

KIMBERLY FONZO

Procula's Civic Body and Pilate's Masculinity Crisis in the York Cycle's 'Christ Before Pilate 1: The Dream of Pilate's Wife'

This essay argues that in the York cycle, Procula functions as a feminine foil against which her husband, Pilate, can model supposedly masculine traits. Positing that traditional exegetical revisions of Procula's dream were always a means of discrediting feminine spirituality, this essay contends that the York cycle's further revisions of its source material construct a triangulation in which an ambivalently gendered Pilate must choose between the feminine influence of his wife and the masculine influence of his beadle. It asserts that the masculine identity Pilate ultimately embraces consists of spiritual scepticism and legal obedience. Noting iconographic similarities between Procula and the Whore of Babylon, whom the religious art of York likewise depicts as an embodiment of sinful civic conduct, the essay concludes that the play presents Procula as a feminine identity to be rejected not only by Pilate but also by the civic body of York itself.

Few biblical figures have undergone such a negative literary transformation as Pilate's wife, Procula. She appears only in one sentence of the gospel of Matthew, warning her husband, 'nihil tibi et iusto illi multa enim passa sum hodie per visum propter eum' [Have thou nothing to do with that just man (Jesus), for I have suffered many things this day in a dream because of him] (Matt 27:19).¹ The author of the 'Acts of Pilate', part of the sixth-century apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus*, amplifies Procula's sympathies, making her a Jewish supporter of Jesus. Subsequent commentaries by Pseudo-Bede, Peter Comestor, and Vincent de Beauvais, however, assert that Procula's prophetic dream had been the product of Satan's sorcery in his attempt to prevent the crucifixion and, in turn, the harrowing of hell.² This element of the commentaries was integrated into subsequent vernacular translations of the

Kimberly Fonzo (kimberly.fonzo@utsa.edu) is assistant professor in the department of English at the University of Texas at San Antonio.

Gospel of Nicodemus, and thus the once proto-Christian Procula was transformed into an unwitting sorceress and a potential second Eve.

Procula's character undergoes yet another transformation in the York cycle's Tapiters and Couchers' play, 'Christ Before Pilate 1: The Dream of Pilate's Wife'. As in the source material for this play, the Middle English *Stanzaic Gospel of Nicodemus*, Procula is the devil's unwitting prophet, but augmentations of her role in the York cycle make her even more scandalous than before.³ Whereas the Middle English gospel begins with the Jews complaining to Pilate about Jesus's performing miracles on the Sabbath, the York cycle's Tapiters and Couchers' play begins with Pilate and Procula bragging of their power and wealth and discussing their passionate sexual relationship. While the Middle English gospel limits Procula's involvement in the story to her dream, described in less than one stanza, the York cycle's Procula is involved in Christ's trial from the start, when the Beadle enters to announce Jesus's capture and Procula refuses to leave the court. Katie Normington has explained the amplification of Procula's role as an attempt by the anonymous playwright(s) to police feminine conduct. Normington argues that Procula is an upper-class woman who subversively attempts to exit her domestic confinement but whose breaks with decorum — her sexual indiscretion, vanity, and refusal to remain silent — make her tale into more of a cautionary one than an exemplary one for the audience's women.⁴

Scholars have given little attention, however, to the ways in which Procula influences constructions of masculinity within the play. Mervyn James has asserted that the performative rituals of the Corpus Christi festivals such as the York cycle, which honour the body of Christ, also affirm the cohesive identity of the 'social body' of the city.⁵ Yet closer readings of the texts performed in the York cycle demonstrate the degree to which they gender as male that imagined social body. Although historians Jeremy Goldberg and Gweno Williams have cast doubt on the longstanding and widespread belief that exclusively male craft guild members performed the York cycle, the fact remains that the vast majority of craft guild members in York and the vast majority of characters portrayed in the York cycle were men.⁶ Due to this fact, a great deal of discussion of masculinity in the York cycle has emphasized the absence of women. Ruth Evans has observed that some of the most prominent York pageants, such as the 'Crucifixion' include no speaking female characters whatsoever.⁷ Christina Fitzgerald has furthermore drawn attention to York pageants' persistent abbreviation of episodes relating to prominent female characters, such as Mary, and their tendency to shift the

focus of episodes traditionally about these female characters to male characters and their interior issues (such as Joseph's reaction to Mary's report of the annunciation).⁸ Fitzgerald characterizes the York cycle (along with the Chester cycle) as a 'drama of masculinity' that is 'specifically and self-consciously concerned with the fantasies and anxieties of being male in the urban, mercantile worlds of their performance'.⁹ Because Fitzgerald's characterization of the York and Chester cycles is based upon observations of feminine exclusion, Fitzgerald herself excludes examination of the roles that female characters such as Procula play in defining civic masculinity. The notable exception is her discussion of Noah's wife's role as a representative of city life in the Chester cycle. Fitzgerald argues that Noah's wife, in refusing to abandon her urban life to obey God's will, is 'distinctly associated with the city'.¹⁰ She is surrounded by carousing gossips who, 'represent the undifferentiated communal body, the "we" from which the cycle's plays and official civic mercantile culture attempt to distinguish and reify the purportedly ordered world of the guilds and their distinct, controllable identities'.¹¹ Procula, left out of Fitzgerald's analysis, functions similarly to Noah's wife as a feminine embodiment of civic excess. She is a foil against which the proto-Christian Beadle can demonstrate masculine ideals of scepticism and legal order, culminating in a conflict in which an ambivalently gendered Pilate is forced to choose between feminine Procula and masculine Beadle. Ultimately, Procula is a female urban body, against which Pilate and the imagined masculine social body of York can define themselves.

