THE PASSION GROUP IN THE YORK CYCLE
Studies in metre, text and literary
and Biblical relationships

-Vol. 1-

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Thesis submitted for the degree
of Ph.D.
ABSTRACT

This study of Plays 26-36 of the York Cycle (The Conspiracy to the Death and Burial) establishes the following:

1. These dramatisations adhere closely to the Gospel accounts of Christ's Passion; additionally there is distinct evidence in some plays of dependence upon other works. In the case of one poem, The Northern Passion, this is found to be less than had been previously claimed. These materials have been interpreted and shaped into dramatic form, often reworking an earlier version of the same subject, with such modifications and additions as are described.

2. The only surviving manuscript is a compilation made 1430-40 of plays with different textual histories. Some are unmodified, complete compositions, in some cases replacing earlier plays; yet others, far from indicating a poet's preference for experimentation with different metres and stanza forms as has been previously supposed, are a patchwork of modification, interpolation and revision.

3. Certain plays display the distinctive metrical features of alliterative poetry as defined, particularly that form in rhyming stanzas which flourished in the North of England from c.1350. Thus the plays continue and also modify certain Old English metrical practices. The number and distribution of the unstressed syllables in the line is not completely undetermined as has been sometimes maintained, but is fixed in a high proportion of lines in rhythmical types of different syntactical structure.

4. Other plays present very different metrical features, the line having a fixed number of syllables and a basically iambic rhythm; two plays have such similar metrical characteristics as to be the work of the same author. One play successfully combines elements of both metrical styles.

5. There is no evidence in these plays that the York and Towneley cycles were at one time identical, as has been claimed, although in certain cases (notably Play 34) Towneley clearly depends upon York.
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1. Editions


2. Palaeography


3. Origins of the Cycle plays

Sources of the plays

4. Sources of the plays


5. Towneley cycle


6. Ludus Coventriae


7. Chester cycle


8. Metre


9. **Dialect**


10. **The Plays and Medieval Art**


11. **Various Studies**


## ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>EETS. ES.</td>
<td>Early English Text Society, Extra Series.</td>
</tr>
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<td>OED</td>
<td>The Oxford (New) English Dictionary.</td>
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<td>PMLA</td>
<td>Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.</td>
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The new transcription of Plays 26-36 of the York cycle (British Museum MS 35290, fos. 110r-189v) here appended (Vol. 2) has been made in order to establish the studies which follow upon a firm manuscript basis. The Glossary represents one stage in the examination of the validity of that text in so far as all the words listed (with the few exceptions indicated) are recorded by MED or OED as being current at the manuscript period in the forms and senses set down. The presence of probable corruption in the manuscript text on the other hand is indicated both in the Notes and in the discussions of the individual plays. The material of Volume 2 therefore supplements the studies contained in the first volume.
CHAPTER 1

GENERAL INTRODUCTION
AND PLAY 26

THE CONSPIRACY TO TAKE JESUS
The plays of the York cycle dealing with the events of Christ's Passion from the inception of the conspiracy against him to his death and burial form part of British Museum Additional MS 35290. The whole volume, containing 48 plays and a fragment of a play\(^1\) is the only surviving manuscript copy of the complete Corpus Christi cycle of York.\(^2\) The text of the whole cycle was edited by Lucy Toulmin Smith in 1885\(^3\) and since then editions of single plays only have been published.\(^4\)

There are a number of blank pages in the manuscript, 48 in all. Four immediately follow Play 21 for the Vintners' Play, The Marriage at Cana, of which two lines only survive in a "hand of the sixteenth century"\(^5\) and five are left after Play 23 for the Ironmongers' Play, Jesus at the House of Simon the Leper, which was never copied in. From this and other evidence, it is clear that the manuscript is a compilation. The manuscripts of the plays could not all have been available to the scribe when he began his task, and he seems to have made a start with those which he did have, leaving blank spaces for material yet to come. Each play, therefore, in being transcribed from a separate original offers different textual problems. The copying of the plays varies considerably, not only in such minor matters as spacing and writing size, but more particularly in the accuracy with which they are transcribed. Smith drew attention to the many textual difficulties which beset the plays of the Passion Group,\(^6\) concluding that the scribe must either have had several confusing manuscripts to work from, involving perhaps alterations and combinations in the plays, or that he may have been required to make these himself. As another possibility, she suggested that the scribe may have written partly by ear or from memory, not quite understanding what he was about.

The greater part of the manuscript, including all the
plays of the Passion group, has been written by one hand of the first half of the fifteenth century (7) and the general manner of recording the plays is uniform throughout.

The plays are written in playing sequence. Each play is begun on a new page, and each page of the manuscript is headed with the name of the craft or crafts associated with that particular play. No play is titled or numbered. In some plays a space has been left for a large initial capital letter, and sometimes this has been filled in. Otherwise the manuscript is plain. The numbering of the pages is modern, and as Smith has noted (8) is inconsistent in sometimes including and sometimes excluding blank leaves.

The text is written in a single column within a ruled margin. Although, as Smith has shown (9) the plays are written in many different stanza forms, this has not been indicated in the manuscript, and there is no division of the lines into stanzas. In the first part of the section of the manuscript containing the Passion plays, barred vertical lines have been used to indicate the rhymes, sometimes incorrectly. Frequently long lines have been divided and written as two, but this is not done with any consistency in individual stanzas, and in many cases the stanza form of plays has thus become rather obscured. Short tag lines are often written in the margin, and quite frequently misplaced. A rubricator has inserted the names of the speakers against the right-hand margin at the beginning of each speech, ruled horizontal lines between each speech, and touched the initial letter of each line. The manuscript has few stage directions, but these are also in red. Only in Play 20 have the persons of the play been listed.

No record remains of the circumstances under which the manuscript was written, but it is generally agreed that it is a register or official copy of the plays compiled for the corporation of York about 1430-40. (10) It is believed that the corporation would have done this by calling in the
individual plays from the hands of the guilds, with the intention, as some critics maintain, of preserving the plays from possible secularisation.\(^{(11)}\)

There are a number of additions and alterations to the manuscript, mainly of a minor nature, in hands of different periods. Moreover a pair of leaves is missing from five of the quires in the manuscript. Smith thought these had probably been removed intentionally.\(^{(12)}\)

Most of the alterations to the manuscript are in a hand of the second half of the sixteenth century, when the doctrinal content of the plays would have come under close scrutiny.\(^{(13)}\) These annotations seem to date from 1568 when, as Smith suggests, "in obvious anticipation of the correction or censure of the reforming Archbishop Grindal\(^{(14)}\) and following receipt of a letter of advice from the Dean of York regarding the Creed play,\(^{(15)}\) the corporation agreed that "the booke therof shuld be perused and otherwise amended before it were playd".\(^{(16)}\)

Later, in 1575, a deputation from the corporation was sent to the Archbishop to "require ... all suche the play bookes as perteyne this cittie now in his graces custodie" and to suggest the appointment of "twoe or thre sufficiently learned to correcte the same, wherein by the lawes of this realme they are to be reformed".\(^{(17)}\)

Again in 1579 the corporation agreed that "the booke shalbe caried to my Lord Archebisshop and Mr Deane to correcte, if that my Lord Archebisshop doo well like thereon".\(^{(18)}\) Chambers dates the annotations in the manuscript addressed to a Doctor from this time.\(^{(19)}\) These state that plays 12, 18, 21 and 28 had been rewritten since the register was compiled. The proposed complete revision of the plays was never carried out, perhaps in view of the difficulties of the mayors of Chester with the revivals of their cycles of plays in 1572 and 1575. It seems that the Dean, Dr Matthew Hutton, and the Archbishop, by 1579
Edwin Sandys, retaining the register, and the plays were never again performed, in spite of a request from the commons in 1580 "that Corpus xpi play might be played this yere".

The manuscript of the plays then passed, as Smith records, to successive members of the Fairfax family, one of whom gave it to Ralph Thoresby in 1695. Horace Walpole subsequently purchased it in 1764 for a guinea. Then having passed through several hands, it came into the possession of Lord Ashburnham, and is now in the British Museum.

**Play 26: The Conspiracy**

The manuscript copying of Play 26 presents few apparent difficulties, since the text is clearly written, and the contracted forms used are few and of well-known kinds. The handwriting for the most part lacks flourishes, although in a very few instances there is some doubt whether a final e is indicated after n and d.

That the scribe was working from an earlier manuscript is clear from several errors, particularly in confusing long r with y (1.211, bay for bar; 1.242, contrarie for contraye), c with i (1.128, Vn cust for Vniust), n with v (1.216, meve for mene; 1.198, hyve for hyne), s with f (1.41, skyste for skyfte). Among other errors are: ve for we (1.292); fales frende for false fende (1.247); hm for hym (1.232); ter for Yee (1.236); Tat for That (1.133).

The style of the text differs slightly from that of other plays in the Passion Group, in so far as occasionally a dot in the manuscript indicates punctuation or the central caesura in a long line. Additionally the rubricator has bracketed together alternate lines in the text up to 1.37, apparently believing from the first four lines that the play was composed throughout in quatrains rhyming abab. This
marking becomes confused between 11.37 and 48, and after 1.48 is discontinued.

Other scribal errors of a minor nature include:
(a) Single words repeated (1.34, thurgh thurgh; also 1.85).
(b) Single letters omitted (1.183, drawe[n]).
(c) A single word omitted (1.268).

Additionally, the rubricator has twice marked off passages although no change of speaker is indicated (following 11.197, 226). Lines 252-4 have been assigned to Pilatus, but this entry has been later deleted. A similar error in allocating 11.191-2 to Judas has been noticed and amended in the same way.

A few additions have been made to the text in later hands:
(a) Pilatus has been written against the opening speech of the play.
(b) Lines 117-120a have been allocated, correctly from their content, to Pilatus (an amendment from Cayphas, inserted in another later hand).
(c) A marginal note, Caret hic Janitor and Judas, in two different hands, is set against 1.280, and caret hic in the first of these hands against 1.284 (see p.9 below).
(d) At the end of the play is added finis.

II

The plays of the York cycle are written in a variety of poetic forms even in individual plays, a feature which suggests composition and revision by a number of writers at different periods. (22) Smith identified 22 different stanzaic forms in the 48 plays, but she
observed that two basically different types of poetry were to be found in the cycle, "the alliterative, in which the metre is determined by accent or stress, not by the number of syllables or feet", and a second style with a fixed number of syllables. (23)

Later writers attempted to group the plays into major periods of composition in the cycle and then to ascribe various individual plays to composition or revision by single authors. Using various criteria, not always clearly defined, critics have been much in disagreement on these matters. As far as the plays of the Passion Group are concerned, Hohlfeld suggested that plays 28 (The Agony and Betrayal), 29 (Peter's Denial; The Trial before Caiphas), 30 (The Dream of Pilate's Wife; Jesus before Pilate), 31 (Trial before Herod) and 32 (Second Accusation before Pilate; Remorse of Judas; Purchase of the Field of Blood) belonged to a final layer of composition in the cycle. (24)

Gayley added Plays 26 (The Conspiracy) and 33 (The Condemnation) to this list, and concluded that the same author was "more or less responsible" for Play 36 (Mortificacio Christi and Burial of Jesus) "an original production substituted by our playwright for some older play". He had also worked on "certain over-alliterated and accented Herodiads and other regalities" in Plays 11, 16 and 17. More than this, Gayley suggested that all the plays of the Passion Group, excluding Play 27 (The Last Supper) had been either composed, retouched or revised by the author of the latest "realistic" period of York writing, c.1400. (25)

Greg agreed with these views only in so far as Plays 26, 28, 29, 30, 31 and 33 were concerned, including in his list the first stanza of Play 34 (Christ led up to Calvary) and confirming these compositions as the latest in the cycle and also the work of one author. He particularly
disagreed with Gayley about Play 36, however, ascribing it to the second major period of composition and to "the work of a writer who is distinguished as being the only great metrist who devoted his talents to the English religious drama as we know it". Additionally Greg also thought that the section of Play 32 dealing with the Remorse of Judas probably contained "portions of more than one second period play worked over by him" (the final writer on the cycle).(26)

Chambers agreed with this classification, suggesting that the last writer, the so-called York Realist, was "active between 1415 and 1432" and the work of the writer of the second period (the York Metrist) belonged to "the earlier part of the fifteenth century". The work of the Realist was characterised by the "combination .. of rhyme with alliterative stress". (27)

Frampton similarly dates the work of this writer in the third decade of the fifteenth century. (28)

Reese later challenged previous writers for failing to recognise true alliterative verse, which he identified in the Passion Group in Plays 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33 and 36, together with the first stanza of Play 34. To this group of plays were to be added Nos 1 (The Creation and the Fall of Lucifer), 16 (The Coming of the Three Kings to Herod), 40 (The Travellers to Emmaus meet Jesus), 45 (The Death of Mary), and 46 (The Appearance of Our Lady to Thomas) together with sts 22, 23 and 24 of Play 17. Additionally one short section in Plays 25 and 41 seemed to him to be "efforts at utilizing alliterative verse". He further suggested that all these plays and sections of plays were either the work of one author (The York Realist) or perhaps of a school of alliterative poetry. (29)

Craig supported the view that Plays 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33 and 36 were "probably the work of one author",
adding "the man had a genius, or at least a noteworthy talent." Craig further offered a definition of the basic metrical similarity between these plays, "The rhyme schemes of stanzas used ... though never exactly the same in different plays and rarely consistently carried out in any one play are generally similar throughout the series. The characteristic feature is the use of a long-lined alliterative double quatrain of four accents to the line, sometimes linked together in the middle by rhyme and sometimes rhymed alternately throughout the eight lines. In some plays the writer uses single quatrains, but in either case he usually follows the opening group with a cauda of varying length and of three accents to the line."(30) How far this definition reflects accurately the poetry of the first play in the Passion Group, the Conspiracy, and what additional characteristics of its metrical style may be identified, it is proposed to examine below.

As previously mentioned, the rubricator of the manuscript clearly thought that the whole play was composed in quatrains. His later puzzlement was no doubt due to the fact that many lines too long to be set down on the page without some kind of division have been so divided at the caesura, without any indication being made of the lines so affected, and this is particularly confusing when such lines are either preceded or followed by lines in which no such division has been necessary. Nor has any grouping of the lines into stanzas been indicated in the manuscript. The effect is to obscure the first essential feature, deduced from an examination of alliteration and rhyme, and confirming the view of Smith(31) that the play is composed throughout in 21 completely regular fourteen-line stanzas, consisting of eight long lines, rhyming abababab, followed by six shorter lines, rhyming cdcccd.

The fact that this complex stanzaic form is sustained throughout with regularity suggests that the play was composed as a whole at one time, and that it has been
preserved in its original state, without any later modification or interpolation. It is not clear therefore on what grounds the later marginal notes at 11.280 and 284 (see p. 5) draw attention to material wanting from the play. A complete stanza may be missing following st. 20, but any addition at 1.284 would corrupt the form of st. 21. The reference therefore appears to be to material added after the register was written.

As an unmodified, complete composition, the play therefore provides a good basis on which to determine the metrical principles of this style of poetry, a matter which it seems particularly important to examine and define in some detail when there has been so much disagreement among critics in the past about which plays constituted the later or alliterative plays to be attributed to the York Realist.

In this play, the octave of each stanza consists of long lines containing for the most part four chief stresses, and these four stresses are separated medially by a caesura so that the line falls into two half-lines. The consonants preceding the stressed vowels frequently all alliterate, that is, they all have the same or a very similar sound (expressed as alliterative type aa/aa), for example:

He schall full bittirly bâne / Vat bide schall my blame
If all my blee be as bright / As blossome on brere
(11.19-20)

A very high proportion of lines of the octave (117, or 69.6%) is composed in exactly the same way, for example:

And yus to prayse in yat place / Cure prophettis compellis (1.87)
You arte combered in Curstnesse / And caris to yis coste (1.171)
Wooschall I wirke ye / away but you wede (1.176)
But what taught he yat tyme, / Swilk tales as you tellus (1.85)

Occasionally the line appears to extend to three stresses
in the first half-line, and in a few instances to three stresses in the second half-line, with a view perhaps to creating an occasional variation in the regular four-stress rhythm of the line, for example:

For traytoures tyte will I taynte, ye tréwye for to triste (1.6)

Sir, I méne of no málice / But mírthe méve I míste (1.173)

In some lines on the other hand it appears that additional alliterating words are purely ornamental, or perhaps their occurrence is merely fortuitous, for they do not take a chief stress in the line, for example:

And will nojt sesse for oure sawes / To synke so in synne (1.100)

Such is the poet's desire to have four alliterating syllables in each line that on occasion he appears to alliterate on a prefix rather than on a stem, for example:

(V)ndir ye ryallest royé of rente and renowne (1.1)
For he pervertis oure pepull / That proues his prechyng (1.113)

It is also noticeable that in some lines initial forms of address, exclamations, etc. appear to be considered as falling outside the four-stress alliterative format of the line, taking perhaps a secondary chief stress:

For I haue tythandis to telle. / 3a, som tresoune I trowe (1.160)
Say, ar ye plesid of this price / He preces to present (1.230)
What! demes you till oure dukes / That doole schulde be dight (1.184)
Goode sir, be toward ys tyme / And tarie nought my trace (1.159)

There are also a few similar cases where a non-alliterating word appears to take such a secondary chief stress in the line, for example:

Where tabillis full of tresoure lay / To telle and to tryé (1.72)
In all the remaining lines of the octave (with the exception of the incomplete 1.268) alliteration occurs in connection with either two or three of the four stressed syllables. The most frequent type xa/aa occurs in 18 lines (10.7%), for example:

For truly you moste lerne vs / That lôsell to lâche (1.253)

Among other types are:

aa/ax: For of als mêkill móny he mide me deelay (1.244) (8 lines)

xa/ax: But vttir so thy lângage / That you lêtte noght vare Ûlys (1.204)(1 line)

aa/xa: Abide in my blyssing, / And lâte youre brestë (1.269) (3 lines)

aaa/ax: Pooncke Pilatt of thre partis / Then is my prôpir nàme (1.15)

There also appears to be one example of a complex type: (36)

abb/abb: The whilke yat I kisse. / Ûat comes wele ûe, córious, I clepe (1.258)

The poet shows great skill in his attempts to resolve the obvious conflict which exists in the use of an intensely artificial verse form in dramatic situations which require lively and realistic dialogue. He does this principally by apportioning the line between two speakers and by introducing various pauses into the line:

(Pilatus) What comes he fore? (Janitor) I kenne hym noght, but he is clâde in a cope (1.199)

Of werke, sir, yat hath wretthid you, / I wotte what I meene (1.214)

These methods clearly take preference in the octave to the use of enjambment, which is of infrequent occurrence:

Ûat same Oynerament, I saide, / Might same haue bene solde For silver penys in a sowme / Thre hundereth, and fyne; (11.141-2)

The poet makes his task additionally difficult in this respect by adopting a further alliterative technique, the linking together of the lines ab of the octave in groups of two by a continuation of the same alliterative sound. (37)

For sône his lîffe shall he lôse / Or lêft be for lâme Ûat lôwtes nopt to me lowly / Nor lîste nopt to leere (11.21-2)
It is a remarkable technical achievement on the part of the poet that he manages to achieve this linking in almost every line of the octave, the exceptions being st. 10, 11.133-4; st. 13, 11.169-70-1; 174-5-6; st. 20, 1.268 (a defective line).

All the metrical techniques observed in the octave continue into the cauda of the stanza with only slight variations, for each of the six lines is based on the same principle of alliteration reinforcing metrical stress. All the lines (with the possible exception of three) have three chief stresses. 64 lines (or 50.7%) have the same three alliterative sounds, for example:

All sámme for ye sámme we beseke you (1.126)
For tythandis full tréw can I tèle (1.178)

The remaining three lines are so heavy with alliteration that they could be said to have four chief stresses rather than three, for example:

Tille hym, bot ye hastely hym hang (1.250)

In the remaining lines two of the three chief stressed syllables alliterate:

xaa (48 lines, 38%), e.g. 1.252: But, Judas, we trély ye trást.

axa (3 lines) e.g. 1.51: For he kénnes folke hym for to cál.

aax (6 lines) e.g. 1.136: For of his pénys purser was I.

Of the whole, only two lines lack such structural alliteration:

My blissing, sone, haue you forthy (1.221)
Go forth, for a traytoure ar ye (1.264)

As in the octave, the lines of the cauda are skilfully broken up into dialogue:

(jus Mil) Be lyght yan. / (Judas) 3is, latte me allone (1.278)

In the cauda, however, enjambment is used much more frequently, with the purpose, it would seem, of varying the line and freeing it from constraint, for example:

And sais yat he sittande be schall
In high heuen, for yere is his hall (11.53-4).
In the cauda also lines are linked by alliteration in groups of two, although this is not sustained with any regularity. In only two stanzas (1 and 6) the last two lines of the octave are so linked to the cauda, but the most frequent link is between the two last lines of the stanza (6 lines) e.g.

Sen 3e hére of béwte ye bél
eMythely schall we bowe as ye biddé (11.195-6)

In four stanzas the first two lines of the cauda are so linked:

A, goođe sir, take ténte to my tákkyng pis tyde,
For týthandis full tréw can I télle (11.177-8).

In three other instances, however, the alliterative linking of lines occurs elsewhere in the stanza.

As has been indicated above (p.9), in this play the long line is formed on the basis of four chief stresses (with few exceptions). The rhythm of the line depends for the most part on the accentuation of these stressed syllables, which are in most cases pointed by alliteration. The remaining syllables in the line are thus subordinated to these chief stresses in various degrees. These unstressed syllables vary considerably in number in successive lines, and although the syllabic value to be accorded to final unstressed -e in poetry of this period has been disputed, it is nevertheless possible to see that in this play between one, two and three unstressed syllables occur in almost every combination with the chief stresses in each half-line.\(^{38}\) As a basic principle, however, the first half-line usually contains a larger number of syllables than the second half-line. The line thus does not depend upon syllable count, for about half the lines of the octave appear to consist of twelve syllables, with considerable variation in successive lines, some containing eleven and thirteen syllables, and others with as few as ten or, in one case, as many as eighteen syllables. Thus while the basic rhythm of the line is fixed by the presence of the four chief stresses and within that format considerable variation is apparently permissible in the number and distribution of the unstressed syllables, it is noticeable that in the first half-line certain rhythmic types tend to recur with
some frequency:

\( \text{xxx/xx/} \) : e.g. To me betaught is ye tent (1.5a) (35 lines) (7 syllables)

\( \text{x/xxx/x} \) : e.g. Thy glyfftynge is so grymly (1.158a) (19 lines) (7 syllables)

\( \text{xxx/x/x} \) : e.g. For of als mekill mony (1.244) (14 lines) (7 syllables)

\( \text{x/xxx/xx} \) : e.g. The dubbyng of my dingnite (1.7a) (9 lines) (8 syllables)

\( \text{xxx/xxx/} \) : e.g. Wher he is thryngand in ye thrang (1.256a) (8 lines) (8 syllables)

The second half-lines on the other hand are generally far more regular, and one rhythm is of particularly high frequency, occurring in 116 lines:

\( \text{x/xx/} \) : e.g. (a) Ay stille is so strange (1.49b) (5 syllables) (strange rhymes with wrong, lange, fang, and it would seem therefore that final unstressed -e in rhyme has no syllabic value, although this does not, of course, clarify its treatment in intransitive position. (39)

(b) To bayll will hym bryng (1.117b)

The type of secondary frequency is \( \text{x/xxx/} \) (6 syllables), occurring in 13 lines, e.g.

And counted no\( ^{\text{3t}} \) yer by (1.74b) (yerby rhymes with trye, plye, maistrie, again indicating the lack of syllabic value of final -e).

Remaining lines again offer many different rhythms.

In the lines of the cauda also one type of rhythm occurs very frequently (48 lines) (8 syllables):

\( \text{x/xx/xx/} \) : e.g. And what wat me taught was vntill (1.137)

But Judas, a knott for to knytt (1.233)

A very high proportion of lines in the cauda contains eight syllables, although the number varies usually between seven and nine. Some lines, however, contain six, ten and eleven syllables. Many different rhythms again occur, including:
From the preceding discussion of the metrical features of the Conspiracy play, it is clear that in the use of a basically four-stress alliterative long line the play has much in common with the long unrhymed poems of the Alliterative Revival of the Western School (1340-1450), mainly composed in West Midland, and analysed by Oakden in considerable detail in his book, *Alliterative Poetry in Middle English*. Among these are such works as *The Alexander Fragments A and B*, *The Wars of Alexander*, *William of Palerne*, *Joseph of Arimathie*, *The Destruction of Troy*, *The Siege of Jerusalem*, *Piers Plowman*, *Patience*, *Purity*, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* and *Morte Arthure*.

More particularly, however, in the use of stanza form, the play resembles the Northern and Scottish poems of the Northern Alliterative Revival, also discussed by Oakden, and represented by works ranging in date from c.1350 (*The Distill of Susan*) to c.1553 (*A Pleasant Satire*).

Oakden's detailed analysis has shown that both these styles represent survivals of the alliterative verse of the Old English period, although modified, particularly by the use of rhyme and stanza form. Among other changes introduced into alliterative poetry throughout the Middle English period, Oakden observes the infrequency of enjambment; the increased length of the long line, and the frequency of extended half-lines; and thus certain alterations in the rhythm of the long line with the increase in the number of unstressed syllables. There was also a movement towards excessive alliteration; towards alliteration on identical rather than different vowels, and towards the preservation of a larger number of consonantal groups.
III

Since, as previously mentioned, no record remains of the circumstances which led to the registration of the York plays, their association with the city of York is substantiated for the most part by entries in the Liber diversorum memorandorum Civitatem Ebor. tangentium (42) which date from 1376. In this year a record refers to the storage of Corpus Christi pageants, and a charge of two shillings "de uno tenemento, in quo tres pagine Corporis Christi ponuntur, per annum". Sellers thought that this entry "proves conclusively that they were an ancient institution even at that early date". (43) That the plays were already long established at this time does not follow, however, from this particular record, although the existence of the plays at this period is confirmed by another record of 1378 in which certain fines incurred by the Bakers would be paid, half to the city chamber, half "a la pagyn de ditz pestours de Corpus Christi". (44) By 1394 the plays are said to be given at stations "antiquitus assignatis". (45) Smith's view that the cycle dates from a period as early as 1340-50 has, however, never been effectively challenged.

One entry in the York records singled out and printed by Smith in her edition of the plays (intro. pp. xix-xxvii) has for many years been considered of major importance in establishing something of the history of the plays. This is an "Ordo paginarum ludi Corporis Cristi tempore Willelmi Ane Maioris anno regni Regis Henrici quinti post conquestum Anglie tercio compilatus per Rogerum Burton Clericum Communem in anno domini millesimo cocoxvmo", and signed RB (f. 252v, new numbering, Book A/Y).

Fifty-one plays are recorded at this period. There is a brief description of each in Latin, and set against each one is the name of the craft or crafts associated with them. These names have been altered frequently at different times, apparently with a view to keeping the list continually up to date, and it appears therefore to have been used by the town authorities to record the allocation of the plays.
Following a list of torches and a set of instructions for the order of crafts in the Corpus Christi procession (noted by Stevens and Dorrell, p.45), a Proclamacio ludi and a second list of 57 plays is set down, again with names of crafts and a very brief description of each play's content. The second list is undated, but signed by Burton. Since his clerkship extended from 1415-1436, it must have been compiled on some occasion within the limits of these dates, and it indicates that a great deal of redistribution and redivision of the plays must have taken place at this period.

The surviving manuscript of the plays corresponds more closely with the first list than the second, the variation between the 48 plays of the manuscript and the 51 plays of the first list being the result of alterations outside the Passion Group. The two lists and other York records indicate that the plays were frequently the subject of alteration as the particular need arose, being reassigned, divided or amalgamated according to the particular circumstances at any one time of the craft guilds of York. Some plays were probably composed especially for crafts coming into prominence, and others had to be discarded by poorer guilds. Finance was thus often the major factor in these changes, for surviving accounts indicate that heavy costs were involved in presenting the plays and in maintaining the pageant wagons, and all expenditure had to be borne by the guild or guilds responsible for each pageant.

There has been considerable discussion among critics for many years about the extent to which the first list may be relied on as a record of the subject matter of the plays in 1415, particularly since some descriptions are very short, being in some cases restricted to a list of the persons of the play. The accuracy of this list has been called into question by several writers, principally Grace Frank and Marie C. Lyle, both of whom were convinced that no great reliance could be placed upon it. Most recently Alan H. Nelson has raised an even more fundamental objection. On the basis of preliminary work by Martin Stevens and his own calculations of
the time-scale involved in the performance at a number of stations of the whole cycle on a single day, he interprets Burton's two lists from the context in which they appear as forming part of the ordinances "for a procession and not for a lengthy true-processional play". Recognising that Burton's first 1415 list provides "detailed descriptions" of individual pageants "many of which involved actions and even speeches", he suggests that "during the course of the march" of the procession "actions of some duration were presented on the pageants", but these processional 'plays' "must have been extremely brief, quite unlike the half-hour-long plays in the Passion sequence of the extant York cycle manuscript". He thus concludes "that in the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries York had two distinct Corpus Christi plays: the procession of pageants on the one hand; and the dramatic cycle on the other. The cycle must have been presented at a single site within the city after the conclusion of the pageant procession".(51)

Mr. Nelson's interpretation of the York records thus leads him to suggest that a second cycle of plays existed at York in 1415, that it was performed earlier on Corpus Christi day, and that it dealt with the same wide range of subject matter as the cycle play, from the Creation to the Judgment, although in a much abbreviated form. Since in the absence of a text of these plays their existence and their relation to the cycle plays is uncertain, it is proposed in the discussions which follow to treat Burton's lists as they have usually been interpreted, as descriptions of the cycle plays. Bearing in mind, however, that Burton's lists may well be inaccurate in minor, but not in major details, it is apparent that they must be treated with some caution in offering evidence of revision in the cycle.

Thus to take first the description of the Conspiracy play, Burton's first list records: Pylatus, Cayphas, duo milites, tres Judei, Judas vendens Jesum (Stevens and Dorrell note that the last three words are added "in another hand" (fn.36, p.46)). This description plainly does not record accurately the play
set down in the manuscript for there is no mention of the character of the Janitor, a personage Craig believes to have been "of sufficient comic importance to have been listed if such a character had belonged to the play when Burton described it". The list also fails to include the character of Annas, but the three Jews may be the three doctors who have speaking parts in the play (Smith, similarly Brampton, lists only two). The omission of Annas could merely be an oversight on Burton's part, although his role in the Conspiracy is almost as important as that of Caiaphas. If, as Mr. Nelson suggests, Burton is describing a short processional play rather than the play which formed part of the cycle as a whole (and which he suggests was performed later in the day) it would seem to follow as a general principle that both dramatic presentations of the subject of the Conspiracy would have involved the depiction of the same personages, otherwise performers costumed, presumably at some expense, for the procession would have had no part in the later complete dramatic presentation, and more important, characters with major roles in the cycle play (such as Annas and the Janitor) would have no place in the procession. It follows therefore that Burton's list of names should be equally valid for either the processional play or the cycle play.

But Burton's description of the Conspiracy in 1415 excludes two characters with major roles in the cycle play recorded in the manuscript of 1430-40. It may be argued therefore that the lively episode of Judas and his confrontation with the Janitor at Pilate's gate is an interpolation into that play of later date than Burton's list. This, however, cannot be the case, for as has been demonstrated, the play is composed throughout in the same stanza form and in an alliterative style which employs metrical techniques of some complexity. The Janitor episode, although far more vigorous in its language than much of the remainder of the play, particularly in the colourful vilification and abuse of Judas by the Janitor, is metrically speaking no different in its style from the rest of the play, and there seems therefore no valid ground for assuming that this episode did not form an integral part of the play from the time of its composition. Thus the evidence of Burton's list
and the metrical evidence taken together point to the conclusion that the Conspiracy play as recorded in the manuscript of 1430-40 is a new composition; that is to say, a complete revision of an earlier play, undertaken at some date between 1415 and 1440.

IV

The first editor of the York plays, Lucy Toulmin Smith, observed that five Towneley plays (Nos. 8, 18, 25, 26 and part of 30) were "the same as five of the York plays" (Nos. 11, 20, 37, 36 and 48) "with certain passages cut out or modified". On the basis that there was less variation in style, she thought that the York plays were "more likely of the two to be the original source".

Later writers observed further similarities between other plays in the two cycles, and various theories which might account for the relationship between the two cycles were much discussed. The problem became further complicated by Frances A. Foster's discovery that both cycles had been strongly influenced by a vernacular poem, entitled by Horstmann The Northern Passion. This poem, based on a French original, and composed early in the fourteenth century, had, Foster claimed, influenced the drama extensively. One effect of Foster's discovery was to indicate the possibility that similarities between plays of the York and Towneley cycle could be the result of common dependence upon the Northern Passion.

Shortly after, Marie C. Lyle put forward a quite different theory which attempted to explain all resemblances great and small: the York and Towneley cycles were at one time identical, and this could be proved by the structural and verbal parallels which still remained between the two cycles, although following the date of separation (which Lyle set c. 1390) both York and Wakefield had revised their cycles considerably, although the York revision was the more extensive of the two by far. Lyle claimed that the influence of the Northern...
Passion had entered the cycle before the date of separation and that that poem formed the basis of whole plays. The theory as a whole failed to find general acceptance, being challenged by E. K. Chambers, Grace Frank and others.\(^{(61)}\)

Several difficulties occur at the outset in dealing with this problem:

Extant records of the Wakefield Corpus Christi play date only from 1533, and the plays are preserved in one manuscript (Huntingdon Library MS 311) which has been dated as c.1450 or later.\(^{(62)}\) Moreover even the identification of the Towneley manuscript with the town of Wakefield was at one time disputed by critics, although it seems now generally accepted that the manuscript contains the Corpus Christi plays performed by the guilds at Wakefield.\(^{(63)}\) Like the York manuscript, it is an incomplete register compiled from originals in the hands of the different guilds,\(^{(64)}\) and there is much internal evidence to show that the cycle is a composite, containing plays wholly and partly revised and rewritten on various occasions.

The material contained in the three York plays 26, 27 and 28 corresponds to one play in the Towneley cycle, No 20. The section of that play corresponding to York play 26 comprises lines 1-313.

These lines are composed in two different poetic forms:

1. Lines 1-53 are written in five thirteen-line stanzas rhyming \textit{aababab}$_{1}$dd$^{3}$c$_{2}$ (or nine-line rhyming \textit{aaaa}$_{4}$b$_{1}$cc$^{3}$b$_{2}$, with central rhymes in the first four lines) and one twelve-line stanza rhyming \textit{aababab}$_{2}$c$_{1}$dd$^{2}$c$_{2}$, stanzas in the form associated with the work of the Wakefield Master.\(^{(65)}\) They are generally believed to be from his hand, and are of late date.\(^{(66)}\) They are therefore an addition to the play at a later period than the York
2. Lines 54-313 consist of 22 stanzas, rhyming ababababcdcd⁶⁸ of a type generally referred to as the Northern Septenar (see pp. 52ff.). As in the case of the York play, the metrical regularity of these stanzas indicates that they were all composed at one time and have not been the subject of later revision. Some critics have maintained that these stanzas are survivals of a York play in that earlier stage of development of the cycle which preceded the re-writing and revision which resulted in the extant Conspiracy play.⁶⁹ If this is so, then it is surprising that there is no trace of the corruption which Pollard observes as a feature of the Towneley versions of the five 'identical' plays.

Davidson pointed out that the Northern Septenar stanza was used frequently in the composition of plays of the York cycle, being found in Plays 2, 10, 11, 20, 23, 24, 27, 35, 37 and 44, and parts of Plays 12, 15, 17.⁷⁰ On the basis that this was an early stanza form from which other types were developed, he put forward the theory that all these plays and lines 54-313 of Towneley play 20 were the remains of a parent cycle and of common authorship.⁷ⁱ Rhyme scheme tests, the doubtful value of which he himself admitted, appeared to support this theory, but as Davidson himself pointed out, the problem of finding rhymes led to certain limitations of choice for poets writing in this stanza form.⁷² The supporting evidence for his hypothesis is therefore unsatisfactory, and it cannot therefore be confirmed on this basis.

Marie O. Lyle, in seeking to substantiate her theory of the original identity of the York and Towneley cycles, produced selective lists showing structural and verbal similarities between York play 26, the first part of Towneley play 20 and the Northern Passion, concluding that the original 'identical' cycle had been influenced by the Northern Passion, and Towneley and York had then separated.
One most important consideration, however, had no part in her discussion of the inter-relationship of the three texts: the possible influence upon them of the accounts of the Passion, recorded in the Gospels, which, one would imagine, would have been readily available at York at that period to men with the clerical background needed to write the plays. This is not to say, however, that the Gospels themselves are necessarily the direct source of the plays, for this material could, although perhaps much less probably, have been transmitted to the writers through the intermediary of Gospel Harmonies and other devotional literature.\(^{75}\) Lyle also failed to examine closely the possibility that either cycle had utilised the Northern Passion quite independently of the other. In the same way, similarities between the York and Towneley plays which could in no way be the result of their dependence upon the Northern Passion did not fall within the scope of her enquiry, nor was it her concern to identify those aspects of each dramatisation which could fairly be said to form part of the author's original concept of the play.

It is clear when the three texts are examined\(^{74}\) that each contains a core of the same subject matter; in some cases there are even similarities in language. How far this is the result of the dependence of the two plays upon the Northern Passion, or whether some other explanation may account for this situation, it is proposed to examine below.

The first episode of the York play (11.1-126) shares several features with the Northern Passion and Towneley:

I. A. The Jews meet in Council against Jesus.

Matthew 26, 3-4, records just such an assembly of the chief priests and scribes and elders of the people "in atrium principis sacerdotum, qui dicebatur Caiphas: et consilium fecerunt ut Iesum dolo tenerent, et occiderent."\(^{75}\) (Mark 14, 1, and Luke 22, 1, agree that the chief priests and scribes discussed this matter at the time of the Passover but no particular occasion is identified.)
B. The Jews are disturbed by Jesus' winning over of the people, his possible destruction of their laws and his healing of the sick (York 26, 1-126; NP. 21-40; Towneley 20, 54-173). John 11, 53, varies from this in explaining that the raising of Lazarus provided the impetus for the Jews' decision to put Jesus to death.

II. In the second episode of the York play, Judas, in a long soliloquy before approaching Pilate and the High Priests, reveals his reason for selling Jesus for thirty pence (York 26, 127-154). In the Towneley play this explanation is treated differently, forming part of Judas' interview with Pilate (Towneley 20, 238-81). In the Northern Passion Judas is said to remonstrate with Jesus at the time about the waste of ointment and loss of revenue (NP. 11.99-150), but no reference is made to this in either York or Towneley. (76) Again the three texts all include certain material, in this case with some similar phrasing:

A. The incident described takes place at supper in the house of Simon the Leper:

York 26, 129-30

For at oure supper as we satte, we sope to pursewe,
With Symond luprus full sone / My skiffte come to scathe.

NP. 11.99-101

*W*ai come vntill a gude mans hows,
*W*at named was symon leprows,
And als *w*ai at *v*aire supere sat,

Towneley 20, 250

In symon house with hym sat I.

These similarities could derive from Mark 14, 3, ("Et cum esset Bethaniae in domo Simonis leprosi, et recumberet") or from similar information in Matthew 26, 6. In John the incident is associated with Martha and Lazarus.

B. Jesus is anointed with precious ointment:

York 26, 141-6

*W*at same Oynement, I saide, / Might same haue bene solde
For siluer penys in a sowme / Thre hundereth, and fyne;
Hauve ben departid to poure men / As playne pite wolde,
But for *w*e poore ne *v*are parte / Priked me no peyne.
But me tene for ye tente parte, / Ye trewthe to beholde,
That thirty pens of iiij hundereth / So tyte I schulde tyne.

NP. p.20, 11.14-16
Yet yis vnement was euill despender,
And said yet it sulde haue bene salde
Thre hundreth pens to haue talde.

NP. p.20, 11.25-33
And of all yet com to yam twelue,
Yet tende euer toke he to him selue.

... And if ye oynement les & mare
Had bene said, als he said are,
ffor thre hundreth plates fully,
Yet sulde him self haue had threty,
Yet of thre hundreth es ye tende.

NP. 11.128a-132b
We might haue saide sone onane
And thre hundreth pens tane,
And yet might haue done mekill gude
To be gifen to pouer men fode.
Bot for pouer men said he it noght,
On his awin winyng was his thoght;
ffor he hade all yeaire tresore hale
And yet tende to him selfe he stale;

Towneley 20, 270-9
I sayd it was worthy to sell
Thre hundreth pens in oure present,
ffor to parte poore men emell;
bot will ye se wherby I ment?
The tent parte, truly to tell,
to take to me was myne intent;
ffor of the tresure that to vs fell,
the tent parte euер with me went;
And if thre hundreth be right told,
the tent parte is even thryrtyst;

The two similar versions of this incident in Matthew 26 and Mark 14 vary in two major respects from these accounts:

(i) the woman is not named as Mary Magdalene
("accessit ad eum mulier habens alabastrum unguenti pretiosi, et effudit super caput ipsius recumbentis" (Matthew 26, 7))
(ii) the indignation which the action arouses is ascribed not to Judas, but in Matthew to the disciples, and in Mark to unnamed persons ("Ut quid perditio ista unguenti facta est? Poterat enim unguentum istud venundari plus quam trecentis denariis, et dari pauperibus" (Mark, 14, 4-5)). A similar version, without mention of the monetary value of the ointment, is given in Matthew 26, 8-9.

The Northern Passion account therefore derives directly from John 12, 3-6, in identifying the woman as Mary, the sister of Lazarus, and the objection to the incident as being raised by Judas:

"Maria ergo accepit libram unguenti nardi pistici, pretiosi, et unxit pedes Iesu, et extersit pedes eius capillis suis; et domus impleta est ex odore unguenti.

Dixit ergo unus ex discipulis eius, Judas Iscariotes, qui erat eum traditurus:

Quare hoc unguentum non vaeniit trecentis denariis, et datum est egenis?

Dixit autem hoc, non quia de egenis pertinebat ad eum, sed quia fur erat, et loculos habens, ea quae mittebantur, portabat."

Where the three texts therefore agree in material which is not derived from the Gospels, is in the statement that Judas took a tenth part of all offerings to Jesus. This is, however, a tradition common to many medieval writers, and again it does not necessarily prove the influence of the Northern Passion upon York and Towneley. (77)

C. Judas bargains with the Jews and requests and receives thirty pence for Jesus.

(a) York 26, 219-20

For if ye will bargayne or by,
Jesus wis tyme will I selle 30u.

NP. 11.159-60

Unto 30w now sell him will I,
Sais if yat ye will him by.
again it must be noted that the account in Matthew 26, 15, records all the elements contained in the three texts: "... Quid vultis mihi dare, et ego vobis eum tradam? At illi constituerunt ei triginta argenteos." However in this account and in Mark 14, no connection is made between this bargain and the episode of the ointment, although it follows immediately upon it. The Gospel accounts also omit various other details: Mark 14, 11, omits mention of the amount of money agreed upon ("Qui audientes gavisi sunt: et promiserunt ei pecuniam se daturas.") and Luke 22, 4-6 not only omits the sum agreed upon but also does not even record the ointment episode. It appears therefore that Matthew 26 could equally be the source for plays and poem.

To summarise therefore, it seems uncertain that the Northern Passion is a source for the York and Towneley plays, as Lyle has claimed. Even if this is admitted, the two plays would only have relied upon the Northern Passion to the extent of similarities of language as an authority for material relating to Judas' reason for selling Jesus and his bargain with the Jews. In the case of the York play, any use of the Northern Passion would
thus be limited to stanzas 10 and 11 (Judas' soliloquy) and to stanzas 16 and 17 (Judas' bargain with Pilate). These cannot be said to form the basis of the play.

Neither can it be demonstrated that York has been influenced by the Northern Passion either in subject matter or language, independently of the Towneley play. The Towneley play, on the other hand, may have used the Northern Passion more extensively than York to expand the description of the anointing by Mary Magdalene:

Towneley 20, 254-64
(78)

ffor synnes that she had wroght
she wepyd sore always;
And an oyntment she broght,
that precyus was to prayse.
She weshyd hym with hir terys weytt,
and sen dryed hym with hir hare;
This fare oyntment, hir bale to beytt,
apon his hede she put it thare,
That it ran all abowte his feytt;
...
The house was full of odowre sweytt;

MP: 11.107-20 (79)

Doune scho fell and wesche hys fete
With yee teres yat scho grete,
And seyyn scho dried yam with hir hare,
And for hir sins scho murned sare.
Ane oyntement with hir scho broght,
yat was of precius things wroght;
And yarwith scho enoynted him,
...
Als scho enoynth him, heued & fete,
And honord hir hir bales to bete,
Ye oyntement went about full wide
In yee hows on ilk a side.

The York account, in comparison, omits these details:

York 26, 131-3
Tille hym yer brought one a boyste,/My tale for to
brewe,
That barmly to his bare feete/To bowe was full brayythe.
Sho enoynte yam with an oyntment/T(n)at nobill was and
neve.

Apart from their dependence upon the Gospel accounts
and possibly the Northern Passion for certain material, the York and Towneley plays also correspond in a number of ways, and this extends sometimes to the language used, although the treatment of the material is often very different.

1. Both plays begin with an introductory rant by Pilate (York 26, 1-28; Towneley 20, 1-53). Pilate is not a party to the conspiracy in the Northern Passion. The Towneley rant is written in the stanza associated with the work of the Wakefield Master, and now seems generally agreed to be of his workmanship. Since Frampton has shown that the Wakefield Master was writing later than the York Realist, it would therefore appear that the Wakefield Master could have been influenced by that writer. The main similarity between the two rants is the following:

York 26, 1-5

(V)ndir ye ryallest roye of rente and renowne,
Now am I regent of rewle yis region in este.

To me betaught is ye tent yis towre begun towne;

Towneley 20, 10-11

ye wote not wel, I weyn
what wat is commen to the towne,
So conly cled and cleyn
a rewler of great renowne;

2. Both plays dramatise a discussion between Pilate, Annas, Caiaphas and others, "a noisy impression of judicial and ecclesiastical corruption". In Towneley Pilate immediately agrees that Jesus should be taken; it remains to find a cause only. (Towneley 20, 70ff and 86ff). In York, Pilate must be persuaded of the rightness of the Jews' complaints, and can be roused to action only when he is told that Jesus claims kingship (York 26, 115-7).

3. Certain charges brought against Jesus are similar in both plays. However in Towneley only is mention made
of the raising of Lazarus (Towneley 20, 126-9) and in York only of Jesus' cleansing of the temple (York 26, 71-90). (In Towneley Jesus is reported as being in the temple.) In York, Pilate suggests that Caiaphas and Annas should modify their feelings; in Towneley the First Soldier tries to calm Pilate in similar terms:

York 26, 63
His maistreys schulde moue you / Youre mode for to amende.

Towneley 20, 150-1
Sir pylate, mefe you now no mare,
but mese youre hart and mend youre mode;

In both plays is the suggestion that Jesus may be mad (Towneley 20, 155; York 26, 91).

4. Judas is received unfavourably at Pilate's hall, in Towneley by Caiaphas, Annas and Pilate (Towneley 20, 174-201) and by the Janitor in York (York 26, 157-190) where this is much expanded to provide a comic scene:

York 26, 157
Go hense, you glorand gedlyng! / God geue ye ille grace.

Towneley 20, 180-1
Go hence, harlot, hy mot thou hang!
where in the dwell hand had we the?

In York Judas maintains that he comes to save Pilate (York 26, 215). In Towneley he joins them as a conspirator (Towneley 20, 193).

5. Judas is asked his name:
York 26, 225
What bytist you? / Judas scariott./ You art a Juste man.

Towneley 20, 210-4
What is thi name? do tell in hy...
Judas scarioth, so hight I

(Pilatus) Sir, thou art welcom witterly!

In York only is the arrangement made for the identifying kiss (York 26, 252). Pilate sends soldiers to capture Jesus (York 26, 293; Towneley 20, 303ff). In York alone is Jesus to be brought unharmed.

The plays further do not correspond in the attitude of Pilate and the Jews to Judas' betrayal. In Towneley Pilate praises him (Towneley 20, 281ff); in York the soldiers and the Jews see him as a traitor in betraying his master (York 26, 265ff) and Judas is shown to be received into Pilate's protection (York 26, 282).

Actual parallels of language with Towneley are distributed fairly evenly throughout the York play, and no one part of the play is particularly affected.

From the above analysis, it is clear that the York and Towneley plays are in some way related, quite independently of their use of the Gospels and possibly the Northern Passion. The two plays are, however, in spite of their similarities, quite different in concept, and for a number of reasons the York play is much the superior of the two. Fundamentally the difference lies in the York playwright's ability to realise more fully the dramatic possibilities:

1. The Towneley group of villains seeking to find a cause to take Jesus is represented in York by a judge who must be convinced of Jesus' guilt. He is seen to perceive the hatred and the motivation of the High Priests, and to act only when his personal position appears to be threatened by Jesus' claim to kingship. The dramatic interest of the York play is superior in Pilate's defence
of Jesus, and in the element of suspense that this raises (York 26, 35-6; 45-6; 91; 95; 104-8). In the Northern Passion there is no material of this kind. There is a council of Jews at which Caiaphas prophesies, but no mention of Pilate.

2. The addition of a brief but vivid description of Jesus with the money-changers in the temple (derived from Matthew 21, 12-13) is found only in York, providing a dramatic insight into events which occurred prior to the opening of this play and which have not been dramatised in the cycle.

3. Judas' long monologue before approaching Pilate and the High Priests offers the traditional explanation of his reasons for betraying Jesus. Where the York treatment varies from that of Towneley is in the use of soliloquy to depict a man inflamed by what he sees as a wrong done to him by his master. Although the traditional motivation in modern terms is not very convincing, the way the dramatist has chosen to present it by means of a personal and direct statement to the audience, adds greatly to its credibility and to the forcefulness of the character. The same explanation, when it is given by Judas to the High Priests in Towneley is in no way as effective dramat-ically.\(^{(65)}\)

4. The York play has an elaborate and quite original scene of Judas being refused entry to the palace. Juxtaposed between two episodes of high seriousness, the vilification of the Janitor provides dramatic interest and comedy.\(^{(86)}\)

5. Similarly the disgust of the court at Judas' betrayal of his lord is more effective than Pilate's praise in the Towneley play.
6. The York playwright tries to visualise events as they would have occurred by including in some detail all the arrangements made with Judas for the capture. This does not occur in the Northern Passion or in Towneley.

7. A further amplification on the part of the York dramatist is Pilate's insistence that Jesus should be taken unharmed. Although a minor detail, it provides some final element of hope that Jesus may yet be treated fairly by one of his captors in the forthcoming conflict.

Davidson suggested in view of the stanza form employed that the Towneley play was an early one (p. 22 above). As a work showing a greater grasp of dramatic techniques and of the possibilities offered by the subject, the York play certainly appears to be the later composition.
Summary and Conclusions

1. The single surviving manuscript of the York plays is a compilation from a number of separate originals, and is written for the most part in one hand of the first half of the fifteenth century. It is a register made for the Corporation of York about 1430-40. Amendments in later hands are mainly of the second half of the sixteenth century.

The text of the Conspiracy play is a clear transcription from an earlier copy, and unlike that of other plays in the Passion Group, it presents few apparent difficulties.

2. The York plays are composed in a number of different stanza forms, even in individual plays, and in two basically different types of verse. Composition and revision by a number of different writers has clearly occurred at different periods. The disagreement among previous critics about the periods of composition represented by the plays of the Passion Group is described.

The Conspiracy play is composed not in quatrains as manuscript markings indicate, but in a regular fourteen-line stanza rhyming ababababababababab. It was therefore composed as a whole at one time and has not been subjected to later modification. Two later notes drawing attention to material missing from the play probably refer to additions made after the register was written.

3. The characteristics of the metrical style of the play are defined as follows:

The octave of each stanza is composed for the most part in long lines containing four chief stresses with a central caesura, the stresses pointed by alliteration; in a high proportion of lines all four stressed syllables begin with the same sound (aa/aa, 69.6% of lines). Extended half-lines, ornamental alliteration, occasional stress on prefixes, and secondary chief stresses, are all features of the style.

All the remaining lines, with one exception, contain alliteration in connection with either two or three stressed syllables (types xaaa (10.7%), saax, xaxa, xaax, aaxx, saax, abba). The long line is sometimes divided among two speakers, and various pauses are introduced into the line to simulate normal speech patterns. Initial forms of address, exclamations, etc. seem to fall outside the regular four-stress pattern of the line. Enjambment occurs infrequently. An additional feature is the sustained linking of lines together in groups of two by alliteration.

The same metrical principles continue into the cauda, although the lines (with three possible exceptions) have three chief stresses rather than four. Alliterative types are aaa (50.7%), xaa (38%), axa, aax, and only two lines lack structural alliteration. Again lines are
broken up into dialogue, although enjambment occurs more frequently than in the octave. Lines are occasionally linked by alliteration in groups of two, but not with any regularity.

The rhythm of the long line of the octave depends upon the accentuation of the four stressed syllables; between one and three unstressed syllables occur in almost every combination with the two chief stresses in each half-line; certain rhythmic types, however, tend to recur in the first half-line, notably xxx/xx/, x/xxx/x, xxx/x/x, x/xxx/xx, xxx/xxx/. In the second half-line a very high proportion of lines are of the type x/xx/, although x/xxx/ is also found, as are many other rhythmic types. The line thus does not depend upon syllable count, for although about half the lines appear to have twelve syllables, the number mainly varies between eleven and thirteen.

In the cauda, the most frequent rhythmic type is x/xx/xx/ (48 lines), although /xxx/xx/, x/xx/xxx/, xxx/x/xx/ are also found. The number of syllables is usually eight, but varies mainly between seven and nine.

In the metrical characteristics described, the play therefore has much in common with the unrhymed poems of the Alliterative Revival of the Western School (1340-1450) and more particularly, in the use of rhyme and stanza form, with the poems of the Northern Alliterative Revival (1350-1553). Both these forms, as Oakden found, are survivals of Old English alliterative poetry, with certain modifications.

4. The York plays date from 1340-50, although mention of them in records begins only in 1376. A list of 1415 and a second list compiled between 1415 and 1436 by the Town Clerk indicate that the plays were the subject of frequent alteration and distribution among the craft guilds of the city. Although there is some doubt about the accuracy of the descriptions of the plays in the list of 1415, it is nevertheless suggested that the Conspiracy play, in containing a notable episode of Judas and the Janitor omitted from the description, was composed as a whole after 1415, replacing an earlier play on the same subject.

5. Early theories of the relationship of the York cycle to that of the town of Wakefield, and early discoveries of similarities between the cycles are reviewed. The subsequent discovery by Frances Foster of the influence of the poem, The Northern Passion, and Marie Lyle's theory of the original identity of the two cycles are also summarised, together with another theory that part of Towneley play 20 dealing with the Conspiracy is a York play in an earlier form.
Certain episodes and passages common to the York play, the Northern Passion and Towneley are compared in detail with the Gospel accounts; on the basis of these similarities there appears to be no distinct evidence that the York play depends upon that poem. Nor does the York play derive material from the Northern Passion independently of Towneley; Towneley on the other hand, in one instance, may depend upon that poem independently of York.

The York and Towneley dramatisations correspond superficially in various ways; in particular, both include Pilate in the Conspiracy, and both depict Judas being received unfavourably when he comes to offer to betray Jesus. While the plays therefore seem to be related in some way quite aside from any dependence upon the Gospels or the Northern Passion, the underlying concepts of each are shown to be very different, particularly as far as the treatment of the character of Pilate is concerned; moreover, the York composition is distinctly the superior dramatisation of the subject.
CHAPTER 2

PLAY 27

THE LAST SUPPER
The Last Supper play survives only in an incomplete version. One leaf is lacking from the manuscript following 1.39. Since the pages immediately preceding and following each contain 31 lines, about 62 lines are therefore missing from the play. What remains is a careful transcription from an earlier copy, with errors of a very minor kind. There is one example of repetition (is is paste, 1.100) and several of miscopying (for example se for we in 1.176 (see below p.51); Vs for Vs in 1.177; mened for mende in 1.151 (see below p.39) and sitte in 1.162 which seems to be an error for jugge (see General Note to 1.162, Play 27)).

A few additions have been made to the manuscript in a later hand. The most important are notes indicating that material is missing from the play. The first, Caret hic principio, is in the margin opposite line 1, and the second, hic caret novo locuëla, is against the last line of the play. These notes, in a late sixteenth century hand (see above p.3) presumably refer to material which was added to expand the play at some date after its registration in the extant manuscript of 1430-40 (see above p.2). Another marginal note adds a stage direction, tunc lauat manus (following 1.60) and amends MS peryn (1.2) to here (see below p.39).

II

Burton's list of 1415 describes the play as:
Agnus paschalis, Cena Domini, xij apostoli, Jesus procinctus lintheo lauans pedes eorum, institucio sacramenti corporis Christi in noua lege, communic apostolorum.

Stevens and Dorrell (fn.35, p.46) note that Agnus paschalis is inserted above the line before Cena in another hand and that agnus paschalis has been crossed out between eorum and institucio. As amended, this description therefore records the play accurately to the point where the text breaks off in the manuscript. Smith suggested that the missing leaf "must have given the scene of Judas and the sop" found in John 13,
presumably because 1.90 is taken directly from John 13, 27. However the form that this episode took in the York cycle must have been somewhat different from the Gospel account. For in John 13 Peter asks John to find out from Jesus the identity of the betrayer. John then asks Jesus, who informs him privately by means of a pre-arranged sign, a sop, which he dips and gives to Judas, making the comment, "Quod facis, fac citius." In the York play, on the other hand, the saying appears first, immediately following the lacuna, then from the lines

Cure maistir sais his owne mayne
Has betrayed hym to synful seede

it is clear that some identification has previously been made, but only in the most general terms. The episode described in John then begins, with one of the disciples asking John to approach Jesus. It would seem likely therefore that in addition to some treatment of the revelation of future betrayal, the York play, as Burton's list suggests, contained also material of a much more controversial kind to a later age: the blessing of the bread and wine and the institution of the sacrament of the Holy Eucharist, including probably some reference to the doctrine of the Transubstantiation. Smith's observation that this and other leaves appeared to have been deliberately removed from the manuscript would seem to corroborate this theory.

In Burton's list of 1415 the play is assigned to the Bakers, although "Waterleders" is added after "Bakers" in a later hand. In Burton's undated second list (prior to 1436 when his clerkship terminated) the play is divided into two, one assigned to the Bakers dealing with Cena Christi cum discipulis and one assigned to the Waterleders dealing with Lavatio pedum apostolorum. The Waterleders, on the evidence of Burton's list of 1415, were at
that time associated with the Cooks in Play 32. The play written into the manuscript between 1430-40 shows no trace of this division, and is assigned again solely to the Bakers. It would seem therefore that the arrangements made during the period 1415-36 were soon set aside, and the Bakers reverted again to their complete original play. The extant play on this basis is a composition dating from before 1415.

III

Like the Conspiracy play, the Last Supper play is composed throughout in one stanzaic form, in this case one of twelve lines rhyming ababababcdcd. It therefore becomes possible to substantiate the manuscript substitution in a later hand of here for vermin in 1.2 by its rhyme with sere, sopere, lere (ll.4-8). Smith's amendment of MS mended to mende (1.151) is also confirmed by its rhyme with lende (1.149).

Again this regularity suggests a play composed all at one time, and not subsequently altered or revised, but the poetry of this play has certain characteristics which distinguish it stylistically from the preceding play. Smith offered the following definition: "determinable by accent or feet, the lines having usually a fixed number of syllables; in this class the alliteration is nearly lost". She was of course referring to the features of a group of plays in the cycle rather than to any particular play. Her view therefore is based upon two general considerations, syllabic value and lack of alliteration.

The problem in confirming this definition as far as this play is concerned lies in determining the correct
value of the unstressed syllables in each line, particularly final -e, found throughout the text, sometimes as a survival of earlier forms, and sometimes added indiscriminately as a result, it would appear, of scribal taste, and in identifying which, if any, the poet intended for pronunciation. The point is one of some importance, since such a line as

Both meke and mylde of harte is he (1.87)
could be said to have as many as eleven syllables in all if all the final -e's are pronounced, or as few as eight if they are not. Similarly a line with three chief stresses

Allasourepleayeispaste (1.100)
may have nine or six syllables. The value of final -e could also differ, according to its position within the line or in rhyme.

Although it seems generally agreed that -e had ceased to be pronounced by the end of the thirteenth century in the North, by the mid-fourteenth century in the North Midlands and by the early fifteenth century in the South Midlands and South, (5) this may not necessarily account for the situation existing in alliterative poetry of the late fourteenth/early fifteenth century, which as Oakden has shown, (6) is based on traditions going back to the Old English period, and which may reflect a situation existing at an earlier point in time, when final -e was still pronounced in the spoken language.

As far as the situation at the line end is concerned in the Last Supper play, there are several groups of rhymes which seem to indicate that final -e has no syllabic value, otherwise hast in stanza 4 would not accord with chaste, taste, waste. Similarly sitt, rhyming with witte in stanza 5, neuere with lever in stanza 12, strife with liffe in stanza 15. Moreover dye, fantasie
and denye in stanza 12 rhyme with worthy. (Of course nothing that has been said applies to words such as meyne in st 9, rhyming with we, kne and te, in st 1 with poste, and in st 11 with free, me and ye and similarly contra, rhyming with be, me and ye in st 14, where final -e is syllabic.)

An indication of the situation within the line in this play may be obtained if one examines first those lines, 22 in all, which contain no final -e's (a possible result of scribal alteration, which may not necessarily reflect the poet's original intention). Generally the lines appear rather uneven rhythmically. Frequently slightly different scansion are possible of individual lines, and sometimes relatively unimportant words, such as auxiliary verbs, appear to take a major stress in the line. Nor is the number of chief stresses always constant. In lines of the octave the number varies mainly between three and four, and in the cauda between two and three. No consistency is to be observed in this variation, and septenar couplets with alternate four- and three-stressed lines are not attempted.

Five lines, however, appear to follow a clearly iambic pattern, and the remainder offer a variety of rhythms. The strictly iambic lines in the cauda have three chief stresses and six syllables:

But whó þær lif scháll étte (1.35)
They scháll bê wásshên sône (1.46)
Fôr áll if þe bê trewe (1.69)
I may nó lenger laste (1.102)

The two lines in the octave with an iambic pattern have four chief stresses and eight syllables:

His bidding will I nójt förberê
My þródir said it scháll bê soo (11.182-3)
Of the lines in other rhythms, three lines of the cauda appear to follow a strictly anapaestic metre, but again with six syllables:

With his meyn ilkone (1.113)
And with ye schall I wende (1.126)
Nor no meyn of myne. (1.137)

Other lines of the cauda offer various rhythms with two, three and four stresses, but again all with six syllables:

To hym and his meyn (1.12)
Ye schall I wende, do, do some (1.91)
Ay blessed schall ye bee (1.187)

And in the octave four and five stresses occur, but all with eight syllables:

In som party, but noght in all (1.26)
Mystir, it is all ready here (1.41)
Lord, who schall do yat doubfull deye (1.99)
Certis, so schall we all on rawe (1.130)

Of the remaining six of these lines, one in the octave offers one syllable less than the usual eight:

Pees be both be day and nyght (1.1)
(Perhaps this line should read 'be day and be nyght'.)

Two lines may offer one syllable more:
With yat men schall craftily call (1.28)
(It is possible that craftely here is either the adj/adv craftily, or the adv craftily (see OED craftily, adv.) and it may be scanned therefore as two syllables.)

And whoso haues non you betwene (1.169)
(Haues similarly may be scanned as one syllable.)

In the cauda two lines contain one extra syllable:

And so schall ye all bedene (1.60)
Ye schall, when I am allone (1.148)
and one has one or perhaps two extra syllables:

The rémelaunt partéd scháll bé (1.23)
(It is possible that remelaunt is either a form of remenant (3 syllables) or the contracted form remnant (2 syllables) (see CED remenant, remnant.)

In spite of these irregularities, it is clear from the proportion of lines exhibiting exactly similar syllabic characteristics that the poet of the Last Supper play intended as his primary objective metrically to achieve six syllables in each line of the cauda, and eight syllables in each line of the octave. He also attempted a strictly iambic rhythm, and four chief stresses in the octave and three in the cauda, but where this was impossible to achieve, syllabic considerations preceded those of stress and alliteration.

On this basis one may examine the remaining lines of the play, all of which contain at least one final -e, for example:

I wotte youre will, both gréte and smáll (1.77)
Both meke and mylde of harte is he (1.87)
Alás, cóure playe is paste (1.100)
Ňat I schuld alle ſis bargáyne brewe (1.107)
Shall roste a lambe at paas (1.11)

It will be observed that if final -e is discounted, each line offers six or eight syllables and a strictly iambic rhythm. If one next examines lines with final -e and a rhythm which is not predominantly iambic, such as:

For ſe saye as ſoure selfe hás sene (1.18)
Ňis ſongé childe for insáumpills seere (1.86)
again eight syllables are to be found. In all 75.2% of lines of the octave have eight syllables (94/125), and 74.1% of the lines of the cauda (46/62) have six syllables. Of the remaining lines of the octave, 21 lines (or 16.8%) contain nine syllables, six (or 4.8%) have ten syllables.
and four (or 3.2%) have seven syllables. In the cauda
14 lines (or 22.5%) have seven syllables, one line has
eight syllables, and one line has five syllables. These
lines therefore appear to be departures from the standard.

It would seem therefore as a general principle that
final -e has no value within the line. (7) When the play
is scanned on this basis, it becomes apparent that
completely iambic lines account for a large proportion of
the total lines of the play (51 lines or 40.8% in the
octave; 19 lines or 30.6% in the cauda). All these lines
of course contain either eight or six syllables.

In the octave, lines with four main stresses pre­
dominate in 92.8% of lines (116), and in the cauda 85.4%
of lines (53) have three stresses. (8)

Further characteristics of the poetry of this play
are to be found in two features of Old English alliterative
poems, in the use of a strongly marked central pause in
the long line, and in the frequency of enjambment.

In this play only 16% of the lines of the octave have
a strongly marked central caesura, for example:
As I yow saie, so schall it bee (1.140)
And youre high hartsis, I here þam hedir (1.76)
Both hede and hande, beske I þe (1.56)
Butt ryse now vppe, for we will goo. (1.180)

The majority of lines, however, lack this division of
the line into two clear segments, although it appears that
an attempt is definitely made, using a variety of different
constructions, to arrange each line into two word groupings,
for example:
Þoure lorde and maistir þe me call (1.61)
Do vs haue watir here in hast (1.40)
Euere forward nowe I itt defende (1.31)
That all his sawes sore schall hym rewe (1.111)

But in a very small proportion of lines this principle is disregarded, for example:
Ye nedis non othir recours to craue (1.141)
Van schall ye turne away with tene (1.167)

Whether the poet is in this way seeking tentatively to free himself from the constraint imposed by a fixed central pause, or whether he is striving to achieve the traditional balanced line but sometimes failing as a result of other demands is not clear. Certainly a variation in the position of the pause in such lines as the following enlivens the quality of the dialogue:

A mercy, lorde and maistir swete (1.53)
Allas, so wilsom wightis as we (1.92)

The most usual method, however, is the simple one of direct address:
Petir, I saie to ye pis sawe (1.132)

A clearer idea of the poet's intentions may be deduced from the fact that enjambment is a fairly frequent feature of the play. It occurs in 14% of the lines of the octave, but the principal use is in the final quatrains, where it occurs in 29% of lines:
Oure maistir sais his aume meyne
Has betrayed hym to synfull seede (11.94-5)
Now senoure maistir sais he schall
Wende, and will not telle vs whedir (11.73-4)
I wotte whedir he remoues
With his meyne ilkone (11.112-3)

In all these examples, chosen from both positions in the stanza it is clear that the use of run-on lines has the effect of breaking up the rhythm of the line to achieve greater fluidity, and thus a closer proximity to the
rhythms of natural speech, an effect particularly desirable in the short lines of the cauda.

Alliteration, used to emphasise the chief stresses of the line, imposes yet another requirement upon the poet in addition to those of syllable count, iambic rhythm, central caesura and stanza form. Unlike the previous play, therefore, alliteration is not a structural feature of the line. It is merely an ornament to a line, the structure and rhythm of which have been already basically determined. Not surprisingly in the play as a whole 14.4% (or 18/125) of the lines of the octave lack alliteration on the chief stresses in the line, (9) but aside from this deficiency, these lines are not otherwise particularly irregular in form. With the exception of six lines (three of which contain one less syllable (1, 104, 122) and two with one or two more (29, 51, 76), all have the usual eight syllables. All have also four stresses (except two of the irregularly syllabic lines (51 and 122) which have five and three stresses respectively). Moreover ten of these lines are completely iambic, for example:

Shall selle his Cote and bye hym one (1.170)
Butt ryse now vppe, for we will goo (1.180)

In the final quatrains, a much higher proportion of lines lacks alliteration (38.7% or 24 in 62 lines). (10) Again these lines show no very great irregularity in comparison with the remainder of the text, for example:

Shall roste a lambe at paas (1.11)
All the lines except seven have six syllables; and of the seven, six have one additional syllable (36, 57, 60, 71, 127, 143) and one has two additional syllables (23). All the lines have three chief stresses except three which have two but which are otherwise regular in having six syllables (12, 113, 126).
The reason for the failure of alliteration in these lines appears to be entirely a technical one, and the result of difficulty in sustaining alliteration together with the other technical requirements in the line which the poet has taken upon himself. Additionally, the play proceeds, as will be shown, within the bounds imposed by the authority of the Gospels and the Northern Passion, and this in part accounts for certain failures in alliteration, when the text follows closely the language of the originals, for example:

Petir, bott if you latte me wasshe y1 feete
You getis no parte in blisse with me. (11.51-2)

and

Shall selle his Cote and bye hym one (1.170)
Maistir (w)e haue here swerdis twoo (1.176)

(For discussion of the sources of these passages, see pp. 58 and 67).

But in many cases the failure in alliteration occurs in passages which do not depend upon these sources:

- My selfe schall parte itt you betwene (1.20)
- The fende is wrothe with you and me (1.118)
- Butt ryse now vppe for we will goo (1.180)

All the remaining lines of the play (147/187) however, offer some kind of alliteration. As might be expected, the type of alliteration used is in strong contrast to that found in the previous play, in which the poet, working in a different style, may interpose any number of unstressed syllables between the chief stresses in the line, and where the pattern aaaa (used in 69% of lines of the octave) is most frequently sought.

The pattern aaaa is very rarely found in the *Last Supper* play (in lines 3, 78, 147, 177); aaa occurs ten times (lines 6, 9, 18, 22, 50, 84, 101, 138, 173, 184) and
aa occurs three times (lines 33, 137, 174).

The range of alliterative patterns compared with those of the Conspiracy play is very wide. The most frequent types in the octave are \textit{xaxa} (20 lines) and \textit{xxaa} (19 lines), followed by \textit{xaaa} (11 lines), \textit{axxa} (10 lines) and \textit{xaax} (9 lines). Other types used are: \textit{axaa} (6 lines), \textit{aaxx} (6 lines), \textit{axax} (5 lines), \textit{aaxa} (3 lines) \textit{aabb} (5 lines), \textit{abba} (3 lines), \textit{abab} (1 line), lines of three chief stresses (6 lines).

In the cauda the types are \textit{axa} (9 lines), \textit{xaa} (9 lines), \textit{aax} (8 lines), \textit{aaa} (7 lines) are used with equal frequency, the remaining lines having four stresses (3 lines) or two (3 lines).

In a few cases normally unstressed prefixes appear to take a chief stress in the line:

But first behoves you hide (1.83)

The alliterative type \textit{xxaa} which in a line with a strongly marked central pause might be considered an alliterative failure in that it fails to connect the two half-lines, is also of frequent occurrence:

With \textit{yam yat men schall graffely call} (1.28)

Vocalic alliteration occurs, but is extremely infrequent, sometimes occurring on the same vowel, \textit{e}:

That with oure \textit{elther} \textit{euere} has bene (1.14)

\textit{Euer for to yeme in your pe and grid} (1.66)

In other lines different vowels are used, as is usual in Old English alliterative poetry:

But who \textit{merof schall atte} (1.35)

By \textit{pis owre enemys ordand are} (1.161)

H alliterates with itself (the usual rule in Old English poetry) (11) e.g.
Both hede and hande, beseeke I ye. (1.56)
And youre high hartis, I here gam hedir (1.78)
Both meke and mylde of harte is he (1.87)

But in several cases h appears also to alliterate with vowels, for example:

Even as my ffadir has highte itt me (1.157)
I am ye herde, ye schepe are ye (1.144)

As far as the preservation of the alliterative groups sp, sa, st is concerned (a characteristic of Old English poetry identified by Oakden) only one line alliterates on sp:

We pray ye spire hym for oure spede (1.97)
In only one line also, s alliterates with st:

In yat sotede schall be sette (1.33)

As a general rule the poet therefore appears to avoid these alliterative groups, and to restrict alliteration to s, for example,

I thanke you sothly of youre sawe
For ye sawe as youre selffe has sene (11.17-8)
And secoure seke, yame selffe to saue (1.147)

In a number of stanzas at least one line is linked to the line following by a continuation of the alliterative sound. These lines occur in various parts of the stanza, although mainly in the octave (st 1, ll.2-3; st. 2, 11.17-18; st. 3, 11.31-2; st. 6, 11.67-8; st. 8. 11.85-6; 87-9; st. 9, 11. 92-3; st. 14, 11. 152-3; 156-7; st. 15, 11. 164-5; 166-7) but also in the cauda (st. 4, 11. 45-6; st. 15, 11.173-4). This linking serves no dramatic purpose, nor is it helpful as an actor's memory aid, nor as a cue for the actors, and it appears therefore to be simply a further ornament of style.

A further feature of the style of this play is the existence of a certain amount of repetition of individual
words and phrases, mainly between adjacent stanzas. In one case this is the result of a parallel construction to obtain emphasis, in Peter's protestation to Jesus:

A, lorde, where wilte you lende,
I schall lende in yat steede (11.124-5)

In another exactly the same word is used in different senses and parts of speech in a single line:

With gostely mete were schall we mete (1.158)

Others, however, express and emphasise the major preoccupations of the play, as when Mark's announcement:

Oure lambe is roste and redy dight (1.7)

is taken up by Jesus in his summary of the old law:

That is, ilke man yat has
Pepill in his awne poste
Shall roste a lambe at paas
To hym and his meyne. (11.9-12)

This in turn is taken up and repeated again by Andrew in stanza 2:

How ilke man with his meyne awe
To roste a lambe and ete it cleene (11.15-16)

In similar fashion is treated Jesus' pronouncement about what is to replace this feast, and the condition necessary for it:

In yat steede schall be sette
A newe lawe vs bytwene;
But who yerof schall ette
Behoues to be wasshed cleene. (11.33-6)

In the following stanza the two important facts are repeated:

For yat new lawe whoseo schall lere,
In harte yam bus be cleene and chaste. (11.37-8)

Later in the play Jesus shows the apostles a young child as an example:

Both meke and mylde of harte is he,
And fro all malice mery of chere. (11.87-8)

Immediately the salient point is repeated:

So meke and mylde but if ye be (1.89)
The purpose of this kind of repetition is clearly didactic, to drive home the lessons of the play; but repetition is used also to emphasise and clarify one matter which otherwise might be misinterpreted. Jesus instructs the disciples:

And loke yat ye haue swordis ilkone; And whoso haues non oun bytwene Shall selle his Gote and bye hym one (11.168-70)

The explanation is made that the swords are for the defence of the disciples only:

Youre selffe for to saue, In lenghyng of yours liff (11.174-5)

Jesus, on the other hand, is a willing victim, a point reiterated throughout the Passion plays, and does not resist capture. To make this distinction quite clear, Andrew in the next stanza repeats the purpose of the swords:

Vs (MS Vis) with to saue on sidis seere (1.177)

This emphatic repetition therefore appears to confirm Smith's substitution of we for MS ye in the previous line (1.176) which in the original reading seems to include Jesus among the defenders.

This characteristic of didactic repetition is entirely in accord with the general tone of the play, which is solemn and devout. The poet undoubtedly felt this treatment was suitable to the subject matter, and his sense of reverence is such that any dramatic opportunities which the subject offers, for example in the revelations concerning the betrayal or Peter's denial, are largely ignored. Nor are there any touches to add realism to the central situation of Jesus feasting among his followers. The disciples too are undifferentiated as individuals. Even the figure of Jesus lacks either warmth or pathos, and his instruction to the disciples to be "buxsome in boure and hall" offers a brief image and a relation of the characters to contemporary life which is not elsewhere
The Last Supper is one of a group of plays in the York cycle which has been traditionally identified as being composed in the so-called Northern Septenar stanza, a form which Davidson claimed was used in a district "extending from the Humber to the Forth, and was not much used, except in a much altered form, outside of those limits".\(^{12}\) It was Davidson's theory that the Middle English alliterative line developed from the line of the Latin Septenar \(^{13}\) and although both the theory and the term given to this stanza did not pass unchallenged by other critics, notably Greg\(^{14}\) and Chambers,\(^{15}\) the term Northern Septenar seems always to have been used in connection with these plays.

Hulme had little doubt that this stanza was an imitation of the stanza of the metrical version of the Gospel of Nicodemus, an opinion based on similarities in metrical structure, in the rhyme order ababababab and in the three beat measure of the four lines of the cauda.\(^{16}\) He observed that a slight difference existed in the measure of the first eight lines, the Gospel of Nicodemus having four-stressed lines alternating with three-stressed ones, whereas in his view each of the York lines contained four stresses, but he appeared to disregard this difference. Craigie later pointed out that although a resemblance in stanza form was to be found, "the precise metre ... is not adopted in a single case", since the second, fourth, sixth and eighth lines of the Gospel of Nicodemus stanza contained "three stresses (six syllables) while in the plays they have four".\(^{17}\) One might add also that in...
the Last Supper play these lines mainly have eight syllables rather than six. It would seem therefore in view of this fundamental difference that the influence of the Gospel of Nicodemus stanza upon the Last Supper play is difficult to establish, and particularly so when the episode dramatised has no part in that poem.

Apart from the Last Supper play, one other play in the Passion Group, the Crucifixion play (York 35) has been traditionally identified as being composed in the Northern Septenar stanza, as are (to use the titles given to them by Smith) the whole or parts of the following plays:

- The Creation to the Fifth day (York 2), rhyming abababcdedcba; Abraham's Sacrifice (York 10);
- The Israelites in Egypt, the Ten Plagues and Passage of the Red Sea (York 11); Prologue to the Annunciation (York 12); The Angels and the Shepherds (the first three stanzas and the last four, omitting the comic episode) (York 15); The Coming of the Three Kings; the Adoration (Davidson suggests that sts 22, 23, 24 have perhaps been reworked) (York 17); Christ with the Doctors in the Temple (York 20); The Transfiguration (York 23); The Woman taken in Adultery; The Raising of Lazarus (York 24); The Harrowing of Hell (York 37); The Descent of the Holy Spirit (York 44).

Part of Play 20 in the Towneley cycle (sts 7-45) is in the same form (see above, p. 22).

Davidson suggested that all these plays, together with York play 8 (The Building of the Ark) and play 9 (Noah) originally formed part of a parent cycle at York, since they were "certainly older than the remainder of the York plays with the possible exception of a few plays of, as it would seem, church origin" and since they
were the "only plays of the York cycle, having a common stanza, that could possibly form a cycle". He reached this latter conclusion because the plays included the Creation, Abraham and Isaac, the Christmas cycle, the Crucifixion and the Harrowing of Hell, "the leading plays of every possible extended cycle". This parent cycle, he believed, was the work of one author, an opinion based upon "characteristics of phraseology, riming words, style of treatment, uniformity of verse movement, caesura and general rhythm in stanzas". (18)

Davidson's estimate that these are early plays has been supported by other critics:

Gayley agrees that the York plays above, with the exception of Plays 9 and 44, belong to the "formative stage of the cycle". (19)

Greg similarly writes that this part of the cycle, composed "probably not later than 1350" consisted of "a simple didactic cycle, carefully composed in elaborate stanzas and withal rather dull". On "purely literary considerations" he agrees that these plays are the "oldest portions" of the cycle and are thus work of the first period of composition. (20)

Chambers finds a "nucleus of early work" in the plays composed in the Northern Septenar stanza. With the inclusion of others, Nos. 39, 43, 47 and 48 "in simple quatrains or octaves of cross rhyme which are at least as early" he concludes that "we seem to get the outlines of the greater part of an original cycle". (21)

On the other hand, Craig is not convinced that such "heterogeneous subjects" might have formed an original parent cycle, since mystery plays originated "as tropes
or simple dramatic offices mainly connected with the services of Christmas and Easter and from other parts of the services of the liturgical year. It is his contention that the plays in the Northern Septenar stanza "point to a clearly marked set of revisions in the York cycle before the Wakefield cycle was separately established, and after the main series of revisions based on the Northern Passion had been carried out". He believes that some of the plays in this stanza are possibly of later composition "but they are at any rate, revisions of older plays in a stricter conformity to biblical and apocryphal sources and, of course, written with the strong York sense of propriety and reverence".\(^\text{(22)}\)

The dating of the composition of the Northern Septenar group of plays has always rested upon one consideration, the poetic form employed. Davidson sought to prove that the Northern Septenar stanza was an early poetic form upon which others evolved.\(^\text{(23)}\) Continual elaboration led to complex, and he would claim, deteriorated forms, such as are to be found in the immediately preceding play. Medieval poetry of late date is certainly more elaborate than forms in use earlier, and although it may be argued that a poetic form is available for use at any time, it would appear that the Northern Septenar group of plays is more in accord with earlier than later medieval taste, and is therefore work of an early stage in the formation of the cycle.

That all these plays are the work of one author, and written at one time, forming part of a parent cycle, appears doubtful, both on the grounds noted by Craig above and also because the two Northern Septenar plays of the York Passion group are essentially plays of very different dramatic style, as will be shown later in the
discussion of the Crucifixion play. The criterion by which Craig evaluates the whole group of plays as a set of revisions of older plays appears to be based on his theory, which the York records and the Shrewsbury Fragments appear to support, that the city of York possessed liturgical plays from the very earliest times, although whether these included such subjects as the Last Supper and the Crucifixion is unknown.

V

The dramatisation of the events of the Last Supper occurs in the Towneley cycle not as a separate play, but as lines 314-487 of Play 20. It is generally agreed that this portion of the play offers evidence of composition on more than one occasion since

A. two different poetic forms are used (couplets in lines 314-407 and quatrains in lines 408-487 (or possibly originally septenar couplets with rhyming caesuras, as proposed by Davidson (24)).

B. the prophecy of Peter's denial occurs twice (in lines 380-1 and 426-9). For this reason Lyle no doubt regards the text as corrupt. (25)

There has been considerable discussion about the relation of this Last Supper section to other parts of Towneley play 20, to the York cycle, and of both plays to the Northern Passion.

To deal with this latter topic first, it is immediately noticeable that York play 27, Towneley play 20, ll. 314-487, and the Northern Passion, lines 173-423, have three important episodes in common, and in each case the
resemblance is strengthened by similarities in language. Lyle has charted a number of examples of this as evidence of the influence of the Northern Passion upon York and Towneley.\(^{(26)}\) However as the following analysis will show, for the most part this similarity could well be the result of the dependence of the three texts upon the Gospel accounts, although certain minor similarities, mainly in language, do occur among the three texts.

A. The first of these three basic episodes deals with Jesus' washing of the disciples' feet, Peter's remonstrance and later agreement, and the lesson to be derived from Jesus' action. The relevant passages are York 27, 39-72; Towneley 20, 384-415; Northern Passion, 11.329-72.

1. Similarities between the three texts occur firstly in the statement of what Jesus does:

**York 27, 40-6**

(Jesus) Do vs haue watir here in hast.
(Marcellus) Naistir, it is all redy here,
And here a towell clene to taste.
(Jesus) COMMES forthe with me, all in feere,
Ny wordis schall noght be wroght in waste.
Settis youre feete fourth; late sec.
They schall be wassen soon.

**NP. 11.330-6**

Vp he raise right fra ye burde
And toke a clath with milde chere
And a bacyn with water clere;
Ye clath he girded him with all
And on his knees down gan he fall
Eifor peter with wordes swete,
And said yat he wald wass his fete.

**Towneley 20, 382-5**

Take vp this clote and let vs go,
ffor we haue othere thyngys at do.
Sit all downe, and here and sees,
ffor I shall wesh youre feet on knees.
An account of this episode in John 13, 4-5 could explain the similar content here ("Surgit a coena, et ponit vestimenta sua, et cum accipisset linteum, praecinxit se. Deinde mittit aquam in pelvim, et coepit lavare pedes discipulorum et extergeri linteo, quo erat praecinctus.").

2. In Jesus' reply to Peter's remonstrance, however, the resemblances extend slightly beyond John 13, 8 ("Si non lavero te, non habebis partem mecum."):

**York 27, 51-2**
Peter, bott if thou latte me wasshe thy feete,
You getis no parte in blisse with me.

**NP. 11.341-2**
"An said ihesus: "bot I do wys,
You gettes no part with me in blis."

**Towneley 20, 392-3**
Bot I the wesh, thou mon mys
parte with me in heuens blys.

3. In Peter's acquiescence on the other hand, the agreement may derive, particularly as far as Towneley is concerned, from John 13, 9 ("Domine, non tantum pedes meos, sed et manus, et caput.") although Towneley appears also to follow the Northern Passion:

**York 27, 53-6**
A, mercy, lorde and maistir swete,
Owte of yat blisse yat I noght be.
Wasshe on, my lorde, to all be wete,
Both heede and hande, beseke I ye.

**NP. 11.344-5**
"Yat blis, lord, lat vs noght forga,
Wasche heuid and hend lord pray we ye,

**Towneley 20, 394-5**
Nay, lord, or I that forgo,
wesh heede, handys, and Feytt also.
4. Jesus' words to Peter, "Quod ego facio, tu nescis modo, scies autem postea" (John 13, 7) receive similar expression in the three texts:

**York 27, 57-9**
Petir, you wotiste nogt gitt
What pis werke will bemene.
Here aftir schall you witte;

**NP. 11.356-7**
"Noght ye knaw what I haue done,
Ne noght ye wate what will bifall."

**Towneley 20, 388-9**
why I do it thou wote not yit,
peter, hereafter shall thou wytt.

5. Finally in the explanation of Jesus' action, the similarity could derive from John 13, 13-17 ("Vos vocatis me Magister et Domine, et bene dicitis: sum eternum. Si ergo ego lavi pedes vestros, Dominus et Magister, et vos debetis alter alterius lavare pedes. Exemplum enim dedi vobis, ut quomodo ego feci vobis, ita et vos faciatis. Amen, amen dico vobis: non est servus maior domino suo: neque apostolus maior est eo qui misit illum. Si haec scitis, beatii eritis si feceritis ea.");

**York 27, 61-8**
3oure lorde and maistir ge me call;
And so I am, all welthe to welde.
Here haue I knelid vnto you all,
To wasche youre feete, as ye haue feled.
Ensaumple of me take ye schall,
Muer for to gene in youge and elde,
To be buxsome in boure and hall,
Ilkone for to bede othir belde.

**NP. 11.356-63**
Maister and lord now ge me call
And wele ye say for I am so.
And 3it I haue kneled 3ow vnto
And wasschen 3owre feete all on raw,
So yat ye sall ensample knaw
Keke and bowsun forto be,
Ilkone till ower with hert fre,
And serue ilkone untill ower.

Towneley 20, 404-9

ye call me master and lord, by name;
ye say full well, for so I am;
Sen I, both lord and master, to you wold knele
to wesh youre fete, so must ye wele.
Now wote ye what I haue done;
Ensampyll haue I gyffen you to;

F. The second basic episode concerns the prophecy of the
disciples' desertion of Jesus, illustrated by the example
of the sheep and the shepherd. Again there are apparent
parallels between the three texts (York 27, 144-7;
Towneley 20, 416-23; NP. 11. 382-5):

York 27, 142-7

All yat in worlde is wretyn of me
Shall be füllfıled, for knyght or knave.
I am ye herde, ye schepe are ye;
And whan ye herde schall harmes haue,
The flökke schall be full fayne to fle
And socoure seke, ye same selife to saue.

NP. 11.377-85

And tis day sall ye be adred,
When I sal be fra ȝow led;
fiere me ful fast sal ȝe ile
And sum of ȝow forsake me.
fi for prophettès in þaire bukes write
And sais, 'ye hirdman sall I smyte
And al ye folk oway sal ile.'
Tis es all ment by ȝow and me,
I am ȝe hird and ȝe my schepe;

NP. (Brit. Mus. Additional MS 31042) 11.382-3

the hirde whan he gose his waye
his bestis spredene swythe wyde

Towneley 20, 416-23

Or that this nyght be gone,
Alone will ye leyf me;
fi for in this nyght ilkon
ȝe shall fro me ile;
fi for when the hyrd is smeten,
the schepe shall ile away,
Be skaterd wyde and byten;
the prophetys thus can say.

Nearly all these similarities may, however, be explained by the account in Matthew 26, 31 (There is a similar account in Mark 14, 27) ("Tunc dicit illis Jesus: Omnes vos scandalum patiemini in me in ista nocte. Scriptum est enim: Percutiam pastorem, et dispergentur oves gregis."). Towneley does, however, ascribe the saying to 'prophets' and may here follow the Northern Passion, although this is a commonplace and needs no specific source. York, however, follows the Northern Passion very closely in using the parallelism, "I am ye herde, ye schepe are ye."

C. The third episode deals with the prophecy of Peter's denial of Jesus, in York 27, at 11.132-7; in the Towneley play 20 twice at 11.380-1 and 426-9 (in the first passage in couplets, and in the second in quatrains (see p.56)) and in the Northern Passion in 11.408-10f.

1. Apparent similarities occur first in Peter's avowal of loyalty to Jesus:

York 27, 124-7
A, lorde, where wilte you lende,
I schall lende in yat steede,
And with ye schall I wende
Euermore in lyffe and dede.

NP. 11.395-401
He said, "sartes, yat sall nought be,
Lord, we sall neuer fra ye fle.
I sall wende with ye whare you gase
...
And wende to presoun for yi sake,
And with ye will I suffer dede;

Towneley 20, 378-9
If all, master, forsake the,
shall I neuer fro the fle.
The Northern Passion here appears to follow Luke 22, 33 very closely ("Qui dixit ei: Domine, tecum paratus sum et in carcerem et in mortem ire.") while York and Towneley may follow the Northern Passion or Luke or perhaps John 13, 37 ("Dicit ei Petrus: Quare non possum te sequi modo? animam meam pro te ponam."). The readings of Matthew 26, 33 and Mark 14, 29, appear not to have influenced the texts.

2. In Jesus' reply to Peter, the dependence of York 27, 134-7 upon the Northern Passion 11, 409-10b has been put forward by Miller (28) and that of Towneley 20, 380-1 upon the Northern Passion, 11, 409-10 by Poster. (29)

### York 27, 132-7

Peter, I sai to ye yis sawe,
What you schalte fynde no fantacie:
His Ilke nyght or ye Cockys Crowe
Shall you thre tymes my name denye,
And saye you knewe me neuere,
Nor no meyne of myne.

### NP. 11, 406-10f

And, peter, yus I say to ye
What, or ye kok haue krawin thriswe,
Sall it worth upon yis wise,
What my name saltou deny
And fast forsake my company,
And so sall all what with me dere.
Bot you gi self sall athes were
And witnes take with tales untrew
What you neuer bifo me knew.

### Towneley 20, 426-9

ffor sothe, peter, I say to the,
In so great drede shall thou be broght,
That or the cok haue crowen tyme,
thou shall deny me tymes thre.

The majority of these resemblances can be accounted for again by the accounts in Matthew 26, 34 ("Ait illi
illī Iesus: Amen dico tibi, quia in hac nocte, antequam gallus cantet, ter me negabis."); Mark 14, 30 ("Et ait illī Iesus: Amen dico tibi, quia tu hodie in nocte hac, priusquam gallus vocem bis dederit, ter me es negaturus."); Luke 22, 34 ("At ille dixit: Dico tibi, Petre, non cantabit hodie gallus, donec ter abneges nosse me.") and John 13, 38 ("Respondit ei Iesus: Animam tuam pro me pones? Amen, amen dico tibi: Non cantabit gallus, donec ter me neges."). Towneley particularly seems to follow Mark rather than the Northern Passion in having the cock crow twice rather than thrice, as in the Northern Passion and once as in all the other Gospel accounts. An alternative version of the Northern Passion in Camb. MS Gg.5.31, lines 409-10 offers on the other hand a parallel in rhyme with Towneley:

Or ye cokke thrise sail crowe
Yow sail forsake me in a thrawe.

Towneley 20, 380-1
Peter, thou shal thyse apon a throw
forsake me, or the cok crow.

York, Towneley and the Northern Passion all therefore appear to have drawn heavily upon the Gospels as an authority for these episodes, although varying the order in which they appear. In York the footwashing episode occurs near the beginning of the play, the succession argument follows, and then the example of the young child for meekness. In the Northern Passion the child is introduced following the Last Supper and the succession argument, then the footwashing follows as a further example of obedience. The footwashing episode is thus made to serve a quite different purpose in the York play from its use in Towneley, the Northern Passion or the account in John 13: the apostles in York must first be "washed clean" before the institution of the Eucharist. Presumably this is a reference to the necessity for
Confession and Penance before taking Holy Communion. Only then is the incident used as in Towneley, the Northern Passion and John 13, 16, to teach humility. This again would appear to support the theory (p.38) that the missing leaf in the manuscript contained not only material relating to the betrayal, as Smith proposed, but also the institution of the sacrament of Holy Eucharist.

There is another rearrangement of material in the sequence centring around the prophecy of Peter's denial of Jesus. In York the subject is raised immediately after Peter is appointed to comfort and guide the disciples after Jesus' death, before the imagery of the sheep and the shepherd. The apostles' assurances of their loyalty to Jesus following this appointment of Peter are thus brought into a striking juxtaposition firstly with the warning that the future leader of the disciples will betray Jesus, and secondly with the exemplum of the frightened sheep deserting the shepherd in time of affliction, which extends the prophecy of betrayal to include all the disciples.

In the Northern Passion Jesus first foretells that the disciples will desert him, using the illustration of the sheep and the shepherd to show how the ancient prophecies will be fulfilled. Then Peter and all the apostles appear to refute this statement by their protestations of loyalty, and Jesus' response is to foretell that Peter will deny him.

The re-ordering of these events in the York play thus seems designed to improve the continuity of the episode as a whole, and to effect a cumulative antithesis between the apostles' fervent expressions of their loyalty and Jesus' two prophecies of future betrayal. In the Northern
Passion the apostles appear to deny the truth of Jesus' prophecies, which York avoids.

Although the York and Towneley Last Supper plays have in common a core of three episodes firmly based on the authority of the Gospels and the Northern Passion, each dramatization also contains a number of incidents quite independently of the other.

(1) The York play includes:
(a) An opening episode in which Jesus makes an end to the old Jewish feast of the Passover of Moses' law, and institutes in its place a new feast in the Christian law (York 27, 1-36).
(b) The discussion about leadership after Jesus' death (York 27, 73-6). Luke 22, 24, records a dispute of this kind among the disciples at the Last Supper: "Facta est autem et contentio inter eos, quis eorum videretur esse maior." In the Northern Passion similarly all the disciples are said to be in dispute (NP. 11. 295-300b) In the York play, however, no argument is permitted to arise, and the subject is introduced merely in the form of a question from James.
(c) Jesus' response in giving them a child as an example of meekness.

York 27, 77-87
I wotte youre will, both grete and small,
Yet is yonge childe for insaumpills seere.
Both meke and mylde of harte is he;

An exactly similar episode occurs in the Northern Passion with some similar phrasing:

NP. 11.300c-303
Ihesus wist wele al yeire will,
And all yeire striuuing wald he still,
Bifor yam gert he bring a childc,
fat zong was and of maners milde.

... Als milde and make bhoues gow be Als es ys childe yat se here se.

As Foster has proposed, the inclusion of this incident at this point is of major importance in establishing the influence of the Northern Passion upon the York play:

"The Biblical account of the Last Supper (Luke xxii, 24) has no mention of a child, but the York plays and the Passion agree in combining with the strife of the disciples at the Last Supper, an earlier strife (Luke ix, 46-8 and Mark ix, 35-7) where Jesus used a little child as an example." (31)

(d) James' request that John find out from Jesus which of them is to betray him (York 27, 96-7). This request is recorded in John 13, 23-4, although the disciple concerned is Peter and not James.

(e) The departure of Judas from the Last Supper to the Jews (York 27, 104-115). John 13, 30, records this, and it is found also in the Northern Passion (11.270a-b), but in the poem the impetus for Judas' action is Jesus' revelation to all the disciples that it is Judas who will betray him. The York play avoids any reply to John's question, "Lord, who schall do yat doulfull dede?" (1.99) by including, quite independently, a passage of soliloquy in which Judas reveals his proposed course of action. This effectively covers the omission of Jesus' reply. Although the identification of Judas as the betrayer of Jesus at the Last Supper has Gospel authority (Matthew 26, 23-5), and as such is included in the Towneley play, the York playwright appears, probably for dramatic reasons, to avoid this revelation, and therefore follows John 14, 28, where the disciples remain in ignorance as to the identity of the betrayer.
(f) The appointment of Peter to 'comfort' the others

York 27, 122-3

And comforte you his meyne
And wisse hem what I am gone away.

Again the Northern Passion contains a similar instruction:

NP. 11.327-8

Conforth you þi breyer all
Yet none of þam in fanding fall

In the earlier part of this section of the play, however, at 11.116-21, York independently follows Luke 22, 31-2:

"... Simon, Simon, ecce Satanas expetivit vos ut cribraret sicut triticum: ego autem rogavi pro te ut non deficiat fides tua." This then continues with the material which York and the Northern Passion have in common: "et tu aliquando conversus, confirma fratres tuos." Luke 22 therefore appears to be the source for York rather than the Northern Passion.

(g) Jesus makes certain promises to his disciples (York 27, 152-63). In the references to the disciples' aid to Jesus and to their future rewards in the kingdom of heaven, York closely follows Luke 22, 28-30.

(h) The instruction to the disciples to buy swords:

York 27, 168-78

And loke yat þe haue swerdis ilkone;
And whoso haues non you bytwene
Shall selle his Cote and bye hym one.

Maistir, (w)e haue here swerdis twoo
Vs with to saue on sidis seere. (32)
Itt is inowe; þe nedis no moo.

NP. 11.413-22

"ffor dout of þam þat will jow dere,
Swerdes sall þe all here,
He þat hase nane his kote he sell,
And by a swerde kontek to fell."
Þan answerd ane þat stode him here:
"Lord, lo, twa swerdes er redy here,
Although the correspondence between these two texts again appears to be very clear, only the last line in each quotation in fact provides any evidence that the York play follows the Northern Passion. The remainder could equally derive from Luke 22, 36 and 38: "Dixit ergo eis: Sed nunc qui habet sacculum, tollat similiter et peram: et qui non habet, vendat tunicam suam et emat gladium. ... At illi dixerunt: Domine, ecce duo gladii hic. At ille dixit eis: Satis est."

The York play therefore includes certain material from the Gospels and from the Northern Passion quite independently of Towneley. It diverges from these sources in omitting the argument among the disciples at the Last Supper and Jesus' identification of Judas as his betrayer, and includes a more didactic treatment of the significance of the Last Supper.

(2) Towneley similarly, quite independently of York, dramatises three main episodes:

(a) Jesus' instructions to Peter and John to find accommodation for the Last Supper:

Towneley 20, 316-30

Go furth, Iohn and pete, to yond cyte;
when ye com ther, ye shall then se
In the strete, as tyte, a man
beryng water in a can;
The house that he gose to grith,
ye shall folow and go hym with;
The lord of that house ye shall fynde,
A sympyll man of cely kynde;
To hym ye shall speke, and say
That I com here by the way;
Say I pray hym, if his will be,
A lytyll whyle to ese me,
That I and my disciples all
myght rest a whyle in his hall,
That we may ete our Paske there.

This incident is found also in the Northern Passion:

**NP. (Additional MS) 11.179-93**

Ihesu anserde sone on ane
and callede to hym Petir & Ihone
Gose he salde 3e schall fynde & mete
a man with watter in ye strete
3e house yat he gose to with grythe
3e sall hym folowe & gaa hym wyth
the lord of 3e house 3e schall fynde
a symple mane of sely kynde
To hym 3e sall speke and saye
I come sone in my waye
I will festene in his hauile
Me and myne discypills alle
The daye es comene the tyne es nere
amange3 my frendis to make sopere
with yame will I paske make

The striking similarity in phrasing between these two passages, observed originally by Foster, \(^{33}\) seems to make it almost certain that Towneley here depends upon the Northern Passion.\(^ {34}\) However it should be noted that there are many elements which could equally well derive from the three Gospel accounts in Matthew, Mark and Luke.\(^ {35}\) Some similar phrasing is also to be found in the Cursor Mundi.\(^ {36}\)

The episode has no part in the York play, which opens with Jesus' address to the disciples at the Last Supper without introduction. Cady surmises that this material was dropped from the York cycle when the separation, as he believes, between plays 26 and 27 occurred.\(^ {37}\) There is no evidence that a preliminary scene has been deleted from the play, save a manuscript note in a late sixteenth century hand (see p.37), which appears to refer to material added to the play after the manuscript was written.
(b) Peter and John's meeting with the paterfamilias who lends accommodation for the Last Supper (dramatised by Towneley independently of York, the Northern Passion or the Gospels (Towneley 20, 334-45)).

(c) Jesus' first oblique reference to Judas ("he that eat with me in dish", Towneley 20, 370) at the Last Supper as his betrayer. In the Northern Passion the identification is initially even less plain, being merely to

Ane of yow yat with me ettes (1.261)

but later, as in Towneley, Judas is named quite clearly:

Thesus said, "yi wordes witnes
And yi self sais yat you it es." (EP. 11.269-70)

Similarly in Towneley:

(Judas) What then, wene ye that I it am?
(Ithesus) Thou says sothe, thou berys the blame.

The source of this passage in Towneley therefore appears to be Matthew 26, 23-5 ("Qui intingit mecum manum in paropside, hic me tradet.") or Mark 14, 20, but probably not John 13, 18.

(d) Jesus' final words to his disciples (Towneley 20, 432-67). In this long didactic speech, which naturally includes references to the Resurrection and the promise of everlasting life, Towneley is quite independent of similar subject matter in York previously noted. In particular there is no close dependence on Luke 22.

On several other occasions Towneley also appears to follow the Northern Passion text more closely than York:

1. Towneley 20, 346-7

Sir, youre mett is redy bowne,
will ye wash and syt downe?
NP. 204a, b.
Ihesus bad yam all sit doune
And to his biding war yai bowne;

This resemblance, limited to use of the same rhyme words, is not of great significance. However in the next example Towneley appears to follow the Northern Passion in alluding to a matter which does not derive from the Gospel accounts of the Last Supper, Judas stealing the best morsel of fish from the dish:

2. Towneley 20, 352-3
Tunc comedent, & Judas porrigit manum in discum cum Ihesu.

(Ihesus) Judas, what menys thou?
(Judas) No thyng, lord, bot ett with you.

NP. (Additional MS) 209-14
Iudas saughe yay sittene alle
agayme Ihesu he gane doune falle
Yet he moughte with hym etc
his tresoune he wolde he noghte forgete
he stale owe of his lordis dysche (38)
Ye beste morselle of his fysche.

3. In the third example, the apostles each ask Jesus which of them is to betray him:

Towneley 20, 355-77
for oone of you shall (me) betray.

... Lord, I shall never the betray;
Dere master, is it oght I?

... Master, is oght I he then?

... Master, am oght (I) that shrew?

... Master, then is oght I?

... Is it oght I that shuld do that deed?

... was it oght I that hight thadee?

... May certys, god forbeyd
that euuer shuld we do that deyd.
IIP. 11.257-9
And ilkone by yam self serely
Said ousgat: "lord, es it oght I
Fat swilk treson has puruaid?"

The similarity in this third example between the two
texts could well, on the other hand, derive from the
Gospels, either Matthew 26, 21-2 ("Et edentibus illis,
dixit: Amen dico vobis, quia unus vestrum me traditurus
est. Et contristati valde, coeperunt singuli dicere:
Numquid ego sun Domine?") or Mark 14, 18-19 ("Et
discumbentibus eis, et manducantibus, ait Iesus: Amen
dico vobis quia unus ex vobis tradet me, qui manducat mecum.
At illi coeperunt contristari, et dicere ei singulatim:
Numquid ego?") (39)

In the case of these two latter examples, it may be 
that this material was included in the York play at the
manuscript gap.

The Towneley Last Supper dramatisation therefore
includes certain material from the Gospels and the
Northern Passion not found in York, and also depicts quite
independently Peter and John's meeting with the pater-
familias.

Neither York nor Towneley in the extant texts
dramatisæ the central incident of the Last Supper, the
breaking of the bread and blessing of the wine, found in
the Northern Passion at 11.215-26, although as previously
noted, Burton's list of 1415 appears to suggest that this
formed part of the York play at that date.

The major finding to be drawn from this whole
analysis of the Last Supper sequence in the York and
Towneley plays and the Northern Passion is that York and
Towneley have no material in common which cannot be
explained by the influence of the Gospels and of the Northern Passion. The similarity between the dramatisations is therefore entirely the result of their relationship to these sources. The conclusion reached in respect of the York play is therefore in opposition to that reached by Lyle, who as part of her general theory of the relationship of the two cycles would explain similarities between York and Towneley as far as the Last Supper is concerned "by supposing their presence in the parent cycle", that is, what she believes to be the original identical cycle of York and Towneley.

The couplets, according to her theory, of the Towneley play (lines 314-407) and "perhaps" the quatrains (lines 408-87) would therefore represent the original York play. The York play, after the separation of York and Towneley, would then have been revised in the Northern Septenar stanza. The explanation she produces for this conclusion is the "extended verbal agreement" which exists between certain of the couplets and the Northern Passion and the fact that the Towneley couplets follow the order of the Northern Passion account, save for the position of the foretelling of Peter's denial.

The fact that the Towneley couplets are closer to the Northern Passion than the extant York play offers no evidence that they represent the original York play. It merely indicates that the author of this part of the play worked more closely to the Northern Passion than the author of the quatrains. The influence of the Northern Passion might, of course, have entered the cycle at any time, and there is no reason why extended use should indicate an early date for a play, nor of itself does it offer evidence of antedating of a play written in the Northern Septenar stanza. Couplets and quatrains are
simpler, and could be therefore earlier poetic forms than
the Northern Septenar, but Lyle does not put this forward
in support of her theory. Lyle would further explain
the fact that the York play derives additional material
from the Northern Passion, quite independently of
Towneley, by "a second and more extensive use of the
source upon which the parent play was based" (Lyle, p. 81). There
appears to be no way in which this hypothesis can be
substantiated.

The York Last Supper play, it will be recalled, has
been generally identified by critics as a work of the
earliest stage of composition in the York cycle. Since
there is evidence in this play of dependence upon the
Northern Passion, it follows therefore that that poem
must have influenced the cycle at the very earliest
period of its formation. Foster dates the expanded
version of the Northern Passion which was used as the
middle of the fourteenth century. Thus she concludes
that it seems unlikely that even the earliest stages of
the York cycle can be dated before 1345-50. (45) Of
course even earlier plays may well have been dropped from
the cycle or replaced by new versions before the register
copy of 1430-40 was made, but her deduction would certainly
hold good as far as the dating of the surviving plays is
concerned.
Summary and Conclusions

1. The text of the Last Supper play is incomplete. One leaf is lacking, containing an estimated 62 lines. Otherwise it is a good copy, with few apparent errors. Two notes upon the text in a later hand presumably refer to material added to the text after the copy was made and therefore missing from the extant manuscript.

2. The missing leaf contained some material relating to the Betrayal, and probably the institution of the sacrament of Holy Eucharist. The registered play is a composition dating before 1415.

3. It having been demonstrated that final unstressed -e has no value within the line or in rhyme, the characteristics of the metrical style of the play are defined:

   1) A regular twelve-line stanza rhyming ababababababab, probably composed all at one time and not the subject of later revision.

   2) Six syllables in the cauda, eight in the octave in a high proportion of lines (74.1% and 75.2%).

   3) The majority of lines in the octave with four main stresses (92.8%) and in the cauda three main stresses (85.4%).

   4) A strongly marked medial pause found in only 16% of lines of the octave, although some kind of phrase grouping into two half-lines occurs in most lines.

   5) A predominantly iambic rhythm (40.8% of lines of the octave; 30.6% of the cauda).

   6) Enjambment occurring in 14% of lines of the octave, and more frequently, in 29% of lines of the cauda.

   7) Alliteration, in contrast to the previous play, which is not a structural feature, but an ornament to the line, the structure and rhythm of which is already basically determined.

   8) A proportion of lines lacking alliteration (octave 14.4%; cauda 30.7%) but otherwise of the same metrical style. (The reason for this failure of alliteration is thought to be that of technical difficulty and not entirely the result of close adherence to sources.)

   9) A wide variety of alliterative patterns used in the remainder of the play in the octave, predominantly
xaxa, xxaa, xaaa, axxa, xaax; a feature in direct contrast to the pattern aaaa found most frequently in the preceding play; in the cauda, the types axa, aax, xaa, aaa.

10) In a few instances normally unstressed prefixes appearing to take alliterative stress. The frequent type xxaa, which in traditional terms is an alliterative failure. Vocalic alliteration infrequent, occurring both on the same and on different vowels; h alliterating both with itself and with vowels; s almost always alliterating only with itself. Lines sometimes linked by alliteration in groups of two, mainly in the octave, and only as an ornament of style.

11) The repetition of words and phrases, particularly to emphasise the major didactic concerns of the play, used also to a very small extent for stylistic reasons.

4. Metrically the play therefore departs from the traditions of Old English alliterative verse in the use of rhyme, stanza form, syllabic verse and marked iambic rhythm. The traditions relating to vocalic alliteration, to alliteration on h, and to the use of certain alliterative patterns, appear to be only partially known, or perhaps they are disregarded.

Alliteration is used, however, in a high proportion of lines, as an ornamental rather than a structural feature. There is also some sense of a strongly marked medial pause in the line, and enjambment occurs frequently; moreover, as is traditional, the sound s for the most part alliterates only with itself and not with the separate groups sp, sc, st. Groups of lines are also linked in twos by alliteration.

5. Fulme's theory of the influence of the Gospel of Nicodemus stanza upon this play, is found inadmissible.

6. The theories of Davidson regarding the so-called Northern Septenar group of plays are examined. It is concluded that this play is probably of early date, although not necessarily part of a parent cycle or the work of the same author as the other plays in the same stanza.

7. The corresponding episode in Towneley play 20 contains work of more than one period. As far as the Last Supper is concerned, the York play, the Towneley cycle and the Northern Passion share a common dependence on the Gospels for material for three main episodes, but
other similarities exist between the York and Towneley plays on the one hand and the *Northern Passion* on the other.

8. The York play varies the order of events derived from these sources for didactic reasons and to improve the dramatic continuity of the action. It also includes certain additional subjects drawn from the Gospels and the *Northern Passion*, and adds some new material, while modifying and excluding certain subject matter from the sources as inappropriate. This is all quite independent of the Towneley dramatisation, which also draws additional material from the Gospels and from the *Northern Passion* and includes some new subject matter not found in York.

9. York and Towneley have no material in common which cannot be explained by the influence of the Gospels or the *Northern Passion*. Their similarity therefore is the result of their relationship to these sources. Lyle's theory of a York/Towneley parent play and of an earlier York play extant in the Towneley couplets, and perhaps the quatrains, is found to be untenable.
CHAPTER 3
PLAY 28
THE AGONY AND BETRAYAL

There are several major acts in the dress rehearsal in this copy, indicating that the earlier manuscript was here. This copy was made and been more attention given to them.

One section of the play (11.129-199) was of particular interest. Smith considered that the characters were,...
The Cordwainers' play, like the previous play, is incomplete, for one leaf is missing from the manuscript following 1.42.

The two previous pages of text in the manuscript contain 30 and 29 lines respectively (19 and 23 lines as relineated in the transcription in Vol. 2) and the pages immediately following each contain 34 lines (24 and 29 lines in this transcription). About 48 long lines are therefore lost from the text at this point.

In lines 30, 37 and 40 the apostles John and Peter have asked Jesus to teach them a prayer of comfort, and it is therefore very probable that the missing leaf contained the Lord's Prayer.

There are several major errors in the text which survives, indicating that the earlier manuscript from which this copy was made had been much altered and was difficult to read.

1. One section of the play (11.197-241) has suffered particularly. Smith considered this passage to be "hopelessly confused out of rhyme and reason", and she remarked that the rubricator appeared to have been equally puzzled, for he "intended 1.203 to begin a new speech, but attempted no name, and put no guiding lines to the short phrases to connect them with their rhymes as is usual where tag phrases occur". Lines 203, 204, she thought, appeared to belong to 11.197, 198. (1) (For a discussion of the stanza form of this section, and later a metrical analysis, with the relation of this episode to a similar episode in the Towneley play, see pp. 105ff.)

2. Following 1.139 a line has been ruled in the middle of Jesus' speech for an unattributed line, Nay sothely
while I may vayle ye I. At 1.143 the first line of Peter's speech in reply to that of Jesus reads, *sis sothly quod petir.*

Line 143 is clearly in error, and Smith amends this passage by deleting this line and restoring the first line to 1.143, deleting the second I. This amendment would appear to be the right one, both for sense and in producing a regular stanza in which *vayle ye* (1.143) rhymes with *defayle ye* (see p.104). The original line 143, *sis sothly quod petir* has two puzzling features: the use of *sis* rather than *Nay* as the opening of the reply; and of the phrase *quod petir* which suggests transcription from a text in the third person, perhaps a yet undiscovered source for the play. Smith's suggestion that the line is a prompter's cue which the copyist "unconsciously wrote down" does not seem wholly satisfactory in these circumstances.

3. Further confusion occurs in the manuscript in the series of lines following line 165.

a) In the manuscript lines 166 and 167 follow 1.171, and thus a four-line speech by Caiaphas has been interposed between the first two and last two lines of a speech by Annas (all in stanza 15).

b) Lines 179 and 172 then immediately follow this section. Line 179 from the sense is clearly part of a later speech which could only be attributed to Judas, where it fits neatly, as Smith suggests, into the octave of st. 16. Line 172, as Smith notes (p.248, fn.1), is metrically redundant in these two stanzas (see below, p.105).

The reason for these incorrect transpositions, which affect some fifteen lines of text, and the intrusion of an apparently extra-metrical line, is not clear. It would
appear to result from some revision in the manuscript of which the extant text is a copy, or perhaps from oral transcription at some stage.

4. The Capture episode opens with Jesus addressing his disciples:

Now will ye unsure be neghand full here
That schall certefie all ye soth yat I haue saide.

(ll. 242-3)

There follows immediately in the manuscript a line which from its sense clearly has no part in the play at this point, although the rubricator has ruled it within Jesus' preceding speech: Go fecche forthe ye freyke for his forfeette. Although this is a four-stress alliterative line quite in keeping with the metrical style of the remainder of the play, it is extraneous to the rhyme scheme of the stanza (see pp. 105-6). From its content, the line would be appropriate for Caiaphas to address to Judas or the soldiers, to urge them on to the act of betrayal previously arranged (cf. Caiaphas' urging on of the soldiers later in 1.251). In any event, since it is extra-metrical, it is clearly some kind of interpolation to the play.

5. Following 1.112, immediately before the Angel's speech and following Jesus' third prayer, four short lines have been erased in the manuscript and are completely illegible. These could either have formed part of the alterations affecting the last four lines of st 10, or they could be the two lines lacking from the octave of st 11, since no division is made between stanzas in the manuscript (cf. Smith (3) and see also p. 105).

6. Among the less fundamental errors in the manuscript, 1.182 is allotted to Primus LIL and Ijus Mil, but as Smith suggests, ll. 185, 185, 186 as well as the sense, show that Caiaphas himself summons the soldiers and the leader replies. There is a similar confusion about speakers at 1.233 in the corrupt section 11.197-241. Additionally a half-line is omitted
(at 1.291). Other minor errors include:
(a) The omission of the name of the opening speaker (1.1).
(b) Various miscopyings (1.92, still for will; 1.148, No for For; 1.196, by for hyde; 1.266, Doo probably for Loc; 1.300, passen for paste.
(c) One word omitted (1.203).

There have also been some difficulties about alignment, and 1.208 is written opposite 11.203 and 204; in 1.272 Nay is set down as the first word of 1.273; and in 1.207 right some is written against the right-hand margin. Lines 217-8 have been written as one line.

Several additions have been made to the text in later hands:

1. A marginal note, de novo facto, is written at the very beginning of the play, in a hand which Smith identifies as of the second half of the sixteenth century, and from 1566.\(^{(4)}\) Chambers proposes a slightly later date for this annotation of 1579,\(^{(5)}\) when the playbook was again "caried to my Lord Archebishop and Mr Deane to correcte, if that my lord Archebishop doo well like thereon".\(^{(6)}\) In any event, the note suggests that this play was dropped from the cycle at some date after 1430-40 (the date of the extant manuscript) and that a new play was substituted in its place. The loss of the leaf probably containing the Lord's Prayer also seems to indicate some dissatisfaction with the doctrinal content of the play at a later period.

2. A second marginal note, hic caret, has been made following 1.198, also in a late hand. This occurs at the beginning of that part of the play which, as indicated (p.78), presents particular textual problems. Smith comments that the annotator "evidently was puzzled by the confusion made by the early copyist",\(^{(7)}\) but it is also possible
that the reference is to some addition made to the play after the manuscript was copied.

3. A late hand has observed a minor omission in the manuscript and identified Jesus' speech, ll.274-7.

4. A hand which Smith dates as of the seventeenth century(8) has amended Angelus as speaker of ll.113ff. to read Angelus and archangels. If Smith's dating is accurate, this annotation therefore appears to relate to a period when the plays had ceased to be performed (see pp.3-4 above).

Apart from the entry following 1.198 therefore, the major textual problems of the play, particularly the misplaced and extraneous lines, seem to have passed unnoticed by at least three later annotators.

II

In Burton's list of 1415, the play is recorded as:

Pilatus, Cayphas, Annas, xiiij milites armati,
Malcus, Petrus, Jacobus, Johannes, Jesus et
Judas osculans et tradens eum.

This description raises several points:

(1) Pilate does not appear in the extant play, although in the Towneley play he has a significant role, for it is he who despatches Judas and the soldiers to capture Jesus. For this reason, Frampton believes that the Towneley play was written "under the influence of the play described by Burton". (9)

(2) No prominence is given in the list to the character of Jesus, who obviously has the central role in the first episode of the extant play, the Agony in the Garden; nor is there any mention of the Angel who appears to Jesus at that time. Moreover this part of the play is not covered at all by the description.

(3) The fourteen soldiers are represented in the surviving play by speaking parts for four soldiers and four Jews.
All these discrepancies indicate plainly that Burton was describing not the play recorded in the manuscript, but a different play. What survives must therefore be either an extensive revision of that earlier play or a completely new composition dating from after 1415. This theory appears to be confirmed by Burton's second list (1415-36), which records the play succinctly as Capcio Christi orantis in Monte. Although it is so brief, this description is significantly much closer to the content of the surviving play.

III

The play divides structurally into three main episodes, although no such division is indicated in the manuscript; neither did the author apparently view these scenes as separate entities, since one episode succeeds another in the middle of a stanza (st. 14).

The first episode deals with the Agony in the Garden (lines 1-152; st 1-part of st 14); the second, with Judas and the High Priests (lines 153-241; remainder of st 14-st 18); and the third, with the Capture of Jesus (lines 242-301; sts 19-23). The first episode in the same way has a tripartite structure, with Jesus moving away from his disciples three times in order to pray, and then returning after each prayer to find them asleep.

The first and second episodes each present a quite separate group of individuals: first Jesus and his disciples; and then Judas, the High Priests and their followers; and these two groups, representing two opposing sets of values, confront one another in the final episode, when the drama, which derives its onward movement in the first and second scenes from Jesus' frequent anticipations of his capture
and by the High Priests' despatch of their men with
their enthusiasm for the fray, reaches its resolution.
The act of betrayal is highlighted by two miraculous
incidents: the light which gleams around Jesus, and the
healing of Malcus' ear.

The play works by contrasts: the anguish of Jesus
is contrasted with the somnolence of his disciples; the
subdued tone of the scene as a whole and the failure of
the disciples to assist their lord is contrasted with the
enthusiasm and loyalty of the soldiers to their leaders,
Annas and Calaphas. The final scene again represents a
contrast with what has preceded: a scene of clamour and
opposition between two forces, one calm and unresisting,
the other intent on capture. The conflict narrows to
two individuals ancillary to the main protagonists, Peter
and Malcus, in a brief moment of swordplay. There is
again antithesis in the calmness of Jesus and the
excitement of Peter.

The basic structure of the play, however, is not
unique to it, but is found also in Towneley play 20
(lines 492-755), and in the corresponding section of the
Northern Passion (lines 425-608). They all deal with
certain episodes, and this resemblance between them is
strengthened at first sight by a number of apparent
similarities in the language with which these events are
described and expressed. Lyle has produced lists of
many examples of resemblances in structure and language
between York, Towneley and the Northern Passion as
evidence of the influence of that poem upon the two
plays.(10) In many cases, however, the similarities,
as will be demonstrated, could equally be the result of
close adherence to the various Gospel accounts.

1. To deal with the Agony in the Garden episode first:
(a) Peter, James and John are told to watch and pray for Jesus in his absence. The passages concerned are York 28, 5-12; NP. 11.433-42; and Towneley 20, 492-7, and within these, there is some similar phrasing:

York 28, 8-12
And bidis me a stounde / Stille in yis same steede.
... And lokis nowe prestely ye pray
To my ffadir, yat ye ffalle in no ffandyng.

York 28, 73-9
Beois wakand and prayes faste, all in fere,
To my ffadir, yat ye falle in no ffanding.

NP. (MS Camb. Gg. 5.31) 473-4
Wakys and prays to heuyn kung
Yat yhe fall in no fandyng.

Towneley 20, 495-7
Abye styll here, ye thre.
Say youre prayers here by-neth,
that ye fall in no rowdyng;

The first extract from York and the passage from Towneley both form part of Jesus' initial instructions to the disciples, but in York the same injunction is repeated after Jesus' first prayer, which is the placing found in the Northern Passion. Yet the Gospels record the incident very fully. Matthew 26, 37, and Mark 14, 33, provide the names of the disciples present with Jesus, and both also offer similar versions of Jesus' words: "Sustinet hic, et vigilate" (Mark 14, 34). Matthew 26, 38 merely adds "mecum"; but in Luke 22, 40, the instruction is "Orate ne intretis in tentationem". A very similar injunction, but following the first prayer, is recorded in Matthew 26, 41: "Vigilate, et orate ut non intretis in tentationem. Spiritus quidem promptus est, caro autem infirma", and similarly in Mark 14, 38: "Vigilate et orate, ut non intretis in tentationem. Spiritus quidem promptus est, caro vero infirma". As in York, the instruction is given twice in Luke 22, 46, but after Jesus' prayers have ended. What the three texts therefore have in common is the use of the alliterative
phrase fall in no fanding. But this alone does not necessarily indicate any interdependence between them, for fanding (from OE fandian, v.) in the sense 'temptation' is first recorded by OED in the work of Aelfric, c.1000. The Cursor Mundi (1.25111, Cotton MS) has "Lede you vs in na fanding", and it appears frequent in various alliterative combinations (of Langland, Piers Plowman B xiv, 298, "Ye fyfte is ... a frende in alle fondynes"; and Audelay (1426), "Fore one fonding of the fynd fulfyl your forward". 'Temptation' on the other hand is recorded by OED, sense 1, from 1340. That fall in no fanding may thus have been a common alliterative collocation is perhaps confirmed by Tindale's translation (1526) of Matt. 26, 41, "Watche and praye that ye fall not into temptacion".

(b) Jesus expresses his anguish at events to come.

York 28, 2-3
My flesshe dyderis and daris for doute of my dede.
Myne enemies will newly be neghand full nere.
NP. (MS Camb. Gr. 5.31) 1.442
My flessche for drede it is qwakand.
NP. (MS Harl.) 11.442a-b
My hert has dout & dredes ill,
Ifor angers yat er cumand me till.
Towneley 20, 511
my flesh is seke for fere.

The Gospel accounts in Matthew 26, 38 ("Tristis est anima mea, usque ad mortem") and Mark 14, 33-4 ("et coepit pavere et taedere. Et ait illis: Tristis est anima mea usque ad mortem") do not seem to account for the emphasis on Jesus' fear, which York particularly seems to have derived from the Northern Passion. In Towneley, the passage occurs after Jesus' first prayer.

(c) Jesus prays to the Father (York 28, 43-63; NP. 11.449-54; Towneley 20, 500-3).

York 28, 58-62
And if it possible be / This payne myght I ouerpasse
...  
Euermore both myldely and still.
"Father," he said, "if it may be, let these pains pass from me. . . .

For I am very loud and still,
In word and work to work as I will."

Towneley 20, 500-3

Father, let this great pain be still,
And pass away from me;
But not, father, at my will,
but thy full-fledged be.

Matthew 26, 39 accounts for most of the similarities between the three texts: ("Et progressus pusillum, procidit in faciem suam, orans, et dicens: Pater mi, si possibili est, transeat a me calix iste: verumtamen non sicut ego volo, sed sicut tu"). A similar, slightly extended version is found in Mark 14, 35-6: ("Et cum processisset paululum, procidit super terram: et orabat ut si fieri posset, transiret ab eo hora: et dixit: Abba pater, omnia tibi possibilia sunt, transfer calicem hunc a me, sed non quod ego volo, sed quod tu"). Luke 22, 42, provides another shorter version, but no additional subject matter is involved.

Where the York, Towneley and the Northern Passion texts correspond is in the use of the word pain rather than a rendering of calix (AV cup) or hora (AV hour) as found in the Gospels. They also all make use of the rhymes will and still, and Towneley and the Northern Passion additionally have the rhymes be and me. On the other hand, the Towneley lines 502-3 are much closer to the phrasing of the Gospels, particularly Luke, than York or the Northern Passion: ("verumtamen non mea voluntas, sed tua fiat" (Luke 22, 42)).

(d) Jesus returns to the apostles and finds them asleep. He awakens them, addressing Peter (York 28, 64-75; NP. 11. 463-74; Towneley 20, 504-7).

The source of this episode could be Matthew 26, 40: ("Et venit ad discipulos suos, et invent eos dormientes, et dicit Petro: Sic non potuistis una hora vigilare"
mecum?"") or an exactly similar account in Mark 14, 37. Luke 22, 45-6 differs only in ascribing the cause of sleeping to sorrow ("invenit eos dormientes prae tristitia") and does not mention Peter by name.

(e) Jesus prays a second time (York 28, 88-95; NP. 11.431-482b; Towneley 20, 512-5). This derives from Matthew 26, 42; Mark 14, 39.

(f) The apostles are again found asleep, but are not awakened (York 28, 96-101; NP. 11.483-6; Towneley 20, 516-9). Matthew 26, 43-4; Mark 14, 40-1 include this information.

(g) Jesus prays a third time (York 28, 103-12; NP. 11.489-92; Towneley 20, 520-7). This is found in Matthew 26, 44; Mark 14, 41.

(h) The apostles are again asleep. Jesus awakens them, warning that he will soon be taken (York 28, 125-9; NP. 11.493-8; Towneley 20, 556-9). This again occurs in the accounts in Matthew 26, 45; Mark 14, 40-1.

2. The Capture episode in the three texts similarly contains a great deal of material in common:

(a) Judas concludes arrangements with the Jews with the identifying sign, the kiss. The relevant passages are York 28, 169-179; NP. p. 51, 11.1-20; Towneley 20, 576-91.(12)

York 28, 176-9

(Anna) lineEdit

(Judas) Qwhat man som I kys, /  \at corse schall ye kyll.
"Say vs how we sail him knaw,
ifor sum of vs him neuer saw,
And if he be omang his men,
Say vs how we sail him ken."

(Judas) ... "of him ye sail noght mis,
Takes ye man yat I sail kis."

Towneley 20, 588-91

(Pilatus) wherby, Judas, shuld we hym knaw,

... ffor som of vs hym neuer saw.

# # #

... lay hand on hym that I shall kys.

The similarity here, particularly between Towneley and the Northern Passion, clearly extends beyond Matthew 26, 48 ("Qui autem tradidit eum, dedit illis signum, dicens: Quemcumque osculatus fuero, ipse est, tenete eum"), and Mark 14, 44 ("Dederat autem traditor eius signum eis, dicens: Quemcumque osculatus fuero, ipse est, tenete eum, et ducite caute"), for both these accounts offer only Judas' words without the preceding question.

(b) Those who tak Jesus are armed. Matthew 26, 47 offers "turba multa cum gladiis et fustibus", Mark 14, 43 "gladiis et lignis".

York 28, 219

Lo, yay are arrayed and armed clere.

NP. 11.513-5

Yan yay come with ful grete rowte
And vnsett ihesus all about
With swerdes & maces & glaues gude.

Towneley 20, 584-7

(Iudas) Ordan ye knyghtys to weynd with me,
Richly arayd in rewyll and rowtt;

... I haue feylyship me abowte.

(c) Malcus bears a lantern.
(d) Judas betrays Jesus with a kiss. In the Northern Passion this occurs after Jesus has identified himself twice and shown them "sum dele of his might", 1.532b.

York 28, 249
For with yis kissing is mans sone betrayed.

NP. II.554a, b.
"You bitrais thurgh yki kising
Mans sun yat may weld al thing."

