ludendo pagine Vergus", which implies a change from the 1485 arrangement and that they were still expected to play their pageant.[10] In 1493, as the Cutlers were said "of Auncien tyme" to have been receiving through the Chamberlains 5s pageant money from the Linenweavers,[11] it looks as though the 1486 arrangement became the normal one and the 1485 one was abortive. Finally, early in 1518 the last mention of the Linenweavers and *Fergus* occurs in an elaborate agreement between Woollen and Linen weavers (suggesting, incidentally, that one of the main points at issue between them was the payment of 5s to the Cutlers):

> . . . And that the said Lynweuers shall yerly pay & Content that fyve Shellynges whiche the Weuers of this Citie hays paid affore this whiche yerly is payd to the Cutlers pageant / And of that v s. by yere clerly discharge the said Wollen Weuers vnto suche tyme as the said lynweuers will play or cause tobe played the pageant somtyme called Vergus pageant And then the said lynweuers shall reteyn & kepe the said v s. towardes yer awn Charges for the bringyngfurth of the said Vergus pageant . . .[12]

Though in fact there is no evidence that *Fergus* was ever played again after the failure of the Linenweavers to bring forth the pageant in 1485, it would clearly be wrong to assume that it was no longer thought of as "part of the Corpus Christi play".

The second objection to Dr Rogerson's argument stems from her statement that

> With the exception of *Fergus*, space was allocated for the registration of all the episodes included in the 1415 *Ordo Paginarum* and the c.1420 list of pageants.[13]

This necessitates a re-statement of the situation in the Register. The main scribe of the manuscript follows a somewhat irregular pattern of spacing between pageants, but in only five places does he exceed three blank pages. These are between the Cardmakers' *God creates Adam and Eve* IIIb and Coopers' *Man's disobedience and fall* V (6 pages); the Tilethatchers' *Journey to Bethlehem* XIV and Chandlers' *Angels and shepherds* XV (9 pages); the Smiths' *Temptation* XXII and Curriers' *Transfiguration* XXIII (9 pages); the Curriers' *Transfiguration* and Capmakers' *Woman taken in adultery* XXIV (9 pages); and the Sledmen's *Travellers to Emmaus* XL and Scriveners' *Incredulity of Thomas* XLII (9 pages).[14] Two of these spaces are now taken up by pageants entered by John Clerke in the mid-sixteenth century;[15] that between Cardmakers' and Coopers' is partially filled by the Fullers' *Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden* IV, and that between Sledmen's and Scriveners' is overfilled by the Hatmakers', Masons' and Labourers' *Purification* XLI, an additional leaf having been inserted between quires xxx and xxxj to enable Clerke to complete the text. The first of these, the Fullers', appropriately occupies the space left for it, but the second, as all users of Lucy Toulmin Smith's edition know, is totally misplaced.

Two of the other spaces left by the main scribe are allocated by him to missing pageants; that between Smiths' and Curriers' to the Vintners' pageant of the marriage at Cana, and that between Curriers' and Capmakers' to the Ironmongers' pageant of the meal at the house of Simon the Leper. Neither of these was ever entered despite the order of 1567,[15] though the first two(?) lines of the Vintners' pageant appear on f.92v and a running title on ff.93v and 94r, and the *Ordo Paginarum* description of the Ironmongers' pageant appears on f.101r and a running title on ff.100v and 101r.

What then of the other space left? It falls between the episodes of the birth of Christ (XIV) and the announcement to the shepherds (XV), where there is no obvious incident missing. And what also of

the space which is now filled by the Hatmakers', Masons' and Labourers' pageant? It falls between the travellers to Emmaus and the incredulity of Thomas, and again there is no obvious incident missing between the two.[16] Nevertheless a series of nine blank pages was left deliberately in these two places in the manuscript. In view of the general areas of the manuscript in which these two spaces occur it is perhaps not too far-fetched to suggest that they were intended for the two missing pageants, the *Purification* and *Fergus*. The former space is three pageants early (16 leaves), the latter four pageants (12 leaves) early. But in view of the precision with which he placed the Vintners' and Ironmongers' spaces (even correcting the *Ordo Paginarum* in the case of the latter),[17] why is the main scribe so far out in placing these two unregistered pageants? Apart from simple mismanagement, one possibility especially suggests itself. If at the time of the main compilation of the manuscript neither the *Purification* nor *Fergus* was being played, there is the chance that the main scribe was little concerned with the precise placing of the two pageants which for him were at the time "laid apart".

Whether the two unallocated spaces were left for the *Purification* and *Fergus* or not, these two pageants were clearly on a different footing from the two for which space was precisely allocated, and the reason for this difference may well have been regularity and irregularity of performance. The history of the Linenweavers and *Fergus* shows that between 1432 and 1477 the pageant was "laid apart";[18] a number of details in the history of the *Purification* amongst the civic documents at York suggests that the same may well have been true of that pageant.

In the *Ordo Paginarum* (mainly 1415) the *Purification* is the only pageant listed which is not performed by a trade guild.[19] It was brought forth by the Hospital of St Leonard, in its day one of the largest and most important institutions of its kind.[20] The briefer description in the second (c.1420) list agrees in assigning the pageant to the same body.[21] Both entries, however, have been altered by a later hand to indicate that the Hospital was no longer responsible for the *Purification*, and that it had been taken over by a guild, namely the Masons.[22] It is not known why or precisely when the Hospital gave up control of the pageant,[23] but another entry elsewhere in the A/Y Memorandum Book states plainly that the pageant was put in the hands of the Masons in 1477.[24] The agreement appears also in the City Chamberlains Books for the same year:

> That the pagiant of the purificacion of our lady from nowe furth shalbe plaed yerely in the fest of corpus christi as other pageantes and vppon that it was agreid that the Masons of this Cite for tyme beyng bere the charge and expensez of the pageant aforsaid and that pageant in gude & honest maner yerely tobe plaed bryng furth at suche tymes as they shalbe þerto warned and like as the said Masons afore the Mare for tyme beyng will answer . . .[25]

The Masons continued to bring forth the *Purification* from this time

into the sixteenth century, in association with other guilds. When Clerke registered the text after 1567 it was headed "Hatmakers *Masons & laborers*".[26]

From these references in the A/Y Memorandum Book and elsewhere it appears that the *Purification* was regularly performed by the Hospital of St Leonard between 1415 and c.1420. It may have continued in their hands until well into the fifteenth century. However, the implication of the 1477 entries establishing the Masons as the guild responsible for the bringing forth, is that the pageant was not being performed annually along with the others at that time. Clearly, at some time between c.1420 and 1477 the Hospital gave up performing the *Purification*. As with *Fergus*, the lack of performance may very well bear on the initial absence of the text from the Register, and also on the scribe's failure to leave room for it in the appropriate place, between the Goldsmiths' and the Marshals'. Had the scribe been at work after 1477 he would have had no reason not to set down a copy of the text in its correct place assigned to the Masons, or to leave a space in exactly the right place for it. As we have seen, the scribe of the Register did neither of these things. On the contrary, as far as he was concerned the guild of Masons was responsible for the *Herod* pageant (XVI) performed in association with the Goldsmiths' *Three Kings* (XVII). Another reference in the Memorandum Book tells us that the Masons took over responsibility for the *Herod* pageant in 1432,[27] and the Register as we have it reflects this state of affairs, not the circumstances after 1477. The safest conclusion to be drawn from these facts is that the Register was compiled after the Masons had begun to perform *Herod* in 1432, but before they moved on to the *Purification* in 1477.

For some years before 1477, it appears that neither the *Purification* nor *Fergus* was being played. In 1476-7 the city authorities seem to have found occasion to tidy up certain loose ends in the cycle by re-assigning these pageants, and the Register must have been compiled before these changes were made.

The history of one other pageant has a bearing on the dating of the Register, that of the Ostlers' *Coronation of the Virgin* XLVII. As Dr Rogerson has shown, this pageant was originally the responsibility of the Mayor.[28] At some time between 1462 and 1468, however, this responsibility was handed over to the Ostlers or Innholders. In 1462 there is recorded in the City Chamberlains' Rolls a payment of 2s to Robert Leche "pro lusione pagine Coronacionis beate Marie Virginis";[29] in 1468 this has become 2s "Scrutatoribus Ostillariorum Ciuitatis ad conductionem pagine Coronacionis beate Marie virginis *in festo corporis Christi*".[30] The change from payment to an individual to payment to the searchers of the Ostlers' guild clearly marks the transfer of responsibility. Unfortunately there is no evidence for the period between 1462 and 1468. The 1468 entry, however, does not sound like a new arrangement but rather the continuation of one already established, and it may be that the Ostlers had become responsible for the *Coronation* pageant as early as 1463. What is important about this change of responsibility is that as the Register records the Ostlers as bringing forth the *Coronation of the Virgin*, the compilation of the manuscript must have been made after that change had

taken place, that is after an unspecified date between 1463 and 1468. Where the *Purification* and, to a lesser extent, *Fergus* provide a *terminus ad quem* for the Register, the *Coronation* provides a *terminus a quo*.

A number of other problems still exist in the histories of the individual pageants mentioned in this article, but none seems to bear directly upon the dating of the Register. With the evidence of the *Purification*, *Fergus* and the *Coronation*, it seems that we can at least fix the limits of 1463-1477 for the main compilation.[31]

NOTES

1 M. Dorrell, "The Butchers', Saddlers', and Carpenters' Pageants: Misreadings of the York *Ordo*", *ELN*, 13 (1975) 3-4; M. Rogerson (née Dorrell), "External Evidence for Dating the York Register", *Records of Early English Drama, Newsletter*, 2 (1976) 4-5. The palaeographical dating for the Register which is often quoted is 1430-40, as given by L. Toulmin Smith, *York Plays* (Oxford, 1885), pp.xvii-xviii. W.W. Greg believed it to be rather later, c.1475: *The Library*, 3rd. Series, 5 (1914), pp.26, 28 and note.

2 *Fergus* was the popular name for the pageant on the apocryphal subject of the burial of the Virgin.

3 Rogerson, "External Evidence", 4.

4 It is not possible to be sure whether they performed it in 1432 or not. Their agreement with the Goldsmiths by which they gave up *Fergus* and accepted responsibility for a Herod pageant (XVI) was made in the mayoralty of Thomas Snaudon, that is between February 1432 and February 1433. Certainly therefore by the performance of 1433 the Masons had relinquished *Fergus*.

The agreement between the Masons and the Goldsmiths appears in *York, Records of Early English Drama*, ed. Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Rogerson, 2 vols. (University of Toronto Press, Manchester University Press; 1979) I, pp.47-8. It is there dated 1431-2, a split dating derived from the term of office of the mayor. In the *Register of the Freemen of the City of York* (ed. F. Collins, 2 vols., Surtees Society 96 and 102 (1897 and 1900) I, p.145) Thomas Snaudon's mayoralty is dated 1430-1 O.S., and, by regnal year, 10 Hen.VI. 10 Hen.VI runs from September 1431 to August 1432, and a term of office beginning in that regnal year would run from 3rd February (St Blase's day) 1432 to 3rd February 1433. The date of the agreement should therefore be 1432-3.

5 *York, REED*, p.110. The agreement is contained in the earliest of the surviving House Books, B 1.

6 The entry is dated 21 June (*York, REED*, p.110), and Corpus Christi day in 1476 fell on 13 June (see *Handbook of Dates*, ed. C.R. Cheney, (London, 1970) p.131).

7 *York, REED*, pp.107-8, where it is dated 1475-6. The agreement is contained in the A/Y Memorandum Book and the dating derived from the term of office of the mayor Thomas Wrangwish. His mayoralty ran, however, from February 1476 to February 1477, and this agreement is closely connected with (if not the same as) that recorded in House Book B 1 which is dated 21 June 1476, just over a week after Corpus Christi day. There is little doubt that the Linenweavers accepted responsibility for *Fergus* from 1477 onwards, and that the Memorandum Book agreement should be dated 1476-7.

8 *York, REED*, p.123. This entry is part of the Linenweavers' ordinances.

9 *York, REED*, p.136.

10 *York, REED*, p.143. It is just possible that the disagreement between the Sawyers and Carpenters over *Fergus* ("the mater hanging in travaux betwix the Sawers and Wrightes concerning the bringfurth of the padgeant of ffergus", p.136) was because one or other of them had made a move to take over the pageant. If this move failed it would explain why the 1485 arrangement for the Linenweavers, making no mention of *Fergus*, gave way to the 1486 one which did.

11 *York, REED*, p.169. It is worth bearing in mind this "of Auncien tyme", which cannot be more than eight years, when interpreting the "antiquitus assignatis" of the 1394 station ordinance (see *York, REED*, p.8).

12 *York, REED*, pp.215-7 (passage quoted is on p.216, ll.14-22).

13 Rogerson, "External Evidence", 4. For the two lists of pageants drawn up by the common clerk and entered in the A/Y Memorandum Book, see *York, REED*, pp.16-26.

14 In the current foliation of BL MS Additional 35290 the Cardmakers' pageant ends on f.13r and the Coopers' begins on f.16v; the Tilethatchers' ends on f.55r and the Chandlers' begins on f.56r; the Smiths' ends on f.92r and the Curriers' begins on f.96r; the Curriers' ends on f.100r and the Capmakers' begins on f.102r; the Sledmen's ends on f.212v and the Scriveners' begins on f.218r. Owing to the irregularity of the foliation, only the space between Cardmakers' and Coopers', and Sledmen's and Scriveners' is correctly indicated by the numbering. Between the Tilethatchers' and Chandlers' there are two unnumbered leaves, and the central bifolium of the quire is missing. As the quires are regular eights, there is no reason to believe that the missing leaves were not originally present. Between the Smiths' and Curriers' there is one unnumbered leaf, and between the Curriers' and Capmakers' three. A full collation and a new foliation of the manuscript will appear in *The York Play*: a facsimile of BL MS Additional 35290, edited by Richard Beadle and Peter Meredith, to be published in *Leeds Texts and Monographs*, Medieval Drama Facsimile series.

15 John Clerke was paid 12d in 1559 "for entryng in the Regyster the Regynall of the pagyant pertenyng to Craft of ffullars whiche was never before Regestred", presumably as a result of the order of 1557 for the entering of all pageants not registered in "the Cite booke" (*York, REED*, pp.330 and 324). In 1567 a further order asked for the Vintners', the Ironmongers', the latter part of the Tilers', and the Labourers' to be registered, and the Cappers' to be "examined with the Register & reformed". "And Iohn Clerke or oyer taking peyne to be honestly recompensed for there peyne", (*York, REED*, p.351). The Labourers' *Purification* was clearly the only one to be brought in, and it was entered by Clerke. Why he entered it towards the end of the manuscript rather than in the more appropriate space between Tilethatchers' and Chandlers', is not clear. But if the missing central bifolium of quire g had already gone when Clerke came to enter the pageant, it would mean that the space available was too small for the text and the later space, between Sledmen's and Scriveners', was the only one large enough, or nearly so.

No mention is made of Clerke's entry of the addition to the Glovers' *Cain and Abel* VII, though fairly certainly this was a result of the same efforts of the city council for a complete record of the play.

16 Neither the *Ordo Paginarum* for the play, nor, for an example outside it, the *Pepysian Gospel Harmony* (ed. Margery Goates, EETS OS 157, (1923)) lists any incidents between these.

17 The *Ordo* places the Vintners' before the Smiths' pageant. This has been later corrected by a letter code in the left margin: B Vynters, A ffeuers (Smythes), C Couureours, D Irenmongers, E Pouchemakers, Botellers, Capmakers (cf. *York, REED*, p.20).

18 See above pp.

19 *York, REED*, p.19. Some of the entries in the *Ordo* have been erased and re-written at a later date, but the *Purification* is part of the original compilation.

20 D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (2nd ed., London, 1971) p.407; *Victoria County History: Yorkshire*, III (London, 1913) pp.336-45.

21 The undated list of pageants, thought to be c.1420, follows the *Ordo* in the A/Y Memorandum Book; *York, REED*, pp.25-6.

22 *York, REED*, pp.19 and 25.

23 The Hospital went into a long and deep decline in the fifteenth century. This began in the last decade of the fourteenth, when a royal commission of 1398 revealed disastrous corruption and mismanagement. By 1515 the church and other buildings were described as in ruins, and the house could only command a third of the income it had in its heyday (*VCH: Yorkshire*, III, pp.340-3). It is not surprising that the Hospital relinquished or lost control of its pageant in this period.

24 *York, REED*, pp.112-13.

25 *York, REED*, p.115.

26 BL MS Additional 35290, f.212v; Toulmin Smith, *York Plays*, p.433. On f.70, as Miss Toulmin Smith pointed out (p.433n), is written in John Clerke's hand, "Hatmakers Maysons and Laborers / purificacio Marie the Laborers is assigned to bryng furth this pagyant It is entryd in the Latter end of this booke / next after the Sledmen or palmers / and it begynnyth / by the preest / All myghty god in heven so hye /". Miss Toulmin Smith does not however mention that Clerke's addition is superimposed on the erasure of another inscription by a late hand. This is partially recoverable under ultra-violet light and will be discussed in the forthcoming facsimile of the Register, mentioned in note 14 above.

27 See note 4 above for a discussion of the dating of this agreement.

28 Margaret Dorrell (now Rogerson), "The Mayor of York and the Coronation Pageant", *Leeds Studies in English*, 5 (1971) 35-45.

29 Dorrell, "Coronation", 38; *York, REED*, p.94.

30 Dorrell, "Coronation", 39; *York, REED*, p.101.

31 It would be unwise to assume that the Register was necessarily compiled continuously over one short period. The general impression of the manuscript is, however, one of regularity with minor variations; the pattern of rubrication, for example, varies quite considerably between the earlier and later parts of the manuscript. But the presence of the sixteenth-century entries (Fullers' and Masons') and the continued absence of some pageants (Vintners' and Ironmongers') shows that not all guilds brought in their pageants for registering when asked, and there is the possibility that some variations in the original entries (e.g. the smaller script of the Hosiers') are to be accounted for in this way. The uniformity of most of the manuscript nevertheless makes it likely that the majority of the pageants were entered at one time.

THE ORDO PAGINARUM AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE YORK TILEMAKERS' PAGEANT

By PETER MEREDITH

The list of the pageants of the York Corpus Christi play known as the *Ordo Paginarum* (A/Y Memorandum Book, York City Library, ff.252v-54v) is a more complicated document than is normally indicated by those who refer to it.[1] When Lucy Toulmin Smith printed it in the Introduction to her edition of the York play, she rightly observed that "the side for the names of the crafts is found to be full of alterations, erasures, and new writing, of differing dates, evidently made to correct the list to the changes among the crafts" (pp.xviii-xix). It was unfortunate that she limited her general observations to the left side containing the craft names, since the other side which contains the descriptions of the pageants is just as full of "alterations, erasures, and new writing, of differing dates". Had Miss Toulmin Smith drawn attention to these alterations in the same way, scholars might have been less ready to treat the *Ordo* as a homogeneous description of the state of the York play in 1415.[2]

In this article I shall be concerned with one of those entries, the pageant which in the *Ordo* is allocated to the Tilemakers, Millers, Ropers, Sievers, Turners, Bollers and Hairsters. I print it as it appears in Toulmin Smith:[3]

Tielmakers ...
Milners ...
(Ropers,
Seveourz) ...
Turnours ...
Hayresters ...
Bollers ...

(36) 33. Jesus, Pilatus, Cayphas, Anna, sex milites tenentes hastas cum vexillis,et alij quattuor ducentes Jesum ab Herode petentes Baraban dimitti et Jesum crucifigi, et ibidem ligantes et flagellantes eum, ponentes coronam spineam super caput eius; tres milites mittentes sortem super vestem Jesu.

[This entry is followed by the description of the Shearmen's pageant.]

In a footnote to the word "Milners" Miss Toulmin Smith notes, "Several changes are apparent in the writing here. The Ropers and Sevours *[?Sievors]* were added later". She also draws attention to the changing fortunes of the Millers in relation to the pageant. As with her general remarks, however, she concentrates on the changes in guild attributions and no indication is given that the date of

the description of the pageant is anything other than 1415.

In the second list of pageants in the A/Y Memorandum Book (f.255),[4] usually dated 1417-22 and not printed by Miss Toulmin Smith, most of the same crafts appear but this time with separate pageants. The separate pageants cover broadly speaking the same subject matter but are preceded by the Saucemakers' Judas pageant, and enclose the Shearmen's *Journey to Calvary*:

Sausmakers	Suspensio iude
Tylemakers	Condempnacio christi per pilatum
Turnours bollers	flagellacio & coronacio cum spinis
Shermen	Ductio christi & ostensio veronice
Milners	Particio vestimentorum christi[5]

Also important for the early history of this pageant is the agreement of 1422-3 (quoted in Toulmin Smith, pp.xxiv-v), which shows that an amalgamation of the pageants of Saucemakers; Tilemakers; Turners, Hairsters, and Bollers; and Millers took place in that year.[6] Apart from the early Saucemakers' agreement which shows that their pageant already existed separately in 1417,[7] the two pageant lists and the 1422-3 agreement represent the entire evidence for the altering relationships between the crafts in this early period, and the development suggested by them, if the traditional dates are adhered to, is one of rapid and surprising splitting and re-grouping:

1415 (*Ordo Paginarum*) - a combined pageant of Tilemakers, Millers, Turners, Hairsters and Bollers already in existence;
1417-22 (second list) - separate pageants for Tilemakers, Turners and Bollers, Millers, and also Saucemakers, in existence;
1422-3 (Preston agreement) - a combined pageant of Tilemakers, Saucemakers, Millers, Turners, Hairsters and Bollers formed.

It is exactly this development of combined pageant becoming separate pageants becoming combined pageant, which is posited by M.G. Frampton:

> The stories of these entries is clear. Burton's play ceased to be given and in its place appeared three new plays [those of the Tilemakers, the Turners and Bollers, and the Millers] under the individual sponsorship of the several guilds which had given his play jointly . . . but already in 1421 [the 1422-3 agreement] the guilds sponsoring these new plays, joined by the Salsmakers, who were sponsors of another new play not known to Burton in 1415, the *Suspencio Iude*, were petitioning the City Council for permission to surrender their several plays and to unite again in giving a new play on their old theme, the *Condemnacio*.[8]

There is, however, no need for such a hypothesis if one looks closely at the *Ordo Paginarum* entry. Though there is no doubt that the *Ordo*

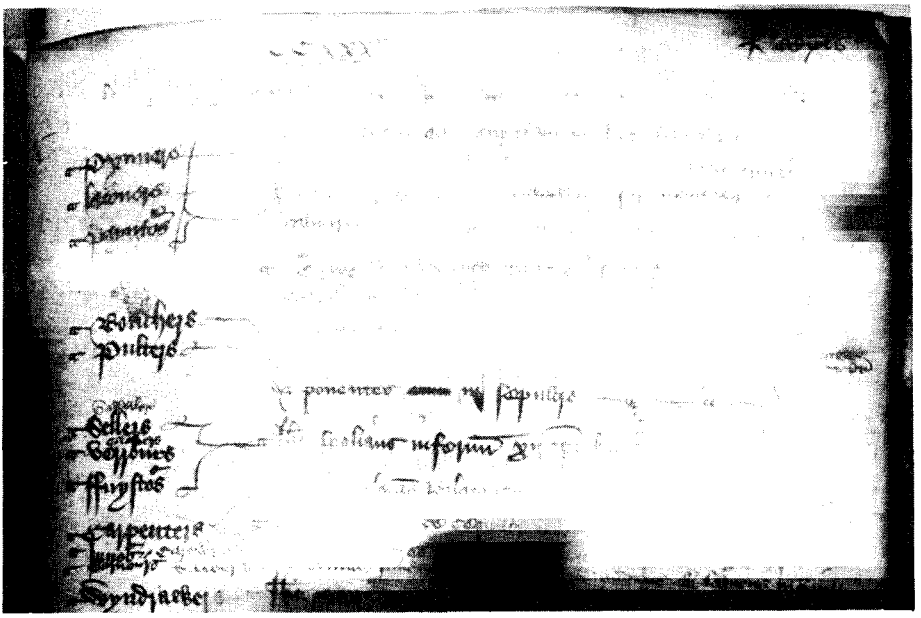
is dated 1415 and that it originated with Roger Burton, the particular entry which refers to the Tilemakers', etc. pageant has been totally erased and re-written at a later date. The most likely explanation of the present entry in the *Ordo* is that it reflects the situation after 1422-3 when the amalgamation had already taken place, and it can tell us nothing therefore about the state of the pageant in 1415.

The development of the combined pageant then appears far simpler: the second list, containing separate pageants for the guilds, becomes the earliest stage for which we have firm evidence; the 1422-3 agreement shows the combining of these separate pageants; and the present *Ordo* description represents a situation existing at some time after that agreement was made.

Two small problems do still exist. Firstly, if the entry as it stands in the *Ordo* represents the situation after 1422-3, one would expect to find the Saucemakers included in the list of those responsible, and their pageant contained in the combined description. Secondly, given that the separate pageants of the second list represent the earliest stage of the development of the combined pageant for which evidence exists, what was the original form of the *Ordo* entry?

The absence of the Saucemakers from the *Ordo* entry could result from the subsequent history of the amalgamated pageant. In 1422-3 the pageants were combined on an apparently equal footing. In 1424-5, only two years after the previous settlement, it was agreed that instead of the apparently equal responsibility among the four groups, the Saucemakers and the Tilemakers should assume responsibility for bringing forth the pageant, and that the Millers should pay 10s and the Hairsters and their associates 5s towards the costs.[9] In 1432, however, it was arranged that the Tilemakers should be solely responsible for the pageant and that the Saucemakers should pay 5s towards costs;[10] which must have represented a substantial reduction in their involvement. One explanation of the absence of the Saucemakers' name from the *Ordo* is, therefore, that the entry as it now stands was written not only later than 1422-3, but after 1432 when the Saucemakers' financial involvement was considerably reduced and when they may scarcely have been involved at all in the production of the pageant. Alternatively, and more simply, their name could have been lost when the Tilemakers' almost was,[11] or erased from the *Ordo* and replaced by one of the later additions, Ropers or Sievers, who rose to slightly greater prominence in the later fifteenth century.

The question of the original form of the entry in the *Ordo* must remain uncertain, but there is some suggestive evidence. In the A/Y Memorandum Book, the Tilemakers', etc. pageant description precedes the Shearmen's at the foot of f.253v. At the top of the following leaf, f.254, there is an erased line which precedes the Pinners' and Painters' pageant description. The lay-out of the line clearly shows that it was a pageant entry. There are the remains of a craft name, then a space, then the edges of what is most likely a capital P. Thereafter there are merely the ascenders and descenders of a number of letters until the final word, *ihu*, which is almost intact. Enough remains of the first word (the craft name) strongly to suggest that



The *Ordo Paginarum*, showing the erased entry at the top of f.254. (A/Y Memorandum Book, York City Archives MS E 20, North Yorkshire County Library; photograph by David Whiteley, University of York.

it was some form of the word "Molyners". There is no doubt in my mind that the erased line was the entry for the separate Millers' pageant, though what the description exactly consisted of it is impossible now to be sure. It is interesting, however, that the first part of the description contained in the 1422-3 agreement fits well with much of what survives in the erased entry in the *Ordo*:

> Pilatus & alij milites ludebant ad talos pro vestimentis Iesu.

The *Ordo*, therefore, once contained a separate entry for the Millers' pageant, following the Shearmen's in exactly the same way as in the second list. This does not, of course, prove that the *Ordo* originally consisted of separate pageants for all the related crafts, Tilemakers; Turners, Hairsters, and Bollers; Saucemakers; and Millers, but given the separate existence of the Millers' (presumably in 1415) and the Saucemakers' (before 1417) it makes that explanation more likely than that there was an amalgamated pageant which split up and then re-formed.

One importance of these discoveries is that they help to clarify the development of the amalgamated pageant and its contributory crafts, and though the dating of some of the changes can even now be only approximate, nevertheless there are enough relevant entries in the York records to provide a fairly detailed history of the development of this pageant:[12]

1415 (*Ordo Paginarum*) - At this time there were most probably separate pageants. The evidence comes from the separate (erased) entry of the Millers' pageant, the separate existence of the Saucemakers' pageant before 1417 (see next entry), and the likelihood that the second list reflects the original *Ordo*. There is no way of knowing how far back this situation goes, but it is perhaps not too far-fetched to suggest that it represents the original development of these pageants in the Corpus Christi play.

1417-18 - The first evidence for a separate Saucemakers' pageant is contained in an agreement between the Saucemakers and the sellers of Paris candles, made in the mayoralty of William Bowes (1417-18). From the way in which the pageant is referred to there it is apparent that it was in existence before 1417: ". . . quod licet de consuetudine actenus vsitata gentes de Salsemakercrafte omnes etiam Candelmakers . . . sustinuerint simul suis sumptibus & expensis paginam illam . . . (*York, REED*, pp.30-1).

The agreement also provides a description of the subject matter of the Saucemakers' pageant: "Iudas Scarioth se suspendit & crepuit medius".[13]

1417-22 (the second list)[14] - The separate pageants are here fully listed for the first time, as far as surviving evidence goes:
Saucemakers - Suspensio iude
Tilemakers - Condempnacio christi per pilatum

Turners
Bollers - flagellacio & coronacio cum spinis
[Shearmen]
Millers - Particio vestimentorum christi

1422-3 (the Preston agreement)[6] - The amalgamation of the four separate pageants as "pagina condempnacionis Iesu christi". The subject matter of the individual pageants is again stated and corresponds with that of the second list, though this is no proof that each was represented in the new pageant. The old pageants are said to be "pro perpetuo exclusis", but clearly the new pageant was made up from the subject matter of the old ones.

Saucemakers - Iudas se suspendebat & crepuit medius
Tilemakers - pilatus condempnauit Iesum morti
Turners
Hairsters - Iesus ligatus erat ad columpnam & flagellatus
Bollers
Millers - pilatus & alij milites ludebant ad talos pro vestimentis Iesu & pro eis sortes mittebant & ea partiebantur.

