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The Non-Cycle
Mystery Plays,

TOGETHER WITH

THE CROXTON PLAY OF THE SACRAMENT

AND

THE PRIDE OF LIFE.

RE-EDITED FROM THE MANUSCRIPTS

BY

OSBORN WATERHOUSE, M.A.,

WITH INTRODUCTION AND
GLOSSARY.

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To my friend and former teacher,

Professor Moorman,

gratefully dedicated.
PREFACE.

Even in the preparation of so small a volume as this, one lays oneself open to many obligations. My heartiest thanks I owe to Miss L. Toulmin-Smith for permission to print from her editions of the Brome Play; to Mr. Walter Rye for rediscovering an eighteenth-century transcript of the Norwich Play; and to Mr. E. E. Kitchener and E. F. M. for valuable help in reading proof. Dr. Furnivall's unfailing kindliness to, and encouragement of, his editors are too well known to call for mention.

Topsham, Devon, Feb. 2, 1909.
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INTRODUCTION.

I.

General.

The miscellaneous character of the contents of the present volume rendered it somewhat difficult to select a title which would adequately and fittingly describe such a collection of plays. Apart from the "morality," *The Pride of Life*, which has been included on account of its early date, and the *Play of the Sacrament*, a miracle play, the collection comprises those remains of our early-English, religious drama, not contained in the four great cycles of mystery plays. The term "non-cycle mysteries" is, however, not intended to suggest that they have never formed part of some mystery-cycle, which question is rather reserved for discussion in dealing with each piece individually.

Although three of the plays are fragmentary, and all the Biblical ones handle subjects treated in the cycles, their interest is not thereby diminished; and their importance, in so far as they supply much additional information with reference to the history and development of our early drama, is by no means insignificant. The manuscript containing the three "offices," known as the *Shrewsbury Fragments*, is the only English example of plays representing the drama in transition from the liturgical play to the mystery proper; the Newcastle and Norwich plays supply us with interesting details, the one of the methods of composition, the other of the mode of performance and staging of the respective plays; the two Abraham plays, in comparison with the four plays in the cycles upon the same subject, show us something of the variety with which this popular story was treated; the Croxton *Play of the Sacrament* is the only preserved text of a miracle play, the existence of which type in England, as well as on the Continent is amply proved by various official records; and *The Pride of Life* serves as a link between the morality plays of the later form and construction and the dance-of-death plays.
Geographical distribution of performances.

The preservation of the four great cycles of plays has naturally led to the emphasizing of the cyclical form and cyclical method of performance as the typical one in England, and has also resulted in the ignoring to a large extent of the plays and recorded performances which do not come into this category. The number of documents which have been lost and the number of performances the record of which also has not been preserved, are immense, but still sufficient evidence is to hand to indicate how widespread and popular the performances were, that the greatest possible variety of treatment did exist, and that the cycle and the cyclical mode of performance were by no means universal.

Between the beginning of the tenth and the end of the sixteenth centuries, in all parts of Great Britain from Aberdeen to Cornwall, performances of liturgical and mystery plays are on record; Dublin has them too, and John Bale's religious plays, God's Promises and John the Baptist, were performed as far west as Kilkenny. Local circumstances, such as the amount of ecclesiastical influence and the number and wealth of the trade-guilds, were often the factors determining the magnificence, or insignificance, and the mode of performance of the plays. Thus cycles of all sizes appear to have existed: York has preserved forty-eight plays, Coventry forty-two, Wakefield thirty, and Chester twenty-five; while we learn from various municipal records that Beverley had thirty-six, Norwich thirteen, Newcastle twelve, Worcester five, Bungay in Suffolk at least five but very probably more, Lincoln probably four, and that Chelmsford, Ipswich and other places also possessed cycles. The length of the cycle depended largely upon the number and prosperity of the guilds: the formation of new guilds necessitated the inclusion of a new play or the division of existing plays: a lack of funds in particular guilds, on the other hand, led to the dropping or amalgamation of certain plays. Thus for example, the Norwich play of The Creation was sometimes preceded by the Fall of the Angels, while at other times it was the first play of the series; again, a list of the York plays drawn up in 1415 gives the number as fifty-one, a second, undated list as fifty-seven, and the manuscript preserves forty-eight; and the thirty-eight Beverley plays of 1390 were thirty-six in 1520: further we learn from the accounts of the latter that in 1411 a play was added, and that in 1495 another play was divided.

Another custom seems to have existed at Aberdeen which
possessed two series of plays; the Passion and Nativity cycles were not amalgamated, but the former was performed at Corpus Christi and the latter at Candlemas.

The occasions on which such plays were performed were equally various and numerous as the plays themselves. The most popular of all days appears to have been Corpus Christi, which comes at a time of the year when the weather is suitable for such performances, and which received additional ecclesiastical importance in 1311 at the Council of Vienne, when Clement V confirmed a bull enacted by Urban IV. In England the plays were very intimately connected with the Corpus Christi procession, although instances of their dissociation are not unknown; at Newcastle, for example, the procession took place in the morning and the plays were performed in the afternoon. Other days too were popular. A cyclical play at Chelmsford appears to have been given on Midsummer Day, or a day soon following, while Chester, Norwich, New Romney, and probably Leicester, performed their respective plays at Whit-suntide. This, also, was exceptionally the case with the plays at York in the year 1569, Whits Tuesday being the day selected. On an earlier occasion (1426), in the same town, the plays were given on Corpus Christi Day, and the procession postponed until the day following. At Lincoln the performance took place on St. Anne's Day, and at Beverley on St. Mark's Day. The Edinburgh Candlemas and Corpus-Christi performances have already been referred to. On at least one occasion, a cycle of plays is recorded to have been performed at a royal entry, viz., at Aberdeen in May 1511, for the entertainment of Queen Margaret, the wife of James IV, as Dunbar tells:

"The streittis war all hung with tapestrie,  
Great was the press of peopill dwelt about,  
And pleasant padgeanes playit prattelie."¹

The number of pageants used and the number of "stations" at which performances were given, are by no means coincident with the number of plays: custom varied considerably. The thirty-six plays of the Beverley cycle were given at six consecutive "stations" in the course of one day; the forty-two Coventry plays were allotted to ten or twelve pageants each of which covered several incidents, and were only performed at three "stations," the whole

being also performed within the day; while at Chester, where the plays were given at Whitsuntide, nine were performed on the Monday, nine on Tuesday and seven on Wednesday, all at numerous stations; and at York, in 1399, the number of "stations" was limited by statute to twelve, but afterwards varied between twelve and sixteen. A cyclical play at Chelmsford, given on the Monday after Midsummer Day in 1562, is further peculiar in that it was played "in a 'pightell' or enclosure, upon a scaffold with a stage for the spectators," and appears to have been taken on circuit to other towns, since on the following day it was performed at Braintree and later at Malden. At Coventry the plays were only given at three, or at most, four "stations," while the customs at Leicester, Lincoln, Norwich and Worcester have not been definitely recorded. On two occasions, 1409 and 1411, performances are recorded at Skynners' Well,\(^1\) London, which, according to the description of them preserved, must have been of the nature of mystery plays and were evidently given on a very extensive scale; the play of 1409, "whiche endured Wednesday, Thorsday, Friday and on Soneday was ended," showed "how God created Heaven and Earth, out of nothing, and how he created Adam and so on to the Day of Judgment"; and in 1411, "begane a gret play from the begynnynge of the worlde, at the skynners' well, that lastyd vij dayes contynually; and there ware the moste parte of the lوردes and gentylles of Ynglond."

The performance of these mystery-cycles, with few exceptions, took place annually: occasionally, however, other cyclical plays were substituted for the mystery-cycle. Thus, for example, at York, in 1535, for the latter was substituted The Creed play, which was performed every tenth year, generally, however, in addition to the craft-plays, and in 1488 and 1558 by The Pater-noster play: in 1550 and 1552 the performances were omitted because of plague, and in 1564, 1565 and 1566, because of war and sickness. At Lincoln, too, the Ludus Corporis Christi was apparently at various times replaced by Ludus de Pater Noster, Ludus Sancti Laurentii, Ludus Sanctae Susannaæ, Ludus de Kyng Robert of Cesill or Ludus de Sancta Clara, according as the authorities determined.

The records of performances of single plays of both types, mystery and miracle, are numerous and widespread. A single play, for

\(^1\) Also referred to as Clerkenwell.
example, was frequently selected from a cycle for separate performance, as was often the case at Chester. Thus, in 1488, The Assumption was performed before Lord Strange at the High Cross; in 1515, the same play, in conjunction with The Shepherds play, in St. John's Churchyard; in 1576, The Purification, by the Smiths at Alderman Mountford's on Midsummer Eve, and finally, in 1578, The Shepherds play with others, at the "High Cross on the Roodee" before the Earl of Derby and Lord Strange. Thus, to cite further examples, Aberdeen had a Resurrection play; the Digby Burial and Resurrection was played, one part on Good Friday and the other part on Easter day; in 1584 at Coventry a Destruction of Jerusalem play was performed; at Hull a Noah play; at Leconsfield a Christmas Nativity play and an Easter Resurrection play; at Leicester a Herod and a Shepherds play; at Winchester in 1486 a Christi discensus ad Inferos; and at Canterbury the Three Kings of Coleyn. Plays of a nature very much akin to these few representative ones already mentioned, based upon apocryphal sources and other early Church writings, are equally numerous; in 1528, at Dublin, was performed the Deaths of the Apostles, and at Shrewsbury in 1565, Julian the Apostate. Most numerous of all, however, are the records of plays upon incidents drawn from the life of some saint; and this is not to be wondered at, since not only had each church its patron saint, but also each craft-guild, the honouring of whom was certainly one of the first duties of the members of the guild. St. George and St. Thomas of Canterbury naturally occupy the foremost places, but are by no means alone; thus, London, Coventry and Dunstable have records of plays of St. Catherine; Brantree of St. Swithin, St. Andrew and St. Eustace; and Lincoln of Saints Laurence, Susanna, Jacob and Clara; to mention but a few of the multitude of references available.

Unlike the cycles, these single plays were intended as occasional rather than annual events. Local conditions determined their time and manner of performance. In a still larger degree than cyclical plays they served to adorn court festivities (as for example at Windsor in 1416, when Henry V invested the Emperor Sigismund with the Order of the Garter), banquets, royal entries, and to celebrate particular saints' days. Still performances on the usual festivals are very numerous, although somewhat irregular;

1 E. K. Chambers, Medieval Stage, ii, 355, quoted from Morris and Furnivall.
thus, for example, Dublin and Lichfield had performances at Christmas, Leicester on New Year’s Eve, Lichfield and other towns at Easter, Hull on Plough Monday, Reading at Bartlemastide, etc.

Moreover, long after Biblical plays ceased to be liturgical in character, the church continued to serve the people as theatre, and the surplices of the clergy as part of the necessary costumes of the actors. As late as the sixteenth century the performance of plays in the church, indeed, was a very common occurrence, as is proved by the church records at Halstead, Heybridge and Braintree, to quote three out of many examples; and from the same accounts we learn, too, that money was collected by some method or other from the spectators, on behalf of the ecclesiastical funds. Thus, in 1523, to quote an example from Braintree, a St. Swithin play, acted in the church on a Wednesday, realized £6 14s. 11½d., the expenses of which were £3 1s. 4d., leaving a net gain of £3 13s. 7½d. due to the church. Similar records are numerous. The churchyard, also, continued to be a popular place for performances, as was the case at Bungay in 1566; while at Dublin, Hoggin Green (now College Green), at Chelmsford a “pightell,” at Canterbury the Guildhall, and at Reading the market-place, were distinguished as places chosen for plays. This small list, however, illustrates rather than exhausts, the variety of places which were used for the purpose.

An interchange of plays, players, and stage-effects, between towns having performances, was also a frequent occurrence. Thus, a play which had proved popular at one place was often taken to a neighbouring town or village. So we learn that between 1429 and 1490, players from New Romney often, and players from Ruckinge (1431), Wytesham (1441), Ham (1454), Hythe (1467), Folkestone (1479), Rye (1480), and Stone (1490), acted at Lydd; while in 1490, the chaplain of the Guild of St. George at New Romney, went to see a play at Lydd, with a view to its reproduction in his own town. New Romney itself, although, as is evident, well provided with its own players, was often visited by those from other towns: in 1399 from Hythe, 1422 Lydd, 1426 Wittersham, 1429 Herne, 1430 Ruckinge, 1474 Folkestone, 1488 Appledore, 1489 Chart and Rye, 1491 Wye, 1494 Brookland, 1499 Halden, and 1508 Bethersden. The two which we have quoted are, moreover, by no means isolated examples. Records of the borrowing and lending of wardrobes are also very numerous: the Chelmsford wardrobe was apparently
very valuable, was at various times noted down in inventories, and the lending of it became a regular and valuable source of income to the churchwardens. To multiply further examples would be valueless and tedious: but sufficient has been said in these few opening lines to indicate, inadequately perhaps, the variety of, and extent to which single plays flourished, how widespread they were, and how important a part in the national life they played; and that a considerable amount of dramatic activity, which has too often been overlooked, did exist outside the limits of the great cycles and the few others which were believed to have existed. With these few introductory, general remarks we turn to an individual consideration of the separate plays.

II.

FRAGMENTS OF LITURGICAL PLAYS, DISCOVERED AT SHREWSBURY.

On January 4th, 1890, in a letter to The Academy, the Rev. Prof. Skeat first called public attention to the discovery of these plays, and a week later, in the same journal, published the text of the manuscript: upon these two articles the following account of the manuscript and its contents is based. 1

The manuscript in question (Mus. iii. 42) was discovered at Shrewsbury, in the library of the school, by Dr. Calvert: of this document Dr. Calvert made a transcript and sent it to Dr. Clark, who in turn handed it to Prof. Skeat. Certain problems which this transcript suggested to the latter scholar, led him to seek their solution in the original. The manuscript, Prof. Skeat tells us, originally consisted of forty-three leaves; five quires of eight leaves, and one quire of three leaves: the ninth leaf had been cut out. The first leaf is a palimpsest, and originally contained what is written on the back of the second leaf. The first thirty-six leaves, written with care, and rubricated, contain the following Latin anthems, carefully set to music:—

1 In the summer of 1905 I visited Shrewsbury School for the purpose of collating the MS., but could find no responsible person who could give me permission to see it; and at the end of the summer holidays in the same year I wrote to the headmaster of the school for permission to consult it, but have not yet received a reply to my letter: I have, therefore, been compelled to base my text and much of the material in this introduction upon the articles of Prof. Skeat; fortunately a scholar of such eminence that one can rest assured the version of the text and facts respecting the manuscript are to be implicitly relied upon.

MYSTERY PLAYS.
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Contents of the Shrewsbury MS. (Mus. iii. 42).

1. Centum quadranta, etc., Rev. xiv. 34, followed by Ceditem in superne maiestatis arce, etc. (leaf 3.)
2. In die purificacionis ad preces. Hodie Beata Virgo, etc. (leaf 3, back.)
3. In die palmarum. En rex venit mansuetus, etc., with Gloria laus. (leaf 4, back, and leaf 5, back.)
4. In die palmarum. Passio Domini. (leaf 7, back.)
5. In vigilia Pasche. Rex sanctorum angelorum. (leaf 11, back.)
6. In die Pascbe ad process. Salve festa dies. (leaf 15, back.)
7. In die Pasche. Crucifirem in carne. (leaf 17, back.)
8. In die Pasche ad vespéras. Laudati pueri. (leaf 18.)
9. In Translacione. Sancte cedde; Salve festa dies. (leaf 20, back.)
10. In die Ascensionis. Salve festa dies. (leaf 25, back.)
11. In die Pentecost. Salve J. C. (leaf 27.)
12. In ebdomada Pentecost, Feria ija, iiija, iiija, cantabitur iste cantus ad process. Sancte Spiritus cossit nobis gracia.

In this connection Professor Skeat also points out that Langland, in Piers Plowman, clearly followed the text of anthems three and four. The portion of the manuscript, however, which is of most immediate interest to us, begins upon leaf thirty-eight, where the rubric, Luke ii. 8, is followed by some English verses written in the same hand, but somewhat smaller, accompanied by marginal notes, which Prof. Skeat, upon examination of the original, discovered to be the cues for the actor whose part the manuscript contains. The same authority assigns the manuscript to the beginning of the fifteenth century. The text of the Shrews bury Fragments is also given in Prof. Manly's Specimens of the Pre-Shaksperean Drama: Vol. I. : the present text is based upon a collation of those of Professors Skeat and Manly.

The grammatical features of our three plays undoubtedly stamp them as belonging to a Northern district, most probably—as Prof. Skeat suggests—Yorkshire. The final en or u of the infinitive, the i- prefix of the past participle of strong-verbs and the personal endings of the verb, are all consistently dropped, while the form of the present participle ends regularly in and. A for O.E. æ, y and i for O.E. stable y and i, a for O.E. ea before l + consonant, and
other Northern forms also occur quite regularly; schal and schuld, however, appear in the place of the more usual Northern forms sal and sult: such words and phrases as:—mynnes me, in hy, wil of red, man, thar, samyn, trayne, nem, bedene, gaynest, mased, apert, etc., further suggest that the plays belong to the largest of English counties.

It is, however, on the literary, rather than on the linguistic side, that the Shrewsbury Fragments are of most interest, since they illustrate a stage in the development of the religious drama, of which examples in French and German manuscripts exist, but which, so far as England is concerned, had remained, prior to their discovery, entirely unrepresented. The now generally adopted theory of the development of the religious drama of the Middle Ages out of the Mass of the Roman Catholic Church, and the carefully collected texts of liturgical plays, edited by such scholars as Lange and Coussemaker,¹ are so well known to literary students as to render any outline of the subject superfluous; it only remains to be indicated that these fragments from Shrewsbury illustrate a transitional form, linking these Latin liturgical plays to the vernacular religious drama, as later developed and represented by the four great cycles. The secularization, or better, perhaps, popularizing of the liturgical drama involved many changes; the substitution of English for Latin, the transference of the performance from the interior to the exterior of the church, the introduction of comic characters and scenes, and also of incidents of a non-Biblical origin, the inclusion of lay as well as clerical actors, the change from recitative response to spoken dialogue, and the dissociation of the plays from music and from the liturgical office; all of which changes, taking place more or less gradually, and in varied combinations, were necessary to give the drama an existence per se. The specimens before us represent the stage of development at which the drama is still associated with some particular office of the Church, celebrated on a certain fixed day, is still performed by clerks inside the church—or at least in the churchyard²—and has

¹ Lange, C., die lateinischen Osterfeiern. 1887.
Milchsack, G., die Oster und Passionsspiele, etc., 1880.
Coussemaker, E. Drames liturgiques du Moyen Age.
² We can only judge as to the place of performance from a record of a performance of a Resurrection play, at Beverley in 1220, quoted by Mr. Chambers in The Medieval Stage, vol. ii, pp. 108 and 339. The authority is a thirteenth century Continuator of the Vita of St. John of Beverley, and describes the performance as taking place in the grave-yard of the Minster.
dialogue in the vernacular, in addition to and explanatory of, the conventional Latin sentences of the liturgical plays: the Latin portions, moreover, are still associated with music.

The liturgical character of the plays is placed beyond a doubt: since they are found in a manuscript of Latin anthems; the Latin portions of the plays are noted for voices; the second play is headed, in the manuscript, *Hic incipit Officium Resurrectionis in die Pasche*; the third has the opening words, *Feria secunda in ebdomada Pasche, discipuli insimul content*; and several of the Latin verses are found to be identical with those in corresponding portions of liturgical plays written entirely in Latin. The beginning and heading of the first play is lost, but it is no wild conjecture, in consideration of its contents and upon comparison with other liturgical plays, to call it *Officium Pastorum*. It is worthy of note, too, in illustration of our plays' relationship to other liturgical dramas, that three pairs of Latin verses in our *Officium Resurrectionis* are almost identical with a like number in *A Dramatic Office*, published from a fourteenth-century manuscript of a *Processional of the Church of St. John the Evangelist*, in Dublin.\(^1\) In this Dublin *Office*, to Maria Secunda, is assigned:

"Heu! Consolacio nostra,  
Ut quid mortem sustinuit!"  
(cf. vv. 1 and 2.)

to the three Marys in chorus:

"Jam, iam, ecce, iam properemus ad tumulum  
Ungentes Dilecti corpus sanctissimum!"  
(cf. vv. 21 and 22.)

and to the third Mary:

"Surrexit Christus, spes nostra,  
Precedet nos in Galileam."  
(cf. vv. 35 & 36.)

It is extremely probable also that the other Latin verses could be shown to have their origin either in earlier liturgical plays, or in anthems: but the search would not be worth the trouble.

The manuscript of our plays, unfortunately, is an actor's copy, and therefore only gives the parts of the character which he played, and tags—to act as cues—from some of the speeches of some of the other characters; one must therefore attempt to form some idea of what the complete plays were like, by aid of a comparison of other liturgical and mystery plays upon the same subjects.

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1 Printed by Manly, vol. i, p. 22, whose text is based on Frere's facsimile of *The Winchester Triper*. 
The first fragment, a development of the liturgical *Pastores* play, belongs to Christmas, a season almost equal in significance to that of Easter, in so far as the history of the development of the religious drama is concerned. Its source is a Christmas trope—based upon the Easter *Quem Queritis*—which occurs very regularly in tropers of the eleventh and twelfth centuries; in its origin it was an introit trope for the third Mass. At Clermont-Ferrand this Christmas trope followed the *Te Deum* at Matins, and at Rouen an *Officium Pastorum* occupied a similar position. The statutes of Lichfield Cathedral bear witness to its existence on English soil, in the twelfth century, but later, the play seems to have been supplanted by others. In the *Officium Pastorum* the actor whose part our manuscript contains, played the Third Shepherd. The manuscript is incomplete at the beginning, but whether only the heading is lost to us, or some portion of the dialogue as well, it is now impossible to decide. The York play upon the same subject has three twelve-line strophes, preceding the part corresponding to the Shrewsbury play, which are spoken respectively by the three Shepherds in turn. The first Shepherd reminds us of the prophecies of Hosea and Isaiah, the second of Balaam’s foretelling of the appearance of “a star in the East,” and the third voices the joy which must inevitably be awakened in the hearts of the shepherds upon the fulfilment of this prophecy, following his poetic effort with a matter-of-fact reminder of their duty of sheep-seeking. At this point the star appears and the part of the story corresponding to our play begins. It is therefore possible that a Latin sentence or two, followed by a speech of the third Shepherd, corresponding perhaps to one of the first three stanzas of the York play, as well as the title, have been lost. Professor Skeat assigns all the cues of our play to the Second Shepherd; an arrangement which suggests that the three Shepherds spoke in regular rotation. In the York play the Third Shepherd does not always follow the second, and it is improbable that he did so in the Shrewsbury play; it is a point of quite minor importance, however, and since we have no means of deciding which of the cues represent the speeches of the First Shepherd, and which those of the Second Shepherd, it is a convenient way out of the difficulty to assign them uniformly, with Dr. Skeat, to the Second Shepherd.

Even in its incomplete form, the Shrewsbury *Officium Pastorum*
shows unmistakable signs of relationship to the York Shepherds Play; it is very probable also that the indebtedness of the latter to the former would appear still greater if the parts of the First and Second Shepherds had been preserved, and could be brought into the comparison. As far as one can judge, the Shrewsbury play in its complete form would be about equal in length to the York play, probably contained the same ideas a little differently expressed, and—in the text handed down to us—has one stanza almost identical with a stanza in the York play; a coincidence which, in the complete version, may have extended over three stanzas. The York version of the last stanza of our text is:

iii. Pas. "Now loke on me, my lorde dere,
bof all I putte me noght in pres,
Ye are a prince with-outen pere,
I have no presentte pat you may ples.
But lo! an horne sone, pat hace I here,
And it will herbar fourty pese,
þis will I giffe you with gud chere,
Slike novelte may noght disease.
Fare [wele] þou swete swayne,
God graunte us levyng lange,
And go we hame agayne,
And make mirthe as we gange."

Except in respect to one verse, the Shrewsbury version agrees quite closely with the above; in this one verse, however, it differs from the York version, and gives us an older and truer reading, for it more faithfully preserves the alliteration. The verse in the Shrewsbury version is:

"That may þerbor an hundreth pese."

The second Shrewsbury play carries us back still nearer to the origin of the drama, since it is an early development of that Easter trope, *Quem quaeritis in sepulcro Christicolae*, the very germ from which the liturgical drama has been developed. The simplest version of this trope, a free adaptation of the Vulgate text, is found in a St. Gaul manuscript and reads as follows:

"Quem quaeritis in sepulchro, O Christicolae?
Jesum Nazarenun crucifixum, O caelicolae.
non est hic, surrexit sicut praedixerat.
ite nuntiate quia surrexit de sepulcro." ¹

The Introit, "Resurrexi et adhuc tecum sum, alleluia: posuisti

¹ *Medieval Stage*, vol. ii, p. 9.
super me manum tuam, alleluia; mirabilis facta est scientia tua, alleluia, alleluia," is intended to follow it. The trope itself suggests two scenes, the visit of the three Marys to the Sepulchre and the announceing to the disciples of Christ's Resurrection. In the many extant texts of liturgical plays developed therefrom, however, various other episodes are seen to have been added; among which, the most usual and most popular were, a scene in which the Apostles themselves visit the tomb, and another in which Mary Magdalene is pictured as remaining at the Sepulchre, after the departure of the other two Marys, and conversing with Christ, mistaking him for the gardener. The Shrewsbury play confines itself to the two scenes of the earlier form of such plays, the form based directly on the simple trope; whereas the York cycle contains a play of Mary Magdalene, which leads one to suppose that possibly, in an earlier form of the cycle, it was preceded by a Resurrection play, consisting of the same two scenes as the Shrewsbury play.

In this second play, the actor for whom the manuscript was written represented the third Mary, since his part, which has been preserved entire, is rubricated IIIa M. As already pointed out, three of the Latin couplets are almost identical with those of the Dublin Easter Dramatic Office,¹ above referred to; and the probability is that the remaining Latin portions of the play, of which the verses in the vernacular give a free rendering, also bore a general resemblance to this Dublin Office.

Upon what day and at what particular part of the service the Quem Quaeritis trope and the dramatic office taking its rise therefrom were celebrated, is somewhat difficult to discover, since the records of the usage of various churches are by no means unanimous upon the subject. In some it was an Introit trope at the beginning of the Mass, as was the case in many French churches; in the Bodleian manuscript of the Winchester Troper, dating from the last quarter of the tenth century, it follows the tropes for Palm Sunday, and is immediately followed, under a fresh rubric, by the ceremonies for Holy Saturday, thus being celebrated, apparently, on Good Friday; in the Corpus Christi College manuscript of the Winchester Troper, the Holy Saturday ceremonies are not given, and the Quem Quaeritis still precedes the Easter tropes; the Concordia Regularis of Ethelwold, however, describes the

¹ Manly, vol. i, p. 22.
Celebration of the Easter Office.

office as forming part of the third Nocturn at Matins on Easter Morning, and not of the Mass. Our Officium Resurrectionis at present under consideration is headed: "Hic incipit Officium Resurrectionis in die Pasche," which I take to mean that the Mass of Holy Saturday being at an end, the Paschal solemnity commences. Originally the Office of the Resurrection was said at midnight on Holy Saturday, but later this practice was discontinued, and it was said on Holy Saturday itself: our Officium Resurrectionis, then, followed the earlier custom.

The valuable Concordia Regularis, above referred to, also gives us a description of the way in which this Office was celebrated, which is sufficiently instructive to deserve quotation: 1

"While the third lesson is being chanted, let four brethren vest themselves. Let one of these, vested in an alb, enter as though to take part in the service, and let him approach the sepulchre without attracting attention and sit there quietly with a palm in his hand. While the third respond is chanted, let the remaining three follow, and let them all, vested in copes, bearing in their hands Thuribles with incense, and stepping delicately as those who seek something, approach the sepulchre. These things are done in imitation of the angel sitting in the monument, and the women with spices coming to anoint the body of Jesus. When, therefore, he who sits there beholds the three approach him like folk lost and seeking something, let him begin in a dulcet voice of medium pitch to sing Quem quaeritis. And when he has sung it to the end, let the three reply in unison Jhesu Nazarenus. So he, Non est hic, surrexit sicut praedixerat. Ite, vanteite quia surrexit a mortuis. At the word of this bidding let those three turn to the choir and say, Alleluia! resurrexit Dominus! This said, let the one, still sitting there and as if recalling them, say the anthem, Venite et vide locum. And saying this, let him rise and lift the veil, and show them the place bare of the cross, but only the cloths laid there in which the cross was wrapped. And when they have seen this, let them set down the thuribles which they bear in that same sepulchre, and take the cloth, and hold it up in the face of the clergy, and as if to demonstrate that the Lord has risen and is no longer wrapped therein, let them sing.

1 We quote Mr. Chambers' English translation from his Medieval Stage, vol. ii, pp. 14 and 15.
the anthem, *Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro*, and lay the cloth upon the altar. When the anthem is done, let the prior, sharing in their gladness at the triumph of our King, in that, having vanquished death, He rose again, begin the hymn, *Te Deum laudamus*. And this begun, all the bells chime out together."

The version of the *Office* preserved in the Shrewsbury manuscript is certainly four centuries later than the time to which the details and description furnished by the *Concordia Regularis* have reference; but there is every reason to believe that this early fifteenth-century copy preserves plays of a much earlier date, the *scenario* for the performance of which was probably not much more elaborate than that referred to in the above quotation. The fact that the Latin portions of the Offices are set to music, strongly suggests that they were performed inside the church.

The third of the Shrewsbury Fragments is a version of the *Peregrini*, another liturgical drama of Easter Week, already well known early in the twelfth century. Our manuscript is the only known example preserved on English soil; but France is represented by texts from Saintes, Rouen, Beauvais and Fleury, and by the record of a performance at Lille, and Germany by a text of the play contained in the famous manuscript of the Benedictbeurn Kloster. All these versions contain the two scenes embracing the journey to Emmaus and the supper there, but each of them has received additions peculiar to itself. The simplest version of all is that contained in the Saintes manuscript, the compiler of which apparently found the two scenes just referred to sufficient for his purpose; whereas at Rouen, the Disciples and Mary Magdalen are introduced, and the *Victimae Paschali* is sung. In the Beauvais and Fleury versions still another expansion of the story occurs, which is of special interest in this connection, since it is a scene in which Christ appears to the unbelieving Thomas. The appearance of Christ in person in the *Peregrini* is explained by Chambers as a reaction of the *Quem quaeritis* upon its less distinguished rival.

Our manuscript does not assign the actor's part which it contains to any of the characters, but Professor Skeat is of the opinion that it belongs to Cleophas: since the manuscript contains the words of the chorus of the disciples, the character for whom the part was intended must have been one of them, and, since tradition and the *Coventry Mysteries* speak of Cleophas as Luke's companion, the part must be assigned to one of the two; and it is
more suitable for Cleophas than for Luke. The play in its complete form, then, consists of scenes embracing the journey of Luke and Cleophas to Emmaus, the appearance of Christ, the supper and Christ's disappearance, the return to the other disciples of Luke and Cleophas singing *Quid agamus vel dicamus*, etc., and then in chorus with the other disciples, *Gloria tibi Domine*, the expression by Thomas of his incredulity and, finally, the completion of the Disciples' Chorus with

"Frater Thoma, causa tristique,
Nobis tulit summa leticie."

The direction, *Feria secunda in ebdomada Pasche*, indicates that the *Office* was intended for celebration upon Easter Monday, and the Gospel regularly appointed to be read on that day contains the story of the journey to Emmaus. At Fleury the *Office* was celebrated on Easter Tuesday, the Gospel for which day deals with the incredulity of Thomas, and was attached, moreover, to the *Processio ad Fontes* which, during the Easter season, formed a regular part of Vespers.¹

Evidence as to where and when these particular versions of the three dramatic *Offices* were celebrated is entirely lacking. For such testimony one naturally first looks to Shrewsbury, but in this respect the most careful search has proved entirely unsuccessful: not that Shrewsbury was a town without plays and other popular forms of amusement during this period, although its citizens were evidently somewhat deficient in local patriotism, since it was necessary to threaten with fines those who, on the day of the procession, left the town to see the Corpus Christi plays at Coventry. From the year 1495 onwards the names of plays are to be found mentioned in the city's accounts, none of which can be identified however with these liturgical fragments: the titles being of such a character as *The Martyrdoms of Saints Feliciana and Sabina* and *The Three Kings of Cologne*. The Corpus Christi Procession, too, was not in possession of a cycle of plays, as was the case in so many other towns, but had a series of *tableaux* of an emblematic rather than religious character.²

In the articles in *The Academy*, which have been referred to above, Professor Skeat suggests that our plays are perhaps remains of the lost Beverley cycle. The reference to Beverley is an

¹ *Medieval Stage*, ii, 37. ² *Medieval Stage.*
exceedingly happy one, although the plays are not to be regarded as belonging to the cyclical type, since their connection with the liturgy is much too close and they illustrate a considerably earlier stage in the development of the mystery play. This statement, however, does not exclude the possibility that the three plays of the lost Beverley cycle, upon the same subjects, performed respectively by the crafts of the Vintners, the Wrights and the Gentlemen, are later forms of the Shrewsbury Offices; although the fact of their appearance together in the said cycle is of no value whatever as evidence in support of a theory connecting them with Beverley, since the subjects of these three plays were early dramatically developed, rapidly became popular, and appear with equal regularity in all the great cycles. In a thirteenth-century continuator of the Vita of St. John of Beverley, the record of a miracle done in the Minster, under the date 1220, informs us, by the way, that a Resurrection play was performed in the graveyard. The Cathedral Statutes of Bishop Hugh de Nonant (1188–98) of Lichfield, provide for the performance of the Officium Pastorum at Christmas, and of the Officium Resurrectionis and Officium Peregrinorum in Easter Week:

"Item, in noxte Natalis representacio pastorum fieri consuevit et in diluculo Paschae representacio Resurreccionis dominioe et representacio peregrinorum die lunae in septimana Paschae sicut in libris super hiis ac aliis compositis continentur."

On such slight evidence as the above, one cannot make any dogmatic assertions as to the locale of the Shrewsbury Fragments; but, in consideration that a Resurrection play is recorded to have taken place there in 1220, that the customs of Beverley Minster would certainly be very similar to those of Lichfield Cathedral, where we know the three religious subjects under discussion to have been dramatically represented, and that they also were found in the lost Beverley cycle, Beverley still remains the most probable of Yorkshire towns at which the plays may have been performed.

Still two other places in Yorkshire possess records of the performance of liturgical plays, York and Leconfield. "The traditional Statutes of York Cathedral, supposed to date in their present form from about 1255, provide for the Pastores and the Stella," and in the list of customary rewards given by the fifth

Earl of Northumberland to his servants, which was made in 1522, occurs the following entry:

"Them of his Lordschipes Chapell if they doo play the Play of the Nativite uppon Cristynmes-Day in the mornynge in my Lords Chapell before his Lordship. XXs."

... Them of his Lordship Chappell and other, if they do play the play of Resurrection upon Esturday in the morning in my Lords Chapell, XXs." Beyond the borders of Yorkshire performances of what may have been perhaps similar plays are also recorded. At Yarmouth the churchwardens' accounts between 1462 and 1512 contain items of expenditure which point to the performance of a Stella; at Oxford entries in the Bursar's account of Magdalen College, referring to an expanded Quem Quaeritis, occur from 1486 onwards, and at Winchester Cathedral the use of the Quem Quaeritis in the liturgy was early established. Reading, Kingston-on-Thames, and New Romney had Resurrection plays, and the Digby play of St. Mary Magdalen, of course, has the Quem quaeritis and Hortulanus scenes. With this we must leave the problem of the localisation of the plays unsolved.

III.

a. Creation of Eve and the Fall, or The Norwich Grocers' Play.

The Norwich Grocers' Play has been twice printed: in 1856, Robert Fitch, a local antiquary, contributed to Norfolk Archaeology an article containing a somewhat inaccurate transcript of an eighteenth-century manuscript; itself a copy of certain folios of the Grocers' Book which by that time was lost and has unfortunately not been recovered. In 1897 Manly reproduced, in his Specimens of the Pre-Shaksperean Drama, this version of Fitch. Since the Grocers' Book has been lost or destroyed, the earliest available version of the play is the eighteenth-century transcript made use of by Fitch in 1856, from which time it appears to have remained undisturbed until the summer of 1905, when I collated it with the two printed versions for the purposes of the present edition. For this opportunity to make use of the manuscript transcript I am

2 idem, ii, 389, 396, 399.
greatly indebted to Mr. Walter Rye of Norwich; for he it was
who searched for and found it, among the uncatalogued papers in
the Record Room of the Castle.

This eighteenth-century copy is written clearly on quarto
sheets of paper, and the lines of the verse portions are written
undetached as if they were prose. The eighteenth-century copyist
evidently strove to represent his original accurately, for the usual
manuscript contractions are preserved: the letter u is often
omitted and indicated by a stroke over the preceding vowel, es at
the end of words is represented by a flourish, er, ro, etc., after p are
represented by a stroke through the tail of the consonant, and a
stroke over c serves to indicate a following i; ll, h and d are often
crossed. In certain cases, the stroke appears over u, but that is
only intended to prevent this letter from being mistaken for u.
Mr. Walter Rye, who has an extensive acquaintance with the
various handwritings of the Norwich Record-Room manuscripts,
cannot say with certainty who wrote the transcript, but thinks
that it may have been Sir John Fenn. The said gentleman was
born at Norwich in 1739, was a man of strong antiquarian tastes,
a member of the Society of Antiquaries, and procured and edited
the manuscript of the Paston Letters: he also presented the
manuscript of a great number of the Paston Letters, elegantly
bound, to George III, and, in recognition of the gift and of his
services to learning, was knighted by his sovereign: thus, Fenn is
a not unlikely person to have made the transcript. On the other
hand, Fitch, writing in 1856, refers to his original as “a series of
extracts, made early in the last century”: a statement, however,
which does not necessarily negative our supposition, since the
epithet early is delightfully vague, and further, upon other grounds,
one is not inclined to place great faith in Fitch’s accuracy. The
use of capitals and marks of punctuation in the manuscript is
highly capricious, and has not therefore been reproduced in the
present edition: Latin words and phrases are underlined.

The Grocers’ Book from which some extracts are taken was
begun on June 16, 1533, and opens on the first page with:

“In dei nomine Amen. The xvi. day of June in the xxvth.
yere of þe reygne of ower Souereygne Lorde Kyngge Henry the
viijth and in þe yere of ower Lorde God meccecexxxiij this booke
was made by the hands of John Howerson & Robt. Reynbald, than
beynge Wardens of þe crafte of Grocescraft wiþin þe Cyte of
Norwiche, the whiche boke makyth mencion of þe Story of þe Creacion of Eve with þe expellyng of Adam & Eve oute of Paradyce, the whiche story apparteynythe to þe Pageant of þe Company of þe foresayd craft of Grocery, wherfor thys sayd Booke ys made for the sustentacion and mayntenans of þesame, declarynyng & showyng þe name of þe Pageant, with all the Utensylles & necessaryes therto belonging, all parcelles and charges yereby occupied to þe same, and also all þe namys of suche men as be Inrollyd in þe sayd craft of Grocery within þe foresayd Cyte of Norwiche, &c." This is interesting as giving us the names of the men who copied the plays and accounts into this new book for the Grocers' Company, but gives us no clue as to authorship. In the accounts for 1534 occurs a further reference:—"It., to Sr Stephen Prowet ¹ for making of a newe ballet 12.d." : if this refers to our play at all, it must refer to the A version, since the other was begun in 1565. The churchwardens' accounts of St. Mary's at Bungay in Suffolk likewise show payments in 1526 for copying the game-book, and to Stephen Prewett for his labour in the matter. These three names, then, are all that are mentioned in connection with the composition or copying of the plays.

Immediately following the quotation given above is the version of the play in use in 1533; it is incomplete, being deficient from the call of Adam, after the Temptation, to the point where Adam and Eve are expelled from the Garden of Eden. The next extract is taken from the sixth and following folios of the Grocers' Book, and contains a second version of the play, the one in use in 1565, and which, with the exception of one slightly-mutilated stanza, is complete. Prefixed to this second version are a prologue or "banns" and a second alternative prologue, the former to be used when the Grocers' pageant was the first one to be performed, and the latter when one or more pageants preceded the Grocers' play. The first stanza of this second, alternative prologue states that it is to be used when The Creation of the World and The Fall of the Angels ² have been performed. On some occasions evidently the first pageant or pageants were omitted; perhaps on account of insufficient funds in some of the guilds. The third extract is a copy of the thirty-

¹ "Sir Stephen Prewett was seventh Prebend of the College of St. Mary-in-the-Fields in 1536, and one of the Stipendiary Priests of St. Peter Mancroft Church."—Fitch.

