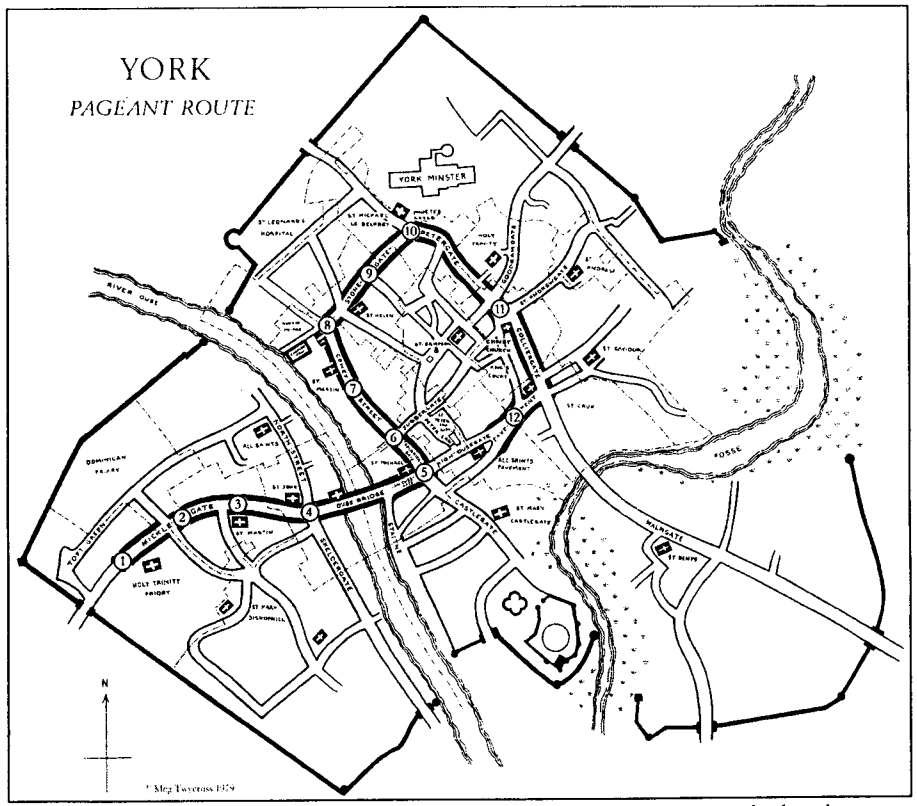

York pageant route – late fourteenth to late sixteenth century. Stations marked as they were rented in 1468. Courtesy Meg Twycross.

Early Theatre 3(2000)

PETER MEREDITH

The City of York and its 'Play of Pageants'

Late fourteenth-century York was a place of significance. One of the new centres of local power and prestige, a self-governing city with responsibility to no one but the king, it was also the seat of the other archbishopric in England, second only to Canterbury in religious dignity. At that time it was also a rich city, home to crafts of most kinds and with a large number of merchants involved in international trade. The river Ouse was navigable for smaller ships up as far as York, making it an inland port within easy reach of Kingston-upon-Hull in the estuary of the Humber and thence to the Netherlands, the Baltic, and the Hanseatic ports.

The cathedral church at York, York Minster, was largely rebuilt during the fourteenth century (only the choir is of the fifteenth). St Mary's Abbey adjoining the city on the northwest was one of the largest Benedictine abbeys in England. All four orders of friars built houses within the city walls, and at their most numerous there were forty parish churches in the city. The city walls were completed in stone in the early part of the fourteenth century and Clifford's Tower and the surrounding walls of the larger castle, north of the river Ouse (which divides the city in two), were rebuilt in stone at the same time. Ouse Bridge was the only bridge joining the two parts of the city until the nineteenth century. As a stone structure, it probably dates from the twelfth century, since some stonework surviving from St William's Chapel, the bridge chapel, is of that date.

By the later fourteenth century the estimated population of York was *c* 15,000, second only to London. The city governed not only itself but also the Ainsty, an area bounded by the rivers Ouse, Wharfe, and Nidd, which was placed under its jurisdiction in 1212. In 1396, under Richard II, the city was given county status. The control of the city was in the hands of the mayor (after 1389, the Lord Mayor) and his aldermen, the Twelve, and the larger councils of the Twenty-four and the Forty-eight – the last not regularly called upon. They met in the council chamber next to St William's Chapel

on Ouse Bridge for normal business, and for larger meetings in the Common Hall, or Guildhall, further up river on the north bank and newly built in stone in the mid-fifteenth century.[1]

Between 1377 and 1569 York was visited by six kings: Richard II, Henry VI, Edward IV, Richard III, Henry VII, and Henry VIII. The city traced its origins to another king, the eponymous Ebrauk, fourth to rule after the foundation of Britain by Brutus, and the reputed builder of York (or Eborac). It was the character of Ebrauk, representing a city nervous because of its support of the defeated Richard III, who met Henry VII at Micklegate Bar on his entry in 1486, greeting him as one of his own descendants and ceding his power to Henry with a request for gracious treatment.[2] It was clearly a city proud of its history and its status and jealous of its privileges. One expression of its awareness of its own prestige was the play performed on Corpus Christi Day (that is, between 21 May and 24 June). It involved a large number of the crafts of the city in its financing and performance, and relied on the mayor and his councils for organization and authority. Though on a religious subject, at no time was it under the control of the ecclesiastical authorities. There are five key dates that establish our understanding of the functioning of the Play: 1377,[3] the first record of any kind; 1399, the first list of the 'stations' (the places in the city streets at which the Play was performed); 1415, the first clear statement of its scope and structure; 1433, the date of the Mercers' indenture that illuminates the nature of the pageant wagon; and 1463–77, the writing of the Register that provides us with almost the complete text of the Play. Perhaps one should add to those 1569, the date of the last performance.[4]

One of the most striking aspects of the York Play, for someone looking at it from a late-twentieth-century perspective, is its longevity, from the very first evidence for the Play that has so far been discovered, 1377, to the last, 1569. But to say that the Play lasted nearly two hundred years is to beg a very important question: was it the same play? It is perhaps best at the outset to acknowledge how incomplete and uncertain much of our knowledge is. I have given 1377 as the date of the very first evidence for the Play. What is this evidence? It comes from one of the earliest of the civic records from York, the A/Y Memorandum Book ('A' for first and 'Y' for York). It is contained in the undated second group of entries in that volume, a list of rents for the city properties administered by the bridgemasters of Ouse Bridge, administered by them not because the properties were near Ouse Bridge (though some of them were) but because they were originally intended to provide revenue for the upkeep of the bridge. It is the last of the complete

and regular entries in that group, though it differs from them in having no named payee. It reads:

De vno ten*emento* in quo Tres pagine Corp*o*ris chr*isti* pon*untur*, p*er annu* ⌈m⌉ ij s[5]

The positive information here is that three 'pageants' connected with the celebration of Corpus Christi existed and that they were placed in or on a 'tenement', with the additional implication perhaps in 'pon*untur*', the present tense, of regular storage and possibly repeated use. We don't know whether the tenement was simply a piece of open ground or whether it was built on, nor do we know what the 'pagine' were. Were they pageant wagons for a Corpus Christi play or pageant *tableaux* for a Corpus Christi procession? Do they mark the beginning (or current existence) of the Play in 1377 or do they indicate the transitional state between procession and play – supposing such a state to have existed?[6] If we jump ten years forward in time to the records of 1387, the settlement of a dispute at that time refers to three pageants ('paginas suas de Corp*o*re Chr*isti*') of the crafts of Skinners, Bakers, and Dyers and to the building of a house ('domus') for storing them ('ad hospitand*um*').[7] In 1424 two of those same crafts paid 2s to the Ouse bridgemasters (the same amount and to the same payees as in 1377) for rent of a pageant house ('p*ro* domo pagine'). Put these together and it may well be that we have three snapshots of the same developing scene. But even if this is so we still do not know whether the 1377 pageants were of the same type as the 1424 ones, that is, pageants of the Play rather than of the procession.[8]

In the present state of our knowledge we simply cannot be sure about the early development. What we can say is that by 1394 there were pageants ordered to 'play' ('ludent') in places 'anciently assigned' ('antiquit*us* assignat*is*') and by 1399 there is a list of those playing places, or 'stations', attached to a complaint of the commons that shows clearly a play of the sort we usually imagine, a series of pageants, in existence. In 1415 the Play is at last fully presented in the *Ordo Paginarum*.