Towneley 20, 666
(Thesus) with kyssyng has thou me betrayd:

Luke 22, 48 ("Iesus autem dixit illi: Iuda, osculo Milium hominis tradis?") seems to account effectively for these resemblances.

(e) Jesus identifies himself twice to those taking him. The order of events varies in the three texts: In the Northern Passion the two identifications are divided by the display of Jesus' godhead and followed by the kiss of betrayal; in Towneley Judas identifies Jesus first
by means of the kiss, and then the two identifications
follow immediately one upon the other; the York version
begins with the kiss of betrayal, as does Towneley, but
interposes the miracle between the two identifications, as
does the Northern Passion. The three works, however, have
very similar wording:

York 28, 255-7 and 266-8
(Jesus) Saye 3e here; whome seke 3e? / Do saye
me; late see.
(jus iudeus)One Jesu of Nazareth, / I hope yat he
hight.
(Jesus) Beholdis all hedirward, loo! / Here, I
am hee!
(Jesus) (I)oo, whame seke 3e all same, 3itt I
saye?
(jus iudeus)One Jesus of Nazareth. / Hym wolde we
neghe nowe.
(Jesus) And I am he sothly, / And yat schall I
asaile.

NP. 11.526b-532 and 536-41
Wham 3e seke on 3is manere?
Yai answerd and said albidene;
"We seke all ihesu nazarene."
Yan ihesu said with wordes fre,
"I say 3ow suthly I am he."

And ihesus said eftsones yam till:
"Wham seke 3e 3us als 3e haue gane?"
And eft 3ai answerd euer ilkane:
"Ihesu nazarene we seke."
Yan answerd he with wordes meke:
"I said 3ow suthly I am he."

Towneley 20, 668-75
(Ihesus) whome seke ye, syrs, by name?
(Secundus we seke ihesu of nazarene.
Miles) (Ihesus) I kepe not my name to layn;
lo, I am here, the same ye mene;
Bot whome seke ye with wepyns kene?
(Primus To say the sothe, and not to ly,
Miles) we seke ihesu of nazarene.
(Ihesus) I told you ere that it was I.
Although the similarities in language between the three texts appear to be striking, the episode in John 16, 4-8 may account for much of the resemblance ("Iesus itaque sciens omnia quae ventura erant super eum, processit, et dixit ei, Quem quaeritis? Respondunt ei: Iesum Nazarenum. Dicit eis Iesus: Ego sum. Stabat autem et Iudas, qui tradebat eum, cum ipsis. Ut ergo dixit ei: Ego sum: abierunt retrorsum, et ceciderunt in terram. Iterum interrogavit eos: Quem quaeritis? Illi autem dixerunt: Iesum Nazarenum. Respondit Iesus: Dixi vobis, quia ego sum: si ergo me quaeritis, sinite hos abire.")

(f) Peter cuts off Malcus' ear (York 28, 269-73; NP. 11.559-54; Towneley 20, 676-87). Matthew 26, 51, Mark 14, 47, Luke 22, 50 (where the individuals are unnamed) and John 18, 10, all give an account of this incident.

(g) Peter is told by Jesus to put up his sword:

York 28, 279

Forthy putte vppe γι swerde / Full goodely agayne.

NP. 11.567-70

"Put vp, " he said, "γι swerd ogaine, ff for he γat slase he sall be slane, And he γat smites with swerd, Iwis Thurgh swerd he sall peris.

Towneley 20, 698-9

Put vp thi swerde and do no mys. for he that Smytys, he shalbe Smyten.

The sources of Jesus' instruction are clearly Matthew and John. In Matthew 26, 52 although the swordsman is unnamed, Jesus' words are expressed as: "Converte gladium tuum in locum suum: omnes enim, qui acceperint gladium, gladio peribunt." John 18, 11 names Simon Peter as the swordsman, but offers no wording
closer to the three texts. York and Towneley may therefore follow the Gospels here rather than the Northern Passion, although Towneley uses the word smytys, found also in the Northern Passion, in a rather similar sentence construction (cf the formulation of the same material, as recounted by Malcus, in the following York play, "For he yat strikis with a swerd, with a swerde schall be streken." (York 29, l.145)).

(h) Jesus heals the ear.

York 28, 263-7
Come hedir to me sauely, / And I schalle ye sayne
In ye name of my fadir / Tat in heuene is most
Of thy hurtis be you hole ...
(Malcus) ... I hope yat I be hole.

NP. 11.584-7
And toke ye ere yat was of schorn.
... And helid it with hys haly hand,
He made it hale als it was are.

Towneley 20, 689-93
(Ihesus) com heder, let me thi wounde se;
Take me thi ere that he of share;
In nomine patris hole thou be!
(Malcus) Now am I hole as I was ere,
My hurt is neuer the wars;

Luke 22, 51 ("Et cum tetigisset auriculam eius, sanavit eum") does not explain completely the similarities here, particularly the use of the word hole (hale) in all three versions and the variation of the Northern Passion "And toke ye ere yat was of schorn" in Towneley. York and Towneley also use the phrase come hedir, and the healing is done in the name of the Father.

(i) Jesus says that he is being captured like a thief.

York 26, 294
Euen like a thefe heneusly / Burle ge me here.
The L. 591-2

"Alas the thieves bind me here,"

Towneley 20, 702

As I were thefe or thefys fere

Again the Gospels rather than the Northern Passion may be the source of this statement in York and Towneley. Matthew 26, 55 offers, "Tanquam ad latronem existis cum gladiis et fustibus comprehendere me" and the accounts in Mark 14, 48 and Luke 22, 52 are not significantly different. However the fact that the three texts all use the rhyme words here, fere at some point in this section may indicate some dependence by the plays on the poem.

The York play and the corresponding sections of Towneley play 20 and the Northern Passion all therefore have a basic common framework, which for the most part derives from the Gospels of Matthew, chapter 26, Mark, chapter 14, Luke, chapter 22 and John chapter 18. As indicated, however, York and Towneley separately and together agree with the Northern Passion in several particulars independently of material derived from the Gospels, and this would appear to identify the Northern Passion as a source for both the York and Towneley plays.

As is apparent from the discussion of Burton's lists above (p.82-3), the inclusion of material from the Northern Passion relating to the episode of the Agony in the Garden, including the introduction of the character of the Angel, dates from 1415 or after. The remaining corresponding material may have entered the play either at the same time or from the earlier play of which the extant play is a revision.

Within this basic framework the York and Towneley
plays show variations, both from each other and from the Northern Passion. In several instances York appears to follow the Northern Passion independently of Towneley, but some of these similarities may derive from the Gospel accounts.

1. Jesus sweats water and blood.

   York 28, 48-50
   My flessh is full dreed and for drede.
   For my jomeys of my manhed
   I swete now both watir and bloode.

   NP. 11.455-8
   ff or dout of ded he had sliike drede
   f at angers vnto his hert yeorde,
   And for grete greuance he gratt
   And both water and blude he swett.

   Luke 22, 44 offers, "Et factus est sudor eius, sicut guttae sanguinis decurrentis in terram."

2. The words used to awaken Peter after the first prayer

   York 28, 74-5
   Might ye noght ye space of an owre
   Hauve wakid nowe mildely with me?

   NP. 11.471-2
   Might ye noght ane oure with me wake,
   Sun of my sorow forto slake?

   This appears to derive from Matthew 26, 40, "Sic non potuistis una hora vigilare mecum?"

3. The words used to describe Jesus' return to the mount a second time

   York 28, 84-5
   Agayne to ye mounte I will gang
   Sitt eftesones where I was ere.

   NP. 11.475-7
   When he had said yir wordes sertayne,
   Vnto ye hill he went ogayne,
   Bagat he by fore was cumen ira,
4. An Angel comes to Jesus after his third prayer (York 28, 113-22). This also occurs in the Northern Passion, but following the first prayer (NP. 11.459-62) although the incident is recorded in Luke 22, 43 ("Apparuit autem illi angelus de caelo, confortans eum"). In the Towneley play, following the third prayer, Jesus is also offered words of comfort, not by an Angel, but by Trinitas, presumably a single personage representing the three persons of the Trinity, of whom Jesus is of course himself one (Towneley 20, 528-55). The positioning of these words of comfort after the third prayer in the two plays (rather than after the first prayer as in the Northern Passion) does not necessarily indicate any interdependence between them, for some response to Jesus' prayers at this later point is clearly far more effective dramatically.

5. Jesus temporarily blinds the soldiers with the light radiating from his person (York 28, 254). In the Northern Passion it is recounted merely that he showed them "sum de le of his might" (1.532b), while John 18, 6 provides the confusion of the soldiers ("Ut ergo dixit eis: Ego sum: abierunt retrorsum, et ceciderunt in terram"). (For a certain emphasis given to this idea of light streaming from Jesus and a comparison with a similar use of light in the York Harrowing of Hell play, see p.121.)

6. Jesus tells Peter he could have angels to defend him if he wished (York 28, 276-8; NP. 11.573-8). Matthew 26, 53 does not name the person so addressed.

7. Jesus asks why he was not captured openly as he taught in the temple:

   York 28, 295
   I taught you in youre tempill. Why toke 3e me nott
   panne?

   NP. 11.598-600
   In 3owre temple 3ow bitwene
Techand ye law to ilka man;
Whi wald ye noght tak me yan?

All the elements here may be accounted for by Mark 14, 49 ("quotidie eram apud vos in templo docens, et non me tenuestis") or by the similar accounts in Matthew 26, 55 and Luke 22, 53.

8. Jesus is taken to Caiaphas (York 28, 300; NF. 1.606). This derives from Matthew 26, 57; Mark 14, 53; Luke 22, 54.

Lyle would ascribe these "additions" to "a second and more extensive use of the Northern Passion". The basis on which she would distinguish an original from a second use in the extant text is not clear, save as an hypothesis to explain why York and Towneley vary.

Towneley appears to follow the Northern Passion independently of York in certain details:

1. Jesus' words to his disciples after the third prayer. (The mention of Judas occurs in Towneley at the beginning of the capture episode.) The resemblances here cannot be completely accounted for by Matthew 26, 45: "Dormite iam, et requiescite: ecce appropinquavit hora, et Filius hominis tradetur in manus peccatorum."

   Towneley 20, 556-9

   (Ihesus) Slepe ye now and take youre rest!
   my tyme is heres command;
   Awake a whyle, for he is next
   that me shall gyf into synners hand.

   Towneley 20, 654

   Judas wakys, and slepys not he;

   Towneley 20, 658-9

   Bot com furth, peter, and tary no langere:
   lo, where thay com that will me take!
NP. (MS Harl.) 11.496-8
Slepes and restes now hardily,
ffor ye tyme es cumand nere
Yat ye sall suffer sorrows sere
And all ye have sleped wele,
Iudas has sleped never a dele.

NP. (Camb. Gg. 5.31), 11.501-2
Ryse vppe all for my sake
I se yaine come yat wyll me take.

2. Jesus' request for his companions to be spared
(Towneley 20, 707; NP. 1.544).

3. The wording of a phrase in the episode of Malcus' ear,
although in Towneley it is said by Jesus when he heals
the ear:

Towneley 20, 690(18)
Take me thi ere that he of share
NP. 1.562
And his right ere of he schare
NP. 1.584
And toke ye ere yat was of schorn

4. Jesus' observation that he is being captured at
night (cf Luke 22, 53: "sed haec est hora vestra, et
potestas tenebrarum"):  

Towneley 20, 704-5
Me thynk, for sothe, ye do full yll,
thus for to seke me in the nyght;

NP. (MS Camb. Gg. 5.31)ll.593-4
Tyll me yhe do mykyll vnryght
Fus to fare wyth me by nyght

5. The soldiers coming in a 'rowtt' (cf John 18, 3:
"Iudas ergo cum accepisset cohortem, et a pontificibus et
pharisaelis ministros..."):  

Towneley 20, 700-1(19)
ye knyghtys that be commen now here,
thus assemblyd in a rowte
NP. 11.513-4

Tan yan come with ful grete rowte
And vnseitt ihesus all about

All these passages therefore substantiate what had already been deduced from the comparison of similar words and phrases in the York and Towneley plays and the Northern Passion; that both York and Towneley depend upon the Northern Passion quite independently and they have not derived material from that poem in borrowing the one from the other.

The York and Towneley plays, however, have in common certain material which does not derive either from the Northern Passion or the Gospels. This indicates the possibility that there was contact between the cycles at some stage of composition. In these episodes:

1. Judas, in making final arrangements for the capture, mentions military support.

There is a slight difference here between the York and Towneley versions, for in York Judas suggests that "many myghty men That is both strang and sterand" should be present (York 28, 174-5), whereas in Towneley Judas plainly requests knights, "So I haue felyship me aboute" (Towneley 20, 587).

2. Malcus threatens Jesus (York 28, 269; Towneley 20, 676-9).

Taken in the context of the plays as a whole, these similarities are obviously very minor ones. Moreover both are of such a type as might occur quite naturally in dramatisations of the episode of the Capture as recounted in the Gospels (that Judas led many others with him to the capture of Jesus, and that Peter cut off Malcus' ear). There is little here therefore to indicate any dependence of one cycle upon the other. The third similarity, however, is more substantial, and it affects the episode in both plays where the capturers express their enthusiasm. In York the
characters concerned are the soldiers and the Jews (York 28, 182-241); in Towneley the soldiers and Malcus (Towneley 20, 600-38).

Lyle would ascribe all these similarities to "a parent play, from which the extant York and Towneley versions were derived", and she points out that York and Towneley develop the third of these episodes in similar ways:

"(1) The soldiers are armed with swords.
(2) Pilate, in Towneley, and the high priests in York, show their eagerness in the search for Jesus by commanding the soldiers to seek everywhere for him.
(3) Malcus brings a light to bear before the soldiers.
(4) The command is given to begin the search."

Yet the first point derives from the Northern Passion, 1.515, or perhaps Matthew 26, 47 or Mark 14, 43, and the third point derives from the Northern Passion, 1.517 and 11.562a-564 (see p.89 above). As far as the second point is concerned, the similarity between the plays is not very substantial, particularly since different characters are involved; the fourth point would arise quite naturally from the subject matter concerned.

On the other hand, the general atmosphere of eagerness and enthusiasm among the captors is the same in both plays. It seems therefore more likely that Towneley merely borrowed the idea of this episode from York rather than that the similarity originates from a parent play, the existence of which is otherwise unsuspected. This preliminary conclusion may be confirmed by the metrical analysis of the two plays which follows (pp.106ff).

The York and Towneley plays each contain certain subject matter quite independently of the other, or of the
Thus in the York play

1. The apostles begin to feel tired and they talk among themselves as they wait for Jesus (York 28, 13-24).

2. They ask Jesus to teach them a prayer (the gap in the manuscript follows) (York 28, 30ff). 

3. The angel's words of comfort to Jesus after the third prayer (York 28, 113-22) do not derive from the Northern Passion, for in that poem the words themselves are not recounted.

4. Jesus, returning a third time to the apostles, foretells that they will forsake him and that Peter will deny him (York 28, 132-52). (This prophecy has of course occurred previously in the Last Supper play, 11.132-7).

5. Annas urges Caiaphas to action. They decide to proceed to take Jesus captive with the help of Judas (York 28, 153-67). The following lines could, however, indicate slight reminiscences of the Northern Passion:

   **York 28, 156-7**
   
   (Anna) Sen þat we are of counsaille ilkone,
   That Jesus, þat traytoure, wer tane.

   **NP., p.51, 11.3-4**
   
   And ordand by þam self allane
   How þat he might best be tane.

   and

   **York 28, 171-3**
   
   (Cayphas) For þou muste lede vs and lere vs.
   ...
   (Judas) Sirs, I schall wisse you þe way, Euen
   at youre awne will.

   **NP., p.51, 11.5-8**
   
   ...I sall þow lede
   To find him wele with owten drede,
   And when I haue broght þow him till,
   Þan may þe wyrk with him þowre will.
6. Malcus is grateful to Jesus for healing his ear (York 26, 287-9).

Aside from these variations in content, the York and Towneley dramatisations are very different in their underlying concept of the subject, and this is most noticeable in the Agony episode. The York playwright presents Jesus in all his humanity, suffering and fearful of the events to come. Although the same point is made in Towneley and in the Northern Passion, it is made a fundamental feature of the York play. Jesus also shows real concern for his disciples in their weariness (York 25, 4-5; 65; 126), whereas in the Northern Passion and Towneley Jesus chastises Peter for falling asleep. Moreover in the York play it is the pathos of the fact that Jesus must face his inner struggles quite alone which comes over most strongly.

Like Jesus, the apostles are similarly presented in a very human way, particularly in their tiredness and their frail and unsuccessful attempts to carry out Jesus' bidding. The York play generally treats the subject more fully, one particular example of this being Jesus' three quite separate prayers to his Father. The Northern Passion, following the Gospels, does not specify the content of each prayer, and in the Towneley play the prayers are rather perfunctory, each occupying only a single quatrain.

Put the Towneley play also is an independent dramatisation in certain respects:

1. Following Jesus' third prayer, as previously noted (p.96), the character of Trinitas offers Jesus a solemn and intensely didactic account of the doctrine of the Redemption, touching upon the Fall of Man and the necessity for the birth of Christ, his death and resurrection (Towneley 20, 528-55). Similar reassurances offered by an Angel in York (York 28, 113-22) are very much shorter, but these in contrast
manage to combine dignity and high seriousness with a warmth of comfort unknown to Towneley.

2. Pilate is introduced into the play and leads the Jews in arranging the capture of Jesus with the assistance of Judas (Towneley 20, 560ff). (22)

3. Malcus is eager to take Christ (Towneley 20, 600-12).
4. Pilate despatches the soldiers (Towneley 20, 639-51).
5. Malcus is ungrateful after the healing of the ear (Towneley 20, 692-5).
6. Jesus is taken before Pilate, who sends him to Caiaphas (Towneley 20, 708-45).
7. Malcus is angry at this decision, and takes Jesus to Caiaphas with abuse (Towneley 20, 728-31; 748-55).

The main variation between Towneley, the York play and the Northern Passion concerns the introduction into Towneley of the character of Pilate, a feature which does not derive either from the Gospel accounts or the Northern Passion. Burton's list of 1415 indicates that Pilate had some role in the earlier York play of which the extant play is deduced to be a revision (see p.83). On this basis Prampton has suggested that the whole Towneley play was written under the influence of the earlier York play, (23) and this is of course possible, although difficult to substantiate in the absence of the earlier text and knowledge of the exact function of Pilate in that play. In any event, Pilate in the Towneley play is a conventional cardboard figure, with a rant in which he threatens the audience.

The Towneley play also attempts to broaden the part of Malcus. Again, however, Malcus' persecution of Christ,
who has healed his ear, is not very convincing psychologically. (24) Moreover the initial sequence, with Jesus going to and fro between the mountain and his disciples, is treated in an impersonal and perfunctory way which is quite distinct in its quality from the realisation of the episode in the York play.

IV

Unlike the two plays immediately preceding it in the cycle, the Agony and Betrayal is not composed throughout in one regular stanza form, although Smith recorded that one stanza of twelve lines, eight of four accents and four of three accents, rhyming ababababddc, occurred frequently. (25) Her summary of metres in the York cycle indicated no other play composed in exactly the same stanza. (26)

In commenting upon the condition of the text of this play, Smith appeared to attribute all irregularities to failures in transcription, for "the old copyist (had) made more errors than usual", and she offered the following analysis:

"As several of the stanzas are imperfect and others confused, the short lines in sts 3, 4, 15, etc. should probably be taken as parts of missing lines, not as tags. Stanzas 6, 14 are each a line too long, while st 4 is short of four lines."

An examination of the play reveals nine stanzas with the same rhyme scheme, ababababddc (sts 1, 2, 7, 9, 12, 17, 19, 22 and 23). Additionally two stanzas (8 and 20) vary only in so far as the a-rhyme is continued into the cauda. In four other stanzas (13, 15, 16, 21) the rhyme scheme may be restored by Smith's careful emendations (see footnotes to accompanying text). Well over half the play (15/23 stanzas) is therefore composed in the same stanza.
The remaining stanzas have:

(a) Single lines additional to the cauda:

(one line from st 3, 11. 30, 31, 32.
st 4, 11. 39, 40, 41.
st. 6, 11. 59 and 60.
st. 10, 11. 109-11.
st. 14, 11. 158 and 159.

Additional single lines occurring in connection
with some manuscript confusion:

st. 15, 1.172.
st. 19, a line following 1.243
and deleted from the text
(see p.80)

(b) Lines omitted from the octave:

Four lines from st 3, 4 and 5 (the last the result
of the break in the manuscript);
two lines from st. 11 (see p.80).

Between lines 197 and 241 the stanza breaks down
completely. Smith does not divide this section, commenting
that the "whole of this passage ... which I believe
represents three stanzas, is hopelessly confused out of
rime and reason". It seems most likely, however,
that this section comprises six stanzas and parts of
stanzas:

(11. 197-204, rhyming abccccdeb (Speech of Anna)
11. 205-12, rhyming ababcc (Cayphas)
11. 213-21, rhyming ababddc (Anna)
11. 222-8, rhyming ababcde (1 and 2 Jud)
11. 229-35, rhyming abaccc (2 and 3 Jud., Cayphas,
Malcus)
11. 236-41, rhyming abcdde (Cayphas)).

Although the copyist was working from what was clearly
at times a confused text (see p.78), this does not seem
to account for the irregularities in the stanza form noted
above and for the breakdown between 11. 197 and 241. The
'additional' lines cannot be readily separated from the text, of which they form an integral part; nor is there any disruption in the text where lines are apparently missing. The possibility therefore arises either that the writer handled his stanza flexibly, or that the play has been the subject of revision following composition. Lines 197-241 particularly indicate that the latter is the case. Although composed in stanzas reminiscent of the remainder of the play, this section adds nothing to its content; it is merely an expansion of preceding subject matter. Allowing for the confusion in transcription noted by Smith, it is also of poorer quality than the earlier part of this scene. It may therefore represent a later interpolation to expand the roles of Annas, Caiaphas and the Jews.

As noted above (p.6), it is generally agreed by previous writers on the subject that the Agony and Betrayal and the Conspiracy plays are composed in the same metrical style. But since the possibility arises on grounds of content and stanza form that lines 197-241 are a later interpolation, it is proposed in the metrical analysis which follows to examine these lines separately from the rest of the play.

As in Play 26, so in this play most lines in the octave of each stanza have four chief stresses, with a central caesura (153 lines, 94.4%), the stresses pointed by alliteration, most frequently in the pattern aa/aa (67 lines, 41.3%), for example,

- Be louung ay lastand in light yat is lente (1.114)
- Go we hens yan in hy / And haste vs to ye halle (1.168)
- Of thy hurtis be you hole / In hyde and in hane (1.285)
Additionally there are, as in the previous play, several apparent examples of extended half-lines with three chief stresses (5 lines) (see pp. 9-10 above), for example:

With greté gracious grétyng / On gróundé be he graied (1.245).

On the other hand, two lines appear to have three stresses rather than four, for example:

To my ffádir, yat je fálle in no ffánding (1.79).

Generally the range of alliterative patterns used is much wider in this play than in the Conspiracy play, although the same type, xaaa, is of second highest frequency (26 lines, 16%), for example:

Behólde, my discipulis yat déyne is and dére (1.1)

Other types used are:

xxaa (13 lines), for example:
For éuelle spíritis is néghand full nére (1.80)

aaxa (14 lines), for example:
Thy sórowes for to sóbir / To ye he hase me sénnte (1.116)

xaxa (8 lines), for example:
And eftesónes yere I wás agáyne will I wénde (1.101)

axaa (8 lines), for example:
Nów will yis oure be néghand full nére (1.242)

aabb (4 lines) for example:
Kyndely to cómforte yam / Ýat másed is in ýer mynde. (1.126)

aaaax (5 lines), for example:
Vnkyndely be Crúcified / And nályd to a trée (1.26)

aaaax (1 line)
I tóught you in youre témpl / Why tóke ye me nóst yánde? (1.295)

The alliteration in the Agony and Betrayal therefore differs from that found in the Conspiracy play in the occurrence of the types xxaa, aabb and axaa, and in a greater use generally of types other than aaaa and xaaa.
The two plays are similar, however, in the way in which certain lines are constructed: sometimes the length of a line results in an initial word taking a secondary chief stress, for example:

- In ye, oure faythe and curre fode / All hollye is feste (1.16)
- Beis nozt nouy in 3oure heytis / But holde yow even hore (1.7)

In all the lines of the octave, only four lack structural alliteration (lines 66, 149, 180, 249). Manuscript corruption does not appear to be involved, and the lines are otherwise regular in form. In some cases ornamental alliteration appears to be used to compensate for the lack of structural alliteration in the line, for example:

- For ferde of myne enmyse / You schalte some denye me (1.149)

In the cauda, all the alliterative lines except seven contain three chief stresses, the most frequent alliterative type, as in the Conspiracy play, being aaa (32 lines, 34%), for example:

- Fis leme, it lemed so light (1.263)

Similarly, the type xaa is next in frequency (21 lines, 22.3%), for example:

- I schall neuerue fayntely defayle ye (1.146)

Other types used are again axa (10 lines), for example:

- Agayne to ye mounte I will gang (1.84)

and aax (8 lines), for example:

- Pees, Petir, I bidde ye (1.274)

Among the seven irregular lines are those with four rather than three stresses, for example:

- Sir knyghtis, in hy. / Lorde, we are here (1.182)
and those with two stresses rather than three, for example:
Spáre me a spáce (1.112).

Sixteen lines of the cauda lack structural alliteration; nine of these are lines in which there is no reason to suspect any manuscript corruption, for example:
I swete now both watir and bloode (1.50).
The remainder, however, occur in those lines which have been identified as additional to the basic stanza form of the cauda, a factor which seems to mark out these lines as probable revisions, for example:
Iorde, som prayer you kenne vs (1.30)
And, ffadir, I schall dede taste
I will it no t defende
Sitt yf thy willis be (11.109-11)
Vnto thy ffadir yat moste is of poure (1.41)
And ffadir, if you se it may noght (1.59).

The linking of lines in groups of two or more by alliteration, a feature of the Conspiracy play, occurs also in the Agony and Betrayal, but quite sporadically, affecting the first two lines of the octave (11.1 and 2; 13 and 14; 88 and 89); the first two lines of the cauda (11.9 and 10); the last two lines of the cauda (11.98 and 99; 133 and 134 (one possibly additional line); 158 and 159; 288 and 289). This linking of lines is, however, found elsewhere in the stanza (11. 17 and 18; 78 and 79; 92 and 93; 164 and 165; 256 and 257; 284 and 285). Additionally two stanzas, 12 and 13, and 19 and 20, are linked by alliteration.

As was found in the Conspiracy play, the number and distribution of the unstressed syllables in both the four- and three-stress lines shows considerable variation in individual stanzas; yet certain rhythms occur throughout the play with greater frequency than others. These are moreover predominantly the same rhythmic types which were
identified in Play 26 (see pp.14-15).

In the first half-line:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{x/xx/x} & \quad (20 \text{ lines}) \quad I \text{ pray ye interly (1.46)} \\
\text{xxx/xx/} & \quad (17 \text{ lines}) \quad \text{With all ye myght if ye may (1.4)} \\
(\text{Also Play 26}) & \\
\text{x/xxx/x} & \quad (12 \text{ lines}) \quad \text{In sorowe and in sighynge (1.69)} \\
(\text{Also Play 26}) & \\
\text{x/xx/} & \quad (10 \text{ lines}) \quad \text{In worde nor in werk (1.54)} \\
\text{xx/xx/} & \quad (9 \text{ lines}) \quad \text{At yi wille be itt wrought (1.106)} \\
\text{x/xx/xx} & \quad (8 \text{ lines}) \quad \text{One Jesu of Nazareth (1.256)}
\end{align*}
\]

In the second half line:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{x/xx/} & \quad (61 \text{ lines}) \quad \text{For noght yat may be (1.28)} \\
(\text{Also Play 26}) & \quad \text{Yat moste is of myght (1.113)} \\
\text{x/xxx/} & \quad (24 \text{ lines}) \quad \text{Yat schall I asaie (1.268)} \\
& \quad \text{(rhymes with 1.272, Nay)} \\
\text{/xx/} & \quad (11 \text{ lines}) \quad \text{He vpon highte (1.115)} \\
& \quad \text{(rhymes with 1.117 dight)} \\
\text{xx/xx/} & \quad (5 \text{ lines}) \quad \text{am I buxum and bayne (1.95)}
\end{align*}
\]

In the cauda:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{x/xx/xx/} & \quad (17 \text{ lines}) \quad \text{I swete now both watir and bloode (1.50)} \\
(\text{Also Play 26}) & \\
\text{x/x/xx/} & \quad (5 \text{ lines}) \quad \text{Thy bale schall be for ye beste (1.119)} \\
\text{x/xx/xx/x} & \quad (5 \text{ lines}) \quad \text{That somewhat myght mirthe vs or mende vs (1.31)} \\
\text{x/xxx/xx/} & \quad (4 \text{ lines}) \quad \text{And, ffadir, if you se it may noght (1.59)} \\
\text{xx/x/xx/} & \quad (5 \text{ lines}) \quad \text{You arte strongly stedde in yis stoure (1.73)}
\end{align*}
\]

The metrical style of lines 197-241 is in considerable contrast to the features of the remainder of the play just described. In this section of 45 lines, lines with three chief stresses predominate (26 lines, 57.7%). There are fourteen lines with four stresses and five lines with two stresses.
In the alliterative lines are found the types:

**aaa** (8 lines) for example:
Full tyte ye traytoure schall be t\_\_\_\_ne (1.209)

**axa** (6 lines) for example:
Goode t\_\_\_\_nte to hym, l\_\_\_\_rde, schall we t\_\_\_\_ke (1.222)

**xaa** (3 lines) for example:
Of borne losell his h\_\_\_\_ale schall (he) br\_\_\_\_ewe (1.203)

**aax** (1 line):
Youre w\_\_\_\_irschippe ye wynne in y\_\_\_\_is c\_\_\_\_as. (1.198).

However a very high proportion of lines (15, or 33.3\%) has no structural alliteration at all, for example:

Full redy tyte I schall be boune
Vs is journy for to go till. (1.213-4)

The few four-stressed alliterative lines in this section are, however, composed in a style similar to that of the rest of the play, although the alliterative type aaaa does not occur, and the type xaaa occurs but once. With the exception of the following sequence, these lines occur sporadically throughout the section:

Nowe, sirs, sen ye say my poure is most beste,
And hase all y\_\_\_is werke / yus to wirke at my will,
Now certayne ri\_\_\_t sone I thynkes not to rest,
But solempnely in hast youre will to fulfille. (1.205-8)

In this passage the eagerness of the pursuers ("I thynke not to rest") is brought into sharp contrast with the somnolence of Christ's followers (cf lines 6 and 20 with the use of the same word rest (noun and verb)). This type of antithesis is very much part of the total concept of the play as a whole (see p.64), and it is likely therefore that the four-stress lines are remnants of the play, pieced out with later additions.

The section of Towneley play 20 which contains the material found in York play 28 is composed for the most part in quatrains in syllabic verse. (28) This less
complex stanza form suggests that the play could be of
earlier date than the extant York play with its more
elaborate stanza.

In Towneley 20, the episode which corresponds to
York 28, ll. 197-241 extends from ll.600-38 (sts 97-100).
This section, which continues with Pilate's farewell
(ll.639-51) is composed in:
(a) one thirteen-line stanza rhyming ababababcddec;
(b) followed by a quatrain abab in alliterative verse;
(c) then a nine-line stanza rhyming ababcdde;
(d) followed by three further stanzas on the pattern
of (a) to (c) above (except that in the thirteen-
line stanza the _a_-rhyme is continued into the first
line of the cauda).

Metricaly, these stanzas stand very much apart from
the quatrains of the major part of this section of the
Towneley play. Cady alone regarded this section as a
remnant of an earlier Towneley play to which a simpler
play in quatrains had been added.\(^{(29)}\) Most critics now
seem to agree that the short lines are reminiscent of the
stanza of the Wakefield Master. It therefore seems most
likely that these stanzas are of later date than the
quatrains and therefore represent a later addition to the
play.\(^{(30)}\) Such a conclusion would agree with that of
Davidson, who on grounds of continuity identified Towneley
20, ll.560-651 as a later interpolation\(^{(31)}\) and with that
of Lyle\(^{(32)}\) that the stanzas are an elaboration. Cayley
also regards these stanzas as late, selecting them as
being examples of variations of a "favourite stanza of
the York realistic school, the abababcdcd of the York
Conspiracy, with its octave in septenars and sestet in
trimeter".\(^{(33)}\)
The York and Towneley plays dealing with the Agony and Betrayal are therefore similar (outside of their use of the Gospel accounts and their independent knowledge of the Northern Passion) only in respect of two inconclusive details and of a section which has been shown to be a later addition to both plays. On metrical grounds the Towneley addition would appear to be of later date than the York. In this section therefore Towneley would in part follow York, while independently including Malcus as one of the protagonists. The York play however offers a more extended version of the episode.

As previously mentioned, the major part of the relevant section of Towneley play 20 is written in quatrains, but the following lines are composed in a different form:

(a) lines 528-35, rhyming abababab (the first stanza of the speech of Trinitas)
(b) Lines 668-75 (rhyming ababbcba) (the identification of Jesus)
(c) Lines 712-9 (rhyming ababbcba) (Pilate confronts Jesus).

Cady was of the opinion that 11.668-75 plus the quatrain following and 11.712-9 plus the quatrain following were York stanzas of the earlier version of the play which had remained in the Towneley play. This, he believed, indicated that the Betrayal section of the Towneley play "was ... borrowed from an older York play than the present".\(^{34}\) Metrically these stanzas are no different from the quatrains of the remainder of the play. Nor can their content readily be separated from the context in which they stand. Moreover the resemblance between 11.668-75 and York 28, 11. 255-68 is explained by the account in John 18 (see above pp.91-2). It seems most likely therefore that 11.668-75 and 712-9 do not represent separate stanza forms as indicated in the EETS edition, but that they are merely the
result of one rhyme in the quatrain being taken up in the
quatrain following. This may also explain the form of
the first eight lines of Trinitas' speech (11.528-35),
which Cady thought was composed in the Northern Septenar (35)
(a stanza type which Davidson had previously proposed
identified material of the original parent cycle). It is
of course true that when these lines are taken together
with the quatrain following the rhyme scheme ababababab
of the Northern Septenar may be formed. But Burton's list
of 1415, it will be recalled, offers no evidence that the
character of Trinitas, or indeed the whole episode of the
Agony in the Garden, had any part in the earlier York play.
Moreover since again the lines cannot be differentiated on
grounds of metre or content from the quatrains that follow,
the rhyme ababababab alone provides an insubstantial basis
for Cady's view that these lines also represent a fragment
remaining from the earlier York play.

Cady's theory that the Towneley play is "a rewriting
of the older York play which has replaced the original
Towneley scene" therefore appears to be without
foundation. (36)

As has been shown, the York Agony and Betrayal play
focuses upon the suffering and the loving-kindness of Jesus,
and is particularly effective in the humanity and pathos of
the scenes of Christ among his disciples, the stillness and
anguish of these earlier episodes being succeeded by scenes
of clamour and conflict. The strong onward movement of
the drama and the realism with which the Bible account is
interpreted may at first obscure the fact that the Agony
and Betrayal is stylistically a very formalised play.
Firstly, the ordering of the speeches among the
characters is formalised, for they speak in rotation (Peter, John, James, sts 2-4 and 13; First, Second, Third and Fourth soldier, st 17; First, Second, Third Jew, st. 18).

Secondly, the lines of dialogue are frequently formed into parallel constructions, for example:

Melle ye nor move ye no more (1.275)
For all my loue and my likyng / Is holy uppon you layde (1.247)
To make hym to marre vs nomore (1.241)
For als tyte mon I be taken/With tresoune and with traye (1.129)

I schall were ye and wake ye (1.144)
And I muste slepe; doune muste I lye (1.22)
I schall kenne you and conforte you/And kepe you from care (1.34)

Where ye hym see, on hym take hede (1.221)
For mased is manhed in mode & in mayne (1.91)
A, sir, of youre speche lette, and late vs sped
A space and of oure speche spare (11.236-7).
For you muste lede vs and lere vs (1.171)

These constructions occur also in consecutive lines:
Lorde, all oure helpe and oure helpe / That is noght to hyde,
In ye, oure faythe and oure foode / All hollye
is feste (11.15-16).

It may, of course, be argued that an element of parallelism is inevitable and unavoidable in a four-stress alliterative long line with a central caesura, and that this effect may be achieved almost unconsciously.

However it is clear from the researches of Oakden and others that many alliterative phrases were so
well known and so traditional among poets as to recur frequently in both alliterative and non-alliterative works of this and earlier periods. The amount of use made of these phrases varies considerably in different poems and the success with which these formulas are integrated into the poem obviously depends largely upon the skill of the writer. When Oakden's classification of the most frequent types of construction is brought into relation with the Agony and Betrayal play, it is apparent that the poet is writing within a well established format, and even to some extent employing well-known phrases:

Thus parallel nouns are represented by:

with tresoune and with trayne (1.129) this phrase occurring as treason and trayn in Morte Arthure, 1.4192, and Destruction of Troy, 1.11303; tresone and tray, Quatrefoil of Love, 1.64; tresoun and trey, Siege of Jerusalem, 1.723.

Similarly liking and loue (loue and .. likynge, 1.247) occurs in Morte Arthure, 1.3381; William of Palerne, 1.452; thy love and thy lykynge, The Squire of Lowe Degre, 1.1081; with lyking and luf, Houlate, 1.18.

Parallel verbs in the York play are found, for example in melle ye nor move ye (1.275).

In this play, however, the variety of the constructions and the frequency of occurrence of these parallel phrases suggest that the poet chose to employ the established tradition to impose form and balance upon his line.

This appears to be confirmed by a second major stylistic element in the play: the recurrence as the play proceeds of certain phrases and lines. This affects particularly the two major episodes of the Agony in the Garden and the Capture. The action of the Agony in the Garden as derived from the Northern Passion and the Gospels,
as has been seen, is essentially formalised and ritualised
in its tripartite structure: Jesus leaves his disciples
and goes aside to pray. He prays to the Father and returns
to find the disciples asleep. He leaves them, and prays
a second time. Again he returns and leaves them again.
He prays a third time, receives comfort from an Angel, and
returns finally to the disciples.

The inherent stylisation of this episode is made even
more striking by the use of the same language to describe
the events depicted. Thus when Jesus returns to his
disciples following the first prayer he says,

\[\text{Vnto my discipillis will I go agayne}
\text{Kyndely to conforte } \ddagger \text{am } / \ddagger \text{at kacchid are in care} \]

(11.64-5)

Following the second prayer he says,

\[\text{Now wightely agayne will I wende}
\text{Vnto my discipilis so dere (11.96-7)}\]

and following the third prayer,

\[\text{Vnto my discipilis go will I agayne,}
\text{Kyndely to conforte } \ddagger \text{am, } / \ddagger \text{at mased is in } \ddagger \text{er mynde.} \]

(11.125-6)

Not only is this repetition stylistic, it is also thematic
in its emphasis upon Jesus' loving care for his disciples.

Similarly when Jesus returns to the mountain, following
the first prayer, he says,

\[\text{And I will wende } \ddagger \text{er I was withouten any were}
\text{Agayne to } \ddagger \text{e mounte I will gang}
\text{jitt eftesones where I was ere (11.82-5).} \]

Following the second prayer,

\[\text{And eftesones } \ddagger \text{ere I was agayne will I wende (1.101)} \]

From the structural point of view these repetitions
link the various parts of the Agony episode together. In
this respect it is also therefore a unifying device.

Thus Jesus, following the first prayer, asks rhetorically
to whom he may appeal, and later, at the beginning of the third prayer, he provides the answer himself:

To whom may I mean me? And make nowe my mone? (1.70)
Vnto my fadir of myght now make I my mone (1.102)

Similarly, some of the wording of James' request for a prayer:

Vnto thy ffadir yat moste is of poure
Som solace of socoure to sende ye (11.41-2)
is taken up by Jesus in his third prayer:

As you arte saluer of all sore som socoure me
sende (1.103)

In the same way, similar phrasing links the disciples' desertion of Jesus with his departure from them, the passages concerned following the first and second prayer respectively:

What? wille ye leue me yus lightely, / And latte me allone (1.68)

But yitt will I leue you and late you allone (1.100)

A strongly repetitive element is also retained by the poet in the wording of the initial confrontation of the Capture, when Jesus twice asks who is being sought, the incident itself of course deriving from the Northern Passion and John, chap. 18 (see pp.90-2):

(Jesus) Saye ye here; whome seke ye? / Do saye me; late see.
(jus indefus)

(Jesus) Beholdis all hedirward, loo! / Here, I am hee!
(jus Mil) Stande, dastarde. So darfely / Thy dede schall be dight. (11.255-8)

(Jesus) Loo, whame seke ye all same, yitt I saye?
(jus indefus)

(Jesus) And I am he sothly, / And yat schall I asaie.
(Malcus) For you schalte dye, dastard, / Sen yat it is yowe (11.266-9)

Certain major themes and didactic concerns of the play are emphasised by repetition, and this also affects the structure of the play by linking the
episode of the Agony with other parts of the play.

A. Jesus' foreknowledge of later events and his fear of imminent capture is continually reiterated. Since he is God made Man, he suffers as a man, and this point is made continually:

Now if my fleshe ferde be, / Fadir, I am fayne (1.123)
My fleshe is full ferde / And fayne wolde defende (1.130)
I fele by my ferdnes my flessh wolde full fayne (1.89)
My fleshe is full ferde and fayne wolde defende (1.105)

Similarly Jesus emphasises that Peter's fear is an element in his betrayal:

For ferde of myne enmyse / You schalte sone denyne me
For ferde of my fomen / Full fayne be for to flee (11.149-51)

The same fear with similar effect is also voiced by one of the Jews when he sees the light shine from Jesus:

And I am ferde, be my feyth, / And fayne wolde I flee (1.261)

B. The theme of Obedience occurs in the relationship of the apostle Peter to his master, Jesus, and similarly in Jesus' voluntary submission to his father's will, and this also emphasises Jesus as man and as a willing victim of the events to come:

(Petrus) Jis, lorde, at thy bidding, / Full baynly schall we abide (1.13)

(Jesus) For, fadir, att thou bidding am I buxum and bayne (1.95)

Jesus' obedience to his father's will is reiterated in each of the three prayers:

Be it worthely wrought,
Even at thyne awne will (11.60-1)

Be it worthely wroght, even at thyne awne will (1.94)
At thi wille be itt wrought, worvely in won (1.105)

But Judas echoes this phrase to the Jews when arranging the
capture:

Sirs, I schall wisse you ye way, / Euen at youre awne will (1.173)

C. The emphasis upon Death links the Agony with the prophecy of the Denial and with the Capture:

(Angelus) For dedis yat man done has / Thy dede schall be dight (1.117)

(Jesus) Full derfely my dede schall be dight (1.131)

(Petrus) May, sothely, I schall neuere my souereyne forsake,
If I schulde for ye dede darfely here dye (1.135-6)

(Jus Mil) Stande, dastarde. So darfely / Thy dede schall be dight (1.258)

D. The theme of salvation is emphasised also by repetition, in the disciples' reliance upon Jesus, and in Jesus' words to his Father:

(Petrus) For you arte boote of oure bale (1.14)

(Jesus) Als you arte boote of all bale (1.55)

Similarly John calls Jesus:

...all oure helpe and oure hele (1.15)

and Jesus uses a similar phrase to his Father:

...all helpe and hele (1.56).

E. Man's confusion of mind links the Agony with the Capture in the reference in Jesus' second prayer and in the confusion of the soldier when he sees the gleam of light from Jesus:

For mased is manhed in mode and in mayne (1.91)

We, oute! I ame mased almost / In mayne and in myght (1.260)

F. The theme of Sight, of seeing and not seeing, links the prophecy of Peter's denial with the miracle of the light from Jesus:

And saie neuere ye sawe me with sight (1.134)

For such a siȝt haue I not sene (1.262)
Repetition as a structural device gives an onward movement to the drama in the insistence on the imminence of the capture of Jesus:

Myne enemyes will newly be neghand full nere (1.3)
For euelle spiritis is neghand full nere (1.80)
Now will yisoure be neghand full nere (1.242)

Repetition is also used ironically to emphasise, for example, the treachery of Judas:
(Cayphas) Late vs Justely vs June / Tille Judas ye gente (1.161)
(Cayphas) And gose justely with gentill Judas (1.184)

And repetition is also used to emphasise major matters, such as Jesus as Man:
You menske my manhed with mode (1.47)
You mensk thy manhede, / You mendar of mysse (1.57)

the possibility of Temptation:
yat 3e ffalle in no ffandyng (1.12)
So yat 3e falle in no fandyng (1.28)

the importance of Jesus’ prayer:
... prayer so precious (1.37)
... prayer yat is precious (1.40)

the light which streams from Jesus (cf the Harrowing of Hell play, No. 37, lines 21-96):
(iiijus Mil) Allas, we are loste, for leme of yis light (1.254)
(iiijus Judeus) His leme, it lemed so light (1.263)

In some cases, although these are few, the repetition appears purely ornamental:
Sir Cayphas, of youre counsaille / Do some late vs now see (1.153)
Sen yat we are of counsaille Ilkone (1.156)
Do some late se, sir, I pray you (1.158).
Summary and Conclusions

1. The manuscript of the Agony and Betrayal play is incomplete, having one leaf missing containing an estimated 48 lines, which probably included the Lord's Prayer.

2. The text presents several major difficulties, among them being what Smith called "a hopelessly confused" section (11.197-241), some incorrect transpositions of dialogue (following 1.165) and some curious interloping lines (at 1.143, 1.172 and following 1.243), all of which indicate that the earlier manuscript from which the extant text was copied was very confused or much revised. Notes in later hands do not deal with these problems, and the most important seem to draw attention to the probable addition of material (foll. 1.198) after the manuscript was copied, and later, the replacement of this play by another.

3. Burton's description of the play in 1415 omits any mention of the Agony episode and includes the character of Pilate. In other particulars also it appears to relate to a different play. What survives is therefore a complete revision or a new composition dating from after 1415.

4. The structure of the play is tripartite, as is that of the Agony episode, with frequent antithesis, but a comparison with the Towneley play on the same subject, No. 20, and with the Northern Passion discloses that they too include certain episodes, with some similar wording. It is concluded that the three texts derive their common framework from the Gospel accounts, although York and Towneley, separately and together, follow the Northern Passion in several details, thus indicating the poem as a source for both plays. The influence of the Northern Passion upon the York episode of the Agony must have occurred after 1415; but other material could have entered the play via the earlier York play described by Burton.

Both York and Towneley know the Northern Passion quite independently, and they have not derived Northern Passion material from each other. York and Towneley also agree in one episode and in two minor details not derived from the Northern Passion or the Gospels. Lyle's theory of a parent play is found to be untenable, and it is suggested that Towneley may have derived the idea for the episode from York (see also below).

The York treatment of the Agony and Betrayal differs from the Northern Passion and Towneley in its pronounced emphasis on the humanity of Jesus and of the apostles, and in depicting the Agony episode with imagination and in some depth.
Towneley on the other hand introduces the character of Pilate, broadens the part of Malcus and includes a solemn account of the doctrine of the Redemption. It also deals with the Agony episode in a somewhat impersonal and perfunctory way.

5. The York play is not composed in one regular stanza form, like the two preceding plays, although a number of stanzas (15/23) are composed in the form abababcdcd. The remaining stanzas either add single lines or omit lines from the octave. Between 11.197 and 241 the stanza form breaks down completely. It is therefore deduced that 11.197-241 are probably a later interpolation, containing material which merely expands on what precedes and being of poorer quality than the remainder of the play.

6. Critics agree that the Conspiracy play and the Agony and Betrayal play are composed in the same metrical style. The characteristics of the latter (excluding 11.197-241) are:

(a) a long line of four chief stresses with a central caesura (94.4%), the stresses pointed by alliteration, mainly in the pattern aa/ae (41.3%).

(b) the apparent presence of extended half-lines and some lines containing only three stresses.

(c) a range of alliterative patterns wider than York play 26, mainly xaaa (16%), and also xaa, aaxa, xaaa, aabb, aax, aaax, thus differing in the occurrence of xaaa, aabb, axaa, and a greater use of types other than aaaa, xaaa. Initial secondary chief stresses sometimes occur, and only four lines in the octave lack structural alliteration.

In the cauda all alliterative lines except seven have three stresses; the alliterative type aaaa (34%) is most frequent, but the types xaa (22.3%) and axa, aax are also found. Irregular lines of four stresses and two stresses occur (7 lines) and there are sixteen lines lacking structural alliteration. Nine of these are not otherwise suspect of manuscript corruption, but the remainder are additional lines, and therefore probable revisions.

Lines are linked throughout the play by alliteration, but quite sporadically, and only two stanzas are so linked.

(d) a considerable variety in individual stanzas in the number and distribution of the unstressed syllables in both the four- and three-stress lines; although certain rhythmic types are of high frequency in the play generally as in Play 26: in the first half-line xxx/xx/, xxx/xx; in the second half-line x/xx/, xxx/xx; in the cauda x/xx/.
7. The metrical style of 11.197-241 is found to be in considerable contrast to the remainder of the play, confirming this section as an interpolation. It consists mainly of lines of three stresses (57.7%), fourteen lines with four stresses and five with two stresses. The alliterative patterns aaaa, aax, xaa, axa occur, but 33.3% of lines have no alliteration. The four-stress lines are similar in style to the remainder of the play, but occur sporadically, except for 11.205-8. The alliterative pattern aaaa is not found, and aaaa occurs only once. It is concluded that the four-stress lines are possible remnants of the play, being pieced out with later additions.

8. The Agony and Betrayal section of the Towneley play is mainly composed in quatrains in syllabic verse, and may thus possibly be an earlier composition than the York play. Sections of the play composed in what early critics deduced to be different stanza forms are examined. Contrary to the opinion of Cady, it is concluded that 11.560-651 are a later addition to the Towneley play and later work than the York play, containing probably the work of the Wakefield Master. It is this passage which corresponds to the irregular section of the York play, 11.197-241. It is concluded that Towneley for the most part follows York in this episode and that the only relationship between the York and Towneley dramatisations (apart from use of common sources) lies in a section which is a later interpolation to both plays, later in Towneley than in York. Other sections of the Towneley play (11.528-35; 668-75; 712-9) which Cady suggests are fragments of the earlier York play, are found to be undifferentiated metrically from the remainder of the Towneley play. Cady's theory that the Towneley play is a rewriting of the older York play is therefore found to be without basis.

9. The formalised nature of the style of the York play is noted, particularly the occurrence of parallel constructions, in some cases the result of use of traditional alliterative phraseology, variations on single words, rotation speeches and repetition of phrases and lines. This latter device appears to be used to emphasise the ritualised structure of the Agony episode as derived from the Gospels, and also as a unifying device to link various parts of the play together and to emphasise major themes and doctrinal concerns of the play.
Peter's first list of 120 records play 29 as 
Jesus, Peter, James, and ten other Jewish persons 
at Caiphas' house. Jesus: Peter: James: Andrew: 
Peter: et al.

There are several ways in which the surviving play differs 
from this description. Rather than four lines, the play 
provides speaking parts for four characters, and secondly, 
the woman accusing Jesus seems to have been cut or 
merely in the play (see p. 26). More importantly, the 
two episodes occur in reverse order in the play. The 
Peter's Denial precedes the Futuring. The play also 
contains a preliminary state of 36 lines, during which 
Anna is informed by Caiphas of the government against 
Jesus, but this episode does not have such. remark 
able in its context for it is surrounded alongside the 
principal episodes of the Futuring which 
form the two dramatic points of the play.

CHAPTER 4

PLAY 29

PETER DENIES JESUS; 
JESUS EXAMINED BY CAIAPHAS

Merely on the existence of Burton's list, it is not 
possible to be sure whether the surviving text 
is the one known to Burton in 1848, although it appears 
from the variations between list and play notes above that 
at least some revisions were made after that date.

Nearly all the textual errors in the manuscript occur 
in one part of the play only, in the final section: 11.169- 
244. In comparison, the notes in the earlier part (11.1- 
159) are very minor.

Between 11.1-89 one short line has been misplaced 
from 1.10 and stands opposite 1.7. Lines 40 and 41 have 
even written on one line, and the word 'shall' in 11.17 should 
probably be avoided to 'heil' to verse 20.29 (7.12) (see 
the evidence from, see p. 24). In lines 16-189,
Burton's first list of 1415 records Play 29 as:

Jesus, Anna, Cayphas et iiiij or Judei percucientes
et colaphizantes Jesum; Petrus, mulier accusans
Petrum, et Malchus.

There are several ways in which the surviving play differs
from this description: rather than four Jews, the play
provides speaking parts for four soldiers,\(^1\) and secondly
the woman accusing Jesus seems to have been one of two
or more in the play (see p.126). More important, the
two episodes occur in reverse order in the play, for
Peter's Denial precedes the Buffeting. The play also
contains a preliminary scene of 85 lines, during which
Annas is informed by Caiaphas of the grievances against
Jesus, but this episode may perhaps have been too unremark-
able in its content for Burton to record alongside the
principal episodes of the Denial and the Buffeting which
form the two dramatic peaks of the play.

Merely on the evidence of Burton's list, it is not
possible therefore to be sure whether the surviving text
is the one known to Burton in 1415,\(^2\) although it appears
from the variations between list and play noted above that
at least some revisions were made after that date.

II

Nearly all the textual errors in the manuscript occur
in one part of the play only, in the final section, 11.169-
394. In comparison, the faults in the earlier part (11.1-
169) are very minor:

Between 11.1-85 one short line has been misplaced
from 1.10 and stands opposite 1.7. Lines 40 and 41 have
been written as one line, and the word ryall in 1.17 should
probably be amended to ryalte to rhyme with me (1.19) (for
the stanza form, see p.142). In lines 86-168,
yon in 1.144 should probably read yan, and a repetition error in 1.127 (yat yat) has been amended.

Between 11.169-394, however, there are many more errors, of different kinds:
1. Speaking parts have become wrongly allocated, sometimes by omission (11.175-7; 197ff; 240-1).
2. Line 358 has been marked off by the rubricator, although there is no change of speaker.
3. Consecutive lines are set down in the wrong order (11.309-10, written following 1.306) and also words within lines (11.361-2).
4. There are examples of wrong alignment (11.212-3; 303b and 304a; 375b and 376a).
5. Minor scribal errors occur at 11.175; 209-10; 212; 225; 226; 243; 260; 275; 312; 323.

The frequency and the type of faults in this part of the play in comparison with those identified in the two previous sections indicate that the scribe was working from more than one manuscript in transcribing the whole play, one at least for the first two episodes, and one for the third.

It appears from the text of the play that at least two women were concerned in the episode of Peter's Denial, for Prima Mulier is written against 1.86, although the three other speeches are marked only Mulier. Line 132, "before one womanne" also indicates more than one woman in this part of the play. Since a non-speaking part or parts were obviously concerned, Burton may therefore merely have disregarded these roles in his description.

At least four later hands have sought to amend the text in various ways:
1. Lines have been added (opposite 11.73-4) and partly
rewritten (opposite 1.306).

2. Some attempt has been made to alter the allocation of speeches, in some cases assigned incorrectly in the manuscript, and to add some names which have been omitted (11.1; 198-206; 241; 261; 271; 393).

3. That material is missing from the manuscript has been indicated twice by the marginal notes caret hic (1.152) (see p.144) and hic caret (1.274) (see p.146).

4. A playing direction has been added following l.22 (tunc dicunt Lorde).

Some of these amendments appear to be for playing purposes rather than registration, particularly in the careful allocation of speaking parts, the addition of some new material and the playing direction.

III

The play contains three separate episodes:(3)


2. Peter denies Jesus before the women, with Malcus' account of the Capture (11.86-168).(4)

3. Jesus is examined before Caiaphas. The soldiers buffet Jesus (11.169-394).

The corresponding play in the Towneley cycle, No 21, deals only with this final episode. There is therefore no dramatisation in that cycle of Peter's Denial of Jesus,(5) and there is no scene corresponding to York 29, 11.1-85.

In the Northern Passion the Examination before Caiaphas is divided into two by the episode of Peter's Denial, with the result that the second part of the Examination lacks a sustained dramatic effect. The York play improves upon
this structure by preceding the Examination by the incident of Peter's Denial; the play then culminates in the distressing scene of the Buffeting, the end-point of Jesus' first humiliations. (6)

The three separate scenes of the York play depend upon different sources, as will be demonstrated below.

Lyle first noticed that certain material in this play derived from the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus. (7) The influence of this work upon other plays in the York cycle (30, 31, 33, 36, 37 and 38) had been remarked much earlier by Smith, although she thought that it came from Greek and Latin versions. (8) Subsequently Craigie produced very strong evidence to show that it was a Northern Middle English metrical version which had been used, and that the plays affected were Nos 30, 33, 36, 37 and 38. (9)

This metrical version was later edited by Hulme, who presented transcriptions from the four surviving manuscripts. All of these are of the fifteenth century, but none preserves the original version, (10) the Gospel, as Hulme suggests, being "probably first translated not far from the beginning of the fourteenth century". (11) But the Gospel of Nicodemus is a very much older work than this. The two sections of which it is composed "originated at different times and in entire independence of each other". (12) The Descensus Christi ad Inferos probably dates from the second or third century, and the Acta Pilati in its present form dates probably from the latter half of the fourth century or the early fifth century. (13) Extant manuscripts in Latin and Coptic date from the fifth century. Although the Descensus was probably written originally in Greek, Greek versions are considerably later. The Latin version was known in England from the earliest times, and an Old English prose version is preserved in at least three
different manuscripts. Nine different manuscripts of the whole or a part of the Gospel in Middle English prose are extant, the earliest manuscript dating from about the beginning of the fifteenth century. This apocryphal work was thus widely known and regarded as authoritative. Hulme notes that the Gospel "probably reached the climax of its popularity in England during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In these centuries we find a great many poems that refer to or reproduce episodes from the Evangelium. And one of the longest, most important Middle English poetical productions (Cursor Mundi) paraphrases at great length the entire story."(14)

An examination of the play confirms Lyle's finding that parallels of language with the Gospel of Nicodemus do exist. These all occur more or less together in one fairly short passage in which Caiaphas informs Annas of the charges against Jesus:

1. **York 29, 33-9**

   (Anna) What wondirfull werkis workis yat wighte?
   (Cayphas) Seke men and sori he sendis siker helyng, And to lame men and blynde he sendis yer sight;
   Of croked crepillis yat we knawe, Itt is to here grete wondering, How yat he helis yame all on rawe, And all thurgh his false happenyng.

   **Gospel of Nicodemus, 11.39-44 (Galba MS)**

   yan wirkes he wonder werkes new, helos al yat askes heloing, ye croked criplles yat we knew, "is es a wonder thing; he makes yan hale of hide and hew thurgh his fals charmeing.

   (Sion MS: It es to here a grette wonderynge)

2. **York 29, 40-3**

   I am sorie of a sight
   Yat egges me to Ire. Cure lave he brekis with all his myght; Yat is moste his desire.
Gospel of Nicodemus, 11.29-32 (Additional MS)

We are full sory of his syght,
ffor it egges vs ay till ire;
Oure lawes he brekys with all his myght
And yat is his moste desire.

(Galba MS)
he es ðaire sun, his weried wight,
yat egges vs all till ire;
oure lawes to breke both day and night,
yat es his moste desire.

3. York 29, 50-4
(Cayphas) And callis hym selfe god sone of hevene.
(Anna) I have goode knowlache of yat knafe.
Marie, me menys, his modir higte,
And joseph his ffadir, as god me safe,
Was kidde and knownen wele for a wighte.

Gospel of Nicodemus, 11.22-7

calles him god sun of heuyn,
his sire, his dam we ken,
bi name we kan ðam heuyn;
We wate wele Josep was a wright,
suthly he was his sire,
and marie vs menys his moder hight,

This passage is used again in the York Harrowing of Hell play, 11.229-32, in Satan's words to Jesus:
Thy fadir knewe I wele be sight,
He was a write his mette to wynne
And Marie me menys ði modir hight,
Ye vttiremeste ende of all ði kynne.

4. York 29, 57
(Cayphas) With wichecrafte he fares withall
Gospel of Nicodemus, 11.47-8 (Galba MS)
slike fare he fares withall,
with fenes craft he him fedes.

A feature of this borrowing is the way in which the rhyme words of the Gospel of Nicodemus have been incorpor-
ated in the York play:
Iyle omitted to note that the use of the Gospel of Nicodemus in the play is limited to one particular episode, part of the preliminary scene of the discussion between the high priests.

Although there is much repetition and overlapping in content between the plays of the Passion Group\(^{(15)}\) the material found in this scene is particularly lacking in continuity with the preceding play, York 28, for Annas is shown to completely unaware of Jesus' existence and must be informed as of new of the charges against him. Moreover the drinking scene and the 'coucher' appear at this stage to add nothing to the content of the play, but to exist purely as light relief for the audience.

It is therefore possible either that material from the Gospel of Nicodemus has been used to supplement a play.
by the addition of a preliminary scene, or that the scene is a remnant of an earlier version of the play. Lyle thought that the former was the case, and that this was a new scene, added when the last section was revised.\(^{(16)}\)

The examination of the metrical features of this scene and of the remainder of the play which follows (p.141) may shed some light upon this problem. In any event, this possible addition of preliminary material did not necessarily occur after 1415, since Burton's list may merely have failed to record the presence of the first scene at that date.

The second episode of the York play (11.86-168) appears to derive its basic framework of incidents either from the Gospels or from the Northern Passion:

1. Peter warms himself by the fire (York 29, 92-3; \textit{NP.} 682b-687) as in John 18, 18; Mark 14, 65; Luke 22, 55-6.
2. Peter denies Jesus to a woman (York 29, 86-129; \textit{NP.} 699-708) as in Matthew 26, 69; Mark 14, 66; Luke 22, 56; John 18, 17.
3. Peter is challenged by Malcus, who gives an account of the healing of the ear (York 29, 130-60; \textit{NP.} 713-32).
4. Peter meets Jesus and is brought to a realisation of his act of betrayal (York 29, 161-8; \textit{NP.} 735-44) as in Luke 22, 61.

Additionally, Poster called attention to one similarity in wording between the York play and the Northern Passion which did not appear to derive from the Gospel accounts:\(^{(17)}\)

\textit{York 29, 128}

But I saye as I firste saide. / I sawe hym neuer Are.
\textit{NP.} 707-8

And athes wnto yam he swear
That he saw ihesu neuer Are.

On this evidence alone, it would seem doubtful that the poem had been used in the composition of the York play, were
it not for the episode (3 above) in which Peter makes his third denial to Malcus. Foster observed that the identification of Malcus with the third "man" to whom Peter denies Jesus is made only in the York play, the Northern Passion and "the Fairfax MS of the Cursor Mundi (second half of the fourteenth century) ... (E.E.T.S. ed. 15927-30)". John 18. 26, offers "unus ex servis pontificis, cognatus eius, cuius abscondit Petrus auriculam". Foster disregarded the fact that the Cursor Mundi might have influenced the York play, and she named this episode and four others in other plays as being of the highest importance in confirming that the Northern Passion had been used in the composition of the York cycle. In view of the possible influence of the Cursor Mundi, however, it does not seem that the Northern Passion is quite as clearly the source of the episode of Peter's Denial in the York play as Foster would suggest.

Lyle thought that this complete section was "perhaps" a new scene, added when the third section of the play was revised; again the metrical analysis which follows may clarify this point.

The third section of the York play (11.169-394), Towneley play 21 and the trial before Caiaphas as described in the Northern Passion all have a framework of similar subject matter, and in one sequence the texts have some similar wording.

1. Jesus is led before Caiaphas (York 29, 197ff; NP. 11.605-6; 745-6; Towneley 21, 1-45); as in Matthew 26, 57; Mark 14, 53; Luke 22, 54.
2. Jesus' claim to be able to rebuild the temple is used as one of the charges against him (York 29, 265-8; NP. 11.641-8; Towneley 21, 73-81); as in Matthew 26, 61; Mark 14, 56.
3. Caiaphas attempts to examine Jesus, who does not reply (York 29, 272-86; NP. 11.649-56; Towneley 21}
127-243) as in Matthew 26, 62-3; Mark 14, 60-1.

4. Caiaphas (Annas in Towneley) demands to know if he is God’s son. Jesus speaks for the first time, replying that he is (York 29, 287-94; NP.657-66; Towneley 21, 249-52). In this episode, it would at first sight seem that both York and Towneley depend verbally upon the Northern Passion:

**York 29, 289-94**

(Cayphas) I coniure ye kyndely, and comaunde ye also, By grete god yat is liffand and laste schall ay; Yf you be criste, goddis sonne, telle till vs two.

(Jesus) Sir, you says it yi selffe, and sothly I saye Wat I schall go to my fadir yat I come froo, And dwelle with hym wynly in welthe allway.

**NP. 11.659-66a**

"I coniore ye thurgh god lifand yat you me tell to understand If you be god sun of heuyn."

Theus answerd with milde steuyn: "You sais yi self yat I am he, And sertanly I say to ye In heuyn blis men se me sall With my fader yat weldes all."

**Towneley 21, 249-54**

(Anna) Say, art thou godys son of heuen, As thou art wonte for to neuen?

(Ihesus) So thou says by thy steuen, And right so I am; ffor after this shall thou se/ when that (I) do com downe In brightnes on he/ in clowdys from abone.

In fact all the resemblances between the texts can be explained by the account in Matthew 26, 63-4: (**Iesus autem tacebat. Et princeps sacerdotum ait illi: Adiuro te per Deum vivum, ut dicas nobis si tu es Christus filius Dei. Dicit illi Iesus: Tu dixisti. Veruntamen dico vobis, amodo videbitis Milium hominis sedentem a dextris virtutis Dei, et venientem in nubibus caeli.**) 25 The
use of the phrase "in clowdys from abone" in Towneley, rendering "in nubibus caeli" shows clearly that the Gospel rather than the Northern Passion had some part in that version.

5. It is proposed that no more witnesses are required. Jesus is worthy of death (York 29, 299-302; NP. 11.672a-676; Towneley 21, 256-60). Again apparent similarities of language link the three texts, but again these may all be the result of common dependence upon Matthew 26, 65-6:

**York 29, 299-302**

(Anna) Nowe nedis nowdir wittenesse ne counsale to call,
But take his sawes as he saieth in ye same stede,
He sclaunderes ye godhed and greues vs all,
Wherfore he is wele worthy to be dede.

**NP. 11.672a-76**

He said vnto ye iews all:
"Wharto suld ye more witnes call?
He grantes omang vs all full euyn
And sais he es god sun of heuyn.
Sen he it grantes till vs ilkane,
Oyer witnes nedes vs nane;
And yarfore sais, what es jowre rede?"
Vai said all he had serued dede.

**Towneley 21, 256-60**

(Cayph) Thou art worthy to de!
... (Cayph) we nede no wytnes, hys self says expres.

**Matthew 26, 65-6**

Tunc princeps sacerdotum scidit vestimenta sua, dicens: Elasphemavit: quid adhuc egemus testibus? ecce nunc audistis blasphemiam: quid vobis videtur? At illi respondentes dixerunt: Reus est mortis. (26)

The phrase "he sclaunderes ye godhed" in the York version clearly renders "Elasphemavit" and "ecce nunc audistis blasphemiam" in Matthew 26, 65, and this therefore
indicates the Gospel as the source of the York passage rather than the Northern Passion.

6. The buffeting: Jesus is scorned. His eyes are bound and the soldiers strike at him, asking which of them struck him (York 29, 352-76; NP. 11.798a-804; Towneley 21, 343-414), as in Matthew 26, 67-8; Mark 14, 65; Luke 22, 64.

7. The Jews decide to send Jesus to Pilate (York 29, 339-40; 377; NP. 11.608-16; Towneley 21, 293).

The above analysis therefore indicates strongly that the York and Towneley plays depend for their narrative outline not so much upon the Northern Passion as upon the account of Jesus' examination before Caiaphas contained in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke. It may be, however, that that poem has been used to supplement the Gospels, although this cannot be clearly established on the evidence available.

It is notable that the York play also includes material which derives from John, chapter 18, which is found also in the Northern Passion but not in the Towneley version. If Towneley had used the Northern Passion as a direct source, it would seem unlikely that this material would not also have been included. The following is the subject matter concerned:

1. A feature is made of the fact that Jesus is bound (York 29, 197; 201; 242; NP. 11.745-6) as in John 18, 12.

2. Jesus defends himself before Annas and Caiaphas. He maintains that he taught openly and in the temple (York 29, 313-5; NP. 11.754b-758) and suggests that those he taught be questioned (York 29, 322; NP.
764) as in John 18, 20-1.

3. A bystander intervenes to smite Jesus (a Jew in the Northern Passion; a soldier in York) accusing him of disrespect to the bishop. Jesus' two-part reply. (York 29, 325-30; NP. 11.769-82)(28) as in John 18, 22-3. The Towneley treatment, with Caiaphas bursting to give Jesus a blow, is rather different (Towneley 21, 191).

Towneley has also made no additional use of the Gospels, or derived material from the Northern Passion independently of York, save one instance in the buffeting episode, where the language of Towneley appears to be closer to that poem:

Towneley 21, 411-4

(primus tortor) Sit vp and prophecy,
(ffroward) Bot make vs no ly.
(Secundus tortor) who smote the last?
(primus tortor) was it I?
(ffroward) he wote not, I traw.

NP. 11.602a-4

(iijuus Mil) Say nowe, with an nevill happe, Who negheth ye nowe? Not 0 worde, no? ... Prophete ysaie, to be oute of debate, Iniuste percussit, man rede giffe you may.

Again these apparent parallels of language may well derive from the Gospel accounts, for example Matthew 26,
67-8 ("alii autem palmas in faciem eius dederunt, dicentes: Prophetiza nobis Christe, quis est qui te percussit?") There is therefore no direct evidence that Towneley has used the Northern Passion. The conclusion of Lyle that the play "as a whole, is based upon the Northern Passion" (29) is therefore not agreed.

York and Towneley show, however, a number of correspondences of a minor kind which are not all to be explained by a dependence upon the sources mentioned, and which suggest contact between the cycles at some stage.

1. Jesus is led before Caiaphas and Annas (York 29, 198; Towneley 21, 2) as in John 18, 13, the use of which Towneley has otherwise neglected.


3. Jesus is accused (a) that he breaks the Sabbath (York 29, 257-8; Towneley 21, 85-6) (b) that he cures the sick (York 29, 259-60; Towneley 21, 82-4; 87-90).

4. It is proposed to treat Jesus with fairness (York 29, 243; Towneley 21, 217).

5. Caiaphas orders the buffeting (York 29, 348; Towneley 21, 313ff; 323-4. (50)

6. Jesus is set upon a stool (York 29, 355-8; Towneley 21, 345).

7. The torturers play a game with Jesus, in York papae (York 29, 354) in Towneley, a new play of you'll (Towneley 21, 344).

8. The torturers lead Jesus back to Caiaphas to send him to Pilate (York 29, 377-8; Towneley 21, 415).

There are also two minor parallels of language between York and Towneley independent of their use of the Gospels and the Northern Passion:
1. York 29, 272
   (Cayphas) For my selfe schall serche hym and here what he saies.
   Towneley 21, 128
   ffor, certys, I my self shall / make examynynge.

2. York 29, 336
   (Anna) 3e awe to deme noman ...
   Towneley 21, 291
   Sich men of astate / shuld no men deme

Lyle has noted three incidents in which York and Towneley correspond and which do not occur in the Northern Passion:

1. "The soldiers complain bitterly about the difficulty and weariness of the journey.
2. The Jews, angry because of Jesus' silence, wish to beat him.
3. Since Caiaphas does not possess 'temporal' power, they decide to send Jesus to Pilate for judgment."

Lyle regards these three incidents "as evidence pointing to a parent version, of which the extant York and Towneley plays are revisions". (31)

In fact none of these three incidents as noted occurs in both the York and Towneley plays:

1. is found in Towneley (21, 48-63) but not in York.
2. is found in Towneley in Caiaphas' wish to strike Jesus (Towneley 21, 191), in York in the First Soldier's threat (York 29, 326).
3. is found in Towneley 21, 277-9 but in York the reason given is that Caiaphas might "blemyshe ... prelatis estatis", and Jesus is to be presented to Pilate "for he is domysman here and nexte to ye king" (York 29, 335-40).

As shown above, York and Towneley do correspond aside
from their use of the same sources, but not in the incidents Lyle has named. Lyle also observes that in the Northern Passion Jesus is accused "that he cures the sick; that he breaks the Sabbath". This does not occur in the Northern Passion in the section dealing with the examination before Caiaphas.

There is a simpler and more plausible explanation of the relationship between the York and Towneley plays than that of a parent play put forward by Lyle: the Towneley play is composed throughout in a stanza identified with the work of the Wakefield Master and is generally agreed to be from his hand. This is either a thirteen-line stanza rhyming ababab2c1ddd2c2 or a nine-line stanza rhyming aaaa, b1ccc3b2 with central rhymes in the first four lines. Prampton has demonstrated most convincingly that the work of this writer probably dates from 1422-60 with the "later rather than the earlier (years) as marking the period of the height of his powers". It would therefore appear that the Towneley play is of later date than the York play and may well have been influenced by it. (An examination of the metre of the York play follows.)

The Towneley play is a highly individual piece with a forcefulness of language and treatment not found in York and the Northern Passion. The main feature is the extension of two episodes:

1. Caiaphas' questioning of the silent Jesus, in which he works himself into a towering and violent rage (Towneley 21, 127ff).

2. The game which the torturers play with Jesus (Towneley 21, 312-414). The torturers are from the first conceived very realistically with their rough speech (Towneley 21, 47) and their complaints about the trouble they have had. It is their role to convince
Armas and Caiaphas that Jesus' teachings and actions represent a threat to established authority, and to appeal to them as defenders of the law (Towneley 21, 11.64-126).

Several additional matters are also alluded to:
(a) Jesus is said to profit from his miracles: "he gettis many fees of thym he begyles" (Towneley 21, 83).
(b) He is said to set "not a fle wyng" by Caesar (Towneley 21, 94-5). He pardoned the woman taken in adultery (11.96-9). He raised Lazarus (11.100-1).

The Towneley play also identifies the high priests, Annas and Caiaphas, with corrupt churchmen of the poet's own day, drawing attention particularly to the pride and power of prelates (11.154-8) and their failure to give a good example to those in their care (11.208-9). Caiaphas is even shown offering his blessing with his ring to the torturer who buffets Jesus best (11.339-42).

IV

Smith observed that this play was written "chiefly in long lines of four accents, rimeing alternately, varied occasionally by shorter lines of three, sometimes four, accents". She added, "It is difficult to find regular stanzas, partly owing no doubt to the corrupt arrangement of the lines, for the old copyist seems to have been puzzled by the length of some of them, and confused ends and beginnings together, so losing many rimes". In her sketch analysis of metres the play is noted as "alliterative" and "irregular", but the rhyme scheme is not defined. The first 85 lines of the play are divided by Smith into seven stanzas, but after this the attempt at stanza division is discontinued.

In his description of the poetic forms of the York
plays Craig does not define the form of Play 29, merely noting that the stanza form is irregular, "although the movement is the same throughout". (37)

In fact neither of these descriptions defines accurately the metrical characteristics of this play, as will be shown. The play consists, as has been stated, of three distinct episodes, and it is proposed to examine each of these separately below:

**Lines 1-85**

This section appears to be composed for the most part in quatrains, although there are a number of variations:

1. An additional line occurs at 1.17.
2. A triplet with an additional line is found at 11.22-5.
3. A couplet occurs at 11.30-1.
4. Lines 48-50 rhyme aba and a line may be missing.
5. Lines 67-9 consist of a triplet followed by an additional line.
6. Line 79 is additional, as are 11.84-5.

Contrary to the view of Craig, it is clear that the movement of the verse varies in this section: (38)

1. Lines 1-35 are composed predominantly in the four-stress long line of the type already identified in Plays 26 and 28 (pp. 9 and 106), for example:

   That hase thaym in bándome in bále or in blís (1.20)
   And ye lāwe for to lērne you and lēde it by skill (1.8)
   But I haue sēnte for yat sēge hálfe for hethyn (1.32)

   The most frequent alliterative patterns are aaaa (8 lines), aaax (5 lines), xaaa (4 lines), although aaxa (3 lines), aaxx (2 lines) and xxaa, xaxa, aabb (1 line each) also occur. Two lines appear to have five stresses. Among the seven lines of three stresses and one line of two
stresses, four occur in lines irregular to the rhyme scheme of the quatrain (11.22-5) and four of these lines lack alliteration. It will be noted in the above examples that the stressed and unstressed syllables fall into similar patterns to those identified in Play 26:

But I haue sente for yat sege: xxx/xx/
and lede it by skill: x/xx/
in bale or in blis: x/xx/.

2. From lines 36-74 the lines become much shorter, being mainly three-stress (20 lines) but also four-stress (11 lines). It is in this section that most of the material deriving from the Gospel of Nicodemus occurs (see p.129). In some passages, and in the following example, the movement of verse becomes iambic in a regular octosyllabic line:

Ours Sabott day he will not safe,
But is aboute to bringe it dowe;
And therfore sorowe miste hym haue.
May he be kacched in felde or twayne. (11.44-7)

In other passages, however, particularly from 11.59-74, the line is shorter still, with six syllables, rather than eight, and with a more irregular rhythm, for example:

And with wyne slake youre thriste (1.65)

Alliteration occurs in just over half the lines in this section, but it is an additional ornament, rather than a structural feature of the line.

3. From lines 75-85 the line again becomes longer and mainly four-stress alliterative, for example:

Itt is licoure full delicious, My lorde, and you like (1.76)

My lorde, with youre leue, And it like you, I passe (1.84)
Two lines are linked by alliteration (ll.78-9; 83-4) the only other examples of such linking being in the first alliterative part of this section (ll.17-18; 28-9-30; 34-5). In the case of ll.17-18, 78-9 and 83-4, however, the one line affected is one extraneous to the rhyme scheme of the quatrain.

The existence in this part of the play of poetry in two very different styles, together with all the various irregularities described, indicates most strongly that it has been the subject of considerable revision and piecing on more than one occasion.

**Lines 86-168**

This section is also composed in quatrains, with the exception of ll.150-2. This is probably a defective quatrain, with a line missing between ll.151-2. A later annotator, perhaps observing this, has added a marginal note, *caret hic*, opposite ll.152 (see p.127).

Again in this part of the play the movement of verse seems to fall into three main groups:

(a) Lines 86-121 appear to be composed for the most part in lines of three stresses (21 lines), for example:

So stābill and stille in γī though gif (1.107)
To sette hym and sūye has γou sóght (1.111)

but lines of four stresses also occur (14 lines):

Erly and late, mōne and éue(n) (1.89)
By γe fēruent fire, to flēme hym fro colde (1.93)

A generally iambic/anapaestic rhythm prevails in this section, giving an impression of a regular rhythm which is not borne out by scansion. The structure of the line is not based on syllable count, however, since although nearly half the lines have eight syllables, the number varies...
between six and twelve. Alliteration occurs in a high proportion of lines (22), although it fails in ten. Various alliterative types are used, with _aaax_ and _aaa_ most frequent in the three-stress lines. A few lines are linked by alliteration (11. 87–8; 94–5; 108–9).

(b) Between 11.122–145 the four-stress long line with a marked central caesura reappears:

I was præsente with popull / Whenne prése was full

But I sáye as I firste salde / I sawe hym neuere Àre (1.128)

The only exceptions to this are three-stress lines in one stanza (138, 140, 141) and 1.137 with apparently five stresses, but all the lines in this section have alliteration, again mainly of the types _aaax_ and _aaa_ (5 lines each) with only one pair of lines linked by alliteration (11.133–4).

(c) From 1.146 to the end of the scene (1.168) the movement varies again, with one four-stress alliterative quatrains (with lines linked by alliteration) for example:

I was néuere with hym in werke ēat he wróght

In worde nor in werke, in will nor in dède (11.153–4)

placed alongside three basically iambic-anapaestic stanzas of high quality, dealing with Peter's meeting with Jesus following his denial:

Allás ye while ēat I com hère
That euere I denied my lorde in quarte.
The lōke of his faîre fāce so clère
With fûll sadde sórowe shēris my hārte.

In these three stanzas (11.157–168) only half the lines contain alliteration.

The second scene of the play therefore also consists of poetry of the two distinct types identified in the first
scene of the play. This section too has therefore been extensively revised in exactly the same way as the first scene.

Lines 169-394

From line 169 onwards the stanza changes to a twelve-line form rhyming ababababcdc. This division of the lines into stanzas has not previously been recognised. Fifteen stanzas are completely regular in form, and four are defective, having rhymes and lines 'missing' or in one case, a different form.

(1) Lines 220-31 have an irregular rhyme at 1.226 (fynde rhyming with wele, kele, dele).
(2) Lines 232-40 consist of a stanza rhyming ababababcdc. Two lines are apparently missing from the octave, and one from the cauda.
(3) Between lines 197-203 the rhyme scheme breaks down, and a triplet appears at 11.198-200, suggesting either corruption or revision.
(4) Lines 265-74 have two lines missing from the cauda. A late annotator, perhaps observing this, has added a marginal note, hic caret, opposite 1.274 (see p.127).

This entire section is composed in the alliterative long line found in parts of the first two sections of the play and also in Plays 26 and 28.

Most lines in the octave have four chief stresses (142 lines) although there are a few exceptions with lines of five stresses (5) and three stresses (6). The most frequent alliterative type is aa/aa (60 lines), for example:

My lorde, with youre leve, hym likis for to layne (1.278)
To bourse with oure busshoppe / Thy bane schalle I

The types xaaa (19 lines), aaxa (19 lines), aaax (14 lines)
are also frequent (and these were the main types found in the first and second sections of the play). Others used are xaa (8 lines), xxaa (6 lines), xaa (4 lines), aabb (3 lines), axaa, aaxx (2 lines each), axxa, axax (1 line each). The three-stress lines are all of alliterative type aaa, for example:

But hyndir, or haste me (to) hynge (1.312)

Structural alliteration fails in only three lines (1.200 (in a possibly additional section); 335; 371).

In the cauda, most lines have three stresses (62 lines) although lines of four stresses (9 lines) and even five stresses (2 lines) occur. Again the most frequent alliterative types are aaa (27 lines), xaa (18 lines), aax (9 lines), axa (4 lines). Only five lines lack structural alliteration, for example:

I rede ye abide tille ye mornyng (1.346).

Although the rhythm of the line varies considerably, as was found in Plays 26 and 28 and in the first section of the play, certain rhythmic types tend to recur in the alliterative line. In the second half-line the type x/xx/ occurs repeatedly (45 lines) for example:

how wele we have wroght (1.172)
3e bothe are to blame (1.181)
for yat were a skorne (1.384)

and in the three-stress line x/xx/xx/ (19 lines) for example:

Mi lorde, with youre leve, vs muste wende (1.391).

In the first half-line a frequent type is xxx/xx/ (14 lines) for example:

Now late hym stande as he stode (1.375)
He will rewarde vs full wele (1.171)

Other frequent types found in each of the three alliterative sections of the play in the first half-line are:

x/xx/ (27 lines) Full frendly in feyth (1.10)
(27 lines) In worde nor in werke (1.154)
Who negheth ye nowe? (1.365)

By conynge of clerizes (1.5)

(31 lines) To mete with his maistir (1.135)

He taughte vs to take hym (1.225)

And to lame men and blynde (1.35)

(12 lines) Howe yone boy with his boste (1.131)

For to telle you the tente (1.254)

We schall be bayne at youre bidding (1.28)

(8 lines) But I schall preue to you pertly (1.133)

My lorde has sente for to seke hym (1.187).

A further feature of the metrical style of this play is the frequent use of clashing rhythm or two chief syllables in juxtaposition:

Dose noddill on hym with neffes / That he noght
nappe (1.366)

And if my sawes be soth, yei mon be sore solde (1.329).

Lines are linked by alliteration in groups of two in this section of the play (as in the alliterative parts of the first two episodes) with much greater frequency, but without apparent consistency. In all 37 pairs of lines are so linked, and the device appears to be extended four times to include groups of three and four lines, and in 11.230-1-2-3, even linking stanzas in this way and with word repetition.

It seems clear therefore from the foregoing that this play is not one complete composition which has merely suffered in transcription as Lyle supposed, nor is it one complete late work as all previous writers appear to have thought (see p.6ff), but a composite containing work in two very different metrical styles. The alliterative sections of the play are far more extensive than the other
sections, consisting of the whole of the examination before Caiaphas, and including such portions of the text as the opening rant of Caiaphas, a drinking scene, and Malcus' account of the cutting off of his ear. It would appear therefore that these alliterative sections of the play represent revisions upon an earlier play dealing principally with Peter's denial of Jesus, but also including the accusations against Jesus derived from the Gospel of Nicodemus. However the poetic quality of the 'non-alliterative' sections of the play varies considerably, and it seems unlikely that all these sections are part of the same earlier conception of the subject. They may therefore represent two separate stages of composition. It is difficult to be certain of this, when the subjects dramatised are so different, but certainly the poetic quality of the section dealing with Peter's denial appears far higher than that of some of the earlier lines:

*Wayte nowe, he lokes like a brokke,*  
*Were he in a bande for to bayte;*  
*Or ellis like a nowele in a stok,*  
*Pull preualy his pray for to wayte.*

Beside this, some lines from the first episode appear mere doggerel:

*And putte all yought away,*  
*And late youre materes reste.*  
*I will do as ye saie.*  
*Do gette vs wyne of ye best.*
Summary and Conclusions

1. Burton's list does not offer clear evidence that this play is a revision after 1415, although it seems likely.

2. The major textual problems of the play are confined to one section, 11.160-394, and at least two manuscripts therefore appear to have been used in copying, one for the first two episodes and one for the third. Later annotations in at least four hands seek to improve the text, apparently for playing purposes. They also indicate missing material.

3. The play consists of three separate episodes: a scene between Annas and Caiaphas; the Denial by Peter of Jesus; and Jesus' Examination before Caiaphas. The Towneley play deals only with the latter episode. The structure of the York play differs from that of the Northern Passion account in preceding the Examination by the Denial, and following it by the Buffeting.

4. The Gospel of Nicodemus in a Middle English metrical version, as observed by Lyle, provides certain material in the play. Dependence extends to some similar language and to the incorporation of rhyme words, but it is observed that only one particular part of the first episode of the play is affected.

5. The main incidents for this dramatisation of Peter's Denial of Jesus appear to be taken from the Gospels. The only possible evidence for the influence of the Northern Passion upon the York play is the fact that Peter's third denial is made to Malcus, an identification made also in the Cursor Mundi.

6. The source of the subject matter of the Examination before Caiaphas in both the York and Towneley plays again appears to be that of the Gospel accounts, particularly Matthew, chap. 26, although the Northern Passion may have been used in supplementation. There seems to be no definite evidence, however, that the Northern Passion has been used in the composition of the Towneley play. The view of Lyle that both the York and Towneley plays depend upon the Northern Passion cannot therefore be substantiated.

7. There are a number of ways in which the York and Towneley plays correspond independently of the Gospel accounts or of the Northern Passion, and these include two minor similarities in language. Lyle's explanation of a parent play is thought to be untenable, and it is suggested that the Towneley play, being composed in stanzas of a type identified with the work of the Wakefield Master is (according to Brampton's dating) a late one, which may have been influenced by the York dramatisation.

The individuality and the forcefulness of the
Towneley play are particularly noted, particularly the extension of Caiaphas' questioning and the game sequence, and also the inclusion of certain new material, particularly that satirising the power of prelates.

8. The difficulties which the first editor found in defining the stanza form of the play are noted, as is her attribution of all problems in the text to confusion by the copyist. Craig's opinion that the movement of the verse in the play is the same throughout is also noted.

An examination of the three episodes of the play is made, and it is found:

A. (a) that the first scene (11.1-85) is composed in quatrains, with certain variations; that it contains a central section, with some regular iambic and anapaestic lines, with eight and six syllables, and alliteration in just over half the lines as an ornamental feature.

(b) that other passages are composed predominantly in the four-stress long line identified in Plays 26 and 28, with similar alliterative and rhythmic patterns.

B. (a) that the scene dealing with Peter's Denial (11.86-168) is similarly composed in an admixture of the same two metrical styles, again in quatrains.

C. that the scene dealing with the Examination before Caiaphas (11.169-394) is composed in a twelve-line stanza rhyming ababababababab, a division not previously recognised. Some stanzas appear to be defective and to have additional or missing lines. The section is composed throughout, however, in the alliterative long line found in parts of the two previous scenes of the play and in Plays 26 and 28. The predominant characteristics of this are:

(a) a four-stress long line with the alliterative pattern aaaa (xaaa, aaxa, aaxa occur next in frequency, although other types are found).

(b) a three-stress cauda, mainly of alliterative type aaa and xaa, but aax and axa are also found.

Only eight lines in the whole of this section lack structural alliteration.

(c) considerable variation in rhythm in the line, but certain rhythmic types recurring as in plays 26 and 28 and in each of the alliterative parts of the three sections of the play. A further characteristic is the frequent use of clashing rhythm. Lines are linked by alliteration, as in Play 28, with some frequency, but without apparent consistency.

It is concluded that the play is not, as has previously
been supposed, one complete composition, which has suffered in transcription, but a composite play containing work in two very different metrical styles. Of these the alliterative section is the more extensive, consisting of the whole of the Examination before Caiaphas, the opening rant, a drinking scene, and Malcus' account of the ear episode. The alliterative sections therefore probably represent revisions upon an earlier play dealing with Peter's Denial and including the accusations against Jesus derived from the Gospel of Nicodemus. The considerable variation in the poetic quality of the non-alliterative sections is noted, and it would seem therefore that not all these are part of the original play.
CHAPTER 5

PLAY 30

THE DREAM OF PILATE'S WIFE;
JESUS BEFORE PILATE

The surviving text of the play contains numerous errors, mainly of a minor nature, which indicates that the copy was made from an earlier, completed manuscript. A slight gap in the midst of II.150, which is not seen in the manuscript as two separate lines, suggests a break in copying, perhaps to fill in a second manuscript.

In the first part of the play, II.1-15 (manuscript A):
Burton's list of 1415 describes Play 30 as:

Jesus, Pilatus, Anna, Cayphas, duo consilii et iiior Iudei accusantes Jesum.

This brief account therefore omits any mention of the first scene at Pilate's court, and more particularly, the major episode of Pilate's wife's dream, for there is no reference to Pilate's wife, the Beadle, the Devil, Pilate's son (or sons) or the handmaid. The two counsellors are replaced in the play by two soldiers, and there are no speaking parts for four Jews.

It appears therefore that the extant play is substantially different from that described by Burton, and it is thus either a replacement or a revision of an earlier play, made after 1415.

II

The surviving text of the play contains numerous errors, mainly of a minor nature, which indicates that the copy was made from an earlier, confused manuscript. A slight gap in the middle of 1.158, which is set down in the manuscript as two separate lines, suggests a break in copying, perhaps to take up a second manuscript.

In the first part of the play, 11.1-157 (possibly Manuscript A):

1. There are three sections in a corrupt state (11.68-72; 103-4; and lines following 1.135). (An examination of the stanza of the play, confirming these and other textual problems identified below follows, p.156).
2. Whole lines and words within the line are copied in an incorrect order (11.23 and 24; 75-6).
3. Lines appear to be missing (following 1.85; the first
two lines of st 13; following 1.127).
4. A rhyme appears to be missing, 1.136.
5. Lines are misaligned (1.45a; 62-3; 69-70; 71-2).
6. There are a few copying faults (schalle for ?sone, 1.4; clene for clere, 1.100; and a repetition error at 11.97-8.
7. A line has been drawn incorrectly as if to indicate a new speaker (foll. 1.109; also before 1.30).

In the second part of the play, 11.158-547 (possibly Manuscript B) very similar errors are found. (For textual problems confirmed by the stanza form, see below, p.157).
1. Two sections are in a confused state (1.370, where a speaker's name and possibly a stage direction and additional material have become incorporated into the text; following 1.524, where a line, now incomplete, seems to have become misplaced).
2. Again words are set down in wrong order in the line (1.250; 306; 503).
3. Lines appear to be missing (following 1.418; following 1.430).
4. A speaker's name appears to be missing (1.223).
5. Lines are misaligned (11.247-8; 411-2; 413-4; 532-3).
6. Various copying errors occur (1.296, soh for soth; 1.487, als for of; 1.494, his for this; for other errors identifiable by rhyme failures in 11.200, 224, 385, 400, 469, 502, 513, see p.158.
7. Two lines (11.523-4) have been incorrectly allocated to Pilate.

There are a few additions in later hands, one indicating that material is missing at 1.370. Two lines are allotted to Secundus mil (11.223-4) and the copying
error at 1.513 (see p.158) is rectified.

There are therefore very similar textual errors in the transcriptions of both sections of the play (11.1-157 and 158-547), although how far these have come about merely as a result of the inattention of the copyist of the surviving manuscript and how far they are due to deficiencies in the manuscripts from which he was copying, it is of course impossible to say. If two separate manuscripts were involved in making the register copy, however, it would seem clear from at least some of the corruption noted above that they were closely related. One error which both sections have in common and which obviously cannot be relied upon as evidence is the setting down of words in wrong order in the line. Since only small groups of lines are affected, this seems the result of careless copying, whether by the manuscript copyist or at some earlier stage of transcription. It does not appear to be the result of oral transmission.

Several survivals occur in the manuscript of minor alterations made to the play following composition and before registration, and these are of such a kind as might occur when a play is modified for performance. The text provides a role for Pilate and Percula's one son, but the manuscript records the division of the part between two sons. A similar explanation could account for certain of the extra-metrical lines in the play (see p.157), mainly the summoning of one character by another and the subsequent reply.

III

The play is an unusually long one, of 547 lines. Smith identified it as being composed in a nine-line stanza
with four lines of four accents and five lines of three accents. The first eighteen stanzas are said to rhyme ababbcbb, with a fourth rhyme introduced thereafter, ababccddc. Stanzas 8, 22 and 30 are noted as being irregular, and stanzas 10, 13, 15, 16, 47 and 48 as being imperfect. (1) A similar stanza form, rhyming ababccddc, is found also in Plays 40 and 45, and with a slight variation in Play 1. (2) All three are plays which Reese identifies as being the work of the York Realist or his school (see p.7 above).

The play consists of four main episodes:
1. A scene at Pilate's court, with Pilate, his wife and the Beadle as principal characters (11.1-148);
2. The dream of Pilate's wife (11.149-93);
3. The bringing of Jesus to Pilate (11.196-264);
4. The trial before Pilate (11.265-547).

As Smith observed, two different stanza forms are used. The first, a nine-line form rhyming ababbcbb, continues throughout the first part of the play (11.1-157) for eighteen stanzas. On this basis various manuscript errors become apparent:
1. St 3 (11.23-4 are set down in wrong consecutive order).
2. St 7 (11.62-3 are incorrectly aligned).
3. St 8 (11.68-72, Smith thought, were "evidently wrong", but with some realignment the rhymes may be restored, not entirely satisfactorily, since lawes in 1.68 is probably intended to rhyme with lawes in 1.69).
4. St 9 (11.75-6 are wrongly aligned, with wrong word order).
5. St 11 (11.97-8 are wrongly aligned, and seem to contain a repetition error).
6. St 12 (1.100, clene is written for clere, and at 11.104 and 107 the rhyme fails).

Lines appear to be missing at:
1. St 10 (one line following 1.85)
2. st 13 (two lines from the initial quatrain)
3. st 15 (one line following 1.127)
4. st 16 (one line following 1.134 or 1.135. The rhyme is lacking at 1.136).

All these faults appear to be merely the result of miscopying.

The second stanza form, as Smith notes, is found between sts 19-61. This is again a nine-line form, but with a slightly different rhyme scheme, ababcdddc, and there are again certain exceptions to this:

(a) A variation occurs in st 22, which rhymes a(bbbc)bdeed.

The four lines concerned (11.186-9) are Percula's message to her husband, and they will be repeated later in the play in st 32, 11.284-7 when the First Son delivers this message to Pilate using his mother's exact words. At this point the lines form the triplet and final line of the stanza.

(b) Various discrepancies occur in several stanzas:

(i) st 20, 1.168, judged rhymes with dyghted, 1.170.
(ii) st 29, 1.250, from the rhyme word, words appear to be set down in wrong order in the line.
(iii) st 35, 1.306, a similar rearrangement is necessary.
(iv) st 42, 1.370, occurring amidst some manuscript confusion, seems to be additional to the rhyme scheme.
(v) st 46, 11.411-14 are incorrectly divided.
(vi) st 57, 1.503, again from the rhyme word, seems to have incorrect word order.
(viii) st 60, 11.533-4 are confused in alignment.

c) Single lines appear to be missing at:

(i) st 47 (following 1.416)
(ii) st 48 (following 1.430)
(iii) st 59 at 1.528.

d) Some material, additional to the rhyme scheme, as previously noted (p.155) occurs at:

st 24, 1.209 (Caiph) And yerfore, sir knyghtis (Mil) Lorde?
st 29, 1.254 (Bed.) My lorde, My lorde! (Pil) Howe?
st 30, 1.264 (Bed.) Siris, my lorde gues leue/Inne for to come.
(e) A minor variation in the rhyme scheme occurs in the cauda of st 49, where the 2-rhyme continues into the triplet.

(f) Some incorrect copying in this part of the play is indicated by rhyme failures:

(i) st 23, l.200 (care for care, rhyming with sore, l.204)
(ii) st 26, l.224 (lawe hym for lawe hym, rhyming with drawe hym, l.226).
(iii) st 43, l.385 (lare for lare, rhyming with care, fere, l.384-6)
(iv) st 45, l.400 (waste for warre, rhyming with barre, l.398)
(v) st 53, l.469 (speke for spede, rhyming with dede, l.467)
(vi) st 56, l.502 (lare for laie, rhyming with saie, l.498)
(vii) st 58, l.513 (borne for bredde, rhyming with stede, l.515)

The change in stanza which divides the play poetically occurs at l.158 with the entry of the Devil, who in soliloquy reveals his plight and his plan to approach Pilate's wife. It was at this point, it will be recalled, that a slight gap occurred in the manuscript between the two half-lines of the opening line. In this second, much longer section of the play (389 lines compared with 157 of the first) the principal events of the action take place, culminating in the Trial before Pilate. The preliminary scene between Pilate, his wife and the Beadle on the other hand, consists of subject matter which is supplementary to this main action, and it therefore seems most likely both on grounds of content and of the considerable length of the play as a whole, that this scene is a later addition.

In spite of this, the two sections of the play are each composed throughout in the same alliterative style which was identified in Plays 26, 28 and parts of 29. Thus in lines 1-157:

(1) Most lines in the initial quatrains of each stanza
have four stresses (91.4%) with alliteration of type aa/aa (50 lines, 71.4%), e.g.

I am próvéde and préste to pásse on a pásse,

To go with yis grácious, hir gudly to gyde (11.115-6)

The remaining lines (6 in all) vary only in so far as they could be said to have five stresses (at least they have five alliterating words), as for example, 1.127:

And biske ye belyue, bélamy, to bédde yat y wer bryght.

Here, of course, it could be argued that the term of address, 'belamy', forms by its nature an interruption to the regular four-stress rhythm of the line; that in a 'normal' reading it takes a secondary chief stress, and that in this way it is analogous to lines identified in other plays where such a word does not alliterate (cf 26/172, pp.10-11 above). For the apparent presence of extended half-lines in other plays however, see pp.9-10 and 107 above.

Other alliterative types used in the initial quatrains are xaaa (4 lines), aaxa (5 lines), axaa (2 lines), aaax (1 line), xaax (1 line), aabb (1 line).

In the cauda most lines have three stresses (83.9%) with alliteration of type aaa (49 lines, 55.6%), for example:

With dřéde in to děde schall ye dřýfhe hym (1.33)

And yis nyght, sir, něwe schall ye nōght (1.130)

Other lines appear to have four stresses (9 lines) and even apparently five stresses (3 lines) and two stresses (2 lines) although for the most part these occur in one irregular and probably corrupt stanza, st 8:

Gwisse of youre wáyes to be wendand / Itt lángis to oure láwes (1.68)

His préchéng to grayse (1.70).

(Other alliterative types used include xaa (8 lines), aax (5 lines), axa (6 lines), xaaa (4 lines), aaaa (3 lines), axaa (1 line), xxaa (1 line).) Alliteration appears to fail in six lines, for example:

Gramarcy, my lady so dere (1.106)

My lorde, I come to your ryalte (1.111).

The stanzas of lines 158-547 similarly have an initial quatrains of four stresses (92.4%) with alliteration aa/aa (112 11
65.1%), for example:

Thow muste launce to my lorda and lowly hym lowte

(1.178)

Stépp on thy stándynge so stérne and so stóute (1.382)

(Remaining lines have five stresses (8 lines) mainly of
type aa/aaa, for example:

And saie to my souereyne, his same is goth yat I

send hym (1.185)

and three stresses (4 lines) of type aaa, three of which
are in the irregular stanza 22, for example:

With téne and with trayne was I trapped (1.187)

(Among other alliterative types are xaaa (13 lines), xaxa
(2 lines), axax (1 line), aaxa (2 lines), aabb (2 lines),
aaxa (4 lines), aaax (16 lines) xaxa (2 lines), xaax (3
lines), aaxx (an extra-metrical line), sabb (2 lines).

The caudae of stanzas in this section of the play
are rather more irregular than those of the first section,
although the majority of lines have three stresses (77.8%)
of type aaa (116 lines, 53.4%), for example:

Youre helpe is full hendely at hande (1.267)

But als a gómés man gówly to be dressand (1.191)

(Remaining lines have four stresses (37 lines) and nearly
half of these (17 lines) occur in the final line of the
stanza. Lines of two (3 lines), five (4 lines) and six
stresses (1 line) are, however, also found, for example:

Sais nomore, but come sitte you beside me / In

sórowe as I saide you (1.273)

Nine lines lack alliteration, for example:

For this same is he yat lightly vaunted (1.219)

(Among other alliterative types used are xaa (26 lines),
aax (14 lines), axa (10 lines), aaax (4 lines), aaxa
(2 lines), xaaa (4 lines), aaaa (20 lines), xxaa (1 line), axaa (1 line), aabb (1 line).

The two sections of the play therefore correspond very closely in the way in which the stanza is constructed, both in the number of chief stresses in the initial quatrain and in the cauda, and in the alliterative types used. This similarity extends also to the rhythmic patterns of the alliterative line. As in the alliterative plays previously discussed, there is much variation in rhythm, but certain types tend to recur in both sections of the play:

In the first half-line the most frequent are:

- **x/xx/x**
  - 1. (6 lines) Restreyne you for struyng (1.2)
  - 2. (44 lines) To deth for to deme hym (1.408)

- **x/xx/**
  - 1. (9 lines) Nowe wente is my wiffe (1.124)
  - 2. (21 lines) Here wonnyng in worlde (1.477)

- **xx/xx/**
  - 1. (8 lines) Itt wolde glad me, my lorde (1.99)
  - 2. (21 lines) Be ye neuere so bryme (1.300)

- **xx/xx/x**
  - 1. (3 lines) And my modir hight Pila (1.13)
  - 2. (12 lines) He has wroght many wondir (1.293)

In the second half-line one type predominates, although several others occur frequently:
x/xx/  1. (33 lines) to wend me my weys (1.67)
(also Plays 26, 2. (87 lines) yei crye and yei call (1.242)
28, 29)

xx/xx/  1. (10 lines) yf it wer not hir will (1.124)
2. (15 lines) with yat harlott ye hye (1.530)

x/xx/x  1. (5 lines) no longer y lette yowe (1.91)
2. (8 lines) yat mydnyght is myssand (1.195)

x/xxx/  1. (2 lines) but tendirly me touche (1.134)
(also Plays 26, 2. (15 lines) The Prince withouten pere (1.458)
28)

xxx/xx/  1. (3 lines) for I will kare to my couche (1.132)
2. (11 lines) yf any sporte can yei spell (1.245)

In the three-stress line:

x/xx/xx/  1. (9 lines) Ya, saie i t nowe sadly and sone
(also Plays 26, 2. (65 lines) For ferde of my fadir so free
28, 29) (1.98) (1.392)

x/xx/xx/x  1. (5 lines) With drede in to dede schall ye
2. (11 lines) His mater ye marke to be meving
     dryffe hym (1.33) (1.404)

x/xxx/xx  1. (4 lines) The coloure of my corse is full
2. (9 lines) Sir Pilate, for his preachynge, and
     clere (1.41) you (1.171)

xx/x/xx/  1. (9 lines) And yis nyght, sir, newe schall
2. (6 lines) He will saue man saule fro oure
     ye noght (1.130) sonde (1.163)

xx/xx/xx/  1. (5 lines) I schall mete with yat myron
2. (20 lines) I am boxsom and blithe to your
tomorne (1.146) blee (1.248).

Where the two sections of the play differ, is in the
use in 11.1-157 of a device more suited to lyric or
narrative poetry than to drama, the repetition (in 14 out
of 18 stanzas) of one or more words from the final line of
the initial quatrain in the succeeding first line of the cauda. In ten instances these lines are also linked by the use of exactly the same rhyme word. The difficulty about this kind of repetition in drama is that it needs to be used to emphasise matters of particular import, otherwise it tends to slow down the dialogue, since it adds nothing to what precedes, as may be seen from the following example:

For and he skape skatheles / Itt were to vs a grete skorne
Yf skatheles he skape, it wer a skorne (11.143-4)
In only three stanzas can the device be said to have a functional purpose with one speaker taking up another's words, for example:

(Pil) Come tyte and telle me yf any tythyngis betyde.

(2 Pil) Yf any tythyngis my lady betyde
I schall full sone, sir, witte you to say. (11.118-20)

(Similarly sts 7, 8).
Additionally in one stanza a play on words occurs in the repetition:

Or ye wente fro this wones / Or with wynne (wine) ye had wette yowe
Ye schall wende forthe with wynne (joy) Whenne yat ye haue wette yowe

(11.93-4)

But for the most part it seems that this repetition is generally purely ornamental, although it might have been a useful memory aid for the actors in their individual speeches (9 stanzas) or for cues (5 stanzas).

It appears that the central section of each of the first eighteen stanzas of the play was at one time linked in this way, for in the four stanzas where the word link fails there is either some manuscript confusion at this point in the text (st 3) or a line has been deduced to be missing (st 10, 15 and 16) (see p.156-7). In contrast in the second section of the play word linking occurs
internally in stanzas only in st 43, ll. 382-3; st 47, ll. 418-9 (although a line appears to be missing foll. 1. 418).

The two parts of the play do correspond, however, in using other types of linking:

1. Stanzas are linked by the repetition of one or more words of the last line in the first line of the following stanza, in three stanzas in ll. 1-157 and three stanzas in ll. 158-547, for example:

   Howe I am provedly preued Filatus.
   Loo, Pilate I am proued, A prince of grete pride
   (sts 2-3)

   In all the other examples, however (sts 5-6; 12-13; 26-9; 47-8; 52-3) linking occurs as a result of one speaker taking up another's words, for example:

   (Cayphas) Loke whether he deserue to dye!
   (Pilatus) To dye he deserues, yf he do yus in dede
   (11.466-7)

   In these cases therefore the use is functional rather than ornamental.

2. Alliteration is used to link stanzas very infrequently in both sections (3 stanzas in ll. 1-157; 2-3; 5-6; 14-15; and 7 stanzas in ll. 158-547: 29-9; 31-2; 37-8; 39-40; 46-7; 47-8; 52-3).

3. Alliteration is also used internally in stanzas, principally linking
   (a) the last line of the quatrain and the first line of the cauda (mainly where word links also occur), 13 times in ll. 1-157 (sts 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 17, 18) and 6 times in ll. 158-547 (sts 19, 29, 43, 44, 50, 52).
   (b) the first and second lines of each stanza (ll. 1-157,
5 stanzas, st 1, 11.5-6; st 2, 11.14-15; st 8, 11.68-9; st 13, 11.101-9; st 14, 11.117-8; 120-1; and much more frequently in 11.158-547: 15 pairs of lines: st 19, 11.162-3; st 21, 11.182-3; st 24, 11.206-7; st 23, 11.246-7; st 34, 11.303-4; st 36, 11.316-7; st 37, 11.331-2; st 45, 11.401-2; st 46, 11.413-4; st 48, 11.429-30; st 51, 11.450-1; st 56, 11.500-1; st 57, 11.510-11; st 59, 11.523-4; st 60, 11.532-3).

In neither section of the play therefore are these alliterative links used with very great consistency, and again they appear to be purely ornamental.

It would appear therefore from this examination of the two sections of the play that the revision of the earlier text (deduced from the evidence of Burton's list) resulted in a completely new composition, rather than the incorporation of older material in a new text, as observed in the previous play. If in fact the first scene was a separate and perhaps slightly later composition, as seems likely, with the object of extending the play, then its metrical style follows that of the bulk of the play with such exactitude that the same author was surely responsible for the whole.

IV

The Towneley cycle contains no dramatisation of the dream of Pilate's wife or of the first trial before Pilate, although both episodes are included in the Iudus Coventriae and in the Cornish cycle.\(^{(3)}\)

Cady suggested that a trial scene before Pilate was at one time included in the Towneley cycle but was dropped because the "superior interest of the Wakefield scenes (The Examination before Caiaphas and the Final
Condemnation by Pilate, scenes attributed to the Wakefield Master) crowded out other less interesting matter. Lyle (following Hohlfield) quotes as evidence of the existence of such a play the scene of the Capture, when Caiaphas bids the soldiers take Jesus to Pilate:

How sen he is well bett / weyn on youre gate,  
And tell ye the forfeitt / vnto sir pulate. (11.424-5)

In the Towneley cycle, Jesus is brought to Pilate from Herod (Towneley 22, 53-4; 99). There is therefore a lack of continuity between Towneley plays 21 and 22, but the reason for this is unknown. It may, as Cady and Lyle suggest, be the result of the dropping of an earlier play or plays and the replacement later by Towneley play 23.

The Northern Passion has a short section dealing with Jesus' trial before Pilate (11.901-56), and this follows the Gospel accounts closely without additional material, including the accusations of the Jews; Pilate's questioning of Jesus and Jesus' reply (Matthew 27, 11; Luke 23, 3; John 18, 33-7); the Jews' further accusations, to which Jesus makes no reply (Matthew 27, 12); Pilate's wonderment and encouragement of Jesus to defend himself (Matthew 27, 14); Pilate's judgment, that he can find no fault (Luke 23, 4; John 16, 38); the Jews' further complaints and mention of Galilee (Luke 23, 5); Pilate's enquiries whether Jesus comes from Galilee (Luke 23, 6) and his decision to send him to Herod (Luke 23, 7).

The Dream of Pilate's Wife occurs in the Northern Passion in the Condemnation sequence, Jesus' final trial before Pilate after his return from Herod, dramatised in York play 33. This positioning agrees with Matthew 27,19.

There is no evidence that the Northern Passion has been used as a source for any of the material in the York play, since there are no parallels of language with that
poem. Foster similarly finds that this incident is drawn "from the great store of mediaeval tradition common to many writers" and cannot therefore offer evidence of any dependence by York upon that poem. (6)

V

The use of the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus in the York cycle to furnish "the Dream of Pilate's Wife and other stories" was first noticed by Smith. (7) Craigie later pointed out that it was the Gospel in a Northern Middle English metrical version (MS Harleian 4196) which was the exact source for this play, (8) the same text, it was later discovered, which had also influenced Play 29, the Trial before Caiaphas (see p.125 above). Later Lyle found additional similarities between the texts. (9)

When the play, this version of the Gospel of Nicodemus and the Latin version of the Codex Einsidlenensis (Einsiedeln Stiftsbibliothek MS 326) are examined, (10) it becomes apparent that the use of the poem is first to be identified in the second episode of the York play. Thus the preliminary court scene between Pilate, his wife and the beadle, owes nothing to this source. As far as the remainder of the play is concerned, however, the Gospel has clearly been used as an authority for certain episodes or incidents only, even to the extent of the use of similar language, as the following will indicate:


Craigie, in substantiating the use of the metrical version of the Gospel rather than the Latin (which was his particular concern) points out that the explanation of the intercession made by Pilate's wife on behalf of Jesus
is not found in any manuscript of the Latin version, yet the same explanation is adopted in the York play, ll.158ff., although the wording of the scene is original. This therefore appears to confirm the use of a vernacular rather than a Latin version of the Gospel by York at some stage.

Additionally there are certain similarities in language between the play and the Gospel, both in Pilate's wife's remark following her dream, and in the comment upon the incident when the First Son has delivered the message to Pilate:

1. York 30, 1.176
   A, I am drechid with a dreme ful full dreedfully to doute
   Gosp. Nicod. 1.197 (Galba MS)
   I have bene drechid with dremis swa

2. York 30, 11.292-3
   He with wicche-craffe / Ṛis wife has he wrought. Some feende of his sand has he sente.
   Gosp. Nicod. 11.215-6 (Galba MS)
   he fares with fëndes fare, witched Ṛi wife has he.

B. The Beadle's homage to Jesus (York 30, 11.306ff.
   Gosp. Nicod. 11.61ff; 11.169ff).

   In the following passages, as Craigie observes, the imitation is "pretty free", but the phrase"in your presence" does not derive from a Latin version. (11)

   York 30, 316-20
   (Primus Mil) All bedilis to your biding schulde be
   boxsome and bayne.
   ...
   (Secundus Mil) Yha, and in youre presence he prayed
   hym of pees, In knelyng on knes to Ṛis knave.
   Gosp. Nicod. 11.73-6 (Galba MS)
   Ṛe bedel suld to Ṛe be trew
   and do Ṛi commaundment,
On knees here knelid he to ihesu
right in vine auwen present;

C. The Beadle's description of Jesus' entry into
Jerusalem (York 30, 11.335ff; Gosp. Ricod. 11.61ff)(12)
York 30, 335-45

A, Gracious lorde, greue you noght, / For gude case
I hadde.
Ye comande me to Care, / Als ye kende wele and

To Jerusalem on a journe, with seele;
And yan pis semely on an Asse was sette,
And many men mylde hym mette.
Als a god in yat grounde yai hym grette,
Wole semand hym in waye with worschippe lele.
Osanna yai sung, ye sone of dauid.
Riche men with yaire robes, yei ranne to his fete,
And poure folke feched floures of yai frith,
And made nyrthe and melody yis man for to mete.

Gosp. Ricod. 11.83-96 (Calba MS)
and he said: "yat I did
I had enheson whi;
Til Alisander, wale y ai wate,
in message was I made,
to Jerusalem I come so late
yat till ye morn I hade;
yis ihesus on ane Ass yai sate
and thurgh ye town he rade;
childer before him in ye gate
spred yaire clothes obrade,
to him all gan yai bow;
"Osanna" was yaire sang,
"Bliessed be he yai come now
in goddes name vs omang."

A closer parallel for 11.90-1 occurs in the Additional
manuscript:

ffolke before his fete all ye gate
Riche clothes spradde on brode.

The Latin version of Codex Einsidlenensis offers:

Dicit ei cursor: 'Quando misisti me Hierosolimam ad
Alexandrum, uidi Iesum sedentem super asinum, et
pueri Hebreorum clamabant "Osanna Filio Dauid" ramos
tenentes manibus suis; alii autem (sternebant)
uestimenta sua dicentes, "Salua igitur qui es in
celsis, benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini."
D. The explanation to Pilate of the meaning of Hosanna
(York 30, 11.346ff.; Gosp. Micod. 11.105ff)

York 30, 346-50

(Pilatus) Nowe, gode sir, be ye feith, / What is Osanna to saie?
(Bedellus) Sir, constrew it we may, / Be langage of yis lande as I leue.
It is als moche to me for to meve,
Youre prelatis in yis place can it preue,
Als, "Oure sauour and souerayne, / You saue vs, we praye."

Gosp. Micod. 11.105-6 (Galba MS)
"Osanna", quod pilate,
"what es yat forto say?"
Yai said: "it menes algate,
'Lord, saue vs, we ye pray.'"

Craigie comments that the words 'we pray' (correctly
given as part of the interpretation of Hosanna) are not
due to a Latin original. The Codex Einsidlensis offers:

Dicit eis Pilatus, 'Quomodo autem clamant Ebraice?'
Et dicunt ei, 'Osanna.' 'Quomodo interpretatur?'
Dicunt ei, "O Domine, saluum fac" seu "O Domine,
salua igitur."

E. The summoning of Jesus before Pilate (York 30, 11.
374-6; Gosp. Micod. 11.113-6.)

York 30, 374-6

(Pilatus) Calle 'Jesu, ye gentill of Jacob ye Jewe,
Come preste and appere;
To ye barre drawe he nere.

Gosp. Micod. 11.113-6 (Galba MS)

bot, bedell, to bar sen you him broght
to schilde yiself fro schame,
haue him furth yeou wirschip wroght
and call him in by name.

The Latin version in Codex Einsidlensis is rather
different:

Dicit preses cursori, 'Exi et quouis (ordine)
introduc eum.'

It is clear that the Gospel has here merely provided
the germ of an idea which the York writer has developed
into a highly effective piece of dramatic staging, as the actor playing Jesus comes forward to the bar for judgment and the uproar of the spectators is, one assumes by Pilate's injunction, briefly assuaged.

F. Jesus' parentage (York 30, ll.499ff., Gosp. Nicod. 11.25-6).

York 30, 503
(Anna) Nay, nay, sir; we wiste yat he was but a write.

Gosp. Nicod. 11.25-6 (Galba MS)
We wate wele Joseph was a wright, suthly he was his sire.

Additionally Craig suggests that "the favourable attitude towards Pilate" found in the plays of the Passion Group derives from the Gospel of Nicodemus. (14)

Craigie observed that from the general character of the borrowings (including those found in other plays of the York cycle) "it seems most probable that he (the author) had parts of it by heart, and utilized these when opportunity or memory served. Had he been working directly from a written copy, his borrowings would probably have been more numerous and closer to his original."(15) This assumption is certainly borne out by the use made of the Gospel in this play, for it is in no way a matter of close adherence to that poem. The Gospel supplies certain incidents and striking phrases which seem to have caught the imagination of the poet: the lady "drecchid with dremes"; the beadle kneeling on his knees; the meaning of Osanna; Joseph, Jesus' father, being "but a write". The individuality of the York treatment comes out particularly in a comparison of the descriptions by the beadle of the Entry into Jerusalem. The York writer recalls that clothes were spread before Jesus' feet, but he ascribes this type of welcome to the rich men of Jerusalem.
The poor people, in contrast, in two evocative lines independent of the Gospel offer "floures of ye frith And made myrthe and melody quis man for to mete". (16)

The apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus has thus been used to provide supplementary material which extends and enlivens a play based firmly on the Gospel accounts. Lyle similarly finds that the Gospel is not a "fundamental source" but is used "merely for elaboration and expansion". (17)

As mentioned above, Burton's description of the play in 1415 is limited to a list of names of the persons of the play. Smith thought that it was "curious that no mention is made by Burton of dame Percula, Pilate's wife, nor of any of the personages in the first scenes, which must have been prominent and popular". (18) As has been shown above, certain of the episodes and characters which Smith seems to refer to derive from the Gospel of Nicodemus. On the basis of this and other plays, Lyle therefore concluded that the incorporation of material from this work into the York cycle dated from after 1415. (19) Although Burton's description is so brief, it seems unlikely that anyone attempting to describe the extant play with any accuracy could fail to include one of its major dramatic episodes, the Dream of Pilate's Wife. Moreover the presence of such lively and colourful characters as Percula, the Beadle and the Devil would surely have been recorded had these characters formed part of the play at the time that Burton made his list. The omission of less important episodes, such as the Beadle's homage to Jesus, even in spite of its striking miraculous element, is more likely. Lyle's conclusion therefore in respect of this play appears to be the correct one. (20)

Greg, on the other hand, is not satisfied that the use of the Gospel of Nicodemus originated with the writer
of this play, "for he was rewriting plays of an earlier period, and he may have borrowed the passages in question, not from the Gospel directly, but from the earlier plays."(21) Since the only record of the earlier play omits any mention of the Gospel of Nicodemus material, this does not seem to have been the case.

Lyle's further deduction that "Burton's list describes an older play based only upon material from the Northern Passion, and that the extant version of the York play represents a later play, showing a combination of events gained from both sources"(22) similarly cannot be substantiated. As previously discussed, (p.166) there appears to be no evidence that the Northern Passion is a source of the extant York play. Lyle appears to argue that the fact that the Northern Passion deals with the bringing of Jesus to Pilate, the accusations against Jesus, and Pilate's sending Jesus to Herod when he learns that he is from Galilee is some proof that York has used this poem as a source,(23) but this is not so.

A further theory by Lyle that this play was "probably originally composed in the Northern Septemar", the stanza form of the Gospel of Nicodemus(24) does not seem tenable in view of her conclusion that the Gospel of Nicodemus material entered the York cycle after 1415. The extant play would therefore need to be a complete revision, 1415-40, of a post-1415 play in the stanzaic form abababababcd. There appears to be no evidence to support this contention.
Summary and Conclusions

1. Burton's list of 1415 indicates clearly that the extant play is not the one described at that date.

2. The manuscript of the play contains numerous minor errors and it was copied from an earlier, confused text. A gap between the two halves of 1.158 indicates that two separate manuscripts were probably used as originals. In spite of this, there are very similar faults in the two transcriptions, and if two manuscripts existed, they were closely related.

3. The play contains four episodes and two different stanza forms:
   1) a nine-line stanza, rhyming ababobbc (11.1-157, sts 1-16) (In six of these stanzas lines have had to be restored by editing, and in four stanzas lines are apparently missing; all of which may be the result of transcription errors.).
   2) a nine-line stanza, rhyming ababoddcc (11.158-547, sts 19-61) (Six stanzas have various faults, two stanzas have lines missing and four stanzas contain additional material; st 22 is irregular, and in seven stanzas the rhymes indicate incorrect copying.).

   The length of the play, the subject matter and the variation in stanza of the first episode, together with the manuscript gap, suggest that the first scene is a later addition to a play dealing principally with the Trial before Pilate. In spite of this, both sections of the play are composed throughout in the same alliterative style identified in plays 26, 28 and parts of Play 29, i.e.
   a) a four-stress quatrains (91.4% and 92.4%)
   b) the most frequent alliterative pattern in the four stress line, aa/aa (71.4% and 65.1%)
      in the cauda aaa, (55.6% and 53.4%)
   c) similar rhythmic types, although there is much variation, as in the previous alliterative plays:
      (i) in the first half-line, the types x/xx/x, x/xx/, xx/xx/, (found in Plays 28 and 29), xxx/xx/x
         (found in Play 29) xxx/xx/ (found in Plays 26, 28 and 29).
      (ii) in the second half-line x/xx/ (found in Plays 26, 28 and 29), x/xxx/ (found in Plays 26 and 28).
      (iii) in the three-stress line, x/xx/xx/ (found in Plays 26, 28 and 29).
All the other types of high frequency which are identified occur in both sections of the play.

The only major difference between the two sections of the play metrically is in the use in a number of stanzas in the first section of word linking between the quatrains and the cauda of stanzas. For the most part this is purely ornamental, and does not serve any dramatic function. It appears that all of the first eighteen stanzas of the play were linked in this way at one time.

The two sections are similar, however, in the infrequent use of other types of linking: of stanzas, by repetition of words (mainly to functional purpose); of stanzas, by alliteration; and of lines internally in the stanza by alliteration, particularly between the quatrains and the cauda, and between the first and second lines of each stanza. The alliterative links, unlike the word links between stanzas, appear purely ornamental.

The extant play is therefore a completely new composition dating after 1415 rather than a revision upon the basis of an earlier text, as observed in the previous play. The similarity in style of the two sections of the surviving play suggests that the same author was responsible for both.

3. The Towneley cycle does not dramatise the Dream of Pilate's Wife nor the Trial before Pilate. The view of Cady and of Lyle that a play on the latter subject was dropped from the Towneley cycle is considered a possibility on the grounds of a certain lack of continuity between Plays 21 and 22.

4. There is no evidence that the Northern Passion is a source for the York play, for there are no parallels of language with that poem. Both poem and play follow the Gospel accounts very closely.

5. The use of the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus on the other hand as a source for certain incidents in the York play, first observed by Smith, and later identified more closely by Craigie as being from the Northern Middle English metrical version in MS Harleian 4196, is confirmed. The Gospel of Nicodemus, however, is not a source for the first scene of the play between Pilate, his wife and the beadle (11.1-185).

The Gospel of Nicodemus provides material relating to Pilate's Wife's Dream, the homage of the Beadle, the description of the Entry into Jerusalem, the meaning of Hosanna, the summoning of Jesus before Pilate, and Jesus' parentage. This is confirmed by certain similarities in
language between the two texts.

Craigie appears to be right that the poet worked from memory of the poem. Parts of the Gospel seem to have caught the imagination of the York poet, who offers his own reworking of this material. The Gospel of Nicodemus thus supplements the Gospel accounts on which the play is based.

6. Lyle's view, in opposition to that of Greg, that the incorporation of the Gospel of Nicodemus material dates from after 1415 appears to be confirmed by the evidence of Burton's first list; but her contention that the Northern Passion provided the basis for the original play cannot be confirmed, nor can her view that the play was originally composed in the Northern Septenar stanza of the Gospel of Nicodemus.
CHAPTER 6

PLAY 31

THE TRIAL BEFORE HEROD

The manuscript of Play 31, The Trial before Herod, contains various errors, some of which may be attributed to careless copying, but others to defects in the original text. In the earlier copy:

1. The alignment of individual lines is sometimes faulty, as may be confirmed by the examination of the extract from which follows (p. 179), for example, lines 346-71, 372-5). In one case two lines were not written in the wrong order.

2. The name of the opening speech, The last judgment, and the prayer at the end were transposed with line 79, 154, and 320 (44th line). The prayer lines are missing from the manuscript. In the play the copyist has entered the last part of Act iv, Scene i (1:229).

3. The copyist has transposed lines 4 and 75 between speeches, writing them following 14, 74, and 365.

4. As 131-137, the names of the central figures, Imogen, incorporated into the text, have been taken to indicate that the play has taken too late a form of the story and omitted. The opening scene was thus used, and became.

General notes have been added in notes hand. These show that the manuscript by the player's directions.
The manuscript of Play 31, The Trial before Herod, contains various errors, some of which may be attributed to careless copying, and others to defects and problems met with in the earlier copy.

1. The alignment of individual lines is sometimes faulty, as may be confirmed by the examination of the stanza form which follows (p. 179), for example, 11.256-61; 275-6; 345-7; 372-3). In one case two lines have been written down in incorrect order (11.13-14) and words have been written in the wrong order in a line (1.384).

2. Single words have been omitted (11.114; 307); single words repeated (1.217), and incorrectly copied (11.35, 60, 202, 335, 389 and probably 38).

3. The name of the opening speaker has been omitted (1.1) and speeches are marked twice with the same name (11.70 and 72; 326 and 328) (For the indication which this offers that lines are missing from the play, see pp.180-1). In one case the copyist has corrected his own mistake in allocating lines (1.218).

4. The rubricator has inadvertently ruled horizontal lines between speeches when there is no change of speaker (following 11.71 and 380).

5. At 11.266-7 the names of two speakers appear to have become incorporated into the text. At this point in the play two Dukes salute Jesus in a corrupt mixture of French and English. The reason why these characters should be named is not, however, clear.

Several notes have been made upon the manuscript in later hands. These emend the text, perhaps for playing purposes, by providing:

1) A playing direction (tunc bibit rex) following 1.41.
2) The division of a four-line speech between *jus dux* and *i Just dux* (11.202-5).

3) Two words missing from 1.199.

A later hand, which Smith identifies as of the sixteenth century, has marked several speeches with the word *nota*, and sometimes also *hie*. These all occur in sts 21 and 22, in lines to be spoken by Herod (307-9) and the first (318) and third sons (328 and 333). These passages all seem unremarkable enough, and whether the notes draw attention to lines to which some objection was raised, or whether they are merely a prompter's aide-memoire is not clear.

A later hand has also written *Pylatus* against 11.328-9, replacing *Tertius filius*. Pilate is not, however, a character in this play.

II

In Burton's first list of 1415 the play is recorded very briefly as:

Herodes, duo consilierii, iiij or Milites,
Jesus et iiij Judei.

The play written into the manuscript differs in several respects from this description:

1. It omits Herod's three sons, who have quite an important role in the action of the play.
2. There are no Jews in the play, and there are speaking parts for only two soldiers.
3. The two counsellors, however, may be the two dukes of the play.

It is difficult to be certain about the precision of such a limited record of the play as it existed in 1415, but it is
likely that what survives is either a new play or a revision after 1415 of an earlier play on the same subject.

III

According to Smith,

"The normal stanza of this piece appears to consist of sixteen lines, eight long, rime alternately ab, six shorter, rime cdccd, and two long (containing interwoven rimes), ee. But this is not strictly adhered to, whether it is that there are omissions and errors, or that the original poet indulged in considerable variety within the limits of these rimes and lines".

Smith's edition therefore

"only tentatively marked what appear to be stanzas or parts of stanzas, of which but four, viz 5, 11, 12, 15 (sts 9, 12, 15, 16 in this edition) are regular. The first seventeen lines, strongly alliterative, do not conform".

Craig similarly fails to define precisely the stanza used in this play, commenting that it is composed in "stanzas of sixteen or more long lines curiously interwoven: indeed the form is involved". (3)

It is clear, however, from an examination of the text that two very similar stanzas predominate:

1. A fourteen-line form, rhyming ababababcdccd, found in sts 2, 5, 8, 10, 11, 14, 23. It will be recalled that this is the stanza of the Conspiracy, Play 26.