² i. e. The Hell Carte referred to in our list: it is placed third in the list but numbered ii; the Grocers' play is placed second and numbered ii.
Corpus Christi celebrations at Norwich.

fourth and following folios of the Grocers' Book, and consists of various entries, many of which give most important and detailed information respecting the manner of performing the play. To this I shall return later.

The two versions of the play have very little in common, the second, "newely renvid & accordyng unto pe Skr ipture, begon thys yere A° 1565, A° 7. Eliz," being an original piece of work, not at all indebted to the earlier edition. New features appearing in this revised version are, the Prolocutor, Dolor, Misery, the Angel and the Holy Ghost, additions which may be attributed to the influence of the Moralties. To the corresponding plays of the great cycles the Norwich play bears no special resemblance: the York Plays, nos. 3 to 6, treat the same subject more at length; whereas the last twelve pages of the Towneley play, i.e. from the point where Man is created, are lost, so that the play of The Creation of Eve and the Expulsion from Paradise, has not been preserved. Our play, too, appears uninfluenced by the Chester and Coventry pieces upon the same subject.

The metrical construction of both texts of the Norwich play is a seven-line stanza expanded in various ways. The normal form occurs quite frequently and has the rhyme-order ababcc, but numerous, very free variations of this form also occur; as for example, ababb cd cd, and even ab abb ccc d cdd ee; Enjambement, too, is of frequent occurrence.

The first mention of Corpus Christi celebrations at Norwich, according to Mr. Harrop,1 is an entry dated 1489, in the Assembly Book of the Corporation; in which it is ordained that the thirty-one guilds of the town, on Corpus Christi Day, shall go in procession before the pageants "ad Capell in Campis Norwici, modo sequi." The procession was arranged in the following order: the thirty-one guilds, the pageants,2 the Shreves clothing, Mr. Shreve, the Mair's clothing, Maister Mair and Maister Aldermen with bokes or beads in their hands. For some time previous to 1527, the St. Luke's Guild, consisting of the pewterers, braziers, plumbers, bell-founders, glaziers, steyners and several other crafts, had apparently been responsible for the entire management of, and outlay in connection with, the Corpus Christi plays; and in that year, finding themselves, as a result of this, almost in a bankrupt condition,

1 Norfolk Archaeology, iii, 3, 1852.
2 Referred to always as the procession.
they petitioned the corporation to divide the responsibility and expense among the various guilds. The allotment was made and according to the Assembly Book of the Corporation was as follows:

3. Paradyse. . . .  Grocers & Raffemen.¹
7. Moises and Aaron with the Children of Israel & Pharo with his Knyghts.

This, then, appears to have been the complete cycle as it was known in 1527; it is abnormally simple, since it only contains half as many subjects as the Chester, the shortest of the four great cycles. We have seen that the performance of the first two plays was somewhat uncertain and irregular, which may also have been the

¹ i.e. Rough Tallow-Chandlers. (Fitch.)
case with others; so that it is not impossible that at an earlier date, the Norwich cycle may have been richer, and that all references to the titles of these plays, as well as the plays themselves, have disappeared.

In 1489, a Corpus Christi procession was held, and the pageants were taken in procession ad capell in Campis Norwici; but we are not definitely informed whether the plays were actually performed at that time and at that place: it is however very probable. The accounts for 1535 and 1536 distinctly refer to the performance taking place on Corpus Christi Day, and, in 1537, we learn, there was no performance, although preparations had been made; but the pageant "went that yere in Octobyr in pe Processyin for pe Byrthe of Prynce Edward." Again in 1538, a performance took place but no details as to time or place are given. In the following year the charges for the pageant were greater than usual, because the Surveyors "bought that yere newe cokelys and many other thyngs yat war in dekaye." In 1540, the Surveyors appear to have contracted for the performance; for, "At thys assembly pe Surveyors toke upon them to set forth pe Pageant & to bere all charges of pe same, to pay pe charges on Corp. Xi day, the house ferme of pe Pageant, & pe Bedell hys fee, & they to have for these foresayd Charges & for thes Labours, 20.s." During the years 1541 to 1543, assessments were made, and so presumably the play was in these years also performed. During the following three years there was no assembly, but, since in 1546 a three years' assessment was levied, we may conclude that during this period, too, the plays had been given. After this date the entries are somewhat irregular, the popularity of the Corpus Christi performances seems to have been on the wane, and the latest mention of the pageant is in 1563, when it was "prepartyd ageynst pe daye of Mr. Davy his takyng of his charge of pe Mayralltye"; but in view of the fact that the cost was only one-third of the usual expenditure upon the play, it is probable that the play was not performed but only arrayed as a spectacle or tableau vivant.

According to the first paragraph of the first prologue to our play:

"Lyke as yt chancyd befor this season,
Owte of Godes scripture revealed in playes,
Was dyvers stories sett furth by reason
Of pageantes apparelyd in Wittson dayes,
And later be fallen into decayes,"

Mystery Plays.
the pageants were performed at Whitsuntide; in fact on Whit-
Monday and Whit-Tuesday:¹ that they also went forth in the
Corpus Christi procession is equally certain. The only reference
to a place of performance known to us is the somewhat vague one
mentioned above in connection with the procession, and, so far as
we know, there is no authority for believing that the plays at
Norwich went in circuit and were played at "stations" in different
parts of the town. Probability is in favour of a stationary place of
performance, as was the case with the Coventry plays, the Cornish
plays, and the plays at Reading, Shrewsbury and Edinburgh.

Although we are somewhat in the dark about the place of
performance, the Grocers' accounts are full of interesting and
important details, which render a fairly accurate description of the
pageant and its decorations, and of the players and their "make-
up" possible. The pageant itself was "a Howse of Waynskott,²
paynted and buylded on a Carte, with fowre wheyls," which latter,
on stubborn occasions, were lubricated with soap.³ A square top
was fitted to the pageant, and it was ornamented by means of a
gilded griffin and a "fane," and with a large iron "fane" at one
end and eighty-three smaller "fanes." "Perfumes" and "fumy-
gacions" appear occasionally in the accounts, and were presumably
for the benefit of the griffin.⁴ Another very important stage-
property was a tree which it was customary to decorate with
oranges, figs, almonds, dates, raisins, plums and apples; flowers,
bound by means of coloured thread, and "a Rybbe colleryd Red,"
were also required for the performance.⁵ During the time the
pageant was not needed for the performances, it was stored in
some building for which an annual rent of, sometimes two shillings,
and sometimes three shillings and four pence was paid. During
one period the place of storage was "the Gate howse of Mr. John
Sotherton of London." A little of the pageant's history and its
final fate is described on folio 66 of the Grocers' Book, as follows:—

² Item, yt is to be noted that for asmuch as for pe space of 8
yeris ther was neyther Semblye nor metynge, in pe meane season
pe Pageante remaynynge 6 yeris in pe Gate howse of Mr. John
Sotherton, of London, untyll pe ferme came to 20 s; and bycause

¹ Harrop, Norfolk Archaeology, vol. iii, p. 6.
² Entry 1534.
³ 1534 "Item. Sope to grese pe wheles 1424."
⁴ Entry 1547. "& perfumes for the griffin," etc.
⁵ Entry 1557, "for orranges, fyges, almondes, dates, Rysens, preunies, &
aples to garnish pe tre with, 10d, ² for collerd thryd to bynd pe flowers, 2d."
\textit{Arrangement for performance, actors’ ‘make-up,’ etc.} xxxiii

\textit{pe} Surveyors in Mr. Sotherton’s tyme would not dysburs ani moni therfor, \textit{pe} Pageante was sett oute in \textit{pe} Strete & so remayned at \textit{pe} Black fryers brydge in open strete, when bothe yt was so weather beaten, \textit{pat} \textit{pe} cheife \textit{parte} was rotten; wherupon Mr. John Oldrich, then Maior \textit{pe} yer 1570, together \textit{with} Mr. Tho. Whall, Alderman, offred yt to \textit{pe} Company to sell for the some of 20 \textit{s.}, and when no person wold buy yt for \textit{pat} price and \textit{pat} yt styll remayned, \& nowe one pece therof rent of \& nowe another as was lyke all to come to nothinge, Nicholas Sotherton, then officer to Mr. Maior, was requested to take yt in peces for \textit{pe} dept dewe to hym for \textit{pe} seyd howse ferm therof for 6 yeres aforesayde, at 3d 4d. a yer, who accordinglye dyd take downe \textit{pe} same \& howsed yt accordinglye." Such was the pageant and its fate. Other articles upon which money was expended are: “Nayles, firelocks, wyer, whyppord and marham”: on one occasion four men were paid 16 d “for their labourys wayghtyng upon \textit{pe} Pageant with lewers.”

On the eighth of May, 1534, the Company, in assembly, elected a certain Mr. Robt. Greene as alderman, and chose also, “2 wardens, 2 Assisters, 4 Surveyors of \textit{pe} Pageant \& I Bedell,”\textsuperscript{1} and in the same year the following payments were made to actors:

\begin{itemize}
  \item It., to Jeffrey Tybnum playeng \textit{pe} Father \quad . \quad 16d.
  \item It., to Mr. Leman’s servant playing Adam \quad . \quad 6d.
  \item It., to Frances Frygot playing Eve \quad . \quad 4d.
  \item It., toTho. Wolfe playing \textit{pe} Angelle \quad . \quad 4d.
  \item It., to Edmund Thurston playeng the Serpent \quad . \quad 4d:
\end{itemize}

the names of the actors of Dolor, Misery and the Holy Ghost, are not mentioned. Collecting the scattered details from various accounts we obtain the following impression of the “make-up” of the actors and persons concerned in the performance. God the Father wore a mask, a wig and gloves; the Angel, a wig, a crown, gloves, a coat and “over hosen of Apis skynnis”; Adam, a wig, gloves, and “a cote and hosen steyned”; Eve, a wig, gloves and “two cotes and a pair of hosen steyned”; the Serpent, a wig, a crown, and “a cote with hosen \& tayle steyned”; Dolor, “a cote and hosen \textit{with} a bagg \& capp steyned.” Of the stage appearance of Misery and the Holy Ghost no hint is given. The costume of

\textsuperscript{1} Cf. also, entry 1546: “Accordingly were chosen 4 Aldermen \& 8 Comyners, who chose Mr. Wyl Rogers for ther Alderman; 2 Wardyns \& 2 Surveyors for settyng forth \textit{pe} Procession on Corpus Xi day, \& for \textit{pe} Pageant yt go forth \textit{pe} next year; \& 1 bedell.”
the pendon-bearer included a coat of yellow buckram upon which the arms of the Company were painted, while the bearer of the griffin wore a coat, a wig and a crown. Two bearers of the arms, in wig and crown, and streamer-bearers, also accompanied the procession. It is interesting, too, to compare with these details, directions given in connection with the performance of the corresponding portion of the Cornish mysteries, where the stage-directions are given in English: "Meanwhile are got ready 'Adam and Eva aparel in whytt lethar in a place apoynted by the conveyour & not to be sene till they be called & thei kneel & ryse.' Paradise has 'ii fayre trees in yt' and 'a fowntaine' and 'fyne flowers,' which appear suddenly. Similarly, a little later, 'Let fyshe of dyuers sortis apeare & serten beastis as oxen, kyne, shepe & such like.' Lucifer incarnates as 'a fyne serpen made with a virgyn face & yolowe heare uppon her head.' Presently comes the warning, 'fig leaves redy to cover ther members,' and at the expulsion, 'the garmentis of skynnnes to be geven to adam and eva by the angell. Receave the garmentis. Let them put on the garmentis and shew a spyndell and a dystaff.'" ¹

The performance was undoubtedly accompanied by music, the text of which unfortunately has not been preserved, but was probably of a similar nature to that accompanying some of the plays of the York cycle, part of which is reproduced in Miss Toulmin-Smith's excellent edition of that collection. In the first version of the Norwich play, music appeared twice; firstly, immediately after the large lacuna, where the stage-direction is simply "music," and secondly, at the end, where Adam and Eve are to sing the last couplet, "walking together about the place, wryngyng ther hands"; which verses, the eighteenth-century transcript of the Grocers' Book informs us, in the original were set to music twice, and then again for a chorus of four parts. At the end of the second version of the play appears the note:—"Old Musick, Triplex, Tenor, Medius, Bass," ² which apparently applies to the

¹ The materials required for the play at Beverley are given as:—j karre, viij hespis, xvij stapels, ij visers, ij wenges angeli, j fyr-sparr, j worse, ij paria caligarum linearum, ij paria camisarum, j gladiis." Beverley, Great Guild Book cited in Med. Stage, ii, p. 339.

² Triplex or Triplam—the name given to a third part when added to two other parts, one of which was a canto primo (treble). Medius is the tenor part. The music thus appears to have been male-voice quartet: or, as now expressed, alto, 1st tenor, 2nd tenor, bass.
Te Deum immediately following. The singing had also an organ accompaniment, since in 1534 a certain John Bakyn received a payment of sixpence for "playeng at the organs," which were borrowed for the occasion; because in the same account appears an item of fourpence spent upon a present given to the person who lent the instrument in question. Such are the most relevant details to be drawn from the Grocers' accounts. The remaining entries are of a more general nature such as are to be found in similar accounts in connection with other Corpus Christi processions and performances, consisting mainly of a very liberal expenditure upon beer and victuals (at this period, apparently very necessary for the successful performance of religious plays) and for the transport of the same, but add nothing of historical value to a description of the Norwich performance.

In addition to the four great cycles, which of course all contain a play on the same subject, and the Cornish plays, performances of plays of Adam and Eve are on record at Beverley, Reading, and Aberdeen, the texts of which, however, have been lost, and about which very little information has been preserved. 1

b. **Noah's Ship, or the Newcastle Play.**

The earliest version of the Newcastle Shipwrights' Play now available, is that printed by Henry Bourne, M.A., a curate of All Hallows in Newcastle, in a book entitled *The History of Newcastle-upon-Tyne; or, the Ancient and Present State of that Town,* issued in 1736, four years after the death of its author, Bourne's text is very far from being satisfactory, and therefore was probably based upon some manuscript original, itself very incorrect or else offering textual difficulties which Bourne, in consequence of insufficient grammatical knowledge, failed to overcome. In 1789, in the second volume of John Brand's *History and Antiquities of Newcastle-upon-Tyne,* appeared a reprint of Bourne's text, and a second reprint in 1825, in T. Sharp's *Dissertation on the Coventry Mysteries.* In volume III of *Göteborgs Högskolas Arskrift,* 1897, F. Holthausen printed a critical and

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1 Reading had an *Adam and Eve* play in 1507 on "the Sunday afore Bartyms-tide, in the Forbury: a 'schapfold' and pagentts are mentioned." *Med. Stage,* ii, 392.

2 The play in question is printed on page 139 et seq. in double columns. All the substantives have capital letters.

3 Page 369 et seq.

4 Page 223 et seq.
emended text based upon that of Bourne, along with a score pages of criticism and historical discussion; while two years later, R. Brotanek turned his attention to the play, and printed in vol. xxi of the *Anglia*, Sharp's text, together with a restored text, representing the play in its original dialect, *i.e.* the Northern dialect of the second quarter of the fifteenth century. The present edition is a reproduction of Bourne's version with a minimum amount of correction and emendation; all the other versions have been consulted and all variants of real importance in any of these have been given in the footnotes. I believe such a method to be in harmony with the aims of the E. E. T. S.'s editions, and have therefore not given a hypothetical, reconstructed text, for which I must refer readers to the extremely clever and skilfully executed restoration of Mr. Brotanek, in the *Anglia*.

Bourne, in his transcript, with the best of intentions no doubt, modernised the spelling throughout; but apparently he did not understand his original very well, since, in very many instances, he has put down verses which are incapable of bearing any meaning at all, and has left them in such a state that it is extremely difficult to conjecture what his original gave him. Three lines he has omitted, and states the fact, but other places in the play seem to have suffered from the same process, although he has not acknowledged it.

In spite of all the ill-treatment, however, which his copy received, there are sufficient traces of original forms to establish the fact that it belonged to a Northern district, and probably to the first half of the fifteenth century. Holthausen is of the opinion that Bourne used a sixteenth-century copy of a still earlier version. The same editor has carefully collected and arranged the grammatical peculiarities of the piece, from which we select the following most important:

1. *In rhyme position*: laith, skaith, 118, 119; wayns, baynes, 152, 154; die, fee, 32, 34; you wends, friends, 161 and 163.
2. *Spelling*: long a represented by ai or ay, *e.g.*:—fair, 194; fayre, 140 and 173; wayns, 152; skaith, 119; baynes, 154.
3. *weet*, 131, 133; *atour*, 145; *whant*, 114; *tent*, 39.
4. *Inflexion*: thou has, 195.
5. *Vocabulary*: bewschere, 116; hoothe, 8; *atour*, 145.
The spelling \textit{whunt} for the word \textit{quaint} points to the fact that the original had the Northern spelling \textit{qu} or \textit{quh} in such words as \textit{what} and \textit{when}, for which the copyist systematically substituted \textit{wh}. The rhymes, with two exceptions (\textit{do, go}, \textit{5} and \textit{7}; \textit{boat} and \textit{sprot}, \textit{84} and \textit{86}), too, are impossible if we do not assign to the rhyming words a Northern pronunciation. The genitive and plural inflections, in certain cases, function as syllables in respect to the metre, and therefore a fairly early date in the fifteenth century for the play is extremely probable.

In the case of a work so badly handed down to us it is somewhat difficult to discover in what strophic forms it was at first composed; but the following at least seem to have been in the original. A four-line strophe with the rhyme-order \textit{abab} occurs the most frequently, and consists generally of all four verses with three stresses, but occasionally of all four verses with four stresses. The next most usual stanza is a six-line strophe, sometimes entirely of verses with three stresses, sometimes entirely of verses with four stresses, and less frequently containing a mixture of three-stress and four-stress verses; the rhyme-order is uniformly \textit{ababab} in the first two cases, and \textit{aab ccb} in the third case. The irregularity of the strophic arrangement becomes distinctly pronounced upon the entrance of the Devil. Was this intentional on the part of the writer, and so designed in order to be in keeping with the ranting and unruly behaviour conventionally assigned to this popular stage-figure? In some instances, too, four-line stanzas are connected by the repetition of the same rhyme, and stanzas with a \textit{cauda} are not infrequent. The whole play—the speeches of the Devil in particular—is rich in examples of alliteration. In dividing the play into stanzas I have sought to obtain, wherever possible, one or other of the four, six or eight-line stanzas, which however left some portions still undivided; these have been treated upon their merits.

Our play only concerns itself with the former part of the Noah story, the building of the Ark; but one of the crafts, the titles of whose plays are not now ascertainable, was very probably responsible for a play dealing with the second part of the story. In the York cycle each half of the story has its own play: in the Towneley cycle the whole story is given in one. Brotanek thinks that the Newcastle play is indebted to the two York plays, which opinion he thinks is justified by the fact, that at Newcastle
the subject seems to have been divided between two plays in the
same manner as at York, and by certain other, not very strong
parallelisms. In view of the close connection known to exist
between some of the plays of the Towneley and York cycles
respectively, it is by no means improbable that a third North-
umbrian cycle may have also borne some close resemblance, at
least in parts, to these two extant collections; thus, while not
negativing Brotanek's opinion, we feel the evidence to be too
slight to satisfactorily substantiate it, and would prefer to leave
the question among the many other doubtful ones which seem to
be inevitable when considering the early history of the stage.

In comparison with the first York play and the first part of
the Towneley play, the Newcastle version is arranged on a con-
siderably more elaborate scale, without much alteration in point
of length. The extension consists of the superfluous introduction
of the Angel in addition to God, the appearance of Noah’s Wife
already in the first part of the story, and the presence of the
Devil. The introduction of the Angel was doubtless intended
to increase the spectacular effect—the chief consideration in the
early fifteenth century—although at the same time it increased
the dramatist’s difficulties, since it necessitated God’s command
appearing twice: this the writer obviated somewhat, by making the
Angel address to Noah much that was not in his original message,
and omitting very much that was; in the Coventry Noah-play an
angel is also introduced. The popularity of Noah’s wife as a
comic character was sufficient to induce the writer to introduce her
into the first part of the story as well as the second, and would
also warrant the repeating of much of the vis comica connected
with her appearance. The inclusion of the Devil in the Noah
story is, as far as I know, an idiosyncrasy of the Newcastle
version. His Infernal Highness looking back with pleasure upon
the success of his methods in the Garden of Eden, repeats the
experiment with Noah’s wife, this time substituting “a drink”
for “the apple”: the anachronism involved is, of course, to the
fourteenth and fifteenth-century dramatist, a mere trifle. Professor
Brandl, in speaking of the play, remarks, that by the introduction
of the Devil the construction of the play approaches one step
nearer to the form of the Morality. To the Devil, too, is entrusted

1 The Beverley plays were also probably indebted to the York cycle.
2 Paul’s Grundriss, II. 711.
the part of speaking the Epilogue, and he concludes the play in a spirit quite in harmony with the comedy that has preceded. In the York play of the Temptation,¹ and in one of the Chester plays, the Devil is likewise made to address the spectators.² The description of the shipwrights' tools and materials goes exhaustively into details and shows that the author had an intimate knowledge of the trade, or else was assisted by one of the members of the craft; while the realism and comedy displayed in the piece indeed compare not unfavourably with that of the plays attributed to the author of the Towneley Second Shepherds Play, whose ability Mr. Pollard has so highly, but not too highly, praised.

External evidence of the date and manner of performance of the play is, fortunately, comparatively plentiful, and is to be found in the records of the various craft-guilds. The earliest mention of Corpus Christi performances is a notice, dated Jan. 20th, 1426, in the Coopers' "ordinary"; they are also mentioned, in 1436, in the books of the Smiths and Glovers, in 1442 in those of the Barbers, in 1451 by the Slaters', in 1459 by the Sadlers', and in 1447 by the Fullers' and Dyers'. Other references, too, are to be found. In the "ordinary" of the Millers, e.g. under the date 1578, occurs the following minute:—"Whenever the generall plaiies of the towne shall be commanded by the mayor, &c.," the guild shall play, "the antient playe of their fellowship, the Deliverance of the Children of Isrell out of the Thraldome, Bondage and Servitude of King Pharo." From this it seems probable that at this date the plays had lost some of their popularity, and that the guilds did not consider them worth the expense and trouble which performance involved; at least it is clear that by this date they had ceased to be performed annually.

It is also clearly established by the records that at Newcastle there was a cycle of plays. The names of twelve plays with the crafts performing them are known, and are as follow:—


¹ v. 175.
² Noah also addresses himself directly to the spectators. Cf. vv. 93 and 96, 200 and 201.


8. [The Last Supper.] Fullers and Dyers.


In addition to this, we know that the Merchant Venturers Company were responsible for five plays, one of which was to be performed by the Ostmen and paid for by the town; the plays of the remaining five guilds (exclusive of the Joiners) are not known. In the Joiners' "ordinary," dated 1589, is the instruction, "whenever it shall be thought necessary by the mayor, &c. to command to be set forth and plaied or exercised any generall playe or martial exercise, they shall attend on the same and do what is assigned them"; the interpretation of which seems to be that they were not responsible for the performance of any particular play, but rather expected to give assistance of a general character. Allowing one play to each of the five guilds whose plays are unknown, the total number in the cycle would be twenty-two; but it is possible that one or more of these crafts performed two plays, as the Bricklayers and Plasterers did, in which case the total number of plays may have been anything between twenty-two and twenty-seven. Holthausen includes in his list the play Hogmogoge, mentioned in the accounts of the Merchant Adventurers under the date 1554, but Mr. Chambers is of the opinion that it is a Spring or Summer folk-feast that is here referred to; an explanation which, in my opinion, seems more plausible.

It rested with the Corporation to decide when the plays were

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1 The title is not mentioned, but it is clear from the items of expenditure what the play was.
to be given, but the cost was to be defrayed by the various craft-guilds, who made a definite levy upon each of their members for that purpose; e.g. "in 1536, the Taylors required three-pence from each hireling, and seven-pence from each newly-admitted member, whereas the Fullers and Dyers paid nine shillings for the 'play letting' to four persons."¹ The time of the performance is generally said to have been afternoon or evening, a judgment based upon a deposition made by Sir Robert Brandling of Newcastle, in 1569, who said that on Corpus Christi Day, 1562, "he would after his dinner draw his will, and after the plays would send for his consell, and make it up." This however does not necessarily imply that the plays began in the evening.

A good deal of difference of opinion exists as to whether the Corpus Christi plays at Newcastle were taken round in circuit and played at certain chosen street-corners, or before the houses of distinguished citizens, or, as was the case at Edinburgh, given at some fixed place.

The supporters of the latter theory base their opinion upon two facts. It is known that the Procession commenced at 7-0 a.m., and yet Sir Robt. Brandling refers to the plays in the evening; this deposition, however, is in no respect irreconcilable with the supposition that the plays were cyclical, beginning in the morning and extending until towards evening: even the twelve plays the names of which have been preserved would be sufficient to occupy this length of time, since we must not forget that cases are on record where more than one day was required for the performance of some of the larger cycles. The second fact partly responsible for such an opinion is a phrase in the closing speech of the Devil, "All that is gathered in this stead"; a phrase which, to my mind, cannot function as a crucial instance at all, since the delightfully indefinite word "stead" applies equally well to an enclosed place of performance, or to a stopping-place at some street-corner, or market-place, one of the "stations" of the procession through the town. On the other hand, payments for the car, and for "them that bear the car," are fairly numerous in the accounts of the various crafts, and also relatively large, a fact which makes a second, alternative solution of the difficulty, that offered by Miss Toulmin-Smith, viz. that the pageants were taken to the place of

performance before the play, also appear somewhat unlikely: and, finally, an entry to be met with in the books of the Fullers and Dyers, appears to place the matter beyond a doubt:—

"Item, for the care and banner berryng 20d. Item, for the Carynge of the trowt and wyn about the town." 1

The pageant used for the performance of plays dealing with the story of Noah was made in the form of a ship or ark, and was probably larger than the usual form of pageant in use for other plays; for we find in some accounts at Lincoln that three times as much was charged for "housing" the Noah pageant as for the others, 2 and, moreover, the one in possession of the Trinity Guild of Master Mariners and Pilots of Hull in 1421, was valued at the sum of £5 8s. 4d. 3 In the Digby play of St. Mary Magdalena a practicable ship appears to have been moved about the platea, 4 and the trench so often referred to in connection with the mystery plays at Perranzmabulo, is explained by some authorities as having been used for the purpose of floating Noah's ship.

There is little to be said about the arrangements of the ship and the make-up of the actors. The accounts at Hull make it clear that there at least, the pageant was on wheels and went about the town, and also had a rigging; that Noah had a coat made of three skins, a pair of mittens and a "pyleh," and that he and his children made their beds of straw. The pageant was afterwards hung in the church. In the Newcastle play the actor who played Diabolus apparently wore a mask, which gave opportunity for the expression:

"I swear thee by my crooked snout." 5

In addition to Newcastle and the four great cycles, the series of plays performed at Beverley and that at Norwich, each possessed a Noah-play, the texts of which, unfortunately, have not been preserved. At Hull, as at many other sea-ports, English as well as Continental, the Plough-Monday Festival had taken on such a maritime character that the usual plough was replaced by a boat. Although at Hull there is no trace of Corpus Christi plays, there are incontestable records of the performance of a Noah-play, which took place in connection with the Plough-Monday procession

Abraham's Sacrifice.

and celebrations. Bristol in 1486 did honour to Henry VII by the performance among others of the "shipwrights' pageant," and Dublin had a performance in 1498, but these were probably in dumb-show.

c. Abraham’s Sacrifice, Dublin and Brome Versions.

Two non-cyclical plays upon the Abraham-and-Isaac story have been preserved, the so-called Dublin and Brome plays. The former has been edited twice: in 1836, by J. P. Collier, in his volume entitled Five Miracle Plays, and in 1899, by Rudolf Brotanek, in vol. xxi of the Anglia, whereas the latter has appeared in four editions; in 1884, Miss E. Toulmin-Smith published it in vol. vii. of the Anglia; and in 1886 in A Commonplace-Book of the Fifteenth Century; in 1887 it was printed by Mr. Walter Rye in the third volume of the Norfolk Antiquarian Miscellany, and lastly by Professor Manly from Miss Smith’s two editions, in 1897, in Specimens of the Pre-Shakesperean Drama. In the preparation of the present edition all the above have been consulted.

In a collection of manuscripts, the gift of Bishop Ussher to the library of Trinity College, Dublin, is one marked D. iv. 18, containing one of our two plays. It is a small, quarto, paper manuscript, clearly and beautifully written, entitled Tractatus Varii and containing pieces of a somewhat miscellaneous character. The first fourteen pages, which are written in a larger hand than the remainder of the manuscript, contain satiric, religious, didactic and political pieces. Folios fifteen recto and sixteen give us an enumeration of the Christian kings of the world, including those of England, and state the duration of each reign, except in the case of the last, Henry VI. It is therefore clear that this list was made between 1422 and 1461, and since the same hand continues to the end of the manuscript, the whole of this part, from folio fifteen onwards, must have been written down during that reign. On the back of the next leaf, our play, which is without a title, begins. Folio seventeen has clearly been stitched in the wrong place, since it contains a continuation of a poem found on folio fourteen verso, and since folio eighteen takes up the continuation of our play. Folios eighteen

1 Cf. In 1529 we read, “item, Nicholas Helphby for wryt the play viid”; and 1483, “To a man clearing away the snow 1d”:—this latter reference is more likely to refer to Plough Monday than to Corpus Christi day, also Hadley, who gives the items, refers to them as extracted from “the expenses on Plough day.”
verso and nineteen recto, being filled with heraldic designs, also interrupt the play under consideration, which folios nineteen verso to twenty-three recto, bring, without interruption, to a close. Two pages are then left entirely blank, after which follows a register of the mayors and bailiffs of Northampton: "Hic sunt Majores et Ballivi de Northampton a primo anno Regis Ricardi usque in hunc diem": then follow another empty leaf and a very badly-mutilated one, which appears to have contained a calendar. Following these pieces come some prose tractates written in another hand: "How men þat ben in hele schulen visite sike folk and how a man shulde be comforted azens gruchinge in sikenesse, þe secunde chapter," which is then followed by a sermon beginning—"Capitulum Primum—Tary not for to turn the to God ne drawe not a leyte fro day to day for sodenly he takes wrecches in sharpnesse of deeth," while at the end comes the inscription: "Here enden the XII Chapitres of Richard, heremyte of Hampole," after which follow Latin manuscripts. The next piece is the short Latin Chronicle extending as far as the thirty-sixth year of Henry the Sixth's reign, immediately preceding, and written with the same ink, and in the same hand as our play; which latter is then followed, still in the same hand but written with different ink, by a bailiff's register, extending as far as the first year of Edward the Fourth's reign. The probability, then, is that the two former pieces were written down at about the same time, and the last-named piece somewhat later; so that 1458, the thirty-sixth year of Henry the Sixth's reign, seems a very probable date for the compilation of this Dublin version of the play of Abraham and Isaac.

Until challenged by Davidson and Brotanek, the opinion that this play was one of a lost cycle performed at Dublin, had been general. The former scholar has, however, pointed out that the evidence upon which the supposition is based, a memorandum in the Chain-Book of the City for 1498, is far from convincing. The entry in question is as follows:—

"Corpus Christi day a pagentis:—
The pagentis of Corpus Christi day, made by an olde law and confirmed by a semble befor Thomas Collier, Maire of the Cite of Divelin, and Juries, Baliffs and commones, the iiiijth Friday next after midsomer, the xiii. yere of the reign of King Henry the VIIth.
Corpus Christi Celebrations in Dublin.

Gowers: Adam and Eve, with an auter and the offere. Peyn xl. s.
Corvisers: Cayn and Abell, with an auter and the offere. Peyn xl. s.
Maryners, Vynters, Shipcarpynderis, and Samountakers: Noe, with his shipp, apparelad acordyng. Peyn xl. s.
Wevers: Abraham [and] Ysaak, with ther auter and a lamb and ther offereance. Peyn xl. s.
Smythis, Shermen, Bakers, Sclaters, Cokis and Masonys: Pharo, with his hoste. Peyn xl. s.
Skynners, House-Carpynders, and Tanners and Browders: for the body of the camell, and Oure Lady and hir Chile well aperelid with Joseph to lede the camell, and Moyses with the children of Israel, and the Portors to berr the camel. [Peyn] xl. s.

[Goldsmythis]: The three Kynges of Collynn, ridyng worshipfully, with the offereance, with a sterr afor them. Peyn xl. s.

[Hoopers]: The shep[er]dis, with an Angill syngyng Gloria in excelsis Deo. Peyn xl. s.

Corpus Christi yild: Criste in his Passioun, with three Maries, and angilis berring serges of wax in ther hands. Peyn xl. s.
Fisschers: The Twelve Apostelis. Peyn xl. s.
Marchauntes: The Prophetis. Peyn xl. s.
Bouchers: tormentours, with ther garmentis well and clenely peynted. [Peyn] xl. s.

The Maire of the Bulring and bachelers of the same: The Nine Worthies ridyng worshipfully, with ther followers accordyng. Peyn xl. s.
The Hagardmen and the husbandmen to berr the dragoun and to repaque the dragoun a Seint Georges day and Corpus Christi day. Peyn xl. s.

A second list, almost identical with this one, immediately folows, and is headed “The Pagentys of Corpus Christi Procession.”

The general impression to be derived from a careful consideration of the phraseology, the irregular order of the pageants and the inclusion of profane subjects, is that they were simply dumbshow accompaniments of a Corpus Christi Procession, an opinion with which both Davidson and Chambers are in full agreement. The former scholar, basing his opinion upon a comparison of the Dublin
and Aberdeen pageants with those of Bethunia, thinks that the two former were of the character of *tableaux vivants*; but whether this be the case or no, it is very difficult to regard them, on the occasion here referred to, as a cycle of Corpus Christi plays. On the other hand, it is not improbable that each of the crafts had acted, or perhaps still acted, a play on the subject assigned to it in this record. It is also not improbable that the religious plays alone had been performed in their proper order in a cycle. The explanation of the irrational order of the pageants as here recorded is, to my mind, that there was no intention of arranging them as to subject, but according to the rank of the guilds in question, each of which, no doubt, jealously saw to it that it received a place in the procession worthy of its dignity.

Again, we have later records of performance in Dublin which undoubtedly have reference to plays:—"Tho. Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in the year 1588, was invited to a new play every day in Christmas, Arland Uster being then mayor, and Francis Herbert and John Squire bayliffs, wherein the taylers acte the part of Adam and Eve; the shoemakers represented the story of Crí[s]pin and Crispianus; the vintners acted Bacchus and his story; the Carpenters that of Joseph and Mary; Vulcau, and what related to him, was acted by the Smiths; and the comedy of Ceres, the goddess of corn, by the Bakers. Their stage was erected on Hoggin Green (now called College Green), and on it the priors of St. John of Jerusalem, of the blessed Trinity, and All Hallows caused two plays to be acted, the one representing the passion of our Saviour, and the other the several deaths which the apostles suffered." ¹ In this case, however, there is no mention of an Abraham-and-Isaac play. These are clearly single plays, independent of any cycle, and Davidson regards the religious plays among them at least as having been very similar in character to our play, for he says, "if now the play of the Priors of St. John of Jerusalem or that of the Carpenters were extant, wherein would it differ from the play of Abraham and Isaac?" It is not impossible that on some similar occasion to the above the last-named play was performed.

Brotanek, however, in his article in the *Anglia* assigns the play not to Dublin, but to Northampton, or near by. His arguments in support of his opinion are indeed weighty, and if sometimes a

¹ Quoted by Chambers from Harris, *History of Dublin*, p. 147.
little fanciful, are for the most part convincing. One has pronounced above in favour of the date 1458 for the manuscript; the play could not have taken its rise much before this, and at the earliest at the beginning of the fifteenth century. In so late a specimen, too, it is somewhat difficult to arrive at a very definite opinion upon the dialect of the piece, but what traces are to be found, as Brotanek points out, are certainly characteristic of the English Midlands rather than of the district around Dublin. All characteristically Northern forms, as well as the known peculiarities of Dublin manuscripts of the period, such as the confusion of th with t and d, of w with v, and the omission and erroneous insertion of the aspirate, are entirely absent; whereas, the interchange of i and e, which is a peculiarity of the East Midlands, and us as the plural form of the substantive, which is a West Midland peculiarity, occasionally occurring in East Midland manuscripts, both appear and are further assured by being present in rhyme-position (e.g. vv. 330-334, and v. 205). In addition, the grammatical features of the play approach very closely those of the *Ludus Coventriae*, and therefore one must infer that our specimen belongs to the borders between the East and West Midlands. So much is certain with respect to the *locale* of the play: a more definite assignation of it to a particular town or district cannot be very certain, but must very largely be a matter of more or less justifiable conjecture. The appearance in the same manuscript, in the same handwriting, of the register of bailiffs of Northampton, certainly makes that town appear far from improbable; but as yet no records of any performances of plays there have come to light. Negative evidence of course in this respect is always of very small value, and, as Brotanek points out, since the dramatic activity of Coventry was at this time very great, the not-far-distant town of Northampton is certain to have been under the same influence. The same authority further suggests that in the famous quotation from the Coventry Plays:

> "A Sunday next if that we may,  
> At VI of the belle we gynne oure play  
> In N —— towne, whereof we pray, &c.,"

the N —— would more probably stand for some particular name rather than for the generic term *nomen*, since the day and time are definitely stated; and, therefore, why not Northampton? The arguments are worth considering, and with that we must leave them.
The play is written in strophes the form of which is varied with a good deal of skill and taste. The most common form is a stanza of eight verses, with the rhyme-order a a a b c c c b, but sometimes with only two rhymes, as for example, in the stanzas 72–79, 193–200 and 295–302. The stanza is not foreign to the mediæval religious drama; it is, in fact, the dominant strophic form in the Chester cycle, and the Towneley and Coventry cycles also have page after page written in the same form. Longer strophes of nine, twelve, thirteen and seventeen verses, always used with a definite purpose, also frequently occur: thus, for example, the opening speech of Deus is cast in two of these seventeen-line strophes, while other long speeches demanding dignity, and the prayer at the end, are also written in one or other of these longer stanza forms. This stanza, in its normal construction, consists of thirteen verses with the rhyme order a b a b a b a b c d d d c, a form to be found in the Towneley and Coventry cycles, and also in The Castle of Perseverance; the other varieties are formed by an extension of the cauda. The metrical structure within the verse itself is also varied, since septenars, alexandrines, verses of three and of four stresses, and here and there a verse of five stresses, are all to be found. The septenar only appears in the long strophes at the beginning and end of the play. Alliteration as an additional adornment frequently appears, but not as a metrical principle, although certain time-honoured, conventional, alliterative pairs still remain, as, for example, *trupe for to tell* 5, *ouper mete or mele 24, in wele and wo* 265, and sometimes a verse is alliteratively linked to the next, but whether intentionally or accidentally, it is difficult to say.¹

The Brome play of *Abraham and Isaac* is contained in a manuscript commonplace-book of the fifteenth century, made for the owners of the Manor of Brome, in the County of Suffolk. The manuscript was accidentally found among other papers relating to the same family, by Dr. G. H. Kingley, in the muniment room belonging to the land-agent's office at Brome. The late Sir Edward Kerrison, owner of the manuscript, accorded Miss Toulmin-Smith permission to print from it *ad libitum*, with the result that two editions of our play appeared, to which we are indebted for our text, and the following details descriptive of the

¹ Cf. vv. 39, 40; 359, 360.
The Brome Manuscript.

manuscript.1 "The manuscript of paper, five-and-a-half inches wide by eight long, is bound in a parchment cover with a flap turned over, somewhat injured by damp. It contains eighty-one leaves. The book seems to have been originally intended for a collection of poems, moral or religious; these occupy the first part of the volume, written in a fine neat hand of the second half of the fifteenth century. Following these (in one case written between two poems) are several interesting accounts for sale of corn and barley, lists of church dues, common rights, etc., and a few miscellaneous items, together with a kind of chartulary embracing deeds from 3 Edward III to 30 Henry VI, each given with an English translation following the Latin. All these are in two or three different hands. On the last leaf but one is a poem in the same hand as those at the beginning of the book.