It may not seem to matter whether the Play was created or developed in the 1370s or the 1390s, and simply in terms of length of existence it doesn't matter all that much. But if we are trying to discover why a play of this sort appeared in the first place, those twenty years could matter a lot. My purpose here is, however, to warn against too settled a notion of the beginnings of the Play by establishing uncertainty; to show how easily the accepted view of the Play, particularly in its early stages, could be disturbed by the discovery of just one new record.

A minor instance of this was the re-publishing of a 1388 record three years after the publication of REED *York* in 1979.[9] REED *York* seemed to have established the basic facts from which to derive the early history of the Play. In the 'new' record, a series of depositions for a royal inquiry, it is stated that 'paginas diversas ludor*um* suorum' ('various pageants of their plays' – 'their' referring to 'men of various crafts') were in the hall of the Archbishop's palace, next to the Minster in York. As Alexandra Johnston implies, the association of craft pageants with the Archbishop's Palace is totally new and unexpected. The reference to 'ludor*um*' seems to strengthen the likelihood of a fully formed play in 1388 but why is it plural? Does it refer to something other than the Play? The semantic range of the word 'ludus' is notoriously wide. Once again it is a case of possibilities opening up rather than certainty closing in. What were the pageants doing there? The natural assumption, that the hall was being used as a pageant house to store the wagons, though it remains a possibility, is not necessarily the only or even the most likely explanation. The fact that the case is dated 14 May 1388 and that Corpus Christi Day that year was the 28 May opens up other possibilities. Was the Archbishop's Palace hall being used for rehearsal or as a construction or repair area? Was it temporary safe storage for the time leading up to the day of performance a fortnight later? Clearly this record is not going to cause the major adjustment that the discovery in 1971[10] of the Mercers' indenture of 1433 required of our view of the York pageant wagon, but it does alter one's perception of the activities and sites possibly involved in the Play in its early years.

Whether the time span of the Play was from the late 1370s or the 1390s, it is still a long time – from the reign of Richard II to that of Elizabeth I (with eight reigns more in between). Chaucer was (more or less, depending which date is chosen) in hale and hearty middle age when it started and Shakespeare a small boy when it ended. During the lifetime of the Play many momentous events occurred: the Wars of the Roses, the expansion, decline, and loss of English possessions in France, the advent of printing in England, the Protestant Reformation. England was a very different place when the Play first started from what it was when it ended. York had gone from a prosperous city of about 15,000 inhabitants to a relatively poverty-stricken one of only about 8,000; it had developed as a centre of royal government with the establishment of the Council of the North in 1537 and declined, with the Reformation, in the variety and number of its religious establishments. Time makes social and political changes, it also changes mental attitudes and language, the very stuff of which the Plays are made. For a start the text would have *sounded* different in 1569, though, as has been demonstrated by

a number of recent productions in England, using the original text and a modern pronunciation can still work for an audience – even another four hundred years on. But words and meanings change too. I remember the problem there was in the production at Leeds in 1975 with 'fere' (companion) in *The Creation of Adam and Eve*:

> A female sall þou haue to fere (as a companion) (l.37)[11]

No untrained modern ear is going to hear anything other than 'to fear'. No one bothered to record their reactions to the language of the York Play in Elizabeth's reign but the late Banns – the announcement of the plays – in post-Reformation Chester show an embarrassment with certain words and attitudes.

> Condemn not our matter where gross words you hear,
> Which import at this day small sense or understanding.
> As sometimes 'postie', 'bewtye', 'in good manner' or 'in feare' (*together*)
> With such like, will be uttered in their speeches speaking.
> At [that] time those speeches carried good liking.
> Tho (*then*) [if] at *this* time, you take them spoken at *that* time,
> As well matter as words, then is all well and fine.[12]

This awareness of the old-fashionedness of the language at Chester is matched by an unease about the skill of the writing and performance. Whatever one might think about the relative merits of the two plays, the Banns at Chester do draw attention to what might have been a changed perception of the Play in sixteenth-century York as well – an awareness of the Play as an old and venerable relic of the city's past rather than a vital and relevant living thing, something retained because old. Dean Hutton's remark in 1568 when he was sent a copy of the York Creed Play for his opinion on it, 'I find many things that I much like because of the antiquity', suggests a perhaps similar respect for the age of the Play, even if he was totally opposed to the religious attitudes represented in it.[13] These opinions are all from people on the religious or aesthetic high ground. The Chester Banns, though in a way defending (or at least excusing) the plays, are at the same time patronizing about its audience and performers:

> . . . not possible it is these matters to be contrived
> In such sort and cunning and by such players of price
> As at this day good players and fine wits could devise.
> . . .

> By craftsmen and mean men these pageants are played
> And to commons and countrymen accustomably before. (ll.193–5 and 203–4; cf REED *Chester,* 247)

Hutton, too, is patronizing about the supporters of the Creed Play in York: the Play 'would now also of the ignorant sort be well liked'. But he seems to take its point of view seriously: 'I know the learned will mislike it, and how the state will bear with it, I know not'. So though the plays survive (in Chester until 1575, in York until 1569, though there is no sign of an actual performance of the Creed Play in York after 1535), changed circumstances made them, for some, aesthetically and doctrinally, an embarrassment. And a changing language may sometimes have divorced them from the real world. It is difficult to know how they were perceived by their audiences. Diversely, no doubt, as they always had been; but there is no escaping from the effects of new attitudes of mind, whether they are in origin religious, artistic, or social.

One might have expected, given the radical changes that were taking place in society and religion in the course of the Play's life, that those in control might have responded either by getting rid of the Play altogether or by adapting it to suit changed circumstances. Getting rid of the Play seems not to have been an issue until the moment of its final demise, but smaller changes of various kinds took place for a variety of reasons. To look at this question we need to turn to two civic documents: the *Ordo Paginarum* of 1415 and the text of the Play itself.

The *Ordo Paginarum Ludi Corporis Christi* – as has already been mentioned – fully reveals the nature of the Play for the first time.[14] 'The order of the pageants of the play of Corpus Christi' was entered in the A/Y Memorandum Book in 1415 by the common clerk of the city, Roger Burton, apparently as part of an attempt to co-ordinate all the Play information contained in that volume. The *Ordo* makes it clear for the first time how the Play was organized. It lists every city craft that took part in the Play, and the pageant each one was responsible for, in pageant order, from the Tanners and their pageant of the *Creation and Fall of the Angels* to the Mercers and the *Last Judgement*. The *Ordo,* taking up just over five pages, is followed by the '*pro*clamacio ludi corpor*is* ch*risti*'. This, which is actually a prohibition on carrying weapons and a statement about the duties of performers and organizers of pageants, takes up just under a page and is followed, with no heading, by the so-called 'second list'. The 'second list' is a double-column abbreviation of the *Ordo* and takes up less than a page. A list of torch-bearers, mainly crafts, and the number of torches they carried in the Corpus Christi procession, has been written before the proclamation and after the 'second list', also without a heading.