The Fall of Procula and the Triumph of Pilate

Procula's dream is a late addition to the York cycle. The *Ordo Paginarum* of 1415 describes the Tapiters and Couchers' play as consisting of 'Jesus, Pilate, Annas, Cayphas, two councilors, and four Jews accusing Jesus'.¹² This play therefore appears to have been rewritten to remove the 'four Jews' and add Procula's dream sometime after 1415 but before 1463–77, when the manuscript of the York plays was compiled. The source material for the Tapiters and Couchers' play, the *Stanzaic Gospel of Nicodemus*, exists in four manuscripts, and it is unclear if any of these was the manuscript that the dramatist of the York cycle used. In fact, C.W. Marx suggests that the dramatist most likely knew the apocryphal gospel from memory.¹³ All four of the surviving manuscripts mention Procula's dream, but only two of them (London, BL MSS. Cotton Galba E. IX, ff 57v–66v and Harley 4196, ff 206r–15r)

contain an extra stanza attributing Procula's dream to the devil.¹⁴ Both of these manuscripts were compiled later than the others, in the early fifteenth century. The devil's plan to prevent Christ's crucifixion therefore appears to be a timely addition to both the source material and the play itself. The most obviously topical aspect of the added dream is its commentary on the unreliability of feminine mystical spirituality. The addition of Procula's unreliable dream counterbalances the scrutiny of heresy trial practices depicted in Christ's own trial both by demonstrating the value of rational legal inquiry into spiritual matters and by emphasizing the importance of Christ's conviction to salvation. In this way Procula's episode affirms the authority of the law, allowing Pilate to shine as a model of reason and probity.

The literal demonization of Procula's dream was, from its inception, a project intended to defend the Roman court by discrediting feminine spirituality. In the original, sixth-century Latin version of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, Procula challenges traditionally male bureaucratic authority. Pilate tells the Jewish elders, 'You know that my wife is pious and prefers to practice Judaism with you ... [She] sent to me saying "Have nothing to do with this righteous man. For I have suffered many things because of him by night"'.¹⁵ Procula never appears in the scene and her warnings soon fade into the background of Jesus's interrogation. As an unwisely ignored righteous Jew, Procula echoes Christ as a doubted holy messenger. Biblical commentators such as Pseudo-Bede, Vincent de Beauvais, and Peter Comestor were the first to dramatically change Procula's role in the crucifixion from proto-Christian sympathizer to the devil's mouthpiece and a new Eve.¹⁶ Their re-imagining of Procula's dream was commonplace by the twelfth century, when it appeared in the *Glossa Ordinaria*:

Nunc demum diabolus intelligens per Christum se spolia amissurum, sicut primum per mulierem mortem intulit; ita modo per mulierem vult Christum de manibus Iudeorum liberare, ne per mortem ejus mortis amittat imperium.

[Now the devil, realizing that through Christ he would lose his spoils, just as at first he had brought death to the world through woman, now through a woman wished to free Christ of the hands of the Jews, lest through the death of Christ, he, the devil, lose the power of death.]¹⁷

This perspective on Procula's dream emphasizes the spiritual value of the crucifixion rather than the unjustness of the Roman court by depicting a

foiled devil, frustrated at the prospects of Christ's conviction. This reading shifts the villainy away from Pilate, whose execution of Jesus enables salvation, and towards Procula, whose hapless attempts to prevent his crucifixion are nearly catastrophic. The commentary makes the connection between Eve and Procula clear by describing how the devil 'at first had brought death to the world through woman'. This description makes the devil's choice to deceive Procula appear to be a tactical one, based on supposedly inherent feminine weakness and persuasiveness, which had previously contributed to his success in the garden of Eden. In this way, misogynistic assumptions of feminine gullibility enabled a reinvention of the character of Procula and the recuperation of the Roman court, which, in the years after the writing of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, had become the seat of Christian authority.

As Ruth Nisse has noted, the York cycle's Procula can be seen as a representative female visionary whose story 'probe[s] the uncertainties that attend even the divine visions granted to canonized saints'.¹⁸ Women's visions garnered a great deal of attention and controversy in the early fifteenth century, primarily because of the prominent mystics Bridget of Sweden and Catherine of Siena, who were critics of the Avignon papacy. By 1400, a Middle English translation of Bridget's *Revelaciones* circulated widely through England, and even works by controversial mystics such as Marguerite Porete found their way into Carthusian volumes dedicated to feminine spirituality.¹⁹ Not only were female visionaries' works circulating; some visionaries, such as Margery Kempe, were travelling to York themselves. With this surge in popularity of female mystics also came a great deal of suspicion and anxiety with respect to their spiritual authority. When Pope Boniface IX canonized Bridget of Sweden at the international Council of Constance in 1415, Jean Gerson famously protested, stressing the importance of scrutinizing women's visions:

Omnis doctrina mulierum, maxime solemnibus verbo seu scripto, reputanda est suspecta, nisi prius fuerit...et multo amplius quam doctrina virorum. Cur ita? Patet ratio, quia lex communis nec qualiscumque sed divina tales arcet. Quare? quia levius seductibiles, quia pertinacius seductrices, quia non constat eas esse sapientiae divinae cognitrices.

[Every teaching of women, especially that expressed in solemn word or writing, is to be held suspect, unless it has been diligently examined, and much more than the teaching of men. Why? The reason is clear; because not only ordinary but divine law forbids such things. Why? Because women are too easily

seduced, because they are too obstinately seducers, because it is not fitting that they should be knowers of divine wisdom.]²⁰

Gerson's reasons for distrusting women clearly evoke the example of Eve as an easily seduced and seducing spiritual influence. Once transformed into a second Eve by exegetical readings, Procula is the perfect example of the kind of woman that Gerson fears — a would-be visionary who has been tricked by the devil and must be properly examined or simply ignored lest she damn all of humanity through her own folly.

Nisse claims that Procula's dream illustrates the futility of *discretio spiritum* because Pilate is 'unable to discern the truth' from it.²¹ While the implied unreliability of women's visions is apparent in the Procula episode, Nisse unnecessarily associates Pilate's evaluation of Procula's dream with official clerical processes of discernment and too hastily declares Pilate's evaluation to be a failure. In fact, the York cycle's Pilate never attempts to discern the truth of Procula's dream. Spiritual discernment was thought to be a divinely inspired skill — what Gerson had called 'a gift from the Holy Spirit' — not just any judge's method of inquiry.²² The York cycle's Pilate does not engage Procula's dream for a moment. He instead resolves that 'soth schulde be sought' (30.297) and quickly moves on to consider the more concrete testimony of Jesus himself.²³ In this way, Pilate acts in accordance with Christ's advice to Bridget of Sweden in *Revelaciones*. This text, like numerous other works about mystics, devotes a great deal of discussion to the unreliability of visions in order to emphasize Bridget's own orthodoxy. Christ warns Bridget not to 'lay [visions] to heart but ponder them and study them with your wise spiritual friends, or else dismiss them and shut them out of your heart as if you had not seen them'.²⁴ This advice ensures the orthodoxy of visions by offering the option of ignoring those that are difficult to discern, and this option is precisely Pilate's course of action.