The principal poems are as follows:

Twenty-six lines, beginning, "Man in merthe has meser in Mynde" (fo. 1), also cipher puzzles and sayings (fo. 1. v°).

Predilections of fortune by the cast of dice (fos. 2 and 3). On one page the dice are drawn. Another copy of this, differing in some particulars, is found in Sloane 513 (fo. 98).

Adrian and Epotis (fos. 5–14) resembles the version in Ashmol. 61 and Cott. Calig. A. II. At the end of this is a pretty design in red and black of the sign I.H.S., with a spear and heart.

Play of Abraham and Isaac (fos. 15–22).

Fifteen Signs of Doom (fos. 23–26).

Owayn Miles (fos. 28–38). This belongs to the type of the Cotton (Calig. A. II. fo. 89) version, not to that of the Auchinleck manuscript. Life of St. Margaret and Sir Olybryus (fos. 39–44). A fragment of the fifteenth-century version printed by Horstmann. Lydgate's stanzas on Prudence, Justice, Temperance and Fortitude (fo. 80).

The local entries in the manuscript chiefly refer to the village of Stuston, attached to the Manor of Brome, and date from the fifteenth year of Henry VII (A.D. 1499).

This version of Abraham and Isaac thus dates from the second half of the fifteenth century, but that it is by no means the original manuscript of the play is clearly evident from the variety and irregularity of its metrical form. By far the greater portion of

1 Editions: (a) 1884, Anglia, vol. vii; (b) 1886, A Common-place Book of the Fifteenth Century.
the play is written in a four-verse stanza usually with verses of four stresses, but sometimes of five, and the rhyme-order a b a b. The strophe next to this in frequency of occurrence is one of five similar verses and rhymed a b a a b; but the number of stanzas of the former kind is more than double that of the latter. The greatest probability is, then, that the original was written in this four-line stanza above named, and that a copyist intending to transcribe it into another stanza-form, the five-line stanza rhymed a b a a b, did this in the case of the first five stanzas and in eleven other cases, but for some reason or other did not carry his original plan to completion. A copyist introducing a new stanza would naturally do it at the beginning, and here it is noticeable that in the first five strophes, the third or the fourth verse can be omitted without damaging the sense of the piece. Further irregularities and corruptions are doubtless to be explained as being due to later copyists; and, perhaps, at some stage in the history of the play's transmission, to oral communication; while the many exclamatory phrases which so much interfere with a really systematic division into strophes, are perhaps to be regarded, like similar passages in the York plays, in the light of prose. The original was clearly much anterior in date to the present copy, being at least as old as the fourteenth century.

No story in the whole dramatic repertoire of the Middle Ages was more popular than that of Abraham and Isaac, which is testified to by the fact that no less than six such plays have been handed down to us. The story apparently enjoyed the same popularity on the Continent, since there dramatic versions are equally numerous. In France a separate copy of the play existed in addition to the portion of the Vieil Testament dealing with the subject. The question then naturally arises, how are our two plays related to each other, to the corresponding play in each of the four great cycles, and to the two French plays?

The Midland play preserved in the Dublin manuscript, which for convenience will be referred to as the Dublin Abraham and Isaac, appears to be very largely independent of the five other English plays on the subject, but to bear a general resemblance to the French versions of the story. It is also the only one of the English Abraham-plays in which Sara appears as a speaking character, and in which the thought of her, in the minds of father
and son, stands out so prominently. The mention of the mother does certainly occur in the Chester and Brome versions, but in a much less marked degree, and here Sara does not appear as a character of the play. Further, it remains to be mentioned, that the Dublin play has one or two verbal resemblances in parts, to passages in the Towneley play, but with this its relationship to the other English plays ceases. On the other hand, its general resemblance to the French play, especially in respect to scene arrangement, is certainly striking. In the edition issued for the Société des Anciens Textes Français, under the editorship of Baron Rothschild, two versions of the play are given; the ABC version, where it is part of the cycle, and the EF version, which is to be regarded as a detached play. The latter was printed in 1539, and it is not impossible that the printer then made use of manuscripts other than those from which the ABC version was compiled, and which have since been lost.\(^1\) It is with this 1539 printed version that our play most closely corresponds, a comparative table of which we subjoin from the twenty-first volume of the Anglia:\(^2\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scene</th>
<th>VT (ABC)</th>
<th>VT (EF)</th>
<th>Dublin.(^3)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3. —</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Habraham: 35-47.(^4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) Cf. Brotanek.  
\(^2\) Brotanek, Anglia, xxi, 28.  
\(^3\) Brotanek calls this the Northampton Play.  
\(^4\) In the corresponding place in the French play, there is a conversation between Sarra, Abraham and Isaac.
The difference in construction between the French and English plays is slight: the Dublin drama omits the character Misericorde, to which in the French version two short speeches are allotted, and in the English play the two servants, Ismael and Eliezer, who in the Vieil Testament (EF) are speaking characters, are not named. The French drama, it is true, is nearly four times as long as the Dublin play, but that is at least quite a normal proportion when considering English and French religious plays of the fifteenth century. But Brotanek presses the point still further, and cites a number of verses which he believes to have been directly suggested by corresponding verses in the French play: here I must confess that the influence has been too subtle for me to trace. In spite of this, however, the strong possibility, or perhaps even probability, that the author of the Dublin play knew some version or other of this detached French edition (Vieil Testament EF) still remains.

The relation of the Brome play to the French Mysteries and to the Chester plays has already been carefully considered by scholars in connection with a study of the latter cycle, and has led to various theories. Ungemach, in his Quellen der ersten fünf Chester Plays, maintains that the Chester and Brome Abraham-plays both go back to the same French original, and that, at the time when the Chester cycle underwent revision, the Brome version was used by their reviser. I must, however, agree with Hohlfeld, when he says that Ungemach, in reference to the Brome play's indebtedness to a French original, has not proved his case; since I have carefully considered his lengthy and skilfully-selected extracts, selected, too, sometimes from the ABC, and sometimes from the EF version, as each suited his purpose best, and cannot find any

1 According to the Cursor Mundi, a son of Abraham.
Compared with the Chester Play.

resemblances whatever which support a theory of indebtedness, but only a general similarity between the two plays, which is quite capable of being completely explained by the fact that they both go back to the Vulgate version of the Biblical story. Of Ungemach's contentions as to the indebtedness of the Chester Plays to the Vieil Testament, this is not the place to speak.

The similarity, however, between the Brome play and a part of the Chester play upon the same theme, leaves no question as to the indebtedness of one play in some form to the other: the question to be considered is, how was the influence exercised? In the first place, it is to be noted that the similarity refers to a part of the play only. Up to the point where Isaac declares his readiness to go with his father, there exists no striking likeness whatever between the two versions, and the same applies to the concluding portions; but the central part, the main scene, is very similar in both versions, a resemblance not only of general construction and plan, but also of details of expression and words in rhyme-position, both of which will readily be seen upon a comparison of our text with the portions of the Chester play printed below it. (Cf. pp. 40-49 of text.) These coincidences and similarities have, moreover (even Ungemach admits this, or rather asserts it), no resemblance whatever to anything in the French Mystery: what, then, is their explanation? I have tried to show that the present form of the Brome play is a revision of an earlier, probably fourteenth-century version; we know that the Chester plays at the time of their being formed into a cycle, probably the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, underwent revision, and further, that unlike the Brome compiler, the Chester poet, in this instance, could not choose his stanza; therefore, the solution is that the Chester compiler then made use of the earlier version of the East Anglian play, an opinion with which both Hohlfeld and Ungemach, although of contrary opinions in respect to the French influence, are in complete agreement.

The mystery plays which have been handed down to us do not often offer scope for satisfactory literary criticism, and indeed, in most cases, it would be most unfair to their compilers to indulge in it, for their aim was directed towards the production of a grand spectacular effect rather than towards the compilation of a text of literary worth and beauty. Portions of the mass of mediaeval drama, however, have attained a standard worthy of being
designated literary works, as, for example, those plays of the Towneley cycle from the pen of the author of the Secunda Pastorum, of which Mr. Pollard has so rightly sung the praises, while parts at least of our two Abraham-and-Isaac plays, the best of the six upon this subject, are by no means to be despised. In the York play, Isaac is represented as a man of thirty years of age, while Sarah is not mentioned, and thus disappears of necessity any opportunity for introducing those beautiful touches of pathos to be found in the Dublin and Brome texts. The incomplete Towneley play, the shortest of them all, introduces the Deity in person, but in its treatment of the strife in Abraham's soul between paternal affection and his duty to his God, the real point of interest, it is very dull and lifeless. The Coventry copy is a bald narrative, equally prosaic. The Chester, like the Brome play, which in essentials it closely resembles, closes with the speech of an expository character, somewhat shorter, and placed in the mouth of a "Doctor." The Dublin text, the only one which introduces Sarah in person, develops very well indeed the capabilities of the story on the side of domestic affection, especially in relation to the mother. In the Dublin version, too, a somewhat prominent part is also assigned to the Deity. Both plays treat the struggle in Abraham's mind between fatherly love and obedience to God extremely well.

That both the Dublin and Brome plays were performed as single plays and not as parts of cycles I have attempted to show earlier in this short introduction, but evidence as to the particular manner, place, and time in and at which they were performed, is unfortunately not to hand; therefore, it is to be supposed that the stage was the usual pageant, and the mode of performance practically identical with what we do certainly know about the performance of other plays on the same, and similar subjects.

IV.

The Play of the Sacrament.

The Play of the Sacrament, or, as it is often called, the Croxton Play, has been twice edited: in 1861 by Whitley Stokes in Transactions of the Philological Society (Appendix), and in 1897 by Prof. Manly in his Specimens of the Pre-Shaksperean Drama. In the
preparation of the present edition, the latter has been collated with the manuscript, and with Whitley Stokes' version.

The play in question is contained in a quarto paper, manuscript (F. IV. 20), preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, marked *Irish Historical Pieces*, and in the new catalogue scheduled No. 652. The contents of the manuscript, of a somewhat miscellaneous character, and written in various hands, are as follow:

2. French. (Nic. titul. Bp. of Ferus.) *Apolo gia pro se et aliis Catholicis*.
3. Davis (Sir John). Argument upon Impositions.
4. Cambden (Wm.). Genealogy of the English, with some of their arms; also lives and effigies of the Popes (in his own hand).
5. Informations exhibited to the Committee of the Fire of London, 1667.
6. Miracle play of the conversion of Jonathas the Jew by the miracle of the Sacrament.
7. Poems by Sir John Davis and others.

The handwriting of our portion of the manuscript is that of the latter half of the fifteenth century, and is occasionally difficult to decipher, especially the first page, which, before its inclusion in the present binding, was apparently at some time or other the unprotected outside sheet of the manuscript, and thus became much more stained and faded than the remaining leaves. Two scribes were at work upon the manuscript, which divides itself into four sections; the "banns" with verses 1 to 246 and 405 to 566, being written by one scribe, and verses 247 to 404 and 567 to the end, by the other. The writer of sections one and three marked off the speeches of the different characters by means of horizontal black lines, drawn in ink across the page, and the stanzas by means of bracketing the lines which were intended to rhyme together; while the scribe of sections two and four contented himself with a division of the speeches, and left the stanzas unmarked. Both scribes make a free use of the usual contractions of the period, but the latter perhaps shows a rather more consistent use of the double *l* with a stroke, and wrote a somewhat larger hand than his colleague: in the fourth section of the work he appears to
Manuscript, Peculiarities, etc.

have used paler ink, or at least ink more inclined to rapidly fade; in point of carelessness it is difficult to discover which of the two was the more accomplished. (Cf. e. g. boyldel, Prol. 42; obowyn, ProL 46; ys, copied a verse too early, v. 603; dysaved, 467; pygys lockyd, 846, etc.) That the former scribe was an Irishman seems highly probable from the frequency with which he confuses *u*, *w* and *v*, and *t* and *th*, a peculiarity which appears very rarely in the rest of the play. (Cf. e. g. hat, 2, 437, and 532; spekyt, 491; waytheth, 40 (Prol.); amatystis, 81; awoydl, 420; save for save, 77 (Prol.); walew, 210; etc.)

The Irish peculiarities of the manuscript are clearly due to the scribe, and not to the writer of the play, which was certainly written in England, and most probably in the East Midlands. The manuscript is so late, falling well after the time at which the Schriftsprache (as the German scholars call it) had certainly established itself, and the poet handles his rhymes either so carelessly, or so freely, that no very definite conclusions as to its original locality are to be drawn. Unfortunately the name Croxton, occurring in the "banns" of the play, is no very great help, since at least seven such places are known, any one of which is possibly the one meant. In consideration that five of the seven are in the East-Midland district, that there is nothing in the poem to disprove an East-Midland origin, and that the dramatic activity of that district is well ascertained, until a better solution can be found, the above must serve as a general indication.¹

Although there is ample and convincing evidence that miracle-plays were performed in England, the Play of the Sacrament is—with the exception of the Play of Mary Magdalene, a combination of Miracle, Mystery and Morality, in which the first element predominates—the only text of this class which has been preserved. Many scholars would deny that the Play of the Sacrament has a claim to the title of miracle-play because its subject matter is not drawn from the Lives of the Saints; this is however clearly unjustified, for although many of the miracle-plays in England and France did derive their inspiration from such a source, this is by no means the essential feature of the miracle-play. In France, indeed, the subjects of the miracle-plays were drawn from the greatest possible variety of sources, sacred and profane, of early and of almost contemporary date. The essential feature of the

¹ Cf. pp. lxiii and lxxiv.
miracle play is that the action centres round some miraculous event: that is clearly true of our play, for the comic element is purely episodic.

The story which forms the main subject of the Play of the Sacrament is only one of a very large number, the popularity of which was due to the strong anti-Semitic feeling prevailing in the West of Europe during the Middle Ages, and which is still recognisable, expressed in other ways in many parts at the present day. The most famous of all such stories perhaps is that of Hugh of Lincoln. The miracles alleged to have taken place in connection with Jewish outrages upon sacred wafers, were held to prove the doctrine of the Real Presence, and that communion under both kinds was unnecessary; while a third and less spiritual result was, that the stories served as an excuse for the murder of wealthy Jews and the confiscation of their property. Continental versions of the story are numerous from the year 1290\(^1\) until the seventeenth century, but in the great majority of cases they differ from the English version in that the torturers of the Host as a reward for their pains are burnt alive. Dramatic versions of the story, too, are numerous in France, Italy, and the Netherlands; thus, for example, in 1473, as part of the festival at Rome held in honour of Leonore of Aragon, certain Florentine players performed plays of Susanna, John the Baptist and the Miracle of the Host\(^2\); in or about the year 1500, a Dutch play of more than a thousand verses in length upon The Miracle of the Host, was written by a certain Smeken and performed in Breda; and a French play of a similar nature is preserved in two printed editions of the sixteenth century, the former of which bears the title: "Le jeu et mystère de la sainte hostie, par personnages." The motif of this play, which introduces twenty-six characters and is fifteen hundred and ninety verses in length, is somewhat similar to that of the Croxton play, but the details are not the same.

A woman oppressed with poverty has pawned a portion of her clothing with a Jew money-lender, which she beseeches him to restore to her when the Passover Feast comes round. This the Jew promises to do, but only on condition that she brings to him the consecrated Host which she is to receive in communion at church; the poor woman agrees to the conditions and the Jew obtains the holy

\(^1\) Villani, Croniche, Ao. 1290. (Cited by Stokes.)
\(^2\) Creizenach, I, 332.
wafer. He then cuts it savagely with a knife, whereupon it bleeds profusely. The Jew's family beg of him to desist, but he refuses and unsuccessfully tries to destroy the Host by every means of which he can think; after this his son reveals the circumstances to a Christian woman, who takes the wafer back to the priest; and, since the news of the sacrilege has spread all over Paris, the Jew is seized; brought before the judges, convicted, and burnt to death, while the members of his family are baptized. The woman who betrayed the Host commits the crime of murdering her illegitimate child in order to conceal her guilt, likewise repents, and is burnt at the stake; which miracle was supposed to have taken place in the thirteenth century, and in memory of which the Church of Carmelites was founded.

That the story upon which this play is founded is by no means to be counted among the more unimportant Parisian legends, is testified to by the frequency with which the incident is referred to by French historians. Further, in 1664, a certain Fr. Leon, of the Order of Carmelites of the Holy Sacrament, published under the patronage of the Bourbon arms, a duodecimo, bearing the title: *L'Histoire de l'Hostie Miraculeuze, arrivé au Convent des Religieuses Carmes du Saint Sacrement, des Billetes*, wherein this tradition is referred to as three hundred and seventy-four years old, again giving us as date the year 1290.

Thirty-one years earlier, certain members of the University of Paris had turned their attention to the story and issued a report as follows: "We, the undersigned Doctors of the Faculty of Theology, of Paris, certify that we have seen and closely examined this History of the Miraculous Host of Paris, in which we have not found anything contrary to the Faith nor to morals. Given at Paris, this second day of August, 1633.

N. PIGNAY.

F. DAMOURETTES."

To return to a consideration of the English play, it is to be remarked that its source is undoubtedly this French legend, dating from 1290, varied in certain details. The Jew's treatment of the Host is essentially the same in the Parisian legend and the English play; but the English dramatist has selected certain incidents and omitted others. According to the Parisian legend, the Jew treats the Host in the following manner. First he lays it upon the table.

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1 W. Hone, *Legend of the Miraculous Host.*
and stabs it several times with his penknife, with the result that blood gushes from it freely, after which he further mutilates it with a hammer and nails. It is next hung upon a stake and scourged as often as the body of Christ received lashes by the scourging, and then thrown into the fire, where it is seen moving about untouched. The Jew, becoming mad, attacks it with a large carving-knife, but this proves unsuccessful, so "he hangs it up in a place deemed the vilest in the house," and pierces it with the point of a spear. Finally, it is thrown into a cauldron of boiling water, whereupon the water turns to blood, and a crucifix with a figure of the dying Saviour rises up above it. At this the Jew is terrified and hides himself in the cellar; the church bell is ringing for Mass, and a child of the Jew's runs from the house crying out, "Where do you go to seek your God? to the Church? Has not my father, then, after having inflicted so many tortures on Him, has he not yet killed Him?" Upon hearing this, a woman, a neighbour of the Jew, went to the house feigning to ask for a light, and beholding the affecting picture of the Passion of Christ there re-enacted, prostrated herself and made the sign of the Cross. The body of Jesus Christ returned to the form of the Host, and placed itself in a vessel which she held in her hand, which she then carried to the Church of St. John en Grève, where it was received by priests. The story was told, the Jew and the betrayer of the Host were arrested and condemned to be burnt; King Philip and his Queen, Jane of Navarre, commanded that the Jew's house should be converted into a temple, and that there should be kept the Jew's penknife and cauldron, and the dish in which the Host was taken to the church. On the Sunday before Easter, the Chapter of St. John carried in procession the evidences of the miracle, which for four centuries were preserved, and then, on the first Sunday after Easter, a festival was held in celebration of the event.

The alterations which the English dramatist has made in the story are many and important. In the English play a Christian merchant is substituted for the poor woman as the betrayer of the Host, the Jew is a wealthy merchant and not a money-lender, and has moreover four Jewish accomplices, and the stock comic characters of the doctor and his man are added, while the dénouement is, contrary to continental custom, the absolution of the Jews from their sins, and their subsequent baptism.
The Metre of the Play.

To modern taste the greater part of the play is extremely grotesque and almost loathsome, while even the comic and satiric touches are uncommendably broad. The passages in which Brundyche, *Magister Physicus*, himself makes merry over the manner in which he treats his patients, as well as the comic ejaculations and remarks of his boy Colle, are well calculated to please the ignorant and rustic crowds which thronged to the marketplaces of small towns and to village greens in search of amusement.

The incident, too, is of additional interest in that it serves as an example of the influence of the Spring folk-drama upon the miracle play. The inveterate quack-doctor who so frequently appears in the former has been bodily imported into the latter. In the folk-drama, it is true, the doctor was an essential element of the story, while in the miracle-play he has become an episodic character, introduced for the sake of the comedy supplied; but that is quite the normal development in such cases.

The various outrages exercised upon the consecrated wafer and the miraculous appearance of Jesus as a speaking character, appear now, deprived of their medieval milieu of belief, somewhat puerile and paltry; this was, however, not so when the play was performed, but exactly what portion the fifteenth-century audience treated as comic, and how much as serious and reverent, is now difficult to determine.

The metre in which the play is written is considerably varied, the purpose of which, however, is not always apparent. The commonest of all used, is a four-line stanza, rhymed *abab*, in which the normal verse has four accents, with considerable freedom of construction in the unstressed portions; verses of five and three accents also often occur. In the majority of instances, the last verse of the stanza rhymes with the first verse of the stanza immediately following, thus giving an eight-line strophe, with the rhyme order *abab*; but since the scribe betrays irregularity in marking off the stanzas, and since the above construction is not adhered to throughout, we have preferred to divide the play, in these portions, into stanzas of four verses each.\(^1\) The next stanza in order of frequency used, is one of eight verses rhymed *aababcbb*, and is found from verse 409 to 520 with slight interruptions, and again in verses 542 to 572. Other more irregular stanzas also occur,

\(^2\) Manly arranges in eight-line stanzas.
e. g., in verse 172, with the appearance of Clericus, verse 198, in the part of Jonathas, verses 247 and 296 of Aristorius, where a five-line stanza abba is used, while in verses 440 to 444, the rhyme-order is ababb. But the metrical form is most markedly interrupted, and quite naturally too, upon the entrance of the two comic characters, Master Brundyche, and Colle, his boy. As far as verse 517, they are kept within the bounds of the eight-line stanza, aaab cccb, but after this, the greatest freedom is used. The speech of Brundyche, for example, consists of seven verses, the first six of which have as rhyme-syllable—acyon, and the seventh does not rhyme at all: after which follow seven couplets, and then the eight-line stanza is again resorted to. Verses 655 to 660 form a stanza with the rhyme-order abbbba, and then the four-line stanza construction is continued to the end of the play. We have previously referred to the carelessness, or unsatisfactory choice of the rhymes, which points to a poet of inferior merit: the merest glance at the rhythm leads to the same conclusion. Alliteration, although not present as a consistent principle, is very much in evidence, and more so at the beginning of the play than towards the end. Where alliteration was easy to use, there the poet has made the most of it, but where it was difficult, he has apparently largely abandoned it. Thus, for example, when he introduces a list of places, which he obviously drew from some geographical manual, probably alphabetically arranged, the alliteration shines forth in all its glory, the names appearing even in alphabetical order:

"In Antyoche and in Ahmayn moch is my myght,
In Braban and in Brytayn I am full bold,
In Calabre and in Coleyn ther rynge I full ryght,
In Dordrede and in Denmark I be the chylfe told.

In Alysander I have abundawnse in the wyeorde wold;
In France and in Fyrre fresshe be my flowres,
In Gyldre and in Calys have I bownt and sold,
In Iamborowhe and in Holond moche merchandysye is owris."

That the author considered such a profusion of alliterative forms in keeping with the character of Aristorius' boastful speech, may have been the case, for the corresponding boast of the Jew merchant has the same peculiarity; certain it is, however, that it is largely confined to the former part of the play.

After the list of dramatis personae given in the manuscript at
the end of the play, is the remark, "IX may play it at ease." A study of the structure of the play, makes it clear that none of the actors who played the parts of Aristorius, Jonathas, Jason, Jasdon, Masphat and Malchus, could possibly take another part; and it is equally certain that if the company be limited to nine actors, the parts of Clericus and Colle must be played by the same person. The rôle of Magister Physicus could only be taken by one of the actors who played the parts of Presbyter and Episcopus respectively. It only now remains to decide how the figure of Jesus, which speaks a considerable number of verses, and to which the stage-direction applies the words, "an image with woundis bledyng," was actually represented. The person who spoke as the image, must have been an actor who in this scene does not otherwise appear; the choice therefore rests between the actors of the parts Aristorius, Presbyter, Episcopus, and the boy who played Colle and Clericus. Of these, the last-named is the most probable, since in verse 724, the image seen is referred to as "a chyld apperyng with woundys blody," the explanation of which is difficult apart from the above supposition.

The somewhat crude character of the play itself, the fact that some of the actors take more than one part, and the evidence of the "banns" all point to the play as being one of those interludes¹ so popular in the fourteenth century, which were taken from village to village, and town to town, and played at the market-place and village-green. Everything goes to prove that it is a play of this class, short enough to be performed in an hour or a little more, in which the simplest scenic arrangements suffice, and suitable alike for performance at a baronial banquet, in the guildhall of a town, perhaps even in a church, or in the courtyard of some then oft-visited inn. The doubling of parts is entirely unknown to the mystery play, and common to this latter class, the records of which are numerous; thus, e. g., Bale's Three Laws required five players, and Lusty Juventus, four.

The announcement of the play by means of "banns" was common to the regular mystery-plays as well as occasional plays, but was probably even more necessary in the latter case than the former, which were well-established and well-known municipal events: however, Chester and Beverley both had their "banns," and they

¹ The term interlude was certainly held to include miracle-play, as Mr. Chambers points out, Medieval Stage, ii, 182, 183.
Where performed.

are also on record at New Romney. The Croxton Play is announced beforehand by two banner-bearers, vexillatores, accompanied by a minstrel, who speak in turn, briefly outlining the story of the play, and finally giving their hearers an invitation to the performance in the following terms:

"And yt place yow, thys gaderyng þat here ys,
At Croxston on Monday yt shall be sen;
To see the conclusyon of þis lytell processe
Hertely welcum shall yow bene.

Now Jhesu yow sawe from treyn and tene,
To send vs hys hyhe ioyes of hevyne,
There myght vs withouton mynd to mene!
Now, mynstrell, blow vp with a mery stevyn!"

As we remarked above, the name Croxton alone does not help very much in locating the place where the play on this occasion was performed, since it occurs in Cambridgeshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Cheshire, and other counties. Mr. Chambers in his Medieval Stage, assigns it to Norfolk, but puts a mark of interrogation after his note. One of the many Croxtons which is far from being improbable is on the road from Oxford to Cambridge; it is a parish in the Union of Caxton and Arrington, in the county of Cambridge, three-and-a-half miles W.N.W. of Caxton. A second Croxton, which is also not improbable, is in the Union of Thetford, in the Western Division of Norfolk, two miles north from Thetford. Other Croxtons are:

A parish (St. John the Evangelist) in the Union of Glandford-Brigg, East Division of the Wapentake of Yarborough, Lincoln: seven miles N.E. by E. of Glandford-Brigg.

A chapelry in the parish of Fulmodeston in the Union of Walsingham, Western Division of Norfolk: four miles E. by N. of Fakenham.

A township in the parish of Eccleshall, Union of Stone, in the Northern Division of the Hundred of Pikehill, Staffordshire: three and three-quarter miles N.W. by N. of Eccleshall.

Croxton South: a parish (St. John the Baptist) in the Union of Barrow-upon-Soar, in the Northern Division of Leicestershire: nine-and-a-quarter miles N.E. by E. of Leicester.

A township in the parish of Middlewich, Union and Hundred of Northwich, Cheshire: one mile W.N.W. from Middlewich.¹


Mystery Plays.
Two other place-names occur in the play, the latter of which, near Bury St. Edmunds, having been well known because of a settlement of Franciscan friars there; they occur in verses 540 and 541:

"Inquyre to the Tolkote, for ther ys hys loggyng,¹
A lytylle besyde Babwelle Mylle."

V.

THE PRIDE OF LIFE.

The Pride of Life, although fragmentary, is a particularly interesting specimen, because of its early date and the light which it throws upon the early history of the drama; the Paternoster and Creed Play being lost, it is thus the earliest extant Morality. The text of the above play has twice been ably edited. In 1891, Mr. Mills, of the Record Office, Dublin, first printed a copy of the manuscript in the Proceedings of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, while seven years later, Professor Brandl, in his Quellen des Weltlichen Dramas vor Shakspeare, issued an edition based upon Mr. Mills' editio princeps, a collation of the manuscript made by the Rev. Prof. Skeat, and a second collation made by Mr. Mills. For the purposes of the present edition I have collated Mr. Mills' text with the manuscript and compared it with that of Prof. Brandl.

The poem in question has been preserved in a parchment roll, belonging to the canons of Christ Church, Dublin, a religious house which, unlike many other communities of a like nature, escaped suppression in the sixteenth century. The roll is in some respects quite a palaeographical puzzle. It consists of a body of accounts extending from 1333 to 1346, which have been stitched together to form a roll eleven feet eight-and-a-half inches in length, and varying from eight-and-a-quarter to eleven-and-a-quarter inches in breadth, the four different documents of which were probably stitched together not more than a century after their compilation. They were first noticed about the middle of the eighteenth century by Dr. Loyd, during the preparation of his Novum Registrum, who, however, did not copy them, but simply referred to them under the title, "Accounts of the expenditure of the Prior and his Chamber." The reverse side of the second account in its original state had been

¹ See also Index of Places, p. 105 et seq.
left unoccupied, and here, between certain groups of expenditure items, the *Pride of Life* was later, most probably in the former half of the fifteenth century, added to the manuscript. First are four crowded columns giving us respectively verses 1 to 38, 127 to 160, 161 to 196, and 197 to 234 of the play, where the continuity is broken by the appearance of items already upon the parchment, after which are four more columns containing respectively verses 39 to 126, 235 to 326, 327 to 416, and 415 to 502.\(^1\) After verses 126 and 136 are *lacuna*, while the close of the play is also missing; the explanation of which is, that originally another skin was attached to the roll and has unfortunately since disappeared.

Two scribes of different ability and peculiarities, speaking different dialects, have clearly been at work upon the manuscript. The one, an old man, writing somewhat shakily and as if out of practice, wrote a professional, clerkly hand, and contributed verses 5 to 32, 83 to 126, 155 to 326 and 439 to 502: the other, apparently an unpractised hand, unaccustomed to the copying of English manuscripts—since he utterly confuses p, y and z—wrote a running hand, and is responsible for verses 1 to 4, 33 to 82, 127 to 154 and 327 to 438.\(^2\) That the scribes had a written original to follow, and did not write the poem down from dictation or from memory, is clearly evident from the blunders which they made, all of which are mistakes of the eye and not of the ear, such as the confusion of f with long s (*sort* for *fort*, v. 42; *fot* for *sot*, v. 360), of t with c, and the omission of the stroke above the line for n (*goeyl* for *gentyl*), v. 333.\(^3\) The work appears to have been divided between them entirely without reference to the contents or strophic divisions.

The way in which the two scribes did their work and treated their original, has been so admirably set out at considerable length by Prof. Brandl,\(^4\) whose book is not so readily accessible on English library shelves as it should be, that nothing can be more satisfactory than to give the substance of it here. The scribe to whom we have referred to as a professional, Professor Brandl designates by B, his colleague by A.

1. A makes use of numerous abbreviations which he uses in Latin as well as English words: B confines himself to

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\(^1\) vv. 415 and 416 appear twice in the MS.: at the bottom of col. 3 and top of col. 4.

\(^2\) Mills.

\(^3\) Brandl, *op. cit.*

\(^4\) *idem.*
the use of the horizontal stroke above the line to denote m or n, and p" for thou.

2. A carefully distinguishes between e and o: B often confuses the two vowels, cf. vv. 132, 50.

3. A writes always com: B always cum.

4. A invariably represents O.E. ā by o: B often has a, e.g. yam v. 73, haldli 127, sa 358, halt 359, etc.

5. A represents O.E. eo before r by e: B has twice a, e.g. smartli 138, far 357.

6. A represents O.E. y by i or e, e.g. lesten 118, listen 471, siche 317: B has u, e.g. mucil 37, 38, chury 423, suc 35, 148, 328.

7. A preserves a final e after v or i: B drops it, e.g. leu 57, liu 145, hau 151, 354, etc.

8. In A the vowels of unaccented syllables are no longer preserved intact: cf. wolte (for wolþou) 218, vndir 213, sikir 493, etc. B is still more advanced in this respect: cf. horkynt 1, trecri 335, uileni 337. A has messager 263, 280, 307, etc.: B has the later form messengere v. 75.


10. A writes w quite regularly: B often replaces it by u: cf. 79, 128, 132, 134, etc.

11. A regularly has quh for wk: B generally w or u.

12. Initial h is only occasionally wrongly inserted by A: oftener by B. e.g. home 83, hal 1, 70, hold 2, hend 52, etc. B shows an inclination to drop initial h in particles or to substitute y or ʒ. (This latter feature is only seen at the beginning of the poem, later he reserves y and ʒ for p.) Final h before a word beginning with p appears in two instances as t: cf. þayt þe 381, þot þou 437.

13. A generally preserves þ, sometimes in this form and at other times as th. At first B seldom writes a clear þ, but takes it up after v. 391: in the middle of a word he generally puts y or ʒ and in final position t (occasionally þt or yt). B has also occasionally, in initial position, y instead of þ.

14. For final d, B often writes t. Cf. lerit and lent 4, warrit 70, irerit 342, touart 369. On the other hand, B sometimes
omits it after n, or introduces it wrongly after this consonant. Cf. underston 77, wand 73.

15. The palatals ʒ and ʒ do not change with g: on the other hand, in B, in the initial position in particles, they are dropped. Final ʒt and ʒht are simplified by B to t, corresponding to the fifteenth-century pronunciation: A has regularly ʒt.

16. B has c instead of ch, especially after an accented vowel: e.g. mucil 37, 38, precit 69, treci 335, etc. The reverse in initial position, is also found in B, viz. ch for c or k, charp 53, chont 68, cham 69, chong 130, etc.

17. For sh B puts occasionally c: (bicom 67, 73, fíeis 361; still more seldom ss, bisop 407). Initial s appears as sch, e.g. schir, 391, 435.

18. K after an accented vowel in connection with n or l often appears as g, in B, e.g. pin 365, 391, 399, etc.; an initial g sometimes as c, e.g. can 65, wyl cot 425.

19. In the conjugation of the verb, A has: in Pres. Indic. Singular 2 and 3, occasionally the Northern ending is, e.g. 192, 266, 276; otherwise ınt and ınt(h) and once or twice, in the plural, no ending, e.g. 259, 284. In the Pres. Indic. the Northern form ınt schal: cf. vv. 165, 190, 297 and 299, but also ınt schalt. B has always the latter form. A has sometimes a Northern peculiarity never found in B, the preservation of final u in the perfect part. of strong verbs: 244, 443, etc.

The conclusion clearly to be drawn from such a systematic study of the work of the two scribes, is that A spoke the Northern dialect, and B a special variety of the Northern dialect, peculiar to Dublin, the special features of which are:—the confusion of w and n and of w and v, the occasional representation of O.E. y by yn, the frequent dropping and misplacement of initial (sometimes of medial) h ¹, the interchange of p and t (occasionally pt), the appearance of t instead of final d, sh for s, and ss for sh.

The only guide which can be of any value in attempting to determine the date of the poem and the locality in which it was

¹ This, as well as the sharpening of consonants, is of course not peculiar to Dublin alone; but in conjunction with the other criteria is of value: the Dublin dialect is best studied in The English Conquest of Ireland, 1425, E.E.T.S. 107. MS. (undoubtedly a Dublin MS.) Trin. Coll. Dub. E ii, 31.
originally written, is the rhyme; and since the author appears to have been far from fastidious in this respect (cf. v. 106, kazte, lafte, 247, bronde, wronge), the conclusions which can be drawn are not very definite or certain. The peculiarities, however, which distinguish the language from the written, London dialect, in the opinion of Professor Brandl, point to a poet of the South, before the end of the fourteenth century. What kind of a person the author was is somewhat difficult to exactly decide; in all probability a cleric of one of the simple orders; a conclusion which is suggested by the fact that he makes use of Latin stage-directions, French exclamations, and satire of a character befitting such a personality. The manuscript had also probably passed through Northern hands before arriving in Dublin, since both scribes preserve many Northern peculiarities in common.

External evidence as to the time and place of composition has as yet not been discovered, but two references within the poem itself have an important bearing upon the subject. The first is a reference to the Earldom of Kent in verse 42, as follows:

(to Nuncius.) "Jou shalt have for e gode wil
to pin anouncement,
pe castel of gailispire on pe hil
and pe erldom of Kent."

From 1407 to 1462 the Earldom of Kent was vacant; did this influence the poet in his choice of this particular bounty as Mirth's reward? If so, the date of composition must be brought into the first half of the fifteenth century; the case is at least worthy of consideration. In verse 285 occurs a reference to Berwick-on-Tweed:

"I am mirth—wel jou wost,
pi mery messagere;
pat uostou wel withoute bost
per nas neuer my pere;
dogtely to done a dede
pat ze haue ffor to done;
hen to berewik opon twede
& com o-zein flull sone;"

which, of course, would have much more effect and point when spoken in the South of England: a Northerner would more probably have selected Land's End and a Dublin man some extreme point in the East of England.

1 Mills first drew attention to this.  
2 Brandl, op. cit.
Unfortunately, *The Pride of Life* has not been preserved intact, which is still more regrettable when we consider that it is the earliest Morality which has been handed down to us. It is possible, however, with the help of the prologue, to form out of the fragments, which roughly represent the first half of the original play, some idea of what it was like in its entirety. The King of Life, a character closely related to the Herod of the Mystery-cycles, opens the play with a boasting speech descriptive of the infiniteness of his powers, is gently rebuked by his queen, of whose speech the last stanza alone is preserved, and is flattered and supported in his vaunting behaviour by two of his soldiers, Fortitudo and Sanitas. This is followed by a long dispute between the King and Queen, after which the former proclaims his powers again, and appeals to his soldiers, who, of course, support his views. Mirth, the messenger, who appears to have acquired some of his master’s vaunting capabilities, is next sent for, and makes a speech of a like character: the King then desires rest, and commands one of his soldiers to draw the curtain of his *tentorium*. The Queen then makes her appearance, and sends Mirth, the messenger, to fetch the Bishop. The former, willingly going on the Queen’s errand, departs singing:

"Madam, i make no tariyng
With softe wordis no;
For I am solas, i most singe,
Ouer al qwher i go." et cantat.

He finds the Bishop “on his se,” but the conversation which there ensued is lost to us, for here we have another lacuna in the manuscript. After this follows, addressed to the audience, the Bishop’s monologue, expressing a somewhat pessimistic view of mankind and attacking the rich, powerful and aristocratic, in the usual fourteenth and fifteenth-century satiric way. At the close he addresses himself to the King, who scoffingly replies, and after saying adieu to the Bishop,

"Fare wel, bisschop, pi way,
And lerne bet to preche,"

sends out his messenger, Mirth, with a challenge of combat to all and sundry, even to the King of Death himself. The messenger declares his readiness to go, and commences his proclamation, which, however, is cut short by another break in the manuscript. In the
last part, according to the authority of the prologue, the King of
Death appeared in response to the challenge, conquered the King
of Life, who then appeared before the Judgment, and whose soul
was finally saved "throgh priepe of oure lady mylde." ¹

Such is the outline of the play in its entirety as far as recon-
struction is possible, and its importance in the history of the
Morality plays is, that it forms a connecting link between plays,
resembling more or less the dramatic Dance of Death, i.e. the first
plays in the vernacular into which allegory entered as an essential
feature, and the Morals of the later form and construction.
The application of allegory to the drama clearly gave us the
Morality play, and the only disputed question is where the exact
point of departure was. Professor Seelmann, of the Royal Library
in Berlin, has proved beyond a doubt that the Lübecker Totentanz
and La danza general de la muerte are older than any other extant
forms of the Dance of Death, and further that both (the former
by way of a Netherlands intermediate form) are based on a French
original of the fourteenth century, later worked up, but consider-
ably altered, into la danse macabre. He has also conclusively proved
that the text and not the picture was the original: further, that
the text was a drama.² The performance took place in the church
upon a stage, erected for the purpose, which was capable of being
approached from both sides, one of which represented a tomb. A
priest takes his place in the pulpit, which is immediately in front
of the stage, and warns the clerks assembled, who form the audi-
ence, that no one can obtain exemption from death, and that they
who have done much good during their earthly life, and cared for
their flocks, will receive a rich reward in Heaven. After this, Death
comes on the stage, calls all creatures to follow him and to prepare
themselves by means of good works. First, he calls the Pope, who
was regarded as the highest potentate on earth, and is therefore
honoured with the chief place. The Pope, complaining, steps up to
Death, who moves with him in dance-step to the grave, and at the
same time answers his complaints. The Pope then disappears into
the grave, or through a doorway, which is regarded as the entrance
to the grave, and Death calls upon in turn, and treats in a similar
manner, Emperor, Cardinal, King, who all appear decorated in the

¹ Verse 97.
² The following description of the performance is a free translation from
full splendour of the insignia of their respective orders, while Death is clad in a tight-fitting, canvas suit, painted so as to make him look like a corpse. The dance was accompanied by music and the text delivered as song or recitative, while it is also probable that at a previous stage in its development it was given with dumb show. Numerous accounts of performances of the Dance of Death, about the dramatic character of which there can be no doubt, are to hand: it is sufficient to mention one of July 10th, 1453, in Besançon, and one of 1449 in Bruges.