The *Ordo*, clearly the primary element here, is a formal registering of the content of each pageant and the responsibility of each craft; which is how it comes to reflect change (see fig 1). It now contains fifty-one pageants, but because it was the official list it has been altered from its original form to keep it up to date and most changes in craft responsibility or pageant content are noted in it. This has required not only additions and minor insertions in the text but also at times wholesale rewritings (see fig 2). It reflects all the changes that are known from other sources (the amalgamation of the Tilemakers', Saucemakers', Turners', Hairsters', Bollers', and Millers' pageants into a single Passion pageant, *Christ before Pilate 2: The Judgement,* between 1422 and 1432, for example;[15] the division of the Goldsmiths' pageants, *Herod and the Magi* (both labelled XVI in Beadle) between the Goldsmiths and the Masons in 1432–3;[16] and the taking over from the mayor, etc, by the Hostelers of the pageant of *The Coronation of the Virgin* between 1462 and 1468).[17]

From other records it is possible in one or two instances to discover reasons for change. For the Goldsmiths (1432–3), it was the burden of bringing forth two pageants (or so they claimed) which necessitated handing over one to another craft.[18] The Masons had clearly for some time been unhappy about their pageant of *Fergus,. The Funeral of the Virgin* because (a) it was not scriptural, (b) it produced more noise, laughter, and disorder than devotion, and (c) it was hardly ever performed in daylight. Consequently they happily took on one of the Goldsmiths' pageants and gave up *Fergus*. In the case of the Pinners and Painters, who amalgamated in 1422,[19] three reasons are given: the unwieldy number of pageants in the Play, the ease of combining their two brief pageants, 'the stretching and nailing of Christ on the cross' and 'the raising of the cross on the hill (Calvary)', and the desirability of doing so: 'more conveniently for the people hearing the solemn words (oracul*a*) of the players'. They stress the religious importance of the Play throughout. It is also possible, by comparing the *Ordo* with the 'second list', to see what the 1415 content of the Play actually was. There were then fifty-six or fifty-seven pageants (presumably the number the Pinners and Painters were worried about in 1422), but apart from that, and the changes already mentioned, the responsibility of craft for pageant and the content of the Play is little different.

The second civic document which records change is the official copy of the Play text itself, the Register (now British Library MS Additional 35290).[20] It was written some time between 1463 and 1477 and in it the full texts of the pageants appear in the same order as in the *Ordo* (except for one error and one later addition) and under the heading of the craft names as they do there. There are actually only forty-eight different pageants given in full but

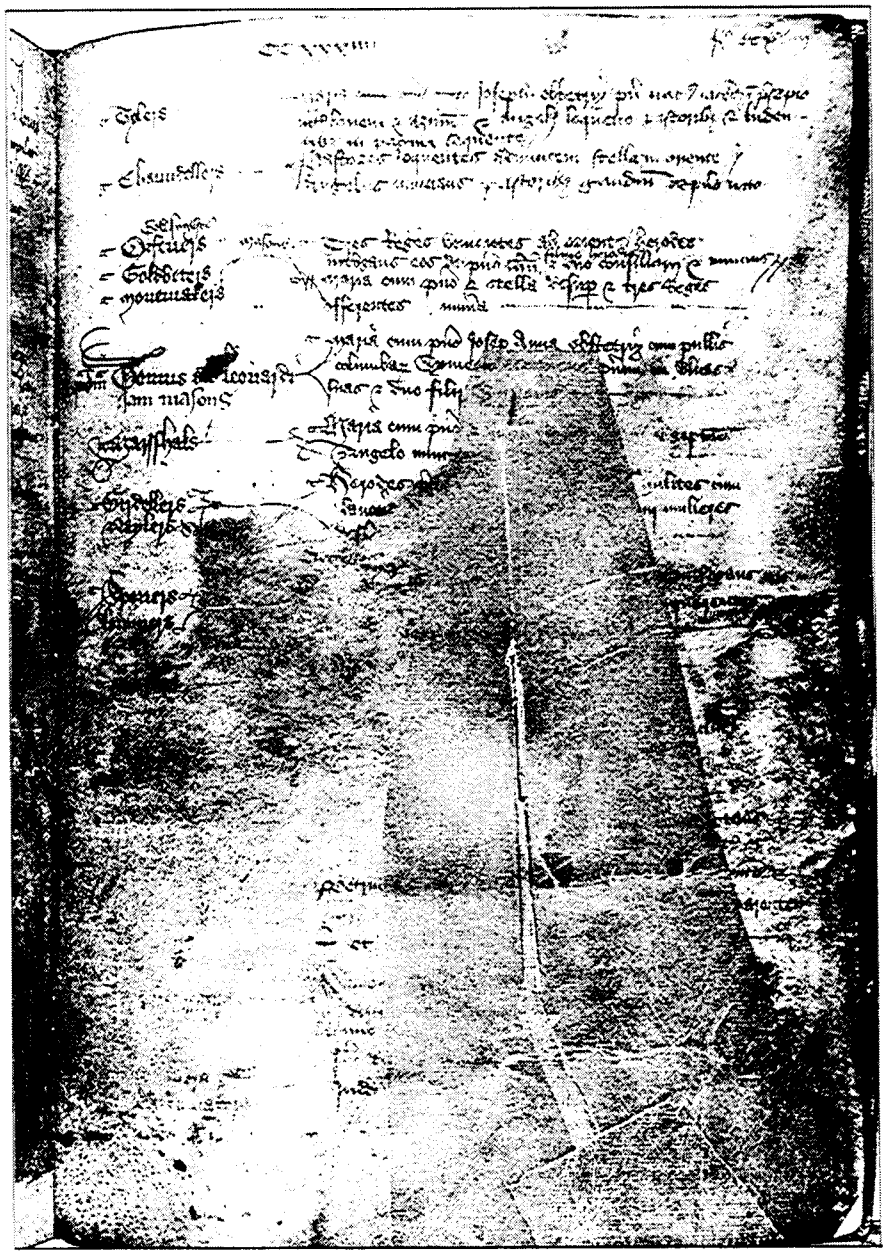

Fig 1. A leaf from the A/Y Memorandum Book (fol.253) showing the additions and alterations made to the craft names and pageant descriptions, and also the serious damage sustained by these leaves over the years.