Equal responsibility is implied for each craft since no alternative arrangement was made, and each craft having previously owned a pageant was on an equal footing. That this arrangement was not wholly satisfactory is shown by the reference to disagreements amongst the crafts over paying for the pageant: "Super hoc artifices arcium predictarum contendebant inter se de modo solucionis ad paginam predictam". The 1424-5 agreement was an attempt to resolve these difficulties.

1424-5 (the Bracebridge agreement)[9] - The Tilemakers and Saucemakers take over responsibility for bringing forth the pageant ("portent onus & expensas pagine predicte & ipsam in bono & honesto modo annuatim ludendam producent"). On the day before Corpus Christi day the Millers are to hand over 10s to the pageant masters of the two crafts, and the Hairsters 5s. The Turners and Bollers are not mentioned but are presumably included under "& illi qui eis antea soluerunt" which follows the mention of the Hairsters (for a similar use of one craft to represent the group, see below, 1482 and 1487). Representatives from the Millers and the Hairsters are to accompany the pageant on Corpus Christi day (one or two from the Millers, one from the Hairsters) and are allowed to eat and drink with the two main crafts ("in cibo potuque solacia percipiant") if they so wish.

Repairs are paid for by the two main crafts with contributions from the others; every third penny from the Millers, and half the amount paid by the Millers from the Hairsters. Representatives from Millers and Hairsters (one from each) were allowed to oversee the costing of the repairs.

One clause in the agreement has a relevance outside this group ("Et quod nulla quatuor arcium predictarum ponat aliqua signa arma vel insignia super paginam predictam nisi tantum huius honorabilis ciuitatis") in as much as it implies the use of the arms or insignia of the craft guilds as part of the decoration

of the pageant waggons.

No indication is given of the subject matter.

1432 (the Snaudon agreement)[10] - This is in fact an amendment to the previous agreement and refers only to the Saucemakers. By it the Tilemakers become solely responsible for the bringing forth of the pageant and the Saucemakers join the other crafts as contributors. The Saucemakers are now to hand over 5s to the Tilemakers on the day before Corpus Christi day, are to send two or three of their members to go around with the pageant on the day (with food and drink if they so wish), and are to pay equally with the Tilemakers for repairs (the repairs being overseen by two Tilemakers and two Saucemakers). No mention is made of the other crafts who presumably remained on the same terms as before.

By this arrangement the Saucemakers clearly shed some of the financial burden of the pageant. Their only regular expenditure is 5s a year (as little as the Hairsters) and they are only called upon for more when the pageant needs repair. The arrangements for paying for repairs need some comment. The previous arrangement whereby the Millers paid every third penny and the Hairsters half the amount paid by the Millers, left the Saucemakers and Tilemakers to pay the rest between them. As the new arrangement specifies that the Saucemakers shall pay exactly the same, penny for penny, as the Tilemakers it suggests that previously one or other of them paid more. It would be in keeping with the decreasing of the financial burden on the Saucemakers represented by this agreement to assume that they had previously borne the larger share and were now put on an equal footing with the Tilemakers, but there is no certain proof of this.

Their responsibility for the safety, smooth-running and general support of the pageant on Corpus Christi day remained somewhat greater than that of the other contributory crafts.

Again no indication is given of the subject matter of the combined pageant at this stage. Possibly it contained the subjects of the separate pageants, but by no means certainly.

1422/3-36 - It seems likely that during this period the description of the combined pageant at present found in the *Ordo Paginarum* was entered. It appears to be in the hand of Roger Burton, and if this is so it must have been entered before 1436 when Burton gave up the office of Common Clerk which he had held for twenty-one years. It is not written in the script used by Burton for the original entries in the *Ordo*, but is similar to that used in the second list. The last section, "tres milites mittentes sortem super vestem Jesu", is somewhat more roughly written and may have been added later and by another hand. The whole description is written over an erasure.

The pageant described contains an apparently extensive condemnation (the original Tilemakers' subject) which sounds remarkably like that in the still-existing pageant in the York Register. There is also a flagellation and crowning with thorns (the original Turners', Hairsters' and Bollers' subject, also

contained in the surviving pageant) and a casting lots for Christ's garments (the original Millers' subject). There is no mention of the Saucemakers' Judas pageant at all. The pageant here described could be the one created in 1422-3 or it could be a revision of that, but the absence of the Saucemakers' Judas section need not imply revision since there is no evidence that it ever formed a part of the combined pageant. The description of the amalgamation of the pageants simply states that they "fuerunt combinate simul in vnam paginam ceteris predictis paginis pro perpetuo exclusis", that is the individual pageants were to give way to the combined one (*York, REED* p.48).

1463-77 - At some time during this period the Register (BL Additional MS 35290) was compiled. The Tilemakers' pageant was entered on ff.167-74. It is headed "The Tyllemakers".[15]

The subject matter is the same as the present *Ordo* description except that the casting lots for Christ's garments does not appear. There is a leaf missing between ff.173 and 174 but it seems unlikely from the point of view of space or position in the sequence of events in the pageant that it could once have contained the Millers' section. Only the old Tilemakers' and Turners', Hairsters' and Bollers' pageants are therefore now represented.

1482 and 1487 - These are agreements regarding the payment of pageant money, and introduce the Ropers for the first time. The wording of the 1482 agreement,[16] from the Carpenters' ordinances, would suggest that the Ropers and Turners were one craft; that of 1487[17] that the Ropers and Hairsters were one. The confusion no doubt arises from the overlap in trade between the Ropers and Hairsters (they carried torches as one craft according to the Corpus Christi torch lists of 1501, see *York, REED* p.186) on the one hand, and the frequent association of Turners and Hairsters on the other. The association of Turners Hairsters and Bollers continued throughout the period of the play, but in the late fifteenth century the Ropers, perhaps once part of the Hairsters, rose to greater prominence. The 1482 agreement refers to an overlap in trade with the Carpenters and therefore it is appropriate for Turners to be named, and the 1487 one refers specifically to the work of Ropers and Hairsters so it is appropriate for the Hairsters to be named. Clearly any one of the old group of three crafts could represent them all (see above 1424-5). That there was a close association between the Ropers and this group is confirmed in the later entries below, 1554 and 1563.

The connection of the Ropers with the Turners and Hairsters in these agreements suggests that they too were contributory to the Tilemakers' pageant, and this, therefore, is the most likely time for the addition of their name to the list of crafts in the *Ordo*. It is worth remembering, however, that the sole evidence for the Ropers' (and Sievers') connection with the Tilemakers' pageant is the entry in the *Ordo*. But that is in itself good evidence for a connection, and perhaps, in view of the fact that

the entry was never cancelled, suggests that the connection lasted.

1515 - The Millers take over from the Tilemakers ("Tielhousez"),[18] who are in this agreement described as "ruynous & dekayed", from 25 April (the date of the agreement) and therefore possibly in time for Corpus Christi (June 7) of that year, though there is no evidence of a performance in 1515. The "Milners Saucemakers & oyer misteres" are said to have been previously contributory to the Tilemakers, but the Millers are now "tobe the Tope . . . & the other Craftes tobe contributory vnto them & to bere lik charges as haith beyn affore tyme". In view of the 1518 agreement it would seem likely that the Tilemakers' connection was severed completely for a while, and it may be that at this time "The Tyllemakers" was deleted as a heading in the Register and "Mylners" substituted (*York Plays*, p.320).

1518 - The Saucemakers' connection with the pageant is finally severed. Their pageant money (with that of the Whitechandlers still coming to 5s) was to go to the Girdlers, but the Millers were to have the "Tielhouses when they goo towardes yer Charges of yer pageant bringyng furth".[19]

1535 - In this year the play was not played but the pageant money was collected and handed over to the mayor to put towards expenses incurred on the city's behalf. In the lists of pageant money handed over, only the Tilemakers and the Millers appear.[20] The Tilemakers' money amounted to 4/4d and the Millers' to 12/-. One would expect these lists to show the pageant money either of all the crafts contributory to the Millers, or of the Millers alone. The presence of only the Tilemakers amongst the contributory crafts can perhaps be explained by their having been for so long the organisers of the pageant that they retained this position in the civic lists even after handing over to the Millers. Taken together their pageant money suggests that their pageant was one of the better endowed, being exceeded only by the Merchants', Tailors' Drapers' and Hosiers', Cordwainers', and Tanners'.

1541 - A petition to the mayor to obtain pageant money from a number of unfranchised but practising millers: "we beseke your lordyschipe & your breder yat we may haue some thynge of theys to mend our pagand with all".[21]

1551 and 1552 - Repeated ordinances (26 June 1551 and 16 December 1552)[22] which state that the Turners, Hairsters, Sievers and Bollers should be contributory to the Ropers "for bringyng forth of ther pagiant". This wording suggests that the Ropers owned their own pageant, but there is no other evidence for this (see 1554 below).

There is a further and rather puzzling reference to the Ropers' pageant money in 1552. It is recorded that the Lord Mayor received "of Ropars for their paigeant money j^{mo} Ianuarij vs aftre ijd the grote".[23] The Lord Mayor is later named as

Thomas Appleyard, whose term of office lasted from February 1551 to February 1552, and the date of this entry should therefore be 1 January 1552. This is confirmed by the phrase "aftre ijd the grote" which refers to a debasement of the coinage in 1551 and a consequent request to the Chamberlains to indicate whether their accounts related to before or after the debasement. The entry presumably refers to pageant money of the previous year, 1551. In that year the Corpus Christi play was played though with somewhat maimed rites because of the threat of plague. Does the Ropers' payment to the Lord Mayor therefore represent money paid because the Millers' pageant was not performed in that year, and the pageant money not used was handed over to the mayor? Or is it simply that there was less fixity in the contributory status of crafts than is usually supposed, and that crafts occasionally paid into a central fund administered by the mayor? This entry relating to the receipt of the Ropers' pageant money is the only one of its kind, but clearly under special circumstances, like the payments of 1535 (*York, REED* pp.256-9 and 260-1) and those connected with the suppression of the Marian pageants (*York, REED* p.297), money was paid direct to the mayor. Such an arrangement was made in 1552 on account of the plague (22 April), but it was later rescinded (20 June; *York, REED* pp.303 and 304).

1554 - There were two agreements in this year relating to the Ropers and Turners.[24] The former (18 May) makes carpenters, joiners and carvers using "turning" contributory to the Turners and Ropers "towardes their expenses of settyng forth Pageantz"; the latter (21 September), obviously a reaction against the former agreement, re-inforces the Carpenters' ordinances of 1482 (see above) which make their members free of contributions to the Ropers and Turners "towardes chardges of ('ther' deleted) any pageant".

Both the phrases relating to the pageant, and especially the alteration of "ther" to "any", clearly imply contributory status (either to the Lord Mayor or to another guild) for the Ropers and Turners.

1563 - This is merely a copy of the Carpenters' ordinances, repeating those of 1482 and the second agreement of 1554.[25] A marginal note "ffree of Turnars pageant", like the reference to the Ropers in 1551/2 above, does not mean that the Turners owned their own pageant. Once again the wording of the ordinance, "towardes chardges of any pageant", suggests the true state of affairs.

There are no further references to the Millers' (*quondam* Tilemakers') pageant, but it is worth noting that the Millers are the only one of the combined crafts to be mentioned in the list of those contributing to Grafton's interlude in 1585.[26] This is especially interesting as the crafts are listed still in their Corpus Christi play order, and as the Millers retain their place between the Cooks (*quondam* Remorse of Judas) and, in the absence of the Shearmen,[27] the

Painters (*quondam* Crucifixion), this is some confirmation of their continued control of the *Condempnacio Iesu Christi* to the very end of the period when the Corpus Christi play was performed.

The history of the development of the Tilemakers' pageant may at first sight seem an insignificant detail, but it is important in a number of ways. First of all as a sample of pageant development it should alert us to the possible complexity involved. Secondly, and more specifically, it should make us wary of assuming that the *Ordo Paginarum* description is necessarily the earliest known form of the pageant; and wary too of thinking that the relationship between *Ordo* and second list is a simple chronological one of earlier, 1415, and later, 1417-22. Thirdly, the history of the Tilemakers' pageant is important in that it to some extent makes specific the stages of revision that a pageant might go through, and clarifies the changing roles that guilds might play in a pageant during the life of the cycle. It cannot tell us everything, of course, but when set against the detailed histories of the other guilds and their pageants a fuller picture than has hitherto been drawn should be possible.

We do not know, for example, how the amalgamation of the separate pageants which go to make up the *Condempnacio* was managed or why it was felt desirable, but the contemporary amalgamation of the Pinners' and Painters' pageants throws some light on one possible process. In their agreement of 31 January 1422,[28] the two guilds state that the Corpus Christi play is hindered by the large number of pageants involved and that matters are getting worse ("impeditur pre multitudine paginarum & nisi celerior & melior prouideatur cautela timendum est multo magis breuissime processu temporis impediri"). Realising that their two pageants could easily be performed as one ("intelligentes quod materie ambarum paginarum simul in vna pagina possent"), they agree to drop one pageant and include its subject matter in the other one ("assumant onus ludendi in pagina sua materiam loquelarum que per prius in pagina sua & in pagina de les Payntours & Steynours ludebatur"). There is no way of knowing if these were the only reasons for the change or even the genuine ones; what is interesting is that they were thought to be sound and acceptable both by the guilds who gave them and by the mayor and city council that received them with acclaim ("benigne acceptantes . . . laudabili commendantes"). The Pinners and Painters amalgamation does not prove that the specific reason for the amalgamation which led to the *Condempnacio Iesu Christi* was the same, but it does offer one clear contemporary parallel to such a change.

In its Appendix VI, "Pageants in the Corpus Christi Play", the York volume of the *Records of Early English Drama* series has begun in a brief way to provide a history of individual pageants (pp.657-85), but more importantly it has provided in the main body of the text the material for a far richer and more thorough investigation of such matters than there has been heretofore. When those investigations have been made and the results published, we shall have a far better idea of the functioning of the Corpus Christi play in York and a far better idea too of the complex interrelationships between guild and guild, and guild and city. Only then will we have the

basic information necessary for re-examining the development of the text of the cycle and the organisation of its performance.[29]

1 This situation may be changed by the two new editions of the *Ordo Paginarum* which have appeared recently, that of Martin Stevens and Margaret Dorrell, *Modern Philology* 72 (1974) 45-59, and that contained in *York, Records of Early English Drama*, ed. Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Rogerson, 2 vols (Toronto, 1979) I, pp.16-24. Both are in many ways improvements upon earlier versions, but neither is completely satisfactory. Miss Toulmin Smith had already drawn attention to one or two alterations in the pageant descriptions in her footnotes, the *MP* edition draws attention to a number of others not mentioned by Miss Smith, but leaves the majority still concealed. The *REED* edition aims at recording all alterations. Unfortunately, though many new findings are recorded (for example, the erased line before the Pinners' and Painters' pageant, and the extensive erasure and rewriting in many pageant descriptions), a number of important alterations remain un-noted there. I am at the moment working on a detailed reexamination of the *Ordo Paginarum*.

2 Hardin Craig, for example, in *English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages*, (Oxford, 1955) follows Miss Toulmin Smith in mentioning only the alterations in the list of crafts (p.202), and elsewhere treats the *Ordo* as though it were of 1415 throughout (see, for example, pp.225-7). Rosemary Woolf gives no indication of the variation in date amongst the pageant descriptions in her references to "Burton's list of 1415" (*English Mystery Plays*, (London, 1972), see especially p.305 and the notes on p.415).

3 *York Plays*, (Oxford, 1885) p.xxv.

Both the *MP* and the *REED* editions offer improved readings (for example, they both indicate that the initial *Iesus* is a later addition), but they also introduce their own errors. Both give *Serveourz* for the correct reading in Toulmin Smith, *Seveourz*; *REED* misleadingly places indications of no longer legible craft names, presumably representing the Toulmin Smith Turners, Hairsters and Bollers, opposite the Shearmen's pageant description, without identifying them by giving the Toulmin Smith readings, and *MP* omits them altogether. Not only do these crafts indisputably belong to the Tilemakers' pageant, but they are linked to it in the manuscript by guide lines. They are also still partly visible; certainly the *-resters* of the Toulmin Smith *Hayresters*. Furthermore, in support of the earlier readings is the fact that Miss Toulmin Smith saw the A/Y Memorandum Book before it was damaged by the 1892 flood. Neither of the recent editions notes any alteration in this entry beyond the addition of *Iesus*.

4 The best edition is that in *York, REED* pp.25-6.

5 *York, REED* p.26. I have not indicated expansions and have made some minor corrections.

6 *York, REED* pp.48-50. This first agreement is on p.48, l.29 - p.49, l.1. It was made in the mayoralty of Henry Preston which spanned the end of Henry V's and the beginning of Henry VI's reigns (9 and 10 Henry V and 1 Henry VI), that is it falls within the period 21 March 1421 - 31 August 1423 (*Handbook of Dates*, ed. C.R. Cheney (London, 1970) p.22). The mayor was elected on St Blase's day (February 3) so that Preston's term of office must have run from February 1422 - February 1423, and the agreement have been made during that time (not 1421-2, as in *York, REED* p.674). The dates given in the published Freemen's Roll are apparently two years behind at this period, but are actually one because the dates given are old style (*Register of the Freemen of York*, ed. F. Collins, 2 vols., Surtees Society 96 and 102 (1897 and 1900) I, p.131).

7 *York, REED* pp.30-2.

8 "The Processus Talentorum (Towneley XXIV)", *PMLA* 59 (1944) 652.

9 *York, REED* pp.49-50. The 1424-5 agreement occupies ll.1-38 of p.49 with the final word on p.50. It is dated from the mayor, Thomas Bracebridge. The *REED* summary of pageant history makes no mention of this as an agreement separate from that of 1422-3 (see p.674).

10 *York, REED* p.50. The agreement is dated "primo die Septembris Anno regni regis Henrici sexti xj^{mo}" (not "j^{mo}" as in *REED*) during Thomas Snaudon's mayoralty.

This is the last of this early series of agreements between the amalgamated crafts. It appears to have been added to the other two, but all three sections are in the hand of Roger Burton, the Common Clerk, and are so homogeneous as to suggest that the earlier sections were re-written so that the last could be added and the whole kept together in one place in the manuscript.

11 There is just enough space available in the *Ordo*, and instead of the single ꝯ used to precede a single craft there appears to be a double one, perhaps indicating Tilemakers and Saucemakers.

12 This outline of the history of the pageant differs partly in dating and partly in emphasis and interpretation from the much briefer one provided in *York, REED* pp.674-5.

13 There are two agreements contained in this entry relating to the Saucemakers' pageant, one dating from the mayoralty of William Bowes (1417-18) and the other from that of John Moreton (1418-19), both registered by Roger Burton. The dating of the former is confused in the A/Y Memorandum Book by "henrici sexti" having been written instead of "henrici quinti", but it is clear that the year is 1417. In both cases the section containing the dating has been written over an erasure, but apparently in the hand of Roger Burton (*York, REED* pp.30-2).

The translation in the *REED* second volume of "crepuit medius" in the description of the pageant appears correctly as "burst in the middle" on p.733 (the 1422-3 agreement), but not on p.716 (this agreement).

14 I have retained the traditional dates though it seems to me possible that the second list is in fact of the same period as the original *Ordo*. It certainly pre-dates those early changes for which records exist: the Pinners and Painters amalgamation of 1422 (*York, REED* pp.37-8), and the Tilemakers, etc. of 1422-3 (*York, REED* pp.48-9); and there is no reason to make 1417 its earliest possible date since the separate Saucemakers' pageant clearly existed before that date and was quite possibly originally listed in the *Ordo* and later erased with the original Tilemakers' pageant description. In view of the signs which are appearing of a closer relationship between the *Ordo* and the second list, for example the presence of the Millers' separate pageant in the *Ordo*, it is quite possible that the two are very close in date. Both are in Burton's hand, though using a somewhat different script. I have suggested elsewhere that the *Ordo*, proclamation and second list may all have been entered at around the same time in a planned position at the end of the *maior registrum* (the once separate first part of the A/Y Memorandum Book) to act as a convenient reference section to those pieces of information about the Corpus Christi play which were regularly used.

For my findings regarding the A/Y Memorandum Book see *York, REED* pp.xx and 868; for a general discussion of the final section of the *maior registrum* see my paper "'Item for a grone - iijd' - records and performance", *Proceedings of the First Colloquium*, ed. JoAnna Dutka, *Records of Early English Drama* (Toronto, 1979) pp.41-6.

15 Toulmin Smith, *York Plays*, pp.320-36.

16 *York, REED* p.129. This is a late-sixteenth century copy of the 1482 ordinances, "abridged and reformed" according to a note in the left margin of the preamble (f.6v). Note the confusing "The Turners pageant" in the right margin.

17 *York, REED* pp.152-3.

18 *York, REED* p.212.

19 *York, REED* p.217.

20 *York, REED* pp.257-9 and 260-1.

21 *York, REED* p.277. The list is (upside-down) on f.74v, not f.74.
Though they are all said to be "vnfranchyst", Cuthbertus Smerthwat (1534-5) and Laurencius Eshebe (1533-4) are entered in the Freemen's Roll and appear to be the same as two of those listed; see *Register of the Freemen of York*, pp.253 and 252.

22 *York, REED* pp.300 and 304. In *REED* the first is dated "27 June".

23 *York, REED* p.305. In the *REED* volume, it is rather misleadingly placed *after* the material which relates to the rest of 1552.

24 *York, REED* p.311-2.

25 *York, REED* p.342.

26 *York, REED* pp.421-2.

27 The Shearmen who should follow the Millers are not listed at all. As the last reference to their pageant is in 1517, there is no way of knowing when, or if, they dropped out. They did not contribute in 1535.

28 *York, REED* pp.37-8.

29 I am grateful to Professor A.C. Cawley for his many helpful comments on an earlier draft of this article.

THORESBY AND LATER OWNERS OF THE MANUSCRIPT OF THE YORK PLAYS (BL ADDITIONAL MS 35290)

By A.C. CAWLEY

Thoresby's ownership

Ralph Thoresby (1658-1725), the distinguished antiquary and author of *Ducatus Leodiensis* (1715),[1] owned the manuscript of the York plays (now B.L. Add. MS 35290) for about twenty years. We know that Henry Fairfax was its owner in 1695 from his inscription on a fly-leaf at the beginning of the manuscript (numbered 3): "H: Fairfax's Book 1695". We also know how it came into Thoresby's possession, for a note in Thoresby's hand on the back of the fly-leaf inscribed by Fairfax records that Fairfax gave it to Thoresby: "Donum Hon:mi Hen: Fairfax Arm: Rad.o Thoresby".[2] Henry Fairfax's gift is acknowledged at the end of Thoresby's short notice of the manuscript (see below), which is listed as item 17 (p.517) in "A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in this Musaeum". (This catalogue is part of the complete catalogue of the *Musaeum Thoresbyanum* included in *Ducatus Leodiensis*, pp.275-568.)[3]

Manuſcripts, Folio. 517

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17. *Corpus Chriſti Playe* in antique *Engliſh* Verſe, by *Tho. Cutler* and *Rich. Nandycke*; take a Taſte of the Poetry in the *Crucifixio Chriſti.*

> Sir knyghtis take heed hydir in hye
> ȝee wootte your ſelf als wele as I
> Has geven dome yat yis doote ſchall dye.
> ſen we are comen to Calvarie
> this dede on dergh we may noght drawe
> howe lordis and lederȝ of our lawe
> Sir all yare counſaile wele we knawe
> lat ilke man helpe nowe as hym awe.

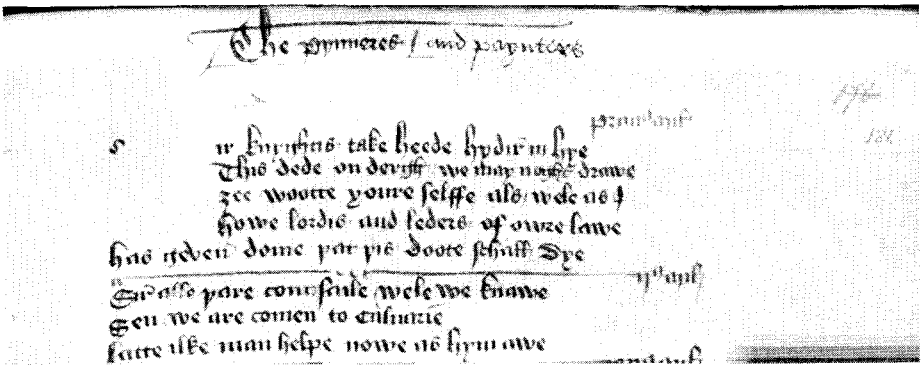
Some of the Trades themſelves in the ſeveral Scenes are antiquated, as are the Names of others, *Bowers* and *Fletchers*, *Wefferes*, *Cappers* (*Hatters* added in a later Hand) *Eſtrereners*, *Gyrdillers*, *Tylleth[illegible]kers*, *Spicers*, *Shavers*, *Parchmynners*, *Shermen* and *Wyne-drawers* were of old, but *Merceres* added at the End as modern, *Richard* the Father of Biſhop *Morton* of *Durham*, being the firſt of that Trade, at leaſt in theſe Northern Parts of *England (c)*. Don. *Hen. Fairfax* Arm.

The "*Hen. Fairfax* Arm." named above as the donor of the manuscript was Henry Fairfax, second son of Henry, fourth Baron Fairfax.[4] As Lucy Toulmin Smith points out, the manuscript may have been in the hands of the Fairfax family for more than a century before it descended to Henry Fairfax: "Two Fairfaxes had been Recorders of York in the previous century, and many of the family sat on the Council of the North for reform of religious matters through the sixteenth century".[5] In addition to these associations of the Fairfax family with York, it may be noticed that Henry Fairfax's maternal grandfather, Sir John Barwick, was Recorder of York.[6] Henry Fairfax died in 1708, so that the York plays must have been given to Thoresby after 1695, when Fairfax wrote his name on a fly-leaf of the manuscript,[7] and before 1708.

In describing the manuscript as a *Corpus Christi Playe*, Thoresby is following the inscription (c.1600) "Corpus Christi playe" (repeated) on f.253. There is no indication that he realised its connection with York, unless his footnote reference (*c*) on p.517 of the *Ducatus* to "Fuller's *Worthies in* Yorke, pag. 229." *[*London, 1662*]* is regarded as such.

Perhaps the most striking detail in Thoresby's notice is his ascription of the play to "*Tho. Cutler* and *Rich. Nandycke*". The names "Thomas Cutler" and "Richarde Nandycke/Nandicke" are both written several times in full on a paste-down at the beginning of the manuscript and once on f.253; "Thomas Cutler" appears three times on a fly-leaf at the beginning and once on a fly-leaf at the end; and the initials "TC" and "RN" occur on ff.89 and 92 respectively.[8] These names and initials in late handwriting (c.1600) may have belonged to men who were owners or readers, but there is no evidence whatever that they were the authors of the play.[9]

A comparison of Thoresby's transcription of the opening stanza of the Crucifixion play (York 35) with the same lines as set out in the manuscript (f.181)[10] suggests that his understanding of the text left a lot to be desired.



Thoresby (or his printer) has made nonsense of the passage by arranging two quatrains with alternate rhymes (*abababab*) as two mono-rhymed quatrains (*aaaabbbb*). Further, he omits the two speakers' names, and so reduces the dialogue to a continuous passage of verse. Nevertheless, his transcription of individual words, though by no means perfect, is at least as good as that of John Croft who published in his *Excerpta Antiqua* (York, 1797) a transcript of the separate York Scriveners' manuscript of the Incredulity of Thomas play.[11]

It is ironic that the manuscript of an entire Corpus Christi play should have been presented to Thoresby, in view of his Puritan hostility to plays and players. In 1680, at the age of twenty-two, he writes in his diary: ". . . going to see a play, whither curiosity carried me but fear brought me back. It was the first, and I hope, will be the last time I was found upon that ground".[12] On 31 December, 1713, he notes that he "Read and wrote all day, save usual attendance at church. Evening, had company of brother Thoresby's children to close up the year; was disturbed with foolish, or rather sinful mummers, and was perhaps too zealous to repress them. Lord pity and pardon!"[13] In 1722, some three years before his death, Thoresby writes: "The Vicar . . . particularly inveighed against plays, which reproof was the more necessary, because we have had in town a company of players six or eight weeks, which has seduced many, and got abundance of silver".[14] In an earlier part of his diary (Sept. 1702) he records that he saw a harvest pageant at Preston; but the absence of hostile comment suggests that what Thoresby saw was dumbshow and not a play with words:

> We passed the river Ribble (which rises in the Yorkshire hills) to Preston, which was now extremely crowded with the gentry as well as commonalty, from all parts to the Jubilee, as we call it, but more rightly the Guild: we were too late to see the formalities, (the several companies in their order, attending the Mayor, &c. to church; and thence after sermon, to the Guild-house, to the feast, &c.) at the opening of the Guild, but were in time enough for the appendices, the pageant, &c. at the bringing in the harvest, ushered in by two gladiators in armour, on horseback, &c. The Queen discharged her part well, but the King was too effeminate. I was best pleased with a good providence that attended a fellow clad with bears' skins, &c., who running amongst the mob in the Low-street, by the churchyard, happily chased them away just before the wall fell, whereby their lives were saved. Had afterwards the company of several Yorkshire and Lancashire justices, with whom went to see the posture-master, who not only performed several uncommon feats of activity, but put his body instantly into so strange and mis-shapen postures, as are scarce credible, &c. Disturbed with the music, &c., that got little rest till three in the morning.[15]

Notwithstanding Thoresby's strong disapproval of plays, it need not be supposed that he was upset by reading the volume of Corpus Christi pageants in his possession. Almost certainly he did not try to read them, or made very little sense of them if he did. His

opinion of the literary worth of the extract he gives from the York *Crucifixio* is sufficiently indicated by his invitation to "take a Taste of the Poetry in the *Crucifixio Christi*".