With the Pride of Life the Dance of Death has many points of connection. The central idea in the two pieces is the same, that it is impossible for any one to escape death; but this idea is differently treated in the Dance and in the play. In the Dance, it is given forcible expression in that Death dances in turn with a representative of each rank from Pope and Kaiser to the poorest priest and peasant; in the Pride of Life we see that even the King of Life himself cannot withstand Death. The Judgment, too, is definitely referred to in the priest's prologue, where he advises his hearers to see to it that they have done good deeds before Death seizes them. In the later Moralities this idea of Death and Judgment does not play so prominent a part, for the interest centres rather in the struggle between good and evil forces for man's soul, but the beginning of this development is seen in the Pride of Life; and still more in Everyman, the other Morality belonging to this group of Death and Judgment. The allegorising in the play, and the plot-structure, too, are very modest indeed compared with that of the later Moralities. The choice of the King of Life and the King of Death is only a variation of their relationship in the Dance of Death; the addition of Queen and Bishop is not very daring, since the personifying of various ranks had already taken place in the Dance of Death; the Devil and the Virgin were certainly regarded as historical figures and not personifications; while the inclusion of the two soldiers and Mirth is perhaps a reminiscence of some Pilate play: ¹ the personifications of ethical subtleties came later. In addition to this Prof. Brandl points out that the Pride of Life has certain verbal resemblances to the Lübecker Totentanz and to the Spanish Danza General: these, however, are of such a general character that I prefer not to definitely attribute

¹ York Plays, xxx. Pilate has two soldiers, a comic bailiff and a wife who is anxious about him.
them to the influence of the fourteenth-century French original of the two above-mentioned Dances of Death. That plays of the Dance-of-Death type existed on English soil in the English tongue, and that the poet of the Pride of Life was conversant with some such, or at least with some similar French play, is not improbable; since the existence of the type, at least upon the Continent, stands beyond a doubt. Thus the origin of the Morality is in certain respects very similar to that of the Mystery; it had its origin in the cloister, was performed in the church, and was accompanied by music, recitative and song.

It would not be strictly fair perhaps to the author of the Pride of Life to criticise his work too closely, since less than half of it has been preserved, and even that portion has been very badly handled by careless or incompetent scribes, damp and other disturbing conditions. The only extant English Morality bearing a resemblance to the Pride of Life is Everyman, which is certainly its superior in every respect. The Cradle of Security, a sixteenth-century Morality, of which we only know the outlines, also appears to have borne some resemblance to these two plays.

In pursuance of their purpose, the driving home of the lesson that death is inevitable, these two early Moralities, the Pride of Life and Everyman, in common with classical tragedy, select the end of mortal man as their central theme. Thus, for example, in the Pride of Life, the King is introduced to us just before his pride brings about his fall, consequent upon his challenge to the King of Death; while, on the other hand, the later Moralities, such as The Castle of Perseverance and The World and the Child, in addition to man's death and judgment, and the salvation of his soul, as given in these earlier Moralities, depict man's journey through life, subject to various influences, good and bad. Instead of the consistent, dignified earnestness of Everyman, the Pride of Life contains a good measure of somewhat primitive, not very high-class, comedy, which may have been commensurably greater, if the second portion in which the Devil played a part had been preserved. The boasting of the King of Life, his rude, rough answers to the Queen and the Bishop, and his coarse witticisms directed against them, with the behaviour of Mirth, who must always go singing and no doubt knew other clownish stage-tricks for provoking laughter, all provided the audience with somewhat hearty, if very coarse fun. On the other hand, this comedy is balanced by the serious earnest
entreaties of the Queen and the preaching and satiric monologue of the Bishop, the gentle arguments of the former being far from unskilfully treated, and the satire of the latter certainly forcefully expressed. Here Mirth is a comic character but yet cannot be called the Vice, since he is only a secondary character and does not fulfil the functions of the orthodox Vice. In addition to being the King's messenger or herald, he is a kind of court-fool, loved by the King, but at the same time by his flattery (if we can call it flattery) encouraging the King in his pride. An intentional seducer of the King he is certainly not, since he readily goes on the Queen's errand in search of the Bishop.

The metrical structure of the *Pride of Life* consists throughout of a four-line stanza similar to ballad-verse, with the rhyme order *abab*, the verses containing generally four stresses, but sometimes only three, the unstressed portions being freely handled. The poem is very rich in alliteration, but the rhymes are not always quite satisfactory. On the whole, the metrical features of the poem proclaim the poet to be anything but a great master of verse.

From verse 10 it is clear, irrespective of the way we fill up the gap there occurring, that the performance took place in the open air; and that at any rate the audience was fully exposed to the weather. It is evident, too, that at least two of the characters, the King of Life and the Bishop, had fixed seats upon the stage. That of the former appears to have been a canopied couch with a curtain in front of it, for in verse 303 the King commands one of his soldiers to draw the curtain:

"Draw þe cord sire streynth,  
Rest I wol now take,"

*et tune, clauso tentorio, dicet Regina secrete nuncio.* Thus, when out of the action the King remained upon the stage, which is quite in accordance with the custom of mediæval stage-management. The Bishop also had his place as we learn from verse 323, spoken by Mirth, who has been sent by the Queen to call the Bishop:

"Sire bisschop, þou sitest on þi se,  
With þi miter on þi heude."

The other characters were also probably upon the stage from the beginning of the piece. Perhaps Mirth was an exception to this, since in verse 263 the King says:

"Qwher is mirth my messager," but it would be in no way
inconsistent with mediaeval custom for the King to say this, even if the *nuncius* were already on the stage. The stage-arrangement for which, however, evidence in case of the *Pride of Life* is entirely lacking, would probably be somewhat similar to that sketched for us in the Macro manuscript of *The Castle of Per-
severance*, which is so well known as to render superfluous any description of it here.¹

¹ Prof. Brandl sees in verses 9, 109 and 474 a reference to the crowd pressing round the players, and in verse 269 an indication that Mirth sprang now and then over a ditch surrounding the place of performance: I confess that these indications are too subtle for me.
The Non-Cycle Mystery Plays.

[THE SHREWSBURY FRAGMENTS.]

[Officium Pastorum.]¹

Pastores erant in regione eadem vigilantes et custodies gregem suum. Et ecce angelus Domini astitit iuxta illos et timuerunt timore magno.²

[II. Pastor.]³ We, Tib!

III. Pastor. Telle on!

[II. Pastor.] . . . . . . pe nyght.

III. Pastor. Brother, what may pis be, 4

pis bright to man & best?

[II. Pastor.] . . . . at hand.

III. Pastor. Whi say ze so?

[II. Pastor.] . . . . warand.

III. Pastor. Suche siȝt was neuer sene 8

Before in oure Iewery;

Sun meruelles wil hit mene

jat mun be here in hy.

[II. Pastor.] . . . a sang.

III. Pastor. ße lye, bothe, by pis liȝt, 12

And raues as recheles royes!

Hit was an angel briȝt

jat made pis nobulle noyes.

[II. Pastor.] . . . of prophecy.

III. Pastor. He said a barn schuld be 16

In ße burgh of Bedlem born;

And of pis, myynes me,

Ours fadres fond beborn.

¹ MS. contains no heading. ² Noted for voices. ³ The speaker’s name, within square brackets, is that supplied by Dr. Skeat.

Mystery Plays.
[II. Pastor.] . . . . . Iewus kyng.

who shall be

III. Pastor. Now may we se pe same
Euen in oure pase puruyed;
Be angel nemed his name,—
"Crist, Saviour," he saied.

[II. Pastor.] . . . . not raue.

III. Pastor. Zone brightnes wil vs bring
Vnto pat blisful boure;
For solace schal we syng
To seke oure Saviour.

Transeamus usque Bethelem et uideamus hoc verbum quod factum est, quod fecit Dominus et ostendit nobis.1

[II. Pastor.] . . . . . to knawe.

III. Pastor. For no-ping thar vs drede,
But thank God of aH gode;
His light euer wil vs lede
To fynde pat frely fode.


III. Pastor. A ! loke to me, my Lord dere,3
Ah if I put me noght in prese !
To suche a prince without[en]4 pere
Haue I no presand pat may plese.
But lo ! a horn-spone haue I here
Pat may herbar an hundrith pese :
His gift I gif pe with gode chere,
Suche dayntese wil do no disese.
Fare-wele now, swete swayn,
God graunt pe lifyng lang !

[I. Pastor. And go we hame agayn,
And mak mirth as we gang!]5

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1 Noted for voices in MS.; after this Manly inserts the direction, They follow the star.
2 Supplied by Dr. Skeat.
3 Before this verse in the MS. there is an asterisk referring to the words Salvatorum, Christum, Dominum, infantem pannis injuratam, secundum sermonem angelicam. They are written in a later hand, and belong to a Christmas trope (Manly).
4 Dr. Skeat supplies [en].
5 Dr. Skeat says, in the Academy: "I supply these two lines from the York Mysteries, and assign them to the first shepherd, instead of the third, because the MS. has here two blank lines, showing that the third shepherd did not speak them."
Officium Resurrectionis.

[Officium Resurrectionis.]\(^1\)

Hic incipit Officium Resurrectionis in die Pasche.

III. Maria.\(^2\) Heu! Redemcicio Israel,
Ut quid mortem sustinuit!

[II. Maria.] . . . . . payne.

III. Maria. Allas! he pat men wend schuld by
    Al Israel, bothe knyght & knaue,
Why suffred he so forto dy,
    Sithe he may all sekenes sane?
Heu! cur ligno fixus clauis
Fuit doctor tarn suauis?
Heu! cur fuit ille natus
Qui perfodit eius latus?

[II. Maria.] . . . . . is oght.

III. Maria. Allas, pat we suche bale schuld bide
    pat sodayn sight so forto see,
    be best techer in world wide
With nayles be tachced to a tre!
Allas, pat ever so schuld betyde,
    Or pat so bold mon born schuld be
For to assayoure Saueour side
    And open hit with-oute pite!

[All Three].\(^3\) Iam, Iam, ecce, iam properemus ad tumulum,
Vngentes Dilecti corpus sanctissimum!

Et appropriantes sepulcro cantent:

[All Three.] O Deus, quis redoluet nobis lapidem
    Ab hostis monumenti?\(^4\)

[II. Maria.] . . . . . him leid.

III. Maria. He pat pus kyndely vs has kend
Vn-to he hole where he was hid,
    Sum socoure sone he wil vs send,
    At help to lift away pis lid.

. . . . . . . \(^5\)

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1 Title supplied from the next line.  
2 MS. has iija M.  
3 Noted for voices.  
4 It is clear from the direction *cantent*, that the second couplet was sung by all three Marys: the probability is that this was also the case with the first couplet. The second couplet is of very common occurrence in the texts of liturgical plays.  
5 "They find the stone rolled away, and learn from the angels that Christ is risen."—Manly.
Officium Peregrinorum.

III. Maria. Alleluya schal be oure song,
Sithen Crist, oure Lord, by angellus steuen,
Schewus him as mon here vs among
And is Goddis Son, heghest in heuen.

III. Maria. Crist is rysen, wittenes we
By tokenes pat we have sen pis morn!
Oure hope, oure help, oure hele, is he,
And hase bene best, sithe we were born!
Yf we wil seke him for to se,
Letteis noght pis lesson be for-lorn:
"But gose euen unto Galilee;
J dere schal se fynd him zoow beforne!"

[Officium Peregrinorum.]3

Feria secunda in obdomada Pasche discipuli insimul cantent:

[Chorus.] Infidelis incursum populi
Fugiamus, Ihesu discipuli!
Suspenderunt Ihesum patibulo;
Nulli parcent eius discipulo.5


[Cleophas.] But if we flee, pai wil vs fang,
And full felly pai wil vs flay;

1 "The Marys return and announce the Resurrection to the disciples."—Manly.
2 Skeat assigns these two lines to the Angel: Manly to III. Maria.
3 There is no heading in the MS.; the above is supplied by Manly. Skeat gives as the title: "The two Disciples going to Emmaus."
4 Skeat's emendation of the MS., Ihesum: the scribe in copying was probably led astray by Ihesum in the following line.
5 Since the words of this chorus appear on this actor's copy he must have been one of the disciples.
7 The MS. of the play does not name the speakers. Skeat assigns the part to Cleophas, and the cues to Luke. Cf. Introduction, pp. xxiii and xxiv.
Let us go the quickest way to Emmaus, remembering Christ's Passion.

From the women we know He is risen:
He foretold His death and Resurrection,
and will direct us to Himself.

Let us remember how He was condemned and led to Calvary.

The women mourn, for He is gone, Yet they say
that angels told them that He was risen. 

He broke and blessed our bread: we were astonished and could not comprehend His being in our midst.

He is gone, and we know not how.

Master, dispel our mourning and remove our frailty. Brother, help to stay Him here.

[pai saw angelus stondynge on pe ston,  
And sayn how he was farne hom fro.  
Sithen of oure went ful gode wone  
To se pat siȝt, & said riȝt so.  
Herfore we murne & makis pis mon;  
Now wot þou wele of al oure wo.  

[Luke.] ... ... in pese.  
[Cleophas and Luke.] Mani nobiscum, quoniam adues-perasit et inclinata est iam dies. Alleluya!  

[Jesus.] ... ... wight.  
[Cleophas.] Amend oure mounnyng, maister dere,  
And fond oure freylnes for to feli!  
Herk, broþer! help to hold him here,  
Ful nobel talis wil he us tell?  

[Luke.] ... ... lent.  
[Cleophas.] And gode wyne schal vs wont non,  
For þer-to schal I take entent.  

[Luke.] ... ... he went.  
[Cleophas.] Went he is, & we ne wot how,  
For here is noȝt left in his sted!  
Allas! where were oure wittis now?  
With wo now walk we, wil of red!  

[Luke.] ... ... [he brak] oure bred.  
[Cleophas.] Oure bred he brak & blessed hit;  
On mold were neuer so mased men,  
When þat we saw him by vs sit,  
þat we couthe noght consaye him þen.  

[Luke.] ... ... ay.  
[Cleophas and Luke.] Quid agamus vel dicamus,  
Ignorantes quo eamus,  
Qui doctorem scieniec

1 It is impossible to decide whether to assign this to Luke or to Jesus.  
2 Thus assigned by Manly: Skeat does not give them to any character.  
3 In the MS., noted for voices.  
4 Manly inserts the direction: "They approach Emmaus."  
5 Manly: omitted by Skeat.  
6 Manly inserts before this verse the direction: "Jesus breaks the bread, and, after giving it to them, vanishes."  
7 Skeat’s emendation of MS. stid.  
8 Supplied by Skeat.  
9 Manly supplies the direction: "Cleophas and Luke return to the other disciples, saying:"
Officium Peregrinorum.

Et patrem consolacionis
Amisimus^1


[Cleophas.] We schal home telle, with-outen trayn,
Bothe word & werk, how hit was,
I se hom sitt samyn in a playn.
Forthe in apert dar I not pas!

[Luke.] . . . . . & wife.^2

[Cleophas.] We saw him holt, hide & hewe;
Perfore be still, & stint youre strife!
Hat hit was Crist ful wele we knewe,
He cutt oure bred with-outen knyfe.^3

[Chorus.] Gloria tibi, Domine,
Qui surrexisti a mortuis,
Cum Patre et Sancto Spiritu,^4
In Sempiterna secula; Amen.^5

[Chorus.] Frater Thoma, causa tristicie,
Nobis tuit summa leticie!

[Explicit.^6

^1 Noted for voices, in the MS.
^2 Manly supplies the direction: “They join the other disciples.”
^3 Manly supplies, after this speech, the direction: “All the disciples sing.”
^4 Noted for voices.
^5 Here Manly supplies the direction: “Enter St. Thomas, who refuses to believe until convinced by the appearance of Christ.”
^6 Supplied by Manly.
[THE NORWICH PLAY.]

[Text A.]

The Story of pe Creacion of Eve, with pe expellyng of Adam & Eve out of Paradyce.

_Pater._ *Ego principium Alpha et O in altissimis habitus;
In pe heavenly empery I am resydent.

_Yt ys not semely for man, sine adjutorio,
To be alone, nor very convenyent._

_I have plantyd an orcheyard most congruent
For hym to kepe and to tylle, by contemplacion:
Let us make an adjutory of our formacion_

To hys symylutude, lyke in plasmacion.
In to Paradyce I wyll nowe desende

_With my mynysters angelical of our creacion
To assyst us in ower worke pat we intende,
A slepe in to man be soperacion to sende._

_A rybbe out of manynys syde I do here take;
Bothe flesche & bone I do thys creatur blysse;
And a woman I fourme, to be his make,
Semblable to man; beholde, here she ys._

_O my Lorde God, Incomprehensyble, without mysse,
Ys thy hyghe excellent magnyficans.
Thys creature to me ys *nunc ex ossibus meis,*
And *virago* I call hyr in thy presens,
Lyke on to me in natural preemynens.
Laude, honor and Glory to the I make.
Both father and mother man shall for hyr forsake._

1 MS. & o. The Latin quotations are underlined in the MS.
Pater. Than my garden of plesure kepe thou sure.¹
   Of all frutes & trees shall thou ete & fede,
Except thy tre of connyng, whyle ye bothe indure ;
   Ye shall not touche yt, for that I forbede.

Adam. Thy precept, Lorde, in will, word and deed
   Shall I observe, and thy request fulfyll
As thou hast commanded, yt ys reason & skill.

Pater. Thys tre ys callyd of connyng good & yll ;
   That day that ye ete therof shall ye dye,
   Morte moriemi, yt that I do you aspye :

Showe thyds to thy spowsse nowe bye and bye.
   I shall me absent for a tyme and space ;
A warned man may live: who can yt denye ?
   I make the lord² thereof; kepe wyll my place ;
If thou do thyds, thou shall have my grace ;
In to mortalite shall thou elles falle.
   Looke thow be obedient whan I the calle.

Adam. Omnipotent God and hygh Lord of all,
   I am thy servante, bownde onder thyn obedyens,
And thou my creator, one God eternall ;
   What thou commandest, I shall do my dylygens.

Pater. Here I love the, to have experyens,
   To use thyds place in vertuse occupacion,
For nowe I wyll retorne to myn habitacion.

Adam. O lovely spowsse of Godes creacion,
   I leve the here alone, I shall not tary lone,
For I wyll walk a whyle for my recreacion
   And se over Paradyce, that ys so stronge.
   Nothyng may hurt us nor do us wronge ;
God ys ower protector & soverayn guyde ;
   In thyds place non yll thyng may abyde.

Serpens. O gemme of felicyte and femynyne love,
   Why hathe God under precept prohybyte thyds frute,
That ye shuld not ete therof to your behofe ?
   Thys tre ys plesant withowten refute.

¹ MS. had first sure, and then sure has been written above.
² MS. has Lord; but the MS.‘s use of capitals is manifestly capricious; we have therefore not followed it.
Eva. Ne forte we shuld dye, & than be mortall;
We may not towche yt, by Godes commandement.

Serpens. Ne quaquam, ye shall not dye perpetuall,
But ye shuld be as Godes resydent,
Knowyng good & yll spryrytuall;
Nothyng can dere you pat ys casuall.

Eva. For us than powe what hold you best,
That we do not ower Gode offende?
Serpens. Eate of thys apple at my requeste.
To the, Almyghty God dyd me send.
Eva. Nowe wyll I take therof; and I entend
To please my spowse, therof to fede,
To knowe good & ylle for ower mede.

Adam. I have walkyd abought for my solace;
My spowse, howe do you? tell me.
Eva. An angell cam from Godes grace
And gaffe me an apple of thys tre.
Part therof I geffe to the;
Eate therof for thy pleasure,
For thys frute ys Godes own treasure.

Adam! where art thou?
Pater. Adam, Adam, wher art thou thyse tyde?
Byfore my presens why dost thou not apere?

[Gap in MS.]

Musick.

Aftyr that Adam & Eve be drewyn out of Paradyse they shall speke thys folowyng:

Adam. O with dolorous sorowe we maye wayle & weepe!
Alas, alas, whye ware we soo bolde?
By ower fowle presumpsyon we are cast full depe,
Fro pleasur to payn, with carys manye fold.

Eva. With wonderous woo, alas! it cane not be told;
Fro Paradyse to ponyschment and bondage full strong.
O wretches that we are, so euer we xal be inrollyd;
Therfor ower handes we may wrynge with most duHfuH song.
And so þei xanh syng, walkynge together about the place, wryngynge ther handes.
Wythe dolorous sorowe, we maye wayle & wepe
Both nyght & daye in sory, sythys full depe.

N.B. These last 2 lines set to musick twice over and again, for a chorus of 4 parts.

The Storye of þe Temptacion of Man in Paradyce, being therin placyd, & þe expellynge of man & woman from thence, newely renvid & accordynge unto þe Skripture, begon thys yere Anno 1565, Anno 7. Eliz.

Item. Yt ys to be noteyd þat when þe Grocers' Pageant is played withoute any other goynge befor yt then doth the Prolocutor say in pis wise.

[First Prologue.]

[Prolocutor.] Lyke as yt chancyd befyr this season,
Owte of Godes scripture revealid in playes,
Was dyvers stories sett furth, by reason
Of Pageantes apparellyd in Wittson dayes;
And lately be fal[?]en into decayes;
Which stories dependyd in theyr orders sett
By severall devices, much knowledge to gett.

Begynny[n]g in Genesis, that story replyte,
Of God his creacion of ech lyvynge thyng, 4
Of heaven & of erth, of fysh smalle & greate,
Of fowles, herbe & tre, and of aþ bestes crepynge,
Of angeH, of man, which of erth hath beyng, & of þe faþ of angeH[s], in þe Apocalips to se;
Which stories with the Skriptures most justly agree.

Then followed this ower pageant, which sheweth to be
þe Garden of Eden, which God dyd plante,
As in þe seconde chapter of Genesis ye se;
Wherin of frutes pleasant no kynde therof shulde wante;
The story shows the Creation and Temptation of Eve:

The story sheweth further, that, after man was blyste,

The Lord did create woman owte of a ribbe of man;

Which woman was deceyvyd with pe Serpentes darkned myste;

By whose synn ower nature is so weak no good we can;

Wherfor they were dejectyd, & caste from thence than Unto dolloure & myseri & to traveyle & payne Untyll Godes spright renvid ; & so we ende certayne. 28

Note that yf ther goeth any other pageantes before yt, pe Prolocutor sayeth as ys on pe other syde & leaveth owte this.

[Alternative Prologue.]

The Prolocutor. As in theyr former pageantes is semblably declared

Of Godes mighty creacion in every lyvyng thynge,

As in pe fyrst of Genesis to such it is prepared

As lust they have to reade to memory to brynge 4

Of pride & fawle of angells that in Hell hath beinge:

In pe seconde of Genesis of mankynde hys creacion

Unto this Garden Eden is made full preparacion. 7

And here begyneth owter pageant to make pe declaracion,

From pe letter C. in pe chapter before saide,

How God putt man in Paradyse to dresse yt in best fassion,

And that no frute therof from hym shuld be denyed,

Butt of pe tre of lyffe pat man shuld be afraide

To eate of, least that daye he eat pat he shuld dye;

And of womanes creacion apperring by & bye; 14

And of pe deavilles temptacion, diseaivinge with a lye

The woman, beinge weakest, pat cawsed man to tast.

That God dyd so offende, that even contynentlye

Owte of pe place of joye was man and woman caste,

1 Manly's emendation of Fitch's [hem] taute and MS. taute.
Norwich Play, B.

And into so great dolloure and misery brought at last;
Butt that by God his spright was comforted ageyne.
This is of this ower pagent pe some & effect playne. 21

[Creation and Fall.]

God pe Father. I am Alpha et homega, my Apocalyps
doeth testyfye,
That made all of nothinge for man his sustentacion;
And of this pleasante garden pat I have plant most goodlye
I wyH hym make pe dresser for his good recreacion.
Therfor, man, I gyve yt the, to have thy defectacion.
In eatyng thou shalt eate, of every growenge tre, 6
Ex[e]pte pe tre of knowledge, pe which I forbydd the;
For in what daye soever thou eatest thou shalIt be
Even as the childe of death; take hede: & thus I saye,
I wyH the make an helper, to conforte the alwaye.
Beholde, therfore, a slepe I bryng this day on the,
& oute of this thy ribbe, that here I do owte take, 12
A creature for thy help behold I do the make.
Aryse, & from thy slepe I wyH the nowe awake,
& take hyr unto the, that you both be as one
To comfort one thother when from you I am gone. 16

&, as I saide before when pat thou wert alone,
In eatyng thow mayst eate of every tre here is,
Butt of pe tre of knowledge of good & evyH eate non,
Lest that thou dye the deth by deonge so amyssse.
I wyll departe now wher myne habytacion is.
I leave you here . . . . . . . . . . . 1
Se pat ye have my woordes in most high estymacion. 23

Then man & woman speke bothe.

[Man and Woman.] We thanke the, mighty God, & gyve
the honoracion.

Man spekethe.

[Man.] Oh bone of my bones & flesh of my flesh eke, 25
Thow shalte be called Woman, bycaus thow art of me.
Oh gyfte of God most goodlye, pat hast us made so lyke,
Most lovyng spowse, I muche do here rejoice of the.

1 Lacuna in the MS.
Woman. And I lykewyse, swete lover, do much reioyce of the.

God therefore be praised, such comforte have us gyve
That ech of us with other thus pleasantly do lyve.

Man. To walke about this garden my fantasye me meve;
I wy\H the leave alone tyll that I turne ageyne;
FareweH myn owne swete spouse, I leave pe to remayne.

Woman. And farewell, my dere lover, whom my hart
doth conteyn.

The Serpent Speketh.

[Serpent.] Nowe, nowe, of my purpos I dowght nott to atteyne;
I can yt nott abyde, in theis joyes they shulde be.
Naye, I wy\H attempt them to syn unto theyr Payne;
By subtyllty to catch them the waye I do we\H se;
Unto this, angell of lyght I shew mysylfe to be;
With hyr for to dysceemle, I fear yt nott at a\H,
Butt that unto my haight some waye I shall hyr ca\H.
Oh lady of felicite, beholde my voyce so smalH!
Why have God sayde to you, “Eate nott of every tre
That is within this garden?” Therein now awnswere me.

Woman. We eate of a\H the frutte that in the grounde
we se,
Ex[c]epte that in the myddest wherof we may nott
taste,
For God hath yt forbydd, therfor yt may not be,
Lest that we dye pe deth and from this place be caste.
Ye sha\H not dye pe deth; he make you
butt agaste;
Butt God doth know fu\H wel \H put when you eate of yt,
Lest we die the death, etc.

Woman. To be as God\textsuperscript{1} indede and in his place to sytt,
Thereto for to agre my lust conceyve somewhatt;

\textsuperscript{1} MS. God\textsuperscript{r}.
Nonciche Play, B.

Besydes the tre is pleasaunte to gett wysedome & wytt;
And nothyng is to be comparyd unto that.
The Serpente. Then take at my request, and eate, and
fere yt natt.

Here she takyth and eatyth, and man cyanyth in and
sayeth unto hyr:
Man. My love, for my solace, I have here walkyd longe.
Howe ys yt nowe with you? I pray you do declare.
Woman. In dede, lovely lover, the Heavenly Kyng most
stronge
to eate of this apple his angeH hath prepare;
Take therof at my hande thother frutes emonge,
For yt shaH make you wyse & even as God to fare. 64

Then man taketh & eatyth and sayeth:
[Man.] Alack! alacke! my spouse, now se I nakid we ar;
The presence of ower God we can yt nott abyde.
We have broke his precepte, he gave us of to care;
From God therfor in secrete in some place lett us hide.
Woman. With fygge leavis lett us cover us, of God we be
nott spyede. 69

The Father. Adam! I saye Adam! Wher art thou nowe
this tyde,
That here before my presence thou dost nott nowe
apere?
Adam. I herde thy voyce, Oh Lorde, but yett I dyd me
hide. 72
For that which I am naked I more greatly dyd feare.
The Father. Why art thou then nakyd? Who so hath
cawsyd the?
Man. This woman, Lord & God, which thou hast gyven
to me.
The Father. Hast thou eat of pe frute pat I forbyd yt the?
Thow woman, why hast thou done unto him thys
trespace? 77
Woman. The Serpente diseayvyd me with that his fayer
face.
The Father. Thow Serpente, why dydst thou this wise
prevente my grace,
Norwich Play, B.

beguile my creatures? It is my nature.

My creatures & servantes in this maner to begyle?

The Serpente. My kind is so, thou knowest & that in every case,—

Clene oute of this place theis persons to exile. 82

Cursed art thou.

The Father. Cursed art for causynge my commandement to defyle,

Above all cattle & beasts. Remayne thou in pe fylde,
Crepe on thy belly & eate duste for this thy subtyH wyle;
The womans sede shall overcome the, thus pat have I wylde. 86

Thou, woman, bryngyng chylde with payne shalt be dystylde,
And be subject to thy husbonde, & thy lust shall pertaine
To hym: I hav determynyd this ever to remayne. 89

And to the, man, for pat my voyce thou didst disdayne,
Cursed is pe erth for ever for thy sake;
Thy lyvyng shalt thou gett with swett unto thy payne,
Tyll thou departe unto the erth [whereof] I dyd the make.
Beholde, theis letterin aprons unto yourselves now take. 94

Lo! man, as one of us hath bene, good & evyH to knowe;
Therfor I wyH exempt hym from this place to aslake,
Lest of the tre of lyfe he eate & ever growe.
Myne angeH, now cum furth & kepe pe waye & porte,
Unto pe tre of lyffe that they do not resorte. 99

The AngeH. Departe from hence at onys from this place of conforte,
No more to have accesse or elles for to aper.
From this place I exile you, that you no more resorte,
Nor even do presume aseyne for to com here. 103

Then man & woman departyth to pe nether parte of pe Pageant and man sayeth:

[Man.] Alack! myn owne sweetharte, how am I stroke with feare,

1 Suggested by Manly: not in MS.
That from God am exiled, & broucht to payne & woo.
Oh! what have we lost! Why dyd we no more care,
And to what kynde of place shall we resort & goo?

Woman. Indede into þe worlde now must we to and fro,
And where or how to rest, I can nott say at aH.
I am even as ye ar, what so ever me befaH. 110

Then cumeth Dolor & Myserye & taketh man by both
armys & Dolor sayeth.

[Dolor.] Cum furth, O Man, take hold of me!
Through envy hast lost thy heavenly lyght
By eatinge: in bondage from hence shall be.
Now must thou me, Dolor, have allways in sight. 114

Myserye. And also of me, Myserye, thou must taste
& byte,
Of hardenes & of colde & eke of infirmitie;
Accordinge to desarte thy portion is, of right,
To enjoy that in me that is withoute certentye. 118

Adam. Thus troulyd, nowe I enter into dolor & miserie.
Nowe, woman, must we lerne ower lyvynge to gett
With labor & with traveH; ther is no remedye,
Nor eny thyng therfrom we se that maye us lett. 122

Then cumyth in þe Holy Ghost comforting man &
sayeth:

[Holy Ghost.] Be of good cheare, Man, & sorowe no more.
This Dolor & Miserie that thou hast taste,
Is nott in respect, layd up in store,
To þe joyes for the that ever shall last.
Thy God doth nott this the away to cast,
But to try the as gold is tryed in the fyer;
In the end, premonished, shalt have thy desyre. 129

Take owte of the Gospel þat yt the requyre,
Fayth in Chryst Ihesu & grace shall ensewe.
I wyl be thy guyde & pay the thy hyer
For aþ thy good dylygente & doenge thy dewe. 133
Gyve eare unto me, Man, & than yt ys trewe,
Thou shalt kyll affectes þat by lust in the reynge
And putt Dolor & Mysery & Envy to payne. 136
Theis armors ar preparyd, yf thou wylt turn ageyne
To fyght wyth, take to the, & reach woman the same;
The brest plate of rightousnes Saynte Paule wyth the
retayne;
The shylde of faythe to quench, thy fyrye dartes to
tame;
The hellmett of salvacion the devyles wrath shall lame;
And þe sword þe Spright, which is þe worde of God,—
All theis ar nowe the offred to ease thy payne & rodd.

Adam. Oh! prayse to The, Most Holye, þat hast with
me abode,
In mysery premonyshyne by this Thy Holy Spright.
Howe fele I such great comforte, my syns they be unlode
And layde on Chrystes back, which is my joye and
lyght.

This Dolor & this Mysery I fele to me no wight;
No! Deth is overcum by forepredestinacion,
And we attayned wyth Chryst in heavenly consolacion.
Therfor, myne owne swett spous, withouten cavylacion,
Together lett us synge, & lett our hартes reioyse,
& gloryfye ower God wyth mynde, powre & voyse. 153
Amen.

Old Musick, Triplex, Tenor, Medius, Bass:
With hart and voyce
Let us reioyce
And prayse the Lord alwaye
For this our joyfull daye,
To se of this our god his maistrie,¹
Who the hath given himselfe over us to raygne &
to governe us.
Lett all our hартes reioyce together,
And lett us all lifte up our voyce, on of us with
another.

¹ The manuscript here appears corrupt: perhaps originally it was a regular stanz.
**[THE NEWCASTLE PLAY.]**

**Noah's Ark; or, The Shipwrights' Ancient Play or Dirge.**

*Deus incipitur:*

[Deus.] Fre¹ was this world that I have wrought;
   No marvel (it is) if I it [destroy]²;
   Their folk in earth I made of nought;
   Now are they fully [grown]³ my foe. 4

Vengeance now will I do
   Of them that have grieved me ill;
Great floods shall over them go
   And run over hoothe and hill.

All mankind dead shall be
   With storms both stiff and steer,⁴
All but Noah, my darling free,
   His children and their wives dere. 12

Evermore yet they trow'd in me,
   Save therefore I will their lives.
Henceforth, my angel free,
   Into earth look that thou wind;⁵
Greet well Noah in this degree,
   Sleeping thou shalt him find; 18

Bid him go make a ship
   Of board stiff and great;⁶

---

¹ Emended by Holthausen. Bourne has *Erc.*
² Bourne has: *No marvel it is if I do show.* Brotanek as above.
³ Holthausen if *I dos how.*
⁴ Supplied by Brotanek.
⁵ Brotanek: *With storms that both steer and stiff is.* Holthausen: *Steer and stiff.* Bourne concludes the verse with *wines.*
⁶ Bourne has *would instead of wind and what instead of that.*
⁷ Bourne: *of stiff board and great.* Holthausen inserts *both after board.* Brotanek has *bordis.*
He shall have the necessary knowledge.

Bid him take into his ship male and female of all beasts and fowl,

and proven-der as well.

Give him My blessing.

Waken, Noah!

Angelus dicat. Waken, Noah, to me take tent!

Noah, but if thou hear this thing,

Ever, whilst thou live, thou shalt repent.

Noah respondit. What art thou, for Heaven's King,

That wakens Noah of his sleeping?

Away I would thou went.

An angel.

Angelus dicat. It is an angel to thee sent,

Noah, to tell thee hard tiding;

For every ilk a wight, for warkis wild,

And many fouled in sins sere,

And in felony fouly filled;

Therefore, a ship thou dight to steer,

Of true timber, highly railed,

Although he be not a wright,
   Therfore bid him not lett;

He shall have wit at will,
   Be that he come therto;
All things I him fulfill,
   Pitch, tar, seam and rowe.¹

Bid him in any manner of thing,
   To ship when he shall walk,
Of alkin beast [and fowl with wing]³
   The male and female with him he take.

Bid him go provey, say so,
   In ship that they not die;
Take with him hay, corn and straw,  
   For his fowl and his fee.

Henceforth, my angel free,
   Tell him this for certain;
My blessing with thee be,
   While that thou come again.

Henceforth, my angel free.

While that thou come again.

¹ Holthausen: *Pitch and tar, beam and towc.*
² Holthausen inserts *and his.*
⁷ Bourne: *fowled, sair.* ⁸ Bourne: *fowly.*
⁹ A hiatus of two verses.
With thretty cubettis; in defence,

Look that she draw when she is drest,
And in her side a door thou shear,
With fenesters full fitly fest;
And make chambers, both less and more,
For a flood that up shall brest.

In earth shall be such a flood,
That every ilke life that hath life form,
Beast and body with bone and blood,
They shall be stormed through stress of storm.

Albeit thou, Noah, and thy brood,
And their three wives in your hand—
For you are full righteous and good—
You shall be saved by sea and land.

Into ship ere you are bent,
You take with you both ox and cow;
Of ilk a thing that life has lent,
The male and female you take with you;
You fetch in fother for your freight,
And make good purveyance for you prove,
That they perish not in your sight:
Do, Noah, as I have bidden thee now.

Noah respondit. Lord, be then [present] in this stead,
That me and mine will save and shield.
I am a man no worth at need,
For I am six hundred winters old.

1 Hiatus of one verse or possibly more. Holthausen’s reading is:

2 Originally mair. Bourne, both more and less.

3 Holthausen omits this verse. Bourne, burst.

4 Bourne: Such a flood in earth shall be.

5 Bourne: every like.

6 Bourne: life-ward. Holthausen: that is livand.

7 Holthausen: They shall be stroied [in water and sand].

8 Brotanek’s reading. Bourne has: Into ship ere you enter out.

9 Brotanek suggests prov.

10 Holthausen.
Unlusty I am to do such a deed,
   Worklooms for to work and weeld. 82
For I was never, since on life,¹
   Of kind of craft to burthen a boat;
For I have neither ruff nor ryff,²
   Spyer, sprund, sprout, no sprot.
Christ be the maker of this ship,
   For a ship need make I must. 88
Alas, for sin!
   Ever ³ wo worth the, fouled sin,
   For all too dear thou must be bought.
God regrets He made mankind,
   Or with his hands that he them wrought. 92
Therefore, [good men,] or ever you blind,
   You mend your life and turn your thought,⁵
For of my work I will begin.
   So well were me were all forth brought. 96
Out, out, harro. ⁶
   Deabolus intrat. Out, out, harro,⁶ and welaway,
   That ever I uprose this day,
   So may I smile and say;
   I wene⁷ there has been none alive,
   Man, beast, child nor wife,
   But my servants were they.
All this I have heard say,
   A ship that made should be,
   For to save withowten nay,
   Noah and his meenye:
   Yet trow I they shall lie.⁸
Therefore I make a vow:
   If they be never so slee,
   To taynt them yet I trow
   To Noah’s wife will I wynd,

¹ Brotanek’s emendation of Bourne’s since I was born. Holt-hausen has: in all my life.
² Bourne: ryff nor ryff.
⁴ Bourne: for thanks.
⁵ Bourne: You mind your wife.
⁷ Bourne: went.
⁸ Holthausen: Yet trow [bld] they shall be. Bourne: yet trow I they shall be.
Gare her believe in me;
In faith she is my friend:
She is both whunt\(^1\) and slee.
Rest well, rest well, my own dere dame! \(^2\)

**Uxor Noah dicat.** Welcome, bewschere; \(^3\) what is thy name?
Tyte that thou tell me!

**Deabolus dicat.** To tell my name I were full laith, \(^4\)
I come to warn thee of thy skaith,
I tell thee secretiy;
And thou do after thy husband read,
Thou and thy children will all be dead,
And that right hastily.