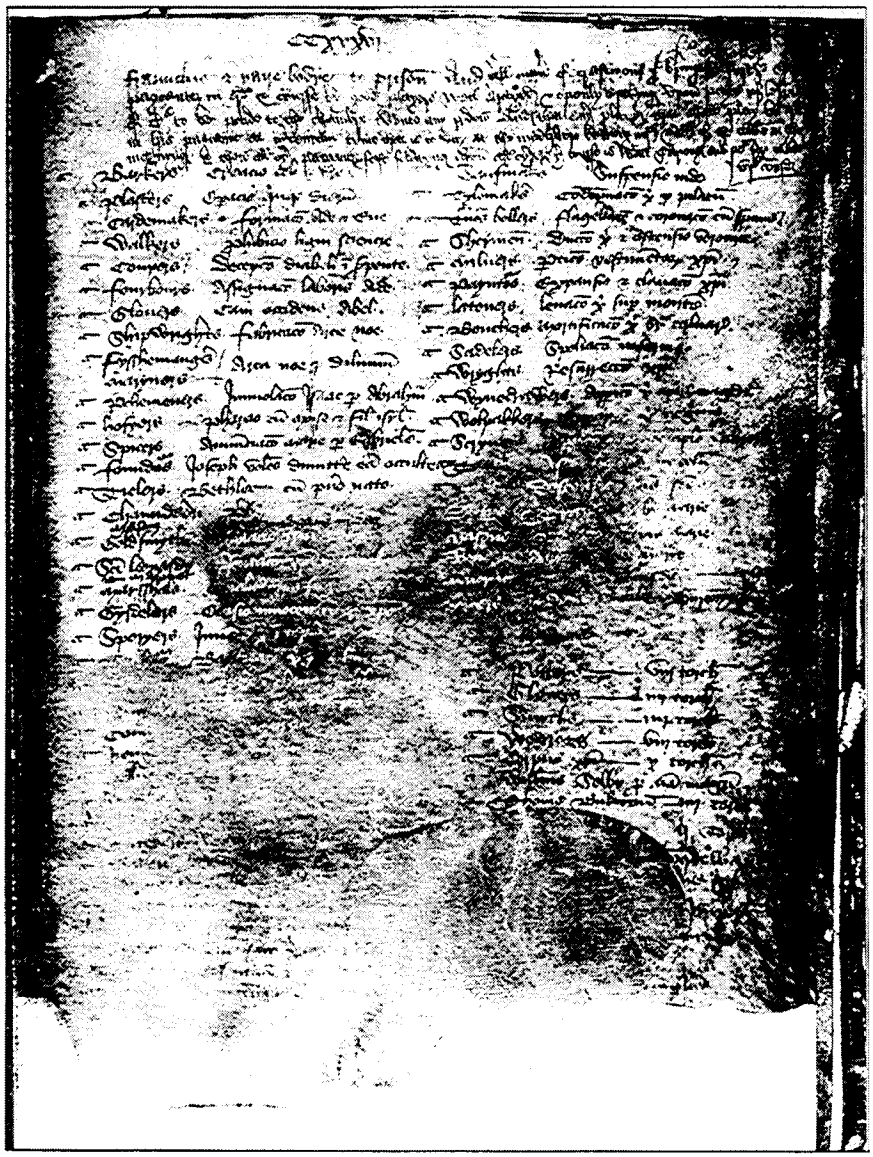

Fig 2. This leaf from the A/Y Memorandum Book (fol.255) again demonstrates the changes made in the Play organization. It has at the head the end of the Proclamation, which is followed by the 'second-list'. In the Proclamation section, only the first half of the first line is in the hand of Roger Burton, and therefore of 1415 or thereabouts; the rest, which among other things establishes the arrival time for the players, is in an early sixteenth-century hand.

space was left specifically for two more and possibly for yet another (*Fergus*, again), making fifty or fifty-one and thus equalling the present number though not exactly the content of the *Ordo*. The Register was apparently taken by the common clerk or his servant to the first station on Corpus Christi Day, presumably for the purpose of continuous or random checking of the texts of the pageants.[21] This purpose is never stated but the fact that the common clerk or his servant was at the first station with the Register, and the existence in the Register of marginal comments relating to changes in the text (some certainly in the hand of one of the servants of the common clerk), make it almost certain, at least for the sixteenth century. Many apparently major changes are hinted at in mid-century, generally in terms of 'something missing here' or 'this has been changed and we have no record of it' but occasionally there are bits of text or stage directions added or corrected. For example in *The Resurrection*, on f 213v '*tunc Angelus cantat Resurgens*' ('Then the angel shall sing: "Resurgens"') is added at the moment when Christ rises from the tomb. Though one might well expect it here, there is no indication in the text of an angel singing except for the cryptic stage direction: '*Tunc Jesu resurgente*'. This is probably not a change but a clarification of the stage action. On f 239 there is certainly an alteration of a stage direction in *The Ascension*, though whether it is a change or a correction, and whether it reflects a doctrinal or a theatrical alteration, it is impossible to say. The interpolated direction reads: '*Tunc cantant angeli gloria in excelsys deo*'; the incipit of the liturgical piece has then been deleted and '*Ascendo ad patrem meum*' added above.

The clearest example of change is the addition of a stanza to *The Creation of Adam and Eve*. The pageant has been entered twice. In the first version the new material has apparently been slowly pieced together from what could be heard at different times:

> Adam here name I the &c And Eve &c
> her name shall be/and be
> thy subgett right (f 7)

By the side of the same lines in the second version of the pageant, the whole stanza appears:

> Adam her make I the
> a man of mykyll myght
> This same shall thy subget be
> and eve her name shall hight (f 9v)

Either the common clerk's servant finally worked it out or he was able to check it with the craft original. Or possibly he asked the actor. Most convincing in terms of someone on the spot recording what he heard is the noting of what is clearly an actor mistaking a cue. This occurs on f 33v. In the right margin (against *Abraham and Isaac*, ll.164–5) there is a cross and the words: 'fader wold god / I shuld be slayne' ('Father, does God want me to be killed?'), later deleted. A little further on in the actual text of the pageant are the words: 'Why fadir, will God þat I be slayne?' (l.189) It must surely record the annotator mistaking the actor's jumping of a cue for an emendation, and it is difficult to see how an error such as this could have arisen except through an observer noting it at the moment of its being spoken and later, when he realized what it was, crossing it out.[22] The changes which result in actual new text are few. By far the commonest are simply indications of absence or alteration: *hic caret*, *caret hic*, *caret*. In other words we don't know what or how extensive the changes to the text were but that they were made, is certain. It should be added that there are occasionally other indications of change. Each of the three pageants of the later life of Mary, for example, has a black cross against the craft name at the head of the page, reflecting the temporary removal of the pageants from the Play recorded in the council minutes of 25 May 1548 in response to the doctrinal changes of the Reformation (REED *York*, 291–2).

Having suggested the uncertainty of the Play's beginnings and the changing nature of its text and performance context, it is perhaps worth summing up what we do 'know' – annotated with a few dates to indicate when there are only hints of the information and when it becomes certain.[23] The Play (1399) is a slightly shifting series of short plays or pageants (1399) performed on Corpus Christi Day (1394) by and at the expense of the crafts of the city (1399), from some time in the 1370s, 1380s, or 1390s until 1569. It should be added that it was apparently always under the control of the mayor (later Lord Mayor) and his brethren, the aldermen, the ruling Twelve, and the Twenty-four of the city, who were responsible for deciding whether a play should be performed (and which play) each year (?1396, ?1483, 1487, 1535, etc), and formally notifying (1405, ?1415) the crafts of a coming performance by means of billets (1396, 1405, ?1415) delivered with some pomp and solemnity to each craft early in Lent each year (?1415). The mayor was also responsible for fixing the stations (1394) at which the pageants would be performed and releasing the city banners so that they could be placed at the stations on the vigil of Corpus Christi Day (1394), for maintaining law and order and ensuring the smooth running of the Play (1415), and later (1476) for organizing general auditions for the Play. The players were expected to be

in their places on Toft Green by half past four on the morning of Corpus Christi Day (?1415).

If the Play grew out of a Corpus Christi procession in which the individual crafts processed, each with a *tableau*, or if the only way to get the Play going in the first place was to give each craft the opportunity to express itself and proclaim its own individuality by funding itself, it is easy to see how the Play took on the form that it did. It is important here to bear in mind the intensity of craft self-awareness. The continuing trouble between the Weavers and Cordwainers about their relative positions in the Corpus Christi procession is a sign of the individual need of crafts to assert their own importance.[24] If you were designing a day-long play from scratch, you might not immediately come up with one divided into fifty-six one-acters of varying lengths, but if you were relying upon a number of jealously separate groups of varying wealth for the financing of the play, you might.[25] Bearing in mind also that there was no preconceived notion of what form a play should take in late-fourteenth-century England, a series of short self-contained 'scenes' is as likely as a continuous narrative. As to mounting the one-acters on wagons and pulling them round the streets, again, why not? There are no theatre buildings to determine the form or the stability of the performance. Continuous performances of biblical stories certainly existed a bit later in England, the N-Town Passion Play is an example (and earlier if the *Ordo Representacionis Ade* was ever performed there[26]), but why should one part of the city have the sole honour of housing the play? This was a Play for the city put on by the individuals of that city, living and working in different parts of it, and it is entirely appropriate that the Play should move around as many of those parts as possible.