In the context of fifteenth-century York, Pilate's choice to ignore the vision would have been the most politically prudent one. After the time of Henry IV's usurpation, political prophecies proliferated to such an extent in York that the archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor of England, and Henry IV himself ordered the York Minster clergy to formally interrogate any visions that were preached in the city in 1406.²⁵ Just after this enforced campaign, Archbishop Arundel enacted his anti-Wycliffite *Constitutions* in 1407 and 1409, which also required the questioning of suspected heretics, including visionaries who did not necessarily identify or qualify as Lollards. As

Katherine Kerby-Fulton has observed, 'The emphasis on official validation at York Minster, especially from 1406 onward, also sheds a little unexpected light on suspicions of Margery Kempe in York, and why she was hauled before the bishop there.'²⁶ The officials of York knew that visions could be powerful political and theological tools in the hands of their allies or their enemies and that prophecies not strategically approved by local church officials were best ignored or suppressed. Procula's episode in the York cycle does, as Nisse argues, cast aspersion on the credibility of feminine, visionary spiritual authority, but it also gives Pilate the chance to model ideal attributes of legal probity in his handling of his wife's dream.

The York cycle dramatist goes to great lengths to transform Pilate into a model of scepticism, deviating significantly from the play's source material. In the Harley and Cotton manuscripts of the *Stanzaic Gospel of Nicodemus*, the detail of the devil inspiring Procula's dream appears only in one added stanza. The rest of the work, including Pilate's response to the dream, remains the same in these versions as it does in earlier versions. Pilate is 'amayed' (30.201) by his wife's dream and says to the Jews, 'Yhe wregh him [Jesus] wrangwisly' (204). Pilate's sympathetic response to his wife contrasts his faith with the Jews' doubts in Christ. In this way, the *Stanzaic Gospel* mitigates Pilate's fault in Jesus's execution by making him appear to believe in Christ's innocence. In the manuscripts containing the extra stanza attributing Procula's dream to the devil, Pilate's belief in his wife no longer seems so virtuous. Not only is she a potential second Eve, but he is a potential second Adam, dangerously swayed by his wife's opinion. In distinctly differing from its source text and altering Pilate's reaction to Procula's dream, 'Christ Before Pilate 1: The Dream of Pilate's Wife' transforms Pilate into a sceptical Adam whose unwillingness to listen to his wife is the very virtue that prevents humankind's eternal damnation. Procula's revised story thus aids in extolling the very quality that it once aided in disparaging, doubt.

The pageant's depiction of Pilate's scepticism casts a positive light on the judicial process in a play that otherwise casts aspersion upon the legal system, particularly in its relation to spiritual matters. As Elza Tiner, Pamela King, and Sarah Beckwith have all noted, Cayphas and Annas's malicious prosecution tactics depicted in Jesus's trials draw attention to abuses of justice common in fifteenth-century York.²⁷ In realistically depicting courtroom corruption, the York cycle's treatment of Christ's trial was bound to resonate with a variety of contemporary cases. As more potential heretics began to be questioned and persecuted in York as a result of Archbishop

Arundel's *Constitutions*, the similarity between the contemporary legal process designed to convict heretics and the Roman legal process that convicted Christ would have been difficult to ignore. Olga Horner has noted that the scenario of an accused heretic (Christ) being tried by a lay official (Pilate) at the urging of the religious officials (Cayphus and Annas) would have been familiar to early fifteenth-century York audiences.²⁸ The circumstances of Jesus's legal case make Pilate potentially comparable with a variety of real-life public officials in York. Religious officials could not judge and prosecute cases whose penalty was execution, and they therefore depended upon civic authorities to condemn Lollards and other presumed heretics. This natural association is problematic in that it potentially creates sympathy for the heretics themselves and casts doubt upon the legal process that condemns them. In adding the example of Pilate's sceptical treatment of Procula's dream, the play counteracts these sympathies and doubts by demonstrating the danger of false spiritual accounts, affirming the ability of judges to handle spiritual matters rationally, and emphasizing the ultimate importance of Jesus's own conviction. The stakes of the dream make it extraordinarily clear that Pilate's eventual decision to condemn Christ is the one that God intends, making Jesus's trial a necessary one rather than an unfair one. Pilate's treatment of the dream does not simply affirm obedience to the law; the dialogue among Pilate, Procula, and the Beadle, which begins the play, introduces the value of legal obedience in an episode that is entirely the invention of the York cycle playwright(s). The episode makes use of Pilate's own contradictory folkloric history to represent him as a conflicted character, torn between feminine excess and masculine responsibility.

A Man Divided

In Pilate's first monologue of 'Christ Before Pilate 1', he gives the origin of his name, claiming that it stems from a combination of his mother's name, 'Pila' and his father's name, 'Atus'. This name's origin draws attention to the popular apocryphal tradition of Pilate's life related in *The Golden Legend*, among other sources.²⁹ In this story, Pilate is the illegitimate child of King Atus and a miller's daughter, Pila. The jealous Pilate murders his legitimate half-brother along with the heir to the throne of France. The split etymology of Pilate's name, drawn from one noble male parent and one lowly female parent, reflects his dual identity — not just in ancestry but also in his character's folk tradition. Arnold Williams has distinguished what he calls legends

of the 'evil' Pilate, which depict him as a former criminal and tragic villain, from the legends of the 'good' Pilate, which attempt to justify or mitigate his decision to execute Christ.³⁰ Williams argues that the York cycle's Pilate is 'caught between two interpretations of Pilate's character, a good and an evil', whereas the Towneley play consistently depicts Pilate as entirely bad.³¹ The York cycle dramatist is not simply inconsistent but rather exploits and employs the contradictory traditions of Pilate's character in a rather sophisticated and self-conscious way. Beginning the play with this interpolation from a separate Pilate tradition speaks not only to the conflicted nature of the character but to the audience's potentially conflicted expectations for the cycle's Pilate, based on their own knowledge of the historical folkloric figure. Is he the murderous, heartless bureaucrat who condemned Christ to suffer a brutal death, or is he the sympathetic, contrite judge whose actions indirectly allowed for the salvation of mankind? The *Tapiters and Couchers*' play acknowledges and exploits both bad and good Pilate traditions to present the character as an example to the audience in a kind of civic psychomachia. Pilate is torn between the negative influence of his wife and the positive influence of his beadle.