**Uxor dicat.** Go, devil! how say, for shame! \(^5\)

**Deabolus dicat.** Yes, hold the still, le dame, \(^6\)
And I shall tell thee how.
I swear thee by my crooked snout,
All that thy husband goes about,
Is little for thy prow. \(^7\)
Yet shall I tell thee how
Thou shalt weet all his will?
Do as I shall bid thee now,
Thou shalt weet every deal.
Have here a drink full good, \([iwis]\); \(^8\)
That is made of a mightfull main:
Be he hath drunken a drink of this,
No longer shall he lain. \(^9\)
Believe, believe, my own dame dere, \(^10\)
I may no longer bide;
To ship when thou shalt fayre, \(^11\)
I shall be by thy side.

**Noah dicat.** This labour is full great
For like an old man as me;

---

1 Brotanek suggests as emendation *quaint*.
2 Brotanek’s emendation. Bourne has *Dereday*.
3 Bourne: *fewsthere*.
4 Bourne: *loth*.
5 Holthausen repeats *for shame*.
6 Holthausen [and stab] *le dame*.
7 Bourne: *profit*.
8 Brotanek.
9 Bourne has *learn*.
10 Bourne: *dere dame*.
11 Brotanek: Bourne has *sayre*. 
Lo, lo, [how] fast I sweat,
   It trickles atour myne ee.  

Now home [then] will I wende,
   My weary bones for to rest:
For such good as God hath sent
   There I get of the best.  

Rest well [good] day, what chear with thee!

Welcome, Noah, as might I thee,
   Welcome to thine own wayns!
Sit down here beside me,
   Thou hast full weary baynes.
Have eaten, Noah, as might I thee,
   And soon a drink I shall give thee,
   Such drank thou never afore.  

What the devil is it? 
   I am almost mad.
If thou dost not tell me where thou goest we shall not be friends.

By my father's soul, I have nere lost my wit!

Welcome, Noah, as might I thee,
   Where about you wends,
   I give God a vow,
   We two shall nere be friends.  

O yes dame, could thou stint, 
   I would tell thee my wit,
How God of Heaven an angel sent,
   And bad me make a ship.
This world he will fordo
   With storms both stiff and steer,
All but me and yow,
   Our children and wives [dere].  

Who the devil made thee a wright? 
   God give him evil to fayre—
Of hand to have such slight,
   To make ship less or mare!  

1 Brotanek suggests will; but is emendation necessary?  
2 Bourne: such drink thou never none afore.  
3 Bourne: bode.  
4 Holthausen's suggestion: Bourne gives layne, and Brotanek adds trevally and fra hie to verse 164.  
5 Bourne: both stiff and steer fell.  
6 Brotanek's suggestion—Bourne: me and thee.  
7 I suggest dere has been omitted.  
8 Bourne: more perfect.
When you began to smite,  
Men should have heard wide where.  

Noah dicat. Yes, dame, it is God's will:  
Let be, so thou not say.  
Go make an end I will  
And come again full thray.  

Uxor dicat. By my faith, I no rake,  
Whether thou be friend or foe:  
The devil of hell the take,  
To ship when thou shalt go.  

Noah dicat. God send me help in hy  
To clink yon nails twain;  
God send me help in hy  
Your hand to hold again;  
That all well done may be,  
My strokes be not in vain.  

Angelus dicat. God hath thee help hither send,  
Thereof be thou right bold;  
Thy strokes shall fair be kend,  
For thou thy wife has told.  

Noah dicat. Now is this ship well ginned,  
Within and without thinks me:  
Now home then will I wend,  
To fetch in my money.  
Have good day, both old and young,  
My blessing with you be.  

Deabolus dicat. All that is gathered in this stead,  
That will not believe in me,  
I pray to Dolphin, prince of dead,  
Scald you all in his lead,  
That never a one of you thrive nor thee.  

Finis. Amen.
[TWO PLAYS OF ABRAHAM AND ISAAC.]

[Abraham and Isaac. Dublin MS.]

I have created all:

[Deus] 1 Of all ping per ever was I am þe begynner;
Boþe hevenly & eryely, & of hem þat ben in hell;
At my bidding was wrought boþe gode man & synnerz,
All in ioy to have dwellyd, tyl adam to syn fell.  4
His unkynynes haþe displesid me, truþe for to tell,
For many a þing made I for his ioy & daliaunce.
Whi sholde he disples me þat I loued so well,
þe þat is þis mynemosy but on þing, & þat be forsetid my
pleaunce.
But þat þip he haþe displesid me, I have made pur-
viaunce
þat a nodre of his kynd shal plese me a yeyne,
þe which haþe ever be my servaunt in al manere
observaunce:
Abraham is his name, my man þat cannot feyne, 12
But evyr hathe be trewe.
Here before he requyred me hye
To have a childe of his body,
þat þat is his name, my man þat cannot feyne, 16
Abraham is his name.
Isaac is his name.
To him I granted a child, Isaac.
He lovethe Isaac of all things the best.
I will prove his love for me.
Angel, go tell him he must make sacrifice of Isaac.

Of al þing eryely, I wol wel, he loueþ him best;
Now he shuld loue me moste, as reson wold & skyle,
& so, I wol well, he doþe, I dyd it neuer mystrest.  20
But þit, for to preue hym, þe truþe wol I fele.
Myne aungel, go to Abraham þat I loue riþt wele,
þe which haþe ever be my servaunt in al manere
pleaunce.
The first deed þat he doþe, ouþer mete or mele, 24
To make sacrifice vnto me of Isaac his son þynge.

2 Written at the side in the MS.
Angelus. O, blessid lord, I am redy at þi bidding
To do þat shal plese þe in hevy, erþe & helle;
For all þese owen to þe obedience aboue all þing.
þis message vnto Abraham þi servauit I wol go
telle.\(^1\)  

Deus. Then hye the þat þou were on grounde.
I do not but to assay hym,
& if he do it I wol not dismay hym;
Of his sorow I shal delay hym,
& for on childe encrease hym a þusunde.\(^2\)   

\(Et\) vadit angelus ad terram et expectat usque dum

\(Habraham\) dicit.

\(Abraham.\) O gret god on hye þat al þe worlde madest,
And lendist vs oure leving here to do þi plesaunce,
Wip swete counfort of þe erþe all oure hertys gladest,
To þe be honoure, to þe be ioy & all dewe obesaunce;
& hily, lord, I þank þe þat so makest my purviaunce
To purvide or I dye a childe of myne owne body.
To reioyse þat þou gane me in erþe to my daliaunce
& to plese þe, souereigne lord, I shal change hym
perfectly,
Isaac, my son so dere.
I have ben out all day:
Now shal I go home & to my wif & say,
þere shal I fynde bothe tway,
Sara & Isaac in fere.   

\(Et\) vadit et in eundo obruat ei angelus et dicit.

Angelus. Abraham, Abraham!

\(Abraham.\) Alredy, who calleþ? lo, here, I am.
Who is þere, in þe hye lordeþe name,
þat al þing shope of nought?

Angelus. I am here, a messangere
Of þat souereigne lord entere,
þerfore herkyn now & here
What message I haue brought.
þe goode lord of al hevenes hye
Comaunderþ þe to take & sacrifye,

\(^1\) After this in the MS. there is an acrostic.  
\(^2\) MS. .m.
Dublin Abraham and Isaac Play.

Isaac pi son pat pou louest so hertlye
To his souerente & plesaunce blyve.

Fare wele, for my message I haue pe sayde.  [leaf 19, back]

Habraham. Angel, as God wol, I am right wele payde;
For of me his wille shal neuer be withnayde
Whil I am on lyve;

And hardly, aungell, trust there to,
For doughtles it shal be do.

Angelus. Fare wele Jjan, for I wol go
To bringeoure lord relation.

Habraham. Now, goode lord, graunt me hert petylle,
bat I may do that is thy wille:
& be my troupe, I shal it fulfille
Without fraude uthere cauelacion.

Et vadit angelus et dicit Habraham.

O lord, what is best to be done?
A good lord, what is now best to do?
Home to my wif I most nedis go
For þer is Isaac & I trowe she wol be ful wo,
If she knew þer case.

For she hathe hym & no mo,
& if I telle her þat it is so,
þat god wol have hym to deþe ido,¹
She faileþ not of sorowes trase.

I had rather she were displeased than god.
No forse, I haue levyr þat she disple sid be,
Than þat god be wroth with me.
Now doubtles I shal go and se
How prevely that I can it do.
Undo pese yates! hey, who is here?

Who is here?
Sara. None but I & my son dere.
Welcom my lord, welcom my fere,
Welcom my comfort also.

How have ye fared while ye have been out?
A, ye haue walkid ferre aboute!
How3 haue ye fare whil ye have be outhe?
Without fayle, I haue had gret doute
Last any thinge did you grevaunce.

Habraham. Nay, I thanke the good lorde,
All thing & I done wel acorde,
¹ MS. I do.
Saving this; my good lord hap sent me worde,  
That I moste nedis go do his plesaunce:

I most do sacrifice upon that hille on hye.  
& therefore, sirs, make myne asse redye,  
& Isaac, son, you never sit me sye  
Do no such observaunce.

Therefore pray the & go with me,  
& lerne how God shuld plesid be;  
For, son, and ever you penke to the,  
Put ever God to honowrbaugh.

Isaac. So shall I, fadir, & ever haue do,  
As ye haue taught me & my moder also.  
Loke, when ever that ye wol go,  
I shall not be behynde.

Sara. Ye, but I pray you, gentil fere,  
As ever ye haue loued me dere,  
Lat Isaac abide at home here,  
For I kept not he went in pe wynde.

Habraham. Peese dame, lat be, do way.  
You wost wele, I wax ryght gray,  
& pis child never sit say  
How God shuld be plesid;  
& therefore now he shall go with me  
& he shall bope know & se,  
How that God shal plesid be  
& myn hert i-esid.

Sara. Then, sijje ye wol haue forthe my childe,  
Goode, loke that his horse be not so wilde,  
,& sirs, wayte on hym, that he be not deifle  
With neither cley nor fen.  
& loke wele that his horse go rownde  
& that he stumbel not for no pownde.  
Now, gooede hert, God send pe home sownde,  
Bi fadir & all his men!

Habraham. Gete hidre oure horses & let vs go hen,  
Bope I & Isaac & these two men;
Dublin Abraham and Isaac Play.

& loke we haue fyre & stikkes to bren!

Lopip vp, haue ido,1 anon!

All things are readily,

but tarry as little as ye may.

Sara. All ping is redy, I you say;

But, gentil hert, I you pray,

Tary as litel while out as ye may,

Because of Isaac, my son.

Abide here while Isaac and I go yonder.

Abide here while Isaac and I go yonder.

Come, Isaac.

Come hidre, Isaac, my son goode,

Take up pis fyre & pis wode,

Spare not pi clopes, gene me pi hode,

I shal not combre the sore.

Isaac. Now gawe, fader, pat pis dede were hyed,

For pis wode on my bak is wel tyed.

But where is pat quyk best pat shal be sacrified

Be hynde vs, or a fore?

Habraham. Son, care not perfore on neuer a side,

But let god alone perwith pis tyde,

& for our wey he shal purvyde

& defend vs from fere.

A, son, I haue aspyed pe place,

pat god hape purvided vs of his grace.

Come on, son, a rjst goode pace

And hye vs pat we were here.

Now Isaac, son, I may no lengre refrayne,

But I most tell pe truth certayne,

& perfore loke pow be not per agayne,

But do it with all pi wille.

1 MS. I do.
& god, &t all hape wrought,  
Comaunded me &t hidre &ou shuldest be brought,  
& here &i body shal be broujt to nought  
Unto sacrifise on this hille.

Lay downe &at wode on &at auter there,  
& fast delyver &e & do of &i gere.

Isaac. Alas, gentyl fader, why put ye me in yis fere?  
Haue I displesid you any thing?  
3if I haue trespast, I cry you mercy ;  
&; gentil fader, hat me not dye !

Alas, is &er none ojer beste but I  
&at may plese &at ly king ?

Habraham. Nay, son, to me &ou hast do no trespas,  
But &ou hast my blessing in every place ;  
But I may not forfeit &at lorde's grace,  
&at al &ing hape me sent.

For & it shuld be afferter me,  
I had leuer hauue slayne al my bestes &an &e.  
But his wille nedys fulfilled most be,  
& truly so is myn entent.

Isaac. Alas, what have I displesid &is lord of blisse,  
&at I shal be martyred in &is mysse?  
But, gentil fader, wot my modre of &is,  
&at I shal be dede?

Habraham. She? mary, son, crist forbede !  
Nay, to telle her it is no nede :  
For whan &at euer she knowe& &is dede,  
She wol ete afferter but litel brede.

Isaac. In feipe, for my moder I dar wel say,  
And she had wist of &is aray  
I had not ridden out from her &is day,  
But she had ridden also.

Habraham. Ye, son, god most be serued ay,  
&is modre may not haue hir wille all way.  
I loue &e as wele as she dope, in fay,  
& zit &is dede most be do.

Isaac. A, fader, &en do of my gowne,  
Vngirde me & take hem with you to towne;
Dublin Abraham and Isaac Play.

I cannot.

For I may not. I falle in swowne,
Depe hæb enbrasid myn hert.

But on ping, fader, I pray you jus:
Let neuer my moder se my clopus;
For & she do, withouten opus,
It wol greue her to smerte.

Ah, me, what shall I do!

Habraham. A, dere hert, what shal I do by þe?
Wo is me þat shal sle þe!
With all my goodes I wold by þe,
& god wold assent þer to.

Father, do what ye please.

Isaac. A, fader, do now what ye euer ye lyst,
For of my moder, I wot wel, I shal be myst.
Many a tyme hæb she me elipt & kyst,
But fare wel nowe, for þat is do.

Farewell, my mother.

She was wont to calle me hir tresoure & hir store;
But farewell now, she shal no more.
Here I shal be dede & wot neuer wherfore,
Saue þat god most haue his wille.

Yea, son, it must needs be done.

Fader, shal my hed of also?

Habraham. Ye, forsoþe, son, þat most nedis be do.
Alas, goode hert, þat me is wo,
þat euer I shuld þe pas spille!

Isaac. þen, fader, bynde myne handes & my legges fast,
& yene me a gret stroke, þat my peynes were past;
For last I shrinke, I am riþt sore agast,
& þan ye wol Smyte me in a noþer place:
Then is my peyne so moche the more.
A, softe, gentil fader; ye bynde me sore.

Habraham. A, dere hert, wo is me therefore,
My mynde is worse than evyr it was.

Isaac. A, fadir, ley me downe sofft & leyre
& haue ido nowe, & sle youre eyre.
For I am hampred and in dispere
& almost at my lives end.

Habraham. A, fayre hert rote, leue þi crye!
þi sore langage goþe myne hert ful nye.
þer is no man þerfore so wo as I,
For here shal I sle my frende.
Abraham and Isaac Play.

Dublin Abraham and Isaac Play.

33

be hye lord bad me to do pis dede,
But my hert grucchep, so god me spede,
My blode aborre to se my son blede,
For all on blode it is.
Alas, pat my hert is wondre sore,
For I am now rizt old & hore;
But god hap chose pe for his owne store
In counfer of al my mys,
& to be offerd to hym pat is lord on hye.
Son, take it patientlye.
Perauenture in batayle or oþer myschef þou myȝtest dye,
Or ellis in anoþer vngoodely veniaunce.
Isaac. Now, fader, þen sijie it is so.
With al my hert I assent þerto.
Strecche out my nek, anon, have do,
& put me out of penaunce.
Habraham. Now kisse me forste, hert rote;
Now ly doune, strecche out þi prote!
This takeþ me ful nye, god wote,
Goode lord, to do þi plesaunce!

Et extendit manuum ut immolaret eum et dicit
angelus.

Angelus. Habraham, leue of & do not smyte;
Withdrawe þyn hond, it is goddes wille!
Take vp Isaac, þi son so whyte,
For god wol not þat þou hym spille.
He seeþe, þat þou art redy for to fulfille
His comauandment, in wele and wo;
& þerfore now he sent me þe tylle
& bad þat Isaac shuld not be sacrificed so.

Habraham. A, sufferen lord, þi wille be fulfilled
In hevyn, in erþe in watyr & clay!
MYSTERY PLAYS.
I thank Thee that Isaac is not killed.

Go, son, put on thy clothes, and let not thy mother know of this.

Abraham, since thou wouldest have obeyed me I will reward thy good will.

Thy seed shall multiply.

Let us hence to our horses and our men.

Deus. Habraham, loke up & herkyn to me.

Sije pou woldest have done pat I charged pe, & sparedist not to sle Isaac, pi son so fre, The chef tresoure that thow haste, Be myn owne self I swere certeyn, pi goode wille I shal quyte ayeyn: pat shal be worship vnto you tweyn

While pe world shal last.

For pou sparedist not pi son for me. Go & novmbre pe gravel in pe see, Ouper motes in pe sunne, & it wol be By any estimacioum;

& as pik as gravel in pe see dope ly, As pik py sede shal multiply, & oon shal be borne of pi progeny

Dat to all shal cause saluacioum.

Habraham. A, lord, ithanked eu ber by myght, By tyme, by tyde, by day and nyght.

Now Isaac, son, let vs hens dight To oure horses & oure men.

Gawe! pei ben here fast by. Hey, sirs! bring pens oure horses in hy & let us lepe up here lightly,

Fast pat we were hen.

1 MS. a say.  2 MS. I thanked.
Lepe vp, son, and fast haue i-do.1

Isaac. All redy, fadre, I am here, lo;
Ye shal not be let whan euer ye go.
Mi moder i wolde fayne se.
& hit, that owre I sawe his day!
I wend I shuld have gone my way.

Habraham. Ye, blessid be pat lord pat so can asay
His servaund in every degre!

Et equitat versus Saram et dicit Sara.

Sara. A, welcom souereigne, withouten doute;
How haue ye fared whils ye haue ben oute?
And, Isaac, son, in all pis rowte?
Hertly welcome home be ye!

Habraham. Gramercy, wif, fayre most you be falle.
Come pens, wif, out of youre halle,
& let vs go walke & I wol telle you alle,
How god haue sped pis day with me.
Wif, I went for to sacrifye;
But how trowe you, telle me verylye?

Sara. Forsope, souereigne, I wot not I,
Perauenture som quyk best?

Habraham. Quyk? ye forsope, quyk it was!
As wel I may tel you al pe case,
As anoper pat was in pe same place,
For I wote wel it wol be wist.

Almighty god, pat sitteth on hye,
Bad me take Isaac, pi son, per bye
& smyte of his hed & breu hym veralye,
Aboue vpon yonde hille,
& when I had made fyre & smoke,
& drowe my knyf to yeve hym a stroke,
An aungel cam & my wille broke,
& seid oure lord alowed my wylle.

Sara. Alas, all pen had gone to wrake;
Wold ye haue slayne my son Isaac!
Nay, pan al my ioy had me forsake!
Alas, where was your mynde?

1 MS. I do.
Brome Abraham and Isaac Play.

Upon the Lord on high, Abraham. My mynde? upon ye goode lord on hy! Nay, & he bid me truste it verayly.

It shuld not hane ben left be hynde. 349

God gave him to us, and asked him again. God gave hym betwix vs twyne,

& now he asked hym of vs ageyne:

Shuld I say nay? nay, in certeyne, Not for al ye world wide. 353

Now he knowe? my hert verayly. Isaac hape his blessing & also l,

& hape blessid also all oure progeny, For eter to abide. 357

Blessed be that Lord. Now blessid be pat lorde souereigne

pat so likep to say to you twyne;

& what pat ener he lust, I say not per agayne,

But his wille be fulfilled. 361

Isaac hath no harm. [Abraham.] Isaac hape no harme, but in maner I was sory;

And 3it I have wonne his love truly. And euermore, goode lord, gramercy

pat my childe is not kydd. 365

Ye who have seen this play, Now ye pat haue sene pis aray,

refuse not what God demandis,

Ye who haue sene this play, I warne you alle, bope ny3t & day. What god commaundep say not nay,

For ye shal not lese per by. 369

Abraham. Fader of Heuyn Omnipotent, 1

With all my hart to The I call;

Thow hast 3ofe me both lond and rent,

And my lyvelod Thow hast me sent;

I thanke The heyly, eu3r-more, of all. 5

Thou hast made Adam and Eve,

Fyrst off the erth thou maydest Adam,

And Eue also to be hys wyffe;

All other creatures of them too cam;

And now Thow hast grant to me, Abraham,

Her in thys lond to lede my lyffe. 10

1 MS. is inconsistent in the use of capitals.
In my age thou hast grantyd me thys,
That thys sowng chyld with me shall wone;
I love no-thyng so myche i-wysse,
Except pin owne selffe, der Fader of blysse,
As Ysaac her, my owne swete sone.

I haue dynerse chyldryn moo,
The wych I love not halffe so wyll;
Thys fayer swet chyld, he schereys me soo,
In euery place wer that I goo,
That noo dessece her may I fell.

And therfor, Fadyr of Henyn, I The prey,
For hys helth and also for hys grace;
Now, Lord, kepe hym both nyght 1 and day
That neuer dessese nor noo fray
Cume to my chyld in noo place.

Now cum on, Ysaac, my owne swete chyld;
Goo we hom and take owr rest.
Ysaac. Abraham! myne owne fader so myld,
To folowe sow I am full prest, 3
Bothe erly & late.

Abraham. Cume on, swete chyld, I love the best 16,15, bk.
Of all the chyldryn that euem I be-gat.

[In heaven].4

Deus. Myn angell, fasthey the thy wey,
And on to medyll-erth anon pou goo;
Abram's hart now wyll I asay,
Wether that he be stedfast or noo.

Sey I commaw[n]dyd5 hym for to take
Ysaac, hys sowng sonne, pat he love so wyll,
And with hys blood sacryfyce he make,
Yffe ony off my freynchepe he 6 wyll fyll.

1 Manly and Commonplace Book: nyght.
2 Miss Smith: sweete. Manly: sweet.
3 Manly supplies prest instead of MS. glad, for the sake of the rhyme.
4 Supplied from Miss Smith's edition.
5 Inserted in the Anglia version, but the MS. regularly omits the n.
6 Both Miss Smith's editions insert yf before he. Manly, as above.
Show him the way to the place where the sacrifice shall be.

Father of Heaven, I pray to Thee, for to-day I must make sacrifice.

what beast will please Thee best?

Abraham, our Lord commandeth thee to take and sacrifice Isaac in the Land of Vision.

Welcome, my Lord’s messenger. I will not disobey His command.

I would rather lose all my possessions.

Abraham. Now, Fader of Heaven, pat formyd all thynge, My preyeres I make to The a-zejyn, For thys day my tender offryng Here mst I seve to The, certyyn. A! Lord God, Allmythy Kyng, Wat maner best woll make pe most fayn? Yff I had ther-of very knoyng, Yt schuld be don with all my mayne Full sone anone. To don Thy plesing on an hyll, Verely yt ys my wyll, Dere Fader, God in Trinyte.

The Angell. Abraham, Abraham, wyll þou rest! Owre Lord comandyth þe for to take Ysaac, thy 30wng sone that thou lovyst best, And with hys blod sacryfyce þat thow make. In to the Lond of V[i]syon thow goo; And offer thy chyld on-to thy Lord; I schall the lede and schow all-soo Vnto Goddes hest, Abraham, a-cord, And folow me vp-on thys grene.

Abraham. Wolle-com to me be my Lordes sond, And Hys hest I wyll not with-stond; 3yt Ysaac, my 30wng sonne in lond, A full dere chyld to me haue byn. I had lever, yf God had be plesyd For to a for-bore all þe good þat I haue, Than Ysaac my sone schuld a be desessyd, So God in Heuyn my sowll mot saue!

1 Miss Smith’s editions: lovyd. Manly: lovyp.
2 Manly gives here the stage-direction: The angel begins to descend.
3 i is supplied by Holthausen.
I lovyd neuer thyng soo mych in erthe,\(^1\)
And now I mus the chyld goo kyll.
A! Lord God, my conscience ys strongely steryd,
And 3yt my dere Lord. I am sore\(^2\) aferd
To groche ony thyng a-jens 3owre\(^3\) wyll.

I love my chyld as my lyffe,
But 3yt I love my God myche more,
For thow my hart woold wake ony stryffe,
3yt wyll I not spare for chyld nor wyffe,
But don after my Lordes lore.

Thow I love my sonne neuer so wyll,
3yt smythe of hys hed some I schall.
A! Fader of Heuyn, to The I knell,
An hard deth my son schall fell
For to honor The, Lord, with-all.

[leaf 16, back]

The Angell. Abraham! Abraham! thys ys wyll seyd,
And all thys comamnetes loke pat jou kepe;\(^4\)
But in thy hart be no-thyng dysmayd.\(^5\)

Abraham. Nay, nay, for-soth, I hold me wyll plesyd,\(^6\)
To plesse my God with the best pat I haue;\(^7\)

For thow my hart be heuely sett
To see the blood of my owyn dere sone,
3yt for all thys I wyll not lett,
But Ysaac, my son, I wyll goo fett,
And cum asse fast as ener we can.

Now, Ysaac, my owyne son dere,
War art thou, chyld? Speke to me.

Ysaac. My fader,\(^8\) swet fader, I am here,
And make my preyrys to pe Trenyte.

Abraham. Rysse vp, my chyld, and fast cum heder,
My gentyll barn pat art so wysse,
For we to, chyld, must goo to-geder,
And on-to my Lord make sacryffye.

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\(^1\) Pronounced erde, Miss Smith.
\(^2\) Miss Smith in Anglia: seyr.
\(^3\) Manly: 3ower.
\(^4\) Manly suggests instead of the MS. reading, loke jou obey.
\(^5\) MS. dysmasyd.
\(^6\) Manly suggests apayd. MS. held instead of hold.
\(^7\) Manly suggests, to the best pat I may.
\(^8\) Manly has fayer. Miss Smith: fader.
I am ready, father,
and will do whatsoever you bid me.

Ah! Isaac, God's blessing I give thee.

I am glad to obey.

Now, Isaac, we go our way.
Go, father, I am ready to follow.

Lord, my heart breaketh in two.

Issac, lay thy burden down.

Abraham. A! Ysaac, my owyn son soo dere,
Godes blysseyng I 3yffe the, and myn.

Hold thys fagot vp on þi bake,
And her my selffe fyer schall bryng.

Ysaac. Fader, all thys her wyll I packe;
I am full fayn to do 30wr bedyng.

Abraham. A! Lord of Heuyn, my handes I wryng,
Thys chylde words all to-wond my harte.

A! Ysaac, on1 goo we owr wyey
On-to 3on mownte, with all owr mayn.

Ysaac. Gowe, my dere fader, as fast as I may
To folow 3ow I am full fayn,
Althow I be slendyr.

Abraham. A! Lord, my hart brekyth on tweyn,2
Thys chylde words, they be so tender.3

A! Ysaac, son, anon ley yt down,
No lenger vpon þi backe yt hold4;

Issak. Father, I am all readye
to do your bydding mekelie,
to beare this wood full bowne am I,
as you comaunde me.

Abraham. O Issak, Issak, my derling deere,
my blessing now I geve the here.
take up this fagot with good cheare,
and on thy backe yt bringe,
and fire with me I will take.

Abraham. O! my hart will break in three,
to heare thy wordes I have pyttie.
as thou wilt, lord, so must yt be:

1 Manly corrects to son, presumably on analogy with v. 129.
Miss Smith has on.

2 MS. teuyn, corrected by Miss Smith.

3 After this verse Manly has the stage-direction: They arrive at the Mount.

4 MS. has bere; Kettredge corrects to hold. Miss Smith retains MS. reading, but suggests in her footnote to line 132, that 1 bere instead of as 1 schuld.
For I must make ready bond
To honour my Lord God as I shuld.

Ishaac. Loo, my dere fader, wer yt ys!
To cher 3ow all-wey I draw me nere;
But, fader, I mervell sove of thys,
Wy put 3e make thyes heuy chere;

And also, fader, eu er-more drede I:
Wer ys 3owr qweke best put 3e schuld kyll?
Both fyre and wood we haue redy,
But qweke best haue we non on pis hyll.

A qweke best, I wot wyll, must be ded,
3owr sacryfye for to make.¹

Abraham. Dred the nowglyth, my chyld, I the red,
Owr Lord wyll send me on-to thyes sted

Summ maner a best for to take,
Throw his swet sond.

Ishaac. 3a, fader, but my hart begynneth to quake,
To se put scharpe sword in 3owr hond.

Wy bere 3e 3owr sword drawyn soo?
Off 3owre countenaunce² I haue mych wonder.[16,17, bl.]

to thee I will be bayne,
lay downe thy fagot, my owne sonne deere!

Isaak. All ready, father, loe yt is here.
but why make you so hevie cheare?
are you any thing adred?
father, if it be your will,
wher is the beast that we shall kyll?

Abraham. Dread thie not, my childde, I red,
our lord will send of his god-head,
some maner beast into this stydd,
ether tayme or wylde.

Isaak. Father, tell me of this case,
why you your sword drawen hase,
and beare yt naked in this place;
thereof I have great wonder.

¹ These two verses are reversed in the MS.
² Miss Smith gives this reading in a footnote, but her text and the MS. have countenauns.
Abraham. A! Father of Heunyn, so I am woo!
Thys chyld brekys my harte on-sonder.  

Isaac. Tell me, my dere fader, or that 3e ses,
Ber 3e 30wr sword drawÈ for me?

Abraham. A! Ysaac, swet son, pes! pes!
For i-wys thowe breke my harte on thre.

Now thow may breke me harte on thre.

Ah! my heart
was never
half so sad.

For my hart was queere
half so sore.

Now mourn
ye more and
more.

Ah! my heart
was never
half so sad.

Tell me,
my dere
fadÈr,
or that
ses,

Abraham. A! Lord of Heunyn, thy grace let synke,
For my hart was never halfe so sore.

Peace, Isaac.

Hide it not
from me,
father.

If I have
trespassed,
beat me with
a stave,

Isaac. Father, tell me, or I goe
whether I shall have harme or noe.

Abraham. Ah dere God, that me is woe!
thou burstes my hart in sunder.

Abraham. Isaac, sonne, peace! I pray thee,
thou breakes my harte even in three.

[Isaac:] I praye yow, father, leaue nothing from me,
but tell me what you thinke.

Abraham. O Isaac, Isaac, I must thee kill.

Isaac. Alas! father, is that your will,
youre owne childe here for to spill,
upon this hilles brynyke?
If I have trespassed in any degree,
with a yard you maye beate me;

1 MS. os, corrected by Miss Smith.
2 MS. on-too. Holthausen corrects on the basis of the Chester Play.
3 MS. draw. Holthausen: drawwyn.
4 MS. Manly has: hyd it. Cf. v. 304.
And with 30wr scharp sword kyll me nogth,
For i-wys, father, I am but a chyld.

Abraham. I am full sory, son, thy blood for to spyll,
But truly, my chyld, I may not chese.

Ysaac. Now I wold to God my moder were her on 3is hyll!
She would knele for me on both hyr kneys
To save my lyffe.
And sythyn that my moder ys not here,
I prey 3ow, father, schonge 30wr chere,
And kyll me not with 30wyrr knyffe.

Abraham. For-sothe, son, but 3yf I the kyll,
I schuld greve God rygth sore, I drede;
Yt ys hys commawment and also hys wyll
That I schuld do thys same dede.

Ysaac. And ys yt Goddes wyll pat I schuld be slayn?

Abraham. 3a, truly, Ysaac, my son soo good,
And ther-for my handes I wryng.

Ysaac. Now, fader, azens my Lordes wyll,
I wyll neuer groche, lowd nor styll;
He myght a sent me a better desteny
Yf yt had a be hys pleecer.

put vp your sword if your will be,
for I am but a childe.

Abraham. O my sonne, I am sory
to doe thie this great anye:

Isaak. Wold God, my mother were here with me!
She wolde knele vpon her knee,
praying you, father, if it might be,
for to save my life.

[Abraham] O Isaac, Sonne, to thee I saye:
God has comanded me this daye
sacrifice—this is no naye—to make of thy bodye.

Isaak. Is it Gods will I shold be slaine?

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1 Miss Smith and MS.: gis.  2 Miss Smith: Zu.
3 Manly conjectures deere and wyll instead of pleecer in the last line of the same stanza.
Abraham. For-sothe, son, but yf I ded pis de.le, Grevosly dysplessyd our Lord wyll be.


That ever ye schuld greve hym for me.

Ye haue other chyldryn, on or too,

The wyche ye schuld love wyll, be kynd;

I prey 3ow, fader, make ye no woo,

For, be I onys ded and fro 3ow goo,

I schall be some out of 3owre mynd.

Ther-for doo owre Lordes byddyng,

And wan I am ded, than pray for me;

But, good fader, tell ye my moder no thynge,

Sey bat I am in a-nother ewtre dwellyng.2

Abraham. A! Ysaac, Ysaac, blyssyd mot пов be!

My hart begynnys stronly to ryssse,

To see the blood off thy blyssyd body.

Ysaac. Fader, syn yt may be noo other wysse,

Let yt passe ouer as wyll as I.

But, fader, or I goo onto my deth,

I prey 3ow blysse me with 3owr hand.

Abraham. Now, Ysaac, with all my breth,

My blyssyng I 3eve be upon thys lond,

And Godes also ther-to, i-wys.

Father, at home your sonnes you shall finde

that yow must love by course of kinde,

be I once out of your mynde,

Your sorrow may sone cease,

But you must doe God's bydding.

father, tell my mother for nothing

[Abraham] O Isaac, blessed mot thou be!

almost my wt I lose for thee,

the blood of thy bode ye so free

me think full loth to sheed.

Ysaake. Father, sith you must needs doe soe,

let it passe lightlie and overgoe;

1 Manly: Y. 2 MS. dwellyng, corrected by Miss Smith.
3 MS. begynnys. Miss Smith gives the above emendation, and
Manly begynneth.
Ysaac, Ysaac, sone, up thou stond,
Thy fayer sweete mowthe pat I may kys.  

Isaac. Now, for wyll, my owyne fader so syn,
And grete wyll my moder in erthe. ¹
But I prey sow, fader, to hyd my eyne,
That I se not þe stroke of sowr scharpe sword, ¹
That my fleyssye schall defyle.

Abraham. Sone, thy wordes make me to weep ² full sore;
Now, my dere sone Ysaac, speke no more.

Ysaac. A! my owyne dere fader, were-fore?
We schall speke to-gedyr her but a wylle.

And sythyn that I must nedysse be ded,
3yt, my dere fader, to sow I prey,
Smythe but fewe³ strokes at my hed,
And make an end as sone as 3e may,
And tery not to longe.

Abraham. Thy meke wordes, child, make me afayr; ⁴
So, welawey! may be my songe;

Excepe alonly Gode wyll.
A! Ysaac, my owyn sweete chyld!
3yt kysse me a-3en vpon thys hyll!
In all thys war[1]d⁵ ys non soo myld.

Isaac. Father, I pray you, hyde myne eyne
that I se not your sword so kene;
your stroke, father, wold I not seene,
est I against yt grill.

Abraham. My Deere sone Isaac, speke no more,
thy wordes make my heart full sore.

Isaac. O deere father, wherfore? wherfore?
syth I must nedes be dead,
of one thing I wold you praye:
since I must die the death this daye,
as few strokes as you maye,
when you smyte of my heade.

Abraham. Thy mekenes, child, makes me afayr;
my song may be ‘well awaye!’

¹ Manly: crde, sword.
² Manly: wepe. Miss Smith as above.
³ MS. Manly: fewe.
⁴ MS. and Miss Smith: afayed.
⁵ warld is the regular form in this MS. for world [Manly].
Brome Abraham and Isaac Play.

Isaac. Now, truly, fader, all thys teryng
Yt doth my hart but harme;
I pray ye 3ow, fader, make an enddyng.

Abraham. Come vp, swet son, on-to my arme. 242
I must bynd thy hands too
All-thow thow be neuer soo myld.

Isaac. A! mercy, fader! wy schuld 3e do soo ?
Abraham. That thow schuldyst not let [me], my chyld.

I pray you, father, make am ending.
Come,
I must bind thy armes,
Ah! mercy, father.

Nay, father, I will not hinder you; do as you will with me.

I am sorry, but I cannot offend God.
Father, tell my mother nothing of this.

Farewell, sweet mother.
Isaac, thou makest me grieve.
I am sorry to grieve thee, father; for give me for what I have done.

[Isaac.] now truly, father, this talking
doth but make long taryng.
I praye you, come and make ending, and let me hence gone!

Abraham. Come hither, my Child, that art so sweete: thou must be bounden, hand and feete.

Isaac. Vpon the purpose that have set you, for sooth, father, I will not let you,

But, father, I crye you mercy.

of that I have trespassed to thee,
Abraham. A! dere chyld, lefe of thy monys;
In all thy lyffe thou grevyd me neuer onys;
Now byssyde be thou, body and bonys,
That ene'ry thou were bred and born!
Thow hast to be, chyld, full good:
Yet i-wysse, child, thow I mornere so fast,
3yt must I nedes here at the last
In thys place sched all thy blood.

Therefor, my dere son, here schall þou lye,
Onto my warke I must me stede,
I-wysse I had as leve myselfe to day,
Yff God wyll [be] plecyd wyth my dede; [leaf 19, back]
And myn owyn body for to offer.

Ysaac. A! mercy, fader, morne þe no more,
3owre wepyng maketh 1 my hart sore,
As my owyn deth that I schall suffer.

3owre kerche, fader, abowt my eyn 3e wynd!
Abraham. So I schall, my swettest chyld in erthe. 2
Ysaac. Now 3yt, good fader, haue thyss in mynd,
And smyth me not oftyn with 3owr scharp sword, 3
But hastely that yt be sped.

Here Abraham leyd a cloth on Ysaaces face, thus seyyng:
Abraham. Now, fore wyll, my chyld, so full of grace.

forgeven, father, that yt may be
vntill Domes daye.

Abraham. My deare sonne, let be thy mones;
my child, thou greaved me but ones.
blessed be thou, bodye and bones,
and I forgeve thee here.
Looe, my deare sonne, here shalt thou lye;
vnto my worke now must I lyse,
I had as leepe myselfe to dye
as thou my darling dere.

1 MS. make; the above is Holthausen's emendation.
2 So spelt but pronounced erde (Miss Smith).
3 Manly: siver'd.
Father, turn down my face.

Father of Heaven, receive me into Thy hands.
Lo, now is the time come.
I cannot find it in my heart to smile.

Isaac. A! fader, fader, torne downgward my face,
For of 3owre scharpe sword I am euers a drede. 292

Abraham. To doon thys deede I am full sory,
But, Lord, Thyn hest I wyll not withstond.

Isaac. A! Fader of Heuyn, to The I crye,
Lord, reseyve me into Thy hand. 296

Abraham. Loo! now ys the tymes certeyn,
That my sword in hys necke schall bite.1
A! Lord, my hart reysythe The ageyn.2
I may not fyndyght in my hart to smyte; 300
My hart wyll not now therto,
3yt fayn I wold warke my Lordes wyll;
But thys 30wng innosent lyght so styll,
I may not fyndyght in my hart hym to kyll.
O! Fader of Heuyn! what schall I do? 305

Isaac. A! mercy, fader, wy terye 3e so,
And let me ley thus longe on pis heth?
Now I wold to God pe stroke were doo.
Fader, I pray yow hartely, schorte me of my woo,
And let me not loke after my degh. 310

Isac. I praye you, father, turne doune my face
a lylte whyle, whyle you have space,
for I am full sore adred.

Abraham. To doe this deede I am sorye.

Isaac. yea, lord, to thee I calle and crye:
on my sole thou haue mercye,
hartelie I the praye.

Abraham. Lord I wold fayne worke thy will,
this yonge Inocent that lyes so still
full loth were me hym to kill
by any manner of waye.
Harte, if thou wolde breake in three,
thou shall never master me.
I will no lenger let for thee,
my God I may not greeve.

Isaac. A mercye, father! why tary ye so?
smyte of my head, and lye me goe!
I praye you, rydd me of my woe;
for now I take my leave. 318

1 MS. synke: the above emendation is by Holthausen.
2 Manly: therageyn; the above is MS. version.
3 MS. Cf. v. 165.
Abraham. Now, hart, wy wolddyst not thow breke on thre?

3yt schall þou not make me to my God onmyld. [16. 29]

I wyll no lenger let for the,
For that my God agrevyd wold be,
Now hoold th stroke, my owyn dere chyld. 315

[Her Abraham drew hys stroke and þe angel toke the sword in hys hond soddenly.]