Some further stanzas are of this type, although they are irregular in various ways:

(a) Stanza 7 lacks two lines from the octave.
(b) Stanza 18 contains two caudae rhyming cdccd (lines 256-61 and 264-9) linked by a couplet or a quatrain in Latin. One of the caudae may be a later addition.
(c) Stanza 20 lacks one quatrains from the octave.
(d) Stanza 22, rhyming ababcdcddef, has two caudae but lacks one quatrains. Since 11.328-333 resemble more closely the cauda of the basic stanza of the play, it would seem that 11.323-7 are additional, and this appears to be substantiated by the repetition of iijus filius as speaker of 11.326-7 and Tertius filius as speaker of 11.328-9. Moreover 11.326-9 take up the phrasing of 1.322.
(e) Stanza 27 has lines additional to the basic stanza (11.411-6).

2. An eighteen-line form, consisting of the same stanza expanded by the addition of a final quatrains (the couplet with "intertwoven rimes" noted by Smith) occurs in sts 9, 12, 13, 16. This type of stanza, said by Smith to be the "normal" form, therefore occurs less frequently than that identified in 1 above.

Smith appears to have been misled by the fact that lines 120-1 are linked by alliteration into believing that a long line couplet completes the stanza. In fact the lines concerned all have three chief stresses, and they fall into the alliterative types previously identified in Plays 26, 28, 29 and 30, as these lines, from st 13, will indicate:

```
Whè, go lāwmere and lérne ye to löwte (aaa)
Or pai more bléme ye to bríng (xaa)
Nay drédeles withoùten any dòute (axa)
He knáwes nost ye course of a kyng. (aaa)
```

Since there is thus no alliterative relation between the pairs of lines (save in 11.120-1) an alliterative long line with a central caesura cannot be involved. Moreover a six-stress line has not previously been identified except in very rare single cases among these alliterative plays.
Some further stanzas are of the eighteen-line type although containing various irregularities:

(a) Stanza 15 lacks one quatrain from the octave.
(b) Stanza 19 has an additional quatrain (11.275-81)
(c) Stanza 24 has an additional section (11.352-9) and lacks one quatrain rhyming abab.
(d) Stanza 25 has an additional section (11.374-82) and lacks one quatrain rhyming abab. Smith drew attention to the textual problems in this section, which she regarded as "difficult to read, both for rime and for sense". The rubricator also appeared to be confused, for a line is drawn at 1.380 without a change of speaker. Line 379, although making good sense (as Smith noted) does not fit into the rhyme scheme of even the additional section (aba(b)a(1.379)bab).

There are two examples of repetition in these additional lines: Herod's "Wele yanne, fallis hym goo free" (1.379) taking up his earlier "And yf we fynde no deaute / Hym fallis to go free", and 1.381, "And repaire with youre present, and saie to Pilate", to be repeated later in 1.405. This suggests an attempt to integrate the new lines into the existing play.

The two similar stanza forms, the 'basic' and the 'additional basic', therefore occur in nineteen of the 27 stanzas of the piece.

3. Of the remaining stanzas, several have the rhyme scheme ccdcd in the cauda:
(a) Stanza 6, rhyming ababodcd. The irregular lines, 76-9, depict Pilate rising. A missing initial quatrain seems to be confirmed by the repetition of the same speaker's name at 11.70 and 72 (see p.177).
(b) Stanza 17, rhyming ababababodcdada. The irregular
lines 242-7 are in the French and Latin with which Herod addresses Jesus.

(c) Stanza 21, rhyming ababa(x)abeddefefe. A b-rhyme is missing at 1.307 and is added by Smith. Other irregular lines are 310-8. Lines 307-9 are marked nota and hic, but they occur in the regular part of the stanza; similarly 1.318, but in the 'irregular' section.

(d) Stanza 26, rhyming abaaaxcdcd. Smith (p.305, fn.1) suggests 1.394 should rhyme with 1.398, and that 1.379 from st 25 has become misplaced and should "belong to" 1.394, since it "agrees well with the scorn of the soldier" (1.395). Although it seems likely that 1.394 should rhyme with 1.398, both sts 25 and 26 have been subjected to revision, and the stanzaic form of st 26 is thus uncertain. It is not therefore possible to substantiate the repositioning of 1.379 into st 26 on metrical grounds. On the basis that the line fits the context suitably, Smith's suggestion is, however, ingenious.

4. The remaining stanzas do not conform to any of these schemes:

(a) Stanza 1: Herod's opening rant has a rhyme scheme which is not clearly discernible, although it contains couplets and quatrains. Smith appears to be right in regarding this section as lying outside the main body of the text, and it could therefore be a later addition.

(b) Stanza 3, rhyming ababoddefffe, and st 4, rhyming abcdbeffefe depict a drinking scene and coucher which may also be a later addition.

Smith, as previously mentioned, proposed two possible explanations for the state of the extant text: that it resulted from omissions or errors, or that the poet
indulged in considerable variety in the deployment of his chosen stanzaic form. Although critics have commented upon the "experimental" tendency of the group of Passion plays composed in alliterative verse, it would appear from the predominance of a basic stanza form in 19 of the 27 stanzas of the play that a play originally composed either in a fourteen-line stanza form, rhyming ababababcdcccd or in the same form with the addition of a final quatrain, has been extensively modified at some later stage by the incorporation of additional material and possible dropping of other lines.

These revisions for the most part consist of the addition and omission of quatrains, although a variety of other arrangements are found, some reminiscent of the basic cauda pattern cdcccd, and some taking up rhymes already used in the basic stanza form.

Many of the lines which lie outside the two main stanza forms of the play are of a particularly lively nature: Herod's opening rant; a drinking and couched scene (sts 3 and 4); Herod rising (st 6); the suggestion that Jesus is afraid (st 22); Herod addressing Jesus in French and Latin (ll.242-7); a proclamation, in which those present are invited to lay charges against Jesus (ll.374ff) (a particularly effective insertion dramatically since it integrates the spectators into the very action of the play, calling upon them, as it were, to respond aloud to what is being depicted on the stage); Herod's comparison of himself and his court to angels (ll.278-81). In this latter connection, Rosemary Woolf comments that "the dramatist's inventiveness in applying this jest to Christ is a superb example of literary audacity". (5) It may not, however, have been part of the dramatist's original conception of the play.
Generally, the fact that these lines irregular to the basic stanza pattern contain material of a type rather different from that found in the remainder of the play, broadening its entertainment value, indicates that these lines are a later interpolation.

As has been mentioned above, on such evidence as Burton's list provides, it would appear that three characters, Herod's sons, were added when the play was revised at some date after 1415.

Speeches allotted to one or more of Herod's sons appear in a stanza of the 'basic' pattern (st 23), in a stanza of the 'additional basic' pattern (st 12), in 'regular' sections of otherwise 'irregular' stanzas (sts 21, 22) and in sections possibly additional to the play (sts 19, 21, 22). It would therefore appear that the three sons were part of the original concept of the play as revised in the 'basic' and 'additional basic' stanza forms, and that some of the 'additions' have the effect of giving these characters more material. The three sons were not therefore added at the later stage of revision which seems to have occurred following the post-1415 revision.

There is of course the possibility that the three sons took over the roles of the three Jews, missing from the surviving play, but recorded in Burton's list. Against this, however, is the naïveté of the First Son's opening remark to Herod, which seems most suitable to a young speaker, and Herod's reply (11.152-4). The whole mood of the piece, with the emphasis on games and play, particularly the sequence where the sons start shouting to force Jesus to speak (1.331) also seems particularly apt for these characters.
IV

In spite of the considerable modifications which this play has clearly undergone in the years following its original composition after 1415, the whole has metrical unity in so far as it is written throughout in the same alliterative style identified previously in Plays 26, 28, 29 and 30.

Apart from the irregular opening rant, the first part of each stanza, whether octave or quatrain, usually consists of long lines of four chief stresses with a central caesura (144 lines, 85.1%; three-stress, 16 lines; five-stress, 9 lines). (In st 1 most lines have four stresses (14 lines), two having three, and one five stresses.) In the cauda the majority of lines have three stresses (131 lines, 85.6%; four-stress, 21 lines).

The lines proposed as later additions are rather more variable in this respect, being mainly of three stresses (41 lines) and four stresses (30 lines) with a few lines of two stresses (8 lines) and five stresses (3 lines). This is particularly noticeable when lines of four and five stresses form much of the second part of the stanza (sts 17, 18, 21) and similarly when lines of two and three stresses occur in the first part (sts 4, 22, 26). These irregularities appear to corroborate the theory that these lines are later additions, rather than merely variations in the original composition, as Smith proposed.

The actual formulation of the lines on the other hand varies little in the play, whether they form part of the 'original' or 'later' work. The most frequent form of alliteration in the four-stress line is as/as (85 lines) and these lines are of the familiar type found in
Plays 26, 28, 29 and 30, for example:

For I haue _coveite_ kyndely yat comely to knáwe (1.140)
We will with a goode will for his wédis wende (1.352)
The types _xaa_ (46 lines), _aaxa_ (19 lines), _aaax_ (13 lines), _xxaa_ (15 lines) also occur frequently, for example:

And his sistir come rakand in rewfull arraye (1.222)
We graunte hym oure frénschippe, all full to fang (1.382)
The types _aabb_ (7 lines), _axaa_ (7 lines), _aaxx_ (5 lines), _xaax_ (3 lines), _axax_ (3 lines), _xaxa_ (3 lines) are less frequent.

Where the play varies a little is in the freedom with which the line is treated in the interests of lively dialogue, and as in the Conspiracy play, initial forms of address, exclamations, etc. frequently appear to fall outside the four chief stresses established in the line, taking probably a secondary chief stress, for example:

Ya, but what _ménys_ yat _yis_ messáge was máde vnto mé? (1.126)
Mi lorde, howe schulde he dowte vs? he drédis not youre dréys (1.306)
Oye! yf any _wight_ with _yis_ wriche any we_rse_ wáte (1.374)

Moreover in some lines the weight of the long line is broken up by various pauses and emphases, for example:

Say, may _you_ not here me? oy, man; arte you woode? (1.249)
What, deynes _you_ not? Lo, sirs, he dethis vs with dynne (1.192)

And for similar technique, including the use of enjambment of the possibly additional lines:

(ijus dux) My lorde, y _trowe_ youre fauchone hym flaié
And lettis hym (Rex) Noewe lely I leue _ye_. (11.256-7)
In this play, as in Plays 26 and 28, it would appear
that a few lines extend to five stresses (see pp.9-10, 107,
and for the situation in Play 30, p.159), e.g.

Go 

_{lére yus lórdingis of youre lónde such léssons
to lére (1.404)

писание to ye bárre his bális to Abate (1.376)

In the three-stress line the alliterative types xaa
and aaa occur with almost equal frequency (74 and 73 lines),
with aax (23 lines) and axa (12 lines) occurring less often,
for example:

Cure lève will we take at yis tyde (1.388)
And lúcifer moste luffely of lyre (1.56)

All the lines in the play are formulated in the ways
described, with the exception of only 18 lines which lack
structural alliteration, a rather higher proportion of these
occurring in the 'additional' lines (10 lines as opposed to
8 lines in the remainder of the play), for example:

Nay, bewscheris, je fynde vs not here (1.387)
Heris you not what y saie ye (1.316)

Moreover the rhythms of major occurrence in the
individual lines are those which are also of highest
frequency in the alliterative plays previously discussed
(although of course as in these plays, many other rhythmic
types of minor frequency also occur).

First half-line

x/xx/x (34 lines) And drawe to no drofynge (1.6)
(Founded also in Plays 28, 29 and 30)

x/xx/ (14 lines) One lózar, a ladde (1.220)
(Plays 28, 29, 30)
And all his foly in faith (1.351)

Or pis brande yat is bright (1.4)

And his sistir come rakand (1.222)

Is comen to youre counsaill (1.63)

yat boy yat yei bryng (1.176)

withoutyn any call (1.153)

betwene vs twoo (1.312)

schall we tell hym vntill (1.61)

goodly to gange (1.380) (rhymes with fang, 1.382(6)

schulde my myght marre (1.110)

and late ye boy blowe (1.144)

And theryfore schall y waffe it away (1.256)

No ferther wolde he speke for to spille hym (1.133)

Yat schalle he bye or he blynne (1.290)

Yus gayly girde in a gowne (1.343)

Yat no noyse be neghand pis none (1.45)

Do bringe vs yat boy vnto bale (1.200)

I leve we schall laugh and haue likyng (1.170)
These examples are drawn from both 'regular' and 'additional' parts of the play.

The linking of lines by alliteration (observed previously in Plays 26, 28, 29 and 30) occurs also in this play, but it is not a distinctive feature of the 'regular' stanzas, since it occurs also, but with rather less frequency, in lines which, it is suggested, are later additions. Although this linking does not occur consistently in a fixed position in the stanza, it is the lines of the octave (or opening quatrain in defective stanzas) which are most frequently linked, but this is not regularly sustained. Only stes 3, 4, 6, 20, 22 and 25 are unaffected, and all of these are 'irregular' in various ways.

Additionally, in five 'regular' stanzas, the first two lines of the cauda are linked, and in four stanzas of various types the link occurs between the final two lines of the cauda. But other lines in the stanza too are linked by alliteration, sometimes in passages additional to the basic stanza. Only two 'irregular' stanzas, 3 and 4, are completely unaffected by this type of linking.

There seems no particular reason for certain lines to be grouped in this way rather than others, and thus a purely ornamental metrical technique seems to be involved.

Jesus' trial before Herod is recorded in Luke 23, 8-11:

"Herodes autem viso Iesu, gavisus est valde. Erat enim cupiens ex multo tempore videre eum, eo quod audierat rumta de eo, et sperabat signum aliquod videre ab eo fieri. Interrogabat autem eum multis sermonibus. At ipse nihil illi respondebat. Stabant autem principes sacerdotum et scribae"
constanter accusantes eum.
Sprevit autem illum Herodes cum exercitu suo; et illusit indutum veste alba, et remisit ad Pilatum."

The Northern Passion follows this account closely, dealing briefly with Herod's pleasure in seeing Jesus (1.961ff); his desire to see a miracle (1.978ff) and the central episode of Jesus' silence:

Jesus stode still and answerd noght,
Of herodes rede nothing he roght;
What so ever he said him till,
He wald noght speke, bot stode ay still. (11.991-4)

The poem also includes Herod's threats (11.994c-d); the beating of Jesus (11.996a-b) and the clothing in white garments (11.999-1000).

Lyle thought that the York play depended upon this latter version because of the following similarities in language between the two works:

1. **Herod's words of welcome to Jesus**
   York 31, 136-7
   
   Nowe sertis, andoure frenschippe yerfore
   We graunte hym, and no greuaunce we will hym.

   **MP. 1.976a**
   Now all my greuaunce I for gif
   (Miller also observed a parallel with York 31, 407:
   And also oure greuaunce forgeue we algate). (12)

2. **Herod's reaction at hearing of Jesus' approach**
   York 31, 136-41
   
   And, sirs, ye are welcome ywisse, as ye were awe;
   And for to wende at youre wilte y you warande.
   For I haue coveite kyndely yat comely to knawe;
   For men carpis yat we carle schulde be komand. (13)

   **MP. 11.962-62d**
   Greate liking in his hert had he;
   ffor he had couait of lang tyme
   ffullfy forte spoke with him,
And forto wit how yat it ferd
Of ferlis he before had herd.

NP. 11.967-70
When herod herd he was full glad
And joyful yat he ihesu had;
He said: "sir, welkum in all thing,
I haue oft couait yi cuming.

3. Herod's commands following the trial
York 31, 336
Comaunde youre knyghtis to clothe hym in white

NP. 11.999-1000
Van herod gert for grete despite
Cloth him all in clothes white.

Bidde hym wirke as he will, and wirke noght in were.
York 31, 408
And we graunte hym our grace with a goode chere.

NP. 1005-6b
Bot bid s ir pilat wirk his will,
Whever he will him saue or spill,
Luke him self what him es leuir,
My gude will grant I him for euer.

These passages certainly suggest that a York author
was familiar at some stage with the Northern Passion
version of this incident. The similar phrases are not,
however, particularly close, nor are they of central
importance to the episode or to the dramatist's conception
of the play as a whole, which as will be shown below,
extends far beyond the treatment in the Northern Passion.

The metrical version of the Gospel of Nicodemus does
not deal with Jesus' trial before Herod, neither does the
Towneley cycle. Lyle (following Kohlfeld) observes that
the Trial before Herod is referred to in the Towneley cycle
in the Final Condemnation before Pilate, where one of the
soldiers tells Pilate:
I haue ron that I swett from sir herode oure kyng
With this man that will not lett oure lawes to
downe tryng (11.53-4)

She suggests, following Cady, that this is evidence that
Towneley once possessed a play dealing with the Trial before
Herod, although she does not necessarily agree with Cady that this
occurred because "the superior interest of the Wakefield
scenes crowded out other less interesting matter". (14)

Williams agrees that "it looks as though a whole play,
containing a trial before Herod has dropped out". He
believes, however, that the dropping is not accidental or
purposeless, and he suggests that the reason "may well be
that Herod is a competitor of Pilate as a ranter and tyrant
and his inclusion in the play makes for dispersion". (15)
Later, however, in a footnote, he produces another passage
in Towneley play 22 in which Pilate refers to the Trial
before Herod:

Herode truly as stone / ould fynd with nokyns gyn
Nothyng herapon / that pent to any syn. (11.99-100)

He here appears to modify the view expressed earlier,

stating that neither of the references,

"prove that at the time the Master wrote or rewrote
the Scourrying there was any Trial before Herod. They
can prove just as easily that the Master was covering
up the absence of any such play. It is also possible
that he introduced these references because of the
dropping of the Herod play. There is one suggestion
that the play has been purposefully dropped either at
the time of the Master's revision or before. Pilate
asks Jesus to show some miracle, "Of thy greaett warkes
shew vs som skyll" (Towneley 22, l.190). This request
is elsewhere put in Herod's mouth."(16)

Any of these hypotheses may well be accurate, but unfortunately
there is no evidence to support them.

The dramatization of this episode in the York cycle
therefore, unlike the plays of the Passion Group previously
discussed, appears to derive for the most part from the poet's
own invention (possibly using an earlier play as a basis) in amplifying the account given in Luke, and does not depend upon vernacular sources to enliven and extend the Gospel narrative. As Parker has pointed out, certain features in the character of Herod were quite conventional in literature of this and earlier periods, particularly his raging and his boasting, and in this respect this personage was not differentiated from the Herod of the Slaughter of the Innocents. The York playwright, however, chooses to extend and turn these well-known characteristics to best advantage. His Herod expresses himself in lively familiar language. He cares not a "borrowed bene" for Pilate (1.105), and he is filled with enthusiasm to meet Jesus (as is suggested in the Gospel). He looks upon the interview as a good opportunity for sport:

O, my harte hoppis for Joie
To se nowe vys prophette appere
We schall have good game with vys boy

I leve we schall laugh and haue likyng. (11.166-70)

The play then focuses upon Herod's attempts to force Jesus to reply to his questions, and even when his initial ploys fail there is nothing in the text to indicate violent rage. Like a wise ruler, he ascertains the true facts of the case, and like Pilate, he too perceives that Jesus' miracles have done only good. Moreover he remains convinced that some amusement is yet to be gained from the interview:

We schalle haue gaudis full goode and games or we goo (1.240)

As the questioning continues, with Herod completely failing to elicit any response from the silent Christ, the court's explanations, that Jesus may be "abasshid of herrowde byg blure" or frightened of Herod's sword, indicate that the actor playing the role would have assumed Herod's
traditional blustering and sword waving, although the actual language used is forceful, but not intemperate. One moment Herod is all reassurance to Jesus:

Here shall no man do to ye dere (1.284)

next he has lost patience:

Lattis me allone (1.291).

The way in which the court rallies round, attempting to placate Herod and themselves trying to force Jesus to speak again reflects Herod's traditional irascibility. Yet (in a passage which may be a later addition) Herod's final decision is an object lesson to the Jews and it is that of the just ruler:

We fynde no defaute hym to slee

... sen yat he is done, for to deme hym,
Ware yis a goode lawe for a lorde? (11.398-402).

All this is a long way from the conventional raging Herod, and it is thus significant that the rant, with its violent language and abuse, is probably a later addition. The contrast between the noise and shouting of Herod's court and the silent Christ is dramatically very effective, as is the nature of the trial itself, where Jesus must for the most part undergo verbal ridicule and thus mental rather than physical distress. There is also the antithesis of the pride of the temporal ruler in his "gaye gere" (1.282) and Jesus who "comes as a knave and as a knave cledde" (1.274) and who must submit to the decision of Herod's young sons that he should be dressed as a fool and yet "rayed like a roye" (1.356). The play also provides an opportunity for a satiric portrait of Court life in the way in which Herod is mollified and flattered by those around him. The obsession of the ruler with the preservation of his own power and authority is also brought out in Herod's questioning of the soldiers regarding Pilate's attitude to him (11.126-37) and his repeated phrase,
Loke, bewscheris, 3e be to oure bodis bouné

(1.305; also 1.179)

The ending, in which Herod turns upon the men who have brought Jesus to him for judgment, and one of Jesus' enemies is brought to pity him, voicing as it were, the feelings of the spectators:

Mi lorde, with youre leue, late hym be,
For all to longe ledde hym haue we (11.413-4)

provides just the element of suspense and hope needed for the next play in this long series of trials.
Summary and Conclusions

1. The text contains various errors, partly the result of inaccurate copying and partly of defects in the earlier copy.

2. Burton's first list indicates that the extant play is a revision of an earlier text, subsequent to 1415.

3. The play is identified as being composed for the most part in a fourteen-line stanza rhyming ababababababcdcccd (as in Play 26) and also in stanzas of the same form with the addition of a final quatrain, eef. These quatrains do not appear to be later additions.

On this basis, six other stanzas appear to have lines missing; three of these and three others seem to contain additional lines, a view substantiated in stanza 22 by certain repetitions.

The remaining eight of the 27 stanzas of the play offer different schemes, often with the rhyme ccdd in the cauda. A repetition in stanza 6 again appears to confirm the omission of lines previously included. Two stanzas (25 and 26) remain in a confused state. Marks of nota upon the manuscript in a sixteenth century hand against stanzas 21 and 22 appear unconnected with the stanzaic form of the play, and possibly relate to some objection by the author- ities to the text, or a prompter's note. Stanzas 1, 3 and 4 offer different rhyme schemes, and may therefore be later additions.

It is concluded that extensive revisions, consisting mainly but not entirely in the addition and omission of quatrains have been imposed upon a play composed after 1415 in the stanza form abababababcdcccd(eef).

This appears to be confirmed by the fact that many of the lines irregular to this stanza form contain material of a particularly lively nature, differing somewhat in style from the remainder of the play, as if added to broaden its amusement value. They do not therefore appear to be remnants of the earlier play of Burton's list.

Moreover speeches of Herod's three sons, characters who (on the evidence of Burton's list) were added to the play after 1415, are found in the basic stanza forms. Their part in the play also survives in regular sections of otherwise irregular stanzas, and has been supplemented by sections proposed as part of the later additions to the play. The three sons were therefore part of the original post-1415 revision. The possibility that these characters
merely took over the roles of the three Jews of the earlier play of Burton's list is thought to be unlikely in view of the very youthful style of their speeches.

4. In spite of extensive later alterations following the composition of the play in the period after 1415, the play is written throughout in the same alliterative style previously identified in Plays 26, 28, 29 and 30. The features of this are:

(a) An opening octave (or quatrain) of long lines of four chief stresses with a central caesura (144 lines, 85.1%). A cauda of three chief stresses (131 lines, 85.6%).

(b) The most frequent alliterative type aa/aa (65 lines) (aaaa 46 lines, aaaa 19 lines, aaax 15 lines, xaaa 15 lines).

The breaking up of the long line to simulate normal speech patterns.

In the three-stress line, the predominance of alliterative types xaa (74 lines), aaa (73 lines), with aax and axa occurring less often (23 and 12 lines).

Only 18 lines in the entire play lacking structural alliteration (ten of these in the 'additional' lines).

(c) The rhythmic patterns in the line of most frequent occurrence being those found most often also in the alliterative plays previously discussed (including, in the first half line, x/xx/x (34 lines), xx/xx/ (17 lines), x/xx/ (14 lines), xxx/xx/ (14 lines), xx/xx/ (9 lines), x/xxx/ (9 lines); in the second half line, x/xx/ (77 lines), xx/ (21 lines), /xx/ (18 lines), x/xxx/ (9 lines), xx/xx/ (9 lines); and in the three-stress line, x/xx/xx/ (41 lines), x/xx/xx/ (13 lines), x/x/xx/ (9 lines)).

(d) Lines are linked in pairs by alliteration, affecting both the 'regular' stanzas and the 'additional' lines, principally in the octave (or quatrain) but also in the cauda, where the links occur most often between the first or final pairs of lines, although they are also found elsewhere. There appears to be no particular consistency or purpose in this linking, which thus seems ornamental.

Apart from the fact that the 'additional' lines vary between three and four stresses, there is therefore little to distinguish them from the 'original' composition.

5. The main events of the play are probably drawn from a brief account in Luke, chap. 23, rather than from the Northern Passion as suggested by Lyle and Miller. Minor similarities of phrasing suggest, however, possible knowledge of that poem at some stage of composition.

The Gospel of Nicodemus is not a source for this play...
6. Unlike other plays of the York Passion Group so far discussed, the development of this play therefore proceeds for the most part freed from close dependence for subject matter upon previous authorities. The result is a reinterpretation of the traditional character of Herod and a strong psychological drama, pointed by a satiric observation of Court life.

7. The episode of the Trial before Herod is not dramatised in the Towneley cycle. The views of Lyle, Cady and Williams that such a play has been dropped from that cycle are considered, but it is concluded that references to Herod in another Towneley play offer no definite evidence.
CHAPTER 7

PLAY 32

THE SECOND ACCUSATION BEFORE PILATE;
THE REMORSE OF JUDAS; THE PURCHASE
OF THE FIELD OF BLOOD

In Barton's list of 1415 May 22 is recorded
very briefly as:

Pilate, Anna, Caiphe, the twelve, the Judges
reporting to the Argenteaux.

This description thus only with the second scenes
of the play, the remorse of Judas. There are also two
soldiers in the extent of play, but not yet "you.

The complaint therefore fails to include the three scenes of
the play, in which Jesus is absent to be present anywhere
before Pilate, who is not yet on the scene. Again there are
also more than two of the old, and no mention in
the present scene of the Twelve, which were
subject matter of the later scene. It is a
particularly outstanding kind, it was well not been considered
by Burton.

This scene, however, can hardly merit a separate
section, the first line is omitted by Pilate of this scene. Of this scene has
formed part of the play in 1412, it does certainly that
it would have been completely non-existent and this omission
least, therefore, explains the omission of these lines.
It may also be significant that Burton's
abbreviated listing similarly indicates the play omitted:

Pilate's remorse Judas.

This would indicate an even later date can this part of
the play, that is, inserted for the sake of the actual
list, which was written between 1415 and 1419.
Burton's list of 1415

This must be responsibility for this play.

At some date after 1415 and before 1419, a note was
 appended to Burton's chronicle, the apparent date

In Burton's list of 1415 Play 32 is recorded very briefly as:

Pilatus, Anna, Cayphas, duo Judei et Judas reportans eis xxx argenteos.

This description thus deals only with the central episode of the play, the Remorse of Judas. There are also two soldiers in the extant play, but not two Jews. The summary therefore fails to include the first episode of the play, in which Jesus in absentia is again accused before Pilate, who is reminded that he is at Herod's court. Again there are two soldiers rather than two Jews, and no mention is made of Pilate's son, who has a minor role. However this section and the second episode of the play have similar characters, and since the subject matter of the first episode is not of a particularly outstanding kind, it may well have been overlooked by Burton.

The same, however, can hardly apply to a more memorable section, the final episode, in which a squire is cheated by Pilate of his land. If this episode had formed part of the play in 1415 it seems unlikely that it would have been completely overlooked, and this section at least therefore appears to be an addition after 1415. It may also be significant that Burton's second, and very abbreviated listing similarly describes the play simply as

Penitencio Jude coram Judeis.

This would indicate an even later date for this part of the play, that is, subsequent to the date of the second list, which was written between 1415 and 1436.

Burton's list of 1415 records two guilds as having responsibility for this play, the Cukes and Waterleders. At some date after 1415 and before 1436 (the date of termination of Burton's clerkship) the Waterleders took
over part of the Last Supper play from the Bakers. "Waterleders" is added later to the description of the Last Supper play in Burton's first list, and in Burton's second list the play is divided into two, of which the Bakers have one, the Waterleders the other. The extant manuscript therefore either antedates this new arrangement or reverts back to the old arrangement in assigning the Last Supper play completely to the Bakers and Play 32 to the Cukes and Waterleders.

II

The text of the play has been transcribed from an earlier manuscript, as is indicated by certain errors in the alignment of lines which occur throughout the play. This affects particularly certain of the short lines in the stanzas, which have become misplaced. (1) In a group of stanzas in the second section of the play the copyist has chosen to write the last line of the stanza opposite the immediately preceding line. (2) This format may also have derived from the earlier copy, since two lines have occasionally been joined into one when the final line of a stanza has become incorporated with its immediately preceding line, and similarly when the short line of a stanza has become incorporated with the immediately preceding line. (3) Only one long line, however, has been incorrectly positioned (1.122, originally following 1.119).

Additionally there are other minor errors:
1. A speaker's name is omitted at 1.332.
2. Small copying faults, affecting one or more words occur at 1.45 (This for His); 1.89 (neuenist for neuken it); 1.228 (woyi for woryi).
3. Words are omitted (11.176; 192).
4. Words are written in incorrect order in two lines; thus MS "To loke hat howe beste myght be bote" should read "To loke howe beste hat bote myght be" (1.146) to rhyme with free, be (11.148, 150) (For the stanza form see p.209). A similar fault occurs at 1.189. Both these errors appear to be the result of simple miscopying rather than transcription from dictation.

5. At one point a line is drawn in the manuscript and the same speaker's name is inserted against the following speech, which suggests that lines are missing (foll.1.353). (see pp.218-9).

A number of alterations have been made to the manuscript in a later hand:

1. To add material to the text (1.24).
2. To add words lacking from the text (1.109, the rhyme word land). (In 1.257 the next short line has been added but struck through).
3. To add a speaker's name (1.167).
4. To note sections missing from the text, either at the time the register was made, or more probably, as a result of later revisions:
   (a) Opposite 11.125-6 is written "hic caret loquela de primo filio et aliis". This occurs at the end of the first section of the play, which deals with the Second Accusation before Pilate. The missing lines may possibly be confirmed by the fact that there is no speaking part for a second son in the play. From the context a drinking scene was involved.
   (b) Opposite 1.151 is noted "Hic caret loquela magna et diversa". At this point in the play Pilate asks Judas what tidings he brings, and the additional material presumably offered Judas' reply, concluding with the request to free Jesus.

In three cases the annotator's notes are against
stanzas which an examination of the rhyme scheme shows to be defective, a point to be discussed below (pp. 209, 218-9). It is not clear, however, whether it is the failure in the stanza which is remarked upon, or the absence of material added after the play was copied. These entries occur following 1.236 ("caret hic", struck through); opposite 11.338-41 ("hic caret"); and between 11.361-2 ("hic caret loquela").

III

In her edition of the play, Smith sketched out some of the problems which this text presents:

"As this piece presents three kinds of stanzas, it is perhaps no wonder that some parts are in confusion. Several lines are lost and words wrong. I have tentatively supplied a few omissions, in brackets. The first ababccd, are found in sts 1, 2; sts 3 and 4 I cannot define; the second, ababcdcd are in stanzas 5-15, and in 35-39; sts 16, 17 appear to be imperfect; third, sts 18-34, 40, 41, rime as the second, but with three lines added, ede, of which one is a tag. The repetition links are of much help in studying this piece, which must have undergone some vicissitudes." (4)

Davidson noted of this play and York play 31,

"the structure of the line ... is excessive in alliteration, inordinate in length, irregular in rime, and contains occasionally an unusual tag, as 1.10."(5)

The play dramatises three quite separate episodes:
(1) A second accusation before Pilate (11.1-126);
(2) The remorse of Judas (11.127-315);
(3) The purchase of the Field of Blood (11.316ff).

There are similarly three basic types of stanza occurring, as will be shown, in various parts of the play, together
with a number of irregular stanzas. Craig thought that the extant play was the result of "piecemeal revision such as might have resulted from repeated contacts between a guild and a local poet"(6) and it is therefore proposed to examine the three dramatic divisions of the text in some detail to ascertain how far this conclusion is an accurate one.

Lines 1-126

When the rhymes in this section of the play are examined, distinct groups of stanzas emerge:

1. A "core" section (11.55-126) which divides into eleven stanzas rhyming ababcdcd (as observed by Smith, and numbered by her sts 5-13). It will be recalled that an example of this stanza occurred in st 6 of Play 31 and an expanded version of twelve lines, rhyming ababababcdcd occurred in the third section of Play 29 and in sts 17 and 21 of Play 31.

2. A preliminary passage (11.1-54) consisting of Pilate's opening speech and Annas' reply, which is composed in several different stanza forms. The first lines, 1-16, present little difficulty. As Smith states, they are composed in an eight-line stanza rhyming ababcccd(7) About the remaining lines, there is more uncertainty (11.17-54). Smith believed that two stanzas, which she numbered 3 and 4 had some part in 11.17-39, although she could not distinguish how these were divided, but she believed that 11.40-54 formed two stanzas, numbered by her 5 and 6. It is not, however, certain that Smith's proposed division of lines 17-54 is entirely the right one, for when the rhymes are examined, it appears (a) that lines 17-25, a lively passage in which Pilate glorifies in his own physical beauty, are written in a stanza rhyming ababcddeedef (which offers the
possibility that four final lines have been added to the basic stanza).
(b) that lines 29–39 are composed in a stanza rhyming ababcccdede
(c) that lines 40–54 (accepting Smith's amendment of the removal of the line following 1.45 to 1.48) are in the same stanza form as 11.29–39 with the variation of an octave rather than a quatrain in the first part of the stanza. (Smith, however, suggests that a line is missing before 1.48).

The "core" stanza mentioned in 1 above, therefore occurs in the stanzas now renumbered 6–14 (11.55–126):
1. A regular stanza in sts 6, 7, 9, 10, 12, (8) 13.
2. A small group of stanzas with minor irregularities in the basic stanza form:
   st 8 (1.75, clepe hym rhymes with 1.77, here hym)
   st 11 (1.99 noysed rhymes with 1.10l, Jewes)
   st 14 (1.122 is incorrectly positioned in the manuscript following 1.119, and is amended by Smith).

Although these different stanza types strongly indicate that work on this part of the play has been carried out on more than one occasion and that what is probably a core section (sts 6–14) has been later revised by various additions to the part which precedes, it must be pointed out that this whole section (11.1–126) offers a certain consistency in being composed predominantly in the alliterative style which was identified in Plays 26, 28, 29, 30 and 31, although it does have certain individual characteristics which set it apart slightly from those plays. The most important of these is a considerable flexibility in the number of chief stresses in successive lines, which vary as required mainly between three and four stresses, although lines of two and five stresses are
also found. Thus in the apparently "core" stanzas 6-14, in certain stanzas a four-stress quatrain with lines such as,

You're Aunswers is hedouse And hatefull to here.
Hadde I no(ght) herde hym And myselfe had hym sene

is succeeded by a three-stress cauda,

No faute can I fynde to refuse hym (11.76)

But in other stanzas, however, the "cauda" contains predominantly the same number of stresses as the quatrain,

Mi lorde, yat is ledar of lawis of yis lande,
3e sente hym youre selfe to herowe kyng (11.115-6).

There is therefore a definite possibility that this section of the play is composed in quatrains rather than in an eight-line stanza. Numerically speaking, lines of four stresses certainly predominate in the initial quatrain (27 lines, compared with six lines of three stresses and three lines of five stresses) but although they do also in the "cauda" (22 lines of four stresses; 12 lines of three stresses; two lines of five stresses) the impression is one of irregularity of form rather than of a section written in quatrains.

Similarly in the "revised" sts 1-5 only sts 1 and 2 offer a regular four-stress quatrain (exception 1.3) and a regular three-stress cauda (exception 1.13), whereas st 3 is composed in lines of three stresses (exception 1.20); st 4 has an opening four-stress quatrain followed by lines of two, three and four stresses; and st 5 has a mainly four-stress octave (exception 11.40, 41, 46) and a two and three-stress cauda.

In spite of this variation in the number of chief stresses in the line, many lines are clearly formulated on alliterative principles, both in the "core" and "additional"
stanzas. Thus in st 1 occurs the four-stress alliterative line of type aa/aa,

   As rénke moste roýall in rícheste arráz (1.10)

in st 3 the single four-stress line

   And myne ñýne ñe ñíttir like ñe gléme in ñe glásse (1.20)

and in sts 6-14 there are many completely regular four-stress lines,

   It héuys vs in hárte full hálly to héré ñam (1.64).

Of the total of 72 lines which make up sts 6-14 there are 49 four-stress lines composed in this manner, and they all offer regular alliterative patterns, the most frequent being aaaa (17 lines), aaxa (7 lines), aabb, aaxx (5 lines each), xaaa, xaxa, aaxa, xxaa (2 lines each), xaax, axaa, axax (1 line each). Only four lines, occurring in the "cauda", lack alliteration (11.92, 100, 124, 125).

Similarly in sts 1-5, the four-stress lines are of types aa/aa (9 lines), for example:

   For sir Pílate of póunce as Prínce am y préued (1.9)

   aaxa (5 lines), xaaa, aaxa, aabb, xaxa, abba (1 line each).

   Apparently extended lines of five stresses are mainly found among sts 6-14 (5 lines), for example:

   Nowe, by lúcifer, láth I ñat lásde, I léue hym not
   lightlý (1.106)

and also among sts 1-5 (two lines) for example:

   Or, by ñe lórde ñat me líffe lénte, I schall þárre
   you líowte me (1.3).

Alliteration fails in only five lines (1.22, and in st 5 in 11.50, 51, 52, 53).

The three stress-lines are similarly constructed on alliterative principles, both in the "core" and the "additional" section:
Ye rébaldis yat régnyis in yis róvte (st 1)
And my cóloure as gristall is cléere (st 3)
And lédly ye lóke vpon youre láwes (st 4)
"Anne wérkis he wérkis full wéle (st 11)

Again the most frequent type is that in which all three stressed syllables alliterate aaa (27 lines), for example:

And ye hóre yat híllis my heád (1.21)

but other types are used to a lesser degree (xaa, 11 lines; aax, 3 lines; axa, 2 lines).

Moreover throughout this entire section of the play the number and distribution of the unstressed syllables in many of the four-stress lines is formulated according to the same principles observed first in Play 26 (pp.13ff.) that is, a regularly occurring second half-line of the types:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{x/xx/} & \quad \text{(34 lines)} \\
& \quad \text{And hatefull to here (1.71)} \\
& \quad \text{for loue or for awe (1.62)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{x/xx/x} & \quad \text{(9 lines)} \\
& \quad \text{full haly to here yam (1.64)}
\end{align*}
\]

and a first half-line with many different rhythms, but principally:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{x/xx/x} & \quad \text{(13 lines)} \\
& \quad \text{Do telle me nowe trewly (1.58)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xx/xx/} & \quad \text{(6 lines)} \\
& \quad \text{For sir Pilate of pounce (1.9)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{x/xx/} & \quad \text{(10 lines)} \\
& \quad \text{Nowe certayne and sone (1.42)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xx/xx/x} & \quad \text{(4 lines)} \\
& \quad \text{Sir Anna, yis Amanswre (1.55)}
\end{align*}
\]

Similarly the three-stress lines frequently offer the pattern \text{x/xx/xx/}, also first identified in Play 26 and subsequently in Plays 28, 29, 30, 31:
Nor grome yat dare greue me for golde (1.28)
Do termynge it trewly and tyte (1.59)

Other frequent rhythms are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xx/xx/xx/} & \quad \text{And my colour as cristall is cleere (1.24)} \\
\text{(Play 30) (5 lines)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{x/xx/xx/x} & \quad \text{For conande and clene can I clepe hym (1.75)} \\
\text{(Plays 28, 30, 31) (5 lines)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{x/xx/xxx/x} & \quad \text{To deme hym or lose hym, at youre likyng (1.118)} \\
\text{(4 lines)}
\end{align*}
\]

This section of the play also contains various techniques of linking lines together; principally this is done by alliteration, occurring in sts 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 11, 13. (9) Only one pair of stanzas is, however, linked by alliteration, sts 9 and 10.

Smith, as previously mentioned, observed that "repetition links" occurred in Play 32, but she did not identify the particular stanzas in which these occur. Margaret P. Medary also noticed the existence of stanza linking, but in other parts of the play. (10) Reese on the other hand was of the opinion that stanza linking occurred in this section of the play between sts 9 and 10; 11 and 12. (11) While it is true that sts 9 and 10; and 11 and 12 are linked by the repetition of one or more words, for example:

To deme vs a day aftir our deedis.
To deme vs! in ye deuyll name! Say, whedir? saie whedir, to ye deuyll? (1.86-7)

it is to be noted that in each case this is the result of Pilate angrily taking up key words in the previous accusations against Jesus.

Similarly lines are also apparently linked medially in stanzas by word repetition in sts 6 (11.58-9) and st 8 (11.74-5), but here again the repetition emphasises
Pilate's insistence on truth in the accusations, and his first judgment, that Jesus is **conande and clene**.

No other stanzas in this section of the play are affected by medial linking or linking of stanzas, and all these word repetitions therefore appear to be a functional part of the dramatic action rather than the use of a purely ornamental literary device.

**Lines 127-315**

The basic stanza form of the second section of the play is that noted by Smith, the same basic stanza found in the first section of the play with the addition of three lines, that is, an eleven line form rhyming **ababcdede**. This is found in sts 18, 20, 22, 23, 24 (with Smith's rhyme amendment to 1.225), 26, 27, 28, 31, 32.

Minor irregularities in the basic stanza form occur in:

- **st 17**: (a rearrangement of 1.146 is necessary, as proposed by Smith; see p.201).

- **st 19**: (1.165, boughte hym should probably rhyme with 1.162, wroughte it; hale, 1.171, rhymes with slayne, 1.173; Smith suggests amendment to playne).

- **st 21**: (rhymes ababcbc(x)dbd, that is, the b-rhyme is continued into the second quatrain; 1.192 is incomplete; a minor rearrangement is necessary to 1.189).

- **st 25**: (1.229, knowen rhymes with 1.231, saue; Smith amends to knave; knave here appears to have been mistaken for the Northern past participle, cf. 1.54, Play 29; 1.255, Play 33, etc.); a line is missing following 1.236. (For a marginal note in a later hand, see p.202).
st 29: (a line is missing following 1.279; 1.280 fails to rhyme with 11.277, 279).

st. 30: Lines 286-93 are extraneous to the basic stanza, as noted by Smith. The lines form one complete speech by Caiaphas, and they add greater force to the hostility towards Judas on the part of the conspirators which Pilate expresses, 11.294-5. They are therefore clearly a later expansion of the text.

One part of this section of the play lies outside this basic stanza form, sts 15 and 16, rhyming ababcbcc, stanzas which link the second to the first scene.

As has been previously discussed (p.6ff), the dating of Play 32, and particularly that section of it dealing with the Remorse of Judas, has been the subject of disagreement among critics in its relation to other parts of the York Passion Group.

Hohlfeld identified the play as one of the latest in the cycle. (12)

Gayley believed the whole play "probably" was the work of the last author. (13)

Greg, having agreed with Gayley in defining three major periods of composition in the cycle as a whole, was of the opinion that the play probably contained "portions of more than one second-period play worked over by (the last author). (14)

Chambers however believed that the Metrist, the writer of the second period, had possibly "touched that part of the Condemnation dealing with the Remorse of Judas" and that he was doubtless a reviser in this play. (15)

Sections of the play have therefore been attributed to each of the three periods of composition: by Chambers to the first, touched by the second; by Greg to the
second period worked over by the third; and by Hohlfeld and Gayley to the third period. Chambers alone offers the basis of his opinion. He defines Play 32 as an alliterative play, but adds, "the alliteration is far less tumultuous than that of the Realist, and often falls off in the caudae of the stanzas. The unstressed syllables, moreover, rarely exceed the limits of an anapaestic rhythm". Also, "a clue to the presence of the Metrist may often be traced in a marked tendency to concatenation, the linking up of the beginning of one stanza with the end of that which preceded it by the repetition or slight variation of verbal phrasing ... a feature of the non-dramatic poems of the alliterative revival". His distinction between the work of the Realist and the Metrist is therefore based upon considerations of alliteration, rhythm and stanza linking, aspects of this section of the play which will be investigated below.

Reese has examined these propositions in some detail, and he particularly rejects a distinction between the work of the Realist and the work of the Metrist based on the relative use of linking devices in Play 32. Noting the opinions of Chambers and Greg, he maintains that "whatever theory one accepts concerning this play, he will find that linking of stanzas, parts of stanzas, and lines are used throughout the parts of this play, and that they are the same methods found in the other alliterative plays, whether assigned the 'metrist' or the 'dramatist'".

An examination of the second episode of the play confirms Reese's contention to be correct:

A. Lines are linked medially in stanzas by verbal repetition in sts 23, 11.214-6; 24, 11.221-2; However this repetition serves a dramatic purpose in reiterating
key words in the drama, for example:

(Judas) Full faithfull schall ye fynde me.
(Pilatus) Fynde ye faithfull? A, foule mot ye falle (11.221-2)

The use of this device has already been noticed in the first section of the play. It has also been seen to be principally an ornamental feature of the first section of Play 30 (sts 1-18) (see p.162).

E. Margaret Medary observed that certain stanzas in this section of the play were linked by the repetition of one or more words in two groups of stanzas:

(a) sts 16 to 20
(b) sts 21 to 30.

This finding is confirmed. The linking of stanzas therefore fails between sts 15 and 16; 20 and 21; 30 and 31; 31 and 32.

Stanzas 15 and 16 are the opening stanzas of the second section of the play in a stanza form identified above as being outside the basic stanza form of the second section. These stanzas may therefore have been specially composed to link the first two sections of the play together, or they may be remnants of an earlier version of the play.

The reason for the failure in word-linking between sts 20 and 21 is not clear. The two stanzas are linked, but by a different device, by repetition of sound, both w and n being used in the two lines:

Whedir yat euere he wille or none
Ter wordis yat you nens noght nedis it. (11.184-5)

Similar linking occurs also between sts 21 and 22 in addition to the linking by verbal repetition.

Stanzas 30 and 31 are the final complete stanzas of the second section. As noted above, st 30 appears to have been revised to include an additional eight lines, rhyming abababdc. In the revision the stanza link may
have been lost. Stanzas 30 and 31 are linked, however, by alliteration.

The reason for the failure of stanza linking between sts 31 and 32 is not clear, but may result also from revisions in the linking of the second section of the play to the third.

A number of stanzas in the second section of the play are linked by alliteration (sts 17 and 18; 19 and 20; 21 and 22; 22 and 23; 27 and 28; 30 and 31). However, some continuation of alliteration is the result of verbal repetition (sts 23 and 24; 25 and 26; 28 and 29; 29 and 30).

It will be recalled that stanza links were identified in the first section of the play (between sts 9 and 10; 11 and 12) but that these appeared to be functional rather than deliberate use of a literary device. A similar partial use of stanza linking, mainly to functional purpose, has also been identified previously in both sections of Play 30 (see p.164).

C. As in the first section of the play, lines in the second section are linked by alliteration in:

st 17, 11.143-4; 149-50; st 24, 11.221-2; st. 26, 11.239-40; 244-5-6; st 29, 11.274-5-6; st 30, 11.283-4; 286-7; st 31, 11.307-8; 309-10.

The use of this device has been observed in all the alliterative plays, although only in Play 26 was it used with regularity.

It would therefore appear, as Reese has suggested, that the use of concatenation (or indeed the use of linking devices generally) is no different in this play from the usages observed in the other alliterative plays, and the
ascription of this play on this basis to the work of a Metrist is uncertain.

It has been observed by Reese that this section of the play, unlike the first episode, contains poetry of two very different types, which he terms "syllabic" and "alliterative" verse. In his view, the first stanza (st 15) is in syllabic verse, with alliteration as an ornament, and the second (st 16) is an apparent mixture of syllabic and alliterative verse. (18)

Stanzas 15 and 16, however, are not composed in the stanza form which predominates in this part of the play. Moreover st 15 is the only one in this section which fails to link lines together internally by the methods previously described; nor is this stanza linked in any way to the stanza which follows. A more satisfactory example of this apparent mixture of alliterative and syllabic verse from among those which Reese puts forward is to be found therefore in a comparison of 'regular' stanzas, for example, the first quatrains of sts 18 and 19:

My tydyngis are tenefull, I telle you.
Sir Pilate, perchore I you praye,
My maistir fat I gune selle you;
Gode lorde, late hym wende on his way. (11.152-5)

Thyne is ye wronge; you wroughte it.
You hight vs full trulye to take hym.
And oures is ye bargayme; we boughte [it].
Loo, we are alle sante for to slee hym. (11.163-6).

It is Reese's contention that the use of syllabic and alliterative verse in this scene is not indiscriminate but functional for dramatic purposes "and it would certainly appear to be far from an indication of a corrupt text". In his detailed analysis of sts 15-17 he finds that the syllabic lines "seem to slow the pace and make the lines ponderous" in comparison with the alliterative lines. The
change from regular iambic lines to alliterative conveys "the different phases of Judas' feelings" from thoughtfulness to passion. He notes that in st 17 the alliterative lines are of three measures and that the number of unstressed syllables between the chief stresses gradually increases and quickens the tempo. The second quatrains of st 17 is in syllabic verse to accord with Judas' thoughts, then the address to Pilate is in alliterative verse.

Reese appears to be arguing that the presence of a mixture of syllabic and alliterative verse is a conscious literary device used by the Realist in an original composition. However it is clear from Burton's list that the York cycle already had a play dealing with the remorse of Judas in 1415 and the Realist was therefore revising upon the basis of an earlier play. The presence of two very different styles of poetry in one section of a play could therefore indicate that in that revision, the alliterative or later style was imposed upon an earlier syllabic base and portions of an earlier play were left standing. A similar situation was observed in 11.1-168 of Play 29, and a similar conclusion was reached (p.148ff). With this possibility in mind therefore, it is proposed to examine the structure of the individual lines in this part of the play.

The distinction which Reese makes between two 'types' of poetry in the play is a valid one, although he does not make clear the precise grounds on which this differentiation is made. An analysis of these lines indicates that the distinction derives from the presence in this part of the play:

1. of lines formulated on the alliterative principles found in the first section of the play, forming rhythmic patterns such as:
2. of a number of lines of a strictly iambic type (28 lines in the octave, 8 lines in the cauda), such as:

To spille my selfe nowe wille I spede (1.307)
Yon weried wight, yat wrought such wronge (1.255)
Itt servces of noght yat you has saide (1.270).

It must be noted in passing that Chambers is incorrect in his statement that the limits of an anapaestic rhythm are rarely exceeded in this play, since a very high proportion of lines contains up to three unstressed syllables, for example:

To slae my souereyne assente I (x/xx/xxx/x) (1.141)
So lightely for to late hym gang (x/xxx/x/) (1.257)

Both types of line, however, offer alliteration, although as in the first section of the play, the number of stresses in the line varies.

In the octave, in the four-stress lines (76 lines) a wide variety of alliterative types is used, the most frequent being aaaa (9 lines), for example:

This werryd wight yat wronge has wrought (1.234)
Also axax (9 lines), aaxa (7 lines), xaaa (6 lines),
and in the three-stress lines (59 lines), aaa (20 lines).

For example:

Thy wordis, I warne ye, are in waste (1.179)
xaa (10 lines), axa (8 lines), aax (4 lines).

Chambers' comment that the alliteration is "less
tumultuous" is, however, certainly borne out by the octave of the stanza, for it must be noted that quite a large proportion of lines in this part of the play do not contain alliteration (33 lines). Chambers, it will be recalled, also believed that alliteration often fell off in the cauda of the stanza. This part of the stanza consists of a two-stress tag line, followed by two lines of three or four stresses. The two stresses of the tag line frequently fail to alliterate (9 lines), but otherwise the pattern aa occurs (5 lines) with the exception of one four-stress line in this position (1.171). In the two final lines, however, those of four stresses offer similar alliterative patterns to the octave, for example aaaa (4 lines), axxa, aaax, axaa, aabb, xaax, axax (2 lines each), and xxaa, xaaa, xaxa (1 line each). Moreover only two four-stress lines lack alliteration (1.194, 249). Among the three-stress lines are found the types aaa, xaa, aax, axa (2 lines each) and only three of the three-stress lines lack alliteration (11.140, 161, 228).

If the juxtaposition of groups of iambic and alliterative lines is the result of revision, as seems likely, then it must be noted that considerable care has been taken to link stanzas together to obtain continuity, for in the following cases the last line of a stanza with an iambic base is linked to the first line of a stanza with an alliterative base:

sts 16 and 17; 18 and 19; 19 and 20; 20 and 21; 21 and 22; 22 and 23; 25 and 26; 26 and 27; 27 and 28; 28 and 29. (20)

A number of the lines noted as linked internally in stanzas also link syllabic and alliterative lines, and the care with which this suggested revision was contrived is very clear. This explanation of the condition of the
exbant text would therefore accord with Greg's view, that
an earlier play or plays has been worked over by the
Realist. That this play is the work of a Metrist revising
an earlier play, as suggested by Chambers, does not appear
to be the case, unless it was his work that was in turn
revised by the Realist, or an author of his school.

**Lines 316-389**

This section of the play is very irregular metrically,
and various different types of stanza appear to be used:

1. The form ababcdcde found in the preceding section
   in sts 32, 39 (which continues the b-rhyme into the
   last triplet using the same rhyme words, Angir and
   lengar).

   Irregularities occur in:
   - st 33: (1.325,combe vs fails to rhyme with 1.323;
     skall, 1.328 appears to be in error for skill, to
     rhyme with 11.330 and 332).
   - st 34: (11.342-3, which should rhyme ede stand out-
     side the stanza, suggesting a line is missing
     before 1.342 or after 1.343. (For an annotator's
     note, see pp.201-2). Smith fails to point out the
     irregularity of this stanza, which she defines as
     rhyming ababcd).

2. The form ababcdc (found in the first section of the
   play) which occurs in sts 35, 38.

   Irregularities occur in:
   - st 36: This appears to be a six-line stanza in
     which only 11.352 and 354; and 11.355 and 357 rhyme.
     Smith suggests that two lines are missing, one before
     1.352, rhyming with lenoit and one before 1.355,
     rhyming with mony. (21) At least one line would
     appear to be missing following 1.354, and perhaps two.
The line drawn in the manuscript following 1.353 with the insertion of the same speaker's name confirms that this is a defective stanza.

st 37: Two lines appear to be missing following 1.361, rhyming with soigne and tyne (for an annotator's note, see p.202).

3. The form ababcb found in st 40. Similar expanded forms are found in Section 1 of the play. Smith defines this stanza as rhyming ababcdede.

Medary observed(22) that stanza links occurred in this part of the play between sts 33 and 34(23) and between sts 35 and 36; 36 and 37; 37 and 38; and 38 and 39. Stanza linking therefore fails between:

1. sts 32 and 33: The transition from the second to the third episode of the play occurs halfway through st 32. The link between sts 32 and 33 may therefore have been dropped to emphasise this transition, since the stanzaic forms of the two stanzas appear to be the same. However medial linking by verbal repetition and alliteration occur in st 33 between 11.327 and 328 (not 11.330-1 as noted by Reese, p.662), and this link may have been felt to provide an acceptable alternative to the missing stanza link.

2. sts 34 and 35: The last two lines of st 34 are irregular and do not fit in with the rhyme scheme of this stanza, although they are linked by alliteration. The failure of the link between sts 34 and 35 may therefore be the result of manuscript corruption. However verbal repetition and the introduction of a sound for the following line occurs in st 35, 11.347-8 and may have been felt to be an acceptable alternative to the stanza link between st 34 and 35.

3. st 39 and 40: Stanza 40 is composed in the stanza form ababcb identified in the first section of the play. At this point in the play this stanza form appears to be
used to link Herod's rant to the remainder of the first section. In the third section of the play it provides a final stanza to the play as a whole, and may therefore represent again a further stage in the revising of the play, hence the failure to link st 40 to its preceding stanza. Stanza 38, however, not only preserves medial linking in 11.367-8 by verbal repetition, but is joined to sts 37 and 39 by alliteration and verbal repetition.

As Reese points out (24) the techniques used to link stanzas in this third section of the play (repetition of phrase and/or sound) are exactly those used in the first and second sections.

In the use of the device of linking stanzas medially by verbal repetition noted above (and found also in sts 33, 11.327-8; 35, 11.347-8; 38, 11.367-8; 40, 11.386-7) the third section of the play resembles the first two sections. Repetition also occurs medially in the Hails of st 34, 11.338-9-40.

The third section of the play is, like the first section, composed throughout in the alliterative style. (25) As in the first section, the number of chief stresses in the line varies, principally between three and four stresses (26 and 43 lines respectively) although lines of five stresses (6 lines) and two stresses (4 lines) also occur. Stanza 38 particularly is composed mainly in three-stress lines, but the remaining stanzas offer a mixture of four- and three-stress lines, with the greatest consistency in st 39.

The individual lines, however, whether three- or four-stress, are constructed for the most part very much in the alliterative rhythmical patterns previously identified,
that is, in the four-stress line a second half-line
\[ x/xx/ \] (found also in Plays 26, 28, 29, 30, 31), for
example:

and be not abaste (1.376)
his deth for to dite (1.381)

with a more flexible first half-line of various types,
for example:

\[ x/xxx/x \]
(Plays 26, 28, 31)
\[ x/xx/x \]
(Plays 28, 29, 30, 31)
\[ xx/xx/ \]
(Plays 28, 29, 30, 31)

In the three-stress lines also are found again the same
rhythmic types:

\[ x/xx/xx/x \]
(Plays 28, 30, 31)
\[ /xx/xx/ \]
(Play 31)

In the four-stress lines the most frequent alliterative
type is \[ aaaa \] (16 lines), for example:

And keste vs crabbidly, yat cursed knave (1.319)

Other types are \[ xaaa, xxaa, aaxa \] (3 lines each), \[ xaax \] (2
lines) \[ aaxa, aaxx, xaxa, aaxa \] (1 line each).

In the three-stress lines the most usual type is
\[ aqa \] (10 lines), for example:

His tale is full trewe yat I telle you (1.349)

but \[ aax \] (5 lines), \[ xaa \] (3 lines) and \[ axa \] (2 lines) are
also found.

Alliteration fails in seven lines (11.324, 329, 354,
355, 356, 367, 370).
The cauda rhyming ede where it occurs is very irregular, with lines of two, three, four and five stresses, only two tag lines of which, however, lack alliteration (11.320, 331).

Lines are occasionally linked by alliteration (in st 34, 11.342-3, in lines apparently 'irregular' to the basic stanza pattern, and st 40, 11.386-7).

Stanzas are linked by alliteration, as in the first and second sections of the play, in sts 37-8; 38-9 (both as a result of word linking).

The only stanza unaffected by any method of internal linking of lines is st 36, a defective stanza.

IV

Smith thought that "the story of the Squire who lets 'Calvary locus' and is cheated of his title-deeds must be of English invention". (26)

Foster, however, suggested that the Northern Passion is the direct source of this play:

"Judas' thirty pieces are destined by the Jews for the purchase of a field wherein they may bury pilgrims (NP. 879-84; Y.32, 332-7). In the Northern Passion they buy Mount Calvary and call it the Field of Blood (NP. 885-900b). In York a squire wishes to pledge his field called Mount Calvary for thirty pence, whereupon the Jews rob him of his deeds and call the field the Place of Blood (York 32, 335-72). The Passion, it will be observed, contains merely the germ of the York play, and if the identification of Mount Calvary with the Field of Blood were a commonplace in medieval literature we should hardly recognise a parallel here. But since this identification occurs elsewhere only in the French Passion and the French works dependent upon it, the Northern Passion is clearly the source of the play." (27)
Miller observed additionally a similarity between the texts in the following passage, (28) but this does not seem particularly convincing:

*York 32, 333-6*

To berie in pilgrimes yat by ye wey dies, Pilgrimes and Palmeres to putte yere. Sir kaiphas and Anna, assente ye verto? And oyer false felons yat we forfare.

*NP. 11.862-4*

Al yat suffer ded for sin, And pilgrims yer in forto graue, And oyer yat pai vowched saue.

Foster provides other parallels of language: (29)

1. *York 32, 189-90*

(Judas) Why, will ye yanne latte hym passe noxt, And haue of me agayne youre paie?

*NP. 11.834a-834b*

Yarfore I pray 3ow lattes him pas, And here 3owre mone als it was.

2. *York 32, 302*

(Judas) Me thare aske no mercy, for none mon y gete.

*NP. 11.825-6*

Mercy of crist wald he nane crauæ, ffor whi he hopid nane forto haue;

It may be noted that Foster's argument for the use of the Northern Passion as a source for Play 32 rests upon the identification of Calvary with the Field of Flood, found in the third section of the play, but her examples of similarities in language relate to the second section of the play, dealing with the remorse of Judas. Miller's two passages are taken from the third section of the play.

The Gospel account of the remorse of Judas in Matthew 27, 3-8 is a brief one, and clearly not the complete source of the play:

Principes autem sacerdotum, acceptis argenteis, dixerunt: Non licet eos mittere in carbonam: quia pretium sanguinis est. Consilio autem inito, emergunt ex illis agrum figuli, in sepulturam peregrinorum. Propter hoc vocatus est ager ille, Maceldama, hoc est, ager sanguinis, usque in hodiernum diem."

It would appear therefore that the Northern Passion is a source for the second and third sections of the play, but it has not been shown to have affected the first section, dealing with the further accusations of Caiaphas and Annas before Pilate.

The Towneley cycle does not deal with the remorse of Judas (or with the purchase of the Field of Blood), although there is a fragment written at the end of the manuscript in a hand of the beginning of the sixteenth century dealing with Suspencio Jude. As Miller has pointed out therefore "the interesting episodes of Judas offering himself as bondman to Pilate and of the squire cheated of 'Calvary locus' are original to York". This latter episode is not found in the Gospel of Nicodemus and is not included in Burton's list of 1415. Frampton is therefore incorrect in saying that "in every case where his description of a play differs from the plays as we have them in the 'Register' the characters and situations he omits derive from the Gospel".

Several critics have rightly pointed out that the unscrupulous Pilate who cheats the squire of his land in the third episode of the play is inconsistent with the concept of this character found in other parts of the
York Passion Group. Williams notes that Pilate's reluctance to condemn Jesus is "reiterated over and over and the trial scenes are interminably drawn out while Pilate tries every subterfuge to deliver Jesus. Yet this same character is a cheat and a scoundrel in the scene of the Purchase of the Field of Blood". (33) McNeir similarly points out that this Pilate "does not represent the York Realist's conception of him as humane and judicially aloof". (34) Both critics suggest on these grounds alone that the scene is an interpolation by another writer, Williams proposing "There is no reason to suppose that this scene is a retention of old matter, not adapted to a later conception of character. To the contrary, it looks like a later addition. It is in the manner of the later 'realistic school'". (35)

The reason for the inconsistency of treatment in the character of Pilate in this episode is unknown. Williams suggests that "one of the York authors (was) not wholly satisfied with the characterization found elsewhere in the cycle". (36) However this inconsistency arose, it does appear to confirm the evidence of Burton's list (see p.199) that this section of the play at least was an addition to the play after 1415.
Summary and Conclusions

1. The text of the play is a transcription from an earlier manuscript, and as such appears to be a fair copy, although containing various minor errors. Amendments made in a later hand include indications that material is missing from the text, which was either omitted at the time of copying or more probably added after the register was compiled, as a result of later revisions.

2. The play, however, containing three quite separate episodes, offers a number of textual problems, the result as Craig supposes, of "piecemeal revision". Previous critics have been much divided as to the period of composition represented by this play, and it has been attributed to composition and revision in varying degrees in each of the three main stages generally agreed to have occurred in the compilation of the cycle.

Against this background of critical opinion, the following observations are made:

A. A number of different stanza forms occur in various parts of the play, some with discernible irregularities, indicating revision on various occasions:

(1) Second Accusation before Pilate (11.1-126)
A core section (sts 6-14) either in an eight-line stanza rhyming ababcdcd (as in Plays 29 and 31) or possibly in quatrains, with various preliminary additions:

sts 1-2  ababcdcd
st 3  ababcdcedeedef
st 4  ababcdcedede
st 5  ababcdcedede

(2) Remorse of Judas (11.127-315)
A section in an eleven-line form rhyming ababcdcdede (sts 18-32) some stanzas containing minor irregularities, disclosing lines incorrectly arranged, incomplete lines, incorrect words and missing lines, also a section (11.286-93) which appears to be an addition.

These stanzas are preceded by two stanzas rhyming abababc (sts 15 and 16).

(3) The Purchase of the Field of Blood (11.316ff)
An irregular section, apparently in three different stanzas, some incomplete, rhyming ababcdcdede (sts 32, 33, 34, 39); ababcdcd (sts 35, 36, 37, 38); abababc (st 40).

B. A preliminary and final section (11.1-126; 316-89)
formulated in the alliterative style, as previously defined, and a central section (ll.127-315) dealing with the remorse of Judas, containing a mixture of the same alliterative style and of strictly iambic lines.

C. Certain features are common to all three sections:

(1) a flexibility in the number of chief stresses in the line (mainly between three and four stresses, but five and two stresses are also found).

(2) the use most frequently of the alliterative patterns aaaa and aaa.

(3) the presence of certain stanza and line linking devices (both verbal and alliterative) failures in which appear to corroborate the theory of extensive revisions.

(4) a very similar proportion of lines lacking alliteration with a rather higher proportion in the central section.

(5) a similarity in the number and distribution of unstressed syllables in the purely alliterative lines, which fall into certain fixed types observed in other alliterative plays.

The extant play therefore appears to be the result of extensive additions and revisions in the alliterative style carried out on more than one occasion upon a play dealing with the remorse of Judas and composed mainly in iambic lines, but ornamented by alliteration. (A similar situation was observed in ll.1-168 of Play 29). This conclusion appears to be corroborated by the evidence of Burton's lists, which in describing the play as it existed in 1415 and at a later period, 1415-1436, mention only the remorse of Judas, and by a marked inconsistency in the third episode of the interpretation of the character of Pilate.

3. The Northern Passion appears to have been used as a source for sections two and three, but not for section one.
CHAPTER 8

PLAY 33

THE SECOND TRIAL BEFORE PILATE CONTINUED;

THE JUDGMENT OF JESUS

The manuscript of the London play had two features which occur infrequently in other plays of the Passion Group:

1. An original stage direction is preserved following 1.54: "(in press, keeper post man's resist)." (Jesus)

2. As in the Conspiracy play, barred lines have been used to indicate verses, not only in pairs. This has not been done consistently, however, and sometimes occur (for example, 11.136-11.138). Sometimes this linking of lines is incorrect (for example, 26.4-5). (For the shamma form of this chart, see p. 241.)

The manuscript contains a line following 1.439, with the consequent loss of an修正ed 30 lines dealing with the freeing of Barabbas. On the whole, what remains is a good copy, although it has the following minor features:

1. A line is missing following 1.52.
2. Unnecessary lines have been allocated twice to the same speaker (11.130-11)

On two occasions the copyist's attention has appeared to waver and he has written again lines which he had already set down. This is found at the beginning of 1.176, affecting lines 192-3 and again at 1.25. The copyist has observed and corrected both these errors.

The rubricator has shown a line following 1.25, but there is no change of speaker.

There are a number of minor errors in transcription:

1. Occasionally words are copied twice (1.42, in) 1.342, of.
2. A few examples of scribbling occur: 1.71, 2.91, 2.104 for 2.10; 1.52 for 1.242, and 1.15 for 1.15. (For the last section, 1.4-2.2, please for names.)
The manuscript of the Condemnation Play has two features which occur infrequently in other plays of the Passion Group:

1. An original stage direction is preserved following 1.267 ("Et preco semper post annam recitabit judicaturn Jesus")

2. As in the Conspiracy play, barred lines have been used to indicate rhymes, but only in pairs. This has not been done consistently, however, and omissions occur (for example 11.166-71; 347-59). Sometimes this linking of lines is incorrect (for example 11.264-5). (For the stanza form of this play, see below p. 233).

The manuscript lacks one leaf following 1.439, with the consequent loss of an estimated 60 lines dealing with the freeing of Barabbas. On the whole, what remains is a good copy, although it has the following minor faults:

1. A line is missing following 1.32.
2. Consecutive lines have been allocated twice to the same speaker (11.140-1)
3. On two occasions the copyist's attention has appeared to wander and he has written again lines which he had already set down. This is found at the beginning of f.170, affecting lines 382-3 and again at 1.443. The copyist has observed and corrected both these errors.
4. The rubricator has drawn a line following 1.265, but there is no change of speaker.

There are a number of minor errors in transcription:

1. Occasionally words are copied twice (1.42, my my; 1.242, of of).
2. A few examples of miscopying occur: (1.24, hym for hym; 1.51, liball for liberall; 1.242, you barnes for son baners; 1.274, my for me; 1.293, covyk for convyk; 1.316, forthe for forthy; 1.323, nonan for nonan).
3. There are also some omissions: two speakers' names are omitted within 1.146; and a word is missing from 1.303.

The correct alignment of lines appears to have caused the scribe particular difficulty, and this indicates clearly that the copyist was working from an earlier, rather confused copy, rather than from dictation:

1. The stanza form provides for a short 'tag' as the ninth line in each stanza, and the scribe in some cases appears to be uncertain where this fits into the stanza, for he sets it down:
   (a) in the right-hand margin between the two preceding lines;\(^1\)
   (b) against the former of the two immediately preceding lines;\(^2\)
   (c) against the immediately preceding line;\(^3\)
   (d) in the right-hand margin between the preceding and the following line;\(^4\)
   (e) and in several cases the line is misplaced (st 1, 1.9 (opposite 1.6); st 7, 1.80 (opposite 1.77); st 29, 1.344 (opposite 11.340-1); st 37, 1.439 (opposite 11.437-8).

   The scribe also frequently writes the last line of each stanza against the preceding one or two lines.\(^5\)

2. Occasionally two lines are set down as one (11.112 and 113; 114, 115 and 116; 470 and 471.

Various notes have been made upon the manuscript in later hands. The most important of these deletes the name of the craft associated with the play, the Tillemakers, and replaces it by Mylners. This occurs only on ff.164 (Tyllemakers); 164v; 165; 167; 171.

Some alterations in later hands are of a kind that would only be made if the manuscript had been used to record items needed for performance, such as:
II

In Burton's list of 1415 the play is recorded as being the responsibility of the Tielmakers, Milners, Ropers, Seveourz, Turnours, Hayresters, Bollers. Smith notes that several changes are apparent in the writing and that Ropers and Seveourz has been added later. (6)

The play is described as:

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

The play as we now have it does not contain the final episode described, the throwing of dice for the clothing of Jesus. This occurs, however, contracted to a few lines, at the end of Plays 34 and 35. Iyle thought that this discrepancy between play and list "is evidence in itself that Burton described a different play". (7) The omission of a single episode, however, from a play which in other respects conforms to the description given, does not necessarily support this conclusion, for the episode could merely have been dropped from the extant play.

Burton's undated second list, however, shows that a
complete reorganisation of this section of the Passion Group took place between 1415 and 1435, for five plays are recorded in this part of the cycle:

40. Turnors and Bollers. Flagellacio et coronacio cum spinis.
42. Milners. Particio vestimentorum Christi.

An entry of 1422 in the York records, set out below, indicates on the other hand that four of these plays were later combined into one pageant. On this evidence, Frampton therefore deduces that Burton's second list must date before 1422.

"Cum nuper in tempore Henrici Preston, maioris, de avisamento consilii camere, pagina de lez Salse-makers, ubi Judas se suspendebat et crepuit medius in ludo Corporis Christi; et pagina de lez Tile-makers, ubi Pilatus condemnavit Jhesum morti, et pagina de lez Turnours, Hayresters et Bollers, ubi Jhesus ligatus erat ad columnam et flagellatus; et pagina Molendiriorum, ubi Pilatus et alii milites ludebant ad talos pro vestimentis Jhesu, et pro eis sortes mittebant, et ea partiebantur inter se, fuerunt combinata simul in unam paginam, ceteris predictis paginis pro perpetuo exclusis; que quidem pagina decetero vocabitur pagina condemnacionis Jhesu Christi." (10)

The manuscript therefore, written 1430-40 and therefore later than both these arrangements, varies from them in several major respects:

1. The Sausmakers' play on the Hanging of Judas is omitted.
2. The Tilemakers' play of the Condemnation, and the Turnors and Bollers' play on the Flagellatio and Crowning with Thorns are combined.
3. The Millers' play on the Casting of Lots is omitted, but the content is covered briefly in Plays 34 and 35.

The only information we have about the Sausmakers' lost play derives from an entry of 1417 in the York records.
in which a complaint is made by the Sausmakers and a request made for assistance from other crafts or they would no longer be able to support their pageant "in qua representatur quod Judas Scarioth se suspendit et crepuit medius". The York play dealing with the Remorse of Judas (York play 32) of course leaves this character at the point where he departs off-stage to destroy himself. Chambers thought that the reason for the suppression of this play was that the episode had perhaps proved "too realistic to be witnessed with due sobriety", although there seems to be no evidence to support this theory. More probably the reason was entirely financial.

Gayley thought that the Towneley play fragment, Suspencio Judae, composed in the stanza form aaabab, was in the earlier style of York. He therefore concluded that "it is very probable that the surviving Wakefield stanzas of the play are a relic of that York original". Lyle similarly suggested that the fragment "may ... represent the parent form" (by which it would appear that she also identifies the Towneley fragment as a former York play extant in Towneley but discarded by York). The fragment is composed in sixteen six-line stanzas rhyming aaabab, a form unknown in other plays of the York Passion Group, and contains fabulous material relating to the origins and early life of Judas of a kind notably absent from the York dramatisations. The connection of this fragment with York appears therefore to be difficult to establish.

All the evidence of Burton's lists and the York records quoted indicates clearly on the other hand that the extant York play on the Condemnation of Jesus is a revision at some date after 1422, omitting earlier plays and sections of plays dealing with the Hanging of Judas.
and the Casting of Lots. The same conclusion is reached by Smith. (16)

It would appear that at some date later than the period 1430-40 the Millers took over responsibility for the whole of the Condemnation play from the Tilemakers. Although 'Millers' is substituted for 'Tilemakers' on only five pages of the manuscript (see p. 229 above), it does not seem that the Millers' responsibility was only a partial one affecting certain characters or episodes of the play. The pages so marked occur on the first three consecutive pages of the manuscript, but not on the three following; then on a single page, and not on the seven following; and finally on the penultimate, but not the last page. These pages contain parts for Pilate, Annas, Caiaphas, the First and Second Soldiers (bringing Jesus from Herod), the Beadle, the Third, Fourth, Fifth Soldiers, and the Seventh and Eighth Soldiers (marked First and Second Soldier in the manuscript) and Barabbas. All of these characters except Barabbas have speaking parts in pages of the play not marked with the Millers' name. Neither do the annotated pages mark separate sequences or episodes of the play. The failure to mark every page therefore appears to be without significance, and merely the result of haste or carelessness on the part of the annotator.

III

The play is composed throughout in a twelve-line stanza form rhyming ababbcbdcdbcd. This regularity is broken only at st 3 where a line is missing following 1.32. The leaf lacking from the manuscript affects the last five lines of st 37 and the first two lines of st 38.
A rather similar stanza arrangement, rhyming ababcdcd, occurs in the York cycle in Play 16, The Coming of the Three Kings to Herod, a play generally identified as being the work of the York Realist (see p. 7). Gayley saw the 'germ' of this stanza in the Cayrne play of the middle period of composition in the cycle. This stanza, however, rhymes ababbc^d^bcc^dp, which is rather different, and the connection which Gayley proposes between these two forms is not therefore very clear.

The regular way in which a complex stanza is sustained throughout the Condemnation play indicates that what has come down to us is a complete composition in a substantially unaltered state.

The metrical features of the play are very similar to those identified in the whole or part of Plays 26, 28, 29, 30, 31 and 32, that is to say:

The stanza opens with four long lines of four stresses with a central caesura (162 lines, 100%). These are followed by four shorter lines of three stresses (159 lines, 97.5%; 3 lines of four stresses; 1 line of two stresses). There is then a short one-stress line, followed by three further lines of three stresses (120 lines, 100%).

This play therefore differs from the alliterative plays previously discussed in the careful attention given to maintaining a fixed number of stresses in each section of the stanza, and in the presence in the cauda of a short one-stress line.

In a very high proportion of lines of the opening quatrain, the four chief stresses are pointed by the use of the same alliterative sound (aa/aa) (127 lines, 78.3%), for example:

In reverence of pis ribald so rudely to ryse (1.277)
For any spirringes in yat speche no speche walde he spel (1.63)

(Other alliterative types used are aaax (15 lines); aaxa (7 lines); xxaa (3 lines); aaxx, xaaa, axaa (2 lines each); abba, aabb (1 line each)).

In the three-stress lines, most lines are of the alliterative type aaa (228 lines, 80.5% for example:
For to dere hym he demed vnidewe (1.62)
I hope I be hardy and hasty (1.381)
(Other types used are axa (20 lines); xaa (15 lines); aax (15 lines)).

Alliteration is found in every line of the play with the exception of the following two lines from the cauda:
Datan and Gamaliell (1.113) (a line derived from the Gospel of Nicodemus, see p. 246).
Me thynkith it both reasoune and skill (1.456)

As with the other alliterative plays, the rhythm of the four-stress long line is very variable, but again certain rhythmical types occur frequently, although not necessarily in successive lines or affecting lines linked by rhyme.

In the first half-line the most frequent types are:

xx/xx/ (21 lines)  Yai er myghtiest men (1.231)
(Also found in plays 28, 29, 30, 31, 32)
And yat will we se witt (1.313)

x/xx/x (14 lines)  Now thryng to hym thrally (1.398)
(Also plays 28, 29, 30, 31, 32)
To worshippe yis warlowe (1.171)

x/xxx/ (9 lines)  Oure langage is to large (1.132)

xx/xx/x (13 lines)  3e sall here how yis harlott (1.135)
(Also plays 30, 31, 32)
If he gouerne it gudly (1.302)

x/xxx/x (10 lines)  I charge you as your chiftan (1.3)
(Also plays 26, 28, 31, 32).
In the second half-line the rhythm which occurs most often, as has been found in all the previous alliterative plays (26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32) is

In the three-stress line:

Medary first called attention to the fact that in this play certain stanzas are linked together by the repetition of one or more words, and she listed these as sts 2-3, 5-6, 7-8, 11-12, 31-2. There is one other repetition, however, which she did not observe, between sts 24 and 25:
(Anna) He enchanted and charmed our knyghtis.
(Cayph) Be his sorcery, sir, you're selfe ye soth sawe
He charmes oure chyualers and with myscheffe
enchanted (11.287-9)

It may be noted that the repetition in this case is
the result of Caiaphas taking up Annas' words and
enlarging upon his statement. In nearly every case
which Medary has noted above the repetition may be
explained in similar terms. Thus Annas sycophantically
takes up Pilate's boast:

(Pil) I myselfe sall hy(m) hurt full sore.
(Ann) ye sall sytt hym full sore, what sege will assay
3ou (11.24-5)

Similarly in st 5 the Second Soldier reports Herod's
message, and Pilate in the following stanza replies in
similar terms:

(2 Mil) By hym selfe full sone wille he sette 3ou,
And sais yat ye sall not disseruer.
(Pil) I thanke hym full thraly, and, sir, I saie hym
ye same (11.58-60)

The repetition of the words sirs/sir which occurs between
sts 7 and 8 on the other hand appears merely fortuitous:

(Pil) And, sirs, ye sothly saie I.
(Caiph) Sir Pilate, oure prince, we prelatis nowe pray
3ou (11.83-4)

This type of linking, if such it may be called, is in no
way so clearly the result of a conscious forging of
language on the part of the poet as the previous examples
indicate, and as occurs in the following passage, where
Caiaphas in st 12 uses Pilate's words in his response:

(Pil) For me likis noght youre langage so large.
(Caiph) Oure langage is to large, but youre lordshipp
releue vs (11.131-2)

A similar piece of dialogue between two soldiers occurs
in the final repetition in Medary's list, between sts 31
and 32 (11.371-2).

It would appear therefore that what is to be found
in this play is the occasional use of a well-known poetic
technique, the linking of stanzas by word repetition,
employed, not as a literary ornament, but for a strictly functional purpose, to add liveliness to the dialogue of the play.

As might be expected, the word repetition which links stanzas, noted above, frequently results in these stanzas also being linked by alliteration (sts 2-3; 5-6; 11-12; 31-2). But other links within the stanza also occur. In st 31 (11.360-3) in a section of the play consisting of single lines of dialogue during which the soldiers scourge Jesus, an example is found of a different type of word link. Here the last word of the first line forms the first word of the following line. This produces briefly a continuity between the individual lines of dialogue, and between the dialogue and the action depicted, as the soldiers apparently take it in turns to strike Jesus.

The linking of lines by alliteration in groups of two is, on the other hand, a feature which occurs throughout the play. The most frequent link of this type is between the eighth and ninth line, the short one-stress line and its preceding line. This occurs in fifteen stanzas. Links are also found between the tag and its following line (the ninth and tenth lines) in three stanzas.

But alliterative links within the stanza also occur between:

1. the first and second lines, ab: st 31.
2. the second and third lines, ba: st 17.
3. the third and fourth lines, ab: st 7, 10, 31, 40.
4. the fourth and fifth lines, bb: st 29.
5. the fifth and sixth lines, bc: st 8, 18, 20, 33.
6. the sixth and seventh lines, cb: st 34.
7. the seventh and eighth lines, bc: st 3, 21, 32 (continuing to the foll. line)
8. between the last pair of lines, cd: st 4, 5, 25 (last three lines).
A number of stanzas are therefore unaffected by linking by alliteration (sts 2, 6, 9, 11, 12, 16, 22, 24, 26, 37, 39). Thus the linking together of certain lines by alliteration in this play seems to have no other significance than a desire on the part of the poet to ornament his stanza, and with the exception of the tag line, no particular part of the stanza has been singled out for the use of this device.

Since the Condemnation play is a complete, unrevised composition and has metrical features very similar to those of the alliterative plays, it may offer some insight into the guidelines which the poet adopted in alliterating words together. It will be recalled that in the 'Northern Septenar' play of the Last Supper it was found that h alliterated with itself and also with vowels (p.48). In Old English poetry, as Oakden has shown, h alliterates with itself only, and there are Middle English alliterative poems which continue this tradition, such as The Destruction of Troy and Wynmere and Wastoure. In others, however, h may alliterate also with vowels, although the proportion in which this occurs varies among the different poems. Apparently this practice began in early Middle English alliterative poems where Oakden found that "despite the rarity of vocalic alliteration it is not difficult to find examples of h alliterating with vowels", and he found numerous examples in The Brut and a few in The Proverbs of Alfred. In the Condemnation play, h usually all iterates with itself, for example:

_Hardly lat hakke of myn hande (1.251)_
_Haue hym hense with hast fra this halle (1.259)_

Otherwise in the whole play there is only one line where h appears to alliterate with a vowel:

_I sall holde yis as even as a lyne (1.244)._
In this respect therefore, the poet, with one exception, conforms to traditional Old English usage.

In Old English alliterative poetry *st*, *sp*, *sc* are treated as single consonants for the purpose of alliteration, and no other consonantal groups are observed. This usage continues in early Middle English as far as the first two of these groups are concerned (except in *The Brut* and *The Bestiary*). Later Middle English alliterative poems generally continue the same practice with some exceptions (Oakden, pp.164-5). The Condemnation play for the most part follows this tradition. Thus alliteration on the group *st* is carefully observed, for example:

Do *stiffly steppe on *wis stalle* (1.261)

(Other examples are ll. 11, 14; 157; 160; 210; 330; 335; 473.)

In 1.194, however, the alliterative pattern *aabb* may be intended:

3e may say what you semes, sir, bot *yer standerdes to *stabill

(See also the alliteration of *st* with *str*, below, p.243.)

Similarly *sp* is treated as a group throughout the line in:

For any *spirringes in *yat space no *speche walde he *spell* (1.63)

(Similarly ll.129; 174; 303.)

In the following line therefore, the alliterative pattern *xaa* is probably intended, with stress on either *Bot* or *syrs*:

Bot, *syrs*, my *spech wele aspise* (1.260)

(Similarly 1.76.)

As far as *sc/sk* is concerned, this group is observed in:
Skelpe hym with scourges and with skathes hym soorne (1.337) (Similarly 11.34; 369).
The same occurs with sch/sh:

3e schappely schalkes and schene for to schawe (1.2) (Similarly 11.105; 158; 241; 245; 268).

In the following line an alliterative pattern aabb may be intended:

A, sir, saugh ze noȝt yis sight, how yat yer schaftes schuke (1.168) (Similarly 1.202).

Additional consonantal groups, as Oakden notes, begin to be observed in early Middle English alliterative poetry. The Brut has sm, spr, sw, sr, and The Restiary and The Proverbs of Alfred have even more groups such as cl, fl, although there are numerous exceptions. In the later Middle English alliterative poems there is the same tendency to form new groups. The alliterative groups sl, sn, sm, sw are common, and alliteration with s is uncommon, probably owing to the influence of the older groups inherited from Old English poetry, st, sp. (23) Of these, the Condemnation play has examples only of alliteration on the group sw, which is always observed:

Swyng to this swyre, to swiftly he swete.
Swete may yis swayne for sweght of our swappes (11.360-1) (Similarly 11.126, 383).

Oakden comments that cr, wr, pr, fr, cl, fl, str, tw, fr, bl, are groups concerning which there is no unified treatment in the later Middle English alliterative poems. Some poets completely ignore them, but the majority employ certain of them. (24) In the Condemnation play, the poet frequently observes these alliterative groups, and seems to
make considerable efforts to alliterate together exactly similar sounds. Sometimes he manages to achieve all three or four such sounds in the line, but often he is content with two, and in some lines (such as 1.389 below) even this is not possible. Thus to examine Cakden's groups in turn:

1. **or:**
   
   3a, ther cursed knyghtes, by crafte lete them croke
   
   (Similarly 1.451)
   
   but of
   
   Make a crye, and cautely you call (1.262)
   
   (where of course the alliterative pattern xaa could be intended; similarly 1.266).
   
   but of also
   
   We will kyndely hym cronwe with a breere (1.389)
   
   (where there is no doubt but that k/or alliterate; similarly 1.448).

2. **wr:**
   
   How wikkidly wrought yat pis wrecche has (1.111)
   
   (Similarly 11.249; 269; 338).
   
   but of
   
   And pis werke yat we haue wrught, It was not oure will
   
   (Similarly 11.222; 252; 279).

3. **pr:**
   
   For properly by pis processe will I preve (1.440)
   
   As a pereles prince full prestly to pay you (1.27)
   
   (Similarly ll. 37, 84, 134, 206, 346, 372, 421).
   
   but of
   
   Elles were it pite we appered in pis prees (1.40)
   
   (Similarly ll. 109, 123, 357, 371, 374, 393).

4. **yr:**
   
   Now thryng to hym thrally with pis yikk yorne (1.396)
but of
Thanne vs, yer ill mot you hyve (1.419)

5. cl:
Thus youre cloke sall we cloute, to clence you and cler ye (1.375)
(Similarly 11.142; 151-2; 394).
Hat we, youre knyghtis, suld be cleynly enclyned (1.70)
but of
My comforth was caught fro me cleene (1.273)
(Similarly 11.166; 239; 297; 329).

6. fl:
Nowe flynge to yis flaterer with flappes (1.366)
Lo, his flesh al be beflapped that fat is (1.431)
but of
And enforce we yis faiteour to flye hym (1.353)
(Similarly 1.16)

7. str:
Most stately and strange, if with strenght yai be streyned (1.229)
(Similarly 11.376; 415-6)
but of
Hayll stateliest on stede in strenghe that is sted sitt
(1.50)
(Similarly 11.148; 186; 214).

8. tw. No examples.

9. fr:
And I will frayst in faith to frayne of hir fare (1.159)
(Similarly 11.75; 237)
but of
Sea founen, in faithe, all ye frappe (1.309)
(Similarly 11.85; 100; 130; 192; 195; 414; 441).

10. bl:
With his blure he bredis mekill blondre (1.93)
(Similarly 1.432)
but of
But blynne not, to dede to ye bryng hym (1.461)
(Similarly ll.215; 270; 402).

Oakden notes that in the groups br, tr, gr (the first two of which were very popular) treatment in Middle English is not uniform. In the Condemnation play:

1. **br** is treated as an alliterative group in
What broll ouere brathely is bralland (1.17)
And partly in
Nowe vnbonne is yis broll and vnbraced his bandes (1.386)
(Similarly ll.45; 169; 345)
but of
Ver baners on brede yat her blawe (1.177)
and
As a boy sall be broght vnto bales (1.20)
(Similarly ll.67, 87; 133; 145; 205; 217; 242; 250; 253; 339; 351; 401; 435).

2. **tr**:
What traytoure his tong with tales has trapped (1.15)
(Similarly ll.99; 125; 225; 333; 378; 481)
but of
Talkes not nor trete not of tales (1.22)
(Similarly ll.81; 96; 107; 117; 161; 286; 349; 379; 425).

3. **gr**:
For ye grace ye haue graunt me vntill (1.449)
but of
That grete ere and grill; to ye gomes will I gange
(Similarly ll.55; 181; 407; 437)
but of
To all gomes he god son hym graunted (1.294)
(Similarly ll.327; 343; 445).

4. The group **kn** is observed in
And what knyght or knave I may knawe (1.7)
but cf
But consayue how youre knyghtes ere command (1.41)
(Similarly 11.73; 144; 218; 255; 350; 413; 463).
but cf
And sithen to thier knyghtis declared (1.78)
That yis clargye accusyng ye knawse (1.298)

5. wh:
For a whapp so he whyned and whesid (1.198)
but cf
We sall wakken hym with wynde ofoure whippes (1.365)

6. th:
Now thryng to hym thrally with yis yikk yorne (1.398)
but cf
But takes hym vnto you forthy (1.316)
(Similarly 1.60).

The following are never treated as alliterative groups
in the Condemnation play:

1. dw:
But domme as a dore gon he dwell (1.64)

2. dr:
Say, dastard, ye deuyll mote you drawe (1.175)
(Similarly 11.137; 256; 315; 354; 474).

3. sl:
3a, he may syng or he slepe of sorowe and Angir (1.422)
(Similarly 1.165)

4. pl:
Plately ye be putte to perpetuell pyne (1.243)

Oakden concludes that there was "no uniformity among
the alliterative poets in Middle English in their treatment
of these newer groups which gradually emerged and became
popular. They followed no recognised rule. Some were
more careful and consistent than others”. As the above analysis has shown, however, the writer of the Condemnation play maintains a certain uniformity in his treatment of the different groups.

IV

Smith first observed that in the Condemnation play "much is taken from the 'Acts of Pilate' (otherwise Gospel of Nicodemus) which narrates the miraculous bowing of the standards, etc." (25)

Craigie later identified a number of similarities in language between a Northern Middle English metrical version of the Gospel (MS Harleian 4196) and this play. (26) This is the same text which he showed also to have influenced Play 30, the Trial before Pilate (see p.167 above) and which Lyle later demonstrated was a source for Play 29, the Trial before Caiaphas (see p.128 above). Craigie's findings regarding the Condemnation play have been supported and in one case supplemented by Lyle. (27) The passages concerned occur in several distinct episodes of the play:

1. The persuasion by Annas and Caiaphas of Pilate

A. York 33, 90

Cure menȝe he marres yat he may.
Gosp. Nicod. 1.21
ȝis mopp yat merres oure men.

B. York 33, 112-8

Simon, Jaruȝ and Judas,
Datan and Canaliell,
Neptaliȝ, Leuȝ and Lucas,
And Amyȝ ȝis maters can mell
togither.
ȝer tales for trewe can they telle
Of this Faytoure yat false is and felle.
Gosp. Nicod. 11.13-20 (MS Galba)

Simon, Zayrus and Caiphas,
dathan and Gamaliell,
Neptalim, Leui and Judas,
With yaire accusations fals and fell,
Alexander and als annas,
Ojaines Ihesu yai speke and spell;
bifore sir pilate gan yai pas,
yaire tales vntill him gan yai tell.

In comparing the second pair of texts, Craigie comments
that "in the first line 'Cayphas' had of course to be
omitted, as he is the speaker; Annas also disappears,
being a leading person in the play itself; Lucas and Amys
are apparently invented by the dramatist, but in other
respects it is pretty obvious that the lines of the Play
are an echo of those in the Gospel". (28) This is made
particularly clear from the use of the phrase 'false and
felle' in both versions, and particularly when one
compares the Latin version of Codex Einsidensis (see note
10, York play 30):

"Annas et Cayfas et Sonas et Dathan, Gammaliel,
Judas, Leui, Neptalim, Alexander et Syrus et
reliqui Iudaorum".

C. York 33, 133
Sitt we both beseke you, late brynge hym to barre.
Gosp. Nicod. 1.59 (Galba MS)
bring him to bar yis tide.

Another example with similar phrasing is noted by Lyle:
York 33, 87
Late bryng hym to barre, and at his berde sall we baye.

It is of course possible here, as Craigie admits, that the
correspondence between the Gospel of Nicodemus, 1.59 and
York 33, 133 is "general enough to have occurred independent-
ly". (29)

2. The bowing of the banners
A. York 33, 168-71
(Caiph) A, sir, saugh ze no3t yis sight, how yat yer
schaftees schuke,
And thes baneres to this brothell yai bowde all on brede?

(Anna) 3a, ther cursed knyghtes by crafte lete them croke,

To worshippe yis warlowe vnworthy in wede.

Gosp. Nicod. 11.133-6 (Galba MS)

\[ \text{ Tan ye lews ful sterne and stout } \]
\[ \text{ said: } "\text{yis es hard hething, yir lurdans lattes yaire schaftes lout and wroght him wirschiping." } \]

Craige observes that there is here a similarity in tone, not justified by the words of the original,\(^{(30)}\) and this point is confirmed by a comparison with the Latin version of Codex Einsidlensis:

"Sed clamantes ad signiferos quasi ipsi curuauerint et adorauerint, dicunt Iudaei ad Pilatum, 'Nos uidimus quomodo inclinauerunt signiferi et adorauerunt Iesum.'"

B. York 33, 169

And thes baneres to this brothell yai bowde all on brede?

Gosp. Nicod. 1.142 (Galba MS)

\[ \text{ ye baners gan him bow; } \]

C. York 33, 176-8

How dar ye
\[ \text{ yer baners on brede yat her blawe } \]
\[ \text{ lat lowte to yis lurdan so lawe? } \]

Gosp. Nicod. 1.135 (Galba MS)

\[ \text{ yir lurdans lattes yaire schaftes lout } \]

D. York 33, 182-3

For it lay not in oure lott yer launces to lett;
And yis werke yat we haue wrought, It was not oure will.

Gosp. Nicod. 11.140-6 (Galba MS)

\[ \text{ it was noght oure witing, } \]
\[ \text{ we toke no tent him till, } \]
\[ \text{ ye baners gan him bow; } \]
\[ \text{ it was ogains oure will, } \]
\[ \text{ yat sall ye trewly trow. } \]
\[ \text{ yai said yat it was weterly ogains yaire will algate; } \]
As Craigie notes, the content of this passage is implied, but not expressly stated in the Latin: *(31)*

"Dicunt Pilato: 'Nos uiri pagani sumus et templorum servi, quomodo habuimus adorare eum? Etenim tenentes nos signa curuaerunt se et adorauerunt.' *

E. *York 33, 242-51*

If 3on (baners) bowe ye brede of an hare,
Flatly 3e be putte to perpetuell pyne.

... When it wryngis or wronge it wendis

... Hardly lat hakke of myn hande!

*Gosp. Nicod. 11.161-4 (Galba MS)*

"Ye men yat wight and willy ware
said: "to yi steuin we stand;
whas heuid so heldes brede of ane hare,
hardily hag of his hand."

Craige observes correctly that this "differs entirely from the Latin text, in which Pilate threatens the former standard bearers with the loss of their heads if the new holders succeed in keeping the standards straight": *(32)*

"Et aduocans Pilatus qui tenebant signa priores, iurans eis per salutem Caesaris quia 'si flectantur signa ingrediente illo, predicam capita ustra'."

3. Jesus' reply to his accusers

*York 33, 300-5*

Euery man has a mouthe yat made is on molde,
In wele and in woo to welde at his will.
If he gouerne it gudly like as god wolde,
For his spirituale speche hym ... not to spill.
And what gome so gouerne it ill,
Full unhendly and ill sall he happe.

*Gosp. Nicod. 11.221-4 (Galba MS)*

crist said: "ilke man a mouth has fre
to welde at his awin will;
"aire wordes ful wide sall witen be
wheyer pai be gude or ill."
4. Pilate offers to surrender Jesus to the High Priest

A. York 33, 316-8

But takes hym vnto you forth(y),
And like as youre lawe will you lere,
Deme 3e his body to abyde.

Gosp. Nicod. 11.311-2 (Galba MS)
"takes him to 3ow forpi
and demes him by 3owre laws"

B. York 33, 319-25

(Anna) 0, sir Pilate, withouten any pere,
Do way.
3e wate wele withouten any were
Vs falles not, noroure fellowes in feere,
To slo no(m)an, your self ye soth say.
(Pil) Why suld I deme to dede yan withoute
derseyng in dede?
But I haue herde al haly why in hertes 3e hym hate.

Gosp. Nicod. 11.313-7 (Galba MS)
Yan said ye iews: "syr, wele you wate,
god bидdes vs sla no man."
vnto yan yus answerd pilate:
"biddes god me sla men yan?
I haue wele herd whi 3e him hate."

Gosp. Nicod. 11.322-3 (Galba MS)
for sertes it war no reson
at deme a man to ded.

As Craigie notes, there is nothing corresponding to
these passages in the Latin version.(33)

Iyle observed that Burton's description of the plays
in 1415 appeared to omit any mention of material derived
from the Gospel of Nicodemus, and she therefore concluded
that the incorporation of material from that source into
the York cycle dates from after 1415.(34) (For the same
theory in respect of Play 30, see p.172). As far as
Play 33 is concerned, the discussion of the problem has
hinged upon whether the phrase sex milites tenentes hastas
cum vexillis refers to the incident of the bowing of the standards, which as noted above, derives from the Gospel.
of Nicodemus.

Lyle was of the opinion that the phrase did not indicate inclusion of the incident prior to 1415, but this view has been challenged with perhaps some justice by Eleanor Grace Clark. Grace Frank on the other hand suggests the evidence is equivocal - Burton's list may reveal a knowledge of the incident "or of an earlier play than the one now extant which incorporated such material from the Latin Gospel". Frampton is similarly doubtful as to Clark's interpretation of Burton's reference to 'vexillis'.

The matter is clearly unresolvable upon present evidence. Grace Frank's conjecture as to the content of the lost play which preceded the extant version is similarly unproven. The theory of Lyle that this play was "probably originally composed in the Northern Septenar", a stanza form found in the Gospel of Nicodemus, since that poem has been used as a source, seems also hypothetical.

V

The play which corresponds to York play 33 in the Towneley cycle is the first part of Towneley 22, lines 1-241.

The first four stanzas are composed in a thirteen-line form rhyming $\text{ababah\text{c}_1\text{ddc}_2}$, and stanzas 5-27 (the last two stanzas of which contain material found in York play 34) are composed in the characteristic metre of the Wakefield Master. The major part of this section of Towneley play 22 is therefore of later date than the York, to which it bears certain resemblances.
The reason for this is that many of the incidents which provide the basic framework of the York play are to be found both in the corresponding section of Towneley play 22 (lines 1-241) and also in the Northern Passion from 1.1006c. However, as the following analysis indicates, this similarity is for the most part the result of adherence to accounts found in the Gospels of Matthew, chap. 27, 11-31; Mark, chap. 15, 1-20; Luke, chap. 23, 12-25; and John, chap. 18, 29-chap. 19, 16. Iyle's theory of the existence of a parent play "which in its account of the Condemnation underwent revision in both cycles" cannot therefore be confirmed.

1. Jesus is led back to Pilate with Herod's message (York 33, 45-71; NP. 11.1007-1012b; Towneley 22, 53-4).


3. Jesus is stripped, beaten, clothed in purple and crowned with thorns. In York 33, 345-426 and the NP. 11.1191ff this occurs before the Condemnation. In Towneley Jesus is crowned with thorns and mocked (but not clothed in purple) after Pilate's judgment (Towneley 22, 229-41) but scourged first (Towneley 22, 130-83). In the Gospels Jesus is clothed in purple, crowned and mocked, but not scourged, after the Condemnation in Matthew 27, 27-31 and Mark 15, 17-20. In John 19, 1-3, Jesus is scourged also, but before the Condemnation. Towneley therefore independently follows Matthew and Mark in placing the crowning with thorns after the Condemnation; whereas both York and the Northern Passion independently place it before the Condemnation.

4. Pilate washes his hands as an indication that he is guiltless. In York, only the latter part of this scene survives, since a leaf is missing from the manuscript.
(York 33, 440-6; NP. 11.1127ff; Towneley 22, 215-7) as in Matthew 27, 24.

5. Jesus is condemned by Pilate to death by crucifixion
(York 33, 450-61; NP. 1.1276b; Towneley 22, 220-3) as in Matthew 27, 26; Mark 15, 15; Luke 23, 24; John 19, 16.

In several respects, York appears to follow the Northern Passion more closely than Towneley, but again this may be due to the influence of the Gospel accounts.

1. Herod's greetings to Pilate are as his good friend
(York 33, 55; NP. 1.1010) as in Luke 23, 12.

2. Pilate is delighted at the report of the soldiers
(York 33, 72ff; NP. 1.1011d).

3. Pilate recognises that the Jews are inspired by malice and is displeased
(York 33, 120-131; NP. 1.1120; also York 33, 314-5) as in Matthew 27, 16; Mark 15, 10.

In some instances Towneley appears to be closer to the Northern Passion than York, but this may be due also to Towneley's dependence on the Gospels, and none of the parallels of language offered by Lyle(41) seem very convincing.

1. Pilate and Jesus tell each other of their respective powers (as in John 19, 10-11):

Towneley 22, 113-7
Thou knowes I haue powere
To excuse or to dampne here,

... Sich powere has thou noght/to wyrk thi will thus with me,
Bot from my fader that is broght/one-fold god in persons thre.

NP. 11.1235-40b
And als it es in my powere
To lat ye pas and mak ye clere,
(Jes) Of all `yi powere rek I noght,
ffor power hastou nane of me,
Bot yat es granted vnto `ye;
`yi might es gifen to `ye ful euyn
ffra my fader yat es in heuyn.

In Towneley this section occurs at the beginning of the play when Jesus is brought to Pilate. In the Northern Passion it occurs after the scourging. The key word from which the similarities derive, power, occurs in John 19. The reference to my fader does not come from that source (desuper, 'from above' in John) but is a natural expansion.

2. Pilate offers to release Jesus as the prisoner released for the Passover (Towneley 22, 118-21; NP. 11.1019-30). In both cases the episode occurs shortly after Jesus' return from Herod as in Luke 23, 17; Matthew 27, 17; Mark 15, 9; John 18, 39. In this and the following example, the corresponding passage may be lost from the York manuscript. Miller offers the following parallel between Towneley and the Northern Passion:

Towneley 22, 105-6
let hym go where he wyll
ffor now and euermore

NP. 1.1028a
And lat him wende whare so he will

3. The Jews ask that Barabbas be set free and Jesus put to death (as in Matthew 27, 21-2; Mark 15, 11-14; Luke 23, 18-23; John 18, 40).

Towneley 22, 122-4
Nay, nay, bot barabas!
And ihesus in this case
To deth ye dam this day.

NP. 11.1057-60b
...sertes, nay,
Ihesus sail be ded yis day.
...
ffor ihesu sail on none wise pas.
4. Lyle also notes that Towneley and the Northern Passion are similar in the wording of the Accusation that Jesus claims to be king of the Jews and that York also includes this, but this is not so. In Towneley, Jesus is said to call himself a king only, and is called "cure king" at 1.180 (as in York 33, 329). In the Northern Passion only is he said to be king of the Jews. However in Matthew 27, 11, Mark 15, 2, Luke 23, 3, John 18, 33, Jesus is asked by Pilate whether he is king of the Jews.

Towneley 22, 199-200
he calz hym a kyng in euery place/
thus wold he cuer led
Cure people in his trace/
andoure lawes downe tred
(see also Towneley 22, 106)
NP. 11.1117-18b
ffor king of iews he gers him call;
wat semes als we suld be his thrall,
And, sir, wat gase noght wele obout,
To mak vs all his vnderlout.

5. The Jews take Jesus' blood on themselves (Towneley 22, 216-9; NP. 1.1136a) as in Matthew 27, 25.

6. Pilate is surprised that Jesus does not ask for mercy and he asks Jesus his name (Towneley 22, 188ff; NP. 11.1219ff):

Towneley 22, 193
Say what is thy name
NP. 1.1223
Wheyin ertow? what es yi name?

7. The Jews indicate that Pilate is a traitor to Caesar (Towneley 22, 209; NP. 11.1268 and 1182) as in John 19, 12-15.

On the basis of resemblances in subject matter included, there seems little ground for identifying the
Northern Passion as a direct source of York play 33 or of Towneley play 22, 1.1-241. The few similarities in language again offer no real evidence of use of the Northern Passion by either cycle.

The York and Towneley dramatisations, however, have certain points of resemblance quite apart from any possible dependence on that poem:

1. Both plays begin with a boastful speech by Pilate (York 33, 1-24; Towneley 22, 1-52). Yet, as will be shown later, the character of the two speeches is very different, and this affects the whole concept of the Towneley drama. In the York play Pilate merely boasts and threatens in a conventional manner. But in Towneley Pilate discloses that he is full of "sotely, ffolshed, gyll and trechery". He is an unjust judge, and he intends to simulate friendship to Jesus, while all the time purposing to crucify him. As previously noted (p.251), these stanzas in Towneley are composed in a different form from the remainder of this section of the play (sts 5-27), and this suggests that they were composed at a different time.

2. The accusation that Jesus claims to be a king (rather than king of the Jews) is common to York 33, 329 and Towneley 22, 108, 199 (cf para. 4, p.255 above).

3. Lyle also observes a similarity in the wording of the crowning with thorns:

York 33, 387-89

O fule, how faris you now, fould mot ye fall?
Nowe because he oure kynge gon hym call,
We will kyndely hym crowne with a brere.

Towneley 22, 229-30

Sirs, a kynge he hym cals,
Therfor a crowne hym befals.

But the resemblance between these passages derives solely from the key words kynge, call, crowne, and these all occur naturally enough in this context.
On the basis of these similarities between York and Towneley, there seems little evidence to suggest interdependence of the two cycles.

In discussing this play in relation to her theory of the original identity of the York and Towneley cycles, it is Lyle's contention that the York and Towneley plays are late revisions of so thorough a kind "that although it is possible to trace a similarity in underlying structure, none remains in phraseology". She explains this situation by the suggestion that York in its revision after 1415 introduced the incidents from the Gospel of Nicodemus. "The York play, stripped of these incidents, assumes an outline which corresponds more nearly, not only to the extant Towneley play but also the earlier form of the York play as described by Burton in the 1415 list". Unfortunately the play also assumes the outline found in the Gospel accounts, and Lyle's contention is therefore unproven, as is her view that the earlier play "followed the Northern Passion narrative more closely than the extant play".

Greg has taken a different point of view as far as the use of the Gospel of Nicodemus in Play 33 is concerned. He is not satisfied that the use originated with the writer of York play 33 "for he was rewriting plays of an earlier period, and he may have borrowed the passages in question, not from the Gospel directly, but from the earlier plays". Lines 112-9 "hardly in the style of the rest of the play" seem to him to substantiate this possibility. On the other hand, the reminiscences of the Gospel of Nicodemus have been completely integrated into the York play, which is composed throughout in a regular stanzaic form offering no evidence of piecing. They were therefore clearly part of the total conception of the play at the time of writing,
whether this was a revision on the basis of earlier plays or a completely independent composition. Greg's suggestion therefore appears to be most unlikely, although in the absence of these earlier plays it is of course impossible to be certain what relationship they bore to the surviving play.

It will have been noticed in the previous discussion of the possible influence of the Northern Passion upon the York play that this dramatisation is based upon a most careful concordance of the four Gospel accounts of the Condemnation of Jesus. The material derived from the Gospel of Nicodemus merely supplements these accounts, and in spite of all the close similarities in phrasing noted, the writer does not depend slavishly upon this source, for incidents from one trial in the Gospel of Nicodemus dealing with the Condemnation of Jesus have been incorporated into three of the York Trial plays, the Examination before Caiaphas, Play 29; the First Trial before Pilate, Play 30; and the Condemnation, Play 33. Again in this play, as noticed previously (p.171) the dramatist appears to be working very much from memory of incidents and passages in that poem.

The extent of the dependence of the Condemnation play upon the Gospel of Nicodemus has been demonstrated in detail above. It provides the names of the accusers of Jesus, the miraculous incident of the bowing of the banners, Jesus' reply to Pilate, and Pilate's offer to surrender Jesus to the Jews for judgment, with their reply. Clearly therefore this material in no way forms the basis of the play, which focuses around Jesus' final trial before Pilate, the scourging, the freeing of Barabbas and the eventual Condemnation. Iyle is therefore correct in saying that the Gospel of Nicodemus is not the
"fundamental source" in the particular plays in which its influence is found, but has been used "merely for elaboration and expansion". Her contention that the "additional material from the Gospel of Nicodemus was incorporated into the York cycle in order to elaborate the simpler trial scenes originally based upon the Northern Passion" obviously cannot, however, be agreed for this particular play. On the other hand, the view of Craig that "not until after the York cycle had made its greatest use of the Northern Passion did it begin to revise certain plays from the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus" is basically true of the general chronology of the cycle (see p.74).

Much of the material derived from the Gospel of Nicodemus in the Condemnation play, particularly the miraculous bowing of the standards to Jesus, adds considerably to its dramatic effectiveness, as does the formal summoning of Jesus to judgment, which is quite original to York. But the York play also includes many minor details which help to realise in dramatic form the events recorded in the Gospels, particularly the way Pilate is flattered by Annas and Caiaphas; the salutation of Pilate by the soldiers in the same way as they will later salute Jesus, crowned with thorns, in mockery. Then there is the soldiers' account of Jesus' silence before Herod; the introduction of Barabbas into the play, and his gratitude on learning that he is to be freed; and the Beadle who urges Pilate to wash his hands while the water is hot.

One major feature of the York dramatisation, however, is the continual emphasis placed on Pilate's unwillingness to condemn Jesus, which originates from the Gospels and is mentioned frequently throughout the Northern
Passion account. In Towneley a prefatory speech provides a direct contradiction in treatment.

In this play, Pilate is shown to be in league with the Jews in his hatred of Jesus from the very beginning of the play, and his apparent scrupulousness for justice in the course of the play is merely an elaborate blind to cover his real purpose. Williams points out the importance of this opening soliloquy (which he later calls a "remarkable dramatic tour de force"\(^{51}\)) in establishing consistency in the characterisation of Pilate as a wholly evil character throughout the whole Towneley Passion Group, for in this play Pilate must say "that he finds no cause to condemn Jesus, he must wash his hands of Jesus' blood, he must yield only after intense pressure". Williams finds the preparation in the previous play "sufficient to render this explanation wholly satisfactory" and analyses the action of the play in Towneley to show that the Trial before Pilate is only a bow to the proprieties. ("His offer to release a criminal is almost off-handed, and his quickness to order Jesus scourged betrays his real intentions".\(^{53}\))

Conversely, however, it may be argued that lines 31-3 of Towneley play 22 bear too high a burden to support an entire play in which Pilate play-acts a fair trial. As Williams notes,\(^{54}\) this prefatory speech which is central to the whole concept of the Towneley play is composed in a stanzaic form which is not that usually recognised as being the form used by the Wakefield Master. This opening speech is composed in four thirteen-line stanzas rhyming ababababababdddc. Davidson suggests that "a foreign introduction" has been prefixed to a play by the Wakefield Master.\(^{55}\) Gayley similarly makes a distinction between the four opening stanzas of the play, which he regards as
being composed in a "transitional York strophe", and stanzas 5-27 in "the Wakefield Master's improvement upon that form".

Carey on the other hand assigns these stanzas to the Master because of the similarity between the thirteen-line stanza and the Master's nine-line stanza, and the similarity in tone and style between this passage and the Master's work. This may well be confirmed by the fact that a similarity in language occurs between Towneley 22, 11.22-6 and Towneley 20, 11.24-7, stanzas ascribed to the Wakefield Master. As Williams points out, however, this is no proof of common authorship. Carey particularly traces the evolution of the Master's nine-line stanza from the Northern Septenar via a transitional stage "in which it is written first with thirteen lines, and later with nine lines of which the first four are very long, and are metrically identical with the first eight in the earlier form". In her view these stanzas would represent early experimental forms by the Wakefield Master of his later perfected nine-line stanza. Carey thus disagrees with the view expressed by Cady in "The Wakefield Group in Towneley" that Towneley 22, sts 1-4 are a later development, the result of the lengthening of the normal Wakefield line by increasing the number of unaccented syllables, since the Wakefield Master was a literary artist "who as he continued writing was more likely to perfect his medium than to allow it to become corrupt". Carey points out that the thirteen-line form found in Towneley 20, sts 2, 97, 100 and Towneley 22, sts 1-4, is nearer than the normal stanza (i.e. the Wakefield Master's nine-line) to the form from which it was probably derived (in Carey's view, the Northern Septenar; in Gayley's the Mortificacio and Conspiracy stanzas). The fact that these thirteen-line stanzas are found isolated in groups of from one to four "surely points to casual tinkering rather than to mature writing".
It is clearly not possible to be sure whether sts 1-4 are an earlier or later addition to a section of the play composed by the Wakefield Master. The ideas which they contain are obviously at variance with the treatment in these later stanzas of the character of Pilate, and this particularly seems to mark them out as being composed at a different time from the rest of the play. As Williams notes, the stanzas do have the effect of explaining much that is difficult to reconcile about Pilate's later behaviour, and as such they are ingenious, whether a survival or a later redaction.

Apart from this preliminary section, the Towneley play has several other features individual to it:

1. The three torturers leading Jesus from Herod are shown to drive him brutally, and it is the third torturer, and not the High Priests as in York, who demands Pilate's judgment of crucifixion. The torturers thus become personalised with their rough speech and brutal actions as the York soldiers never do.

2. There is a brief reminder of Jesus' miracles not found in York or the Northern Passion (changing the water into wine, walking on the sea, healing the leper and the Centurion's son, and the blind man on the way to Jericho, the raising of the dead, and the casting out of devils). This reminiscent catalogue of Jesus' actions, for which he is condemned, serves as an effective contrast dramatically with the horror of the scourging.

3. The same subject is taken up in Pilate's request to Jesus to perform a miracle (Towneley 22, l.190).

The York and Towneley plays of the Condemnation are therefore very individual treatments within the general
framework of the Gospel accounts, possibly supplemented by use of the Northern Passion.

The manuscript had one original page turned. The marked lines have been used to indicate, at times, without consistency, the presence or absence of one or the other group of lines; already written in ink, i.e., in cases where it has been obvious that the text was not certain. The transcription from an earlier copy may be evidence of an scribe's uncertainty about the individual lines, particularly the individual lines, particularly the individual lines.
Summary and Conclusions

1. The text of the Condemnation play generally is a good one, with few errors, although unfortunately a leaf is missing from the manuscript, containing an estimated sixty lines, apparently dramatising the freeing of Barabbas.

The manuscript has one original stage direction, and barred lines have been used to indicate rhymes, only in pairs, without consistency, and sometimes incorrectly. Scribal errors are of a minor nature, and some recopying of lines already written indicates that the copyist's attention wandered occasionally from his task, or perhaps that he had a confused manuscript from which to work. Transcription from an earlier copy is definitely confirmed by the scribe's uncertainty about the alignment of individual lines, particularly the short 'tag' line.

An alteration in a later hand on several pages indicates that the Milners took over responsibility for the play from the Tilemakers at some date following the copying of the manuscript (1430-40). Other later hands include a playing note and a stage direction, as if to record items needed in performance.

2. The extant play varies from Burton's description of 1415 in excluding a final episode described as "tres milites mittentes sortem super vestem Jesu", a subject treated briefly in Plays 34 and 35. A history of considerable revision is indicated by Burton's second list (1415-35) describing five separate plays in this part of the cycle. Two, Nos 39 and 40, deal with the subject matter of the extant play. One, No 42, deals with the Casting of Lots referred to above. One contains material found in the extant Play 34. And one is a lost play of the Sausmakers dealing with the Hanging of Judas. Another entry of 1422 records the subsequent combination of this latter play and Plays 39, 40 and 42 into one pageant. On this evidence, Frampton deduces that Burton's second list must date before 1422. Further changes, in which the Casting of Lots play and the Judas play were dropped, must have occurred before 1430-40, when the manuscript was written.

A petition by the Sausmakers in 1417 for financial assistance from other crafts in supporting their pageant of the Hanging of Judas appears to have met without success, resulting in that play being dropped from the cycle. The theory of Gayley, and of Lyle, that the Towneley play fragment, Suspencio Jude, is probably a relic of the York play is thought to be difficult to establish in view of its fabulous nature and its stanza form.

The York Condemnation play on the evidence of these
records, is therefore a revision at some date subsequent to 1422.

It is deduced that the Millers took over responsibility for the whole and not part of the Condemnation play, as manuscript alterations might appear to indicate.

3. With the exception of one stanza, where a line appears to be missing, the Condemnation play is composed throughout in a twelve-line stanza, rhyming ababcbabccdd. This indicates that the play was composed as a whole at one time and that it has not been subsequently revised. A similar, but not identical stanza occurs in Play 16, generally identified as the work of the Realist. A connection with the stanza of the Cayme play, suggested by Gayley, is thought to be unlikely.

The play has metrical features very similar to those observed previously in the alliterative plays 26, 28, 29, 30, 31 and 32:

(1) All the lines of the opening quatrain have four stresses, with a central caesura.
(2) These are followed by four shorter lines of three stresses (97.5% of lines)
(3) Then a short one-stress line is succeeded by
(4) Three lines, all of which have three stresses.

The play is therefore far more 'regular' in the careful regard paid to stress, and differs from the alliterative plays previously discussed in having in the cauda a short one-stress line.

Alliteration similarly is used with considerable regularity, failing in only two lines in the entire play. 78.3% of the four-stress long lines have the same four alliterative sounds, and similarly 80.5% of the three-stress lines are of the same type, aaa.

The rhythmic formulation, both of the long lines and the three-stress lines in many cases again shows remarkable similarity with that of the other alliterative plays.

Medary's identification of stanza linking by the repetition of one or more words between stanzas 2-3, 5-6, 7-8, 11-12, 31-2, is examined. It is concluded that in four of these cases, and in an additional further example, the writer is using a well-known poetic device for a strictly functional purpose. In the case of st 7-8, however, the word link appears merely fortuitous.

The linking of lines by alliteration within certain stanzas is examined and found to be a purely ornamental feature without other apparent significance. A different type of word link occurs within st 31. The word links between stanzas also frequently create linking by alliteration.
4. The use of alliteration in the play as a whole is examined, and it is found that for the most part the poet conforms to traditional Old English usage in alliterating only with itself, and in preserving the consonantal groups st, sp, sc/sk and also sch/sh. As far as other groups are concerned, the poet appears to make considerable efforts to alliterate exactly similar sounds wherever possible.

5. The view of Craigie (later supported by Iyle) that a number of similarities in language exist between this play and a Northern Middle English metrical version of the Gospel of Nicodemus is discussed. These passages are found to be confined to certain distinct episodes of the play: the persuasion of Pilate by the High Priests; the bowing of the banners; Jesus' reply to his accusers; and Pilate's offer to surrender Jesus to the High Priests.

6. Iyle's theory, upon the basis of Burton's first list, that the incorporation of material into the York cycle from the Gospel of Nicodemus dates from after 1415, is considered in relation to this play, as are the opposing view of Clark and the equivocal views of Frank and Frampton, but it is considered that this cannot be satisfactorily resolved upon the evidence available. A further theory of Iyle's, that the play was probably originally composed in the Northern Septenar stanza, is also found to be untenable.

7. The corresponding dramatisation in the Towneley cycle, Play 22, 11.1-241, is examined in relation to the York play and to the account of the Condemnation in the Northern Passion, and it is concluded that the similarity between the three texts is for the most part the result of their dependence upon the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. Iyle's theory of a York/Towneley parent play cannot therefore be confirmed.

This part of the Towneley play is composed in two different stanza forms, the major section being in the characteristic metre of the Wakefield Master, and thus of later date than the York play.

Sections of each play in which York and Towneley appear to follow the Northern Passion quite independently of each other are examined, and it is concluded that there seems little basis to suggest that the Northern Passion is a direct source either of York play 53 or Towneley play 22, 11.1-241.

Certain similarities between the York and Towneley dramatisations, quite independent of the Northern Passion, are also examined, but there seems little evidence to suggest interdependence of the cycles.
The contention of Lyle therefore that the essential relation between the York and Towneley dramatisations has been obscured by the late revision of both plays and by the incorporation after 1415 into the York play of material from the Gospel of Nicodemus, cannot thus be confirmed; nor is there any definite basis for her view that the earlier play followed the Northern Passion narrative more closely than the extant play.

The theory of Greg that the Gospel of Nicodemus material could have entered the York play via those earlier plays of which the extant play is a revised version, is considered, but thought to be unlikely.

A careful concordance of the four Gospel accounts provides the basis of the York play. The Gospel of Nicodemus merely supplements these accounts with incidents which are in no way fundamental to the structure of the play. The view of Lyle in this respect can therefore be confirmed, but her contention that the Gospel of Nicodemus supplements scenes originally based on the Northern Passion obviously cannot be confirmed as far as this play is concerned, although the use of the Northern Passion in the very earliest surviving stages of the York cycle has previously been identified.

The episodes deriving from the Gospel of Nicodemus add greatly to the play's dramatic effectiveness, but there are also many other minor details which have been included in the York play to similar effect.

One major feature of the York play, Pilate's unwillingness to condemn Jesus, originating from the Gospels and found also in the Northern Passion, is very different from the Towneley treatment, for in that play, in four prefatory stanzas, Pilate reveals the depths of the evil in his character, disclosing that the scrupulous desire for justice which he displays in the play is merely a blind to conceal his real purpose. Williams' praise for this opening soliloquy is considered, but the view is taken that lines 31-3 bear much too high a burden to support an entire play. The fact that these stanzas are in a different metrical form from the rest of the sequence is considered, as are the views of Davidson and Gayley that they represent a separate composition. The views of Carey (that these stanzas are the work of the Wakefield Master) and of Cady (that these stanzas represent a later development) are considered, and it is concluded that sts 1-4 could be either a remnant of earlier work or a later addition to that part of the play composed by the Wakefield Master, and that their content marks them out as being composed at a different time from the remainder of the play.
The original features of the Towneley dramatisation are discussed, and the York and Towneley plays are thus shown to be very individual treatments of the subject while both following the Gospel accounts and possibly also utilising the Northern Passion.
CHAPTER 9
PLAY 34
CHRIST LED UP TO CALVARY

The text of the play of Christ led up to Calvary is an incomplete one; for one leaf is missing from the manuscript following l.149. On the basis of the number of lines in the preceding and following pages, about seventy lines are therefore lost from this play.

Surely, the stanzas following the manuscript, on 45, appears to be corrupt, for otherwise the text is a good copy from an earlier manuscript, and there are very few errors. The only difficulties are those connected with the imperfect transcription of single words and small word-groups, some possible, others similar to the copyist; such as verbs, probably written in l.17. Theor has been written in the former transcription, such as verbs for looked, l.138, with 132 for will; l.182 for, l.136, and in fact ca. l.209, seem in be merely the result of miscopying. Smith, therefore, to amend l.25 for because and (for) but as, presumably a numerical error, since the same is adequate, and she also omits two words, l.16 and l.18, although these are 'failures' of a kind which recur frequently throughout the manuscript.

Alignment of individual lines as noticed elsewhere in the manuscript, has again caused the greatest difficulty. l.135-4, l.11-6, 29-33, 33-53, are each set down as one line. The lines affected on each hand are the last four lines of the stanzas. Line 5 is also written opposite l.7; l.9 is opposite l.7; l.13 opposite l.12; and l.15 opposite l.14. These all occur in the first stanza, which as Smith has observed, is irregular in its form compared with the remainder of the play. The transcription style is thus similarly irregular, and it suggests that this part of the play is a separate entity. The style in which the first speech is set down in the manuscript, seems...
The text of the play of Christ Led up to Calvary is an incomplete one, for one leaf is missing from the manuscript following 1.142. On the basis of the number of lines in the preceding and following pages, about seventy lines are therefore lost from this play.

Strangely, the stanza following the manuscript gap, st 15, appears to be corrupt, for otherwise the text is a good copy from an earlier manuscript, and there are very few errors. The only difficulties are those connected with the imperfect transcription of single words and small word-groups, some possibly unfamiliar to the copyist, such as burde, probably written for bude, in 1.37. Thedir has been written for thore in 1.205. Other transcriptions, such as lakke for lakked, 1.120; with ille for with alle, 1.199; 𝜋 for yan, 1.206; and To for Go, 1.209, seem to be merely the result of miscopying. Smith chooses to amend 1.93, For harneres and (for) nayles, presumably on metrical grounds, since the sense is adequate, and she also amends two rhyme words, 1.18 and 1.89, although these are 'failures' of a kind which recur frequently throughout the manuscript.

Alignment of individual lines, as noticed elsewhere in the manuscript, has again caused the copyist difficulty, and 11.113-4, 115-6; 297-8, 299-300, are each set down as one line. The lines affected in each case are the last four lines of the stanza. Line 5 is also written opposite 1.2b; 1.8 is opposite 1.7; 1.12 opposite 1.11, and 1.15 opposite 1.14. These all occur in the first stanza, which as Smith has observed, is irregular in its form compared with the remainder of the play. The transcription style is thus similarly irregular, and it suggests that this part of the play is a separate entity. The style in which the first speech is set down in the manuscript, Primus Miles
Incipit, is also not found elsewhere in the Passion Group.

The few amendments made to the text of the play in later hands add the names of speakers previously omitted from the copy:

1. Against 1.207 *jus Mil* is inserted twice, in two later hands, and this seems to be right, for the lines are clearly not part of John's speech, 11.204-6, and the soldiers usually speak in rotation order, First, Second, Third.

2. Against 1.244 *ii jus Mil* is written by a later hand, and this also appears correct, again on the ground of rotation speaking.

Both these errors could have been noticed when the play was performed.

A late hand superfluously adds *finis* at the end of the play.

II

In Burton's list of 1415 the play is recorded as:

"Jesus, sanguine cruentatus, portans crucem versus Calvariam. Simon Serenus, Judei angariantes eum vt tolleret crucem, Maria mater Jesu, Johannes apostolus intimans tunc proxime damnacionem et transitum filii sui ad calvariam. Veronica tergens sanguinem et sudorum de facie Jesu cum flammaolo in quo imprimitur facies Jesu; et alie mulieres lamentantes Jesum." (2)

Smith points out that the surviving play provides for one of the Mariæ to perform the office of Veronica, but this of course could merely have been a later minor alteration so as to reduce the number of actors required for the piece. Frampton on the other hand appears to regard this change as an important piece of evidence that the play was revised after 1415. (3) More important
discrepancies between play and list are the fact that Burton's order of events is inexact (4) and also that the function of the Jews recorded by Burton is performed by three soldiers. Moreover as Frampton points out, one part of the play is omitted from Burton's description, the content of the last five stanzas, in which the soldiers propose to cast lots for Jesus' garments. This short passage however could have been overlooked by Burton, for it merely anticipates a later treatment of the same subject after the Crucifixion:

3aa, late yame ligge stille here in stoore,
Vntill Yis dede be done. (l.332-3)

It will be recalled that Burton's description of 1415 of the Condemnation play recorded an episode which is not found in the surviving play: Tres milites mittentes sortem super vestem Jesu. But the stanzas in Play 34 clearly do not represent that episode transferred from the previous play. Yet as Frampton points out, even this prefatory treatment of the subject could not have formed part of Play 34 while there existed in the cycle an earlier, complete treatment of the same subject in Play 33, as was recorded in 1415. Frampton therefore concludes that these five final stanzas of Play 34 must have been written after 1415, and after the Millers had withdrawn from Play 33 to form the separate play mentioned in the record of 1422.

This argument therefore identifies this part of Play 34 at least as being composed or revised after 1422, and Frampton is convinced these stanzas were "certainly written new for the registered play". On the other hand, it could be that the play in the manuscript represents a reversion to a much earlier situation existing before 1415.

Burton's list of 1415 also records the play as being
the responsibility of the Toundours, but Smith notes that the leaf is very thin owing to erasure and there is "a hole in the middle of this word and an interlineation above it, which may have been Shermen". Burton's undated second list (deduced to be 1415-22) confirms this change, recording "Shermen. Ductio Christi et ostensio Veronicae". Each page of the manuscript similarly is headed with that craft's name.

III

Play 22 in the Towneley cycle, as has been indicated in the preceding chapter, is a composite; the first section, dealing with the Condemnation, is for the most part in the stanza associated with the work of the Wakefield Master; the remaining stanzas dramatise the subject matter of York play 34. More than this, a number of these later Towneley stanzas are almost exactly similar to those of the York play, and it is proposed therefore to examine these in some detail in order to establish the probable explanation for this situation. The parallel stanzas begin in the Towneley play with sts 28 and 29, the Lament of John:

Alas! for my master moste of myght,
That yester even with lanterne bright
before Caiphas was broght;
Both peter and I saugh that sight,
And sithen we fled away full wight,
when Tues so wonderly wroght;
At morne thay toke to red,/
And fals wistes furth soght,
And demyd hym to be deede,/
That to thaym treespaste noght.