The power of craft money has to be balanced against the power of tradition and of civic prestige, of course. Most of the route of the Play was the same as the traditional route of the Corpus Christi procession from Holy Trinity Priory, near Micklegate Bar, across Ouse Bridge, and up to the Minster. Thereafter the procession went west, on to St Leonard's Hospital, and the Play east to the main open space, the Pavement. So much for tradition, which may itself have been a satisfying of civic needs. Individual power existed only in the higher echelons of the city government, not among ordinary craft members. Their power, such as it was, lay in their group financial solidarity. Individual members of the city government, important visitors from outside, or pressure groups within the city may not have determined the route that the Play took but could influence the places at which it stopped. One of the worries that the commons had in 1399 was that the Play was stopping at too many stations. The list that was provided as the official standard, and which was clearly

acceptable, contained twelve places.[27] Two of these were official, the Common Hall Gates for the city and the Minster Gates for the cathedral; six were apparently simply convenient street spaces (mainly street junctions), and four were outside individuals' houses (though by 1399 at least one of the individuals was dead). Were the extra stations the result of pressure from individuals of the ruling group in the city? Or were they a result of individual crafts stopping outside the houses of craft members? Or both? In 1417 the complaint of the commons has shifted a bit.[28] Instead of complaining about too many stations, they were complaining about the preference given to certain sites. This meant that, because they could rely on the Play stopping there annually, some individuals were taking advantage of this to make money by erecting viewing scaffolds outside their premises and charging for the use of them. The proliferation of stations which caused the complaint of 1399, and may have been the result of those with the power to do it creating a station at their own properties, was answered by restriction to playing only at the fixed list of authorized stations. One 1417 solution was to allow those who were prepared to pay most for the privilege, in effect, to bid for the stations. From the station lists (that is the lists of station-holders and the amounts they paid, which appear sporadically from 1454 onwards) it is not always clear that the city elite are taking them. Some look like 'syndicates', some are clearly acting on behalf of others. Perhaps, up to a point, limiting the number of stations and allowing the highest offer (within certain limits of positioning) to determine where the station was, did create a genuinely city-wide and perhaps locality-wide 'auditorium'.

The fragmentation resulting from the demands of financing the Play is paralleled in the treatment of the Bible story elsewhere. In one sense the Bible story is a fragmented narrative anyway. There is a major break between the two Testaments and between the many books which make up the 'library',[29] and many minor ones between the narratives of individual characters within books. But the Bible is more than a narrative; it is also an encyclopædia of God's dealings with his creation. Each episode, each character, each object is potentially detachable as an example of these dealings but, more importantly, being God's words the books contain more than a superficial meaning, and elements in them are linked together outside the narrative by innumerable moral and spiritual parallels. So the potential for re-ordering episodes, characters, and objects outside the surface narrative is immense. A useful, because extreme, example of this treatment is the woman of Sarephta. She is the woman dying of starvation with her son, who comes to gather sticks to make a last meal for the two of them. First, at his request, she makes Elijah food from her last remaining resources, a handful of meal and a little oil, and

thereafter 'the pot of meal wasted not and the cruse of oil was not diminished' (3 Kings 17, 10–16; Douay-Rheims version). It is a story of reward for human kindness and of God's providing for his own, which I remember from Sunday School. In the *Biblia Pauperum*, a pictorial compendium of this typological treatment, however, the woman and Elijah have been detached from their story and re-integrated by juxtaposition with those of Abraham and Isaac and of Christ.[30] Why? Basically because she picked up sticks – in the Vulgate Latin 'ligna' (verse 10) and 'duo ligna' (verse 12). These two sticks (the Latin word originally meant 'firewood') or two pieces of wood suggest the two parts of the Cross, as the *Biblia Pauperum* illustration (and many before it) shows. The other stories have at first sight nothing to do with the story of Elijah but because of the two sticks the three stories are interrelated at a spiritual level and begin to take on the significances of each other. This typological linking of Old and New Testaments is a commonplace of medieval biblical exposition but it is important to recognize that it provides an intellectual fragmenting impulse, parallel to the practical one of craft guild finance; but in this case combined with a re-integrating one – deconstruction and inter-textuality all in one.

The mystery plays in England never go as far as full typological treatment of the Bible story.[31] It may distantly underlie the choice of topic and just occasionally the treatment of an individual episode or incident but the plays are more similar to the division of narrative seen in something like the *Holkham Bible Picture Book*, a highly selective series of pictorial versions of episodes expanded at times in considerable detail.[32] The *Picture Book*, which is considerably earlier than any of the mystery cycles in England, is not connected with the drama except as a parallel narrative treatment of the Bible story deriving from the same impulses and often leading to similar presentations. The Play of pageants then, far from being an unnatural mode of presentation, is doubly natural, practically so in terms of the need of the crafts to express their own individuality and the city to find finance, and aesthetically and intellectually so in terms of a common pictorial and scholarly mode of thought. Whether it is also an image of the drawing together of the fragmentary 'communitas' through a celebration of the unifying body of Christ, is difficult to prove or to disprove.[33]

One of the effects of the divisions of the story into separate pageants is the fragmentation of character – at least of those who appear in more than one pageant: God, Jesus, Mary, the disciples, Pilate, Annas, Caiaphas, and one or two others. To see a series of actors (twenty-four, in the case of Jesus at York) playing one part is to reduce the integration of actor and role; no one individual human is going to determine our view of a character. These are human

beings but their forms are not limited to a single person, time, or place. This freeing of character can be enhanced by masking and costume: the timeless robes of Jesus and the disciples, for example, the contemporary gear of shepherds, the exotic garments of Pilate or Herod (if pictorial tradition was followed).[34] Information about masking in the York Play is limited to that in the Mercers' records: masks for devils, apostles, and good and bad souls, and a mask for God (all called 'vesernes' in 1433, 'wesserons' in 1526).[35] The masks of the devils are two-faced, that of God is 'gilted'. Interestingly enough Christ is infrequently shown with a gilded face in paintings, whereas in the plays he not only appears in gold mask at the last Judgement but in Chester his face is gilded as a young child in the *Doctors in the Temple* and as an adult in *The Conspiracy*.[36] The effect, as with the multiplying of actors playing a part, is not so much to dehumanize as to complicate, to add layers of significance, to the image of the character and his or her words.[37]

Details of performance of this kind are scarce in York. Only the Bakers' and the Mercers' records survive in any quantity; the Bakers from the mid-sixteenth century only, the Mercers from early on in the fifteenth century. The Mercers' indenture of 1433 gives a unique insight into the appearance of a pageant wagon, of costumes and, limitedly, of props. Yet even this remarkable survival leaves many questions unanswered. We can still, for example, only guess at the dimensions.[38] A number of attempts have been made to reconstruct the wagon from the details of the inventory. There is no doubt that there was some form of raising mechanism, but the precise form remains obscure. The first reconstruction produced a handsome wagon but gave no indication of how the raising mechanism could work. The second gave a practical demonstration of the raising mechanism but had a standing rather than a sitting Christ. The third, another pictorial one, coped better with the 'hefne of iron' and the tackle raising Christ, but still contained numerous practical problems. The fourth, like the second, answered the practical questions by building and imaginatively working the 'hefne' in performance. It got nearer to the indenture in many details but in a sense redirected discussion by turning attention back to a rather more basic question: which way did the wagon face? And so the 'end-on' vs 'side-on' controversy, much discussed over the last twenty or thirty years, gathered strength.

In 1569 the York Play was performed, not on Corpus Christi Day, which no longer officially existed in England, but on Whitsun Tuesday, 31 May, for what was to prove to be the last 'consecutive' time.[39] In the previous year Mary of Guise, ousted from her Scottish throne, had escaped to England –

and to imprisonment. With, in many people's eyes, as good a claim to the throne of England as Elizabeth (if not a better), she presented a constant threat to Elizabeth's position. Five months after the performance of the Play, in October 1569, a more active threat was brewing in the shape of a rising of the northern earls, Northumberland and Westmoreland. This came to a head in November. The President of the Council of the North watched events unfold from his house in York. The rebel army gathered strength at Brancepeth, marched north to Durham, where Mass was celebrated before hundreds of people in the cathedral, marched south as far as Bramham Moor, near Tadcaster (on the edge of the Ainsty), and paused before marching back to Barnard Castle, which it besieged. After taking the castle and ousting Sir George Bowes its defender, the army turned north and on 16 December, perhaps as a result of rumours of the approach of the royal forces, was disbanded.[40] Only a handful of people were killed in the course of the Rising but the atmosphere of distrust and unease that it created is clear from the letters between Sir George and the earl of Sussex, President of the Council of the North. Those involved in the Rising who could be caught were punished with considerable severity.[41] For most ordinary people in York, no doubt, all of this must have appeared to have little to do with the Corpus Christi play, but for the authorities it must have been another indication of how local events could threaten the security of the whole Elizabethan settlement.