The Angell. I am an angell, thow mayist se blythe,
That fro Heuyn to the ys senth;
Our Lord thanke the an .C. sythe,
For the keepyng of hys commawment. 319

He knowyt þi wyll and also thy harte,
That thow dredyst hym above all thyng,
And sum of thy hevynes for to deporte
A fayr ram synder I gan brynge ; 323

He standyth teyed, loo ! among þe breres.
Now, Abraham, amend thy mood,
For Ysaac, thy 3owng son þat her ys,
Thys day schall not sched hys blood ; 327

Goo, make thy sacryfece with 3on rame.
Now, forwyll, blyssyd Abraham,
For onto Heuyn I goo now hom ;
The way ys full gayn.
Take up thy son soo free. 332

Abraham. A ! Lord, I thanke The of Thy gret grace,
Now am I yeyed1 on dyuers wysse ;
Arysse vp, Ysaac, my dere sunne, arysse,
Arysse vp, swete chyld, and cum to me. 336

Ysaac. A ! mercy, fader, wy smygth þe nowt ? 2
A ! smygth on, fader, onys with 3owwr knyffe.
Abraham. Pesse, my swet sir, and take no thowt,
For owre Lord of Heuyn hath grant þy lyffe,
Be hys angell now, 341

1 So in Miss Smith's two editions: Manly suggests cped for cased.
2 MS. not 3yt; the above is Holthausen's emendation.

Mystery Plays.
That pou schalt not dey pis day, summe, truly.

Ysaac. A! fader, full glad than wer I, [leaf 20, back]
I-wys, fader, I sey, iwys!

Yf thys tale wer trew.

Abraham. An hundred tymys, my son fayer of hew,
For joy pi mowt now wyll I kys.

Ysaac. A! my dere fader, Abraham,
Wyll not God be wroth pat we do thus?

Abraham. Noo, noo! harly, my swyt son,
For 3yn same rame he hath vs sent
Hether down to vs.1

Will not God be angry?
No, He hath sent us that ram,
which shall die in your stead.

Father, I will go catch him.

I had rather that thou sheddest thy blood than I.

Lo, father, I have brought this sheep.

Now be right merry, my child.

3yn best schall dey here in pi sted,
In the worpschup of our Lord alon;
Goo, fet hym hethyr, my chylld, indeed.

Ysaac. Fader, I wyll goo hent hym be the hed,
And bryng 3on best with me anon.

A! scheppe, scheppe! blyssyd mot pou be,
That euer thow were sent down heder,
Thow schall thys day dey for me,
In the worchup of the Holy Trynyte,
Now cum fast and goo we togeder

To my Fader of Heuyn;
Thow pou be neuer so jentyll and good,
3yt had I leuer thow schedyst pi blood,
Iwysse, scheppe, than I.

Loo! fader, I haue browt here full smerte,
Thys jentyll scheppe, and hym to 3ow I 3yffe:
But, Lord God, I thank þe with all my hart,
For I am glad that I schall leve,
And kys onys my dere moder.

Abraham. Now be rygth myry, my swete chylld,
For thys qwyyke best that ys so myld,
Here I schall present before all other. [leaf 21] 374

1 Holthausen substitutes for verses 350, 351 and 352 the following:—

Noo, noo, swyt son for 3yn same rame
He hath sent hether down to us.
Ysaae. And I wyll fast begynne to blowe,  
Thys fyere schall brene a full good spyd.  
But fader, wyll I stowppe downe lowe,  
3e wyll not kyll me with 3our sword, I trowe?  

Abraha.m. Noo, harly, swet son, haue no dred,  
My mornyng ys past.  

Ysaac. 3a! but I woold Ipat sword wer in a gled,  
For, iwys, fader, yt make me full yll agast.  

[Here Abraham mad hys offryng, knelyng and seyng thus:—]  

Abraham. Now, Lord God of Heuyn, in Trynyte,  
Allmyty God Omnipotent,  
My offeryng I make in the worchope of The,  
And with thys qwekte best I The present.  
Lord, reseyve Thow myn intent,  
As [Thow] art God and grownd of our grace.  

Dens. Abraham, Abraham, wyll mot thou sped,  
And Ysaac, 3i 3owng son the by!  
Trvly Abraham, for thys dede  
I schall mvlytpleye 3owres botheres sede  
As thyke as sterres be in the skye,  
Bothe more and lesse;  
And as thyke as gravell in the see,  
So thyke mvlytylyed 3owre sede schall be;  
Thys grant I 3ow for 3owre goodnesse.  

Off 3ow schall cume frowte gret [won]  
And euer be in blysse without 3ynd,  
For 3e drede me as God a-lon  
And kepe my commawmentes eueryschon.  
My blyssyng I 3effe, wersoever 3e wend.  

Abraham. Loo! Ysaac, my son, how thynke 3e  
Be thys warke that we haue wroght?  
Full glad and blythe we may be,  
Azens pe wyll of God pat we groched nott,  
Vpon thys fayer hetth.  

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1 MS. glad.  
2 Inserted by Manly.  
3 Holthausen's emendation of MS. goo.
I thank the Lord that taught me to fear Him more than death.

Why! wert thou afraid?

I was never so afraid before.

Come, let us go home.

I had never such a good mind to go home. Lord, I thank Thee that I take Isaac home with me.

This solemn story we have showed to great and small, and it teaches that we should keep God's commands as far as is in our power.

Ysaac. A! father, I thank our Lord every day,
That my wyt servyd me so wyll,
For to drede God more than my death. 410

Abraham. Why! dereworthy son, were thou afraid?
Hardely, chyld, tell me thy lore.

Ysaac. 3a! be my feyth, father, now haue I red,
I was neuer soo afryyd before,
As I haue byn at 3yn hyll.
But, be my feth, father, I swere
I wyll neuermore come there
But yt be a-3ens my wyll. 418

Abraham. 3a! cum on with me, my owyn swet sonn,
And hom-ward fast now let vs goon.

Ysaac. Be my feyth, father, therto I grant;
I had neuer so good wyll to gon hom,
And to speke with my dere moder.

Abraham. A! Lord of Heuyn, I thanke The
For now may I led hom with me
Ysaac, my 30wnge sonn soo fre,
The gentyllest chyld above all other,2
Thys may I wyll avoee. 428

Now goo we forthe, my blyssyd sonn.

Ysaac. I grant, father, and let vs gon,
For be my trowthe wer I at home,
I wold neuer gon owt vnder that forme.
I pray god yeffe vs grace euermo,
And all thow that we be holdyng to. 434

Doctor. Lo! sovereyns and sorys, now haue we schowyd,
Thys solom story3 to grete and smale;
It ys good lernyng to lernd and lewyd,
And he wysest of vs all,
Wythowtyn ony berryng. 442

For thys story schoyt 3owe [her]4
How we schuld kepe to owr po[we]re
Goddes commawmentes without grochyng.

1 Manly's correction of MS. hath.
2 Miss Smith's emendation of MS. erthe.
3 Miss Smith has after "story" hath schowyd.
4 Inserted by Manly.
Brome Abraham and Isaac Play.

Trowe 3e sores, and God sent an angell,
And commawndyd 3ow to smyghth of 3owr chyldes
hed.1

Be 3owre trowthe ys ther ony of 3ow
That eyther wold groche or stryve ther ageyn? 446

How thyngke 3e now, sorys, ther-by?
I trow ther be iiij or iiiij or moo;
And thys women that wepe so sorrowfully
Whan that hyr chyldryn dey them froo,
As nater woll,2 and kynd;
It ys but folly, I may well awooe,
To groche a-3ens God or to greve 3ow,
For 3e schall neuer se hym myschevyd, wyll I knowe,

Be lond nor watyr, haue thys in mynd. 455

And groche not a3ens owr Lord God,
In welthe or woo, wether that He 3ow send,
Thow 3e be neuer so hard bestad,
For when He wyll, He may yt a-mend. 459

Hys commawmentes treuly yf 3e kepe with goo[d] hart,
As thys story hath now schowyd 3ow befor[n]e,3
And feythefully serve Hym qwyll 3e be qvart,
That 3e may piece God bothe euyn and morne.
Now Jesu, that weryt the crown of thorne,
Bryng vs all to Heuyn blysse!

Finis.

1 MS. : Holthausen corrects to 3our chyld to slayn.
2 Koll appears twice in the MS.
3 Holthausen’s emendation of MS. before.
[THE PLAY OF THE SACRAMENT.]

Primus Vexillator. Now pe Father & pe Sune & pe Holy Goste,
That pis wyde worlde hat[h] wrowg[h]t,
Save all thes semely, bothe lest & moste,
And bryn[g]e yow to pe blysse pat he hath yow to bowght!

We be ful purposed with hart & with thowght
Off our mater to tell pe entent,
Off pe marvellis pat wer wondurfely wrowght
Off pe holi & bleysse Sacrament.

Secundus [Vexillator.] Sideyns, & yt lyke yow to here pe purpoos of pis play,
That [ys] representyd now in yower syght
Whych in Aragon was doon, pe sothe to saye,
In Eraclea, that famous cyte, aryght,—
Therin wonneth a merchante off mekyH myght,
Syr Arystorye was called hys name,
Kend fuH fere with mani a wyght,
Full fer in pe worlde sprong hys fame.

Primus. Anon to hym ther cam a Jewe,
With grete rychesse for the nonys,
And wonneth in pe cyte of Surrey,—pis [is] full trewe,—
pe wyche " had gret plente off precyous stony.

1 Corrected by Stokes.
2 MS. is a little difficult to decipher. Manly has Sidseyns, sorcreyns is possible. For a similar use of this form of address vide Brome Play, 435.
3 MS. hijn; corrected by Stokes.
4 Here the first four words of the next line were first written in mistake and then crossed out.
Off pis Cristen merchante he freyned sore,
Wane he wolde haue had hys entente.
Twenti pownd and merchandyse mor
He proferyd for þe Holy Sacrament.

Secundus. But þe Christen merchante theroff sed nay,
Because hys profer was of so lityH valewe;
An hunder pownd but he wolde pay,
No lenger theron he shuld pursewe.

But mor off ther purpos they gane speke,
The Holy Sacrament for to bye;
And all for [that] þe[1] wolde be wreke,
A grete sume off gold begune down ley.

Primus. Thys Crysten merchante consentyd, þe sothe to sey,
And in þe nyght after made hym delyuerance.
Theis Jewes all grete joye made they;
But off thys betyde a stranger chance;
They grevid our Lord gretly on grownd,
And put hym to cruel G passyon;
With daggers gouen hym many a grieuyos wound;
Nayed hym to a pyller, with pynsons plukked hym doune.

Secundus. And sythe thay toke þat blysed brede so sowunde
And in a cawdron they ded hym boyle!  He boyled the Holy Wafer in a cauldron,
In a clothe full just they yt wounde,
And so they ded hym sethe in oyle;
And than thay putt hym to a new tormentry,
In an hoote onyn speryd hym fast.
Ther be appyred with woundis blody;
The oyny rofe asondre & all tobrast.

Primus. Thus in ouer lawe they wer made stedfast;
The Holy Sacrament shewyd them grette faueur;
In contrcryon thyr hertis wer cast
And went & shewyd ther lyues to a confesour.
Thus be maracle off pe Kyng of Hevyn,
And by myght and power govyn to pe prestis nowthe,
In an howshead wer convertyd i-wys elevyn.¹
At Rome pis myracle ys knowen well kowthe. 56

Secundus. Thys maryele at Rome was presented, for sothe,
Yn the yere of your² Lord, a M¹ ece xlii.³
That pe Jewes hat Holy Sacrament dyd with,⁴
In the forest seyd of Aragon.
Below thus God at a tyme showyd hym there,
Thorwhe his mercy & his mekyll myght;
Unto the Jewes he gan⁵ appere
That pei shuld nat lesse his hevenly lyght. 64

Primus. So therfor, frendis, with all your myght
Vnto yourer gostly father shewe your synne;
Beth in no wanhope daye nor nyght.
No maner off dowghtis hat Lord put in:
For hat pe dowghtis pe Jewys than in stode.—
As ye shall se pleyd, both more and lesse,—
Was yff pe Sacrament wer fleshe & blode;
Therfor they put yt to suche dystresse. 68

Secundus. And yt place yow, thys gauleryng hat here ys,
At Croxston on Monday yt shall be sen;
To sen the conclusyon of pis lytell processe
Hertely welcum shall yow bene. 76

May Christ save you
and bring you to Heavenly bliss.

Now Ihesu yow sawe from treyn⁶ & tene,
To send vs hys hyhe ioyes of hevyne,
There myght ys withouton mynd to mene!
Now, minstrel, blow vp with a mery steyyn! 80

Explicit.⁷

¹ MS. I wyll wys XI; but wyll is crossed out.
² Manly corrects to ouer.
³ MS. has M¹ ece .c. lxi. But the dots before and after the 5th e mean that it is a mistake.
⁴ Cf. v. 627; where with is also apparently allowed to "jingle" with soth.
⁵ MS. guyn. Manly, as above.
⁶ Holthausen trey.
⁷ Written to the right.
Here after foloweth pe Play of pe Comurersyon of Ser Jonathas pe Jewe by Myracle of pe Blyssed Sacrament.

Aristorius Mercator. Now Cryst, þat ys ouer Creatour, from shame he cure us;
He maynteyn vs with myrth þat meve upon þe mold;
Unto hys endlesse joye myghtly he restore vs,
All tho þat in hys name in peas well them hold; 4

For of a merchante most myght therof my tale ys told,
In Eraclea ys non suche, woso wyll vnderstond,
For off all Aragon I am most myghty of syluer & of gold,—
For, & yt were a counyte to by, now wold I nat wond. 8

Syr Arystory is my name,
A merchante myghty of a royall araye;
Ful wyde in pis worlde spryngyth my fame,
Fere kend and knowen, þe sothe for to saye. 12

In all maner of londis, without ony naye,
My merchandyse renneth, þe sothe for to tell;
In Gene and in Jenyse and in Genewaye,
In Surrey and in Saby and in Salern I sell; 16

In Antyoch & in Almayn moch ys my myght,
In Braban & in Brytayn I am full bold,
In Calabre and in Coleyn þer rynge I full ryght,
In Dordrede & in Denmark be þe chyffe told; 20

1 MS. Scyere. Manly as above.
In Alyssander I haue abundauanse in the wyde world.
In France & in Farre fresshe be my flower[is],
In Gyldre and in Galys haue I bowght & sold,
In Hamborowhe & in Holond moche merchantdyse
is owris;
In Jerusalem and in Jherico among the Jewes gentle,
Among the Caldeys and Catclyngis kend ys my
komyng;
In Raynes & in Rome to Seynt Petyrs temple,
I am knownen certenly for bying and sellyng;
In Mayne and in Melan full mery haue I be;
Owt of Navern to Naples moch good ys pat I
bryng;
In Pondere and in Portyngale moche ys my gle;
In Spayne & in Spruce moche ys my spedyng;
In Lombardy & in Lachborun there ledde ys my
lykyng;
In Taryfe & in Turkey, there told ys my tale;
And in po dukedom of Oryon moche have I in weldyng;
And thus thorowght all pis world sett ys my sale.
No man in thys world may weld more rychesse;
All I thank God of hys grace, for he yt me sent;
And as a lordis pere thus lyve I in worthynesse.
My curat wayteth1 uppon me to know myn entent;
And men at my weldyng, & all ys me lent
My well for to worke in thys worlde so wyde.
Me dare they not dysplese by no condescent.
And who so doth, he ys not able to abyde.

Presbyter. No man shall you tary ne toroble thyse tyde,
But every man delygently shall do yow plesance;
And I vnto my connyng to pe best shall hem guyde
Vnto Godis plesyng to serve to attruenezance.
For ye be worthy and notable in substance of good,
Of merchantes of Aragon ye have no pere,—
And therof thank God pat dyed on pe roode,
That was your makere and hath yow dere.

1 MS. wayteth.  2 MS. conyng: obviously a slip.
Aristorius. For soth, syr prystr, yower talkyng ys good;
And therfor after your talkyngr I wyll atteyn
To wourshype my God that dyed on pe roode,
Neuer wylly pat I lyve ageyn pat wyll I seyn. 56

But, Peter Powle, my clark, I praye the goo wrepleyn
Thorowght all Eraclea, that thow ne wonde,
And wytte yff ony merchant be come to pis reyn
Of Surrey or of Sabe or of Shelysdown. 60

Clericus. At youer wyll for to walke I wyl not say nay,
Smertly to go serche at pe wateris syde;
Yff ony pleasant bargyn be to your paye,
As swyftly as I can I shall hym to yow guyde. 64

Now wyll I walke by thes pathes wyde,
And seke the haven both vp and down,
To wette yff ony on knowp shyppes therin do ryde
Of Surrey or of Saby [or] of Shelysdown. 68

Now shall pe merchantis man withdrawe hym and the
Jewe Jonathas shall make hys bost.

Jonathas. Now, almyghty Machomet, marke in pi mageste,
Whose laws tendrely I have to fulfyll,
After my detachere I have to fulfyll,
My soale for to save yff yt be thy wyll:
For my entent ys for to fulfyll,
As my gloryus God the to honer,
To do agen thy entent, yt should gr[e]ne me yll,
Or agen thyne lawe for to reporte.
For I thanke the hayly pat hast me sent
Gold, syluer & presyous stonyks,
& abu[n]ddance of spycis pou hast me lent,
As I shall rehearse before yow onys:
I have amatystis, rych for pe nonys,
And baryllis that be bryght of ble;
And saphyre semely, I may show yow attonys,
And crystalys clere for to se;
I have dyamantis dereworthy so to dresse,
And emerawdys, rych I trow they be,
Onyx and achatis\(^1\) both more & lesse,  
Topazyons, smaragdis of grete degre,  
Perlys precyous grete plente;  
Of rubes ryche I have grete renown;  
Crepawdis & calcedonyes semely to se,  
And cyrouys carbunclyys here ye fynd moren;  
Spycis I hawe both grete and smale  
In my shyppes, the sothe for to saye,  
Gyngere, lyc oresse and cannyngale,  
And fygis fatte to plesse yow to paye;  
Peper and saffyron & spycis smale,  
And datis wole dulcett for to dresse,  
Almundis and reys, full euery male,  
And reysones both more & lesse:  
Clowys, grenynis & gynger grene,  
Mace, mastyk that myght ys,  
Synymone, suger, as yow may sene,  
Long peper and Indas lycorys;  
Orengis and apples of grete apryce,  
Pungarnetis & many other spycis,—  
To tell yow all I haue now, i wys,  
And moche other merchandyse of sundry spycis.  
Jew Jonathas ys my name,\(^2\)  
Jazun & Jazdun pei waytyyn on my wyH,  
Masfat & Malchus they do the same,  
As ye may knowe yt ys bothe ryght & skyH.  
I tell yow aH, bi dal and by hylle,  
In Eraclea ys noon so moche of myght.  
Werfor ye owe tenderli to tende me tyH,  
For I am chefe merchante of Jewes, I tell yow be ryght.  
But Jazun & Jazdun, a mater wolde I mene,—  
Mervelously yt ys ment in mynde,—  
\(^1\) MS. ajachatis.  
\(^2\) MS. has: Jew Jonathas ys my ys name; but the second ys is crossed out.
Croxton Play of the Sacrament.

The belief of these Christians is false. They believe in a cake, and say the priest can make of it flesh and blood.

A straw for tales!

Could we but get possession of it.

And thus be a concytye pe wolde make vs blynd,—
And how that yt shuld be he that deyed upon pe rode.

Jasun. Yea, yea, master, a strawe for talis!
That ma not fale in my beleve;
But myt we yt gete onys within our pales,
I trowe we shuld sone after putt yt in a prewe. 128

Jasun. Now, be Machomete so myghty, pat ye doon of mene,
I wold I wyste how that we myght yt gete;
I swer be my grete God, & ellys mote I nat chewe
But wyghtly theron wold I be wrek. 132

Masphat. Yea, I dare say feythfulli pat ther feyth [ys fals]; 3
That was neuer he that on Caluery was kyld,
Or in bred for to be blode yt ys ontrewe als;
But yet with ther wyles pei wold we were wyld. 136

Malchus. Yea, I am myghty Malchus, pat boldly am byld;
That brede for to bete byggly am I bent.
Onys out of ther handys & yt myght be exyled,
To help castyn yt in care wold I consent. 140

Jonat[as]. Well, syrse, than kypo cunsel, I cummande yow all,
& no word of all thys be wys.
But let us walke to see Arystories hath,
& affterward more conseH among vs shall caste. 144

1 The first part of this verse is written at the bottom of the preceding page, and then repeated at the top of this.
2 MS. had at first *in a pipe*: this was then crossed out, and the above substituted.
3 Manly's suggestion: MS. is incomplete.
I must strike a bargain.

With hym to bey & to sel I am of powere prest:
  A bargyn with hym to make I wyll assaye;
For gold & syluer I am nothyng agast
  But pat we shall get pat cake to ower paye.

Her shall ser Ysodyr, pe prest speke out[o] ser Arystori,
seynge on thys wyse to hym; & Jonathas[g] as goo don of his
stage.

Presbiter. Syr, be yowr leue, I may [nat] lengere dwell;
  Yt ys fer paste none, yt ys tyme to go to cherche,
Ther to saye myn evynsong, forsothe as I yow tell,
  And syth come home ageyne, as I am wont to werche.

Sir, go as you please,

but come again to sup with me.

Aristorius. Sir Isydor, I pryce yow walke at your wylle
  For to serfe God yt ys well done,
And Syr com agene, ye shall suppe your fylle,
  And walke then to yo[u]r chamber as ye are wont
to doon.

Her shall the marchant men mete with pe Jewes.

Jonathas. A! Petre Powle, good daye and wele i-mett!
  Wer ys thy master, as I the pray?

Clericus. Loy[g] from hym haue I not lett
  Syt I cam from hym, pe sothe for to saye.

Wat tidying with yow, ser, I yow praye,
  Afster my master pat ye doo frayen?

Haue ye ony bargen pat wer to hys paye?
  Let me haue knowlech; I shall wete hym to seyn.

Jonathas. I haue bargenes royalle and ry[c]h
  For a marchante with to bye and sell;
In all thys lond is ther non lyke
  Off abundance of good, as I will tell.

Her shall pe clerk goon to ser Arystori, saluting him thus:

Clericus. All hayll, master, & wel mot yow be!
  Now tydyngis can I yow tell:
  pe grettest marchante in all Surre
  Ys come with yow to bey & sell:

1 MS. they.
Croxton Play of the Sacrament.

Syr Jonathas ys hys nam,
A marchant of ryght gret fame;
This tale ryght well he me told.
He wolle sell yow, without blame,
Plente of clothe of golde.¹

Arístorius. Petre Powle, I can pe thanke!
I prey pe rychly araye myn haH
As owyth for a marchant of the banke;
Lete non defawte be found at alH. 177

Clericus. Sekyrly, master, no more ther shall!
Styffly about I thynke to stere,
Hasterli to hange your parlour with pall,
As longeth for a lordis pere. 181

Here shall pe Jewe merchante & his men come to pe
Cristen merchante.

Jonathas. AH haylle, syr Aristorye, semele to se,
The myghtyest merchante off Arigon!
Off yower welfare fayyn wet wold we,
And to bargeyn with you pis day am I boun. 189

Arístorius. Sir Jonathas, ye be wellecum vnto myn haH!
I pray yow come vp & sit bi me,
And teH me wat good ye haue to selH,
And yf ony bargeyn² mad may be. 193

Jonathas. I haue clothe of gold, precyous stons & spycis plente.
Wyth yow a bargen wold I make;—
I wold bartere wyth yow in pryvyte
On lyteH thyng, ye wylle me yt take. 197

Prevely on pis stownd
And I wolde sure yow be thys lyght,
Neuer dystrie yow daye nor nyght,
But be sworne to yow full ryght
& geve yow twenti pownde.³

¹ Verses 173 and 177 are written to the right of the others.
² MS. bargeny.
³ MS. xx1li.
Aristorius. Ser Jonathas, sey me for my sake,
What maner of marchandis ys *pat* ye mene?

And thys good anoon shall yow seen.

Nay, that shall not be, not for a hundred pounds.

[Aristorius.] Nay, in feyth, *pat* shall not bene.
I wollnot for an hundder pownd
To stond in fere my Lord to tene;
& for so lyte a walew in conseyen[e]c to stond bownd.

Jonathas. Ser, *ye* entent ys if I myght knowe or vnder-
take,
Yf *pat* he were God aH-myght;
Off all my mys I woll amende make
& doone hym wourshepe bothe day & nyght.

I would like to prove God Almighty,
and then amende my life.

Jonathas. Ser, for *ye* entent ys *pat* ye make?
Forty pownd, & pay *yt* fulryght,
Evyn for *pat* Lorde sake.

Nay, nay, Jonathas, there-agen;
I wold not for an hundder pownd.

Jonathas. Ser, hir ys yower askyng toolde pleyn,
I shall yt tell in this stownd.

1 MS. xl. li. 2 MS. C.
Here is a hundred pounds, neither more nor less, of Doketti is good, I dare well saye;
Tell ye ter yow from me passe;
Me thynketh yt a royalle araye. 238

But first, I pray yow, tell me this: Off thys thyng whan shalt I hafe delyuerance?
Aristorius.  To morowe betymes; I shall not myse; This nyght therfor I shall make purveance. 242

Syr Isodyr he ys now at chyrch, There seyng hys evensong, As yt ys worshpe for to werche;
He shall sone cum home, he wyll nat be long, 246
Hys soper for to eate;
And when he ys buskyd to hys bedde,
Ryght sone there after he shalbe spedil.—
No speche among yow ther be spredd;
To kepe your toungis ye nott lett. 251

Jonathas. Syr, almyghty Machomyght be with yow! And I shalle come agayn ryght sone.
Aristorius. Jonathas, ye wott what I haue sayd, & how I shall walke for that we haue to donn. 255

Here goeth pe Ie wys away & pe preste commyth home.
 Presbiter. Syr, Almyghty God mott be yower gyde And glad yow where-soo ye rest!
Aristorius. Syr, ye be welcom home thys tyde.
Now, Peter, gett vs wyne of the best. 259

Clericus. Syr, here ys a drawte of Romney Red,
Ther ys no better in Aragon,
And a lofe of lyght bred,—
Yt ys holesame as sayeth pe fespercyoun. 263

Aristorius. Drynke of, Ser Isoder, and be of good chere!
Thys Romney ys good to goo with to reste;
Ther ys no precyouser fer nor nere,
For alle wykkyd metys yt wylle degest. 267

1 MS. C. li.
2 Verses 247 and 251 are written in the margin to the right.

Croxton Play of the Sacrament.
The wine is good. Presbiter. Syr, thys wyne ys good at a taste,
And ther-of haue I drunke ryght welle.

I go to bed: To bed to gone thus haue I cast,
Eyn strayt after thys inery mele.

God send you good-night. Now, Ser, I pray to God send yow good nyght: 1
For to my chamber now wyH I gone.

God shield you, Sir, evermore. Aristorius. Ser, with yow be God almyght,
And shield yow euuer from your fone.

[Exit the priest.] Here shall Aristorius call hys clarke to hys presens.

Howe, Peter! In the ys all my trust,
In especyaH to kepe my conseH:
For a ltyH waye walkyne I must.
I wyH not be longe; trust as I the teH. 279

[He goes toward the church.] Now preuely wyH I preue my pace,
My bargayn thys nyght for to fulfyH.
Ser Isoder shalH nott know of thys case,
For he hath oftyn sacred as pat ys skyH. 283

The chyrche key ys at my wyH;
Ther ys no thyenge pat we shalH tary,
I wyH nott abyde by dale nor hyH
TyH yt be wrowght, by Saynt Mary! 287

Here shal he enter ye chyrche & take ye Hoost.

Ah! now haue I aH myn entent;
Vnto Jonathas now wyH I fare;
To fuHfyH my bargayn haue I ment,
For pat mony wyH amend my fare,
As thynkyth me. 2 292

[Exit from the church.]

But nowe wyH I passe by thes pathes playne;
To mete with Jonathas I wold fayne.
Ah! yonder he commyth in certayne;
Me thynkyth I hym see. 2 296

1 MS. has rest. 2 Written in the margin to the right.
Croxton Play of the Sacrament.

Welcome, Jonathan,
For well and trewly you keepst thyn howre;
Here ys the Host, sacred, newe,
Now wyH I home to halle & bowre.

Jonathas. And I shal kepyst thys trusty treasure
As I wold doo my gold and fee.
Now in thys clothe I shal the couer,
That no wyght shal the see.

Here shall Arystory goo hym waye & Jonathas and hys
servantis shal goo to pe tabylle pus sayng:

Jonathas. Now, Jason & Jasdon, ye be Jewys jentyH,
Masfatt & Malchus, that myghty arm in mynd,
Thys merchant from the Crysten temple
Hathe gott vs thys bred that make us thus blynd.

Now, Jason, as jentyH as ever was the lynde,
Into the forsayd parlowr preuely take thy pase;
Spred a clothe on the tabylH pat ye shalphere fynd,
& we shal folow after to carpe of thys case.

Now pe Jewys goon & lay the Ost on pe tabylH, sayng:

Jonathas. Sirys, I praye yow aH, harkyn to my sawe!
Thes Crysten men carpyn of a mervelows case;
They say pat pis ys Ihesu pat was attaynted in ower lawe
& pat thys ys he pat crwcyfyed was.

On thes wordys there lawe growndyd hath he
That he sayd on Sherethursday at hys soper:
He brak the brede & sayd Accipite,
And gave hys dyscyplys them for to chere:

And more he sayd to them there,
Whyle they were aH together & sum,
Syttyng at the table soo clere,
Comedite, Corpus meum.

And thys powre he gaue Peter to proclaime,
And how the same shuld be suffycyent to aH prechors;
The bysshoppys and curatis saye the same,
And soo, as I vnderstond, do aH hys progenytors.
Some men say another law: that he was born of a virgin.

They say of a maydyn borne was hee,
& how Joachyms dowghter shuld be hys mother,
& how GabreH apperyd & sayd Ave;

& with a word she shuld conceyuyd be,
& in hyr shuld lyght the Holy Gost,—
Ageyns over law thys ys false heresy,—
And yett they saye he ys of myghtis most.

They say He is our King,

and that He appeared to Thomas and Mary Magde-
This ye know is heresy.

He sent them wit to understand all languages,

and He likened Himself to a lord.

They believe Him wiser than the Sybil, and stronger than Alexander.

This same bread shall be our judge at the Judg-

Because Philip said for a joke: "jude-
care vivos et mortuos."

Jason. Yea, sum men in a law rehearse another:
They say of a maydyn borne was hee,
& how Joachyms dowghter shuld be hys mother,
& how GabreH apperyd & sayd Ave;

& with a word she shuld conceyuyd be,
& in hyr shuld lyght the Holy Gost,—
Ageyns over law thys ys false heresy,—
And yett they saye he ys of myghtis most.

Jasdon. They saye pat Ihesu to be ower kyng,
But I wene he bowght pat fuH dere.
But they make a royaiH aray of hys vprysyng ;
& that in euery place ys prechyd farre & nere. 340

& how he to hys dyscyples agayn dyd appere,
To Thomas and to Mary Mawdelen,
& syth how he styed by hys own powre ;
And thys, ye know well, ys heresy fuH playn. 344

Masphat. Yea & also they saye he sent them wytt &

wysdom
For to vnderstond euery language ;
When pe Holy Gost to them came,

They faryd as dronk men of pymente or vernage ;

& sythen how pat he lykenyd hymself a lord of perage,
On hys fatherys ryght hond he hym sett.

They hold hym wyser pan euer was Syble sage,
& stronger than Alexander, pat aH pe wor[1]de ded
gett.

Malchus. Yea, yet they saye as fols, I dare laye my

hedde,
How they that be ded shaH com agayn to Judg-

ment,
And ower dreadyfuH Judge shalbe thys same brede,

And how lyfe euerylastyng them shuld be lent. 356

& thus they hold, all at on consent,
Because that Phyllype sayd for a lytyH glosse—
To turn vs from owr beleve ys ther entent,—

For that he sayd, "judecare vivos et mortuos." 360
Jonathas. Now, seris, ye haue rehersyd the substance of their lawe,\(^1\)

But thys bred I wold myght be put in a prefe
Whether pis be he that in Bosra of vs had aue. 363
Ther staynyd were hys clothys, pis may we belefe;

Thys may we know, ther had he grefe,
For owre old bookys veryfy thus,—
Theron he was jugett to be hangyd as a thefe,—
"Tinctis Bosra vestibus." 368

Jason. Yff pat thys be he that on Caluery was mad red,
Onto my mynd, I shaH kenne yow a conceyt good:
Surely with owre daggers we shaH ses on thys brede,
& so with clowtis we shaH know yf he haue eny blood.

Jasdon. Now, by Machomyth so myghty, pat meuyth in my mode!
Thys ys masterly ment, thys matter thus to meue:
& with owre strokys we shaH fray hym as he was on the rode,
That he was on don with grett repreue. 372

Masphat. Yea, I pray yow, smyte ye in the myddys of pe cake,
& so shaH we smyte peron woundys fyve:
We wyH not spare to wyrke yt wrake,
To prove in thys brede yt per be eny lyfe. 380

Malchus. Yea, goo we to, than, and take owre\(^2\) space,
& looke owre daggaris be sharpe & kene:
& when eche man a stroke smytte hase,
In pe mydyl part there-of owre master shaH bene. 383

Jonathas. When ye haue all smytyn, my strokeshalbe sene;
With pis same dagger that ys so styf & strong,
In pe myddys of thys prynt I thynke for to prene;
On lashe I shaH hym ymende or yt be long. 388

\(^1\) MS. has our lawe. \(^2\) MS. yower.
Here shall ye iiiij Jewys pryke per daggeris in iiiij quarters, thus saying:

Jason. Have at yt! Have at yt, with all my myght!
Thys syde I hope for to seye!

Jason. & I shall with thys blade so bryght
Thys other syde freshely aseze!

Masphat. & I yow plyght I shal hym not please,
For with thys punche I shal hym pryke.

Malchus. & with thys augur I shall hym not ease,
Another buffett shall he lykke.

Jonathas. Now am I bold with batayle hym to bleyke,
His mydle part alle for to prene;
A stowte stroke also for to stryke,—
In pe myddlys yt shalbe sene!

Here pe Ost must blede.

Out! harrow! what devil is this?
It bleeds.

Ah! owt! owt! harrow! what deuyH ys thys?
Of thys wyrk I am on were;
Yt bledyth as yt were woode, I wys;
But yt ye helpe, I shalH dyspayre.

A fire and a cauldron!
I will help to cast it in.

Jasón. A fyre! a fyre! & that in bаст!
Anoon a caudron fulH of oyle!

Jasdon. And I shalle helpe yt wer in cast,
All pe iij howris for to boyle!

Here is a furnace and cauldron.
Where art thou, Malchus?
Here are four gallons of oil; blow up the fire:
bring that cake here.

Masphat. Yea, here is a furneys stowte & strong,
And a caudron therin dothe hong!

Malc[h]us. Loo, here ys iiiij galons off oyle clere!

Manly, with all yowre myghthe.

1 MS. angus. Perhaps a mis-copying of augur.
2 Written to the right in the margin. 3 Manly.
Croxton Play of the Sacrament.

Jonathas. And I shall bryng pat ylke cak
And throw yt in, I undertake.
Out! Out! yt werketh me wrake!
I may not awoyd yt owt of my hond.
I wylle goo drenche me in a lake.
And in woodnesse I gyynne to wake!
I rene, I lepe ouer þis land.

And I shall bryng yt ylke cak
I begin to go mad.
I cannot cast it from my hand.

Her he renneth wood, with the Ost in hys hond.

Jason. Renne, felawes, renne, for Cokki's peyn!
Fast we had ower mayster agene!
Hold prestly on thys pleyn
& faste bynd hym to a poste.

Jasdon. Here is an hamer & nauys iij, I s[e]ye;
Lyfte vp hys armys, felawe, on hey,
WhyH I dryne þes nauyles, I yow praye,
With strong1 strokis fast.

Masphat. Now set on, felouse, with mayne & myght,
And pluke hys armes awey in syght!
Wat! I se he twycehe, felovse, a-ryght!
Alas, balys breweth ryght hadde!

Here shalt thay pluke þe arme, & þe hand shalle hang
stylle with þe Sacrament.

Malchus. Alas, alas, what deuyll ys thys?
Now hat[h] he but oon hand i-wyse!
For sothe, mayster, ryght woo me is
bat ye þis harme haue hadde.

Jonathas. Ther ys no more; I must enduer!
Now hastely to ower chamber let us gon;
Tyff I may get me sum recuer;
And therfor charge yow euery-choon
That yt be conseH that we have doon.

Here shall þey lechys man come into þe place sayng:

Colle. Aha! here ys a fayer felawshyppe,
Thewhe I be nat sh[a]ryn, I lyst to sleppe:
I haue a master I wold he had þe pyppe,
I tell yow in consel.

1 Crossed out in the MS.
My master is a man of science; but of no thrift.

He ys a man off all syence,
But off thryfte—I may with yow dyspence!
He syttyth with sum tapstere in pe spence:
Hys hoode there wyH he sel.

Master Brandyche of Brabant is his name.

Mastery Brendyche of Braban,
I telle yow he ys pat same man,
Called pe most famous phesy[cy]an
pat euer sawe uryne.

He sees as well at noon as at nyght,
And sumtyme by a candelleyt
Can gyff a judgingment aryght—
As he pat hathe noo eyn.

He is a bone-setter,

He ys allso a boone-setter;
I knowe no man go pe better;
In every tauerne he ys detter;
Dat ys a good tokenyng.

But euer I wonder he ys so long;
I fere ther gooth sum-thyng awrong,
For he hath dysa[rv]yd to be hong,—
God send neuer worse tydyng!

He had a lady late in cure;
I wot by pis she ys full sure;
There shall neuer Crysten creature
Here hyr tell no tale.

If I stood here till mid-night, I could not tell my master's cunning insight in good ale.

And I stode here tyH mydnyght,
I cowde not declare aryght
My masteris cunying insyght—
Dat he hat[h] in good ale.

What devil delayeth him!

But what deyull delayeth hym, so long to tarye!
A seekman myght soone myscury.
Now alle pe deuyllys of hell hym waris
God gine me my boon!

We will make a cry.

I trowe best, we mak a crye:
Yf any man can hym aspye
Led hym to pe pylere[ye]:
In fayth, yt shall be don.

1 MS. appears to have can I aspye.
Here shalle he stond vp & make proclamation, seyng thys:

Colle. Yff therbe eyther man or woman
That sawe Master Brundyche of Braban,
Or owyht of hym tel can,
    Shall wele be quit hys mede;
He hath a cut berd & a flatte noose,
A therde-bare gowne & a rente hoose;
He spekyt[h] neuere good matere nor purpose;
    To pe pyllle ye hym led[e].

Has any man seen master Brundyche?

He has a cut beard, flat nose, thread-bare gown and rent hose.

[The master has entered during the proclamation.]

Master Brundyche. What, thu boye, what! janglest here?

Colle[e]. A! master, master, but to your reverence!
I wend neuer to a seen your goodly chere,
    Ye tared hen so long.

Master Brundyche. What hast thou sayd in my absense?

Colle[e]. Nothyng, master, but to your reverence,
    I haue told all pis audiense—
    And some lyes among.

What, babblest thou here?

Alas, master, ye tarry so long.

Not thing but to your reverence—and some lies as well.

[The master has entered during the proclamation.]

Master Brundyche. I warant she neuer fele anoyment.

Colle[e]. Why, ys she in hyr graue?

Master Brundyche. I haue gyven hyr a drynke made full
  weH
Wyth seamely and with oxennell,
Letuce, sauge and pymperneH.

Colle. Nay, than she yt fuH saue,

I haue given her a drink of seamely and oxennell, etc.

Then she is safe.

For, now ye ar cum, I dare weH saye
Betwyn Douyr & Calyce pe ryght wey
Dwellyth non so cunningyng, be my fey,
    In my judgymet.

Between Calais and Dover there dwells no man so cunning as you.

Master Brundyche. Cuanyng? Yea, yea, & with pratise;
I haue sauid many a manys lyfe.

Colle[e]. On wydowes, maydes and wy[v]se
Yowr cuanyng yow haue nyhe spent.
Master Brundythe. Were ys bowgitt with drynke pro-
fytable?
Coll[e]. Here master, master, ware how ye tugg.
The devyh, I crowe, within shrugg,
For yt gooth rebyh rable.