Horace Walpole and later owners

Thoresby's manuscript of the Corpus Christi play was so little regarded that in 1764, when his eldest son died and the Musaeum Thoresbyanum was auctioned by Whiston Bristow in a sale lasting three days (5-7 March), lot 41 on the third day - "Corpus Christi Playe, in antique *English* Verse, *vide* D.L. N^{O} 17, p.517" - was bought by Horace Walpole (1717-1797) for £1.1.0.[16] (Cf. the price of the *Ducatus Leodiensis*, ordinary copies of which sold at £3.)[17] Nothing much is heard of the manuscript during the years of Walpole's ownership.[18] And yet, by the time the Strawberry Hill collections were sold by George Robins[19] on 25 April 1842 and "twenty-three following days, Sundays excepted", the Thoresby manuscript (lot 92 on the sixth day, described in the sale catalogue as "A folio volume, written upon vellum, of Old English Poetry, from the library of R. Thoresby, very curious") had jumped in value from £1.1.0 to £220.10.0. This was the price paid by the bookseller Thomas Rodd, acting on behalf of Benjamin Heywood Bright, to whom he sold the manuscript for £235.[20] Bright died in August 1843 and his library was sold in the following year. In Sotheby's sale catalogue of his manuscripts, 18 June 1844, the information is published for the first time (both on the title-page and in the description of lot 277) that the manuscript in question contained the "Miracle Plays" of York. The B.L. Dept. of MSS copy of this sale catalogue (P.R.2 A.12, p.34) informs us that the manuscript fetched £305 and (in a marginal note in Sir Frederic Madden's handwriting) that it was sold to "Thorpe for Rev Thomas Russell Aft.^{ds} sold to Lord Ashburnham". According to Madden, Russell "sold it to Lord Ashburnham for £350" (see Appendix for pencilled footnote to Madden's *Journal*, Tuesday 18 June 1844, p.155).

Rev. Thomas Russell

The Rev. Thomas Russell, who is the weak link in the later pedigree of the manuscript, requires a paragraph to himself. Although it is difficult to identify him with certainty, he is probably the Russell listed in *DNB* under "RUSSELL or CLOUTT, THOMAS (1781?-1846), independent minister"[21] and in the British Museum general catalogue of printed books under "RUSSELL (THOMAS) M.A., *pseud. [*i.e. THOMAS CLOUTT*]*". Letters written by this Russell (from the same address as that given in *DNB*: Penton Row, Walworth, Surrey) are preserved in the Bodleian Library: a letter to Francis Douce, 20 Feb. 1828 (MS Douce d. 86, f.158), and more than thirty letters to Sir Thomas Phillipps, who refers to his correspondent as the "Rev. Thos. Russell".[22] Most of these letters are on the subject of money lent to Phillipps,[23] and indicate Russell's difficulty in getting his money back on time. One letter dated 25 Dec. 1845 confirms his year of birth as 1781: "At the age of sixty four, it singularly happens, that in no form as plaintiff, defendant or witness have I ever appeared in any court of law from the highest to the lowest".[24] Another letter dated 25 Sept. 1844 establishes the fact that he

bought books and manuscripts: "I have bought rather largely at the sale of the Duke of Sussex's Library *[31 July 1844]*, and payment must be made on the 3rd. and 5th. of October . . . . I have the Barlowe MSS bought at the late Countess of Mansfield's sale at Richmond, and a chartulary I think you would like, which I should be disposed to give you for the payment of one of the other bills before it is due by the date upon it".[25] The same Russell is evidently referred to in a letter dated 2 December 1846 from Thomas Rodd, bookseller, to Lord Ashburnham:

> The other collection I alluded to is that of a Dissenting Minister of the name of Russell - The chief strength of it consists in curious old English books relating to the Reformation, with some fine and curious specimens of Old English Poetry and General Literature. As he was not in sufficiently good circumstances to entail it without doing injustice to his family, there can be little doubt of its coming to the hammer.[26]

Since it is unlikely that in the mid-nineteenth century there was more than one Rev. Thomas Russell who collected books and manuscripts on a large scale, it seems safe to infer that Madden's Rev. Thomas Russell is the *DNB* Thomas Russell.

However, Madden's two statements that the manuscript was bought by Thorpe for Russell, who in turn sold it to Lord Ashburnham, are apparently in conflict with other evidence. Madden himself in a footnote (dated July 1844) added to his *Journal* entry for Wednesday 24 April 1844, p.75, makes no mention of Russell: "It was purchased for 305£ (against myself) by Thorpe the bookseller for a person *[*Lord Ashburnham *written above in pencil]* whose name is concealed". More significantly, there is no mention of Russell in Ashburnham MS 4323 (a volume containing titles of books and manuscripts purchased for the Ashburnham collection, prices paid and from whom acquired, 1827 to 1877) which, under the year 1847, records that the manuscript of the York Miracle Plays (App.^{X} CXXXVII) was purchased from Thorpe for £305.[27] Given this confusion of evidence, it is hardly surprising that the *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum 1844-1899* omits Russell in its account of the later pedigree of the manuscript; or that de Ricci's *Bibliotheca Britannica* (under B.M. Add. 35290) first gives the Earl of Ashburnham as the owner of the manuscript after Thorpe's purchase of it in 1844, and then crosses out Ashburnham's name and writes: "Rev. Thomas Russell coll.; the Earl of Ashburnham coll., App., n.137".[28]

Until further evidence comes to light, it would seem best to accept Madden's statement that the Rev. Thomas Russell was the owner of the York manuscript between Thorpe's purchase of it in 1844 and Lord Ashburnham's purchase of it in 1847. Nevertheless, in view of the evidence of Ashburnham MS 4323, we are entitled to wonder whether Sir Frederic Madden was wrong to interpose Russell as an owner of the manuscript between Thorpe and Ashburnham. One way of reconciling Russell's ownership with the evidence of Ashburnham MS 4323 is to assume (in the absence of evidence) that after Russell's death in 1846 the manuscript was purchased again by Thorpe, and that he sold

it in 1847 to Lord Ashburnham for £305. This assumption is, however, acceptable only if Madden was wrong in stating that Russell sold it to Lord Ashburnham for £350. In any event, it is a matter of fact that the manuscript of the York plays was purchased for the Ashburnham collection in 1847 and that it is listed as "York Miracle Plays" in Ashburnham MS 4328 (a catalogue of printed books and manuscripts in the Ashburnham collection, 1851-2), where it is described in four columns as "V*[ellum]*, XIV.*[th cent.]*, fol. A*[ppendix]* 64".[29]

One more sale completes the pedigree of the York manuscript: on 1 May 1899, at Sotheby's sale of a portion of Lord Ashburnham's manuscripts, the "York Miracle Plays" (lot 85) were bought for the British Museum by Quaritch for £121.[30] Thus Sir Frederic Madden's wish that this important manuscript should be bought for the National Collection (*Journal*, 18 June 1844, p.156) was at last fulfilled.

The increase in value of the manuscript

The threehundredfold increase in the market value of the York volume between 1764 (£1.1.0) and 1844 (£305) was not due to inflation alone. Before 1764, when Horace Walpole bought the folio of the York plays from Thoresby's library so cheaply, only six English medieval religious plays had been published: *[*John Stevens*]* the first five plays of the N-town cycle (1722), and *[*Henry Bourne*]* the Newcastle Shipwrights' play (1736). But between 1764 and 1844 there was a revival of interest in "Gothic poetry", and the medieval biblical plays of England became better known and more highly valued.

By the end of the eighteenth century the following plays had been published: *[*Thomas Hawkins*]* the Digby Killing of the Children (1773); *[History and Antiquities of the City of York]* the York Incredulity of Thomas (1785); *[*John Brand*]* the Newcastle Shipwrights' play (1789); and *[*John Croft*]* the York Incredulity of Thomas (1797). The publication of two Noah plays - the N-town cycle play in 1722 and the Newcastle play in 1736 - may help to explain why "Noah's Ark" was known to the mythologist Jacob Bryant (1715-1804). In 1788 he entertained Miss Burney and Mrs Delany with the following remarks on this "strange composition":

> Next he spoke upon the Mysteries, or origin of our theatrical entertainments, and repeated the plan and conduct of several of these strange compositions, in particular one he remembered which was called "Noah's Ark", and in which that patriarch and his sons, just previous to the Deluge, made it all their delight to speed into the ark without Mrs. Noah, whom they wished to escape; but she surprised them just as they had embarked, and made so prodigious a racket against the door that, after a long and violent contention, she forced them to open it, and gained admission, having first contented them by being kept out till she was thoroughly wet to the skin.
>
> These most eccentric and unaccountable dramas filled up the chief of our conversation: and whether to consider them most with laughter, as ludicrous, or

> with horror, as blasphemous, remains a doubt I cannot well solve.[31]

During the first four decades of the nineteenth century several more medieval plays were published by individuals or by learned societies: *[*Thomas Sharp*]* the Coventry plays (1817), 1825, 1836); *[*James Markland*]* two of the Chester plays (1818); *[*Francis Douce*]* the Towneley *Juditium* (1822); *[*William Hone*]* extracts from the N-town plays (1823); *[*Thomas Sharp*]* the Digby plays (1835); *[*John Payne Collier*]* *Five Miracle Plays* (1836); the Surtees Society edition of the *Towneley Mysteries* (1836); *[*William Marriott*]* *A Collection of English Miracle-Plays* (1838); *[*James O. Halliwell*]* the N-town plays (1841); and *[*Thomas Wright*]* the Chester plays (1843-1847). Indeed, by 1844 the only Corpus Christi cycle not yet published, as a whole or in part, was the manuscript volume of the York plays.

Sir Frederic Madden's identification of the manuscript

Before 1844 it was not known for certain that the Thoresby-Walpole manuscript was a cycle of York plays. In 1843 Robert Davies, the town clerk of York, writes: "It unfortunately happens that only a single drama of the York series *[*i.e. the separate manuscript of the Incredulity of Thomas*]* has escaped destruction".[32] Also in 1843 Thomas Wright, the first editor of the full Chester cycle, writes: "I think it probable also that other sets *[*of plays*]* exist: one said to be the oldest yet known, was brought to light at the Strawberry Hill sale, and it is sincerely to be hoped that it will be published".[33] It has been mentioned above that the first published identification of the ex-Thoresby volume as a cycle of York plays appears in Sotheby's catalogue of Bright's manuscripts (18 June 1844). But the credit of making this identification must go to Sir Frederic Madden,[34] head of the Department of Manuscripts at the British Museum from 1837 to 1866. Madden's *Journal* (Tuesday 23 April 1844, p.73) informs us how he confirmed his earlier conjecture that the manuscript "contains the York Series",[35] and how he collated it with the text of the York Incredulity of Thomas play printed in Croft's *Excerpta Antiqua* (1797).[36] The identification of the manuscript as the "York Miracle Plays" in the 1844 sale catalogue of Bright's manuscripts was no doubt based on information provided by Madden, and this new knowledge must have considerably enhanced its value.

The secrecy of successive owners

We know from the entry in Madden's *Journal* dated Wednesday 24 April 1844, p.75, that he was afraid of Bright's manuscript of the York plays falling into the hands of "a second Mr. *Bright*, and *shut up* from the public", and that he believed his fear was justified when Thorpe bought it for a person whose name was kept concealed. As late as 1871 W.C. Hazlitt felt obliged to observe: "*[*the York plays*]* have had a most unfortunate destiny in being secreted by successive owners".[37] This criticism bears hardest on Thoresby who at least published a short notice of the manuscript in his possession: a notice which has only to be compared with Drake's list of the

guilds performing the Corpus Christi play in York[38] in order to establish that Thoresby's manuscript contains the York plays. But it is true that knowledge of Thoresby's volume diminished rather than increased during the years of Walpole's ownership, so that the manuscript correctly described in Bristow's catalogue of 1764 as a "Corpus Christi Playe" (following the *Ducatus* description) became simply "A folio volume . . . of Old English Poetry" in the 1842 catalogue of the Strawberry Hill sale. The manuscript did not become much better known under subsequent owners - Bright,[39] Russell, and Ashburnham[40] - until in 1885 the 5th Earl of Ashburnham gave the Clarendon Press permission to publish Lucy Toulmin Smith's fine edition.

APPENDIX

Extracts from Sir Frederic Madden's Journal for 1842 and 1844 containing references to the manuscript of the York plays[41]

Wednesday 6th. [April 1842] *[Journal* for 1842, p.72*]*
I forgot to notice, that among the MSS. I looked yesterday *[*when he visited Strawberry Hill and glanced at some of the manuscripts for sale*]* at the one described in the Catalogue as "Old English Poetry," from Thoresby's. It is in good preservation and contains a series of the Miracle Plays, similar to those of the Widkirk, Coventry and Chester collections. It is written on vellum, about the middle of the 15th. cent. I should have supposed them to be the York series, from their coming from Thoresby's library, but the language does not seem to bear that out.* Possibly they may be another copy of the Coventry series; but I shall look at them again on *[*p.73*]* the day of sale.

* *[footnote]* It *is* the York Series. See Journal for April, 1844.

Thursday 28th. [April 1842] *[*p.94*]*
Looked again at the MS. of *Mysteries* from the Thoresby collection, and ascertained that it was not a copy of the Coventry series, but quite a distinct series.*

* *[footnote]* The MS. contains the *York* Series of Pageants. See a full description of it in Journal for April 1844.

Saturday 30th. [April 1842] *[*p.98*]*
Lot 92. Volume of Old English Mysteries, from Thoresby's collection. 220.10.0 *Rodd, on commission*, but I know not the party. *[Madden later added in smaller handwriting and different ink:]* It was for Mr B.H. Bright. Rodd told me this after Mr B's death, in Aug^{t}. 1843.

Tuesday 23rd. [April 1844] *[Journal* for 1844, p.72*]*
Rodd called, and brought me, to my great satisfaction, the MS. of the Miracle Plays purchased by Bright at Walpole's sale.

*[*p.73*]* In the evening looked into the MS. of the Corpus Christi Plays, which I had not an opportunity of doing, when at Strawberry Hill. This series has been incorrectly ascribed in Sharpe's "Dissertation on the Pageants" etc. etc. 1825 to *Leeds*, but I soon ascertained the fact (what I had before conjectured, and mentioned to Collier) that this MS. contains the York Series, supposed to be lost, with the exception of one play, printed in Crofts' "Excerpta Antiqua," etc. 1797. p.105 "from an original MSS. (not the present Volume) amongst the Archives at *[*p.74*]* Guildhall, York." This play

was performed by the Scriveners, and I collated the text printed in Croft, with the Thoresby MS. and found it agree, except that the former has several variations, probably from being a later copy. Read through also the Account of the York Corpus Christi Play, added at the end of "Extracts from the Municipal Records of the City of York," by Mr Davies, etc. 1843. who laments the *loss* of the plays in the MS. now before me. Many curious particulars are here recorded which to the future Editor of this Series, (for no doubt, these plays will be printed, sooner or later) will be of considerable use.

Wednesday 24th. [April 1844] *[p.75]*
In the evening looked over Sharp's book on the Coventry Mysteries, Drake's *Eboracum*, and compared the lists of the Corpus Christi series of Plays, of 1415 and a few years later, given in Drake and Davies, with the Thoresby MS. As I anticipate that this volume may come to the Museum, or, at all events, that the Contents will be printed at no great interval of time, I shall not take the trouble to make any detailed remarks on the volume, but for fear that it may be purchased by a second Mr. *Bright*, and *shut up* from the public,* I shall here annex a list of the Plays, as they occur in the MS. I should premise, that the volume is a stout quarto, written on vellum, in a neat hand of the latter half of the 15th. century, with some insertions, and notes, in a hand of the 17th *[sic]* (probably in Queen Mary's time ⌜or in 1569⌝ when the plays were *corrected* for representation - *See* Davies, pp.263, ⌜269⌝.) The Order of the Plays in the MS. and the names of the *[p.76]* Trades, agree with the lists given by Drake, *Eboracum*, App. p.xxx and Davies, p.233, except where otherwise specified.

* *[footnote]* My fear was too true. It was purchased for 305£. (against myself) by Thorpe the bookseller for a person *[*Lord Ashburnham *written above in pencil]* whose name is concealed, and who gratifies his own selfishness by depriving the public of the benefit of the MS. *July, 1844*

*[*pp.76-86 *Here follows a numbered list of the plays as they occur in the manuscript. The name of each guild performing the play is given first, followed by the opening verse, the number of pages, and the subject of the play.]*

[p.86] The remark of Thoresby, in describing this MS. when in his possession, that the name of *Merceres* "is *modern*, Richard the father of Bp. Moreton of Durham, being the first of that trade, at least in these northern parts of England," is false, since as Bp. Morton died in 1659. at the advanced age of 95. his father could hardly have exercised the trade before 1530. whereas the mystery of *Mercers* was extant in 1473. (See Sharp, p.77.) and the title in the MS. is in the same old hand that has written the text. Thoresby is also mistaken in ascribing the pageants themselves to Tho. Cutler and Rich. Nandycke, whose names are signed on a fly-leaf at the end of the MS. and to whom it probably belonged . . . . This book was given to

Thoresby by Henry Fairfax, & it was purchased by Walpole at the sale of Thoresby's library, in *[space left blank]*.

Tuesday 18th. [June 1844] [p.149]
Rodd called at ten o'clock, and we proceeded to discuss our proceedings at the sale [p.150] of Brights MSS . . . . The MS. of the Miracle-Plays, the most important of all remained to be decided on. The Bodleian library did not mean to bid for it, therefore the field was clear to the Museum, unless some competitor as yet unknown should come forward. Rodd wished exceedingly to secure the publication of the Plays to himself, and made me the following proposition, which I agreed to.

1. That as a reserved price (viz. 150 gns.) had been put by the Executor on this MS. Rodd would himself purchase the volume for this or a higher sum up to 200£.
2. That the volume should remain in his hands, or be considered his property, until the contents had been printed, after which the MS. should be ceded to the Museum at a price not exceeding 180£. or as much lower as it was purchased for.
3. That I should edit the volume for Rodd in the same form as the Chester and Coventry Mysteries, for the remuneration of 100£. [p.151] By this arrangement the MS. will be secured to the Museum at a moderate price, Rodd will have the benefit 'and merit' of the publication, Mr. Halliwell will be kept in the background, and I shall put 100£. in my pocket; besides obtaining the credit of Editor of a volume anxiously looked for. This was our well-concocted (as we thought) and judicious plan, but the result was fatal to our hopes.

[p.155] 277. *York Miracle Plays*. £305.0.0!!! Purchased by Thorpe on commission, against Rodd and Sir F.M.

The volume was put up at 100 gns. by Rodd, and soon rose to 150. Rodd then went on, bidding very liberally against Thorpe (for Payne had no commission for it) up to 230£. when he gave it up. I then came forward, and having the money, thought it my duty to make an effort to secure the volume for the public. The biddings proceeded, with some little delay up to 295£. when as a last offer I named 300£. Thorpe immediately advanced 5£. in addition, and the MS. was his. I am exceedingly mortified at this unlooked for interference. No one as yet knows for whom the MS. is purchased,* but I trust the owner will not lock it up, in imitation of Mr. Bright.

* *[pencilled footnote]* It was bought for the Rev. Mr Russell, who sold it to Lord Ashburnham for £350.

[p.156] The competition excited a great deal of interest, and I received the compliments of many present at the bold attempt I had made to place the volume in the National Collection. I did not get home till half past six o'clock, excessively wearied both in body and mind.

Wednesday 19th. [June 1844] [p.156]
A long paragraph appeared in the Morning Chronicle (written probably by Collier) relative to the sale, in which the Museum is praised for their competition 'in my person' for the *Miracle Plays*.

NOTES

1 The sub-title reads: "or, the Topography of the Ancient and Populous Town and Parish of Leedes, and Parts Adjacent in the West-Riding of the County of York". Joan Evans, *A History of the Society of Antiquaries* (Oxford, 1956), p.48, describes it as "a good old-fashioned local history with any amount of pedigrees".

2 See Lucy Toulmin Smith, ed., *York Plays* (Oxford, 1885), pp.xii-xiii; also the *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum 1894-1899* (London, 1901), p.238.

3 The *Musaeum Thoresbyanum* has a separate title-page on which the year 1712 is included in the title, while the publisher's imprint at the foot of the page has 1713. Item 17 is reproduced by permission of the Brotherton Librarian (Mr Dennis Cox) from a large paper copy of the *Ducatus Leodiensis* in Leeds University Library. In Thoresby's own annotated copy of the *Ducatus* (now in the library of the Thoresby Society, Leeds) he has written *van* in the right margin opposite *Estrereners*. The intended effect of Thoresby's correction was probably to change the word to *Estrevaners* or *Estrevanners*, the latter being the emended spelling given by Thomas Whitaker in his new edition of Thoresby's book (Leeds and Wakefield, 1816), *Musaeum Thoresbyanum*, p.73.

4 Not "Henry Fairfax, dean of Norwich", as Allen T. Hazen states in *A Catalogue of Horace Walpole's Library*, 3 vols. (London and New Haven, 1969), II, 415. That the inscription "H: Fairfax's Book 1695" is in the handwriting of Henry Fairfax, son of Baron Fairfax, is confirmed by its identity with the signature of the same Henry Fairfax on a warrant dated 14 March 1695/6 in Add. MS 38848, f.13v. (This information was communicated to me by Mr W.H. Kelliher, Department of Manuscripts, The British Library.)

5 Smith, op.cit., p.xii.

6 See D.H. Atkinson, *Ralph Thoresby, the Topographer*, 2 vols. (Leeds, 1885, 1887), I, 89.

7 Fairfax may still have been its owner in 1697: at least there is no mention of it among Thoresby's books and manuscripts in the *Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae* (Oxford, 1697), II, 229.

8 See Smith, op.cit., p.xiv; *Catalogue of Additions*, pp.237-8. Further information about these names and initials has been afforded by personal inspection of the manuscript and by the good offices of my colleague, Peter Meredith, who together with Richard Beadle is preparing a facsimile edition of Add. MS 35290 to be published in *Leeds Texts and Monographs, Medieval Drama Facsimiles*.

9 Sir Frederic Madden (*Journal*, Wednesday 24 April 1844, p.86) points out Thoresby's mistake in attributing the plays to Thomas Cutler and Richard Nandycke. See Appendix.

10 Reproduced by permission of the British Library from Add. MS 35290, f.181.

11 Croft's text is based partly on the transcript of the Scriveners' play first printed in *The History and Antiquities of the City of York*, 2 vols. (York, 1785), II. 128-32. See A.C. Cawley, ed., "The Sykes Manuscript of the York Scriveners' Play", *Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages*, 7 and 8 (1952), 45-80.

12 Joseph Hunter, ed., *The Diary of Ralph Thoresby*, 2 vols. (London, 1830), I, 50.

13 Ibid., II, 198.

14 Ibid., II, 341.

15 Ibid., I, 389.

16 This information is taken from one of two copies (Safe A.7) of Bristow's sale catalogue in the library of the Thoresby Society, Leeds, by kind permission of the Thoresby Society.

17 Atkinson, op.cit., II, 263.

18 The *Gentleman's Magazine*, 54 (London, 1784), 103, refers to "Thoresby's MS. of Corpus Christi play . . . now in Mr. Walpole's possession".

19 The auctioneer George Robins published an elaborate catalogue for the Strawberry Hill sale, on the second title-page of which he described the sale as "the most distinguished gem that has ever adorned the annals of auctions". Robins' catalogue was parodied in *Specimen of the Catalogue of the Great Sale at Gooseberry Hall* (B.L. 786 k 37), which describes the sale as "The most brilliant feather that has ever adorned / The cap of an auctioneer".

20 The price paid by Rodd, as well as the information (in Madden's hand in the right margin) that Rodd was buying "for B.H. Bright Esqr.", will be found in a British Library copy of the Strawberry Hill sale catalogue (P.R.1. G.13, p.61). The price paid by Bright is given in the description of lot 277, "YORK. MIRACLE PLAYS", in the sale catalogue of Bright's manuscripts in 1844 (B.L. P.R.2. A.12, p.34).

21 The *Baptist Magazine* for 1846 lists Thomas Russell as a Congregationalist minister and a member of the Congregationalist Board; it adds the year 1807, which is probably the date of Russell's ordination. I owe this information to Mr W.H. Kelliher.

22 These letters were kindly brought to my attention by Mr Timothy Rogers (Dept. of Western MSS, Bodleian Library), who is compiling an index to the papers of Sir Thomas Phillipps. The letters from Russell to Phillipps which I have examined are contained in folders marked MS Phillipps-Robinson c.470 (1839), ff.238-41; b.139 (1840), ff.135-58; c.476 (1841), ff.86-96; c.480 (1842), ff.71-8; d.132 (1844), ff.81-2; c.493 (1845), ff.79-91; c.496 (1846). Mr Rogers is inclined to believe that this Thomas Russell is the same man whose name appears in the following sale catalogues: (1) a Puttick & Simpson sale catalogue of 2 Jan. 1848 of "Rev. T. Russell Portraits . . . art books", and (2) a Puttick & Simpson sale catalogue of 1 Feb. 1848 of prints of the late Thomas Russell M.A. (copy in Bodley).

23 For Russell as an assignee of bonds made by Phillipps, see A.N.L. Munby, *The Formation of the Phillipps Library from 1841 to 1872*, Phillipps Studies 4 (Cambridge, 1956), p.6.

24 MS P.-R. c.493, f.90.

25 MS P.-R. d.132, f.82.

26 Ashburnham MS 3563, East Sussex Record Office. See F.W. Steer, *The Ashburnham Archives: A Catalogue* (Lewes, 1958), p.51.

27 This information was sent to me by Mr A.A. Dibden, County Records Officer for East Sussex, in whose archives Ashburnham MS 4323 is kept. Mr Dibden has asked the pertinent question, "Do we need a Thomas Russell?"

28 Seymour de Ricci's index of owners of manuscripts, which is housed in the Palaeography Room, University of London Library. I am indebted to Miss Joan Gibbs for sending me a xerox copy of de Ricci's slip headed "B.M. Add. 35290".

29 In the East Sussex County Record Office. Cf. the privately-printed *Catalogue of the Manuscripts at Ashburnham Place 1853* (London: Printed by Charles Francis Hodgson), where the manuscript is described in four columns as "V*[ellum]*, Fol., XIV*[th cent.]*, A.*[ppendix]*".

30 See the sale *Catalogue of a Portion of the Collection of Manuscripts known as the "Appendix", made by the late Earl of Ashburnham*, 1 May 1899 (B.L. SCS 1165). £121 must be regarded as a bargain price for a manuscript which had been sold to Lord Ashburnham for more than three hundred pounds. However, Sir Frederic Madden obviously thought £305 (paid by Thorpe in 1844) an exaggerated price, for in his *Journal* (Tuesday 18 June 1844, p.155) he writes: "£305.0.0!!! Purchased by Thorpe on commission, against Rodd and Sir F.M."

31 Charlotte Barrett, ed., *Diary and Letters of Madame D'Arblay*, 4 vols. (London, 1893), II, 443-4. It will be noticed that Bryant's account of "Noah's Ark" is not a description of either the N-town or the Newcastle Noah play.

32 *Extracts from the Municipal Records of the City of York* (London, 1843), pp.237-8.

33 Thomas Wright, ed., *The Chester Plays*, 2 vols. (London, 1843, 1847), I,v.

34 I wish to thank Mr W.H. Kelliher both for this information and for his valuable service in introducing me to Madden's *Journal*. It may also be noticed that a "Rev Mr. Garnett, of the British Museum" is referred to as an authority on the manuscript in the description of lot 277 ("York. Miracle Plays") in Sotheby's sale catalogue of Bright's manuscripts (B.L. Dept. of MSS P.R.2 A.12, p.34).

35 For Madden's earlier observations on the manuscript see *Journal*, Wednesday 6 April and Thursday 28 April 1842, pp.72, 94. It may also be noticed that the Strawberry Hill sale catalogue, 1842 (B.L. P.R.1. G13, p.61), has the words "(the York Mysteries)" inserted, probably in Madden's hand, above the words "Old English Poetry" in the description of lot 92.

36 See note 11. Madden also observed (*Journal*, Tuesday 23 April 1844, p.73) that Thoresby's manuscript of the Corpus Christi play was incorrectly ascribed by Sharp to the city of Leeds; see Thomas Sharp, *A Dissertation on the Pageants or Dramatic Mysteries anciently performed at Coventry* (Coventry, 1825; repr. E.P. Publishing Limited, 1973), p.141.

37 W.C. Hazlitt, ed., *Wharton's History of English Poetry*, 4 vols. (London, 1871), II,224.

38 Francis Drake, *Eboracum: or the History and Antiquities of the City of York* (London, 1736), Appendix, pp.xxix-xxxii.

39 It is known that Bright was very secretive about his book purchases; see W. Hilton Kelliher, "The Warwick Manuscripts of Fulke Greville", *British Museum Quarterly*, 34 (1969-70), 109.

40 The 4th Earl of Ashburnham (1797-1878) was notorious for denying scholars access to his manuscripts. Sir Frederic Madden (quoted by Munby, op.cit., p.26), wrote to Phillipps on 28 October 1850: "His Lordship is a dog in the manger, & allows no one to consult them".

41 Bodleian Library MSS Eng. hist. c. 155 (1842) and c.157 (1844); extracts published by permission of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

SIGN AND TRANSITION: THE PURIFICATION PLAY IN CHESTER

By JOHN J. McGAVIN

It is clear that the individual plays of the Chester cycle were revised and that the work as a whole underwent a change of character throughout its 150-year life-span.[1] The *Purification* play with which this article is concerned will demonstrate, I believe, that critics should reconsider the importance of individual authorship in any discussion of the structural integrity of the text.

Professor L.M. Clopper has given us a fascinating account of the history and development of the Chester cycle insofar as they can be inferred from the extant documents, and it is upon his history that I shall rely in pointing out the context of difficulty in which literary judgements must be made about the *Purification* play. The first problem concerns the association of the "Purification" and "Doctors" episodes in the one play. The latter episode is not specifically mentioned until the Late Banns (1548-61); yet the "Purification" presumably belongs to the oldest layer of the cycle's composition since the smiths with their play, the *Purification*, appear in both the Harley List of guilds (c.1500) and the original Early Banns (1505-21). One cannot say whether or not the Late Banns reference necessarily implies that the "Doctors" episode was absent from the earlier *Purification* play, for in the extant texts the play, with its "Doctors" section, is still entitled the *Purification*. We do know that neither set of Banns actually describes the cycle as we have it, so the presence or absence of a particular episode in the Banns is not a wholly reliable guide to the date of that episode's composition. As Clopper says, "We cannot be absolutely certain, of course, that the Banns ever noted each incident dramatized in any given text . . .".[2] Professor F. Salter suggested that two hands were responsible for play XI. The first wrote those parts which appear in *rime couée*, that is, the first half of the play and the final speech in which there is a reference back to Simeon; the second wrote the "Doctors" episode, which is composed completely in cross-rhyme.[3] One may well reject his proposed cross-rhyme reviser at other points in the cycle, but the metrical distinctness of the two parts of XI is indubitable and might well support a claim to separate authorship.[4]

The critic's second problem is that even if the play were performed regularly with both of its major episodes, one cannot assume that the text was stable from one performance to another. "The frequent consultation with the 'Regenall' and the return to it to copy out parcels suggests . . . that the guilds could not be assured that their text would remain the same from year to year" (Clopper, 242).