Initially, Procula's vanity and sensuality seem to gain influence over her conflicted husband. In the opening scene, Pilate's masculinity is in a crisis due to his uxoriousness. The play begins with parallel speeches of Pilate and Procula, which are wholly the invention of the playwright(s) of the York cycle. Just as Pilate introduces himself, 'Pilate I am, proued a prince of grete pride / I was putte into Pounce þe pepill to presse' (30.19–20), so Procula introduces herself, 'I am dame precious Percula, of prynces þe prise, / Wiffe to ser Pilate here, prince withouten pere' (37–8). Both Procula and her husband praise themselves and each other excessively. He announces to the crowd that his wife is 'So seemly, loo, certayne scho schewys' (27), and she brags of

my countenance so comly and clere.

The coloure of my corse is full clere

And in richness of robes I am rayed.

(40–2)

She praises Pilate as the 'dema of dampnacion' (30), an ironic choice of words that highlights the couple's lack of humility, since God is the true judge of damnation. The couple's mutual admiration is also highly sexual. When Pilate asks Procula for a kiss, she responds obediently, 'To fulfillle youre forward my fayre lorde I am fayne' (50), but after kissing her, Pilate uses similar words, declaring,

Howe, howe, felawys! Nowe in faith I am fayne
 Of theis lippis so loffely are lappid
 In bedde is full buxhome and bayne. (50–2)

Just as Procula is ‘fayne’, meaning both eager and obedient, toward her husband, so too is Pilate ‘fayne’ toward her. In this scene, Pilate resembles Erec, of Chrétien de Troyes’s Arthurian tale *Erec and Enide*, who has grown slack in his knightly responsibilities because he is busy making love to his wife Enide.³² The Beadle’s subsequent urgent pleas that Pilate attend to the court highlight the ways in which Pilate and Procula’s vanity, sensuality, and idleness prevent Pilate from doing his job.

The character of the Beadle is an invention of the play’s source text, the *Stanzaic Gospel of Nicodemus*. In the original, sixth-century, Latin *Gospel of Nicodemus*, a woman named Beatrice tries to explain how Jesus’s cloak healed her, but the Jews silence her by arguing, ‘We have a law not to permit a woman to give testimony.’³³ Like Procula, she is an unjustly ignored, silenced woman who functions as a double for Christ as he stands trial in corrupt Roman and Jewish courts. In depicting Jesus’s sympathetic followers as silenced women, the gospel emphasizes Christ’s role as a political outsider. The *Stanzaic Gospel* strategically replaces the figure of Beatrice with Pilate’s beadle — a masculine, bureaucratic proto-Christian. Like Beatrice, the beadle also witnessed Jesus’s entry into Jerusalem and testifies to this, undercutting the doubt of the Jewish elders with his own statement of belief. The Jews take issue with the beadle’s testimony, arguing, ‘þare carpyng þare no thing þou knew, / we lay our heuedes in wed; / Ierusalem langage es Hebrew’.³⁴ The Jewish leaders doubt the testimony of the beadle because he is Roman and therefore supposedly unable to understand the Hebrew that he claims to have heard. Their refusal to listen to his testimony echoes their refusal to listen to Beatrice’s testimony in the original apocryphal gospel, except that the Jews dismiss the beadle because he is a Roman whereas they dismissed Beatrice because she was a woman. In this way, the beadle functions as a precocious Christian, foreshadowing how Romans, rather than Jews, would eventually become God’s elect. The text does not give this character a name but only refers to him as the ‘bedel’, a word which meant, ‘One who makes announcements or carries messages and performs other services on the authority of a lord, court, guild, etc.; herald, town crier, summoner’.³⁵ As the *Middle English Dictionary* notes, however, the word can also take on the theological meaning of, ‘A messenger or delegate (of God); also, precursor (of

Christ)', and it functions to this day as a name for lay church officials in England.³⁶ The anonymous author of the *Stanzaic Gospel* strategically selected the figure of Pilate's herald, the beadle, to play the role of Christ's herald — the man who announces his divinity to those who have not yet heard the news. The original proto-Christian witnesses of the gospel, Procula and Beatrice, were outsiders to governmental and bureaucratic culture because they were women, but the beadle, although subordinate and full of humility, is very much a part of that culture (in part thanks to his masculinity). His profession, which defines his role in the Roman political court, also defines his role in spiritual salvation.

The York cycle further develops this function of the beadle as an internal, bureaucratic model of Christianity by making him an opposite masculine influence on Pilate in contrast with the feminine Procula. When the humble Beadle reminds Pilate of his legal duties, saying, 'I beseke you my souerayne, assent to my sawes, / As ye are gentill juger and justice of Jewes' (30.57–8), Procula immediately sets herself up as the Beadle's rival, mocking him: 'Do herke how þou, javell, jangill of Jewes. / Why, go bette horosonne boy, when I bidde þe' (59–60). Procula clearly views Pilate's judicial title more as a status symbol than a genuine indicator of legal obligation, and her repeated disparaging names for the Beadle — 'javell', 'horosonne', and, just after, 'carle' (63), evoke his lower status, revealing that she thinks of him as a servant, bound to her authority rather than the law's authority. When Procula chastises him for interrupting her time with Pilate, the Beadle insists, 'Madame, I do but þat diewe is' (61). His respect for the law is apparent, as he admiringly refers to Pilate as 'o leder of lawis' (55). Procula complains of him to Pilate: 'Loo lorde, þis ladde with his laws!' (69), to which Pilate responds, 'Yha luffe, he knawis alloure custome, / I knawe well ...' (71–2). This exchange establishes the Beadle from the very start as a legal stickler and a hard worker — an utterly opposite influence on Pilate.