Master Brundythe. Here ys a grete congregacyon,
And all be not hole, without negacyon ;
I wold have certyfycacyon :
Stond vp & make a proclamacion.
Haue do faste, and make no pausa[c]yon,
But wyghtly make a declaracion
To all people pat helpe w[o]ld de haue.

Hic interim proclamationem faciet.

Coll[e]. All manar off men pat haue any syknes,
To Master Brentberecly loke pat yow redresse.
What dyssesse or syknesse pat euer ye haue,
He wyll neuer leue yow tyh ye be in yow[r] graue.
Who hat[h] pe canker, pe colye, or pe laxe,
The tercyan, pe quartan, or pe brynny[?i]g axs,—
For worrays, for gnawyng, gryndyng in pe wombe or
in pe boldyro—
Alle maner red eyn, bleryd eyn, and the myregrym
also,
For hedache, bonache, & therto pe tothache,—
The colt-cuyll, and the brostyn men he wyll undertak,
All tho pat [haue] pe poose, pe sneke, or pe teseke,—
Thowh a man w[e]re ryght heyle, he cowd soone make
hym seke.
Inquyre to pe Tolkote, for ther ys hys loggyng,
A lytyh bysye BabweH MyH, yf ye wyll haue underst-
dyng.

Master Brundythe. Now, yff therbe ether man or
woman
That nedethe helpe of a phesycsion—
Coll[e]. Mary, master, pat I tell can,
& ye wyll unnderstond.1

1 Written to the right in the margin.
Master Brundyche. Knowest thou any about this place?
Coll[e]. Ye, pater I do, master, so haue grase;
Here ys a Jewe, hyght Jonathas,
Hath lost hys ryght hond. 549

Master Brundyche. Fast to hym I wold inquere.
Coll[e]. For God, master, þe gate ys hyre.
Master Brundyche. Than to hym I wyþ go nere. 552
My master, wele mot yow be!

Jonathas. What doost here, felawe? what woldest thu hanne?
Master Brundyche. Syr, yf yow nede any surgeon or physycyan,
Off yow[r] dysese help yow welle I cane,
What hurtis or hermes so-euer they be. 557

Jonathas. Syr, thu art ontawght to come in thus henly,
Or to pere in my presence thus malapertly.
Voydeth from my syght, & þat wyghtly,
For ye be mysse-a-ysed. 561

Coll. Syr, þe hurt of yowr hand ys knownen fulþ ryfe,
And my master have saunyd many a manes lyfe.
Jonathas. I trowe ye be cum to make sum stryfe.
Hens fast, lest þat ye be chastysed. 565

Coll[e]. Syr, ye know weþ yt can nott mysse;
Men that be masters of scyens be proftyable.
In a pott yf yt please yow to pysse,
He can teþ yf yow be curable. 569
[Jonathas.] Avoysde, fealows, I love not yower bable!
Brushe them hens bothe & þat anon!
Gyff them ther reward þat they were gone! 572

Here shall þe iij Jewys beth away þe leche & hys man.

Jonathas. Now haue don, felawys, & þat anon,
For dowte of drede what after befall! 576
I am nere masyd, my wytte ys gon;
Therfor of helpe I pray yow aþ.

And take yowr pynsonys þat ar so sure,
& pluck owt the maylys won & won;
Also in a cloke ye yt cure
& throw yt in þe cawdron, & þat anon. 580
Here shall Jason plucke out the naylys & shake the hand into the cawdron.

Jason. And I shall rape me redely anon
To plucke owt the naylys that stond so fast,
& bear thyss bred & also thyss bone
& into the cawdron I wyth yt cast. 584

Jason. And I shall with thyss dagger so stowte
Putt yt down that yt myght plawe,
& steare the clothe rounde abowte
That nothyng ther-of shalbe rawe. 588

Masphat. And I shall manly, with all my myght;
Make the fyre to blase & brenne,
& sett thervnder suche a lyght
That yt shall make yt ryght thynne. 592

Here shall he cawdron byle, apperyng to be as blood.

Malchas. Owt & harow! what deuyH ys here-in?
Alle thyss oyle waxyth redde as blood,
& owt of the cawdron yt begymyth to rinn.
I am so aferd I am nere woode. 596

Here shall Jason & hys compeny goo to ser Jonathas saying:

Jason. Ah! master, master, what there ys with yow,
I can not see owr werke wyll avayle;
I beseche yow avance yow now
Sumwhat with owr counsayle. 600

Jonathas. The best counsayle that I now wott,
That I can deme, farre & nere,
Ys\(^1\) to make an ovyn as redd hott
As euer yt can be made with fere; 604

And when ye see yt soo hott appere,
Then throw yt into the ovyn fast,—
Sone shall he stanche hys bledyng chere,—
When ye haue done, stoppe yt,—be not agast! 608

\(^1\) Was written by the scribe in the preceding verse, but its proper place is evidently here.
Croxton Play of the Sacrament.

Jasdon. Be my fayth, yt shalbe wrowght,[t], & that anon, in gret hast.
Bryng on fyryng, seri's, here ye nowght?
To hethe thys ovyn be nott agast.

Masphat. Here is straw & thornys kene:
Come on, Malchas, & bryng on fyre,
For that shall hethe yt well, I wene;

Here be kyndyH pe fyre.
Blow on fast, that done yt were!

Malchas. Ah, how! thys fyre gynnyth to brenne clere!
Thys ovyn ryght hotte I thynk to make.
Now, Jason, to the ca urzęd hat ye stere
And fast fetche hether that ylke cake.

Here shaH Jason goo to pe caوعدron and take owt the Ost
with hys pynsonys and cast yt in-to the ovyn.

Jason. I shaH with thes pynsonys without dowt,
Shake thys cake owt of thys clothe,
& to the ovyn I shaH yt rowte
And stoppe hym there, thow he be loth.

Thys cake I haue caught here in good sothe,—
The hand ys soden, the fleshe from pe bonys,—
Now into the ovyn I wyH therwith.
Stoppe yt, Jasdon, for the nonys!

Jasdon. I stoppe thys ovyn, wythowtyn dowt,
With clay I clone yt vppe ryght fast,
That non heat shaH cum owte.
I trow there shaH he hethe & drye in hast!

Here the ovyn must ryve asunder & blede owt at pe cranys,
& an image appere owt with woundis bledyng.

Masphat. Owt! owt! here is a grete wonder!
Thys ovyn bledeyth owt on every syde!

Malchas. Yea, pe ovyn on peacys gynnyth to ryve asundere;
Thys ys a mervelows case thys tyde.
Here shall ye image speke to the Jews sayng thus:

Jhesus. O mirabiles Judei, attendite et videte
Si est dolor sicut dolor meus.

Oh Jews, why are ye unkind to your King?
Why are ye so bitterly bowt to my blysse?
Why will ye not believe?
Why do ye torture Me?
Why do ye not believe?
Why do ye blaspheme and torment Me?

While I was with you, ye did me injury.
Why do ye not believe that I haue tawght,
Why do ye thus?
Why put ye to a new tormentry,
And I dyed for ye on the crosse?
Why consyder not ye what I dyd crye?

Thou art my protector, of whom shall I be afraid?

Let us baptize our hearts with our tears.

Here shall they knele down aH on ther knyes, sayng:—

Jason. Ah! Lord, with sorow & care & grete wepyng
AH we felawyss lett vs saye thus,
With condolent harte & grete sorowyng:

Lacrimis nostris conscienciam nostram baptizemus!

1 MS. has similis.  2 MS. has mee.
Croxton Play of the Sacrament.

Jasdon. Oh thou blyssyd Lord of mykyH myght,
    Of thy gret mercy, thou hast shewed vs þe path,
Lord, owt of grevous slepe & owt of dyrknes to lyght,
    Ne gravis sompns irruit.

Masphat. Oh Lord, I was very cursyd, for I wold know þi crede.
    I can no men[i]ys make, but crye to the thus:
O gracyows Lorde, forgyfe me my mysdele!
    With lamentable hart: miserere mei, Deus! Have mercy on me, O God!
Malchas. Lord, I haue offendyd the in many a sundry wyse,
    That styckyth at my hart as hard as a core.
Lord, by þe water of contryc[i]on let me aryse:
    Asparges me, Domine, ysopo, et mundabor. Cleanse me with hyssop, O Lord.

Jesus. All ye that desyryn my seruantis for to be
    And to fulfyH þe preceptis of my lawys,
The intent of my commandement knowe ye:
    Ite et ostendite vos suacerditobus meis. Go show yourselves to my priests.
To all yow þat desyre in eny wyse
    To aske mercy, to graunt yt redy I am.
Remember & lett yower wytty/s suffyce,
    Et tune non auertam a vobis faciem mean. I will not turn away my face from you.

Syr Jonathas, on thyn hand thow art but lame,
    And þis thorow thyn own cruelnesse.
For thyn hurt þow mayest þi-selfe blame,
    Thow woldyst preve thy power me to oppresse; 693
But now I consydre thy nesses;
    Thow wasshest thyn hart with grete contryc[i]on;
Go to the cawdron,—þi care shalbe the lesse,—
    And towche thyn hand to thy saluac[i]on. 697 go to the cauldron and touch thy hand to thy salvation.

Here shall ser Jonathas put hys hand in-to þe cawdron, and it shalbe hole agayn; & then say as fo[l,o]wyth:

Jonathas. Oh thow my Lord God and Sauyouer, osanna!
    Thow Kyng of Jews & of Jerusalem! 0 Lord God, blessed be the time when
O thow myghty, strong Lyon of Juda,
    Blyssyd be the tyme þat þow were in Bedlem! 701
Oh pou myghty, strong, gloryows and gracyows oyle streame,
Thow myghty conquerrowr of infernalH tene,
I am quyty of moche combrance thorowgh thy meane,
That euyr blyssyd mott pou bene! 705

Alas, pat euer I dyd agaynst thy wyH,
In my wytt to be soo wood;
That I with ongoodly wyrk shuld soo gryH!
Agens my mys-gouernaunce thow gladdyst me with

good:
I was soo prowde to prove the on þe Roode,
& pou hast sent me lyghtyng þat late was lame;
To bete the & boyH the I was myghty in moode,
& now þou hast put me from daresse and dysfame.
But, Lord, I take my leve at thy high presens,
& put me in thy myghty mercy;
The bysshopp wyH I goo fetche to se ower offens,
& onto hym shew ower lyfe, how þat we be gyty.
Here shall þe master Jew goo to þe byshopp & ðys men
knele styll.

Jonathas. Hayle, father of grace! I knele vpon my knee,
Hertely besechyng yow & interely,
A swemfuH syght aþ for to see
In my howse apperyng verely: 721

The holy Sacrament, þe whyche we haue done tor-
mentry,
And ther we haue putt hym to a newe passyon,
A chyld apperyng with wondys bloody:
A swemfuH syght yt ys to looke vpon. 725

Episcopus. Oh Jhesu, Lord, fuH of goodnesse!
With the wyH I walke with aH my myght.
Now, aH my pepuH, with me ye dresse
For to goo see that swymfuH syght. 729
Now, aH ye peple that here are,
I commande yow, euery man,
On yower feet for to goo, bare,
In the devoutest wyse that ye can. 733
Here shall pe byshope enter into pe Jewys howse
& say:

O Ihesu fli Dei

How thys paynufl passyon rancheth myn hart!
Lord, I crye to the, miserere mei,
From thys rufufl syght pou wylt reuerse.

Lord, we aH with sorowys smert,
For thys vnlefufl work we lyue in langower;
Now, good Lord, in thy grace let vs be grett,
& of thy soureyn marcy send vs thy socower;

& for thy holy grace forgyle vs ower errowr.
Now let thy pece1 spryng and sprede;
Thowgh we haue be vnrygh[t]fufl, forgyl vs our
rygore,
& of ower lamentable hartis, good Lord, take hed[e].

Here shall pe in[a]ge change agayn onto brede.

Oh th[o]u largy fluent Lord, most of lyghtnesse,
Onto owr prayers thow hast applyed:
Th[o]u hast receuyd them with grett swettnesse,
For aH ower drefull dedys thou hast not so denied.

FuH mykyii owte thy name for to be magnyfyed
With mansuete myrth and gret swettnes,
& as our gracyows God for to be gloryfyed,
For th[o]u shewyst vs gret gladnes.

Now wyH I take thys Holy Sacrament
With humble hart & gret devoc[i]on,
And aH we wyH gon with on consent
And bear yt to chyrche with sole[m]pne pro-
cessyon;

Now folow me, aH & sume!
And aH tho that bene here, both more & lesse,
Thys holy song, O sacrum Dominum,
Lett us syng all with grett swetnesse.

1 MS. has petr.

MYSTERY PLAYS.
Here shall pe pryst, ser Isoder, aske hys master what is menyth.

Presbiter. Ser Arystory, I pray yow, what menyth all thyss?  
Sum myracle, I hope, ys wrowght be Goddis myght;  
The bysshope communyth [in] processyon with a gret meny of Jewys;  
I hope sum myracle ys shewyd to hys syght.  765

To chyrche in hast wyH I runne full ryght,  
For thether, me thy nk, he begynnyth to take hys pace.  
The Sacrament so semly is borne in syght,  
I hope that God hath shewyd of his grace.  769

I will tell you the truth:  
Arystorius. To tell yow the trouth I wylle not lett:  
Alas put euer thyss dede was dyght!  
An onlefuH bargayn I began for to beat;  
I sold yon same Jewys ower Lord fuH ryght 773

For couytyse of gold,1 as a cursyd wyght.  
Woo the whyle that bargayn I dyd euer make!  
But yow be my defensour in owr dyocesans syght;  
For an heretyke I feare he wyH me take.  777

Presbiter. For sothe, nothyng well-avysed was your wytt;  
Wondrely was yt wrowght of a man of dyscres[ion]  
In suche perayle your solle for to putt;  
But I wyH labor for your absolucyon.  781

Lett vs hye vs fast that we were hens,  
And besche hym of hys benygne grace,  
That he wyH shew ys his benyvolens  
To make amendys2 for yower trespas.  785

Here shall be merchant and hys prest go to pe chyrche & pe bysshop shall entre pe chyrche and lay pe Os[t] v[p]on pe auter, sayng thus:  
[Episcopus.] Estote fortas in bello et pugnate cum antico serpente,  
Et accipite regnum eternum, et cetera.  787

1 MS. has certainly good, but the sense seems to require gold.  
2 MS. menyn.
My chyldern, be ye 1 strong in batayle gostly
For to fyght agayn the fell serpent,
That nyght and day ys euer besy;
To dystroy owr sollys ys hys intent.

Look ye 2 be not slow nor neclygent
To arme you in the vertues senyn;
Of synnyes forgetyn take good avysement,
And knowledge them to yower confessor full enyn;

For that serpent, the deuy, ys full strong
Meruelows myscheues for man to mene;
But that the Passyon of Cryst ys meynt vs among,
And that ys in dyspyte of hys infernaH tene.

Beseche owr Lord & Sanyower so kene
To put down that serpent, cumberer of man,
To withdrow hys furys froward doctrryn bydene,
Fulfyllyd of pe fend callyd Leuyathan.

Gyff lawre to that Lord of myght
That he may bryng vs to the joyous fruyccion,
From vs to put the fend to flyght,
That neuer he dystroy vs by hys temptac[i]on.

**Presbiter.** My father vnder God, I knele vnto yower kne,
In yowr myhty mysericord to tak vs in remembrance;
As ye be materyaH to owr degre,
We put vs in yower moderat ordynance,

Yff yt lyke yower hyghnes to here owr greuaunce;
We haue offenddyd sorowfully in a syn mortaH,
Wherfor we fere vs owr Lord wyH take vengaunce
For owr synnes both grete and smaH.

**Episcopus.** And in fatherhed, that longyth to my
dygnyte,
Vnto yower grefe I wyH gyf credens.
Say what ye wyH, in pe name of the Trynyte,
Agayn[s]: God yt ye haue wroght eny inconuenyence.
Aristorins. Holy Father, I knele to yow under benedictye.

I have offeindyd in thyn syn of curtyes:
I sold owre Lordys body for lucrue of mony
& delynwyd to the wyckyd with cursyd advyce. 823

And for that presump[ion] gretly I agryse
That I presumed to go to the altar
There to handylle pe holy sacryfyece,—
I were worthy to be put in brenyng fyre. 827

But, gracyous lord, I can no more,
But put me to Goddyse mercy & to your grace:
My cursyd werkys for to restore,
I aske penance now in thys place. 831

Episcopus. Now for thy syn offfence that you hast done
Azens the Kyng of Hevyn & Emperour of HeL,
Euer whyL you lyuest good dedys for to done
And neuermore for to bye nor seL: 835

Chastys thy body as I shal the teH,
With fastyn & prayng & other good wyrk,
To withstand the temptacyon of endis of hell;
& to cal to God for grace looke you neuer be irke.

Also, you prest, for thy necligens,
That thou were no wyser on thyne office,
Thou art worthy inpresu[n]ment for thy syn offfence;
But beware euer hereafter and be mor wyse. 843

And aH yow creaturys & curatys that here be,
Off thy syn offfence you may take example
How that your lockys pyxyd ye shuld see,1
And beware of the key of Goddyse temple. 847

Jonathas. And I aske crystendom with great devoc[i]on,
With repentant hart in all degrees,
I aske for vs all a general absolu[ion].

Here pe Juys must knele al doon.

For that we knele aH vpon ower knees; 851

1 MS. has pyxys lockyd.
Croxton Play of the Sacrament.

For we have greuyd ower Lord on ground & put hym to a new paynful passion:
With daggars styckyd hym with greuos wo[u]ndes,
New naylyd hym to a post & with pynsonys pluckyd hym down. 855

Jason. And syth we toke that blyssyd bred so sound
And in a cawdron we dyd hym boyle,
In a clothe ful just we hym wounde
And so dyd we sett hym in oyle. 859

Jason. And for that we myght not ouercom hym with tormentry,
In an hott ovyn we speryd hym fast,
Ther he apperyd with wo[u]ndis all bloody:
The ovyn rave asunder & aH to-brast. 863

Masphat. In hys law to make vs stedfast,
There spak he to vs woordis of grete favor;
In contrycyon owr hartis he cast
And bad take vs to a confessor. 867

Malchus. And, therfor, all we with on consent
Knele onto yower hygh souereynte,
For to be crystencyd ys ower intent;
Now all ower dedys to yow shewyd haue we. 871

Here shall pe bysshope crysten pe Jewys with gret solempnyte.

Episcopus. Now the Holy Gost at thys tyme mot yow blysse
As ye knele aH now in hys name,
And with the water of baptyme I shaH yow blysse
To saue yow aH from the fendis blame. 875

Now, that fendys powre for to make lame,
In pe name of pe Father, pe Son & pe Holy Gost,
To saue yow from the deuyllys flame,
I crysten yow aH, both lest and most. 879

Ser Jonathas. Now owr father and byshoppe pat we weH know,
We thank yow interly, both lest and most.
Now ar we bownd to kepe Crystis lawe
& to serve þe Father, þe Son & þe Holy Ghost. 883

Now wyH we walke by contre & cost,
Our wyckyd lyuyng for to restore:
And trust in God, of myghtis most,
Neuer to offend as we have don before. 887

Now we take ower lea[v]e at lesse & more—
Forward on ower vyage we wyH vs dresse;
God send yow aH as good welfare
As hart can thinke or towng expresse. 891

Into my country I will go,
Into my contre now wyH I fare
For to amende myn wyckyd lyfe,
& to kep[e] þe people owt of care
I wyll teache thys lesson to man & wyfe. 895

Now take I my leave in thys place,
I wyH go walke, my penaunce to fullfyH;
Now, God, azeyns whom I haue done thys trespas,
Graunt me forgyfnesse yf yt be thy wylle! 899

Arystorius. Into my contre now wyH I fare
For joy of thys me thynke my hart do wepe,
That yow haue gynyn yow aH Crystis seruauntis
to be,
Hym for to serve with hart full meke—
God, fulH of pacyens & humylyte— 903

And the conversion\(^1\) of aH thes fayre men,
With hartis stedfastly knett in on,
Goddis lawys to kepe & hym to serue bydene,
As faythfulH Crystanys euermore for to gonnc. 907

Presbiter. For joy of thys me thynke my hart do wepe,
That yow haue gynyn yow aH Crystis seruauntis
to be,
Hym for to serve with hart full meke—
God, fulH of pacyens & humylyte—

Episcopus. God Omnipotent, euermore looke ye serve
With deuoc[i]on & prayre whyH þat ye may;
Dowt yt not he wyH yow preserne
For eche good prayer þat ye sey to hys pay; 911

\& therfor in euery dew tyme loke ye not delay
For to serve the Holy Trynyte,
And also Mary, that swete may,
And kepe yow in perfyte loue & charyte. 915

\(^1\) MS. conversacons.
Croxton Play of the Sacrament.

Crystis commandementis ten there bee;
Kepe welle them; doo as I yow tel.
Almyght God shal yow please in every degre,
And so shal ye saue yower sollys from heH.

For there ys payn & sorow crueH,
& in heuyu ther ys both joy & blysse,
More then eny towng can tell,
There angelys syng with grett sweetnesse;

To the whyche he bryng vs
Whoys name ys callyd Jhesus,
And in wyrsyppe of thys name gloryows
To syng to hys honor Te Deum Laudamus.

Finis.

Thus endyth the Play of the Blyssyd Sacrament, whych myracle was don in the forest of Aragon, in the famous cite Eraclea, the yere of ower Lord God M^cccc. lxi., to whom be honower, Amen!

The namys & number of the players:

Jhesus Jason, Judeus ij^us
Episcopus Jasdon, Judeus iiij^us
Aristorius, Christianus Masphat, Judeus iiiij^us
  mercator
[Isoder, presbiter] Malchas, Judeus v^lus
Clericus M[agister] phisicus
Jonathas, Judeus I.^^us Colle, servus

IX. may play yt at ease.
R. C.

1 MS. x.
[THE PRIDE OF LIFE.]

[A MORALITY.]

[PROLOCUTOR.]

Listen, one and all.

Pees, & horkynt hal ifer,
[Ric] & por, yong & hold,
Men & wemen bat bet her,
Bot eter & leut, stout & bold.

Lordinge & ladiis bat beth hende,
Herkenith al with mylde mode;
[Swilke] gam schal gyn & ende:
Lorde us wel spede bat sched his blode!

Now stondit stil & beth hende,
And prayith al for þe weder,
[þ] 3e schal or 3e hennis wende
Be glad þat þe come hidir.

Here 3e schulliþ here spelle
Of mirth & eke of kare;
Herkenith & i wol þou telle
[How þe proud] schal fare.

[Of þe Kyng of] Lif, i wol you telle,
[Qwho stondit] first biffore
[All men þat bet] of ßlesch & ffel
[& of women i-]bore.

[He is, forson, ful] stronge to stond,
[And is] by comin of kinde,

1 Inserted by Mill: the MS. is unreadable.
2 MS. has y for þ. 3 Brandl: menske gaim.
4 The MS. is very faded here, but I believe this to be the true reading. Brandl has and teryth, and translates for as in spite of.
5 Holthausen [How his oure game].
6 Brandl and Holthausen [Of þe King of].
7 Holthausen. 8 Both Brandl and Holthausen.
Pride of Life.

[Given] laws in eche a londe,

[& nis] dradd of no thinge,

[In] pride & likinge his lif he ledith,

Lordlich he lokit with eye;

[Prince & dukes, he seith, him dredith,

[And he] dredith no deth flor to deye.

[He] hath a lady louelich al at likinge,

Ne may he of no mirth mene ne misse;

He seit in sweynisse he wol set his likinge

& bringe his bale boun in to blisse.

Knytis he hat cumlic,

In bred & in leint;

Not i neuir non suc

Of stoecey ne off strynt.

Wat helpit to yilp mucil of his mit

Or bost to mucil of his blys?

For sorun may sit onis sit

[& myrt] he not miss.

& her is ek pe ladi of lond,

[be faire]st a lord for to led;

[& glad] may he be fort to stond

[& be] hold pat blisful bled.

[pa]t ladi is lettrit in lor

As cumli becomit for a quen,

& munit hir mac euirmor,

As a dar for dred him to ten.

Ho bid him bewar or pe suirt,

[F]or in his lond Det wol alond;

[As] ho leuit him gostlic in hert

[Ho]t him bewar of his hend.

[Ho] begynit to charp of char

hes wordis wytout lesing;

Det dot not spar

Knytis, cayser ne kyng.
Leave thy pleasure.

That is a woman's tale.

The King took it not to heart.

The Queen sent for the bishop.

He came and preached all he knew.

Then Death sent his messenger to the King of Life.

He would come to try his might.

Death and Life together strive.

Death feareth not his knights.

Pride of Life.

Now lord leu þi likynd
Wyt bringit þe soul gret bal."

þe[2] kyng hit ne toke not to herh
For hit was a womanis spec,
[& y]et hit mad him to smert
[wh]an him mit help no lec.

[þe][3] quen yet can hir undirstond
Wat help þar[1] mit be

[& warnit him] hal of his hind;

Fram þat[1] k[e]ne stryf
[þe] did a me]ssenger þan[1] send

[&] eny him wold do undirston
[He] wold cum into his ouin lond
On him to kyt his mit.

Deth comit, he[5] dremit a dreffful dreme
Welle æte al carye;
[& slow ßadder & moder & pen heme
He ne wold none sparye.

Sone aßter hit befel þat Deth & Life
Beth togedir i-take;
[& ginnith & striuith a sterne strife
King of Life to wrake.

With him druíith adoun to grounde,
He drekit nothing his knihtis;
[& delith him depe depis wounde
[& kith on him his miȝtis.

1 MS. has y for þ. 2 MS. þe. 3 Holthausen. 4 MS. bispoc. 5 MS. and.
Pride of Life.

When the body is doun i-bro^t
be soule sorow awakith;
be bodyis pride is dere a-bro^t,
be soule be f fendis takith.

& through priere of Oure Lady mylde
Al godenisse scho wol qwyte;
Scho wol prey her son so mylde
be soule & body schul dispyte.

be cors pat nere knewc of care,
No more pou stone in weye,
Schal be of sorow & sore care
& prawe be twene ham tweye.

be soule per on schal be weye
pat pe f fendes haue i-kazte;
& Oure Lady schal perfor preye
So pat with her he schal be lafte.

Now heit in pes & heit hende,
& distourbit no3t oure place
ffor pis oure game schal gin & ende
Throgh Jhesu Cristis swete grace.

I.

PEIX VIUUS INCIPIET SIC DICENDUM.

Pes, now, 3e princes of powere so prowde,
3e kinges, 3e kempes, 3e knijtes i-korne.
3e barons bolde, pat beit me o bowte;
Do schal 3u my sawe, swaynis is[w]orne.

Sqwieris stoute, stondit now stille,
& lestennit to my hestes i hote 3u now her,
Or [I] schal wirche 3u wo with werkes of wil
& doun schal 3e drive be 3e neuer so dere.

King ic am, kinde of kinges i-korre,
Al pe worlde wide to welde at my wil;
Nas per neuer no man of woman i-borre
O-zein me withstonde pat i nold him spille.
Pride of Life.

Lordis of lond beit at my ledinge,
   Al men schal a bow in hal & in bowr; 126

Baldli pou art mi bot,
   Tristili & ful treu;
Of al mi rast pou art rot,
   I nil chong fer no new.1

Rex.

Al in wel ic am biwent,
   May ne grisful ping me grou;
Likyng is wyt me bilent,2
   Alyng is it mi behou.

Strength and Health, my knights,
Strent & hel knytis3 kete
   Det rift in ded;4
Lak pat5 for no6 ping 3e let
   Smartli to me sped.

Bringit wyt pou brit brondis,
   Helmis, brit & schen;7
For ic am lord ofir al londis
   & pat is wel isen.8

Primus miles, Fortitudo.

Lord, in trupe pou mit trist
   Fepfuli to stond,
Pou mit liu as 3e list,
   For won child9 is ju fond.

Ic am Strent, stif & strong,
   Neuar is suc non,
In al pis5 world brod & long,
   I-mad of blod & bon.

1 Brandl assigns this stanza to Regina. 2 Skeat. 3 MS. kyntes. 4 This verse has one stress too few. 5 MS. has y for j. 6 MS. ne. 7 MS. schinend. 8 MS. welt sen. 9 MS. wonschil.
Pride of Life.

Hau no dout of no ping\(^1\)
bat\(^1\) enir may befal;
le am Strenyt pi\(^1\) derling
Flour of knitis al.

Secundus Miles, Sanitas.

King of lif pat berist pe crowne,
As hit is skil and rije;
I am Hele i-com to toun,
\(\hat{p}i\) kinde curteseye kni\(\hat{p}\)te.

\(\hat{p}ou\) art lord of lim & life,
& king withouten\(^2\) ende;
Stif & strong & sterne in strif,
In londe qwhe\(r\) \(\hat{p}ou\) wende.

\(\hat{p}ou\) nast no nede to sike sore
For no thing on lyue;
\(\hat{p}ou\) schal lyue ever more:
Qwho dar with pe str\(\hat{i}\)ue?

Rex.

Str\(\hat{i}\)ue? nay, to me qwho is so gode?
Hit were bot as folye;
\(\hat{b}er\) is no man pat me dur bode
Any vileynye.

Qwhe\(r\) of schuld i drede
Qwhen i am King of Life?
Ful evil schuld he spede
To me \(\hat{p}at\) werch str\(\hat{i}\)ue.

I schal lyue ever mo
& crowne ber as kinge;
I ne may never wit of wo,
I lyue at my likinge.

Regina.

Sire, \(\hat{p}ou\) saist as pe liste,
\(\hat{p}ou\) liuist at \(\hat{p}i\) wille;

\(^1\) MS. has \(y\) for \(p\).
\(^2\) MS. with withouten.
Pride of Life.

Think, thou haddest beginning:
if thou makest not good end, thy soul is lost.

Love God and Holy Church.

Think, thou liaddest beginning:
if thou makest not good end, thy soul is lost.

Love God and Holy Church.

Thou speakest not cunningly.

Wouldst thou that I were dead, that thou mightest have another lord?

Nay, yet death overcometh all things.

This is only a woman's tale, as ye shall find.

Bot somthing pou miste
& perffor hold pe stille.

Thinke, pou haddist beginninge
When pou were i-bore;
& bot pou mak god endinge
pi sowle is fforlore.

Loue God & Holy Chirche,
& haue of him som eye;
Fonde his werkes for to wirch
& thinke pat pou schal deye.

Rex.

Douce dam, qwhi seistou so?
pou spekis no3t as pe sleye.
I schal lyue euer mo
For bope two pin eye.

Woldistou pat i were dede
bat pou migt haue a new?
Hore, pe deuil gird of pi hede,
Bot pat worde schal pe rewe!

Regina.

Dede sire, nay god wote my wil,
bat ne kepte i no3te;
Hit wolde like me ffull ille
Were hit pareto brozte.

Yet poogh pou be kinge
Nede schalt haue ende;
Deth ouercomith 3 al thinge
Hou-so-euer we wende.

Rex.

3e, dam, pou hast wordis fale,
Hit comith pe of kinde;
his nis bot women tale
& pat wol pe fiunde.

1 MS. per for. 2 MS. ffor lore. 3 MS. ouer comith.
Pride of Life.

I ne schal never deye
   For I am King of Life;
Deth is vndir myne eye
   & perchance pi strife.

 thou dost bot mak myn hert sore
   For hit nel nost helpe;
I prey pe spek of him no more
   Qwhat wolte of him zelpe.

REGINA.

vilpe, sire, nay so mot i the;
   I sigge hit nost qverffore,\(^1\)
Bot kinn\(^2\) techit bope pe & me
   First qwhen we were bore.
For dowte of Deth is maistr\(i\),
   To wepe & make sorowe;
Holy writ & propheceye
   of i take to borowe.
\(\perp\), qwhile 3e have miste
   & pe worlde at wille,
I rede 3e, serve God Almijtere
   Bope loude & stille.
\(j\)is world is bot fantaasye
   & f full of trechurye;
Gode sire for youre curteysye
   Take \(j\)is for no ffolye.
For God [wot] wel\(^5\) pe sope,
   I ne sey hit for no fabil;
Deth wol smyte te pe,
   In ffeith loke thou be stabil.

REX.

Qwhat prechistou of Dethis mist
   & of his maistrye?
He ne durst onis wit me f\(i\)t
   For his bope eye.

---

1 MS. qverffore.
2 MS. Kin te techit; perhaps a case of dittography.
3 MS. pe of.
4 MS. perch.
5 Holthausen.
Pride of Life.

Strength and Health, what say ye? Shall Death overcome me?

Streinth & Hele, wha't say ye? My kindle korin kniȝtes?
Schal Det[h be lord ouer me & reue me of miȝtes?

I MILES.

God forbid. I will with-stand him.

God yt me fforbide,1 bat Det[h schold do pe wronge 
Qwhile i am in pe pede.2

I wol withstonde3 him with strife & make his sidis blede, & tel him bat pou art King of Life & lorde of londe & lede.

II MILES.

May I once meet him and he shall perish.

May I him onis mete With pis longe launce, In ffele oper in strete, I wol him ziue mischaunce.

Rex.

Ye, I have no fear of Death. Where is Mirth?

Ye, I have no drede. Of Det[h ne of his maistrie Ne have i no drede.

Qwher is Mirth my messager; Swifte so lefe on lynde; He is a nobil bachelere but rennis bi pe wynde.

Mirth & solas he can make & ren so pe ro; listly lepe oure pe lake Qwher-so-ener he go.

1 MS. ffor bedr. 2 Holthausen. 3 MS. with stonde.
Com & her my talente
    Anone & hy þe blyue;
Qwher any man, as þou has rente,
    Dorst with me to striue.

Nuncius.

King of Lif & lord of loude,
    As þou sittis on þi se,
& florresschist with þi brixt bronde
    To þe i sit on kne.
I am Mirth, wel þou wost,
    þi mery messagere;
þat wostou wel withoute host
    þer nas neuer my pere;
Doȝtely to done a dede
    þat þe haue flor to done;
Hen to Berewik opon Twede
    & com oþin fful sone;
þer is no thing þe i-liche
    In al þis worlde wide;
Of gold & siluer & robis riche
    & hei hors on to ryde.
I haue ben bope fer & nere
    In bataile & in striye;
Ocke, þer was neuer þy pere,
    For þou art King of Life.

Rex.

Aha! Solas, now þou seist so,
    þou miriest me in my mode;
þou schal boy ar þou hennis go
    Be anaunysd bi þe rode.
Þou schal haue for þi gode wil
    To þin anauncemente,
þe castel of Gailispire on þe Hil,
    And þe Erldom of Kente.

1 MS. o þon.  2 MS. o þin.  3 MS. A ha.
Mystery Plays.
Pride of Life.

Draw the cord, Sire Streungth,
Rest I wol now take;
On erth in brede ne leynt
Ne was ure e yet my make.

Et tune clauso tentorio dicet Regina secrete nuncio.¹

REGINA.¹

Messager, i pray pe nowe
For þi curteysye,
Go to þe bisschop for þi prowe
& byd him hydir to hye.

Bid him beware beffore,²
Sey him þat he most preche;
My lord þe King is ney lore
Bot he wol be his leche.

Say that he
Sey him þat he wol leue noȝt
þat euer he schal deye;
He is in siche errour broȝte
Of God stont him non eye.

NUNCIUS.

Madam,² i make no tariyng
With softe wordis mo;
For i am Solas, i most singe
Ouer al qwher i go.  et cantat.

Sir Bishop,
Sire Bisschop, þou sittist on þi se
With þi mitir on þi heuede;
My lady, þe Qwen preyith þe
Hit schold noȝt be bileuyd.³

¹ This direction and the word “Regina” occur in the original before the preceding stanza, but it seems obvious that they must have been intended to appear here.
² MS. be vare be fflre. ³ MS. Ma dam.
⁴ bi leuyd. ⁵ Hiatus in MS.
Pride of Life.

[Episcopus.] 1

\( \text{be}^2 \) world is nou so wo-lo-wo,
\( \text{In suc bal i-bound}^3 \)
\( \text{bat}^4 \) dred of God is al ago
\& treut is go to ground.

Med is mad a demisman,
Streyint betit \( \text{be}^5 \) lau;
Gentyl\(^6\) is mad a cepam
\& truyt is don of dau.

Wyt is nou al trecri,
Opis\(^7\) fals \& greet;
Play is nou uileni
\& corteysi is let.

Lou is nou al lecuri,
Cildrin bet onlerit;
Halliday is glotuni,
\( \text{his lanis bet irririt.}^8 \)
Sot\(^9\) men bet \( \text{b}^9 \) bleynd
\& lokit al amis;
He bicomit onkynd
\& \( \text{bat}^4 \) is reut i-uis.

Frend may no man find
Of frouer ne of sib;
\( \text{be}^2 \) ded bet out of mind,
Gret soru it is to lib.

\( \text{bes}^{10} \) ricmen bet reypyles,
\( \text{be}^2 \) por got to ground,
\& fals men bet schamles;\(^11\)
\( \text{he} \) sot ic hau i-found.

\( \text{be}^2 \) ric kyni it\(^12\) is wrong
Al \( \text{pat} \) \( \text{be}^{13} \) por dot;
Far \( \text{bat}^4 \) is sen day \& nit
Wosa wol sig sot.

1 Mill: not in MS. 2 MS. yz. 3 MS. i bound.
4 MS. yat. 5 MS. bet it yz.
6 MS. gocyl. Cf. introd., p. lxv. 7 MS. oyz.
8 MS. yis lau is bet irerit. 9 MS. slot, blet.
10 MS. yes. 11 MS. schamles.
12 MS. kynyit it: ditography, perhaps. 13 MS. yat yz.
Men may think me a fool for saying this:
but the great, like fishes, eat up the small.

Rich men oppress the poor,
and think not of death.

They neither love nor fear God.

God give them grace to amend.

Paraventur men halt me a fol
To sig pat\(^1\) sot tal;
pat\(^1\) farit as fiscis\(^2\) in a pol
pe\(^3\) gret eteit pe\(^3\) smal.

Ric men spart for no\(\_\)ing\(^1\)
To do pe\(^3\) por wrong\(^1\);
pat pingit\(^1\) not on hir ending
Ne on Det pat\(^1\) is so strong.

Noper pat\(^1\) lonit God ne dredit
Noper\(^1\) him no his lauis;
Touart hel fast him spedit\(^5\)
A-yeins har ending daus.

Bot God of his godnis
Yif ham gras to amend;
Into pe\(^3\) delful derkyns
Be got wytout hend.

per\(^1\) is dred & sorow
& wo wytoutin wel;
No man may o\(\_\)ir\(^1\) borou
Be per\(^1\) neur so fel.

per\(^1\) ne fallit no maynpris,
Ne supersidias;
pay\(^6\) be kyng or iustis
Be passit not pe\(^3\) pas.

Lord, that died upon the cross,

Lord, pat\(^1\) for his manhed
& also for his god,
pat for lou & not for dred
Deit oppon pe\(^3\) rod,

Give us grace.

Yif ou gras or lif to led
pat\(^1\) be your soulis to bot;
God of Heuin for his godhed

Amen.

\(^1\) MS. has y instead of p.  \(^2\) MS. fiscis.  \(^3\) MS. ye.
\(^4\) wrong in MS.  \(^5\) MS. draut.  Holthausen spedith.
\(^6\) MS. payt.
Pride of Life.

Tunc [episcopus] dicet regi.

Sir King, think upon thine end.

Schir Kyng, þing oppon þin end
& hou þat1 þou schalt dey;
Wat uey þat1 þou schalt wend
Bot þou be bisey.

& eke þat1 þou art lenust man,
& haddist begyning,
& euirmor hau þout opon
þi dredful ending.

þou schalt þing þanne
& mac þe2 euir þyar
þat1 Det is not þe2 man
For no þing þe2 uil spar.

þou schalt do dedis of charite
& lernen Cristis lor,
& lib in Heuin lit
To sauy þi1 soul fre sor.

Do deeds of charity, and learn Christ's teaching.

Rex.

What, bishop babber!

Qwat! bissop, byssop babler,
Schold y of Det hau dred!
þou art bot a chagler
Go hom þi1 wey i red.

Go home.

Wat! com þou perfor1 hidir
Wet Dep3 me to afer!
Yit þou & he bot4 togidir
Into þe2 se igot ner.