Alas! for his moder and other moo,
My moder and hir syster also,
Sat sam with syghnyng sore;
Thay Wote nothyng of all this wo,
Therfor to tell thaym will I go,
Sen I may mend no more.
If he shuld dy thus tyte /
And thay vnwarned wore,
I were Worthy to wyte;/
I will go fast therfor.

With these stanzas may be compared York 34, sts 11, 13:

Allas, for my maistir yat moste is of myght,
That gistireven late, with lanernes light,
Before ye busshoppe was brought.
Bote petir and I, we saugh yat sight,
And sithen we wente oure wayes full wight,
When ye Jewes wondirly wrought.
At morne yat toke to rede,
And soteltes vp soght,
And demed hym to be dede
Yat to yat trespasst noght.

Allas, for his modir and oyir moo,
Mi modir and hir sisters alsoo
Sittes samen with sighyngis sore.
Yat wate no thynge of all yat was woo;
Fortht to warne yat may I goo,
Sen I may mende no more.
Sen he schall dye as tyte,
And yat vnwarned wore,
I ware worthy to wite.
I will go faste therfore.

The Towneley stanzas generally represent an abridgement
of the York version in so far as the York play contains an
intermediate stanza (12) on the same theme.

In spite of the very strong similarities between the
two versions, it is noticeable that the Towneley reading in
several cases destroys alliteration present in the York
line:
Thus Y: That gistireven late, with lanernes light
becomes T: That yester euen with lanterne bright.
Similarly, Y: Before ye busshoppe was brought
becomes T: before Caiphas was brought
and finally Y: And sithen we wente oure wayes full wight
becomes T: And sithen we fled away full wight

The Towneley version also offers some variation in
words and phrases:
Thus T. And fals witnes furth soght
replaces Y: And soteltes vp soght.

Witness, "testimony, evidence" (OE witness) is recorded in the phrase false witnesse in OED from 1175. Subtlety, on the other hand (OF sutilte) in the sense "wily stratagem" is recorded in OED from 1375. It may be therefore that Towneley here chooses to substitute an older word for a newer and perhaps more unfamiliar one.

In another variation
T: If he shuld dy thus tyte
replaces Y: Sen he schall dye as tyte
In this case, however, If is in fact the better reading.
The York Sen (OED a chiefly Northern and Scottish word, "seeing/considering that") is perhaps a scribal error, taking up the same word in the previous line.

The next set of parallels affects that part of both plays where the soldiers/torturers threaten the women and drive them away:

Towneley 22, st 42
Terrius tortor Say wherto abyde we here abowte,
Thise quenes with screemyng and with showte?
May no man thare wordys stere?
Primus tortor Go home, thou casbald, with that clowte!
Or, by that lord I leyfe and lowte,
Thou shall by it full dere!
Maria This thyng shall venyance call/
Magdalene on you holly in fere.
Secundus Go, by the hens with all /
iiijus tortor or yll hayll cam thou here!
iiijus tortor let all this bargan be/
syn all oure toyles ar before;
This tratoure and this tre/
I wold full fayn were thare.
iiijus tortor It nedys not hym to harll /
this cros dos hym great dere,
Bot yonder commys a carll /
shall help hym for to bere.

York 34, sts 20, 22 (cauda only), 23 (cauda only)
iiijus Mil Saie, wherto bide ye here abowte?
thare quenys, with yer skymeryng and yer schoute,
The Towneley version of this episode again is an abridgement of that found in the York play. Thus York st 20 corresponds to Towneley st 42. The York play then continues with st 21, which is not found in Towneley. Finally, the caudae of York sts 22 and 23 appear as part of Towneley st 42. The reductions made by Towneley therefore exclude from that dramatisation a short passage of dialogue between John and Mary, the mother of Jesus; some further hastening by the soldiers and more abuse of the women; and the observation by the third soldier of Jesus' weakness.

The final similarities between the York and Towneley plays are all connected with one major episode of the Processus Crucis, the meeting with Simon of Cyrene, who against his will, is obliged to bear Jesus' cross. The parallel passages affected are: York sts 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30 and Towneley sts 43-8 inclusive.
In these stanzas there are several examples of changes to the Northern dialect forms of the York text. Thus:

1. Y: Goode man, whedir is you away? becomes
   T: herk, good man, wheder art thou on away?
(see OED be, v. In the Northern dialect "is is used for all persons of the singular").

2. The Northern dialect bus, a contracted form of behoves.
(see OED bus, v. 3 sg.) is replaced in Towneley by must:
Y: That bus be done this same day
T: That must be done this same day.

3. Similarly Northern bathe in York becomes both in Towneley:

Y: Ease thy selfe and vs bathe
T: easse hym and thi self both.
and York lathe becomes Towneley loth in:
Y: But to dwelle were me lathe.
T: bot for to tary were full loth.
of however
Y: You walkis as you were wrothe.
T: Thou walkes as thou were wrath.

York 34, st 27; Towneley 22, st 45

In these stanzas, the Towneley text for the most part preserves the generally iambic rhythm of the York play. As may be seen from the quotations below, however, the York stanza has been constructed so that two lines of eight syllables are succeeded by one line of six syllables. The same format is repeated in the second triplet, and then each line of the final quatrains has six syllables:

No longer here now may I wone.
Nay, certis, you schalte no3t go so sone,
For ought yat you can saye.
Yis dede is moste haste to be done,
For yis boy muste be dede by none,
And nowe is nere myddaye.
Go helpe hym in yis nede,
And make no more delaye.

Symon
I praye yowe, dose youre dede,
And latis me wende my waye.

In contrast, the Towneley stanza fails to reproduce this careful attention to the syllabic structure of the line:

No longere may I hoyn
In fayth thou shall not go so soyn
Ifor noght that thou can say
This deed must nedys be done,
And this cearll be dede or noyn,
And now is here myd day;
And therfor help vs at this nede /
and make vs here no more delay.

Symon
I pray you do youre dede /
and let me go my way;

The first line of the stanza is reduced to six syllables, and the changes in the fourth and fifth lines are similarly reductive. The seventh and eighth lines on the other hand are increased to eight syllables. This kind of disruption of what in the York play is a syllabic-ally regular stanza is a further strong indicator that the Towneley version is the borrower. This appears to be confirmed by the following stanza, where a similar situation occurs:

York 34, st 28
And, Sirs, I schall come some agayne,
To helpe yis man with all my mayne,
And even at youre awne will.

Iijus Mil
What! wolde you trusse with such a trayne?
Nay, faiour, you schalte be fayne
Yis forward to fullfille,
Or, be myghty mahounde,
You schalte rewe it full Ille.

Iijus Mil
Late dyng yis dastarde doune,
But he goo tyte yer till.

Towneley 22, st 46
And I shall com full soyn agane,
To help this man with all my mayn,
At youre awne wyll.

Iijus tortor
what and wold thou trus with sich a trane?
Nay fatur, thou shall be full fayn,
This forward to fulfyll;
Or, by the myght of mahowme! /
thou shall lyke it full yll.

Primus tortor
Tytt, let dyng this dastard downe /
bot he lay hand ther tyll.

Thus:
Y: What! wolde you trusse with such a trayne? (8 syllables)
becomes in Towneley
what and wold thou trus with sich a trane? (9 syllables)
Similarly two six syllable lines in York become seven syllables in Towneley:

(a) Y: Or, be myghty mahounde
    T: Or, by the myght of mahowne

(b) Y: Late dyng wis dastarde doune
    T: Tytt, let dyng this dastard downe

However in one line Towneley, with a regular eight syllable line, offers the better reading:

    Y: Nay, faiour, you schalte be fayne
    T: Nay, fatur, thou shall be full fayn.

The differences between the next pair of stanzas appear to be of little significance, although Towneley prefers the immediacy of

Apon thi bak it shall be broght
Thou berys it wheder thou will or noght

to the more impersonal York rendering:

Towneley 22, st 47

Symon Certys, that were vunysely wroght,
To beytt me bot if I trespast oght
Aythere in worde or dede.

ijus tortor Apon thi bak it shall be broght,
Thou berys it wheder thou will or noght!
Dewyll! whom shuld we drede?
And therfor take it here belyfe /
And bere it furth, good spede.

Symon It helpis not here to strife /
bere it behoues me nede.

York 34, st 29

Symon Sertis, sir, yat wer nought wisely wrought,
To bete me, but I trespasid ought,
Outhir in worde or dede.

jus Mil Vppon his bakke it schall be brought,
To bere it, whedir he wille or noght.
What dewyll! whome schulde we drede?
Go, take it vppe belyve,
And bere it forths, goode spede.

Symon It helpis n3t here to strufe.
bere it behoues me nede.
The Towneley version of the following stanza is clearly a corruption of that found in York; for the York stanza follows the rhyme scheme aahaahcbch in which the remainder of the play is composed (see below p. 281). while the Towneley stanza, in varying the word order of the last four lines, produces an irregular final quatrain rhyming cdcd:

Towneley 22, st 48

And therfor, syrs, as ye haue sayde,  
To help this man I am well payde,  
As ye wold that it were.

iijus tortor  
A, ha! now ar we right arayde,  
but loke our e gere be re dy grade,  
To wyrk when we com there.

primus tortor  
I warand all re dy /  
cure toyles both moore and les,  
And sir symon tru ly /  
gose on before with cros.

York 34, st. 30

And yerfore, sirs, as 3e haue saide,  
To bere yis Crosse I holde me paied,  
Right as 3e wolde it wore.

ijus Mil  
3aa, nowe are we right arraied.  
Loke yat our e gere be re dy grayed,  
To wirke whanne we come yore.

ijus Mil  
I warand all re dy,  
Cure tooles, bothe lesse and mo re.  
Iate hym goo hardely  
Forthe with ye crosse before.

In this whole episode generally (York sts 24-30;  
Towneley sts 43-8) Towneley again abridges the York version  
by excluding York st 26. In this stanza Symon offers a  
fuller explanation of his haste:

  For Surete haue I hight  
  Muste be fulfillid yis nyght.

This analysis of stanzas common to the York and  
Towneley plays has shown therefore that there is little  
doubt but that the Towneley stanzas represent a clear  
case of borrowing from York on the part of that cycle.
How this came about it is of course not possible to say. Plainly the Towneley version is deficient in so far as it is an incomplete version of the York original; more particularly it also sometimes fails to record accurately the rhymes, rhythm and alliteration of the York stanzas. But the many other minor variations between the stanzas concerned could be either the result of imperfect transmission or of scribal 'improvements' in the copying stage, such as some of the dialect changes noted. Some could even be the result of a failure in memory on the part of some plagiariser familiar with the York pageants, for it is notable that rhyme and alliterative words are generally well transmitted, while it is the more minor link words in the line which most often fail. It seems most likely that the Towneley version is a combination of both these factors. It is of course also likely that the York text has suffered similarly some vicissitudes in transmission through several copying stages at the hands of different scribes, and occasionally, as has been shown, the Towneley reading is in fact preferable, particularly in rhythmical regularity.

IV

The York play of Christ led up to Calvary is composed for the most part in a ten-line stanza rhyming \( \text{aa}_1 \text{b}_1 \text{aa}_2 \text{b}_2 \text{c}_1 \text{c}_2 \text{b}_3 \). (Frampton is therefore mistaken in identifying the rhyme of the cauda as \( \text{cdcd}^{(5)} \)). The only variations are:

(a) the first stanza of fifteen lines, rhyming \( \text{ababcdedfeef}^{(6)} \)

(b) stanza 26, rhyming \( \text{aabccbdde} \), the result of a failure to sustain the \( a \) and \( b \) rhymes.

(c) an additional extra-metrical line (st 6, 1.60).
The fundamental regularity of the stanza in this play, with the single exception of the opening stanza, indicates a composition made as a whole at one time without subsequent revision. This point is of some importance when considering Frampton's theories about this play, which have been previously outlined (p. 271). It is his view that at some date between 1415 and c.1420 the whole play was revised to include a preliminary scene (sts 1-10) and a final scene (sts 31-35). The first irregular stanza either formed part of this or a later revision. At an earlier date, Towneley had borrowed certain stanzas from the previous version of the York play (sts 11, 13, 20, the caudae of sts 22 and 23, sts 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30).

Frampton's hypothesis apparently assumes that the reviser of the York play took up again the stanza of the earlier version and that upon the existing framework he added sts 1-10, 12, 14, a lost episode, sts 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, the sestet of sts 22 and 23, sts 26, 31-35. Even limiting Frampton's theory to the preliminary and the final scene, it would seem unlikely that a reviser would be able to take up a stanza used earlier and weld it so successfully to portions of an earlier play as to make those revised sections indistinguishable from the remainder. It may be noted that Frampton's theory derives from interpretations of Burton's list and the York records and no metrical or other analysis of the text is produced to substantiate this view.

The stanza form of this play does not occur elsewhere in the York cycle, and various theories have been advanced concerning the date of composition of this play and thus its relation to other parts of the cycle.

Gayley suggests that the play is the work of a writer
of the second period of composition (The Metrist), but that it has been 'retouched' by the writer whose work is the latest in the cycle (The Realist). (7)

Chambers agrees that "it is conceivable" that the Metrist is responsible for the whole of this play. (8)

Greg on the other hand proposes that the first stanza only is the work of the later author (The Realist) (9) and Reese supports this view. (10)

Frampton considers Gayley's views and suggests that the play was "at least rewritten at the time when the realist was doing his work". (11)

McNeir on grounds of content rather than metre similarly believes that the Realist may have revised this play, since a worldly viewpoint is maintained in the to-do about Sir Wymond and the procurement problem presented by the cross (11. 46-86) as well as the bourgeois preoccupations advanced by Simon in excusing himself from cross-bearing (11.231-93). (12)

In an attempt to resolve these very differing views about the play, it is proposed to examine initially the first stanza of the play, singled out by Greg and Reese as the work of the York Realist. Frampton similarly believes that the opening fifteen lines of the play are new, but he sees no way to determine whether the lines were written at the time when the play was, as he believes, revised to include the first and last scenes or later: "A poet is not confined to one meter or verse form and the lines differ from the rest of the play, in all probability, because of the fact that they fall into the Herod tradition of opening speeches in highly alliterative verse". But Frampton agrees that the lines have "all the earmarks" of late writing: "They are highly alliterative and are so burdened with extra syllables as to suggest scansion in
five feet instead of four. The stanza form, too, is very late." (13)

Metrical, the opening stanza of the play is clearly in a very different style from the stanzas which succeed it. The lines begin a direct address to the audience by the first soldier, and the style generally is that of the familiar rant used at the beginning of most of the alliterative plays of the Passion Group, and found also in the Towneley cycle. Long lines in groups of four, two, three and two are interspersed by shorter lines with two and three chief stresses. The long lines are heavy with alliteration:

Stirre noȝt ones in Yis stede / But stonde stone stille (1.2)

but a basic four-stress line with a variable number of intermediate syllables and a strongly marked central caesura is discernible:

But ge späre when I speke, youre spèche schall I spille (1.4)

Alliteration features also in the shorter lines:

Smértely and góne (1.5)

Yis kætiffe care to engrées (1.15)

In contrast all the remaining stanzas of the play are composed in a style in which alliteration is used to ornament lines with a basically iambic rhythm. Moreover there is no difference between the metrical style of those stanzas common to York and Towneley and that of those stanzas which are proposed by Frampton as later York revisions.

To deal first with the lines of the sestet, rhyming aabaab, the first example is taken from the common York/Towneley stanzas in the sequence where Simon is forced to bear the cross:
Andyence, sirs, as 3e haue saide
To bere pis Cross I holde me paied
Right as 3e wolde it wone (11.291-3)

The first two lines each have four chief stresses, while the third line has three. Alliteration in the first line is of the type \textit{xaxa}, but in the second, alliteration fails completely; in the third line, the type \textit{xaa} occurs. In these lines the movement of the verse is predominantly iambic.

A typical cauda presents a similar metrical structure with lines of three stresses:

\begin{verbatim}
That you wilte take pis tree
And bere it to callyere.
Goode sirs, yat may nouzt be,
For ful grete haste haue I. (11.247-50)
\end{verbatim}

Again alliteration fails in the second and third lines, although the first line again alliterates (\textit{xaa}) as does the fourth line if \textit{h} is admitted to alliterate with a vowel. The rhythm is similarly iambic, with the exception of the uneven second line, where the metre appears to force a major stress on the second syllable of callyere.

With these examples one may compare the following lines, taken from the five final stanzas of the play, stanzas which Frumpton believes are later additions, and which deal with the Casting of Lots:

\begin{verbatim}
That calle I accordand thyng
But till his sidis I trwe yei clyng
For bloode yat he has bloode. (11.314-6)
\end{verbatim}

The first two lines again have four chief stresses, and the third line three. In the first line, in a 'normal' reading, the word \textit{calle} does not seem to take a major
stress, although it may be that this word is intended to alliterate with *accordand* and thus form the alliterative type *abba* rather than *axxa*. The second and third lines are of the alliterative types *axax* and *axa*; and there is throughout the same fundamentally iambic rhythm.

The same metrical style is found in a typical cauda from the first ten stanzas of the play, again with three chief stresses in each line, and an iambic rhythm:

> Vs bus haue sties and ropes
> To ruges hyme tille he rue
> And nayles and othir Japes
> If weoure seleue wille sue. (11.52-55)

The second and fourth lines alliterate *axa* and *xaax*, but alliteration fails in the first and third lines, as it does generally in a high proportion of the lines of the play. (14)

With these examples from Play 34 one may compare the metrical style of the octave of Play 26 in two lines very typical of that play and of the other alliterative plays generally:

> For he pervertisoure pepull / That proues his prechyng
> And for that poynle ye schulde prese / His pooste to paire (11.113-4)

Here one finds in contrast a strongly marked central caesura; very pronounced chief stresses, all with the same alliterative sound (for the stress on the first rather than the second syllable of *pervertis*, see p.10); lines linked in pairs by alliteration; and most important, a larger number of unstressed syllables separating the chief stresses, a feature which considerably increases the syllabic value and thus the length of each line.
As far as Play 34 is concerned therefore, it appears that the first stanza may well be the work of the Realist as Greg and Reese propose, or that it was at least composed separately from the remainder of the play. The metrical style, as Brampton suggests, may indicate a late date of composition, although it cannot of course be confirmed that poetry of the type identified in the main body of this play was not composed at the same period as the work of the alliterative school. It is clear, however, that the bulk of the play is not composed in the metrical style by which the work of the Realist has always been identified, although it may be contemporary with the work of that writer, as Brampton suggests, or even revised by him, since as McNeil points out, the dramatisation generally is a very realistic one. The ascription of the play by Gayley and Chambers to the Metrist of the second period of composition cannot therefore be completely ruled out.

In only one minor respect do the stanzas in question resemble the work ascribed to the Realist, in the linking of lines by alliteration, although this does not occur with the regularity observed in Play 26 (see p.12). The most frequent link (8/35 stanzas) occurs between the second and third lines of the stanza, rhyming aab, but alliterative links occur also:
(a) in the second triplet (3 sts)
(b) between the last two lines of the stanza (5 sts)
(c) and elsewhere in the stanza.

The linking of lines by alliteration virtually ceases from st 25 onwards. Only sts 8 and 9 are linked by alliteration.
Both Iyle(19) and Foster(20) have put forward the view that parallels of structure and language exist between this play, the corresponding dramatisation in Towneley play 22 and the *Northern Passion*, and that this is the result of the dependence of the two cycles upon that poem. The first of these passages occurs in the episode where Jesus on the way to Calvary bids the daughters of Jerusalem mourn for themselves and not for him:

**York 34, 161-76**

Doughteres of Jerusalem Cytte,  
Sees, and mournes no more for me,  
But thynkes vppon this thyng.  
For youre selfe mourne schall see,  
And for ye sonnes yat borne schal be  
Of yowe, bothe olde and yonge.  
For such fare schall befalle  
That 3e schall giffe blissyng  
To barayne bodies all,  
That no barnes forthe may brynge.  
For certis 3e schall see suche a day  
That with sore sighyng schall 3e saye  
Vnto 3e hillis on highe,  
"Falle on vs, mountaynes, and 3e may,  
And couere vs fro yat felle affraye  
That on vs some schall light."

**NP. 11.1531-48e**

"3e doghters of ierusalem  
And wifes out of bedleem,  
Nomore now 3e murn for me,  
ffor no sorow 3e on me se;  
Bot for 3owre self wepe 3e 3is day  
And for 3owre childer murn 3e may;  
ffor 3e daies er cumand fast  
Yat all ioy sall be fra 3ow past;  
Opon 3owre famers sal 3e cry  
And on 3owre moders and say in hy:  
'ffaders, wharto war we born?  
Wikked werdes er vs byforn;  
Moders, wharto war we wroght?  
Better war vs haue bene noght,  
Vnto 3e hillis yan sall 3e say,  
And vnto mountaynes in 3e way:  
'Hilles, falles doune on vs in fere
And nowtayne on ye same manere,  
Downe opon vs fast 3e fall  
Out of 3is care to couer vs all.  
And vs 3an sall 3e say sertayne:  
’Blisced be 3e bodis 3at er barayne,  
’At in 3is world neuer childer bare.’  

Towneley 22, 11.338-45  
ye doghters of Jerusalem  
I byd you wepe nothyng for me,  
Bot for youre self and youre barn-teme  
behald I tell you securle,  
Sore paynes ar ordand for this reme  
in dayes hereafter for to be;  
youre myrth to bayll it shal downe streme  
in every place of this cyte.  
Childer, certys, thay shal blys  
women baren that neuer child bare,  
And pappes that neuer gaf sowke, Iwys  
thus shal thare hartys for scorow be sare;  
The montayns hy and thise greatt hyllys  
ffor my bloode that sacleis is  
to shede and spyll thay will not spare.  

When these three versions are compared, it is clear  
that the basic elements which they all share derive from  
Luke 23, 28-31:  

Conversus autem ad illas Iesus, dixit: Filiae  
Ierusalem, nolite flere super me, sed super vos  
ipsas flete et super filios vestros.  
Quoniam ecce venient dies in quibus dicent:  
Beatae steriles, et ventres qui non genuerunt,  
et ubera quae non lactaverunt.  
Tunc incipient dicere montibus: Cadite super  
vos, et collibus: Operite nos.  
Quia si in viridi ligno haec faciunt, in arido  
quid fiet?  

The three texts all include the opening address,  
Daughters of Jerusalem, but thereafter they are all  
separate workings of the Gospel account. Thus:  

Nolite flere super me becomes  
mournes no more for me (York)  
Nomore now 3e murn for me (Northern Passion)  
I byd you wepe nothyng for me (Towneley)  

Dicent, Beatae steriles becomes
The other similarities between York, Towneley and the Northern Passion occur in the episode of Simon and the
bearing of the cross. The three Gospel accounts of this
episode are very sparse:

Et cum ducerent eum, apprehenderunt Simonem
quendam Cyrenensem venientem de villa: et imposuerunt

Et angariaverunt praetereuntem quempiam, Simonem
Cyrenensem venientem de villa, patrem Alexandri et Rufi,
ut tolleret crucem eius. (Mark 15, 21).

Exeuntes autem invenerunt hominem Cyrenaeum, nomine
Simonem: hunc angariaverunt ut tolleret crucem eius.
(Matthew 27, 32).

The York/Northern Passion/Towneley versions on the
other hand have certain incidents and ideas in common.

Foster pointed out a parallel between Towneley 22,
353ff and the Northern Passion (MS Cotton Tiberius E vii)
11.1567-8; (23) and later between York 34, 227-30 and the
Northern Passion, 11.1567-8 in the following passages: (4)

York 34, 227-30
It nedis nōt harde to harle
Sen it dose hym slike dere.
I Se here comes a karle,
Shall helpe hym for to bere.

NP. 11.1567-8
And yis grete biryn yat he beres
To gang with all mekill him deres;

Towneley 22, 358-9
It nedys not hym to harll /
this cros dos hym greatt dere,
Bot yonder commys a carll /
shall help hym for to bere.

The similarity between the York and Towneley versions is
of course the result of Towneley borrowing (see p.274) but
what is shared with the Northern Passion is the idea, not
found in the Gospels, that the Jews observed Jesus'
weariness and therefore obliged Simon to bear the cross
for him. The Northern Passion is not necessarily the
original source, however, of what is a fairly obvious
deduction. The only similarity in wording between York/Towneley and the Northern Passion is in the rhyme, bere and deres.

Foster noted one other parallel between Towneley 22, 369ff and the Northern Passion in MS Cotton Tiberius E vii. Later she drew attention to the similarity between York 34, 242-4 and the Northern Passion, 11.1563-4.

York 34, 242-8
Loo, here a ladde yat muste be ledde
For his ille dedis to dye.
And he is brosid and all forbledde,
That makis vs here yat stille be stedde.
We pray ye, sir, forthy,
That you wilte take yat tree
And bere it to caluerye.

NP. 11.1563-72
A man es here omanges vs led
yat very es and all for bled,
...
And if you will now for cure sake
Of yat man ye rode tre take
And bere it furth where it suld be,
Mekill wald we thank ye."

Towneley 22, 369-74
lo here a lad that must be led
for his yll dedys to dy,
And he is bressed and all for bled,
That makys vs here thus stratly sted;
we pray the, sir, for-thi
That thou will take this tre /
bere it to caluary.

Again the Towneley version depends upon that of York (see p.275) but the similarity with the Northern Passion depends upon the description of Jesus' condition and the courtesy with which the initial request is made of Simon. Actual parallels of language again relate only to use of the rhyme words led, forbled.

The York/Towneley and Northern Passion accounts
continue similarly:
Simon refuses to bear the cross;
The Jews are angry and demand compliance with threats;
Simon realises he has no choice and takes up the cross.

But there are in these episodes no parallels of language between York/Towneley (which are identical at this point) and the Northern Passion (11.1573-85).

It appears therefore that the minor similarities so far identified do not confirm positively that the York and Towneley dramatisations of Christ led up to Calvary depend upon the Northern Passion. Both Foster and Lyle, however, observed several instances in which the York play appeared to follow the Northern Passion whereas the Towneley play did not. Three short sections of text are those affected, the first being a reference to the legends surrounding the cross itself, which are dealt with in some detail in the Northern Passion.(27)

**York 34, 64-6**

†is crosse, as yhe may see,
Of †at laye ouere †e lake,
Men called it †e kyngis tree.

**NP. 11.781-2**

†e kinges tre, I rede, †e take,
†e whilk †e laid ouer †e lake

Lyle additionally detected a similarity here to the Towneley play,(28) although the wording is rather different:

**Towneley 22, 242-3**

Syrs, we may be fayn /
ffor I haue fon a tree,
I tell you in certan /
it is of greatt bewtee.

Another similarity between York and the Northern Passion observed by Lyle(29) (Foster having previously
noted the dependence of York 34, 11.100-1 upon the Northern Passion, 11.1515-6) concerned the decision that Jesus should himself carry the cross:

**York 34, 98-101**

But whiche of yowe schall beere yis tree, ...
Be my feithe, bere it schall hee
vat yeron hanged sone schall bee.

**NP. 11.1513-6**

Van yai strafe als yai war wode
Whilk of yam suld bere ye rode;
And sum said, "bere it sal he
vat yer on suld hanged be."

In the Towneley play, 11.251-2, there is no question about who shall do the carrying. The first torturer instructs Jesus:

This cros vp thou take /
and make the redy bowne;
Without gruchyng thou rake /
and bere it throug the towne;

In both these cases, the passages concerned come from the first scene of the York play, which contains material which Towneley does not otherwise dramatise. The passages which are quoted above from that play are in the stanza associated with the work of the Wakefield Master, and therefore of later date than the York play.

Foster observed one final parallel of language between the York play, 11.289-90 and the Northern Passion, 11.1581-2 and this view was supported by Lyle. (31) (32)

**York 34, 289-90**

It helpis nost here to striue,
Bere it behoues me nede.

**NP. 11.1581-2**

Symon saw it was no bote
Ogaynes so many forto mote.
The corresponding Towneley passage is, of course, borrowed from York (see p. 279 above), but the similarity between York and the Northern Passion is not particularly convincing, since the concept expressed arises quite naturally out of the events described. The first two passages therefore present the strongest argument for the views of Iyle and Foster, and as they suggest, it may be therefore that the Northern Passion had some part in providing material for the first scene of the York play, but no evidence supports their view that the Northern Passion is also a source for the Towneley play.

It might be thought from the preceding discussion that the York play is almost entirely related in one way or another to the Towneley dramatisation or to the Northern Passion. In fact it contains quite a large amount of material which is quite individual to its own treatment of the subject.

The play opens with a fairly long introductory scene (sts 1-10), which begins in the usual style with a direct address to the audience. The first soldier demands the assistance of the spectators "yeis kaitiffe care to encrees", and they are warned against offering any support to a traitor. A space has to be cleared through their very ranks so that Jesus may pass to Calvary (11.16-18), and the onlookers are challenged to offer their dissent to his death, "Latte see who dare saie naye" (1.21). All this preliminary action obviously draws the audience as participants into the action of the play, and it effectively demolishes the barrier of time which divides those watching the play from events which took place in the distant past. Thus as the play proceeds, Christ is sent anew to his death, and it seems to be almost within the grasp of those watching to intervene and prevent Pilate's sentence from
being carried out. This opening speech also serves to recall Jesus' sufferings immediately prior to the action of this particular play, his sleepless night, and the way he has been derided as a king and crowned with thorns.

A tremendous sense of urgency impels the action of the play onward, for the crucifixion, it is continually emphasised, must take place before the Sabbath begins. The soldiers are anxious to gather together all their companions and the materials which they will need for their task. A third soldier, who has been away to obtain the cross, arrives to describe progress — the cross has been prepared, and the two thieves have been sent ahead. Then the group arranges for the other materials which they will need.

Frampton is confident that the scene "represents creative writing on the part of the poet who was revising the play for the Shearmen, its new sponsors in the 'second list'". His conclusion rests upon two factors: the scene has "exerted no slightest influence upon Towneley", and it is "so distinctly more advanced than the rest of the play in its realism". It is however possible that for some reason the scene was not taken over by Towneley at the time of the other borrowings, or it may have been taken over, then later dropped at the time when the play was revised by the Wakefield Master. The realism which Frampton comments upon may be the result of the freedom of the writer from the authority of previous works in the construction and dramatization of an episode (as was found to be the case in the first scene of Play 30 and in the whole of the Trial before Herod).

Although the Towneley play (sts 25-7) does not contain material of the kind described above, Gayley
thought that Towneley st 25 was "based upon stanza 2 [3 in this present edition] of that part of York 34 which is not taken over by the Wakefield play". This view has been challenged by Frampton but without explanation, and repeated by Lyle who apparently confirms Cayley's opinion by noting that three rhyme words thorne, skorne and bloode are retained in the Towneley version. In Towneley the passage occurs in the Wakefield Master's dramatisation of the crowning with thorns:

Lo! here a crowne of thorne /
To perch his brane within,
Putt on his hede with skorne /
And gar thyrrill the skyn.
Hayll kyng! where was thou borne /
Sich worship for to wyn?
We kneele all the before / 
And the to prefe will we not blyn,
That be thou bold;
Now by mahowmes bloode!
Ther will no mete do me goode
To he be hanged on a roode,
And his bones be cold. (11.233-41)

The York stanza is, of course, a reminiscence of events dramatised in the previous York play:

We haue bene besie all pis morne
To clothe hym and to crowne with thorne,
As falles for a fole kyng.
And nowe me thynkith our felawe skorne;
They highte to haue ben here pis morne,
Pis faitour forthes to bring.
To nasse nowe is noyt goode.
We! howe! high myght he hyng!
Pees, man, for mahoundes bloode.
Why make ye such Crying? (11.26-35).

The relationship between these stanzas appears therefore to be of a very limited nature, although it is of course possible that the Wakefield Master may have been influenced by the York play, as has been noticed elsewhere.

Apart from this opening sequence, there is also certain subject matter in the main part of the York play
which is not to be found in Towneley:

(1) In the lament of John, the first two stanzas of which are identical with Towneley, there is an intermediate stanza (st 12) in the York play (see p. 272 above), and also part of a final stanza (st 14) referring to John's proposed visit to the Maries, at which point the manuscript breaks off.

(2) The manuscript resumes with a lament (probably by the mother of Jesus). An allusion to such a lament is made in the Towneley play, 1.253, but does not appear in the extant play.

(3) The third Mary then wipes Jesus' face and a miraculous imprint of his features appears upon the cloth (York, st 19). The Additional Manuscript of the Northern Passion contains an account of this episode, but the central character is the maiden Sidomye.

(4) John then agrees to lead the women to Calvary (York 11.204-5).

(5) As in Towneley, the soldiers complain at the wailing of the women, but the episode is rather longer in York (York sts 22, 11.211-16; 23, 11.221-6).

(6) A single stanza, York st 26, omitted from the Towneley borrowings, gives Simon's reason for his unwillingness to bear the cross, an explanation which does not derive from the Northern Passion (NP. 11.1557: "ffor erandis yat he had to do").

It is not clear why Towneley fails to take over these sections of the Towneley play while on the other hand following York so closely in certain other stanzas, but it seems that Towneley either retained portions of its own earlier play, which was revised with the assistance of borrowings from York; or that borrowings from York were themselves revised and pieced out with later additions.
The York play concludes with five stanzas which
contain material which is not found in Towneley. In the
course of these lines, Jesus is stripped, although his
clothes cling to him with his blood (11.310-21); the
soldiers agree to divide the garment into three after the
 Crucifixion unless Pilate intervenes (11.322-3); Jesus
is bound before being led away (11.334-43); and finally
the audience is informed that the destination of the group
is Calvary (11.349-50). The Northern Passion (11.1589ff)
has a similar account of Jesus being stripped on arrival
at Calvary and having lots cast on his clothes, but there
are no parallels in wording with the York episode.

It is Frampton's contention that Burton's lists,
"enable us to be assured that the opening and
closing scenes of the play as registered are new
and that some revision of the middle of the play
also took place."

This is a heavy reliance to place upon the accuracy of
Burton's description of 1415 and the evidence of the second
list, which at best only offered the possibility that the
final five stanzas of the York play were added after 1422.
It is also possible that the extant play is a reversion to
a situation existing before 1415. It is upon the basis of
this contention that Frampton reaches a further conclusion,
that Towneley is reflecting not the registered version of
the York play but the Burton version. Frampton therefore
appears to be putting forward the view that an earlier
version of the York play existed which excluded the first
ten stanzas, the last five stanzas, and certain stanzas
from the main body of the play, and that it was this earlier
version from which Towneley made its borrowings. Frampton
himself recognises some problems with this theory:

"Unfortunately Towneley, whose treatment of the
Veronica episode would be definitive, inserts its
interpolation at this point, resuming identity with
York immediately after, but only after the York
treatment of the subject. The point at issue, then must be left in some degree of uncertainty. This uncertainty is so slight, however, that I am of the opinion that Towneley, in its "identical" stanzas and the five not in the registered York play (Towneley sts 30-4) does reflect the earlier or Burton version of the play."

The major difficulty about this theory is that the York play is composed throughout in one stanza of a fairly complex type, rhyming aabaababcb, and there is no trace whatever from a metrical point of view that the play was not composed as a whole at one point in time. Major revisions of the kind that Frampton suggests, affecting preliminary and final portions of the play and also intermediate stanzas, would surely have left some mark upon the play had they occurred. On this basis therefore, Frampton's theories are difficult to substantiate. It seems much more likely that Towneley merely borrowed from the extant York play only such sections as were required.

The Towneley dramatisation of Christ led up to Calvary includes several episodes which have no part either in the York play or the Northern Passion:

1. Stanzas 30-4 depict John's visit to Mary, the mother of Jesus, Mary Magdalene, and Mary, the mother of James. John tells them of the imminence of the crucifixion and he takes them to meet Jesus as he is led, bearing the cross. The Northern Passion omits any mention of John at this point, or his visit to the Marias, or that he accompanied them to their meeting with Jesus.

2. Stanzas 35-7 dramatise the sorrowful meeting between mother and son on the way to Calvary, with Mary offering to bear her son's cross, and being given an account of the purpose of Christ's death and resurrection.

Neither of these episodes appears in the York play,
but it will be recalled that there is a gap in the manuscript just at the point where John decides to go to Mary. Several critics have therefore suggested that the missing York stanzas survive in the Towneley play:

Davidson observes that Towneley at this point "apparently agrees in general with the lost Y", although Towneley later "introduces Mary's attempt to take the cross, and departs otherwise from the York stanzas extant". (38)

Cady similarly comments that "it seems reasonable to suppose ... that sts 30-4 in Towneley are a quotation from the part of York which is missing". (39)

Gayley also regards Towneley sts 30-4 as preserving "portions that are missing from the York manuscript and have been regarded as lost". (40)

No explanation of these deductions is given by any of these writers.

Frampton on the other hand puts forward a different view, noting that while "the temptation is great to look upon [these] five Towneley stanzas [30-4] as restoring most of the lost York text ... such seems not to be the case ... for Towneley is innocent of the York stanza 13 [14] after the pedes of which ... the York lacuna begins, knows nothing of the present York stanza 11 [12] before the lacuna and stanzas 20 [21] and 25 [26] after the identity resumes and resumes that 'identity' with York, not at the end of the lacuna but seven stanzas later." (41)

As has been demonstrated, the Towneley borrowings from York are both selective and reductive, and this point would appear to answer Frampton's objection, since a divergence between York and Towneley before the manuscript gap in York at st 14 is only a similar omission to York sts 12, 19, 21, 26, and the frons of sts 22 and 23, which are also omitted from Towneley. Moreover the general outline at this point
in the two plays is similar.

Following the manuscript gap York contains:
  Two laments (sts 15 and 16);
  The 'Daughters of Jerusalem' speech (sts 17, 18).
  The Veronica episode (st 19).

Towneley contains:
  John's visit to the Maries (sts 30-4);
  Mary's meeting with Jesus; her offer to bear
  the cross; Jesus' account of his death and
  burial (sts 35-7);

Towneley then continues, as does York, although each
with varying treatments, with stanzas dealing with the
lament of the Maries (sts 36-9) and Jesus' reply to them,
'Daughters of Jerusalem' (sts 40-1). Towneley, however,
omits any treatment of York st 19, dealing with the
Veronica episode.

The most important evidence of the relation between
the two plays is undoubtedly to be found in a comparison
of the poetic forms in which the plays are composed. The
York play is of course composed throughout in stanzas
rhyming aabaabcbcb. Towneley sts 30-4 (the stanzas
dealing with John's visit to Mary) are composed in the
same form, as are the preceding sts 28 and 29 which, as
has been shown, derive directly from York.

It would therefore appear as Davidson, Cady and Gayley
suggest, that Towneley sts 30-4 are York stanzas lost from
the York play. (42)

On the other hand, the parts of the play which follow
in Towneley are composed in different stanza forms:
1. Mary's meeting with Jesus, in a twelve-line form,
rhyming abababababab (st 35), and an eight-line form
rhyming abababab (sts 36 and 37).
2. The lament of the Maries, in eight-line forms rhyming ababacae (st 38) and abababab (st 39).

3. Jesus' address to the Daughters of Jerusalem, in an eight-line form rhyming abababab (st 40) and a twelve-line form rhyming abababababcdcd (st 41). The fact that this section begins and ends with twelve-line stanzas and has four intermediate eight-line stanzas suggests that it was perhaps composed as a whole at one time.

Cady regards the whole series of stanzas from st 35-43 as a revision by a Towneley quatrains editor who rewrote portions of the York plays which he borrowed. Yet Towneley st 42 is not so much a revision as a direct borrowing from York sts 20, 22 and 23, and Towneley st 43 is similarly borrowed directly from York st 24.

In his argument, Towneley st 35 is "the first in quatrains". On this basis he proposes that the Towneley stanzas seem to be "an enlargement of a York original, since the first quatrain is metrically like the York cauda and forms an extra four lines on an eight line stanza". Since Cady is proposing a similarity between a Towneley twelve-line stanza rhyming ababababcdcd and a York ten-line stanza rhyming aabaabcbb, his theory seems ingenious but somewhat tenuous.

Cady's theory regarding st 35 does not appear to extend, however, to the other stanzas of this series. He notes that Towneley sts 36 and 37 are double quatrains "the York equivalent of which is lacking" and proposes that Towneley sts 38 and 39 (the Laments of the Maries) "may be a faint echo of York 14 or 15 [sts 15 and 16] but if so they are much revised". Neither York nor Towneley appear to follow either the Northern Passion here or Luke, both of which seem to provide merely the authority for the inclusion of this
material:

NP. 11.1525-6, 1+, 2+.  
Fare folowd him ful mekill rout,  
By fore, byhind and all obtout;  
Sum for him wepid ful sare  
And sum war fain of his misfare.

NP. 11.19+40+, 1527.  
And when yai come with owten towne,  
ffull drerely yai sett yam doune,  
With mekyll wa so gan yai wepe,  
And sat in care crist forto kepe.  
...  
Wemen foloud maniane  
Yat murned and made mekill mane  
for inesu sake yai wepid sare.

Luke 23, 27  
Sequebatur autem illum multa turba populi  
et mulierum, quae plangebant et lamentabantur eum.

Towneley st 40, Cady believes, corresponds with York st 17, "the editing of Towneley from York is obvious". As has been shown, however, the similarity here appears to be the result of use of common sources, and it is not of the "identical" type found in Towneley sts 28, 29, 42-8.

There are a number of explanations possible for the relationship between Towneley sts 35-41 and the extant York play, and on the evidence available, it does not seem possible to clarify whether these stanzas are remains of an earlier Towneley play, an interpolation,(44) or as Cady proposes, a revision at a later date than the borrowing from York. As Cayley suggests, the whole second half of Towneley play 22 may be an "imitation sometimes loose, sometimes literal" of the York play.(45) Further possibilities are offered by Gayley, who regards Towneley sts 35-42 as "either an insertion or a copy of some older discarded play of York"(46) and by Lyle, who regards the
whole relationship between the York and Towneley plays as obvious evidence of a parent play from which both derive. Since the York play is extant, however, in a completely regular stanzaic form, with no obvious signs of revision, it would seem that it was the extant York play from which Towneley borrowed selectively, piecing out these borrowings with an earlier remnant or a later revision for sts 35-41.

At the end of the Towneley play a single stanza (st 49) follows immediately upon a large group of stanzas deriving from York, and this stanza, rounding off the play, covers the soldiers' departure, with Simon bearing the cross. The nine-line form, rhyming ababcdcc, in which it is composed is probably a variant of that identified as representing the work of the Wakefield Master (a view put forward by Cady). Carey similarly believes that this stanza is a variant of the Wakefield Master's nine-line form, one which she thought had not been named by any of the later critics as belonging to the Wakefield Group. She argues that the form represents the thirteen-line stanza "with half of its pedes missing", and this is supported in her view by the subject matter of the stanza:

"The first 27 stanzas of this play, which undoubtedly belong to the Wakefield Group, include the account of the torturers at work. It is natural that the reviser should end the play with one of his stanzas describing the exit of these torturers. Moreover, the lack of half the pedes occurs in stanzas which are unmistakably by the Wakefield Author."(49)

There appears to be no way to substantiate Carey's view, and this stanza may well therefore represent final editorial work, possibly by the Wakefield Master, to complete the play.
Summary and Conclusions

1. The manuscript of the play lacks one leaf containing an estimated seventy lines of text. Otherwise the play is a good copy from an earlier manuscript, with very few errors. The alignment of lines in the first stanza indicates that this section is in some way separate from the remainder of the play. The style Primum miles Incipit also separates the text of the play slightly from the transcripts of the other plays of the Passion Group.

2. Burton's list of 1415 offers a description which is not entirely accurate of the extant play. In particular it omits to include the content of the last five stanzas, a preliminary treatment of the Casting of Lots. On the evidence of Burton's description of Play 33 and a York record of 1422, this part of the play at least may have been written after 1422, as Frampton suggests, or the whole play may record an arrangement existing prior to 1415.

3. The subject matter of the York play is found in Towneley play 22, sts 25-49, and certain stanzas and episodes correspond very closely with the York play. On the basis that Towneley abridges York, alters the syllabic structure of the York line, alters and destroys rhyme and alliteration, substitutes words and phrases, sometimes for the Northern dialect forms of the York text, and makes many other minor alterations, the Towneley stanzas are shown to represent a clear case of borrowing from York.

4. The York play, with the exception of the first stanza, is composed in a ten-line form, rhyming $a_a b_a a_b c_b c_b^3$, with only minor variations in sts 6 and 26. The York play therefore appears to have been composed as a whole at one time and has not been subsequently revised.

5. The theory of Frampton (that the play was revised 1415-20 to include sts 1-10, a final scene (sts 31-35) and certain intermediate sections) is thought to be improbable, since the metre shows no sign of the disturbance normally associated with extensive revision.

6. Various opinions regarding the period of composition of this play are considered. The first stanza of the play is found to be in the alliterative style identified first in Play 26; but the rest of the play (including sections identified by Frampton as original work and later revisions) is composed in a different style, in which alliteration is not fundamental to the structure of the line but ornaments lines with a basically iambic rhythm. Moreover many lines in this part of the play lack alliteration. The first
stanza could therefore be the work of the Realist; it was at least composed separately from the remainder of the play. The bulk of the play is probably contemporary with the work of that writer, although it is not in the style by which his work is identified. It is, however, a dramatisation in a very realistic manner. The play could therefore be the work of the Metrist of Gayley and Chambers' second period of composition. It resembles the work of the Realist only in so far as it contains lines linked by alliteration, although this virtually ceases after st 25.

7. The theory of the dependence of the York and Towneley plays upon the Northern Passion, advanced by Postle and by Lyte, is examined. Jesus' address to the Daughters of Jerusalem in both plays probably derives from the Gospel of Luke, and in Towneley it is not edited from York as Cady proposed. The Towneley play in this passage either preserves a remnant of its own earlier play, or the lines may be a later revision made after the borrowings from York. A second episode, of Simon and the bearing of the cross, again fails to indicate positively that the Northern Passion has been used either by York or Towneley.

8. There are however two details in the York dramatisation which seem to indicate that that play alone depends to a minor extent upon the Northern Passion, and these both occur in the first scene of the York play. There is no evidence on the other hand that the Northern Passion is also a source for the Towneley play.

9. The York dramatisation contains certain features which are not found either in the Towneley play or in the Northern Passion, and these occur principally in the introductory episode of ten stanzas. Brampton's theory, that this scene represents a revision to the play, a new piece of creative writing for the Shearmen, made between 1415 and 1422, is considered, but it is thought more likely that this section of the play, among others, was merely rejected by Towneley at the period of the other York borrowings, or it could have been dropped at a later date at the time of the Wakefield Master's work upon the play. Arising out of Gayley's theory regarding Towneley st 25, there is even the possibility that the Wakefield Master was influenced in his dramatisation of the crowning with thorns by a passage in the York play.

Various explanations are possible of Towneley's failure to take over all the material of the York play: Towneley may have preferred to retain certain portions of its own text, which was revised on the basis of borrowings from York, or the borrowings from York could themselves have been revised and supplemented by later additions. On the evidence available, it does not seem possible to
confirm either of these possibilities.

10. Frampton's theory (that Towneley borrowed from the earlier York play recorded by Burton in 1415) is considered, but it seems far more probable that Towneley merely chose to take over certain parts of the extant York play while rejecting others.

11. The Towneley play contains certain material which is not found either in the York play or in the Northern Passion. Previous critical opinions are reviewed, and it is concluded that Towneley sts 30-34 may be definitely identified as that section which has been lost from the York play as a result of the leaf missing from the manuscript.

12. Towneley sts 35-41 may again be either remnants from an earlier Towneley play, or they may be an interpolation or a revision at a later date than the borrowing from York, but other theories of Gayley (that Towneley sts 35-42 are an insertion of a copy of a discarded York play) and Lyle (that the situation is explained by a parent York/Towneley play) are found to be untenable.

13. The views of Cady and of Carey regarding Towneley st 49 (the final stanza of the play) are considered. This stanza may represent final editorial work, possibly by the Wakefield Master.
CHAPTER 10

PLAY 35

CRUCIFIXIO CHRISTI

Two solutions have been given to the task in later hands: one, that the pageant at the time of the play was associated with the Passion; the other, that it was the first act of the Passion Play. As both are reasonable and of equal importance in determining the actual source of the play, there is no reason to prefer either.

In Burton's list of 1859 the play is recorded as being the collective responsibility of the tenants, inns, and inns of London, and described as

Orux, same extent in an unlit current. Illust.

Determined flagellation by the latter and the ladder, and of post an excellent origin at Corpus, but cross.
Play 35, entitled in the manuscript Crucifixio Christi, appears to be a careful transcription which offers few textual problems. One omission of two lines in st 16 (at ll.183-4) has been noticed later by the copyist, being added in the manuscript hand.

Among other errors, the allocation of lines among the four soldiers of the play has become confused in st 9, and following 1.214 a line has been drawn, although there is no change of speaker. In the first stanza the last quatrains (ll.9-12) has been set down as a couplet (for the stanza form, see p.317). At 1.273 Matthew 27, 40 has been transcribed Vath cui destructit templum rather than Vah qui destruit templum. As will be shown later, this is of some importance in determining one of the direct sources of the play. There are also minor copying errors (moteyse for morteyse at 1.230; nowe for noght at 1.97).

Two additions have been made to the text in later hands: and paynters has been added (on the first page of play only, f.17er) to the name of the craft associated with the pageant, The Pynneres. Opposite ll.263-4 another later hand has added an extra-metrical insertion to the text, presumably with a view to some additional ornamentation to Jesus' speech from the cross.

II

In Burton's list of 1415 the play is recorded as being the collective responsibility of the Pynners, Latoners and Payntours, and described as:

Crux, Jesus extensus in ea super terram; iiiijor Judei flagellantibus et trahentes eum cum funibus et post ea exaltantes crucem et corpus Jesu cruci
conclauatum super montem Caluarie.

Later the play was divided into two, since Burton's undated second list, deduced to date between 1415 and 1422, records two plays at this point in the cycle, *Expansio et clavacio Christi* of the Payntors, and *Levacio Christi super montem* of the Latoners.

Brampton draws attention to an entry of January 31st 1422 in the York records whereby the Painters, Stainers, Pinners and Latoners petitioned the Mayor and Council of York that their two plays, the Nailing to the Cross and the Raising of the Cross, should be combined into one play. (1) Brampton concludes that this petition "was granted and the new play appears in the Register as Play xxxv, the Crucifixio Christi". (2) But the play set down in the extant manuscript could of course also represent a reversion to the arrangement and to the play recorded in 1415.

Brampton's further deduction, that the entry of 1422 provides additional evidence that the second list must date from before January 31st 1422 otherwise "it would have contained but the one play of the Register, not the two it contains", (3) appears on the other hand to be the right one.

III

The events occurring between the arrival at Calvary and Jesus' death on the cross and his burial are dramatised in the York cycle in two plays. The first, Play 35, depicts the nailing of Jesus to the cross, the raising of the cross on high, Jesus' speech forgiving man, and the casting of lots. The corresponding Towneley
play, No. 23, deals not only with these events but with the subject matter of the following York play, No. 36, The Death and Burial.

Lyle observed that certain similarities occurred between the York and Towneley dramatisations and the Northern Passion (4) and she concluded that these demonstrated the influence of that poem upon the plays. When these resemblances are examined, it is clear that what the three texts have in common relates for the most part to a description of the Crucifixion procedure, a subject on which the four Gospel accounts offer no information.

York, Towneley and the Northern Passion all agree that the bore holes on the cross already made for the positioning of the nails had been wrongly marked, and that it was necessary to pull Jesus' arms and legs to these points with ropes, thereby causing him additional agony.

York 35, 85-148
Hys lymmys on lenghe yan schalle I lede,
And even vnto ye bore yame bringe.
...  
It failis a foote and more.
...
Latte noman wotte yat wondir.
A roope schall rugge hym doune,
Yf all his symnous go asoundre.
...
Ther Cordis haue evill encoressed his paynes,
Or he wer tille ye booryngis brought.
Yea, assoundir are bothe symnous and veynis
On ilke a side, so haue we soughte.

NP. 11.1605-20b
Both his armis yai laid on brahe,
Till bores yat yai by fore had made,
And furth also yai laid his fete,
Bot to yaire merkes was he noght mete,
The three texts also agree that the cross in being raised upright was lifted and then dropped suddenly into the socket, with the object of causing Jesus further agonies:

**York 35, 155-224**

I badde we schulde hym hyng
On heghte yat men myght see,
... And bere hym to gone hille on high.
... And sette hym be yis mortas heere
And latte hym falle in alle at ones,
For certis yat payne schall have no pere.
Heue vppe! Latte doune, so all his bones
Are asoundre nowe on sides seere.

**EP. 11.1642-46f**

ye rode tre yai raised sone
And sett it hight vp on ye hill,
... And vp yai lifted ye cros all
And seyin fast yai tele it fall (6)
Into ye pit to eke his paynes,
Yat sunder rafe both sins & vaynes. (7)

**Towneley 23, 206-308**
yit let vs wyrke a whyle,
And noman now othere begyle
To it be brought on heght.

... hald even angys vs all,
yee, and let it into the mortase fall.

... lyft vs this tre anges vs all.
yee, and let it into the mortase fall,
And that shall gar hym bryst.
Yee, and all to-rye hym lym from lym.
And it will breke ilk ionte in hym.
let se now who does best.

On this evidence it would seem most likely therefore that both York and Towneley are following the Northern Passion in these matters, although as Foster has noted, the tortures at the crucifixion described could be drawn from the great store of medieval tradition common to many writers.\(^{(3)}\) One further parallel between the York Crucifixion play and the Northern Passion observed by Miller\(^{(9)}\) may resolve this difficulty. As previously mentioned, Matthew 27, 40, Yah qui destruis templum, appears in York 35, 1.273 as Vath qui destruit templum. The Northern Passion similarly has Vath qui destruit templum dei (1.1648). Miller thought "that play and poem agree in a grammatical construction at variance with biblical use is noteworthy". More than this, it probably establishes that the Northern Passion is a source for the York play. That the writer also depended on the Gospels is however reflected in the York play at 11.259-64 in Jesus' prayer to his Father, immediately after the cross is raised into position,

\[
\text{Pater, dimitte illis: non enim sciant quid faciant. (Luke 23, 34).}
\]

This and other elements in this speech (York 35, 253ff) in which Jesus calls upon passers-by to observe his sufferings, occur again in the following York play. They also resemble similar speeches in the Northern Passion, 11.1755ff and Towneley 23, 233-94, to be discussed in the
A brief dramatisation of the casting of lots, an episode which has the authority of all four Gospel accounts (Matthew 27, 35; Luke 23, 34; Mark 15, 24; John 19, 23-4) also occurs in the York Crucifixion play at 1.292ff. The Northern Passion places this event even before the Crucifixion, and Towneley deals with it in that part of the play which corresponds to York play 36.

Only at one point in the York Crucifixion play is there any suggestion of a relation to the Towneley play independent of the sources identified. The torturers collect together the materials needed for the crucifixion:

York 35, 29-30
And I have gone for gree, good speede,
Both hammeres and Nayles large and lange.

Towneley 23, 65, 71.
Lo, here I have a bande,
...
Lo, here a hammere and nales also.

These properties, however, are obviously an integral part of this dramatisation, and the similar phrasing may be merely accidental.

There therefore appears to be no evidence that York and Towneley are related except in so far as they both depend closely upon the material of the Gospel accounts and possibly of the Northern Passion. This is particularly clear since the Towneley play has many features which have no part in the York dramatisation or the Northern Passion.

1. The play opens with a conventional boasting speech of three stanzas by Pilate, a section of the play which has attracted particular attention from critics, since the
first two stanzas, rhyming abababab and ababcdeedcdd, differ metrically from the section following, which deals with the Nailing to the Cross (sts 3-37) and which is composed in a six-line stanza rhyming $a_1a_2b_1c_1b_2c_2d_1d_2$.

A particularly puzzling feature of this opening is that Pilate has no other part to play in this episode, and yet the whole does not give the appearance of a later addition since one stanza is in the metrical form of the later sequence, although stanza 2 on the other hand has been attributed to the Wakefield Master. The metrical irregularity involved, however, seems to identify this section as a later revision.

2. The Towneley play continues this feature of establishing contact with the audience by direct address. The first torturer not only demands silence, but implicates the spectators in the action of the play, linking past and present time, by telling them what Jesus has claimed and what his punishment shall be. The second and third torturers similarly boast what they will do.

3. The Towneley play deploys the stage area more, in so far as the torturers and Jesus initially move from one area to another and then arrive at the foot of Calvary (1.83). The York play is more static, since the group appears to be already at the foot of Calvary as the play opens.

4. The torturers taunt Jesus that as a king he must joust in the tournament and sit firmly on his cross, to which they will bind him (11.89-118). In another image, the cross is said to stand up like a mast (1.232).

5. Jesus, in a long speech of direct address to the
audience from the cross (11.233-94) draws attention to his sufferings and deals briefly with the doctrine of Redemption. This entire section may be a later revision, since it is in a different stanzaic form from the body of the play. Some of the material found in the speech, as previously noted, is found also in the next York play, which deals with the Death and Burial.

The York play in contrast is a much soberer piece, in that it lacks the ranting and the imagery of tournament and ship found in the Towneley dramatisation. In place of this, it offers an horrifically realistic dramatisation, sparing none of the gruesome procedures entailed in a crucifixion. The writer's concept is of a group of ordinary soldiers carrying out their orders, and like ordinary craftsmen, they go about their business with efficiency and speed, talking among themselves and to their victim as they proceed. They are shown to have no sense of the horror of the action which they perform, and it is this particular emphasis on quite ordinary people (as opposed to the larger than life characters of the Towneley play) participating calmly and unfeelingly in an action of the most appalling horror and brutality which gives the play its particularly distressing force. At the same time there is a kind of devilish gusto in the way the soldiers devise means to increase their victim's agonies which seems designed to show the worst depths of human nature.(12)

The York play depicts Jesus voluntarily laying himself on the cross (in the Northern Passion, 1.1604) Jesus is forcibly placed on the cross)(13) and it records also the great weight of the cross, which by tradition bore all the sins of the world. The hammering in of wedges to make the cross stand upright is also dramatised.
Much is made also of the soldiers' complaints of their agonies in raising the cross, although they are totally indifferent to those of their victim.

This overall concept of realism does not extend, however, to any particularisation of the four soldiers involved, for these characters are not differentiated either by their mode of speech or by what they say. Moreover in the early part of the play the four soldiers speak strictly in rotation order. Another 'unrealistic' element is Jesus' brief speech to man from the cross, "Al men yat walkis by waye or strete" (1.253). This in contrast is in a traditional, calm and didactic style, with Jesus speaking not as man enduring appalling suffering, but as the son of God explaining the significance in terms of deep pathos of what has been done, and calling upon his Father for forgiveness.

IV

Like the Last Supper play, the Crucifixion play is composed throughout in a regular twelve-line stanza rhyming ababababababcd. (14) Again this appears to identify the play as written as a whole at one time and not subsequently revised. It will be recalled from the discussion of the Last Supper play that these two works have been traditionally identified as part of an early group of plays in the York cycle, and that Davidson claimed that these plays constituted the original cycle and were all composed at one time by one author. Greg similarly thought that the resemblances between these plays suggested "a single authorship; they certainly belong to a single small school". (15) Gayley alone was of the view that the play had been "retouched" by the York Realist. (16) How
far these assertions are accurate may be established by an examination of the metre of the two plays. Certainly both share a number of exactly similar features.

1. Both are plays in syllabic verse, that is, a very high proportion of lines of the octave has eight syllables (Y.27, 75.2%; Y.35, 76.5%), e.g.
   * Almighty god, my ffadir ffree (1.49)
   * So yat it schall no forther flitte (1.234)
In the cauda, a large number of lines has six syllables (Y.27, 74.1%; Y.35, 88%)(17) e.g.
   * Thy liftyng was but light (1.166)
   * A, pees, man, for mabounde! (1.129).

2. Four chief stresses occur in the octave in 94.5% of lines in Y.35 (compared with 92.8% in Y.27), e.g.
   * Late nó man späre for spéciall speéde (1.91)
   * Me thynke we foure schulde do ρis dède (1.171).
Most lines of the cauda have three stresses (95% compared with 85.4% in Y.27)(18) e.g.
   * Shall bide full bittir brayde (1.96)
   * Ye lèste líth of ρis lâdle (1.228).

3. A predominantly iambic rhythm is found in 75 lines (or 37.5% of the octave) and 40 lines (or 40%) of the cauda in the Crucifixion play (compared with 40.8% and 30.6% of lines in Y.27), e.g.
   * Sen ilke a thyng es right arrayed (1.37)
   * More wightr mén yan vé (1.201).

The very close correspondences in these three particulars indicate that the Last Supper and Crucifixion plays are composed on an exactly similar metrical basis.

The two plays also employ alliteration in a high
proportion of lines, although alliteration fails far less often in the Crucifixion play (6% octave, 20% cauda) than it does in the Last Supper play (14.4% octave, 38.7% cauda). That this type of alliteration is purely ornamental to a line based on a syllabic/iambic structure is indicated in the Crucifixion play by the fact that many of these lines in other respects are completely regular syllabically and metrically, e.g.

On heghte yât mën nyght sée (1.156)
Ye fôulöst dôde of all (1.21).

The reason for the failure of alliteration in these lines appears to be entirely one of technical difficulty, and no question of manuscript corruption is involved.

As far as the alliterative lines are concerned, the two plays vary also in detail in the particular alliterative patterns favoured. The most frequent pattern in the octave in the Crucifixion play is xaaa, e.g.

Ye Crosse on grounde is goodely graied (1.39)
This is found in 17.5% (35 lines). The patterns xaxa and xxaa follow next in frequency (each in 12.5% or 25 lines) e.g.

Es yis ye same yat gune vs say (1.269)
Me thynke we foure schulde do yis dêde (1.171).
Exactly the same three patterns are of highest frequency also in the Last Supper play, but in this case in the order xaxa (16% or 20 lines); xxae, (15% or 19 lines) and xaaa (8% or 11 lines).

With the exception of the pattern aaxa (found in five or 2.5% lines of York play 35) exactly the same range of other patterns is found in both plays, as the following table will show:
Although the frequency of use of certain patterns varies (for example, the types aaaa and axxa are attempted more often in York 35 than York 27), the general distribution is remarkably similar in the two plays. The types aabb, abba, abab are never particularly favoured, and axxa, xaax, axaa, and aaxx are always among the main group of secondary frequency. In both plays also the proportion of lines with three rather than four stresses in the octave is very similar.

How far these patterns are individual to the two plays may be seen when one compares Oakden's statistics of other poems of the same period which use the alliterative long line. In those of the 'western school' of unrhymed alliterative verse following mainly traditional style, Sir Gawain and the Green Knight contains no examples of the types xaxa, xxaa, axxa, aaxx. The most frequent type, used in 75% of lines, is aaax (found not at all in York 27 and in only 2.5% of lines of York 35). Morte Arthure similarly contains 75% of lines of the aaax type and then favours xaax and axax. The A text of Piers Plowman similarly has aaax in 65.2% of lines, and like Gawain does
not employ xaxa, xxaa and axxa at all.

Among the alliterative poems in stanza form of the 'northern school' (1350-1553) analysed by Oakden (19) The Distill of Susan and the Awnyrs of Arthure have no lines of type xxaa. In these poems the type aaaa predominates (in 46% and 48.6% of lines respectively). In the Quatrefoil of Love on the other hand the usual form aaax is most frequent, followed by aaxx and aabb.

The two York plays differ also from all these poems in having no extended half lines producing alliterative patterns such as aea/ea, aea/xe, aea/xx; types noted also in York play 26, the Conspiracy. The plays thus contain no examples of the complex types, such as abab/ab, aba/ab, abab/ab, which occur infrequently in all the poems except The Distill of Susan and The Awnyrs of Arthure.

The two plays also correspond in so far as alliteration occurs in a fair proportion of lines in the cauda of stanzas. In York 35 the most frequent type is xaa (23%) (to correspond with the pattern xaaa of highest frequency in the octave), for example:

Behalde, so right he redis (1.24)
Full suerly as a smael (1.118).

The remaining lines have the types aea (19%), axa (18%), aax (16%), while 4% have two or four stresses. The same situation with no particular preference for types was found in York 27. The number of lines with an irregular number of stresses was also similar. Of the 61% of lines of the cauda containing alliteration, the highest proportion had the type axa (14.5%) followed by xaa, aax (12.9%), aea (11.2%). 9.6% of the lines have two or four stresses. Oakden offers no statistics for alliterative types in this section of the stanza. He
does not however that in Gawain lines with three alliterating sounds are very rarely found.

The frequent use of enjambment is a further feature in which the Last Supper and Crucifixion plays correspond. As in the case of York 27, the percentage of lines so linked is lower in the octave (6%) than the cauda (12%). Additionally the two plays agree in a more particular technique. The lines of the cauda are frequently linked in groups of two, to make of them two long lines rather than four short ones, for example:

His falling was more selle
Yan all ye harmes he hadde.
Nowe may a man wele telle
Ye reste lith of yis ladde (11.225-8).

In this position, even more than in the octave, this has the effect of opening out the lines of dialogue and freeing them somewhat from the constraints of the stanza form and a basically fixed rhythm. The use of this feature is clearly central to the whole concept of the play, in its aim to present a realistic portrayal of the Crucifixion, with the soldiers talking naturally to each other as they go about their gruesome business,

See, assoundir are bothe synnous and veynis
On ilke a side; so haue we soughte (11.147-8).

That the poet of the two plays made a conscious choice in this matter and that it is a distinctive feature of his style is shown by the fact that enjambment, although usual in Old English poetry, became very rare in early Middle English poems. Oakden’s findings show moreover that only very occasional examples are found in later Middle English poems of the West Midlands in the unrhymed alliterative long line (1340-1450). It is also absent from the rhymed verse of the same style of the Midlands (1200-late fifteenth century) and from the Northern and
Scottish alliterative poems in stanza form (1350-1553).\(^{(20)}\)

In contrast, Oakden found that in both these rhymed alliterative poems and those in stanza forms the caesura was always very marked. In York 27, however, it was found that this was not generally the case. The majority of lines in the octave contained some kind of division into two word groups and only a small percentage of lines had a strongly marked medial pause. This is again the situation in the Crucifixion play. 31 lines (or 15.5\%) compared with 16\% in York 27, contain a central caesura, for example,

\begin{quote}
Why carpe ye so? faste on a corde (1.113).
We haue \textit{gem} here, euuen atte oure hande (1.241).
\end{quote}

Most lines, however, preserve two word groupings, for example,

\begin{quote}
Lokis \textit{fat} ye ladde on lenghe be layde (1.41)
And late me first his fete vp fang (1.184)
Forgiffis \textit{yes} men \textit{fat} dois me pyne (1.260).
\end{quote}

In particular the alliterative type \textit{xxaa} of such frequent use in the play, tends by sound to reinforce this division of the line:

\begin{quote}
This Crosse and I in twoo muste twynne (1.193).
\end{quote}

Again in a very small percentage of lines, including obviously those few lines containing three stresses rather than four, this is ignored. Sometimes this occurs (as in 1.270) in connection with enjambment, but often not,

\begin{quote}
Es \textit{gis} ye same \textit{fat} gune vs say
That he was goddis sone almyghty? (11.269-70).
I rede we drawe Cutte for \textit{gis} coote (1.293).
\end{quote}

Where this play differs most, however, from the Last Supper play is in the variety of methods the poet employs to create out of a four-stress, eight syllable and basically
iambic line in stanza form a suitable vehicle for dialogue. The Last Supper playwright, it will be recalled, varied the position of the pause by two simple methods, exclamation and direct address. These methods are continued, but with greater flexibility:

(S)ir knyghtis, take heed he hydir in hye (1.1)
In faith, it was ouere skantely scored (1.111)
Owe, wis werke is all vnmeete! (1.127)
Takes tente; 3e schalle no traunyle tyne (1.254).

The Crucifixion playwright also extends this division of the first half-line by creating a different break, this time in the middle of the second half-line,

Gose faste and fette hym yan, 3e thre (1.78).

His principal innovation, however, is the division of the line among two speakers, a feature not attempted in the Last Supper play, for example,

ijus Mil. Owe, haylle!

iiijus Mil. Hoo nowe? I halde it wele. (1.140).

On several occasions the line is even divided among three speakers, for example,

ijus Mil. Lifte vppe!

iiijus Mil. Latte see.

ijus Mil. Owe, lifte alang! (1.186).

These short, sharp exchanges do a great deal towards creating the sense of realism so fundamental to the play.

Vocalic alliteration is very infrequent, as in the Last Supper play, and the ways in which it is used are very similar. In a few instances the same vowel alliterates, for example,

Of Adam kynde is all his joyght (1.62)

But in other cases different vowels are used, for example,
And latte hym falle in alle at ones (1.221)
In the majority of instances, however, where vowels take a major stress in the line, stresses fall also either on pairs of consonants or on h, and these two stresses may be considered sufficient for alliterative purposes in the line, for example,
And boored even as it with to be (1.40).
Yan all ye names he hadde (1.226).

For the most part h alliterates only with itself (21 lines), for example,
But latte vs haste hym for to hange (1.28)
Thyne hyre here schall you have (1.47)
On other occasions, however, it is possible that h alliterates with vowels (17 lines), for example,
Come halpe to haale, with ill e haile (1.116)
We haue hem here, even atte oure hande (1.241)
This usage is much nearer to the usual situation in Old English, and in some contrast to that in the Last Supper play, where h alliterates rather more frequently with vowels than with itself.

As in the Last Supper play, the poet again appears to avoid using the alliterative groups sp, sc and st, for in this play it is clear that where they are employed they must apparently be preserved, for example,
Late no man spare for speciall speede (1.91)
In faith, it was ouere skantely scored (1.111)
3is, here is a stubbe will stiffely stande (1.102)
There are no examples of this rule not being observed, and in most lines therefore the sound s alliterates strictly with itself, for example,
But see yer saules to saue (1.264)
Are asoundre nowe on sides seere (1.224)
The sporadic linking of lines by alliteration is a further feature of the play, affecting principally lines of the octave, although lines of the cauda are also affected. The lines are linked mainly in groups of two, and the groups are scattered among the stanzas without apparent consistency or dramatic purpose in every possible combination (for example, between the first and second lines, the second and third, etc.) Occasionally links occur between the octave and the cauda, and on two occasions between stanzas, but otherwise the links again appear, as in the Last Supper play, to be an ornament of style.
Summary and Conclusions

1. The manuscript is a careful transcription, offering few textual problems.

2. On the evidence of Burton's two lists and a York record of 1422, the extant play is probably a reversion to that described in 1415 by Burton, an arrangement into two separate plays having intervened at some period between 1415 and 1422. Frampton's conclusion, that Burton's second list dates before 31st January 1422, is confirmed.

3. An examination of certain material common to the York play, the corresponding section of Towneley play 23 and the Northern Passion brings the conclusion that York and Towneley may depend upon that poem, although the tortures described could, as Foster suggested, be drawn from medieval tradition. However, the apparent transcription in the York play of Matthew 27, 40, from the Northern Passion rather than from the Gospel version indicates more clearly that that poem has had some influence upon the York play, which also depends upon the Gospel of Luke for material for Jesus' prayer from the cross.

4. There is no clear evidence of any relation between the York and Towneley dramatisations except in so far as both depend upon the Gospels and possibly upon the Northern Passion.

5. The Towneley dramatisation, unlike that of York, features passages of direct address to the audience, some of which appear from their stanza form to be later revisions. It also makes greater use of movement from one staging area to another, and it employs striking imagery from the tournament and the ship.

6. The York play, on the other hand, offers an appallingly realistic depiction of Jesus' agonies at his crucifixion. The innate horror of the situation is heightened by the presentation of the torturers as ordinary workmen, carrying out an everyday task in a matter-of-fact way, yet revealing both in their detachment from their victim and their interest in increasing his agonies the depths of human evil. The play also retains certain traditional elements, particularly Jesus' speech from the cross which, although a passage of considerable pathos, is not conceived in naturalistic terms; nor is it the playwright's intention to particularise the soldiers as individuals.

7. When the characteristics of the metre of the play are compared with those of the Last Supper play in order to examine early theories of single authorship, it is found
that the two plays share a number of exactly similar metrical features:

A. A regular twelve-line stanza rhyming ababababababab, written as a whole at one time, and not subsequently revised.

B. Syllabic verse, with a basically eight-syllable octave and six-syllable cauda (76.5% and 88% of lines respectively).

C. A mainly four-stress octave and a three-stress cauda (94.5% and 95% of lines).

D. A predominantly iambic rhythm (octave, 37.5%; cauda, 40% of lines).

E. Alliteration which is ornamental rather than structural.

F. A proportion of lines lacking alliteration (octave, 6%; cauda, 20%).

G. The same alliterative patterns predominant (xaaa, 17.5%; xaxa, 12.5%; xxaa, 12.5%). The same range of other patterns, with frequency of use very similar. A limited use of the types aabb, abba, abab. The same group of secondary frequency, axxa, xaax, axaa, aaxx. A similar proportion of lines with four rather than three stresses.

(The individual nature of these alliterative patterns is demonstrated by comparison with Oakden's statistics of the western and northern schools of alliterative poetry, particularly by the high frequency in these poems of the alliterative pattern aaxx, and of other patterns used, the lack of extended half-lines, and the lack of the complex types of alliteration.)

H. Alliteration in a fair proportion of lines of the cauda, with the patterns aaaa, axa, aax used in very similar proportions in both plays.

I. The frequent use of enjambment, particularly in the cauda, a feature found by Oakden to be rare in Middle English alliterative poetry.

J. A small percentage of lines with a strongly marked medial pause (15.5%), although the majority with some division into two word groups. A small percentage lacking completely a central pause. Again this is a feature individual to the plays, since Oakden found that in Middle English alliterative poetry the caesura was always strongly marked.

K. Vocalic alliteration sometimes on the same, sometimes on different vowels, but always infrequent. H mainly
alliterating only with itself, and not with vowels. An avoidance of the groups st, sc, sp.

I. A sporadic linking of lines by alliteration.

The Crucifixion and Last Supper plays, although so different in subject matter and treatment, are therefore composed in an exactly similar style, and may therefore, as Davidson and Greg suggested, be the work of one author.

Where the two plays differ metrically is in an apparent movement in the Crucifixion play towards

A. A greater syllabic regularity in the cauda, with a correspondingly greater attention to the three stress line, iambic rhythm and alliteration.

B. An increase in the proportion of lines with alliteration, both in the octave and the cauda.

C. A more frequent use of enjambment.

D. A livelier dialogue by the division of the line among two or three speakers, and generally in varying the position of the pauses in the line.

E. A more careful preservation of alliteration on h and the groups sp, sc and st.
Like the previous play, and unlike others in the Passion group, Play 36 has a title in the manuscript, in this case, MORTIFICACIO CRISTI, and this indicates the possibility of some textual connection between the two plays.

The transcription of this play is a good one generally, although the scribe has experienced some difficulty in interpreting from his original the correct placement of the short line, "line of the stanza, and sometimes he has set this down against the wrong line or pair of lines. (1) In other stanzas it is written correctly against both or either of the preceding lines. (2) In the same way, the last line of the preceding line is often written against the preceding line. (3) Occasionally the last line (4) preceding line. (5) There is only one example however of two lines being set down as one in the manuscript. (6)

Additionally, there are a few minor copying errors: (indel for inter, 1.7); mu for mul, 1.24; a for f, 1.24; L for V, 1.373; Po for P, 1.348; vonde for onde, 1.428; mordacia for mordaci, 2.103. There is also one line with a void omitted (2.353) and two where the抄ist has himself amended transcription errors (2.135; 2.74). A line has been drawn in the manuscript following 1.344 as if to indicate a new speaker, apparently in error.

Two copying faults have been amended by a later hand: "mend" is inserted as speaker of 1.35-8 (quite correctly, it could appear from the context), and a missing tag line has been added following 1.125. At 1.80 an apparently later hand has inserted a minor copying error. Stanzas have been added at the end of the play.
Like the previous play, and unlike others in the Passion group, Play 36 has a title in the manuscript; in this case, Fortificacio Cristi, and this indicates the possibility of some textual connection between the two plays.

The transcription of this play is a good one generally, although the copyist has experienced some difficulty in interpreting from his original the correct placement of the short tag line of the stanza, and sometimes he has set this down against the wrong line or pair of lines.\(^1\) In other stanzas it is written correctly against both or either of the preceding pair of lines.\(^2\) In the same way, the last line of the stanza is often written against the preceding two lines\(^3\) or against the immediately preceding line\(^4\) or the previous line.\(^5\) There is only one example however of two lines being set down as one in the manuscript.\(^6\)

Additionally, there are a few minor copying errors: (dede for dere, 1.7); sware for spare, 1.241; I wyne for I wene, 1.373; Do for To, 1.395; wende for mende, 1.410; pleasune for pleasance, 1.105). There is also one line with a word omitted (1.352) and two where the copyist has himself amended transcription errors (11.155; 174). A line has been drawn in the manuscript following 1.364 as if to indicate a new speaker, apparently in error.

Two copying faults have been amended by a later hand: Cayphas is inserted as speaker of 11.75-8 (quite correctly it would appear from the context), and a missing tag line has been added following 1.125. At 1.20 an apparently later hand has amended a minor copying error. Finis has been added at the end of the play.
In Burton's list of 1415 the play is recorded as the responsibility of the Bouchers and Palters and described as:

Crux, duo latrones crucifixi, Jesus suspensus in cruce inter eos, Maria mater Jesu, Johannes, Maria, Jacobus, et Salome, Longeus cum lancea, servus cum spongea, Pilatus, Anna, Cayphas, Centurio, Josep et Nichodemus, deponentes eum in sepulcro.

A later hand has added following "Josep", ab Aramathia.

There are no speaking parts in the extant play for Jacobus or Maria Salome, and the servus cum spongea is called Garcio in the play, but unfortunately the description in Burton's second list (deduced to be 1415-22) does not help to resolve whether the extant play is a revision, since it records the play merely as Mortificacio Christi super Galvare. It seems likely, however, that the play has been the subject of at least some revision after 1415, and the use of the rhyme word transgressioun (1.11) first recorded by OED in 1426(7) may be a further indication that the play is of late date.

It will be recalled from the initial discussion of early theories regarding the periods of composition of the plays of the Passion Group (p.6ff) that this play has been the subject of much previous disagreement among critics.

Gayley thought that the author of the latest "realistic" period of composition was "more or less responsible" for this play, "an original production
substituted by our playwright for some older play". (8)

Greg on the other hand thought that the work was of earlier date, and of the second period of composition in the cycle, and the "work of a writer who is distinguished as being the only great metrist who devoted his talents to the English religious drama as we know it". He strongly opposed Gayley's inclusion of this play with such plays as 26, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 and 33 in the group to be ascribed to the author of the final period of composition: "This I cannot for a moment admit ... The "Death of Christ" is as fine a work metrically as the "Accusation before Pilate" is dramatically, but in style the two pieces are as different as possible." (9)

Chambers supported Greg's view and included this play among those which he defined in the following terms: "The alliteration is far less tumultuous than that of the realist, and often falls off in the caudæ of the stanzas. The unstressed syllables, moreover, rarely exceed the limits of an anapaestic rhythm." He further believed that "a clue to the presence of the metrist may often be traced in a marked tendency to concatenation". The metrist was "clearly a versatile writer" who did not tie himself to a single form. (10)

Latterly this view has been opposed most strongly by Reese, who accuses Greg of failing to recognise alliterative verse arranged in stanzaic patterns. In his view the play, like York play 32 and the other alliterative plays he identifies (see p.7), is written in alliterative verse, the metrical style associated with the work of the Realist, the dramatist who in Greg's opinion is "a very remarkable though uneven writer. A metrist he certainly is not: he writes in powerful but loose and rugged alliterative
verse". In Reese's opinion on the other hand, the author of the Mortificacio has merely shortened the normal alliterative line "which usually consists of four chief accents and thus four measures" from four to three. "However, the basic metrical structure of the line ... is based on the alliterative system of versification".

In view of these very fundamental disagreements about the nature of the metrical style, it is proposed to examine the play below in some detail.

The play is composed in a regular thirteen-line stanza rhyming ababbcbcdedeed. The only exceptions to this are:
(a) stanza 1, 1.7, where MS dede rhymes with enteere, feere, pere (Emended by Smith to dere).
(b) st 10, where the ninth line (1.126) is missing.
(c) st 16, rhyming ababbcbcdaaaad, where the a-rhyme continues into the cauda (11.205-7).
(d) st 17, rhyming ababcdedeffe, probably because of the difficulty in assimilating heloy and lamazabatanye into the stanza.
(e) st 18, rhyming ababbcbcaadda, where the a-rhyme continues into the cauda (11.230, 234).
(f) st 20, rhyming ababbcbcabbbbd, because of an extension of the b-rhyme into the triplet (11.237-9).

It would appear therefore that the play survives in its original form and that it has not been the subject of later revision.

In the octave the structure of the line clearly depends upon the presence of three chief stresses emphasised by alliteration (234 lines, 91.8%). In a high proportion of lines these stressed syllables begin with the same alliterative sound, aaa (167 lines or 65.2%), for
example:
To dye schall I dême yame to déde (1.14)

In a smaller proportion of lines the first metrical stress does not alliterate (xaa, 42 lines, 16.4%), for example:
I thank yë in faith for my frende (1.344)
Other patterns used are aax (13 lines), for example:
3one lósell, hym likis full ille (1.72)
and axa (9 lines), for example:
For gocourte to yë will he gënde (1.177)
20 lines appear to offer four chief stresses rather than three, for example:
For gouteles thy god gredis you nózt (1.201).
Two lines offer two chief stresses:
And pûnyssh yame pitously (1.32)
Heloy! heloy! (1.213)
In only three lines is structural alliteration not present:
If you be goddis sone so free (1.196)
Lamaqabatanye
Wharto forsoke you me. (ll.215-6).

It is in terms of lack of alliteration that Reese interprets and opposes Chambers' comment that the alliteration in this play is "far less tumultuous than (the work) of the Realist". Chambers, however, could be referring to the tumult of similar sounds which results from the reinforcement of the four-stress alliterative long line by additional alliteration (see p.10). If this is the case, Chambers is also mistaken, for in Play 36 a fair proportion of lines include ornamental alliteration (16 in all) for example:
Fat forwarme fulfayne to fulfille (1.70)
You musteredy emange many menne (1.94).
Where the play differs metrically from the Conspiracy and the other alliterative plays is in the lack of a caesura in the line, and more particularly in a factor of which Reese takes no account in his analysis, in a certain regularity in the number and distribution of the unstressed syllables, which imposes a discernible fixed rhythm upon groups of lines in the octave, varying between two and seven in number. The rhythm used is one of frequent occurrence in the alliterative plays, x/xx/xx/ (see p.236):

So wondirly wrought is youre will.
His bloode schall youre bodis embrace,
for yat haue ye taken you till.
Yat forarde fulfayne to fulfille
In deke schall we dresse vs bedene.
Zone losell, hym likis full ille,
For turned is his trantis all to teene. (11.67-73)

In all 160 lines of the play (62.1%) are composed in exactly the same style, although this is not to say that the play is monotonous in the regularity of its metre, for the poet shows some skill in his ability to vary the line, the most frequent rhythms being:

x/xxx/xx/ (11 lines) for example:
    A draughte yat is full dayntely dight (1.223)
    You gyde me yat my griffe be al gone (1.397)

x/x/xx/ (10 lines) for example:
    You synfull Sawle, for thy sake (1.121)
    Why hyng you pus on yis hille? (1.197)

xx/x/xx/ (8 lines) for example:
    For mankynde my body I bende (1.147)
    To ye kyng on knes here I knele (1.406)

/xxx/xx/ (8 lines) for example:
    Delyuere ye doune of yat tree (1.99)
    Mankynde for to mende of his mys (1.305)

x/xx/xxx/ (7 lines) for example
    And yat for to scape it were a scorne (1.47)
But baldely ye bib it for ye beste (1.242).

In only 37 lines (14\%) do the unstressed syllables between the chief stresses exceed two in number, and Chambers is therefore correct in pointing out that the limits of an anapaestic rhythm are in this play rarely exceeded.

The principle underlying the use of one fixed and regular rhythm alongside a number of other rhythms of different types appears to be syllabic, for in the octave by far the greatest number of lines contains eight syllables (197 lines, 76.9\%), while the remaining lines contain nine syllables (29 lines, 11.3\%), seven syllables (19 lines, 7.4\%), ten syllables (5 lines), six syllables (5 lines), and four syllables (1 line).

In the octave therefore the play differs radically from the metrical style identified in the octave of the Conspiracy and in the other alliterative plays, for its basis (like the 'Northern Septenar' plays, the Last Supper and the Crucifixion) is syllabic, while at the same time the chief stresses are emphasised and regularly sustained in the alliterative and metrical patterns found in the caudae of the alliterative plays. Moreover, unlike the octave of the Conspiracy and the alliterative plays, the number and distribution of unstressed syllables in a high proportion of lines accord with a fixed pattern \(x/xx/xx/\), consisting of one iamb and two anapaests, a feature again in contrast to the basically iambic rhythms of the 'Northern Septenar' plays.

The play differs also in the treatment of the cauda of the stanza. The usual form consists of one one-stress line (28 lines, 90.3\%), followed by three two-stress lines (81 lines, 85.2\%) and one three-stress line (31 lines, 96.8\%)(15)
Only a small proportion of the lines offer structural alliteration. For the most part, this occurs in the final line, only seven lines (21.8%) of which lack such alliteration (16) for example:

*Youre lippis, I halde yame fulle drye.* (1.247)

The most frequent alliterative type is **aaa** (15 lines) for example:

*Full spitously to spede he were spilte* (1.39)

but alliteration occurs also of the types **aax** (4 lines), **xaa** (3 lines) and **axa** (3 lines).

Most of the lines of the triplet (78 lines, 81.2%) lack such alliteration, although the type **aa** occurs in 13 lines, for example:

*Shall hyng be ye halse.* (1.24)

In those lines with three stresses rather than two the alliterative types **axa** (2 lines), **aaa** (2 lines), **xaa** (1 line) occur, for example:

*Manne, mende thy moode* (1.129)

Chambers is therefore correct in observing a falling off of alliteration in the caudae, and this is of course a feature not found in the other alliterative plays. Again the lines appear to be composed on a syllabic principle: a tag line of two syllables (87.5%), a triplet of four syllables (68.7%), and a final line of eight syllables (43.7%).

A further feature of the play is the linking of the cauda of one stanza to the octave of that following by repetition of words and phrases (17). This occurs only in certain groups of stanzas, between sts 1-8, 18-19 and 29-31, for example:

*And a comely kyng schalle I calle yee*  
*I calle yee a coward to kenne* (11.91-2).
If he dresse hym to do vs yat dede. 

\[ \text{Yat dede for to dresse yt he doo.} \] (11.234-5).

In several cases the repetition is used for a play on words:

(Pilate to the high priests) Yus was youre will 
 Full spitously to spede ('bring it about') he 
 were spiltte.

(Caiphas) To spille hym we spake in a speede ('quickly') 

Of also 11.65-6:

(Caiphas) foulle motte hym speede! ('prosper')
(Pilate) He spedis ('makes haste') for to spille in 
 space.

Certain groups of stanzas are also linked by the continuation of the chief alliterative sound (sts 1-8; 14-15; 18-19; 26-7; 29-31).

Lines are also linked sporadically in groups of two within the stanza, affecting particularly the first two lines (170-1; 222-3; 313-4; 339-40); the second and third lines (41-2; 54-5; 93-4; 172-3); the fifth and sixth lines (96-7; 109-10; 135-6; 317-8). In a few stanzas the tag line is so linked to the octave (73-4; 86-7; 190-1; 294-5) and in one instance to the cauda (139-40). Other lines affected are 33-4; 376-7, with a group of three lines at 202-3-4.

All these linking devices appear to be used without any attempt at regularity, and the breakdowns, particularly of the verbal links, seem to be without significance. The use of concatenation is not of course "a clue to the presence of the metrist" as Chambers suggested, being found in several of the alliterative plays, notably Play 30.
IV

Lyle observed that a number of similarities, both in structure and language existed between this play, Towneley play 23 and the Northern Passion, and she ascribed these to the influence of that poem upon the plays. The situation is not, however, as clear as Lyle would indicate, since many apparent similarities may well be the result of close adherence by the dramatists to the Gospel accounts.

The most striking parallels offered by Lyle occur in a passage in one of Jesus' speeches from the cross, where he says he has no place to rest his head:

**York 36, 192-5**

For fōxis ἡερ δεννυς ἕαυε ἁει,  
BIRDIs ἕασε τήνεστιν τό παύε,  
But ῥε sonε of man this daye  
Hase noȝt on his heed for to reste.

**NP. 1604e-i, 1637-40**

ffox has den and fowles has nest  
Whare in γαι may tak γaïre rest,  
And I, γαι am goddes sun so dere  
Obouen all bestes & fowles in fere,  
Place vnto me es nane leuid,  
Whar on I may rest my heuid,  
Bot anly on my schulder bane,  
Oȝer esment haue I nane.

**Towneley 23, 256-60**

Beestys, byrdys, all haue thay rest,  
when thay ar wo begon;  
Bot godys son, that shuld be best,  
hase not where upon his hede to rest,  
Bot on his shuder bone.(18)

The source of these passages in fact is Luke 9, 58, "Vulpes foveas habent, et volucres caeli nidos: Pilius autem hominis non habet ubi caput reclinet". Where the texts are similar, however, is in ascribing these words to Christ on the cross, as is found in the liturgy of Holy
Week in the office of Nocturns for Passion Sunday in the Sarum but not the York breviary. (19)

The remaining similarities are equally not necessarily the result of the influence of the Northern Passion:
1. Jesus is mocked because of his claim to kingship and boast to tear down the temple (York 36, 75-104; NP. 11. 1648-52; Towneley 23, 489-97). The source of this material could, however, be Matthew 27, 40-3; Mark 15, 29-30; or Luke 23, 35.
2. The inscription on the cross is written by Pilate; the Jews are displeased and Pilate replies to them (York 36, 105-117; NP. 11.1653-88; Towneley 23, 516-65). In Towneley it is the torturers who complain to Pilate; in York it is Annas and in the Northern Passion the Jews.
   The inclusion of this episode may follow John 19, 19-22.
3. The Lament of Mary, the Mother of Jesus, at the foot of the cross, comforted by John (York 36, 131-82; NP. 11. 1730a-1754); Towneley 23, 309-446). This episode is considerably extended in Towneley, probably as a result of later revisions, the emphasis being upon the distraught grief of the mother for her son. The presence of Mary, Mary Cleophas and Mary Magdalene at the cross is recorded in John 19, 25.
4. Jesus commends Mary to John's care (York 36, 153-6; NP. 11.1739-46; Towneley 23, 464-6). In Towneley this forms part of a long and graceful speech of three stanzas, also probably a later addition to the play, in which Jesus reminds his mother of the purpose of his sufferings. The abbreviated treatment given to the same subject in York is in contrast abrupt and rather rough in tone: "You woman, do way of thy wepyng" (1.144). The whole episode is recorded in John 19, 26-7, from which it may derive.
5. Jesus thirsts and is offered vinegar and gall (York 36, 221-49; FP. 11.1719-30; Towneley 23, 479-85). In Towneley the drink is merely said to be "not swete", and it is offered by the First Torturer; in York by "Garcio".

York 36, 221: 240-1
A, me thristis sare.

... A draughte here of drinke haue I dreste,
To spede for no spence yat 3e s(p)are.

FP. 11.1720, 1724a
He said to 7am: "me thristes sare."
... "Drink," 7ai said, "for no thing spare." (20)

Towneley 23, 479
Now thyst I, wonder sore.

The episode is recorded in all the Gospels (in Matthew 27, 48; Mark 15, 36; Luke 23, 36), but it is the account in John 19, 26-30 that appears to be the major source of these passages:


6. Jesus cries, "Hely, hely," the high priests/Jews/torturers misunderstanding him (York 36, 213-34; FP. ll. 1785-1798b; Towneley 23, 578-86). Lyle (p.27) offers the following parallels between the three texts:

York 36, 213-27
Heloy! heloy!
My god, my god full free,
Lamayabatanye.
Wharto forsoke you me,
Harke! "Heely," now harde I hym Crye.
Loud he cried, "Ely, Ely;"
And als, "lamazabathany;"

"My lord, my god, my fader fre,
Whi hastou forsaken me?"
Ye iewe yan yat stode byside
Herd how yat he Ely cryde.(21)

Towleley 23, 578-83
\[
\text{hely, hely, lamazbatany!}
\]
My god, my god, wherfor and why
has thou forsakyn me?

... how he can now on hely cry
Apon his wyse?

The sources of this episode, however, are Matthew 27, 46-7 and an exactly similar account in Mark 15, 34:

Et circa horam nonam clamavit Iesus voce magna, dicens: Eli, Eli, lamma sabacthani?
hoc est: Deus meus, Deus meus, ut quid dereliquisti me?

Quidam autem illic stantes, et audientes, dicent: Eliam vocat iste.

There would therefore appear to be no material common to the three accounts which might not derive from the Gospels.

7. Jesus, forgiving them, commends his spirit to God.

York 36, 252-58
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Yi wille haue I wrought in yis wone,} \\
\text{Yus doulfully to dede haue yei done,} \\
\text{Forgife yame, be grace yat is goode,} \\
\text{Yai ne wote nogt what it was,} \\
\text{My ffadir, here my bone,} \\
\text{For nowe all thyng is done.}
\end{align*}
\]

This occurs after the vinegar and gall episode, and has occurred previously in York 35, 259-64.

EP. 11.1800-1806
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Yf faderr, I haue wroght yi will,} \\
\text{Done I haue efter yi rede,} \\
\text{Sakles here I suffer dede;}
\end{align*}
\]
Bot, fader, forgif 'am faire gilt,
fat salkes here my blode has spilt.
for whi 'ai wate nought what 'ai do,
Warfore 'ai tak no tent warto,
for 'ai am if 'i wille be
Ve dedes 'ai haue done to me.
...
flader mine, pat all may mend,
I gif my gaste in to 'i hend.

Towneley 23, 287-94
Thus haue thay dight me drerely,
...
Bot, fader, that syttys in trone,
forgyf thou them this gylt,
I pray to the this boyn,
Thay wote not what thay doyn,
Nor whom thay haue thus spylt.

Towneley 23, 590-2
Now is my passyon broght tyll ende!
flader of heuen, in to thyn hende
I betake my saull!

Although the similarities here may appear striking, in
fact the source may be Luke 23, 34:

Iesus autem dicebat: Pater, dimitte illis: non
enim sciunt quid faciunt.

and Luke 23, 46:

Et clamans voce magna Iesus ait: Pater, in manus
tuas commendo spiritum meum.

These would not, however, explain every similarity in
language between the passages, particularly the first line
in the York and Northern Passion versions. The relation
between these two texts also appears to be confirmed by
Foster's observation that in Luke 23, 34, the passage occurs
when Christ is first hung on the cross, and that York
undoubtedly follows the Northern Passion in placing it in
Jesus' final speech before death.\(^{(22)}\)

8. The Longinus episode (York 36, 291-312; \(\text{NP}\.\) 11.1869-
1888b; Towneley 23, 593-606).
The Gospels are not the complete source of this episode. John 19, 34, records only

Sed unus militum lancea latus eius aperuit, et continuo exivit sanguis et aqua.

An expansion of this passage into the legend of the healing of the blind knight who pierced Christ's side is found in the Historia Scholastica of Peter Comestor (twelfth century):

Sed unus militum lancea latus ejus dextrum perforavit, et continuo exivit sanguis, et aqua, et qui lanceavit eum, ut tradunt quidan, cum fere caligassent oculi ejus, et casu tetigisset oculos sanguine ejus, clare vidit. (23)

Since, as Foster notes, this material is drawn from popular medieval tradition and is common to many writers, it cannot therefore offer evidence of York's dependence upon the Northern Passion (Foster, NP., p.82, fn.2).

9. Joseph of Arimathea begs Pilate for Jesus' body, and receiving his agreement, buries it with the assistance of Nicodemus (York 36, 326-416; NP. 11. 1843-1914; Towneley 23, 613-666). The following similarities of language are noted by Lyle. These do not, however, appear to be very convincing, and may be the result of dependence upon the Gospels, where the incident is fully recorded (Matthew 27, 58; Mark 15, 43; Luke 23, 50ff; John 19, 38-40).

York 36, 335-7
To ye I praye,
Giffe me in hye
Jesu bodye.

NP. 11.1846e; 1849-50
And how ihesu was done to dede
Wrangwisly with wikked rede.

"Sir," he said, "now pray I ye,
Ithesu body grante you me."
Towneley 23, 615-40

(Ioseph) ...  
To see my master dede;  
Thus wykydly as he is shent,  
...  
Thrugh fals Iues red.  
...  
Syr pylete, god the saue!  
Graunte me that I craue,  
...  
(Pilatus) Welcom, Ioseph, myght thou be!  
what so thou askys I graunte it the  
...  
(Ioseph) ffor my long seruyce I the pray  
Graunte me the body ...

Additionally York is said by Lyle (pp.25-7) to offer similarities to the Northern Passion independently of Towneley.

1. Mary, the mother of Jesus, is entrusted to the care of John:

York 36, 153-5

Womane, in stede of me,  
Loo John yi sone schall bee.  
John, see to yi modir free.  

NP. 11.1742a-44  
Woman, in ye stede of me  
Behald to iohn, yi sun es he,  
...  
Man, bihald yi moder trew.

The wording of Towneley 23, 464-8 is rather different:

Woman, wepe thou right noght!  
Take ther Iohn vnto thi chylde!  
Mankynde must nedys be boght,  
And thou kest, cosyn, in thi thoght;  
Iohn, lo ther thi moder mylde!

The similarities between York and the Northern Passion cannot wholly be explained by the Gospel account in John 19, 26-7:

Cum vidisset ergo Iesus matrem, et discipulum  
stantem, quem diligebat, dicit matri suae:  
Mulier, ecce filius tuus. Deinde dicit discipulo:
Ecce mater tua. Et ex illa hora acceptum discipulus in sua.

2. In one of Jesus' speeches from the cross, Miller draws attention to a further similarity in wording, but this resemblance may be merely fortuitous:

York 36, 188
What sorowe I suffre for thy sake

NP. 1.1758b
And suffers scows for 3owre sake.

3. Lyle, following Foster, notes a similarity in phrasing also between York and the Northern Passion in the Longinus incident:

York 36, 292-302
Viris spero, loo, haue halde in thy hande,
To Jesu you rake fourthe I rede,
And sted nouzt but stiffely you stande
A stounde
In Jesu side
Schoffe it wis tyde

... o’ maker vnmade, full of myght,

Yet sodenly has lente me my sight.

NP. 11.1873-83
Vnder ye cros wai gert him stand,
And gaf him a scharp sperfe in hand,
Ye poynt wai set to ihesu side,
And bad him put fra him yat tide;

... Yan till his eghen he towched right,
And hastily so he had his sight.

In these passages the similarities do not appear to be at all close.

Lyle (p.25) also notes similarities between Towneley and the Northern Passion, independently of York:

1. The reminder of Jesus' claim to rebuild the temple:
NP. 11.1648c, d.
And als he said with in thre days
Right ogayne he might it rayse.

Towneley 23, 495-6
And yit he sayde he shuld it rase
As well as it was, within thre dayes!

The York treatment in Play 36 is very different:

You saggard, yi selfe gan you saie
Ye tempill distroie ye todaye,
Be ye thirde day ware done ilk a dele,
To rayse it you schulde ye arraye (11.82-5).

2. The inscription on the cross.

Lyle (p.26) also offers the following two parallel texts, but these on the other hand are unconvincing:

NP. 11.1659-63
Grew ebrew and latyn
Was wretyn in ye parchemyne,
And on yis wise it was to mene
"yis es ihesus nazarene,
yat king es of ilka iew."

Towneley 23, 524-41
And what it may bemyyn
... Theron writen langage thre,
Ebrew and latyn
And grew, me thynk, writen theron,
ffor it is hard fo r to expowne.
...
yonder is wretyn, "ihesu of nazareyn,
he is kyng of Iues," I weyn.

Miller offers also,

NP. 1.1686
Als it es wreten, so sall it be.

Towneley 23, 553
As it is written shall it be now.(26)

Both these texts offer a similarity beyond John 19, 22:
Respondit Pilatus: Quod scripsi, scripsi.
3. Pilate's reply to Joseph of Arimathea, seeking to bury Jesus:

**NP. 11.1853-4**

Ihesu body grant I ye
But I will wit yat he ded be.

**Towneley 23, 640**

I graunte well if he ded be. (27)

From the above analysis, it would seem that as Iyle has suggested (pp.25-7) the *Northern Passion* has been used at some stage in the composition of the York and Towneley plays relating to the Death and Burial. Much of the material which the plays contain, however, might equally well derive from the Gospel accounts, with which all three works (naturally enough at a vital part of the sacred text) show a most careful concordance. The relation between the York and Towneley plays therefore depends upon the use of common sources, except for a single instance in the episode of the inscription upon the cross:

**York 36, 114-7**

Quod scripsi, scripsi,
Zone same wrote I.
I bide yerby,
What gedlyng will grucche there agayne.

**Towneley 23, 524-7**

I say certane;
Quod scriptum scripsi,
That same wrote I,
What gadlyng gruches ther agane?

This similarity clearly goes beyond the Gospel source (John 19, 22: Respondit Pilatus: Quod scripsi, scripsi). The only other respect in which the York and Towneley dramatisations are similar outside the use of the Gospels and the *Northern Passion* for material is in the manner in which both plays open, with a threatening speech by Pilate. In the case of Towneley, this precedes the
nailing to the cross, and as has been shown (p. 314ff),
the major part of Pilate's speech is a later revision,
possibly by the Wakefield Master. The rant is a very
conventional play opening, and there appears to be no
evidence of interdependence between the cycles here.

As has been shown, the York play follows the Gospel
accounts of the Death and Burial with considerable
exactitude, with some assistance from the account in the
Northern Passion. The major concept original to this
dramatisation is to present Pilate with the chief priests
at the foot of the cross, to show Pilate's change of
heart about the action he has reluctantly agreed to, and
to display the high priests obdurate in their villainy,
repeating once more the catalogue of Jesus' crimes and
mocking him on the cross.

Like the Northern Passion but unlike Towneley, York
also deals with:

The words of the two thieves to Jesus (York 36, 196-
208; NP. 11.1691-1716). There is no similarity of
language between these two treatments, however, which may
equally well derive from Luke 24, 39-43; Matthew 27, 38
and 44; Mark 15, 27 and 32.

The York play also includes:
The demand of the high priests for the three crucified
to be killed before the Sabbath (York 36, 274-82).
The testimony of the Centurion, with the reference to
the weather (York 36, 313-26).

As far as the relationship between the York and
Towneley plays is concerned, Lyle has put forward an
interesting theory. It is her contention that the
two York plays 35 and 36 "seem to be expanded versions of
the one Towneley play XXIII). In support of this contention, she makes two points:

1. that the York plays are

"long drawn out, with much repetition, as in the case of the soldiers' mockery of Jesus, where they deride his claim to kingship and his claim of being able to tear down the temple and rebuild it in three days. In Towneley, the incident occurs once, 11.486-97, but in York it is given in both plays, PI. XXXV, 11.273-83 and PI. XXXVI, 11.79-91."

A major objection here is that the fact that this material is repeated in two York plays may well be evidence of expansion at some stage in the York cycle, but in itself it offers no evidence of any relation between the York and Towneley plays. The plays contain this material simply because they have both relied closely on the Gospel accounts as authorities.

2. "a long speech by Jesus is split into several parts in the York revision, different parts appearing at different places in both plays"

and she compares

Towneley 23, 11.233-8 with York 35, 11.253-8
Towneley 23, 11.255-60 with York 36, 11.192-5
Towneley 23, 11.290-4 with York 35, 11.259-64
and York 36, 11.254-58.

The speech which Lyle refers to is contained in sts 38-45 (11.233-94) in Towneley 23. It follows from her argument above that in her view this speech represents part of the original York/Towneley play, later revised and expanded in York.

It is notable, however, that this section of the Towneley play is not composed in the stanzaic form of the major part of the Towneley play (a six-line stanza
rhyming aabcb) but in a more complex stanzaic form rhyming aabaabbcbc (sts 41 and 42, and 43 and 44 each have one line missing from this arrangement, rhyming respectively aabaabbcbc and aabaabcbbc). There therefore seems every reason to suppose that this section is a later revision, and did not form part of the original version of the play from which the York plays, in Lyle's view, derive. (It seems less likely that it may be a remnant of an earlier version of the play which was composed throughout in that stanza form.) This fact alone conflicts with her statement that the "simpler and more common rime couée, in which the body of the Towneley play is composed ... presumably represents the parent play, in part, at least".

Moreover, since this section of the Towneley play is not composed in that form it cannot be used as evidence of any original relationship between the York and Towneley plays.

That the Towneley play does contain pieces of later work is admitted by Lyle, who draws attention to certain strophes which closely resemble the work of the Wakefield author together with "strophes in the medial rhymed quatrains of three accents to the half-line and the strophes rhyming aabaabbcb and aaboabbdab". She therefore here agrees that stanzas dealing with the "boasting of Pilate, the lamentations of Mary and the suffering of Jesus" have been added to the earlier play.

In further support of her theory, Lyle suggests that the two York plays composed in the Northern Septenar and "a later modification of it" are later stanzaic forms than the simpler and more common rime couée. This conclusion alone, could it be substantiated, would not
seem to offer evidence of a relation between the York and Towneley plays.

V

In his paper on the relation of the Gospel of Nicodemus to the York plays, Craigie drew attention to 1.675 of the Northern Middle English metrical version of Harleian MS 4196: (29)

"His ilk was god son, sykerly, lat yus to ded es dyght."

and he compared York 36, 11.322-5:

Trewly I sale
Godis sone verraye
Was he his daye
lat doulfully to dede yus is diȝt.

Craigie noted that the Latin text of the Gospel of Nicodemus offered a different version: "hie homo justus erat", and he indicated that in his view the York playwright had used this Middle English version of the Gospel of Nicodemus as a source.

This conclusion was challenged by Greg:

"here I venture to think he has gone astray. The apparent parallelism is due to the fact that the play and the Gospel follow Matt. xxvii, 54 and Mark xv, 39, whereas the Latin Evangelium Nicodemi follows Luke xxiii, 47." (30)

Greg is accurate in stating that the Latin Gospel of Nicodemus follows Luke 23, 47 ("Vere hic homo iustus erat") and it is true that the Gospels of Matthew and Mark account in part for the resemblance between the York play and the Gospel of Nicodemus in this single respect (Matthew 27, 54 offers "Vere Filius Dei erat iste" and Mark 15, 39, "Vere hic homo Filius Dei erat". Neither of these texts, however, explains the similarity between poem and play in
the line "yat (doulfully) to dede (yus) is diȝt". This is, however, fairly common alliterative phrasing of Jesus' words to Malcus at the scene of the Capture: "You man yat is yus derede / And doulfully dyght" (28/282) and the lament of the Second Mary in the Processus Crucis, "Oo, doulfully nowe is he dight" (34/154). There are also two other examples of similar phrasing elsewhere in the York Mortificacion: "yat doulfullly to dede yus is diȝt (36/132) and "yus doulfullly to dede haue yei done (36/254). The possibility does exist, however, that the York play has been influenced to a very minor extent by the Gospel of Nicodemus in the Middle English metrical version.
Summary and Conclusions

1. The play is a good transcription from an earlier copy, with few errors, and two minor amendments by later hands. There is a possible textual connection with Play 35 insofar as both plays, unlike others of the Passion Group, have been given titles in the manuscript.

2. Certain discrepancies with Burton's description of 1415 suggest that the extant play is not the one which existed at that date.

3. The theories of Gayley, Greg, Chambers and Reese concerning the metrical style of the play and thus its attribution to a so-called 'Metrist' of the second period of composition or to a 'Realist' of the third period are considered.

4. The play is composed in a regular thirteen-line stanza rhyming ababcbcdedeed, which indicates that the play has not been altered or revised following its composition at some date after 1415.

5. The main features of the metrical style are:
   (a) A line with three chief stresses (91.8%). In a high proportion of lines the stressed syllables all begin with the same alliterative sound (aaa) (65.2%), but the types xae (16.4%), aex, axa, are also found. These patterns have been found in the caudae of the alliterative plays. Certain irregularities occur, however, since twenty lines have four chief stresses and two have only two, but only three lines in the whole play lack structural alliteration. Sixteen lines offer additional, ornamental alliteration.

   (b) The play differs from the other alliterative plays
      (i) in the lack of a central caesura in the line.
      (ii) in having a high proportion of lines with a fixed rhythm x/xx/xx/ (62.1%), a type found in the cauda of the Conspiracy play, and also in the other alliterative plays, but contrasting with the basically iambic rhythm of the so-called Northern Septenar plays (Plays 27 and 35). The playwright varies the line, however, with a number of other rhythms, thus avoiding monotony, although anapaestic rhythms are exceeded in only 14% of lines.
      (iii) in the fact that the basic structure of the line is syllabic, with 76.9% of lines with eight syllables and 11.3% with nine syllables. In this respect the play resembles York plays 27 and 35, but not the alliterative plays.
(iv) in the form of the cauda, consisting of one one-stress line, three two-stress lines and one three-stress line. Only a small proportion of these lines contain alliteration, which is mainly found in the final line, although 21.8% of even these lines lack alliteration. The usual pattern is aaa, but aax, xaa, and axa are also found. Most lines of the triplet lack alliteration (61.2%), although the type aa occurs. The lines of the cauda are composed on a syllabic principle of one line of two syllables (87.5%), a triplet of four syllables (66.7%) and a final line of eight syllables (43.7%).

(c) As observed in alliterative plays such as Play 30, stanzas are linked by words and phrases in certain groups (sts 1-5, 18-19, 29-31). Additional stanzas are linked by repetition of the chief alliterative sound. Lines are also linked by alliteration, apparently without consistency, in groups of two within the stanza. All these linking devices are used without any attempt at regularity, and the breakdowns, particularly of the word links, appear to be without significance.

6. The contention of Lyle that various similarities between the York play, Towneley play 23 and the Northern Passion are the result of the influence of that poem upon the plays is examined. Episodes which York and Towneley may have borrowed individually from the Northern Passion are also considered. It is concluded that the Northern Passion has been used by York and Towneley at some stage in composition, although for the most part the two plays depend upon a careful concordance of the Gospel accounts. The relation between the York and Towneley plays is therefore the result of the use of the same sources, except for only one instance where a similarity extends beyond John, chap. 19.

7. The York play alone presents Pilate and the chief priests at the foot of the cross, a concept original to this play. Otherwise the play follows authorities closely for additional material, such as the testimony of the Centurion.

8. The theory of Lyle that York plays 35 and 36 are expanded versions of Towneley play 23 is considered, but found to be untenable on the grounds proposed.

9. The views of Craigie and Greg regarding the episode of the testimony of the centurion and its possible derivation from the Middle English metrical version of the Gospel of Nicodemus are considered, and it is thought possible that York has in this one respect been influenced by this poem.
NOTES

The Plays performed by

The day of Corpus

in the 16th centuries, Oxford,

1. W. D. Macleay, Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearian Drama, 2 vols. Boston, 1891. (Plays 26 and 48)

2. B. Haringway, English Nativity Plays. New York, 1909. (Plays 12, 13, 14, 15)


The Conspiracy to take Jesus (Play 26)

1. The fragment, the Innholders' play, deals with the Coronation of Our Lady.

2. The only other MS, of a single play, is the Sykes Manuscript of The Incredulity of Thomas (the Scriveners' play) printed and discussed by A. C. Gawley, "The Sykes Manuscript of the York Scriveners' Play", Leeds Studies in English and Kindred Languages, Nos. 7 and 8 (1952), pp.45-60. (Professor Gawley dates this manuscript 1525-50.) Among earlier editions are:


4. Among these are:

J. M. Manly. Specimens of the Pre-Shaksperean Drama, 2 vols. Boston, 1897. (Plays 38 and 48)


J. Q. Adams, ed. Chief Pre-Shakesperean Dramas. A Selection of Plays illustrating the History of the English Drama from its origin down to Shakespeare. Boston, New York, 1924. (Plays 14, 48)


7. Smith, intro. p.xiv; and see also intro p.xxviii, where Smith quotes "manuscript authorities at the British Museum" as dating the handwriting between 1430-1450. The fragment is in a hand of the close of the fifteenth century. Three plays were copied into the manuscript in 1558: Play 4, the Pullers' Play, Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden; an addition to Play 7, the Glovers' play, Cain and Abel; Play 41, the Hatmakers', Masons' and Labourers' play, The Purification of Mary: Simeon and Anna prophesy.


E. K. Chambers, *English Literature at the close of the Middle Ages*, Oxford, 1945, "about 1475".


Passages lost:
(a) Part of The Woman taken in Adultery (Play 24)
(b) The Raising of Lazarus, (Play 24)
(c) Part of The Last Supper (play 27)
(d) The Lord's prayer (Play 28)
The losses in Quire G occur in a blank.


Davies, p.269.


17. MS House book, vol. xxvi, f.27;

Davies, p.271.

Mill, p.151.


20. of Mill, pp.150-1, who from an examination of British Museum Additional MS 33852, f.34 and f.66, concludes that the Bakers performed the Last Supper play in "1569" "158-". "An undated account which follows the 1580 account in the Bakers' Book would seem to point to one more performance."


MS Housebook, vol. xxvii, f.219 (quoted Mill, p.151)

22. of Davidson, "Studies in the English Mystery Plays", Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, ix (1892) p.137, "the existing York cycle is a compilation, containing plays of very different styles and stanzaic structure".


30. Craig, p.228.


32. The term "very similar sound" is used here merely to indicate a distinction between the alliteration together of a single consonant with a like consonant (bitterly, banne, bide in the following example) as opposed to a consonantal group (such as bl or br). The preservation in varying degrees of certain of these groups in Old English and Middle English poetry is discussed by J. P. Oakden, *Alliterative Poetry in Middle English*, vol. 1, Manchester, 1930, pp.163ff. For a detailed analysis of usage in *The Condemnation*, Play 33, see below, pp.240ff.

33. For the presence of such 'extended half-lines' in alliterative poetry, that is to say, a first half-line containing three chief stresses instead of the normal two, see Oakden, pp.131, 170ff., who thus follows Sievers and Luck.

For a different view, that there are no extended half-lines in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, cf. Marie Borroff, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight. A Stylistic and Metrical Study*, New Haven and London, 1962, p.198, "In all the first half-lines, however heavy, it is possible to subordinate one out of three stressed syllables - or in certain cases two out of four - so that two syllables will receive major emphasis."

34. cf the similar findings of Borroff, p.165, that in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* a word or two closely related words may alliterate on the prefix in one line and on the stem in another.

35. The terms "major" or "chief" stress, "secondary chief" stress and "unstressed" syllables correspond to Borroff's "major chief", "minor chief" and "intermediate" syllables (Borroff, p.174).

36. A term employed by Oakden, p.179, to indicate extended lines with two chief alliterative sounds interwoven in patterns such as aab/ab, abb/ba, etc.
Oakden, p.149, points out that the use of this technique in early Middle English alliterative poetry offers proof of the historical survival of the Old English alliterative tradition. The practice is equally rare in Old English and early Middle English alliterative poetry, although nevertheless a conscious device, and common in later poems such as Judith.

For a more detailed discussion of this matter in relation to Play 27, The Last Supper, see pp.39ff. A review of previous work by Luick and by Julius Thomas on the problem of the value of final -e is offered by Borroff, pp.183-6, and footnotes 10, 17-27, pp.264-8. The rhythm of 'normal' half-lines is treated by Oakden, pp.174-6. His scansions of extended half-lines, however, indicate that in his view final -e has syllabic value, e.g.

A dere damisele to douhter ... (p.173).

For a similar distinction between the treatment of final -e in intralinear position and in rhyme, see Borroff, p.183.


6. The "Gest Hystoriale" of the Destruction of Troy, ed. C. A. Panton and D. Donaldson, EETS, 39 (1869), 56 (1874).
10. Purity, ed. Robert J. Menner, Yale Studies in...
English, 61, New Haven, 1920.


43. Sellers, p.10.

44. Smith, intro. p.xxxi.
Sellers, p.169, where the record is undated.

45. Davies, appendix p.230.
Smith, intro. p.xxxii.
Sellers, p.47.

46. Printed in Davies, pp.233-6.

47. R. H. Skaife, Manuscript Catalogue of the Mayors and Bailiffs and Town Clerk of the City of York, 1895, p.29.

48. Chambers, ELOTA, p.28, suggests a date of 1420-2 for this second list.

49. (a) Play 16, The Coming of the Magi, has been divided into two in the manuscript.
(b) Play 17, The Purification of Mary: Simeon and Anna prophesy appears as Play 41 in the manuscript.
(c) Play 22, The Marriage at Cana, was never copied into the manuscript.
(d) Play 25, Jesus at the House of Simon the Leper, has fared similarly.
(e) Plays 26 and 27 have been combined in the manuscript and appear as Play 24, containing the episodes of the Woman Taken in Adultery, the Accusation of the Jews, the Raising of Lazarus with the story of Martha and Mary.
(f) Play 48 has been omitted from the register. This portrayed the attempted desecration of the
body of the Virgin Mary as it was being borne to burial.

50. Grace Frank, "On the Relation between the York and Towneley plays", PMLA, xlv (1929), p. 316, suggests that discrepancies between Burton's description and the extant plays may be due to "carelessness, a desire for brevity, the inclusion of silent actors' parts, and perhaps ... to redistribution of roles without change of text."

Similarly Marie C. Lyle, The Original Identity of the York and Towneley Cycles, Minneapolis, 1919, p. 31, fn. 6: "There is reason to believe that Burton's list represents the true situation as it existed in 1415, only in regard to the separation of plays and their assignment to crafts, but that in many cases the description given the characters and chief events refers to a situation existing at an earlier period."

Also Marie C. Lyle, "The Original Identity of the York and Towneley Cycles - A Rejoinder", PMLA, xlv (1929), p. 327: "The descriptions accorded the plays are very meagre, and it may be that the references to characters and action are incomplete or even inaccurate."

51. Alan H. Nelson, The Medieval English Stage, Chicago, 1974, pp. 39-42. The cycle, he suggests, was presented at a single site (inside the chamber at the Common Hall gates) after the conclusion of the pageant procession for the exclusive benefit of a handful of powerful officials (p. 78).

For two earlier interpretations of the York records, arriving at other conclusions, see

Martin Stevens, "The York Cycle: From Procession to Play", Leeds Studies in English, New Series, Vol. VI (1972), pp. 37-61; also "Postscript", pp. 113-5, same volume; and
Margaret Dorrell, "Two Studies of the York Corpus Christi Play", same volume, pp. 63-111.

Mr. Stevens takes the view that Burton describes "a procession of a series of tableaux" rather than "a sustained dramatic performance at each of twelve stations" and that this procession only developed into "a full-fledged drama in the years after 1425", ... "the collected pageants of the York register (not coming) into existence until the second half of the fifteenth century" (pp. 44, 49). Miss Dorrell, on the other hand, supports the traditional view, interpreting the York records that "the performance of the York Corpus Christi Play was processional" ... "it took place within a reasonable time limit. The records show that the performance was a spoken one and imply that each pageant was performed at each station. The calcul-
ations indicate that the conjectured performance of the forty-eight plays of the register at the twelve stations of the 1398-9 ordinance could have finished at twenty-nine minutes past midnight." She further maintains that "Although Burton entered information about procession and play in the one section of the manuscript, he gave no indication of the relationship between them. In the proclamation they are mentioned separately." (pp. 70, 101).

52. Craig, p. 226. This view is supported also by Frampton, T.20, p. 920: "The Janitor was a new character, not in other cycles, and centers attention upon himself so definitely that mention of him would seem certain had he been in the play".

53. Frampton, T.20, p. 920.

54. Frampton, T.20, p. 920, is convinced that Annas "must have been in the play as (Burton) knew it". This, however, is not certain.

55. Towneley 8/York 11: The Israelites in Egypt, the Ten Plagues, and Passage of the Red Sea;
   Towneley 16/York 20: Christ with the Doctors in the Temple;
   Towneley 25/York 37: Harrowing of Hell;
   Towneley 26/York 38: Resurrection: Fright of the Jews;

56. Smith, intro, p. xlvi.
   For a brief discussion of the changes in Towneley, see Chambers, ELCIA, p. 35.
   And Gayley, pp. 331 ff.

57. J. Hall, Englische Studien, ix (1886), p. 448, added York 17, st 27 and Towneley 14, st 100.
   O. Herttrich, Studien zu den York Plays, Breslau, 1886, 3–6, added York 34 (the greater part) and Towneley 22; and York 18 and Towneley 15.
   Hohlfeld, p. 298, also noted that Towneley play 22 had borrowed from York play 34.
   Gayley, p. 331, notes as correspondences and survivals: at 100 of the Wakefield Magi from the York Adoration, st 27; in the Wakefield Flight into Egypt "some thirty distinct echoes" of the corresponding York play; he also added that in the Wakefield play of The Scourging the scene of John and the Holy Women is based upon the second scene of the York Christ led up to Calvary; the Wakefield play of the Purification is "at any rate a reminiscence" of the York scene at Simeon's house in Jerusalem (York 41); the scene between Mary Magdalene and Jesus at the end of the Wakefield Resurrection and the succeeding Wakefield play of the
Pilgrims are "fairly accurate survivals of discarded York plays"; the fragment of the Hanging of Judas is probably a relic of the corresponding York play, noted by Burton in 1415; Towneley 26, 11.226ff. is probably also a York original.

Gayley, p.134, also observes that three plays, Towneley plays 10, 14 and 15 are adaptations of York plays. "Still others, like (T)4, (T)19 and (T)27 would seem to be based upon early alternatives of York plays, discarded about 1340."

For a very brief survey of the correspondences noted by Smith, with the addition of those between York play 26 and the first part of Towneley play 20, see Greg, p.295.


59. The Northern Passion, Four parallel texts and the French original, with specimens of additional manuscripts, ed. Frances A. Foster, EETS, 145 (1913), 147 (1916).

The Northern Passion in its "expanded form ... found a place in the Northern Homily Collection, and thus became part of the regular course of sermons delivered from parish pulpits. This use must have been particularly frequent in the North of England where the great cycles arose, but it also extended to the East Midland district, the home of the Hegge plays. Moreover, the Passion was the more readily adaptable to the purposes of the playwright from its introduction of a large proportion of direct discourse. This semi-dramatic character was already present in the Old French original, called by Roy, La Passion des Jongleurs, which had contributed much toward the French drama. A playwright, therefore, in search of material for a Passion Play in English rhyme, could not well overlook the Northern Passion. Of the extant cycles, Chester shows no influence of the Passion, but York used it in its more Northern or expanded form, while the more Southern Hegge and Towneley borrowed from the original more Southern version." (Foster, NP, p.81).

See also Frances A. Foster, "Was Gilbert Pilkington Author of the Secunda Pastorum?", MLA, xliii (1928), p.135, where a date of "the first third of the fourteenth century" is proposed.

60. Lyle, p.78.

61. Chambers, ELCMA, p.36, "I reject altogether a much discussed theory which supposes the York and Wakefield cycles, as we have them, to have gradually developed,
through revisions many of which can now only be conjectured, from a common 'parent cycle'. Apart from the amount of guess-work involved, it is clearly put out of court by a recognition of the fact that the origin of the Wakefield cycle must have been anything from a quarter to half a century later than that of its York predecessor. It is true that parallels of phrasing may often be traced in plays, other than those which Wakefield has admittedly borrowed. They are particularly noticeable in the two plays on Joseph's Trouble. Often they may be due to a common use or narrative sources, such as the Northern Passion, the Gospel of Nicodemus, or, in the case of Joseph's Trouble, some poem on St. Anne and the Virgin, other than those which have reached us. But occasionally they amount to two or three consecutive lines, and as the Wakefield writers were evidently familiar with the plays at York, they may easily have retained in their memories some noteworthy passages. Whether there was also borrowing from other towns, such as Beverley, we cannot say."

Grace Frank, ORBYT, p.318, "that the York and Towneley cycles were originally one as cycles cannot, it seems to me, be proved at the present time, and must remain at best hypothetical. ... Until we know how the Towneley collection came to be made, whether the plays were assembled singly, in groups, or as a cycle, I should prefer to speak of Towneley's borrowings from York rather than of parent cycle plays, and to posit the original identity of individual plays in the cycles rather than the identity of the cycles themselves. I do believe, however, that those Towneley plays which display various degrees of resemblance to the corresponding York plays actually derive from them, or from earlier plays of which the extant versions are revisions, and that this original contact has in certain instances been more or less obscured by subsequent revisions in one, in the other, or in both of the plays in question."

of also the view of Greg, p.85 (reprint) that the so-called identical plays were borrowed from York by Wakefield through the intermediary of Wakefield actors: "I believe it (the borrowing) to be far too close and consistent to justify such an hypothesis. We have no evidence whatever that actors in miracle plays learned more than their individual parts and cues, and in any case a text obtained from an actor would almost inevitably betray its origin by preserving some speeches better than others."

62. W. Creizenach, "The Early Religious Drama, Miracle
Plays and Moralities", in Cambridge History of English Literature (1932) vol. v, p.47, "Second half of the fifteenth century."

Chambers, ELCMA, p.34, "may be as late as 1485".

Wann, "A New Examination of the Manuscript of the Towneley Plays", MLA, xliii (1928), p.141, c.1450.

Gayley, p.122, "after the middle of the same (15th) century".

Craig, p.207, "about 1450".

Smith, p.xlvi, "probably of the end of the fifteenth century".

63. Creizenach, p.47.

Chambers, ELCMA, p.34-5.


Pollard, TP, intro. p.xxviii.

but of Millicent Carey, "The Wakefield Group in the Towneley Cycle", Hesperia, 11 (1930) p.4, "the problem remains to be finally solved."

64. Smith, p.xlvi, "it must be a copy from older originals."

See also Greg, p.293;
similarly Frampton, "Date of the Wakefield Master", p.646;
and Craig, p.205;
also Chambers, Medieval Stage, II, 143;
but of Davidson, p.129 (work of a compiler);

65. The same stanza form is found in the whole or part of a number of plays in the Towneley cycle attributed to the Wakefield Master:

Processus Noe; Prima Pastorum; Secunda Pastorum; Regulus Herodes; Coliphizacio; Flagellacio (from "Primus Tortor" (st 5) to "Johannes Apostolus" (st 28); Processus Talentorum ("perhaps, though the
confusion is extreme); the devil play in *Judicium* (Davidson, p.154).

Similarly Pollard, TP, intro. p.xxii, who proposes the addition of *Mactacio Abel* from "the extraordinary boldness of the play and the character of its humour".

Gayley, p.164, adds *Mactacio Abel* (2 stanzas); Ascension (2 stanzas); *Crucifixion* (1 stanza), and specifies for *Processus Talentorum* sts 1-5, 56-9; *Peregrini*, st. 4. Passages in "a closely similar stanza" are: *Flagellacio*, sts 1-4; *Processus Crucis*, st. 2, and *Peregrini*, st. 30. Gayley also specifies the *Judicium* passages as sts. 16-45; and 68-76; and the *Flagellacio* passages as the opening 23 stanzas.

Carey, p.243, lists *Mactacio Abel*, sts 35 and 36, and the remainder on stylistic grounds; *Processus Noe*; *Prima Pastorum*; *Secunda Pastorum*; *Magnus Herodes*; *Conspiracio*, sts 1-6, 97-102; *Coliphizacio*; *Flagellacio*, st. 1; *Crucifixio*, st. 2; *Peregrini*, st. 49, and possibly 49-59; *Processus Talentorum*, sts 1-5, 56-60 (remainder on stylistic grounds); *Peregrini*, sts 4, 30; *Ascencio*, sts 16, 57, 58; *Judicium*, sts 16-48, 68-76.

A. C. Cawley, *The Wakefield Pageants in the Towneley Cycle*, Manchester, 1958, p.xvii, lists *Processus Noe*; *Prima Pastorum*; *Secunda Pastorum*; *Magnus Herodes*; *Coliphizacio*. *Mactacio Abel* he believes to be a revision by the Wakefield Master; and other plays with stanzas of the type associated with his work are: *Conspiracio*, sts 1-5; *Flagellacio*, sts 5-27; *Processus Crucis*, st. 57; *Processus Talentorum*, sts 1-5, 56-9; *Peregrini*, st. 4; *Ascencio*, sts. 57-8; *Judicium*, sts. 16-48, 68-76.

66. Davidson, p.155, "A new introduction to a play with which he was conversant." "I judge him a late contributor to a cycle already long established."

Similarly Gayley, p.175.

And Prampton, T.20, p.920.

A. Williams, *The Characterization of Pilate in the Towneley Plays*, Michigan, 1950, p.59, "very probably the (Wakefield) Master's reworking of the conventional ranting and threatening speech of Pilate." "It is somewhat inconsistent with the rest of the play, in which, when Caïaphas and Annas ask Pilate's advice and detail Jesus' crimes, Pilate appears to know nothing about the matter." (On this latter point,

W. F. MoNeir, "The Corpus Christi Passion Plays as Dramatic Art; Studies in Medieval Culture dedicated to George Raleigh Coffman", *Studies in Philology*, xlvi (1951) p.616, points out that "the same perjured Pilate" is also to be found in Towneley 22, also attributed to the Wakefield Master.

Pollard, TP, intro. p.xxiii-xxviii, similarly suggests that three stages occurred in the formation of the Towneley cycle: an "original didactic cycle" (Plays 1, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 17 (part), 23 (part), 28 (part); "the period when the York plays were being incorporated into the cycle" and the period of revision by "a writer of genuine dramatic power" (the Wakefield Master). Pollard, p.xxviii, dates this latter period as "the early years of the fifteenth century".