Pilate must choose between his homosocial legal obligations and his heterosexual marital obligations when the Beadle presses the issue of the curfew. The Beadle continues to harp on laws, reminding Procula that, 'Itt is noȝt leeffull for my lady by the lawe of this lande / In dome for to dwelle fro þe day waxe ought dymme' (30.83–4). He is referring to a curfew, which, although not relevant to any historical accounts of Pilate's court, would have been familiar to citizens of fifteenth-century York. Officials imposed curfews in large towns in order to prevent crime, so people who did not retire to their homes for the evening had to give law enforcement a reasonable

excuse — namely important business to which they were attending.³⁷ Pilate and the Beadle can remain at the court because they must attend to Jesus's trial, but Procula, who has no legal jurisdiction, must return home for the evening. Whereas the play's source material, the *Stanzaic Gospel of Nicodemus*, describes only the day of the trial and refers to Procula's dream as having occurred in the past tense, the play begins the scene the evening before the trial. This change gives the audience the chance to see the devil approach Procula, and of course gives the Tapiters and Couchers the chance to make use of their wares onstage. The addition of this evening scene between Pilate and his wife also gives the Beadle the chance to put the female character in her place — the home.³⁸ As a woman, Procula has no official business in the male-dominated court. Pilate, caught between his passion for his wife and his respect for the law, ultimately chooses the law, reasoning, 'Look þis renke has vs redde als right is' (89). In this way, the pageant casts Pilate's two conflicting allegiances against each other — his decadent lifestyle, represented by his wife, and his legal office, represented by his male employee.

As a character who is antithetical to Procula, the Beadle serves as a role model for ideal civic and masculine conduct within the York cycle. Ruth Mazo Karras has demonstrated that medieval texts construct masculinity in opposition to a variety of categories, such as childhood and animalism, but they most frequently define manhood as that which is not womanly.³⁹ Procula emphasizes her synonymy with all of womankind, saying, 'All welle of all womanhede I am' (30.39) and 'All ladise we coveyte þan bothe to be kyssid and clappid' (54). The Beadle's laudable masculinity is all the more apparent when contrasted with Procula's dangerous femininity. While Procula is obstinate, the Beadle is obedient. Procula is reluctant to obey the town curfew until Pilate insists, 'Nowe wife, þan ye blithely be buskand' (86) and quiets her with a glass of wine, saying, 'Nowe drynke madame — to deth all þis dynne' (101). Conversely, the Beadle is extraordinarily dutiful both to Pilate and the law. His 'rules are rules' attitude toward Procula's observation of the curfew extends even to his attitude toward Christ. He tells Jesus, 'þe juges and þe Jewes hase me enioyned / To bringe þe before þam even bounden as þou arte' (308–9). The Beadle remains faithful to his office, delivering Jesus to the court, bound, but he also worships the son of God by praying and bowing to him. The Beadle's strict adherence to the law is, as Procula's dream illustrates, precisely what is necessary to ensure that Jesus's crucifixion and humanity's resulting salvation will occur. The devil has attempted to prevent Christ's death, so the Beadle's legal devotion within

the trial that will condemn Christ is, in this light, a virtue, particularly when coupled with his genuine faith in Christ's divinity. In obeying Pilate's orders, he declares, 'I am boxsom and blithe to your blee' (249). The Beadle's choice of the word 'boxsom' is one associated with a wife's responsiveness to her husband's desires, as Pilate earlier brags of Procula that she 'In bedde is full buxhome and byne' (52) and pleads with her to 'blithely be buskand' (86). While Procula may be obedient and willing in bed, the Beadle is obedient and willing in Pilate's court. He is an alternative and superior helpmate for Pilate, whom the Beadle encourages to make the proper and lawful decisions. In subordinating himself, the Beadle is not emasculated. As Fitzgerald notes, in other York pageants such as 'Abraham and Isaac' and 'Sacrifice of Cain and Abel', personal sacrifice and obedience mark the passage into manhood and characterize masculinity.⁴⁰ The Beadle's homosocial deference demonstrates his dedication to the rule of the court, a court from whose proceedings Procula is excluded by virtue of her sex.

The Beadle not only models the masculine virtue of obedience to the law but also that of shrewd scepticism. Procula shows how easily the devil can seduce her when she describes how

All naked þis nyght as I napped
 With tene and with trayne was I trapped
 With a sweuene þat swifty me swapped. (30.186–8)

The added detail of her sleeping in the nude makes the scene read like a romantic seduction — one in which she is completely vulnerable. When she describes how she was 'swapped' or overtaken in bed, it sounds as if she were describing a love affair, or perhaps a rape, rather than a dream. In this way, her presumably vulnerable feminine body signifies her presumably vulnerable feminine mind and spirit. Through her seduction, Procula becomes a false prophet, reporting a dream that she believes to be divinely inspired. The Beadle's legal counsel, on the other hand, is cautious and genuinely prophetic. When asking Pilate to dismiss his wife, he warns him:

My seniour, will ye see nowe þe sonne in youre sight,
 For his stately strength he stemmys in his stremys?
 Behalde ovir youre hede how he heldis for hight
 And glydis to þe grounde with his glitterand glemys.
 To þe grounde he gois with his bemys
 And þe nyght is neghand anone.

The may deme aftir no dremys,
 But late my lady here with all hir light lemys
 Wightly go wende till hir wone. (73–81)

The Beadle's description of the 'sonne' which will be cast 'to þe grounde' also foreshadows Pilate's business with the trial of Jesus, wherein the son of God will be condemned to execution. For this trial, Pilate must have his wits about him. The Beadle shrewdly reminds him to 'deme aftir no dremys', anticipating the deceptive dream that Procula will have and characterizing her influence over Pilate as a sort of deceptive dream itself, warning him to send her home. The Beadle, unlike Procula, is aware of the potential dangers of dreaming and seduction, particularly when they distract one from legal matters of the state. Pilate does indeed follow the Beadle's advice in the subsequent episode, dismissing Procula's dream as inadmissible evidence.

Once Pilate has banished his wife's seductive influence, he has the critical distance to ignore her dream. The N-Town plays, on the other hand, uniquely stage Procula's presence and, in the process, emphasize Pilate's fault. The N-Town Procula, according to the stage directions, enters 'makyn a rewly [pitiable] noyse, coming and rennyng of the schaffald. And her shert and her kyrtyl (gown) in her hand, and sche shal come beforn Pylat leke (like) a mad woman'.⁴¹ Her frenzied and frightened state contrasts with her sober and accurate warnings to her husband: 'Yf thu jewge hym to be dede, / Thu art dampnyd withowtyn ende!' (31.60–1) and 'The Jewys, thei wole begyle thee / And put on thee all the trespace' (30.72–3). The tone of the N-Town Procula's warning is pure panic, and her concern for her husband's fate highlights Pilate's personal tragedy, which casts him as a legal pawn of the Jewish leaders. The N-Town Pilate's calm response to her frenzy emphasizes his lack of concern. He soothingly quiets her, saying, 'Gramercy, myn wyf, forevyr ye be trewe. / Youre cowncel is good, and evyr hath be' (74–5), and then suggesting that she return to her room to sew. As Katie Normington has noted, the N-Town Pilate, like the York Pilate, confines his wife to her domestic space.⁴² Yet the main contrast in the scene is not between the woman of the house and the man of the law; it is between a panicked wife and an unconcerned husband. This interchange takes place slightly later in the course of events than it does in the York cycle. Jesus has already been before Pilate once, and Pilate has sent his case to Herod, who he believes will resolve the matter without involving Roman authorities. Procula's dire warnings of

Pilate's doomed future indicate that he should be concerned, but he fails to notice.