Go hom, god yif þe sorow,
þou wreist me in my mod.
War woltou prec tomorou?
þou nost uer bi þe2 rod!

Comest thou hitlier to affright us with death?

Troust þou I nold be ded;
In mi yyng lif;
þou lisst screu, bolhed;
Emil met þou trive.5

where wilt thou preach to-morrow?

1 MS. has y instead of þ.  2 MS. þe.  3 MS. dep.
4 MS. has here wcr.  5 MS. triwe.
Pride of Life.

What should I do at Church?

I leave care behind,

and go on my pleasure.

I am king, and have no need to care.

What should I do at church? wat!

Schir bisop wostou eh! ¹

Nay chure nis no wyl coot,²

Hit wol abid þer.³

I wool let car away,

& go on mi petying.

To hontyn & to opir⁴ play

For al þi⁵ long prechyng.

I am kyng,⁶ as þou mit se,

& han no ned to char

þe wylen þe⁷ quen & meyne

About me bet yar.

Episcopus.

Think, Sir King,

Thynk, Schir Kyng, one opir⁸ trist

þat⁹ tyng misst son

þot þou leu nou, as 3e list,

Det wol cum rit son ;

& þiue þe dethis wounde

For þin outrage;

Within¹⁰ a litil stounde

 þen artou but a page.

When thou art buried there meet feet and earth.

Qwhen þou art graven on grene

þer metis fleys & molde ;¹¹

þen helpith litil, I wene,

þi gay crowne of golde.

Good-day: Christ in-

struct thee.

Sire Kyng, haue goday,

Crist i ȝou beteche.¹²

Rex.

Farewell, and learn better to preach.

Fare wel, bisschop, þi way

& lerne bet to preche.

hic adde

¹ MS. wostouer. ² MS. cot. ³ MS. has y instead of þ.
⁴ MS. aîr. ⁵ MS. þyng. ⁶ MS. ȝe. ⁷ MS. with in.
⁸ MS. þat mete fleyt & molde. Holthausen: þi mete is fylt & molde.
⁹ MS. be teche.
Pride of Life.

Nou, mafay, hit schal be sene,
      I trow, sit to daye,
Qwheer Deth me durst tene
    & mete in þe waye.
Qwheer artou, my messagere,
Solas bi þi name?  
Loke þat þou go ffer & nere,
    As þou wolt haue no blame,
My banis ffor to eyre
      By dayis & bi niȝte;
& loke þat þou aspye,
    þe bi al þi niȝte,
Of Deth & of his maistrye
    Qwheer he durst com in sijte,
Oȝeynis me & my meyne
With ffoerce & armis to niȝte.
Loke þat þou go both Est & West
 & com oȝeyne anone;

NUNCIUS.

Lorde, to wende I am prest,
     Lo now I am gone.
    et eat pla[tea]
Pes & listenith to my sawe
       Boþe jonge & olde;
As þe wol noþt ben aslawe
    Be þe neuer so bolde.
I am a messager i-sente
    From þe King of Life;
þat þe schal ffulfil his entente
On peyne of lym & lif.
His hestes to hold & his lawe
    Yche a man on honde;
Lest þe be henge & to-draw,  
    Or kast in hard bonde.

1 MS. O ȝeynis, o ȝyne.  2 MS. an one.  3 In MS. prefix is separated.
Ye know that he is king and lord of all lands:

I am sent to know if any dare fight against him.

Even the King of Death.

Ye wittin wel pat he is king & lord of al londis, Kepere & maister of al thing Within se & sondis.

I am sente ffor to enquer O-boute ferre & nere, 3if any man dar werre arere A-3ein suche a bachelere.

To wroper hele he was i-bore pat wold with him stryue; Be him sikir he is i-lore As here in pis lyue,

Asgh hit wer King of Deth & he so hardy were; Bot he ne hath miȝt ne meth Be King of Lif to affere; Be he so hardy or so wode In his londe to aryue, He wol se his herte blode, And he with him stryue.

1 In MS. prefix is separated.
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Taryfe, 58/34, Tarifa.
Tolkote, 74/540; this is undoubtedly the MS. reading, and I take it to mean Toll-house. According to Gage, "History of Suffolk, Hundred of Thingoe," Babwell Myll had a Toll-house. What place could be more likely for the lodging of a strolling quack?

Turkey, 58/34.

Uxor Noah, 23/116.

Woman, 14/29.
GLOSSARY.


a, 89/48, she. Cf. ho.
achaitis, 60/87, agates.
adatory, 87. helper.
afeze, 70/392, drive away, push away. O.E. fisian.
agryse, 84/824, am horrified. O.E. agrisan.
alnundis, 60/99, almonds.
amatystis, 59/81, amethysts.
apert, T/jo. open. O.F. apert.
arere, 89/489, rear up, raise up. O.E. ai'Kran.
asay, 34,276, 35/316, 37/35, 88/43; assaye, 62/146, test, try.
aspawe, 103/473, slain. O.E. aslean.
attuenance, instruction. Cf. O.F. estruiance, attuance: probably miscopied for 'attrueaunce.'
avoe, 52/428, acknowledge, declare. O.F. acoer.
avoj'de, 75/570, go away; avoj'd, 71/420, cast away. O.F. esvudier.
avance, 78/657, avenge.
bale, 3/13, 89/32; bal, 90/58; ballys, 71/433, calamity, injury, evil. O.E. beakun.
banis, 103/459; bans, edicts. O.E. bann.
bedene, 5/29; bydene, 86/906; moreover, also, a common stop-gap frequently in use in rhyme-position.
boldyro, 74/534, some part of the body evidently: I do not know of its occurrence elsewhere. It is curious to note that a prominent family of the name of Boldero, appear to have been connected with Babwell Myll, in Mary's reign, and also probably much earlier.
bot, 100/388, ride to hot. byggly, 61/138, greatly.
caledonies, 60/91, chalcedonies.
canker, 74/532, cancer.
cannyngalle, 60/95, canyng of ale, vinegar turned sour.
carye, 90/82, to be anxious. O.E. cearian.
cenalacion, 28/71, cavilling. O.F. cavillacion.
chagler, 101/409, storyteller, jester, babbler. O.F. jangleur.
chal, 90/69, came.
char, 89/53, care. O.E. cearu.
charp, 89/53, talk. O.X. karpa.
chere, 73/495, face, countenance. N.F. chere.
chene, 61/131, attain an end, succeed. O.F. chevir.
chont, 90/68, knew. O.E. cunning.
clone, 77/630, i.e. clene, smear. O.E. cleman.
clowtis, 89/372, blows, strokes.
coleuyll, 74/537; a swelling in the genitals, usually referring to horses. MS. reads TolughH.
condescent, 58/43, yielding.
congruent, 8/5, accordant, suitable, proper.
connyng, 9/26, 31, knowledge, wisdom.
consavue, 6/59, conceive.
confer, 33/247, perhaps a miscopying of counter, on account of.
creepaidis, 60/91, precious stones, ?toadstones.
cure, 70/579, take care of. O.F. curer.
daliannee, 26/6, 27/41, pleasure, dalliance.
dan (of), 99/334, killed.
dell, 46/256, 52/408, part. O.E. dal,
deme, 76/602, judge, think. O.E. déman.
denisman, 99/331, judge.
derewously, 59/85, derewordy; 52/411, precious. O.E. dorwyrse.
dight, 34/304; dyght, 70/412, 82/771, prepare, set in order, do.
O.E. dithun.
dokettis, 65/236, ducats.
dole, 5/29, grief. O.F. doel, dvel, dvel.
dolloure, 5/19, grief.
doluen, 13/19, grief.
doluen, 5/19, buried. O.E. pp. of
delfan.
dreneche, 71/421, drown. O.E. dren-
can.
dulcett, 60/98, sweet.
duresse, 80/713, hardship, harm.
O.F. duresse.
dystrie, 63/200, destroy. O.F. de-
struire.
emerawdis, 59/86, emeralds.
empere, 8/2, empyrean, empire.
O.F. emperie.
entent, 6/49, takes intent, look after.
 eueryschon, 51/401, euerychon, 71/443, all, every one. O.E. ofere
alc an.
fale, 94/207, proper, estimable.
fang, 4/6, seize, catch. Cf. O.N.
fanga.
fare, 66/289, fayre, 23/140, go; 78/642, behave; 66/291, fare, vic-
tuals. Cf. O.E. faran.
fee, 20/34, 67/302, cattle. O.E. feoh.
fenesters, 21/58, windows. O.F.
fenestre.
fere, 27/47; company, 29/108, com-
ppanion. O.E. gefera.
fesycyoon, 65/263, physician.
fiel, 8/19, skin. O.E. fiel.
fond, 6/44; flonde, 94/189, try. O.E.
fandian.
forde, 24/168, destroy. O.E. fordon.
forse, 28/80, no force, it is no
matter.

forthinks, 22/91, regrets. O.E. for-
henean.
fray, 37/24, terror; 69/375, frightened.
frone, 99/348, comfort, consolation.
O.E. frôfor.
yard, 42/170, rod, staff. O.E. gerd,
gird.
gare, 23/1/12, make, prepare. O.E.
garawan.
gate, 75/531, way. O.N. geta.
gaynest, 5/9, shortest.
zelpe, 95/218; zilpe, 95/219, boast.
O.E. gjelp.
ginned, 25/196, devised, contrived.
Cf. O.N. ginna.
gled, 51/381, fire of burning coal.
glosse, 68/358, flattery, falsehood.
gostlic, 89/51, spiritually. O.E. gästlic.
grenynis, 60/101, grains of Para-
dise, a very pungent Indian
spice.
gret, 5/33, 46/262, weep. O.E. grétau.
gron, 92/132, injure, harm. O.F.
greyer.
gyfl, 80/708, irritate, be harsh to,
act grievously against. O.E. grü-
lan, gryflan.
hele, 4/39, hiding-place, refuge.
O.E. hel; 104/491, fate, omen, auspic.
O.E. hel.
hen, 29/128, 34/390, hence.
hende, 88/5, 88/9, 91/109, gracious.
O.E. gehende.
henly, 75/558, vilely. O.E. hédanlic.
hen, 30/356, seize. O.E. hentan.
hest, 38/68, 38/69; hestes, 91/118,
103/479, command. O.E. hés.
hewe, 7/72, 26/17, hew, colour. O.E.
heone, heow.
hoe, 89/49, 89/51, she.
hoH, 7/72, hollow (i.e. with hollow-
looking skin and form).
honourammce, 29/105, honour. O.F.
honouerance.
hoother, 19/8, probably a miscopying
of heethe, heath. O.E. höp.
hoire, 94/197, whore. O.E. höre.
hoite, 91/118, command. O.E. hát.
hye, 98/310, hasten. O.E. higian;
in hy, 1/12, 25/186, 25/188, in haste.
ibore, 104/491, born. O.E. geboren.
ifer, 88/1, companions. O.E. geféra.
ikorne, 91/114; i-korpe, 91/121, chosen. O.E. gevenoren.
ilore, 104/493, lost. O.E. [ge]lorn.
terely, 80/710; interly, 85/881, entirely. Cf. O.F. entier.
irrit, 99/342, reared, raised. O.E. geréwed.
i-wyss, 42/163, 56/55; i-wyssse, 46/247, 258, etc., certainly, indeed. O.E. gewiss.
janglest, 73/493, chattering, protest. O.F. jangeler.
kempes, 91/114, soldiers, champions. O.E. cempa.
kepe, 46/32, care; kept, 29/111, cared, liked. O.E. cépan.
kete, 92/135, brave, strong (perhaps a variant of kene).
korin, 96/244, chosen, vide ikorne.
kowthe, 56/56, known. O.E. célp.
kyt, 90/80; kith, 90/92, quit. O.F. quitte.
lain, 23/137, reproach, scold, blame. O.E. léán.
laith, 23/118, loath, unwilling. O.E. láis.
largyfment, 81/746, liberal, bounteous.
lede, 96/254, people, nation, race. O.E. léod.
leint, 89/34, length. O.E. length.
lennst, 101/395, MS. not clear, lennst or lesus, i.e. either most transitory. Cf. O.E. léne, or vainest. Cf. O.E. leósost.
lesing, 89/54, falsehood. O.E. lesing.
let, 99/338, slowness, hindrance, delay, 35/312, 46/246, hinder, prevent.
leuit, 89/51, loveth.
levyr, 28/80; lever, 38/72, rather. O.E. léafere.
list, 102/437, please, like. O.E. lystan.
lore, 39/85; lor, 101/404, precept, teaching. O.E. lár.
lore, 98/313, lost. O.E. [ge]lorn.
lynde, 96/264, lime-tree. O.E. lind.
mace, 89/47, mate. O.N. maki, O.E. gemewce.
mace, 60/102, mace, a spice consisting of the dried outer covering of the nutmeg. Ital. mace. O.F. macis.
mafay, 103/451, by my faith. O.F. mui fey.
mai strie, 95/223; maistrey, 95/249, 103/463, dominion, power. O.F. maistrie.
maile, 60/99, bag, sack. O.F. maile.
manusue, 81/751, peaceful, peace-loving. Lat. manusetus.
mased, 6/57; masyd, 75/575, bewildered, dazed. O.E. amasian.
mastyk, 60/102, mastic.
may, 86/914, maid.
maynpris, 100/379, main prise, bail.
med, 99/331; mede, 73/488, reward. O.E. méd.
medyll-erth, 37/34, earth. O.E. mid-
dangeard.
meenye, 22/106; meyne, 102/433, 103/465, household. O.F. maise-
nee.
mekyH, 54/13, 56/62; mykyH, 79/670, 81/750, mickle, great. O.E. micel, mycel.
mene, 89/30, moan, complain. O.E. mónan.
mene, 56/79, mean, common (i.e. irrespective of wealth or poverty).
meth, 104/497, power. O.E. máke.
meyne, vide meenye.
meynyt, 83/798, communicated. O.E. gemáined.
mold, 6/57; molde, 102/444, earth. O.E. molde.
munit, 89/47, has in mind. O.E. múnan.
mynnces me, 1/21, I remember [peculiar to the Northern dialect].
myregrym, 74/535, a headache. Cf. Fr. migraine.
mys, 64/213, misleads.
mysericord, 83/809, mercy. Lat. misericordia.
nay, 22/105; naye, 57/13, fail, denial.
necessa, 79/694, necessity.
ocke, 97/293, och! the Irishman's interjection.
oxennell, 73/506, oxynell, a mixture of vinegar and honey.

peteyng, 102/428, pushing, instigation. O.F. boter.
plasmacion, 8/8, formation.
pawke, 76/586, play, fight. O.E. plegan.
pleecer, 43/193, pleasure.
plesaunce, 26/8, 28/59, 29/95, 33/259, 34/280; plesance, 58/46; pleasure, enjoyment. O.F. plaisaunce.
pleyn, 59/57, play; i.e. mix up with the people. O.E. plegan. Cf. "he hat pleise with be world." 'Ancren Riwle.'
poose, 74/538, catarrh, a cold in the head. O.E. gepós.
pref, 34/280; preve, 61/128, proof, test. O.F. prove, prove.
pres, 2/40, in the crowd, "although I do not push myself forward." prest, 103/469, ready, prompt. O.F. prest.
preve. Cf. pref.
prove, 21/74, Holthausen suggests prow, advantage. O.F. prou.
provey, 20/31, purvey, provide. O.F. porceir, porceoir.
prov, 23/129; prove, 98/509, profit, advantage. O.F. prou.
pryn, 69/357, impression, image. O.F. (em)priente.
pryvyte, 63/196, privacy.
pungarnetis, 60/106, pomegranates.
pymente, 68/348, a spiced drink. O.F. piment.
pynsonys, 75/577, 77/621, 85/855, pincers.
qvart, 53/462, safe and sound. O.E. crewart.
quartan, 74/533, an ague returning every fourth day. Lat. quartana.
qwyte, 91/98, requite. O.F. qrier.
rave, 76/581, hasten, hurry. O.N. hrapa.
read, 23/121, advice, counsel. O.E. röd.
recuer, 71/442, recovery, recuperation. O.F. recorer.
red, 101/410, 41/143; rede, 95/229, advise, counsel. O.E. radan.
reprenne, 69/376, reproof.
rue, 96/246, rob, plunder. O.E. végian.
rent, 99/346, regret, grief, sorrow. O.N. hrygð.
reys, 60/99, rice.
reysones, 60/100, raisins.
rot, 92/129, joy. O.E. röld.
rowe, 20/26, line. Cf. raw. Holthausen suggests 'tow;' as otherwise wood and tow are not mentioned; other suggestions are 'crow' and 'rewe.'
rowte, 35/320, 77/623, company, rout. O.F. route.
royes, 1/15, king Fr. röy.
ruff, 22/85, rough-tree (later written roof-tree), a rough, untrimmed mast.
rychesse, 54/18, 58/37, wealth. O.F. richesse.
riff, 22/85, reef, part of a sail, here used possibly for the sail as a whole. M. Dutch and O.N. rif.
rype, 57/19, range, wander, roam. O.F. rynge.
samyn, 7/69, together. O.N. soman.
saurit, 90/71, savoured. O.F. sauvorer.
sawe, 91/116, saying, bidding. O.E. sagn.
scammony, 73/506, scammony, a plant of the genus convolvulus.
schen, 92/149, i.e. schinend or schinnand, shining. O.E. schinand.
schereys, 37/18, cheers. O.F. chere.
scre, 101/421, shrew. O.E. scréawa.
sed, 97/276, throne, seat. Lat. sedes.
seem, 20/26, seem, Holthausen suggests beam. Brotnack translates Schreiner-verbund.
senblably, 12/1, likewise, similarly. O.F. adj. semblable.
sere, 20/48, several, various. O.N.
Glossary.

ser; sore, sad, is a possible interpretation. O.E. *sôr.
shear, 21, 57, cut, shear. O.E. *seor,
shape, 27, 51, shaped, created. O.E. *scœp.
sib, 99, peace. O.E. *sibb.
sideyns, 54,9, citizens. Cf. footnote, p. 54.
sig, 99, 358, 100, say, tell. O.E. *sige.
sike, 93, 163, sigh. O.E. *sican.
skyH, 26, 19, 60, 112, 66, fitting, reason. O.N. skil.
sle, 32, 233, 32, 239, 34, 288, slay.
O.E. *sleyn.
sle, 22, 109; sleye, 94, 192, sly.
clever. O.N. *sigr.
slight, 24, 174, skill, cunning, slight.
O.N. *sliugr.
smaragdis, 60, 88, smaragd, emeralds.
sneke, 74, 538, a disease, ? worms.
I am unaware of its occurrence elsewhere in Middle-English literature. Cf. schncke (German), a sore between the claws of animals giving out matter in the form of a worm.
sond, 38, 68, 41, 146, messenger.
O.E. *sand, *soul.
soporacion, 8, 12, putting to sleep.
sot, 100, 360; sothe, 77, 625, true, truth. O.E. *sôp.
sponce, 72, 451, provision-room. O.F. dispenser.
speryrd, 85, 861, closed, shut in. O.E. gesporryan.
sprot, 22, 86, perhaps a mistake for spout, a round plane; a meaning derived from the original meaning of a pipe?
sprout, 22, 86, sprout, sprig. M. Dutch. sprite.
sprdnd, 22, 86, perhaps a miscopying of spranke, a sprout. M. Dutch, spranke; or cf. M.E. sprintel.
spery, 28, 86, spire or spar. Cf. O.N. *spira, a spar, and Dan. *spire, a sprout.
stead, 25, 202; sted, 41, 144; stede, 30, 141, place. O.E. stede.
steer, 24, 169, 79, 10, strong. O.H.G. *sturr, Gothic, *shturs, and O.E. stôr. Apparently *stere, a loanword, has displaced the native word.
stint, 24, 164, 7, 73, cease, stop. O.E. *stypan.
stockey, 89, 36, i.e. stotev, cunning, craft. Lat. astuita.
stoimd, 102, 441; stowmd, 63, 108, 64, 234, hour, time, moment. O.E. *stowd.
streynt, 99, 332; strynt, 89, 36, strength. O.E. *stryngt.
sufferen, 30, 273, sovereign. O.F. *soverain.
surt, 89, 49, sweareth. O.E. sverícD.
supersidias, 100, 380, i.e. supersedens, a writ suspending the power of an officer or to stay law proceedings.
sure, 63, 199, assure.
sustentacion, 13, 2, sustenance.
swemfutt, 80, 720, 80, 725, sorrowful.
Cf. O.E. swedman, to fall into a trance, to grieve.
synnymone, 60, 103, cinnamon.
ten, 20, 39, heed, attention.
tereyan, 74, 533, tertian, i.e. a fever. Lat. tertium.
teske, 74, 538, tertian, plague, phthisis. Cf. O.F. testiquens, Mod. Fr. phthisique, and "Et fu si sistique et si see que a poine pooit il eradichier."—"Miracle St. Loyes," cited in Littre.
thee, 25, 206, thrive. O.E. *tôm.
to bot, 100, 388, remedy, salvation.
to brast, 55, 48, 85, 863, burst open.
O.E. to-borstan, to-beast.
topazyons, 60, 88, topazes.
trayn, 7, 67, enticement, stratagem.
O.F. truhin.
treyen, 56, 77, affections, griefs. O.E. trega.
trist, 102, 435, trust, consolation.
O.N. *transi. [Brandl translates zusammentreffen, i.e. tryst.]
trive, 101/422, thrive. O.N. prīfa.
troust, 101/419, believest, thinkest.
O.E. trouian, tréovian.
trow, 103/452, believe. Cf. troust.
tyte, 23/117, quick. O.N. tiðr.

vede, 96/250, country, people. O.E. þeod.
brawe, 91/104, three, pain. O.E. þreò.

unlusty, 22/81, idle, slothful. Cf. O.E. unlast.

veniunce, 33/251, punishment, penalty. O.F. veniance.
vernage, 68/348, Italian white wine. O.F. vernage.

wanhope, 56/67, despair.
wari, 72/479, curse, condemn. O.E. werian.
waysus, 24/152, wains, wagons. O.E. wega, wean.

we Tib! 1/1, an exclamation. Cf. 'York Chaundeler's Play,' v. 37 et seq. We hadde! We howe!
wedyr, 33/269, wether. O.E. weðer.
weet, 23/131, 23/133, know. O.E. wihan.
wel, 100/376, weil. O.E. weal, weola.
welawey, 45/234, alas, an exclamation of sorrow. O.E. wa la we.
wend, 35/315, 73/495, thought. O.E. wende [wénan]
wende, 103/469, to go, to turn. O.E. wendan.
wené, 102/445, think. O.E. wéne [wénan].
were (on), 70/402, in doubt.
wet, 63/188; wete, 62/164; wott, 76/601; wette, 59/67, to know. O.E. witan.
whunt, 23/114, probably 'quaint' in the original. Cf. Introd., p. lxvi.

wisse, 5/22, guide, direct. O.E. wissian, wission.
wit, 5/15, know. O.E. witan.
withmyde, 28/62, denied, disobeyed.
Cf. M.E. witten. O.N. neila, to say no.
witten, 104/483, know. O.E. witan.
wole, 104/499, mad. O.E. weôl, wo-lo-wo, ride welawey.
won, 57/8; wonde, 59/58, change, turn away. O.E. weman.
wone, 6/37, one. O.E. án.
wonneth, 54/13, 54/19, dwells, in-habits. O.E. wænian.
wood, 80/307. Cf. wode.
woode, 76/596. Cf. wode.
woodnesse, 71/422, madness, frenzy.
O.E. wðdnis,
work-looms, 22/82, text is evidently corrupt, probably work-tools.
wot, 6/40, knowest. O.E. wóst [witan].
wott, 76/601, vide wet.
wrust, 101/416, accuses, molests, O.E. werian.
wyrhtly, 74/526, 75/560, vigorously, nimbly.
wyst, 61/142, known. O.E. geviten [witan].
wyt, 42/161, know. O.E. witan.
yar, 102/434, ready, prepared. O.E. gearo.
yede, 64/219, went. O.E. eóde.
yilp, 89/37, boast. O.E. gelpan, gielpan.
ylke, 70/415, 71/417, 77/620, same. O.E. ilca.

Richard Clay & Sons, Limited, London and Bungay.
The Society intends to complete, as soon as its funds will allow, the Reprints of its out-of-print Texts of the year 1866, and also of nos. 20, 26, and 33. Dr. Otto Glauing has undertaken Seintre Marherete; and Dr. Furnivall has Hali Meidenheald in type. As the cost of these Reprints, if they were not needed, would have been devoted to fresh Texts, the Reprints will be sent to all Members in lieu of such Texts. Though called 'Reprints, these books are new editions, generally with valuable additions, a fact not noted by a few careless receivers of them, who have complained that they already had the volumes.

April 1909. A gratifying gift is to be made to the Society. The American owner of the unique MS. of the Works of John Metham—whose Romance of Amoryus and Cleopas was sketched by Dr. Furnivall in his new edition of Political, Religious and Love Poetry, No. 15 in the Society's Original Series—has promised to give the Society an edition of his MS. prepared by Dr. Hardin Craig of Princeton, and it will be issued this year as No. 132 of the Original Series. The giver hopes that his example may be followed by other folk, as the support hitherto given to the Society is so far below that which it deserves.

The Original-Series Texts for 1908 were, No. 135, Part II of the Coventry Lect Book, copied and edited by Miss M. Dormer Harris; No. 136, Part II of The Brut, or The Chronicles of England, edited by Dr. F. Brie, showing the name Chaucer in the Roll of Battle Abbey; and No. 135b, Extra Issue, an off-print—by the kind leave of the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press, the Editors of the Cambridge History of English Literature, and the author,—of Prof. J. M. Manly's chapter on Piers the Plowman and its Sequence (Camb. Hist. ii. 1-12), showing the fivefold authorship of the Vision. This is a necessary correction of the Society's editions of the work, and the Society is grateful for the permission to issue it.

The Texts for 1909 will be chosen from Earth upon Earth, all the known texts, edited by Dr. Hilda Murray; Twelfth-Century Homilies in MS. Bodleian 343, edited by A. O. Hallowcott, M.A.; Parts III of the Coventry Lect Book and The Brut; Capgrave's Lives of St. Augustine and St. Gilbert of Sempringham, A.D. 1451, edited by J. J. Muno; The Wars of Alexander the Great, edited from the Thornton MS. in the Northern dialect, by J. S. Westlake, M.A., and L. A. Magnus, Ll.B.; Part III of the Alphabet of Tales, edited by Mrs. M. W. Banks; Part III of the English Register of Godstow Nunnery, and Part II of the English Register of Osney Abbey, edited by the Rev. Dr. Andrew Clark. Future texts will be Part III of Robert of Brunne's Handlyng Synne, edited by Dr. Furnivall, with a Glossary of Wm. of Waddington's French words in his Manuel des Pecheurs, and comments on them, by Mr. Dickson-Brown; Part II of the Exeter Book—Anglo-Saxon Poems from the unique MS, in Exeter Cathedral—re-edited by Israel Gollancz, M.A.; Part II of Prof. Dr. Holthausen's Vices and Virtues; Part II of Jacob's Well, edited by Dr. Brandes; the Alliterative Siege of Jerusalem, edited by the late Prof. Dr. E. Kölbing and Prof. Dr. Kaluza; an Introduction and Glossary to the Minor Poems of the Vernon MS., by H. Hartley, M.A.; Alain Chartier's Quadrilogue, edited from the unique MS. Univ. Coll. Oxford No. 85, by Prof. J. W. H. Atkins; and the Early Verse and Prose in the Harleian MS. 2253, re-edited by Dr. Hilda Murray. Canon Wordsworth of Marlborough has given the Society a copy of the Leofric Canonical Rule, Latin and Anglo-Saxon, Parker MS. 191, C. C. C. Cambridge, and Prof. Napier will edit it, with a fragment of the english Capitula of Bp. Theodulf: it is now at press.

The Extra-Series Texts for 1908 were, No. CII, a new edition of the famous Early-English Dictionary (the first English and Latin one), Promptorium Parvulorum, from the Winchester MS., ab. 1440 A.D. ;—in which the Editor, the Rev. A. L. Mayhew, M.A., has followed and printed his MS, not only in its arrangement of nouns first, and verbs second, under every letter of the Alphabet, but also in its giving of the flexions of the words. The Society's edition is thus the first modern one that really represents its original, a point on which Mr. Mayhew's insistence has met with the sympathy of all our Members; and No. CIII, Lydgate's Troy Book, Part II, Book III, edited by Dr. Hy. Bergen.

The Extra-Series Texts for 1909 will be No. CIV, The Non-Cycle Mystery Plays, re-edited by O. Waterhouse, M.A.; and No. CV, The Tale of Beryn, with a Prologue of the merry Adventure of the Pardoner with a Taster at Canterbury, printed from a cast of the Chaucer Society's plates. As the Society hadn't money enough to pay for its Troy Book, Part II, in 1903, it has to take that out of its income of 1909; and it has therefore been obliged to borrow from the Chaucer Society the amusing Tale of Beryn, edited by Dr. Furnivall and the late W. G. Boswell-Stone.

Future Extra-Series Texts will be De Medicina, re-edited by Prof. Delcourt; Lovelick's Romance of Merlin, re-edited by Dr. E. A. Kock, Part II; Miss Warren's two-text edition of The Dance of Death from the Ellesmere and other MSS.; Lydgate's Minor Poems, with a settlement of the Lydgate Canon, ed. by Dr. H. N. MacCracken; Lydgate's Troy Book, Part III, edited by Dr. Hy. Bergen; The Owl and Nightingale, two parallel Texts, edited by Mr. G. F. H. Sykes; Dr. Erbe's re-edition of Mark's Festival, Part II; Dr. M. Konrath's re-edition of William of Shoreham's Poems, Part II; Prof. Erdmann's re-edition of Lydgate's Siege of Thebes (issued also by the Chaucer Society); Prof. Israel Gollancz's re-edition of two Alliterative Poems, Wiccor and Waster, &c., about 1360; Dr. Norman Moore's re-edition of The Book of the Foundation of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London, from the unique MS. about 1425, which gives an account of the Founder, Rahere, and the miraculous
cures wrought at the Hospital; *The Craft of Nombrage*, with other of the earliest English Treatises on Arithmetic, edited by R. Steele, B.A.; and the Second Part of the prose Romance of *Melusine*—introduction, with ten facsimiles of the best woodblocks of the old foreign black-letter editions, Glossary, &c., by A. K. Donald, B.A. (now in India).

Later Texts for the Extra Series will include *The Three Kings' Sons*, Part II, the Introduction, &c., by Prof. Dr. Leon Kellner; Part II of *The Chester Plays*, re-edited from the MSS., with a full collation of the formerly missing Devonshire MS., by Mr. G. England and Dr. Matthews; Prof. Jespersen's editions of John Hart's *Orthographie* (MS. 1551 A.D. ; blackletter 1569), and *Method to teach Reading*, 1570 ; Deguilleville's *Pilgrimage of the Soul*, in English prose, edited by Mr. Hans Koestner. (For the three prose versions of *The Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*—two English, one French—an Editor is wanted.) Members are asked to realise the fact that the Society has now 50 years' work on its Lists,—at its present rate of production,—and that there is from 100 to 200 more years' work to come after that. The year 2000 will not see finish all the Texts that the Society ought to print. The need of more Members and money is pressing. Offers of help from willing Editors have continually to be declined because the Society has no funds to print their Texts.

An urgent appeal is hereby made to Members to increase the list of Subscribers to the E. E. Text Society. It is nothing less than a scandal that the Hellenic Society should have over 1000 members, while the Early English Text Society has not 300!

Before his death in 1895, Mr. G. N. Currie was preparing an edition of the 15th and 16th century Prose Versions of Guillaume de Deguilleville's *Pilgrimage of the Life of Man*, with the French prose version by Jean Galopez, from Lord Aldenham's MS., he having generously promised to pay the extra cost of printing the French text and engraving one or two of the illuminations in his MS. But Mr. Currie died when in the very first stage of his work, and in order to finish all his MSS. which lay in a state of disrepair and unluckily all the E. T. S.'s copies of the Deguilleville prose versions were with them, and were burnt with them, so that the Society will be put to the cost of fresh copies, Mr. Currie having died in debt.

Guillaume de Deguilleville, monk of the Cistercian abbey of Chaalis, in the diocese of Senlis, wrote his first verse *Pelerinage de l'Homme* in 1330-1 when he was 36.1 Twenty-five (or six) years later, in 1355, he revised his poem, and issued a second version of it,2 a revision of which was printed ab. 1500. Of the prose representative of the first version, 1330-1, English, ab. 1430 A.D., was edited by Mr. Aldis Wright for the Roxburghe Club in 1889, from MS. Fr. 5. 30 in the Cambridge University Library. Other copies of this prose English are in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow, Q. 2. 25; Sion College, London; and the Land Collection in the Bodleian, no. 740.3 A copy in the Northern dialect is MS. G. 21, in St. John's Coll., Cambridge, and this is the MS. which will be edited for the E. E. Text Society. The Land MS. 740 was somewhat condensed and modernised, in the 17th century, into MS. Fr. 6. 30, in the Cambridge University Library;4 “The Pilgrim or the Pilgrimage of Man in this World,” copied by Will. Baspoole, whose copy “was verbatim written” by Walter Parker, 1615, and from thence transcribed by G. G. 1649; and from thence by W. A. 1655.” This last copy may have been read by, or its story reported to, Bunyan, and may have been the groundwork of his *Pilgrim's Progress*. It will be edited for the E. E. T. Soc., its text running under the earlier English, as in Mr. Hortage's edition of the *Gesta Romanorum* for the Society. In February 1643,5 Jean Galopez—a clerk of Angers, afterwards chaplain to John, Duke of Bedford, Regent of France—translated Deguilleville's first verse *Pelerinage* into a prose *Pelerinage de la vie humaine*.6 By the kindness of Lord Aldenham, as above mentioned, Galopez's French text will be printed opposite the early prose northern English in the Society's edition.

The Second Version of Deguilleville's *Pelerinage de l'Homme*, A.D. 1355 or -6, was englisch in verse by Lydgate in 1426, and, thanks to the diligence of the old Elizabethan tailor and manuscript-lover, John Stowe, a complete text of Lydgate's poem has been edited for the Society by Dr. Furnivall. The British Museum French MSS. (Harleian 4399,7 and Additional 29,9788 and 25,5949) are all of the First Version.

Besides his first *Pelerinage de l'homme* in its two versions, Deguilleville wrote a second, "de l'ame separate du corps," and a third, "de nostre seigneur Jesus." Of the second, a prose Englishing of 1413, *The Pilgrimage of the Soul* (with poems, by Hoccleve, already printed with the Society with that author's *Regement of Princes*), exists in the Egerton MS. 615,10 at

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1 He was born about 1295. See Abbé Goujet’s *Bibliothèque française*, Vol. IX, p. 73-4.—P. M. The Roxburghe Club printed the 1st version in 1893.
2 The Roxburghe Club's copy of this 2nd version was lent to Mr. Currie, and unluckily burnt too with his other MSS.
3 These 3 MSS. have not yet been collated, but are believed to be all of the same version.
4 Yet later of the 16th century. These were printed in France, late in the 15th or early in the 16th century.
5 According to Lord Aldenham's MS.
6 These were printed in France, late in the 15th or early in the 16th century.
7 Containing only the *Pie humaine*.
8 Containing all the 3 Pilgrimages, the 3rd being Jesus Christ's.
9 Containing the *Pie humaine* and the 2nd Pilgrimage, *de l'Ame* both incomplete.
10 Ab. 1430, 106 leaves (leaf 1 of text wanting), with illuminations of nice little devils—red, green, tawny, &c.—and damnd souls, firles, angels &c.
Hatfield, Cambridge (Univ. Kk. 1. 7, and Caius), Oxford (Univ. Coll. and Corpus), and in Caxton's edition of 1483. This version has 'somewhat of addicted' as Caxton says, and some shortenings too, as the maker of both, the first translator, tells us in the MSS. Caxton leaves out the earlier enquirer's interesting Epilog in the Egerton MS. This prose englissing of the Soele has been copied and will be edited for the Society by Mr. Hans Koestner. Of the Pilgrimage of Jesus, no englissing is known.

As to the MS. Anglo-Saxon Psalters, Dr. Hy. Sweet has edited the oldest MS., the Vespasian, in his Oldest English Texts for the Society, and Mr. Harsley has edited the latest, c. 1150, Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter. The other MSS., except the Paris one, being interlinear versions,—some of the Roman-Latin reduction, and some of the Gallican,—Prof. Logeman has prepared for press a Parallel-Text edition of the first twelve Psalms, to start the complete work. He will do his best to get the Paris Psalter—theo' it is not an interlinear one—into this collective edition; but the additional matter, especially in the Verse-Psalms, is very difficult to manage. If the Paris text cannot be parallissed, it will form a separate volume. The Early English Psalters are all independent versions, and will follow separately in due course.

Through the good offices of the Examiners, some of the books for the Early-English Examinations of the University of London will be chosen from the Society's publications, the Committee having undertaken to supply such books to students at a large reduction in price. The net profits from these sales will be applied to the Society's Reprints.

Members are reminded that fresh Subscribers are always wanted, and that the Committee can at any time, on short notice, send to press an additional Thousand Pounds' worth of work.

The Subscribers to the Original Series must be prepared for the issue of the whole of the Early English Lives of Saints, sooner or later. The Society cannot leave out any of them, even though some are dull. The Sinners would doubtless be much more interesting. But in many Saints' Lives will be found valuable incidental details of our forefathers' social state, and all are worthfult for the history of our language. The Lives may be lookt on as the religious romances or story-books of their period.

The Standard Collection of Saints' Lives in the Corpus and Ashmole MSS., the Harleian MS. 2277, &c. will repeat the Laud set, our No. 87, with additions, and in right order. (The foundation MS. (Laud 108) had to be printed first, to prevent quite unwieldy collations.) The Supplementary Lives from the Vernon and other MSS. will form one or two separate volumes.

Besides the Saints' Lives, Trevisa's englissing of Bartholomaeus de Propriationibus Rerum, the mediæval Cyclopedia of Science, &c., will be the Society's next big undertaking. An Editor for it is wanted. Prof. Napier of Oxford, wishing to have the whole of our MS. Anglo-Saxon in type, and accessible to students, will edit for the Society all the unprinted and other Anglo-Saxon Homilies which are not included in Thorpe's edition of Ælfric's prose,1 Dr. Morris's of the Blickling Homilies, and Prof. Skeat's of Ælfric's Metrical Homilies. The late Prof. Kolbing left complete his text, for the Society, of the Ancren Riwle, from the best MS., with collations of the other four, and this will be edited for the Society by Dr. Thümler. Mr. Harvey means to prepare an edition of the three MSS. of the Earliest English Metrical Psalter, one of which was edited by the late Mr. Stevenson for the Surtees Society.

Members of the Society will learn with pleasure that its example has been followed, not only by the Old French Text Society which has done such admirable work under its founders Profs. Paul Meyer and Gaston Paris, but also by the Early Russian Text Society, which was set on foot in 1877, and has since issued many excellent editions of old MS. Chronicles, &c.

Members will also note with pleasure the annexation of large tracts of our Early English territory by the important German contingent, the late Professors Zapitza and Kölbing, the living Hausknecht, Einenkel, Haenisch, Kaluza, Hupe, Adam, Holthausen, Schick, Herzfeld, Brandeis, Sieper, Konrath, Weilting, &c. Scandinavia has also sent us Prof. Erdmann and Dr. E. A. Kock; Holland, Prof. H. Logeman, who is now working in Belgium; France, Prof. Paul Meyer—with Gaston Paris as adviser ( alas, now dead);— Italy, Prof. Lattanzi; Austria, Dr. von Fleischhacker; while America is represented by the late Prof. Child, by Dr. Mary Noyes Colvin, Miss Rickert, Profs. Mead, McKnight, Triggs, Hulme, Bryce, Craig, Drs. Bergan, MacCracken, &c. The sympathy, the ready help, which the Society's work has cald forth from the Continent and the United States, have been among the pleasantest experiences of the Society's life, a real aid and cheer amid all troubles and discouragements. All our Members are grateful for it, and recognise that the bond their work has woven between them and the lovers of language and antiquity across the seas is one of the most welcome results of the Society's efforts.

1 Of these, Mr. Harsley is preparing a new edition, with collations of all the MSS. Many copies of Thorpe's book, not issued by the Ælfric Society, are still in stock.

Of the Vercelli Homilies, the Society has bought the copy made by Prof. G. Lattanzi.
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