Lyle, p.100, suggests that the first two of these periods represent the "parent cycle stage".

67. Frampton, "Date of the Wakefield Master", p.658-9, would set the latest revisions to the cycle as late as 1422-60. In his view the town of Wakefield would have been unable to support a large cycle until the time of Henry V (1413-22).

of Chambers, *ELCMA*, p.35, "One can hardly put the initiation of a cycle earlier than about 1425". "The Master may ... have been one of its original writers". (p.40).

but of Frances A. Poster, "Was Gilbert Pilkington Author of the Secunda Pastorum?", p.135, who dates the Secunda Pastorum "in the first decade of the fifteenth century".

of Katharine Lee Bates, *The English Religious Drama*, New York, 1893, p.49, "the fourteenth century or even earlier".

of Gayley, p.134-5, "the decade on either side of Wat Tyler's Rebellion", 1381, to the "period of Praemunire, 1392".


of Hohlfeld, p.310, "the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century".
cf O. Cargill, "The Authorship of the Secunda Pastorum", PhilA. xli (1926), p.812, n.2, "there seem to be no allusions in the (Wakefield) cycle which may positively refer to any events after 1355".

cf the earlier view of Cady, "The Couplets and Quatrains in the Towneley Mystery Plays", p.572, also in Cady, "The Passion Group in Towneley", p.591 (that these Wakefield stanzas are the remains of a lost scene in the Wakefield stanza, itself probably revised from a still older scene along the same lines (and added to the cycle before the York borrowing) to which the Northern Septenar stanzas of an earlier version of York play 26 have been added.)

Gayley, p.163, suggests that the stanza form used by the Wakefield Master is "the evident outgrowth by combination and modification" of the York Mortificacio and Conspiracy stanzas.

cf however the view of Carey, p.222, that the Wakefield stanza is a direct development of the Northern Septenar and that the strophe of the York Mortificacio either was influenced by Wakefield or evolved by a parallel development from the same source.

68. Caudas are missing after sts 13 and 48; stanza 21 is a quatrain; and st. 16 rhymes ababbcbbcbcc.

69. Greg, p.295, "It is (also) practically certain that the Conspiracy, the first part of the twentieth Wakefield pageant, was originally a first period York play, which has there been displaced by one of the latest additions".

Frampton, T.20, p.921, similarly considers it "likely" that these stanzas were at one time a York play, since on the evidence of poetic style and Burton's list York 26 is a very late play. Moreover the only discrepancy between Burton's description and the Towneley play is the presence of three Jews. "I suspect that we have not only a play once produced at York but actually the play described by Burton."

It is Craig's contention (p.216) that certain plays in the Passion Group have been subject to revision in the York cycle, but remain in their older state in the Towneley cycle. These are the Conspiracy (York 26), The Last Supper (York 27), The Agony and Betrayal (York 21), The Crucifixion (York 35) and The Death and Burial (York 36). The criteria for this judgment are "verbal parallels, the use of the rhyme words of the older version in the revised version,
and various special characteristics carried over from the older form to the newer form."

cf Foster, MP, p.86, "probably based on a lost York play".

cf Cady, "The Couplets and Quatrains in the Towneley Mystery Plays", p.578, "borrowed directly from a version of York not now extant".

cf Hohlfeld, p.296, that Towneley 20 was written in dependence upon York plays 26-8.

70. Pollard, TP, intro. p.xxvi, points out that three of these plays, the Pharaoh (11), Doctores (20) and Extraccio Animarum (37) are 'identical' plays in the Towneley cycle (see p.20) and lines 54-213 "may possibly be based on a lost alternative to the extant York play on this subject".

71. Davidson, p.127.

cf however the contrary view of Lyle, pp.45-6, that the material of this and Davidson's other plays "is not fundamental in cyclical formation", and Craig, p.236, that the use of this form points to "a clearly marked set of revisions in the York cycle before the Wakefield cycle was separately established".

Frampton, T.20, p.920, however, appears to follow Davidson's theories in suggesting that the present stanza form of York 26 is "a very late expansion of the true Northern Septenar as originally used at York".

72. Davidson, pp.140ff.

For lists of rhymes in the plays concerned, see H. E. Coblentz, "A rime-index to the 'Parent Cycle' of the York Mystery Plays and of a portion of the Woodkirk Conspiracio et Captio", PM LA, x (1895), pp.487-557.

73. For the view that "determination of specific sources ... is virtually impossible, for the variety of sources available to a writer on the Passion was considerable", see S. J. Kahrle, Traditions of Medieval English Drama, London 1974, p.84. Mr. Kahrle in considering the probable dependence of the Towneley Coliphizacio upon the Northern Passion suggests that a Gospel harmony "could just as well have been used".

For the influence, on the other hand, of the Meditationes Vitae Christi upon the English plays of the Passion, see Rosemary Woolf, pp.238ff.

For further discussion of the general influence of this work upon the York Passion plays, and certain similarities between these plays and representations in medieval art, see Clifford Davidson, "The Realism of the York Realist and the York Passion", Speculum, L (1975), pp.270-83.


The Northern Passion, Four Parallel Texts and the
French original, with specimens of additional manuscripts, ed. Frances A. Foster, EETS, 145 (1913) 147 (1916). All quotations are from MS Harley 4196 unless otherwise stated.


76. cf however the different treatment of the Ludus Coventriae (in Ludus Coventriae or The Playe called Corous Christi, ed. K. S. Block, EETS, ES 120 (1922) p. 249, 11.514-5.

77. cf the early view of Frances Foster, "The Mystery Plays and the Northern Passion", Modern Language Notes 26, (1911) pp. 169-71, that Towneley 20, 270-9 was dependent upon the Northern Passion (MS Cotton Tiberius E vii) p. 20, 11.14-16; 11.23-33, and her later view that this material is derived from the great store of medieval tradition common to many writers (NT. p. 82).

F. Holthausen, "Beiträge zur Erklärung und Textkritik der York plays", Archiv für das studium der neueren sprachen und litteraturen, vol. 85, (1890) pp. 411-28, offers the following passage from chapter 45 of the Legenda Aurea of Jacobus a Voragine:

"Dolens vero (Judas) tempore dominicae passionis, quod unguentum quod trecentos denarios valebat, non fuerat venditum, ut illos etiam denarios furaretur, abit et dominum xxx denariis vendidit (quorum unus-quisque valebat x denarios usuales et damnum unguenti tricentorum denariorum recompensavit); vel (ut quidam ajunt) omnium quae pro Christo dabantur, decimam partem furabatur et ideo pro decima parte quam in unguento amiserat, scilicet pro xxx denariis, dominum vendidit."

78. The parallel between Towneley 20, 256-7 and Northern Passion 11.111-2 was noted also by Frances H. Miller, "The Northern Passion and the Mysteries", Modern Language Notes, xxxiv (1919), pp. 68-9.

79. The parallel between the Northern Passion (in MS Cotton Tiberius E vii) and Towneley 20, 250-61 was first noted by Foster, "The Mystery Plays and the Northern Passion". Foster compares also Cursor Mundi, EETS 62, 11.14006-14011 (Gottingen 13):

War-wid scho fel in suilk a grete,
Wat wid ye teris scho wesse his fete;
On yaim scho wepe hir sinnes sare,
And siyen scho drei yaim wid hir hare.
80. See Note 65 above.

81. Frampton, "The Date of the Wakefield Master", pp. 657-60.

of the earlier view of Cady, "The Passion Group in Towneley", p.557, that the borrowings from York are the last work on the Towneley cycle, having been inserted, though not necessarily written, last. See also Cady, "The Couplets and Quatrains in the Towneley Mystery Plays", p.583-4.

82. McNeir, p.604.

83. A. L. Williams, p.21, claims that Pilate at the outset "establishes himself as the prime mover in the conspiracy against Jesus. He, not the Jews, is the evil genius behind the crucifixion. With complete disregard of scripture but in obedience to principles of good dramaturgy Towneley identifies Pilate with the Jews."

84. (A) The healing of the sick (York 26, 99ff; Towneley 20, 92ff);
(B) The breaking of the Sabbath (York 26, 99; Towneley 20, 112);
(C) The claim to be the son of God

\[ \text{York 26, 51-4} \]
For he kennes folke hym for to call Crete god son. Yus greues vs yat gone, And sais yat he sittande be schall In high heuen, for †ere is his hall.

\[ \text{Towneley 20, 134-7} \]
Emangys the folke has he the name that he is godys son, and none els, And his self says the same that his fader in heuen dwelles;

(D) The claim to be king

\[ \text{York 26, 115-7} \]
... and also yat caytiff, / He callis hym cure kyng.

... (Pil) And If so be, yat borde to bayll will hym bryng.

\[ \text{Towneley 20, 120-5} \]
... well more is ther;
he callys hym self heuens kyng ...  
(Pil) ... that shall be aby 
with byter baylls ...  

85. of however McNeir, p.604, who believes that in the 
Towneley play "the necessary exposition is handled 
more dramatically". 

Similarly Williams, p.20, fn. 4. 

86. The originality of this scene is noted by Miller, 
p.92. 

Williams, p.20, complains that the result of this 
scene is to "shift the action away from Pilate and 
to stop the play for a side issue".
The Last Supper (Play 27)

1. Smith, p.236.
This suggestion is repeated by Mill, p.152.


3. Davies, p.234.

4. Smith, intro. p.lii; and see above p.6.

5. Borroff, p.141 and fn. 26, quoting:


7. A similar conclusion, that final unstressed -e "does not count as a syllable within the long lines under any conditions" is reached by Borroff in relation to Sir Gawain and the Green Knight, although she finds it "impossible to be equally certain about -e in final position" because of the marked preference of the Middle English alliterative poets generally for the feminine ending (Borroff, pp.187-8).

8. The remaining lines of the octave have either three stresses (7 lines, 5.6%) or five stresses (2 lines, 1.6%); and of the cauda, two stresses (6 lines, 9.6%) or four stresses (3 lines, 2.4%).


10. Lines 11, 12, 23, 34, 36, 57, 59, 60, 69, 71, 81, 91, 113, 114, 125, 126, 127, 148, 150, 161, 162, 163, 172, 186.
11. For a fuller discussion of this matter and of the preservation of consonantal groups in relation to the Condemnation play (Play 33) see p. 239.

12. Davidson, p.126.

   cf Oakden, p.244, who concludes that it is probable that end-rhyme was adopted in the alliterative long line in imitation of the Latin septenary.


15. Chambers, ELCM, p.29.


18. Davidson, pp.137-8. Davidson also maintains that these plays are older than the Woodkirk (Towneley), true Coventry and so-called Coventry (Hegge) cycles, and that Wakefield and true Coventry borrowed certain plays from this cycle, although not from the extant text.


20. Greg, p.79 (Reprint).


   For the view that the great number of plays extant in the Northern Septenar stanza, or modifications of it, points to an extensive revision, see Lyle, p.44. Lyle also notes scriptural accuracy and doctrinal correctness as characteristics of the Northern Septenar plays. For her rejection of Davidson's parent cycle theory, see pp.45ff.

23. Davidson, p.127.

24. Davidson, p.156.

25. Lyle, p.81.

27. The parallel between Towneley 20, 392-5 and NP (Ashmole 61 MS) 348a-345 was noted by Foster, NP, p.87.

28. Miller, p.89.

29. Foster, NP, p.87.


31. Foster, NP, p.82.

32. The parallel between NP, 1.422 and York 27, 178 was noted by Foster, NP, p.84.

33. Foster, "The Mystery Plays and the Northern Passion", p.170, using NP, MS Camb. Univ. Gg. 1.1 and Towneley 20, 11.314-29; noted again also in Foster, NP, p.87.

34. For the view that Towneley is clearly dependent upon the Northern Passion, see Frampton, T.20, p.927.


Mark 14, 13-14: Et mittit duos ex disiculis suis, et dicit eis: Ite in civitatem, et occurrat vobis homo lagenam aquae balulans, sequimini eum:

et quocumque introierit, dicite domino domus, quia magister dicit: Ubi est refectio mea, ubi pascha cum discipulis meis manducem?


At illi dixerunt: Ubi vis paremus?

Et dixit ad eos: Ecce introcuntibus vobis in civitatem occurrat vobis homo quidam amphoram aquae portans: sequimini eum in domum, in quam intrat, et dicetis patrifamilias domus: Dicit tibi Magister: Ubi est diversorium, ubi pascha cum discipulis meis manducem?

36. Cursor Mundi (Cotton MS) 15187-15190:

"Gas til-ward ye tun", he said,
"A man ye aro yow sal mete,
A wattrin vesel in his hand,
O-gains yow yat strett ..."
Noted by Foster, "The Mystery Plays and the Northern Passion", p.170.


38. The dependence of Towneley upon the Northern Passion in this matter was observed by Foster, MP, p.87.

For a similar view that these passages are the result of the influence of the Northern Passion upon Towneley rather than Matthew 26, 23 ("At ipse respondens, ait: Qui intingit mecum manum in paropside, hic me tradet.") see Frampton, T.20, p.925.

39. cf however the view of Frampton that the use of the exact phrase "Maistir, was it ought I" (NP. MS Camb. Gg. 5.31, l.268) in Towneley is evidence that the passage was written under the influence of the Northern Passion and not of Mark (T.20, p.924).

40. Lyle, p.13, notes the following passages as parallels:

Yorks 27, 180-1
Butt ryse now vppe, for we will goo,
By ys owre enemyes ordand are.

Towneley 20, 652-5
Rysse vp, peter, and goe with me,
and folowe me withoutten stryfe;
Ludas walys and slepys not he;
he commys to betray me here belye.

The Northern Passion at the point corresponding to that in the York play has:

Bot cumes now furth and lat us fare.

The Towneley extract occurs in the section covered by the 28th York play, and the lines precede the cutting off of Malcus' ear, when Jesus is captured in the Garden. In view also of their common nature, they cannot therefore be said to be a convincing parallel.

41. Lyle, p.80.

42. For a refutation of Davidson's proposition that these couplets have been borrowed directly from a version of York not now extant, see Cady, "The Couplets and Quatrains in the Towneley Mystery Plays", p.518.

Craig, p.223, on the other hand, agrees with Lyle's
hypothesis so far as to propose that the presence of couplets and quatrains in the Towneley Conspiracy play suggests that there might have been a Passion Play at York in the pre-cyclic period.

Davidson, p.129, believes that the couplets are the work of a compiler, "a man of small poetical ability".

Frampton, T.20, pp.929-37, has claimed that this section of the play is the work of two separate authors, who have worked respectively on lines 314-83 and lines 384-487. The work of the second writer is deduced to be the latest work upon the whole Towneley play, c.1415-20, and immediately to precede the work of the Wakefield Master on the opening stanzas of the play. Both couplet authors have been influenced by the Northern Passion: the first, very considerably, by the short version, and the second, to a small extent by the extended (Harley) version, with use also of the Gospels of John and Mark. In Frampton's view in the entire Towneley play only the Cena couplets (i.e. lines 314-83) "seem to be original to Wakefield, that is, free from York influence in some form". Frampton, however, sees the Last Supper section of the Towneley play as dependent not upon the extant York play, but as being "inspired ... by the example of the organisation" of the two plays of the time of Burton's second list, which for a time superseded it.

In the absence of a text of these two later plays, one of which apparently dealt with the Last Supper, and one with the Footwashing (see p.38), it is difficult to substantiate Frampton's hypothesis of the influence of York upon Towneley. Certainly considerable rewriting of the original York play must have been necessary to remove the Footwashing episode from its position near the beginning of the extant York play and to make of it a separate play, and whether or not this new second play followed John and repeated the prophecy of Peter's denial, as does Towneley, it is impossible to say. No trace of these revisions appears in the extant York play, which as previously noted, appears to be a reversion to the complete original play.

43. Lyle (pp.80-1) gives as examples:

Towneley 20, 314-29 and NF. 11.177-90.
Towneley 20, 346-51 and NF. 11.204a-b.
Towneley 20, 352-3 and NF. 11.209-14.
Towneley 20, 355ff. and NF. 11.244a, 257-9.
However she quotes also:

Towneley 20, 380-1 and NP. 11.409-10.
Towneley 20, 392-5 and NP. 11.341-5.
Towneley 20, 388 and NP. 1.356.
Towneley 20, 404-9 and NP. 11.358-62.

in which York has also parallel passages and

Towneley 20, 382-3 and Towneley 20, 384-5

where the verbal parallels are very slight.

In a later paper, Lyle (Rejoinder, p. 324) develops
this argument by noting that Northern Passion
couplet rhymes are to be found in the couplet
section of the Towneley Conspiracy and in the
Northern Septenar and quatrains sections. All
the examples she notes, however, occur in "parallel"
passages previously quoted, and may be the result of
dependence upon that source. It is her hypothesis
from this observation that the Towneley Conspiracy
play was therefore once entirely composed in couplets
and that the Northern Septenar and quatrains sections
are later revisions of that play, the Northern
Septenar section at least, in the original identity
stage and "perhaps" also the quatrains section.
Later the York Conspiracy play, at the time of the
division into three pageants underwent complete
revision. This theory, she claims, is borne out
by the fact that "in the corresponding details we
find a greater proportion of Northern Passion couplets
carried over into the couplet section than into either
the Northern Septenar or quatrains sections, whereas
all traces of Northern Passion couplets have been
lost in what appear to be further revisions or additions
by the Wakefield author in strophes 1-6 and 97-102".
This conclusion does not appear to follow from the
evidence.

44. Frampton, T. 20, p. 928, indeed would see a difference
in use of the Northern Passion between a first
couplet author dealing with the Last Supper and a
second couplet author dealing with the footwashing.
However, the Northern Passion has been used to very
varying degrees, more and less, for incidents
throughout many plays, and to ascribe authorship on
the basis of quantity of use of the Northern Passion
is hazardous.

45. Foster, NP., p. 86.
of Smith, p. xlv, 1340-50; and
Gayley, p. 133, "first third of the fourteenth
century".
The Agony and Betrayal (Play 28)

1. Smith, p. 249, fn. 2.
2. Smith, p. 246, fn. 1.
3. Smith, p. 244, fn. 2.
5. Chambers, ELCMA, p. 28.
7. Smith, p. 249, fn. 2.
8. Smith, p. 244, fn. 3.
11. Frampton, T.20, p. 932, appears to be mistaken in deriving Towneley 20, 511, from Mark 14, 38, "Spiritus quidem promptus est, caro vero infirma" where Jesus refers not to his own situation but to that of the disciples, using the phrase to complete his earlier enjoiner, "Vigilate et orate, ut non intretis in tentationem".
12. cf also Ludus Coventriae, p. 253, 11.636-49:
   (Rewfyn)  3a \(\text{yer be many } \text{yat hym nevyr sowe}\)  
   \(\text{Weche we wyl sende to hym in fere}\)  
   \(\text{yer-for be A tokyn we must hym knowe}\)  
   \(\text{yat must be prevy be-twyx us here.}\)  
   \(\ldots\)  
   (Judas)  \(\text{I xal ordeyn so ye xal not mysse}\)  
   \(\text{When yat ye cvm hym All A-bowth}\)  
   \(\text{Take ye man yat I xal kysse.}\)  
   This section occurs in the middle of the Last Supper play.
13. The parallel between Towneley 20, 588 and NP. p. 51, 11.11-12, was noted also by Miller, p. 89.
14. Frampton, T.20, p. 930, is therefore inaccurate in noting that Towneley 1.669 depends upon NP. 1.530, and Towneley 1.674 upon NP. 1.539.
   Similarly Miller, p. 89, in noting that York 28, 1.268, depends upon the Northern Passion.
15. Miller, p.91, observes the correspondence between York 28, 254-65 (not York 27 as she states) and NP. 11.532b-f, and notes that the incident is not found in Towneley.

Smith, p.xlviii, suggests that "the brilliant light from Jesus which strikes back the soldiers seems to have some other source than the fancy of the poet".

16. Lyle, p.83.

17. The parallel between Towneley 20, 658-9 and NP. 11.501-2 was noted by Foster, NP. p.88.

18. The parallel between Towneley 20, 690 and NP. (Camb. Univ. MS II, 4.9) 1.584 was noted by Foster, NP. p.88.

19. The parallel between Towneley 20, 700-5 and NP. (MS Camb. Gg. 5.31) 11.591-4 was noted by Foster, NP. p.88.

20. Lyle, pp.82-3.

21. As noted above (p.78) it is conjectured that the prayer referred to was the Lord's Prayer. The City of York, in addition to the Corpus Christi plays, had also a Paternoster play, mentioned by Wyclif in De officio pastorali, chap. 15. Toulmin Smith in English Gilds, EETS, 1870, p.137, "Preamble to ordinances of Gild of the Lord's Prayer" records that in this play "all manner of vices and sins were held up to scorn and the virtues were held up to praise". The play had its own guild with over 100 members in 1399. In 1468 and 1558 the play was performed in place of the Corpus Christi play, but in 1572, after performance, the play-book was handed at his request to the Archbishop of York and never returned (see Smith, intro. p.xxix; MS House Book, vol. xxv, f.19; Davies, pp.270-1; Mill, p.151).

22. Although Pilate has no part in York play 28, Davidson p.156, sees "signs of connection" between Towneley 20, 560-99 and "the York plays upon the same subject" or suggests that this section "was modeled upon work of that school". He compares particularly the first lines of Pilate's speech with York play 19, 11.3-4:

(Herod) Stente of youre steuenes stoute,
And stille as stone je stande

and York play 32, 1.2:
(Pilate) And loke yat ye styrre with no striffe but stande stone still.

As Davidson himself notes, these are very much stock expressions (for other examples in the York Passion Group, see Glossary, stone still, striffe, stynte, etc.). His argument that use of them suggests "some community of interest between the authors" of these particular plays is therefore unconvincing, although they are clearly part of the much wider tradition of the composition of alliterative verse.

23. Frampton, T.20, p.935.

24. cf however Frampton, T.20, p.933, who commends lines 724-39 for displaying the ability of the author to "enter into and interpret vividly through his dialogue the emotions of his characters".


26. Hulme, p.xviii, is therefore mistaken in grouping Play 28 with those plays and parts of plays in the York cycle composed in the stanza form ababababcdcd (Nos. 10, 11, 12, 15, 17, 20, 23, 24, 27, 35, 37, 44). This group of plays is composed in the "syllabic" and not the "alliterative" style, as defined (see pp. 52ff.).

27. Smith, p.249, fn. 2.

28. cf Davidson, p.156, "one may venture to say that the verses were originally alternate 4's and 3's, i.e. septenar couplets with rime caesuras, but the alterations have been such that we cannot pronounce upon the verse with certainty".


30. But of the view of Carey, p.223, who regards 11.600-652 as being written in "four somewhat irregular Wakefield stanzas" and early work by the Wakefield Master: "The Wakefield author may have experimented with these in the middle of the play and later, after he had perfected his stanza, returned to the beginning of the play", i.e. the first stanzas of Towneley 20.

Carey, p.237, notes also the argument of Cady in "The Wakefield Group in Towneley" that sts 97, 100, are a later development in the Wakefield Master's work, the result of the lengthening of the normal Wakefield line by increasing the number of unaccented...
Carey disagrees with this view, that the stanzas are a later and corrupt development, since the Wakefield Master was a literary artist "who as he continued writing was more likely to perfect his medium than to allow it to become corrupt". Carey points out (p.238) that the thirteen-line form found in sts 97, 100, is nearer than the Wakefield Master's normal stanza to the form from which it was probably derived (in Carey's view, the Northern Septemar, in Gayley's the Mortificacio and Conspiracy stanzas).

In Cady's opinion the fact that these thirteen-line stanzas are found isolated in groups of from one to four "surely points to casual tinkering rather than to mature writing". This latter argument particularly appears to confirm the contrary conclusion reached, that the stanzas are a later addition.

For the contention of Cady, that a quatrains editor has revised stanzas of the Wakefield group, demonstrated by "two typical Wakefield stanzas, 97 and 100, alternating with two (98, 99 and 101, 102) already commencing to break up into quatrains, and preceded and followed by other quatrains seemingly derived from a Wakefield original" see Cady, "The Couplets and Quatrains in the Towneley Plays", p.583.

Carey, p.238, challenges this and suggests that these are variant stanzas, also early work of the Wakefield Master, serving as additional evidence for her claim that the Wakefield stanza went through an early experimental stage of which the thirteen-line form, and the form with this rhyme variant, are the visible signs. It will be observed that none of these hypotheses (which have as their basis authorship of the stanzas in question by the Wakefield Master or a later reviser) conflict with the theory of a late date for these stanzas.

31. Davidson, p.156, suggests that 11.560-651 are a later interpolation, since the words of Jesus (1.652) "Ryse vp, peter, and go with me" should follow 1.559 without break.

32. Lyle, p.82.

33. Gayley, p.162. In Gayley's view, such variations of later York strophes are "evidently in transition toward their final adaptation by the master-dramatist of Wakefield" and indicate "beyond doubt" that the composer of the perfected York-Wakefield stanza such
as appears in a remarkable group of the Wakefield plays, must have been influenced consciously or indirectly by the later York school of dramatic composition. It may be argued that this is a heavy reliance to place upon an apparent similarity in stanzaic form.

36. The full view of Cady ("The Passion Group in Towneley", p.594) is that "The play (The Betrayal section of Towneley 20) as a whole is evidently an old Towneley play, large portions of which have been replaced by much-edited borrowings from York. The portions which remain are themselves rewritings by the couplet and Wakefield editors of a still older play which must have borne close relations to York in structure; for it contained that Judas scene which is independent of any biblical source and agreed with York in raising Pilate to a prominent position in the play. It may therefore be assumed that the scenes from York have taken the place of older scenes along the same lines. In spite of much re-editing, the play has retained those fundamental characteristics in which it resembles York and which they could both have attained only during a period in which they were identical."

From a footnote, Cady was aware that Foster had put forward the theory of the Northern Passion as a source for certain of the Towneley plays, but was not convinced of the extent of the use, believing it to be limited to his "couplet editor". His argument has therefore been superseded, since it fails to take account of that relation.

38. The light heralding the approach of Jesus which all the souls lying in Limbo joyfully observe and comment upon one by one as a sign of their imminent release from bondage is a major feature of the York play. It is original to the York dramatist in that although this element is present in the Gospel of Nicodemus the York writer expands it and makes it into a deliberate dramatic motif (see also W. R. Cozart, The Northern Middle English Harrowing of Hell Plays of the York and Towneley cycles. An edition and commentary. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard, 1963).
Peter's Denial; The Examination before Caiaphas (Play 29)

1. Craig, p.231, notes that the writer of the plays of the Passion Group "tends to lay the burden of showing cruelty to Jesus on Pilates and not on the Jews" and adds, "In this he follows Scripture". A similar situation exists in Plays 30 and 31, and this would appear to offer evidence of revision after 1415.

2. Lyle reaches a similar conclusion, p.33.

3. Smith divides this play also into three episodes, the second ending at 1.351a.

4. In Smith's edition Scene II runs from 11.36-351, and Peter's Denial of Jesus and the Examination before Caiaphas is one complete scene, with the Buffeting occupying the third scene.

5. Williams, p.24, believes that this incident and the hanging of Judas are "side issues. There is no place where the incidents could be placed that would not interfere with the straight-line development of action which seems to be the deliberate plan of the Towneley group."

6. In Matthew 26, John 18 and Mark 14, the Denial is preceded by the Buffeting. In Luke 23 it follows.

7. Lyle, p.31.


Brit. Mus. Additional 32,578 and Sion College arc. L.40.2a + 2, both in the Midland dialect, the first being the oldest of all the manuscripts and the second the latest, but both dating from the first half of the fifteenth century.

Craigie uses the Harleian MS from which to draw his examples, while Fulme prefers the Galba MS as "a better, more exact reproduction of the original". For the relevant passages, however, the two manuscripts
are virtually identical.

11. Hulme, p.xxi;
but of Craigie, p.61, probably "first half of the fourteenth century",
similarly Gayley, p.330.

12. Hulme, p.lxi.

13. Hulme, p.xli.

14. Hulme, p.lxviii.

15. For example, the prophecy of Peter's denial in York 28, 132-52 and York 27, 132-7ff.

16. Lyle, p.91.

17. Foster, NP. p.84.

18. McNeir, p.610, regards this as a "fine detail of characterisation".

19. In the York play Peter makes two denials: to a woman or women, and to Malcus; in the Northern Passion to a man, a woman and Malcus.

20. Foster, NP., p.83, fn. 5.


22. It was the early view of Cady, "The Passion Group in Towneley", p.588, that similarities between Towneley 21 and York 29 were the result of use of "a common liturgical source".

Lyle, p.90, notes that among the English cycles only York and Towneley separate the incidents connected with the Examination before Caiaphas from the incidents connected with the various trial scenes and make of them a complete play.

23. Lyle, p.91, states that in both York and Towneley and in the Northern Passion Jesus "mocked and abused by the soldiers" is led to Caiaphas. This is not true of York or the Northern Passion, but is a feature of Towneley alone (Towneley 21, 1-44).

24. In York Jesus does not claim "to be able to destroy the temple" as Lyle notes, p.91 (cf Matthew 26, 61).
25. Other versions of this episode are:


26. Other accounts are:


In Luke 22, 63-5 a game is not specifically mentioned: ("Et viri qui tenebant illum, illudebant ei, caedentes. Et velaverunt eum, et percutiebant faciem eius; et interrogabant eum, dicentes: Prophetiza, qui est, qui te percussit? Et alia multa blasphemantes dicebant in eum.")

Nor does the emphasis on play and game found in the York and Towneley plays derive from the Northern Passion, although this identification is made elsewhere. G. R. Owest, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England, 2nd. ed., Oxford, 1961, p.510, quotes a passage from a fifteenth century sermon in which the game which the soldiers played with Christ at his Passion is called the bobbid game. Kolve also notes that this episode is referred to as a game in Religious Lyrics of the XVth Century, ed. Carleton Brown, Oxford, 1939, p.19 (33-5).

Kolve sees the use of a game in the York play as a
dramatic device since "the noise and violence and rowdy amusements all serve to define and make dramatically distinct the silent, patient endurance of Jesus". Kolve also emphasises the psychological effectiveness of the treatment as a means of bringing out the "they know not what they do" aspect of the situation: "The judges and tormentors are shown substituting in their minds a game figure for the real person of Jesus" ..."Only intermittently do the tormentors actually focus upon Him as He really is, charged with certain specific crimes; for the most part He is simply a person in their power, from whom they derive such amusement and diversion as they can".

of however McNeir, p.616, who sees the game as "another contemporary touch intended to entertain the folk on holiday". See also his rejection of Owst's theory(pp.50-1) of the Towneley dramatist's debt to pulpit influences.

28. Noted Miller, p.92, as a minor episode common to York and the Northern Passion but not found in Towneley.

29. Lyle, p.33.

30. Lyle notes (p.91) that "They order Jesus beaten" is common to York, Towneley and the Northern Passion. In the Northern Passion no mention of a command is made, but the action to buffet Jesus seems to be a spontaneous one by the Jews as had occurred earlier (NP. 11.676-680).

31. Lyle, p.91.

32. Davidson, p.154.
Chambers, ELCMA, p.37.
Pollard, TP, intro. p.xxii.


34. Lyle (p.91) notes that the accusation that Jesus "cares nothing for Caesar" is found in York, Towneley and the Northern Passion. It is, however, unique to Towneley.

35. Smith, p.254, fn. 1.


38. of the general statement of Reese (p. 650): "This play (York 29) has some lines which seem syllabic used in a play which is largely composed in alliterative verse".

39. Lyle, p. 91, identifies this section of the play as being written in a "corrupt modification of the Northern Septenar".

40. Lines 169-80; 181-92; 208-19; 241-52; 253-64; 275-86; 287-98; 299-310 (as amended by Smith); 311-22 (rhyming abababababab); 323-34; 335-46 (rhyming ababababab); 347-58; 359-70 (amended by Smith); 371-82; 383-94.

41. Lines 169-70; 171-2; 181-2; 183-4; 189-90; 203-4; 205-6; 209-9; 210-1; 212-3; 214-5; 222-3; 227-8; 230-1-2-3; 239-40; 243-4; 245-6; 247-8-9; 259-60; 270-1; 275-6; 277-8; 280-1; 285-6; 287-8; 295-6; 306-7; 313-4; 315-6; 320-1; 325-6; 327-8; 333-4; 337-8; 341-2; 347-8; 349-50; 361-2; 364-5-6-7; 373-4; 387-8-9.
The Dream of Pilate's Wife; Jesus before Pilate

1. Smith, p.270, fn. 3.

2. Craig, p.229, notes that the stanzaic form abab'dcdd'c is common to Plays 30, 40 and 45, and is found also with only slight variation in Play 1, but this is not so.

3. Williams, p.23, believes that the reason for the exclusion of this episode from Towneley is that it "does not fit the Towneley conception of Pilate, and it is somewhat uncontributory wherever it occurs".


6. Poster, NF, p. 82.


8. Craigie, pp.52-61; supported by Gayley, p.329.


10. The Middle-English Harrowing of Hell and the Gospel of Nicodemus, ed. W. H. Hulme, EETS, ES 100 (1907)
(For Kim's choice of this manuscript as the oldest and best version of the Late Latin Recension of the Gospel of Nicodemus, see his edition, pp.2 and 8).


"Uidentes autem Iudaei quod fecit cursor exclamauerunt ad Pilatum dicentes: 'Quare non sub uoce preconis iussisti eum introire sed per cursorem? Cursor enim uidens eum adoravit illum, et fasciale quod tenebat in manu sua expandit ante eum in terram et dicit ei, 'Domine, clamat te praeses.'" (ed. Kim, p.14).

12. McNeir, p.612, points out that in York Play 25, The Entry into Jerusalem it is the York Porter who appears, and he suggests that this indicates that the two characters are one. "The Porter's surly reception of Judas (York 26, 155-204) and the Beadle's moral reaction to the unseemly behavior of Pilate and
Percula are consistent with this identification. The Porter-Beadle who figures as an admirably drawn minor character in XXV, XXVI and XXX is a crypto-Christian in Pilate's household, a foil to Judas."


15. Craigie, pp. 60-1.

cf also Gayley, p. 157, "the adaptations here are of such a kind as to preclude the possibility of their insertion by ordinary copyists from the original text".

16. For the entry into Jerusalem as recorded in the Gospels, see Matthew 21, 1-11; Luke 19, 30-44. These accounts make no mention of a messenger despatched to Jerusalem or of rich and poor greeting Jesus, or that he was presented with flowers.


20. Eleanor Grace Clark, "The York Plays and the Gospel of Nicodemus", MLA, xlili (1928), p. 154, seems to agree with this conclusion in admitting that the "incidents not described seem to have been based very largely upon material from the Gospel of Nicodemus".


For the general view that the vernacular Gospel of Nicodemus "was not used at any one time or by any one man in revising the York plays but was known independently to several playwrights and revisers", see Grace Frank, "On the Relation between the York and Towneley Plays", p. 315.

22. Lyle, p. 32.

23. Lyle, p. 31.

1. Smith, p. 301.
2. Smith, p. 302.
4. Holthausen's proposed addition of (and soothely) to 1.50 does not appear to improve the irregular form of this stanza.
6. There are many examples which indicate that final -e has no value in rhyme in this play (slye, 1.164, rhyming with lerh; A dryh, nysh; may, saie, lay, arraye (11.216-22); alway, flay, saie, lay (11.92-8); best, reste (11.33-5); array we, saie we, may we (11.314-7); warande, konmand, sands, hanye (11.159-45) of also wightely, lighely (11.197, 201)).
7. Stanza 2, 11.18-19; 20-1; 24-5; st 5, 11.58-9; 62-3; st 7, 11.60-1; 62-3; st 8, 11.92-3; 94-5; 98-9; st 9, 11.106-7; 108-9; 110-1; st 10, 11.124-5; st 11, 11.138-9; 140-1; 142-3; st 12, 11.152-3; 154-5; 156-7; 158-9; st 13, 11.170-1; 172-3; 174-5; 176-7; st 14, 188-9; 190-1; 194-5; st 15, 11.202-3; 204-5-6 (a quatrain appears to be missing from this stanza, perhaps follic. 1.201); st 16, 11.216-7; 218-9; 220-1; 222-3; st 17, 11.234-5; 236-7; st 18, 11.250-1; 252-3; 254-5; st 19, 270-1; 274-5; st 21, 11.302-3; 306-7; st 23, 11.334-5; 336-7; st 24, 11.350-1; st 26, 11.393-4; st 27, 11.403-4; 405-6; 407-8.
9. Stanza 5, 11.70-1; st 6, 11.78-9 (irregular stanza, rhyming ababcd); st 16, 11.232-3 (last two lines of the additional quatrains); st 27, 11.421-2.
10. Stanza 1, 11.8-9; st 9, 11.120-1; st 17, 11.242-3; st 20, 11.295-6; st 22, 11.329-30; st 24, 11.352-3; st 25, 11.374-5; st 26, 11.398-9 (1.398 is irregular); st 30, 11.413-4.
11. Lyle, p. 4, fn. 5.
12. Miller, p. 89.
13. The parallel between York 31, 140 and NP. 1.970 is noted also by Miller, p. 89.


15. Williams, pp. 22-3.


18. For the madness of the Herod of the Slaughter of the Innocents in the Chester, Ludus Coventriae and Towneley cycles, see Penelope E. R. Doob, Nebuchadnezzar's Children: Conventions of Madness in Middle English Literature, New Haven and London, 1974. (Miss Doob points out that her theories have no basis in the York cycle.)

For a discussion of the apparent lack of distinction made by medieval writers between Herod the Great, Antipas and Agrippa, see S. S. Hussey, "How many Herods in the Middle English Drama?", Neophilologus, 48 (1964), pp. 252-9.

19. It is presumably on the basis of the opening rant alone that Rosemary Woolf comments that Herod is distinguished from Pilate in being "grotesquely savage and sadistic" (p. 250). There is thus rather more to the dramatist's conception of the character of Herod in this play than she discloses.
Second Accusation before Pilate; Remorse of Judas
Purchase of the Field of Blood (Play 32)

1. Stanza 5, 1.48 (in the manuscript, follows 1.45); st 27, 1.258 (opp. 1.255); st 32, 1.320 (opp. 1.317); Also st 22, 1.204 (opp. 1.202); st 23, 1.215 (opp. 1.213); st 24, 1.226 (opp. 1.224); st 26, 1.247 (opp. 1.245); st 33, 1.331 (opp. 1.329).

2. Stanza 23, 1.217 (opp. 1.216); st 24, 1.228 (opp. 1.227); st 26, 1.249 (opp. 1.248); st 27, 1.260, (opp. 1.259).

3. Stanza 5, 11.51 and 52; 53 and 54; st 15, 11.130 and 131; 132 and 133; st 16, 11.137 and 138; 139 and 140; st 21, 11.192 and 193.

5. Davidson, p.128.
7. The presence of a tag line written against the margin at 1.10, rhyming with 1.16, appears to be extraneous to this rhyme scheme, and may be considered additional ornamentation.
8. The second e-rhyme is inserted by a later hand.

McNeir, p.614, fn.38, suggests that the angry Pilate "who vents his rage against Jesus" in sts 10, 11 and 12 is inconsistent with the York Realist's general conception of this character. The basic regularity of these stanzas compared with the remainder of this section suggests that McNeir's assumption is incorrect, unless the section as a whole is a remnant of an earlier play.

9. Stanza 1, 11.7-8; st 4, 11.29-30; 33-4; 35-6; st 5, 11.44-5; st 6, 11.55-6; 58-9 (also a word link); st 8, 11.71-2; 74-5 (also a word link); st 9, 11. 81-2; st 11, 11.101-2; st 13, 11.111-2; 113-4.
14. Greg, pp.290-1. The plays of the second period as
defined by Gayley were "characterised by an unsophisticated humour" and were dated between 1340 and 1360.

15. Chambers, ELCMA, p.31.
17. Reese, p.663.
20. Reese, p.663.
22. Medary, p.263.
23. Reese, p.663, observes that the initial consonant of the link word 'pilgrimes' becomes the chief alliterative sound of the first line of st 34, thereby intensifying the link.
25. Similarly Reese, p.662.
27. Foster, NP, p.83 and footnotes 6, 7, 8.
29. Foster, NP, p.84.
31. Miller, p.92.
32. Frampton, "The Date of the Wakefield Master", p.659.
33. Williams, pp.15-16.
35. Williams, p.70.
36. Williams, p.29.
The Second Trial before Pilate continued; The Judgment of Jesus (Play 33)

1. St 5, 1.56 (opp. 11.54-5); st 13, 1.152 (opp. 11.150-1); st 17, 1.200 (opp. 11.198-9); st 21, 1.248 (opp. 11.246-7); st 22, 1.260 (opp. 11.258-9); st 24, 1.284 (opp. 11.282-3); st 30, 1.356 (opp. 11.354-5); st 33, 1.392 (opp. 11.390-1); st 36, 1.428 (opp. 11.426-7); st 38, 1.446 (opp. 11.444-5); st 41, 1.482 (opp. 11.480-1).

2. St 4, 1.44 (opp. 1.42); st 6, 1.68 (opp. 1.66); st 8, 1.92 (opp. 1.90); st 9, 1.104 (opp. 1.102); st 11, 1.128 (opp. 1.126); st 18, 1.212 (opp. 1.210); st 28, 1.332 (opp. 1.330).

3. St 14, 1.164 (opp. 1.163); st 15, 1.176 (opp. 1.175); st 16, 1.186 (opp. 1.187); st 19, 1.224 (opp. 1.223); st 22, 1.272 (opp. 1.271); st 27, 1.320 (opp. 1.319); st 31, 1.368 (opp. 1.367); st 32, 1.380 (opp. 1.379); st 34, 1.404 (opp. 1.403); st 35, 1.416 (opp. 1.415).

4. St 2, 1.21 (opp. 11.20 and 22; st 39, 1.458 (opp. 11.457 and 459).

5. Sts 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 35, 36, 38, 39.


7. Lyle, p.32.

8. see Davies, p.235.


10. Sellers, vol. 125, pp.171-2, from Book $\mathcal{A}$, fo. 283b. Smith, pp.xxv–xxvi, fn.1, gives the date 1422, and quotes Book $\mathcal{A}$, fo. 274 v°.

11. Smith, intro. p.xxv, quotes Book $\mathcal{A}$, fo. 48b, but printed in Sellers, vol. 120, p.155 as fo. 60b.


13. Lyle, p.105, notes that in 1432 the Salsemakers retired from active participation in the production of the pageant and paid instead five shillings to the Tilers. (Sellers, vol. 125, p.173 from Book $\mathcal{A}$, fo. 283b).
15. Lyle, p.99; also p.48.
17. Gayley, p.158.
18. Medary, p.263.
19. Sts 1, 8, 13, 14, 15, 19, 23, 28, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 41.
22. Other examples are: 11.46-7; 72, 135, 197, 207, 292, 325, 367, 381, 399, 417, 455.
23. Oakden, p.165.
26. Craigie, pp.54-8. The text was later edited by W. H. Hulme under the title The Middle English Harrowing of Hell and the Gospel of Nicodemus, EETS, ES 100 (1907).
27. Lyle, p.32.
28. Craigie, p.54.
30. Craigie, p.56.
31. Craigie, p.56.
32. Craigie, p.57.
33. Craigie, p.58.
34. Lyle, pp.31-2.
35. Clark, p.158.
37. Frampton, "The Date of the Wakefield Master", p.660.
56. Gayley, p.162. Gayley deduces from this and other examples that "It is therefore beyond doubt that the composer of the perfected York Wakefield stanza, such as appears in a remarkable group of the Wakefield plays, must have been influenced consciously or indirectly by the later York school of dramatic composition..." It may, however, be argued that this is a heavy reliance to place upon a similarity in stanza form.
1. The only exception to this in the whole play is st 8, 11.76-96, where the soldiers speak in the order First, Third, Second.

2. Smith, p. xxv, fn. 4, notes that tegens is "doubtful, ... (but) seems to be the right reading".

3. Frampton, Y34, p. 200.

4. Frank, OREYT, p. 316.

5. Frampton, Y34, p. 200.

6. Frampton, Y34, p. 203, concludes that these fifteen lines would form two stanzas rhyming ababcdc were it not that the second line of the second stanza is missing. The fact that a line is missing, however, following 1.11 cannot be definitely proved. It is also to be noted that Frampton agrees that the form which he thus identifies in unique in the York cycle.


8. Chambers, EICMA, p. 32.


11. Frampton, Y34, p. 198.


13. Frampton, Y34, p. 203.

14. For example, 22; 29; 35; 38; 45; 52; 54; 61; 62; 63; 64; 72; 74; 75; 80; 81; 82; 88; 93; 95; 98; 103; 147; 161; 168; 179; 196; 198; 203; 207; 216; 218; 234; 237; 238; 239; 240; 248; 249; 253; 255; 256; 257; 258; 259; 278; 287; 288; 292; 297; 298; 312; 318; 321; 326; 327; 329.


18. Stanza 4, 11.43-4; st 5, 11.46-7; st 6, 11.59-60; st 7, 11.69-70; st 9, 11.90-1; st 12, 11.123-4; st 13, 11.130-1; 134-5; st 14, 11.159-40; st 15, 11.143-4; st 18, 11.171-2; st 33, 11.323-4.


20. Foster, NF, p.84.


22. Davidson, p.168.


24. Foster, NF, p.84.


26. Foster, NF, p.84.

27. Northern Passion text p.134ff. The version here presented is based upon the French Passion, supplemented by details from the Latin Legend beginning "Post peccatum Adae" and other sources (see Foster, NT, p.67).


29. Lyle, p.22.

30. Foster, NF, p.84.

31. Foster, NF, p.84.


33. of NP, 1.3, p.177, which has the two thieves in the procession to Calvary:

   Omang yam led yai theues twa
   vat with him vnto ded suld ga.


37. Lyle, Rejoinder, p.325.
401

38. Davidson, p.168.
40. Gayley, p.332.
41. Frampton, Y34, p.204.
42. Moir, p.617, singles out 1.293 of Towneley at 30 as achieving "one moment of pathos all its own" aside from the borrowing from York. He finds the deep humanity of the simple question, "whi, John, is my son slayn?" "unsurpassed in the cyclic drama". It would appear likely, however, that this section originally formed part of the York play, from which it was borrowed by Towneley.
44. Frampton, Y34, p.204.
45. Gayley, p.164.
46. Gayley, p.332.
47. Lyle, pp. 29, 97, 101.
49. Carey, p.238.
Crucifixio Christi (Play 35)


2. Frampton, Y34, p.198. For the same view, that it was the later amalgamated play which was entered in the Register, see Lyle, p.104.

3. Frampton, Y34, p.199.

4. Lyle, pp.24-5.

5. The parallels between York 35, 11.107, 145-7 and NP. 11.1610 and 1620a-b were noted also by Foster, NP.

6. Foster, NP., p.189, prints tele without comment as the reading of Harleian MS 4196, indicating lete as a variant in MS Cotton Tiberius E vii. Tele however is clearly a scribal error in the former MS for lete.

7. Foster, NP., p.189, offers sins as the reading of both MSS, Harleian 4196 and Cotton Tiberius E vii. Sins, however, as a form of Mod. E. sinews (York synnous, 35/132; 35/147; senous, 35/108) is not recorded in OED.

8. Foster, NT., p.82.

Clifford Davidson (fn. 18, p.275) draws attention to similar representations in art: "a famous painting by Gerard David, ... a miniature in the Holkham Bible Picture Book (fol. 31v) and ... an alabaster noticed by Hildburgh, "English Alabaster Carvings", p.83, Pl. xviid" in all of which as in the York play "the holes for the nails (are) drilled too far apart".


10. Carey, p.238, suggests that this stanza is written in the same variant form as sts 98-9 and 101-2 of Towneley 20, "an early experimental stage" in the work of the Wakefield Master.

of the view of K. G. Frampton, "The Processus Talentorum (Towneley xxiv)", FmlA, lix (1944), p.648, that this stanza is not necessarily the work of the Wakefield Master.

11. For the similar use of the image of Christ as a knight in the tournament in the Ancrener Ridwe and Piers Plowman, see General Note to Play 28, 1.90.

12. For other views concerning this dramatisation of the Crucifixion, see McNeir, pp.621-3: "A physical Jesus, human and comprehensible, was drawn closer as pious hearts dwelt on the physical agony of the Passion, and the Christian story was turned thereby
into concrete experience". McNeir, however, sees
the play as "sensationalism" and "a Bosch-like
nightmare", and he comments quite rightly that
"the feelings of the audience are as unsparingly
assaulted as the flesh of Christ". While agreeing
that "nothing is omitted to make the scene graphic", he
feels that "spirituality is lost in this insistence
on the physical agonies of Calvary". He also
finds that the playwright has resorted to melodrama
to effect relief from the tension and strain of
tragedy, "A deliberate heightening of situation may
have the effect of anaesthetizing the feelings and
inducing a half hypnotised absorption in the circum­
stantial interest of intolerable occurrences. It
is this sort of dramatic relief that the painful
details of the Crucifixion provide".

13. For the two earlier views of the Meditationes that
Christ ascended the cross by a ladder and extended
his arms upon it, superseded as the accepted version
in later Latin meditations, vernacular literature
and art by the executioners casting Jesus on to the
Cross on the ground and there securing him to the
Cross, see Rosemary Woolf, fn 54, p. 402. Mrs Woolf
notes the "spark of inventive brilliance" in the way
in which the dramatist has reconciled the two ideas
"in one splendid dramatic moment" (p. 262).

of also The Dream of the Rood (ed. by Dickins and
Ross, London, 1934, p. 25, 11.40-1): 3eñtæh he on
3æælan heanne, módæ on mañæra 3esæhæ, ȝa he
wolde mancyn lysan.

14. The only exception is 1.97 where MS nowe rhymes with
brought, boght, soght (11.99-103).


17. The proportions for the remainder of both plays are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Octave</th>
<th>Y.27</th>
<th>Y.35</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9 syllables</td>
<td>16.8%</td>
<td>18%   (36 lines)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 syllables</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
<td>2%    (4 lines)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 syllables</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>3.5%  (7 lines)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cauda</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7 syllables</td>
<td>22.5%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 syllables</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 syllables</td>
<td>nil</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 syllables</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>Nil.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

18. Remaining lines of the octave have three stresses (9 lines, 4.5%) and five stresses (2 lines, 1%), and of the cauda, two stresses (3 lines, 3%); four stresses (2 lines, 2%).


21. Octave: First and second lines, st 7, 11.73-4; st 12, 11.133-4; Second and third lines, st 11, 11.122-3; Third and fourth lines, st 9, 11.88-9; st 9, 11.99-100; st 12, 11.135-6; st 13, 11.147-8; Fifth and sixth lines, st 2, 11.17-18; st 11, 11.125-6; st 14, 11.161-2; st 20, 11.253-4; st 22, 11.257-8; Sixth and seventh lines, st 1, 11.6-7; st 5, 11.54-5; st 9, 11.102-3; st 13, 11.150-1; st 24, 11.282-3; Seventh and eighth lines, st 12, 11.139-40; st 15, 11.175-6.

Cauda: First and second lines, st 4, 11.45-6; Second and third lines, st 16, 11.196-1; Third and fourth lines, st 8, 11.95-6; st 22, 11.263-4; st 23, 11.274-5.

22. Between octave and cauda: st 5, 11.56-7; st 6, 11.68-9-70-1; st 11, 11.129-30; st 16, 11.167-8-9;

Between stanzas: sts 17-18 (11.204-5); sts 24-5 (11.265-9).
Mortificacio Cristi (Play 36)

1. Line 9, written opposite 11.6-7; 1.22, opp. 1.19; 1.35, opp. 1.32; 1.48, opp. 1.45; 1.61, opp. 1.58; 1.87, opp. 11.84-5; 1.100, opp. 1.97; 1.113, opp. 1.110-1; 1.152, opp. 1.149; 1.165, opp. 1.162; 1.191, opp. 11.187-8; 1.243, opp. 1.240; 1.256, opp. 1.253; 1.282, opp. 1.279; 1.295, opp. 1.293; 1.308, opp. 11.305-6; 1.321, opp. 1.318; 1.334, opp. 1.331; 1.412, opp. 1.409.

2. Line 74, opp. 11.72-3; 1.139, opp. 1.137; 1.178, opp. 11.176-7; 1.217, opp. 11.213-6; 1.230, opp. 11.225-9; 1.269, opp. 11.267-8; 1.295, opp. 1.293; 1.347, opp. 1.345; 1.360, opp. 11.358-9; 1.373, opp. 11.371-2; 1.366, opp. 11.364-5; 1.399, opp. 1.397.

3. Line 273, opp. 11.271-2; 1.299, opp. 11.297-8; 1.312, opp. 11.310-1; 1.325, opp. 11.323-4; 1.338, opp. 11.336-7; 1.416, opp. 11.414-5.


7. By John Lydgate in De Guileville's Pilgrimage of the Life of Man, (tr. 1426), EETS OS 77 (1899), 83 (1901), 92 (1904), 1130: "Transgressyon ys for to say A gowyng fro the rytnt(e) way. Or shortly, in sentement Brekyng off a comaundement".


H. W. Wells, "Style in the English Mystery Plays", JEGP, xxxviii (1939), p. 371, supports the view that the York Mortificacio is the key to the style and prosody of the York Passion playwright, adding, "It is indeed the simplest and most regular of the sequence, being almost faultless in its alliteration, written with remarkable fluency and great lyrical warmth and tenderness."


10. Chambers, WMLCM, p. 31-2.

12. Reese, p.646.


For a discussion of Gayley's view (p.163) that the stanza form identified with the work of the Wakefield Master is "the evident outgrowth by combination and modification of the York Mortificacio and Conspiracy stanzas", see Carey, p.222, who suggests in opposition that the York playwright "may ... have revised his play with the Wakefield form in mind". There appears to be no way of confirming either of these theories.

14. Of the remaining lines, 19 appear to have four stresses, and three to have two stresses.

15. As far as the exceptions are concerned, in the first line, 2 lines have two stresses and one line has three stresses; in the three following lines, 13 lines have three stresses, and one line each has four stresses and one stress; in the final line, one line has two stresses.

16. Lines 143, 169, 195, 208, 221, 247, 403.

17. Observed originally by Smith, intro. p.111, "a partial but decided iteration of link words".

18. For the relation between York and Towneley in respect of these passages, see p.313 above.

19. Rosemary Woolf (p.260 and fn. 48, p.401), quoting Sarum Breviary, I, dccxvii. She suggests that the explanation lies in "a meditative source for this dramatic use" (fn.53, p.402).

of Foster (NP, p.67 and footnotes 2 and 3), who believes that Luke 9, 58 "appears to have been first used in connection with the story of the Passion by Bernard in a passage punning on Calvaria and calvus: "Vide si non calvus est et noster Elisaen. Filius, inquit, hominis non habet ubi caput suum reclinat. Ecce quam calvus est qui non habet ubi caput reclinet." (Meditatio in Passionem, in Migne, Patrologia Latina, 184, col.752.) Similar passages occur also in the Southern Passion, (c.1250), (Modern Language Notes, xxvi, p.17); in
the Sermon on the Passion, British Museum Royal MS. 7B.VII, fol. 273b; the French Passion of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 405, fol. 375; An ABC Poem on the Passion of Christ (Political, Religious and Love Poems) EETS, 15, 1903, p. 275; A Disputation between Mary and the Cross, EETS, 117, p. 614; Testamentum Christi, EETS, 117, p. 651 (Poster, p. 67).

20. The parallel between York 36, 240-1 and NP. 1.1724a is noted also by Foster, NP, p. 85.

21. The parallel between York 36, 213-7 and NP. 11.1788, 1791-2, is noted also by Foster, NP, p. 84.

22. Foster, NP, p. 83.


24. Miller, p. 90.

25. Foster, NP, p. 85; Lyle, p. 27.

26. Miller, p. 89.

27. This parallel is noted also by Miller, p. 89.


29. Craigie, p. 58.

The  condementee.

Befiled my myghtis sey sou ered.
Any stylke styple is doune for to sake of my dede
Any stylle styple sou ered ne wisht nee bynde but nee
With alle. pe myghtis sey sou ered to meere in pryvathode.

But sey sou ered ne wisht nee
And thende ered in mette
Sele sey sou ered ne wisht nee
And thende ered in mette

Ind if the myghtis sey sou ered
And thende ered in mette
Ind if the myghtis sey sou ered
And thende ered in mette

Styple it in pryvathode
Styple it in pryvathode
Styple it in pryvathode
Styple it in pryvathode

To pate it in pryvathode
To pate it in pryvathode
To pate it in pryvathode
To pate it in pryvathode

And holde it in pryvathode
And holde it in pryvathode
And holde it in pryvathode
And holde it in pryvathode

To my pleseur. sey sou ered. nee
To my pleseur. sey sou ered. nee
To my pleseur. sey sou ered. nee
To my pleseur. sey sou ered. nee

Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.

Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.

Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee

Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.

Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.

Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee

Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.

Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee

Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.

Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee

Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.

Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee

Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.

Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee

Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.

Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee

Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.

Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee

Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.

Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee

Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.

Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee

Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.

Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee

Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.

Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee
Sey sou ered. nee

Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.
Styple it in pryvathode.
THE PASSION GROUP IN THE YORK CYCLE:
Studies in metre, text and literary
and Biblical relationships

-Vol. 2-

Carole Williams
Bedford College
University of London

Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D.
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GLOSSARY | 193
Treatment of the Text

The text here presented is a new transcription from folios 110r-189v of the only surviving manuscript of the York plays (British Museum MS 35290), and it seeks to record in complete and accurate detail the text as there registered. This transcript has been compared with the only previous edition of the York plays, that of L. Toulmin Smith, of 1885. Additionally, selections are offered from emendations of the Smith edition proposed by later writers.

1. Manuscript contractions of English and Latin words are expanded and underlined.

2. With very few exceptions, noted where they occur, all punctuation is editorial, but manuscript capitalisation has been retained.

3. Word division is inconsistent in the manuscript; all manuscript readings have therefore been recorded and regularised only in those instances which make for ease of reading.

4. All additions to the text, whether upon the manuscript in later hands or proposed by later editing, are indicated within square brackets; alterations involving the substitution either of a complete word or individual letters are marked within round brackets.

5. FF as the initial letter of a line has been standardised as F; elsewhere it is retained.

6. Smith does not print the names of speakers in the form in which they are set down in the manuscript, and variations of this kind are not therefore recorded in the textual notes to this present edition.

7. Many of the long lines in the manuscript have been divided at the caesura and set down as two lines, without any indication where this has been done. Where this occurs, the original capitalisation of the first word in the succeeding half-line has been retained and the division has been marked /.
[PLAY 26: The Cutteleres]

THE CONSPIRACY TO TAKE JESUS

Pilatus
Cayphas
Anna
Judas
Janitor
Primus doctor
Secundus doctor
Tertius doctor
Primus miles
Secundus miles]
[1][Pilatus] [V]Ndir ye ryallest roye of rente and renowne, 
Now an I regent of rewle yis region in reste.
Obeye vnto bidding bud Bussoppis me bowne,
And bolde men yat in batayll Makis brestis to breste.
To me betaught is ye tent yis towre begon towne;
For traytoures tyte will I taynte, ye trowye for to triste.
The dubbyng of my dignite may no3t be done downe
Nowdir with duke nor dugeneres, my dedis are so dreste.
My desire muste dayly be done
With yame yat are grettest of game,
And yer agayne fynde I but fone,
Wherefore I schall bettir yer bone.
But he yat me greues for a grume,
Beware, for w unstus I am.

[2] Pounce Pilatt of thre partis / Yen is my propir name.
I am a perelous prince / To proue wher I peere.
Emange ye philosofers firste, / Ther ffanged I my fame;
Wherefore I fell to affecte / I fynde no3t my feere.
He schall full bittirly banne / Yat bide schall my blame,
If all my blee be as bright / As blossome on brere,
For sone his liffe shall he lose / Or left be for lame
Yat lowtes no3t to me lowly / Nor liste no3t to leere.
And yus sen we stande in our state,
Als lordis with all lykyng in lande,
Do and late vs wete if ye wate
Owthir, sirs, of bayle or debate,
Yat nedis for to be handeled full hate,
Sen all youre helpe hanges in my hande.

[3] Caiph Sir, and for to certefie ye soth in youre sight,
As to you for oure souerayne semely we seke.
Pilatus Why, is yer any myscheue yat musteres his my3t,
Or malice thurgh meene menn vs musters to make?
Anna 3a, sir, yer is a ranks awayne / Whos rule is no3t right,
For thurgh his romour in yis reme / Hath raysede mekill reke.
Pilatus I here wete 3e hate hym. / Youre hartis are on heght,
And ellis if I helpe wolde / His harms for to eke.
But why are 3e barely yus brathe?
Caiph Bees rewly, and ray fourth youre reasoune.
Pilatus Tille vs, sir, his lorp is full lothe.
Anna Beware yat we wax no3t to wrothe.
Pilatus Why, Sir, to sky(f)te fro his skath
We seke for youre socoure yis sesoune.
Pilate

And if yat wrecche in ooure warde / Haue wrought any wrong,
Sen we are warned we walde witte, / And wille or we wende.
But and his sawe be lawfull, / Legge nogt to lange,
For we schall leue hym if us list / With luffe here to lende.

And yf yat false faytor / Youre ffortheraunce may fang,
Yan fele I wele yat oure folke / Non fayle of a frende.
Sir, ye strenge of his steuen ay still is so strange, That but he schortely be schent he schappe vs to schende.
For he kennes folke hym for to call Grete god son. Yus greues vs yat gome,
And sais yat he sittande be schall In high heuen, for yere is his hall.

But yat hym selfe is ye same / Ye saide schulde descende,
Youre seede and you yen all for to socoure. /

For of criste whan he comes / No kynne schall be kenned;
But of yis caytiffe kynreden / We knawe ye encrese.
He lykens hym to be lyke god / Ay lastand to lende,
To lifte vppe ye laby to lose or relesse.

His maistreys schulde moue you / Youre mode for to amende.
For he sais he schall deme vs, yat dote,
And yat tille vs is dayne or dispite.

Nay, for swilke mys fro malice / We may nogt vs meese.
For he sais he schall deme vs, yat dote,
And yat tille vs is dayne or dispite.

To noye hym nowe is youre noote;
But yitt ye lawe lyes in my lotte.

And yf ye will wit, sir, ye wotte

For in oure temple has he taught / By tymes moo yan tenne,
Where tabillis full of tresoure lay / To telle and to trye
Of oure cheffe mony-changers; / Butte, curstely to kenne,
He caste yam ouere, yat caystiffe, / And counted nozt yer by.

Loo, sir, yis is a periurye / To prente vndir penne,
Wherfore make ye yat appostita, / We praye you, to plye.

Pilatus: Yen schulde we make hym to morne / But thurgh youre maistrie.

Pilatus: Latte be, sirs, and move yat nomore.
But what in youre temple betyde?

Primus: We, yare, sir, he skelpte oute of score,
Miles: Yat stately stode selland yer store.
Pilatus: Yen felte he yer fawte before,
And made ye cause wele to be kydde.

But what taught he yat tyme, / Swilk tales as you telles?

Sir, yat ourte tempill is ye toure / Of his troned sire,
And yus to prayse in yat place / Oure prophettis compellis,
Tille hym yat has poste / Of Prince and of Empire.

And yei make domus domini / Yat derand yare dwellis,
Ye denn of ye derfenes, / And ofte yat yei desire.

Pilatus: Loo, is he noght a mad man / Yat for youre mede melles,
Sen ye ymagyn amys / Yat makeles to myre?

Cayphas: Nay, nay, sir; we reade vs but right.
Pilatus: For sothe, ye ar ouer crue11 to knawe.

For why vpon ourte sabbott day / Ye seke makes he saffe,
And will not sesse for ourte sawes / To synke so in synne.

Sir, he coueres all yat comes / Recoueraunce to craue,
But in a schorte contynuaunce; / Yat kennes all oure kynne.

But he haldis noght ourte haly dayes. / Harde happye myght hym haue!
And therfore hanged be he, / And yat by ye halse.

Pilatus: For yoff ye gange yus gedy / Hym gilteles to graue,

And loke yourse leggyng be lele,
Withowtyn any tryfils to telle.

For certayne oure sawes dare we seele.
Pilatus and yan may we prophite oure pele,
Sir, bot his fawtes wer fele,
We mente nojt of hym for to melle.

[9]  For he pervertis oure pepull / yat proues his prechyng,
And for yat poynye ze schulde presse / His pooste to paire.

i.jus 3a, Sir; and also yat caytiff, / He callis hym oure kyng,  
And for yat cause our comons are casten in care.

Pilatus And if so be, yat borde to bayll will hym bryng,
And make hym boldely to banne ye bones yat hym bare.
Forwhy yat wrecche fro oure wretthe schal not wryng,
Or yer be wroght on hym wrake. / 

jus doctor  For so schulde ze susteyne youre seele,
And myldely haue mynde for to make you.

Pilatus Wele witte ye yis werke schall be wele.
For kende schall yat knave be to knele.

i.jus doctor All samne for ye same we besoke you.

[II]

[10] Judas Ingenti pro Iniuria - hym Jesus, yat Jewe,
Vn(i)ust vnto me, Judas, I Juge to be lathe.
For at oure soper as we satte, ye scowe to pursewe,
With Symond luprus full sone / My skiffte come to scathe.

Tille hym yer brought one a boyste, / My bale for to brewe,
That baynly to his bare ffeete / To bowe was full Braythe.
Sho anoynte yam with an oynement / Th[h]at nobill was and newe.
But for yat werke yat sche wrought / I wexe woundir wrothe.
And yis to discouer was my skill;
For of his penys purser was I,
And what yat me taught was vntill,
The tente parte yat stale I ay still.
But noke for me wantis of my will,
Yat bargayne with bale schall he by. 

For siluer penys in a sowme / Thre hundereth, and fyne;
Haus ben departid to poure men / As playne pite wolde.
But for ye poore ne yare parte / Priked me no peyne.
But me tened for ye tente parte, / Ye trewthe to beholde,
That thirty pens of liij hundereth / So tyte I schulde tyne.
And for I mysse yis mony / I morne on yis molde.
Wherfore for to mischeue / Yis maistir of myne,
And wherefore faste forse will I flitte
The princes of prestis vntill,
And selle hym full sone or wat I sitte,
For thirty pens in a knotte knytte.
Fus-gatis full wele schall he witte,
Wat of my wretthe wreke me I will.

[12]
Do open, porter, ye porte of yis prowde place,
That I may passe to youre princes / To prowe for youre prow.

Janitor
Go hense, you glorand gedlyng! / God geue ye ille grace.

Thy glyfftyng is so grimly / You gars my harte growe.

Judas
Goode sir, be toward yis tyme / And tarie noght my trace,
For I haue tythandis to telle. /

Janitor
For I fele by a ffigure in youre fals face
It is but foly to feste affecchioun in you.
For Mars he hath morteysed his mark,
Bftir all lynes of my lore,
And sais ye are wikkid of werk,
And bothe a strange theffe and a stark

Judas
Sir, yus at my berde and ye berk,
It semes it schall sitte yow full sore.

Say, bittilbrowed bribour, / Why blowes you such boste?
Full false in thy face in faith can I fynede.
You arte combered in Curstnesse, / And caris to yis coste;
To marre men of myght / Haste you marked in thy mynde.

Judas
Sir, I mene of no malice / But mirtho meve I muste.

Janitor
Say, onhanged harlott, / I holde ye vnhende.
Thou lokest like a lurdayne / His liffelod hadde
loste.

Judas
Woo schall I wirke ye, away but you wende.

A, goode sir, take tente to my talkyng yis tyde,
For tythandis full trew can I telle.
Janitor  Say, brethell, I bidde ye abide.
You chaterist like a churle yat can chyde.

Judas  3a, sir; but aye truth be tryed,
Of myrthe are yer materes I mell.

For thurgh my dedis youre dugeperes / Fro dere may be drawn.

Janitor  What! demes you till ooure dukes / That doole schulde be dight?
Judas  Nay, sir: so saide I noght. / If I be callid to counsaille / Yat cause schall be knawen,
Janitor  Bute me here, bewchere, / Or more blore be blowen,
And I schall buske to benke / Wher baneres are bright,
And saie vnto oure souereynes, / Or seede more be sawen,
Ye swilke a seege as yiselff / Sewes to yer sight.

Pilatus  We, speke on, and spare not yis spell.
Pilatus  Sir, withoute yis abatyng, / Yer house, as I hope,
A hyve helte ful of Ire, for hasty he is.
Janitor  I kenne hym noght, but he is cladde in a cope.
Pilatus  Go gete hym, fat his greffe / We grathely may grope,
Janitor  Comes on bylyue to my lorde, / And if ye liste to lepe;
But ytter so thy langage / That you lette noght yare byys.
Judas  That lorde, sirs, myght susteyne youre seele
Ye flouris is of fortune and fame.
Pilatus  Welcome; thy wordis are but wele.
Pilatus  Say, harste you, knave? Can you not knele?
Pilatus  Loo, here may men faute in you fele.

Judas  Bot, bewchere, be nost abayst to byde at ye ba(r).
Before you, sirs, to be brought / Abowte haue I bene,
And allway for youre worschippe. / Say, wotte you any were?

Judas Of werke, sir, what hath wrettid you, / I wotte what I meene.
But I wolde make a marchaundyse / Youre mysheffe to 215
marre.

Pilatus And may you soo? / Els madde I such maistries to me(n)e.
Anna Man kennes you of som comberaunce, / Oure charge for to chere?
Judas For, cosyne, you art cruell./

Pilatus M y b lissin g , sone, haue you forthy.
Judas And hym dar I hete

Pilatus I J U S doctor loo, here is a sporte for to spye!
Judas And hym dar I hete you in hye,
If ye will be toward I telle you.

Judas You art a Juste man,
Pilatus Hat will Jesu be Justified / By oure Jugement.
Judas But for a litill betynge / To bere fro his bente.
Pilatus Now, what schall we pay? / Sir, thirtipens and plete;
Judas But howegates bought schall he be? / Bidde furthe thy bargayne.
Pilatus Say, ar ye plesid of this price / He preces to present?
Judas Ellis contrarie we oure consciens, / Consayue sen
Pilatus f.115v we can / That Judas knawes h[y]m culpabill. /
Pilatus I call you consent.

But, Judas, a knott for to knytt,
Judas At a worde. /
Pilatus Welcome is it.
Judas T ake ye(e) of, a traytour, tyte!
Judas Now, leue sir, late nooman wete
How his losell laykis with his lord.

[18] Pilatus Why, dwellis he with yat dochard / Whos dedis hase
us drouyd?
Than wolde we knawe why vis knave / Vis cursidly contruyed.

Enquire hym, sen ge can best / Kenne if he contrarie.

Say, man, to selle vi maistir - / What mysse hath he moved?

For of als mekill mony he made me delay
Of you as I resayue schall, but right be reproued.

When he schall wante of a wraste.

To whome wirke we wittandly wrang.

Tille hym, bot ze hastely hym hang.

Joure langage ye lay oute to lang.

But, Judas, we trewly ye trast.

For truly you moste lerne vs / That losell to lache,
Or of lande, thurgh a lirte, / That lurdayne may lepe.

I schall gou teche a token / Hym tyte for to take, / Wher he is thyngand in ye thrang / Withouten any threpe.

We knawe hym noght.

Take kepe yan yat caytiffe to catche
The whilke yat I kisse.

But gitt, to warne vs wisely / Allwayes muste ze wacche.

I hold it but ffolye his ... for to trowe.

Abide in my blyssing, / And late youre breste.

For it is beste for oure bote / In bayle for to bowe.
And, Judas, for oure prophite, / We praye ye be prest.

Judas    3itt hadde I noght a peny / To purvey for my provwne.

Pilatus  You schalte haue deluyerance / Belyue at yi list, 
          So yat you schall haue liking / Oure lordschipp to loue.

And therfore, Judas, / Mende you thy mone, 275

Judas    3a, nowe is my grete greffe ouregone.

Jus Mil  Be lyght yan. /

Judas    3is, latte me allone.

For tytte schall yat taynte be tone, 
And ye to Jocounde and Joly I am. 280

[21] Pilatus  Judas, to holde yi behest, / Be hende for oure happe,
           And of us helpe and vpholde / We hete ye to haue,
           I schall bekenne you his corse / In care for to clappe.
           And more conforte in yis case / We coveyte not to craue.
           Fro we may reche yat rekeles, / His ribbis schall we rappe,
           And make yat roy, or we rest, / For rennyng to raffe. f.117r

Pilatus  Nay, sirs, all if ye scourge hym / Ye schende nogt 
           his schappe.
           For if ye sotte be sakles, / Vs sittis hym to saue.
           Wherfore when ye go schall to gete hym,
           Vnto his body brew ye no bale. 290

Ijus Mil  Our liste is fro leping to lette hym,
           But in youre sight sowne schall (w)e sette hym.

Pilatus  Do flitte nowe forthe till ye fette hym, 
           With solace all same to youre sale.
PLAY 27: The Bacsteres

THE LAST SUPPER

Jesus
Marcellus
Andreas
Petrus
Jacobus
Thomas
Johannes
Judas
Jacobus ij]
[1] [Jesus] Pees be both be day and nyght
Vntill yis house and till all yat is (here):
Here will I holde, as I haue hight,
The feeste of Paas with frendis in feere.

Marcelius Maistir, we haue arayed full right
Seruise yat sesmes for youre sopere.
Cure lambe is roste and redy dight,
As moyses lawe will lely lere.

Jhesus That is, ilke man yat has
Pepill in his awne poste
Shall roste a lambe at paas
To hym and his meyne.

[2] Andreas Maistir, ye Custome wele we knawe,
That withoure elthers euer has bene,
How ilke man with his meyne awe
To roste a lambe and ete it clene.

Jesus I thanke you sothly of youre sawe,
For ye saye as youre selffe has sene;
Therfore array you all on rawe.
My selfe schall parte itt you betwene.
Wherfore I will yat ye
Ette yerof euere ilkone.
The remelaunt parted schall be
To ye poure yat purveyse none.

[3] Of moyses lawes here make I an ende
In som party, but noght in all.
My comandement schall othirwise be kende
With yat man schall crafely call.
But ye lambe of Pasc yat here is spende,
Whilke Jewes vses grete and small,
Euere forward nowe I iitt defende
Pro cristis folke, what so befall.
In yat stede schall be sette
A newe lawe vs bytwene;
But who yerof schall ette
Behoues to be wasshed clene.

[4] For yat new lawe whoso schall lere,
In harte yam bus be clene and chaste.
Marcelle, myn awne discipill dere,
Do vs haue watir here in hast.

Marcellus Maistir, it is all redy here,
And here a towell clene to taste.
Jesus  Commes forthe with me, all in feere,
My wordis schall nought be wroght in waste.
Settis youre feete fourth; late see.
They schall be wasshen sone.

Petrus  A, lorde, with ye leue, of yee
Yat deed schall nought be done.

[5]  I schall neuere make my membres mete
Of my souerayme seruice to see.

Jesus  Petir, bott if you latte me washe yee feete,
You getis no parte in blisse with me.

Petrus  A, mercy, lorde and maistir swete,
Owte of yat blisse yat I nought be.
Wasshe on, my lorde, to all be wete,
Both hede and hamde, besoke I yee.

Jesus  Petir, you wotiste nought jitt
What yis werke will bemene.
Here aftir schall you witte;
And so schall ye all bedene.

[6] oure lorde and maistir ye me call;
And so I am, all welthe to welde.
Here haue I knelid vnto you all,
To washe youre feete, as ye haue feled.
Ensaumple of me take ye schall,
Euer for to yeme in yowe and elde,
To be buxsome in boure and hale,
Ilkone for to bede othir belde.
For all if ye be trewe
And lele of loue ilkone,
3e schall ffynie othir ay newe
To greue whan I am gone.

[7] Jacobus  Now sen oure maistir sais he schall
Wende, and will not telle vs whedir,
Whilke of vs schall be princepall?
Late loke now whils we dwell togedir.

Jesus  I wotte youre will, both grete and small,
And youre high hartis, I here yam hedir;
To whilke of you such fare schulde fall,
Yat myght ye carpe when ye come thedir,
Where it so schulde betyde
Of such materes to melle.
But first behous you bide
Fayndyngis full ferse and felle.
Here shalle I sette you for to see
Yis yonge childe for insaumpills seere.
Both meke and mylde of harte is he,
And fro all malice mery of chere.
So meke and mylde but if ye be

[Jesus]
Quod facis, fac ciclus:
Yat you shall do, do done.

[Thomas]
Allas, so wilsom wightis as we
Was neuere in worlde walkand in wede.
Our maistir sais his awne meyne
Has betrayed hym to synfull seede.
A, I hope sen you sittist nexte his kne,
We pray ye spire hym foroure sped.
Domine, quis est qui tradit te?
Lord, who schall do yat doulfull dede?
Allas, oure playe is paste;
Yis false forward is feste.
I may no lenger laste;
For bale myn herte may breste.

[10] Judas
Now is tyme to me to gang,
For here begynnes nowe all of newe.
My fellows momellis yame emang,
Yat I schulde alle yis bargayne brewe.
And certis pai schall noyt wene it wrang.
To ye prince of prestis I schall pursue,
And yei schall lere hym othir ought long,
That all his sawes sore schall hym rewe.
I wotte whedir he remoues
With his meyne ilkone.
I schall telle to ye jewes,
And tyte he schalle be tane.

I warne you nowe, my frendis free,
Sese to ther sawes yat I schall say:
The fende is wrothe with you and me,
And will you marre, if yat he may.
But, Petir, I haue prayed for ye,
So yat you schall noyt drede his dray;
And conforte you yis meyne
And wisse hem when I am gone away.

Petrus
A, lorde, where wilte you lende,
I schall lende in yat steede,
And with ye schall I wende
Euermore in lyffe and dede.

[12] Andreas No wordely drede schall me withdrawe,
That I schall with ye leue and dye.

Thomas Certis, so schall we all on rawe,
Ellis mekell woo were we worthy.

Jesus Petir, I saie to ye ys sawe,
That you schalte ffynde no fantasie:
And saye you knewe me neuer,
Nor no meyne of myne.

Petrus Allas, lorde, me were lever
Be putte to endles pyne.

[13] Jesus As I yow saie, so schall it bee.
Ye nedis non othir recours to craue.
All yat in worlde is wretyn of me
Shall be fulfilled, for knyght or knave.
I am ye herde, ye schepe are ye;
And whane ye herde schall harmes haue,
The flokke schall be full fayne to flee
And socoure seke, yame seiffe to saue.
Ye schall, whit I am alleone,
In grete myslykyng lende;
But whanne I ryse agayne,
Far schall youre myrthe be men(de).

[14] Ye haue bene bowne my bale to bete,
Therfore youre belde ay schall I be;
And for ye did in drye and wete
My commandemtis in Ilke contre,
The kyngdome of heuen I you behete,
Euen as my ffadir has highte itt me.
With gostely mete were schall we mete,
And on twelfe Seages sitte schall ye.
For ye trewlye toke yseme
In worlde with me to dwell;
There shall ye sitte bydene
xij kyndis of Israel.

[15] But firste ye schall be wille of wone,
And mo wathes yen ye of wene;
Fro tyme schall come yat I be tone,  
Yan schall ye turne away with tene.  
And loke yat ye haue swerdis ilkone;  
And whoso haues non you bytwene
Shall selle his Cote and bye hym one.  
Yus bidde I yat ye do bedene.  
Satcheles I will ye haue,  
And stones to stynte all striffe,
Yourselfe for to saue,  
In lenghyng of youre liff.
[PLAY 28: The Cordewaneres]

THE AGONY AND BETRAYAL

Jesus
Petrus
Johannes
Jacobus
Angelus
Anna
Cayphas
Judas
Primus miles
Secundus miles
Tertius miles
Quartus miles
Primus iudeus
Secundus iudeus
Tertius iudeus
Quartus iudeus
Malcus]
[1][Jesus] Beholde, my discipulis yat dye ye is and dere, My fleshe dyderis and daris for doute of my dede. Myne enemies will newly be neghand full nere, With all ye myght if ye may to marre my manhede. But sen ye are forwakid / And wanderede in were, Loke ye sette you doune rathely / And reste youe, I reede. Beis nost heuy in youre hertis, / But holde yow even here, And bidis me a stounde / Stille in yis same steede. Beis witty and wyse in youre wandynge, So yat ye be wakans alway; And lokis nowe prestely ye pray To my ffadir, yat ye ffalle in no ffyndyng.

[2] Petrus 3is, lorde, at thy bidding / Full baynly schall we abide; For you arte boote of oure bale, / And bidis for ye best. Johes Lorde, alloure helpe andoure hele, / That is noght to hyde, In ye, ourfaythe and ourfoode / All hollye is feste. Jacobus Qwat way is he willid / In yis worlde wyde? Whedir is he walked, / Estewarde or weste? Petrus 3aa, sirs, I schall saye you. / Sittis vs doune on every ilka side; And late vs nowe rathely here take oure reste. My lymmys are heuy as any leede. Johes And I muste slepe; doune muste I lye. Jacobus In faithe, felawes, right so fare I; I may no longer holde vppe my hede.

[3] Petrus Oure liffe of his lyoalty / His liffe schall he lose, Vnkyndely be Crucified / And maylyd to a tree. Jesus Baynly of my blissing, / Youre eghen ye vnclose, So yat ye falle in no fandyng, / For noght yat may be, But prayes fast. Johes Lorde, som prayer you kenne vs, That somwhat myght mirthe vs or mende vs. Jacobus Fro all fffanyng vnfaythfull you fende vs, Here in yis worlde of liffe whille we laste.

Petrus  

3aa, but lorde, and youre willis were, / Witte wolde we more;  
Of this prayer so precious late vs nopt mys,  
We beseke ye.  

Johes  

For my felows and me alle in feere,  
Some prayer yat is precious to lere.  

Jacobus  

Vnto thy ffadir yat moste is of poure,  
Som solace of socour to sende ye.  

[5] [Jesus]  

Ye nowys yat me neghed / Hase, it nedis not to neuen;  
For all wate ye full wele / What wayes I haue wente;  
Instore me and strenghe / With a stille steuen;  
I pray ye interly you take entent.  
You menske my manhed with mode.  
My Flessh is full dredand for drede.  
For my jorneys of my manhed  
I sweate now both watir and bloode.  

[6]  

Yes jewes hase mente in yer mynde full of malice,  
And pretend me to take / Withouten any trespassee.  
But, ffadir, as you wate wele, / I mente neuer amys.  
In worde nor in werk / I neuer worthy was.  
Als you arte bote of all bale and belder of blisse,  
And all helpe and hele in thy hande hase,  
You mensk thy manhede, / You mendar of mysse.  
And if it possible be, / This payne myght I ouerpasse.  
And, ffadir, if you se it may noght,  
Be it worthely wrought,  
Euen at thyne awne will.  
Euermore both myldeley and still,  
With worschippe all way be it wroght.  

[7]  

Vnto my discipillis will I go agayne  
Kyndely to conforte yam / Yat kacchid are in care.  
What! are ye fallen onsalepe / Now euerilkone?  
And ye passioun of me in mynde hase no more?  
What! wille ye leue me yus lightly, / And latte me allone,  
In sorowe and in aighyng / Yat satallis full sore?  
To whome may I meue me / And make nowe my mone?  
I wolde yat ye wakened, and your will wore.  
Do, Petir, sitte vppe; nowe late se.
You are strongly stedde in his stoure.
Might you noght ye space of an owre
Haue wakid nowe mildly with me?

[8] Petrus
3is, lorde; with youre leue / Nowe wille we lere
Full warely to were you / Fro alle wandynge.
Beis wakand and prayes faste, all in fere,
To my ffadir, yat ye falle in no ffanding.
For euelle spiritis is neghand full nere
That wille you tarie at yis tyme with his tentyng.
And I wille wende ox I was withouten any were;
But bidis me here baynly in my blissing.
Agayne to ye monte I wille gang
3itt eftesones where I was ere.
But loke yat ye cacche you care,
For lely I schall nogt dwelle lange.

[9] You ffadir yat all formed hase with fode for to fill,
I fele by my ferdnes my flessh wolde full fayne
Be torned fro this turnement and takyn ye vntill;
For mased is manhed in mode and in mayne.
But if you se sothly yat yis sone sille
Withouen surffette of synne yus sakles be slayne,
Be it worthly wroght, even at thyn awne will,
For, fadir, att yis bidding am I buxum and bayne.
Now wightely agayne will I wende
Vnto my discipills so dere.
What! slepe ye so faste all in fere?
I am ferde ye mon faile of youre frende.

[10] But 3itt wille I leue you and late you allone,
And eftesones yere I was agayne will I wende.
Vnto my fadir of myght now make I my mone.
As you arte saluer of all sore, som socoure me sende.
Ye passion they purpose to putte me vpon,
My flessh is full ferde, and fayne wolde defende.
At yis wille be 3itt wrought, woruely in wone.
Hauve mynde of my manhed, my mode for to mende.
Some comforte me kythe in yis case,
And, ffadir, I schall dede taste.
I wille it nogt defende.
3itt yr thy willis be,
Spare me a space.

Unto ye maker vnmade / That moste is of myght,
Be lounyng ay lastand in light vat is lente.
Thy fadir vat in heuen is moste, / He vppon highte.
Thy sorowes for to sobir, / To ye he hase me sente.
For dedis vat man done has / Thy dede schall be dight,
And you with turmentis be tulyd. / But take nowe entente.
Thy bile schall be for ye beste.

Thurgh vat manys mys schall be mendye.

Yan schall you withouten any ende
Rengne in thy rialte full of reste.

[12] Jesus

Now if my flessh ferde be, / Fadir, I am fayne
Vnto myngwisse and my noyes / Are nere at an ende.
Unto my disciplis go will I agayne,
Kynelely to conforte vat / Vat mased is in yer mynde.
Do slepe ze nowe sauely, / And I schall you sayne,
Wakyns vppe wightely / And late vs hens wende.
For als tyte mon I be taken / With tresoun and with trayne.
My flesshe is full ferde / And fayne wolde defende.

Full derfely my dede schall be dight.
And als sone as I am tane,

Vat schall ye forsake me Tlkone,
And saie neuer ze sawe me with sight.

[13] Petrus

Nay, sothely, I schall neuer my souereyne forsake,
If I schulde for ye dede darfely here dye.
Vat schall neuer my souereyne man vs make.
Erste schulde we dye all at onys.

[14] Jesus

A, Petir, of Swilke bostyng / I rede you late bee.
For all thy kene carpyng / Full keneley I knawe,
For ferde of myn enmyse / You schalte sone denye me,
Thriis sitt full thraly, / Or the Cokkes Crowe,
For ferde of my fomen / Full fayne be for to flee,
And for grete doute of yi dede / Ye to withdrawe.

Anna
Sir Cayphas, of youre counsaille / Do sone late vs now see.
For lely it langes vs to luke / Vnto our lawys.
And therfore, sir, prestely I pray you,
Sen yat we are of counsaille Ilkone,
That Jesus, yat traytoure, wer tane.
Do sone late se, sir, I pray you.

Cayphas
In certayne, sir, and sone schall I saye you.

[15]
I wolde wene by my witte / Yis werke wolde be wele.
Late vs Justely vs Iune / Tille Judas ye gente,
For he kennes his dygnites / Full duly ilke a dele;
Ja, and beste wote, I warande, / What wayes yat he is wente.

Anna
Now yis was wisely saide, / Als euuer haue I seele;
And, sir, to youre saiyng / I saddely will assente.
Therfore take vs of oure knyghtis / That is stedfast as stele,
And late Judas go lede yam bellyffe / Wher yat he laste lente.

Cayphas
Full wele, sir. / Nowe, Judas, dere neghboure, / Drawe nere vs.
Io, Judas, yus in mynd haue we ment.
To take Jesus is oure entent,
For you muste lede vs and lere vs.
And also beis ware / Yat he wil not away.

[16] Judas
Sirs, I schall wisse you ye way, / Buen at youre awne will.
But loke yat ye haue / Many myghty men,
That is both strang and sterand, / And stedde hym stone stille.

Anna
Ysis, Judas, but be what knowlache / Shall we yat corse kenne?
Judas
Sirs, a tokenyng in yis tyme / I schall telle you vntill.
But lokis by youre lewty / No liffe ye hym lenne.
Qwhat man som I kys, / Yat corse schall ye kyll.
Cayphas

Why, nay, Judas, I schrew you all yenne.
We purpose ye page schall not passe.
Sir knyghtis, in hy.

(Pimus Mil)
Lorde, we are here.

Cayph
Calles fourth youre felaws in feere,
And gose justely with gentill Judas.

[17] Pimus Mil
Come, felaws, by youre faith, / Come forthe all faste,
And carpis with sir Cayphas; / He comaundis me to call.

ijus Mil I schrewe hym all his liffe / 7at loues to be last.
iiijus Go we hens yan in hy / And haste vs to ye balle.

Mil

IIIjus
Lorde, of youre will worthely / Wolde I witte what wast.

Cayph
To take Jesus, yat sawntrelle, / All same, yat ye schall.

jus Mil
Lorde, to yat purpose / I wolde yat we paste.

Anna
3a, but loke yat ge be armed wele all.
The moste gentill of ye Jury / Schalle gyde gou.

Cayph
3a, and euery ilke a knyght in degre
Both armed and harneyed ge be,
To belde gou and baynely go by[de] gou.

[18] Anna
3a, and yerfore, sir Cayphas, 3e hye 3ou,
Youre wirschippe 3e wynne in 3is cas.
As 3e are a lorde most lofsom of lyre
Vndir sir pilate yat lyfis in 3is Empire,
3one segger yat callis hym selfe a sire
With tresoure and tene sall we taste hym.
Of 3one losell his bale schall [he] brewe.
Do trottes on for yat traytoure apas.

Cayph
Nowe, sirs, sen 3e say my poure is most beste,
And hase all 3is werke / Yus to wirke at my will,
Now certayne ri3t sone I thinke not to rest,
But solemnely in hast youre will to fulfille.
Full tyte ye traytoure schall be tane.
Sir knyghtis, 3e hye 3ou ilkone,
For in certayne 3e losell schall be slane.
Sir Anna, I praye 3ou, haue done.

Anna
Full redy tyte I schall be boun
3is journay for to go till.
Als 3e are a lorde of grete renounce,
3e spare hym not to spill,
Ye devill hym sped.
Go we with our knyghtis in fere.
Lo, ye are arrayed and armed clere.
Sir knyghtis, loke ye be of full good chere.
Where ye hym see, on hym take hede.

Primus
Goode tente to hym, lorde, schall we take
He shall banne ye tyne yat he was borne.
All his kynne schall come to late.
He shall noght skape withouten scorne
Pro vs in fere.

Ius
We schall hym seke both even and morne.
Eryly and late, with full gode chere,
Is ours entente.

Iudas
Stye nor strete, we schall spare none;
Fro vs in fere.

We schall hyme seke both even and morne,
Erly and late, with full gode chere.
And bone in corde.

Malcus
A, ay! and I schulde be rewards
And right, as wele worthy were.
Loo, for I bere light for my lorde.

Cayph
A, sir, of youre speche lette, and late vs spede
A space, and ofoure speche spare.
And, Judas, go fande vou before,
And wisely you wisse ye way.
For sothely sone schall we saye
To make hym to marre vs nomore.

Judas
Now will yisoure be neghand full nere
That schall certefie all ye soth yat I haue saide.
All hayll, maistir, in faith, / And felawes all in fere.
With grete gracious gretyng / On gronde be he graied.
I wolde aske you a kysse, / Maistir, and youre willes were,
For all my loue and my likyng / Is holy vppon vou layde.

Jegus
Full hartely, Judas; haue it even here.
For with yis kissing is mans sone betrayed.

Judas
Whe! stande, traytoure. I telle ye for tane.

Cayph
Whe! do, knyghtis, go falls on before.

Jegus
3is, maistir, moue you nomore,
But lightly late vs allone.

Judas
Allas, we are loste, for leme of yis light.

Malcus
Saye ye here; whome seke ye? / Do saye me; late see.
One Jesu of Nazareth, / I hope yat he hight.
Beholdis all hedirward, loo! / Here, I am hee!
Stanie, dastarde. So darfely / Thy dede schall be
dight.
I will no more be abasshed / For blenke of thy blee.
We, oute! I am mased almost / In mayne and in
myght.
And I am ferde, be my feyth, / And fayne wolde I
flee.
For such a siȝt haue I not sene.
'Wis leme, it lemed so light,
I saugh neuer such a siȝt.
Me meruayles what it may mene.

(L)oo, whame seke ye all same, ȝitt I saye?
One Jesus of Nazareth, / Hym wolde we neghe nowe.
And I am he sothly, / And yat schall I asaie.
For you schalte dye, dastard, / Sen yat it is yowe.
And I schall fanie be my feythe ye for to flye.
Here with a lusshe, lordayne, I schalle ye allowe.
We, oute! all my deueres are done.
Nay,
Traytoure, but trewly I schall trappe ye, I trowe.
Pees, Petir, I bidde ye.
Melle ye nor move ye no more.
For witore you were, / And my willis were,
I myght haue poure grete plente,

Of Aungellis full many / To mustir my myght.
Forthy putte vpe pi swerde / Full goodely agayne.
For he yat takis vengeaunce / All rewli schall be
right
With purgens and vengeaunce / ȝat voydes in vayne.
You man yat is ȝus derede / And doulfully dyght,
Come hedir to me sauely, / And I schalle ye sayne.
In ȝe name of my fadir / ȝat in heuene is most vpon
hight.
Of thy hurtis be you hole / In hyde and in hane,
Thurgh vertewe pi vaynes be at vayle.
What! ille hayle! I hope yat I be hole.
Nowe I schrewe hym ȝis tyme ȝat gyvis tale,
To touche ye for pi trausyle.
Do, felaws, be youre faithe, / Late vs fange on in fere,
For I have on yis hyne ...

Mil And I have a loke on hym nowe. / Howe, felawes, drawe nere.

Jesu Jis, by ye bonys yat yis bare, / Yis bourde schall he banne.

Euen like a theffe he-neusly / Hurle se me here.

I taught you in youre tempill. / Why toke se me nost yanne?

Now haues mekenes on molde / All his power.

Do, do laye youre handes / Belyue on yis lourdayne.

We haue holde yis hauk in yi handis.

Whe! yis, felawes, be my faith, he is fast.

Vnto sir Cayphas I wolde yat he pas(te).

Fare wele, for I wisse we will wenden.
PLAY 29: The Bowers and Flechters

PETER DENIES JESUS; JESUS EXAMINED
BY CAIAPHAS

Cayphas
Anna
Primus miles
Secundus miles
Tertius miles
Quartus miles
Prima mulier
(Secunda mulier)
Petrus
Malchus
Jesus]
Cayphas, beshers; I bid no Jangelyng ye make, And sese sonne of yore sawes, and se what I saye, And trewe tente vnsto me yis tymr yat ye take. For I am a lordes lerned lelly in yore lay.

By connyng of clergy and casting of witte. Full wisely my wordis I welde at my will; So semely in seete me semys for to sitte, And ye lawe for to lerne you and lede it by skill.

What wyte so will oght with me, Full frendly in feyth am I foune right sone. Come of; do tyte; late me see. Howe graciously I shall graunte hym his bone.

Ther is nowder lorde ne lady lerned in ye lawe, Ne Bisshopp ne prelate yat preued is for pris, Nor clerke in ye courte yat connyng will knawe, With wisdom may were hym in worlde is so wise.

I haue ye renke and ye rewle of all ye ryall, To rewle it by right, als reasoune it is. All domesmen on dese awe for to dowte me, That hase thaym in bandome in bale or in blis. Wherfore takes tente to my tales and lowtis vnto me.

And therfore, sir knyghtis, I charge you, chalange youre rightis To wayte both be day and by nyghtis Of ye bringyng of a boy into bayle.

Primus Mil Yis, lorde; we schall wayte if any wonderes walke, And freyne howe youre folkis fare yat are furth wonne. We schall be bayne at youre bidding and it not to balke, Yf yei presente you yat boy in a bande boun.

Anna Why, syr, and is yer a boy yat will noght lowte to youre bidding? Cayphas Ya, sir, and of ye coriousenesse of yat karle yer is carping. But I haue sente for yat segge halfe for hethyng. Anna What wondirfull werkis workis yat wighte?
Cayph
Seke men and sori he sendis siker helyng,
And to lame men and blyndie he sendis yer sight; 35

[9]
Of croked crepillis yat we knawe,
Itt is to here grete wondering,
How yat he helis yame all on rawe,
And all thurgh his false happenyng.

[10]
I am sorie of a sight
Yat eggges me to Ire.
Oure lawe he brekis with all his myght;
Yat is moste his desire.

[11]
Oure Sabott day he will not safe,
But is aboute to bringe it downe;
And therfore sorowe muste hym haue.
May he be konched in feld or towne

[12]
For his false stevyn!
He defamys fowly ye godhed,
And callis hym selfe god sone of hevene.

[13] Anna
I haue goode knowlache of yat knafe.
Marie, me menye, his modir highte,
And joseph his ffa dir, as god me safe,
Was kidde and knowen wele for a wrighte.

[14]
But o thyng me mervayles mekill oure all,
Of diuerse dedis yat he has done.
Cayph
With wicchecrafte he faires withall.
Sir, yat schall ye se full sone.

[15]
Oure knyghtis, yai are furth wente
To take hym with a traye.
By pis I holde hym shente.
He can not wende away.

[16] Anna
Wolde ye, Sir, take yours reste,
This day is comen on hande,
And with wyne slake yourse thriste?
Yan durste I wele warande
ye schulde haue tithandis sone
Of ye knyghtis yat are gone,
And howe yat yei haue done,
To take hym by a trayne.

And putte all yought away,
And late youre materes reste.
Cayph
I will do as ye saie.
Do gette vs wyne of ye best.

My lorde, here is wyne / That will make you to
wynke.
Itt is licoure full delicious, / My lorde, and you
like.
Wherfore I rede drely / A draughte yat ye drynke.
For in yis contre yat we knawe / I wisse ther is
none slyke.

Wherfore we counsaile you / This Cuppe sauerly for
to kisse.
Cayph
Do on dayntely, and dresse me on dees,
And hendely hille on me happing;
And warne all wightis to be in pees,
For I am late layde vnto napping.
Anna
My lorde, with youre leue, / And it like you, I
passe.
Cayph
A diwe be unte, / As ye manere is.

Sir knyghtys, do kepe yis boy in bande,
For I will go witte what it may mene,
Why yat yone wighte was hym folowand
Erly and late, morne and eue[n].

He will come nere, he will not lette.
He is a spie, I warand, full bolde.
It semes by his sembland he had leuere be sette
By ye feruent fir e, to fleme hym fro colde.

Ya, but and ye wiste as wele as I
What wonders yat yis wight has wrought,
And thurgh his maistir Sorssery,
Full derfely schulde his deth be bought.
Dame, we haue hym nowe at will
Yat we haue longe tyme soughte.
Yf othir go by vs still,
Verfore we haue no thought.

Itt were grete skorne yat he schulde skape,
Withoute he hadde rescoune and skill.
He lokis lurkand like an nape.
I hope I schall haste me hym tille.

Thou caytiffe, what meves ye stande
So stabill and stille in yi thoght?
You hast wrought mekill wronge in londe,
And wondirfull werkis haste you wroght.

A, lorell! a leder of lawe,
To sette hym and suye has you soght.
Stande furth and threste in yone thrawe.
Thy maistry you bryng unto noght.

Wayte nowe, he lokis like a brokke,
Were he in a banie for to bayte;
Or ellis like an nowele in a stok,
Full proualy his pray for to wayte.

Woman, thy wordis and thy wimde you not waste.
Of his company never are I was kende.
You haste ye mismarkid, trwely be traste.
Wherfore of yi misse you ye amende.

Tan gayne saies you here ye sawes yat you saide.
How he schulde clayme to be callid gud sonne,
And with ye werkis yat he wrought / Whils he
walketh in yis flodde,
Baynly at oure bydding / Alway to be bonne.

I will consente to youre sawes; / What schulde I
saye more?
For women are crabbed; yat comes yem of kynde.
But I saye as I firste saide, / I sawe hym neuere
Are.
But as a frende of ounce felawshippe / Shall ye me
aye fynde.
Malchus

Herke, knyghtis, yat are knawen / In this Contre as we kenne,
Howe yone boy with his boste / Has brewed mekill bale.
He has forsaken his maistir / Before zome womenne.
But I schall preue to you pertly, / And telle you my tale.

I was presente with pepull / Whenne prese was full prest
To mete with his maistir / With mayne and with myght,
And hurled hym hardely / And hastely hym arreste,
And in bandis full bittirly / Banie hym sore all yat nyght.

And of tokenyng of trouth schall I telle yowe
Howe yone boy with a brande / Brayede me full neere.
Do move of theg materes emelle yowe -
For swifely he swapped of my neere.

His maistir with his myght helyd me all hole
That by no Syne I cowthe see noman cowye it witten;
And yon badde hym bere pees in euery ilk e bale,
For he yat strikis with a swerd, with a swerde schall be streken.

Iatte se whadir grauntest you gylte.
Do speke oon and spare not to telle vs,
Or full faste I schall fonde ye flitte,
The soth but you saie here emelle vs.

Come of; do tyte; late me see nowe,
In sauyng of thyselfe fro schame.
3a, and also for beryng of blame.

Petrus

I was neuer with hym in werke yat he wroght,
In worde nor in werke, in will nor in dede.
I knawe no corse yat ye haue hidir brought,
In no Courte of this kith, ye I schulde right rede.

Malchus

Here, siris, howe he sais and has forsaken
His maistir to ys woman here twyes;
And newlye cure lawe has he taken.
Thus hath he denied hym thryes.
[40] Jesus
Petir, Petir, yus saide I are,
When you saide you wolde abide with me
In wele and woo, in sorowe and care,
Whillis I schulde thries forsaken be.

[41] Petrus
Alas ye while yat I come here,
That euere I denied my lorde in quarte.
The loke of his faire face so clere
With full sadde sorowe sheris my harte.

[42] iijus
Sir knyghtis, take kepe of yis karll and be konnand,
Miles
Because of sir Cayphas we knowe wele his yght.
He will rewarde vs full wele, yat dare I wele warand,
Whan he wete of oure werkis, how wele we haue wroght.

[iijus
Sir, yis is Cayphas halle here at hande.
Miles
Go we boldly with yis boy yat we have here broght.
[iijus
May, sirs, vs muste stalke to yat stede and full
Mil
still stande,
For itt is newe of ye nyghte, if yei nappe oghte.
[Primus
Say, who is here? Say, who is here?
Mil
[iijus
I, a frende,
Mil
Well knawyn in yis contre for a knyght.
iijus
Gose furthe; on youre wayes may yee wende.
Mil
For we haue herbered enowe for tonyght.

[43] Primus
Gose abakke, bewscheres; ye bothe are to blame,
Miles
To bourde whenne oure Bussshopp is bonne to his bedde.
[iijus
Why, sir, it were worthy to welcome vs home.
Mil
We haue gone for yis warlowe, and we have wele spedde.
iijus
Why, who is yat?
Mil

[iijus
The Jewes kyng, Jesus by name.
Miles

[Primus
A, yee be welcome; yat dare I wale wedde.
Mil
My lorde has sente for to seke hym.
[iijus
Ioo, se here ye
Mil
same.
iijus
Abidde as I bidde, and be noght adread.
Mil
My lorde! my lorde! my lorde! Here is layke, and you list.
Cayph
Fees, loselles, leste ye be nyse.
[Primus
My lorde, it is wele and ye wiste.
Mil
Cayph
What! nemen vs nomore, for it is twyes.
You takist non hede to ye haste / That we haue here
on honde.
Go frayne howeoure folke farsi / That are furth ronne.
 iijus
Miles
Commantle,
And thei haue fallen full faire.

Cayphas
Why, and is ye foolle founde?

[Prismus]
[132v]
Miles
Yea, lorde; ye haue brought a boy in a bande boun.

(Cayph)
Where nowe, sur Anna! Yat is one and able to be nere.
(Anna)
My lorde, with youre leave, / Me behoues to be here.
(Cayph)
A, sir, come nere, and sitte we bothe in fere.
(Anna)
Do, sir, bidde yam bring in yat boy yat is bune.
(Cayph)
Pese now, sir Anna; be stille, and late hym stande,
And late vs grope yf yis gome be grathly begune.
(Anna)
Sir, yis game is begune of yf best,
Nowe hadde he no force for to flee yame.
(Cayph)
Nowe in faiyte I am fayne he is fast.
Do lede in yat ladde; late me se yan.

[45]

Lo, sir, we haue saide to oure souereyne.
Gose nowe and suye to hym selve for ye same thyng.
Miles
Myloride, to youre bidding we haue buxom and bayne.
Miles
Lo, here is ye beselchere brought yat ye bad bring.
Miles
My lorde, fandis now to fere hym.
Cayph
Nowe I am fayne;
And felawes, faire mott ye fall for youre fyning.
Anna
Sir, and ye trowe sei be trewe, / Withowten any
trayne, 
Bidde yayme telle you ye tyme of ye takyng.
Cayph
Say, felawes, howe wente ye so nemely by nyzt?
Miles
My lorde, was yere nom an to marre vs ne mende vs.
Miles
My lorde, we had lanternes and light,
And some of his company kende vs.

[46]

But saie, howe did he, Judas? /
A, sir, full wisely
Said, and wels.
He markid vs his maistir emang all his men,
And kyssd hym full kyndely his conforte to kele,
Bycause of a countenaunce yat karle for to kenne.
And yus did he his deuere? /
Ya, lorde, euere ilke a
dele.
He taughte vs to take hym, / The tyme aftir tenne.
Anna  
Nowe, be my feith, a faynte frende myght he yer fynde.

Sire, ye myght so haue saide / Hadde ye hym sene yeonne.

He sette vs to ye same yat he solde vs,
And feyned to be his frende as a faytour.
This was ye tokenying before yat he tolde vs.
Nowe treuly, ys was a trante of a Traytour.

[47] Anna  
3a, be he traytour or trewe geue we neuer tale,
But takes tente at ys tyme and here what he tellles.

Cayph  
Now sees yat oure howsolde / Be holden here hole,
So yat none carpe in case but yat in court dwellis.

[iijus Mil] A, lorde, ys brethell hath brewed moche bale.

Cayph  
Therfore schall we spede vs to sper of his spellis.
Sire Anna, takis hede nowe and here hym.

[48] (Cayphas) Nay, sir; noght so; no haste.
Itt is no burde to bete bestis yat are bune.
And therfore with fayrenes firste we (w)ill hym fraste,
And sithen forger hym furth as we haue fune,
And telle vs som tales truly to traste.

Anna  
Sir, we myght als wele talks / Tille a tome Tonne.
I warande hym witteles / Or ellis he is wrang wrayste,
Or ellis he waitis to wirke / Als he was are wonne.

[iijus Mil] His wonne was to wirke mekill woo,
And make many maystries emelle vs.

Kayph  
And some schall he graunte or he goo,
Or muste yowe tente hym and telle vs.

[iijus Mil] Mi lorde, to witte ys wonderes yat he has wroght,
For to telle you the tente, it wolde oure tonges stere.

Kayph  
Sen ye boy for his boste is into bale broght,
We will witte or he wende how his werkis were.

[iijus Mil] Oure Sabott day, we saye, / Saves he right noght,
That he schulde halowe and holde / Full dingne and full dere.

[iijus Mil] No, sir; in ye same feste / Als we the Sotte soughte,
He Salued yame of sikennesse / On many sidis seere.

[Cayphas] What yan? makes he yame gratheley to gange?

[iijus Mil] 3a, lorde; even forthe in every like a toune
He yame lechis to liffe aftir lange.

Cayph  
A, this makes he by the myghtis of Mahounde.
Sirs, our stiffe tempill that made is of stone,
That passes any paleys of price for to preyse,
And it were done to ye erth and to ye gronde gone,
This rebelde he rowses hym it rathely to rayse.

3a, lorde; and othir wonderis he workis grete wonne,
And with his lowde lesyngis he losis ours layses.
(Cayphas) Co lowse hym, and levis yan and late me allone;
For my selfe schall serche hym and here what he sales.

Herke, Jesus of Jewes will haue joie,
To Spille all thy sporte for thy spellis.

Do meve, f(e)lawe, of thy frendis pat fedde ye beforne,
And sithen, felowe, of thi fare for yer will I freyne.
Do neven vs lightly. His langage is lorne!

My lorde, with youre leve, hym likis for to layne;
But and he schulde scape skatheles, it wer a full skorne,
For he has musterd emonge vs full mekil of his mayne.

Malkus, youre man, lord, pat had his ere schorne,
This harlotte full hastely helid it agayne.

What, and liste hym be nyse for ye nonys,
And heres howe we haste to rehete hym.

Nowe, by beliall bloode and his bonys,
I holde it beste to go bete hym.

May, sir, none haste; we schall haue game or we goo.
Boy, be not agaste if we seme gaye.
I conjure ye kynlely, and commaunde ye also,
By grete god yat is liffand and laste schall ay;

Sir, you says it yi selffe, and sothly I saye
That I schall go to my fadir yat I come froo,
And dwelle with hym wynly in welthe allway.

Why, fie on ye, faitoure vntrue!
Thy fadir hast ye fowly defamed.
Now nedis vs no notes of newe;
Hym selfe with his sawes has he schamed.

Nowe nedis nowdiz wittennesse ne counsaille to call,
But take his sawes as he saith in ye same stede.
He sclaunderes ye godhed and greues vs all,
Wherfore he is welle worthy to be dede.
And therfore, sir, saies hym ye sothe. / Sertis, so I schall.

Heres you not, harlott? / Ille happe on thy hede.
Aumsare here grathely to grete and to small,
And reche vs oute rathely som resoune, Irede.

My reasouns are not to reherse,
Norr they yat myght helpe me are noȝt here nowe.
Say, ladde, liste ye make verse.
Do telle on belyffe; late vs here nowe.

[54] Jesus
Sir, if I saie ye sothe, you schall not assente,
But hyndir, or haste me [to] hynge.
I prechid wher pepull was moste in present,
And no poynte in priuite to olde me gonde.
And also in youre tempill I tolde myne entente.
Ye myght haue tane me yat tyme for my tellyng
Wele bettir yan bringe me with bronlis vnbrente,
And yus to noye me be nyght, and also for no thyng.

For no thyng! losell, you lies!
Thy wordis and werkis will haue A wrekynge.
Sire, sen you with wrong so me wreyes,
Go spre thame yat herde of my spekyng.

[55] Cayph
A, yis traitoure has tened me / With tales yat he
has tolde.
3itt hadde I neuere such hething / As of a harlott
as hee.

Primus
What! fye on the, beggar! / Who made ye so bolde
To bourde with oure Busshoppe? / Thy bane schalle
I bee.

Jesus
Sir, if my wordis be wrange, or werser yan you wolde,
A wronge witennesse I wotte nowe ar ye.
And if my sawes be soth, yei mon be sore solde;
Wherfore you bourdes to brode for to bete me.

i jus
My lorde, will ye here? For Mahounde,
No more now for to neven yat it nedis.

Cayph
Cose dresse you and dyng ye hym doune,
And deffe vs no more with his dedis.

[56] Anna
Nay, sir; yan blamyshe yee prelatis estatis.
3e awe to deme noman, to dede for to dynge.

Cayph
Why, sir, so were bettir yan be in debate.
Ye see ye boy will noȝt bowe for oure bidding.

Anna
Nowe, sir, ye muste presente yis boy vnto sir Pilate,
For he is domysman here and nexte to ye king;
And late hym here alle ye hole, how ye hym hate,
And wheedir he will helpe hym or haste hym to hyng.

Primus Mil
My lorde, late men lede hym by nyght;
So schall ye beste skape oute o skornyng.
ijs Mil
My lorde, it is nowe in ye nyght.
I rede ye abide tille ye mornyng.

[57] Cayph
Bewschere, you sais ye beste, and so schall it be.
But lerne yone boy bettir to bende and bowe.

Primus Mil
We schall lerne yone ladde, be my lewte,
For to loute vnto ilk lorde like vnto yowe.

Cayph
3a; and felawes, wayte yat he be ay wakand./

ijjs Mil
Itt were a full nedles note to bidde vs nappe nowe.

ijjjs Mil
Sertis will ye sitte and some schall ye see
Howe we schall play papse for ye pages prove.

Primus Mil
Lo, here is one full fitte for a foole.
Co gete it, and sette ye beside hym.

[58] ijjs Mil
Nay, I schall sette it myselffe, and frushe hym also.
Lo, here a shrowde for a shrewe, and of shene shappe.

ijjs Mil
Plays faire in feere; and yer is one; and yer is
ij;
I schall fande to feste i t with a faire flappe.
And ther is iiij. And there is iiiij.

ijjs Mil
Say nowe, with an nevill happe,
Who negheth ye nowe? Not O worde, no?

iiij Mil
Dose nodill on hym with neffes, / That he noght
nappe.

Primus Mil
Nay nowe, to nappe is no nede.

ijjs Mil
3a, and bot he bettir bourdis can byde,
Such buffettis schall he be takande.

[59] iiij Mil
Prophete ysaie, to be oute of debate,
Inuuste percussit, man rede giffe you may.

iiij Mil
Those wordes are in waste. / What wenes you he wate?
It semys by his wirkyng / His wittes were awaye.

Primus Mil
Now late hym stande as he stode, / In a foiles state;
For he likis noyt pis layke, / My liffe dare I laye.

ijjs Mil
Sirs, vs muste presente pis page to sir Pilate.
But go we firste to oure souerayne / And see what he saies.

iiijus Mil  My lorde, we haue boured with yis boy,
            And holden hym full hote emelle vs.
Cayph     Thanne herde ye some Japes of Joye?
iiijus Mil  The devell haue ye worde, lorde, he wolde telle vs.

[60]Anna   Sir, bidde belyue ysi goo and bynde hym agayne,
            So yat he skape nought, for yat were a skorne.
Cayph     Do telle to sir Pilate oure pleytes all pleyne,
            And saie yis ladde with his lesyngis has oure lawes lorne;
            And saie yis same day muste he be slayne,
            Because of Sabott day yat schalbe tomorne;
            And saie yat we come cure sellfe for certayne;
            And forto fortheren yis fare; fare yee beforne.
Primus Mil Mi lorde, with youre leve, vs muste wende,
            Oure message to make as we maye.
Anna      Sir, youre faire felawschippe / We betake to ye fende.
Cayph     Goose onne nowe, and daunce forth in ye dewyll way.
[PLAY 30: The Tapiteres and Coucheres

THE DREAM OF PILATE'S WIFE: JESUS
BEFORE PILATE

Pilatus
Vxor Pilati (Domina)
Bedellus
Ancilla
Diabolus
Primus filius
(Secundus filius)
Anna
Cayphas
Primus miles
Secundus miles
Jesus]
[1] Pilatus

Yhe cursed creatures yat cruelly are cryand,
Restreyne you for stryuyng / For strengh of my strakis.
Youre pleynetes in my presence / Vse plately applyand,
Or ellis yat brande in youre braynes / Schalle brestis and brekis.

Yat brande in his bones brekis,
What brawle yat with brawlyng me brewis,
That wrecche may not wrye fro my werkis,
Nor his sleyghtis nojt slely hym slakis.
Latte yat traytour nojt triste in my trewys.

[2]

For sir Sesar was my sier, / And I sothely his sonne;
That Exelent Emperoure, exaltid in hight,
Whylk all yat wilde worlde with wytes had won;
And my modir hight Pila, yat proude was o plight.

0 Pila yat prowde and Atus hir fadir he hight.
This pila was hadde in to Atus.
Nowe, renkis, rede yhe it right?
For yat schortely I haue schewid you in sight
Howe I am provedly preued Pilatus.

[3]

Loo, Pilate I am proued, A prince of grete pride.
I was putte in to pounce, pe pepul to presse;
And sithen Sesar hym selfe, with exynatores be his side,
Remytte me to ye remys, ye renkes to redresse.
And yitte am yat gaunted on grounde, as I gesse,
To Justifie and Juge all yat Jewes.
A, luffe! here, lady, no lesse.
Loo, sirs, my worthely wiffe, yat sche is;
So semely, loo, certayne scho schewys.

[4] Uxor Pilati

Was nevir Juge in yat Jurie of so Jocounde generation,
Nor of soJoifull genologie to gentrys enioyed,
As yhe, my duke doughty, demar of dampnacion
To princes and prelatis / Yat youre preceptis perloyed.
Who yat youre preceptis pertely perloyed,
With drede in to dede schall ye dryffe hym.
By my trouthe, he wntrowly is stonyed
Yat agaynst ye youre behestis hase honed.
All to ragges schall ye rente hym and ryue hym.
I am dame precious percula, of prynces ye prise,
Wiffe to sir Pilate here, prince withouten pere.
All welle of all womanhede I am, wittie and wise.
Consayue nowe my countenaunce so comly and clere.
The colour of my corse is full clere,
And in richesse of robis I am rayed.
Ther is no lorde in yis londe as I lere
In faith yat hath a frendlyar feere
Than yhe, my lorde, / My selfe yof I saye itt.

Nowe saye itt save may ye saffely; / For I will
certefie ye same.
Vxor Gracious lorde, gramercye; youre gode worde is gayne.
Pilatus Yhitt for to conforte my corse, me muste kisse you,
madame.
Vxor To fulfille youre forward, my fayre lorde, in faith
I am fayne.
Pilatus Howe, howe, felawys! nowe in faith I am fayne
Of theis lippis, so loffely Are lappid,
In bedde is full buxhome and bayne.
Domina Yha, sir, it nedith not to layne.
All ladise, we coveyte yan / Bothe to be kyssid and
clappid.
My liberall lorde, O leder of lawis,
O schynyng schawe yat all schames escheues,
I beseke you, my souerayne, assente to my sawes,
As ye are gentill Juger and Justice of Jewes.
Domina Do herke, howe you, Javell, Jangill of Jewes!
Why, go bette, horosonne boy, when I bidde ye.
Bedellus Madame, I do but yat diewe is.
Domina But yf you reste of thy resoune, you rewis,
For all is a Cursed / Carle hase in kydde ye.

Do mende you, madame, and youre mode be Amendand,
For me semys it wer sittand to se what he sais.
Mi lorde, he tolde nevir tale yat to me was tendand,
But with wrynkis and with wiles to wendi me my weys.
Gwisse of youre wayes to be wendand, / Itt langis to
oure lawes.
Domina Loo, lorde, yis ladde with his lawes, / Howe thynke
ye it prophitis wele.
His prechyng to prayse?
Pilatus Yha, luffe, he k nawis
Alloure Custome, / I knawe wele.
[9] Bedellus

My seniour, will ye see nowe ye sonne in your sight,
For his stately strenght he stemmys in his streemys.
Behalde ovir youre hede how he heldis fro hight,
And glydis to ye grounde with his glitterand glemys.
To ye grounde he gois with his bomys,
And ye nyght is neghand anone.
The may deme aftar no dremys,
But late my lady here / With all hir light lemys
Wightely go Wende till hir won.

[10]

For ye muste sitte, sir, ye is same nyght of lyfe and of lyme.
Itt is nost leeffull for my lady, / By the lawe of this lande,
In done for to dwelle / Fro ye day waxe ought dymme;
For scho may stakir in ye strete / But scho stalkworthely stande.
Late hir take hir leve whill yat light is.

Pilatus
Nowe, wiffe, yan ye blythely be buskand.
Domina
I am here, sir, hendely at hande.
Pilatus
Loo, yis renke has ve redde als right is.


Youre comandement to kepe, to kare for ye caste me.
My lorde, with youre leue, no lenger y lette yowe.
Itt were appreue to my persone / That preuely paste me,
Or ye wente fro this wones / Or with wynne ye had wette yowe.
Ye schall wende forthe with wynne, / Whenne yat ye haue wette yowe.
Gete drinke. What dose you? Haue done!
Come semely beside me and sette yowe.
Loke nowe, it is even here / That I are behete you.
Ya, saie it nowe sadly and sone.

[12] Domina

Itt wolde glad me, my lorde, if ye guedly begynne.
Nowe I assente to youre counsaill, so comely and cle(r)e.
Nowe drynke, madame, to deth all yis dynne.
Iff it like yowe, myne awne lorde, I am not to lere.
This lare I am not to lere.

Pilatus
Yitt eftte to youre damysell, madame.
Domina
In thy hande, holde nowe and haue here.
Ancilla
Gramaroy, my lady so dere.
Pilatus
Nowe fares welo, and walke on youre way.
[13] Domina Pilatus
Now fare wele, ye frendlyest, youre fomen to fende.

Pilatus
Nowe fare wele, ye ffayrest figure yat euere did fode fede.
And fare wele, ye daymsell in dede.

Ancilla Pilatus
My lorde, I comande me to youre ryalte.

Pilatus
Fayre lady, he yis schall you lede.
Sir, go with yis worthy in dede,
And what scho biddis you doo, / Loke yat buxsome you be.

[14] Secundus Pilatus
I am prowde and preste to passe on apasse,

Pilatus
To go with yis gracious, hir gudly to gyde.

Secundus Pilatus
Take tente to my tale; you turne on no trayse.
Come tyte and telle me yf any tythyngis betyde.

Secundus Pilatus
Yf any tythyngis my lady betyde,
I schall full sone, sir, witte you to say.
This semely schall I schewe by hir side,
Belyffe, sir; no lenger we byde.

Pilatus
Nowe ffaires wele, and walkes on youre way.

[15] Bedellus Pilatus
Nowe wente is my wiffe, yf it wer not hir will,
And scho rakis tille hir reste as of no thyng scho rought.

Pilatus
Tyme is, I telle yae, you tente me vntill,
And buske yae belyue, belamy, to bedde yat y wer broght;
And loke I be rychely arrayed.

Bedellus Pilatus
Als youre seruaunte, I haue sadly it sought,
And yis nyght, sir, newe schall ye noght,
I dare laye, fro ye luffely be layde.

[16] Pilatus
I comaunie ye to come nere, for I will kare to my couche.
Haue in thy handes hendely, and heue me fro hyne.
But loke yat you tene me not with yti tastynge, but tendirly me touche.

Bedellus Pilatus
A,sir, yhe whe wele. /
Pilatus
Yha, I haue wette me with wyne.

Yhit helde doune, and lappe me even;
For I will slelye slepe vnto synne.
Loke yat noman nor no nyron of myne
With no noyse be neghand me nere.
[17] Bedellus
  Sir, what warlowe yow wakens / With wordis full wilde,
  That boy for his brawlyng / Were bettir be vnborne.

  Pilatus
  Yha, who chatteres, hym chastise, / Be he churle or childe;
  For and he skape skatheles, / Itt were to vs a grete skorne.
  Yf skatheles he skape, it wer a skorne.
  What rebalde yat redely will rore,
  I schall mete with yat myron tomorne,
  And for his ledir lewdenes hym lerne to be lorne.

  Bedellus
  Whe so, sir; slepe ye, and saies nomore.

[18] Domina
  Nowe are we at home; do helpe yf ye may;
  For I will make me redye, and rayke to my reste.

  Ancilla
  Yhe are were, madame, forwente of youre way.
  Do bounye you to bedde, for yat holde I beste.

  Secundus
  Here is a bedde arayed of ye beste.

  Domina
  Do happe me, and faste hense ye hye.

  Ancilla
  Madame, anone all dewly is dressid.

  Secundus
  With no stalkyng nor no striffe be ye stressed.

  Domina
  Nowe be yhe in pese, both youre carpyng and crye.

[19] Diabolus
  Owte, owte, harrowe: into bale am I brought. / This bargayne may I banne.
  But yf y wirke some wile, in wo mon I wonne.
  This gentilman Jesu, of Cursednesse he can.
  Be any synge yat I see, yis same is goddis sonne.
  And he be slone, oure solace will sese.
  He will saue man saule fro oure sonde.
  And refe vs ye remys yat are rounde.
  I will on stiffely in yis stounde
  Vnto sir Pilate wiffe pertely, and putte me in presse.

[20] O woman, be wise and ware, and wonne in yit witte.
  Ther schall a gentilman, Jesu, vnJustely be Juges
  Byfore thy husband in haste, and with harlottis be hytte,
  And yat doughty today to deth yus be dyghted.
  Sir Pilate, for his prechynge, and you,
  With rede schalle ye namely be noyed.
  Yourue stuffe and yourue strengehe schal be stroryed.
  Yourue richesse schal be refte you yat is rude
  With vengeaunce, and yat dare I auowe.
    Say, Childe; rise vppe radly and reste for no roo.
    Thow muste launce to my lorde and lowly hym lowte.
    Commune me to his rougrena, as right will y doo.
Secundus  O, what! schall I trauayle yus tymely yis tyde?
    f.141r
filius    Madame, for the drecchynge of heuen,
    Slyke note is newsome to neven,
    And it neghes vnto mydnyght full even.
Domina    Co bette, boy; I bidde no lenger you byde;

[22]  
    And saie to my souereyne yis same is soth yat I send hym.
    All naked yis nyght as I mappd,
    With tene and with trayne was I trapped
    With a sweuene yat swifletly me swapped
    Of one Jesu, ye Juste man ye Jewes will vndoo.
    She prayes tente to yat trewe man with tyne be most trapped,
    But als a domes man dewly to be dressand,
    And lelye deluyere yat lede.
Primus  
    Madame, I am dressid to yat dede,
    But firste will I nappe in yis nede;
    For he hase mystir of a morne slepe yat mydnyght is myssand.

[23] Anna  
    Sir Cayphas, ye kenne wele, / This caytiffe we haue cached,
    That ofte tymes in oure tempill / Hase teched vntrewly.
    Oure meyne with myght / At mydnyght hym mached,
    And hase drevyn hym till his demyng / For his dedis vndewly.
    Wherfore I counsaille yat kyndely we car(e)
    Vnto sir Pilate, oure prince, and pray hym
    That he for oure right will arraye hym,
    This faitour for his falsed to flay hym;
    For fro we saie hym ye soth / I schall sitte hym full sore.

[24] Cayphas  
    Sir Anna, yis sporte haue ye spedely aspied,
    As I am pontificall Prince of all prestis.
    We will prese to sir Pilate, and presente hym with pride
With his harlott yat has hewed our hartis from our breasts
Though talkynge of tales vntrewe. And yerfor, sir
knyghtis, \_ Iorde?

Milites

Cayph

Sir knyghtis, yat are Curtayse and kynde,
We charge you yat chorle be wele chyned.
Do buske you and grathely hym bynde,
And rugge hym in ropes, his rase till he rewe.

Sir, youre sawes schall be serued schortely and some.
Yha, do felawe, be thy feith; late vs feste his faiour full fast.

Secundus

I am douty to his dede; deluyer, have done!
Latte vs pulle on with pride till his poure be paste.

Primus

Do haue faste, and halde at his handes.

Secundus

For this same is he yat lightly avaunted,
And god sone he grathely hym graunted.

Primus

Ico, he stoynes for vs; he staries where he standis.

Nowe is the brothell boun for all ye boaste yat he blowne,
And ye laste day he lete no lordynges myst law(e) hym.

Anna

Ya, he wende his worlde had bene haly his awne.
Als ye are dowtiest today, / Tille his demyng ye drawe hym,
And yan schall we kenne / How yat he canne excuse hym.

Primus

Here, ye goomes, gose a-rome; giffa vs gate.
We muste stoppe to yone sterne of astate.

Secundus

He muste yappely wende in at his yate;
For he yat comes to Courte, to curtesye muste vse hym.

Primus

Do rappe on the renkiis / yat we may rayse with oure rollynge.
Come forthe, sir coward. / Why cowre ye behynde?
Bedellus

O, what Javellis are ye, yat Jappis with gollyng?

Primus

A, goodie sir, be noyt wroth, for wordis are as ye wynde.
Bedellus: I saye, gedlynges, gose bakke with youre gaydes.
Secundus: Be sufferand, I beske you,
Bedellus: And more of yis maters yhe make yowe.
Bedellus: Why, vnconand knaves, an I cleke yowe,
I schall felle yowe, / Be my faith, for all youre false frawdes.

[28] Pilatus: Say, childe, ill cheffe you. / What churlles are so claterand?
Bedellus: My lorde, vnconand knaves, yei crye and yei call.
Pilatus: Gose baldely beliffe, and yos brethellis be battand,
And putte yam in prisoune, vppon payne yat may fall.
Yha, spedely spir yam yt any sporte can yei spell.
Bedellus: Yha, and loke what lordingis yei be.
Pilatus: My lorde, yat is luffull in lee,
I am boxsom and blithe to your blee.
Bedellus: And if they talke any tythyngis, / Come tyte and me tell.

[29] Bedellus: My felawes, by youre faith, / Can ye talke any tythandis?
Primus: Yha, sir, Sir Gayphas and Anna ar come both togedir
To sir Pilate, O pounce and prince of oure lawe.
And yei haue laughte a lorell / Yat is lawles and liddir.
Bedellus: My lorde, My lorde! /
Bedellus: My lorde, vnlappe yow belyve wher ye lye.
Sir Gayphas to youre courte is caried,
And sir Anna, but a traytour hem taried.
Many wight of yat warlowe has waried.
They haue brought hym in a bande, his balis to bye.

[30] Pilatus: But are thes sawes certayne in soth yat you sales?
Bedellus: Yha, lorde, yw states yondir standis. / For striffe are they stonden.
Pilatus: Now yam an I light as a roo, / And eth the for to rayse.
Go bidde yam come in both, / And the boys yey haue boun.
Bedellus: Siris, my lorde geues leue / Inne for to come.
Cayphas: Hayle, prince yat is percles in price.
Ye are leder of lawes in yis lande.
Youre helpe is full hendely at hande.
Anna Hayle, stronge in youre state for to stande. 
Alle ys dome muste be dressed at youre dulye deuyse.

[31] Pilatus
Who is thenne? My prelates? / 
Yha, lorde. / 
Pilatus Nowe be ze welcome, kissee. 270
Cayphas Gramercy, my souerayne. / But we beseeke you all same 
Bycause of wakand you vnwarly, / Be noght wroth with ys; 
For we haue brought here a lorell. / He lokis like a lambe.