The smiths were apparently involved in this process on at least two occasions in the later history of the cycle - in 1556 and 1561. One may add to this textual instability the fact that as late as the last performance of the drama in 1575 two plays, *presumably* on approximately the same area of Christ's life, were offered by the smiths to the Chester Aldermen for them to decide which they preferred (Clopper, 242).

Thirdly, any critic interested in establishing the unity of the play itself, let alone its place within the cycle, must take account of the source of the "Doctors" episode. Rosemary Woolf writes: "The curious feature of the five surviving plays of the doctors is that four of them are closely related, Towneley, Chester and Coventry all being variants of the play first recorded in the York cycle".[5] For one half of the play, therefore, we cannot claim that total authorial originality for Chester which would argue for a close relationship with other parts of the cycle.

For several major reasons, therefore, an attempt to discover a rationale for the extant shape of the play, and to demonstrate an intelligible role for it in the cycle would seem hazardous. It would indeed be so if the play itself failed to supply us with sufficient evidence to make the enterprise reasonable. In fact, we have good grounds for making the attempt.

At some point in Chester's history the decision was taken to associate the "Doctors" with the "Purification".[6] The Bible itself must have suggested support for this association, though it is clear that fidelity to the Bible, however much a characteristic of Chester, was not the primary motivation for joining the two episodes. The episodes are linked by a shared locale: though twelve years separate them, both take place in the temple in Jerusalem. The theatrical advantages of the association must therefore have recommended it. The link must also have been supported, though not demanded, by the proximity of the episodes to each other in the Bible. They are recounted in Luke ii.22-51 and only verse forty provides a nominal separation: *Puer autem crescebat, et confortabatur, plenus sapientia; et gratia Dei erat in illo.* The third link is one forged by the author or reviser himself. At the end of the first episode Simeon prophesies: "Manye signes hee shall shewe / in which untrewe shall non trowe" (XI, 183-4). The prophecy that Christ will provide signs is first fulfilled in the second half of play XI, where he shows miraculous knowledge in his debate with the doctors.

As well as these partly biblically-based links there are stylistic and structural parallels between the episodes created by their author or authors. These parallels not only exist within the play but associate it with the wider fabric of the cycle. The most important of them relates to the concentration of both episodes and of the cycle on the signs which God gives to Man.[7] Critics have seen different principles of unity in Chester. Professor Kathleen Ashley has concentrated on its nominalist presentation of the power of God, which manifests itself, at the most literal level, in the frequent references made throughout the cycle to "postye".[8] Professor Peter Travis has emphasized the cycle's insistence that the audience should "behold and believe" and has suggested that the

work may have a design based on the structure of the Apostles' Creed.[9] Both of these views, quite consistent with each other, can be demonstrably supported by the text, despite the certainty that the cycle was continually undergoing different processes of revision until it ceased to be performed.[10] God's power and Man's belief form the warp and weft of the cycle, but sign is the means by which they are woven together. The importance of sign is demonstrable from the text, even to the point of offering a pattern of recurring words - the words "signe" and "tokeninge".[11]

In brief, the action of the Chester cycle, and in particular of its New Testament sections, repeatedly centres on signs which display, among other things, Christ's identity as God's Son and his intentions for Man. In the Ministry plays the signs are generally provided by the direct actions of Christ, for example, the healing of the blind man; the miraculous demonstration of the Pharisees' sins when he saves the woman taken in adultery; and the raising of Lazarus. In the Nativity plays signs of the Nativity and its meaning can take a more iconographic form, such as is seen in the Nativity star. Even if the miraculous action is centred on Christ, as it is in the healing of Salome's withered hand (VI, 548-63), sign also frequently involves an angelic intermediary in these plays. After the Resurrection a variety of different actions and visual stimuli operate as signs to the disciples. They provide evidence of Christ's identity; of his bodily resurrection; of his power; of the meaning of his sacrifice; and, ultimately of the justice of his judgement of good and evil. Examples of these signs are his eating and drinking, his Ascension and his wounds. This sign action is summarized to a certain extent at the end of the *Ascension*:

PHILIPPUS
For knowe we mone by sygne vereye
that hee ys Godes sonne, sooth to saye.
Therfore yt ys good we goe to praye
as he commanded here.

JOHANNES
Nowe mon we leeve yt no leasinge,
for both by syght and handlinge,
speakinge, eatinge and drinkinge
hee prooves his deitee.

JACOBUS MAJOR
Yea, also by his uppsteyinge
hee seemes fully heaven-kinge.
Whoe hasse therin full leevinge,
saved liffe and soule ys hee. (XX, 173-84)

Events or objects not directly relatable to God's power can also have a signifying role in bearing witness to that power and to the truth of other points of faith. The church of the *Ara Caeli* is described by the Expositor as a "verey sygne" (VI, 700) because it confirms the truth of the Nativity star's appearance to Octavianus. It is a sign available to the medieval onlooker of the truth of the Virgin

Birth, itself in turn a miraculous sign of Christ's divine nature. Similarly, in the play now under discussion, the candle which Joseph offers to Simeon is also described as a "signe" because it too bears witness to the Virgin Birth:

JOSEPHE
A signe I offer here alsoe
of virgin waxe, as other moo,
in tokeninge shee hase lived oo
in full devotion.
And, syr Simeon, leeve well this:
as cleane as this waxe nowe is,
as cleane is my wife, iwys,
of all corruption. (XI, 143-50)

This sign is not itself miraculous, as is the healing of Caecus, or indeed the Nativity star - we could describe it as a symbol perhaps - yet insofar as its function is to display Christ's identity through confirmation of the Virgin Birth it is not different essentially from the miraculous signs already given to Simeon earlier in the play. There the miraculous appearances of the word "virgin" on the two occasions when Simeon had substituted "good woman" became signs to him of the truth of the Virgin Birth. In the second half of the play the action again centres on signs when the child Christ displays his divinity through his miraculous knowledge of the laws and hence reveals himself as the future Saviour. Whether or not this play involves the work of more than one author its interest in sign is both internally uniting and externally consistent with the rest of the cycle.

Each of the two halves of play XI also illustrates Chester's frequent juxtaposition of contrasted attitudes to the signs offered. Though the precise form of a character's acceptance or rejection of sign varies according to the particular stage reached in Man's history, the underlying contrast of the spiritually alert and the spiritually degraded recurs. Some, the woman taken in adultery, for example, recognize God through the signs he gives; others, like Annas, see the signs only as the product of "sorcerye"; some, previously maimed in body or spirit (Caecus and the Shepherds suggest themselves) achieve health through the effect of the signs upon them; others, like Herod and Satan see in them only divine provocation and understand them only as portents of their own downfall.[12] Often contrasts of spiritual response, frequently generated by signs, are expressed in successive speeches.[13] Examples of this include the two midwives (VI, 525-36), the two thieves (XVIA, 305-20), Centurio and Cayphas (XVIA, 360-71), Lucas and Cleophas (XIX, 21-8), and Peter and Thomas (XIX, 232-9). On one occasion character consistency is set aside to ensure the contrast: in play XIII, 135-8 Secundus Pharaseus is initially shown to be sympathetic to Christ, in order to contrast him with Primus Pharaseus; later he changes back to a more conventional rejection of Christ. In play XI such contrasts are presented in both parts, firstly between Simeon, who apparently cannot believe in a power by which miraculous signs are created, and Anna who can:

SIMEON

Dame Anne, thou may se well here
this is amended in good manere;
for a wonder thinge yt weare
to fall by any waye.
Therfore, as yt was amisse,
I have written that soother ys:
that "a good woman" shall iwys
conceive, and not a maye.

ANNA

Syr, marvayle yoe nothinge thereon;
forsooth God will take kynd in man.
Through his godhead ordayne hee can
a mayd a child to beare.
For to that high comly kinge
impossible is nothinge.
Therfore I leeve yt no leasinge,
but sooth all that is here. (XI, 64-79)

In the second half, Tertius Doctor fears the deleterious effect which Christ's signs will have on his own authority, while Primus Doctor reacts with commendable admiration for the child's knowledge:

TERTIUS DOCTOR

Lett him wend forth on his wayes;
for and he dwell, withouten dread,
the people full sonne will him prayse
well more then wee, for all our deede.

PRIMUS DOCTOR

This is nothinge to my entent;
such speach to spend I read we spare.
And wyde in world as I have went,
yett found I never so farrely fare. (XI, 259-66)

Once it is accepted that play XI is not internally fragmented nor isolated from the cycle as a whole, it becomes a little easier to entertain the possibility that it has a definite function within the developing New Testament plays. I have tried to establish some kind of internal unity in the play, but I certainly do not wish to suggest that its two halves are identical in character. It is more important that we should recognize the variety in the play, together with its unity, for it is this special blend of variety and unity which helps to provide the transition between the Nativity and Ministry sections of the cycle. With this variety the audience can be carried more easily from the Nativity period of Christ's life to the Ministry period; without the unity within the play these two periods would remain distinct and the audience would be thrust abruptly from the earlier to the later. Accordingly, I would like to examine the transitional nature of the play, beginning with a characteristic shared by the two halves and proceeding to the essential change which takes place between them.

The "Purification" and the "Doctors" share a quality which makes them suitable for transitional purposes, particularly if joined in one play. Each has an ambivalent relationship to its nearest context in the life of Christ. By this I mean that each is suggestive of that context but distinguishable from it. This ambivalence is inherent in the episodes' biblical position but accentuated in the drama.

Chronologically the "Purification" is an extension of the Nativity action. Chester envisages it as happening after the traditional forty days from the birth, at which time Christ is obviously still an infant; in Luke it follows almost immediately upon the story of the Shepherds. But Chester also emphasizes the association of the Purification with the Nativity by structural parallels. As with the stories of the Shepherds and the Magi, the story of Simeon begins in spiritual need and ends in the Adoration of the Child. In all three, signs precede the child's epiphany: the Nativity star for the Shepherds and Magi, the miracle of the writing for Simeon. In all three, Joseph verbally confirms the Virgin Birth, which is the central Nativity sign of Christ's Godhead. Additional support is given to this by his obviously aged appearance in the earlier plays and by his offering of the symbolic candle in play XI. Through him, then, the central sign is mediated. In all three stories, men who have received signs are not immediate in their full spiritual response to them. The Shepherds are limited by ignorance; the Magi hesitate in case the Nativity star is "some fantasye" (VIII, 85); and Simeon feels the need to prove the truth of the first sign he receives by again expunging the word "virgin" from his text: "Naye, faye, after I will assaye / whether this miracle be verey" (XI, 60-1). In the Simeon scenes, as in the Nativity plays earlier, an angelic intermediary between God and Man is present and, as here, the angel is often associated with the signs offered to men. In play XI the angel is directly responsible for the miraculous changes in the writing.[14]

It is clear that each of the nativity-sequence plays has its individual character and function, and the parallels noted above should not obscure the many differences between them. There are basic similarities, however, which for the onlooker would surely associate the "Purification" with the earlier material. Where this episode parts company with the Nativity is in its location and in the "direction" of its action. Although it reaches its climax in an adoration like the others, this adoration takes place in the temple, not a stable; and the child has come to its adorer. Simeon has not travelled in search of Christ like the Shepherds or Magi. These changes are sufficiently fundamental to the action to modify the association of the episode with the Nativity plays.

The "Doctors" episode has a similarly ambivalent relationship with the Ministry plays.[15] Like them it shows a powerful Christ directly giving signs to men of his identity and nature. It also shows the first of many confrontations in the Ministry between Christ and mocking opponents who fear loss of public acclaim. But what gives the action its point also removes the section from too close an association with the Ministry: Christ, however powerful, is a child, not the adult of the Ministry. His knowledge is that much

more miraculous. Also, however much Mary regards Christ's sayings as commands to be obeyed, Christ's relationship is with his parents and not yet with disciples.

We are carried easily from the Nativity into the Ministry because the first half of play XI is partially retrospective and the second half partially anticipatory.[16] The essential internal development which provides the basis of the transition, however, is the change in the kind of signs offered. The signs which Simeon receives both in the miraculous writing and in Joseph's candle are directed first towards confirming the Virgin Birth. Rosemary Woolf notes that the interpretation chosen for the candle, quoted earlier, was less common than its interpretation as a symbol of light given to the Gentiles.[17] The author has apparently decided to retain the interpretation in the *Stanzaic Life of Christ*, from which he also took the story of the miraculous writing (though not all of its details);[18] this enabled him to add to the number of signs bearing upon the central sign. In the "Doctors" episode, however, Godhead is seen not through intermediary signs but in Christ's very action of giving signs himself. Accordingly, the angel who was an intermediary conveyor of signs in the first half has no such place in the second half nor indeed at any later point in the Ministry. Through the transformation in the kind of sign presented in this one play the audience is brought out of a Nativity-dominated experience and is prepared for the kind of action recurrent in the Ministry. One other small but important fact supports this reading of the play and it has the added interest of showing in the author of the Simeon episode a consciousness of that theme of sign which I have claimed is fundamental to Chester. If the author of the "Doctors" scene was a different man this fact may also show his consciousness of the theme and demonstrate his sensitivity to the needs of the cycle.

I have already stated that a major link between the two sections of the play is provided by the fulfilment in the later scene of the earlier prophecy made by Simeon. That prophecy bears requoting: it is probably to be considered as a version favourable to the cycle's interests rather than a wholly accurate translation of the Vulgate text.

SIMEON
And Marye, mother, to thee I saye:
thy sonne that I have seene todaye
is commen - I tell thee in good faye -
for fallinge of many fonne;
and to releeve in good araye
manye a man, as hee well maye,
in Israell or hee wend awaye
that shall leeve him upon.
Manye signes hee shall shewe
in which untrewe shall non trowe. (XI, 175-84)

The Vulgate reads: *Et benedixit illis Simeon, et dixit ad Mariam, matrem eius: Ecce positus est hic in ruinam, et in resurrectionem multorum in Israel, et in signum, cui contradicetur.* According to the Latin, Christ himself is the sign which shall be spoken against.

The Authorized Version agrees with the Vulgate in this respect: "And Simeon blessed them, and said unto Mary his mother, Behold, this child is set for the fall and rising again of many in Israel; and for a sign which shall be spoken against;" (Luke, ii, 34). Although on one occasion he uses the gerund form "fallinge", the Chester author consistently translates the passage by verbal rather than nominal constructions: Christ has come to Earth "to releeve in good araye"; "many signes hee shall shewe". Certainly our author may have been prompted to this by a desire for clarity but it was not just clarity which led him to translate "in signum" by line 183 rather than by using a nominal construction. For two reasons it would have been quite unsuitable at this stage to present Christ himself as a sign. Firstly, signs of Christ's nature and identity have now given way to his real epiphanal presence, as they eventually did in both Shepherds and Magi stories. Nativity signs have been left behind, and to describe Christ as a sign would be quite contrary to the author's intention of showing epiphany succeeding sign. Secondly, we have seen that the transitional nature of the play depends partly on the change in the kind of signs presented within it. This prophecy directs the minds of the hearers to the kind of sign which is now to characterize the play and the Ministry section of the cycle which follows it. Signs are to be the directly performed miraculous deeds of Christ. The translation thus shows an awareness of the importance of signs and of the way they have been and will be used in the cycle. The author or reviser responsible for the inclusion of the "Doctors" episode may have had the theme of signs in general and the prophecy in particular very much in mind.

Since part of this study's concern is to show the intelligible relationship of this play with the rest of the cycle, it is perhaps worth mentioning that the nexus of prophecy and sign seen in play XI is recurrent in Chester. Signs frequently mark the fulfilment by the first and second persons of the Trinity of prophecies inspired by the third person.[19] Frequently, as in this play, the prophecies are given at a time very close to their fulfilment. We see this, for example, in the Huntington manuscript's account of past Nativity prophecies as it is given by Herod's Doctor. Present at the reading are the Magi, who are the palpable fulfilment of one of the prophecies, as Herod's Doctor tactlessly points out to him (VIII, 318-24). (The Magi thus constitute a sign for Herod.) It is also seen in the prophecies of redemption recapitulated by the souls in the *Harrowing of Hell* (XVII, 25-88 and 185-92). If two hands are responsible for play XI, then we cannot but admire the skill with which the association of the two sections was stylistically blended into the rest of the cycle. The nexus of prophecy and sign is important also because it is precisely the target of Simeon's unbelief in the first scene of the play. The final section of this article will deal with this part of the play, both because it has attracted criticism and because a more sympathetic attitude to it may help us to realize the particular contribution which the play makes to the spiritual experience of the onlooker or reader. Not only does the play link different sections of Christian history, but it also provides a spiritual preparation for the succeeding portion of Chester.

Rosemary Woolf, though she praises later parts of play XI, is not attracted to the opening scene:

> In the Chester cycle the attention is also upon Symeon but not in so illuminating a way. The author is here once again following the *Stanzaic Life of Christ*, and this accounts for the play's most startling and disconcerting features, namely the long episode of Symeon's twofold and ineffectual attempt to expunge the word 'virgin' from Isaiah's prophecy and to replace it by 'good woman'. This story . . . is ultimately of unknown origin: it is not found in any of the usual sources of the *Stanzaic Life*. It is certainly an infelicitous invention since it destroys the dignity of Symeon and the Chester author was unwise to adopt it.[20]

I hope that I have said enough about signs to justify, in terms of the cycle, the presence of miraculous material which we might otherwise find rather gratuitous. But it is also possible to defend the play against the charge that Simeon is badly presented. The Chester author takes great care to avoid destroying the dignity of Simeon, though at the same time he wishes to show the potential seriousness of Simeon's doubt.

Simeon's disbelief is directed against the main Nativity sign of Christ's Godhead. Like Salome earlier, he cannot believe that a virgin could bear a child. In rejecting this major sign Simeon is also *by implication* denying to God the absolute power which creates signs and which the nominalistic Chester continually stresses as a characteristic of divinity. An attack is thus also being made upon the terms of the prophecy, and prophecy has high spiritual value in Chester since, as the cycle makes clear, it is a power derived from inspiration by God. Simeon's disbelief is therefore essentially an attack upon prophetic truth, upon God's power as manifested in sign, and upon the special relationship which exists between them, since the latter fulfils the former. When we state his error baldly like this, Simeon appears not so much lacking in dignity as potentially disruptive of the spiritual fabric of history. But his disbelief, though forcefully expressed, is not simply presented. The author certainly wants us to be aware of the nature of the doubt, of its deep spiritual implications, but he wishes on this occasion to preserve the doubter from the considerable spiritual limitation which such doubt would indicate. The reason for this balanced view is that the author wishes to present in each half of play XI the process of change from doubt to belief. This process is a valuable preparation for the Ministry plays in which the groups of believers and unbelievers are more rigidly separated - a separation which is for the audience ultimately propaedeutic to the Last Judgement. The audience sees in Simeon's change of mind and in that of the doctors, the possibility of turning from spiritual inadequacy to illumination.[21] To realize that there is a possibility of spiritual development between these contrary states gives the audience a perspective in which to judge the actions of men and women who meet Christ, some of whom crucify him. Simeon's character requires additionally careful treatment,

however, because he is not only a doubter who changes to full belief but a doubter who proceeds to validate and confirm the truth of what he previously doubted. As we saw earlier, he repeats the erasure of "virgin" in order to test whether the sign he has received is a "verey signe". In fact the dignity of Simeon is enhanced, not diminished, by his initiating the probative action which confirms the Virgin Birth. The author manages to separate Simeon from the implications of his doubt by several methods.

Firstly, although he rejects the idea of a virgin giving birth, Simeon *does* respect the basic tenor of the prophecies which promise the arrival of Christ:

> SIMEON
> tyll Godes Sonne come, the sooth to say,
> to ransome his folke, in better araye
> to blysse come never wee.
>
> That Christe shall come well I wott . . . (XI, 14-7)

Secondly, though by implication he is denying power to God in rejecting the miracle of the Virgin Birth, he does not openly deny God's power. Instead, he marvels at it in the very same speech as his rejection:

> A, lord, mich is thy power;
> a wonder I fynd written here.
> It sayth a mayden clean and cleare
> shall conceive and beare
> a sonne called Emanuell. (XI, 25-9)

Thirdly, there is in this stanza and the next the suggestion that his opposition is not primarily directed towards God or Isaiah but towards the transcriber of his text. Surely this is the meaning of his concentration on what is actually *written*.

> it is wronge written, as have I heale,
> or elles wonder yt were.
>
> He that wrote this was a fonne
> to writte "a virgin" hereupon
> that should conceive without helpe of man;
> this writinge mervayles me. (XI, 31-6)

He does not say that Isaiah was a fool but that the person who wrote what is before him was a fool. This also makes his erasing the text a much more likely act. It is the correction of a faulty text, not a direct attack upon the sacred word. Fourthly, the repetition of the miracle does not bring home to Simeon any sense of error. He is not presented in a penitential way; rather the final proof given him of the Virgin Birth inspires a prayer in which he seeks the additional grace of seeing the future Saviour, a prayer which is, of course, granted. Finally, we may well feel that Simeon's testing (60-1) and

hence proving of this major sign informs the author's happy treatment of his meeting with the Virgin herself, who addresses him as "Ryghtwise Simeon".

> Ryghtwise Simeon, God thee see!
> Here am I common here to thee
> purified for to be
> with myld harte and meeke.
> Receave my sonne nowe at mee
> and to my offringe bryddes three,
> as falles, syr, for your degree
> and for your office eke. (XI, 135-42)

The potentially serious nature of the doubt and the fact that the author wishes to contrast Simeon's doubt with Anna's belief must be understood in the context of the author's generally sympathetic treatment of Simeon. With his double function as doubter changed to belief by sign, and as validator of the truth of sign, Simeon has a special place in the cycle, and himself becomes proof to the audience of the Incarnation. We can believe with greater assurance because, from a position of doubt, he has reached full belief.[22] The doubter of sign who changes to belief takes on, himself, the evidential force of sign. This is the point of the Angel's reference to him at the end of the play:

> Now have you hard, all in this place,
> that Christ is commen through his grace -
> as holye Esau prophecied hase -
> and Symeon hase him seene.
> Leeve you well this, lordes of might . . .
> (XI, 327-31)

It is not, and could not be, the intention of this article to claim that play XI is the work of one man. The two halves are metrically distinct, and while the first shows an individual choice of source, the second reveals a degree of dependence upon the material of another cycle.[23] The first describes its signs *as* "signs" and "tokenings", but the second, while still presenting a sign-centred action, does not make sign explicit in this way. In addition, some of the links and parallels between the two halves are inherent in the biblical source and do not necessarily indicate that one man was responsible for the writing of both parts. It is possible also, even if the play did originally contain both episodes, that metrical and substantive revision has occurred in each. And yet it surely cannot be denied that the links and the parallels are there; that signs permeate the play, and indeed the cycle as a whole; that the parallels are not wholly derived from the Bible; and that the play can be shown to have a structural integrity and an intelligible role within the Chester cycle. Also, even if our present play XI was not the only possible play for the smiths to perform, it cannot be disputed that it is good for the cycle, in its own right. What can our conclusion be? If we knew the precise history of the play we could be precise in our conclusions. As it is, the weight of the evidence

suggests a fairly complex history of revision. Surely, then, we can claim for the play some sensitive revisers and a process of revision which was essentially normative, which added or changed the material in the light of the cycle's general themes and style. In this way we can cross the gulf between the evident unity of the work and its clearly discontinuous composition.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am glad to acknowledge the most helpful discussion which I have had with Dr R.D.S. Jack of Edinburgh University and Professor P. Travis of Dartmouth College. All quotations from the cycle, which will be cited by play and line numbers, are from the edition of R.M. Lumiansky and D. Mills, *The Chester Mystery Cycle*, Early English Text Society, Supplementary Series 3 (Oxford, 1974).

NOTES

1 This fact emerges clearly in Professor Salter's studies: F.M. Salter, "The Banns of the Chester Plays", *Review of English Studies*, 15 (1939), 432-57; 16 (1940), 1-17, 137-48. The problems are however more convincingly presented in L.M. Clopper, "The History and Development of the Chester Cycle", *Modern Philology*, 75 (1978), 219-46.

2 Clopper, "History", 241.

3 Salter, "Banns", *RES*, 15, 452.

4 Clopper indicates weaknesses in Salter's argument, "History", 223-4, note 16.

5 Rosemary Woolf, *The English Mystery Plays* (London, 1972), p.212. I am grateful to A.D. Mills who kindly showed me the extent of the textual corruption in this episode. My critical treatment of the play as it has come down to us is not, I believe, significantly affected by the corruption.

6 The weavers' pageant in the Coventry cycle is the only other extant example of this link.

7 I have studied this aspect of Chester more thoroughly in my doctoral thesis: *Sign and Related Didactic Techniques in the Chester Cycle of Mystery Plays*. This article is specifically concerned with the place of play XI in the cycle. Material relevant to the larger study of signs as they were understood in the Middle Ages and, in particular, as they related to the status of religious art and imagery may be found in: R.A. Markus, "St. Augustine on Signs", *Phronesis*, II (1957), 60-83; Theresa M. Coletti, *Spirituality and Devotional Images: The Staging of the Hegge Cycle*, unpub. Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Rochester, 1975; Leslie Barnard, "The Theology of Images", in *Iconoclasm*, Papers given at the 9th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, March 1975, (Centre for Byzantine Studies, University of Birmingham, 1977), 7-13; Sixten Ringbom, *Icon to Narrative: The Rise of the Dramatic Close-up in Fifteenth Century Devotional Painting*, Acta Academiae Aboensis, Ser. A, 31:2 (Abo. 1965); W.R. Jones, "Lollards and Images: The Defense of Religious Art in Later Medieval England" *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 34 (1973), 27-50; John Phillips, *The Reformation of Images: Destruction of Art in England, 1535-1660* (Berkeley, 1973); Marcia L. Colish, *The Mirror of Language. A study in the medieval theory of knowledge* (London, 1968). The bibliography in Coletti's work should be consulted by any scholar interested in this area of study.

8 Kathleen M. Ashley, "Divine Power in Chester Cycle and Late Medieval Thought", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 39 (1978) no.3, 387-404.

9 Peter W. Travis, "The Credal Design of the Chester Cycle", *Modern Philology*, 73 (1976), 229-43.

10 Clopper, "History", 242-4.

11 These words are less frequent than "postye" and have a wider range of referents, but for these very reasons well characterize different parts of the cycle.

12 One could contrast in a general way the Janitor and the citizens of Jerusalem (XIV, 173-200) with Cayphas and the Pharisees (329-48), or the Magi with Herod, or indeed Antichrist's parody of signs with Christ's true signs, but there are many subtle variations on the theme.

13 The mere use of such contrasts throughout Chester does not of itself argue a single author or particularly sensitive revisers. It is found notably also in the opening of *Passion Play I* of the *Ludus Coventriae*. One cannot, however, fail to notice how characteristic of Chester such contrasts are.

14 It should be said that the "Purification" also shares with the Nativity plays the tendency to direct the mind beyond the nativity action to the Passion, the act which gives final meaning to Christ's coming. The "Purification", by focussing the opening signs given to Simeon upon the altar, imparts a eucharistic quality to the action in keeping with the frequent references forward in the other Nativity material. This particular focus is not present in the *Stanzaic Life of Christ*, from which the episode was taken.

15 Rosemary Woolf writes of the transitional nature of the various Doctors episodes in *English Mystery Plays*, p.212. Woolf sees the episode as inherently transitional between Nativity and Ministry. I feel that in Chester transition depends upon the joining of the "Doctors" with the "Purification".

16 This stylistic retrospection and anticipation is not to be confused with the theological retrospection and anticipation which V.A. Kolve found in the cycles. See, for example, *The Play Called Corpus Christi*, (London, 1966) p.59: "The central Advent is never celebrated without reference both ways in time, to the first coming and the last".

17 Woolf, *English Mystery Plays*, p.199 and notes 51 and 52, p.390.

18 The placing of the book on the altar is not found in *SLC*; nor is the change from red to gold lettering.

19 The nativity star is a good example of this. It was prophesied by Isaiah "to whom the spirit of prophecye / was singulerly given through the Holy Ghost" (VIII, 318-9). It is itself envisaged as created by Christ - "Hayle, the maker of the stare" (VII, 567). And it marks the fulfilment of the Nativity prophecies.

20 Woolf, *English Mystery Plays*, p.199.

21 The first Doctor changes his attitude between line 246 and line 263 in response to Christ's claim to divine power, and the third Doctor changes between line 262 and line 299 in response to Christ's continued teaching.

22 This is the function that Thomas has finally in play 38 of *Ludus Coventriae*. Chester is subtler in arriving at its conclusion.

[23] Whereas this material is shared with York and other cycles, it is still stylistically at one with Chester. It is spare; dramatizing, in the briefest way, key rejections and acceptances of Christ, contrasted opposing views, and those changes in attitude that have been described. This focussed presentation is typical of Chester. An analysis of the relationship between Chester and other versions would have made this article unwieldy, but the discussion of style in this article surely makes it hard to accept Hardin Craig's view that "It is an imperfect version, just such as would have resulted from oral transmission". Hardin Craig, ed., *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays*, EETS, ES 87 (1902) 2nd ed. 1957 (for 1952), pp.xxxiii-iv.