In the following year, 1570, the threatened papal bull excommunicating Elizabeth was issued, declaring her a heretic and depriving her of 'all dominion, dignity, and privilege whatsoever', and also absolving 'the nobility, subjects and people of the said kingdom, and all others who have in any sort sworn unto her' from their oaths of allegiance.[42] Whatever the variety of attitudes of the people of York to their Play may have been by this time, there is no doubt that it was the political and religious circumstances that finally brought it to an end.[43]

What the text of the Play was at the 1569 performance, we shall never know. Marian pageants had been removed under Edward VI, re-instated under Mary and removed again under Elizabeth, but apart from that there is no indication of which pageants were played and which were not. Nor have we any idea whether the *carets* and *deficits* and the *nova loquela* of John Clerke and his colleagues mark rewritings under Mary to strengthen the contemporaneity of the Catholicism, or on the other hand indicate Elizabethan Protestantizing, or simply show the continued 'improvements' of owners and performers.[44] Only *Adam and Eve in Eden*, and *The Purification*, can be said to be 'Elizabethan' texts, having been copied by Clerke into the Register, the one

in 1559 and the other in or after 1567 – just in time for the final performance.[45] Perhaps not surprisingly, there are no marginal annotations in either.

In many ways the York Play is the best documented of all the English mystery cycles. There is the text, almost complete; there is a city which retains many of its medieval features and one in which the route of the Play is almost entirely preserved; there is voluminous civic documentation; and there are considerable, though more limited, craft records. Despite this, it is difficult to think of any 'fact' about the Play which is not open to question or at least to variant interpretation. This is not a matter for lament. Instead it should remove any complacency about the state of our knowledge. Through the labours of many scholars, that knowledge has been increased enormously over the last fifty years, sometimes extending into areas that some have thought irrelevant or trivial; but what has been created is more space for investigation, not a closing down of the operation. In 1974 Alan Nelson, in an important rebuke to complacency, upset the applecart of accepted belief about the staging of the York Play.[46] It has taken a long time to put it together again but it is better constructed than it was. Even so, it would take surprisingly little to send all the Golden Delicious and Cox's Orange Pippins rolling over the street again. Which is one of the reasons for the continuing vitality and appeal of the study of York and the other English cycle plays.

Notes

1 Angelo Raine's *Medieval York* (London, 1954) provides a detailed topographical survey of the city; D M. Palliser, *Tudor York* (Oxford, 1979), covers the government, economic growth, and structure of the city, mainly during the sixteenth century, but in its earlier chapters it contains a useful summary of the changes between the medieval and later period.

A wealth of miscellaneous information from later-fifteenth and sixteenth-century York is contained in *York Civic Records,* vols 1–9, edited by Angelo Raine and, the last volume, by Deborah Sutton, Yorkshire Archæological Society Records Series 98, 103, 106, 108, 110, 112, 115, 119, and 138 (1939–78). There is also a two-volume edition of the *York House Books 1461–1490,* by Lorraine C. Attreed (Stroud, 1991). The A/Y Memorandum Book, one of York's earliest sets of records, was edited by Maud Sellars, *The York Memorandum Book*, 2 vols, The Surtees Society 120 and 125 (Durham, 1912 and 1915).

For the buildings, the volumes of the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (RCHM) are invaluable: 2, *The Defences* (1972); 3, *South-West of*

the Ouse (1972); 4, *Outside the City Walls East of the Ouse* (1975); 5, *Central Area* (1981). The revised volume of the Buildings of England series by Nikolaus Pevsner and David Neave, *Yorkshire: York and the East Riding* (London, 1997), is also useful. For the Minster, there is G.E. Aylmer and Reginald Cant (eds), *A History of York Minster* (Oxford, 1979).

Clifford Davidson and David E. O'Connor, *York Art: A Subject List of Extant and Lost Art Including Items Relevant to Early Drama* (Kalamazoo, 1978) gives a useful, if somewhat limited, idea of the range and content of iconographic subjects in York. The *Corpus Vitrearum* volumes for York are, unfortunately, hardly under way. Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Rogerson, *York*, 2 vols, Records of Early English Drama (Toronto, 1979) – hereafter REED *York* – is invaluable as a guide to the relationship between city and drama.

2 For evidence of these visits see REED *York*, 9, 73–4, 117–18, 120, 130–3, 271–7. The lavish reception of Henry VII has been preserved in some detail in two parallel accounts: REED *York*, 137–43 and 145–52. Martin Stevens discusses Henry VII's entry in relation to the York Play in his *Four Middle English Mystery Cycles: Ttextual, Contextual, and Critical Interpretations* (Princeton NJ, 1987), 52–8.

For Ebrauk, see Laȝamon: *Brut*, G.L. Brook and R.F. Leslie (eds), Early English Text Society 250 (London, 1963), 68–71, ll.1305–81; see also *Lawman: Brut*, translated Rosamund Allen (London, 1992), ll.1304–81, and especially:

> First he constructed a town and he called it **Kaer Ebrauc**;
> The second on a hilltop; Adud he named that one.
> Then it was called Kaer Ebrauc; afterwards it was called Eborac;
> After that came foreign men and 'Eoverwic' they pronounced it;
> And those northern men, not long ago at all,
> Through their carelessness, they called it York. (ll.1332–7)

In 1617 at the visit of James I, the recorder of York in his speech of welcome still reflects a similar view of the city:

> When wee looke vpon the foundation of this auncient Cittye of yorke, builded by Ebrauk the fowerth kinge after Brute, made a metropolitan Cittye, graced with an Archiepiscopall Sea. a primate of England, And call to mynde that in tymes past, this was the emperiall Cittye, where some of the Romaine Emperors kepte ther courte. (REED *York*, 552)

3 The date is usually given as 1376 because the entry at the beginning of York's A/Y Memorandum Book is dated: 1376 25 Januarii. As Maud Sellars long

ago pointed out, however, this date is in a later hand, probably seventeenth century. It is simply an *aide-mémoire* for the date of the beginning of the regnal year of Edward III, in this case the fifty-first, referred to in the Latin preamble to the volume:

> A book of various memoranda relating to the city of York, and enrolled in this volume in the time of John de Santon, mayor of the said city, and begun and made by John de Rufford, then common clerk of the aforesaid city, in the year of the reign of King Edward, the third after the conquest of England, fifty-first. 1376 25 Januarii
>
> (translated from *York Memorandum Book*, 1, 1)

The fifty-first year of Edward III is 25 January 1377 (1376 old style) to 21 June 1377, when he died. John de Santon was mayor from 3 February 1377 – 2 February 1378, so the date of the beginning of A/Y must be between 3 February and 21 June 1377. David Palliser was the first, to my knowledge, to draw attention to the error in dating in his review of Richard Beadle, *The York Plays*, in *Yorkshire Archæological Journal* 56 (1984), 169.

I hope I may be allowed here to apologize for my slipshod error on p li of the facsimile of the York Play where I make the incomprehensible assertion that the first entry is dated: 1 January 1376. 'Incomprehensible' because I knew it wasn't, and 'slipshod' because I should have noticed it.

Generally speaking the dates of records mentioned in the text refer to those in REED *York* and can be found in one or other of the volumes under those dates. The dates will be footnoted only if there is a difference between my dating and that of REED *York*.