Pilatus Come byn, you bothe, and to ys benke Brayde yowe. 
Cayphas Nay, guhy sir; laughher is leffull for vs. 275
Pilatus A, sir Cayphas, be curtayse yhe bus.
Anna Nay, goode lorde; it may not be yus.
Pilatus Sais nomore, but come sitte you beside me, / In sorrow as I saide youes.

[32] Primus
filius Hayle, ye semelieste seeg vndir sonne sought. 
Hayle, ye derrest duke, and doughtiest in dede. 280
Pilatus Nowe bene venenew, beuscher, / What boodworde haste you brought? 
Hase any langour my lady newe laught in ys hede? 
Sir, yat comely comaundes hir yowe too, 
And sais, al nakid ys nyght as sche napped, 
With tene and with traye was sche trapped 
285
With a sweuene yat swiftly hir swapped 
Of one Jesu, ye Juste man ye Jewes will vnio.

[33]
She beaseshes you as hir souerayne yat symple to saue. 
Deme hym noght to deth, for drede of vengeaunce. 290
Pilatus What! I hope ys be he yat hyder harlid ye haue? 
Cayph Ya, sir, ys same and ys selfe; / But ys is but a skaunec. 
He with wiccheecrafte / ys wile has he wrought. 
Some feende of his sand has he sinte, 
And warned youre wiffe or he wente. 
Yeowe, yat schalke shuld not shamely be shente. 
ys is sikir in certayne, and soALTH schulde be sought.
[34] Anna
Yha, thurgh his fantome and falshe and fende
craft.
He has wroght many wondir / Where he walked full
wyde.
Wherfore, my lorde, it wer leeffull / His liffe
were hym rafe.

Pilatus
Be ye neuer so bryme, ye boye bus abide,
But if ye traytoure be taught for vntrewe.
And wherfore sermons you nomore.
I will seckirly sende hym selfe fore,
And se what he sais to ye sore.
Bedell, go brynge hymes, / For of yat renke haue
I rewfe.

[35] Bedellus
This forward to fulfille / Am I fayne moued in
myn herte.
Say, Jesu, ye Juges and ye Jewes / Hase me
enicyned
To bringe ye before yam, / Even bounden as you
Arte.
Yone lordyngis to lose ye / Full longe haue yei
heyned.
But firste schall I wirschippe ye / With witte and
with will.
This reuerence I do ye forthy
For wytes yat wer wiser yan I,
They worshipped ye full holy on hy,
And with solemnite sange Osanna till.

[36] Primus
Mil
My lorde, yat is leder of lawes in pis lande,
All bedilis to your biding schulde be boxsome and
bayne.
And gitt pis boy here before yowe / Full boldely
was bowand,
To worschippe pis warlowe. / Me thynke we wirke
all in vayne.

Secundus
Mil
Yha, and in youre presence he preyed hym of pees,
In knelynge on knees to pis knave.
He besoughte hym his seruaunte to saue.

Caiphe
Lo, lord, such arrore amange yam yei haue,
It is grete sorowe to see; no seeg may it sese.

[37]
It is no menske to youre manhed yat mekill is of
myght.
To forbere such forfettis yat falsely are feyned.
Such spites in especiall wolde be eschewed in
your sight.
Pilatus

Sirs, moves you nocht in pis materie, / But bese myldely demeaned,
For yone Curtasie I kenne had som cause.
In youre sight, sir, ye soth schall I saye.
As ye are prince, take hede, I you praye.
Such a lourdayne vnlele, dare I laye,
Many lordis of oure landis / Might lede fro oure lawes.

Anna

[32] Pilatus

Saye, losell, who gave ye leve / So for to lowte to yone ladde,
And solace hym in my sight / So semely, yat I sawe?
Bedellus

A, Gracious lordie, greue you nocht, / For gude case I hadde.
The communie me to Care, / Als ye kende wele and knawe,
To Jerusalem on a journe, with seele;
And yan pis semely on an Asse was sette,
And many men myldely hym mette.
Als a god in yat grounde yal hym grette,
Wele semand hym in waye with worshippe lele.

Riche men with yare robes, yei ranne to his fete,
And pourre folke fecched floures of ye frith,
And made myrthe and melody pis man for to mete.

Pilatus

Nowe, gode sir, be yi feith, / What is Osanna to saie?
Bedellus

Sir, construe it we may, / Be langage of yi lande
as I leue.
It is als moche to me for to meve,
Youre prelatis in yi place can it preue,
Als, "Oure sauour and souerayne, / You saue vs, we praye."

[40] Loo, seniouris, how semes yow / Ye soye I you saide?
Wha, lorde, yi ladde is full liddir, be yi light,
Yf his saues wer serchid and sadly assaied.
Saue youre reverence, / His resoune yei rekenne nocht with right.
This Caytiffe yeis Cursedely can construe vs.

Caiph

Bedellus

Sirs, truleye ye troupe I haue tolde
Of yi wighte ye haue wrapped in wolde.

Anna

I saie, harlott, thy tonge schulde you holde,
And noght agaynste yi maistirs to meve yus.
[41] Pilatus, Anna, Pilatus, Anna

Do sese of youre seggyng, and I schall examyne full sore.
Sir, demes hym to deth, or dose hym away.
Sir, haue ye saide? /
Yha, lorde. /
Nowe go sette you with sorowe and care.

For I will lose no lede yat is lele to oure law.
But steppe furth and stondc vppe on hight,
And buske to my bidding, you boy.
And for ye nones yat you neven vs anoy.

Bedellus
I am here at youre hamle to halow a hoy.
Do move of youre maistir, for I shall melle it with myst.

[42] Pilatus, Bedellus, Pilatus, Bedellus

Cry, Oyas. /
Oyas! /
Yit efte, be y fi feithe.

Crye pece in this prese, vppon payne fer vppon.
Bidde them swage of yer sweying / Bothe swiftly
And stynpte of yer struyng and stande still as a stone.
Calle 'Jesu, ye gentill of Jacob ye Jewe,
Com preste and appere;
To ye barre draue he nere,
To y Jugeement here,'
To be demed for his dedis vnewe.

[43] Primus, Mil
Secundus, Mil
Primus, Mil
Secundus, Mil
Primus, Mil
ijus Mil
Primus, Mil
ijus Mil

Wha, harke how yis harlott he heldis oute of harre.
This lotterelle liste noght my lorde to lowte.
Say, beggar, why brawlest you? Go boune y to ye barre.
Steppe on thy standyng so sterne and so stoute.
Steppe on thy standyng so still.
Sir cowarde, to courte muste yhe care.
A lessoune to lerne of oure la(r)e.
Flitte fourthe; foule myght you fare.
Say, warlowe, you wantist of y will.

360
365
370
375
380
385
[44] Junior

O Jesu vngentill, ʒi Joie is in Japes.
You can not be curtayse, ʒou caytiffe I calle ʒe.
No ruthe were it to rug ʒe and ryue ʒe in ropes.
Why falles you nost flatte here, ʒoule falle ʒe,
For ferde of my fadir so free?
You wotte noght his wisdome, Iwys.
All thyne helpe in his hande ʒat it is,
Howe sone he myght saue ʒe fro ʒis.
Obeye hym, brothell, I bidde ʒe.

[45] Pilatus

Now, Jesu, ʒou art welcome ewys, as I wene.
Be nogt abasshed, but boldely boun ʒe to ʒe barre.
What seyniour will sawe for ʒe sore, I haue sene;
To wirke on ʒis warlowe, his witte is in wa(zre).
Come prest, of a payne, and appere,
And, sir prelatis, youre pontes bes prevyng.
What cause can ye caste of accusyng?
ʒis mater ye marke to be meving,
And henily in haste late vs here.

[46] Cayph

Sir Pilate, 0 pounce and prince of grete price,
We triste ye will trawe oure tales ʒei be trewe,
To doth for to deme hym with dewly device;
For cursidnesse yone knave hase in case, if ye knew,
In harte wolde ye hate hym in hye;
For if it wer so,
We mente not to misdo.
Triste, sir, schall ye ʒerto,
We hadde not hym taken to ʒe.

[47] Pilatus

Sir, youre tales wolde I trewe, / But ʒei touche none entente.
What cause can ye fynde / Nowe, ʒis freke for to felle?
Oure sabbotte he saues not, but sadly assente
To wirke full unwisely; ʒis wote I rɪʒt wele.
He werkis whane he will, wele I wote;
And ʒerfore in harte we hym hate.
Itt sittis you, to strenghe youre estate,
Yone losell to louse for his lay.

[48] Pilatus

Ilke a lede for to louse for his lay is not lele.
Youre lawes is leffull, but to youre lawis longis it
This faiture to feese wele with flappes full fele:
And woo may ye wirke hym be lawe, / For he wranges it.
Therfore takes [hym] vnto you full tyte,
And like as youre lawes will you lede,
Ye dene hym to deth for his dede.
Cayph
Nay, nay, sir; yat dome muste vs drede.

[49] Pilatus
It longes noyt till vs no lede for to lose.
What wolde ye I did parne? / Ye dewyll motte you drawe:
Full fewe are his frendis, but fele are his fooes.
His lif for to lose, ye longes no lawe;
Nor no cause can I kynedly contruye
Yat why he schulde lose yus his liffe.
Anna
A, Gude sir, it raykes full ryffe
In steedis wher he has stirrid mekill striffe
Of ledis yat is lele to youre liffe.

[50] Cayph
Sir, halte men and hurte he helid in haste;
The defe and ye dome he deluyed fro doole,
By wicchecrafte, I warande, his wittis schall waste.
For ye ffaries yat he farith with, / Loo, how yei folowe yone folle.
Oure folke so yus he frayes in fere.
Anna
The dethe he rayzes anone.
Yis lagare yat lowe lay allone,
He graunte hym his gates for to gone,
And pertely yus proued he his poure.

[51] Pilatus
Now, goode siris, I saie, what wolde yhe?
Caiph
Sir, to dede for to do hym or dose hym adawe.
Pilatus
Yha, for he dose wele his deth for to deme?
Go layke you, sir, lightly. / Wher lerned ye such lawe?
This touches no tresoune, I telle you.
Yhe prelatis yat proued are for price,
Yhe schulde be boye witty and wise,
And legge oure lawe wher it lyse.
Oure materes ye meve yus emel you.

[52] Anna
Misplesse noyt yours persone, / Yhe Prince withouten pere.
It touches to tresoune, yis tale I schall tell.
Yone briboure, full baynyly he bed to forbere
The tribute to ye Emperoure; yus wolde he compell
Oure pepill yus his poyntis to applye.
Cayph

The pepull he saies he schall saue,
And cristne garres he calle hym, yone knave,
And sais he will ye high kyngdome haue.

Yone seggge is so te ll, ye saie.

To dye he deserues, yf he do yus in dede.
But y will se myselffe what he saies.
Spoke, Jesu, and spende nowe pi space tor to spe(d)e.

They accuse ye cruelly and kene;
And perfore as a chiftene y charge ye,
Iff you be criste, yat you tell me,
And god sone you grughe not to grante ye;
For pis is ye materie yat y mene.

You saiste so pi selue; I am sothly ye same,
Here wonnyng in worlde to wirke al pi will.
My ffadir is faithfull to felle all pi fame.

Ito, Busschoppis, why blame ye pis boys?
He semys yat it is soth yat he saies.
Ye meve all ye malice ye may,
With youre wrenches and wiles to wrythe hym away,
VnJustely to Juge hym fro joie.

Nought so, sir; his seggyng is full sothly soth.
It bryngis oure bernes in bale for to bynde.

Sir, doueteles we deme al sowe (of) ye deth.
Yis foole yat ye fauour, grete fautes can we fynide
This daye, for to deme hym to dye.

Saie, losell, you lies, be pis light!
Saie, you reblade, you rekens vnright.

Avise you, sir, with mayne and with myght,
And wreke not youre wrethe nowe forthy.

Me likes not[t]his langage so largely for to lye.
A, mercy, lorde, mekely, no malice we ment.

Nowe done is it doueteles, balde and be blithe.
Talke on yat traytoure, and telle youre entente.
Yone segge is sotell, ye saie.
Cayph
Gud sirs, wer lerned he such lare?

Pilatus
In faith, we cannot ffynde whare.

Yhis, his ffadir with some ffarlis gan fare,
And has lered ys ladde of his la(i)e.

[57] Anna
Nay, nay, sir; we wiste yat he was but a write.
No sotelte he schewed yat any segge sawe.

Pilatus
Thanne mene yhe of malice to marre hym of myght.
Of cursidnesse convik no cause can yhe knawe.
Me meruellis ye malyngne o myis.

Cayph
Sir, fro Galely hidir and hoo
The gretteste agayne hym ganne goo,
Yone warlowe to waken of woo,
And of ys werke beres witnesse, ywis.

[59] Pilatus
Why, and hase he gone in galely, yone gellyng ongayne?

Anna
Tha, lorde; yer was he borne, / Yone brethelle, and
(breide).

Pilatus
Nowe withouten fagyn, my frendis, in faith I am
fayne,
For now schall oure striffe full sternely be stede.
Sir herowde is kyng yer, ye kenne.
His poure is preued full preste
To ridde hym or reue hym of rest.
And yerfore, to go with yone gest,
Yhe marke vs oute of ye manliest men.

[59] Cayph
Als witte and wisdome youre will schalbe wroght.
Here is kempis full kene to ye kyng for to care.

Pilatus
Sir knyghtis, yat are cruell and kene,
That warlowe ye warrok and wraste,
And loke yat he brymly be braste.
And yerfore, sir knyghtis ... 
Do take on yat traytoure you betwene.

[60]
Tille herowde in haste with yat harlott ye hye.
Comaunde me full mekely vnto his moste myght.
Saie ye dome of ys boy, to deme hym to dye,
Is done vpponne hym dewly, to dresse or to dight,
Or liffe for to leue at his liste.
Say ought I may do hym in dede,
His aunne am I, worthely in wede.
Primus
Mil
My lorde, we schall springe on a sped.
Come yens to me pis traitoure full tyte.

Secundi
Mil
Pilatus
Bewesirs, I bidde you ye be not to bolde;
But takes tente for our tribute full trulye to
trete.
Primus
Mil
Secundi
Mil
Pilatus
Mi lorde, we schall hye pis beheste for to halde,
And wirke it full wisely, in wille and in witte.
Primes, me semys itt is sittand.
Primus
Mil
Pilatus
Mahounde, sirs, he menske you with myght.
And saue you, sir, semely in sight.

And ffresshely ye founde to be fflittandi.
[PLAY 31: The Littisteres

THE TRIAL BEFORE HEROD

Rex (Herod)
Jesus
Primus dux
Secundus dux
Primus miles
Secundus miles
Primus filius
Secundus filius
Tertius filius]
[1] [Rex]

"[P]es, ye brothellis and browlys, in pis broydenesse f.149r ingbrased,
And freykis yat are frenedly your freykenesse to frayne;
Youre tounses fro tretyng of trifillis be trased,
Or pis brande yat is bright schall breste in youre brayne.
Plexis for no plasis, but platte you to pis playne; 5
And drawe to no drofye, but dresse you to drede, with dasshis.
Trausylis not as traytours yat tristis in trayne,
Or by ye bloode yat mahounde blede, with pis blad schal ye blede.
Pus schall I brityn all youre bones on brede, 3ae,
And lussh ye all yourys with lasschis. 10
Dragons yat are dredfull schall derke in yer denne,
In wrathe when we writhe, or in wrathenesse ar wapped;
Agaynst jeautis ongentill haue we joined with ingondis;
And swannys yat are swymmyng to oure swetnes schall be swapped
And joged doune, yer jolynees oure gentries engenderand. 15
Who so repreue oure estate, we schall choppe fam in cheynes.
All renkis yat are remand to vs schall be reuerande.

[2]

Therefore I bidde you sese or any bale be,
Yat no brothell be so bolde boste for to blowes;
And ye yat luffis youre liffis, listen to me, 20
As a lorde yat is lerned to lede you be lawes.
And ye yat are of my men and of my menge,
Sen we are comen fro oure kyth, as 3e wele knawe,
And emlyes all here same in pis cyte,
It sittis vs in sadnesse to sette all oure sawes. 25
My lorde, we schall take kepe to youre call,
And stirre to no stede but 3e steuen vs;
No greuance to grete ne to small.
Ya, but loke yat no fawtes befall.
Secundus dux
Lely, my lord, so we shall.
Rex
Ye nede not nomore for to nevyn vs.

[3] Primus dux
Mounseniour, demene you in menske in mynde what I mene, 30
And bounse to youre bodword, for so holde I best;
For all ye comons of pis courte bene avoyde clene,
And Ilke a renke, as resoun (i)s, are gone to yer reste.
Wherfore I counsale, my lorde, ye commaunde you a drynke.

Rex  
Nowe, certis, I assente as you sais.
Se ych a quy is wente on his ways.
Lightly, withouten any delayes,
Giffe vs wyne wynly, and late vs go wynke,
And se yat no durdan be done.

Primus  
My lorde, vnlassen you to lyse.
dux  
Here schall none come for to crye.

Rex  
Nowe speedely loke yat you spie,
Yat no noyse be neghand yis none.

[4]  

Primus  
My lorde, youre bedde is new made;
dux  
You nedis nogt for to bide it.

Rex  
Ya, but as you luffes me hartely,
Laye me doune softly,
For you wotte full wele
Yat I am full tendirly hydid.

Primus  
Howe lye 3e, my goode lorde?
dux  
Right wele, be yis light,
All hole at my desire.
Wherfore I praye sir Satan, oure sire,
And lucifer moste luffely of lyre,
He sauffe you all, sirs, and giffe you goode nyght.

[5]  

Primus  
Sir knyght, ye wote we ar warned to wende,
mil  
To witte of yis warlowe what is ye kyngis will.

Secundus  
Sir, here is herowde [h]all even here at oure hende,
mil  
And all oure entente tyte sch all we telle hym vntill.

Who is here?  
Who is there? /

Primus  
Is comen to youre counsaill yis carle for to kill.
dux  
Sirs, but youre message may myrthis amende,
miles  
Stalkis furthe be yone stretis, or stanie stone
still.

Secundus  
Yis, certis, sir, of myrthis we mene.
mil  
The kyng schall haue matters to melle hym.

Primus  
Wele, sirs, so yat it turne to no tense,
dux  
Tentis hym, and we schall go talle hym.
[6] My lorde, yondir is a boy bounne, *vat* brought is in blame.
Rex Hast ye in hye; *ves* houe at youres gates.
What, and schall I rise nowe, in *ves* deuyllis name, To stighill amang straungreres in stales of astate? 75
But haue here my hande; halde nowe;
And se *vat* my sloppe be wele sittande.
Primus My lorde, with a gode will y wolde yowe;
dux No wrange will I withe at my wittande.

[7] But, my lorde, we can tell you of uncouth the tythandes. 80
Rex 3a, but loke ye telle vs no tales but trewe.
Secundus My lorde, *ves* bryng you yondir a boy bounne in a
dux *vat* boius outhir bourdynge or bales to brewe.
Rex Yanne gete we some harrowe full hastely at hande.
Primus My lorde, *per* is some note *vat* is nedfull to neven
dux you of new.
Rex Why, hoppis you *ves* haste hym to hyng?
Secundus We wotte noght fer will nor fer wenyng.
dux But goodword full blithely *ves* bryng.
Rex Nowe do *yan*, and late vs se of *per* sayng.
Secundus Lo, sirs, ye schall carpe with *ves* kyng,
dux And telles to hym manly youre menyng.

[8] Iorde, welthis and worschippis be with you alway. 90
Primus mil What wolde you? /
Rex 3a, but saie, what here what we saie.
Secundus mil A worde, lorde, and youre willes were.
Rex Well, saye on *yan*. /
Jus mil My lorde, we fare foolys to flay,
Rex Yt to you wolde forfette. /
Jus mil Itt will heffe vppe youre hertis, /
Secundus mil A presente fro Pilate, lorde, *ye* prince of oure lay.
Rex Peze in my presence, and nemys hym nomore.
Jus mil My lorde, he woll worschippe you faine.
Secundus mil I consayue *ze* are full foes of hym.
Jus mil My lorde, he wolde menske you with mayne,
Rex And therfore he sendis you *pis* swayne.
Jus mil Gose tyte with *vat* geslyng Agayne,
Secundus mil And saie hym a borrowed bene sette I noght be hym.
Pri dux A, my lorde, with youre leve, we haue faren ferre; f.151r
And for to fraiste of youre fare was no folye.

ius dux My lorde, and pis gedlyng go yous it will greue
werre.

Rex For he gares growe on pis grounde crete velanye.

ius dux Nay, lorde; but he makis on pis molde mekill
maystrie.

Rex Go yonne, and late vs see of pe sawes ere.
And but ye oei be to oure bording, Yai both schalle
abye.

ius mil My lorde, we [were] worthy to blame,
To brynyng you any message of mysse.

Rex Why pen, can ye nemyn vs his name?

ius mil Sir, Criste hauwe we called hym at hame.

Rex O, pis is ye ilke sele and ye same.
Nowe, sirs, ye be welcome wynse.
And in faith I am fayne he is fonne,
His farles to frayne and to fele.
Nowe yes names was grathely begonne.

ius mil Lorde, lely yat likis vs wele.

Rex Ya, but dar ye hete hartely yat harlott is he?

ius mil My lorde, takys hede, and in haste ye schall here
howe.

Rex Ya, but what menys yat pis message was made vnto me?

ius mil My lorde, for it touches to tresoune, I trowe.

ius mil My lorde, he is culpabill kende in oure contre,
Of many perillus poynsis, as Pilate preves nowe.

ius mil My lorde, when Pilate herde he had gone thurgh
galyle.

He lerned vs yat yat lordschippe longed to you;
And or he wiste what youre willis were,
No ferther wolde he speke for to spille hym.

Rex Wanne knawes he yat ooure myghtis Are ye more?

ius mil 3a, certis, sir; so saie we yore.

Rex Nowe sertis, and our frenschippe perfore
We graunte hym, and no greuaunce we will hym.

ius mil My lorde, wolde he saie you soth of his sawe,
3e saugh nevir slik selcouth, be see nor be sande.

Rex Nowe gois abakke both, and late ye boy blowe,
For I hope we gete some harre hastely at hande.
Jerusalem and ye Jews may haue Joie
And hele in ther herte for to here hym.
Sale, beenes venew in bone fay,
Ne plesew & A parle remoy.
May, my lorde, he can of no bourdying, pis boy.
No, sir, with ye I leue we schall lere hym.

Mi lorde, se ther knyghtis, yat knawe and are kene,
How yat come to youre courte withoutyn any call.
What may pis bymene?

My Lorde, for youre myghtis are more yan ye all, f.152r
They seke you as sourayne, and certis yat is sene.
Nowe certis, sen ye sale so, Assale hym I schall,
For I am fayner of yat freyke yen othir fiftene.
3ae, and hym yat firste fanie, fairs myght hym fall!

My Lorde, se ther knyghtis, fat knawe and are kene.
How i come to youre courte withoutyn any call.
What may pis bymene?

Mi lorde, se ther knyghtis, yat knawe and are kene,
How i come to youre courte withoutyn any call.
What may pis bymene?

Mi lorde, se ther knyghtis, yat knawe and are kene,
How i come to youre courte withoutyn any call.
What may pis bymene?

Mi lorde, se ther knyghtis, yat knawe and are kene,
How i come to youre courte withoutyn any call.
What may pis bymene?

Mi lorde, se ther knyghtis, yat knawe and are kene,
How i come to youre courte withoutyn any call.
What may pis bymene?

Mi lorde, se ther knyghtis, yat knawe and are kene,
How i come to youre courte withoutyn any call.
What may pis bymene?
Pex Nay, dreeales withouten any doute,  
He knowes not ye course of a kyng.

[14]  And her beeis in ourse bale. Bourde or we blynnne!  
Saie firste at ye begynnyng withall where was you  
borne?
Do, felawe, for thy faith latte vs fallse ymne.  
Firste of yf ferlels, who fledde ye beforene?

What, deynes you not? Io, sirs, he dethis vs with  
dynne!
Say, deynis you not? Whare ledde ye pis lidrone?
His langage is lorne.

jus mil  
My lorde, his meravaylis to more and to myne,  
Or musteres emange vs both myday and morne.

i:jus mil  
Mi lorde, it were to fele  
Of wonderes, he workith pam so wightely.

jus mil  
We, man, monemlyng may no thyng Ayavle.

Go to ye kyng, and [tell hym] fro topp vs to tyde.

Rex  
Do bringe vs yat boye vs to bale,  
For lely we leffe hym nost lightly.

[15]jus dux  
Th(i)e mop meynes yat he may marke men to yer mede.  
He makes many maistries and meravyles emange.

[i:jus dux]  
V folke faire gon he fede  
With fyve looffis and two ffisshis to fange.

Rex  
Hawe fele folke sais you he fedefde?

i:jus dux  
V lorde, yat come to his call.

Rex  
3a, boye, howe mekill brede he pem bedde?

jus dux  
But V looffis, dare I wele wedde.

Rex  
Nowe, be ye blode yat Mahounie bledde,  
What, pis was a wondir at all!

i:jus dux  
Nowe, lorde, ij fisshis blissid he efte,  
And gaffe yame, and yer none was forgetyn.

jus dux  
3a, lorde, and xij lepfull yer lefte  
Of releue whan all men had eten.

[16]Rex  
Of such anodir mangery noman mene may.

i:jus dux  
Mi lorde, but his maistries yat mustereis his myght.

Rex  
But saie, sirs, ar yer sawis soth yat ye saie?

i:jus mil  
3a, lorde, and more selcouth were schewed to oure  
sight.

One lazor, a ladde yat in oure lande lay,  
Lay loken vndir layre fro lyme and fro light;  
And his sistir come rakand in rewfull arrayes,
And, lorde, for yer fryng he Rayzed hym full right,
And fro his grath garte hym gang
Euer forthe, withouten any evill.

Rex
We, such lesynge lastis to lange!

Rex
Why, lorde, wene ye pat wordis be wronge?
Yis same ladde leuys vs emang.

Rex
Why, there hope y be dedis of ye deuyll.
Why schulde ye haste hym to hyng
That sought not newly youre newys?

Rex
My lorde, for he callis hym a kyng,
And claymes to be a kyng of Jewis.

But saie, is he kyng in his kyth wher he come froo?
May, lorde, but he callis hym a kyng, his caris to kele.

Rex
Thanne is it litill wondir yf yat he be woo,
For to be weried with wrang sen he wirkis wele.
But he schalle sitte be myselfe, sen ye saie soo.
Comes nerre, kyng, into courte. Saie, can ye not knale?
We schalle haue gaudis full goode and games or we goo.

Rex
Howe likis ye? wele, lorde? saie, what deuyll,
neuere a dele?
I saute in my reuerant in still moy.
I am of fauour, loo, fairer be ferre.
Kyte oute yugilment, vta! oy! oy!
Be any witte yat y watte it will waxe werre.
Seruicia primet such losellis and lundaynes as you, loo!
Respicias timet. What ye deuyll and his dame schall y now doo?

Do carpe on, carle, for y can ye cure.
Say, may you not here me? oy, man; arte you woode?
Nowe, telle me faithfully before howe you fore.

Prinus
dux
Hym had leuere have stonde stone still yer he stode.
Rex
And whedir ye boy be abasshid of herrowde byg blure,
That were a bourde of ye beste, be mahoundes bloode!

Rex
My lorde, y trowe youre fauchone hym flaines
And lettis hym.
Rex
Nowe Isly I leue ye,
And therfore schall y waffe it away,
And softely with a septoure assais.
Nowe, sir, be perte, y ye pray,
For none of my gromys schall greue ye.

Si loqueris tibi laus, pariter quoque prospera
dantur;

Si loqueris tibi fraud, fell sex et bella
parantur.

Mi menne, ze go menske hym with mayne,
And loke yhow yat it wolde seme.

Daucus, fayff sir and sofferayne.

Sir vilius amandidre demayne.

Go, Aunswer thaym gratefully agayne.

What deuyll! whedir dote we or dremys!

Maye, we gete nogt 0 worde, dare y wele wedde; f.154r

For he is wraiste of his witte or will of his wone.

3e sale he lakkid youre lawis as ze yat ladde ledde?

3a, lorde, and made many gaudis as we haue gone.

Nowe sen he comes as a knave and as a knave cledde,
Wherto calle ye hym a kynz?

May, lorde, he is none,

But an harlott is hee. /

A man myght as wele stere a stokke as a stone.

My lorde, pis faitour so fouly is affrayde,

He loked neuere of lorde so langly Allone.

He wenys we be Aungelis euere ilkone.

Grete lordis augh to be gay.

More schall noman do to ye dere,
And therfore yit nemyne in my mere;

For by the grete god, and you garre me swere,
You haid nemyre dole or this day.

Do carpe on tyte, karle, of thy kynne.

May, nedelyngis he neuyns you with none.

Hat schalle he bye or he blyyne.

A, leves lorde! /

Iattis me allone.

Nowe, goode lorde, and ye may meue you nomore,
Itt is not faire to feght with a fonned foode;
But gose to youre counsaille and conforte you pare.

Thou sais soth; we schall see yf so will be f.154v

goode.

For certisoure sorowes are sadde.

What a deuyll ayles hym?

Mi lorde, I can garre you be gladde,
For in tyme oure maistir is madde.
He lurkis loo, and lokis like a ladde.
He is wode, lorde, or ellis his witte faylis hym.

Mi lorde, 3e haue meste you as mckill as 3e may,
For yhe myght menske hym nomore, were he mahounie.
And sen it senys to be soo, latte vs nowe assaie.
Loke, bewscheris, 3e be to oure bodis boun.
Mi lorde, howe schulde he dowte vs? he dredis not your drays.

Nowe do fourthe, 2e deuyll myght hym drawe.
And sen he freynis falsed and makis foule frayes,
Paris on hym rude, and loke 3e not ronne.

Mi lorde, I schall enforce my selfe, sen 3e saie soo.
Felnwe, be ngt afferde, nor fayne not perfors.
But telle vs nowe some truffillis betwene vs twoo,
And none of oure men schall medill yam more.
And perfors by resoune array 3e;
Do telle vs some poynte for thy prowe.
Heres you not what y sale 3e?
You muffeland myghtynge, I may 3e Helpe, and turne 3e fro tene, as y trowe.

Loke vppe, ladde, lightly, and loute to my lorde here,
For fro bale vnto blisse he may nowe 3e borowe.
Carpe on, knave, kautely, and caste 3e to corde here,
And sale me nowe somwhat, you sauterell with sorowe.
Why standis you as stille as a stone here?
Spare not, but speke in pis place here.
You gedling, it may gayne 3e some grace here.
My lorde, pis faltour is so ferde in youre face here,
None Aunswere in pis nede he nevyns you with none here.
Do, bewscheris, for beliall bloode and his bonys,
Say somwhat or it will waxe werre.
Nay, we geve nougt One worde in pis wonys.

Do crie we all on hym at onys. O3es! O3es! O3es!
O, 3e make a foule Noyse for 3e nonys.
Nedlyng, my lorde, it is neuer 3e nerre.
[23] jus milorde, all youre mutynge amendes not a myte.

To medill with a mad man is meruaile to (me).
Comande youre knyghtis to clothe hym in white,
And late hym carre as he come to youre contre.

Rex Io, sirs, we lede you no longer a lite.

Mi sone has saide sadly how yat it schuld be.
But such a poynte for a page is to parfite.

jus dux Mi lorde, fooles yat are fonde yei falle such a fee.

Rex What! in a white garmente to goo,

jus mil Fus gayly gird in a gowne?

jus dux Nay, lorde, but as a foole forcid hym froo.

Rex How saie ye, sirs? Schulde it be soo?

Al 3a, lord.

chylde Rex We, yan is yer nomore.
But boldely bidde yam be bounre.

[24] Sir knyghtis, we caste to garre you be gladde.

Oure counsaille has warned vs wisely and wele.
White clothis, we saie, fallis for a fonned ladde,
And all his foly in faith fully we feel.

jus dux We will with a goode will for his wedis wende,
For we wotte wele anowe what wedis he schall were.

i. jus dux Loo, here is an haterell here at youre hent,
Alle facionnd ferfore fo o lis to feere.

jus mil Loo, here a Jappon of Joie,
All such schulde be gode for a boy.

jus dux He schalle be rayed like a roye,
And schall be fonne in his folie.

i. jus dux We, thanks yam, euyll motte you the!

jus mil Nay, we gete nost a wordes, wele y warand.

i. jus mil Man, mustir some meruaile to me.

jus dux What! wene ye he be wiser yan we?
Leffe we, and late ye kyng see
Hoe it is forcyd and farand.
Mi lorde, loke ye be paled,
For we haue getyn hym his gere.

Rex Why, and is yis rebalde arayed?
Mi blissing, bewscheris, ye bere.

[25] Gose, garre crye in my courte, / And grathely
garre write

All ye dedis yat we haue done in yis same degre.
And who fynnis hym greued, / late hym telle tyte.
And ye we fynde no defaute, / Hym fallis to go free.

jus dux 03es! yf any wight with yis wriche any worse wate,
Wertis, beris wittenesse who so wrikis wrang.
Buote boldely to ye barre his balis to Abate;
For my lord, be my lewte, will not be deland.
My lord, here apperes none to appyeze his estate.
Wole yanne, fallis hym goo free.

Rex
Sir knychtis, yanne grathis you goodly to range,
And repaire with youre present, and saie to Pilate,
We graunte hym oure frenschippe, all fully to fang.

[26] ius dux
Loke ye berce worde as ye wotte,
Hame wele we haue quittie vs pis while.
We, wise men will dene it we dose,
But if we make enie of oure note.

Rex
Wendis fourth, ye deuyll in yi throte!
We fynde no defautie hym to slee.
Wherfore schulde we flaye hym or fleme hym
He ffynde nozt in rollis of recorde.
And sen yat he is dome, for to deme hym,
Waret pis a goode lawe for a lorde?

[27]
Nay, losellis, vnlely ye lerned all to late.
Go lere yus lordings of youre londe such lessons
to lere.
Repaire with youre present and saie to Pilate
We graunte hym oure pour all playne to appere,
And also oure greuance forgsaus we algate,
And we graunte hym oure grace with a goode chere.
As touchyng pis brothell pat brawlis or debate,
Bidde hym wirke as he will, and wirke noght in were.
Go telle hym pis message fro me,
And lede fourth yat mytyng, euyll motte he the!

jus mil
Mi lorde, with youre leue, late hym be,
For all to longe lade hym haue we.

i jus mil
What, ze sirs? my lorde, will ze see?

Rex
What, Slaves, take ze no tente what I telle you
And bid you? yat yoman ye zeme.
IJUS MIL MI lorde, we schall wage hym an ill way.
Rex Nay, bewscheris, be not so bryme.
Pare softly, for so will it seme.
IJUS MIL Nowe sen we schall do as ye deme,
A dese, sir.
Rex Daunce on, in ye deuyll way.
SECOND ACCUSATION BEFORE PILATE:
REMORSE OF JUDAS: PURCHASE OF
THE FIELD OF BLOOD

Pilate
Anna
Kayphas
Judas
Primus miles
Secundus miles
Primus filius
Armiger

[PLAY 32: The Cokis and Watirlederes]
Pilatus  
Peas, bewschere, I bidde you, that beldis here aboute me,  
And loke yat ye stirre with no striffe but stonde stone still;  
Or, by ye lorde yat me liffe lente, I schall garre you lowte me,  
And all schall byde in my bale yat wirkis noyt my will.  
Ye rebaldis yat regnys in yis rowte,  
3e stynte of youre steuenyng so stowte,  
Or with yis brande yat dere is to doute,  
All to dede I schall dryue you yis day.

For sir Pilate of pounce as Prince am y preued,  
As renke moste royall in riceste array, To knawe.  
Ver is no berne in yis burg has me aboute heuyd,  
But he sekis me for souereyne, In certayne y saie.  
Therfore take hede to youre lordis estate,  
Wat none Jangill nor jolle at my gate,  
Nor no man to grath hym no gate,  
Tille I haue seggid and saide all my sawe.

For I ame ye luuffeliest lappid and laide,  
With feetour full faire in my face;  
My forhed both brente is and brade,  
And myne eyne yei glittir like ye gleme in ye glasse;  
And ye hore yat hillis my heed  
Ts even like to ye golde wyre;  
My chekis are bothe ruddy and reede,  
And my coloure as cristall is cleere.  
Ther is no Prince preuyd vndir palle,  
But I ame moste myghty of all,  
Nor no kyng but he schall come to my call,  
Nor grome yat dare greue me for golde.

Sir Kayphas, thurgh counsaill ye clergye is kid,  
For thy counsaillle is knowyn for command and clere;  
And sir Anna, yyn aunswer aught not to be hidde,  
For you is one and is abill and aught to be nere In Parliament playne.  
And I am Prince pereles, youre poyntis to enquire.  
How saie ye, Jues, of Jesus yat swayne?  
Haue done, sirs; sais on youre sawis.  
What tytill nowe haue ye vnto hym?
And ley ye loke upon youre lawes. Saye, why sente ye so sone for to spille hym?

Sir, yat is prince ant lorde ofoure laye,
That traitoure vntrew ye of telle vs,
Nowe certayne ane and sone ye soth schall I saie,
It is Jesus yat Japer yat Judas ganne selle vs.
He marres oure men in all yat he may;
(M)erueylis full mekill is mustered emelle vs;
He dois many derffe dedis on oure Sabotte day;
Hat vncommand conjeon, he castis hym to quelle vs.
That faitoure so false,
Fro man on to man he will compelle vs,
And vnlo you and oure selffe als.
Yours selffe he will fordo
And he halde furth pis space,
And all pis Jurie to,
Yf yat ye graunte hym grace.

Sir Anna, pis Aunswere Allow I no thyng.
I halde it but hatereden, pis artikkil hale.
And therfore, sir Busshoppe, at my biddyng,
Do telle me nowe trewly ye texte of pis tale.
Do termyne it trewly and tyte,
And lely 3e lede it by ye lawe.
Fetonye or falsed, euyn here I defie it.
Saie me sadly ye soth, for loue or for awe.

Sir Pilate, ye talis ye traitoure has tolde,
It heuys vs in harte full haly to here yam.
Ye warlowe with his willis he wenys yam to wolie.
Ye ladde with his lesyngis full lightly gan lere yam.
Full tyle will he take yam vntill hym,
And he yus forth go with his gaudis,
Or speche ouersprede; 3a, bettr is to spille hym,
The faitoure is so felle with his false fraudis.

Youre Aunsweres is heidouse And hatefull to here.
Haide I noghit herle hym Ani mysselfe had hym sene,
Yitt ye myght have made me to trowe you intere.
But faute in hym I fynde none, but conanie ane clene.
For conanie and clene can I clepe hym.
No faute can I fynde to reffuse hym.
I hope yitt in haste ye schall here hym
Whanne he comys to racleyme; yam may ye cuse hym.
Jus Mil

Lorde, fele of his serles in faith haue we done. 
Yone harlotte heuysoure hartis full of hate ire. 
He sayshyminselfyetheisgoddis son, 
And schall sitte on ye right hande beside his awne sire.

Ijus Mil

Ver talis is full trewe yet we telle. 
On ye raynebowe ye reballe it redis. 
He sayshe schall haue vs to heuene or to hell, 
To demes a day aftir our dedis.

Pilatus

To deme vs! in ye deuyll name! / Say, wether? 
say wether, to ye deuyll? 
What, dastardis! wene ye be wiser yan we?

Jus Mil

Mi lorde, with youre leue, we (neoyn it) for non ill. 
He has mustered his servayles to mo yan to me. 
Mi souerayne lorde, yone sauterell, he sais 
He schall caste doune oure temnill, nogt for to layne. 
And dresse it vppp dewly within thre dales, 
Als wele as it was, full goodsly agayne.

Anna

Ke, sir; and on oure awne sabott day, 
Yanne werkis he werkis full wele. 
Pilatus

We, fye on hym, faitour, for Ay! 
For rei are darke dedis of ye deuyll. 
Kayphas

Sir, a noysomemare note newely is noysed, 
Tat greuls me more yan any kynne thyngh. 
He claymes hym clerly till a kyngdome of Jewes, 
And callis hym selfe oure comeliest kyng.

Pilatus

Ke, in ye deuillis name! we, fye on hym, 
dastard! 
What! wenys yet woode warlowe ourewyn vs yus lightly? 
A beger of bedlem, borne as a bastard! 
Nowe, by lucifer, lath I yet ladde. I leus hym not lightly.

Anna

Sir, ye harlotte is at heroudes hall, euyn her at your hanste.

Pilatus

I sente to yet warlowe, ye deuyll myght hym wery. 

Kaiph

It laneis to yourse lordschippe, be lawe of ys [land], 
As souerayne yourse selffe, to sitte of enquery.
[13] Anna
Sir, ye traitoure has tolde vs no trufullis truly,
Wolde tens you full tyte, and vs you yam tolde.
Pilatus
Nowe, be beliall bonis, yat boy schall abie,
And bring on his bak a burdeyne of golde.
Jesu
Mi lorde, yat is leder of laws of pis lande,
Sente hym yours selfe to herowde ye kyng,
And saie, "we dome of pat doge lies holy in your
hande
To deme hym or lose hym, at youre likyng."

[14] And yus ye commaunded youre knyghtis for to saie,
"For sir heroude will serche hym full sore,
So yat he wende with no willis away."
Kaiaph
None certis, pis was wele smide. / But, sir, will
ye sese nowe, and we schall se synge.
Pilatus
Sir kayphas and Anna, right so nowe I thynke,
Sittis in mahoundis blissing, and Aske vs ye wyne,
Ye knyghtis of my courte, commaundis us to drynlce.

Allas, for woo yat I was wrought.
Or ewere I come be kynde or kynne.
I banne ye bonys yat me furth brought.
Woo worthe ye wombe yat I bredde ynne,
So may I bidde.
For I so falsely did to hym
Pat vnto me grete kyndnesse kidde.

[16] Ye purse with his spens aboute I bare.
Tyr was none trowed so wele as I.
Of me he triste no man mare,
And I betrayed hym traytourly
With a false trayne.
Sakles, I solde his blessid body
Vnto Jues for to be slayne.

[17] To slaa my souereyne assaulte I,
And tolde yem ys tyne of his takyng.
Shamously my selfe yus schente I,
So sone for to sente to his slayng.
None wisete I howe he myght passe yat payne,
To loke howe beates yat bote myght be,
Vnto yw Jues I will agayne
To saue hym he myght passe free.
Pilate

His were my will.
Lorde, welthe and worschippe mot with you be!
What tythanlis, Judas, tellis you vs till?

Judas

My tydyngis are tensfull, I telle you.
Sir Pilate, wertore I you praye,
My maistir yet I gane selle you,
Cod lorde, late hym wende on his way.

Kaiph

May, nedelyngis, Judas, yet we denye.
What mynde or mater has moved ye yus?

Judas

Sir, I have synned full greuously,
Betrailyed yat righwisse bloode, Jesus
And maistir myne.

Kayph

Bewscher, what is yat till vs?
Ye perill and ye plight is thyn.

Pilatus

Thyne is ye wronge; you wroughte it.
You hight vs full trulye to take hym.
And oures is ye bargayne; we boughte [it].

Judas

Allas, yet may me rewe full ill,
Giffe ye assente hym for to slaa.

Pilatus

Why, what wolde you yet we did yer till?

Judas

I praie you, good lorde, late hym gaa;
And here is of me youre paymente hale.

Kayphas

Haie, we will noght so.
We bought hym for he schulde be slayne.

Anna

Do waie, Judas; you dose for noght.
Thy wordes, I warne ye, are in waste.
Thy selfe to selle hym whanne you vs sought,
You was agaynste hym yanne ye moste
Of vs ilkang.

Kayphas

We schall be venged on hym in haste,
Whedir yet euere he wille or none.

Pilatus

Ver wordis yet you nenys noght nedis it.
You enhanged harlott, harke what I saie.
Spare of thy spekyng; noght spedis it;
-70-

Judas | Or walke oute at ye dore, in ye deuill way.
      | Why, will ye yanne latte hym passe noyt,
      | And hawe of me agayne youre pales?

Pilatus | I telle ye, traytoure, I wille it noght.
Judas  | Allas, yanne am I lorne
       | Hope bone and bloode.
       | Allas ye while, so may I sale,
       | That euere I sente to spille his bloode.

[22] To saue his bloode, sirs, I sale youes,
     And takes you pares youre payment hole.
     Spare for to spille hym, I praye youes,
     Ellis browe 3e me full mokill bale.

Pilatus | May, heriste you, Judas, you schall agayne.
Judas  | We will it noyt; what deuyll art you?
       | When you vs sought, you was full fayne
       | Of pis money; what aylis ye nowe
       | For to remeute?

[23] Pilatus | To schende hym thyselfe has ye schamed.
       | You may lathe with yi liffe yat you ledis;
       | Fondely as a false foole yi selffe has famed;
       | Thorfore ye deuyll ye droune for thy darfe dedis.
Judas  | I knawe my trespasse and my gilte.
       | It is so grete, it garres me grise.
       | Me is full woo he schulde be spilte.
       | Right I hym saue of any wise,
       | Wele were me tan.
       | Saue hym, sirs, to youre seruise
       | I will me bynde to be your man.

[24] Youre bonde man, lorde, to be
     Nowe eugre will I bynde me.
     Sir Pilate, ye may trowe me,
     Full faithfull schall ye fynde me.

Pilatus | Fynde ye faithfull? A, foule mot ye falle,
       | Or you come in oure companye;
       | For by mahoundes bloode, you wolde selle vs all.
       | Thi service will we noght for(thy).
       | You art vknownen.
       | Fals tiraunte, for pi traitoury
       | You art wo[r]pi to be hanged and drawen.
Hanged and drawn schulde you be, kn(ave),
And you had right, by all goode reasons.
Thi maistirs bloode you biddist vs saue,
And you was firste pat did hym tresoune.

Judas
I cry you mercy, lorde; on me rewe,
Vis werryd right pat wronge has wrought.
Have mercy on my maistir trewe
Vat I have in youre bandome brought.

Pilatus
Goo, Jape ye, Judas; ani neuen it nought,
Nor move vs of pis materre more.

No more of pis materre you move ye,
You nomeland nytyng smell.
Cure poynte expressse her reprooue ye
Of felonge falsely and felle.

Kaiph
He grucchis nogt to graunte his gilte.
Why schonnys you nogt to shewe fi schame?
We bought hym for he schulde be spilte.
All same we were consente to ye same,
And pi selffe als.
You feyned nogt for to defame.
You saide he was a traytoure fals.

3aa, and for a false faiytoure
Thy selffe full fully gon selle hym.
O, pat was a trante of a traytour,
So sone you schulde goo to begile hym.
What! wolde you pat we lete hym ga,
You weried wight, pat wroght such wronge?
We will noght lose oure bargeyne swaa,
So lightely for to late hym gang,
And reson why.
Latte we pat lottereall liffe ought long,
It will be fonde, in faith, foly.

Yone folte for no foole schall he fynde vs.
We wotte all full wele howe it was.
Hys maistir whanne he gune bringe vs,
He praied yow, my goode lord, late hym not passe.

May, sertis, he schalle nogt passe free,
Vat we for oure mony has pailed.

Take it agayne pat ye toke me,
And saue hym fro pat bittir braid;
Van were I fayne.

Itt servys of noght pat you has saide,
And therfore takis it tye agayne.
Pilate Tyte agayn, traytoure, you take it.
We wille it noght welde within cure wolde.
3itt schalte you nost, sawterell, you sune forsake it;
For I schall sers hym my selffe, sen you has hym solde.

Kaiph
Forsake it in faith, yat he ne schall,
For we will halde hym yat we haue.
The payment chenys ye withall.
The thar no nodir komenunts craue.

Judas
Sen ye assente hym for to slaa,
Vengeaunce I crie on you ilkone!

Ilkane I crie, ye deuill fordo youe!
And yat myghte I both here and see.
Herde heuenyng here I wnto youe,
For sorowe onsought ye on me se.

Kaiph
Whe, fye on th, traytoure attaynte, at pis tyle!
Of tresoune you tyxste hym, yat triste ye for trewe.
Do buske ye henne, brothell; no longer you abide;
For if you do, all ye responys sare schall ye rew.
Say, wote you noght who is I?
Nowe, be my nocions, myght I negh nere ye,
In certayne, ladde, yitt schulde I lere ye To lordis to speke curtaisely.

Pilatus
Go thy gatis, gaddilyng, and greue vs no more.
Ieffe of yi talke, ye deuill mot ye hange!
Vat att ye toke me, take it you yere;
Ther with youre maistrie make youe emange,
And clayme it you clene.
Me lathes with my liff, so liffe I to lang.
My traitourfull torne he turment my tene.

Sen for my tresoune haue I tane vnto me,
Me thare aske no mercy, for none mon y gotë.
Therfore in haste myselffe schall fordo me.
Allas, ye harde while yat euere Be I meete.
Thus schall I marke my mytyr meede,
Ami wrke me wrek with harte and will.
To spille my selffe nowe wille I spede,
For sadly haue I seruyd vertill
So wala way!
Vat euere I was in witte or wille,
Vat tristy trewe for to betraye.
Allas, who may I meue to?
Shall I me take non othir reede,
Miselfe in haste I schall fordoo,
And take me nowe vnto my dede. 315

Kaiph
Haue done nowe, sir Pilate, late se what ye saie,
As toucheing yis money yat we here haue,
That Judas in a wreth has waued away,
And keste vs crabbidly, yat cursed knave.
Howe saie ye yerby? 320

Anna
Sir, sen he it lang, we schall it saue.

Kayph
Tite truste it tille oure tresorie.

[32]

Pilatus
May, sir, noght soo.

Kaiph
Why, sir, how yan?

Pilatus
Sir, it schall nou^t combre vs,
Nor come in oure corbonan.

Kayph
No; tille oure tresory certayne / Farther schall it nought.
And so youre selffe soth certayne and sk(i)ll,
It is price of ye bloode yat we with it boght.
Therfore some othir poynte I purpose it till;
And yus I deuyse.

[33]  

Pilatus
A spotte of erthe for to by, wayte nowe I will,
To berie in pilgrimes yat by ye weny dies,

[34]

Pilgrimes and Palmeres to putte yere.
Sir kaiphas and Anna, assente ye yerto?
And other false felons yat we worfare.

Anna
As ye deme, lorde, so wille we doo.

Armiger
Hayle, sir Pilate, perles, and prince of yis Empire!
Haile, ye gaiest on grounde, in golde yer and glide!
Haile, ye louffeliest lorde of lyme and of lyre,
And all ye soferans semely yat sittith ye beside!

Pilatus
What wolde you?

Armiger
A worde, lorde, and wende.

Pilatus
Nowe you arte welcome Iwisse.

[35]

But deluyere ye lightly, withouten any lette.
We have no tome all day to tente onto ye.

Armiger
A place here beside, lorde, wolde I wedde sette.

Pilatus
What title has you yerto? is it yyne awne free?

Armiger
Lorde, fre be my fre Dome me fallis it.
Yis tale is full trewe yat I telle you;
And calvary locous men callis it.
I wolle it wedde sette, but not for to selle you.
[36] Pilatus What wolde you borowe, bewshire, belyve, late me see?
Armiger If it were youre lekyng, my lorde, for to lene it, xxx pens I wolde ye lente onto me.
Kayph Yis, bewshire, yat schall you haue.
Pilatus Shewe vs thi dedis, and haue here my mony.
Armiger Hauue her, gode lord, / But loke ye name saue.

[37] Pilatus Yis, certis, we schall saue name full soundely,
And ellis do we noght dewly oure deuere.
Faste, freke, for thy faith, on thy fote fonde ye! For fro ys place, bewschere, I soile ye for euere.
Armiger Now sorowe on such socoure as I haue soght;
For all my tresoure thurgh tresoune I tyne.

[38] I tyne it vntrewly by tresoune;
Verfore nowe my way will I wende;
For ye do me no right nor no resoune,
I betake you all to ye fende:
Pilatus Nowe certis, we are serued att all.
Ys place is purchased full properly.
The felda of bloode loke ye it call,
I you commaunde Ilkone forthy.

[39] Kaiph Sir, as ye commaunde vs, call it schall we soo.
But my lorde, with youre leue, we may lende her no lengar.
But faste late vs founde to fang on oure foo.
Zone gedlyng ongody has brewed vs grete Angir.
Anna Do way, sir bushoppe, and be not abaste,
For loste is all oure lekyng, lepe he so light.
Kaiph Nay, sir, he schall not trusse so tite, and yat be ye traste.
For it wynnes vs no worschippe, ye werkis of yone wight,
But grete Angir.
Forthy late vs dresse vs, his deth for to dite,
And late we ys lotterell leue her no lengar.

[40] Pilatus Sir kayphas, thurgh counsaile commaunde we our knyghtis
To wacche on yone warlowe, / What way yat he wendis.

Do dresse you nowe dewly; / To yone doderon you dightis,
And lette nozt to laite hym / In lande where he lendis,
Nor leuys hym nozt lightly.

Ijus Mil  In faith, we schall fette hym / Full farre fro his frendis.
Pilatus  Nowe walkis on in ye wanyand, / And wende youre way wightely.
[PLAY 33: The Tyllemakers

THE SECOND TRIAL BEFORE PIILATE CONTINUED;

THE JUDGMENT OF JESUS

Pilatus
Anna
Cayphas
Primus miles
Secundus miles
Tertius miles
Quartus miles
Quintus miles
Sextus miles
Preco
Jesus
Barabas]
Pilatus

Lordyngis, ye are lymett to ye lare of my liaunce, ye schappely schalkes and schene for to schawe, I charge you as your chiftan ye chant for no chaunce, But loke to youre lord here and lere at my lawe. As a duke I may dampe you and drawe; Many bernys bolde are aboute me; And what knyght or knave I may knawe, Yat list no^t as a lord for to lowte me, I sail lere hym In the deueles name, yat dastard, to dowte me. 3a, who werkis any werkes withoute me, I sail charge hym in chynes to chere hym.

Tharfore, ye lusty ledes, within yis lenght lapped, Do stynte of joure stalkyng and of stoutnes be stalland. What traytoures his tong with tales has trapped, That fende for his flateryng full foull sail be falland. What broll ouere brathely is bralland, Or vnsotely will sege in yer sales, Yat caysteffe yus carpand and calland, As a boy sail be broght vnto bales. Tharfoire Takes not nor trete not of tales; For yat gome yat gyrnes or gales, I myself sail hy(m) hurte full sore.

Anna

Ye sail sytt hym full sore, what sege will assay you. If he like not youre lordshippe, yat ladde, sail ye lere hym, As a pereles prince full prestly to pay you, Or as a derworth duke with dyntes sail ye dere hym.

Cayphas

3aa, in faythe, ye haue force for to fere hym. Thurgh youre manhede and myght bes he marred; No chyualrus Chiftan may chere hym, Fro that Churll with charge ye haue charred. In pynyng payne bees he parred.

Cayphas

3aa, and with schath of skelpys yll scarred, Fro tyme yat youre tene he haue tasted.
Now certes, as me semes, Who so sadly has soght 3ou,  
3oure prophesyng is payable, ye prelates of  
pees.  
Gramercy 3oure goode wordes, and vngayne sall it  
not 3ou,  
That 3e will say the sothe and for no sege cese.  
Elles were it pite we appered in 3is prees.  
But consayue how 3oure knyghtes ere command.  
3a, my lord, 3at leve 3e no lese,  
I can telle you, 3ou tydes sum tythandis  
Ful sadde.  
Se, they bring 3oone broolle in a bande.  
We sall here nowe, hastily at hand,  
What vnhappe before herowde he had.

Hayll, louelyest lorde 3at euere lawe led 3itt;  
Hayll, semelyest vn dre on euere ilka syde;  
Hayll, stateliest on stede in strenge 3at is  
sted 3itt;  
Hayll, lib[er]all; hayll, lusty, to lordeis Allied!  
Welcome; what tyandis 3is tyde?  
Late no langgage lightly nowe lette 3ou.  
Sir herowde, 3ir, it is noght to hyde,  
As his gud frende grathely he grete yowe  
For euere.  
In what manere 3at euere he mete 3ou,  
By hym selfe full sone wille he sette 3ou,  
And sais 3at 3e sall not diseuer.

I thanke hym full thraly, and, 3ir, I saie hym ye  
same.  
But what meruelous materes dyd 3is myron yer  
mell?  
For all ye lordis langage his lipps, 3ir, wer  
lame.  
For any spirringes in 3at space no speche walde he  
spell;  
Bot domme as a dore gon he dwell.  
Yus no faute in hym gon he fynde,  
For his dedis to deme hym to qwell,  
Nor in bandis hym brathely to bynde,  
And yus  
He sente hym to youre self, and assynde  
Yat we, youre knyghtis, suld be cleynly enclyned,  
And tyte with hym to you to trus.
Pilatus

Syrs, herkens; here ye not what we haue oppon hand?
Loo, howe yere knyghtes carpe yat to ye kyng cared.
Syr herowde, yai say, no faute in me fand.
He fest me to his frenschippe, so frendly he fared.
Moreover, sirs, he spake and noght spared
Full gentilly to Jesu yis iewe;
And sithen to ther knyghtis declared
How fawtes in hym famie he but fewe
To dye.
He taste hym, I telle you for trewe,
For to dere hym he demed vn dewe;
And, sirs, y g sothly sale I.

Caiphas

Sir Pilate, oure prince, we prelatis nowe pray you,
Sen herowde fraysted no ferger yis faitour to slaye,
Resayue in your call yor sawes yat I sais you;
Late bryng hym to barre, and at his berde sall we baye.

Anna

3a, for and he wende yus by wiles away,
I wate wele he wirke will vs wondre.
Oure menge he marres yat he may;
With his seggynges he settes yam in sondre
With synne.
With his blure he bredis mekill blondre.
Whills ye haue hym, noue haldes hym vndir.
We sall wery hym away yf he wynne.

Caiphas

Sir, no tyme is to tarie yis traytou to taste.
Agayne sir Cesar hym selfe he segges and saies
All ye wightis in this world wirkis in waste
Yat takis hym Any tribute; yus his teching outrayes.
Zitt forther he feynes slik affraies,
And sais yat hym self is god son.
And, sir, our e lawe leggis and layes
In what faytour falsed is fon
Suld be slayne.

Pilatus

For no schame hym to shende will we shon.

Anna

Sir, witnesse of yis waner may be wonne,
Yat will telle yis withowten any trayne.

Caiphas

I can reken a rable of renkes full right,
Of perte men in prese fro this place ar I pas,
Yat will witnesse, I warande, ye wordis of yis wight,
How wikkidly wrought yat yis wrecche has.
Simon, Zarus and Judas
Datan and Gamaliell,
Neptalim, Leui and Lucas,
And Amys pis maters can mell
Togither.
Ter tales for trewe can they telle
Of this faytour yat false is and felle
And in legyng of lawes ful lithre.

3a, tussch for youre tales, yai touche not entente. 120
Ter witnesse, I warande, yat to witnesse ye wage,
Some hatred in their hartis agaynes hym have hent,
And purpose be this processe to putt down ye page.
Caiph
Sir, in faith vs fallith not to fage.
Yai are trist men and true yat we telle you. 125
Pil
Youre swering, seris, swiftely ye swage,
And no more in this maters ye mell you,
I charge.
Anna
Sir, dispise not yis speche yat we spell you.
Pil
If ye fayne slike fraudis, I sall felle you.
For me likis noght youre langage so large.

[12] Caiph
Oure langage is to large, but youre lordshipp releue vs.
3itt we both besoke you, late brynge hym to barre.
What poyntes yat we putte forth, latt your presence appreue vs.
3e sall here how pis harlott heldes out of herre. 135
Pil
3a, butt be wise, witty and warre.
Anna
3is, sir, drede you not, for no thyng we doute hym.
Fecche hym; he is noght right ferre.
Pil
I am fayne,
I am Buxhome and bayne.

[13] Knyghtis, ye er commaundid with pis caityf to care,
And bryng hym to barre, and so my lord badd. 145

[Preco] 3a, sir.
[jus mil]
Is pis thy messege?
[jus mil]
Yan moue ye no mare,
For we ar light for to leppe and lede forthe ye ladd.
[jus mil]
Do steppe furth; in striffe ert you stadde.
I vphalde full euyll has ye happed.
[jus mil]
O man, thy mynde is full madde,
In oure clukis to be clowted and clapped
And closed.

You bes lassched, lusschyd and lapped.

3a, rowted, russhed and rapped.

Yus thy named with noye sall be noysed.

Loo, this sege her, my souerayne, yat se forsente.
Wele, stirre most fro yat stede, but stondie stille yare.
Bot he schappe som shrewdnesse, with shame bese he shente,
And I will frayst in faith, to frayne of hir fare.

We, outte; stondie may I nost, so I stare.

3a, harrowe! of this traytour with tene.

Say, renkes, what rewth gars you rare?
Er ye woode, or wittles, I wene?
What eyles you?

Out! silie a sight suld be sene.

3a, Alas! conquered ar we clene.

We! ere je fonde, or youre force fayles you?

A, sir, saugh ye most yis sight, how yat yer schaftes schuke,
And the; baneres to this brothall, yai bowde all on brede?

3a, ther cursed knyghtes by crafte lethe them croke,
To worshippe yis warlowe vnworthy in wede.

Was it dewly done yus in dede?

3a, 3a, sir; oure seife we it sawe.

We! spitte on them! ill mott yai spede!
Say, dastard, ye deuyll mote you drawe.

How dar ye
Yer baners on brede yat her blawe
Lat lowte to yis lurdan so laws?
O faytouris, with falsed how fare 3e?

We beseke you and tho seniouris beside you, sir, sitte,
With none of oure gouernaunce to be greuous and eyll;
For it lay not in oure lott yer launces to lett;
And yis werke yat we haue wrought, It was not oure will.

You lise, harstow, lurdan? full Ille.
Wele you watte, if you witnes it walde.
Sir, our strength myght not stabill yam stille.
They hiled for ought we couthe halde,
Oure vsnitting.

For all ourere Fors, in faith, did yai folde,
As yis warlowe worschippe yai wolde;
And vs semid for soth it vsnittyn.

A, vnfriendly faytours, full fals is youre fable.
Yis segge with his suttelte to his seett hap you sesid.

Ze may say what you semes, sir, bot yer standerd to stabill
What freyke hym enforces, full foull sal he be fesid.

Be ye deuyllis nese, ze ar doggydly diseaseid.
A, henne harte, ill happe mot you hente!
For a whapp so he whyned and whesid;
And 3itt no laasshe to ye lurdan was lente.
Foul fall you!

Sir, I wisse no wiles we haue wente.
Shamefully sou sautt to be shente.
Here combred caystiffes I call you!

Sen you lykis not, my lord, ourere langage to leve,
Latte bynyng the biggest men yat abides in yis land,
Propirly in youre presence yer poute to preve;
Beholde yat they helde nott fro yei haue yaim in hand.

Now ye er ferdest yat euere I fand.
Fy on youre saynte hertis in feere!
Stir ye, no langer you stande,
You bedell; yis bodworde you bere
Thurgh yis towne.
Ye wyghtest men vnto were
And ye strangest yer standerdis to stere,
Hidex blithely bid yam be bowne.

My souerayne, full sone sall be servet youre sawe.
I sal bynyng to yer baneres right bigg men and strange.
A company of keuellis in this contre I knawe
That grete ere and grill; to ye gomes will I ganget.
Say, ye ledis botht lusty and lange,
3e most passe to sir Pilate apace.

If we wirke not his wille it wer wrang.
We are ready to renne on a race,
And rayke.

**Preco** Then tarie not, but tryne on a trace,
And follow me fast to his face.

**ijus mil** Do lede vs; vs lykes wele γις lake.

---

Lorde, here are ye biggest bernes γat bildis in this
burgh,
Most stately and strange, if with strenght γai be
streyned.

Leve me, sir, I lie not; to loke γis lande thurgh,
γai er myghtiest men with manhode demened.

**Pil** Wate you wele, or ellis has γου wenyd?

**Preco** Sir, I wate wele, withoute wordis moo.

**Caiph** In thy tale be not taynted nor tenyd.

**Preco** We, nay, sir; why shuld I be soo?

**Pil** Wele γan;
We sall frayst or they founde vs fer fro
To what game γai begynne for to go.
Sir Cayphas, Declare γam γe can.

---

3e lusty ledis, nowe lith to my lare.
Schappe you to γer schafts γat so schenely her
sychne.

*If γon (baners) bowe γe brede of an hare,*
Platy γe be putte to γerpetuell pyne.

**jus mil** I sall holde γis as even as a lyne.

**Anna** Who so schakis, with schames he shenedes.

**ijus mil** I certayne, I saie as for myne,
When it sattles or sadly discendis
Where I stande,
When it wrynxis or wronge it wendis,
Outher brestis, barkis or bendes,
Hardly lat hakke of myn hande!

---

Sirs, waites to γer wightis, γat no wiles be
wrought.

γai are burrely and brode; γare bost haue γai
blowen.

**Anna** To neven of γat nowe, sir, it nedis right noght;
For who curselty γym quytes, he sone sall be
knowen.

**Caiph** 3a, γat dastard to dode sall be drawen.
Who so fautis, he fouly sall falle.

**Pil** Nowe, knyghtis, sen γe cokkis has crowen,
Haue γym hense with hast fra this halle
His wayes.
Do stiffely steppe on yis stalle;
Make a crye, and cautely you call,
Euen like as sir Annay ye saies.

[23] Anna

Jesu, you rewe of gentill Jacob kynne,
You northryst of Nazareth, now neuend is y name.
Alle creatures ye accuses, we commaunde ye
comme In,
And aunswer to yin enimys; deffende now thy
fame.

Et preco semper post annam recitabit
judicatur Jesus

Cayphas
We, out! we are shente alle for shame.
′is is wrasted all wrange, as I wene.

Anna
For all ′er boste, yone boyes are to blame.

Pilat
Slike a sight was neuere zit sene!
Come sytt.
My comforth was caught fro me clene.
I vpstritt; I m(e) myght nojt abstene
To wirschip hym in wark and in witte.

[24] Cayphas
′erof meruayled we mekill what moued you in mynde
In reuerence of ′is ribald so rudely to ryse.
Pil
I was past all my powre, yogh I payned me and
pynd.
I wrought not as I wolde, in no manner of wise.
Bot, syrs, my spech wele aspise.
Wightly his wayes late hym wende.
′us my dome will dewly deuyse;
For I am ferde hym in faith to offende
In sightes.

Anna
′an our e lawe were laght till an ende,
To his tales if ye treuly attende.
He enchaunted and charmedoure knyghtis.

[25] Cayphas
Be his sorcery, sir, youre selfe ye soth sawe.
He charmesoure chyualers and with my scheffe
enchaunted.
To reuerence hym ryally we rase all on rowe.
Doutles we endure not of ′is dastard be daunted.
Pil
Why, what harmes has ′is hatell here haunted?
I kenne to co[n]vyk hym no cause.
Anna
To all gomes he god son hym graunted,
And liste not to leve on oure lawes.
Say, man,
Consayues you nogt What comberous clause
Pat pis clargye accuseyng ye knawse?
Speke, and excuse ye if you can.

Pil
To all gomes he god son hym graunted,
And liste not to leve on oure lawes.
Consayues ye nogt What comberous clause
That is clargye accusing ye knawse?
Speak, and excuse ye if you can.

[26] Jesus
Every man has a mouth that made is on molde,
In wele and in woo to welde at his will.
If he gouerne it gudly like as god wolde,
For his spirituale speche hym ... not to spill.
And what gome so gouerne it ill,
Full vnhandly and ill sall he happe.
Of ilk tale you talkis vs vntill
You accounte sall; you can not escape.

Pil
Sirs myne,
3e fffoune, in faihte, all ye frappe;
For in pis lede no lese can I lappe,
Nor no poynte to putt hym to pyne.

[27] Caiph
Without cause, sir, we come not, pis carle to
accuse hym.
And that will we 3e witt, as wele is worthy.
Now I recorde wele ye right; 3e will no rawe
refuse hym
To he be dreuen to his dede and demed to dye.
But takes hym vnto you forth(y),
And like as youre lawe will you lere,
Dene 3e his body to abyde.

Anna
O, sir Pilate, withouten any pere,
Do way.
3e wate wele withouten any were
Vs falles not, nor oure felowes in feere,
To slo no(m)an, your self ye soth say.

[28] Pil
Why suld I deme to dede yan withoute deseryng
in dede?
But I haue herde al haly why in hertes ye hym
hate.
He is fautles in faith, And so god mote me spede,
I graunte hym my god will to gan on his gate.

Caiph
Nought so, sir; for wele ye it wate,
To be kyng he claymeth with Croune.
And who so stoutely will steppe to that state,
3e suld deme, sir, to be dong doune.
And dede.

Pil
Sir, trulye yat touched to treasoune,
And or I remewe, he rewse shall yat reasoune,
And or I stalke or stirre fro yis stede.

Sir knyghtis yat ar comly, take yis casstiff in
Keping.

Skelpe hym with scourges and with skathes hym
scorne.

Wrayste and wrynge hym to, for wo to he be wepyng,
And pan bryng hym before vs as he was beforme.

He may banne yse tyme he was borne.
Sone shall be servyd as se saide vs.

Do wappe of his wedis yat are wore.
All redy, sir, we haue arayde vs.

To yis broll late vs buske vs and brayde vs,
As sir Pilate has propirly prayde vs.

We shall sette to hym sadly sone.

Late vs get of his gere; god giffe hym ille
grace.

Wai ere tytt of tite; lo, take yer his trasshes.
Nowe knytte hym in yis corde.

I am caut in yis case.

He is bun faste; nowe bete on with bittir brasshis.
Go on; lepis, har 3e, lordingis, with lasshes.
And enforce we yis faitour to flay hym.

Late vs driffe to hym derfly with dasshes.
Alle rede with oure rowtes, we aray hym
And rente hym.

For my parte, I am prest for to pay hym.
Ja, sende hym sorowe; assaye hym.

Take hym yat I haue tome for to tente hym.

Swyng to this swyre, to.swiftely he swete.

Swete may yis swayne for sweght of our swappes.
Russhe on this rebald and hym ratheley rebete.
Rehete hym I rede you, with rowtes and rappes.
For all oure noy, yis nygard he nappes.
We shall wakken hym with wynde ofoure whippes.
Nowe flynge to yis flaterer with flappes.
I sall hertely hitte on his hippes
And haunch.
Fra our skelpes not scatheles he skyppe.
ii.jus mil 3itt hym list not lyft vp his lippis,
And pray vs to haue pety on his paunch.

[32] iiii.jus mil To haue pety of his paunch he propheres no prayer.
   jus mil Lorde, how likes you his lake and his lare yat
   we lere you?
   i.jus mil Lo, I pull at his pilche; I am proud payere.
   i.jus mil Thus youre cloke sall we cloute, to clence you
          and clere you.
   iii.jus mil I am straunge in striffe for to stere you.
   jus mil Tus with choppes his churll sall we chastye.
   i.jus mil I trowe with his trace we sall tere you.
   i.jus mil All yin vntrew techynGIS yus taste I,
          you tarand.
   iii.jus mil I hope I be hardy and hasty.
   jus mil I wate wele my wepon not wast I.
   i.jus mil He swounes or sweetes, I swarand.

[33] ii.jus mil Late vs louse hym lightly; do lay on your handes.
   iiii.jus mil 3a, for and he dye for this dede, vndone ere we
          all.
   jus mil Nowe vnbounce is his broll, and vnbraced his bandes.
   i.jus mil O fule, how faris you now, foull mott ye fall?
   i.jus mil Nowe because he oure kyng gon hym call,
          we will kyndely hym crowne with a brere.
   iii.jus mil 3a, but first his purpur and palle
          And his worthy wede sall he were,
          For scorne.
   jus mil I am proud at his poynte to apper.
   i.jus mil Latte vs clethe hym in yer clothes full clere,
          As a lorde yat his lordshippe has lorne.

[34] i.jus mil Lange or you mete slike a menge as you mett with
       his morne.
   iii.jus mil Do sette hym in his sete, as a semely in sales.
   jus mil Now thryng to hym thrally with his yikk yorne.
   i.jus mil Lo, it heldes to his hede, yat ye harness out hales.
   ii.jus mil Thus we teche hym to tempre his tales.
          His braye begynnes for to blede.
   iii.jus mil 3a, his blondre has hym broght to yer bales.
          Now reche hym and raught hym in [a] rede
          So rounde;
          For his septure it serves in dede.
   jus mil 3a, it is gode I nowe in his neke.
          Late vs gudly hym grete on his grounde.
Aue, riall roy and rex judeorum!

Hayle, comely kyng, yat no kyngdom has kende.

Hayll, vn sluggish duke; yi dedis ere dom.

Hayll, man, vnmyghty yi menge to menge.

Hayll, lord without lande for to lende.

Hayll, kyng! hayll, knave vnconand.

Hayll, freyke without forse ye to fende.

Hayll, strang yat may not wele stand

To stryve.

Hayll, man, vnmyghty f i  menge to mende.

Hayll, lord without lande for to lende.

Hayll, kyng! hayll, knave vnconand.

Hayll, freyke without forse ye to fende.

Hayll, strang yat may not wele stand

To stryve.

We, harlott; heve vp thy hande,
And vs all yat ye wirschip are wirkand,
Thanke vs, yer ill mot you fryve.

So late lede hym belyve, and lenge her no lenger.

To sir Pilate,oure prince,oure pride will we prayse.

3a, he may synge or he slepe of sorowe and Angir;
For many derfe dedes he has done in his dayes.

Now wightly late wende onoure wayes.

Late vs trusse vs; no tym is to tarie.

My lorde, will ye listen oure layes?
Here quis boy is ye bade vs go bary
With battis.

We ar combered his corpus for to cary.
Many wightis on hym wondres and wary.
Lo, his flessh al be befellapped yat fat is.

Welle, bringe hym before vs. A, he blisshes all bloo.
I suppose of his seggyng he will cese euermore.
Sirs, beholde vpon hight, and ecce homoo,
Yus bounden and bette and broght you before.
Me semes yat it sewes hym full sore.
For his gilte on this grounde is he greuyd.
If you like for to listen my lore,
...

For propirly by quis processe will I preve
I had no force fro quis felawshippe quis freke
for to lende.

Here is all, sir, yat ye for sende.
Wille ye washe whill ye watir is hote?
Nowe this Barabas bandes ye vnabhende;
With grace late hym gange on his gatis
Where ye will.
Barabas

3e worthy men, yat I here wate,
God encrece all youre comely estate,
For ye grace ye have graunt me untill.

[39] Pil

Here ye Jugement of Jesu, all Jewes in ys stede.
Crucifie hym on a crosse, and on caluerye hym kill.
I dampne hym today to dy ys same dede;
Verfore hyngis hym on hight vppon yat high hill.
And on aythir side hym I will
Yat a harlott 3e hyng in ys hast.
Ye thynkith it both reasone and skill
Emyddis, sen his malice is mast,
3e hyng hym.
Yen hym turments, som tene for to tast.
No wordis I will not nowe wast;
But blynne not, to dede to 3e bryng hym.

[40] Caiph

Sir, vs semys in oure sight yat 3e sadly has saide.
Now, knyghtis yat are conant, with ys catyf 3e care.

The liffe of ys losell in youre list is it laide.
Late vs one, my lorde, and lere vs na lare.
Siris, sette to hym sadly and sare.
All in cordis his coorse vmbycast.

Here is one; full lange will it laste.
Lay on hande here.
I powll to my poure is past.
Nowe feste is he, felawes, ful fast.
Late vs stere vs; we may not long stand here.

[41] Anna

Drawe hym faste hense; deluere gou; haue done!
Go, do se hym to dede withoute longer delay;
For dede bus hym be nedlyng be none.
All myrthe bus vs move tommorne yat we may.
Itt is sothly oure grette Sabott day.
No dede bodis vnberid sall be.

We see wele ye soth 3e vs say.
We sall traylle hym tyte to his tree,
As talkand.

Fare wele; now wightely wende we.
Nowe certis, 3e are a manly menge!
Furth in ys wylde wanyand be walkand.
[PLAY 34: The Shermen

CHRIST LED UP TO CALVARY

Primus miles
Secundus miles
Tertius miles (Wymond)
Johannes
Maria
Secunda Maria
Tertia Maria
Jesus
Symon]
Primus
Miles

Pees, barnes and Bachillers yat beldis here aboute. Stirrre nozt ones in pis stede; / But stonde stone stille; Or be ye lorde yat I leue on, I schall gar you lowte.
But ye spere when I speke, youre speche schall I spille
Smertely and sone.
For I am sente fro sir pilate with pride,
To lede pis ladde oure lawes to abide.
He getis no bettir bone.
Therefore I commaunde you on euere ilke a side,
Vppon payne of enprisonment yat nowan appere
To suppowle pis traytoure, be tyne ne be tyde,
Noght one of pis preses,
Nor noght ones so hardy for to enquire;
But helpe me holly, alle yat are here,
Yis kaitiffe care to encrees.

Therfore make rome and rewle you nowe right,
That we may with pis weried wight
Wightely wende on oure wayes.
He napped noght of all pis nght,
And pis daye schall his deth be dight.
Latte see who dare saie nave.
Because tomorone is prouyde
For oure dere Sabbott day,
We wille no mysse be moued,
But mirthe in all yat euere men may.

We haue bene besie all pis morne
To clothe hym and to croune with thorne,
As falles for a folke kyng.
And nowe me thynkith oure felawes skorne;
They highte to haue ben here pis morne,
Yis faiour forthe to bring.
To nappe nowe is nozt goode.
We, howe! high myght he hyng!
Why make ye such Crying?

Why, wotte you noght als wele as I,
Yis carle burde vnto Caluery,
And wre on Crosse be done?
Sen dome is gueyn yat he schall dy.
Late calle to vs more companye,  
And ellis we erre our efone.  
Jus Mil Oure gere behoues to be grayde,  
And felawes sammed sone;  
For sir Pilate has saide  
Hym bus be dede be none.  

[5] Wher is sir wymond? wotte you oght?  
jus Mil He wente to garre a crosse be wroght  
To bere yis Cursed knave.  
Jus Mil That wolde I sone wer hyder broght,  
For sithen schall othir gere be soght  
That vs behoues to haffe.  
i jus Mil Vs bus haue sties and ropes,  
To rugge hym tille he raue;  
And nayles and othir Japes,  
If we oure selue wille saue.  

[6] jus Mil To tarie longe vs were full lathe.  
But wymond come, it is in wathe  
But we be blamed all three.  
We, howe! sir wymond, wayte-skathe.  
i jus Mil We, howe! sir wymond, howe!  
iijus Mil I am here; what saie ye bathe?  
Why crye ye so on me?  
I haue bene garre make  
yis crosse, as yhe may see,  
Of yat laye ouere ye lake.  
Men called it ye kyngis tree.  

[7] jus Mil Nowe sekirly I sought ye same;  
For yat balke, will noman vs blame  
To cutte it for ye kyng.  
iijus Mil This karle has called hym kyng at hame,  
And sen yis tre has such a name,  
It is accordyng thyng,  
yat his rigge on it may reste,  
For skorne and for hethyng.  
iijus Mil Me thoughte it semyd beste  
Tille yis bargayne to bryng.  

[8] Jus Mil It is wele warred, so motte I spede.  
And it be lele in lenghe and brede,  
Yan is yis space wele spende.
To loke yeraftir it is no nede.
I toke ye mesure or I yode,
Bothe for ye fette and hande.

Beholde howe it is boored
Full even at ilk an ende.
This werke will wele accorde.
It may not be amende.

Nay, I haue ordande mekll more.
3aa, thes theues are sente before,
 That beside hym schall hyng.
And sties also are ordande pore,
With stalwurthe steeles as mystir wore,
Bothe some schorte and some lang.

For hammeres and Nayles,
 Latte see sone who schall gang.

Here are bragges that will noght faile,
Of Irnne and stele full strange.

Yanne is it as it aweth to bee.
But whiche of yowe shal bee yis tree,
Sen I haue broughte it heder?

Be my feithe, bere it schall hee
 That yeron hanged some schall bee,
And we schall teeche hym heder.

Vpon his bakke it schalle be laide,
For sone we schall come thedir.

loke yat oure gere be grayede,
And go we all togedir.

Allas, for my maistir yat moste is of myght,
That yistireven late, with lanternes light,
Before ye busshoppe was brought.
Bothe petir and I, we saugh yat sight,
And sithen we wente oure wayes full wight,
When ye Jewes wondirly wrought.
At morne yei toke to rede,
And sotetles vp soght,
And demed hym to be dede
Yat to yat trespassed noght.
[12] Allas, for Syte, what schall I saie?
My worldly weIthe is wente for Ay.
In woo euere may I wende.
My maistir, vat neuere lakke[d] in lay,
Is demed to be dede his day,
Ewen in his elmys hende.
Allas for my maistir mylde
That all mennys mysse may mende,
Shulde so falsely be filed,
And no frendis hym to fende.

[13] Allas, for his modir and o[ir moo,
Mi modir and hir sisteres al MOCK
Sittes samen with sighyngis sore.
Tai wate no thyng of all his woo;
Forthy to warne yam will I goo,
Sen I may mende no more.
Sen he schall dye as tyte,
And [e vnwarne wore,
I ware worthy to wite.
I will go faste therfore.

[14] But in myn herte grete drade haue I
Yat his modir for dole schall dye,
When she see ones yat sight.
But certis I schal not wande forthy
To warne yat carefull company.
Or he to dede be dight.
...

[15] Sen he fro vs will twynne,
I schall ye neuere forsake.
Allas, ye tymes and tyde!
I watte wele ye day is come
Yat are was specified
Of prophete Symeoun    In prophicie.
The swerde of sorowe schulde renne
Thurghoute ye herte, sotelly.

[16] ija Maria Allas, his is a Sithfull sight!
He yat was euere luffely and light,
And lorde of high and lawe,
Oo, doulfully nowe is he dight!
In worlde is none so wofull a wighte,
Ne so carefull to knawe.
\( \spade \)e that he mended moste
In dede and als in sawe,
Now haue they full grete haste
To dede hym for to drawe.

[17] Jesus
Doughteres of Jerusalem Cytte,
Sees, and mournes no more for me,
But thinkes vpon this thyng.
For youre selfe mourne schall see
And for ye sonnes yat borne schal be
Of yowe, bothe olde and yonge.
For such fare schall befalle
That ye schall giffe blissyng
To barayne bodies all,
That no barnes forthe may brynge.

[18]
For certis ye schall see suche a day
That with sore sighyng schall ye saye
Vnto ye hillis on highte,
"Falle on vs, mountaynes, and ye may,
And couere vs fro yat felle affraye
That on vs sone schall light."
Turnes home ye toune vntill,
Sen ye haue [sene]yis sight.
It is my fadirs will,
Alle yat is done and dighte.

[19] Iija Maria
Allas, yis is a Cursed cas.
He yat alle hele in his hande has
Shall here be sakles slayne.
A, lorde, be leue lete clenses thy face.
Behalde, howe he hath shawed his grace,
Howe he is moste of mayne.
This signe schalle bere witnesse
Vnto all pepull playne,
Howe goddes sone here gilteles
Is putte to pereles payne.

[20] Jus Mil
Saie, wherto bide ye here aboute?
Thare quenys, with ye skymeryng and ye schoute,
Wille noght yer stevenis steere.

ijus Mil  Go home, casbalde, with thy clowte,
Or be yat lorde we love and loute,
You schall aby full dere.

iija Maria  This signe schall vengeance calle
On yowe holly in feere.

ijus Mil  Go, hye ye hensse with allle,
Or ille hayle come you here.

[21] John, helpe me nowe and neuer more,
That I myght come hym tille.

Maria  My lady, wende we forthe before
To Caluery; when ye come thedir,
Y(an) schall ye saie what ye will.

Johes  What a deuyll isgis to saye?
Howe longe schall we stande stille?
(G)o, hye you hens awaye,
In ye deuyllis name, doune ye hill.

[22] Ther queues vs comeres with yer clakke,
He schall be serued for yer sake
With sorowe and with sore.

ijus Mil  And yei comre more such noyse to make,
We schall garre lygge yeame in ye lake,
Yf yei were halfe a skore.

Johes  Latis nowe such bourdyng be,
Senoure tooles are before.
Yis traitoure and yis tree,
Wolde I full fayne were yore.

[23] We schall no more so stille be stedde,
For nowe yer queues are fro vs fledde
Yat falsely wolde vs feere.

ijus Mil  He thynkith yis boy is so forbledde,
With yis ladde may he noght be ledde.

Johes  He swounes, yat dare I swere.

Jus Mil  It nedis no3 hard to harle,
Sen it dose hym alike dere.

ijus Mil  I See here comes a karle
Shall helpe hym for to bere.

[24] That schall ye see some one assaye.
Goode man, whedir is you away?
You walkis as you were wrothe.
Symon
Sir, I haue a grete journa
Yat bus be done yis same day,
Or ellis it may do skathe.
You may with litill payne
Erase thy selfe and vs bathe.

Symon
Goode sirs, yat wolde I fayne,
But to dwelle were me lathe.

[ius Mil]
Mai, beuscher, you schall sone be spedde.
Loo, here a ladde yat muste be ledde
For his ille dedis to dye.

[iius Mil]
And he is brosid and all forbledde,
That makis vs here yus stille be stedde.
We pray ye, sir, forthy,
That you wilte take yis tree
And bere it to caluerye.

Symon
Goode sirs, yat may nou3t be,
For full grete haste haue I.

[25]
My wayes are lang and wyde,
And I may onght abide,
For drede I come to late;
For Surete haue I hight
Muste be fulfillid yis nyght,
Or it will paire my state.
Therfore, sirs, by youre leue,
Me thynkith I dwelle full lang.
Goode sirs, 3e late me gang.

[26]
No lenger here now may I won.
Nay, certis, you schalte no3t go so sone,
For ought yat you can saye.
Yis dede is moste haste to be done,
For yis boy muste be dede by none,
And nowe is nere myddaye.
Go helpe hym in yis nede,
And make no more delaye.

Symon
I praye yowe, dose youre dede,
And latis me wende my waye.

[27]
And, Sirs, I schall come sone agayne
To helpe yis man with all my mayne,
And even at youre awne will.
i. jus Mil  
What! wolde you trusse with such a trayne?
Nay, faiour, you schalte be fayne
'Tis forwarde to fullfille,
Or, be myghty mahounde,
You schalte rewwe it full Ille.

ii. jus Mil  
Late dyng 'tis dastarde doun,
But he goo tyte 'per till.

[29] Symon  
Sertis, sir, pat wer nought wisely wrought,
To bete me, but I trespassid ought,
Cuthir in worde or dede.

jus Mil  
Vpon his bakke it schall be brought,
To berre it, whedir he wille or noght.
What deuyll! whome schulde we drede?
Go, take it yppe belyve,
And bere it fortho goode spede.

Symon  
It helpis nojt here to striue.
Bere it behoues me ned.

[30]  
And perfore, sirs, as 3e haue saide,
To berre 'tis Crosse I holde me pailed,
Right as 3e wolde it wore.

i. jus Mil  
3aa, nowe are we right arraied.
Loke pat oure gere be redy grayed,
To wirke whanne we come pore.

ii. jus Mil  
I warand all redy,
Oure tooles, bothe lesse and more.
Late hym goo hardly
Forthe with 'e crosse before.

[31] jus Mil  
Sen he has his lade, nowe late hym gang;
For with 'tis warlowe wirke we wrang,
And we 'pus with hym yode.

i. jus Mil  
And nowe is noght gooode to tarie lang.
What schulde we done more vs emang?
Say sone, so motte you spede.

ii. jus Mil  
Neuen vs no nodir noote
Tille we haue done 'tis dede.

Jus Mil  
We! me! me thynke we doote.
He muste be naked, ned.

[32]  
All yf he called hymselffe a kyng,
In his clothis he schall nojt hyng,
But naked as a stone be stedde.
ijus Mil  That calle I accordand thyng;
       But tille his sidis I trowe yei clyng,
           For bloode yat he has bledde.

iiijus Mil  Wheder yei clynge or cleue,
                 Naked he schalle be ledde;
                         And for ye more myscheue,
                         Buffetts hym schall be bedde.

[33] jus Mil  Take of his clothis beliffe; latte see.
               A ha, quis garment will falle wele for mee,
                  And so I hope it schall:

ijus Mil  Nay, sir, so may it noght be.
           Yame muste be parte amonge vs thre,
                       Take euem as will fall.

iiijus Mil  Zaa, and sir Pilate medill hym,
                Youre parte woll be but small.

jus Mil  Sir, and ye liste, go telle hym;
            Jitt schall he noght haue all,
[PIAY 35: The Pynneres

CRUCIFIXIO CRISTI

Jesus
Primus miles
Secundus miles
Tertius miles
Quartus miles]
[1] Primus Mil

[S]ir knyghtis, take heede hydir in hye.
This dede on dergh we may noght drawe.
See wootte youre selffe als wele as I
Howe lordis and leders of owre lawe
Has geven dome yat yis doote schall dye.
i.jus Mil
Sir, alle yare counsaile wele we knawe.
Sen we are comen to Caluarie,
latte ilke man helpe nowe as hym awe.
i.iijus Mil
We are alle redy, loo,
Yat forward to fullfille.
i.iiijus Mil
Iate here howe we schall doo,
And go we tyte yer tille.

[2] jus Mil
It may no3t helpe her for to hone,
If we schall any worshippe wynne.
i.jus Mil
He muste be dede nedelyngis by none.
i.iiijus Mil
Yanne is goode tyme yat we begynne.
i.iiijus Mil
Iate dynge hym doune; yan is he done.
He schall nought dere vs with his dynne.
jus Mil
He schall be sette and lerned sone,
With care to hym and all his kynne.
i.jus Mil
Ye foulest dede of all
Shalle he dye for his dedis.
i.iijus Mil
That menes Crosse hym we schall.
i.iiijus Mil
Behalde, so right he redis.

[3] jus Mil
Thanne to yis werke vs muste take heede,
So yat owre wirkyng be noght wronge.
i.jus Mil
None othir noote to neven is nede,
But latte vs haste hym for to hange.
i.iiijus Mil
And I haue gone for gere goode speede,
Bothe hammeres and Nayles large and lange.
i.iiijus Mil
Yanne may we boldely do yis dede.
Commes on, late kille yis traitoure strange.
jus Mil
Faire myght ge falle in feere,
Yat has wrought on yis wise.
i.jus Mil
Vs nedis nought for to lere
Suche faitoures to Chastise.

[4] ii.jus Mil
Sen ilke a thyng es right arrayed,
The wiselier nowe wirke may we.
ii.iiijus Mil
Ye Crosse on grounde is goodely graied,
And boored even as it awhit to be.
jus Mil
Lokis yat ye ladde on lenghe be layde,
And made me yane vnto yis tree.
i.jus Mil For alle his fare he schalle be slaied;
That one assaie sone schalle ye see.

ii.jus Mil Come forthe, you Cursed knave.
Thy conforte sone schall kele.

iii.jus Mil Thyne hyre here schall you haue.
jus Mil Walkes oon; now wirke we wele.

[5] Jesus Almyghty god, my ffadir ffree,
late pis materes be made in mynde.
You badde yat I schulde buxsome be,
For Adam plyght for to be pynd.
Here to dede I obblisse me,
Pro yat synne for to saue mankynde;
And sougraynel byseke I ye
That yai for me may fauoure fynde;
And fro ye fende yame fende,
So yat yer saules be saffe,
In welthe withouten ende.
I kepe nought ellis to Craue.

[6] jus Mil We, herke, sir knyghtis, for mahoundis bloode!
Of Adam kynde is all his yoght.
i.jus Mil Ye warlowe waxis werre yan woode.
Tis doulfull dede ne dredis he noght.

ii.jus Mil You schulde haue mynde, with mayne and moode,
Of wikkid werkis yat you haste wrought.

iii.jus Mil I hope yat he hadde bene as goode
Haue sessed of sawes yat he vppe sought.
jus Mil Thoo sawes schall rewe hym score,
For all his saunteryng sone.
i.jus Mil Ille spede yame yat hym spare,
Tille he to dede be done!

[7] ii.jus Mil Haue done belyue, boy, and make ye bounue,
And bendye yi bakke vnto yis tree.

iii.jus Mil Byhalde, hym selffe has laide hym doune,
In lenghe and breede as he schulde bee.

jus Mil This traitoure here taynted of treasoune,
Cose faste and fette hym yan, ye thre.
And sen he claymeth kyngdome with Crowne,
Even as a kyng here haue schall hee.
i.jus Mil Nowe, certis, I schall noyt feyne,
Or his right hande be feste.

ii.jus Mil Ye lefte hande yanne is myne.
Iate see who beres hym beste.
Hys lymmys on lenghe the schalle I lede,
And even vnto ye bore the same bringe.

Vnto his heede I schall take hede,
And with myne hande helpe hym to hyng.

Nowe sen we foure schall do thes dede,
And medill with thes vnthrifty thyng,
Late no man spare for speciall speede,
Tille that we have made endyng.

Tis forward may not faile;
Nowe are we right arraiede.

This boy here in oure baile
Shall bide full bittir brayde.

Sir knyghtis, saie; howe wirke we no(ght)?
3is, certis, I hope I holde thes hande.
And to ye boore I haue it brought
Full boxumly withouten bande.

Strike on the harde, for hym ye boght.
3is, here is a stubbe will stiffely stande;
Thurgh bones and senous it schall be soght.
This werke is wele, I will warande.

Saie, sir, howe do we yore?
Tis bargayne may not blynne.

It failis a foote and more,
Ye senous are so gone ynne.

I hope hat marke amisse be bored.
Hat muste he bide in bittir bale.

In faith, it was ouere skantely scored;
Hat makis it fouly for to faile.

Why carpe ye se so? faste on a corde,
And tugge hym to, by topp and taile.

3a, you comaundis lightly as a lorde.
Come helpe to haale, with ille haile.

Nowe certis hat schall I doo,
Full suerly as a snayle.

And I schall tacche hym too,
Full nemely with a nayle.

Tis werke will holde; hat dar I heete;
For nowe are feste faste both his handis.

Go we all foure ye manne to his feete;
So schall our space be spedely spende.

Tharto my bakke nowe wolde I bende.
Owe, yeis werke is all vnmeete!
This boring muste all be amende.
A, pees, man, for mahoundie!
Latte noman wotte yat wondir.
A roope schall rugge hym doune,
Yf all his synnous go asoundre.

That corde full kyndely can I knytte,
Ye conforte of yeis karle to kele.
Feste on yanne faste yat all be fytte.
It is no force howe felle he feel.
Legge on ye both a litill gitt.
I schalle nought sese, as I haue seele.
And I schall fonde hym for to hitte.
Owe, haylle!
Hoo nowe? I halde it wele.
Haue done! dryue in yat mayle,
So yat no faute be foune.
Yis wirkynge wolde noȝt faile,
Yf foure bullis here were boune.

Ther Cordis haue evill encressed his paynes,
Or he wer tille ye booryngis brought.
3aa, assoundir are bothe synnous and veynis
On ilke a side; so haue we soughte.
Nowe all his gaudis no thyng hym gaynes.
His sauntering schall with bale be bought.
I wille goo saile tooure souveraynes
Of all yis werkis howe we haue wrought.
Nay, sirs, a nothir thyng
Fallis firste to youe me.
I badde we schulde hym hyng
On heghte yat men myght see.

We woote wele so ther wordes wore.
But, sir, yat cade will do vs dere.
It may not mende for to moote more.
Yis harlottte muste be hanged here.
The mortarisse is made fitte therefore.
Feste on youre fynyngeres yan, in feere.
I wene it wolle neuer come there.
We foure rayse it noȝt right, to yere.
Say, man, whi carpis you soo?
Thy lyftynge was but light.
He menes yer muste be moo,
To heve hym vppe on hight.
Now, certis, I hope it schall noght nede
to calle to vs more companye.
Me thynke we foure schulde do yis dede,
And bere hym to gone hille on high.
It muste be done, withouten drede.
Nomore, but loke ye be redy;
And yis parte schalle I lifte and leede.
On lenghe he schalle no longer lie;
Therfore nowe makis you boun.
Late bere hym to gone hille.
Thanne will I bere here doun.
And tente his tase vntill.

We twoo schall see tille aythir side,
For ellis yis werke wille wrie all wrang.
We are redy; in Code, sirs, abide,
And late me first his fete vp fang.
Why tente ye so to tales yis tyde?
Lifte vppe!
Latte see.
Owe, lifte alang!
Fro all yis harme he schulde hym hyde,
And he war god.
For grete harme haue I hente.
My schuldir is in soundre.
And sertis, I am nere schente,
So lange haue I borne vnadir.

This Crosse and I in twoo muste twynne,
Ellis brekis my bakke in sondre sone.
Laye doun agayne, and leue youre dynne.
Yis dede for vs will neuere be done.
Assaie, sirs; latte se yf any gynne
May helpe hym vppe, withouten hon.
For here schulde wight men worschippe wynne,
And noght with gaudis alday to gone.
More wighter men yfan we
Full fewe I hope ye fynde.
Yis bargayne will noght bee,
For certis me wantis wynde.

So wille of werke neuere we wore;
I hope yis Carle some Cautellis caste.
My bourdeyne satte me wondir score;
Vnto ye hill I myght noght laste.
Lifte vppe, and sone he schall be yore;
Therfore feste on youre fyngeres feste.

Owe, lifte!
We, loo!
A litill more.

Holde, qanne.
Howe nowe?
Ye wyrste is paste.

He weyes a wikkid weght.
So may we all foure saie,
Or he was heued on heght,
And raysed in yis array.

He made vs stande as any stones,
So boustous was he for to bere.
Nowe raise hym nemely for ye nonys,
And sette hym be yis mortas heere,
And latte hym falle in alle at ones;
For certis yat payne schall haue no pere.

Latte doune, so all his bones
Are asoundre nowe on sides seere.
Yis fallync was more felle
Tan all ye harmes he hadde.
Nowe may a man wele telle
Ye lestc lith of yis ladde.

Me thynkith yis crosse will noght abide,
Ne stande stille in yis mo[y]teyse zitt.
Att ye firste tym was it made ouere wyde,
Tat makis it wave, you may wele witte.
Itt schall be sette on ilke a side,
So yat it schall no forther flitte.
Goode wegges schall we take yis tyde,
And feste ye foote; qanne is all fitte.
Here are wegges arraied
For yat, both grete and smale.
Where are our hameres laide,
Tat we schulde wirke withall?

We haue yem here, even atte our hande.
Gyffe me yis wegge: I schall it in dryue.
Here is anodir zitt ordande.
Do take it me hidir belyue.
I laye on yanne faste.
3is, I warrande.
I thryng yame same, so motte I thryve.
Nowe will yis crosse full stabely stande;
All yf he raue, yei will noght ryve.
Say, sir, howe likis you nowe
Yis werke yat we haue wrought?
We praye yowe, sais vs howe
3e fele, or faynte y3e ought?

[22] Jesus
Al men yat walkis by waye or strete,
Takes tente; je schalle no traualye tyne.
Byholdes myn heede, myn handis and my feete,
And fully feele nowe or 3e fyne
Yf any mournyng may be meete,
Or myschewe mesured vnto myne.
My ffadir, yat alle bales may bete,
Forgiffis y3e men yat dos me pyne.
What yai wirke wotte yai noght.
Therfore, my ffadir, I craue,
Latte neure y3er synnys be sought,
But see y3er saules to saue.

[23] Jus Mil
We, harke! he Jangelis like a Jay.
Me thynke he patris like a py.
He has ben doand all yis day,
And made grete meuynge of mercy.
Es yis ye same yat gune vs say
That he was goddis sone almyghty?
Therfore he felis full felle affraye,
And demyd yis day for to dye.
(Vah), qui destrui(s) templum!
His sawes wer so, Certayne.
And, siris, he saide to some
He myght rayse it agayne.

[24] Jus Mil
To mustir yat he hadde no myght,
For all ye kautelles yat he couthe kaste;
All yf he wer in worde so wight,
For all his force nowe is he feste.
Als pilate demed is done and dight;
Therfore I rede yat we go reste.
Yis race mon be reheresd right
Thurgh ye worlde both Este and weste.
iiijus Mil 3aa, late hym hynge here stille,
   And make mowes on ye mone.
iiijus Mil Yanne may we wende at wil.
   Nay, goode sirs, noght so sone.
[25]  For certis vs nedis anodir note;
   His kirtill wolde I of you craue.
ijus Mil Nay, may, sir; we will loke be lotte,
   Whilke of vs foure fallis it to haue.
iiijus Mil I rede we drawe Cutte for his coote.
   Loo, se howe sone alle sidis to saue.
iiijus Mil The schorte Cutte schall wynne, yat wele 3e
   woote,
   Whedir itt falle to knyght or knave.
ijus Mil Felowes, se their noght flyte,
   For his mantell is myne.
ijus Mil Coo we yanne hense tyte;
   His trauayle here we tyne.
MORTIFICACIO CRISTI

Pilatus
Caiphas
Anna
Jesus
Maria
Johannes
Maria Cleopha
Latro a sinistris
Latro a dextris
Garcius
Miles
Longeus latus
Centerio
Joseph of Arimathea
Nichomedia
[1] Pilatus

Sees, Seniours, and see what I saie.
Takis tente to my talkyng enteere.
Devoide all fis dynne here fis day,
And fallis to my frenschippe in feere.
Sir pilate, a Prince withowten pere,
My name is full neuenly to neuen,
And domisman full derworth in de(r)e
Of gentillest Jewry full euen
Am I.
Who makis oppressioun
Or dose transgressioun,
Be my discressioun
Shall be demed dewly to dy.

To dye schall I deme gamme to dede,
Yo rebelles yat rowles gamme vmright.
Who yat to jone hill wille take heede
May se yer ye soth in his sight,
Howe doulfull to dede yei are dight
That liste nojt owre lawes for to lere.
Lo, yus be my mayne and my myght
Tho cherles schalle I chasteise and cheere
Be lawe.
Ilke felounse false
Shall hynge be ye halse.
Transgressours als
On the Crosse schalle be knytte for to knawe.

To knawe schall I knytte gamme on crosse.
To schende gamme with schame schall I shappe.
Thor liffe for to leese is no losse,
Suche tirrauntis with teene for to trappe.
Yus leelly ye lawe I vnlappe,
And punyssh gamme pitously.
Of Jesu I holde it vnhappe
Yat he on yone hill hyng so hye
For gilte.
His bloode to spille
Toke ye you tille.
Yus was youre wille,
Full spitously to spede he were spilte.


To spille hym we spake in a speede,
For falsed he folowde in faie.
With fraudesoure folke gan he feede,
Anna
And laboured to lere yame his laye.
Sir pilate, of pees we yone praye.
Oure lawe was full lyke to be lorne.
He saued nost oure dere Sabott daye,
And yat for to scape it were a scorne
By lawe.

Pilatus
Sirs, before youre sight
With all my myght
I examynde hym right,
And cause non in hym cowthe I knawe.

[5] Caiph
3e knawe wele y cause, sir, in case.
It touched treasoune vntrewa.
Ye tribute to take or to trace
Forbaule he, oure bale for to brewe.
Of Japes jitt Jangelid yone Jewe,
And cursedly he called hym a kyng.
To deme hym to dede it is dieue,
For treasoune it touches, yat thynge,
In dede.

Caiph
3itt principall
And worste of all,
He garte hym call
Goddes sonne; yat foulle motte hyme speede!

[6] Pilatus
He spedis for to spille in space,
So wondirly wrought is youre will.
His bloode schall youre bodis embrace.
For yat haue 3e taken you till.

Anna
Yat forwarde fulfayne to fulfille
In dede schall we dresse vs bedene.
3one losell, hym likis full ille,
For turned is his trantis all to teene,
I trowe.

[Caphans]
He called hym kyng.
Ille Joie hym wring!
3a, late hym hyng,
Full madly on ye mone for to mowe.

[7] Anna
To mowe on ye mone has he mente.
We, ffye on ye, faiteur in faye!
Who trowes you, to yat tales toke tente.
Yow saggard, yat selffe gan yow sale
Ye tempill distroie ye todaye,
Be ye thirde day ware done ilk a dele,
To rayse it you schulde ye arraye.
Loo, howe was ye falsed to feele,
Foule falle ye!
For thy presumcyoune
You haste thy warisoune.
Do faste come doune,
And a comely kyng schalle I calle ye.

---

[8] Cayphas
I calle ye a coward to kenne,
Yet meruaylles and mirakills made.
You mustered emange many menne,
But, brothell, you bourded to brode.
You saued yourre fro sorowes, you saide.
To saue nowe ye seiff late vs see.
God sonne if you grathely be grayde,
Delyuere ye doune of yat tree
Anone.
If you be funne
You be goddis sonne,
We schalle be bonne
To trowe on ye trewlye, ilkone.

---

[9] Anna
Sir Pilate, youre pleasaun[c]e we praye.
Takis tente to oure talkyng yis tide,
And wipe ye yone wrytyng away.
It is not beste it abide.
It Sittis youe to sette it aside,
And sette yat he saide in his sawe,
As he yat was prente full of pride,
"Jewes kyng am I," comely to knawe,
Full playne.
Pilatus
Quod scripct, scripct.
Zone same wrotte I.
I bide yery,
What gedlyng will grucche there agayne.

---

[10] Jesus
You man yat of mys here has mente,
To me tente enterely you take.
On roode am I ragged and rente,
You synfull Sawle, for thy sake.
For thy misse amendis wille I make.
My bakke for to bende here I bide.
Yis teene for thi trespase I take.
Who couthe ye more kyndynes haue kydde
[Than I?]
 Yus for thy goode
 I schedde my bloode.
 Manne, menye thy moode,
 For full bittir yI blisse mon I by.

 Allas for my sweete sonne I saie,
 Yat doulfully to dede yus is dijt.
 Allas, for full louely you laye
 In my wombe, yis worthely wight.
 Allas, yat I schulde see yis Sight
 Of my sone so semely to see.
 Allas, yat yis blossom so bright
 Yntrewly is tugged to yis tree.
 Allas!
 My lorde, my leyffe,
 With full grete greffe
 Hyngis as a theffe.
 Allas, he did neuer trespass.

[12] Jesus
 Yeu woman, do way of thy wepyng.
 For me may yyou no thyng amende.
 My ffadirs wille to be wirkyng,
 For mankynde my body I bende.
 Maria
 Allas, yat you likes noght to lende.
 Howe schulde I but wepe for thy woo?
 To care nowe my conforte is kende.
 Allas, why schulde we twynne yus in twoo
 For euere?
 Jesus
 Womanne, in stede of me,
 Loo, John yI sone schall bee.
 John, see to yI modir free.
 For my sake, do yyou yI deuere.

[13] Maria
 Allas, sone, sorowe and Siȝte,
 Yat me were closed in clay;
 A swerde of sorowe me smyte,
 To dede I were done yis day.
 Joches
 A, modir, so schall yez noght saie.
 I pray yous, be pees in yis presse.
 For with all yez myght yat I maye
 Youre conforte I caste to encresse
 In dede.
 Youre sone am I,
Loo, here redy,
And nowe forthy
I praye yowe hense for to speede.

[14] Maria
My steuen for to stede or to steere,
Howe schulde I, such sorowe to see?
My sone yat is dereworthy and dere,
Thus souffull a dede for to dye.

Johes
A, dere modir, blyyne of yis blee.
Youre mournynge it may not amende.

Maria
A, Marie, take triste vnto ye,
For socoure to ye will he sende yis tyde.

Cleophe
Fayre Modir, faste
Hense latte vs caste.

Johes
To he be paste
Wille I buske here baynly to bide.

[15] Jesus
With bittirfull bale haue I bought
Yus, man, all y misse for te menie.
On me for to looke lette you nogt,
Howe baynly my body I bende.
No wighte in yis worlde wolde haue wende
What sorowe I suffre for thy sake.
Manne, kaste ye thy kyndynesse haue wende,
Tewe tente vnto me yat you take,
And treste.
For foxys yer dennyss haue yei,
Birdis hase ther nestis to paye,
But ye some of man this daye
Hase nogt on his heed for to reste.

[16] Iato a
sinistres
If you be goddis sone so free,
Why hyng you yus on yis hille?
To safte nowe thy selffe late vs see,
And vs now, yat spedis for to spille.

Iato a
dextris
Manne, stynte of thy steuen and be stille,
For douteles thy god dredis you nogt.
Full wele are we worthy thertill.
VnWisely wrange haue we wrought,
I wisse.
Noon ille did hee,
Yus for to dye.
Lord, haue mynde of me,
What you art come to yis blisse.
[17] Jesus
For sothe, sonne, to ye schall I saie,
Sen you fro thy folly will falle,
With me schall dwelle nowe yis daye
In paradise place principall.
Heloy! heloy!
Ky god, my god full free,
Jamazabatanye,
Wharto forsoke you me
In care?
And I did neuere Ille,
Yis dede for to go tille.
But be it at yI wille.
A, me thristis sare.

[18] Garcio
A drinke schalle I dresse ye in dede,
A draughte yat is full dayntely dight.
Full faste schall I springe for to spede.
I hope I schall holde yat I haue hight.

Caiph
Sir Pilate, yat moste is of myght,
Harke! "heely," now harde I hym Crye.
He wenys yat yat worthely wight
In haste for to helpe hym in hye
In his nede.

Pilatus
If he do soo,
He schall haue woo.

Anna
He wer oure foo
If he dresse hym to do vs yat dede.

[19] Garcio
Yat dede for to dresse yf he doo,
In sertis he schall reve it full sore.
Neuere ye lees if he like it noght, loo,
Full sone may he couere yat care.
Nowe, swete sir, youre willie yf it ware,
A draughte here of drinke haue I dreste,
To spede for no spence yat ye s(p)are,
But baldely ye bib it for ye beste.
Forwhy
Aysell and galle
Is menged with alle.
Drynke it ye schalle.
Youre lippis, I halde yame fulle drye.

[20] Jesus
YI drinke it schalle do me no deere.
Wete you were, yerof will I none.
Nowe, fadir, yat formed alle in fere,
To thy moste myght make I my mone.
Thy wille haue I wrought in pis wone,
Thy ragged and rente on pis roode;
Thy doulffully to dede haue \\
ye done.
Forgiffe \\nname, be grace yat is goode,
Thi ne wote noyt what it was.
My \\nffadir, here my bone,
For nowe all thyng is done.
My spirite to see right sone
Comende I, in manus tuas.

[21] Maria
Now dere sone, Jesu so iente,
Sen my harte is heuy as leede,
O worde wolde I witte or you wente.
Allas, nowe my dere sone is dede.
Full rewfully refte is my rede.
Allas, for my darlyng so dere!

[22] Caiph
Sir Pilate, parceyue, I you praye.
Oure Costemes to kepe wele ge canne.
Tomorne is ourere sabott daye.
Of mirth the muste vs meve ilke a man.
Zone warlous nowe waxis full wan,
And nedis muste \\
yei beried be.
Delyuer yer dede, sir, and \\
yane
Shall we sewe to ourere saide solemniteit
In dede.

[23] Miles
Mi lorde, I schall lenghe so yer liffe
That \\
ye \\
brothelles schall neuere bite brede.

Pilatus
Ser Longeus, steppe forthe in pis steede.
Thys spere, soo, haue halde in thy hande.
To Jesu you rake fourthe, I rede,
And sted nogth but stiffly you stande
A stounde.
In Jesu side
Schoffe it pis tyde.
No lenger bide,
But grathely you go to ye grounde.

[24] Longeus
latus

O maker vomade, full of myght,
O Jesu so Jentill and Jente,
Hat sodenly has lente me my sight,
Lorde, loyng to ye be it lente.
On rode arte you ragged and rente,
Mankynde for to mende of his mys.
Full spitously splite is and spente
Thi bloode, lorde, to bringe vs to blis
Full free.
A, mercy, my socoure;
Mercy, my treasuoure;
Mercy, my sauioure.
¥1 mercy be markid in me.

[25] Centerio

O wondirfull werkar Iwis!
¥is weedir is waxen full wan.
Trewe token I trowe ¥at it is
¥at mercy is mente vnto man.
Full clerly consayue ¥us I can,
No cause in ¥is corse couthe ¥ei knowe.
¥itt doulfull ¥ei demyd hym ¥an
To lose ¥us his liffe be ¥er lawe,
No rijte.
Trewly I saie,
Goddis sone verraye
Was he ¥is daye,
¥at doulfully to dede ¥us is dijt.

[26] Joseph

¥at lorde leale Ay lastyng in lande,
Sir Pilate, full preste in ¥is presse,
He saue ¥e be see and be sande,
And all ¥at is derworth on deesse.
Pilatus
Joseph, ¥is is lely no lesse,
To me arte ¥ou welcome Iwis.
Do saie me ¥e soth or ¥ou sesse,
Thy worthyly wille what it is,
Anone.
Joseph
To ¥e I praye,
Giffe me in hye  
Jesu bodye  
In gree, it for to graue al alone.

[27] Pilatus  
Joseph, sir, I graunte ye yat geste.  
I grucche nogt to grath hym in grave,  
Delyuer; haue done; he were dreste,  
And Sewe, sir, oure Sabott to saffe.  

Joseph  
With handis and harte yat I haue,  
I thanke ye in faith for my frende.  
God kepe ye, yi conforte to craue,  
For wightely my way will I wende  
In hye.  
To do yat dede,  
He be my speede  
Yat Armys gun sprede,  
Manne kynde be his bloode for to bye.

[28] Nichomedis  
Weill mette, sir, in mynde gune ... meffe  
For Jesu, yat Juged was vnJente.  
Ye laboured for license and leve  
To berye his body on bente.  

Joseph  
Full myldely yat matere I mente,  
And yat for to do will I dresse.  

Nichomedis  
Both same I wolde yat wente,  
And lette not for more ne for lesse;  
Forwhy  
Oure frende was he,  
Faithfull and free.  

Joseph  
Yerfore go we  
To berie yat body in hye.

[29]  
All mankynde may marke in his mynde  
To see here yis sorowfull sight.  
No falsnesse in hym couthe yei fynde,  
Yat doulfully to dede yus is dight.  

Nichomedis  
He was a full worthy wight,  
Nowe blemysght and bolned with bloode.  

Joseph  
3a, for yat he mustered his myght,  
Full falsely yei fellid yat foode  
I wyne.  
Bothe bakke and side,  
His wounds wide;  
Foryi pis tyde  
Take we hym doune vs betwene.
[30] Nichomedis

Betwene vs take we hym doune,
And laie hym on lenthe on yis lande.

Joseph

Yis reverent and riche of rennoune,
Late ve halde hym and halse hym with hande.
A graue haue I garte here be ordande,
Yat neuer was in noote; it is newe.

Nichomedis

To yis corse it is comely accordande,
To dresse hym with dedis full dewe
Yis stounde.

Joseph

A sudarye,
Loo, here haue I.
Wynde hym forthy,
And sone schalle we graue hym in grounde.

[31] Nichomedis

In grounde late vs graue hym and goo.
Do liffely, latte vs laie hym allone.
Nowe sauiour of me and of moo,
You kepe vs in clennesse ilkone.

Joseph

(T)o thy mercy nowe make I my moone,
As sauiour be see and be sande,
You gyde me yat my griffe be al gone,
With lele liffe to lenge in yis lande,
And essse.

Nichomedis

Seere Oynementis here haue I
Brought for yis faire body.
I anoynte ye forthy
With myrre and aloes.

[32] Joshep

Yis dede it is done ilke a dele,
And wroughte is yis werke wele I wis.

To ye kyng on knes here I knele,
Yat baynly you belde me in blisse.

Nichomedis

He highte me full hendely to be his,
A nyght whan I neghed hym full nere.
Haue mynde, lorde, and (m)ende me of mys,
For done is our dedis full dere
Yis tyde.

Joseph

Yis lorde so goode
Yat schedde his bloode,
He mendye youre moode,
And buske on yis blis for to bide.
TEXTUAL NOTES

(PAGE REFERENCES ARE TO VOL. I)

Abbreviations

LTS L. Toulmin Smith, (ed.), York Plays: The Plays performed by the crafts or mysteries of York on the day of Corpus Christi in the 14th, 15th and 16th centuries, Oxford, 1885.

The Conspiracy to take Jesus (Play 26)

Tertius doctor. Not included by LTS in her list of the Persons of the Play.

Heading to each page of MS: The Cutteleres (The Cutteletes, f.110r; The Cuttelereis, f.111r).

Up to 1.37 the rubricator has bracketed together alternate lines in the MS, apparently believing from the first four lines that the play was written in quatrains, rhyming abab.

1. [Pilatus]. Added by a later hand.

2. [V]Ndir. Supplied by LTS.

3. vnto. MS vn to.

Busshoppis. LTS busshoppis.

H emends: To obeye vnto my bidding bud Busshoppis be bowne (see Glossary, bowne, ppl. adj.).

The central caesura has been marked by a dot in lines 4, 5, 6 and 7.

4. Makis. LTS makis.

5. betaught. MS be taught. LTS be-taught.

begon. MS be gon.

6. H deletes tyte.

13. grume. H emends to grone, presumably for a better rhyme with bone, bone (for the stanza form, see 1.8), but see MED grom, n., "Also .. grum(e)", sense 3(a), "a man of low station or birth", quoting this line and also Play 33, 1.28 (Glossary, grone, n.).


wystus. H emends to wystful.

17. ffanged. LTS fanged.

22. Tat. LTS Tar.

33. sir. LTS Sir.

34. thurgh. MS thurgh thurgh.

36. ellis. H emends to hedis.

Between 11.37 and 48 the bracketing together of lines to indicate what the rubricator thought to be the rhyme scheme of stanzas, becomes confused, and after 1.48 is abandoned.

38. youre. LTS your.

40. Beware. MS Be ware. LTS Be-ware.

we. H emends to ye.

41. Sir. LTS sir.

sky(f)te. MS skyste. Emended CED, see skift, v, sense 5b. H proposes skyfte ... ys. (See also I. 4.)

42. wille. H emends to be wisse. 45. sawe. H emends to lare.
47. ffortheraunce. LTS fortheraunce.
49. strenghe. LTS strengitlhe. (See OED strength, sb, OE strength
  wk. fem. - 13th-15th century strength(e). For other examples of
  this word, see 30/2; 30/74; 30/173; 33/50; 33/186.)
49-50. A dot in the MS marks the caesura, following steuen and
  schent in these two lines.
52. Yus. MS yus.
54. MS dot following heuen.
57. hym selfe. LTS hymselfe.
58. H deletes and you yen all.
  MS dot following A.
60. caytiffe. H emends to caytiffes.
64. MS dot following Nay.
69. MS dot following sir.
73. mony-changers. MS mony changers.
74. caystiffe. LTS caytiffe.
76. Wherefore. MS Wher fo r e. LTS Where-fore.
77. MS dot following hym.
79. nomore. LTS no more.
80. betyde. MS be tyde. LTS be-tyde.
  H emends to be-tydde to rhyme with kydde (l.84).
83. before. MS be fore. LTS be-fore.
85. tales. MS tales tales.
90. And. H emends to Als.
91. a mad. MS amad.
92. amys. MS a mys. LTS a-mys.
94. MS dots following Nay ray.
96. For. MS for.
97. MS dot following hate.
99. MS dot following why.
103. therfore. MS ther fore. LTS ther-fore.
  MS dot following A hoo and In.
  In. LTS in.
  Suggested emendation, LTS: Ther-fore hanged be he by the halse.
  Pl1. A' hoo sir, holde in.
105. MS dot following Hym.
106. Withouten. MS With outen. LTS With-outen.  
   begynne. MS be gynne. LTS be-gynne.  
108. Withoutyn. MS With owtyn. LTS With-owtyn.  
111. wer. LTS were.  
115. Sir. LTS sir.  
117. [Pilatus] Emended from Cayphas, both in later hands.  
   If. LTS if.  
119. Forwhy. MS For why. LTS For-why.  
126-7. LTS divides into Scene II.  
127. MS dot following Iniuria.  
128. Vn(i)ust. MS Vn cust. LTS Vn-iust.  
   vnto. MS vn to. LTS vn-to.  
   MS dot following Judas.  
   Juge. LTS juge.  
   be lathe. MS belathe.  
131. a boyste. MS aboyste.  
132. ffeete. LTS feet.  
133. Thlat. Emended LTS.  
135. yis. LTS this.  
138. MS dot following I.  
141. Oynement. LTS oynement.  
143. poure men. MS poure men.  
145. beholde. MS be holde. LTS be-holde.  
147. I morne. MS Imorne.  
153. Ms gatis. MS Mus gatis.  
161. figure. LTS figure.  
171. Curstnesse. LTS curstnesse.  
173. muste. H emends to moste to rhyme with boste, coste, loste.  
174. Say, unhanged harlott, I holde ye vnhende. MS on hanged. LTS  
   Say on, hanged harlott,... This emendation, proposed by  
   Rosemary Woolf (fn 7, p.398) appears to be confirmed by other  
   lines in this stanza, for the opening "Say" is a characteristic  
   mode of expression given by the dramatist to the Janitor (cf  
   "Say, bitillbrowed bribour" (1.169); "Say, brethell" (1.179);  
   cf also Play 32, 1.186; "You unhanged harlott").  
   vnhende. MS vn hende. LTS vn-hende.
180. You. LTS you.

183. dogepere. MS doge pere.

185. LTS comments that the words sir to noght appear to be metrically in excess.

189. vnto. MS vnto.

190. yselff. LTS yi selfff.

191. In the MS a line has been drawn following 1.190, and Judas set against 11.191-2, but this has been struck through.

194. te. LTS emends to to.

197. abatynge. MS a batynge. H emends to abadyng.

198. hyve. H emends to hyne. (See I.4; also Glossary, hyve, n.)

Ire. LTS ire.

202. goyng. H emends to lending.

203. bylyue. MS bylyue. LTS by-lyue.

211. abayst. MS abayst.

212. What I meene. H emends to as I weene.

214. Before. MS Be fore. LTS Be-fore.

216. me(n)e. MS meve. Emended LTS without note. (See I.4; and for the stanza form, I.8.)

217. a marchaundyse. MS amarchaundyse.

218. forthy. MS for thy. LTS for-thy.

221. MS dot following you.

224. MS dots following I and you.

225. MS dot following you.

226. Justified. LTS justified.

After the word Justified the scribe has begun to write the letter b.

227. Jugement. LTS jugement.
A line has been drawn in the MS following 1.226. LTS suggests that perhaps Anna is to speak, but refers to lines 225, 226.

227. howegates. MS howe gates. LTS howe-gates.
229. no more. MS nomore.
231. can. LTS cane.
232. h[ylm]. Emended LTS.
235. a worde. MS aworde.
236. ye(e). MS yer. Emended LTS.
a traytour. MS atraytour.
238. lord. LTS lorde.
242. contrarie. LTS suggests that contraye is perhaps intended. This would offer a better rhyme with day, delay, ray, 11.240-6; see I.4, I.8.

244-5. LTS punctuates these lines:
For of als mekill mony he made me delay;
Of you, as I resayue, schall but right be reproued.

246. ray. LTS 'ray.
MS dot following ray.

247. fales. HM emends to false (see Glossary false, adj).
(fende). MS frende. Emended LTS.

250. LTS omits the second hym, which she suggests seems an error, and prints Tille hym bot xe hastely hang.

252-4. A line has been drawn following 1.251 in the MS and the three lines following have been assigned to Pilatus, which name has been struck through.

253. truly. HM emends to lely to accord with the alliteration on l.

254. a lirte. LTS a-lirte (see Glossary lirte, n.).

256. Withouten. MS With outen. LTS With-outen.

259. Allwayes. MS All wayes. LTS All-wayes.
muste. LTS must.

260. forthwith. MS forth with. LTS forth-with.
a wilde. MS awilde.

262. MS dots following 3is 3is.
a space. MS a space.

268. ffolye. LTS follye.
LTS supplies *faythe* as the missing word.

Abide. MS *A bide*.

*a peny*. MS *apeny*.

*Be lyue*. MS *Be lyue*. LTS *Be-lyue*.

Mende. LTS *mende*.

oueregone. MS *ouere gone*. LTS *ouere-gone*.

Jocounde and Joly. LTS *jocounde and joly*.

Opposite 1.280 is a marginal note in a later hand, Carey hic Janitor: and Judas is added in another hand.

beKenne. MS *be Kenne*. LTS *be-kenne*.

Marginal note opposite 1.284 in a later hand (the same as the first hand, above), Carey hic (see I.9).

Wherfore. MS *Wher fore*.

Vnto. MS *Vn to*. LTS *Vn-to*.

lepyng. LTS *lepyng*.

(w)e. MS *ye_. Emended LTS*.

Following 1.294 a later hand adds *finis*.

**The Last Supper (Play 27)**

Johannes, Jacobus i.i. Not listed by LTS among the Persons of the Play, and hence the error of Anna J. Mill, "The York Bakers' Play of the Last Supper", p.152, in noting that the play required seven actors, Jesus, Marcellus, Andreas, Petrus, Jacobus, Judas, Thomas.

Heading to each page of the MS *The Baxteres* (Baxters ff.119v and 120v).

1. Marginal note in a later hand, Carey hic principio (see I.37). [Jesus] Added LTS.

Pees. MS *Pees*.

2. Vntill. MS *Vn till*. LTS *Vn-till*.

all. Added above the line in the MS hand, not a later hand as Smith states.

(here). MS *tery. Emended by the same later hand as the marginal note in line 1 (see I.39).*

5. arayd. MS *a rayed*. LTS *arayd*.

8. moyses. LTS *Moyses*.

13. Custome. LTS *custome*.
19. Therefore. MS Ther fore. LTS Ther-fore.
20. betwene. MS betwene. LTS be-twene.
21. Wherfore. MS Wher fore. LTS Wher-fore.
25. moyses. LTS Moyses.
26. A MS dot follows party.
27. otherwise. LTS otherwise.
Following 1.23 at the foot of the page is written But ye lambe of pase.
32. befall. MS be fall.
34. bytwene. MS by twene. LTS by-twene.
58. bemene. MS be mene. LTS be-mene.
60. bedene. MS be dene. LTS be-dene.
Following 1.60 the MS has a marginal note in the same hand as the previous alterations, tunc lauat manus.
71. ffynie. LTS fynde.
76. togedir. MS to gedir. LTS to-gedir.
81. be tyde. MS be tyde. LTS be tyde.
Following 1.89 one leaf is missing from the MS (see I. 37-8).
90. [Jesus] Supplied by LTS.
95. betrayed. MS be trayed. LTS be-trayed.
96. Jacobus i.j. LTS Jac.
98. MS dot following Domine.
100. is paste. MS is is paste.
105. berynnes. MS be gynnes. LTS be-gynnes.
110. othir. H emends to or.
112. I wotte. MS Iwotte.
remoues. H emends to remeues to rhyme with jewes (1.114).
114. jewes. LTS Jewes.
133. ffynde. LTS fynde.
153. Therfore. MS Ther fore.
155. Ilke. LTS ilke.
156. behete. MS be hete. LTS be-hete.
157. fa dir. LTS fadir.
159. Seeges. LTS seeges.
162. sitte appears to be a copying error for iuge, iugge, taking up sitte in 1.159; cf Luke 22, 30, "...et sedeatis super thronos indicantes duodecim tribus Israel"; cf also "The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS", ed. C. Horstmann, EETS, 98 (1892), Part I, p.249: "At ye grete day of dome ... Veil schul sitte on twelf seges wel And Iugge pe twelf kuyndes of Israel" (ll.1083-8 from a poem entitled 'Hou a man schal lyse parfytyly', a translation of the first part of St. Edmund's "Speculum", (OED a1400)).

bydene. MS by dene. LTS emends to bedene, presumably for a better rhyme with 3eme, 1.160, but see OED bedene, adv., where bydene is recorded 14th-16th century.

167. away. MS a way.
169. bytene. MS by twene. LTS by-twene.
170. Cote. LTS cote.
171. bedene. MS be dene. LTS be-dene.
173. stones appears to be the result of a misunderstanding of Luke 22, 36: "Sed nunc qui habet sacculum, tollat similiter et peram" (transl. in the AV by scrip). H emends to strypes.

176. (w)e. MS re. Emended LTS. (See I. 37, 51.)
177. (Vs). MS Vis. Emended LTS.
182. ffadir. LTS fadir.
183. forbere. MS for bere. LTS for-bere.
187. blessid. LTS blessed.

Following 1.187 a marginal note is written in the MS in the later hand of the other alterations, hic caret novo loquela. (See I.37.) LTS believes this to be written "in two later hands and inks".

The Agony and Betrayal (Play 28)

Heading to each page of MS, The Cordewaneres.

1. [Jesus]. LTS Jesus. Omitted from the MS.
Marginal note, de novo facto, in hand which LTS (intro. p.xv) dates as of the second half of the sixteenth century. (See I.81.)