THE DOCTOR'S EPILOGUE TO THE BROME ABRAHAM AND ISAAC: A POSSIBLE ANALOGUE

By DAVID MILLS

The Brome play of Abraham and Isaac concludes, in lines 435-65,[1] with an epilogue by a Doctor. Rosemary Woolf's comments upon the Doctor's speech reflect what is probably a generally felt unease at this conclusion to the play, and also offer a possible explanation:

> There is one small peculiarity about the Brome play which may finally be noted: it is the epilogue of the doctor, written in different metre, which turns the play into an exemplum for parents who grieve excessively for the death of their children. Unlike a typological exposition, this moral is disconcertingly constrictive . . . The Brome *moralitas* turns the play into a complement to *The Pearl*, and it is possible that these parallel studies in rebelliousness and obedient acquiescence in loss may have been occasional works, the occasion being some bereavement, which of necessity can no longer be identified.[2]

Miss Woolf's comments raise a number of problems which merit more detailed development and scrutiny,[3] but two comments only concern me here - that the play may have been "occasional" and that the final *moralitas* is "an exemplum for parents".

In her proposals in *The English Mystery Plays*, Miss Woolf seems to have resolved for herself an uncertainty which is evident in a footnote that she had written fifteen years earlier:

> In the Brome play the doctor's remarks at the end about mothers who are not resigned when their children die suggests *[sic]* a topical allusion in its preciseness, *although this may also have been a traditional moral of the story*, since it is drawn by St. Jerome in a letter to Paula (Epistle xxxix, P.L., XXII, 472).[4]

Although the Jerome quotation is cited in *The English Mystery Plays*,[5] the possibility of "a traditional moral" has there been dropped in favour of "a topical allusion". Yet there is good reason for believing that the exemplary address to grieving parents after the account of "Abraham and Isaac" was indeed familiar to the fifteenth century, for it appears in Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum Historiale*, lib.I, cap. cvii, with the side-heading: "Apostrophe ad parentes lugentes obitum filiorum". The exposition reads:

> Putasne aliquis nostrum ex ipsa historica narratione tantum animi robur acquirit, ut cum forte amittitur filius morte communi, et omnibus debita, etiam si sit unicus, et dilectus, Abraham sibi in exemplum deducat, et magnanimitatem eius ante oculos ponat?[6]

Vincent is, however, merely retailing the words of Origen - a writer whose works were familiar to Jerome, Miss Woolf's analogue[7] - as transmitted in the translation of Rufinus. In his *In Genesim.* homilia viii, Origen addresses, specifically, the fathers in the Church:

> Multi estis patres in Ecclesia Dei, qui hæc audistis. Putas aliquis vestrum ex ipsa historiæ narratione tantum constantiæ, tantum animi robur acquirit, ut cum forte amittitur filius morte communi, et omnibus debita, etiamsi sit unicus, etiamsi sit dilectus, adducat sibi in exemplum Abraham, et magnanimitatem eius ante oculos ponat? (col. 207)[8]

challenging them to contemplate the sacrifice of their own child as the Brome doctor specifically challenges the men in his audience (*trowe ȝe, sorys* 443; *how thyngke ȝe now, sorys* 447).

It is here that I wish to turn to Miss Woolf's interpretation of the Doctor's epilogue as "an exemplum for parents". In fact, the Doctor's speech takes Abraham's sacrifice as an image of obedience and its rewards much as Origen does. God made a terrible demand of Abraham, one which we ordinary men and women could not contemplate; fortunately, He will not demand that kind of sacrifice from us. But He will exact sacrifices from us, and if we patiently acquiesce in His demands, we will gain reward from Him.

In the opening stanza of his exposition, the Doctor stresses the exemplary nature of the action:

> For thys story schoyt ȝowe *[her]*
> How we schuld kepe to owr po*[we]*re
> Goddys commawmentys wythowt grochyng. (440-2)

In this he merely echoes the intention announced by God in His opening speech:

> All men schall take exampyll hym be
> My commawmentys how they schall fulfyll. (45-6)

This interpretation is also that of Origen, who argues that professions of belief are not enough; gestures of faith are also needed:

> Propter te hæc scripta sunt: quia et tu credidisti quidem Deo, sed nisi opera fidei expleveris, nisi in omnibus præceptis etiam difficilioribus parueris, nisi sacrificium obtuleris, et ostenderis quia nec patrem, nec matrem, nec filios præferas Deo. (cols. 207-8)

But these gestures will not be those of Abraham. The Doctor taunts his audience - "If an angel asked you to kill your child, I believe there might be three or four of you, or more, who would complain or resist. And what would these foolish women think who cry when their children die a natural death":

> Be 3owre trowthe ys ther ony of 3ow
> That eyther wold groche or stryve therageyn?
> How thyngke 3e now, sorys, therby?
> I trow ther be thre ore a fowr or moo;
> And thys women that wepe so sorowfully
> Whan that hyr chyldryn dey them froo,
> As nater woll, and kynd[9] (445-51)

As can be seen from Vincent's quotation, Origen is less mocking in tone in his address to the hearers, but his question has the same rhetorical purpose. He does not mention mothers, but like the Doctor, he compels us to confront the essentially unnatural nature of the sacrifice as opposed to natural death which is our usual experience:

> Et quidem a te non exigitur istud animi magnitudinis, ut ipse alliges filium, ipse constringas, ipse gladium pares, ipse unicum jugules. (col.207)

- the point already made by the action of the Brome play, but taken up in the Doctor's stress on the normal circumstances of infant mortality - *as nater woll, and kynd*.

The Doctor's mocking tone immediately then gives place to a serious and positive address:

> Yt ys but folly, I may wyll awooe,
> To groche a3ens God or to greve 3ow (452-3)

God does not demand acts from us comparable with the unnatural act of sacrifice required of Abraham, but He requires patient acquiescence in His will, and obedience to His commandments. There are two reasons for patience and obedience - first, because you cannot harm God anyway (*for 3e schall neuer se hym myschevyd*, 454); and second, because it lies in His power to make amends (*for whan he wyll, he may yt amend*, 459). Hence the Brome play is not "an exemplum to parents" specifically, but a general example of Man's need of patience before the demands of God:

> And groche not a3ens owre Lord God,
> In welthe or woo, wether that he 3ow send (456-7)

And as such, it seems perhaps more obviously comparable with *Patience* than with *Pearl*, Miss Woolf's point of comparison.

This movement from the immediate subject of the sacrifice and the death of children is also an aspect of Origen's homily.[10] Origen in effect considers Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac in two ways. First he emphasises God's demand that Man should renounce all worldly

desires, for Abraham's love of Isaac is merely an image of our love of all manner of worldly vanities which we must renounce to follow Christ:

> Quis vestrum putas audiet aliquando vocem angeli dicentis: Nunc cognovi quia times tu Deum, quia non pepercisti filio tuo vel filiæ tuæ, vel uxori, aut non pepercisti pecuniæ, vel honoribus sæculi, et ambitionibus mundi, sed omnia contempsisti et omnia duxisti ut stercora, ut Christum lucrifaceres, vendidisti omnia et dedisti pauperibus, et secutus es verbum Dei? (col. 208)

This "active" sacrifice is only hinted at by the Doctor's reference to *welthe* 457 and forms no part of his main moral. But later in his discussion, Origen stresses the rewards which God gives for sacrifices of all kinds, clearly including the acceptance of deprivation; and he goes on to cite the example of Job's patience at the loss of his worldly wealth, and his reward:

> Et videmur offerre Domino hostias, sed nobis quæ offerimus redonantur. Deus enim nullius indiget, sed nos vult divites esse, nostrum desiderat per singula quæque profectum. Hæc nobis figura ostenditur etiam in his quæ gesta sunt erga Job. Et ille enim propter Deum perdidit omnia cum dives esset. Sed quia pertulit bene agones patientiæ, et in omnibus quæ passus est, magnanimus fuit, et dixit: 'Dominus dedit, Dominus abstulit: ut Domino placuit, ita factum est, sit nomen Domini benedictum': vide ad ultimum quid de eo scribitur: 'Recepit', inquit, 'omnia dupla quæ amiserat.' Vide quid est amittere aliquid pro Deo, hoc est multiplicata recipere tibi. (cols. 209-10)

Origen thus concludes with the "passive" image of endurance rather than the "active" image of renunciation, as does the Brome Doctor.

From this emphasis on patient and faithful endurance of adversity, Origen moves easily to a vision of the reward of eternal life

> Et aliquid amplius Evangelia promittunt, centuplum tibi pollicentur, insuper et vitam æternam, in Christo Jesu Domino nostro, cui est gloria et imperium in sæcula sæculorum. Amen. (col. 210)

The Brome Doctor makes a similar transition:

> And feytheffully serve hym qwyll ȝe be qvart,
> That ȝe may plece God bothe euyn and morne.
> Now Jhesu, that weryt the crown of thorne,
> Bringe vs all to heuen-blysse! (462-5)

It therefore seems unnecessary to postulate that the Brome Doctor's speech suggests a specific occasion for the play's composition. The address to grieving parents was already a familiar

moral. But that address, in Origen and in Brome, is merely part of a wider exposition within which it should be evaluated. Anyone familiar with Vincent would be led to Origen's homily, and there would be nothing inherently improbable in postulating that the Brome playwright also knew Origen. But more important than a putative direct source is the fact that the Doctor uses a number of arguments found also in the homily, and therefore presumably familiar; and that he marshals them in support of the general theme of patience with which Origen concludes and which similarly may well have been a familiar moral. In reaching this conclusion, both writers accept that the sacrifice of Abraham is beyond the experience or capacity of their audience, who may therefore take courage in facing the lesser demands which God will make of them. The Brome Doctor thereby acknowledges the emotional conflicts realised within the play, and appropriately allows the audience to derive its moral without denying the value of the emotions displayed and evoked by the play.

NOTES

1 All references and quotations are from *Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments*, edited by Norman Davis, EETS, SS 1 (London, 1970), "V The Brome Play of *Abraham and Isaac*".

2 *The English Mystery Plays* (London, 1972), p.153.

3 One may note in particular that "written in a different metre" gives a misleading impression of the metrical uniqueness of the speech; see the discussion of the play's verse-forms by Norman Davis, *op.cit.*, pp.lxv-lxvi.

4 "The Effect of Typology on the English Mediaeval Plays of Abraham and Isaac", *Speculum* 32 (1957), 813 fn.42; the italics are my own.

5 *Op.cit.*, p.379, fn.52. It may be noted that Jerome's use of the example is somewhat different from that in Brome. His point is not only that Abraham joyfully sacrificed Isaac while Paula grieves at the death of her daughter; but also that Isaac was Abraham's only son, whereas the daughter was *unam de pluribus*.

6 Cited from the facsimile reprint of the edition published by Balthazar Bellerus, (Duaci, 1624), p.39.

7 Jerome and Rufinus were at one time friends and admirers of Origen, although Jerome later became violently anti-Origenist.

8 Cited from Migne, *Patrologia Graeca* XII; column references in the text relate to this edition.

9 I assume that *How thyngke* 447 must again be understood at 449 to provide a verb for *thys women*, posing a parallel question: How thyngke ȝe now, sorys - How thyngke thys women. But syntactically one could understand *by* 447 at 449: "How thyngke ȝe now, sorys, therby, and *[by]* thys women . . .?" ("How do you think about killing your son, and about these women who grieve?").

10 For a discussion of Origen's general attitude to sacrifice, see R.J. Daly, "Sacrifice in Origen", *Studia Patristica* 11 (1972), 125-9.

LIFE RECORDS OF HENRY MEDWALL, M.A., NOTARY PUBLIC AND PLAYWRIGHT; AND JOHN MEDWALL, LEGAL ADMINISTRATOR AND SUMMONER

By ALAN H. NELSON

In 1926 A.W. Reed published two short biographical notes on Henry Medwall, the author of *Fulgens and Lucres* and *Nature*. Reed had identified some eight documents concerning Medwall, the earliest from 1492.[1] Quite separately, academic biographers had established that Henry Medwall was born about 1462, attended Eton College in the late 1470's, and King's College, Cambridge in the early 1480's.[2] More recently, Sheila Lindenbaum has brought all this material together in a short biography in the new *Manual of Writings in Middle English*.[3]

My own preparation of an edition of Medwall's two plays led me to examine the known evidence for Medwall's life and to search for new documents. A relatively comprehensive biography resulting from this investigation appears in the Introduction to *The Plays of Henry Medwall*.[4] In the Appendix to the edition appears a list of forty documents, keyed to the Introduction by number. The present article gives full transcriptions of many of these documents, and summaries of those which are legal COMMON FORM[5] and which therefore contain language which is of less interest because it is not peculiar to any individual case.

Henry Medwall, a native of Southwark, was born on or about 8 September 1461 [2-3]. He attended Eton College from 1475 to 1480 [3, 6, 7.c.1-2], then went on to King's College, Cambridge, where he studied arts until 1483 [7-9, 21]. Medwall's precipitate resignation from his King's scholarship on 13 June 1483 [7.a, 8.a] coincided exactly with the arrest of John Morton, bishop of Ely, by the future Richard III. Thus it is reasonable to suppose that by 1483 Medwall had already established himself as Morton's protégé.

Medwall witnessed college drama while a student at King's.[6] He maintained informal contact with King's until 1485 [7.c.11-22], and may have assisted in a disguising presented on 2 February 1485 [7.c. 19-22]. In August of the same year Richard III was overthrown by the future Henry VII. Henry appointed Morton chancellor in March 1486, then archbishop in October of the same year. Sometime thereafter, certainly by 1490, Henry Medwall became a notary public in Morton's archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth [18; cf.15-16]. In 1490 he was ordained to minor orders [17, 19]. The next year he received a degree in civil law from Cambridge, with credit for four years' study past his three years in arts [21]. In 1492 he was appointed to the living of Balinghem in the pale of Calais [22-23; cf.24-26], but he served *in absentia*, continuing to live in and around London.

Here he notarized documents [20] and wrote plays [35, 38] for the archbishop, and engaged in a certain amount of business on the side [27-30].

By the end of the decade Henry Medwall had gained personal control over virtually all archiepiscopal documents at Lambeth [31]. These documents were almost certainly kept in the new gatehouse now known as Morton's Tower.[7] Shortly after Morton's death in 1500, however, Medwall lost his position on the staff at Lambeth, and lost his benefice as well: whether his resignation was truly voluntary is impossible to establish [32-34]. Nothing is known of Medwall's life after 26 July 1501 [34].

Henry Medwall's two surviving plays were written between 1486 and 1500, perhaps early in the 1490's. *Fulgens and Lucres* was published by John Rastell about 1512 [35], *Nature* by William Rastell about 1530 [38]. John Bale published a note on Medwall in 1559 [39], John Pits another in 1619 [40], but both accounts apparently derive from the information appearing on the title-page of *Nature* [38]; hence these accounts probably add nothing of value to the earlier and more substantial documentation.

While Henry Medwall may qualify as the earliest English playwright whose name and career can be known with any certainty, his brother John may count as a summoner whose life can be documented with exceptional thoroughness. A summoner, or apparitor, was a minor legal servant who delivered summonses and sought out offenders on behalf of an ecclesiastical court.[8] The summoner was also an investigator who could call the attention of the court to the activity of sinners, and who was in an excellent position to allow himself to be bought off. Late medieval writers took great pleasure in heaping abuse on the character of the summoner, as in Chaucer's outraged portrait in the *General Prologue*, and in the characterization of the summoner in the *Friar's Prologue* and *Tale*.[9]

One example of the unethical practices attributed to summoners is recorded in Robert Greene's cony-catching pamphlet of 1591, *A Notable Discovery of Coosnage* (Cozenage). The character in question only claims to be a summoner, but his ruse would not work if certain real summoners did not behave in the same manner:

> There lives about this towne certaine housholders, yet meere shifters and coosners, who learning some insight in the civill law, walke abrode like parators [i.e. apparitors], sumners and informers, beeing none at all either in office or credit, and they go spying about where any marchant, or marchants prentise, citizen, wealthie farmer, or other of credit, either accompany with anie woman familiarly, or else hath gotten some maide with child, as mens natures be prone to sin. Straight they come over his fallows [i.e. trip him up] thus: they send for him to a taverne, and ther open the matter to him, which they have cunningly larned out, telling him he must be presented to the Arches, and the scitation shalbe peremptorily served in his parish church. The partie, afraid to have his credit crackt with the worshipfull of

> the Citie and the rest of his neighbors, and grieving highly his wife should heare of it, straight takes composition with this cosener for some twentie markes . . .[10]

"The Arches" was the ecclesiastical court situated in the Church of the Blessed Mary of the Arches in Cheapside, London. This court, also called the Court of Canterbury, had jurisdiction over the ecclesiastical districts in metropolitan London which were controlled by the archbishop rather than the bishop of London.[11] (It was to this court that John Medwall was appointed summoner.) Greene, continuing his exposition, complains that false summoners "discredite, hinder, and prejudice the Court of the Arches, and the officers belonging to the same".

John Medwall was at least five years older than Henry, and preceded him to Eton, finishing perhaps in 1474 [1]. This was evidently the John Maidwell, a kinsman of Richard West and an acquaintance of Nicholas Mille, who figures so prominently in the lawsuit brought by Mille against West in 1476 [4-5]. In 1469 West had entrusted a large stock of cloth to Mille, but by 1475 West feared Mille was squandering the investment. Mille and West agreed that Maidwell should become Mille's associate, but this agreement failed to heal the breach between them. Maidwell ravished or more probably seduced Mille's daughter, Mille accused Maidwell of being in league with West and fled to sanctuary in Westminster, West threw Mille's family out of the house which West himself owned, and finally Maidwell was sent "over the sea", perhaps to be put out of the way until things cooled down. It is not known whether the affair was ever resolved or whether John Maidwell made good his pledge to marry Mille's daughter [5.c]. However, the John Medwall who was similarly over the sea in 1520 and 1523 [36-37] may well have been a son or grandson.

During the late 1470's and the first half of the 1480's John Medwall was involved in various business affairs, almost all of which seem to have involved sharp practices on the part of one party or the other [10-13]. On one occasion he was placed under arrest in London on a charge of resorting to "force and armes" [11]. Perhaps the most interesting document represents an attempt to recover over £30 from the abbot of St Saviour, Bermondsey, for whom Medwall acted as rent collector in Southwark and London. One of John Medwall's two sureties was "Henry Medwall, gentilman" [13].

Despite the unsavoury air surrounding many of his legal disputes, John Medwall retained a degree of respectability, for instance visiting King's College on the same occasion as Oliver Kyng, formerly royal secretary and subsequently secretary to Henry VII [7.c.14]. Contacts of this kind, or influence brought to bear by his younger brother, were the apparent cause of his appointment in 1487 as apparitor or summoner to the dean of the Arches, with jurisdiction in London, Southwark, and the suburbs [14]. John Medwall's Eton College training justified the appellation "literate" used in the letter of appointment and applied to certain other summoners over the years.[12] As a citizen of Southwark he was already well acquainted with this most notorious suburb, which housed the Bankside stews or

brothels.[13] His experience as rent collector [13] must have added to his considerable knowledge of the territory under his jurisdiction.

No records survive to reveal how John Medwall behaved in his role as summoner. From other evidence we may be fairly certain that he went about his business on foot, carrying his white wand of office.[14] John Medwall's profession of summoner carried about the same degree of social status as his brother's profession of notary.[15] The two offices were closely linked in function, for John Medwall as apparitor was responsible for summoning offenders under threat of excommunication and arrest by writ of *Significavit*, while Henry Medwall as notary was responsible for issuing and attesting the same writs.[16] Thirteen writs with Henry Medwall's notarial knot survive in the Public Record Office [20].

In 1489 and 1490 John Medwall was employed as a servant to King's College, perhaps in the capacity of legal administrator [7.d, 8.b]. Once again, the elder brother may have benefitted from influence exerted by the younger. In fact, though the brothers held offices of nominally equivalent status, their life careers were markedly different. John Medwall apparently had to seize opportunities haphazardly as they came his way, patching together a career and an income. Henry Medwall was identified by Morton very early on as a young man of high ability, and was given a post as soon as the first opportunity arose. Though Henry Medwall retained his relatively modest position of notary for the whole duration of his known career, this did not prevent him from moving in the highest circles [15-16], befriending an archbishop [35], exerting his influence on his brother's behalf [14], dabbling in commerce [27-30], controlling the archiepiscopal registry [31], and securing royal letters of protection against arrest [32].

Henry Medwall's two plays confirm the impression made by the documents of a man blessed with high intelligence, ready wit, and a knowledge of the goodness as well as the seaminess of human life. John Medwall conforms more to what we know of summoners from historical documents and literary sources: he was a man who lived an erratic and frequently troubled life, surviving by his wits in the middle world where legal activity shades off into vice.

NOTES

1 Arthur W. Reed, *Early Tudor Drama: Medwall, the Rastells, Heywood, and the More Circle* (London, 1926), pp.101-4; and Henry Medwall, *Fulgens and Lucres: A Fifteenth-Century Secular Play*, ed. Frederick S. Boas and Arthur W. Reed, (Oxford, 1926), pp.xv-xvii.

2 Thomas Harwood, *Alumni Etonenses* (Birmingham, 1797); John Venn and John A. Venn, *Alumni Cantabrigienses, Part I (Earliest Times to 1751)*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1922-27); Wasey Sterry, *The Eton College Register, 1441-1698* (Eton, 1943); and Alfred B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to A.D. 1500*, (Cambridge, 1963), hereafter cited as Emden, *B.R.U.C.*

3 "The Morality Plays", in *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English*, vol.5, ed. Albert E. Hartung (New Haven, 1975), p.1378.

4 Ed. Alan H. Nelson (Ipswich, 1980).

5 "COMMON FORM" signifies a standard legal formula which is virtually identical in similar cases except that the name(s) of the particular party or parties are inserted to cover a particular case. Thus a brief summary will give as accurate a picture of the case as a full transcription.

6 This occurred in the Christmas season of 1482: see *The Plays of Henry Medwall*, Introduction.

7 Irene J. Churchill, *Canterbury Administration: The Administrative Machinery of the Archbishopric of Canterbury Illustrated from Original Records*, Church Historical Society, New Series, 15, 2 vols. (London, 1933), I, pp.24-25.

8 Churchill, *Canterbury Administration*, I, pp.432, 456-57, 480-81; II, pp.215-16. See also next note.

9 Louis A. Haselmayer, "The Apparitor and Chaucer's Summoner", *Speculum* 12 (1937), 43-57; Muriel Bowden, *A Commentary on the General Prologue to the Canterbury Tales* (New York, 1948), pp.262-73; and Arthur C. Cawley, "Chaucer's Summoner, the Friar's Summoner, and the *Friar's Tale*", *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society* 8 (1957), 173-80.

10 Sig. $D3^{r}$.

11 Churchill, *Canterbury Administration*, I, pp.424-69.

12 Haselmayer, "The Apparitor", 51.

13 David J. Johnson, *Southwark and the City* (London, 1969). Further on prostitution and criminality in late medieval Southwark and London, see Arthur V. Judges, *The Elizabethan Underworld* (London, 1930); Ephraim J. Burford, *The Orrible Synne* (London, 1973), and *Bawds and Lodgings* (London, 1976); and Gamini Salgado, *The Elizabethan Underworld* (London, 1977).

14 Haselmayer, "The Apparitor", 45-46, 49, 53.

15 Haselmayer, "The Apparitor", 51-52.

16 Francis Donald Logan, *Excommunication and the Secular Arm in Medieval England: A Study in Legal Procedure from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Century*, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Studies and Texts, 15 (Toronto, 1968). See also Christopher R. Cheney, *Notaries Public in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1972).

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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I would like to thank Christopher Harper-Bill for alerting me to several documents, and for offering much useful advice.

GENERAL NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTIONS

The following transcriptions generally conform to the conventions adopted for *The Plays of Henry Medwall*. Punctuation, capitalization, and word division have been normalized, abbreviations and suspensions are expanded silently, *i* and *j*, *u* and *v* are regularized according to modern convention, initial *ff* is printed as *F* or *f*, the plural ending is expanded to *es* in English (to *is* in 5.b), and thorn is given as *th*. Pointed brackets indicate a hole or other positive defect in the manuscript, square brackets indicate editorial reconstruction where the original has faded to illegibility (even under ultra-violet light), while parentheses indicate editorial emendations, including doubtful expansions. Numbers within square brackets indicate the approximate number of characters left out of a conjectural reconstruction. Interlinear corrections or additions are incorporated into the text without comment. In general the texts are all straightforward, and contain virtually nothing of interest that has been obscured by these conventions. In no case do corrections indicate second thoughts, or subsequent emendations by later scribes.

Entries are keyed by numbers in square brackets to the essay above as well as to the Introduction to *The Plays of Henry Medwall*. Each entry includes the date(s) of the document; a description of the document (where not self-evident); a full reference to the document; a note on any published notice or transcription; a brief commentary; either a full transcription, or a summary where the document is COMMON FORM; a translation, and further comment where necessary.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

C.C.R.	*Calendar of Court Rolls*
C.P.R.	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*
E.C.P.	*Early Chancery Proceedings*

The above are all PRO publications

Emden, *B.R.U.C.*	Alfred B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to A.D. 1500* (Cambridge, 1963).
Emden, *B.R.U.O.*	Idem, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols. (1957-59).
LC	Liber Communarum (King's College, Muniments)
MB	Mundum Book (King's College, Muniments)
PRO	Public Record Office, London

A brief *Glossary* appears at the end of the transcriptions.

[1] ? 1473-74. Bursar's Account Book 1473-75. Eton College Library MS 231, fol.15^{r}, under *Custus forensis*. Wasey Sterry, *The Eton College Register, 1441-1698* (Eton, 1943), p.229

A payment to Henry Byrd, porter of Eton College, doubtless because he took care of John Medwall during an illness: cf. no.6. Commons, or expenses for food, were calculated at 8^{d} per week.

Item Henrico Byrd hostiario pro communibus di. septimana Johannis Medewall: iiij^{d}.

[Item, to Henry Byrd, porter, for commons, one half week, of John Medewall: 4^{d}.]

[2] 1 August 1474. Eton College Archives, Election Indenture Roll 1474. Richard A. Austen-Leigh, "Early Election Rolls, 1444-1503", *Etoniana* 12 (19 July 1911), 188.

Henry Medwall's first nomination to Eton as a king's scholar. Presumably Medwall was twelve at the time of this entry, and would turn thirteen in a little more than a month. If so, he was born in 1461. The festival of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary was not necessarily the exact day of Medwall's birth, but rather the nearest festival day of consequence.

H. Medwale etatis xij ann(orum) festivo Natalis Beate Marie de comitatu Surr' burgo Sowtehwerke.

[H(enry) Medwale, aged 12 on the festival of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin (8 September), of the county of Surrey, borough of Southwark.]

[3] 14 July 1475. Eton College Archives, Election Indenture Roll 1475. Austen-Leigh, "Early Election Rolls", 189.

Henry Medwall's second nomination to Eton. Presumably, this time the nomination took effect.

Henricus Medwale etatis xiij ann(orum) in festivo Natalis Beate Marie villa Suthwark.

[4] 6 October 1476 (date of endorsement). Petition to Chancery. PRO C.1/50/412. *E.C.P.*, II.

Nicholas Mille, citizen and tailor of London, petitions for release from an action of debt by Richard West, tailor of London, in collusion with John Maydwell, said action having been taken against Maydwell and Mille. Further on this case, see no.5.

To the right reverend fader in God Thomas Bisshop of Lincoln chaunceller of Englond

Mekely besecheth your good lordship Nicholas Mille, citezine and taillour of London, that where oone Richard West, taillour of London, the xxiiij^{ti} day of Aprill the xvjth yere of the reigne of the kyng our liege lord that nowe is (1476), delivered to your seyd besecher and to oone John Maydwell a certeyn stokke of wollyn cloth and other marchandise to the value of DCCCC *li* to have to theym jointly and it to occupie at theyr liberte and to bye and selle therwith from the foreseid xxiiij^{ti} day of Aprill unto the end of the terme of xij yeres than next suyng, to thentent that the foreseid Nicholas your besecher and the seid John Maydwell shulde onys in the yere duryng the seid terme of xij yere make a just and true accompte unto the seid Richard, to his executours or assignees, as well of the seid stokke of DCCCC *li* as of thencreace that shuld come of the same stokke, and that your said besecher and the seid John Maydwell shuld have the oone half of the seid encreace for their parte to their owne use, and the seid Richard to have the other half of the seid encreace to his owne use, and over that atte (the) end of the terme of the seid xij yere the seid Richard, his executours or assignees, to have relyvere of the seid stokke of DCCCC *li*, and for the more boldisshyng of your seid besecher to receyve the foreseid stokke, the seid Richard grauntid to hym and to the seid John Maydwell that neither he nor his executours shuld neither attach nor arreste your seid besecher nor the seid John Maydwell nor either of theym, for bettyr suertie duryng the seid terme of xij yeres, the whiche graunte, with the lyvere of the foreseid stokke of DCCCC *li* to thentent bifore reherced, may more playnly appiere by endentures therof made bitwene the seid Richard West on the oone partie, and your seid besecher and the seid John Maydwell on the other partie, wherof oone parte of the seid endentures ensealed with the seale of the seid Richard West remayneth with your seid besecher redy to be shewed. And aftir the livere made of the seid stokke of DCCCC *li* in fourme bifore specified, the seid Richard West by subtile ymaginacion and covyn had bitwene hym and the seid John Maydwell, intendyng the uttir undoyng of your seid besecher, the xxv^{ti} day of Aprill the xvjth yere of the reigne of the kyng aforeseid affermyd a pleynt of dette in the courte of our lord kyng bifore oone of the shireffes of London ayenst your seid besecher and the seid John Maydwell joyntly of the demaunde of M *li*. And by force of the seid pleynt the seid Richard West hath caused to attache and arrest after the custume of the cite of London alle the stokke of alle the seid marchandise to the value of DCCCC *li* whiche was to theym by the seid Richard West delivered, and also alle the goodes and stuff of howshold that your besecher had within the cite of London, the whiche draweth to the value of v^{C} *li* (i.e. £500) over the seid somme of DCCCC *li*. And the seid Richard West thorough covyn had bitwene hym and the seid John Maydwell hath caused alle the seid goodes to be retourned attached as the goodes of the seid John Maydwell and of your seid besechers jointly. For the whiche cause your said besecher is withoutyn remedy bothe by cours of the comen lawe and by lawe custumary of the cite of London, for the seid goodes may not be discharged of the seid arrest withoute the seid John Maydwell wolde appiere with your said besecher and sette suertie to

the seid pleynt to aunswere the seid Richard West, the whiche the seid John Maydwell wolle not do forasmoche as he is of covyn with the pleyntyff in the seid accion tamyng, and confesseth the seid M *li* to be due by hym and by your seid besecher to the seid Richard West, whereas in verrey truthe your besecher shall make due prooffe byfore your lordship at any covenable tyme, that he oweth no peny to the seid Richard. And withoute the more gracious ayde be shewed by your good lordship to your seid besecher in the premisses, he is lyke to be uttirly undone ayenst right and conscience. That it may please your good and gracious lordship, the premisses tenderly considerd, to graunte a writte of *certiorari* to be directe to the meyre and shireffes of London, commaundyng theym by the same to certifie bifore the kyng in his chauncerie the cause of tharrest of alle the foreseid goodes of your seid besechers, at a certeyn day by your lordship to be limited, that upon examinacion of the premisses bifore your lordship then and ther to be had, due rightwisnesse may be mynystred bitwene the seid parties accordyng to reason and conscience, and that in the reverence of God and in the way of charite.

