

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

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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 quatuor 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.
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[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	Condemnacio 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 *Suspensio 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*

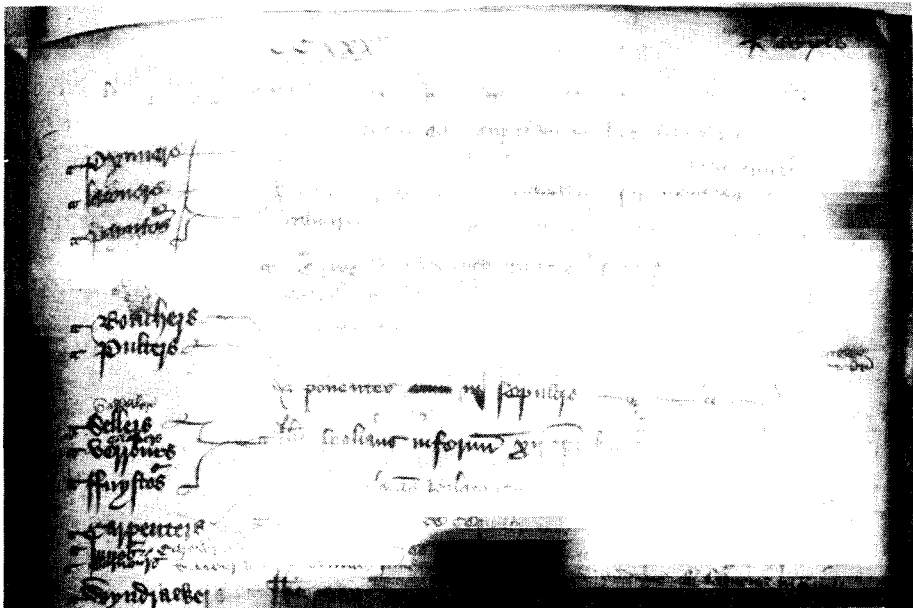
is dated 1415 and that it originated with Roger Burton, the particular entry which refers to the 'Tilemakers', etc. pageant has been totally erased and re-written at a later date. The most likely explanation of the present entry in the *Ordo* is that it reflects the situation after 1422-3 when the amalgamation 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, *iñu*, 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 Saisemakercrafte 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 - Condemnacio christi per pilatum

Turners - flagellacio & coronacio cum spinis
 Bollers
 [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 solutionis 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 predictae & 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 1487¹⁷ 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 & de kayed", 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 towards 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 thyng 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 pageant 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 "towardses their expenses of setting 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 "towardses 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, "towardses chardges of any pageant", suggests the true state of affairs.

There are no further references to the Millers' (*quondam* Tile-makers') 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 *Condemnacio 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 *Condemnacio* 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 *Condemnacio 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

NOTES

- 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 re-writing in many pageant descriptions), a number of important alterations remain un-noted there. I am at the moment working on a detailed re-examination 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 Tile-makers' 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 ϵ 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 Freeman's Roll and appear to be the same as two of those listed; see *Register of the Freeman 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.