5. forwakid. MS for wakid. LTS for-wakid.
6. jone. LTS jou.
12. ffadir. LTS fadir.
   ffalle. LTS falle.
   ffa dyr. LTS fadyr.
29. MS position, opposite 1.27.
   prayes. Accented in MS. LTS prayes.
32. ffa dyr. LTS fadyr.
39. alle. LTS all.
41. Vnto. MS Vn-to. LTS Vn-to.
   ffadir. LTS Fadir.
   Following 1.42 a leaf is missing from the MS (see I.78).
43. [Jesus] Supplied LTS.
45. Instore. MS In store. LTS In-store.
51. Jewes. LTS Jewes.
52. Withouten. MS With outen. LTS With-outen.
53. ffadir. LTS Fadir.
   amys. MS a mys. LTS a-mys.
58. ouerpasse. MS ouer passe. LTS ouer-passe.
59. ffadir. LTS Fadir.
64. Vnto. MS Vn-to. LTS Vn-to.
66. on slepe. MS on slepe. LTS on-slepe.
   euerilkone. MS euer ilkone. LTS euer-ilkone.
76. None. LTS none.
   wille. LTS will.
77. Fro. LTS fro.
79. ffadir. LTS Fadir.
   ffanding. LTS fanding.
80. euelle spiritis. H emends to yeuelle spirit and directs attention to his tentyng, 1.81.
84. Agayne. MS A gayne.
85. efte-sones. MS efte sones. LTS efte-sones.
88. ffadir. LTS Fadir.
89. flesshe. LTS flesshe.
92. sill. LTS notes sic. H suggests [all full] ill.
93. Withouten. MS With outen. LTS With-outen.
93. surfette. LTS surfette.
96. agayne. MS a gayne.
At the foot of f.123v is written Now wightly agayne.
97. Vnto. MS Vn to. LTS Vn-to.
99. I am. MS Iam.
101. efteson es. MS efte sones. LTS efte-sones.
102. Vnto. MS Vn to. LTS Vn-to.
Following 1.112 an erasure has been made in the MS, affecting four short lines, now illegible (see I.80).
113. Angelus, and archangels added in a hand which Smith, p.244, identifies as being of the seventeenth century (see I.82).
Vnto. MS Vn to. LTS Vn-to.
vnmade. MS vn made. LTS vn-made.
115. Fadir. LTS Fadir.
moste, He. H emends to moste hegh.
121. withouten. MS with outen. LTS with-outen.
123. flessh. LTS flesshe.
125. Vnto. MS Vn to. LTS Vn-to.
127. H amends to lo. sleepe e nowe sauely? And I schall be slayne! noting not Matt. 26, 45 or Mark 14, 41.
133. ilkone. LTS ilkone.
135. forsake. MS for sake. LTS forsake.
139. betydde. MS be tydde. LTS be-tydde.
Following 1.139 in the MS a line has been drawn to mark off a new speech, then an unattributed line is set down:
May sothely whils I may vayle ye I. At 1.143 in the MS the first line of Peter's speech reads, 3is sothly quod petir. Smith deletes this latter line and restores the first line to 1.143, deleting the second I. (For discussion of this problem and Smith's emendation, see I.78-9; for the stanza form, see I.104).
140. In hy. LTS in hy.
141. Away. MS A way. LTS A-way.
145. forsake. MS for sake. LTS for-sake.
147. Swilke. LTS swilke.
148. Fo[r]l.Supplied LTS.
149 and 151. For ferde. H emends to Forferde.
150. Crowe. LTS crowe.
151. fomen. MS fo men. LTS fo-men.
152. withdrawe. MS with drawe. LTS with-drawe.
153. LTS punctuates Do, sone, late vs now see apparently drawing attention to the kinship between Annas and Caiaphas, but cf 1.158 which she punctuates Do sone, late se sir.
154. Vn to. MS Vn to. LTS Vn-to.
155. lawys. LTS emends to lawe.
156. ilkone. LTS ilkone.
158. see. In the MS, inserted above the line in the MS hand.
166. Therfore. MS Ther fore.
166 and 167. In the MS these lines follow 1.171 (Emendation proposed by LTS) (see 1.104).
167. belyFFE. MS be lyfe. LTS be-lyfe.
177. a tokenyng. MS atokenyng.
179 and 172. In the MS these two lines follow 1.167 (emended LTS).
182. In the MS the line is divided between Primus Mil and i jus Mil (see 1.50).
186. sir. LTS Sir.
196. [by]de. Emended LTS.
197-241. For the view of LTS (p.249) that this section is completely corrupt, see 1.78.
Following 1.198 hic caret is written in the right hand margin in a late hand (see 1.31).
200. pilate. LTS Pilate.
201. hym selffe. LTS hym-selffe.
202. tresoure. H emends to torfoyze.
A line is drawn in the MS following 1.202, although no new speaker is named.

203. [he]. Supplied by LTS.

207. Now certayne rist some I thinke not to rest. rist some is set against the right-hand margin in the MS, following the remainder of the line. (Emended LTS.)

208. in hast. MS In hast. MS position, in the right-hand margin against 11.203 and 204. (Emended LTS.)

210. Sir knyghtis. MS Sirs knyghtis.

218. Go. MS go.

222. iudeus. LTS Judeus.

226. Written against the right-hand margin in the MS between 11.224 and 225.

Fro. MS fro.

229. Written in the MS against the right-hand margin opposite 1.228.

230. H emends to Stye nor strete schall none be sparde to rhyme with rewarde, 1.233.

232. Written in the MS against the right-hand margin opposite 1.231.

233. [Cayphas]. Malcus! Malcus. A, ay! and I schulde be rewarde. MS Malcus. Malcus a ay and I schulde be rewarde.

238. before. MS be fore. LTS be-fore.

240. saye. LTS 'saye.

242. LTS p.249, numbers this stanza 21, believing that st 18 (11.197-241) represents three stanzas.

Following 1.243 in the MS occurs the following line: Go fecche forth we freyke for his forfeyte. LTS comments, "This line is an interloper, it does not belong either to Jesus' speech or to the stanza. Perhaps it should follow 1.236." LTS prints this line between brackets, numbering it 1.243. (see I.80, 105-6).

245. he. H emends to ze.
betrayed. MS be trayed. LTS be-trayed.
251. before. MS be fore. LTS be-for.
256. Jesu. LTS Jesus. MS Jhu.
257. Beholdis. MS Be holdis. LTS Be-holdis.
258. So darfely. MS sodarfely. LTS so darfely.
266. (L)oo. MS Doo. LTS comments, "If it [Doo] is the correct reading, it seems to be used here interjectionally. Perhaps 'say' is omitted, cf 1.255."
267. neghe. LTS negh.
268. asaie. MS a saie. LTS a-saie.
272. Nay. Written in the MS as the first word of 1.273. Emended by LTS. (For the stanza form, see I.104.)
273. Traytoure. MS traytoure. LTS traytoure.
274. [Jesus]. Added and a line ruled in the MS by a later hand.
275. move. LTS moue.
276. And. LTS and.
278. Aunvellis. LTS aunvellis.
279. Forthy. MS For thy. LTS For-thy.
284. is most von hight. H emends to is on hight.
291. LTS notes that the latter part of this line, which should rhyme with banne, is wanting.
297. Belyue. MS Be lyue. LTS Be-lyue.
300. Vnto. MS Vn to. LTS Vn-to.
301. Fare wele. LTS Fare-wele.

Peter Denies Jesus. Jesus Examined by Caiaphas (Play 29)

Petrus. Omitted by LTS in her list of the Persons of the Play.

( Secunda Mulier). See note to 1.86.

Each page of the MS is headed: The Bowers and fleecchers, ff. 129r, 129v; The Bowers and fleecchers, ff.130r, 130v, 131r, 131v, 132r, 133r, 133v, 134v, 135r, 135v, 136r; The Bowers and ye fleecchers, f.132v; The Bowers and ffleecchers, f.131v.
the above heading.

**Jangelyng. LTS jangelyng.**

2. **[P] ees.** Supplied by LTS. MS Ees.

10. **right sone.** MS position, in the right-hand margin, opposite 1.7.

H deletes foune right.

12. **shall.** LTS schall.

17. **ryall.** LTS notes that this word should perhaps be ryalte to rhyme with 1.19 (see I. 125, 142).

22. **therefo.** MS ther fore.

Following 1.22 a later hand adds, **tunc dicunt lorde.** LTS ...

25. **re.** LTS the.

into. MS in to. LTS in-to.

40 and 41. Written as one line in the MS.

41. **fat.** MS rat.

Ire. LTS ire.

50. **god.** LTS God.

53. **joseph.** LTS Joseph.

ffadir. LTS fadir.

54. **a wrighte.** MS awrighte.

55. **o thyng.** MS othyng.

57. **wichecrafte.** MS wicche crafte. LTS wicche-crafte.

withall. MS with all. LTS with-all.

63. **Sir.** LTS sir.

67. **3e.** LTS Ye.

Opposite 11.73-4 a late hand has written

Hic For be we ones well wet

the better we will reste

79. LTS prints as two lines. From this point therefore the line numbering varies from the LTS edition.

H proposes the deletion of this line.

**Cuppe.** LTS cuppe.

84. LTS prints as two lines.

85. LTS prints as two lines. Emendation proposed by Reese, p.650.

is. H emends to ai was.

86. **Prima Mulier.** LTS notes that according to Matthew 26, 69-71
there were two women. Line 132 also indicates that there were two women in the play. However none of the other speeches has been allocated between the women. LTS writes of "either of the other speeches" (there are three) and refers to 1.133 as indicating two women (see also 1.126).

89. cue[n]. Emended LTS.

96. Sorssery. LTS sorssery.

101. Verfore. MS Ver fore. LTS Ver-fore.

110. H deletes the comma following lawe.

113. vnto. MS vn-to. LTS vn-to.

118. You. LTS thou.


gayne saies. LTS gayne-saies.

123. god. LTS God.

Following 1.123 is written at the foot of the page, And ye werkis yat he wroght.

127. Yat. MS yat Yat. First yat struck through.

128. Are. LTS are.

130. Contre. LTS contre.

132. Before. MS Be fore.

143. Syne. LTS syne.

144. Yon. LTS emends to yan.

145. a swerd. MS aswerd.

a swerde. MS aswerde.

151. thyselfe. MS thy selffe.

In the margin opposite 1.152 a later hand adds Carret hic (see I. 127, 144).

156. Courte. LTS courte.

v. LTS if.

162. you ... you. LTS you ... you.

164. for-saken. MS for-saken. LTS for-saken.

165. Alas. LTS Alas.

170. Because. MS Be cause. LTS Be-cause.

sir. LTS Sir.

175. [iiijus Mil]. This speech is included among the lines allocated to iiijus Mil (1.173-4), but it would seem from the sense that the third soldier replies to the fourth.
175. sirs. LTS Sirs.
muste. H emends to bus.
After still a word is struck through in the MS and etande is then written in the MS hand.

176. nyghte. LTS nyght.
oghte. LTS oght.

177. [Primus Mil] [iii.jus Mil] In the MS, part of 1.177 (Say, who is here? Say, who is here?) is ruled within the speech of iii.jus Mil (ll.173-6). The remainder of ll.177 and 178, written as one line, is allotted to Primus Mil. As LTS points out, it is the third and fourth soldiers who seek to enter Caiaaphas' hall, which is guarded by the first and second soldiers.
a frende. MS afrende.

178. Well. MS well.

181. bothe. LTS both.

183. sir. LTS Sir.

188. Abidde. MS A bidde.

189. Here. MS here.

195. Commaunide. LTS commaunide.

197. Because of an error of alignment by the rubricator, Primus Miles has been set against 1.198 rather than against this line, and the following six speeches are similarly affected. A later hand has observed this error and struck through the incorrect entries, adding the correct names opposite each speech. LTS emends accordingly, but omits to insert Primus Miles against 1.197.

199. , (Anna). A later hand has emended from Cayph Me. LTS me.

200. (Cayph). A later hand has emended from Anna.
201. (Anna). A later hand has emended from Cayph.

202. (Cayph). A later hand has emended from Anna.
203. begune. MS be_gune. LTS be_gune.
204. (Anna). A later hand has emended from Cayph.
begin. MS be_gune. LTS be_gune.
206. (Cayph). A later hand has emended from Anna.
Between 11.209 and 210 the word Cose is written, but struck through.
210. haue. LTS notes sic.
212. I am. The letter I has been written over another letter, possibly n.
In the MS Nowe I am fayne and felawes is written as a separate line.
213. And. MS and.
faire. MS Faire.
214. Withouten. MS with owten. LTS With-owten.
218. lorie. MS Lorde.
220. howe. LTS how.
223. Bycause. MS By cause. LTS By-cause.
225. Before the word take in the MS two letters (?be) are crossed through.
226. frende. LTS frend.
fynd is an irregular rhyme with wele, kele, dele. Possibly fele is intended (see 1.146).
227. myght. LTS myghte.
 hym. LTS hymn.
231. Traytour. LTS traytour.
234. Be. LTS be.
hole. LTS emends to hale, presumably to rhyme with 11.232, 236.
236. hath. LTS has.
238. takis. LTS takeis.
240. [iijus Mil]. Supplied by LTS.
241. (Cayphas). MS iijus Mil. Emendation made in a later hand.
243. (w)ill. MS vll.
246. Tonne. LTS tonne.
251. Kayph. LTS Cayph.
252. muste. H emends to bus.
253. Mi. LTS My.
255. Kayph. LTS Cayph.
    into. MS in to. LTS in-to.
257. Saves. LTS saves.
259. Sotte. LTS sotte.
260. Salued. LTS salued.
261. [Cayphas]. Added by a later hand.
263. after. LTS after.
271. (Cayphas). MS iiiijus Miles. Emendation made to MS by a later hand. LTS, p.265: "Corrector of 16th cent".
273. This stanza appears to be defective in that two lines are missing either before or after Anna's speech (see I.146).
274. Marginal note in a later hand, hic caret (see I.127, 146). LTS, p.265, "the 16th cent. hand".
275. f(e)lawe. MS folawe. LTS felawe.
277. His. MS his.
285. beliall. LTS Beliall.
287. haue. LTS have.
290. god. LTS God.
291. criste, Goddis sonne. LTS Criste, Goddis sonne.
294. allway. MS all way. LTS all-way.
295. vntrewe. MS vn trewe. LTS vn-trewe.
296. ffadir. LTS fadir.
   Lines 303b and 304a are written in the MS as one line.
304. Herea. MS heres.
   Opposite 1.306 is a marginal note in a later hand, Sir my reason is not to rehers ought.
   Lines 309-10 in the MS are written following 1.306. Emended LTS, p.266: "The copyist following ear more than eye, probably reversed the couplets (which have the same rime) unconsciously".
310. telle. LTS tell.
312. [to]. Supplied by LTS.
313. prechid. LTS preched.
314. zonge. LTS emends to zinge, presumably to rhyme with 11.312,
316, 318.

315. told. LTS told.
317. vnbrente. M suggests on bente.
318. no thyng. LTS no-thyng.
319. no thyng. LTS nothyng
Losell. LTS losell.
320. A. LTS a.
322. thame. LTS wame.
323. traitoure. MS traitourue. LTS traitoure.
324. As. LTS as.
325. the, beggar. LTS ye beggarr.
Who. LTS who.
326. schalle. LTS schall.
Thy. LTS thy.
328. ar. LTS are.
331. For. MS for.
332. No more. MS Nomore.
339. vnto. LTS unto.
341. alle. LTS all.
350. vnto ... vnto. MS vn to ... vn to. LTS vn-to ... vn-to.
Following 1.351a LTS divides the play into a third scene, entitled 'The soldiers buffet Jesu's'. This has the effect of separating the second soldier's reply to Caiaphas' instruction and dividing an alliterative long line.
356. haue. LTS have.
Following 1.357 a line is drawn in the MS without change of speaker.
359. myselffe. MS my selffe. LTS my-selffe.
361-2. MS: Playes faire in feere and I schall fande to feste it
      With a faire flanne And yer is one And yer is iij
Emendation proposed by LTS on grounds of sense and rhyme (see I.146).
363. And ... And. MS And ... and.
LTS suggests that iiii be pronounced as fo to rhyme with ii.
359, 361, 365.
365. Not. MS not.
0. LTS o.
366. noddill. LTS noddil.
node. H emends to tide to rhyme with byde, 1.369.

371. ysale. H emends to Y saie.

In iu ste. MS In iuste.

375. In. LTS in.

In the MS 11.375b and 376a are written as one separate line, and two lines have therefore been written as three.

376. For. MS for.

My. LTS my.

377. sir. LTS ser.

381. Japes. LTS janes.

Jove. LTS jove.

388. Because. MS Be cause. LTS Be-cause.

Sabott. LTS sabott.

tomorne. MS to morne. LTS to-morne.

390. beforne. MS be forne. LTS be-forne.

391. Mi. LTS My.

muste. H emends to bus.

393. Anna. A later hand emends to Cayphas.

We. LTS we.

betake. MS be take. LTS be-take.

The Dream of Pilate's Wife; Jesus before Pilate (Play 30)

( Secundus filius): see note to 1.115.

Jesus. LTS omits to list Jesus in her note of the Persons of the Play.

Heading to each page of the MS: The Tapiteres and Couchers
(The Tapiteres and Couchers, ff.138r, 138v, 144v, 145r, 146v.
The Tapiteres and Couchers, f.145v. The Tapiteres and Couchers, f.139v. The Tapiteres and Couchers, f.143r.)

Pilate. Written centrally in the MS immediately under the heading, above, in the MS hand.

4. schalle. LTS notes that schalle appears to be in error for some or a similar adverb, brestis and brekis being pres.

indicative, not infinitive as required by the auxiliary. H emends brestis to brest; and brekis to brake.

However this destroys the rhyme (see 1.156) and Smith's emendation is therefore to be preferred. The poet or copier may have had in mind a very similar line in the
opening speech to the following play (York 31, 1.4).

5. brekis. H emends to [sal] brake.

7. werkis. LTS emends to wrekis. H emends to wrake.

8. slakis. H unnecessarily emends to alake since this is the regular Northern form of the present indicative plural.

11. Exelent. LTS exalent.

12. wonne. H emends to wonne to rhyme with sonne, 1.10.

13. pight. H emends to plight. (See Glossary, pight, n.)


20. pounce. LTS Pounce.

penul. LTS penill.

21. with exynatores. H emends to with the synatores. (See Glossary, exynatores, n.pl.)

22. ye remys. H emends to yer remys.

In the MS line 23 follows line 24 (see I.156).

23. y. LTS I.


Juge. LTS juge.

Jewes. LTS Jewes.

25. here. H emends to dere.

26. Io, sirs. In the MS written separately against the right-hand margin.

my. MS My.

28. Uxor Pilatii. Written against both right-hand and left-hand margins in the MS hand.

Juge. LTS juge.

Jocounde. LTS jocounde.

29. Joifull. LTS joifull.

genologie. LTS genolgie.

Before I.30. Line drawn in the MS and vyor pilatii written against right-hand margin.

34. stonyed; LTS stonyd.

37. percula. LTS Percula. LTS notes that the name is Procula in the Gospel of Nicodemus, ch. ii, and in the Coventry accounts.

38. sir. LTS Sir.

withouten. MS with outen. LTS with-outen.
39. All welle. H emends to A welle.
45a. Written against the right-hand margin opp. 11.43-4.
45. My selfe. LTS My-selfe.
   yof. H emends to yof, but cf OED "Yof, graphic var. yof, obs. f. THOUGH"; also Though II conj. 1, quoting this line and retaining yof.
46. LTS suggests that saue (MS save) and For are "too much" (but see also 1.49 below which similarly has three chief stresses in the first half-line).
48. muste. LTS must. H emends to bus.
49. in faith. LTS suggests that this is too much for the line. H deletes. Line 49, however, like 1.46, seems merely to be an example of an extended half-line of type aaa/aa (see I. 9-10; 107).
51. Are. LTS are.
52. H emends to [scho] is buxhome, deleting full.
54. kyssid. LTS kyssed.
58. Juice. LTS juice.
Justice. LTS justice.
Jewes. LTS lewes.
In the MS 11.62-3 are written as three lines:
   But yf you reste of thy resoune
   You rewis for all is a Cursed
   Carle hase in kydde ye
Smith prints (p.273):
   But yf you reste of thy resoune, you rewis,
   For all is a-cursed carle, hase in, kydde ye!
This realignment may be confirmed on the basis of the stanza form predominating in this part of the play (see I.156). The obscurity of the second of these lines as thus re-formed (1.63) seems best explained by Holthausen (p.418), who emends all is to als and hase in to hastou, while deleting Smith's commas. This produces For als a Cursed Carle hastou kydde ye. 'For you have shown yourself an accursed churl'.
64. Amendand. LTS amendand.
68-72. LTS notes that this section is "evidently wrong; the rimes are lost even if lawes be pronounced lawes, as often occurs" (see I.156).
69. wele. MS Wele written as the first word of 1.70 (see I.156).
70. His. MS his.
71-2. MS: Pilatus Yha luffe he knawis all oure Custome
   I knawe wele
Emended LTS (see I.156).
H proposes for 11.69-72:

...Hawe, thynke ye his prechynge to prayse?

Pil. It prophitis wele [what he sais]; Yha, luffe, all oure custome he knowis.

72. Custome. LTS custome.
73. your. LTS youre.
75-6. MS: How he heldis fro hight and glydis to ye grounde
Be halde ovir youre hede
With his glitterand glemys

Emended LTS (see I.156). LTS notes that 11.75-6 are written as three in the MS, but does not draw attention to the rearrangement she has made.

75. heldis. LTS holdis.
79. deme. LTS done.
80. hir. LTS her.

Following 1.60 is written at the foot of f.138v against the right-hand margin, Nightly go wende.

81. Wende. LTS wende.
hir. LTS her.

Following 1.65, LTS notes that a line (1.66) is wanting (see I.156). The following line in her edition is then numbered 87 (86 in this text).

89. pis. LTS pis is.
90. forwe. MS for ye.
95. what. MS what.
haust. MS haue.

97-8. MS: Loke what dose you haue done nowe it is even here
Fat I are behete you ya saie it nowe sadly and done

Emended LTS. It would seem that the copyist in this line has inadvertently repeated 1.95 (see also I.156).

98. saie. LTS 'saie.
99. glad. LTS gladde.
100. cle(r)e. MS clene. Emended LTS (see I.156).
101. Nowe drynke, madame. LTS Nowe drynke[ie], madame.

103-4. LTS notes that stanza 12 is "somewhat corrupt", these lines being imperfect (see I.156).

107. fares wele. LTS fares-wele.

at 13. LTS notes that the first two lines are wanting (see I.157).

108. ye frenedlyvst. LTS ye frenedlyvst.
109. ye fayrest. LTS ye fayrest.

Following 1.109 a line is drawn in the MS as if to indicate a change of speaker.

112. he. H he(ie).
115. Secundus fillus. LTS notes that only one son has a role in the piece and her edition therefore ascribes all the lines
allocated in the MS to Secundus filius to Fil (see I.155).

115. appeas. MS a passe.
116. MS dot following gracious.
118. betwe. MS be tyde. LTS be tyde.
119. yt. LTS yt.
     betwe. MS be tyde. LTS be tyde.
122. Balyffe. MS Be lyffe. LTS Be lyffe.
123. ffares wele. LTS fares wele.
127. MS dots before and after belamy.

Following 1.127 LTS notes that a line is missing (see I.157).

130. ye. H emends to youe.
135a Added to the MS in the left-hand margin by the MS hand.

Following 1.135, LTS notes that the last part of this stanza
seems to be imperfect; the first four lines only are
complete (see I.157).

136. even. LTS even [here]. (See I.157).
138. noman. LTS no man.
141. vnborne. MS vn borne. LTS vn borne.
143. a crete. MS a crete.
146. tomorne. MS to morne. LTS to morne.
148-9. LTS divides into Scene II.
151. forwente. MS for wente. LTS for wente.
158. into. MS in to. LTS in to.
     A gap wide enough to contain one line occurs in the MS
     between the two halves of I.158, which are written as two
     separate lines. The stanza form changes at this point
     (see I.153, 158).
160. Cursednesse. LTS cursednesse.
166. sir. LTS Sir.
168. vnJustely. MS vn Justely. LTS vn Justely.
     Julged. LTS Julged.
169. Byfore. MS By fore.
170. today. MS to day. LTS to day.
173. Youre stuffe. LTS Your striffe.
177. Childe. LTS childe.
189. Jesu. LTS Jesu.
   Juste. LTS Juste.
   Jewe. LTS Jones.
191. a domes. MS adomes.
193. Primus filius. LTS Fil.
195. a morne. MS amorne.
195-6. LTS divides into Scene III.
200. car(e). MS carie. The emendation of Smith (p.278) here retained, is substantiated by the failure of this word to rhyme with sore, 1.204 (see I.158). On grounds of sense, however, either carie (MED carien, v. sense 5, to go, proceed, travel) or care (MED caien, v. Also caren, sense (a), to go) is equally acceptable. That sore (1.204) is the manuscript error is ruled out by the many examples of the phrase 'to sit (one) sore', not only elsewhere in this play (1.524) but also in Play 26, 1.168, Play 33, 1.25; Play 35, 1.207 (see Glossary sore, adv., and OED sore, adv., sense 5b).
206. Prince. LTS prince.
207. sir. LTS Sir.
208. oure hartis. LTS owre hartis.
209. And. MS and.
   sir. LTS Sir.
   Milites. LTS i Mil.
   LTS notes that this line must end with vntrewe which rhymes with rewe (1.213). She explains, "The copyist was perhaps thinking aloud as he wrote and verfor; the following four words seem to be a prose call and answer". (For the presence of this and other similar material extraneous to the rhyme scheme in this play, see I. 155, 157.)
210. knyghtis. LTS Knyghtis.
   Curtayse. LTS curtayse.
215. LTS notes that this line is complete without the words be thy feith. (For the occasional presence of a second half-line containing three stresses, see I.9-10.)
216. I am. MS Tam.
223. [Secundus mil]. Added in a later hand.
224. law(e) hym. MS lawne hym. Emended LTS (see I.158).
226. Between doultest and today the scribe has written and deleted this day.
   today. MS to day. LTS to-day.
228. a-rome. MS a rrome.
229. astate. MS a state. LTS a-state. (See Glossary, astate, n.)
231. Courte. LTS courte.
233. behynde. MS be hynde.
   Jappis. LTS Jappis.
238. yome. LTS yow.
240. yow. LTS yow.
242. vnconand. MS vn conand. LTS vn-conand.
243. beliffe. MS be liffe.
247-8. In the MS these two lines are written as one.
250. LTS suggests this line should read, Can you talke any tythand, by your faith, my felawes? to correspond to 1.252 (see I.157).
251. Yha, sir, Sir Cayphas. LTS Yha, sir Cayphas.
togedir. MS to gedir. LTS to-gedir.
252. Q. LTS q.
254. LTS notes, p.230, that "the beadle's call and Pilate's answer appear to be outside the verse; as in st 24 they do not belong to the other lines, which are complete without them". This is confirmed by the fact that the preceding and following lines each have four chief stresses (see I.157). For a similar example of initial extra-metrical phrasing in The Trial before Herod, see Play 31, I.193.
My lorde, My. LTS My lorde! my.
255. whor. LTS whor. added above the line.
259. a bande. MS abande.
264. This line falls outside the rhyme scheme of the stanza (see I.157).
Following leue the scribe appears to have begun to write a down stroke.
270. thenne. LTS emends to there, noting that it is uncertain whether the MS reads thenne or them; theme, however, is not a possible reading here.
My. MS my
iwisse. MS I wisse. LTS i-wisse.
271. all same. LTS all-same.
272. Bycause. MS By cause. LTS By-cause.
274. yoke. LTS yow.
276. sir Cayphas. LTS sir, Cayphas.
278. nomore. LTS no more.
279. Primus filius. LTS Fil.
281. bene venenev. LTS bene-veneuew.
283. Primus filius. LTS Fil.
287. Juste. LTS juste.
Jewes. LTS Jewes.
295. Yowe. LTS notes that there is a dot in the MS after Yowe, perhaps indicating a pause of exclamation, as after ha! the word being either an interjection or an adverb. (For similar marks of punctuation, see for example Play 26, 11.94, 104, 262, etc.)

296. solth. Emended LTS.

297. fendes craft. LTS fendes-craft.

299. Wherfore. MS wher fore.

302. nomore. LTS no more.

303. sekirly. LTS sikerly.

306. moused in myn herte. MS in myn herte moused. Emended LTS. (See I.157.)

307. ye Jugues and ye Jewes. LTS ye jugues and ye Jewes.

308. before. MS be fore.

Arte. LTS arte.

311. forthy. MS for thy. LTS for-thy.

319. prayed. The letters ra are written above the line.

325. forbere. MS for bere. LTS for-bere.

328. Curtasie. LTS curtasie.

335. Gracious. LTS gracious.

336. Care. LTS care.

338. Asse. LTS asse.

350. Cure. MSoure.

sauiour. LTS Saviour.

355. Caytiffe. LTS caytiffe.

Cursedly. LTS cursedly.

368. maistir. LTS maister.

370. MS: Bedellus Oyas a lowde
Pilatus Pilatus yit lowdar
That ilke lede may light.

LTS notes, p.285, that the first line of st 42 is lost in the confusion here. "Pilate would not call out his own name, and 'alowde' must be a stage direction to the Beadle, not words uttered by him; Pilate's 'yit lowder' may be the same; 'feith e' is the best rime to 'swithe'. I should therefore venture to restore the line thus - casting out 'that ilke lede may light' altogether, as irrelevant and without sense. Perhaps it belongs to st 48."
Pil. Cry Oyas!
Bed. Oyas!
   Pil. Yit lowder!
   Bed. Oyas! (a-lowde)
   Pil. Yit eft, be ye faiths."

As LTS notes, a lowde would appear clearly to be a stage direction which has become mistakenly incorporated in the text. It is the only stage direction in the play however, and it suggests that the MS from which the play was copied contained stage directions which were omitted from this MS copy.

Pilatus vit lowdar seems to be not another stage direction as LTS suggests, but Pilate's further instructions to the beadle, although this and That ilk e led may light may be a later addition, since they fall outside the stanzaic structure of st 42 (see I.157).

LTS numbers the whole section from Pil. Cry, Oyas to may light as 1.369. From this point on the numbering varies therefore from the LTS edition.

370. lowdar. LTS lowder.
Following 1.370 yit lowdar a line is drawn in the MS and a marginal note is inserted in a later hand, hic caret.

371. yer vndon. LTS yer-vndon.
376. he. LTS he.
381. Go. MS go.
385. la(r)e. MS laue. Emended LTS. (See I.158.)
393. Iwys. MS I wye. LTS i-wys.
398. abasshed. MS a basshed.
399. What. LTS What.
400. wa(rre). MS waste. Emended LTS, who notes, "The sense of the passage is obscure". (For the stanza, see I.157-8.)
403. accusying. LTS accusyng.
404. mevynge. LTS mevynge.
406. pounce. LTS Pounece.
Lines 411-2 are written as one line in the MS (see I.157).
412. Wa. MS we.
Lines 413-4 are written as one line in the MS (see I.157).
414. We. MS we.

416. This is one of the very few long lines which has been divided incorrectly in the MS, not at the caesura.

LTS notes that a line is wanting following 1.418 "to fill up the sense" and to rhyme with 1.422. (See I.157.)

423. a lede. MS alede.

425. ffaiteoure. LTS faiour.

427. Therfore. MS Ther forse.

vtuo. MS vnto.

Following 1.470 LTS notes that "a line is here wanting; perhaps 'that ilk lede may light' [1.370] is the stray, it supplies both sense and rime." (See I.157.)

437. Gude. LTS gude.

443. ffarles. LTS farles.

450. adawe. MS a dawe. LTS a-dawe.

458. Prince. LTS prince.

withouten. MS with outen. LTS with-outen.

460. forbere. MS for bere. LTS for-bere.

464. criste. LTS Criste.

The first words of 1.465, And sais he will are repeated at the foot of f. 146v.

467. indede. LTS in-de.

468. myselffe. MS my selffe. LTS my-selffe.

469. spe(de). MS speke. Emended LTS. (See I.158.)

LTS notes that 1.470 is "too long, probably ye and liste should be omitted" (but of note to 1.215).

473. criste. LTS Criste.

474. God. LTS God.

476. yiselue. LTS yiselue.

478. ffadir. LTS fadir.

479. Withouten. MS With outen. LTS With-outen.

484. VnJustely. MS Vn Justely. LTS Vn-justely.

Juge. LTS Juge.

487. als dewe (of) ye deth. MS als dewe als ye deth. Emended LTS.

493. forthy. MS for thy. LTS for-thy.

494. [t]his. MS his. Emended LTS.
499. wer. LTS whor.
500. cannot. MS can not.
ffyne. LTS fynde.
ffadir. LTS fadir.
ffarlis. LTS farlis.
502. la(l)e. MS large. Emended LTS. (See I.158.)
503. MS: Nay nay sir he was but aruite yat we wisste. Emended LTS. (See I.157.)
504. sawe. LTS saw.
511. ywis. MS ywis. LTS y-wis.
512. galely. LTS Galely.
513. and (bredde). MS and borne. LTS and brade, and bredde added to the MS in a later hand. (See I.158.)
514. withouten. MS with outen. LTS with-outen.
516. herowde. LTS Herowde.
520. oute. LTS out.
523. Pilatus is set against 11.523-4 in the MS. LTS assigns to Anna, noting that either Annas or Caiaphas seems here intended. Following 1.524, the MS reads: And perfore sir knyghtis - lorde. A line is then ruled and Pilatus is allocated the following speech (beginning 1.525).
LTS inserts And perfore, sir knyghtis following 1.527, adding [in haste], since this line should rhyme with wraste, braste (11.526-7). An exactly similar line of course has occurred previously at 1.209, where it was extra-metrical. (See I.157.)
524. sente. ?MS error for shent; see Glossary, shende, v.
529. betwene. MS be twene. LTS be-twene.
530. herowde. LTS Herowde.
533. Is done. MS: is done is written as the last two words of 1.532. LTS in the MS reads Done vponne ... (See I.157.)
537. a spede. LTS a-spede.
538. to me. LTS notes, "Sic, but these words must be wrong, perhaps to me should be dome".
539. Bewesirs. LTS Bewe sirs.
541. beheste. MS be heste. LTS be-haste.
547. ffresshely. LTS fresshely.
fflittand. LTS flittand.
The Trial before Herod (Play 31)

Heading to f.149r; The lytsteres (The lytisteres, f.149v; The lytisteres, ff.150r; 151r; 151v; 152r; 152v; 153r; 153v; 154r; 154v; 155r; 155v; 156r; 156v; The lytisteres, f.150v).

1. [Rex]. LTS Rex
   [Pies. LTS PES.
   inbrased. MS in brased.
2. freykis. LTS frekis.
3. trifillis. LTS trifillis.
6. with daashin. Written against the right-hand margin, opposite 11.6-7.
13. ongentill. MS on gentill. LTS on-gentill.
   Line 13 is written following 1.14 in the MS. Emended LTS.
   (See I.177.)
18. Thorfore. MS Therfore. LTS Ther-fore.
23. knawe. Smith emends to knowes. (For the stanza form, see I.179.)
   There are, however, other examples in this play of final -s being disregarded in rhyme (tythandes, bande, hande, 11.30-4; may, asse, drays, frayes, 11.302-8; similarly in Play 29, estatis, debate, Pilate, hate, 11.335-41; may, awaue, lave, sales, 11.372-3; also Play 30, sales, may, away, 11.481-3.
24. all. MS All.
29. befall. MS be fall. LTS be-fall.
30. lord. LTS lorde.
35. ilk. LTS ilk.
   as resoun as. MS as resoun as. Emended LTS.
36. Wherfore. MS Wherfore. LTS Wher-fore.
38. ych a quy. LTS notes that "the words see ilk a wy i.e. a man (A.S. wiga, a warrior) may be intended. But this is the only example in the volume of ilk being spelt ych".
39. withouten. MS with outen. LTS withouten.
   Following 1.41 a later hand has written tunc bibit rex.
42. vn stake. MS vn lase. LTS vn-lase.
47. nost. LTS not.
50. H adds [and sothely] to rhyme with 11.48 and 49. (See I.182.)
56. lucifer. LTS Lucifer.
60. Herowde. LTS Herowde.
   [hllall. of Play 29, 1.173: Sir, see Cayphas halle here
at hande; and Play 32, 1.107: Sir, ye harlott is at heroudes hall, cuyn her at your hande.

68. betwene. MS be twene. LTS be-twene.
69. Wherefore. MS Where fore. LTS Where-fore.

have. H emends to to have.

Lines 72-3 are ruled off in the MS and Primus dux is set against 1.72. (Not noted LTS.) (See I.177.)

75. astate. MS a state.
78. a goode. MS a goode.
82. a boy ... a bande. MS aboy ... abande.
87. yer. LTS ye. L T S  yere.
90. ye. LTS ye.
93. willes. LTS willis.
95. Yt. LTS emends to yat.
96. saie. H emends to have you to saie.
81. Arayne. LTS arayne.
104. myght. LTS myghtes.
112. ere. H emends to nerre to rhyme with ferre, werre, marre (11.106-10).
113. schalle. LTS schall.
114. [were]. Added LTS.
115. ye ilke. LTS the ilke.
119. ywise. MS y wisse. LTS y-wisse.
120-1. LTS treats this as one line; similarly 11.122-3 and other stanzas of similar form (sts 12, 13, 16). (See I.180.) There is therefore a variation in the line numbers of this transcription.
126. vnto. MS vn to. LTS vn-to.
129. prove. LTS prove.
130. galyle. LTS Galyle.
134. Are. LTS are.
135. saie we. H suggests emendation to sawe we or saide he.
138. ywise. MS y wisse. LTS y-wisse.
144. abakke. MS a bakke. LTS a-bakke.
146. Joie. LTS joie.
149. & A parle. LTS et a parle.
152. Mi. LTS My.
   The right-hand margin of f.152r contains copying of the craft and speakers' names, ornamented with flourishes, in a late hand.
155. Lorde. LTS lorde.
   ye. H emends to were.
157. Assaie. LTS assaie.
162. A dryrh. LTS a-irwth.
165. schalle. LTS schall.
166. Joie. LTS joie.
171. her. H emends to ther.
172. Cosyne. LTS cosyme.
   karpe. LTS carpe.
172. a kynk. MS akynk.
177. Secundus dux. Omitted LTS.
179. bewscherie. LTS bewscherie.
182. no more. MS nomore.
   vnto. MS vn to.
183. a man. MS aman.
186. withouten. MS with outen. LTS with-outen.
188. Bourde. MS bourde.
191. beforne. MS be forne. LTS be-forne.
192. Io. MS lo.
193. Say, devnis you not? almost a repetition of the line preceding, is extra-metrical here in a line which already has four chief stresses. For a similar example in the previous play, cf Play 30, 1.254.
   Whare. MS whare.
   His. MS his.
196. Mi. LTS My.
198. Avayle. LTS a-vayle. MS A vayle.
199. [tell hyme]. Inserted above the line in a later hand.
   vnto. MS vn to.
202. Th(i)s. MS Thus. Emended LTS.
mop meyna. MS monmeyna.
203. makes. LTS makis.
204. [i jus dux]. Added in a later hand. Not noted LTS.
205. fisshis. LTS fisshis.
206. fedde. LTS fedde.
209. Mahounde. LTS mahounde.
211. a wondir. MS awondir.
213. forsetyn. MS for getyn. LTS for-getyn.
217. yat. MS yat yat.
218. Rex. MS jus dux, struck through, and Rex substituted in the
same hand.
220. Lazar. LTS Lazar.
223. Raryng ... Rayed. LTS raryng ... rayed.
225. withouten. MS with outen. LTS with-outen.
228. leuys. LTS lenys. H suggests also lendys.
eman. LTS emaneg.
232. a kyng. MS akyn.
234. wher. LTS where.
239. into. MS in to.
Saie. MS saie.
241. a dele. MS adele.
246. primet. LTS notes 'sic'. "There seems little attempt at
sense (purposely) in this jumble of French and Latin".
H emends to Sevitia perimet and Respicias temet.
250. before. MS be fore.
252. Astonys. LTS astonys.
254. horrowde. LTS horrowde.
256. hym flaiys. H suggests does hym flaiye to accord with the rhyme,
but of 11.19-25 and footnote, 1.23.
257a. Written in the MS as a continuation of 1.256. Emended LTS.
257b. Written in the MS as one line with 1.258. Emended LTS.
258. And. MS and.
260-1. Written in the MS as one line. (For the stanza form, see
I.179.)
261. For. MS for.
   fomys. The letter r is added above the line, apparently by the same hand.

265. how. H emends to how.

266-7. LTS notes "the copyist here wrote the names of the two speakers, as well as the rubricator". (See I.177.)

266. Fayff. LTS Fayff.

267. viins. LTS viins.
   amangidre. LTS Amangidre.

268. Aunswer. LTS aunswer.

270. a. LTS a.

272. lawes. LTS lawes.

275b and 276a are written in the MS as one line. Emended LTS. (For the stanza form, see I.171.)

276. But. MS but.


279. langly. H emends to largely.
   Allone. LTS allone.

281. Aungelis. LTS aungelis.

291b LTS includes this part line in the following stanza.

297. ayles. H emends to is it yat ayles.

298. Mi. LTS My.

300. a ladde. MS aladde.

302. Mi. LTS My.

305. bodis. LTS boddis.

306. Mi. LTS My.

307. drawe. LTS adds [sonne] (See I.182.)

307-9. In the MS nota is written before 1.307 and hic following 1.309. (See I.178, 182.)

308. freynis. LTS freynis. H emends to freystis.

310. Mi. LTS My.

311. not. LTS not.

312. betwene. MS be twene. LTS be-twene.

313.Nota is written before this line in a later hand (LTS, sixteenth century hand), and hic following. (See I.178, 182.) (LTS states that nota is written before 1.319.)

321. cautely. LTS cautely.
323. still. LTS still.

325-6. My lorde pie faitour is repeated at the foot of f.154v.

326. II.ius filius. Omitted by LTS, who notes that "the name of tertius filius" is "inserted before l.327 as well as here". (See I.177, 180.) The line referred to in the Smith edition, however, is l.314.

327. Aunswere. LTS aunswere.

Tertius filius is set against 11.328-9 in the MS hand. A later hand adds nota. Pylatus is written against this speech in the left-hand margin by a later hand. (See I.178.)

328. bewscheris. LTS bewscheris. Probably a MS error for the singular.

belial. LTS Belial.

330. One. LTS one.

332. Moyse. LTS moyse.

333. II.ius filius. A later hand adds nota. (See I.178.)

334. Mi. LTS My.

a myte. MS amyte.

335. a mad. MS amad.

mad man. LTS madman.

(me). MS me. Emended LTS to rhyme with 11.337, 339, 341. (See I.179.)

341. vei falle. H emends to yeim falle and compares 11.373 and 379.

345-6a. Written as one line in the MS.

345. Schulde. MS schulde.

346b-7. Written as one line in the MS. (For the stanza form, see I.179.)

346. 3a. MS 3a.

Rex. LTS [Rex].

nomore. LTS no moo. Since nomore rhymes with goo, froo, soo (11.342-4) (see I.179) no moo was probably the original form.

347. But. MS but.

355. facionnd. H faciound.


358. roye. LTS Roye.

361. a worde. MS aворie.

364. kyng. LTS Kyng.
372. In the MS l.372b is written as l.373a. (For the stanza form, see I.161.)
late. MS late.
373. And. MS and.
374. Marginal note in a later hand (illegible).
Ores ye. LTS O res ye.
376. Abate. MS A bate. LTS a-bate.
379. LTS notes that this line "seems out of place as shown by the rime, though the sense is good. Can it belong to l.378 [394], which ought to rime with l.382 [398]? The sentence of l.365 [379] agrees well with the scorn of the soldier, l.379 [395]. The whole passage from l.365 [379] to the end is difficult to read, both for rime and for sense". (See I.181.)
380. A line is drawn in the MS following l.380 dividing Herod's speech, although no change in speaker is indicated or required.
here to abide. MS to abide here. Emended LTS. (For the stanza form, see I.181.)
384. (r)athely. MS rathely. Emended LTS.
398. slee. H emends to file to rhyme with while (l.394). (See I.182.)
400. ffynne. LTS fynne.
402. a lorde. MS alorde.
403. vnlely. MS vn lely. LTS vn-lely.
405. cf l.381 for a very similar line, in an inserted section of st 25 (see I.181).
407. forgeue. MS for geue. LTS for-geue.
412. eylll. H emends to yll.
423. deuyll way. MS deuyllway.

The Second Accusation before Pilate; Remorse of Judas; Purchase of the Field of Blood (Play 32)

Heading to each page of MS: The Cokis and Wairlederes, f.157v, The Cookis and Wairleders, f.158r, 160v, 161v, 162r, 162v, 163r; The Cokes and Wairleders, f.159v; The Cokes and Wairleders, f.159r, 159v; The Cookes and Wairleders, f.160r; The Cookees and Wairleders, f.161r, 163v.

1. Pilatus. Written in the centre of the manuscript page, immediately under the above heading.
Pees. MS Pees.
aboute. MS a boute.

3. lowte me. The letters te are written above the line in the MS hand.


12. In. LTS in.


15. no man. MS noman.

24. to beholde. Added to this line in a later hand.


31. sir. LTS sir.

37. vnto. MS vn to.

43. Janer. LTS jner.

45. (H)is. MS This. Emended LTS.

46. Sabotte. LTS sabotte.

47. vnconnand. MS vn connand. LTS vn-connand.

Line 43 is written in the MS following 1.45. Emended LTS, who notes that "the rime appears to point this out as the right place for it". Smith also suggests that there seems to be a line wanting before 1.40. (For the stanza form, see I.204.)

51. fordo. MS for do. LTS for-do.

Lines 51 and 52. Written as one line in the MS.

52. And. MS and.

Lines 53 and 54. Written as one line in the MS.

54. Yf. MS yf.

55. Aunswere Allow. LTS aunswere allow.

56. holde. LTS holde.

69. ouersprede. MS ouer sprede. LTS ouer-sprede.

71. Aunsweres. LTS aunsweres.

And. LTS and.

72. no(sht). MS nowe.

And. LTS and.

myselfe. MS my selfe.

82. besides. MS be side.

84. raynebowe. MS rayne bowe. LTS rayne-bowe.

86. a day. MS aday.
87. deuyllname. MS deuyllname.
89. (neuens it). MS neuensit. Emended LTS.
90. mervayles. LTS meruayles.
93. within. MS with in. LTS with-in.
97. AV. LTS av.
100. any kynne. LTS any-kynne.
103. deuillis. LTS deuillis.
104. ouerewyn. MS ouere wyn. LTS ouere-wyn.
105. bedlen. LTS Bedlem.
106. lucifer. LTS Lucifer.
107. heroudes. LTS Heroudes.
109. [lani]. Inserted by a later hand. Not noted LTS.
113. beliall. LTS Beliall.
116. herowde. LTS Heroude.
117. ye. LTS ye.
119. Written in the MS following 1.119 (see I.200).
123. will. LTS will.
124. kayphas. LTS Kayphas.
125. Aske. LTS aske.
Marginal note in later hand opposite 11.125-6: hic caret loquela de primo filio et allis. (See I.201.)

Lines 130-1. Written as one line in the MS (For the stanza form, see I.210.)

Lines 132-3. Written as one line in the MS.
133. yat. MS yat.
134. aboute. MS a boutte.
136. no man. MS noman.
137. betrayed. MS be trayed. LTS be-trayed.
Lines 137-8. Written as one line in the MS. (For the stanza form, see I.210.)
Lines 139-40. Written as one line in the MS.
146. To loke howe beste yat bote myght be. MS To loke yat howe beste myght be bote. Emended LTS. LTS notes that this line
stands after l.147 in the MS, but this is not so. (See I. 201, 209.)

147. Unto. MS Unto.
Line 149 is written opposite 11.147-8 in the MS.

149. His. MS His.
Marginal note in a later hand opposite 1.151: Hic carat locula
manna et diversa. (See I.201.)

151. Judas. LTS Judas.

159. righthisse. LTS right-wisse.
Line 160 is written in the MS opposite 11.158-9.

160. Ani. MS ani.
164. trulye. LTS trwlye.
165. boughte [lit]. MS boughte hym. Emended LTS. (See I.209.)
167. [Judas]. Inserted by a later hand.
169. yer till. LTS yer-till.
171. hale. LTS proposes emendation to [playne] to rhyme with 1.173,
suggesting that hale is perhaps a reminiscence of 1.197. (See I.209.) She adds,"The line is also too long."

176. [lit]. Added LTS.
177. vnseele. MS vn seele. LTS vn-seele.
182. Written in the MS opposite 11.180-1.
ilkana. LTS ilkyn.
184. wille. LTS will.
186. onhanged. MS on hanged. LTS on-hanged.
harke. LTS hark.

189. Why will ye yanne latte hym passe not. MS Why will ye yanne
not latte hym passe. With this minor rearrangement, the
rhyme with 1.191 is restored. (See I.209.)
192. LTS adds [this day]. (See I.209.)
Lines 192-3 are written in the MS as one line. (See I.209.)

196. youe. LTS you.
200. agayne. MS a gayne.
Line 204 is written in the MS opposite 1.202.

204. For. MS for.
207. thyselfe. MS thy selfe. LTS thy-selfe.
210. Therefor. MS There for.
Line 215 is written in the MS opposite 1.213.
Line 217 is written in the MS opposite 1.216.

218. bonde man. LTS bonde-man.

222. A. LTS a.

225. for(thy). MS for it. Emended LTS for-thy. (For the stanza form, see 1.209.)

226. Written in the MS opposite 1.224.
You. MS y. LTS You.

228. You. MS y. LTS Yu.

229. kn(ave). MS known. Emended by LTS. (See 1.209.)

232. hym. LTS him.
Marginal note in later hand following 1.236, caret hic.
Struck through. (See I. 201-2; 209.)
Following 1.236 LTS adds [I cry you sore]. (See I. 209.)

237. Jape. LTS jape.

244. shewe. LTS scheme.

249. You. MS y.

253. begile. MS be gile.

256. nought. LTS not.

257. and reason why written in the MS opposite 1.257 in a later hand and struck through.
Line 258 is written in the MS opposite 1.255.
Line 260 is written in the MS opposite 1.259.

266. agayne. MS a gayne. LTS a-gayne.

269. fan. MS fan.

273. within. MS with in. LTS with-in.

274. forsake. MS for sake. LTS for-sake.

276. Forsake. MS For sake. LTS For-sake.

278. withall. MS with all. LTS with-all.

Following 1.279 LTS adds [Nor mercy none]. (For the stanza form, see 1.210.)
for-do. MS for do. LTS for-do.

wnto. MS wn to. LTS wn-to.

onsought. MS on sought. LTS on-sought.

abide. MS a bide.

And clame me you clene. Added to the MS in the MS hand following 1.297.

Therfore. MS Ther fore. LTS Ther-fore.

myselffe. MS my selffe. LTS my-selffe.

fordo. MS for do. LTS for-do.

Ete. LTS ete.

per till. LTS per-till.

Written in the MS opposite 1.308.

betrave. MS be trave. LTS be-traye.

Miselffe. MS Mi selffe. LTS Mi-selffe.

fordo. MS for doo. LTS for-doo.

vnto. MS vn to. LTS vn-to.

sir. LTS Sir.

Written in the MS opposite 1.317.

Howe. MS howe.

yerby. MS yer by. LTS yer-by.

nouzt. LTS not.

corbonan. LTS Corbonan.

sk(i)ll. MS skall. Emended LTS. (For the stanza form, see 1.218.)

Written in the MS as a continuation of 1.329.

[Pilatus]. Addition by LTS, who notes that "the rubricator forgot to insert the name of Pilate, but it seems likely that his speech begins with 1.332".

Palmeres. LTS palmeres.

Kaiphas. LTS Kaiphas.

forfare. MS for fare. LTS for-fare.

sir. LTS Sir.

Empire. LTS empire.

Opposite 11.338-41 a later hand has written hic caret. (See Y.201-2; 218.)

Iwisse. LTS i-wisse.
withouten. MS withouten. LTS withouten.

onto. MS onto. LTS onto.

wedde sette. LTS wedde-sette.

erto. MS erto. LTS erno.

caluary. LTS Caluary.

wedde sette. LTS wedde-sette.

belyve. MS belyve. LTS be-lyve.

A line is drawn in the manuscript following 1.353, and Armiger is written again against the following speech (see I.201; 218).

onto. MS onto. LTS onto.

Shew vs thy dedis is written at the foot of f.162v.

Between lines 361-2 the manuscript has a note against the right-hand margin in a later hand, hic caret loquela. (See I.201-2; 219.)

vn trewly. MS vn trewly. LTS vn-trewly.

Perfore. MS Per fore. LTS Per-fore.

betake. MS be take. LTS be-take.

Ilkone. LTS ilkone.

forthy. MS for thy. LTS for-thy.

ongodly. MS on godly. LTS on-godly.

Angir. LTS angir.

sir. LTS Sir.

abaste. MS a baste. LTS a-baste.

sir. LTS Sir.

Angir. LTS angir.

Forthy. MS For thy. LTS For-thy.

kayphas. LTS Kayphas.

The Second Trial before Pilate continued; The Judgment of Jesus (Play 33)

Heading to f.164r, The Tyllemakers, struck through, and Mylners written alongside in a later hand. (See I.229; 233.)

Barred lines have been used throughout the manuscript of this play to indicate rhymes, but only in pairs; and
sometimes even this has been omitted (e.g. 11.466-71; 347-59), or done incorrectly (11.264-5). (For the stanza form of the play, see 1.233.)

1. Pilatus. Written centrally in the MS immediately under the craft's name, in the MS hand.

Lordynges. LTS Lordynges.

6. aboute. MS a boute.

9. Written in the MS opposite 1.6. (For problems in the alignment of lines, see 1.229.)

11. withoute. MS with oute. LTS with-oute.

12. Written in the MS opposite 11.10 and 11.

13. within. MS with in. LTS with-in.

19. caystaffe. LTS emends to caystaffe, but cf Play 26, 1.74; Play 33, 1.336 and pl., 1.203; Glossary, caytiffe, n.

20. vn to. MS vn to. LTS vn-to.

21. Written in the MS opposite 11.20 and 22.

Verfore. MS Ver fore.

24. Written in the MS opposite 1.23.

myself. MS my self.

hy(m). MS hym.

31. Chiftan. LTS chiftan.

32. Churll. LTS churll.

Following 1.32 LTS inserts a proposed new line [and hasted] which she numbers, 1.33, hence a variation in line numbers between her edition and this text. (For the stanza form, see 1.233.)

33. The speaker's name is thus repeated.

36. Pil. Omitted LTS.

Who so. LTS who so.

Heading to f.164v, The Tillemakers, struck through and Mylners written below in a later hand.

37. Zoure. LTS Youre.

38. sou. LTS you.

42. 3a my lord. MS 3a my my lord.

43. tythandis. For the rhyme with bande, hand (11.45-6) see the stanza form, 1.233; also 11.80-4, Play 31 and the note to 1.23, Play 31.

44. Written in the MS opposite 1.42 and joined to it by a connecting line.
Ful. MS ful. LTS ful.

47. Written in the MS opposite 11.45-6.
   heroode. LTS Heroode.

51. libellerall. LTS liberall.
   Allied. LTS allied.

54. heroode. LTS Heroode.
   noght. LTS not.

56. Written in the MS opposite 11.54-5.
   For. MS for. LTS for.

58. hym selfe. LTS hym-selfe.
   zou, LTS you.

59. Written in the MS opposite 11.57-8.

68. Written in the MS opposite 1.66.
   And. LTS and.
   Heading to f.165v, The Tillemakers, struck through and Mylners written below in a later hand.

71. Written in the MS opposite 11.69 and 70.
   And. MS and.

74. heroode. LTS Heroode.

76. Moreover. MS More over. LTS More-over.

80. Written in the MS opposite 1.77.

83. Written in the MS opposite 1.82.
   76. Prob. scribal error for you.

85. heroode. LTS Heroode.

86. zou, LTS you.

92. Written in the MS opposite 1.90.
   With. MS with.

95. Written in the MS opposite 11.93 and 94.

97. Agyane. MS Agyane.
   sir. LTS Sir.

99. Any. LTS any.

101. god. LTS God.

104. Written in the MS opposite 1.102.
   Suld. MS suld.
   Heading to f.165v, The Tillemakers.

107. telle. LTS tell.
-161-

withouten. MS withouten. LTS withouten.
108. [Geyphas]. Added in a later hand.
Lines 112 and 113 are written in the MS as one line.
113. Gamaliell. MS gamaliell.
Lines 114, 115 and 116 are written in the MS as one line.
116. Togithere. MS to githere. LTS to-githere.
123. doun. LTS down.
125. trist. LTS tirlyst.
128. Written in the MS opposite 1.126.
Heading to f.166r, The Tillemakers.
11.141-3. Preco is written against these lines, although there is no change of speaker.
143. Written in the MS opposite 11.141 and 142.
Buxhorne. LTS buxhome.
146. [Preco]...[ius mil]. Emended LTS [Praeco]...[i Mil].
yan. MS yan.
152. Written in the MS opposite 11.150-1.
And. MS and.
155. Written in the MS opposite 1.154.
Ius. MS yus.
156. forsente. MS for sente. LTS for-sente.
164. Written in the MS opposite 1.163.
166. Allas. LTS allas.
176. Written in the MS opposite 1.175.
Now. MS now.
179. Written in the MS opposite 1.178.
183. It. LTS it.
184. Tite. LTS illa.
188. Written in the MS opposite 1.187.
vnwittyng. LTS vnwittyng.
189. in faith. MS infaith.
191. Written in the MS opposite 11.189 and 190.
for soth. LTS forsoth.
197. henne harte. LTS henne-harte.
200. Written in the MS opposite 11.198 and 199.
Foul. MS foul.

201. I wisse. LTS i-wisse.
202. Pil. Omitted LTS.
203. Written in the MS opposite 11.201 and 202.

Here. MS here.

Heading to f.167v, The Tillemakers, struck through, and Mylners written alongside in a later hand.

207. Beholde. MS Be-holde. LTS Be-holde.

213. vnto. MS vn-to. LTS vn-to.
215. Written in the MS opposite 1.214.

Hider. MS hider.

217. bigg men. MS biggmen.
221. apace. MS a pace.
223. ar. LTS are.
224. Written in the MS opposite 1.223.

227. ius mil. LTS correctly comments (p.327), "If we take this rubric as correct, the beadle goes out and fetches in the same soldiers (1st and 2nd) who had brought Jesus back from Herod to Pilate, and we may suppose had then retired. See line 157 [156 of this present text]. They as well as Pilate are however quite unconscious of the identity ... and we should probably name them seventh and eighth soldiers."

228. this. LTS yis.

Heading to f.167v, The Tillemakers.

237. or. LTS or.
238. begynne. MS be-gynne. LTS be-gynne.
239. Written in the MS opposite 11.237 and 238.

Declare. LTS declare.


248. Written in the MS opposite 11.246 and 247.
251. Written in the MS opposite 1.250.

Hardly. MS hardly.

260. Written in the MS opposite 11.258 and 259.

His. MS his.

263. Written in the MS opposite 1.262.
264. Marginal note in a later hand, Oyes.
Following 1.265 a line is ruled, but no new speaker is allocated.
Heading to f.168r, The Tillemakers.

266. In. LTS in.
The stage direction following 1.267 is written in the MS against 11.266 and 267.

preco. LTS Preco.
annam. LTS Annam.

judicatur. LTS Judicatur.

272. Written in the MS opposite 1.271.

274. M(e). MS my. Emended LTS.

275. Written in the MS opposite 1.274.

276. Terof. MS Ter of. LTS Ter-of.

284. Written in the MS opposite 11.282 and 283.

287. He. MS he.

288. selfe. LTS selfe.

293. coinlyvk. Emended LTS. (See Glossary.)

294. god son. MS godson. LTS God son.
Heading to f.168v, The Tillemakers.


299. Written in the MS opposite 1.298.

Speke. MS speke.

302. god. LTS God.

303. Word missing from the MS following hym. LTS supplies that.

309. ffoone. LTS ffoone.

311. Written in the MS opposite 11.309 and 310.

Nor. MS nor.

312. Withoue. MS With oue. LTS With-oue.

316. vnto. MS vn to. LTS vn-to.

forth(y). MS forthe. Emended LTS, and this completes the rhyme with 11.313, 315, 318. (For the stanza form, see 1.233.)

319. withouten. MS with outen. LTS with-ouen.

320. Written in the MS opposite 1.319.
withouten. MS withouten. LTS withouten.

Written in the MS opposite 11.321 and 322.

no(m)an. MS nonan. Emended LTS.
your. LTS youre.

withoute. LTS withoute.

And. LTS and.

Heading to f. 169r, The Tillemakers.

Croune. LTS croune.

Written in the MS opposite 11.330.

treasoune. LTS tresoune.

Written in the MS opposite 11.333 and 334.

wyrnge. LTS wyrng.

beforen. MS beforen. LTS beforen.

Written in the MS opposite 11.340 and 341.

Haue. MS haue.

god. LTS God.

har ye. MS har ye.
lordyngeis. LTS lordyngeis.

Written in the MS opposite 11.354 and 355.

Sweete. e added above the line.

Written in the MS opposite 11.367.

And. MS and.

prayer. LTS prayer.

likis you. LTS likis thou.

paver. LTS paver.

Written in the MS opposite 1.379.

You. LTS you.

Following 1.382 a line is drawn in the MS and ius mil is written, then, He swoune or sweltis I swarand, struck through. At the foot of f. 169v is written, He swoune or sweltis. f. 170r begins immediately after the heading, The Tillemakers, with a line drawn across the page and the line I wate wele my wron nost waste I, struck through. Then follows 1.383. (See I. 228.)

Heading to f. 169v, The Tillemakers.

because. MS be cause. LTS be-cause.

Written in the MS opposite 11.390 and 391.
For. MS for. LTS for.
393. apper. LTS appare.
396. a men-e. LTS amen-e.
403. [a]. Added by a later hand.
404. Written in the MS opposite 1.403.
So. MS so.
406. I nowe. LTS i-nowe.
Ending to f.170v, The Tillemakers.
412. without. MS with out. LTS with-out.
416. Written in the MS opposite 1.415.
419. Written in the MS opposite 1.417 and 418.
420. be lyve. MS be lyve. LTS be-lyve.
421. sir. LTS Sir.
oure. LTS our.
422. Angir. LTS angir.
428. Written in the MS opposite 1.426 and 427.
431. Written in the MS opposite 1.429 and 430.
Lo. MS lo.
flessh. LTS flesh.
be flapped. MS be flapped. LTS be-flapped.
432. before. MS be fore. LTS be-fore.
434. beholde. MS be holde. LTS be-holde.
435. before. MS be fore. LTS be-fore.
439. Written in the MS opposite 1.437 and 438. One leaf is missing from the MS at this point (see 1.228). As Smith points out, In race (numbered in this present text 1.439) should follow the next line missing.
Heading to f.171r, The Tillemakers, struck through, and Mylners written below in a later hand.
440. [Pil]. Supplied by LTS.
443. Wille. LTS Will.
Following 1.443 in the MS and included in the speech division of Preco is written. Now this barabus bandis e vnhende (struck through) (see 1.228). Against this line is written in a later hand, Tunc lavat manus suas.
444. this. LTS vis.
445. gatis. LTS emends to gate to rhyme with 1.443, hote. (See 1.233 for the stanza form). For the apparent disregarding of
final -s in rhyme, cf 11.43, 45 and 46 and see also note to 1.23, Play 31.

446. Written in the MS opposite 11.444 and 445.
449. Written in the MS opposite 11.447 and 448.

vn till. MS vn till. LTS vn-till.

452. Today. MS to day. LTS to-day.
453. Written in the MS opposite 11.454 and 455.
454. Written in the MS opposite 11.456 and 459.
461. Written in the MS opposite 1.460.
465. One. Struck through, and Alone inserted above, possibly in a later hand. LTS alone.

Lines 470 and 471 are written in the MS as one line.

Heading to f.171v, The Tillemakers.

474. LTS punctuates: Drawe hym faste, hense deluere you, haue done.
477. Tomorne. MS to morne. LTS to-morne.
482. Written in the MS opposite 11.480 and 481.

ys. MS yus.

484. A manly. MS amanly.

Christ led up to Calvary (Play 34)

Heading to each page of the MS, The Shermen (see I.271-2).

LTS begins numbering the stanzas of this play at 1.16 commenting, "These first lines appear so irregular (purposely so, perhaps) that I count the stanzas from line 16. Line 2 is divided in the manuscript and four of the short lines are out of place." (See I.269, 281ff.)

1. Primus Miles Incipit. LTS i Miles. (See I.269-70.)

Bachillers. LTS bachillers.

2. But. LTS but.

5. Written in the MS opposite 1.2b.


8. Written in the MS opposite 1.7.

Getis. LTS getis.

12. Written in the MS opposite 1.11.
14. alle yat. LTS all that.
15. Written in the MS opposite 1.14.
   Yis. MS yis.
22. Because. MS Be cause. LTS Be-cause.
   tomorne. MS to morne. LTS to-morne.
18. wayes. LTS emends to waye, presumably for a better rhyme with
   11.21, 23, 25. (For the stanza form, see 1.281, and for
   other examples of final -s being disregarded in rhyme, cf
   note to 1.445, Play 33.)
35. Crying. LTS crying.
37. burde. LTS notes "sic in MS, but probably bude = must, behoves,
   is intended."
38. Crosse. LTS crosse.
42. behoues. MS be houes. LTS be-houes.
44. sir. LTS Sir.
46. Wher. LTS Where.
51. behoues. MS be houes. LTS be-houes.
54. Japes. LTS japes.
57. wymond. LTS Wymond.
59. sir wymond. LTS Sir Wymond.
   wayte-skathe. MS wayteskathe. LTS wayt e[s] skathe. (See
   Glossary, wayte, v.)
60. sir wymond. LTS Sir Wymond.
61. I am. MS lam.
63. I haue. LTS Ihaue.
79. Tan. LTS tan.
80. yer aftir. MS yer aftir. LTS yer-aftir.
83. Beholde. MS Be holde. LTS Be-holde.
88. before. MS be fore.
89. hyng. LTS emends to hang, presumably for a better rhyme with
   11.92, 94, 96. (For the stanza form, see 1.281; also 1.269.)
93. hameres and nayles. LTS hameres and [for] nayles.
   (See 1.269.)
96. Irnne. LTS irnne.
98. beere. LTS emends to bere.
101. yer-on. MS yer-on. LTS yer-on.
106. togedir. MS to-gedir. LTS to-gedir.
108. 3ister-even. LTS 3ister-even.
110. Patir. LTS Patir.
113-4. Written in the MS as one line.
114. And. MS and.
115-6. Written in the MS as one line.
116. Yat. MS yat.
117. Syte. LTS syte.
118. Ay. LTS ay.
120. lakke[d]. MS lakke. Emended LTS.
130. no thyng. LTS no-thyng.
131. Forthy. LTS For thy. LTS For-thy.
136. therfore. MS ther fore. LTS ther-fore.
140. forthy. MS for thy. LTS for-thy.

Following 1.142 a leaf is lost from the manuscript (see I. 269, 300ff.).

143. LTS suggests i Mary? for this speech, noting, "It appears to be the Mary kother who is speaking; but the lines are evidently wrong." (See I.269.)

144. forsake. MS for sake. LTS for-sake.
148. In. LTS in.
150. Thurghoute. MS Thurgh oute. LTS Thurgh-oute.
151. Sithfull. LTS sithfull.
155. a wighte. MS a wighte.
157. that. LTS yat.
161. Cytte. LTS cytte.
165. schal be. MS schalbe
167. befalla. MS be falle. LTS be-falle.
176. on vs. MS onvs.
181. Cursed. LTS cursed.
196. abye. MS a bye. LTS a-bye.
199. with(alle). MS with ille. Emended LTS. (For the stanza form, see I.281, and for with all in the corresponding line in Towneley play 22, st 42, see I.274.)
204. before. MS before. LTS before.

205. thedir. LTS notes that perhaps thore was the word originally meant: "It occurs in 1.296 and elsewhere". It also rhymes with 11.201, 202, 204. (For the stanza form, see I.281.)

206. ṣi(n). MS ṣi. Suggested emendation, LTS.

207. [jus Mill]. Added twice in two later hands (see I.270).

209. (G)c. MS To. Emended LTS.

218. before. MS before.

224. forbledde. MS for bledd. LTS for-bledde.

229. Se. LTS se.

234. journey. LTS journey.

241. schall. LTS shall.

244. [jus Mill]. Added by a later hand, but no line is ruled for a separate speech. Noted LTS. (See I.270.)

246. forthy. MS for thy. LTS for-thy.

248. caluerye. LTS Caluerve.

254. Surete. LTS surete.

271. Sirs. LTS sirs.

276. fullfille. MS full fille. LTS full-fille.

278. Ille. LTS ille.

280. þer till. LTS þer-till.

287. belyve. MS be lyve. LTS be-lyve.

292. Crosse. LTS crosse.

297-8. Written in the MS as one line. Noted LTS.

298. Oure. MS oure.

299-300. Written in the MS as one line. Noted LTS.

300. Forthe. MS forthe.

309. We! me! MS Weme. Emended LTS.

311. hymselffe. LTS hym-selffe.

321. beliffe. MS be liffe. LTS be-liffe.

332. stille. LTS still.

334. before. MS before.
345. Ilke man. MS Ilkeman. LTS ilke man.

Following 1.350 a later hand writes finis.

Crucifixio Cristi (Play 35)

Heading to f.178r, The Pynneres: and paynters added in a later hand. Immediately beneath, centred, Crucifixio xpi in the MS hand. Heading to all remaining pages of this play, The Pynneres.

1. [S]ir. Space left for large initial capital letter, not filled in. LTS Sir.

2. on dergh. LTS on-dergh. (See Glossary dergh, n.)

9. alle. LTS all.

In the MS 11. 9 and 10 are written as one line. Noted LTS. (For the stanza form, see 1.317.)

10. Yat. MS yat.

In the MS 11. 11 and 12 are written as one line. Noted LTS.

12. And. MS and.


24. Behalde. MS Be halde.


36. Chastise. LTS chastise.


41. lenghe. LTS lengthe.

45. Cursed. LTS cursed.

49. ffadir ffree. LTS Fadir free.

55. besek. MS be seke. LTS be-seke.

59. withouten. MS with outen.

60. Craue. LTS craue.

62. Adam kynde. LTS Adam-kynde.

67. hadde. LTS had.

74. vn to. MS vn to. LTS vn-to.

75. hym selffe. LTS hym-selffe.

79. Croune. LTS croune.

87. Vnto. MS Vn to.

92. that. LTS yat.
97. no(rht). MS nowe. This emendation, originally proposed by H. E. Coblentz ("Some suggested rime emendations to the York Mystery Plays", Modern Language Notes, x (1895), pp.78-82), effectively restores the stanza form of this stanza (see I.317), producing a line with the meaning, "Why are we accomplishing nothing?". For the reply akin to a question involving a negative, cf 28/76 (OED yes, adv., 2a). Cf A. C. Cawley's transcription of this line (Everyman and Medieval Miracle Plays, London, 1956, p.148), "Sir knights, say now, work we ought?" (trans. fn. "Are we doing anything?").

99. MS. iijus Mil.
101. MS. iijus Mil. LTS ?iv Mil.
102. LTS ?i Mil.

LTS comments (p.352), "As the previous order of the soldiers in speaking has been 1, 2, 3, 4, I have altered these two so as to continue that order". Smith is right about rotation speaking in the lines preceding 1.101 (the only variation in the speaking order 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th soldier, is in st 4, where the first soldier is given an additional line at the end of the stanza). Cf however stanzas following: st. 10 with the speaking order 4, 2, 3, 1, 3, 1, 3; st. 11, 2, 4, 1; similar variations occur in sts 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21.


100. withouten. MS with outen. LTS with-outen.
104. wele. LTS well.
109. amisse. MS a miss. LTS a-misse.
122. handis. Coblentz emends to hande, presumably for a better rhyme with spende, bende, amende (11.124-8). (For the stanza form, see I.317; for the rhyme hende, cf Play 34, 1.122.)

132. asoundre. MS a soundre. LTS a-soundre.
145. Cordis. LTS cordis.
147. bothe. LTS both.
162. ffyngere. LTS fynge.eres.
171. Me thynke. LTS Me-thynke.
173. withouten. MS with outen. LTS with-outen.

183-4. Originally omitted from the MS, but inserted later in the MS hand. Wallis, p.495, suggests that the lines "Sirs abide And late me first his fete vp fang" are more appropriate to iv Mil.
195. downe. LTS doune.
198. withouten. MS with outen. LTS with-outen.
200. alday. LTS al day.
206. Carle. LTS carle.

Cautellis. LTS cautellis.

Following 1.214 a line is drawn in the MS, but no change of speaker is made.

224. asoundre. MS a soundre. LTS a-soundre.
226. ye. LTS the.
227. a man. MS aman.
230. moirlteyse. Emended LTS.
240. withall. MS with all.
253. Al men. MS Almen.
255. Byholdes. MS By holdes. LTS By-holdes.
259. Fadir. LTS Fadir.
260. For giffis. MS For giffis. LTS For-giffis.
261. ei wirke. LTS ei wirke.
262. Fadir. LTS Fadir.

Opposite 11.263-4 in the right-hand margin a later hand adds:

In welth without end
I kepe noght elles to crave. (see I.309).

265. Jangelis. LTS jangelis.

Jay. LTS jay.
270. goddis. LTS Goddis.
273. (Vah). MS Vath.

destrui(a). MS destruit. Emended LTS. (See I. 309, 313.)
274. wer so. MS werso.
Certayne. LTS certayne.
278. ye. LTS the.
280. is he feste. LTS he is feste.
281. pilate. LTS Pilate.

Following 1.283 at the foot of the page is written 3aa late hym hymg.
284. both. LTS 4oth.
Easte. LTS eate.
Mortificacio Cristi and Burial of Jesus (Play 36)

Heading to each page of the MS, The Bocheres (The Boocheres, f.189r).

Immediately beneath on f.184r, centred, Mortificacio xpi.

1. Pilatus. Written in the MS opposite the above heading, against the right-hand margin.

5. pilate. LTS Pilate.

withowten. MS with owten. LTS with-owten.

7. de(r)e. MS dede. Emended LTS. This alteration seems to be the right one since apart from this stanza, the rhyme scheme ababbcbeded continues otherwise completely regularly throughout the play (see I,317). Derworth in dere, 'worthy in harm/mischief', although possible, is not altogether satisfactory for this context, however. Perhaps derworth and dere, 'beloved and dear', was the original reading. A striking antithesis would thus occur with Mary's later lament over her son, "My sone yat is dereworthy and dere" (1.172).

9. Written in the MS opposite 11.6-7.

13. Written in the MS opposite 1.12.

dv. LTS dye.

15. vnright. MS vn right. LTS vn-right.

18. doufull. LTS douiful.

20. myght. The letters ght appear to have been added in amendment of myn, possibly by a later hand.

22. Written in the MS opposite 1.19.


35. Written in the MS opposite 1.32.

For. MS for.

37. till. LTS till.

44. pilate. LTS Pilate.

48. Written in the MS opposite 1.45.
49. before. MS be fore. LTS be-fore.
56. Forbadde. MS For badde. LTS For-badde.
57. Japes ... Jangelid. LTS japes ... jangelid.
61. Written in the MS opposite 1.58.
71. bedene. MS be dene. LTS be-dene.
74. Written in the MS opposite 11.72-3.
75. [Cayphas]. Added to the MS in a later hand. Not noted by LTS.
76. Joie. LTS joie.
80. ffye. LTS fye.
83. todaye. MS to dave. LTS to-dave.
84. ilk a dele. LTS ilk-a-dele.
87. Written in the MS opposite 11.84-5.
  Foule. MS foule.
95. brode. LTS brede.
100. Written in the MS opposite 1.97.
102. goddis. LTS Goddis.
103. schalle. LTS schall.
105. pleasaunce. Emended LTS.
109. Sittis. LTS sittis.
   aside. MS a side.
113. Written in the MS opposite 11.110-1.
  Full. MS full.
116. yerby. MS yer by. LTS yer-by.
117. agayne. MS a gayne.
121. Sawle. LTS sawle.
126. Added opposite 1.125 in a later hand. Noted LTS. (See 1.333.)
135. Sight. LTS sight.
139. Written in the MS opposite 1.137.
146. fadirs. LTS fadirs.
152. Written in the MS opposite 1.149.
  For. MS for.
155. to. Added above the line in the MS hand.
156. Written in the MS opposite 1.155.
  For. MS for.
157. Siste. LTS sixte.
162. pray. LTS praye.
165. Written in the MS opposite 1.162.
168. forthy. MS for thy. LTS for-thy.
174. Jehae. o added above the line in the MS hand.
176. vnto. MS vn to. LTS vn-to.
178. Written in the MS opposite 11.176-7.
179. Modir. LTS modir.
184. te. LTS to.
190. vnto. MS vn to. LTS vn-to.
195. Written in the MS opposite 1.193.
Hase. MS hase.
196. goddis. LTS Goddis.
198. thy. LTS yi.
201. god. LTS God.
202. thertill. MS ther till. LTS ther-till.
203. vnWisely. LTS Vnwisely.
204. Written in the MS opposite 1.202.
I wisae. LTS i-wisse.
208. Written in the MS opposite 1.207.
213-4. MS: Heloy. heloy. my god my god full free
214. My god, my god. LTS My God, my God.
215-6. MS: Lamazabatanye whar to for soke you me. LTS ... Whar-to
for-soke ...
217. Written in the MS opposite 11.213-6.
218. Ille. LTS ille.
221. Written in the MS opposite 1.219.
227. heely. LTS Heely.
Crye. LTS crye.
230. Written in the MS opposite 11.228-9.
241. s(p)are. MS sware. Emended LTS.
243. Written in the MS opposite 1.240.
Forwhy. MS for why. LTS For-why.
247. fulle. LTS full.
249. yerof. MS yer of. LTS yer-of.
255. Forgiffe. MS For giffe. LTS For-giffe.
256. Written in the MS opposite 1.253.
     vai. MS vai.
257. ffadir. LTS fadir.
260. Written in the MS opposite 1.259.
261. Jesu. LTS Jesus.
269. Written in the MS opposite 11.267-8.
273. Written in the MS opposite 11.271-2.
     pis. MS pis.
275. Costemes. LTS costemes.
276. Tomorne. MS To morne. LTS To-morne.
     our. LTS our.
277. man. LTS mane.
278. wan. LTS wane.
280. Deluyer. LTS Deluyer.
282. Written in the MS opposite 1.279.
295. Written in the MS opposite 1.293.
299. Written in the MS opposite 11.297-8.
301. Jentill. LTS jentile.
     jente. LTS jente.
308. Written in the MS opposite 11.305-6.
     full. MS full.
312. Written in the MS opposite 11.310-1.
     pi. MS pi.
313. Iwis. MS I wis. LTS i-wis.
316. vnto. MS vn to.
318. vis. LTS this.
321. Written in the MS opposite 1.318.
     no. MS no.
325. Written in the MS opposite 11.323-4.
     fat. MS vat.
326. Av. LTS av.
331. Iwisse. MS I wisse. LTS i-wisse.
334. Written in the MS opposite 1.331.
al alone. MS alalone.

Sewe. LTS sewe.

Sabott. LTS sabott.

Written in the MS opposite 1.345.

Armys. LTS armys.

Omission following gune noted by LTS, who inserts I.

juged. LTS juged.

vnJente. LTS vn-jente.

Written in the MS opposite 11.358-9.

Forwhy. MS for why. LTS For-why.

Written in the MS opposite 1.363.

To. MS to.

A line is drawn in the MS following 1.364, but no new speaker is indicated.

mustered. LTS maistered.

Written in the MS opposite 11.371-2.

I wyne. LTS emends to I wene.

Foryi. MS For pi. LTS For-pi.

betwene. MS be twene. LTS be-twene.

Betwene. MS Be twene. LTS Be-twene.

Written in the MS opposite 11.384-5.

Fia. LTS fia.

forthy. MS for thy. LTS for-thy.

(T)o. MS Do. Emended LTS.

al gone. MS algone.

Written in the MS opposite 1.397.

Cynementis. LTS cynementis.

forthy. MS for thy. LTS for-thy.

Written in the MS opposite 1.401.

I wis. LTS i-wis.

(m)ende. MS wende. Emended LTS.

Written in the MS opposite 1.409.

Fia. MS fia.

Fia. LTS fia.

Written in the MS opposite 11.414-5.

A later hand adds finis.
GENERAL NOTES

195. The word of Lewis is bald.

CSD notes two phrases: 1. "wey the ball, to take the first place, to have foremost rank or position, to be the best; and to "her of stake" was the ball, to carry off the stake. The former phrase refers to the ball worn by the leading boy or sheep of a drove or flock. The latter, perhaps, was a golden or silver bell sometimes given as the prize in races and other contests. But the oar have been "baldened."

Play 26: The Conspiracy to take Jesus

45-6. *But and his sawe be lawfull / Legge not to lange,*
   *For we schall leue hym if us list / With luffe here to lende.*

In marked contrast to the conventional boasting and threats of his opening speech, Pilate is seen here as a fair judge, perceptive and distrustful of the Jews (cf his opening comment, *I herw wele se hate hym,* 1.35). Such inconsistencies are to recur throughout the plays of the Passion Group.

59. *For of criste whan he comes / No kynne schall be kenned.*

cf John 7, 27: *Sed hunc scimus unde sit: Christus autem cum venerit, nemo scit unde sit.*

163-4. *For Mars he hath mortaysed his mark
   Eftir all lynes of my lore.*

cf The Wife of Bath’s Prologue:
"Yet have I Martes mark upon my face,
And also in another privee place."


W. C. Curry (Chaucer and the Mediaeval Sciences, 2nd ed., London, 1960, pp.102ff) shows that the power of Mars was thought to be exerted always for evil. As to the marks themselves, it was believed "that every human being has printed upon his body, at the hour of conception or perhaps at birth, the 'mark' of at least the ascendent sign and of the dominant star which are supposed to rule his fortunes. These marks are found in those parts of the body that are referred or 'attributed' to the various signs and planets. ...The mark of the ascendent sign ... is usually the highest. ... If Mars is powerful in a nativity, his marks are found on the right side and most commonly in the front parts of the head (i.e. in the face or somewhere about the forehead, though one cannot be sure as to the exact position). ... These marks are red or purple, most often as large as small roses or drops of wine, moles colored like strawberries or cherries." (Curry, translating Les Oeuvres de M. Jean Belot, Lyon, 1654, pp.219-223).

195. *Sen xe bere of bewte ye bell.*

OED notes two phrases: *to bear the bell,* to take the first place, to have foremost rank or position, to be the best; and *to bear or carry away the bell,* to carry off the prize. "The former phrase refers to the bell worn by the leading cow or sheep of a drove or flock; the latter, perhaps, to a golden or silver bell sometimes given as the prize in races and other contests; but the two have been confused."

The phrase occurs in Chaucer, Troilus and Criseyde, III, 198 (ed. Robinson, The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer), "And lat se
which of you shall be the belle".

George T. Flom, "A textual note to Alexander Scott", JEGP, vol. 6 (1906) p.115, in discussing that author's poem "Ane new yeir gift to the quene Mary" (ed. Donald, EETS, vol.85) and the line "oure beill of Albion to beir", refers to Ware's Glossary of Words, Phrases, Names and Allusions to Customs (1822), "to win the prize at a race, where a bell was the usual prize".

258. 

That comes wele ye, corious, I sleepe.

Either "That befits you well, (you) ingenious one, I call (you)" or possibly, "That befits well; you, ingenious one, I embrace" (see OED clepe, v., clip, v,1).

Play 27: The last Supper

98. 

Domine, quis est qui tradit te?

An expansion of John 13, 25: "Itaque cum recubuisset ille supra pectus Iesu, dicit ei: Domine, quis est?" (see also I.66).

Play 28: The Agony and Betrayal

90. 

Turnement.

It seems most likely that the meaning here is 'torment, great agony', rather than 'tourment' which may have the identical form at this period. OED notes that this form of the word torment is in fact the result of a confusion with tournament.

The frequent medieval image of Christ as a knight in the tournament is known first from the Ancrene Riwle:

"dude him i turneiment & hefde for his leoues luue, his scheld i feht as kene cniht on euche half i'purlet". (Ancrene Wisse, ed. G. Shepherd, London, 1959, p.22, 11.9-10.)

It is found also in the B-text of Piers Plowman, Passus xviii, but not elsewhere in the plays of the York Passion Group. The meaning 'tournament' does not therefore seem to have the principal emphasis here, although the intention may be to evoke a reminiscence of this popular image. For the use of the image of Christ as a king jousting in the tournament in the Towneley cycle, see Towneley play 23, 11.89-118 (discussed in I.315).

166. Therefore take vs of oure knyghtis / That is stedfast as stele.

Ironies such as that implied in this line (that the High Priests' men are completely loyal to them, while one of
Jesus' followers is to betray him) occur frequently in these plays.

168. Nowe, Judas, dere neghboure / Drawe nere vs.
The use of the word neghboure in this context, in a scene relating to Judas' treachery to Jesus, suggests an ironic reminder of Luke 10, 27:
"Diliges Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo, et ex tota anima tua, et ex omnibus viribus tuis, et ex omni mente tua: et proximum tuum sicut teipsum."

188. Go we hens yan in hy / And haste vs to ye halle.
Two separate staging areas are plainly needed for this part of the play, with some appreciable distance between them, for the first soldier leaves Caiaphas to summon the others, gives them Caiaphas' message, and they return with him to Caiaphas' 'halle'. Perhaps the area in front of the pageant wagon was utilised for this purpose. (For a description of the surviving York records relating to the repair and storage of these wheeled structures, see Smith, pp.xxxv ff. For similar additional accounts of the Bakers for a period after 1543, see Mill, pp.147 ff.)

296. Now haues mekenes on molde / All his newer.
This obscure line seems best interpreted as Holthausen suggests: that mekenes, 'meekness', is an error for mirknes, 'darkness', and the line is thus a reworking of Luke 22, 53, "sed haec est hora vestra, et potestas tenebrarum". This explanation seems to be confirmed by the Cursor Fundi, "Nu er yee cummen to tak me, Als in mercknes o night" (I.15860). (For a different treatment in Towneley, probably following the Northern Passion, see I.98.)

Play 29: Peter Denies Jesus. Jesus Examined by Caiaphas.

30. Why, syr, and is yer a boy yat will noght lowte to youre biding?
This is clearly inconsistent with the knowledge which Annas has expressed about Jesus in the earlier play of the Conspiracy, where he has been one of the principal accusers of Jesus before Pilate (see Play 26, 11.33-4). The two plays have therefore been formulated as quite separate entities, and consistency of behaviour or development in characterisation as the plays proceed is thus not to be looked for.

80-1. Do on dayntely, and dresse me on dees.
And hendely hille on me happing.
The text here indicates the presence of some kind of raised
platform on stage for this coucher sequence, and that a
stage property coverlet was used as part of the action.

194. Go freyne howe oure folke faris That are furth ronne.
For a very similar line, cf 1.27: "And freyne howe youre
folks fare yat are furth ronne".

256. We will witte or he wende how his werkis were.
In asking for information about the marvels Jesus has performed,
Caiaphas is told about Christ's healing of the sick on the
Sabbath day. Yet in the earlier Conspiracy play, this of
course formed one of the principal accusations which Caiaphas
himself made about Jesus before Pilate (Play 26, 11.99-100).
There is not necessarily an inconsistency between the plays,
however, in this, since for the purposes of a trial Caiaphas
would have to hear all the accusations against Jesus, whether
he was aware of them or not. His later, "what yan? Makes
he yame grathely to gange?" (1.261) on learning of Jesus'
healing of the sick, however, clearly offers some conflict
with the information which he had given to Annas earlier in
this play on the very same matter ("he helis yame all on
rawe") (11.34ff.). While Caiaphas could, of course,
justifiably be enquiring into the extent of Jesus' real powers
in effecting cures, the inclusion of this material again at
this point in the play does offer some corroboration of the
theory of extensive revisions to the text which has been
advanced (I.143). (That Caiaphas is the questioner is
indicated by the third soldier's reply, "3a, lorde").

308-10. This use of the same rhyme words (here (adv.) nowe; here
(vb.) nowe) in different senses occurs previously in the
play in 11.139-41, where here is used as adv. and noun
('ear'); another example occurs in Play 30, 11.11-14, with
hight, used as noun and verb.

326. Thy bane schalle I bee.
In the absence of stage directions from the manuscript, it
is not immediately clear that the first soldier offers Jesus
a blow. From the account of the incident in John 18, 22-3, 
found also in the Northern Passion, 11.769-82 (see I.137),
and Jesus' later remark, "you bourdes to brode for to bete
me" (1.330) it is evident that this is what the dramatist
intended.

345. it is nowe in ye nynht.
The play emphasises frequently the fact that the Trial
before Caiaphas took place at night; cf. for example, the
words of the soldiers bringing Jesus, itt is nowe of ye
nyghte (1.176) and Jesus' own comment, And yus to noye me by nyght (1.318); cf Luke 22, 53, "sed haec est hora vestra et potestas tenebrarum".

Play 30: The Dream of Pilate's Wife; Jesus before Pilate.

4. brande.

A sword is brandished also in his opening rant by Herod (Play 31, 1.4) and again by Pilate (Play 32, 1.7).

23. Percula's rejoicing in her husband's noble lineage and in his power as a demar of damnacion strikes an appropriately ironic and ludicrous note in view of the origin and the power of the man Pilate is to judge.

39. All welle of all womanhede I am, wittie and wise.


The phrase is not used only, however, in a religious context at this period (cf. "Prince Edward that welle was of alle corage", Political poems and songs relating to English history, (Rolls series, 1559-61, 1, 213)).

51. theis lippis, so loffely Are lappid.

cf The Parliament of three ages (OED a1400), ed. Gollancz, Roxburghe Club, 1397, "With ladis full lufly lapped yn armes" (247).

158. W. Young, "The Comic Devil in Medieval English Drama", Hermathena, lxxvi (1955) pp.29-39, argues that "whatever his originators intended him to be, the Devil of the religious plays was in actual fact presented as a buffoon, whose appearance on the stage was welcomed and even demanded". Young recognises that in many plays the actual words of the devil are not comic, but he points out that one should not ignore "the comic effect that was almost certainly produced by his appearance, actions and manner of speaking ... in particular ... the potency of grotesque appearance to provoke laughter". As far as this York play is concerned, it seems impossible to substantiate this theory from the text at this point.

The use of soliloquy as a dramatic method in the plays of the Passion Group has been seen previously in the Conspiracy play, (Play 26, 11.127ff) in Judas' account of the anointing of Jesus with the precious ointment, and in the Last Supper play (Play 27, 11.104ff) as Judas departs to the High Priests. J. W. Robinson, "The Art of the York Realist", Modern Philology, lx (1963) pp.242-3, comments that such speeches are part of the "dramatic tradition" of mystery
plays, similar examples being found in Chester XIV, 265-304, and Ludus Coventriae, pp. 251-2, 11.590-605 (Judas); Chester II, 161-208; XII, 1-56 (the Devil).

172. With nede schalle ye namely be noyed.
The impetus given to Percula to act to avert the death of Jesus is the threat of the loss of her worldly possessions, hence, as Rosemary Woolf comments (p.245), she is made to advise Pilate "to do the right thing for the wrong reason".

262. Now yan am I light as a roo.
For other examples of animal imagery, cf Play 29, 11.114-8:

"he lokis like a brokke
Were he in a bande for to bayte;
Or ellis like an novele in a stok,
Full preualy his pray for to wayte."

and for bird imagery,

"Me thynke he patris like a py." (Play 35, 1.266).

388. The younger son's use of the phrase Jesu vngentill provides an ironic echo of an oft-repeated collocation in the Agony and Betrayal play, gentill Judas (1.194); the moste gentill of ye Jury (1.193); Judas ye rente (1.161), and a contrast to the earlier words of the Devil, who twice calls Jesus a gentilman, or man of gentle birth, 11.160 and 168.

536. worthely in wede. This phrase, as Oakden pointed out (vol. 2, p.343), is a very common one in the rhyming non-alliterative Romances of the fourteenth century. As worthi in wede it occurs, for example, in Amis and Amiloun, "Twoo ladyes ... That worthi were in wede" (1.30); also in Morte Arthure, 1.2709; as worthy in wede in Sir Degare, 1.1892; and in a Northern alliterative poem in rhymed stanzas, Golagrus and Cavain, as wourthy in wedis (1.365) (Oakden, vol. 2, p.361).

A similar phrase occurs in the Condemnation play (Play 33), when Annas calls Jesus a "warlowe vnworthy in wede" (1.171).

Play 31: The Trial before Herod

1. (P)ea, ye brothellis and browlys, in jis brouydenesse inbraised.
For another indication of the locality of the performance, cf Play 33, 1.13, "Tharfore, ye lusty ledes, within jis lenght lapped". The idea of some kind of enclosed space suggested here does not necessarily give currency to Alan H. Nelson's recent theory (see 1.17ff. and fn.51, 1.362) that the plays were presented at one single site. The reference could equally well apply to the grouping of spectators around each 'station' at which the
play was performed. For an account of the method of staging the plays by the performance of each play in turn at a certain number of stations in the city (12 in 1399), see Smith, pp. xxxi ff. For Mr. Nelson's calculations of the practical difficulties which would be inherent in the multiple performance of the entire York cycle on a single day, see A. H. Nelson, "Principles of Processional Staging: York Cycle", Modern Philology, 67 (1969-70) pp. 303-20.

For illustrations of pageant performance from Bodley MS 264, see J. J. Jusserand, "A Note on Pageants and 'Scaffolds Hye'", An English Miscellany presented to Dr. Furnivall, Oxford, 1901, pp. 183-195. Jusserand claims that these support the description of the method of performance of the Chester cycle given by Archdeacon Rogers in the second half of the sixteenth century (alluded to by Smith and subsequently by all later writers on the subject).

For a very different type of staging, probably in the permanent lists of the tournament, for the Castle of Perseverance, see P. D. Arnott, "The Origins of Medieval Theatre in the Round", Theatre Notebook, vol. xv (1961), pp. 84-7.

23-4. Sen we are comen fro oure kyth, as ze wele knawe
And semlys all here same in jis cyte.

S. S. Hussey, "How many Herods in the Middle English Drama?" Neophilologus, 48 (1964) pp. 252-9, is puzzled by this apparent reference to Herod visiting Jerusalem, but surely those who are of my men and of my men^e are the members of the audience at whom this character directs this opening address, and they are being implicated in the action, having come from their surrounding districts to watch the play.

36. Penelope B. R. Doob, Nebuchadnezzar's Children, New Haven and London 1974, in discussing a reference to Herod's thirst in the Fagl play of the Chester cycle, 1l. 406-9, suggests that the playwright knows his physiology, for "an angry man would be thirsty because the heat of passion would dry his bodily fluids. ... Thus Herod's choleric madness leads him to call for drink; but ironically the drink he wants would do him no good, for wine would heat the body even more and further increase wrath and frenzy" (p. 118).

In plays 30 (11. 93ff) and 29 (11. 75ff) the taking of wine is not associated with anger.

42. Coucher scenes involving each of Jesus' principal antagonists have occurred in the two preceding plays: with Caiaphas as the central character in Play 29 (11. 80ff) and with Pilate in Play 30 (11. 127ff). All three are concerned that their rest should not be disturbed, and Pilate and Herod give very similar instructions about this:
(Pil.) Loke yat noman nor no myron of myne
with no noyse be neghand me nere. (Play 30, 11.138-9).

(Herod) Nowe spedely loke yat you spie
yat no noyse be neghand yis none. (Play 31, 11.44-5).

In Play 29 it was deduced that this section formed part of
the alliterative revision of the play (see I.148).
In Play 31 the episode similarly forms part of an
irregular stanza deduced to be a later addition
(see I.182).

The repetition of these coucher scenes has often been
commented upon by critics. Robinson, "The Art of the York
Realist", p.246, reasons that since the capture of Jesus
took place at night and so did Pilate's wife's dream, the
York Realist is merely following his habit "of working out
the events of the Passion story in their natural sequence and
logical detail. Liking the idea (and enjoying the irony of
the scenes) he repeated it in the third play".

What the dramatist may have had in mind, however, is a very
striking antithesis with a scene in a later play where Jesus
voluntarily places himself on the cross in order to
demonstrate his free acceptance of his fate: "Byhalde,
hym selffe has laide hym doune, In lenghe and breede as he
schulde bee" (Play 35, 11.75-6). (For a very different
treatment of the placing of Jesus upon the cross in the
Northern Passion and in the Towneley cycle, see I.316.)

There is also a contrast between Jesus who, it is reported,
"napped noght of all yis nyght" (Play 34, 1.19) and the
peaceful slumbers of his accusers.

It therefore seems unlikely as Eva Freeman suggests ("A note
on Play XXX of the York Cycle", Modern Language Notes, xlv
(1930) pp.392-4) that this sequence is merely an "early
example of advertising", the Tapiteres and Couchers taking
an opportunity "to direct the attention of the audience to
their wares".

143. be see nor be sande.

A common phrase recorded by Oakden, vol. 2, p.335, as
occurring in the form see and sand in non-alliterative poems,
The Avowynge of Arthur, 1.4; Twaine and Gawain, 1.3657;
see and sonde, Emare, 1.15; The Erle of Tolous, 1.903; the
see and the sonde and the sad erthe, Parlement of the Thre
Ages, 1.333. The phrase occurs also in another play
attributed to the Realist, Play 40 (see I.7).

Sene was þer neuere so wondirfull werkes,
Be see ne be sande, in yis worlde so wide (Play 40, 11.183-4).
169. Takis hede for in haste ye schall here.
For the way in which Herod, apparently unintentionally, is
made to take up the words of Pilate's messengers, cf 1.125,
"My lorde, takis hede, and in haste ye schall here howe."

224. And fro his grath garte hym gang.
Grath appears to be "grave" for which MED records the
alternatives "grawe, graffe (?error), graven and greave,
greve" from OE graef, Merc. gref.

320. For fro bale vnto blisse he may nowe ye borowe.
For a similar assertion of the supreme power of earthly
rulers, cf Caiafa's boast:

"All domesmen on dese awe for to dowte me,
That hase thaym in bandome in bale or in blis." (Play 29, 11.19-20)

The spectators will already have heard twice in the Agony
and Betrayal play that it is God alone who holds such power,
in Jesus' words to his Father: "Als you arte bote of all
bale and belder of blisse" (Play 28, 1.55), and in Jesus'
previous assurance to his disciples: "Je schall be broughte,
wele ye wele, Fro bale vnto blisse" (Play 28, 1.35).

The theme recurs throughout the plays with similar verbal
parallels; cf Pilate's boast: "All youre helpe hanges in
my hande" (Play 26, 1.23); Herod's son's assertion of his
father's power: "All thyme helpe in his hande yat it is"
(Play 30, 1.394); and in contrast, John's words to Jesus,
"Iorde, alloure helpe and oure hele" (Play 28, 1.15); and
those of the third Mary: "He yat alle hele in his hande
has" (Play 34, 1.182).

329. Say somwhat or it will waxe werre.
In this line, occurring in a section of the play which
could be additional (11.328-33) (see I.180),
the third son takes up his father's earlier phrasing: "Be
any witte yat y watte it will waxe werre" (1.245).

405. Repaire with youre present and saie to Pilate.
The idea that Jesus is a gift to Herod from Pilate has
occurred before in the soldiers' initial greeting:

(Rex) 3a, but saie, what heynde haue ye yore?
(Ijus Mil) A presente fro Pilate, lorde, ye prince
of oure lay. (11.97-9).

It is reiterated also in the 'additional' section of st
25, 1.381 (see I.181): (Rex) "And repaire with youre
present and saie to Pilate".
Play 32: The Second Accusation before Pilate; Remorse of Judas; Purchase of the Field of Blood.

88. What dastardis! wene ye be wiser yan we?
cf the words of Jus Dux in the preceding play, 1.363: "What! wene se he be wiser yan we?" of which this line appears to be a corruption.

107. Sir, ye harlotte is at heroudes hall, euyn her at your hande.
For other indications in the text of staging, cf. "Sir, wene Caiaphas halle here at hande" (Play 29, 1.173);
"Sir, here is herowde [h]all even here at oure hende" (Play 31, 1.60).

125. Sittis in mahoundis blissing and Aske vs ye wyne.
Scenes of wine-drinking have occurred previously
(1) with Caiaphas and Annas in Play 29 (ll.75-9)
(2) between Pilate, his wife and the handmaid (Play 30, 11.92-107)
(3) with Herod (Play 31, 11.36-7).
These may all be intended as an ironic contrast with and anticipation of a later scene, when Jesus will be offered the bitter drink of "Aysell and galle" on the cross (Play 36, 11.240-9).

255. Yon weried wight, yat wrought such wronge.
The first soldier, in referring to Jesus, ironically takes up Judas' own earlier description of himself as "Wis werryd wight yat wronge has wrought" (1.234).

295. Leffe of ri talke, ye deuill mot ye hange.
For other similar anticipatory allusions to Judas' later fate, cf the words of Pilate earlier, 11. 186, 228, 229, and of the Janitor in the Conspiracy play (Play 26, 1.174).
For the dropping of a play dealing with the Hanging of Judas from the York cycle, and the theory that the Towneley play fragment, Suspencio Judae, preserves something of that play, see I.232.

Play 33: The Second Trial before Pilate continued; The Judgment of Jesus

76-7. Moreover, sirs, he spake and noght spared Full gentilly to Jesu yis lewa.
Pilate here is shown to interpret what he has been told to mean that Jesus received entirely courteous treatment at the hands of Herod, although the first soldier of course
has made no such statement. In view of the very late date of the Condemnation play (see I.232), it seems unlikely that the revision of the Herod play resulting in the form in which we now have it, had not already taken place.

135. *Je sall here how yis harlott heldes out of herre.*
A very similar line has occurred previously in Play 30: "Whe, harke how yis harlott he heldis oute of harre" (1.379).

143. **Buxhome and bayne.**
This is a common alliterative phrase, found in

(i) unrhymed alliterative poems (as buxsom and bayne in The Wars of Alexander, 1.323 (Oakden, vol. 2, p.272)).

(ii) in rhyming non-alliterative Romances (bowsom and bayne in Ywaine and Gawain, 1.3101; buxum and bayne in The Avowynge of Arthur, 1.768 (Oakden, vol. 2, pp.318-9)).

(iii) in Northern alliterative poems in rhymed stanzas (boussom and bayne, St. John, 1.98 (Oakden, vol. 2, p.352)).

It is, however, used on a number of occasions in these plays: first in The Agony and Betrayal where Jesus says to his Father, "For fadir, att yi bidding am I buxum and bayne" (Play 28, 1.95). It is next used by one of the soldiers to Caiaphas, "Kilorde, to youre bidding we haue buxom and bayne" (Play 29, 1.210). In Play 30 it is used of Percula, who "In bedde is full buxhome and bayne" (1.52), and it is used about the Beadle in the same play, "All bedilis to your biding schulde be boxsome and bayne" (1.316). Finally in this passage the Beadle himself draws attention to his obedience to Pilate, "If ye bid me, I am Buxhome and bayne" (Play 33, 1.143).

It would appear therefore that a common alliterative phrase is here being used in various contexts, among good and evil characters, to emphasise one of the major concerns in the plays, the theme of obedience which formed an important part of the Agony and Betrayal play (see I.119).

219. **to ye gomes will I range.**
Two different staging areas are required here, since the Beadle leaves Pilate to speak to the standard-bearers, and then brings them back with him to Pilate.

300. **Every man has a mouthe yat made is on molde.**
Jesus breaks his silence for the first and only time in
the Second Trial before Pilate, in a passage which the dramatist derived from the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus (see I. 249).

For a similar portrayal for the most part of a silent Christ in the trial scenes of the cycles of Chester and Towneley, and a different approach in the Ludus Coventriae and the Cornish cycle, see Rosemary Woolf, p.257. Miss Woolf points out that the former treatments are "a sublime expression of ... (Jesus') divinity; where elevated language could only fail, silence becomes a magnificent symbol of the inexpressible".

An exactly similar approach, more effective dramatically than in the Condemnation play, occurs in the earlier Trial before Pilate (Play 30, l.476) in which Jesus breaks his silence to proclaim himself boldly the Son of God (as recorded in John 18).

397. a semely in sales.

Apparently a common alliterative phrase, found also in a Northern alliterative poem in rhymed stanzas, Golaucus and Gawain, as semely in sale, l.1092; seymly in sale, l.1156; also in a non-alliterative rhyming Romance, Amis and Amiloun, as semeluest in sale (l.444, 1513) (Oakden, vol. 2, pp. 335, 353).

408. Aue, riall roy and rex judeorum:

As Rosemary Woolf has pointed out, p.254, these jeering hails ironically repeat the citizens' greetings to Christ as he entered Jerusalem.

However a closer antithesis is to be found earlier in the Condemnation play itself in the soldiers' eulogy of the man who is shortly to declare Jesus' death: "Hayll, louelyest lorde yat euere lawe led gitt" (l.48). Pilate has also previously been saluted in similar terms by Caiaphas, Annas and the first son (Play 30, l.265-9 and 279-80).

Play 34: Christ led up to Calvary

Hym bus be dede be none.

None is used here for the ninth hour of the day. Calculated from sunrise according to the Roman method, the time limit for Jesus' death was therefore about three in the afternoon. As a direct rendering of the Latin nona (hora), this sense occurs most frequently in accounts of the crucifixion, but it can lead to confusion with the alternative meaning at this period, 'mid-day'. The first instance recorded in OED of non = 'mid-day' is from Layamon, l.14039 (c.1205). By the fourteenth century this appears to be the ordinary sense of the word in English, although in many examples there is no clear indication of the time intended (OED noon, sb.). (Cf. Beowulf (ed. Klaeber, 3rd edn., Boston, 1950) l.1600, "Wä cóm môn daeges", where môn is glossed as 'ninth hour (= 3 p.m.)' as in OED.)
149-50. The swerde of sorowe schulde renne
Thurghoute ye herte, s o te lly .
This derives from Luke 2, 35: "et tuam ipsius animam
pertransibit gladius ..."

340. He getis no bettir bone
cf the earlier 1.8: "He getis no bettir bone".

Play 36: Mortificacio Cristi.

53-4. ¼e knawes wele ¼e cause, sir, in case.
It touched tresoune vntrewe.
The idea that Jesus is a traitor and is guilty of treason
because of his actions, and particularly for calling him-
self a king, occurs repeatedly throughout the plays of the
Passion Group, being formulated in very similar phrases
in the different plays:
"This touches no tresoune, I telle you" (Pilate to Caiaphas,
Play 30, 1.453).
"It touches totresoune, yis tale I schall tell" (Annas to
Pilate, Play 30, 1.459)
"My lorde, for it touches to tresoune, I trowe" (ijus Mil
to Herod, Play 31, 1.127)
"Sir, trulye yat touched to tresoune" (Pilate to Caiaphas,
Play 33, 1.333)
"For tresoune it touches, yat thyng" (Annas to Pilate, Play
36, 1.60).
Thus in the minds of Jesus' accusers there is little
distinction between Jesus and the other personage whom the
High Priests frequently accuse, and rightly, of treachery,
Judas; for the Jews are portrayed as being equally appalled
by the way in which he has willingly betrayed his master
(see Caiaphas' words on learning about the Capture, "Nowe
trewly, yis was a trante of a Traytour" (Play 29, 1.231)).
Ironically, the High Priest is thus made to voice the very
feelings of the audience in this matter.

78. Full madly on ye mone for to mone.
This line echoes the remark of the third soldier in the
Crucifixion play: "Gas, late hym hymge here stille, And
make mowes on ye mone" (Play 35, 11.235-6).

82-5. For the previous use of this accusation against Jesus, cf
Play 32, 11.91-4, in which it is made before Pilate, and
Play 29, 11.265-8, where it is made (as in Matthew 26 and
Mark 14) at the time of the trial before Caiaphas (For its
occurrence in Towneley play 21 and in the Northern Passion,
see I.133.)
114. **Quod scripsi, scripsi.**

John 19, 22: "Respondit Pilatus: Quod scripsi, scripsi."
(See I.340.)

159. **A swerde of sorowe me smyte.**

An allusion to the prophecy of Simeon, mentioned previously in Play 34, 11.149-50, deriving from the account in Luke 2, 35.

190. **Trewte tente vnto me yat yow take.**

cf Caiaphas' rant, Play 29, 1.3: "And trewe tente vnto me yis tyme yat ye take".

259-60. **My spirite to re right sone Comende I, in manus tuas.**


304. **On rode arte you ragged and rente.**

cf the previous use of this line, "hus ragged and rente on yis roode (1.253); "On roode am I ragged and rente" (1.120).
The Glossary is intended to provide a detailed illustration only of forms, spellings and meanings of words recorded in these plays.

1. y and z are placed following y.

2. Initial y has its usual place, but medial and final y are treated as i.

3. The expansion of MS abbreviations and the regularising of MS word divisions (for which see the textual notes) are not again noted.
A, interj., Ah! 0: 26/59; 26/104; 27/53; 28/147; 29/220; 30/25; 30/495; 31/106; 33/192; 33/432; 35/129; 36/221.
a, indef. art., a, 26/16; 29/30; 33/165; 33/395; 36/142; one, 32/86; an, 30/338; 33/242; 33/255.
abakke, adv., back, 29/181; 31/144.
abasshed, v. pa. part., confounded, 28/259; abasshid, abashed, 31/254; abayat, put out of countenance, 26/211.
abide, v. inf., wait, 28/13; delay, tarry, 34/252; cease, 26/179; 30/300; remain, stay, 29/162; 31/334; submit to, await the disposal of, 34/7; abide, imper. pl., wait, 29/188.
abye, v. inf., pay the penalty, suffer, atone, 31/113; 33/318; 34/196; abide, make restitution, 32/113.
abill, adj., competent, capable, well-qualified, 32/32; able, 29/198.
aboute, adv., about, around, 32/134; in phr. aboute have I bene, I have been at some pains, 26/212; is aboute to, is engaged in, 29/45.
aboute, prep., about, around, 32/1; 33/6.
abatene, v. inf. (refl.), withhold (oneself); 33/274.
accordand, ppl. adj., appropriate, fitting, 34/314; according, 34/72.
accorde, v. inf., agree, assent, 26/234; be suitable, 34/85.
accusying, vbl. n., accusation, 30/403.
accuse, v. inf., accuse, 33/312; accuse, 3 pl. pres. ind., 30/471; accuses, 33/266.
adawe, adv. in phr., dose hym adawe, put him to death, kill him, 30/450.
a dewe, interj., Goodbye! Farewell! 31/422; a dewe be unto, (lit.) Adieu be unto thee, 29/85.
adreed, ppl. adj., afraid, frightened, 29/188.
A drygh, adv., to a distance, 31/162.
affecioun, n., friendship, 26/162.
afferde, ppl. adj., frightened, 31/311.
affrayde, ppl. adj., frightened, 31/278.
affraye, n., attack, assault, tumult, 34/175; 35/271; affraies, pl., disturbances, 33/100.
after, prep., according to, 30/79; 32/86; ask after (s.o.), 34/349.
agayne, adv., back, in return, 32/190; 32/267; 32/271; 32/272; again, once more, 29/383; 32/94; 32/147; 32/200; 35/276.
agaynste, prep., in opposition to, 30/35; 30/359; against, opposed to, 32/181; in hostile encounter with, 31/13.
agnaste, ppl. adj., frightened, terrified, 29/288; 31/282.
aysell, n., vinegar, 36/244.
ythir, adj., either, 33/454; 35/181.
lang, adv., lengthwise, 35/186.
allate, adv., altogether, in every way, 31/407.
all, adj., all, 28/247; 33/450; 34/124; 35/267; al, 30/477; alle, 32/166; 34/102.
all, adv., quite, altogether, 28/16; 31/54; al, 33/325; all if, even if, even though, 26/287; 27/69; all if, 34/311; 35/248; 35/279.
allas, interj., alas! 28/254; 33/166; 34/145; 36/157.
allone, adj. and adv., alone on (one's) own, 27/148; 30/446; 31/279; alone, 36/333; allone in phr. latte me allone, leave me alone, 26/278; 28/68; late me allone, 29/271; latisses allone, 31/291; late vs allone, 26/253; late you allone, 28/100.
allowe, v. inf., praise, laud, 28/271; allow, 1 sg. pres. ind., accept, approve, 32/55.
almyghty, adj., almighty, 35/49; 35/270.
almost, adv., all but, 28/260.
als, adv., also, as well, 32/50; 32/247; 34/158; 36/25.
alst, adv., as, 27/185; 29/248; 30/129.
alway, adv., always, all the time, continually, on all occasions, throughout all time, 28/10; 29/125; 31/92; allway, 26/213; 28/63; 29/294; all warres, 26/259.
am, v. 1 sg. pres. ind., am, 26/2; 26/14; 26/16; 26/280; 27/62; 27/72; 27/123; 27/144; 27/148; 29/83; 30/18; 30/23; 30/306; 31/120; 33/357; 36/112; ame, 28/260; 31/276; 32/17; 32/26.
amende, v. inf., bring into a better state, improve, 26/63; 31/64; 36/145; 36/175; amendis, 3 sg. pres. ind., gains, improves (matters), 31/334; amendis, pres. part., improving, 30/64; amendis, pa. part., improved, 34/88; rectified, put right, 35/128.
amendis, n. pl., amends, reparation, 36/122.
amisse, adv., wrongly, 35/109; anys, 26/92; 28/53; wide of the mark, 26/202.
and, conj., and, 26/223; 27/66; 27/70; 28/16; 28/188; 28/247; 30/183; 31/257; 32/60; 36/157; if, 28/109; 30/296.
angwisshe, n., anguish, 28/124.
anodir, adj. and pron., another, 31/216; 35/243; 35/289; a nothir, 35/153.
anoy, 30/366, see ox.
anoynte, v. 3 sg. pret., anointed, 26/133.
anone, adv., at once, instantly, forthwith, 30/78; 30/155; 30/445; 36/100; 36/334.
anowe, adv., see I nowe.
apace, adv., see apas.
apas, adv., quickly, swiftly, 28/204; apasse, 30/115; apace, 33/221.
apreyre, v. inf., impair, harm, damage, 31/378.
apperre, v. inf., to be manifest, 31/406; appear, present (oneself), 31/167; apner, 33/393; apneres, 3 sg. pres. ind., 31/378; apnere, imper. sg., 30/375; 30/401; apnered, 1 pl. pret., 33/40.
apponenta, n., apostate, abjurer of (one's) religious faith, 26/76.
apreue, v. inf., corroborate, confirm, 33/134.
ar, conj., before, 33/109.
araye, v. see arraye.
are, v. 1 pl. pres. ind., are, 31/62; 35/94; 36/202; 2 pl., 27/144; 3 pl., 29/130; 30/433; 34/14; (with vb. of motion) 29/27; 29/59; ar, 2 pl., are, 26/95; 26/230; 26/264; 3 pl., 33/336; erre, 1 pl., 33/385; erre, 34/41; er, 2 pl., 33/144; 33/163; 33/208; erre, 33/167.
are, adv., formerly, at a former time, on a former occasion, 29/119; 29/161; 34/147; before, 29/128; a little while ago, just now, 30/97.
armeres, n. pl., arms, 36/350.
arome, adv., apart, aside, to a distance, 30/228.
arraye, n., array, 32/10; 35/216; arraye, 31/222.
arraye, v. inf. (refl.), make ready, prepare (oneself), 30/202 (?error for array[n]e, interrogate, examine); 36/35; arraye, 31/339; arraye, 1 pl. pres. ind., thrash, drub, 33/355; arraye, imper. sg. (refl.), prepare yourself, 31/314; pl., arrange, 27/19; arrayed, pa. part., arrayed, dressed, attired, 31/280; 31/368; arrayed, 30/123; arrayed, furnished, adorned, 30/153; arrayed, prepared, made ready, equipped, 28/219; 35/37; arrayed, 34/294; 35/237; arrayed, 35/24; arrayed, 27/5; arrayed (refl.), 33/343.
arreste, v. 3 sg. pret., captured, laid hold of, 29/136.
arcore, n., mistaken notions, 30/322.
ar, v. 2 sg. pres. ind., art, are, 26/218; 26/225; 30/297; 32/201; 32/226; 32/228; arte, 26/171; 28/14; 28/55; 28/73; 28/103; 30/308; 31/249; 31/251; 36/304; 36/331; art, 33/148.
artrial, n., accusation, indictment, 32/156.
aske, v. inf., ask (for), request, 28/246; 32/302; imper. pl., 32/125.
asoundre, adv., see assoundir.
aspyse, v. imper. pl., observe, 33/280; aspyed, pa. part., espied, discerned, perceived, 30/205.
assaie, n., in one assaie, upon trial, put to the test, 35/44; one assaye, 34/231.
assaie, v. inf., examine, 31/157; try, 31/259; make trial, 31/304; assay, assail, address, 33/25;
assay, put to the proof, 28/268; assaye, imper. pl., assail, 33/358; assaye, try, address, apply (oneself), 35/197; assayed, pa. part., put to the proof, examined, 30/353.

assente, v. inf., agree, assent, 28/165; 29/311; 30/57; 1 sg. pres. ind., 30/100; 31/37; 3 sg., 30/417; 2 pl., 32/280; 1 sg. pret., 32/141; 2 sg., 32/174.

assaye, v. 3 sg. pret., prescribed, specified, 33/69.

assoundir, adv., asunder, 35/147; assoundre, 35/132; 35/224.

astate, n., state, government, 31/75; storne of a state, 30/229, see storne.

astonyg, v 3 sg. pres. ind., stuns, stupefies, 31/252.

at ones, adv. phr., at once, 35/221; at onys, 28/138.

aunrellis, n. pl., angels, 28/278; aunrellis, 31/281.

aunswere, n., answer, reply, response, 31/327; 32/55; aunswer, 32/31; aunsweres, pl., 32/71.

auouke, v. inf., avow, affirm, 30/175.

avayle, v. inf., avail, be of assistance, 31/198.

avaunted, v. 3 sg. pret., boasted, 30/219.

avise, v. imper. sg. (refl), reflect, consider, 30/492.

avoyde, v. pa. part., dismissed, sent away, 31/34.

away, adv., away, 26/176; 27/123; 27/167; 28/141; 29/62; 29/71; 30/361; 30/483; 31/258; 32/121; 32/318; 33/38; 33/95; 36/107; awaye, 34/209; away (ellipt.) (go) away, 28/172; 34/232; awaye, 29/374.

awe, n., awe, 27/1; 27/10; 27/39; 27/94; 28/61; 28/94; 28/173; 30/102; 30/125; 31/183; 32/52; 32/95; 34/273; 34/331; (absol.) 30/536.

awe, adj., own, 27/10; 27/39; 27/94; 28/61; 28/94; 28/173; 30/102; 30/125; 31/183; 32/52; 32/95; 34/273; 34/331; (absol.) 30/536.

bacheloris, n. pl., bachelors, knights, 34/1.

baye, v. inf., bay, bark, 33/87.

baile, n., charge, custody, power, 35/95; bale, 31/188; bayle, 29/25 (or perh. woe, see bale, n. (1)).

bayle, bayll, n., see bale.

bayme, adj., willing, ready, 28/95; 29/28; 29/210; 30/52; 30/316; 33/143.

bayney, adv., readily, willingly, 26/132; 28/13; 28/27; 28/83; 29/125; 30/460; 36/182; 36/186; bayneley, readily, at once, 28/196.
bayte, v. inf., bait, 29/115.
bakke, n., back, 34/103; 34/284; 35/74; 35/126; 35/194; 36/123; bak, 32/114.
bakke, adv., back, 30/236.
balde, v. imper., be bold, 30/496.
balde, adj., see bolde.
baldely, adv., see boldely.
bale, n., suffering, sorrow, woe, misery, grief, torment, 26/131; 26/140; 27/103; 27/152; 28/14; 28/35; 28/119; 28/203; 29/20; 29/255; 30/158; 30/436; 31/18; 31/320; 32/199; 35/110; 35/125; 35/150; 36/183; displeasure, 32/4; mischief, trouble, harm, 26/290; 29/131; 29/236; 36/56; bayle, evil, 26/25; suffering, 26/270; bayll, sorrow, harm, 26/117; bales, pl., sorrows, sufferings, torments, 31/373; 33/20; 33/402; 34/259; balis, sorrows, afflictions, 31/576; evil deeds, 30/259.
bale, n. (2), see baile.
balke, n., beam of wood, 34/68.
banie, n., bond, 29/29; 29/115; 29/197; 30/259; 31/82; 33/45; 34/342; banies, pl., 29/137; 33/67; 33/468; banes, 33/386; 33/444; withouten banie, without a band, 35/100; in bande, in custody, 29/86.
bandome, n., in bandome, under (one's) control. dominion, jurisdiction, 29/20; brought in youre bandome, put into your power, control, 32/236.
bane, n., slayer, 29/326.
baneres, n. pl., banners, 26/188; 33/169; 33/217; baners, 33/177.
banne, v. inf., curse, 26/19; 26/118; 28/223; 28/293; 30/158; 33/340; 1 sg. pres. ind., 32/129.
ba(r), n. (MS bay), a main entrance gate (a term used at York for the four principal gates of the city; but also elsewhere, e.g. Temple-bar; OED ba, sense 13); 26/211.
barayne, adj., barren, 34/169.
bare, v. 1 sg. pret., carried, 32/134; 3 pl., bore, produced, 26/118.
bare, adj., bare, 26/132.
bare, adv., thoroughly, completely, 33/468.
barely, adv., openly, plainly, 26/37.
bargayne, n., bargain, terms, 26/227; (good) purchase, 32/165; 32/256; agreement, compact, 30/158; (bad) business, 34/76; 35/106; 35/203; strife, trouble, 27/107; he schall by at bargayne, he shall pay dearly for it, 26/140.
bargayne, v. inf., to strike a bargain, 26/219.
bary, v. inf., beat, thrash, 33/427.
barnes, n. pl., children, 34/170.
barnes, n. pl., see berne.
barme, n., in a court of justice "the barrier or wooden rail marking off the immediate precinct of the judge's seat, at which prisoners are stationed for arraignment, trial or sentence" (OED), 30/376; 30/381; 30/398; 31/376; bryng hym to barre, 33/87; 33/133; 33/145.
bastard, n., bastard, 32/105.
batsyll, n., battle, 26/4.
bathe, adj. and adv., see bothe.
battard, v. pres. part., cudgelling, beating, 30/243.
battis, n. pl., firm blows (as with a staff or club), 33/428.
bbe, v. inf., 27/67; 33/165; 34/183; bese, 3 sg. pres. ind., is, 30/221; bees, imper. pl., 26/38.
be, prep., by, 30/291; 31/377; 36/320; by, 29/18; 29/185; 30/34; beside, 29/93.
because, adv., on account of, 29/388; bycause, by reason of, 29/223.
because, conj., because, since, 29/170; 33/388.
bedde, n., bed, 30/127; 30/152; 30/153.
bede, v. inf., pray, 27/68; bedde, 3 sg. pret., offered, 31/208; pa. part., 34/320.
bedell, n., beadle, 30/305; 33/139; 33/211; bedilis, pl., 30/316.
bedene, adv., immediately, at once, 27/171; 36/71; by and by, in a little while, 27/60; bydene, together, 27/162.
beeste, n., beast, 34/342; bestis, pl., beasts, beings, 29/242.
beeste, v. see bete.
befalle, v. inf., befall, occur, 34/167.
beflapped, v. pa. part., beaten thoroughly, 33/431.
before, adv., in front, 28/238; 28/251; before, ahead, in advance, in front, 29/390; in the past, 29/275; 31/191; previously, 33/339; before, 29/230.
before, prep., before, in front of, 30/308; 33/435; 34/109.
beggar, n., beggar (or as a term of contempt), base rascal, 29/325; 30/381; begger, 32/105.
begynne, v. inf., begin, 26/106; begynnys, 3 sg. pres. ind., 27/105; 33/401; begun, pa. part., 29/203; 29/204; begonne, 31/122.
begynnynge, vbl. n., beginning, 31/189.
begon, v. pa. part., encompassed, 26/5.
between, prep., between, among, 27/20; 30/529; 31/68; 31/312; bytwene, 27/34; 27/169.

bewshere, n., fair sir (as a form of address), 26/211; bewscher, 32/161; bewschere, 29/347; bewscher, 26/187; beuscher, 30/281; 34/241; bewscheris, pl., 31/161; 31/305; 31/369; 31/387; 31/419; bewschere, 29/181; 32/1; bewshere, 31/179; 31/328; bewesirs, 30/59; bewsers, 29/1.

by, prep., see be.


bycause, adv. see because.

byde, v. inf., wait, 26/211; remain, stay, 28/142; remain, continue, 32/4; bide, remain, stay, 36/182; wait for, 31/47; byde, withstand, submit to, 29/369; bide, endure, undergo, 27/83; 35/96; encounter, endure, 26/19; abide, endure, 35/110; byde, 1 pl. pres. ind., tarry, remain, 30/122; bide, 2 pl., 74/191; imper. sg., wait, 36/298; bidis, imper. pl., wait for, 28/8; 26/83; byde, 2 sg. pres. subj., tarry, remain, 30/184.

bidis, v. 2 sg. pres. ind., instruct, direct, 28/14.

bydene, adv. see bedene.

bye, v. inf., buy, purchase, 27/170; 1 pl. pret., bought, 32/173; 32/25; boughte, 32/165; borht, 32/329; bought, pa. part., 26/227; obtained, purchased, 29/97; paid for, atoned for, 35/150; redeemed, 36/183; for hym is borch, for him that redeemed you, 35/101.

bye, v. inf., (aphetic form of abye), pay the penalty for, suffer for, make amends for, 30/259; 31/290.

bigg, adj., mighty, 33/217; byg, loud, 31/254.

bynde, v. inf., bind, tie up, fasten, secure, 33/67; 33/468; 34/334; (refl) bind, pledge, 32/217; 32/219; bade, 3 sg. pret., bound, secured, 29/137; boune, pa. part., 30/283; 35/144.

birdis, n. pl., birds, 36/193.

bisshoppe, n. see busshoppe.


bittillbrowed, adj., beetle-browed, 26/169.

bittir, adj., bitter, painful, 32/268; 33/351; 35/110.

bittir, adv., bitterly, 36/130.

bittirfull, adj., full of bitterness, 36/183.

bittirly, adv., bitterly, 26/19; 29/137.

bytwene, prep., see betwene.

blame, n., blame, censure, disapprobation, 26/19; 29/152; 31/185; culpability, 31/72.

blee, n., complexion, countenance, 26/20; 28/259; condition, 36/174;
person, 30/248.

blemyshe, v. 2 pl. pres. ind., impair, sully, 29/335.

blenke, n., 28/259. (OED blank, sb2, sense 2, quoting this line, offers "a glance of the eye; usually a bright, cheerful glance", but in this context sense 1, "a sudden gleam of light", is more appropriate).

blessid, ppl. adj., blessed, 27/187; 32/139.

blynde, adj., blind, 29/35.

blyne, v. inf., cease, desist, 35/106; imper. pl., 33/461; blyne (of) imper. sg., cease, leave off, 36/174.

blisse, n., the joy of heaven, 27/52; joy, gladness, happiness, state of perfect happiness, heaven, 27/54; 28/35; 31/320; 36/130; 36/208; blis, 29/20; 36/307; blis, 26/204.

blisses, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., blushes, 33/432.

blissid, v. 3 sg. pret., blessed, 31/212.

blissing, n., blessing, benediction, favour, 26/221; 28/27; 28/83; 31/369; 32/125; blyssing, 26/269; blissyngr, 34/168.

blithe, adj., cheerful, glad, 30/248; 30/496.

blithely, adv., gladly, cheerfully, 26/196; 30/87; blithely, 31/88; 33/215.

blondre, n., trouble, disturbance, 33/93; clamour, 33/402.

bloo, adj., blackish-blue, livid, 33/432.

bloode, n., blood, 28/50; 29/285; 31/8; 31/210; 31/255; 31/328; 32/193; 32/195; 32/196; 32/224; 32/231; 32/329; 32/370; 34/34; 34/316; 35/61; 36/36; 36/68; 36/128; 36/307; 36/351; being, 32/159.

blore, n., see blure.

blossome, n., blossom, 26/20; 36/137.

blowe, v. inf., breathe, draw breath, 31/144; blowes, utter (a boast), 31/19; 3 sg. pres. ind., 26/169; blawe, 3 pl., wave, flutter (in the air), 33/177; blaswe, utter (a boast), 31/177; blowe, pa. part., (used apparently for 3 sg. pret.) 30/223; blowen, pa. part., 26/187; 33/253.

blure, n., bluster, 31/254; 33/93; blore, 26/187.

body, n., body, 26/290; 32/139; 33/313; 36/147; 36/186; 36/355; bodye, 36/337; bodis, pl., 33/479; 36/68; bodys, 34/169.

bodis, n. pl., commands, behests, 31/179; 31/305.

bodus, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., bodes, portends, 31/83.

bodword, bodworde, n., see goodword.

boy, n., (as a term of contempt), knave, varlet, wretch, 29/288; 30/532; 31/72; 32/113; boye, 30/480; 31/208; boyes, pl., 33/270.

boyste, n., box, casket, 26/131.

bolde, adj., bold, stout-hearted, 26/4; bold, audacious, 29/91; presumptuous, 29/325; venturesome, forward, 30/539; halde, bold,
courageous, 28/142.

boldly, adv., boldly, fearlessly, 30/398; 31/376; 35/31; boldly, 29/174; boldly, assuredly, 26/118; 31/347; impudently, shamelessly, 30/317; boldly, boldly, fearlessly, 30/243; unhesitatingly, 36/242.
onde man, n., bondman, man in bondage, 32/218.
bone, n., bone, harm, woe, 26/12.
bone, n., prayer, 36/257; request, 29/12; boon, favour, 34/8; 34/240.
bone, n., bone, 32/193; bones, pl., 26/118; 30/5; 31/9; 35/103; 35/223; bonis, 32/113; bona, 28/283; 29/285; 31/328; 32/129.

bonne, ppl. adj., see boune.

bodworde, n., message, announcement, 30/281; bodword, 31/88; bodworde, 33/211; bodword, commandment, behest, 31/33.

boore, n., see bore.

boored, v. pa. part., see bored.

booryngis, n. pl., see boring.

boote, n., see bote.

borde, n., see bourde.

bordyng, vbl. n., see bourdyng.

boore, n., bore-hole, 35/86; boore, 35/99.

bored, v. pa. part., bored, perforated with bore-holes, 35/109; boorede, 34/83; 34/40.

boring, vbl. n., boring, making of bore-holes, 35/128; booryngis, pl., bore-holes, 35/146.

borowe, v. inf., redeem, 31/320.

borowed, ppl. adj., borrowed, 31/105.

boste, n., bragging, assertions, 29/131; 29/255; 30/223; 33/370; bost, 33/253; boste, threatening speech, 26/169; outcry, 31/19.