[Endorsement:] *Coram domino rege in cancellaria sua in octavis sancti Michaelis.*

[Before the lord king in his chancery, one week following the feast of St Michael, i.e. on 6 October 1476.]

[5] 1476. Petitions to Chancery. PRO C.1/59/165-8. *E.C.P.*, II.

Four petitions and replies, the same case as no.4. In 1469 Richard West delivered to Nicholas Mille a stock of cloth worth £400. Mille was to engage in trade with the cloth for twelve years, keeping a percentage of the increase for himself, and turning the balance over to West. By 1475 West had become dissatisfied with Mille's management of the stock, and persuaded him to accept John Maidwell, a "kynnesman" of West's, as his partner, living in his house, and trading from his shop. (Mille claims that Maidwell joined him not as a partner, but as a servant.) Within a year Maidwell "ravysshed and defoyled the doughter of the said Nicholas, for whiche cause the saide Nicholas putte the saide John Maydwell out of his hous". West tried to promote a reconciliation, Mille took sanctuary in Westminster, West put Mille's family out of the house (which belonged to West) "at ix of the clok in the nyght", and Mille finally agreed to a reconciliation on the condition that Maidwell would swear to marry Mille's daughter. Maidwell did so swear. However, the day after the reconciliation was confirmed, that is, on 25 April 1476, West sued Mille and Maidwell for the entire amount of the stock, which by this time was £1,000. Mille rejects the debt, but Maidwell accepts it. Mille argues that Maidwell is acting in collusion with West, and it is on this basis that Mille appeals to the chancellor rather than fighting the suit in common law.

Several additional petitions are of interest in this affair, as possibly shedding further light on Mille or West (all bear the C.1

prefix): 46/469; 48/52; 64/331, 910, 943, 967, 1003, 1100; 66/66; 67/196 (see *E.C.P.*, II, for summaries). See also *C.P.R.* (1467-77), pp.80 (West), 576, 578 (Mille).

The probability that John Maidwell or Maydwell is identical to the John Medwall named in other documents is enhanced by variant spellings of the name Medwall especially in nos.7.c.23 and 7.d, and by the fact that Richard West had connections in Southwark as well as in London (PRO C.1/48/52).

[5.a] PRO C.1/59/165

To the right reverend fader in <God Thomas Bishop>
of Lyncoln and chaunciller o<f England>

Mekely besechith your gode lordship Nicholas Mylle of London, taillour, that where he thurgh grete request and special labour made to hym by one Richard West of London, taillour, the xiiij day of Decembr the ixth yere of the reigne of Kyng Edward the iiijth (1469) covenauntid with the said Richard West by dede indentid, that is to wete that the same Richard shulde delivere to <the> seid Nicholas Mylle a stokke of wollen cloth to the valu of CCCC *li* to bye and selle and merchaundise therwith fro the feste of Cristemes than next folwing to the ende of the terme of xij yeris <then ne>xt suyng, and ferthermore it was covenauntid that the said Nicholas Mylle shulde onys in the yere duryng the said terme make a just and true accompte unto the said Richard West aswell <of the> said stokke of CCCC *li* as of the encrece that schulde come of the said stokke, and that the said Nicholas Mylle yerely shulde have the thridde parte of the encrece of the said stokke to his propur use, and the overplus of the increce, certeyn costis deductid, the said Richard West shulde have to his parte, and over that at the ende of the said xij yeris the said stokke of CCCC *li* to be relyverid to the said Richard West or to his executoures, the said Richard West standing to no jobardy nor aventure of the said stokke nor of any parcell therof. After the whiche covenaunt in the forme aforsaid made, the said Richard West delivered to the said Nicholas Mylle at several tymes merchaundises to the valu of CCClij *li* viij^{s} x^{d} *ob* *q*^{a} whereas by the forsaid covenaunt he shuld have delivered CCCC *li* to your besecher. And afterward the said Nicholas your besecher merchaundised with the said CCC *li* and lij *li* viij^{s} x^{d} *ob* *q*^{a} by the space of v yeris, by the whiche tyme the parte of the increce that afferid only to the said Richard West drewe to CCxxx< -5- > *q*^{a} as it evidently apperid by accountis made yerely by your said bisecher unto the said Richard West duryng the said terme of v yeris. And in and uppon the said accountis makyng the <said Ric>hard West contrarie to gode conscience chargid your bisecher with alle the dettours, of whiche many be desperate, and your besecher kaime nevir le< -4- >[1] nor gete thaym by any mene < -10- >eward the said Richard West fraudelently and subtilly intending to defraude your besecher of the occupacion of the said stokke of CCClij *li* viij^{s} x^{d} *ob* <*q*^{a} before the terme o>f the said xij yeris, kame and said to the said Nicholas your besecher that ther was a kynnesman of the said Richard West whos name was John <Maydwell, and the said Richard> West willed and specially laboured

your besecher to take the said John Maydwell to be his partyngfelowe in byng and sellyng, and with that that the s<aid Nicholas Mylle your besec>her wolde agre therto, and also to delivere to the said Richard West alle maner writinges and indentur<es made> bifore that tyme bitwene the said Richard West and < -28- >well the covenaunt and lyvere of the first stokke of CCClij *li* viij^{s} x^{d} *ob* *q*^{a} as the account < -14- >e of the said stokke and of the increce of the sam<e -30- sa>me Richard West said that he wold delivere by indenture a stokke of DCCCC *li* joyntely to the <said Nicholas> Mylle your besecher and to the said John Maydwell < -30- > West accounting in the same stokke of DCCCC *li* the first stokke of CCClij *li* viij^{s} x^{d} *ob* *q*^{a} to y<our bese>cher first delivered and also the said gayne and increce of C< -24- the seid> Richard growiny in the forsaid v yeris of the said first stokke of CCClij *li* viij^{s} x^{d} *ob* *q*^{a}. And also the said Richard West desired and willed that the forsaid N<icholas your beseche>r and the said John Maydwell shulde joyntely occupie the forsaid stokke of DCCCC *li* by the terme of xij yeris and therwith bye and selle jointely the terme bigy<nning the xxiiij daye of A>prill the xvj yere of the reigne of the kynge oure soverayn lord that now is duryng to the ende of the said terme than next folwing. And ferthermore the said Richard Wes<t desired and willed t>hat the said Nicholas Mylle your besecher and John Maydwell shulde yerely accounte justely and truly of the same stokke and of the increce of the same during the terme of x<ij yeris to the said Richar>d or to his executoures, and that the said Nicholas Mylle and John Maydwell shulde have the one half of the said increce for their parte to therr owne use and the said Ric<hard to> have th<e other> half of the said increce, certeyn costis deductid, to his owne use. And ovir that at the ende of the terme of the said xij yeris the said Richard West his executoures or assignes to have relyvere of the said stokke of DCCCC *li*. And for the more boldisshing of the said Nicholas your besecher to receive the said stokke jointely with the said John Maydwell in the forme bifore specified, the said Richard West grauntid to the said Nicholas Mylle and John Maydwell that he nor his executoures shulde neither attache nor arreste the said Nicholas Mylle nor the said John Maydwell nor any of them for bettir suerte duryng the said terme of xij yeris. And the said Nicholas Mylle your besecher, gefyng fulle confidence to the said promyse, seyng the desire of the said Richard West and also at that tyme not knowing that the said John Maydwell was confetrid and of covyn with the said Richard West to hurte and utterly undo your seid besecher, agreid and assentid to take the forsaid stokke of DCCCC *li* jointely with the said John Maydwell and it to occupie in suche fourme as is bifore specified and desired by the seid Richard West, wherupon a paire of indentures were made bitwene the said Richard West upon the one parte and the said Nicholas your besecher and the said John Maydwell on the other parte, witnessyng the covenauntis and agrement in the forme bifore specified of whiche indentures the date is the forsaid xxiiij^{ti} day of Aprill the xvj yere of oure lord kyng that now is. And one parte therof insealid with the seale of the seid Richard West remayneth with the said Nicholas Mylle your besecher redy to be shewid. And after the said indentures made, the said Richard West thurgh crafte and covyn hadde bitwene hym and the said John Maydwell, the xxv day of Aprill the xvj yere of the reigne of

oure said lord the kyng that now is, affermed a playnte of dette ayenst the said Nicholas Mylle and John Maydwell jointely bifore the sherefis of London of the demaund of a M *li*. A<nd> by vertu of the said playnte the said Richard West hath causid to attache and arreste alle the said stokke and merchaundises whiche he hadde delivered to the said Nicholas Mylle and John Ma<ydwe>ll, and also the said Richard West causid to arreste alle other godis that the said Nicholas Mylle your besecher hadde or was possessid of, al the which godis extende to the valu of <a M -14- and> CCCC *li*. And the said Richard West hath causid alle the said godis to be retorned attached as the godis of the said Nicholas Mylle and of John Maydwell joyntly, for the whiche <cau>se the said Nicholas your besecher is without remedie by the cours of comyn lawe, for the said godis may not be discharged of the said arrest but yf so were that the said John Maydwell wold appere jointely with your said besecher and sette suerte to answere to the said Richard West in his said playnte of the demaunde of a M *li*, and that the said John Maydwell wille not do forasmoch<e> as he is of covyn with the said Richard West in tamyng of the said playnt. And also the same John Maydwell confessith and affermeth that he and the said Nicholas your besecher oweth to the said Richard West a M *li*, whereas in verray trouthe youre bisecher shal make due profe bifore your lordship that he owith no peny to the said Richard West. And thus by sinistr<e an>d subtil meanes your bisecher is likely to be utterly undoon withoute the more gracious socoure and eyde be to hym shewid by your gode lordship. Therfore that it may please your gode lordship the premisses tenderly <c>onsiderid to graunte a writte *sub pena* to be directid to the said Richard West hym commaunding by the same to apere bifore the kynge in his chauncerie at a certeyn day and upon a certeyn payne by your lordship to be lymytid, that upon examynacion of the premisses before your lordship than and ther to be had, due rightwisnes may be mynistred bitwene the said parties accordyng to gode reason and conscience, and that in the reverence of God and in the wey of charite.

Plegii de premissis: Johannes Hane de London, gentilman
[Guarantors to the above:] Willelmus Graunte de eadem, yoman

[1] Document damaged. No letter precedes the *l*; nevertheless, (*p*)*legge* or (*a*)*le* (for *ally*, i.e. 'business partner') may be intended.

[5.b] PRO C.1/59/166

[The right-hand side of this document, at most a sixth of its width, is badly faded, often entirely illegible even under ultraviolet light. Many readings can be restored by comparison to no.5.a. Vertical bars mark the breaks between lines of text; readings at the very end of some lines are less reliable than the bulk of the transcription.]

This is thansweer of Richard West oon to the bille
of Nicholas Mille

The seid Richard seith that the mater conteyaned in the seid bill is

insufficient and non certeyn to put hym to answeer, and also with that, the same mater is mater determinable by the comen lawe and not in this court, wherof he hath allowance. And over that saith that up[on] communicacion had | betwene the seid Richard and Nicholas, it was agreed betwene them that the seid Nicholas shuld be servaunt to the seid Richard and dwell in an howse of the seid Richard and to have of hym a stokke of marchaundise and to serve hym truely [by] feet of merchaundise [and therwith to utt]er and occup[ie in] the seid howse, | wherupon it [MS: is] was covenaunted betwen them by the seid deed endented, made the seid xiiij day of Decembr the seid ixth yeere, that the seid Richard shuld delyver unto the same Nicholas a stokke of CCCC *li* in wollen clothe or such reasonable clothe as the seid Nicholas shuld requere, the said Richard [-10-][1] | penyworthes as cowde be thought for redy money or els for dayes by th<e a>dvise of the seid Nicholas, which stokke of CCCC *li* the seid Nicholas shuld have and occupie and therwith to bie and sell from the fest of Christenmes then next ensuying unto thende and terme of xi[j yere next fo]lowyng, | and that the seid Nicholas shuld oones in the yeer duryng the same terme make a juste accompt unto the seid Richard of the seid stokke and of thencreese which God shuld fortune to come of the same, of which encrees the seid Nicholas shuld have the third part for his labour to his owne [use, and the overplus] | of the same encreese over the resonable costes deducte, that is to sey xl <*li*> by yeer for the howse rent of the same Nicholas and xx^{d} wekely for the boorde of the seid Nicholas and a servaunt or apprentice with other costes necessarie by wey of merchaundise, shuld allwey remeyn unto thu[se and profit] of | the seid Richard as in the same endenture pleynly appereth, withoute that that it is specified or comprised in the same endenture that the seid Nicholas shuld at thende of the seid terme relyver the seid stokke unto the seid Richard or his executors or that the seid [Nicholas] shuld [sta]nd [to n]o jeo[pardy or] | aventure of the seid stokk or eny parcell therof. And over that the seid Richard seith that the seid Nicholas was but his servaunt therin by the seid tyme and soe was reputed and taken, and that incontinent after the makyng of the seid endenture the seid Richard chargid the said Nicholas [-15- that] | he shuld not lend nor jeoparde any part of the seid stokk to eny person but to such as he at his perile wold stond to withoute the speciall licence of the seid Richard, withoute that that the seid Richard made any other covenaunt with the said Nicholas for the seid stokke of CCC[C *li* than wa]s before [agreed] | by the seid Richard. And after the seid endenture soe made and within the seid v yeere specified in the seid bille, the seid Nicholas leved rioutously, wastyng and largely dispendyng grette part of the seid stokke, and over that he came plegge and suerte for dyverse persons in right grete somes. And [after that he] | had soe indaungered hymsilfe, than he made a generall deed of gifte of all the seid goodis he had to oon Piers Pekham as it appereth by the same deed enrolled before the maire of London, by colour wherof the seid Piers claymed to have the seid stokke. And [be]for tha[-10-]ende of [-15-]| Sir Thomas Stalbroke, knyght and alderman of London, made the seid Nicholas to be arrested upon a pleynt of dett of an C *li*, and over that he was endetted by wey of suerte to Sir William Taillour and to Percyvale Serjaunt of London in CCl [-5-] *li*. And the seid Richard,

seyng [the jeopardye and losse he was lyke] | to stond in and have by the seid Nicholas, seid to the same Nicholas, 'I see well that my stokk wasteth and decresseth fast through thy mysgydyng and that th(o)u hast grettly endaungered thy self, wherfore and thou see no bette abowt, I woll have my stokke ayen'. [Then] the [said Nicholas said, 'Then] | am I but utterly undoo and ye sett uppon me, but and ye be my good master I trust in God to overcome al this'. And ferther seid, 'Sir, ye have a kynnesman called John Maydewell with whom I have byn well acqueynted, and of longtyme he servith[2] to geder. And yf ye wold pres[erve your seid stokke, allow] | us both to occupie your seid stokk joyntly and make us up an hoole stokk of DCCC *li* and soe late hym and me joyntly dele togeder with the hoole. I shall not doe therin but by his advise, and I trust in God we shall soe doo that shall be to your wele and owres both'. And the seid Richard, [specially knowing the] | trouth and wysdom of the seid John Maydewell, agreyng to the same, made them up a stokke of DCCC *li* and was contented that they ij togeder shuld jointly occupie the seid stokke of DCCC *li*, takyng for ther labour the iij[de] part of thencrese of the same, and the seid Richard to [have the overplus of the] same | encresse, deducte therof certein costis, by force wherof they occupied the same stokk jointly nygh by the space of a yeer then next folowyng. And this notwithstondyng, the seid Nicholas, allwey purpoesing and imagynyng to desceive the seid Richard, craftely and pryvely [-25-] to Westminster, and conveyed with hym lxviij longe *clothes greyned and ungreyned to the value of CCCClxxvj li or ther* abowte, and a bagge of greyne to the value of xl *li* or ther abowte, lxiiij yerdis of blake velougher to the value of xxx[v] *li* [and also dyverse sommes] | of money by hym receyved of the same stokke by the space of a quarter of a yeer then next before, and theer toke the privelage of the same seintwarie, and ther abood and yett doth. And anon after his comyng thider sent unto London be nyght by his ij sonnes to his wif, theer to [carry away privily all the rest of] | the seid stokk. And then his wif, perceyvyng ther seid entent, seid, 'Allas, what thinkith my husbond and yee to doo? Will ye shame your self and undoo this man that hath put in us this grete truste, and by whom we have had our levyng for long tyme?' And seid, 'Sonnes, I charge you on my [life to take away no more] | goodis, for ye have borne hens to moch, and yf ye doo, I woll goo into the strete and make an opyn crie uppon you that all the world shall knowe your untrew delyng'. Wherfor they then lefte. Bifore which departyng of the seid Nicholas to seintwarie, he for certeyn un[-8- actions of the] | seid John Maidewell, kepte the seid John Maidewell oute of the seid howse and shopp and wold not suffre hym to come in theer, and in the meane tyme conveyed the seid goodis to seintwarie as is beforn expressed. And then the seid John Maidwell, heryng and understandyng [the untrew] | delyng and mysbehavyng of the seid Nicholas, cam to the seid Richard and shewed all this mater unto hym and prayed hym for the salvacion of that was lefte of the seid goodis and stokk to see sume meane for hymsilf in that behalf or els all wold be lost. Wherupon the se[id Richard, seeing the] | jeopardie of losse of this grett goodis which shuld be to his grette losse and undoyng yf noo hasti remedie were purveyed therfor, went to Westminster to the seid Nicholas and entreted hym full lowly to come home and to bring ayen the seid goodis soo conveyed to the seid

[seintwarie. But for] | eny entretyng or prayer he wold in no wise therto agree of less then the seid Richard wold take to hym and to the seid John Maydewell an C *li* of redy money to the seid stokke of DCCC *li* and then by endenture to graunte and delyvere the seid hoole stokk of DCCCC [*li* to the use of the seid] | Nicholas and John Maidwell to have and occupie the same from the seid xxiiij day of Aprile this presente yere unto thende and terme of xij yeeres then next ensuying, yeldyng therof yeerly to the seid Richard a juste accompte, takyng for ther labour the oon half of thencrece [of the seid stokke, the] | seid Richard the other half of the same encreese, certeyn costis of the part of the seid Richard deducte, that is to saye iij^{s} iiij^{d} every week duryng the seid yeris for the expensis in howsehold of the seid Nicholas and John Maydwell for them and ther servauntes. And the seid Richard, seyng [he could in no wyse] | bring and geet the seid Nicholas and his seid goodis oute of the seid seyntwarie, and considryng in his mynd his greet jepardie of losse of the seid goodis, which was like to be his grete undoyng, and also remembryng all thuntrewe delyng of the seid Nicholas, was fayn of veraye necessite to [-16- . And] | therupon the seid endenturs beryng date the seid xxiiij day of Aprile weer made up accordyng, and the seid Richard West delyvered to them C *li* [redy] money by the handes of John Clerke to make up the seid stokke of DCCCC *li*. And therupon the seid [Nicholas] sent all [of the seid] | *goodis by hym soe bifore conveyed to seintwarie as is before seid* to the seid shopp to London, and his seid sonnes came thider and tooke upon them the rule therof for the part of the seid Nicholas, and the seid Nicholas taried stille himsilfe in seintwarie and wold in [no wyse come forth] | to the seid appoyntement. And the seid Richard, seyng and also perceyvyng all this by the demeanyng forseid that the seid Nicholas ment untruly and ferther to diceyve the seid Richard (as) [be]fore,[3] feryng also the greete jeopardie he stood in than, and also for the suerte of the seid | stokke, withoute eny advise of lerned counsell affermed the seyd pleynt of M *li* to thentent his seid stokk myght be put in saufgard and suerte, and no more to be enbesiled or conveyed to eny seyntwaries plaies. Wherin he trustith to God, all the premisses discretly | considred and understond, he hath neither offended reason nor good conscience; and ferthermore he seith he is redy to doo herin at all tymes as good conscience requireth. Withoute that that the seid Richard West fraudelently and subtilly entended to defraude the seid | Nicholas of the occupacion of the seid first stokke, and withoute that the seid Richard West first labowred or named the seid John Maidewell to be partyngfelow with the seid Nicholas in the occupacion of byyng and sellyng with the seid stokk, and withoute that the said | Richard West and John Maidwell weer confedered and of covyn to utterly to undoo the seid Nicholas Mille, and withoute that the seid goodis attached by the seid pleynt weer of such value as the seid Nicholas in his seid bill hath surmitted. All which maters the | seid Richard West is redy to prove as to this court shall be though(t) convenient, and prayeth to be dismissed with his resonable costis and damages for his wrongfull vexacion in this behalfe.

[1] Many letters are slightly visible, suggesting *osicch* or *osuch* (long *s*). Clearly Richard West claims that he owes no penyworth or

paid every penyworth of money.

[2] Obscure; perhaps *suith*, i.e. sueth, begs to be employed.

[3] Faded; perhaps *sore*.

[5.c] PRO C.1/59/167

This is the replicacion of Nicholas Mille to the answere of Richard West, taillour

Furst he saith that the mater conteigned in the said answere is not sufficiaunt in the lawe ne in conscience to be replied unto. And where the said Richard West saith that uppon certeyn communicacion hadde bitwene them that the said Nicholas shulde be servaunt unto the said Richard and dwelle in an hous of the said Richard and to have of hym a stokke of merchaundise and to serve hym truely by fete of merchaundise and that to utter and occupie in the said hous, therto the said Nicholas saith that it was never aggreed bitwene hym and the seid Richard that the said Nicholas shulde be servaunt to the said Richard nor to dwelle in a hous of the said Richard, for what tyme the said Richard West delivered to your said besecher the said first stokke of CCClij *li* viij^{s} x^{d} *ob q*^{a} according to the condicions as the said Nicholas hath allegged in his saide supplicacion, the said Nicholas dwellid in an hous in Can(del)wikstrete sette in the parish of Seint Martyn Orgar[1] whiche he fermed of one Richard Wilby now dede, wherein he occupied the said stokke at his owne liberte by the space of xij monethis and more according to the said condicions comprised in his said indenture alleged in his said supplicacion; and aftir that the said Nicholas Mille toke an hous in the parish of Alhalwen the More in London[1] of the said Richard West for termes of yeres by dede indentid, yelding to the said Richard West by the yere as moche as any other man wold yeve therfore, that is to wete, iij *li* xvj^{d}. And so after the takyng of the said place the said Nicholas remevid thider and ther dwellid and occupied his said stokke. And notwithstonding the said Richard West than dwellyng in the said parish of Alhalwen, the said Nicholas was taken and reputed as neighburgh of the said Richard, and the said Nicholas was there at lotte and scotte and was in questis aswell of the wardemote as in other,[2] and over that chirchewarden in the said parissh, and also yave bordyng--that is to say mete and drynke--to oone of the parissh clerkis of the said parish chirche oone day in every weke, without that that the said Nicholas was servaunt to the said Richard West or dwellid in any hous of the said Richard West in any other fourme than the said Nicholas hath bifore rehersid. And wheras the said Richard West saith that it is not comprised in the said indentures that the said Nicholas shulde at the ende of the said terme relivere the same stokke unto the same Richard West or his executours, that he shulde stonde to no jeopardy or aventure therof, the said Nicholas saith that how be it that it is not comprised in the said indentures, the said Richard West wold not enseale the said indentures but yf the said Nicholas wold leve out of the said indentures the said covenaunt of restitucion of the forsaid stokke at thende of the said terme, and that the said Richard West shulde

bere no jeopardy therof, and also that the said Nicholas shulde promyse of faith and trouthe to the said Richard West, the said terme fynisshed, to yelde unto the saide Richard West the said hole stok ayen, and that the said Richard shulde bere no jeopardy therof, to thentent that ther shulde no usure be undirstonde in the said bargayn. Also where the said Richard West saith that the said Nicholas lived rioutisly, expendyng and wasting the said stokke, and bycame plegge for diverse people in diverse grete sommes, and so hadde indaungerid hymsilf, and aftir made a dede of yifte to Pers Pekham, by colour of the whiche the said Pers claymed the said stokke; therto your said bisecher saith that he was never riotour nor waster, but lived honestly and warely of his expensis, and ever was reputed and named of honest conversacion and goode gyding, as due prove shalbe made bifore your lordship. And also the said Nicholas bicame no suerte ne endaungerid hymself for no man but for the said Richard West to certein clothmakers in grete sommes for cloth of theym by the said Richard bought, of whiche bondis your said besecher is not yet dischargid, and also for oone Sir Harry Bodrugan, knyght, unto oone Thomas Stalbroke, in a certeyn somme of money, for paiement wherof your said besecher douted to be troubled, wherfore your saide besecher made the saide dede of yift unto the said Pers Pekham, to thentent that the said stokke and alle other godes of the said Nicholas shulde not be attachid ne aminisshed for the dette of the said Harry, but that the said Pers shulde se the said stok savid and hymsilf and alle other men to be paied and content of alle suche duetes as the saide Nicholas oweth unto them. Wherfore at suche tyme as your saide besecher was arrest at the sute of the said Sir Thomas Stalbroke for the duete of the said Sir Herry, he wolde never make no meanes nor labour unto the said Sir Thomas for paiement therof, but abode stille in prison unto the tyme he was dischargid ayenst the said Sir Thomas withoute any peny paying or mynisshing of his said stokke. And what tyme your said besecher was in prison as is bifore reherced, the said Richard West came to the hous of the said Nicholas and there toke away the keyes fro his wyff and his servauntes, and putte in his owne servauntes, and ther bought and solde at their owne liberte and lent dyverse parcelles of whiche the said Nicholas hadde never accompt. And hadde not be the faithfulle and trewe delyng of the said Piers Pekham, the said Richard West wold have taken away alle the goodes of the saide Nicholas, whiche were moche more in valew than the said furst stokke of CCClij *li* viij^{s} x^{d} *ob q*^{a}. Withoute that that the said Nicholas levid rioutesly and was of mysguyding or become plegge or indaungerid hymsilf in any other fourme than he hath before surmitted in his saide replicacion, except for the said Sir Herry Bodrugan unto diverse men of whiche he is dischargid sithen he came to seintwarie. And withoute that that the dede of gifte was made to the said Piers Pekham to any other intent or that the said Piers claymed the said stok in any other wise than is by the said Nicholas before allegged. And whereas the said Richard West saith that the said Nicholas desirid the said Richard West that the said John Maydwell shulde be his partyner and he to delivere to them a stok of CCCC *li* more than the saide Nicholas hadde before, and after the delivere of the same stok the said Nicholas, intending to deceive the said Richard West, went prively to the seyntwarie of Westmynster and conveyed with hym lxviij longe

clothes grayned and ungrayned to the valew of CCCClxxvj *li*, lxviij yerdis of blak velvet to the valew of xxxv *li*, a bagge of grayne to the valewe of xl *li*, and dyverse sommes of money resseyved of the said stokke; therto the said Nicholas your besecher saith that what tyme the said Richard West sawe that he couthe not opteyne to have alle the goodes of the said Nicholas by coloure of his saide stok of CCClij *li* viij^{s} x^{d} *ob q*^{a}, the said Richard West, purposyng and imagening to disceive the said Nicholas, came to the said Nicholas, he than beyng in prison at the sute of the said Sir Thomas Stalbroke, knyght, as is before rehersid, and there desired the saide Nicholas and specyally entretid hym to have the said John Maydwell to be his partyner, and he wolde delyvere to your saide besecher CCCC *li* more, and therupon the saide Nicholas receyvid the said John Maydewell into his hous, and there occupied with the saide Nicholas by the space of xij monethes and more or the said Richard West hadde parfourmed fulle CCCC *li* whiche he promisid, for whiche tyme the saide Nicholas rewarded the saide John Maydwell for his labour at his owne propur coste and charge, as he ought to rewarde his servaunt and not for his partyner. And the meane season the saide John Maydewell ravysshed and defoyled the doughter of the saide Nicholas, for whiche cause the saide Nicholas putte the saide John Maydwell out of his hous, and after that the saide Richard West and one Richard Comber entretid hym to resceive the saide John Maydwell into his hous ayen withoute any more clamour or noyse, and to occupye the saide stok joyntely accordyng to the saide condicions, whiche to do the saide Nicholas utterly refused. Than the saide Richard West desired relivere of the saide stokke of CCCC *li*, whereto the saide Nicholas was aggreable, and delivered to the saide Richard West in contentacion of parcell of the saide CCCC *li* a bagge of grayne to the value of xl *li* or ther aboute and truly intendid to have delivered hym the remenaunt of the saide stokke of CCCC *li*. And forasmoche as the saide Nicholas wolde nought delyvere to the saide Richard West any other clothes but suche as he hadde of hym, the saide Nicholas removed out of his hous lxvij clothes into a warehous whiche the saide Nicholas hired of one John Kempe in the parish of Seint Mighell[1] in the ryall of London, where the saide clothes lay longe after that the saide Nicholas hadde take saintwarie of Westmynster. Whiche lxvij clothes were none of the clothes delivered to hym by the saide Richard West, but the saide Nicholas hadde bought thaym of dyverse clothemakers, that is to say, of John Clerk of Cogsale, Thomas Henley, John Bocher, John Foxe, and Thomas Wyseman. And so after that the saide Nicholas went to a place of his owne at Chikwell in the counte of Essex, entending to have taried there by the space of iij dayes forto have overseyn his werkemen, at whiche tyme the saide Richard West, by covyn hadde bitwene hym and the saide John Maydwell, undirstonding that the said Nicholas was oute of towne, came sodenly into the hous of the said Nicholas, and there bare away alle the clothe and other merchaundises of the said Nicholas with alle his stuffe of householde, and putte out of the saide hous the said Nicholas wyff, his children, and alle his servauntes, at ix of the clok in the nyght, and therupon entred a playnt of dette ayenst the saide Nicholas and the saide John Maydwell joyntely of a M *li*. And whan the said Nicholas hadde understanding that his saide goodes were borne away and that he hadde no goodis sufficient to helpe hymsilfe,

considering the saide playnt of a M *li* hanging ayenst hym and the saide John Maydwell, and also because that the saide Nicholas was not oonly endettyd for clothes whiche he hadde bought for hym silfe, but also for suche bondes as he hath made for the saide Richard West and for the saide Sir Herry Bodrugan, for whom he is sith discharged ayenst al maner persones as is aforesaide, for fere of imprisonment went to the said seintwarie. And after that the saide Nicholas sent for the said lxvij clothes to Westmynster to thentent that he wolde selle thaym and with the mony therof comyng content his creditours their duetes. Without that that the saide Nicholas desired the said Richard West that the saide John Maydwell shulde be his partyner, and without that that the said Nicholas entended to deceyve the saide Richard West or toke the privelage of the saintwarie aforsaide unto the tyme that the saide Richard West hadde borne away alle his goodes as is before rehersid, and without that that the saide Nicholas hadde conveied any goodes to Westmynster before the saide playnte of a M *li* affermed ayenst hym and the saide John Maydwell, or any more goodes than the saide lxvij clothes, except a bagge of grayne and vj yerdis of velvet. And whereas the saide Richard West hath surmytted in his saide answere that he, seyng the grete losse and jeopardye whiche he was in, came to Westmynster and entreted the saide Nicholas to come and brynge ayen the saide goodes so conveyed to Westmynster, and therto the saide Nicholas wolde never agree unto the tyme the saide Richard West hadde graunted for to delivere unto the saide Nicholas and the saide John Maydwell a C *li* in redy money and then by endenture to graunte the saide hole stok of DCCCC *li* unto the saide Nicholas and John Maydwell in the maner and fourme as the saide Richard West hath allegged in his saide answere, and therupon delivered a C *li* in redy money, and notwithstonding this the said Nicholas bode stille in seintwarie and wolde not come oute, and therupon the saide Richard West conceivid the grete jeopardie that he stode in before and the untrue deling and demeing of the saide Nicholas, affermed the saide playnte of a M *li* to thentent that his stokke myght be surete and not enbasiled; therto the saide Nicholas saith that the said Richard West came to Westmynster to the saide Nicholas and hym entreted to come home ayen and he wolde relivere alle suche goodes as he hadde borne away oute of the hous of the said Nicholas condicionaly that he wolde take the saide John Maydwell to be his partyner, whiche the said Nicholas refused; notwithstonding, by the meanes of the said John Clerke of Cogsale the said Nicholas graunted condicionally that the saide John Maydewell shulde wedde the doughter of the saide Nicholas whiche he hadde defoyled, to the whiche desire the said John Maydwell aggreed and graunted and therto made faith and promyse in the chapiter hous of Westmynster aswell to the saide Nicholas and his wyff as to the saide Richard West, John Clerke, Richard Comber, and Thomas Vocatour. And so, uppon the saide communicacion, the said Richard West delivered to the saide Nicholas by the handes of the saide John Clerke an obligacioun of a C *li* and not a C *li* of money, in whiche obligacioun oone John Trewe, dyer of Cogsale, was bounde unto the said Richard West, and the same obligacion is not yet paieable unto Cristemes shall come xij monethes. Uppon whiche obligacion the saide Richard West made unto the saide Nicholas a letter of attourney to recovere the saide C *li*. And than, after the same aggrement and faith and promyse made by the saide John