4 For an account of the development of the York Play parallel to that which follows but differing in detail and sometimes in emphasis, see Richard Beadle's chapter on York in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*, Richard Beadle (ed) (Cambridge, 1994), 89–98. For a speculative account of the earliest development of the play see Peter Meredith, 'The York Cycle and the Beginning of Vernacular Religious Drama in England', *Le Laudi drammatiche Umbre delle origini* (Viterbo, 1981), 311–33.

5 'From a tenement in/on which three pageants of Corpus Christi are placed, by the year: 2 shillings' (cf REED *York*, 3, 689). The entry stands out as it follows a series of normal rent payments by individuals and is followed by a record of the proceeds from the 'stores' of Holy Trinity and St Giles and other offerings in the chapel (St William's on Ouse Bridge), and a record of the proceeds from the letting of stalls on the bridge, both of which are blank returns (*York Memorandum Book*, 1, 10).

6 There is a useful discussion of the relationship between *tableaux vivants* in processions and play pageants in B.A. Ramakers, 'The Oudenaarde Corpus Christi Tableaux and Late Medieval Drama', *Formes Teatrals de la Tradició Medieval: actes del VII Colloqui de la Société Internationale pour l'Etude du Théâtre Médiéval*, Girona Juliol de 1992, Francesc Massip (ed), (Barcelona, 1996), 195–207. For information about the York Corpus Christi procession, see Alexandra F. Johnston, 'The Guild of Corpus Christi and the Procession of Corpus Christi in York', *Medieval Studies* 38 (1976), 372–84, and 'The Procession and Play of Corpus Christi at York in 1426', *Leeds Studies in English* ns 7 (1973–4), 55–62, and Douglas Cowling, 'The Liturgical Celebration of Corpus Christi in Medieval York', *REED Newsletter* (1976.2), 5–9.

7 The agreement refers to the 'building and repair' ('edificacione & reparacione') of a house for housing their pageants. This sounds both as though there is a house already there and that one is to be built. This may be so, but it may mean: 'building and any subsequent, immediate or later, repair that is needed', or it may simply be a way of saying 'repair'.

8 It is worth observing that in nearby Beverley, the 1377 Tailors Ordinance 'does not mention the procession but specifically their pageant of the play of Corpus Christi' ('pagine ludi Corporis Christi'). Diana Wyatt, 'Performance and Ceremonial in Beverley before 1642', DPhil thesis (University of York, 1983), xxxvi.

9 Alexandra F. Johnston, 'York Pageant House: New Evidence', *REED Newsletter* (1982.2), 24–5.

10 Notice of the discovery first appeared in Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Dorrell, 'The Doomsday Pageant of the York Mercers, 1433', *Leeds Studies in English* ns 5 (1971), 29–34.

11 All quotations, in modern spelling, are based on Richard Beadle (ed), *The York Plays* (London, 1982).

12 I have modernized the spelling (except for the 'gross words'); the italics, the emendations (in square brackets) and the explanatory glosses '*together*' and '*then*' are also mine. The text is taken from the version in Harley MS 2013, ll.49–55; cf Lawrence M. Clopper (ed), *Chester*, Records of Early English Drama, (Toronto, 1980), 241, hereafter referred to as REED *Chester*.

13 For information about the Creed Play, see Alexandra F. Johnston, 'The Plays of the Religious Guilds of York: The Creed Play and the Pater Noster Play', *Speculum* 50 (1975), 55–90. The quotation is found in REED *York*, 353. The spelling is modernized here.

14 The *Ordo* and its accompanying documents are edited in REED *York*, 16–26. There is a facsimile in Richard Beadle and Peter Meredith (eds), *The York*

Play: A Facsimile of British Library MS *Additional 35290* (Leeds, 1983). The *Ordo* is discussed in Martin Stevens and Margaret Dorrell, 'The *Ordo Paginarum* Gathering of the York A/Y Memorandum Book', *Modern Philology* 72 (1974), 45–49 and in the York facsimile, li–lxi.

15 For a discussion of this, see Peter Meredith, 'The *Ordo Paginarum* and Development of the York Tilemakers' Pageant', *Leeds Studies in English* ns 11 (1980 for 1979), 59–73.

16 REED *York*, 47–8 dates this 1431–2 but the agreement falls in the mayoralty of Thomas Snawdon which was 1432–3. The changes, particularly as they are reflected in the text of the Magi pageants, are discussed in detail in Beadle, *York Plays*, 429–34.

17 For a full discussion of this process, see Margaret Dorrell, 'The Mayor of York and the Coronation Pageant', *Leeds Studies in English* ns 5 (1971), 35–45.

18 REED *York*, 47–8.

19 REED *York*, 37–8.

20 The whole manuscript is reproduced in black and white in the facsimile (see note 14). The dating of it is discussed also in Richard Beadle and Peter Meredith, 'Further External Evidence for Dating the York Register (BL Additional MS 35290)', *Leeds Studies in English* ns 11 (1980 for 1979), 51–8. The standard edition is Richard Beadle (ed), *The York Plays* (London, 1982).

21 For discussion of the common clerks and their annotation of the Register see Peter Meredith, 'John Clerke's Hand in the York Register', *Leeds Studies in English* ns 12 (1981), 245–71 and the facsimile, xxi–iii, xxviii–ix and xxxiii–xli.

22 These alterations are discussed more fully in Meredith, 'John Clerke's Hand', 255–60 and Peter Meredith, 'The Fifteenth-Century Audience of the York Corpus Christi Play: Records and Speculation', *'Divers toyes mengled': Essays on Medieval and Renaissance Culture in Honour of André Lascombes* (Tours, 1996), 269.

23 In the list that follows, I have tried to indicate when evidence is suggestive or when it is clear by the use of question marks. All the dates refer to REED *York*. The question mark before 1415 is a special case. It refers on the one hand to the additional note at the head of the *Ordo*, which first makes clear the use of billets and the formality and timing of the occasion, and on the other to the alteration to the Proclamation. In the case of the first of these, it is certainly an added note but it is not clear when it was added. The note reads (in translation):

> The 'sedule' of the pageants are to be delivered henceforth, in the form below-written, to the crafts by six sergeants at mace of the mayor, in the first or second week in Lent, annually; to be written by the common clerk.

The note is not without its uncertainties: 'sedule' is not the word usually used for the billets but seems to mean that here, and 'subsequenter', translated here as 'henceforth', seems to be an indication of a decision newly taken, but it is impossible to be sure which part of the ensuing information it refers to. What does 'below-written' refer to? Was each craft given a note simply of the contents of its own pageant? Or was there more? Despite its uncertainties it remains a key indication of organization, timing, and responsibility.

As to the Proclamation, the last section, which deals with the time at which the performers are required to be in place and the fines for obstructing the smooth running of the Play, has been written over the erased 1415 entry in the sixteenth century. It is at least one line longer than the original. There is no way of knowing whether it is entirely new, partially so, or just slightly expanded from the 1415 version for clarity or some other reason; see the facsimile, liv. Whether the 4:30 am start was a sixteenth-century innovation or merely a repetition of ancient custom cannot be known.

24 REED *York*, 125–6, 158–60, 162–5.

25 It is impossible to know to what extent biblical episodes were matched to crafts, either in terms of their wealth or their craft itself. Some clearly match episode and craft precisely (the most obvious is *The Building of the Ark*, and the Shipwrights) but for many the link is tenuous or non-existent (*Adam and Eve in the Garden*, for example, and the Fullers); see Richard Beadle, 'The Shipwrights' Craft', *Aspects of Early English Drama*, Paula Neuss (ed) (Cambridge, 1983), 50–61, and *York Plays*, 29–30.

26 The most recent edition of *Adam*, with English translation, is Wolfgang van Emden (ed), *Le Jeu d'Adam*, British Roncesvals Publications 1 (Edinburgh, 1996).