The York cycle Procula's report of her dream is more of a seduction than a frenzy. Both she and her son, whom she sends to deliver the message to Pilate, describe her as being 'al nakid' (33.186, 285) and 'swapped' (188, 287). The night-time setting of the play and Pilate's passionate relationship with Procula seem to indicate that had Pilate remained in bed with his wife rather than sleeping separately from her, Procula might have seduced him just as the devil seduced her. In confining her seductive influence to the separate domestic space and safely napping under the guard of the Beadle in the courtroom, Pilate gives himself the critical distance that he needs. While the son's report of Procula's dream mentions 'dread of vengeance' (290), it does not emphasize Pilate's personal fate as a pawn of the Jews or a damned man. The prediction does not even make it clear that Pilate will, in fact, be damned for his decision. The son instead emphasizes Jesus's innocence, calling him 'þe just man þe Jewes will vndo' (288) — a prediction which is true but which will ultimately result in salvation. Pilate does not believe the dream to be false, as the N-Town Pilate seems to do, but rather decides to maintain scepticism and pursue further, more concrete evidence. In staging the dream as a thwarted seduction, spatially interrupted by the holy Beadle, the play makes Pilate's unwillingness to believe the dream a personal triumph.

The Seductive City and the Resistant Man

Katie Normington has discussed Procula as a negative model for the conduct of aristocratic women — an example of a woman who attempts to rebel from domestic confinement and obedience only to fail and discredit herself in the process as vain and lecherous. Yet Procula functions as a negative example for masculine conduct as well because she is the embodiment of seductive vice. Procula's obvious vices — her sexuality, her drunkenness, and her vanity — are those which negatively influence her husband and leave both of them vulnerable to the devil. Seduction is Procula's primary method of distracting Pilate from his duties. The pageant establishes Procula's sexual appetite when she shares a passionate kiss with Pilate, making him 'fayne / Of theis lippis so loffely' (30.50–1), unwilling at first to leave her side to perform his duties in court. Her ability to intoxicate Pilate amplifies her seductive powers. He clearly overindulges with Procula. To cheer her as she goes home, or perhaps simply to quiet her, Pilate shares wine with his wife, telling her, 'Ye schall

wende forthe with wyne when þat 3e haue wette yowe ... Come seemly, beside me, and sette yowe' (94–6). When the Beadle advises that Procula retire in observance of the curfew, he remarks, 'For scho may stakir in þe street but scho stalworthely stande' (85). The Beadle alludes to Procula's tendency to totter home in a drunken condition, indicating that her excessive consumption of wine is a regular occurrence. Pilate has clearly been imbibing with his wife, as he explains to the Beadle that he is so heavy because, 'I haue wette me with wyne' (135). Procula's vanity likewise seems to have rubbed off on her husband. As she brags, 'in richness of robis I am rayed' (42), he asks the Beadle, 'loke I be rychely arrayed' (128). The devil does not even attempt to appeal to Procula's sympathy for Jesus's innocence but instead warns, 'Youre strife and youre strenghe schal be stroyed, / Youre richesse schal be refte you þat is rude' (173–4). She is afraid of her dream because the things most precious to her, her status and money, have been threatened. Procula's vices threaten to overcome Pilate entirely as the devil attempts to seduce Pilate indirectly through his wife.

These specific amplifications of Procula's character — her sexual appetite, her thirst for wine, her vanity, and her ability to distract a man in power — give her a great deal in common with the Book of Revelation's Whore of Babylon, 'cum qua fornicati sunt reges terrae et inebriati sunt qui inhabitant terram de vino prostitutionis eius' [with whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication. And they who inhabit the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her whoredom] (Rev. 17:2). This similarity is not to say that Procula is a deliberate type of the Whore, but that the dramatist employs her in a similar function — as a feminine metaphor for civic conduct addressed to a male audience who can choose to embrace or reject her as a love object. The Book of Revelation makes clear that the 'Whore of Babylon' is not a literal whore but a representation of Babylon itself: 'et mulier quam vidisti est civitas magna' [and the woman which thou sawest is the great city] (Rev. 17:18). The whore 'sedet super aquas multas' [sitteth upon many waters] (Rev. 17:1). She is at once a female body, whorishly open to men of all sorts, and an urban port, economically open to foreign ships. Upon the destruction of this whore, 'negotiatores terrae flebunt et lugebunt super illam quoniam merces eorum nemo emet amplius' [the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her: for no man shall buy their merchandise any more] (Rev. 18:11). Lavishly arrayed and bearing wine, she represents the intoxication of a wealthy mercantile city. Regardless of the intentionality of iconographic similarities between Procula and the Whore, the York cycle

and the Book of Revelation employ the same gendered imagery in order to represent all that is seductive and destructive about urban life.

The Whore of Babylon was an established local symbol of civic vices in York. For example, York Minster's Great East Window, which John Thornton completed between 1405 and 1408, depicts scenes from the Old Testament in its upper section and scenes from the apocalypse cycle in its lower section, prominently featuring the Whore of Babylon.⁴³ The window's representation of the apocalypse emphasizes civic morality. Its images show angels harvesting God's wrath from vine-plants and treading it in a wine-press. The angels pour the wine-coloured wrath into various parts of Babylon, destroying the city. One section depicts the Whore of Babylon riding on the beast and holding a yellow chalice full of wine, representing her powers of intoxication over the town as well as the downfall that she brings upon herself, the city, by evoking God's wrath — the wine which is the anti-type to her own. A snake crawls over her shoulder, representing her typological connection to Eve. The panel next to the one portraying the Whore depicts a group of merchants, mourning for the fall of Babylon and the Whore, who are one and the same. The creators of the window apparently intended to inspire virtuous civic conduct. In its last panel devoted to the apocalypse, the Great East Window shows the contrasting city of New Jerusalem, governed by God in heaven. Pontifical records show that the church's prayers, readings, and antiphons dwelt upon imagery and themes of New Jerusalem as a model for York itself.⁴⁴