Maydwell, there was made a paire of endentures of that that the said Richard West hadde delivered to the saide Nicholas and John Maydwell DCCCC *li*, whiche DCCCC *li* the saide Nicholas and John shulde have and occupye and therwith bye and selle joyntely duryng the terme of xij yeres in maner and fourme as the saide Nicholas declarith in his saide supplicacion, and at thende of the saide terme of xij yere to make relivere ayen of the hole stokke as it aperith by the same endentures sealid by the saide Richard West whiche the saide Nicholas your besecher hath redy to shewe. And than therupon the saide Nicholas sende home ayen alle the saide clothes and the saide Richard West brought ayen suche goodis as he bare away, and so according to the saide covenauntes the saide Nicholas receivid the saide John Maydwell into his hous and suffrid hym to have the demenyng and guyding of the saide goodes, and the saide Nicholas putte never his sones to tak reule of the shoppe, but the saide Nicholas putte alle his faith and credence in the same John Maydwell, and chargid his sonnes to be to hym as subgettis and servauntes as they were. And alle suche money as was received for clothe and other merchaundises fro Ester hiderto to the valew of CC *marce* or ther aboutes the saide John Maydwell by the consente and wille of the saide Nicholas alwey resceivid and a L *li* or ther aboutes of the dettours of the saide Nicholas. And by covyn hadde bitwene the said Richard West and the said John Maydwell, the said John kept alle the saide money with the whiche the saide Nicholas entendid to have payde his dettis. And over that, after the saide newe endentures sealed and the olde endentures were cancelled, the saide Richard West entred anoder playnt of a M *li* ayenst your saide besecher and the said John Maydwell by collusion hadde bitwene hym and the saide Richard West, in maner and fourme as your saide pouer oratoure hath allegged in his saide supplicacion. In prove of whiche collusion, your saide pore besecher saith that the saide Richard West, sithen the saide playnte affermed, delivered unto the saide John Maydwell a certeyn stokke of merchaundise, with the whiche the saide Richard West hath sent over the see the saide John Maydwell, as due prove shalbe made before your lordship. Al whiche maters and everich of thaym the saide Nicholas is redy to prove as this courte wolle awarde, and praieth that the said Richard may be compellid to relivere all the saide goodis to the saide Nicholas ageyn, or to yelde hym goodis in like valew.

[1] Candelwickstreet is now Cannon Street; the other sites are nearby. See Henry A. Harben, *A Dictionary of London* (London, 1918), under Cannon Street, Martin (St.) Orgar, All Hallows the Great, Michael (St.).

[2] Mille is arguing that he is a full and responsible citizen who has paid taxes, served on judicial inquiries, and so forth.

[5.d] PRO C.1/59/168

[The right-hand portion of this document has been torn away; much of the remainder is legible only under ultraviolet light.]

This is the rejoyndre of Richar<d West>
to the replicacion of Nicholas <Mille>

The seid Richard seith that the seid replicacion is uncertein and insui
dyses, moneis, and conveyaunces of new affirmatyfly allegged by the se<
[by] colour and maynteigne with hys seid bille of compleyntis and not <
West by hym therin allegged, the same Richard is redy to prove as <
resonable costis and damages for his wrongful vexacion in this be<

[6] 1479-80. Eton College Archives, Audit Roll 1479-80, m.5, at *Custus scolarium*. Wasey Sterry, *Times* (15 April 1936), 11.

Payment to the widow of William Bemond, doubtless of Eton, for taking care of Henry Medwall during an illness: cf. no.1. This was Medwall's final year at Eton.

Et in denariis solutis uxori nuper Willelmi Bemond pro communibus Henrici Medwall infirmi per iij septimanas et Radulphi Sharp per ij septimanas: iij^{s} iiij^{d}.

[And in money paid to the wife of the late William Bemond for the commons of Henry Medwall, sick for three weeks, and of Ralph Sharp, sick for two weeks: 3^{s} 4^{d}.]

[7] 8 June 1480 to 13 June 1483; also, scattered entries to 2 February 1495. King's College Cambridge, Muniments, *Liber Communarum*.

Emden, *B.R.U.C.*, consulted not the original but a nineteenth-century manuscript extract called "Clark's Year Lists", also among the muniments. Surviving *Libri Communarum*, or Commons' Accounts, have been bound together into a series of numbered volumes. The accounts are not foliated, but arranged by term and week. In the extracts below, M = Michaelmas term, ND = Christmas, P = Easter, and JB = John the Baptist (24 June).

[7.a] LC (6.1) JB+2 to LC (7.1) P+10

(Henry) Medwall's name (also spelled Medewall, Medewalle) appears in weekly lists of *Scolares* from 8 July 1480 to 13 June 1483, initially as the last of fourteen names, finally (during the last two weeks) as the first. Medwall seems to have been present throughout with two exceptions: for 21-29 April 1482 he is set down for half commons; 3-9 July 1482, for nil commons.

[7.b] LC (6.1) JB+2 to LC (7.1) P+10

(Henry) Medwall's name (also spelled Medewalle) appears regularly (but with occasional absences) during the entire period of his

scholarship (see no.7.a) in weekly lists headed *In cisacione*, that is, "For assizes". weekly charges over and above the regular commons allowance. Medwall's charges run from nil or one farthing per week to a maximum of 4^{d}.

[7.c]

Medwall's name, variously spelled, appears occasionally under *Allocandum per Collegium* (henceforth *Coll.*), i.e. "Money spent by the College"; or *Allocandum pro Extraneis* (henceforth *Ex.*), i.e. "Money spent on Non-members". Prior to 8 July 1480 and after 13 June 1483, Medwall appears as a guest, of either the college or a member of the college. During the period of his scholarship he is named as a sponsor of guests.

1. 8-9 June 1480. LC (6.1) P+9 *Coll.*

Item unus scolaris Etone in prandio cum scolaribus et in cena per ij dies: iiij^{d}.

[Item, one scholar of Eton, for dinner with the scholars and supper, for two days: 4^{d}.]

Like other scholars entering at various times during the year, Medwall was brought from Eton and treated as a guest of the college until he was officially enrolled at King's. As a young prospective scholar he dined with the scholars; more distinguished guests dined with the fellows.

2. 10-16 June 1480. LC (6.1) P+10 *Coll.*

Item Medwall scolaris Etone per totam septimanam: xiiij^{d}.

[Item, Medwall, scholar of Eton, for the entire week: 14^{d}.]

3. 17-23 June 1480. LC (6.1) P+11 *Coll.*

Item Medewall per totam septimanam: xiiij^{d}.

4. 6 December 1481 (feast of St Nicholas). LC (6.2) M+9 *Ex.*

Et in prandio cum scolaribus unus per Medewall: ij^{d}.

[And for dinner with the scholars, one (guest) at the instance of Medwall: 2^{d}.]

5. 7 July 1482. LC (6.2) JB+2 *Ex.*

Die Dominica in prandio cum sociis unus ex induccione Medewall: iij^{d}.

[On Sunday for dinner with the fellows, one introduced (as a guest) by Medwall: 3^{d}.]

In this case Medwall's guest ate with the fellows rather than with Medwall and his fellow scholars.

6. 15 August 1482 (feast of the Assumption). LC (6.2) JB+7 *Ex.*

Et cum scolaribus unus per Bowes, Philpot, et Medewall: j^{d} ob.

[And with the scholars, one (guest) of Bowes, Philpot, and Medwall: 1½^{d}.]

Bowes and Philpot were fellow scholars.

7. 6 October 1482. LC (7.1) M+1 *Ex.*

Die Dominica in prandio cum sociis unus per Medwall: ij^{d}.

8. 2 February 1483 (feast of the Purification). LC (7.1) ND+6 *Ex.*

Die Dominica in prandio cum sociis unus per Goldyng et alius per Medewall: viij^{d}.

9. 14 May 1483. LC (7.1) P+6 *Ex.*

Die Mercurij in prandio cum sociis unus per Medewall: ij^{d}.

10. 18 May 1483 (Whit Sunday). LC (7.1) P+7 *Ex.*

Die Dominica in prandio cum sociis . . . Et alius cum scolaribus per Medewall: j^{d}.

11. 10, 15 August (feast of the Assumption) 1483. LC (7.1) JB+7 *Ex.*

Die Dominica in prandio cum sociis Medewall per Ricardum Hogekyns: ij^{d}.

Die Veneris in prandio cum sociis . . . Et Medewall per Gundys: iiij^{d}.

These were Medwall's first visits as a guest after his departure on 13 June 1483. Hogekyns and Gundys were fellows. Also present on the 15th were servants of John Morton and Oliver Kyng.

12. 27 December 1483 (feast of St John the Evangelist). LC (7.2) ND+1 *Ex.*

Eodem die in cena cum sociis Medewalle per Newton: ij^{d}.

13. 4 April 1484 (Passion Sunday). LC (7.2) ND+15 *Ex.*

Die Dominica in prandio cum sociis Medewall per magistrum Pedefer: ij^{d}.

Pedefer was a senior fellow: see Emden, *B.R.U.C.*, Pettifer, Richard.

14. 9 May 1484 (feast of the Translation of St Nicholas). LC (7.1) P+3 *Coll.*

Die Dominica festo Sancti Nicholai in prandio cum magistro Prepositore magister Oliverus Kyng: viiij^{d}. Et Johannes Abell: iiij^{d}.

Item cum sociis magister Ednam, magister Combe, Simon Clerk, magister Fyn, magister Furneyce, famulus Johannis Abell, iij bedelli, Willelmus Wright, iiij^{or} famuli magistri Oliveri Kyng, Johannes Medewall, et famulus magistri Fyn: v^{s} iiij^{d}.

Note the presence of John Medwall and of Henry as well - see next entry - among a very distinguished and politically significant group of scholars. See Emden, *B.R.U.C.* and *B.R.U.O.*, for biographies of Kyng, Abell, Ednam, Combe, Fyn, and Furneyce.

15. 9 (same day as previous entry) and 12 May 1484. LC (7.2) P+3 *Ex.*

Die Dominica . . . In cena Medewall per Newton: ij^{d}.

Die Mercurij in cena cum sociis Medewall per Ricardum Hogekyns: ij^{d}.

16. 5 August 1484. LC (7.2) JB+6 *Ex.*

Die Jovis in cena cum sociis Medewall per magistrum Goldynge: ij^{d}.

17. 24 August 1484. LC (7.2) JB+9 *Ex.*

Die Martis in cena cum sociis Medewall per Harris: ij^{d}.

18. 5, 6 December 1484 (eve and feast of St Nicholas). LC (7.3) M+10 *Coll.*

Die Dominica in cena cum sociis . . . Medewall: (2^{d}).

Die Lune in prandio . . . Medewall . . . et tres mimi: (4^{d} each).

Eodem die in cena cum sociis . . . Medewall: (2^{d})

19. 6 January 1485 (Epiphany). LC (7.3) ND+1 *Coll.*

Et Medewall in prandio cum sociis: iiij^{d}.

20. 14 January 1485. LC (7.3) ND+2 *Coll.*

Die Veneris in prandio cum sociis . . . Medewall: (2^{d}).

21. 27 January 1485. LC (7.3) ND+4 *Coll.*

Eodem die in cena cum sociis Willelmus Wolward et Medewall: iiij^{d}.

22. 2 February 1485 (feast of the Purification). LC (7.3) ND+5 *Coll.*

In cena in die Mercurij . . . Careawey et Medewall: (2^{d} each).

Item Ricardus Smyth cum uxore et Godefridus Charles cum uxore sua cum iij servientibus viij^{d}.

This day was the occasion of a "disguising". Medwall may have been in charge. Women were present. This was apparently Medwall's last visit to the college for a period of over six years.

23. 21 August 1491. LC (9.5) JB+9 *Coll.*

Die Dominica in prandio magister Maydwall . . . et clericus magistri Maydwell: (6^{d}).

Et (pro) vj columbellis pro magistro Maydwall: ($2\frac{1}{2}^{d}$).

Medwall had only recently been awarded a degree - see no.21. Perhaps this explains the gift of the six pigeons.

24. 8 September 1491. LC (9.5) JB+11 *Coll.*

Die Jovis in prandio cum sociis . . . magister Medewall . . . dominus Kyte et duo cantatores: (4^{d} each).

Kyte, a contemporary of Medwall, was in charge of the king's revels in 1511 and 1512: see Emden, *B.R.U.C.*, Kite, John.

25. 15 September 1491. LC (9.5) JB+12 *Coll.*

Die Jovis in prandio cum sociis magister Medewall, magister Morgon, et alius: ix^{d}.

26. 2 February 1495 (feast of the Purification). LC (10.1) ND+6 *Coll.*

In die Dominica in prandio . . . famulus magistri Medwall . . . Nox et tres mimi: (4^{d} each).

Nox was a painter who was associated with college entertainments in 1494-95 and 1495-96: LC (10.1) ND; LC (10.2) ND, ND+1, ND+2, ND+6.

[7.d] LC (9.5) M to ND

(Johannes) Maydwall, also spelled Maydwalle, Maidwall(e), Maydwell(e), Maidwell(e), listed under *Servientes* from 25 September to 31 December 1490; absent from subsequent accounts for the 1490-91 academic year. That this was indeed John Maydwall, i.e. Medwall, is evident from no.8.b.

[8] 1482-83, 1489-90. King's College Cambridge, Muniments, Mundum Books.

[8.a] MB (8.1)

Henricus Medwall(e) listed as scholar for three terms of the 1482-83 academic year, Michaelmas, Christmas, and Easter, the latter for 2^{s} 6^{d} rather than the routine 3^{s} 4^{d}. The reduced amount reflects Medwall's highly unusual departure before the end of term. Medwall is listed second of fourteen and thirteen respectively for the first two terms, first of fourteen for Easter term, and is absent from the

final term's list.

[8.b] MB (8.3)

Johannes Maydwell listed under *Servientes* for all four terms of the 1489-90 academic year, with a remuneration of 6^{s} 8^{d} per term.

[9] August 1482. King's College Cambridge, Muniments, Manuscript Inventory (miscellany) ca. 1452-, fol.74^{r}. Emden, *B.R.U.C.*

Henricus Medwall listed 13th of 24 in an undated and untitled list. By comparison to lists in the *Liber Communarum* (no.7.a) it is clear that this list dates from about 24-30 August 1482: LC (6.2) JB+9.

[10] ? Between 1481 and 1483. Petitions to Chancery. PRO C.1/52/256-8. *E.C.P.*, II.

John Medwall (Medewall) claims, in response to an action of debt, that he discharged his bond to Thomas Sheryngham partly by a direct payment, partly by a payment to John Cave. Sheryngham replies that he did not authorize the payment to Cave, and does not recognize it as discharging the debt to himself.

[10.a] PRO C.1/52/256

To the reverent fader in God the Bisshop of
Lincoln chaunceller of Englond

In the most humble wyse besecheth your good and gracious lordship your poore and contynuall oratour John Medwall tenderly to consider that whereas he of late by his escripte obligatory was bounde unto oon Thomas Sheryngham in the summe of iiij *marce*, payable at a certeyn day in the seid obligacion expressed, wherof anon, after the seid day expired, your seid oratour payed unto the seid <Th>omas xx^{s}, and for the residue of the seid iiij *marce* the seid Thomas willed and speciall(y) desired your seid oratour to pay hit unto oon John Cave, cetezen and bedmaker of London, and than your seid supplyant shuld have delyvere of his seid obligacion. Wherupon of verray trust and confidence that your seid oratour had in the seid Thomas, (he) hath payed and truly contented the seid residue of iiij *marce* to the seid John Cave accordyng to the desire of the seid Thomas, levyng still in his hondes his seid obligacion. And often tymes sythen the seid contentacion of the seid money your seid oratour hath required and desired the seid Thomas to have delyvere of his seid obligacion as right and good conscience requiren. Which to do he utterly hath refused and yet doth. And moreover, of his

grete injury and wrongfull disposicion hath of late commenced an accion of dette afore the kynges justices of his comen benche ayenst your seid oratour of the hole summe of iiij *marce*, there wrongfully intendyng to recover the same of your seid oratour withoute your good and gracious lordship to hym be shewed in this behalve. That it wold therfore please your seid lordship in consideracion of the premisses to graunte unto your seid oratour a writte *sub pena* to be direct to the seid Thomas, commaundyng hym by the same to appere afore the kyng in his chauncery at a certeyn day and under a certeyn peyn by your lordship to be lymyted, there to answer to the premisses, and ferthermore to do and resceyve as shall be juged by your seid lordship accordyng to right and conscience. And this for the love of God and in the wey of charite.

Plegii de premissis: Thomas Harmer de London, yoman
Willelmus Spycer de London, yoman

[Endorsed:] *Coram domino rege in camera sua in crastino ascensionis domini.*

[Case to be heard the day after Ascension day.]

[Second endorsement:] *Dies datus est partibus infrascriptis ad producendum testes ad probandum in materia infracontenta huicmodo usque crastinum sancti Johannis Baptiste.*

[A day is assigned to the parties named herein for producing witnesses with a view to proof in the matter contained within, to wit, the day following the feast of John the Baptist, i.e. June 25.]

1481, 1482, and 1483 all seem to fit the dates implied by the address and the endorsements.

[10.b] PRO C.1/52/257

This is the answere of Thomas Sheryngham unto the bill of John Medewall

The said Thomas saith that the said bill is insufficient to put hym to answere. And moreover (he) saith that he willeth the said John Medewall that if John Cave brought unto the said John Medewall the said escript obligatorie wherinne the same John Medewall was bound inne unto the said Thomas in the said iiij mark, that than upon the delivere of the same escript unto the said John Medewall, the same John to paie unto the said John Cave the said residue of the said iiij mark above the said xx^{s} beforn payed, and ellis no peny therof to paie unto the said John Cave. And the said Thomas saith in dede that the said John Cave never hadde nor [MS: ner] brought the said escript obligatorie unto the said John Medewall. And so if the said John Medewall payd any peney [MS: *altered from* money] of the said residue unto the said John Cave, which the said Thomas knoweth not, the said John Medewall paieth it of his own free will and auctorite, and not be the will and desire of the said Thomas. Withoute [MS: with ouste] that that the said Thomas ever willed or desierid the

said John Medewall to paie the said residue unto the said John Cave in any other forme or maner than he hath beforn allegged. And with(out) that that the said John Medewall paied the said residue or any peny therof unto the said John Cave be the will, desiir, or comaundement of the said Thomas. And moreover, that the said Thomas saith that he desierith not to have any peny of the said Medewall but only the said residue of the said iiij mark, the said xx^{s} wheche is yet owyng unto the said Thomas. All whiche maters the said Thomas is redi to prove as this court will award, and praieth that he may be dismyssid out of this court with his resonable exspensis for his wrongfull vexacion in this behalf.

[10.c] PRO C.1/52/258

This is the replicacion of John Medwall to the ansuer of Thomas Sheryngham

The seid John seith in all thyng as he seid in his seid bill, and that all the mater conteyned in the same bill is gode and true in every poynte. And that the seid Thomas desyred and willed the seid John Medwall to paie unto the seid John Cave the seid resydue of the forseid iiij *marce* withoute eny condicion, and that then he shold have delyverance of the seid oblygacion. Withoute thatte that the seid Thomas willed the seid John Medwall t<h>at if the seid John Cave brought unto the same John Medwall the seid oblygacion that then, uppon the delyvere therof unto the same John Medwall, the seid John Medwall sholde paie unto the seid John Cave the seid residue of the forseid iiij *marce* in maner and fourme as the seid Thomas Sheryngham in his seid ansuer hath allegged. All whiche maters and everyche of theym the seid John Medwall is redy to prove as this court will award hym, and theruppon prayeth as he prayed in his seid bylle.

[11] ? Between 1483 and 1485. Petition to Chancery. PRO C.1/64/458. *E.C.P.*, III.

John Medwall seeks release from a charge of debt and from prison. He accuses Robert Banaster of collusion with Thomas Banaster, his brother, a sheriff of London, to charge Medwall falsely with the theft "with force and armes" of goods and chattels which he ought to have conveyed safely to Banaster from John Grenfeld. John Medwall fears that a London jury will find against him because he does not have the freedom of the city. Cf. C.1/46/227: "A Southwark jury will seldom pass against a Southwark man".

To the right reverent fader in God and my right good and gracious lord the Bysshop of Lincoln and Chaunceller of Englond

Mekely besecheth your good and gracious lordship your poore oratour John Medewall that whereas oon John Grenfeld late had in his possession and kepyng in London dyvers goodes and c<ate>lles of oon Robert Banaster to thuse and behofe of the same Robert, and afterward

the same John Grenefeld, soo beyng therof possessed, required your seid oratour there to take the same goodes and catelles [MS: catellex] with hym and from thens to bryng theym into such places as he myght kepe theym sauf and suerly to thuse and behofe of the seid Robert Banaster. By reason of which request your seid oratour toke the same goodes with hym and theym kept sauf to thuse of the seid Robert Banaster accordyng to the seid requeste made unto hym by the seid John Grenefeld. And hough be it gracious lord that your seid oratour afterward delyvered unto the seid Robert Banaster all the seid goodes and catelles which he had in his kepyng unto thuse of the same Robert as large prove therof can be made, yet soo it is nowe gracious lord that the seid Robert Banaster hath taken a pleynt of trespas before the shirreves of London ayens your seid oratour and therby hath caused hym to be arrested in London and to be kept in prison there by reason of the same surmyttyng untruly by his declaracion made upon the same pleynt that your seid oratour with force and armes shuld have taken awey aswell the seid goodes and catelles which he hath delyvered to the seid Robert Banaster as is above rehersed, as other goodes and catelles which your seid oratour never had in his kepyng and possession, intendyng by the subtill meanes of hymself and of oon Thomas Banaster his brother beyng oon of the sergeauntes of London soo to enbrace a jurry within the seid citee of London wherby that he may have your seid oratour condempned unto hym in the seid accion ayenst all right and good conscience. Wherfore inasmoche as your seid oratour is a man foreyn and noo free man of the seid cite soo that he may not wage his lawe in the seid accion by the custumes of the seid citee for to discharge hym therof in that behalve but nedes therof must abyde a tryall of a jurry of the seid cite with whom your seid oratour is noo thyng acqueynted nor beknowen to his utter undoyng withoute your gracious lordship to hym be shewed in this behalf. Please it therfore your good and gracious lordship the premisses tenderly considered to graunte a writte of *certiorare* [sic] to be direct to the seid shirreves of the seid cite of London commaundyng theym by the same to certifie upon the seid mater afore the kyng in his chauncery at a certeyn day by your lordship to be lymyted there to be ruled and demed as right and good conscience shall require, for the love of God and in the wey of charyte.

[Endorsed:] *Coram domino rege in cancellaria sua in xv^{a} Pasche proxima future.*

[Case to be heard two weeks after Easter (presumably on a Monday).]

[12] ? 12 January 1484; endorsed for 6 February 1484. Petition to Chancery. PRO C.1/66/413. *E.C.P.*, III.

John Medwall, administrator to the late John Multon of the parish of St Margaret in Southwark, former churchwarden, petitions for the recovery of £27 which Multon spent many years before securing tenements for the church, in particular a messuage called "the Hart" (one of the Bankside brothels).

To the right reverent fader in God and his good and gracious lord the Bischop of Lincoln and Chaunceller of Inglond

Mekely besechit your good and gracious lordship your continuall orator John Medewall, administrator of the goodis and catallis that wer of on John Multon, late of the Parich of Sent Margaret in Suthwerk in the Counte of Surr(ey) and in his live on of the cherchewardennys of the same cherch, wich John Multon, in his live, att the instance [MS: instamce], prayer, and request of Rauff Morton, John Browne, William Carpenter, John Hunte, John Sent, Thomas Marten, William Frere, and Hewe Alston, att that tyme parochenys of the same parich, and att the prayer and instance [MS: instamce] of the more part of all other parochenys and inhabitaunce att that tyme dwellyng and inhabitaunt within the seid parich, spendid and paid abowte the reparacion of certeyn tenementes to the seid chirch at that tyme perteynyng, and in ples to diverse personys abowte the recovery of a mese in Suthwerk aforseid callid the Hart, xxvij *li* and more mony to the use and behoff of the parochenys and cherchewardenys aforseid as for the right of the seid cherche and to the use and behoff of the seid cherche, the seid parochenys than promyttyng to the seid John Multon trew payment of the seid xxvij *li* to be hadd by the cherchewardenys of the seid cherche for the tyme beyng, when so ever the seid xxvij *li* wer asked by the seid John Multon, his executors, or administrator. And afterward the seid John Multon, befor that he was paied or content of the seid xxvij *li* or ony percell therof, *died. And often tymys sethen the deth of the seid John Multon* the seid John Medewall as administrator of the goodis and catallis of the seid John Multon hath required Richard Bracy, Thomas Gryme, Richard Colyns, and Robert Trott, now beyng cherchewardens of the same cherch, and diverse other personys wich sethen the deth of the seid John Multon hath ben cherchewardens of the seid cherch, and diverse and many other parochenys of the same parich, to pay and content to the seid John Medewall the seid xxvij *li* so by the seid John Multon of grete confidens and truste that he hadd in and to the seid parochenys of repayment of the seid xxvij *li* acordyng to ther promyssis aforseid, and att ther especiall requeste and prayer for the cause aforseid by the seid John Multon expendid and paied. And the seid Richard Bracy, Thomas Gryme, Richard Colyns, and Robert Trott, now cherchewarden(s) of the cherch aforseid, and the parochenys now of the same pariche beyng, that to doo refusen, and att all tymys have refusid, and yett refusen, agyen all good faith, trought, and consiens. For the seid cherchwardens that now ben have goodis sufficient in ther handis of the parochenys aforseid, growyng of the seid tenement(s), to content and paye the seid xxvij *li* and more. And your seid besecher have no remedy therfor by the course of the comyn lawe. Wherfor, the premissis considerid, that hit wold pleasith your good lordship to directe a writt of *suppena* [sic] to the seid iiij personys that now ben cherchewarden(s), commaundyng them by the same to appere afor the kyng ower soveran lord in his court of chauncery att a certen day by your seid lordship to them to be lemyttid, by the same ther to answer to your seid besecher in and to the premissis, and ther to obey and recayve as the seid court of the chauncery them schall award or deme as trought and consiens

schall require.