27 For discussion of the stations at York see Anna J. Mill, 'The Stations of the York Corpus Christi Play', *Yorkshire Archæological Journal* 37 (1957), 493–500; Meg Twycross, '"Places to Hear the Play": Pageant Stations at York 1398–1572', *REED Newsletter* (1978.2), 10–33; Eileen White, 'The Tenements at the Common Hall Gates: The Mayor's Station for the Corpus Christi Play in York', *REED Newsletter* (1982.2), 14–24, 'Places for Hearing the Corpus Christi Play in York', *Medieval English Theatre* 9 (1987), 23–63; David Crouch, 'Paying to See the Play: the Stationholders on the Route of the York Corpus Christi Play in the Fifteenth Century',

Medieval English Theatre 13 (1991), 64–111; Meg Twycross, 'The Left-hand-side Theory: A Retraction', *Medieval English Theatre* 14 (1992), 77–94.

28 The complaint is in REED *York*, 28–30. It is discussed in Meredith, 'The Fifteenth-Century Audience', 101–11.

29 There is probably no need to say that the word 'Bible' originally meant simply 'books'.

30 *Biblia Pauperum: A Facsimile and Edition*, Avril Henry (ed) (London, 1987), 93. There is a useful brief discussion of typology on pp 9–16.

31 Plays structured on typology do not survive from medieval England, though they do from elsewhere in Europe. In England, the audience's attention is only occasionally drawn to typological significances (particularly through the Chester expositor; see, for example, *Abraham and Isaac, The Chester Mystery Cycle*, R.M. Lumiansky and David Mills (eds), 2 vols, EETS 3 and 9 (London, 1974 and 1986), 1, 78–9 and 2, 58–9). Professor Stephen Wright (The Catholic University of America) has drawn my attention to the very different situation in the *Heidelberger Passionsspiel*, where the episode of the woman of Sarephta, (ll.2239–2330) immediately precedes the raising of Lazarus (ll.2331–2480). The typological link here is, of course, with the later raising of the widow's son, not the picking up of the sticks (Gustav Milchsack (ed), Tubingen, 1880).

The relation between typological treatment and the plays is a complex and much disputed one. Stevens presents a brief and admirably clear picture of a number of scholarly approaches to the question in his *Four Middle English Mystery Cycles*, 221–33.

32 Reproduced in facsimile: *The Holkham Bible Picture Book*, W.O. Hassall (ed) (London, 1954). The accompanying Anglo-Norman text has been edited separately by F.P. Pickering, *The Anglo-Norman Text of the* Holkham Bible Picture Book, Anglo-Norman Text Society 23 (Oxford, 1971). The Old Testament episodes only go up to Noah, but the series starts with the Creation and ends with the Last Judgement. It also contains more apocryphal material than most of the play cycles.

V.A. Kolve, in his rightly influential book *The Play Called Corpus Christi* (London and Stanford, 1966), discusses the selection of Old Testament incidents in the plays at some length (57–100). His insistence on typology and the ages of the world as the basis for selection (100), however, seems unnecessarily prescriptive. Biblical episodes had clearly been coming to prominence for centuries for a wide variety of differing reasons, typology amongst them.

33 See, for a good example of this kind of approach, Mervyn James, 'Ritual, Drama and the Social Body in the Late Medieval Town', *Past and Present* 88 (1983), 3–29.

34 For costuming, see Meg Twycross, '" Apparell comyle"', *Aspects of Early English Drama*, 30–49, and 'The Chester Cycle Wardrobe', *Staging the Chester Cycle*, David Mills (ed), Leeds Texts and Monographs ns 9 (Leeds, 1985), 100–23; and for masking, see Meg Twycross and Sarah Carpenter, 'Masks in Medieval Theatre', *Medieval English Theatre* 3 (1981), 7–44 and 69–113.

35 See REED *York*, 55–6 (the Mercers' indenture) and 241–2.

36 See REED *Chester*, 50, 53, 67, 78, 86, 91, and Peter Meredith, '"Make the asse to speake" or Staging the Chester Plays', *Staging the Chester Cycles*, 60–2 and 72.

There are at least three gold-faced Gods in the stained glass of York Minster. Most interesting is the one mentioned in Davidson and O'Connor's *York Art*, which was originally in St Martin, Coney Street, and was moved to the Minster in the eighteenth century. It is not in position in the south transept at present (12/1/00) having been removed for conservation. A reproduction (detail and whole figure) is most easily found in the publicity leaflet for the *York Millennium Mystery Plays*, June–July 2000. The face alone is reproduced in Peter Gibson, *The Stained and Painted Glass of York Minster* (York, nd), plate 2. Two other gold-faced Gods (one clearly a modern assembly of medieval fragments) can be seen in the lowest lights of the window of the second bay of the south choir aisle. All three appear to be associated with *Te Deum* series. It would be interesting to know the actual frequency, context, and provenance of this iconographic detail in pictorial art.

37 For general comments on staging, see Meg Twycross, 'The Theatricality of Medieval English Plays', *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Theatre*, 37–84.

The effect of the gold-faced child is discussed in Meg Twycross, 'Beyond the Picture Theory: Image and Activity in Medieval Drama', *Word and Image* 4 (1988), 589–617, see especially 607–10.

38 The reconstructions mentioned below are 1) that contained in Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Dorrell, 'The York Mercers and their Pageant of Doomsday, 1433–1526', *Leeds Studies in English* ns 6 (1972), 11–35 (reconstruction on 10 and 65); 2) The York Cycle in Toronto, 1977; 3) Peter Meredith, 'The Development of the York Mercers' Pageant Wagon', *Medieval English Theatre* 1 (1979), 5–18, and 'Putting on Plays in the Fifteenth Century', *Acting Medieval Plays* (Lincoln, 1985), 1–26; 4) Meg Twycross's Doomsday pageant in York, July 1988.

39 See REED *York*, 355–7. The classic discussion of the demise of the plays, which is still useful, is Harold. C. Gardiner, *Mysteries' End: An Investigation of the Last Days of the Medieval Religious Stage*, Yale Studies in English 103 (New Haven CT, 1946). For a more general view of the situation in

Reformation England, see Alexandra F. Johnston, 'English Community Drama in Crisis: 1535–80', *Drama and Community: People and Plays in Medieval Europe*, Alan Hindley (ed), Medieval Texts and Cultures in Northern Europe 1 (Turnhout, 1999), 248–69.

40 For the general situation see Anthony Fletcher, *Tudor Rebellions*, 3rd ed (London and New York, 1983), 82–92. For the correspondence between Sir George Bowes and the earl of Sussex before and during the rebellion, see *The Rising in the North: The 1569 Rebellion*, being a reprint of *The Memorials of the Rebellion of the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland*, edited by Cuthbert Sharp, 1840, foreword by Robert Wood, (Durham, 1975), 3–101.

41 Fletcher, *Tudor Rebellions*, 90–1.

42 There is a translation of the bull of excommunication in J.R. Tanner (ed), *Tudor Constitutional Documents: A.D. 1485–1603, with an Historical Commentary* (Cambridge, 1948), 144–6.

43 As a sign of the changed attitudes Claire Cross (*Church and People: 1450–1660* (London, 1976)) draws attention to the increased persecution of Catholics: 'Between 1570 and 1603 the Government permitted nearly 200 Catholic priests and laymen to be put to death for their faith: not a single Catholic had been executed between 1558 and 1570' (143). The conditions became more dangerous with the setting up of William Allen's seminary at Douay and the appearance of trained Catholic priests in England from 1574 onwards (144–5). See also Christopher Haigh, 'The Continuity of Catholicism in the English Reformation', *The English Reformation Revised*, Christopher Haigh (ed) (Cambridge, 1987), 176–208.

44 For a list of annotations in the Register, see the facsimile, xxxiii–xli.

45 REED *York*, 330 and 351.

46 Alan H. Nelson, *The Medieval English Stage: Corpus Christi Pageants and Plays* (Chicago, 1974), especially 15–37.