The Book of Revelation likewise contrasts Babylon and the Whore with New Jerusalem, which is described as being 'paratam sicut sponsam ornatam viro suo' [prepared as a bride adorned for her husband] (Rev. 21:2). Barbara Rossing identifies this contrasting characterization of Babylon and New Jerusalem as an example of the classical two-ways topos, in which the male protagonist faces the choice between a righteous, good woman and a seductive, evil woman, who symbolically represent a young man's potential paths in life.⁴⁵ The decadent city of Babylon is the whore, whom Christians ought to reject for the love of the New Jerusalem, the virgin. While these women might seem to be opposites, they also have a great deal in common. They are both arrayed in fine jewels and are both potential sexual partners for the man who chooses between them — although in the case of the virginal bride, the implication is consummation delayed until marriage. Both images associate women with luxury, but the whore embodies sinful luxury enjoyed on earth, while the bride represents divine luxury enjoyed as a reward in heaven. In

Piers Plowman, William Langland characterizes this duality of feminized luxury in one allegorical personification, Lady Meed, who can be either a bride or a bawd, depending upon her custodian. Much like the Book of Revelation, the York cycle presents a bawdy woman, Procula, as a model of urban identity to avoid. Unlike the Book of Revelation, the York cycle's superior alternative civic model is not a virtuous woman but a man, the proto-Christian Beadle. Pilate's example is not of the man who avoids temptation so that he might receive riches in heaven but of a man who avoids temptation so that he might earn the prestige and friendship that his manhood alone can bestow upon him. The Beadle is, above all, the model of obedience — much like the York cycle's Christ, whom Fitzgerald has characterized as the play's primary model of masculinity. This is a model, Fitzgerald claims, of 'self-sacrifice, self-erasure, of absence — in other words, of compliance with normative ideals of masculinity — in the name of fortitude'.⁴⁶ Like Jesus, obedient to his heavenly father's commands, the Beadle is obedient to the dictates of earthly law and influences Pilate to behave in the same way.

By expanding Procula's character and transforming her into a foil for the Beadle, the York cycle continues onstage the centuries-long transformation of Pilate's character from shameful bureaucrat to critical judge. Pilate's struggle to resist Procula's influence in order to do his job in court demonstrates that she is not only a cautionary example, regulating and containing the conduct of women, but also one meant to regulate and contain the conduct of men. In this way, the play functions as a civic psychomachia, in which Pilate plays the conflicted Everyman or Mankind. Procula symbolizes the kind of urban effeminacy to be avoided by all. Pilate's own conversion at the hands of the Beadle toward accepting masculine civic duty enables him to make the proper decision in Jesus's case. Although he personally believes Jesus's claims to divinity, declaring after Christ's testimony, 'Me semys þat it is soth þat he saies' (30.482), he ultimately condemns him according to the strict letter of the law. When Cayphas tells him, 'To be kyng he claymeth, with croune' (33.329), Pilate responds, 'Sir, trulye þat touched to treasoune' (333), adopting the 'rules are rules' attitude initially exhibited by the Beadle. The devil's scheme to change the outcome of the trial through Procula's dream makes it clear that Pilate's strict adherence to bureaucracy is far from heartless; it is, in fact, what enables mankind's salvation. The York cycle's example of a disobedient, seductive, greedy, vain, and misguided Procula therefore not only puts women in their place; it puts all men in their place, in the service of the law.

Notes

- 1 Vulgate, Douay-Rheims.
- 2 See Pseudo-Bede, *In Matthaei Evangelium Expositio*, ch. 27, Jacques-Paul Migne (ed.), *Patrologia Latina* (Paris, 1844–64), 92.0121C; Vincent de Beauvais, *Speculum Historiale* (Graz, 1965), 236; and Peter Comestor, *Historia Scholastica*, ch. 167, *Patrologia Latina*, 198.1628B. Comestor suggests that the devil recognizes Jesus as a threat when he hears the saints celebrating the impending crucifixion in purgatory.
- 3 See C.W. Marx, 'The *Gospel of Nicodemus* in Old English and Middle English', Zbigniew Izydorczyk (ed.), *The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus: Texts, Intertexts, and Contexts in Western Europe* (Tempe, AZ, 1997), 241.
- 4 See Katie Normington, *Gender and Medieval Drama* (Cambridge, 2004), 133–40.
- 5 Mervyn James, 'Ritual, Body, and Social Body in the Late Medieval English Town', *Past and Present* 98 (1983), 12.
- 6 See Jeremy Goldberg, 'The Craft Guilds, the Corpus Christi Play and Civic Government', Sarah Rees Jones (ed.), *The Government of Medieval York: Essays in Commemoration of the 1396 Royal Charter* (York, 1997), 141–63. See also Gweno Williams, Alison Findlay, and Stephanie Hodgson-Wright, 'Payments, Permits, and Punishments: Women Performers and the Politics of Place', Pamela Allen Brown and Peter Parolin (eds), *Women Players in England, 1500–1600: Beyond the All-Male Stage* (Hampshire, 2005), 45–70. For arguments of exclusive male performance in the York cycle and similar pageant festivals, see Meg Twycross, "'Transvestism" in the Mystery Plays', *Medieval Theatre* 5.2 (1985), 123–80 and Richard Rastall, 'Female Roles in All-Male Casts', *Medieval Theatre* 7.1 (1985), 25–51.
- 7 See Ruth Evans, 'Body Politics: Engendering Medieval Cycle Drama', Ruth Evans and Lesley Johnson (eds), *Feminist Readings in Middle English Literature: The Wife of Bath and All Her Sect* (London, 1994), 112–39.
- 8 Christina Fitzgerald, *The Drama of Masculinity and Medieval English Guild Culture* (New York, 2007), 6.
- 9 *Ibid.*, 1.
- 10 *Ibid.*, 60.
- 11 *Ibid.*, 61.
- 12 A.F. Johnston and M. Rogerson (eds), *Records of Early English Drama: York*, 2 vols (Toronto, 1979), 707.
- 13 Marx, 'The *Gospel of Nicodemus*', 242.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 236.