Plegii de premissis: Willelmus Langton de Suthwerk in Comitatu Surr', sadeler
Thomas Colt de Suthwerk in Comitatu Surr', taillour

[Endorsed:] *Coram domino rege in cancellaria sua die Veneris, videlicet sexto die Februarij.*

1484 was the only year from 1475 to 1485, the tenure of the bishop of Lincoln as chancellor, in which 6 February fell on a Friday.

[13] 1486, between 6 March and 6 October. Petitions to Chancery. PRO C.1/81/49-50. *E.C.P.*, III.

John Medwall petitions John Morton, bishop of Ely and chancellor, claiming reimbursement from the abbot of Bermondsey. Medwall agreed to keep a mass of Jesus (a votive mass), and to collect rents in London and Southwark, for 10 marks per year; but his costs for repairing properties have run to £30 10^{s} 10½^{d}. The first of two sureties is "Henry Medwall, gentilman". The abbot replies by requesting dismissal of the suit on the grounds that it is a matter for common law and not for the court of Chancery.

[13.a] PRO C.1/81/49

To the right reverend fadre in God Bisshop
of Ely, Chauncellar of Ingland

Shewith unto your good lordship your humble suppliant and dayly oratour John Medwall that wheras the abbot of Barmondsey now beyng bargyned and accovenaunted with your said oratour to kepe a masse of Jhesu bifor Saint Saviour of Barmondsey with other help of men and children at the charge of your said oratour,[1] wherfor the said abbot graunted by mouth to pay unto your said suppliant v *marce* yerly. And sone after that the said abbot covenaunted with your said oratour by mouth to be his rent gaderar yn London and Southwerk, to have ye<r>ly for that occupacion other v *marce* of lawfull money. Wherapon your said oratour keped the said masse at his cost by the space of a yer and di. and vj wekys, and also was his rent gaderar by the space of an hole yer. Morover, at the request of the said abbot your oratour paid for reparacions of his rentes in money the som of xxx *li* x^{s} x^{d} *ob* mor than he receyved for his occupacion of the said masse and the said rent gadering. Wherapon the said abbot discharged your said oratour of the said occupacions, sayyng that he shuld be wele and truly payd of suche money as was due unto him by the said occupacions. Wherapon your said oratour hath often tymes required the said abbot of payment of the said xxx *li* x^{s} x^{d} *ob*, the whiche to doo he utterly refusyd and yet refusyth, ayenst all conscience and

law, to the utter destruccion of your said oratour. In whiche case your said oratour ys without remedy by any course of the comyn law yn so mouche that he (hath) no wrytyng of the said covenauntes, and allso hath at the request of the said abbot payd mor than he receyved as is afor said. And yf your said besechar shuld take any accion ayenst the said abbot for his said duty, the said abbot wuld wage his law that he ought not the said duty unto your said besechar. Wherfor please it your good lordship the premissis tenderly to consider and to graunt a writt *sub pena* to be directed unto the said abbot, commaundyng hym to apper bifor the <king in> his chauncellary, ther to answer to the premissis therin to doo according to law and conscience. And this for <the lo>ve of God and in the way of charite.

Plegii de premissis: Henricus Medwall, gentilman
Willelmus Comiser, gentilman

[Endorsed:] *Coram rege in cancellaria die Sabbati.*

[1] The mass of Jesus was probably a votive mass. Saint Saviour was the name of the monastery; evidently the mass was held at the high altar. Perhaps John Medwall was assisted by the men and boys, who may have formed a choir; alternatively, John Medwall may have been required to assist the men and boys, perhaps in connection with the school. As John Medwall was not a priest, he must have arranged for a genuine priest to conduct the mass.

[13.b] PRO C.81/50

The onswer of the abbot of Barmondsey
to the bill of John Medwall

The seid abbot seith that the seid bill is incerten and insufficient to be onswered unto. And as to or for any dette or dutie supposed to be due by the seid bill, (he) seith that if eny such were due, it is mater determynable by the comen lawe of this realme and not in this court of the chauncery. Wherfore he praith to be dismissed therof out of this court unto the comen lawe, with his resonable costes for his wrongfull vexaccion yn that behalf.

[14] 29 January 1487. Archbishop's Register. Lambeth Palace Library, Register Morton, I, fols. 10^{r-v}. Christopher Harper-Bill, Edition of the Register of John Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury 1486-1500, University of London Ph.D. Thesis, 1977, p.163.

Archbishop Morton's commission to John Medwall, *literatus*, as apparitor (i.e. summoner) in the deanery of the Arches, in London, with the normal powers relating to testamentary business within the city of London, the borough of Southwark, and the suburbs, and with power to cite any persons within the deanery of the Arches to appear before the dean or his deputy in any case, *ex officio*, promoted or

at the instance of parties, which pertains to the ecclesiastical courts and to the archbishop's jurisdiction. COMMON FORM.

[15] 18 August 1489. Ratification of Peace Treaty between England and Portugal. PRO E.30/1696. Transcribed by Thomas Rymer, ed., *Foedera*, 3rd ed. (The Hague, 1739-45), XII. 4.5.

Treaty, with notarial testification by Henry Medwall, clerk, Winchester diocese, witnessed at Windsor Castle by Henry VII and various ecclesiasts and noblemen, including archbishop Morton and the royal secretary Oliver Kyng. Medwall's testification is COMMON FORM, but unlike the testification in no.18, makes no reference to Medwall's employment by the archbishop. Perhaps Medwall was performing here as notary to the chancellor rather than to the archbishop - Morton held both offices. It is also remotely possible that Medwall had not yet joined the archiepiscopal staff, but was serving under Oliver Kyng. Here and elsewhere Medwall states that he is from the Winchester diocese. In Medwall's day, this diocese included Southwark.

[16] 18 August 1489. French Roll. PRO C.76/178, m.3 (19), 2 (20), 1 (21). *Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII*, ed. William Campbell (London, 1873-77), II, p.474. (Campbell gives the date incorrectly as 10 August.)

Enrolled copy of no.15.

[17] 10 April (Easter Saturday) 1490. Archbishop's Register. Lambeth Palace Library, Register Morton, II, fol.139^{v}. Emden, *B.R.U.C.*

Henry Medewall, Winchester diocese, ordained acolyte (the first degree of the priesthood) in the cathedral of Christchurch, Canterbury, by John Morton, archbishop. COMMON FORM. The entry is dated Saturday, 9 April 1490; in fact, 9 April 1490 was Good Friday, and ordinations must have been conducted on Saturday the 10th.

[18] 5 July 1490. Archbishop's Register. Lambeth Palace Library, Register Morton, I, fol.23^{v}. Harper-Bill, Register, p.179. Letter, without Medwall's testification, transcribed in David Wilkins, ed., *Concilia Magnae Britanniae etc.* (London, 1737), III, pp.632-4; translated by Harper-Bill, Register, pp.177-9.

Registered copy of Henry Medwall's notarial testification of

archbishop Morton's letter to the abbot of St Albans accusing the monks of sexual profligacy and despoliation of monastic properties, including a shrine. COMMON FORM. Cf. no.15. For a full discussion of this case, see David Knowles, "The Case of St Albans Abbey in 1490", *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 3 (1952), 144-58.

[19] 18 September 1490. Bishop's Register. Cambridge University Library, Ely Diocesan Records MS EDR G/1/6 (Register Alcock), fol. 229^{r}. Emden, *B.R.U.C.*

Henry Medwall, Winchester diocese, ordained secular (i.e. non-monastic) deacon, by letters dimissory to the title of Bermondsey monastery. Ordination was conducted in Downham Manor Chapel, near Ely, bishop of Ely John Alcock presiding. COMMON FORM. Presumably Medwall was ordained subdeacon between 10 April (no.17) and 18 September, but the record of this ordination has apparently not survived. As there is no record of his ordination, Medwall may not subsequently have advanced to the full priesthood, and therefore may never have held the power to conduct mass. The letters dimissory technically imply that Medwall held a benefice within the jurisdiction of the monastery of Bermondsey; however, such letters had become a formality, and may imply a more distant connection with the sponsoring institution. Cf. no.13.

[20] 22 February 1491 to 8 November 1499. Significations of excommunication, with endorsements. PRO C.85/23/20, 22, 29, 30, 32, 34, 39, 44, 45, 46A, 46B, 47, 48. Harper-Bill, Register, p.125.

Thirteen significations of excommunication (out of a total of 55 from 1486 to 1502) personally endorsed by H.M., with a notarial knot. Differences between the two types of knot, in spite of apparent similarities, may raise questions about the identity of the notary; however, comparisons of letter forms in the initials suggest that they are all Henry Medwall's device. Apparently he first used the angular knot (20), then the rounded (20-32), then the angular (34-48). Francis Donald Logan, *Excommunication and the Secular Arm in Medieval England* (Toronto, 1968), p.85, n.74, suggests that the H.M. endorsements are by Henry Mompeson; the dates fit Medwall's tenure perfectly, however, and do not fit Mompeson's: see Emden, *B.R.U.O.*, Mompesson, Henry.

The significations themselves are COMMON FORM, and of no particular interest except for 46A and 46B, which are for John Goldyng, almost certainly the King's College Fellow named in nos. 7.c.8, 15. Goldyng was responsible for the production of Christmas plays at King's in 1482: see *The Plays of Henry Medwall*, ed. Nelson, Introduction. See also Emden, *B.R.U.C.*, Goldyng, John.

[21] 1491. Cambridge University Archives, Grace Book B, p.36. Transcribed in *Grace Book B, Part 1, Containing the Proctors' Accounts and Other Records of the University of Cambridge for the Years 1488-1511*, ed. Mary Bateson, Cambridge Antiquarian Society, Luard Memorial Series, 2 (Cambridge, 1903), pp.31-2.

Grace, or waiver of statutory requirements, granting Henry Medwall a degree in civil law.

Conceditur Henrico Medwall ut forma iij annorum in artibus et studium iiij annorum in jure civili stent sibi pro completa forma ad intrandum in eodem jure.

[Granted to Henry Medwall that the course of three years' duration in Arts and the study of four years in Civil Law be reckoned to him as the completed course for proceeding to the degree in the same (i.e. Civil, not Canon) Law.]

On 18 September 1490 Medwall was untitled (no.19), but on 21 August 1491 he was called *magister* (no.7.c.23). Medwall's degree was granted not for advanced study within the University, but for equivalent study or practical experience elsewhere. Medwall may have spent two years in Cambridge after vacating his scholarship in 1483 (see nos. 7.c.11-22). Perhaps he remained in Cambridge while Richard held the throne, then moved to London after the accession of Henry VII on 22 August 1485. Medwall's degree may have been awarded in 1491 at the urging of archbishop Morton.

[22] 27 August 1492. Patent Roll. PRO C.66/573, m.12 (9). *C.P.R.* (Henry VII), I, 404.

Presentation of Henry Medwall, clerk, to the church of Balinghem, Thérouanne diocese (pale of Calais), vacant by the death of the last incumbent. Patron, the king. Letters directed to John Morton, archbishop of Canterbury. COMMON FORM. Although the church of Balinghem was in the king's gift, all benefices in the king's gift which yielded £20 or less per year were placed at the disposal of the chancellor; thus it is probable that Medwall owed this living to Morton rather than to Henry VII. Medwall drew an income from this church across the channel, but did not serve in person; rather, he remained at Lambeth Palace.

[23] 28 August 1492. Archbishop's Register. Lambeth Palace Library, Register Morton, II, fol.153^{r}. Arthur W. Reed, *Early Tudor Drama* (London, 1926), p.102.

Master Henry Medewall instituted to Balinghem. COMMON FORM. Institution signified episcopal or archiepiscopal confirmation of a presentation: see no.22.

[24] 17 September 1493. Patent Roll. PRO C.66/575, m.7 (30). *C.P.R.* (Henry VII), I, 448.

Presentation of Henry Medwall, clerk, to Neweton (Suffolk), Norwich diocese, in the king's gift, void by death of previous incumbent William Hill. COMMON FORM. This presentation was not confirmed: see nos.25-26.

[25] 8 March 1494. Patent Roll. PRO C.66/575, m.16 (21). *C.P.R.* (Henry VII), I, 457.

Presentation of Hugh Day, clerk, to Neweton, Norwich diocese, in the king's gift, void by death of previous incumbent William Hill. COMMON FORM. This presentation superseded the presentation to Medwall (no.24).

[26] 18 March 1494. Bishop's Register. Norwich Cathedral Archives, Norfolk Record Office, Central Library, Norwich, REG 7 (Goldwell), Book 12, fol.176^{r}.

Hugh Deye, clerk, in the person of William Aylof, instituted to Neweton. COMMON FORM. This institution confirms the presentation recorded in no.25, and reveals that the presentation of Medwall, recorded in no.24, was not confirmed. William Aylof was Dey's lawyer and represented him at the institution ceremony.

[27] 8 November 1494. Close Roll. PRO C.54/355, m. 12d. *C.C.R.* (Henry VII), no.812.

Harry Medewall, clerk, and Robert Duplage, tailor of London, discharged of an obligation of £47 by John Bracebrigge, draper of London. Memorandum of acknowledgement by Bracebrigge, 13 November 1494.

Scripto irrotulato Bracebrigge

Knowe all men that where Harry Medewall, clerk, and Robert Duplage, taillour of London, were bounde to me John Bracebrigge, draper of London, in an obligacion of xlvii *li* sterlinge, I the seid John Bracebrigge knowlege me to be content and paide of the seid xlvii *li* sterlinge be diverse parcellys, and therof acquite the seid Harry Medewall and Robert Duplage and either of them by this presentes. In witnes wherof I have put to my seale the viij day of November the yere of our Lorde anno M.cccclxxxxiiij and the xth yere of the reigne of King Harry the vijth.

Et memorandum (est) quod predictus Johannes Bracebrigge venit in cancellariam regis apud Westmonasterium terciodecimo die Novembris anno presenti et recognovit scriptum predictum et omnia contenta in eodem in forma predicta.

[Memorandum that the aforesaid John Bracebrigge appeared in the king's chancery at Westminster on the thirteenth day of November in the present year (1494), and acknowledged the above-mentioned writing and everything contained in it in form aforesaid.]

The name of Robert Duplage occurs frequently in *E.C.P.*, II and III. The Bracebrigge family had associations with King's College, Cambridge: see Emden, *B.R.U.C.*, Brassbryge, William; and King's College Muniments, LC (7.2) JB+11. Medwall may have acted as a commercial partner to Duplage, or perhaps merely as a co-signatory.

[28] April 1499. John Heron's Household Accounts, Exchequer. PRO E.101/414/16, fol.107^{v}. Henry Medwall, *Fulgens and Lucres: A Fifteenth-Century Secular Play*, ed. Frederick S. Boas and Arthur W. Reed, (Oxford, 1926), p.xvi.

Sir Henry Medwall and William Arnold indebted to the royal household treasury to the extent of 10 marks. Due Michaelmas (29 September) 1499.

Sir Henri Medewall and William Arnold er bounden in an obligacion to pay at Michell(mas): x *marce*.

As in no.27, Medwall may have been a commercial partner, or merely a co-signatory. The title "Sir" is a translation of the clerical honorific *Dominus*, and does not signify that Medwall had been knighted.

[29] 1 October 1499. John Heron's Household Accounts, Exchequer. PRO E.101/415/3, fol.178^{v}. Boas and Reed, *Fulgens and Lucres*, p.xvi.

Previous obligation continued, then cancelled 30 April 1500.

Sol(utio). Sir Henry Medwall and William Arnold owe by an obligacion: x *marce*. [Cancelled:] *Ultimo die Aprilis anno xv^{o}*.

This is not a new obligation, but a continuation of no.28. Medwall settled this obligation before the death of Morton on 22 October 1500. The date of the original entry, 1 October 1499, is noted on fol.168^{r}.

[30] 1 October 1499. John Heron's Household Accounts, Exchequer. British Library MS Add. 21480, fol.56^{r}. Boas and Reed, *Fulgens and Lucres*, p.xvi.

Fair copy of no.29.

Sol(utio). Sir Henry Medwall and William Arnold owe by obligacion: x *marce*. [Cancelled:] *Ultimo die Aprilis anno xv^{mo}*.

The date of the original entry, 1 October 1499, is recorded on fol.51^{r}.

[31] ? January 1501. Petition to Chancery. PRO C.1/238/2. Previously transcribed by Reed, *Early Tudor Drama*, pp.239-40.

Suit by Thomas (Goldstone), prior of Christchurch Canterbury, for recovery of archiepiscopal documents from Henry Medewall.

To the reverent fader in God the bisshop of Salysbere and chaunceller of Engelond

Mekely besechith your good lordship your contynuel oratour Thomas priour of the Chirche of Criste of Caunterbury, ordynarie of all the spirituell jurisdiccion in the provynce of Caunterbury by reason of the cee of Caunterbury nowe beyng voide by the disseas of the most reverent fader in God John late cardynall and archiepisshop of Caunterbury. That whereas the seid priour and all other his predecessours priours of the seid chirch in the right of the same chirche by all the tyme out of myende have hadde ymmediatly after the disseas of every archiepisshop of Caunterbury, the seid cee so beyng voide, all ordynarie and spirituell jurisdiccion withyn the provynce, and that the seid priour and all his predecessours priours of the seid chirche by all the seid tyme have usid to make, depute, and ordeigne all commissaries, officialles, regestres, scribes, somnours, and all other officers and mynysters concernyng the seid spirituell jurisdiccion: by reason wherof all bokes, regesters, evidences, recordes, escrites, and mynymentes concernyng the seid spirituell jurisdiccion as well beyng in the kepyng of all commissaries and officialles as in the kepyng of all regesters, scribes, or other officers or ministers whatsoever they be concernyng or belongyng to the seid ordynarie and spirituell jurisdiccion, of right belong and perteyne and ought to belonge and apperteyne to the seid priour duryng the tyme of vacacion of the seid cee of Caunterbury. So it is that meny and dyvers bokes, registers, evidences, recordes, escretes, and minymentes concernyng and belongyng to the seid ordynarie and spirituell jurisdiccion byn come to the handes and possession of on Henry Medewall. And oftentymes sithen the disseas of the seid lord cardynall your seid oratour hath required the seid Henry to delyvere unto hym all the seid bokes, registers, evidences, recordes, escretes, and mynymentes, which to do the seid Henry hath alwey refusid and yeit doith refuse.

And forasmoche as the nomber and certeynte of all the seid bokes, registers, evidences, recordes, escretes, and mynymentes be to your seid oratour unknowen, and they be not in eny chiste lokked, bagge or boxe ensealid,[1] your seid oratour is without remedy by the course of the comen lawe. Wherfore that it may please your good lordship the premissis tenderly considred to graunt a writte *sub pena* to be directid to the seid Henry, commaundyng hym by the same to appere before the kyng in his chauncery at a certeyn day and under a certeyn peyn by your lordship to be lymetid, he there to do answer and receyve in the premisses as theruppon shall be considred accordyng to right and good conscience. And this for the love of God and in the wey of cherite.

Plegii de premissis: Edwardus Lichefeld de London, gentilman
Humfrius Gay de eadem, gentilman

[Endorsed:] *Coram domino rege in cancellaria sua in octavis Purificacionis Beate Marie proxime futuris.*

[Case to be heard a week after the feast of the Purification, i.e. on 9 February 1501.]

[1] This phrase is COMMON FORM, and simply means that the plaintiff is unable to specify the precise objects he wants because he has been denied access to them.

[32] 27 February 1501. Patent Roll. PRO C.66/587, m. 22 (5). *C.P.R.* (Henry VII), II, 226.

Letters of protection from arrest, etc., for one year for master Henry Medewall, alias Henry Medwall, clerk. Additional copies to be supplied as needed by the lord chancellor (Henry Dean). By the king himself (*Per ipsum Regem*). COMMON FORM. Presumably the letters of protection were a consequence of the suit in no.31, but the exact connection is not known.

[33] 29 June 1501. Patent Roll. PRO C.66/588, m. 6 (16). *C.P.R.* (Henry VII), II, 236. Transcribed in part by Reed, *Early Tudor Drama*, p.105.

Presentation of John Rothley, bachelor of law, to Balinghem, in the king's gift, void by the voluntary resignation (*per liberam resignacionem*) of Henry Medwall, clerk, last incumbent. Presentation directed to Thomas, prior of Christchurch Canterbury, the see being vacant. COMMON FORM.

[34] 26 July 1501. Archbishop's Register. Lambeth Palace Library, Register Morton [and Dean], II, fol.169^{r}. Reed, *Early Tudor Drama*, p.103.

Institution of master John Rotheley to Balinghem, void by the voluntary resignation of Henry Medwall, chaplain, last incumbent. COMMON FORM. Dated four days after the translation of Henry Dean to the archbishopric on 22 July. This is the last document from which we may be certain that Medwall was still living. It is the first document which refers to Medwall as chaplain. Apparently no will or inquisition post mortem survives by means of which the date of Medwall's death can be established.

[35] ? 1512. Title page of *Fulgens and Lucres* (London: John Rastell, no date).

Here is conteyned a godely interlude of Fulgens cenatoure of Rome, Lucres his doughter, Gayus Flaminius, and Publius Cornelius, of the Disputacyon of Noblenes, and is devyded in two partyes to be played at two tymes. Compyled by mayster Henry Medwall, late chapelayne to the ryght reverent fader in God Johan Morton, cardynall and archebysshop of Caunterbury.

Though Medwall may have died before the publication of this play, "late chapelayne" technically signifies only that he no longer was chaplain to Morton, not that he himself was dead.

[36] 1514. Register of Freemen, London Mercers' Company. Names of All the Freemen of the Company, [from] 22 Edward III [1347], not foliated.

Record of John Medwall's entry into the Mercers' Company.

Anno M v^{C} xiiii.

John Medwall, late apprentice to John Stile, mercer: iij^{s} iiij^{d}.

This John Medwall may have been a son or grandson of Henry Medwall's brother. See also no.37.

[37] 28 November 1520; 21 May 1523. London Mercers' Company, Accounts Book 1453-1527. Previously transcribed by Laetitia Lyell, ed., *Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company, 1453-1527* (Cambridge, 1936), pp.503, 568.

Memorandum concerning the keeping of disorderly houses by members of the Mercers' Company dwelling abroad, with a note that

John Medwall should be warned that he must vacate the English House at Antwerp, of which he is keeper, Easter, 1521. Apparently Medwall did not vacate his post, for he offered a letter of support in 1523.

[37.a] Fol.278^{V}

Moreover, that ye do call byfor you all suche persones of oure said felyshipp as be hostes to Englysshemen, and that ye do commaunde theym that they remeve not from theyre dwellyng places to kepe any ostry in any other place martly as dyvers of theym use to do, to the grete damage of oure said felyshipp. And suche as will not obaye your said commaundment, that ye discharge theym of kepyng any more hostry whereas ye may lett theym. *Item* that ye gyve warnyng unto John Medwall, keper of the Inglysshe hous at Andwerp, that he departe oute of the same at Estir next comyng. And that ye do to be provided som other honest person for the same.

This entry continues with general warnings to apprentices not to dwell in private houses, where dwell 'aswell other menes servantes as other evyll disposed persones, and there kepe many misrules . . .'

[37.b] Fol.321^{r}

John Medwall

Moreover at the said Courte a lettre was redd whiche was to opteyn the favour of the Compeny for John Medwall keper of the Inglysshe hous for the contynuaunce of the same, whiche ys referred unto the Synxson marte at the comyng hom of oure shippes.

"Synxson marte" was the Whitsun mart, especially important in Antwerp. In 1523 Whitsunday fell on May 24.

[38] ? 1530. Title page of *Nature* (no place, name, or date; evidently London: William Rastell).

A goodly interlude of Nature compylyd by mayster Henry Medwall, chapelyn to the ryght reverent father in God Johan Morton, somtyme cardynall and archebyshop of Canterbury.

[39] 1559. John Bale, *Scriptorum Illustrium Maioris Brytannie . . . Catalogus*, Part 2 (Basel, 1559), pp.71-2. (Original orthography.)

Henricus Medvval
Ex officinis Lond(ini)

Henricus Medvual, homo perinde illustris atque bonarum artium

noticia clarus, authoritate quadem uel iustissima, nunc saltem exigit in nostrorum scriptorum referri numerum. Erat autem praedicto archiepiscopo, Ioanni Mortono, a sacellis atque consuetudine domestica; et inter alia multa, in uulgari sermone ac poesi docte et eleganter congessit,

De natura, Comoediam, Lib.1. Cunctipotens ille, qui omnem fabricam

Caeterarum eius editionum nihil uidi. Claruit anno salutis humanae 1490, sub rege Henrico septimo.

[*Henry Medwall: From the London (domestic) office.*
Henry Medwall, a man both renowned and famous for his knowledge of the liberal arts, by any judgement even the most exact, now at any rate claims to be included among the number of our (British) writers. He was one of the chaplains to the aforementioned archbishop John Morton and of the domestic kind; and, among many other (works), he compiled, learnedly and elegantly, in vernacular language and verse:

Nature, a comedy, in one volume: "Thalmyghty God that made eche creature".

I have seen nothing of his other publications. He flourished in the year of human salvation 1490, under King Henry VII.]

Bale does not list Medwall in the "Ipswich" edition of 1548. The translated title, *De natura*, is followed by a Latin version of the opening line of the play, restored in the above translation.

[40] 1619. Joannes Pitseus (John Pits), *Relationum Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis: De Illustribus Angliae Scriptoribus, tomus primus*, (Paris, 1619), p.678. (Original orthography.)

De Henrico Medvvallo

Henricus Medvvallus nobilissimis in Anglia parentibus ortus, stemma suum litteris et virtutibus mirifice illustrauit. Erat autem sacerdos saecularis, et Ioanni Mortono Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi a sacellis, eique multum charus ac dilectus. Fecerat sane hunc amorem morum similitudo proborum, et eruditio fere par atque aequalis. Nec dubium est, quin hic noster Medvvallus multas lucubrationes egregias posteris reliquerit, sed pleraque posterorum incuria perijsse videntur. Solum constat adhuc extare quandam eius Poësim vulgari lingua valde eleganter compositam, et postea Latinam factam, cui titulum fecit

Comediam de natura, Librum vnum. Cunctipotens ille qui omnem fabricam.

De alijs nihil habeo certi. Vixit anno partus Virginei 1490, sub Anglorum Rege Henrico Septimo.

[*Concerning Henry Medwall.*
Henry Medwall, born of very noble parents in England, wonderfully illumined his ancestral lineage by his writings and his virtues. He was a secular priest, and one of the chaplains of John Morton, archbishop of Canterbury, and very dear to and beloved by him. A likeness in moral rectitude and a degree of erudition nearly identical

created this love (between them). It is not to be doubted that this our Medwall left many outstanding works to posterity, but the most part seem to have been lost through the carelessness of posterity. There remains at this date only a certain poem composed very elegantly in the native tongue, and afterward translated into Latin, to which he gave the title

The Comedy of Nature, One Volume. Cunctipotens ille qui omnem fabricam.

Concerning the others I have no certain knowledge. He lived in the year 1490 after the Virgin Birth, under the king of the English, Henry VII.]

Pits's reference to a translation of *Nature* into Latin is almost certainly based on a misunderstanding of no.39. Pits evidently had no independent knowledge concerning Medwall, and probably had not seen a volume of *Nature*. There are a number of reminiscences of no. 39 in no.40, and though there is some additional information this could be merely inference.

GLOSSARY

aminisshed diminished
aventure risk
boldisshyng emboldening, encouragement
catallis chattels
certiorari a writ to secure records of a case for inspection by a superior court
confetrid allied together in a conspiracy
covenable suitable
covyn conspiracy
dayes payment on a specified future day, i.e. credit
disseas decease
enbesiled embezzled
enbrace corrupt, persuade by illegal means
feet, fete act (of merchandising)
fermed of rented from
greyne(d) scarlet grain, a dye; dyed
incontinent immediately
jobardy jeopardy, risk
lett hinder, prevent
li pound(s) sterling
limited set, established
lyvere delivery
marce mark(s), two-thirds of a pound
martly by way of business
mese messuage, parcel of land
ob half-pence
of less then unless that
ordynarie one who has jurisdiction in his own right
ought oweth
partyngfelowe business partner
pleynt complaint
promyttyng promising
q^a farthing
relyvere redelivery, return
ryall district
seintwarie sanctuary
sub pena writ commanding the presence of a defendant before a court
tamyng having been entered upon
usure usury
utter expose for trade, i.e. sell
ymaginacion plotting

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

LOUIS-JACQUES BATAILLON of the Collegio San Bonaventura obtained his Doctorate in Law at Paris in 1942 and entered the Dominican Order in 1945. He has been a member of the Leonine Commission for the edition of the works of Thomas Aquinas since 1952 and is well-known for his many studies of sermon literature.

RICHARD BEADLE is Fellow in English at St John's College, Cambridge. He is co-editor, with Peter Meredith, of the forthcoming facsimile of the York Register, and is at present preparing a full edition of the York Plays.

VINCENT GILLESPIE is a Fellow and Tutor in English at St Anne's College, Oxford, and was formerly Lecturer in English at the University of Reading. He is working on a study of the medieval English vernacular tradition of teaching aids for the clergy, and on didactic and devotional verse in general.

JOHN J. MCGAVIN is a graduate of Edinburgh University, and is currently Lecturer in English at Southampton University where he is also completing research on the Chester cycle of mystery plays.

DAVID MILLS, Reader in English Language at the University of Liverpool, has made various contributions to the study of medieval drama, including, in collaboration with Professor R.M. Lumiansky, the EETS edition of *The Chester Mystery Cycle* and facsimile editions of the Bodley and of the Huntington (forthcoming) manuscripts of the cycle. He is co-author of the 'Chaucer' chapter in *The Year's Work in English Studies*. Forthcoming articles include 'The Drama of Religious Ceremonial' (for the Revels 'History of Drama' series) and 'Langland and Bunyan' (in *The Pilgrim's Progress: Critical and Historical Views*).

ALAN NELSON is Associate Professor of English at the University of California, Berkeley, and has published widely in the field of medieval drama, including *The Medieval English Stage* (1974). He is at present working on an edition of the plays of Henry Medwall.

PETER ORTON is a Teaching Fellow in English at the University of Leeds. His current research is into the effects of transmission on Old English poetry.