- 15 M.R. James (trans.), J.K. Elliot (ed.), 'The Gospel of Nicodemus', *The Apocryphal New Testament: A Collection of Apocryphal Christian Literature in an English Translation Based on M.R. James* (Oxford, 1993), 172.
- 16 See note 2.
- 17 *Glossa Ordinaria*, ch. 27, *Patrologia Latina*, 114.0173D. Translation taken from C. William Marx (trans.), *The Devil's Rights and Redemption in the Literature of Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1995), 52.
- 18 Ruth Nisse, 'Naked Visions', *Defining Acts: Drama and the Politics of Interpretation in Late Medieval England* (Notre Dame, IN, 2005), 47–74.
- 19 See Roger Ellis, 'Flores ad fabricandam ... coronam': An Investigation into the Use of the Revelations of St Bridget in Fifteenth-Century England', *Medium Aevum* 51 (1982), 163–86 and Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, *Books Under Suspicion: Censorship and Tolerance of Revelatory Writing in Late Medieval England* (Notre Dame, IN, 2006), 262–71. An unattributed version of Marguerite Porete's *Mirror of Simple Souls* can be found in manuscripts such as BL Add ms 37790 and Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley ms 505, which belonged to Carthusian monasteries in Yorkshire. Kerby-Fulton has argued that while readers of these manuscripts would not have known that a condemned heretic had written the *Mirror*, they would have known that a woman wrote it, given the gendered language of the text (261). Furthermore, Kerby-Fulton notes that the work is included with other works addressing women's mysticism such as Julian of Norwich's *Revelation* and *The Chastising of God's Children*, a work addressed to a female audience warning of the deceptions of visions (262–71).
- 20 P. Glorieux (ed.), *Jean Gerson: Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 9 (Paris, 1960–73), 468. Translation taken from D. Catherine Brown (trans.), *Pastor and Laity in the Theology of Jean Gerson* (Cambridge, 1987), 223.
- 21 *Ibid.*, 64.
- 22 Quoted in Nancy Caciola, *Discerning Spirits: Divine and Demonic Possession in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 2003), 291. Also see Kerby-Fulton, *Books Under Suspicion*, 200.
- 23 Richard Beadle (ed.), *The York Plays: A Critical Edition of the York Corpus Christi Play as Recorded in British Library Additional ms 35290*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 2009). All subsequent quotations are taken from this edition.
- 24 Denis Searby (trans.), *The Revelations of St. Birgitta of Sweden*, vol. 2 (Oxford, 2008), 87.
- 25 See Kerby-Fulton, *Books Under Suspicion*, 239.
- 26 *Ibid.*, 245–6.
- 27 See Elza Tiner, 'English Law in the York Trial Plays', Clifford Davidson (ed.), *The Dramatic Tradition of the Middle Ages* (New York: AMS, 2005), 140–9; Sarah Beckwith, 'Penance, Presence, Punishment', *Signifying God: Social Relation and Symbolic*

- Act in the York Corups Christi Plays* (Chicago, 2001), 90–117; and Pamela M. King, 'Feast of Fools', *The York Mystery Cycle and the Worship of the City* (Cambridge, 2006), 184–204.
- 28 Olga Horner, "'Us Must Make Lies': Witness, Evidence, and Proof in the York *Resurrection*", *Early English Theatre* 20 (1998), 54.
- 29 The story also appears in the *Stanzaic Life of Christ*, Mirk's *Festial*, and Higden's *Polychronicon*. See Arnold Williams, *The Characterization of Pilate in the Towneley Plays* (East Lansing, MI, 1950), 9.
- 30 Williams, *Characterization of Pilate*, 1.
- 31 *Ibid.*, 7.
- 32 For a discussion of Erec's uxoriousness, particularly in relation to Chrétien's source text, the *Aeneid*, see Marilynn Desmond, *Reading Dido: Gender, Textuality, and the Medieval Aeneid* (Minneapolis, 1994), 99–128.
- 33 *Ibid.*, 172. Beatrice is called Veronica in some Latin editions.
- 34 William Henry Hulme (trans.), 'The Acts of Pilate', *The Middle English Harrowing of Hell and Acts of Pilate* (London, 1907). All four versions are printed side-by-side. Quotations are taken from the Harley ms 4196 version. All subsequent quotations are taken from this edition.
- 35 *Middle English Dictionary*, s.v. 'bedel'.
- 36 *Ibid.*
- 37 See Deborah Youngs and Simon Harris, 'Demonizing the Night in Medieval Europe: A Temporal Monstrosity?' Bettina Bildhauer and Robert Mills (eds), *The Monstrous Middle Ages* (Cornwall, 2003), 134–54. Also see Marjorie Keniston McIntosh, *Controlling Misbehavior in Medieval England, 1370–1600* (Cambridge, 1998), 31, n. 20. McIntosh notes that English court records for urban areas indicate, 'Nightwalking was of major concern from the 1350s through about 1540, after which it virtually disappeared' (31).
- 38 Katie Normington, *Gender and Medieval Drama*, 133, has asserted that Procula's relegation to the home during curfew 'demonstrates the changes which occurred in the social world of late medieval England. [Procula] illustrates the increasing distance between public and private worlds, and the establishment of separate spheres for men and women'.
- 39 See Ruth Mazo Karras, *From Boys to Men: Formations of Masculinity in Late Medieval Europe* (Philadelphia, 2003), 153.
- 40 Fitzgerald, *Drama of Masculinity*, 75.
- 41 Douglas Sugano (ed.), *The N-Town Plays* (Kalamazoo, MI, 2007). All subsequent quotations are taken from this edition.
- 42 Normington, *Gender and Medieval Drama*, 133.

- 43 Clifford Davidson has famously argued that ‘we ought to view the vernacular cycle plays as an extension of the visual arts’ and that the aesthetic contexts of these plays can suggest much about the ways in which they evoke iconography. Given that the window, one of the largest of its kind, so prominently depicts the Whore as a symbol of what the city ought not to be, it is easy to understand how the York cycle’s depiction of Procula could draw from the Whore’s iconography in order to allude to their similar typological functions. Clifford Davidson, *Drama and Art: An Introduction to the Use of Evidence From the Visual Arts For the Study of Early Drama* (Kalamazoo, 1977), 11.
- 44 David O’Connor, ‘Introduction: Iconography’, *York Minster: The Great East Window*, Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi: Great Britain — Summary Catalogue 2 (Oxford, 1995), 6–11; 10.
- 45 Ibid.
- 46 Fitzgerald, *Drama of Masculinity*, 150.