bostyng, vbl. n., boasting, 28/147; 31/177.

bot, conj., see but.

bote, n., remedy, relief, 26/270; means of relief, help, in phr. bote of all bale, 28/55; boote of oure bale, 28/14.

bote, v. pa. part., remedied, 32/146.

bothe, adj., both, 29/181; 29/200; 35/137; boye, 30/300; bate, 34/61.

bothe, adv., both, 30/54; 34/82; 34/166; both, 27/56; 27/87; 29/24; 30/157; 32/283; 33/456; both, 33/220; bove, 30/455; thy selfe and vs bathe, yourself and us too, 34/238.

bott if, conj., see but.

boune, v. inf. (refl.), betake (oneself), 30/152; 30/381; imper. sg., 30/398.
boune, ppl. adj., ready, prepared, 28/213; 31/347; 35/73; 35/177; boune, 26/3 (accepting Holthausen's emendation of this line (see textual note to 1.3, Play 26)); 27/152.

boune, ppl. adj., bound, confined, 31/72; bound, 31/179; 31/305; bonne, compelled, obliged, 36/103.

bourde, n., jest, joke, 31/255; borde, 26/117; burde, 29/242; bourde, jesting, 28/293; bourdis, pl., jests, games, 29/369.

bourde, v. inf., jest, make sport, 29/182; 29/326; bourdes, 2 sg. pres. ind., 29/330; boured, 2 sg. pret., 36/95; boured, pa. part., 29/379.

bourdeyne, n., burden, load, 35/207; burdeyne, 32/114.

bourdyng, vbl. n., jesting, buffoonery, 31/83; 31/150; 34/217; bordyng, 31/177.

bour, n., chamber, an inner apartment (contrasted with the hall or large public room), 27/67.

boustous, adj., bulky, huge, massive, 35/218.

bowe, v. inf., bow, 29/348.

bowne, ppl. adj., see boune.

boxson, adj., see buxsome.

bragges, n. pl., large nails, 34/95.

braide, n., attack, assault, 32/268; brayde, 35/96.

brayde, v. inf., (refl.), rush, hasten, 33/345; imper. pl. (refl.), make haste, come quickly, 30/274; brayede, 3 sg. pret. in brayede me with a brande, struck at me with a sword, 29/139.

brayne, n., brains, 31/4; 33/401; braynes, pl., 30/4.

braythe, adj., see brathe.

bralland, v. pres. part., see brawlis.

brande, n., sword, 29/139; 30/4; 30/5; 31/4; 32/7.

brasshis, n. pl., assaults, attacks, 33/351.

braste, v. pa. part., tied up, secured, 30/527.

brathe, adj., wrathful, violent, 26/37; braythe, impetuous, eager, 26/132.

brathely, adv., violently, 33/17; 33/67.

brawle, n., brawler, 30/6; browlys, pl., 31/1. (Both examples could also be forms of broll, a brat (cf 33/17).)

brawlis, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., wrangles, squabbles, boasts, raises a disturbance, 31/409; brawlest, 2 sg., argue, contend, 30/381; bralland, pres. part., making a disturbance, 33/17.

brede, n., breadth, 33/242; 34/78; breede, 35/76; on brede, widely, apart, 31/9; 33/169; 33/177.

brede, n., bread, 31/208; 36/290.

bredis, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., creates, causes, 33/93; bredde, 1 sg. pret., bred, 32/130; pa. part., 36/513 (MS and borne).
breste, n., breast, 26/269; brestis, pl., 26/4; 30/208.
breste, v. inf., break (used fig. of the heart) 27/103; break, be shattered, 26/4; shatter, break in pieces, 31/4; brestis, 3 sg. pres. ind., 30/4; brestis, 33/250.
brethell, n., wretch, good-for-nothing, 26/179; 29/236; brethelle, 30/513; brethellis, pl., 30/243.
briour, n., scoundrel, wretch, rascal, 26/169; briboure, 30/460.
bryme, adj., fierce, 30/300; 31/419.
brymly, adv., strongly, 30/527.
bryttyn, v. 1 sg. pres. ind., hew, cut, 31/9.
brode, adj., broad, 33/253.
brode, adv., broadly, outspokenly, 29/330; 36/95.
brokke, n., badger, 29/114.
broll, n., brat, whelp, 33/17; 33/345; 33/386; brolle, 33/45.
brosid, v. pa. part., bruised, 34/244.
brothell, n., wretch, scoundrel, 30/223; 30/396; 31/19; 31/409; 32/288; 33/169; 36/95; brothellis, pl., 36/250; brothellis, 31/l.
browlys, n. pl., see browle.
buffettis, n. pl., blows, 29/370; 34/320.
burde, n., see bourde.
burdeyne, n., see bourdeyne.
burely, adj., sturdy, strongly built, 33/253.
burgh, n., town, 32/11; 33/228.
buse, 3 sg. pres. ind., (impers), it behoves, it is necessary for, 27/38; 33/475; 33/477; 34/45; 34/52; 34/235; bud, 3 sg. pret., 26/3.
buske, v. inf., hurry, hasten, 26/188; prepare, make ready, 36/182; (refl), hasten, betake (oneself), 30/212; 32/288; 33/139; 33/345; imper sg., hasten, 30/365; 31/376; (refl), hasten, 30/127; buskand, preparing, getting ready, 30/87.
busshoppe, n., chief priest, high priest of the Jews, 29/326; 32/57; 32/376; 34/109; busshoppe, 29/182; bisshoppe, 29/14; bussoppis, pl., 26/3; 30/430.
but, conj., but, 26/144; 28/53; 30/80; 34/345; bot, 26/211; butt, 33/136; butte, 34/331; bot, unless, 26/111; 29/369; 34/282; but if, 27/89; 30/301; 30/524; 31/396; but ye, 30/62; 30/159; 31/113; bott if, 27/51.
buxsome, adj., humble, meek, 27/67; obedient, 30/114; 35/51; boxsom, 30/248; buxum, 28/95; buxom, 29/210; buxhome, 33/143; compliant, amiable, 30/52.
cace, n., see case.

caytiff, n., wretch, 26/257; 29/106; 30/196; 30/355; 30/389; caytiff, 26/115; caytiff, gen. sg., 26/60; caytyf, wretch, prisoner, 33/144; caytyf, 33/463; caystiffe, wretch, 26/74; caystiff, wretch, prisoner, 33/336; caystiffes, pl., wretches, 33/203; caytiffes, 36/287.

call, n., summons, bidding, 31/26; 31/153; 31/207; 32/27.
call, v. inf., call, summon, 28/186; 29/299; calle, 34/40; 34/197; 35/170; call, speak of as, name, designate, 36/91; call, 26/51; 32/372; (refl), 33/388; calle, 1 sg. pres. ind., 30/389; 34/314; 36/92; call, 33/203; callis, 3 sg., 26/115; 28/201; (refl), 29/50; 31/232; 31/235; 32/102; call, 2 pl., 27/61; calle, 31/275; 3 pl., shout, cry out, 30/242; calland, pres. part., 33/19; calle, imper. sg., call, proclaim, 30/374; call, 33/262; calles, call, summon, 28/183; called, 3 sg. pret. (refl), called, designated, 34/311; 36/58; 36/75; 3 pl., called, spoke of as, 34/66; pa. part., called, named, 31/117; (refl), called, designated, 34/70; callid, 29/123; he garte hyn call, he had himself called, 36/64; he garres calle hym, 30/464.
can, v. can, be able to, know how to, 1 sg. pres. ind., 26/170; 26/178; 35/133; 2 sg., 34/263; 3 sg., 26/180; canne, 30/227; he can of, he has knowledge of, 31/50; can, 1 pl., 30/488; 2 pl., 33/239; 33/115; cowthe, 1 sg. pret., 29/143; 36/52; couthe, 3 sg. 35/278; 36/125; 36/318; couthe, 29/143; couthe, 1 pl., 33/197.
care, v. inf., go, proceed, make (one's) way, 30/336; 30/384; 30/522; 33/144; caree, 31/317; carees, 3 sg. pres. ind., cares with, goes about with, 26/200; care, imper. pl., go, 33/463; careed, 3 pl. pret., 33/73; care, 1 sg. pres. subj., 30/200 (HS care), see textual note.
care, v. inf., to lament, mourn, 36/150; caris, 2 sg. pres. ind., are concerned, 26/171.
carefull, adj., sorrowful, 34/141; full of care, trouble, 34/156.
cary, v. inf., bear (to burial), 33/249; caryed, pa. part., come, 30/256.
carle, n., churl, low fellow, 30/63; 31/63; 31/141; 31/248; 33/312; 34/37; 35/206.
carpe, v. inf., discuss, 27/80; talk, speak, 31/90; 31/248; 31/288; carpis, 2 sg. pres. ind., talk, carp, cavil, complain, 35/165; carpe, 2 pl., 35/113; 3 pl., prate, 33/73; carpis, say, 31/141; carpeand, pres. part., talking, prating, 33/19; carpe, imper. sg., speak, 31/173; 31/321; carpis, pl., 28/186. (See also karpe).
carpynge, vbl. n., talk, 29/31; carpynge, 28/148; speaking, 30/157.
carre, v. inf., see care.
casbalde, n., (a term of contempt, meaning obscure), 34/194.
case, n., situation, circumstance, plight, 28/108; cas, 28/198; 34/181; cause, case (presented or put to a court of law), 26/192; case, matter, 26/234; in case, in fact, 30/409; in case, 36/53.
caste, v. inf., turn, go, 36/180; contrive, devise, 30/403; caste
down, throw down, demolish, 32/92; caste, 1 sg. pres. ind.,
contrive, 36/164; (refl), purpose, 30/50; castis, 3 sg. (refl),
intends, purposes, 32/47; caste, 1 pl., 31/348; 3 sg. pret., threw,
26/74; casten, pa. part., put, caused to fall into, 26/116.
casting, vbl. n., calculation, 29/5.
catche, v. inf., capture, 26/257; cached, pa. part., 30/196; caught,
snatched, taken, 33/273.
cayf, n., see cayiffe.
caut, adj., artful, 33/350.
cautely, adv., artfully, 33/262.
cautellis, n. pl., cunning devices, tricks, 35/206.
certainty, adj., certain, sure, 30/260.
certainty, quasi-sb. or ellipt., in phr. in certainty, certainly, truly,
28/159; 28/211; 30/296; 32/12; 32/232; for certainty, assuredly, as a
certainty, 26/109; 29/389.
certain, adv., certainly, assuredly, with certainty, 28/207; 30/27;
32/42; 32/227; 35/274.
certainty, v. 1 sg. pres. ind., certify, 33/246.
certefie, v. inf., declare, 26/29; attest, 28/243; certify, guarantee,
30/46.
certi, adv., certainly, assuredly, 31/37; 31/66; 34/171; 34/262;
35/31; 35/204; certes, 33/36.
cece, v. inf., cease, desist, 33/39; 33/433.
chalance, v. imper. pl., assert (one's right), 29/23.
charge, n., office, commission, responsibility, 26/217; injunction,
33/32.
charge, v. inf., load, burden, 33/12; 1 sg. pres. ind., command,
enjoin, exhort, 29/23; 30/472; 33/3; 33/123; 1 pl., 30/211.
charmes, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., bewitches, 33/239; charmed, 3 sg. pret.,
33/237.
chaste, adj., virtuous, 27/38.
chastise, v. inf., chastise, punish, 35/36; chasteise, 36/21; chastye,
33/377; chasteise, imper. sg., 30/142.
chaterist, v. 2 sg. pres. ind., chatter, babble, 26/180; chatteres,
30/142.
chatt, v. 2 pl., pres. subj., prate, chatter, 33/3.
cheere, v. inf., see chere.
cheffe, v. (impers.), in ill cheffe you, may you fare badly, 30/241.
cheynes, n. pl., chains, fetters, 31/16; chyne, 33/12.

chynes, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., binds, 32/278; chyned, pa. part., chained, fettered, 30/211.

chere, n., disposition, countenance, 27/88; in phr. of full gud chere, stout of heart, cheerful, courageous, 23/220; with goode chere, with ready will, cheerfully, 31/326; with full gode chere, 28/228; with a goode chere, 31/408.

chere, v. inf., turn aside, 26/217; cheere, turn away, drive away, 36/21; charred, pa. part., 33/32.

chere, v. inf., cheer, gladden, 33/12; comfort, solace, 33/31.

chiftan, n., ruler, 33/3; chittene, 30/472.

chynes, n. pl., see cheynes.

chyualers, n. pl., knights, 33/289.

chyualrus, adj., knightly, valorous, doughty, valiant, 33/31.

chynpes, n. pl., see chynes.

clapoe, v. inf., put, place, 26/283; beat, strike, 33/142; clapped, pa. part., 33/151.

clappid, v. pa. part., embraced, 30/54.

clere, v. inf., call, name, 32/65; clere, l sg. pres. ind., 26/258 (or perhaps 'embrace'; see General note to 1.258, Play 26).

clere, v. inf., purify, 33/375*

clere, adj., resplendent, 33/394; clear, fair, pure, 30/41; clere, 32/24; clere, fair, beautiful, 30/40; fair, serene, radiant, 29/167; clear-sighted, perspicuous, 30/100 (MS clene); 32/30.

clere, adv., brightly, 28/219.

clerky, n., learning, scholarship, 29/5; 32/29.

clerke, n., clerk, scholar, man of learning, 26/186; 29/15.

cloke, n., cloak, 33/375.

clothe, v. inf., clothe, array, 31/336; 34/27.

cloute, v. inf., clout, strike, 33/375; cloxte, 33/142; cloxted, pa. part., 33/151.
clowte, n., cloth, handkerchief, 34/194.
clukis, n. pl., hands, clutches, 33/151.
comande, v. 1 sg. pres. ind., command, order, bid, 29/289; 30/132; 32/371; 34/3; comandis, 2 sg., 35/115; 3 sg., 28/186; commande, 1 pl., 32/383; commande, 33/266; commande, 2 pl., 32/372; imper. sg., 31/336; comandoed, 2 pl. pret., 30/336; 32/119; commande, 29/195; comandoed, pa. part., 33/144; commande, 1 sg. pres. ind. (refl), command, 30/111; commandes, 3 sg. pres. ind., (refl), 30/283; commande, imper. sg., 30/179; pl., 30/531; commandis, 32/126.
commandement, n., commandment, injunction, 27/27; command, bidding, 30/90; commandementis, pl., commandments, 27/155.
comercaunce, n., cause of trouble, 26/217.
comberous, adj., cumbersome, weighty, 33/297.
comberaunce, n., cause of trouble, 26/217.
comberous, adj., cumbersome, weighty, 33/297.
comber, v. inf., encumber, burden, trouble, 32/325; comeres, 3 pl. pres. ind., harass, 34/211; combered, pa. part., "overwhelmed and held fast, as in a slough" (OEÜ), 26/171; encumbered, burdened, 33/429.
combed, ppl. adj., benumbed, 33/203.
comy, v. inf., come, 31/43; 1 sg. pres. ind., 29/293; comys, 2 sg., 31/172; comys, 3 sg., 26/59; 26/199; becomes, befits, 26/253; 29/127; comys, comes, 32/78; come, 1 pl., 29/389; 3 pl., 31/153; command, pres. part., 33/41; come, 3 sg. pret., 26/130; 31/222; 31/337; imper. phr. comes on, come on, 35/32; comes here, approach, 31/239; come of, come along! (a call of encouragement to action), 29/150; come, pa. part., 31/23; 31/63; come, 30/251.
comely, ad. fair, noble, 26/186; 37/409; 33/448; 36/91; 36/112; pleasing, agreeable, 30/100; comely, 30/40; noble, 33/336; comeliest, (superl), 32/102; comely (as a noun), in that comely, that fair one, 30/283; that fine man, 31/140.
comenaut, n., covenant, agreement, contract, undertaking (OEÜ; a "corrupt form of covenant", n. and v.), 26/294; comenauta, 32/279.
comfarte, n., solace, satisfaction, relief, 26/284; comforth, peace of mind, 33/273.
comly, adj., see comely.
comons, n. pl., common people, lower orders, 26/116; 31/94.
company, n., band of followers, retinue, 29/119; 29/219; comanye, 32/223; company, band, 33/218; group of people, 34/141; comanye, company, assembly, 26/186; helpers, companions, assistance, 34/40; 35/170.
compelle, v. inf., force, drive, 32/49; compell, urge, 30/461; compellis, 3 pl. pres. ind., 26/87.
coniure, v. 1 sg. pres. ind., charge, call upon, 29/289.
conjeon, n. (an offensive term of abuse or dislike), a half-wit,
a dwarf, 32/47.

consciens, n., conscience, moral sense, 26/231.

consaide, adj., learned, 32/74; 32/75; knowledgeable, 31/173; consani, learned, 32/30; consant, able, 33/463.

conmyng, vbl. n., studying, 29/5.

conmyng, n., learning, knowledge, 29/15.

construe, v. inf., construe, expound, interpret, 30/355; construe, 30/347.

consume, v. inf., destroy, do away with, 26/56.

contynuaunce, n., a space of time, 26/102.

contre, n., country, region, land, 27/155; 29/78; 29/130; 29/178; 31/128; 31/337; 13/218.


convik, ppl. adj., proved, 30/506.

cov(n)yk, (MS covyk), v. inf., convict, find guilty, 33/293.

coorse, n., see corsae.

coote, n., see cote.

core, n., cloak, cape, 26/199.

corbonan, n., the treasury of the temple at Jerusalem, 32/326.

corde, n., rope, 33/350; 35/113; 35/133; cordis, 33/467; 35/145.

corde, n., (aphetic form of accord), accord, agreement, 28/232.

coorse, n., body, 30/41; 30/48; person, man, 26/283; 28/176; 28/179; 29/155; 36/318; cource, body, 33/467.

coyne, n., cousin, friend (as a familiar term of address), 26/218; 31/172.

cote, n., coat, garment, 27/170; coote, 35/293.

couere, n., couch, bed, 30/132.

couere, v. imper. pl., shield, protect, shelter, 34/175.


counsaile, v. 1 sg. pres. ind., counsel, advise, suggest, 30/200; 31/36; 1 pl., 29/79.
countenance, n., show, pretence, appearance, 29/223; countenance, face, 30/440.

covenote, v. 1 pl. pres. ind., desire, wish, 26/284; desire eagerly, 30/48; covenote, pa. part., desired, 31/140.
coward, n., coward, 30/223; cowardly, 30/384.
creatures, n. pl., creatures, 30/1; 33/266.
crepilled, n. pl., cripples, 29/36.
crye, n., shouting, 30/157; make a crye, make a proclamation, 33/262.
croke, v. inf., bow, 33/103.
crooked, adj., crooked, deformed, 29/36.
cross, n., cross, 33/451; 34/47; 34/64; 34/292; 34/300; 35/39; 35/193; 35/229; 35/247; 36/26; on crosse, on the cross, 34/38; 36/27.
crosse, v. inf., crucify, 35/23.
croune, n., crown, in phr. kyng with croune, 33/329; kyngdome with croune, 35/79.
croune, v. inf., crown, 33/389; 34/27.
croke, n., crow (of a cock), 27/13; 28/150.
croven, v. pa. part., crowed (of cocks), 33/258.
cruelly, adv., vigorously, 30/471; fiercely, 30/1.
culpabil, adj., guilty, 26/232; 31/128.
cuppe, n., wine-cup, chalice, 29/79.
cursed, ppl. adj., accursed, 30/1; 30/63; 32/319; 33/170; 34/48; 35/45; appallingly dreadful, abominable, 34/181.
cursedly, adv., cursedly, 30/355; 36/52; cursidly, 26/241; curstely, 26/73; 33/255.
cursidnesse, n., wickedness, 30/409; 30/506; cursednesse, 30/160; curstnesse, malignancy, 26/171.
cuse, v. inf., (apparently an aphetic form of accuse), accuse, 32/78.
custome, n., custom, practice, 27/13; 30/72.

day, n., day, 27/1; 29/4; 31/287; dawe, 36/194; 36/324; daies, pl., 32/93; in his dayes, in his time, 33/423.
dayly, adv., always, constantly, 26/9.
dayne, n., disdain, 26/66.
dayntely, adv., daintily, 36/223; delicately, 29/80.
dame, n. (as a form of address), madam, 29/78; (prefixed as a title to the name of a lady of rank), 30/37.
dame, n., mother, in phr. ye deuyll and his dame, 31/247.
damsell, n., damsel, maid of honour, waiting-woman, 30/104; 30/110.
damnacion, n., damnation, 30/30.
damne, v. inf., condemn, 33/5; 1 sg. pres. ind., 33/452.
dar, v. 1 sg. pres. ind., dare, be so bold as to, venture to, 26/223; 35/121; dare, 29/171; 29/186; 29/376; 30/131; 30/175; 30/331; 31/209; 31/270; 34/226; 1 pl., 26/109; dar, 2 pl., 31/124; dare, 33/176; durste, 1 sg. pret., 29/66.
darfe, adj., see derfe.
darfely, adv., see derfely.
daris, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., trembles with fear, 28/2.
darke, adj., dark, evil, 32/98.
darlyng, n., darling, 36/266.
dasshis, n. pl., violent blows, 31/6; dasshes, 33/394.
dastard, n., dullard, stupid person, 28/269; 32/103; 33/10; 33/175; 33/291; 33/256; dastarde, 28/258; 34/279; dastardis, pl., 32/88.
daunce, v. imper., dance, 29/394; 31/422.
daunted, v. pa. part., held in subjection, 33/291.
debate, n., strife, contention, dispute, 26/26; 29/337; 29/371.
debate, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., debates, disputes, argues, 31/409.
declare, v. inf., explain, announce (to), 33/239; declared, 3 sg. pret., declared, 33/78.
dede, n., see deth.
dede, n., deed, action, 27/49; 27/99; 28/136; 29/154; 30/193; 30/216; 30/429; 33/335; 34/283; 34/308; 35/89; 35/153; 35/171; 36/234; 36/235; dedis, pl., 26/8; 26/183; 26/239; 29/56; 29/334; 30/199; 30/378; 31/229; 31/371; 32/98; 35/22.
dede, adj., dead, 33/476; 33/479; 34/45; 34/265.
deer, n., see dere.
deen, n., on deen, on the dais, 29/80; on dese, on the dais, in seat of honour (upon a raised platform), 29/19; on deesse, 36/329.
defayle, v. inf., fail, be wanting to, 28/146.
defame, v. inf., accuse, attack the reputation, 32/248; defamys, 3 sg. pres. ind., dishonours, 29/49; defamed, pa. part., 29/296.
defaute, n., fault, offence, misdeed, 31/373; 31/398.
defe, v. imper. pl., deafen, 29/334.
defe, adj. (used absol), the defe, the deaf, 30/441.
defende, v. inf., hinder, prevent, 28/110; resist, 28/130; defende, 28/105; defende, 1 sg. pres. ind., prohibit, 27/31; imper. sg.,
defend, vindicate, 33/267.
defie, v. 1 sg. pres. ind., repudiate, reject, 32/61.
degre, n., process, manner, 31/371; in degre, in order of rank, 28/194.
deyne, adj., see dingne.
deynes, v. 2 sg. pres. ind., deigns, condescends, 31/192; deynis, 31/193.
delaye, n., delay, 34/268; in phr. withoute longer delay, 33/475; pl. delayes in phr. withouten any delays, 31/39.
dele, n., in like a dele, entirely, 28/162; neuere a dele, not at all, 31/241.
delicious, adj., dielicious, highly enjoyable, 29/76.
delyuere, v. imper. sg., set free, save, 30/192; (refl), deliver, free (yourself), 36/99; delyuer, imper., make haste, 30/216; 36/341; delyuere, 36/283; (refl), 33/474; delyuere, 3 sg. pret., delivered, 30/441.
delyueraunce, n., delivery, 26/273.
demar, n., deemer, judge, 30/30.
deme, v. inf., judge, sit in judgment upon, 26/65; 32/86; 32/87; condemn, sentence, 30/408; 30/489; 30/532; 31/401; 32/118; 33/66; 33/324; 33/331; 36/14; 36/59; give judgment, 30/79; decree, 30/451; conclude, form the opinion, think, 31/395; demes, 2 sg. pres. ind., decree, 26/184; deme, 1 pl., judge, consider, 30/457; 2 pl., decree, decide, 31/421; demes, imper. sg., condemn, 30/361; deme, 30/289; pl., 30/429; decree, ordain, 33/318; demed, 3 sg. pret., 35/281; judged, considered, 33/82; 3 pl., condemned, 34/115; demyd, 36/319; demed, pa. part., condemned, 33/315; 34/121; 36/13; tried, judged, 30/378; appointed, 34/343; demyd, condemned, 35/272.
demene, v. imper. sg. (refl), conduct, comport (oneself), 31/32; demeane, pa. part., behaved, 30/327.
denynge, vbl. n., judgment, 30/199; 30/226.
denye, v. inf., deny, repudiate, 27/135; 28/149; 1 pl. pres. ind., refuse, 32/156; denved, 1 sg. pret., denied, repudiated, 29/166; pa. part., 29/160.
denn, n., den, lair, abode, 26/90; denne, 31/11; dennys, pl., 36/192.
denartid, v. pa. part., distributed, 26/143.
dere, n., harm, injury, 26/183; 31/284; 34/228; 35/158; deere, 36/246.
dere, v. inf., harm, injure, 33/23; 33/82; 35/18; derand, pres. part., doing harm, 26/39; derele, pa. part., injured, harmed, 28/282.
dere, adj., dear, beloved, highly regarded, 27/39; 28/1; 28/97; 28/168; 29/258; 30/106; 34/23; 36/46; 36/172; 36/174; 36/261; 36/264; 36/266; 36/276; derrest (superl.), most noble, most glorious, 30/200.
dere, adj., grievous, dire, 32/7.
dere, adv., dearly, 34/196.
dereworthy, adj., beloved, 36/172.
derfe, adj., audacious, bold, 33/423; derffe, 32/46; darfe, terrible, dreadful, 32/210.
derfely, adv., violently, fiercely, grievously, terribly, quickly, 28/131; 29/97; derfly, 33/354; darfely, 28/136; 28/258.
derfenes, n., boldness, audacity, 26/90.
dergh, n., in drawe on dergh, hold back, delay, put off (an action), 35/2. (See MED dri(e), n.(2), sense 3(b), drawn on dri(e), quoting this line, and among other examples, The Destruction of Troy, 1.11647, "why draghes you on dregh yes dedis so ferr?"; cf Smith's gloss of 35/2: "ondergh, adj., undree, without sorrow or trouble").
derke, v. inf., lie hidden, 31/11.
derworth, adj., worthy, noble, glorious, 33/28; 36/7; 36/329.
descende, v. inf., descend, come upon earth, 26/57.
dese, n., see dees.
deserves, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., deserves, 30/467.
desire, n., wish, desire, 26/9; 29/43; 31/94.
desire, v. 3 pl. pres. ind., desire, wish for, crave, 26/90.
deth, n., death, 29/97; 30/170; 30/289; 30/361; 30/408; 30/429; 30/451; 32/381; 34/20; ye deth, 30/497; dese, 27/127; 28/2; 28/109; 28/117; 28/131; 28/152; 28/254; 29/336; 30/33; 30/450; 33/256; 33/324; 33/461; 33/475; 34/142; 34/160; 35/21; 35/33; 35/64; 35/72; 36/14; 36/59; 36/132; 36/173; 36/219; 36/254; 36/325.
deth, v. inf., deafen, 30/101; dethis, 3 sg. pres. ind., 31/192.
deuere, n., duty, appointed task, 29/224; 36/156; deuere, pl., 28/272.
deuyll, n., devil, 31/229; (in imprecations, exclamations) ye deuyll in yi throte! 31/397; in ye deuyllis name, 31/74; ye devill hym sped! 28/217; be ye deuyllis nese, 33/196; what deuyll! 31/241; ye deuill mot ye hange! 32/295; ye deuill fordo youe! 32/282.
deuys, n., at youre deuys, under your direction, at your command, 30/269; with dewly device, in the proper manner, 30/408.
deuys, v. inf., devise, provide, 33/282; 1 sg. pres. ind., project, 32/331.
devoyde, v. imper. pl., do away with, 36/3.
dewly, adj., due, proper, fitting, 30/408; dulve, 30/269.
dewly, adv., duly, properly, fitly, rightly, 30/155; 30/191; 30/533; 32/93; 32/385; 33/172; 33/282; 36/13; dely, 28/162.
dyderis, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., trembles, quakes, 28/2.
dyne, v. inf., die, 27/129; 28/136; 28/138; 28/269; 30/466; 30/467; 30/469; 30/532; 33/60; 37/315; 34/133; 34/243; 34/343; 35/5; 35/22; 35/272; 36/14; 36/173; 36/206; dv, 33/452; 34/39; 36/13; dies, 3 pl. pres. ind., 32/333.

dieue, adj., fitting, proper, 30/61; 36/59.
dight, v. inf., arrange, 30/533; dite, 32/381; dightis, imper. pl., go, direct your way, 32/385; dight, pa. part., prepared, made ready, 27/7; 36/223; ordained, 26/184; performed, 35/281; dight to dede, put to death, 36/18; dist, 36/132; 36/325; dyghted, 30/170.
dynne, adj., dim, dark, 30/84.
dyng, v. inf., in dyng doune, strike down, 34/279; dynges doune, 35/17; dynges doune, imper. pl., 29/333; dong doune, pa. part., 33/331.
dynete, adj., honourable, 29/258; devne, worthy, 28/1.
dynentite, n., high estate, rank, 26/7; dynites, pl., worthiness, 28/162.
dynne, n., din, noise, uproar, 30/101; 31/192; 35/18; 35/195; 36/3.
dyntes, n. pl., blows, violence, 33/28.
discipill, n., disciple, 27/39; discipilis, pl., 28/97; 28/125; discipilli, 28/64; discipulis, 28/1.
discouer, v. inf., reveal, disclose, 26/135.
discressioun, n., in be my discressioun, at my discretion, by my complete power of disposall, 36/12.
diseasid, v. pa. part., discomforted, 33/196.
dispise, v. imper. sg., scorn, 33/129.
dispite, n., outrage, an insulting action, 26/66.
disseuer, v. inf., part, 33/59.
dite, v. see dight.
diuaere, adj., many kinds of, 29/56.
do, v. inf., do, perform, act, 27/91; 27/99; 29/73; 30/535; 31/421; 34/236; 35/31; 35/39; 35/171; 36/234; 36/348; 36/357; doo, 30/114; 31/247; 35/11; 35/117; done, 34/305; do, 1 sg. pres. ind., 30/61; render, 30/311; done, 2 sg., in what done you? what are you doing? 30/95; dois, 3 sg., does, performs, 32/46; do, 1 pl., proceed, 35/105; 2 pl., in phr. do right, do right, 32/366; do, imper. sg., do, perform, 27/91; in phr. do t i duesere, do your duty, 36/156; dose, pl., do, perform, 34/269; did, 1 sg. pret., acted, behaved, 32/132; did, performed, 36/218; 3 sg., acted, 29/220; did, performed, 29/224; 36/205; 1 pl., 32/169; 2 pl., 27/154; done, pa. part., placed, 34/38; done, performed, carried out, accomplished, made, 27/48; 28/117; 28/272; 29/56; 29/69; 30/466; 30/533; 31/41; 31/371; 33/172; 33/423; 34/180; 34/235; 34/264; 34/308; 34/333; 35/173; 35/196; 35/281; 36/258; 36/283; in phr. haue done! hurry up! make an end! 28/212; 30/95; 30/216; 32/36; 32/316; 33/944; 33/474; 35/73; 35/141; 36/288;
36/34; (as a substitute for a verb just used) do, 2 sg. pres.
ind., 32/289; dose, 3 sg., 26/240; done, pa. part., 26/240; (as a
periphrastic auxiliary of the pret.) did, 3 sg. pret., 30/109;
3 pl., 33/189; do, imper. (as periphrastic aux. of the imper.) 26/155;
26/293; 26/72; 28/127; 28/153; 25/185; 28/204; 28/232; 28/255; 28/290;
29/74; 29/390; 29/340; 29/147; 29/201; 29/207; 29/275; 29/277; 29/310;
29/385; 30/359; 30/64; 30/149; 30/152; 30/154; 30/212; 30/218; 30/232;
30/360; 30/168; 30/529; 31/190; 31/200; 31/245; 31/288; 31/315; 31/328;
31/331; 32/58; 32/59; 32/288; 32/385; 33/14; 33/139; 33/148; 33/227;
33/261; 33/342; 33/384; 33/397; 33/475; 35/244; 36/90; 36/332; dose,
29/366; do, imper. (used absol.) Go on! 23/296; doand, pres. part.,
active, busy, 35/267; other phr., dose hym away, imper., destroy,
put an end to him, 30/361; do way, imper., have done, leave off,
cease, 32/376; 33/320; 36/144; do waie, 32/173; do dere, inf., to
do harm, 31/284; 35/158; do deere, 36/248; dose dere, 3 sg. pres.
ind., 34/228; dose wele, does good, 30/451; to do hym to dede, inf.,
to put him to death, 30/450; done to dede, pa. part., 35/7; 36/160;
36/294.
dozzydly, adv., maliciously, cruelly, 33/196.
dole, n. grieve, sorrow, 31/287; 34/138; doole, 26/184; 30/441.
dome, n. judgment, judging, sentence, 30/269; 30/430; 30/532;
32/117; 33/282; 34/39; 35/3; in dome, in law, by decree,
30/68.
dom, adj., dumb, 34/101; dom, 33/410; domme, 33/64; je dome, (absol.)
the dumb, 30/441.
domisman, n. judge, 36/7; domysman, 29/340; domes man, 30/191;
domesmen, pl., 29/19.
dool, n. see dole.
doota, n. and v., see dote.
dore, n. door, 32/183; domme as a dore, dumb as a door, 33/64.
dote, n. fool, 32/65; doote, 35/4.
dote, v., 1 pl. pres. ind., act foolishly, be out of (one's) wits,
31/269; 31/395; doote, 34/309.
dauhteres, n. pl., daughters, 34/161.
doughty, adj., valiant, worthy, 30/30; douty, 30/216; (as a noun)
yat doughty, that worthy (one), 30/170; doughtiest, (superl.), most
valiant, 30/280; doxtiest, 30/225.
doulful, adj., distressful, painful, 27/99; 35/64; 36/173.
doulfully, adv., dolefully, mournfully, sadly, 28/282; 34/154; 36/132;
36/325; doulfully, 36/254.
doume, adv., down, 32/92; 35/131; 35/179; doume, 29/45; 35/195; down,
33/123.
doute, n. fear, dread, 28/2; 28/152; doubt, 31/186; doute, 26/240.
doutele, adv., without doubt, 36/201; unquestionably, 30/487; 30/495; doubtles, 33/291.

doute, v. inf., fear, 29/19; 30/176; 31/306; 33/10; doute, 32/7; 1 pl. pres. ind., 33/137.

dray, n., violence, violent attacks, 27/121; drays, pl., 31/306.

dragons, n. pl., dragons, 31/11.

draughte, n., drink, draught, 29/77; 36/223; 36/240.

drave, v. inf., in phr. to deed hym for to drawe, to put him to death, 34/160; drawe, imper. pl., drag, 30/226; drawen, imper. pl. (refl.), withdrawn, 31/162; drawe to, imper. pl., resort to, 31/6; drawn, pa. part., in phr. to deed sall be drawn, shall be put to death, 33/256; drawe(n), (NS drawe) pa. part., led, turned, 26/183; hanged and drawn, hanged and drawn, i.e., disembowelled, 32/228; 32/229.

drecchid, v. pa. part., troubled, 30/176.

drecchyng, vbl. n., torment, 30/181.

drede, n., dread, fear, 27/128; 28/48; 30/33; 30/289; 34/137; 34/253; withouten drede, without doubt, 35/173.

dredde, v. inf., dread, fear, 27/121; 30/430; 34/286; dredis, 2 sg. pres. ind., 36/201; 3 sg., 31/306; dredith, 35/64; dredand, pres. part., feeling fearful, apprehensive, 28/48; drede, imper. sg., fear, 33/137.

dredfulles, adv., doubtless, 31/186.

dredfull, adj., to be dreaded, terrible, 31/11.

dredfullly, adv., with terror, terribly, 30/176.

drely, adv., strongly, vehemently, 29/77.

drema, n., dream, 30/176; dremys, pl., 30/79.

dremys, v. 1 pl. pres. ind., dream, 31/269.

dresse, v. inf., raise, 32/93; prepare, 36/222; arrange, 36/235; make ready, apply (oneself), 36/357; (refl) address, apply (oneself), 29/333; 32/381; 32/385; 36/71; drest, pa. part., arranged, managed, 26/8; made ready, prepared, 36/240; 36/341; dressid, 30/155; addressed, prepared, 30/193; dressed, arranged, ordered, 30/269; dresse, imper. sg., place, set, 29/80.

drye, adj., dry, 36/247.

drine, n., drink, 30/95; 36/222; 36/240; 36/248; dryneke, 31/36.

dryneke, v. inf., drink, 36/246; imper., 30/101.

dryge, v. inf., drive, 32/8; dryffe, 30/33; driffe to, strike at, 33/359; dryue in, drive in (a wedge), 35/242; imper., 35/141; dreuen, pa. part., driven, brought, 33/315; dreyn, driven, 30/199.

drofynge, vbl. n., disturbance, 31/6.
drouyd, v. pa. part., troubled, disturbed, 26/239.
dubbymg, vbl. n., investment, adornment, 26/7.
dureperes, n. pl. (a corrupt form of OF douse pers), great lords, knights, nobles, 26/8; ducf peres, 26/183; (OED): "In the Romances, the twelve peers or paladins of Charlemagne, said to be attached to his person, as being the bravest of his knights. In History applied to the twelve great peers, spiritual and temporal, of France, supposed to represent those attributed by the Romances to Charlemagne", hence, applied to other illustrious nobles, knights or grandees.)
duke, n., duke, leader, ruler, 26/8; 30/30; 30/280; 33/5; 33/28; 33/410; dukes, pl., 26/184.
duly, dulye, adj. and adv. see dewly.
durdan, n., uproar, din, 31/41.
dwelle, v. inf., tarry, 34/240; remain, stay, 28/87; 30/84; dwell, 33/54; live, abide, remain, 27/161; dwelle, 29/294; 36/211; 1 sg. pres. ind., tarry, 34/253; dwellis, 3 sg., lives, abides, 26/239; dwell, 1 pl., abide, remain, 27/76; dwellis, 3 pl., abide, 26/89.
ease, v. inf., benefit, help, 34/238.
effe, adv., afterwards, 30/104; 31/212; a second time, again, 30/369.
eftesone, adv., a second time, 28/85; again, 28/101.
eftr, prep., according to, 26/164.
egger, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., provokes, incites, 29/41.
eghen, n. pl., eyes, 28/27; eyne, 32/20.
eyles, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., alls, in phr. What eyles gou? What is the matter with you? 33/164.
ese, v. inf., increase, add to, 26/36.
elde, n., age, 27/66.
ellis, adv., else, otherwise, 26/231; 27/131; 29/116; 29/247; 29/248; 30/4; 31/301; 32/199; 33/232; 34/236; 35/60; 35/182; 35/194; elles, 33/40.
elmys, n., gen. pl., his elmys hende, the hands of his enemies, 34/122. (LT's glossary, elmys, suggests "perhaps for almis = alms (but more probably a corruption)" but see OED enemy, sb., 14thc elmy).
elthers, n. pl., forefathers, 27/14.
emang, prep., among, 26/186; 27/106; 29/221; 31/228; 34/305; emaner, 26/17; 31/195; 32/297; 36/94; emange, 29/280; emaner, adv., meanwhile, at the same time, 31/203.
emelle, prep., among, amongst, 29/140; 29/149; 29/250; 29/380; 32/145; emel, between, 30/457.
emendid, adv., in the middle, 33/457.
emmeroure, n., emperor, 30/11; 30/461.
empire, n., empire, 26/88; 28/200.
enbrace, v. in f., embrace, 36/63; inbrased, pa. part., embraced, enclosed, 31/1.
enchaunted, v. 3 sg. pret., bewitched, used magical powers (upon), 33/287; 33/289.
enclyned, v. pa. part., disposed, 33/70.
encrese, n., progeny, 26/60.
encrese, v. in f., increase, 36/164; encrees, 34/15; encreses, pa. part., 35/145; encrece, 3 sg. pres. subj., advance, prosper, enrich, 33/448.
enend, n., end, extremity, 34/94; end, finish, conclusion, 28/124; 33/285; make an end, 27/25; make end, complete, 31/396; without an end, 35/59; without any end, 28/121.
enlyne, vbl. n., conclusion, 35/92.
enemies, n. pl., -enemies, adversaries, 27/181; 28/3; enemys, 33/267.
enmynse, 28/149.
enforce, v. inf. (refl), exert (oneself), strive, 31/310; enforces, 3 sg. pres. ind., 33/195; enforce, 1 pl., 33/353.
enpendent, v. pres. part., engendering, producing, 31/15.
enjoyed, v. pa. part., joined, 30/29; enjoined, directed, 30/307.
enowe, adj., (absol), enough (persons), 29/180; inowe (predic.), enough, 27/178.
enprisonment, n., imprisonment, 34/10.
enquire, v. inf., search into, investigate, examine, 32/34; question, 34/13; imper. sg., 26/242.
enquiry, n., investigation, examination, 32/110.
enexample, n., example, model of conduct, 27/65.
enteere, adj., whole, complete, everything I say, 36/2.
enteerly, adv., earnestly, 36/119; interly, 28/46.
enteure, n., intention, purpose, plan, 28/229; 29/315; 30/415; 30/497; 31/61; entent, 28/170; heed, in take entent, 28/46; 28/118.
ere, n., ear, 29/231.
er, are, v. pl. pres. ind., see are.
er, adv., soon, 31/112; before, 28/85.
erly, adv., in phr. erly and late, continuously, 28/228; 29/89.
erste, adv., first, 28/138.
er, v. 2 sg. pres. ind., see are.
erth, n., ground, 29/267; erthe, in a spotte of erthe, a piece of land, 32/332.
es, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., see is.
escheues, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., shuns, avoids, 30/56; eschewed, pa. part., 30/326.
especiall, adj., in in especiall, in particular, especially, 30/326.
estate, n., status, position, standing, 30/421; 31/16; 31/378; 32/13; condition, prosperity, 33/448; estatis, pl., standing, status, 29/335.
estewarde, adv., eastward, 28/18.
ethe, adj., easy, 30/262.
eseulle, adj., evil, 28/80.
eue(n), (MS eue), n., evening, 29/89; even, 28/227.
euen, adv., even, 35/241; euy, 32/61; ever, 34/122; euene, 33/263; even, exactly, just, 32/22; 34/273; 35/40; full even, indeed, 36/3.
euer, adv., always, 27/14; 27/66; ever, 28/164; euere, 27/31; for euere, for ever, 36/152.
euere ilk e a dele, as adv., in every respect, entirely, 29/224.
every, adj., every, 33/300.
euerilkone, adj., absol., each one, 28/66; euere ilkone, 27/22; 31/281.
euermore, adv., for all future time, 33/433; always, 27/127.
euyll, adv., badly, 33/149; in phr. euyll motte you the! unhappily may you prosper, 31/360; euyll motte he the! 31/412; euill, severely, 35/145.
evill, n., harm, 31/225.
even, adv., see euen.
eways, adv., see iwise.
exameyn, v. inf., investigate, 30/360; examynde, 1 sg. pret., tried, 36/51.
exceui, v. inf. (refl), excuse, 30/227; imper. sg., (refl), 33/299.

exolent, adj., exalted, highly honourable, 30/11.

exynatorae, n. pl., (apparently) senators, 30/21.

fable, n., fictitious talk, 33/192.

face, n., face, countenance, 26/161; 26/170; 26/200; 29/167; 32/18;
34/104; in your face, in your presence, 31/326; to his face, to his
presence, 33/226.

facionnd, v. pa. part., (more probably, faciound), fashioned, formed,
31/355.

fadir, n., father, 29/293; 30/14; 30/392; 36/250; ffadir, 28/12; 28/41;
28/53; 28/59; 28/79; 28/83; 28/109; 28/115; 29/296; 30/473; 30/501;
35/49; 35/259; 35/262; 35/257; fadiras, (gen. sg), 34/179; fadirs,
36/146.

face, v. inf., beguile, 33/124.

fayng, vbl. n., beguiling, 30/514.

fayye, n., in in fayye, in faith, 36/41; in faye, 36/80.

fayff, see faythe.

fayle, v. inf., fail, be wanting, be deficient, 34/95; 35/112; 35/143;
faile of, lack, 26/48; faile of, fail, give no help to, 28/99; faile,
3 sg. pres. ind., fails, 31/301; fayleas, 33/167; faylis, is wanting,
35/107.

fayntyngis, vbl. n., pl., see fandyng.

fayng, adj., glad, well-pleased, content, eager, willing, 27/146;
28/123; 28/151; 29/206; 29/212; 30/49; 30/514; 31/120; 32/269; 33/140;
34/275; fayne of, eager for, 30/50; 32/202; fayner of, (compar.),
more well pleased with, 31/158.

fayng, adv., gladly, willingly, 28/89; 28/105; 28/130; 28/261; 30/306;
34/220; 34/239; faigne, 31/100.

faynte, v. 2 pl. pres. ind., lose heart, grow weak, 35/252.

faynte, adj., feigned, 29/226; faynte hertis, cowardly hearts, 33/209.

fayntely, adv., like a coward, timidly, 28/146.

fayre, adj., fair, beautiful, 29/167; fair, fine, 29/304; clean,
straight (of a blow), 29/362; fair, just, 31/233; favre (as a form
of courteous address), favre moir, 36/179; my favre lorde, 30/49;
favre lady, 30/112; faihre (compar.), more beautiful, 31/243;
ffayrest (superl.), 30/109.

fayre, adv., well, favourably, 29/196; 29/213.

fayrenes, n., uprightness, impartiality, 29/243.

faythe, n., faith, 28/16; in faith, in truth, 35/111; in faiethe, 29/206;
in faythe, 33/29; fayff, 31/266 (apparently faith, used interjectionally);
in quasi-oaths, be my feithe, 30/369; be thy feith, 30/215; be my feythe, 28/270; be my feyth, 28/261.

faithfull, adj., loyal, 32/221; 32/222; steadfast, 30/478.

faithfully, adv., truthfully, accurately, exactly, 31/250.

faitour, n., imposter, liar, deceiver, 30/203; 30/215; 31/278; 31/326; 32/70; 32/203; faitours, pl., 33/192; faitoures, 35/36; faitouris, 33/179.

fall, V. inf., befall, 34/326; faile, prosper, 33/257; faile in, fall, drop in, 35/221; faile fro, renounce, 36/210; (impers.) vs fallith not, it does not belong to us, 33/124; fallis hym, it befalls him, 34/339; fallis, 3 sg. pres. ind., falls, 35/154; falland, pres. part., prospering, 33/16; faile, imper. pl., fall, 34/174; fallis to, attach (yourselves) to, 36/74; fallen, pa. part., prospered, 29/196; fallen onsiere, fallen asleep, 28/66; phr. foull not a fall, may that which is evil befall you, 33/367; faire myght ze falle, may you prosper, 35/73; tei faile (error for fen fallés) (impers.) there falls to them, 31/341.

fallung, vbl. n., falling, 35/225.

false, n., falsehood, treachery, 26/170.

false, adj., false, deceitful, 26/47; 29/39; 30/240; 32/48; 32/70; 32/136; 32/250; 33/116; untrue, deceitful, 29/48; false, treacherous, 27/101; 32/203; 36/23; fall, 36/161; 32/227; 32/249; untrue, 33/192; fales (apparently an error for false, since not a form recorded by OED, see false, adj.), false, deceitful, 26/247.

false, n., falsehood, 30/203; 31/308; 32/61; 33/103; 36/41; 36/86; falsched, 30/297; 33/179.

falsely, adj., false, 32/242.

falsely, adv., falsely, wrongfully, 30/325; treacherously, 32/132; unjustly, 34/125; wrongfully, improperly, 34/223.

falshe, n., see falsed.

fame, n., reputation, renown, 26/17; 30/478; honour, 26/206; honour, reputation, 33/267.

famed, v. pa. part., defamed, 32/209.

fanie, v. inf., try, attempt, 28/270; 29/362; proceed, go, 28/238; familis, imper. sg., try, attempt, 29/212.

fandynge, vbl. n., temptation, 28/28; ffandynge, 28/12; 28/32; ffanding, 28/79; fayndyngeis, pl., trials, 27/84.

fang, v. inf., obtain, procure, 26/47; lay hold of, seize, 26/247; 32/374; accept, receive, 31/282; fanged, 1 sg. pret., got, obtained, 26/17.

fantasia, n., fiction, product of imagination, 27/133.
fantome, n., deception, falsity, 30/297.

fare, n., doings, actions, way of proceeding, 29/276; 33/159; 35/43; proceeding, business, 29/390; state of things, 34/167; condition, 27/79; mode of proceeding, 31/107.

fare, v. inf., fare, in phr. foule myght you fare, 30/386; fare with, make use of, 30/501; fare, l sg. pres. ind., fare, 23/23; faris, 2 sg., 33/357; 3 sg., 29/194; farith (with), makes use of, employs, 30/443; fares with, 29/57; fare, 1 pl. act, 31/94; 2 pl., 33/179; 3 pl., fare, 29/27; fare, imper. pl., go, 29/390; proceed, behave, 31/420; farandi, pres. part., faring, 31/365; farede, 3 sg. pret., behaved, 33/75; faren, pa. part., travelled, journeyed, 31/106.

fare wele, interj., farewell, goodbye, 28/301; 30/108; 30/109; 30/110; 33/483; fares wele, 30/107; ffares wele, 30/123.

farles, farlis, n., see ferles.

fare, adv., far, a long way off, 32/388; fer, far, 33/237.

faute, n., fault, offence, misdeed, transgression, 32/74; 32/76; 33/65; 33/74; 35/142; fautes, 30/488; fawtes, 26/111; 31/29; 33/79.

fautis, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., is wanting, lacking, 33/257.

faute, n., seeing, 35/56; of fauour, fine-looking, of good appearance, 31/243.

fauour, v. 2 pl. pres. ind., favour, 30/488.

fede, v. inf., nourish, 30/109; feede, feed, 31/304; feede (lit.) feed, 36/42; fedde, 3 sg. pret., nurtured, 31/191; ffedde, fed, 31/206; fedde, 3 pl., supported, sustained, 29/275.

feere, n., fear, 33/209; fere, 30/444.

feere, n., consort, companion, partner, 30/44; equal, peer, 26/18.

feere, n., in phr. in feere, together, in company, 27/4; 28/183; 29/351; 33/322; 34/398; 35/33; 35/162; in fere, 28/213; 25/290; 29/200; all in feere, all together, 28/76; 25/98; 28/444; all in feere, 27/43; alle in feere, 23/39.

feere, v. inf., accompany, 34/223.

feere, v. see fere.
feese, v. inf., put to flight, 30/425 (or possibly 'to beat, flog' as recorded in OED from 1610); fesid, pa. part., frightened, 33/195 (OED, 'twisted' from 1506).

feeste, n., feast, 27/4.

feastour, n., proportions, 32/18.

feht, v. inf., contend, 31/293.

feyne, v. imper. sg., make fictitious statements, 31/311; feyned, 3 sg. pret., pretended, 30/325.

felawshippe, n., company, body of men, 29/129; 29/393; felawshippe, 33/441.

felde, n., field, in felde of bloode, 32/370; in felde or towne, in town or country, 29/47; felde nor towne, 28/231.

fele, v. inf., experience, perceive, 31/121; feele, be conscious of, 26/125; fele, 1 sg. pres. ind., feel, 26/161; 28/89; believe, 26/48; fell, think, 26/18; felled, pa. part., experienced, 27/64.

fele, adj., many, 26/111; 30/425; feele, great, 36/36; fale of, (as a noun), many of, 32/79.

fele, adj., savage, terrible, cruel, 27/34; 34/175; 35/225; 35/271; cunning, 32/70; 32/242; 31/138.

felle, adv., severely, keenly, 35/136.

felle, v. inf., strike down, 30/240; 33/130; kill, 30/416; bring down, 30/478.

felonye, n., deceit, 32/61; treachery, 32/242.

felounge, n., felon, 36/23.

felowe, n., (as a form of address to an inferior), my man, 29/276; felawe (NS felawe) 29/275; felawys, pl., my friends, 30/50; felawes, 31/416; felows, comrades, 28/138; felowes, colleagues, 33/322; felows, companions, 27/106; felawes, comrades, 28/133; felows, companions, 28/39.

fende, n., the fende, the devil, 27/118; 29/393; 32/367; 35/57; fenne, fiend, 33/16; feende, demon, 30/293.

fende, v. inf., defend, 34/126; (refl), 33/414.

fere, adv., see farrre.

fere, n., fear, terror, 28/149; 28/151; 30/392.

fere, adj., afraid, frightened, 28/99; 28/105; 28/123; 28/130; 28/261; 31/326; 33/283.

fere, n., fear, terror, 28/89.

fere, n., see fere.

fere, v. inf., to make afraid, 29/212; 33/29; feere, 31/355.

ferleis, n. pl., wonders, marvels, wondrous acts, 31/191; ferles, 32/79; farles, 31/121; ffarles, 30/443; ffarlea, 30/501.
fierce, adj., fierce, violent, 27/94.
ferquent, adj., hot, glowing, 29/93.
feaste, v. inf., fasten, attach, 35/236; bind, 30/215; fasten, 26/162;
feaste on, imper., fasten on, 35/162; 35/210; feste, 3 sg. pret.,
pledged (friendship), 33/75; feaste, pa. part., fastened, 35/122.
feeste, adj., firm, firmly fixed, stable, 23/16.
feeste, v. inf., fetch, draw, bring, 32/383; 2 pl. pres. ind., fetch, go and bring back, 26/293.
ffe- see f-
fy, interj., fie! (OED: "An exclamation expressing ... disgust or
indignant reproach") 33/209; fye on the! 29/325; 32/226; ffye on je!
36/20; fie on ye! 29/295; fye on hym! 32/97; 32/103.
figure, n., aspect, 26/161; form (of the body), 30/109.
filed, v. pa. part., found guilty, condemned, 34/125.
fynde, v. inf., find, 26/170; 29/129; 29/226; 30/416; 30/488; 32/76;
32/221; 32/222; 32/261; 33/65; 35/56; ffynde, 27/71; 27/133; 30/500;
fynde, 1 sg. pres. ind., 26/11; 26/15; 32/74; fyndis, 3 sg. (refl),
31/372; fynde, 1 pl., 31/371; 31/393; ffynde, 31/460; fynde, 2 pl.,
31/387; fand, 1 sg. pret., 33/208; fand, 3 sg. pret., 33/74; fande,
33/79; fonde, pa. part., 29/10; 29/198; 35/142; fonde, 32/260;
fonne, 31/120; 32/79; fon, 33/103.
fyning, vbl. n., finding, the fact of having found, 29/213.
fyne, v. 2 pl. pres. ind., conclude, finish, 35/256.
fyne, adv., fully, 26/142.
fyngeres, n. pl., fingers, 35/210; ffyngeres, 35/162.
fire, n., fire, 29/93.
flay, v. inf., flay, 33/353.
flaes, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., frightens, 31/256.
flappe, n., blow, stroke, 29/362; flapnes, pl., 30/425; 33/366.
flaterer, n., beguiler, 33/366.
flame, v. inf. (refl), flee, 29/93; put to flight, banish, 31/399.
flynee, v. imper., aim, strike, 33/366.
flyte, v. inf., wrangle, debate, dispute, 35/297.
flitte, v. inf., proceed, go, pass, depart, 26/149; 26/293; shift
about, 35/234; ffliittand, pres. part., departing, 30/547; flitte,
imper. sg., go, proceed, 30/386.
flode, n., 29/124 (prob. an error for fold, earth, land, although
rhyming with saide, 1.122).
floure, n., flower, epitome, 26/206; floures, pl., flowers, 30/344.
foole, n., see foode.
folde, v. inf., bend, 33/189.
folk, n., see foode.
folly, n., folly, foolishness, a foolish action, 26/162; 31/351; 32/260; folwe, 31/107; ffolwe, 26/268; folie, 31/359; folly, wickedness, wrongdoing, 36/210.
folke, n., people, 26/48; 26/51; 30/444; 31/206; 36/42; followers, 27/32; men, retainers, 29/194; folke, pl., 29/27.
folowe, v. 3 pl., pres. ind., follow, 30/443; followed, pres. part., 29/88; follow, imper., 33/226; folowde, 3 sg. pret., 36/41.
folte, n., fool, 32/261.
foones, n. pl., adversaries, 28/151; 30/108.
fone, v. inf., set about, proceed, 35/139.
fonie, adj., foolish, 31/251; 31/344; mad, stupid, 33/167; foned, foolish, 31/293; 31/350.
fonely, adv., foolishly, 32/209.
fone, adj., few, 26/11; 36/284.
fonne, adj., foolish, 31/359.
foned, adj., see foned.
foo, n., enemy, 32/374; 36/233; foes, pl., 31/101; foos, 30/433; foone, in we erre oure fone, we are oure (own) enemies (or poss. error for we erre ou(e)re fone, we are too few), 34/41.
foode, n., (spiritual) food, 28/16; creature, person, 31/251; 31/293; foode, food, 30/109 (LTS: "creature, being, whether man, woman, girl or boy").
foole, n., fool, idiot, simpleton, 29/196; 29/357; 31/344; foole, 30/443; fule, 37/287; fooles (gen.), 29/375; in compound, a fole kyng, a fool king, 34/28; fooles, pl., 31/341; foolys, 31/94; foleis, 31/355.
foote, n., foot (as a unit of measurement), 35/107; foot, base (of the cross), 35/236; feete, pl., feet, 27/45; 27/51; 27/64; 35/123; 35/255; feete, 30/343; 35/184; ffeete, 26/132; fette, 34/32.
for, prep., for, by reason of, because of, 28/151; 30/166; 30/211; 32/210; 36/149; fo(r) (MS fo), in spite of, 28/148; for to (commonly prefixed to inf.), 27/68; 28/205.
for, conj., for, because, 26/198; 27/69; 31/158; 32/377; 33/147; 33/255.
forbadde, v. 3 sg. pret., forbad, 36/56.
forbere, v. inf., tolerate, 30/325; refrain from (doing), 27/183; withhold, 30/460.
forbledde, v. pa. part., exhausted with bleeding, 34/224; 34/244.
force, n., power, might, 26/55; 26/125; 29/205; 33/29; 33/441; 35/280; strength, 33/167; force, 33/414; force, 33/189; it is no force, it is no matter, 35/136.

forced, v. pa. part., forced, driven, 31/344.

forde, v. inf. (refl), kill (oneself), 32/303; forde, 32/314; forde, inf., ruin, bring to destruction, 32/51; 3 sg. pres. subj., 32/282.

fore, prep., for, 30/303.

forfette, v. inf., transgress, 31/95.

forfettis, n. pl., offences, transgressions, 30/325.

forgetyn, v. pa. part., forgotten, 31/213.

forgue, v. 1 pl., pres. ind., cease to harbour (a grievance), 31/407; forgive, 2 sg pr subj., forgive, 36/255; forgive, 35/260.

iforn, n., forehead, 32/19.

fors, force, n., see force.

for sothe, adv., in truth, truly, 26/95; 36/209; for soth, 33/191.

forth, adv., forth, 28/155; 36/291; forth, 32/68; fourth, 30/386; furth, 32/32; 32/129; 33/148; fourth, 26/38; furth, 26/227; forse, 30/90; forth, forward, 33/134.

forthenaunce, n., assistance, aid, 26/47.

forthysen, v. inf., further, help forward, 29/390.

foryth, conj., therefore, for this reason, 26/221; 28/297; 30/311; 30/493; 32/371; 32/381; 34/131; 34/140; 34/246; 36/168; forth(v) (NS forthe), 33/316; forth, 33/316; forthy (NS for), 32/225.

fortune, n., good fortune, prosperity, 26/206.

forward, n., compact, agreement, covenant, promise, 27/101; 35/10; 35/93; forward, 34/276; 36/70; forward, command, 30/49; 30/306.

forward, adv., onward, 27/31.

fo wys, adv., for which reason, 26/119; for why, conj., because, 26/99; 36/243; 36/760.

foule, n., that which is evil, bad, foul, 30/391; 32/222; 36/87; foul, 33/387.

fouly, adv., see fowly.

foull, adv., badly, ill, 33/16; 33/195; foul, 36/65; foul, 30/386.

fourthe, fourth, adv., see forth.

fowly, adv., shamefully, 29/49; 29/296; foul, badly, 31/278; 33/257; 35/112.

foxis, n. pl., foxes, 36/192.

fra, prep. see fro.
frayes, n. pl., disturbances, terrors, 31/308.
frayes, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., frightens, makes afraid, 30/444.
frayne, v. inf., enquire, ask (about), 29/194; 31/121; 33/159;
frayn, 29/27; 29/276; freynis, 3 sg. pres. ind., asks (for),
31/308.

fraist, v. inf., ask, seek, 31/107; fraist, ask, 33/237; try,
attempt, seek, 33/159; fraiste, question, 29/243; fraysted, 3 sg.
pref., sought, desired, 33/35.

fraudis, n. pl., deceptions, 32/70; fraudes, 36/42; fraudis, 33/130;
fraudis, tricks, 30/240.
free, adj., noble, gracious, magnanimous, generous, 27/116; 30/392;
36/155; 36/196; 36/214; ffree, 35/49; free, free, at liberty,
liberated, 36/308; in phr. to go free, 31/373; goe free, 31/379;
passe free, 32/148; 32/265.

freyne, v. see freyne.
frith, n., meadow, woodland, 30/344.
fre, prep., from, 30/508; 31/199; 31/221; 31/224; 33/335; 33/441;
fre, 37/259; 33/369; in phr. from hym, out of his wits, 31/344.
fr, conj., when, 26/285; 31/96.
frusshe, v. inf., strike violently, smash at (s.o.), 29/359.
fuile, n., see foole.
furth, furthe, adv., see forthe.

ga, v. see go.
gawe, adj., fine, 31/282; gay, richly attired, 31/283.
gayly, adv., splendidly, handsomely, richly, 31/343.
gayne, adj., pleasing, 30/47.
gayne saies, v. imper. sg., deny, 29/122.
galeg, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., makes an outcry, 33/23.
game, n., entertainment, 29/204; 31/168; course of events, 33/238;
games, pl., revels, revelry, 31/122; 31/240.
gan, ganne, v. pret., see gane.
garmente, n., garment, 31/342.
garre, v. inf., make, 31/298; 31/348; 32/3; gar, 34/3; garre, 2 sg.
pres. ind., make, cause, 31/236; gars, make, 26/158; garres, 3 sg.
pres. ind., in garres he calle hym, he has himself called, 30/464;
gares, makes, 31/109; garre, 3 sg. pret., made, caused, 31/224;
garre, imper. pl., have, 31/370.
gate, n., departure, journey, 32/15; giffe vs gate, make way for us,
30/228; his gates for to gone, to go his way, 30/447; go thy gatis, set on your way, 32/294.

gautis, n. pl., jests, pranks, 31/240; tricks, 31/273; frauds, deceptions, 32/68; gawdes, tricks, deceptions, 30/236.
gely, adj., foolish, stupid, senseless, 26/105.
gedlyng, n., scoundrel, 26/157; 31/108; 31/325; 32/375; rascal, 30/512; 31/104; 31/392; geddyng, rascal, 32/294; gedlynges, pl., fellows, 30/236.
generacion, n., origin, lineage, 30/28.
gerente, adj., noble, 28/161; rente, gentle, 36/261.
gentill, adj., noble, 28/184; 28/193; 30/58; 30/374; 33/264; gentilist, (superl), 36/38.
gentilly, adv., graciously, courteously, 33/77.
gentilman, n., gentleman, man of gentle birth, 30/160; 30/168.
gentrys, n., noble persons, gentry, 30/29; gentries, 31/13.
gore, n., clothes, 31/282; attire, 31/367.
gesses, v. 1 sg. pres. ind., think, perceive, suppose, 30/23.
gest, n., wicked or dangerous man, 30/519.
gete, v. inf., get, receive, 32/302; get, bring, fetch, 26/201; 26/289; gette, 29/74; gettes, 3 sg. pres. ind., gets, receives, 34/8; gettis, 34/340; gete, 1 pl. (for fut.) shall get, 31/330; 31/361; getyn, pa. part., got, 31/367.
gilte, n., guilt, crime, 32/211; 32/243; 33/437; 36/35; guilt, 29/146.
gilteles, adj., guiltless, 26/105; 34/189.
gynne, n., contrivance, device, 35/197.
gird, v. pa. part., clothed, 31/343.
gyrnes, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., snarls, 33/23.
glad, v. inf., please, 30/99.
gladde, adj., merry, 31/298; 31/348.
glasse, n., looking-glass, 32/20.
gleme, n., beam, 32/20; glemy, pl., 30/76.
glydis, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., glides, descends, falls, 30/76.
glyfftyng, vbl. n., stare, 26/158.
glitter, v. 3 pl. pres. ind., sparkle, shine, glitter, 32/20.
glorand, ppl. adj., glowering, glaring, 26/157.
go, v. inf., go, 29/293; 31/373; 34/262; proceed, 33/238; go (foll. by inf.), go and, 29/87; 31/40; 31/71; go with, accompany, 30/116;
gode, v. see go.
goldely, adj., spiritual, 27/158.
gouernaunce, n., behaviour, 33/181.
goune, n., robe, gown, 31/343.
grace, n., fortune, 26/157; favour, good will, 31/325; 31/408.
graciously, adv., graciously, 29/12.
gramercy, interj. phr., thank-you, many thanks, 30/87; gramercy, 30/271; gramercy, 30/306; gramercy, thank you for, 33/38.
grath, n., prob. for grave, 31/224.
grath, v. inf., to graht hym in grave, to give him burial, 36/340; (refl) to graht hym no gate, to set off, depart, 32/15; grahtis, imper. pl. (refl), prepare (oneself); make (oneself) ready, 31/380; graide, pa. part., 31/42; graivede, 34/105; graived, 34/295; graied, 35/39; provided, 28/245; graide, created, 36/98.
grathely, adv., promptly, 29/305; 31/263; quickly, 30/212; 36/299; readily, 33/55; properly, 26/201; 31/122; 31/263; really, truly, 29/261; 36/98; carefully, 31/370; stoutly, 30/220; grahtly, properly, 29/203.
grawe, v. inf., bury, inter, 36/338.
grawe, v. inf., to do harm to (apparently a form of greven, although not recorded by OED or MED), 26/105.
graunte, v. inf., grant, 29/12; admit, acknowledge, 29/251; 32/243; acknowledge, 30/474; grauntest, 2 sg. pres. ind., admit, 29/146; graunte, 3 sg. pret., allowed, permitted, 30/147; graunted, acknowledged, 30/220; 33/304; graunted, pa. part., ordained, appointed, 30/23.
graue, n., in grave, in a place of burial, 36/340.
gree, n. in in gree, with goodwill, 36/338.

greffe, n., suffering, 36/141; in law: an action, official complaint of a wrong or grievance, 26/106; grievance, 26/201; injury, cause of resentment, 26/277.

grete, adj., great, 28/152; 28/215; 28/145; 28/277; 29/37; 29/102; 30/19; 31/28; 31/177; of high rank, 31/283; grete worde, 29/290; 31/286.

grete, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., greets, 33/55; grette, 3 pl. pret., honoured, 30/340.

gretyng, vbl. n., gree ting, 28/245.

greue, v. inf., vex, annoy, 34/259; harm, 31/261; grieve, 27/72; provoke to anger, offend, 32/20; it will greue verre, it will cause more harm, 31/108; greues, 3 sg. pres. ind., angers, 26/13; vexes, grievances, harms, 26/52; 29/301; grieves, saddens, 34/201; greuised, 32/100; greue, imper. sg., anger, 32/254; greue you nocht, don't be angry, 30/335; ground, pa. part., harmed, 33/437; angered, 31/392.

greuaunce, n., grievance, injury, offence, 31/28; injury, harm, 31/137; ground of complaint, sense of injury, displeasure, 31/407.

gryll, adj., angry, 33/181; grill, strong, resolute, 33/219.

grymly, adj., forbidding, angry, stern, harsh, 26/153.

grise, v. inf., shudder with terror, be full of horror, 32/212.

grome, n., man (of low birth), 32/28; grume, 26/13; grumys, pl., men, 31/261.

gronde, n., see grounde.

grope, v. inf., investigate, 26/201; 29/203.

grounde, n., valid reason, basis (for a claim) in withouten grounde, 26/105; ground, earth, 30/76; 30/77; 31/109; 33/407; 33/437; grounde, 29/267; grounde, place, 30/340; 36/299; on grounde, on earth, 26/245; 30/23; on the ground, 35/39.

grove, v. inf., to come into existence, spring up, 31/109.

grove, v. inf., feel horror, quake, be troubled, 26/158.

grucche, v. inf., murmur, complain, 36/117; grucche, 1 sg. pres. ind., begrudge, 36/340; gruccheis, 3 sg., grudges, is reluctant, 32/243.

grume, n., see grone.

gudly, adv., see goodely.

gune, v. 1 sg. pret., did, 32/154; gan, 2 sg., 36/32; gon, 32/251; gune, 3 sg., 32/263; 35/269; gon, 31/204; 33/64; 33/65; 33/398; gun, 36/350; gan, 30/501; 32/68; 36/42; ganne, 32/43; 3 pl., 30/509.
haale, v. inf., pull, 35/116; haylle, imper., 35/140.

haffe, v. see haue.

haylle, n., fortune, 28/237; 34/200; haile, 35/116.

hayll, interj., (a salutation of respect) Hail! 33/48; 33/49; 33/50; 33/51; 33/410; 33/411; 33/412; 33/413; 33/414; 33/415; hayle, 30/265; 30/266; 30/279; 30/280; 33/409.

haylle, v. see haale.

hakke, v. inf., chop, hack (off), 33/251.

halle, n., residence, hall, palace, 29/173; hall, 32/107; dwelling-place, 26/54; halle, a room for assembly, etc., 28/183; 33/259; in bourne and hall, in chamber and hall, everywhere, 27/67.

halow, v. inf., to shout aloud, 30/369.

halowe, v. inf., observe, keep (a day) holy, 29/258.

halse, n., neck, 26/104; 36/24.

hande, n., hand, 27/56; 30/105; 31/76; 33/251; 34/345; 35/82; 35/93; 35/98; handis, pl., 30/133; 30/213; handis, 35/255.

hande, 34/32; handis, 29/293; 35/122; lave youre handes, seize, 28/297; in hand, in (their) hand, 33/207; at(te) hande, close by, available, ready, 29/173; 30/38; 30/267; 30/267; 32/107; 35/241; at oure hende, 31/60; at youre hent, 31/354; hastaly at hande, soon, shortly, 31/84; 31/185; hastaly at hand, 33/46; on hande, soon, shortly, 29/64; hande, hand, power, control, 28/28; 23/83; 30/394; 32/117; 34/182; handis, pl., 34/122; with myne hande, with my hand, personally, myself, 35/85; we haue ouuon hand, we are concerned with, have to deal with, 33/72; on honde, in progress, 29/193; on ye right hande, in the place of honour, 32/52.

hane, n., in phr. in hyde and in hane, in field and in enclosure, everywhere, completely; (F: "?once phr. due to exigencies of rhyme"), 28/285.

hance, v. see hyng.

happe, n., luck, fortune, 26/103; 29/304; 29/364; 33/197; prosperity, happiness, 26/281.

happenynge, vbl. n., chance, luck, 29/39.

happing, vbl. n., coverlet, 29/81.

hardly, adv., assuredly, 33/251; hardly, quickly, 34/299; violently, 29/136.

here, n., see here.

harke, v. see harke.
harle, v. inf., to drag or draw forcibly, haul, 34/227; 34/335; 
harlid, pa. part., 30/290.

harlott, n., scoundrel, rogue, rascal, vagabond, 20/304; 20/324; 
30/203; 30/358; 30/379; 30/530; 31/125; 32/353; 33/135; 33/417; 
33/455; harlotte, 29/282; 31/276; 32/30; 32/107; 35/160; harlottis, 
pl., 30/169.

harme, n., injury, 35/189; suffering, 35/187; harms, pl., misfortunes, 
afflictions, injuries, 26/36; 27/145; 35/226; wrongs, 33/232.

harnes, n. pl., brains, 33/399*

harnye, n., in phr. oute of harre, out of order, in a disorderly 
fashion, 30/379; out of herre, 33/135; harre, a matter of major 
importance, 31/145.

harrowe, n., outcry, shouting, clamour, 31/158; 
harrowe, interj.,(a cry of distress) 30/158; (an exclamation of 
anger) 33/161.

harte, n., see herte.

hartely, adv., faithfully, 31/124; heartily, sincerely, warmly, 31/48; 
viovently, 26/97; hertely, stoutly, 33/367.

hast, n., haste, 33/455; haste, 34/150; 34/250; in hast, speedily, 
quickly, 27/40; 28/108; in haste, 31/125; 32/133; 32/303; 32/314; 
36/229; with hast, 33/259; no haste, not so quickly, 29/241; none 
haste, 29/237.

hastely, adv., quickly, 26/250; 29/292; hastely at hande, within 
a short time, soon, presently, 31/34; 31/145; hastely at hant, 33/46.

hasty, adj., eager, willing, 33/381; violent, fierce, quick-
tempered, 26/198.

hate, v. inf., hate, 30/410; 1 pl., 26/97; 30/420; 2 pl., 26/35; 
29/341; 33/325.

hate, adv., promptly, 26/27; holden hym full hate, pressed him very 
hard, 29/390.

hatell, n., lord, noble man, 33/292.

hateden, n., see hatred.

hatedell, n., garment, 31/354.

hatir, n., garment, 29/356.

hatred, n., feeling of hate, 33/122; hatereden, prompted by hate, 
32/56.

hauke, v. inf., have, 28/75; 28/277; 29/273; haffe, 34/51; hauke, 1 
sg. pres. ind., 36/252; haste, 2 sg., 29/296; hase, 3 sg., 30/292; 
34/132; hase, 26/240; hath, 26/34; hauke, 1 pl., 29/99; hase, 
26/239; 29/51; hadde, 1 sg. pret., 26/272.

hauk, n., hawk, 29/293.

haunch, n., hips, haunch, 33/368.
haunted, v. 3 sg. pret., exercised, 30/221; practised, 33/292.

he, pron. 3 sg. masc., he, 26/198; 28/17; 30/221; 33/65; 34/182.

hym (acc.,dat.), him, 26/223; 31/256; 32/183; 33/65; his, poss. adj., 26/21; 28/233; 29/42; 29/219; 34/182.

hede, n., head, 27/56; 28/24; 29/25; 30/119; 31/294; 32/183; 33/65; 34/199; 35/319; 36/169; 36/180; hens, 28/128; 28/188; 34/198.

hede, n., heed, attention, notice, regard, 28/221; 29/238; 30/282; 31/125; 31/169; 32/13; 35/1; 35/25; 36/16; 36/268.

hedir, adv., here, to this place, 28/283; 34/99; hidir, 35/244; hedirward, adv., in this direction, 28/257.

heere, adv., odious, 32/71.

heed, heede, see hede.

heere, adv., see here.

heght, herhte, see hight.

heyned, v. pa. part., see hone.

helde, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., moves, goes, 33/135; heldis, 30/179; heldes to, presses on, 33/199; heldis, sinks, sets, 30/201; helde, 3 pl., bow, 33/207; imper. sg., bend, lean, 30/136; hilded, 3 pl. pret., 33/187.

hele, n., happiness, 31/147; prosperity, happiness, protection, help, 34/182; salvation, 28/15; 28/56.

helis, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., heals, 29/38; helid, 3 sg. pret., healed, 29/220; 30/440; helvid, 29/142.

helyng, vbl. n., healing, restoration to health, 29/34.

hell, n., hell, 32/85.

helpe, n., help, assistance, 26/282; relief, remedy, 26/28; 30/394; military force, 30/267; spiritual help, grace, 28/15; 28/56.

helpe, v. inf., assist, aid, help, 26/36; 30/149; 34/230; 34/267; 34/272; 35/8; 35/88; 35/116; 36/273; save, rescue, preserve, 31/318; 36/229; support, 29/308; 29/342; avail, be of use, be effective, 35/13; helpe vppe, help up, 35/198; helpis, 3 sg. pres. ind., avails, 34/289; helpe, imper., aid, help, assist, 34/202; pl., 34/14.

helte, n., hilt in helte full, full to the hilt, completely full, 26/198.

hem, pron., see they.

hende, n., see hande.

henne, n., in hende harte, chicken-heart (as a term of abuse), 33/197.

hense, adv., from this place, away, hence, 26/157; 30/194; 33/474; 34/199; 34/346; 35/299; 36/169; 36/180; hens, 28/128; 28/188; 34/209.
hent, n., see hande.

hente, v. inf., take, ensnare, 33/197; hente, pa. part., suffered, 35/189; hent, conceived, 33/122.

hene, n., troop of soldiers, 26/260.

her, adv., see here.

herbered, v. pa. part., given lodging to, 29/180.

herde, n., shepherd, 27/74; 27/105; herde, 3 sg., 31/120; 2 pl., 29/322; herde, pa. part., listened to, 32/72; learnt, 27/135; here, imper. sg., hear, listen to, 29/233; 36/237; pl., 33/450; har, 33/352.

here, adv., here, in this place, 33/292; 31/188; heere, 35/220; here, in this way, 35/199.

herke, v. inf., listen, take heed, 30/59; imuer. sg., 29/273; harke, 31/172; 32/160; 36/227; pl., herke, 29/130; 35/61; harke, 30/379; 35/265.

herkens, v. imper. pl., listen, take heed, 33/72.

herre, n., see harre.

herte, n., heart, 27/105; 33/306; 34/137; 34/150; harte, 26/158; 27/38; 27/87; 29/169; 31/166; hertis, pl., 26/35; 27/78; 30/203; 32/80; 31/122; hertis, 28/7; 33/209; harte, 31/147; in harte, fervently, 30/410; in herte, 30/420; in hertes, 33/325; with harte and will, 32/306; henne harte, hen-heart, 33/197; hefye vpe your hertis, agitate you with vexation, 31/97; it heuys vs in harte, 32/64.

hertely, adv., see hertely.

hete, v. inf., to promise, 26/233; hichte, 3 sg. pres. ind., is called, named, 23/256; hichte, 29/52; hete, 1 pl., promise, 26/282; hight, 2 sg. pret., 32/164; hicht, 3 sg., was called, named, 36/13; 36/14; hichtes, 3 pl. promised, 34/30; hicht, pa. part., 27/3; 34/254; 36/225; hichte, 27/157; what bytist you? what is your name? 26/225; fat dar I heete, I can assure you, tell you, 35/121.

hething, n., contempt, scorn, 29/324; hethynge, mockery, 34/74; halfe for hethynge, half in jest, partly for amusement, 29/32.

hetyng, vbl. n., promise, 28/140.

heuen, n., heaven, 26/54; 27/156; 28/115; 30/181; heuene, 28/284; 32/85; hevene, 29/50.

heuenyng, vbl. n., vengeance, 32/234.

heuy, adj., heavy, 28/21; 36/262; sorrowful, sad, 28/7.

heuy, v. inf., raise, 35/168; heuyes, 3 sg. pres. ind., vexes, agitates, 32/80; heued, pa. part., lifted, 35/215; itt will heffey vpe yours hertis, it will raise your spirits, 31/97; it heuys vs
in harte, it vexes our hearts, 32/64; have vp. (imper.), raise up, 33/417; have vp. 35/223.

hewed, v. pa. part., hewed, cut, 30/208.

hyde, n., field, in phr. in hyde and in hane, 28/285.

hyde, v. inf., blindfold, 28/356; (refl), conceal, 28/140; hide, shelter, protect, 35/167; hidde, pa. part., concealed, 32/31; is not to hide, cannot be concealed, 28/15; 33/54.

hydud, pa. part., in phr. I am full tenderly, I have a very delicate skin, 31/51.

hidir, adv., see hedir.

hye, n., haste, in phr. in hye, soon, quickly, 26/223; 30/410; 34/246; 35/1; 36/229; 36/336; 36/347; in hy, 23/140; 28/182; 28/133.

hye, adv., high, 36/34.

high, adj., high, 33/453; 34/65; heavenly, 30/465; arrogant, proud, 27/73; in phr. on high, above, aloft, 35/172; high and lave, people of all conditions, everyone, 34/153; on hy, loudly, 30/313.

highnes, n., majesty, godhead, 30/221.

hight, n., the regions above, the heavens, 30/75; degree, rank, excellence, glory, 30/11; upon high, on high, aloft, 33/434; on high, in heaven, 23/294; upon high, on high, aloft, 30/384; 33/453; 35/163; on heghte, 35/150; on heght, 35/215; angry, 26/35.

hill, n., hill, 33/453; 34/210; 35/178; 35/203; 36/16; 36/34; hille, 35/172; 36/197; hillis, pl., 34/173.

hille, v. imper. sg., hille on me helping, lay a coverlet over me, 29/81; hillis, 3 sg. pres. ind., covers, 32/21.

hym selfe, pron. (emphatic), he, 26/57; hym self, 33/101; hym selfe, 35/75; hym selfe, him, 29/209; 33/58; hym selfe, himself, 30/21; 32/81; hym selfe, 33/97; hym selfe (refl), 29/201; 29/50; 32/102; hym selfe, 29/293.

hyne, n., fellow, 28/291.

hyne, adv., see hayne.

hyne, v. inf., hang, 34/33; 34/89; 34/312; 35/38; 36/77; hyng, 35/285; hang, put to death by hanging, 36/24; hange, 32/295; hynge, to crucify, 29/312; hynge, 29/342; 31/96; 31/230; hange, 35/23; hyng, to set up, hang, 35/155; hyng, 2 sg. pres. ind., hang, 36/197; hyngeis, 3 sg., 36/142; hyng, 2 pl. pres. subj., 33/455; 33/453; hang, 26/25; hyngeis, imper. pl., 33/453; hanged, pa. part., hanged, put to death by hanging, 26/104; 32/228; 32/229; crucified, 34/101; 34/336; set up on high, 35/160; hangs in my hand, lies in my power, is under my control, 26/28; ye deuill hym hang, the devil hang him, 35/188.
hippes, n. pl., hips, haunches, loins, 33/367.

hyre, n., reward, punishment, 35/47.

hitte, v. inf., hit, strike, 33/367; 35/139; hytte, pa. part., 30/169.

hyve, n., 33/198 (apparently an error for hyne, man, fellow; see MED hine, n.).

holda, v. inf., hold, take hold, remain fast, 33/244; 35/121; halde, 33/187; holde vrre, hold up (one's head), 28/24; halde, keep (in custody) 32/277; holde thy tongue, hold your tongue, be silent, 30/358; holde, keep, observe (a religious occasion), 27/3; 29/258; keep, obey, observe (a promise, command), 26/231; 35/225; halde, 30/341; holde, l sg. pros. ind., hold, 35/93; halde, 35/140; holde, regard, look upon, consider, 26/174; 29/61; 29/236; 30/152; 31/33; 31/232; 31/391; 34/292; 36/33; halde, 32/56; haldis, 3 sg., keep, observes, keeps sacred, 26/103; holde, pa. part., held, 29/234; holden hym full hote, pressed him very hard, 29/330; holde, imper. sg., take hold, 30/105; restrain (yourself), desist, 26/104; halde, hold, take hold, 31/76; holden hym vndir, keep him in subjection, 33/94; holde, imper. pl., stop, desist, 35/212; remain, stay, 28/7.

holy, adv., wholly, completely, 28/247; all hollye, 28/16; full holy, all of them, all together, in a body, 30/313.

home, n., at home, in (our) own dwelling, at home, 30/149; at hame, in our town, 31/17; in his own land, 34/70; turnes home, go back to (one's) dwelling, return, 34/177; go home, 34/174; to welcome vs home, to welcome us back, 29/183.

honde, n., see hande.

hounis, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., dances, jumps, 31/166.

hore, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., waits, 26/197; houe, 3 pl., 31/73.

hous, n., house, 27/2.

houe, adv., interrog., how, 29/216; 36/171; why, 30/69; 35/97.
home, interj., (a salutation or greeting) 34/59; 34/60; (an exclamation expressing some emotion) 30/50; 34/33.

howegates, adv., how, 26/227.

howesolde, n., ?a court of justice, 29/234.

hundereth, adj., hundred, 26/227*; 26/228.

hurled, v. 3 sg. pret., dragged, 29/136; pa. part., persecuted, 30/221.

hurtis, n. pl., wounds, injuries, 28/285.

husband, n., husband, 30/169.

I, pron. 1 sg., I, 26/16; 29/171; 29/177; 30/523; me (acc. and dat.), me, 29/162; 30/507; 30/542; 32/3; 32/28; 33/6; 36/302; (refl.) myself, 26/194; my, poss. adj., 27/105; 28/70; 30/291; 31/256; 33/278.

jangill, v. 2 sg. pres. ind., chatter, babble, prate, 30/59; jangelis, 3 sg., 35/265; jangelid, 3 sg. pret., 36/57.

japor, n., trickster, deceiver, 32/43.

janes, n. pl., jests, jokes, 29/381; deceptions, tricks, 30/388; trifles, 34/94.

jappis, v. 3 pl. pres. ind., jest, make sport, 30/234.

jannen, n., 31/356 (OED: "a sleeveless surcoat worn outside the armour, of rich materials and emblazoned with arms").

javell, n., rascal, 30/59; jevellis, 30/234.

jeauntis, n. pl., giants, 31/13.

jente, adj., see gente.

jewe, n., Jew, 30/374; iewe, 33/77; iewe, 27/30; 30/24; 30/58; 30/59; 30/189; 30/237; iues, 32/35; 32/140; 32/147.

jewry, n., see jury.

if, conj., if, 29/327; 33/438; 34/55; unless, 32/289; iff, 30/102; 30/473. (See also yf.)

ilke, adj., same, 27/134; (absol.) ye ilke selue, the very same person, 31/118.

ilke, adj., each, every, 27/9; 27/15; 27/155; 34/345; 35/3; 36/23; ilk, 33/306.

ilke a, adj., each, every, 30/423; 31/35; 35/37; 36/277. (See also ych a.) ilk a dele, every whit, 36/84.

ilkone, pron., each one, 27/68; 27/70; 27/113; 27/168; 28/133; 28/136; 28/210; 32/281; 32/371; 36/104; ilkane, 32/182; 32/282.

ymagyn, v. 2 pl. pres. ind., plot, plan, devise, 26/92.

in, prep., in, 26/34; 27/10; 27/67; 28/17; 33/65; 34/182.
inbrased, v. pa. part., see embrace.
indede, adv. phr., indeed, truly, 30/467; 36/165; 36/222.
ingenis, n. pl., contrivances, 31/13.
ingoe, adj., see enowe.
I nowe, adv., enough, 33/406; anowe, 31/353.
ingaumpills, n. pl., patterns of conduct, 27/36.
ingore, v., 2 sg. pres. subj., restore, 28/45.
ingere, adv., wholly, completely, 32/73.
ingere, adv., see enterly.
inte, prep., into, 29/25; 29/255; 30/158; 31/239.
jocounde, adj., light-hearted, cheerful, 26/280; delightful, 30/28.
jored, v. pa. part., stabbed, 31/15.
jole, n., pleasure, delight, 30/383; well-being, 30/484; joye, mirth, 29/361.
jolle, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., talk noisily, 32/14.
journey, n., journey, 30/377; 34/234; journejys, pl., days of labour, (but a term also used for a day's performance in battle (see OED journey, n., sense 7)), 28/49.
ire, n., anger, 26/198; 29/41; 32/80.
irnne, n., iron, 34/96.
is, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., is, 27/37; 29/345; 30/41; 30/182; 30/296; 30/475; (with vb. of motion), 28/17; 31/38; pl., are, 30/424; es, 35/37; 35/269.
it, pron., 3 sg. neut., 30/144; 30/183; 31/108; 31/252; 32/60; 36/338;itt, 29/106; 30/143; 30/421; 31/97.
june, v. inf., unite, ally, 28/161.
jury, n., Jewry, the Jewish people, the land of the Jews, 28/193; Jurie, 32/53; Jewry, 36/8.
justifie, v. inf., judge, have jurisdiction over, 30/24; justifie, pa. part., tried, judged, 26/226.
ivisse (Ms I wisse), adv., truly, assuredly, 30/279; Iwis, 36/313; Iwys, 30/393; enys, 30/397.
kacchid, v. pa. part., caught, seized, affected violently, 28/65; kacched, captured, 29/47.
karle, n., churl, low fellow, 29/31; 31/288; 34/70; 34/229; 35/134; karll, 29/169; 29/223.
karpe, v. inf., speak, 31/172; (see also carpe).
kaSTE, v. inf., devise, contrive, 35/278.
kaU telLES, n. pl., cunning devices, tricks, 35/278.
KELE, v. inf., cool, lessen, mitigate, 29/222; 31/235; 35/46; 35/134.
kEMPig, n. pl., strong men, 30/522.
KEne, adj., brave, bold, valiant, 30/522; 30/525; 31/152; cruel, harsh, 26/200; eager, ardent, bold, brave, 28/148; bitter, harsh, 26/218.
kene, adv., keenly, 30/471.
KEneLy, adv., acutely, deeply, strongly, 28/148.
KEne, v. inf., to make known, 26/73; recognise, discover, 26/242; imper. s g., 36/287; pa. p art., known, 29/119; 33/409; 2 pl. pret., 30/336.
KEpe, n., in phr., take kene, take heed, 31/26; take care, 26/257; take charge of, superintend, 29/169.
KEne, v. inf., keep, 29/36; 30/90; keep, preserve, 36/275; protect, preserve, 28/34; 3 sg. pres. subj., preserve, 36/345.
KEuellIS, n. pl., base fellows, 33/218.
kiDDe, v. pret., pa. p art., kyDDe, pa. p art., see kythe.
kiYLL, v. inf., kill, put to death, 28/179; kill, 31/63; kIlLE, 35/32; imper. sg., 36/287; kill, pl., 33/451.
KYNDe, n., race, progeny, descendants, 35/62; KYnDiS, pl., tribes, 27/163; phr. of KYNde, by nature, as a birth-right, 29/127; KYnDE or kynne, kin or kindred, 32/128.
KYNDe, adj., well-bred, 30/210.
KYNDeLy, adv., lovingly, 28/65; 28/126; 29/222; with kindness, 29/289; properly, fittingly, appropriately, 30/435; 33/389; quickly, fittingly, 30/200; readily, thoroughly, 35/133; eagerly, 31/140.
KYNDESSE, n., kindness, 32/133; KYnLYnes, 36/125.
KynGdome, n., kingdom, kingship, 30/465; 32/101; kynGdom, 33/409; kynGdome with croune, 35/79; kynGdome of heuen, kingdom of heaven, 27/156.
Kynne, n., kin, kindred, kinsfolk, relatives, family, 26/59; 28/224; 31/288; 32/128; 35/20; kindred, people, 26/102; in phr. any kynne thynge, any kind of subject, 32/100.
kynreden, n., kindred, family, 26/60.
kirtill, n., robe, tunic, coat, 35/290.
kys, v. inf., kiss, 26/200; kisse, 30/48; 1 sg. pres. ind., 26/258; kyssid, 3 sg. pret., 29/222; pa. p art., 30/54; to kisse this cupe, to drink, 29/79.
kith, n., country region, 29/156; kyth, own districts, regions, 31/23; native land, 31/234.

kythe, v. imper. sg., show, 28/108; kidde, 3 sg. pret., displayed, showed, 32/133; kydde, pa. part., 36/125; made known, 26/84; 26/192; kidde, well-known, 29/54; (refl.) shown (yourself), 30/63.

knave, n., knave, low fellow, rascal, rogue, 26/124; 26/208; 26/241; 30/320; 30/409; 31/321; 32/229 (MS known); 32/319; 33/413; 34/48; 35/45; low-born person, 31/274; knafe, knave, fellow, 29/51; knaves, pl., 30/239; 30/242; phr. knyght or knave, high-born or low, 27/143; 33/7; 35/296.

kne, n., knee, 27/96; knee, 31/180; knes, pl., in knelyng on knes, 30/320.

knele, v. inf., kneel, 26/124; 26/208; 31/239; imper. sg., knele doune, 31/180; knelid, pa. part., 27/63.

knyffe, n., knife, 36/287.

knyte, v. inf., fasten, 35/133; 36/27; make firm, 26/233; pa. part., 26/152; fastened, 36/26; imper., bind, tie, 33/350.

knotte, n., binding agreement, bond, obligation, 26/152; knott, 26/233.

knowe, v. inf., identify, 36/318.

knowlache, n., knowledge, 29/51; distinguishing mark, token, 28/176.

laby, n., (fig.), burden, 26/62.

laboured, 3 sg. pret., laboured, worked hard, 36/43; 2 pl., 36/354.

lache, v. inf., capture, seize, 26/253; laughte, pa. part., 30/253; laught, brought, 33/285.

ladde, n., a man of low birth, menial person, base fellow, varlet, 29/207; 29/239; 29/309; 29/349; 29/386; 30/69; 30/333; 30/352; 30/302; 31/220; 31/228; 31/272; 31/300; 31/319; 31/350; 32/66; 32/106; 32/292; 33/26; 34/7; 34/242; 35/41; 35/228; ladd, 33/147.

ladde, n., load, burden, 34/225; lade, 34/301.

lady, n., lady, 29/13; 30/25; 30/30; 30/83; 30/106; 30/112; 30/119; 30/282; 34/201; 34/204; ladise, pl., 30/54.

lay, n., law, religious law, 29/4; 31/98; 34/120; lave, 32/40; 36/43; layes, pl., 29/270.

laye, v. inf., wager, in phr. I dare laye, 29/376; 30/131; 30/331; laye handes on, lay hands on, seize, 28/297; layes, 3 sg. pres. ind., states, alleges, 33/102; lay, 2 pl., in lay oute, set forth, expound, 26/251; lave on, imper., strike (blows), 35/245; lave doune, lay, set down, 31/49; lave doune, 35/195; laide doune, pa. part., 35/75; layde, pa. part., laid, set to rest, 29/83; 30/131; laid, placed, 35/41; bestowed, 28/247; laide, laid, placed, 33/464; 34/103;
layke, n., sport, game, 29/189; lake, 33/27; 33/373.
layke, v. inf. (refl.), disport, amuse (oneself), 30/452; laykis, 3 sg. pres. ind., sports, 26/238.
layne, v. inf., conceal, hide (sth.), 30/53; to be silent, 29/278; nost for to layne, it is not to be concealed, 32/92.
lake, n., vnir layre, under the ground, 31/221.
lait, v. inf., seek out (s.o.), 32/386.
lake, n., lake, stream, 34/65; 34/215.
lake, n., see layke.
lakkid, v. 3 sg. pret., found fault with, 31/272; lakke(d) (MS lakke), offended, 34/120.
lang, adj., long, 34/92; 34/251; lange, 35/30; tall, 33/220; used advb. in longe tyne, for a long time, 29/99.
lang, adv., long, for a long time, 34/304; lange, 28/87; long, 33/473; longe, 34/50; so lange, for such a long time, 35/192; full lange, for a very long time, 30/199; full lang, 34/258; full lance, 33/469; ought long, for any length of time, 32/259; to lange, at too great length, 26/251; to lang, for too long, 32/299; to lange, 26/45; 31/226; for all to lange, for all too long, 31/414.
langage, n., langage, tongue, 30/347; power of speech, 29/277; 31/193; speech, utterance, talk, words, report, 26/202; 26/204; 26/251; 30/494; 33/62; 33/131; 33/373; 33/465; langgage, 33/53.
lange, adj. and adv. see lang.
langes, lange, v. pres. ind., see longes.
langly, adv., for a long while, 31/279.
langour, n., anxiety of mind, affliction of spirit, 30/282.
lanterness, n. pl., lanterns, 29/218; 34/108.
lappe, v. inf., imply, 33/310; lappe, imper. sg., wrap, enfold, 30/136; lapped, pa. part., embraced, 30/31; enfolded, 32/17; lapped, bound (up), 33/153; hemmed in, 33/13.
lare, n., lore, teaching, doctrine, 30/103; 30/385; 33/1; 33/373; learning, knowledge, 30/499; instruction, command, counsel, 33/240; 33/465.
large, adj., broad, in phr. large and lange, 35/30; (of speech), loose, inaccurate, wild, 33/131; lengthy, copious, 33/132.
largely, adv., freely, without restraint, 30/494.
lasse, n., (a sudden or violent) blow or a stroke of the whip, 33/199; lasshes, pl., 33/352; lasschis, 31/10.
laste, adj., last, 28/187; late in ye laste day, yesterday (with a play also on the meaning 'the day of Judgment'), 30/224.
laste, v. inf., continue, go on, 27/102; hold out, 33/469; hold out,
continue, endure, 35/208; continue in life, 29/290; 1 pl. pres. ind., remain, dwell, 28/33; lastis, 3 pl., continue, go on, 31/226.

laste, adv., most lately, 28/167.

lastynge, ppl. adj., in ay lastyng, everlasting, 36/326; lastand in ay lastynd, everlasting, 28/114; ay lastand (ppl. adv.) everlastingly, 26/61.

lat, v. inf., allow, permit, 33/178; lette, imper., omit, 32/386; forbear, 36/185; late, let, 32/155; 33/345; 33/354; 33/407; 33/425; 35/50; 36/77; latis, 34/217; latte, 33/394; 35/8; latt, 33/134; late dynge hym doune, let's strike him down, 35/17; late kille, let's put to death, 35/32; late cllen thy face, let me wipe your face, 34/184; latte doune, let down, 35/223; (inf.) latte allone, leave alone, 28/63.

lathe, v. inf., lathe with, feel disgust with, 32/208; (impers.) me lathes with, I am disgusted with, 32/299; lath, 1 sg. pres. ind., loathe, hate, 32/106.

lathe, adj., loathsome, hateful, 26/126; lothe, 26/39; (constr. with dat.) vs were full lathe, 34/56; were me lathe, 34/240; me were loth, 34/259.

laugh, v. inf., laugh, 31/170.

laugher, compar. adj.; see lawe.

launce, v. inf., rush, hasten, 30/178.

launces, n. pl., lances, 33/182.

laue, n., law, 27/34; 27/37; 31/402; 32/60; law, 30/363; lawes, pl., 27/85; 31/21; lawis, 31/171; 31/272; lawys, 28/154.

lawe, v. inf., humble, bring low, 30/224 (M3 lawne).

lawe, adj., in phr. high and lawe, people of all conditions, 34/153; laughour (compar.), lower, 30/275.

lawful, adj., lawful, not contrary to law, 26/45.

lawles, adj., lawless, 30/253.

leechie, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., heals, cures, 29/263.

ledar, n., see leder.

lede, n., man, subject, 30/192; 30/363; 30/423; 30/431; 33/310; ledis, pl., men, people, 30/439; 33/220; 33/240; ledes, 33/13.

led, n., see utterance, 30/370.

lede, v. inf., lead, conduct, guide, 28/167; 28/171; 29/207; 29/343; 30/312; 30/332; 33/141; 33/227; 33/420; 34/7; direct, 30/428; draw, 35/85; govern, 31/21; manage, conduct, 29/8; leede, guide, 35/175; ledisd, 2 sg. pres. ind., lead, 32/208; 3 sg., 31/161; lede, 1 pl., 31/338; imper. sg., adduce, 32/60; led, 3 sg. pret., directed, 33/48; lede, 2 pl., brought, led, 31/193; 31/272; pa. part., led, 31/414; 34/225; 34/242; 34/318; lede fourth, imper., 31/412; lede forthe, inf., 33/147.
leder, n., leader, in phr. leder of lawes, ruler, 30/266; 30/315; leder of lawis, 30/55; leder of lawis, 32/115; leder of lawes, 29/110; leders, pl., leaders, 35/4.

ledir, adj., base, wicked, 30/147; lithre, 33/119; liddir, 30/253; 30/352.

lee, n., in lee, in peace, tranquility, 30/247 (see MED le, n.(1), sense (c) (OE hlêo), "a protected state or condition, peace, tranquility", quoting this line; cf LTS Glossary, lee, "pleasure, delight"; also Sir Gawain and the Green Knight (ed. Tolkien and Gordon), l.849, and note to this line, p.100, "the phrase in lee is obscure; it may mean 'in tranquility, in peace' (OED) or 'in hall', an alliterative variant of in mote, on flét; or 'as protector (of)', similar to hlêo in OE verse for 'lord'. The second seems most likely; cf (1.) 1393"; see also Glossary, lee, "in lee, in castle, (1.)349; comfortable place, (1.)1893"; (MED quotes this latter line under sense (a) "a place of shelter or protection".)

leede, n., in phr. heuy as leede, heavy as lead, 36/262; heuy as any leede, 28/21.

leede, v. see lode.

leeffull, adj., lawful, 30/83; 30/299; leeffull, 30/424; right, proper, 30/275.

leere, v. see lere.

leese, v. inf., lose, 36/29; lorne, pa. part., 33/395; failed to preserve, 29/356.

leelly, adv., see leely.

leffe, v. 1 pl. pres. ind., see leue.

leeffull, adj., see leeffull.

lefte, adj., left, 35/83.

learge, v. inf., allege, argue, assert, 30/456; leggis, 3 sg. pres. ind., 31/171; declares, 33/102; legge, 3 pl. accuse, charge, 30/470; imper., make allegations, argue, 26/455.

leggyng, vbl. n., alleging, declaration, accusation, 26/107; legynge, assertion, alleging, 33/119.

legh, n., lie, falsehood, 31/160.

leyffe, adj. (used as a noun), see leue.

lele, adj., loyal, faithful, 27/70; 30/341; 30/363; 30/439; noble, 36/326; true, accurate, just, 26/107; exact, accurate, 24/78; just, 30/423.

leyly, adv., truly, 27/8; 28/87; 28/154; 31/123; 31/160; 31/201; 31/257; 36/330; faithfully, 31/30; 32/38; 32/60; leelly, 36/31; lelly, truly, 29/4; lelye, 30/192.

leme, n., ray of light, 28/263; brightness, gleam, 28/254; lymme, light, brightness, 31/221.

lemmed, v. 3 sg. pret., shone, gleamed, 28/263.

lemys, n. pl., see lymmys.

lende, v. inf., grant, bestow, give, 33/412; lente, 3 sg. pret., 32/3; pa. part., 23/114; 33/199; 36/302; 36/303.

lence, v. inf., see lenche.

lenger, adj. (compar.) 31/338; 33/475.

lenger, adv. (compar.) longer, 23/24; 30/194; 32/298.

lenghe, n., length, in phr. lenghe and brede, length and breadth, 34/73; lenghe and breede, 35/76; length, length, area, 33/13; on lenghe, stretched out flat, stretched out to full extent, 35/41; 35/85; 35/176.

lenghe, v. inf., prolong, 36/289; lence, remain, tarry, 33/420.

lepe, v. inf., run, 26/203; leppe, 33/147; leve, rush, 26/254; lepis, imper. pl., make haste, 33/352.

leppull, n. pl., basketfuls, 31/214.

leve, v. inf., teach, 27/110; 29/240; 31/151; 31/404; 32/66; 32/292; 33/6; 33/26; 36/43; direct, 27/3; 33/317; guide, 25/171; learn, 27/37; 28/40; 23/76; 30/103; 31/404; 36/19; leere, 26/22; leere, receive instruction, 35/35; 1 sg. pres. ind., am informed, 30/43; 1 pl., teach, 33/373; offer, inform, 31/160; imper. sg., offer, 33/465; pl., learn, 33/44; lered, pa. part., taught, 30/502.

lesyncis, n. pl., falsehoods, lies, 29/270; 29/346; 31/226; 32/66.

lettis, n. pl., basketfuls, 31/214.

leue, n., leave, permission, 29/240; leve, 30/333; in phr. with youre leue (leve), with your permission, by your leave, 29/84; 29/199; 29/278; 29/301; 30/91; 31/106; 31/383; 31/413; 32/89; 32/373; with ye leue, 27/47; by youre leue, 34/257; geues leue, gives permission, 30/264; in phr. license and leue, 36/354; take oure leue, take our leave, depart, 31/388; take hir leve, 30/86.

leue, v. inf., permit, 26/46; grant, 30/534.


leue, v. inf., leave, 28/68; 28/100; 1 sg. pres. ind. (for fut.), abandon, part with, 32/106; leffe, 1 pl., 31/199; leuys, imper. leave, 32/387; levis, 29/271; leue, stop, 35/195; leffe of, leave off, stop, 32/295; lefte, 3 pl. pret., remained, 31/214; left, pa. part., left, 26/21.

leue, v. inf., believe, 33/204; leve on, believe in, 30/470; 33/295; leue on, 1 sg. pres. ind., 34/3; leue, believe, 30/347; 31/257; leue, 31/170; imper. sg., 33/230.

leue, adj., dear, 26/237; leves (LTS leves) (as a noun) my leyffe, my dear ones, 36/140.
levendes, n., wickedness, evil behaviour, 30/147.
levete, n., loyalty, 26/266; in phr. be my levete, by my loyalty, 29/340; 31/377; by youre lewte, 28/178.
license, n., permission, leave, in phr. license and leave, 36/354.
lidderon, n., blackguard, rascal, 31/171; lidrone, 31/193.
lidir, adj., see ledir.
liffie, n., life, 26/21; 28/178; 28/187; 29/376; 30/299; 30/343; 30/436; 30/439; 30/524; 32/1; 32/203; 33/164; 36/299; 36/320; liff, 27/175; 30/434; 32/299; liffe, way of life, 31/161; liffes, pl., 32/20; 36/29; in phr. lyff and dode, life and death, 27/127; of lyfe and of lyme, of life and limb, 30/82; yis worlde of liffe, this worldly life, 29/33.
liffeled, n., livelihood, 26/175.
lyme, v. inf., lie, 34/215; lyme, 34/332; lave, 2 sg. pret., 36/133; lay, 3 sg., 31/221; 33/182; 3 pl., 26/72.
licht, n., light, 23/114; 23/235; 28/254; 29/218; 31/221; (inasseverative phr.) be pis licht, 30/352; 30/490; 31/53.
licht, v. inf., fall, descend, 30/370; 34/176.
light, adj., active, nimble, swift, 30/30; 30/262; 33/147; easy (to perform), of little effort, 35/166; lyght, happy, 26/278.
light, adj., bright, 34/103.
light, adv., lightly, nimbly, 32/377.
light, adv., brightly, 28/263.
lightly, adv., lightly, readily, easily, 28/68; 30/219; 31/201; 32/66; 32/106; 32/106; 32/378; 33/55; 35/115; lightly, 32/257; lightly, quickly, swiftly, 23/253; 29/277; 31/39; 31/319; lightlyly, 33/384.
likes, v. 2 sg. pres. ind., you are pleased, 36/143; likis, like, 35/249; 3 sg., pleases, 31/123; likes, finds agreeable, 29/376; (impers.) in phr. hym likis, it pleases him, 29/273; 36/72; me likis nocht, it pleases me not, 33/131; vs likis, it pleases us, 31/334; vs lykes, 33/227; me likes nocht. I do not like, it pleases me not, 30/194.
lyme, n., see lymmys
lyne, n., see lem.
lymmys, n. pl., limbs, 23/21; 35/85; 31/10; lemys, 30/80; in phr. lyfe and lyme, life and limb, 30/82.
lyme, n., plumb-line, 33/244; lyme, pl., precepts, 26/164.
lyre, n., countenance, appearance, 28/199; 31/56.
lier, n., trick, deception, 26/254 (Smith glosses "deception, trick, delete the hyphen in text". OED lirt, sb., compares belirt, v. and confirms this gloss, quoting this line and one other example of 1887 from J. Jamieson, An etymological dictionary of the Scottish
language (Suppl.).

list, v. (impers.), hym list, he chooses, 33/370; if ye liste, if you like, 26/203; if us list, if it pleases us, 36/46; liste, 3 sg. pres. ind., wishes, desires, 26/22; 30/380; list, 33/8; liste, 3 pl., 36/19.

lith, n., limb, joint, 35/228.

lith, v. imper. pl., listen, 33/240.

lithre, adj., see ledir.

liffely, adv., see luffely.

long, longe, adv., longe, adj., see lang.

longes, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., pertains, 30/434; longes till, befits, is appropriate to, 30/431; longes, 28/194; longis, belongs, 30/424; longis to, belongs, is appropriate to, 30/68; 32/109; longed, 3 sg. pret., belonged, 31/131.

lorde, n., lord, 27/61; 32/40; (as a form of address) 34/134; lord, 29/281; mi lorde, 30/541; 32/39; my lorde, 29/278; 31/256; my lord, 33/204.

lorell, n., rogue, 29/322; 30/253; 30/273.

lorn, ppl. adj., lost, 29/277; 31/193; doomed to destruction, ruined, 32/192.

lordaye, n., see lurdan.

lose, v. inf., lose (one's life), 26/21; 28/25; 30/434; 30/436; 36/320; be deprived of, 32/256; bring to perdition, 26/62; destroy, be the ruin of, bring to destruction, 26/96; 30/309; 30/363; 30/431; 31/161; losis, 3 sg. pres. ind., 29/270; loste, pa. part., lost, 26/175.

lose, v. see louse.

losell, n., scoundrel, 26/238; 26/253; 26/266; 28/203; 28/211; 29/319; 30/333; 30/422; 30/490; 33/464; 36/72; losellis, pl., 31/246; 31/403; loselles, 29/360.

loth, lothe, adj., see lathe.

loue, n., love, 27/70; 28/247; 32/62.

louyng, vbl. n., praise, 28/114; 36/303.

lourdayne, n., see lurdan.

louse, v. inf., untie, 33/384; louse, 29/271; lose, set free, 32/118.

louse, v. inf., bring to destruction, 30/422; 30/423.

loute, v. see lowte.

lowl, adj., flagrant, 29/270; (compar.) lowdar, louder, 30/370.

lowe, adv., under the ground, 30/446.

lowly, adv., humbly, respectfully, 26/22; 30/178.

lows, v. inf., see louse.

lowte, v. inf., bow, make obeisance, 29/30; 29/239; 30/333; 31/184; 33/178; 34/3; loute, 29/350; lowte (constr. dat.) bow, make obeisance (to), reverence, honour, 30/178; 30/380; 32/3; 33/3; 34/9; lowtes, 3 sg. pres. ind., bows, 26/22; loute, 1 pl., reverence, honour, 34/195;
loute, imper. sg., bow, 31/319; lortis, pl., 29/21.
luffe, n., love, 26/46; (as a term of address), my love, 30/25; 30/71.
(see also love)
luffely, adj., loving, 34/152; beautiful, 31/56; luffeliest (superl.)
(used absol. or as n.) loveliest, most beautiful, 32/17.
luffely, adv., lovingly, 30/131; loffely, willingly, lovingly,
30/51.
luffes, v. 2 sg. pres. ind., love, 31/48; luffis, 2 pl., 31/20.
luffull, adj., lovable, 30/247.
lurdan, n., sluggard, vagabond, rascal, 33/178; 33/134; 33/199;
lordayne, 26/254; 26/275; lourdayne, 23/297; 30/351; lordayne, 28/271;
lurdayne, pl., 31/246.
lurkis, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., peers furtively, 31/300; lurkand, pres.
part., 29/104.
lusty, adj., lusty, valiant, strong, vigorous, 33/13; 33/220; 33/240.
mached, v. 3 sg. pret., met as an adversary, encountered, 30/198.
madame, n., madam, 30/48; 30/61; 30/64; 30/101; 30/104; 30/151;
30/155; 30/161; 30/193.
maddie, adj., mad, 31/299; 33/150.
madly, adv., madly, in a mad manner, 36/78.
madman, n., madman, lunatic, 26/91; 31/335.
may, v. 1 sg. pres. ind., may, can, 26/156; 27/102; 2 sg., 32/208;
36/145; 3 sg., 36/276; 2 p l., 27/30; 31/303.
mayne, n., might, power, 29/280; 34/186; 34/272; in phr. with mayne
and with mycht, 29/135; mayne and mycht, 36/49; in
mayne and in mycht, 28/260; with mayne and mood, 35/65; in mode and
in mayne, 23/91; with mayne, to the utmost, to the greatest extent
possible, 31/102; 31/264.
mayntayne, v. inf., maintain, preserve, 26/98.
maistir, n., master, 26/148; 26/243; 27/73; 27/94; 29/96; 29/132;
29/134; 29/142; 29/153; 29/221; 30/363; 32/154; 32/160; 32/235; 32/263;
34/107; 34/120; 34/123; maistris (gen.) 32/231; our maistir (used
derisively), this gentleman, 31/239; maistir (as a form of address)
27/5; 27/13; 27/43; 27/176; 28/244; 28/246; 29/252; in phr. lorde and
maistir, 27/53; 27/61; maistirs, pl., masters, 30/359.
maistrie, n., authority, 26/78; maistry, 29/113; maistries, pl.,
authority, power, 31/154; feats of power, 31/217; maistreys, 26/63;
in phr. make many maistries, perform many wonderful feats, 29/250;
makes many maistries, 31/203; makis mekill maystrie, 31/111.
make, v. inf., make, 27/49; 28/70; 29/309; 35/286; (refl.) 30/150; cause, 28/137; 28/241; 1 sg. pres. ind., make, 28/102; 36/251; makes, 3 sg. causes, 29/261; does, 29/264; maketh, causes, 35/232; 3 pl., 26/4; make, imper., 33/262; made, 3 sg. pret., made, 26/264; 26/244; 29/325; performed, 36/93; pa. part., made, 29/265; 31/46; 32/73; created, 33/300; make, 2 pl. pres. subj., make, 29/1; in phr. make room, make room, 34/16; be made in mynde, be considered, 35/50.

makeless, adj. (as a noun), yat makeles, that matchless, peerless (one), 26/92.

malice, n., wickedness, 27/88; malice, hatred, 28/51; 30/482; 30/505; harmful action, malicious conduct, 26/173; 30/495; malice, power to harm, desire to injure, wickedness, 26/32; 26/64; 33/457.

man, n., man, 30/190; 34/272; 35/8; servant, 29/281; manne (used vocatively), man, 36/129; 36/200; goode man, 34/232; (uninfl. gen. sg.) man saule, man's soul, 30/163; (gen. sg.) mannen, 28/120; men, pl., men, people, 31/141; 30/339; 30/440; menne (voc.), mi menne, 31/204; (gen. pl.), menyns, 34/124.

manere, n., manner, in what manere, how, 33/57; as ye manere is, as the custom is, 29/85; in no maner of wise, in no way at all, 33/279.

mangery, n., banquet, feast, 31/216.

many, adj., many, 29/250; 29/260; 30/339; 31/203; 31/273.

manly, adj., manly, having manly qualities, in phr. a manly menne, a fine body of men, 33/484; manliest (superl.), most manly, most courageous, 30/520.

manly, adv., in a manly fashion, courageously, 31/91.

manne, n., see man.

mantell, n., outer garment, cloak, mantle, 35/298.

marchaundyse, n., in phr. make a marchaundyse, conclude a bargain, 26/215.

mark, n., mark, sign, token, 26/163; marke, (position) mark, 35/109.

marre, v. inf., prevent, hinder, stop, 26/215; 29/217; harm, ruin, damage, 26/172; 27/19; 28/241; impair, 31/110; destroy, impair fatally, 28/4; myre, ruin, damage seriously, 26/92; marres, 3 sg. pres. ind., harms, 32/44; 33/90; marred, pa. part., destroyed, ruined, 33/30.

mede, n., profit, advantage, 26/91; reward, just deserts, 31/202; meede, 32/305.

medill, v. inf., medill with, concern (oneself) with, 31/335; 35/90; medill (refl.), concern (oneself), 31/313; 3 sg. pres. subj. (refl.), interposes, 34/327.

meese, v. (refl.), soothe, calm, 26/64.

meete, n., food, 32/304; mete, 27/158.

meete, adj., adequate, fitting, equal, on the same level, 35/257.

meyne, n., household, 27/32; 27/15; (band of) followers, 27/94; 27/113; 27/122; 27/137; menne, 31/22; 33/396; 33/411; meyne, (band of) men, followers, (company of) soldiers, 30/198; menye, body of men, company of soldiers, 33/484; (common) people, 33/90.
meke, v. inf., to humble, bring low, 26/32; (refl) mollify, calm, (oneself), 26/122; imper. pl. (refl), 30/233; mekis, 3 sg. pres. ind. (refl), humbles, 31/182.

meke, adj., meek, in phr. make and mylde, 27/37; 27/89.
makely, adv., humbly, 30/495; 30/531.

mekenes, n., meekness, 28/296 (prob. an error for mirknes; see General Note to 23/296, Play 23).

mekill, adj., much, great, 26/34; 26/244; 27/131; 29/103; 29/131; 29/249; 30/324; 30/438; 31/111; 32/199; 33/33.

mekill, adv., greatly, 29/55; 33/276; as mekill as, as much as, 31/302.

mele, v. inf., to concern (oneself) (with, about), 27/32; melle, 26/134; melle (refl), 31/67; melles, 3 sg. pres. ind., 26/91; melle, imper. sg. (refl), concern (oneself), meddle, interfere, 28/275.
mell, v. inf., tell, speak of, discuss, 33/61; 33/115; melle, say, 30/369; mell, 1 sg. pres. ind., speak of, 26/132.

melody, n., sweet music, in phr. made melody, 30/345.
membres, n. pl., limbs, 27/49.

mende, v. inf., improve morally, free from sin, sustain, uphold, 28/31; 36/305; improve, amend (matters), 34/132; 35/159; improve the condition of, 33/411; atone, make reparation for, 34/124; 36/134; (refl) restore, recover (oneself), 30/64; in phr. my mode for to mende, to cheer me, 23/107; to marre vs ne mende vs, to hinder or help us, 29/217; mende, imper. sg., in phr. mende thy mode, be of good cheer, 36/129; mended, 3 sg. pret., helped, assisted, 34/157; mende, pa. part., restored, improved, 27/151 (MS mended); atoned for, 28/120.

mene, v. inf., mean, signify, 29/265; mene of, remember, tell of, 31/216; 1 sg. pres. ind., 26/173; mene, mean, intend to convey, 30/475; meene, 26/214; meenes, 3 sg., 35/167; meynes, thinks, says, 31/202; meene of, 1 pl., speak of, 31/35; mene, 2 pl., intend, purpose, 30/505; howe mene se? what do you have in mind? 26/77.
mene, (MS mene), v. inf., lament, complain of, 26/216.
menged, v. pa. part., mixed, mingled, blended, 36/245.

menske, n., honour, 30/324.

menske, v. inf., honour, 31/102; 31/264; 31/303; 3 sg. pres. subj., favour, 30/344.

mercy, n., mercy, 32/302; 35/269; 36/312; 36/316; in phr. haue mercy on, have mercy on, 32/235; I cry you mercy. I beg your forgiveness, 32/233; mercy (used ellipt. and interj.) (have) mercy! 27/53; 30/495; 36/309; 36/310; 36/311.

mer, adj., cheerful, bright, pleasant, 27/88.

mesured, v. pa. part., measured against, compared with, 35/258.

mete, n., see meete.
mete, v. inf., meet, 27/159; 29/135; 30/146; 30/345; mett, 2 sg. pret., 33/356; mette, 3 pl., 30/339; pa. part., in ellipt. phr. well mette, well met, (as a greeting) 36/352.

move, v. inf., move, say, 29/275; 30/343; move, 29/140; meue, appeal, 32/312; (refl) 29/70; move, move, impel, prompt, 28/256; meue (refl), excite (oneself), 31/292; move, 3 sg. pres. ind., causes, prompts, 29/106; move, imper. sg., urge, exhort, 28/252; speak, say, 33/1146; (refl) excite yourself, 32/122; move, appeal, apply to, 29/238; (refl) excite, anger, yourself, 28/127; moves (refl), become excited, 30/327; move, 3 sg. pret., impelled, constrained, 33/276; pa. part., prompted, impelled, 30/306; 32/157; to move againste, to oppose, act against, 30/359.

myghtyn, n., little fellow (term of contempt), 31/110; 31/317; mytyng, 31/412; 32/240.

mirakills, n. pl., miracles, 36/93.

myre, v. see marre.

myron, n., (apparently) a servant, underling (OED myron, sb.), 30/138; 30/146; 33/61.

myrthe, n., happiness, joy, pleasure, 26/132; 27/151; myrthe, 26/173; rejoicing, merriment, merrymaking, 34/25; 36/277; myrthe, 33/477; in phr. made myrthe, rejoiced, 30/345; myrthis, pl., pleasure, happiness, 31/64; 31/66.


mys, v. inf., to be without, lack, 23/37; mysses, 1 sg. pres. ind., lack, 26/147; myssand, part., 30/l95.

myslykyng, n., trouble, unhappiness, 27/149.

millerkid, v. (refl), pa. part., made a wrong guess, 29/120.

mystir, n., need, in phr. he have mystir of, he has need of, 30/195; as mystir more, as was necessary, 34/91.

mystir, v. impers., in phr. vs mystir, it is necessary for us, 26/194; vs muster, 26/32.

myte, n., (fig.) in phr. not a myte, not a jot, 31/334.

mytyng, n., see myghtyn.

mobardis, n. pl., clowns, boors (a term of contempt) (OED mobard, Obs. rare), 23/137.

moche, adj., much, 29/236.

mode, n., state of mind, 26/63; 29/107; 30/64; courage, 29/147; in allit. phr. in mode and in mayne, 23/91; with mayne and mode, 35/65; mende thy mode, be of good cheer, 36/129.

motir, n., mother, 29/52; 30/13; 34/127; 34/123; 34/133; 36/155; 36/161; 36/174; 36/179; 36/357.

molde, n., earth, 26/147; 31/111; on molde, on earth, 28/296; 33/300.
morneland, ppl. adj., see mummeland.
momelyng, vbl. n., mumbling, 31/198.
momellis, vbl. n., muttering, 31/298.
mom, V. (aux.), 1 sg. pres., must, shall, 26/289; 3 sg., 26/283; 3 sg., 26/283.
mone, n., complaint, lamentation, 26/275; in phr. make my mone, 28/70; 28/102; 36/251.
mone, n., moon, 35/286; 36/78; moone, 36/279.
money, n., money, 32/203; 32/317; mony, 26/147; 26/244; 407/266.
money-changers, n. pl., money-changers, 26/73.
moodle, n., see mode.
mone, n., see mone.
mot, v. inf., argue, 35/159.
mort, v. inf., put to death, 26/77.
mortaise, n., (the) socket (in which the foot of the cross was set) 35/161; mortas, 35/220; mo(r)tyse (MS motyse), 35/230.
morteysed, v. pa. part., affixed, fastened, imprinted, 26/163.
moste, v. 2 sg. pret. see muste.
motte, v. (used in wishes, forming a periphr. subj.), 1 sg. pres., may, 34/77; 35/286; 2 sg., 31/360; 34/306; mot, 33/419; 3 sg., 32/222; 32/295; 33/197; mote, 33/175; 33/326; motto, 33/387; motte, 30/432; 31/122; (impers.) 36/65; motto, 2 pl., 29/213; 3 pl. 33/174; mot, 32/150.
mounseniour, my lord, 31/32.
move, moue, v. see meve.
mov, v. inf., in phr. to move on, to make grimaces at, 36/78.
moves, n. pl., in phr., make moves on, make grimaces at, 35/296.
mummeland, ppl. adj., mumbling, 31/317; momeland, 32/240.
muste, v. 1 sg. pret. (used as a pres. tense), must, have to, am obliged to, 26/173; 28/22; 2 sg. 28/171; 30/173; mot, 26/253; muste, 3 sg., 26/9; 29/387; 30/231; 30/269; 34/24; 34/255; 34/265; 34/310; 35/15; 35/110; 35/129; 35/160; 35/167; 35/173; 1 pl., 30/222; 30/230; 35/193; 2 pl., 26/259; 29/339; 30/82; 30/384; most, 33/221; (impers.), me muste, it is necessary for me to, 26/8; muste hym, it behoves him, it is necessary for him to, 25/46; vs muste, 29/175; 29/377; 29/391; 30/430; 35/25; 36/277; muste youe, you will have to, 29/252; yame muste, 34/325.
musters, v. imper., see mystir.
mustir, v. inf., show, display, exhibit, demonstrate, 28/278; 35/277; mustir, 3 sg. pres., ind., 26/31; 31/195; mustiris, 3 pl., 31/154; 31/217; mustir, imper. sg., 31/362; mustered, 2 sg. pret., made
display, 36/94; pa. part., shown, displayed, 29/290; 32/45; 32/50.
nutynge, vbl. n., murmuring, 31/334.

na, adj., see no.
nay, adv., no, 26/64; 28/137; 23/241; 31/235; naye, 31/181; 31/270; nalie, 32/172.
nayle, n., nail, 35/120; 35/141; nayles, pl., 34/94; 34/93; 35/30.
naked, adj., naked, unclothed, 30/186; 34/310; 34/313; 34/318; nakid, 30/234.
name, n., name, 26/15; 27/135; 29/284; 31/84; 31/116; 32/37; 32/103; 33/10; 34/71; 34/210; 36/6.

namely, adv., particularly, especially, above all, 30/172.
nane, n., ape, 29/104.
nan, adj., see no.
nappe, v. inf., to nap, take a short sleep, 29/152; 29/287; 30/194; 34/32; nappes, 3 sg. pres. ind., 32/364; nap, 3 sg. pres. subj., 29/366; napped, 1 sg. pret., 30/186; 3 sg., 30/234; 34/19.

napping, vbl. n., sleeping, 29/33.
ne, adv., not, 32/276; 36/273; na + vb. + nocht, 35/64; 36/256; conj., nor, 26/114; 29/13; 29/14; 29/217; 29/299; 29/314; 31/28; 34/11; 34/156; 35/230; 36/359.

ne, n., need, want, time of difficulty, emergency, crisis, 30/172; 30/154; 31/327; 33/406; 34/267; 36/230.

nedlie, adv., of necessity, necessarily, 34/310.

nedlin, adv., necessarily, of necessity, 31/181; 31/289; 32/156; 35/15; nedlynu, 31/333; 33/476.

nedfull, adj., necessary, 31/35.

nedle, adj., unnecessary, 29/352.

neffes, n. pl., clenched hands, fists, 29/366.
nechoure, n., neighbour, 29/163.

neche, v. inf., approach, come near, 29/267; negh, 32/291; neghes, 3 sg. pres. ind., draws near (to midnight), 30/183; necheth, comes near, 29/265; nechand, pres. part., approaching, drawing near, 29/3; 28/30; 28/242; 30/79; 30/139; 31/45.


demely, adv., nimbly, quickly, 29/216; 35/120; 35/219.
nenye, v. 2 sg. pres. ind., 32/185 (error for nenys, name)
nere, n., ear, 29/141; 31/285.
nere, adv., near, close, 23/3; 29/292; 29/90; closely, 29/139; some.
neere, approach, 29/200; 30/132; comes neere, 31/239; neuere
ye neere, no closer to (our) purpose, 31/333; neere, close at hand,
28/242; almost, 28/122; 32/301; as prep., near, close, 28/162;
28/340; 30/139; 30/376; 32/202; almost, close upon, 34/266.

neerthrist, 33/265 (OED ne'er, adv. amends to ne'er-thing, ne'er-do-
dwell).

neese, n., nose, 33/196.
nestis, n. pl., nests, 36/193.
neuere ye leen, adv., nevertheless, 36/237.
neven, v. inf., name, 30/132; tell, 29/277; 22/332; 31/35; mention,
35/27; speak, 33/254; neuen, name, 36/6; mention, tell, 23/43;
nevyn, tell, 31/31; nevysns, 3 sg. pres. ind., names, 31/239; nevyns,
utters, gives (a reply), 31/327; neuen, 1 pl., tell, 32/39 (HE
nounerst); neuen, imper. sg., name, 34/307; name, mention, 32/237;
nauen, pa. part., named, 33/265.

novill, adj., bad, ill (fortune), 29/364.

neke, adj., new, 27/34; nev, 27/37; of neke, newly, afresh, over
again, 27/105; 29/297; of new, 31/85.

newe, adv., newly, 30/232; new, 31/46.

newly, adv., very recently, lately, 29/159; 32/99; shortly, 28/3.

newson, adj., unpleasant, noisome, 30/182.

nyward, n., miser, 33/364.

nygh, adv., near, 31/163.

nyght, n., night, 27/1; 27/134; 29/137; 29/313; 29/343; 30/78; 30/32;
30/130; 30/136; 30/234; 34/19; 34/255; nyght, 29/216; of ye nyghte,
night-time, during the night, 29/176; in ye nyght, 29/345; nyghtis,
pl., 29/24.

nyse, adj., foolish, 29/190; 29/233.

no, adj., no, 26/59; 25/155; 30/495; 31/41; 32/121; 33/293; 36/137;
na, 33/405; noon (prec. vowel) 36/205; no (with other negatives),
27/132; 29/150; 30/431; 32/15; 32/366; (qualif. noun and adj.) 26/202;
27/123; 32/279; 34/307; (with comparatives), no, not any, 28/24;
28/67; 30/134; 31/182; 32/239; 33/210; 34/340; (as a reply), no,
29/240; 29/259; 31/151; (interrogatively), 29/365.

nobill, adj., splendid, excellent, 26/133.

nocians, n. 30/291 (Smith suggests " usefulness "; OED records notion,
sb., sense 1, " a general concept " from 1587; sense 5, " understanding"
from 1605; fr. L. notion-en, hence Fr. notion (1653), Sp. nocion, etc).

noddill, v. inf., beat, pummel, 29/366.

noy, n., (aphetic form of annoy), trouble, 33/364; nove, 27/105; 33/155;
noyes, pl., 28/124.

nove, v. inf., harm, harass, 26/67; 29/313; noved, pa. part., troubled,
noyse, n., noise, clamour, disturbance, outcry, 30/139; 31/45; 31/332; 34/214.

noyseed, v. pa. part., reported, 32/99; 33/155.

noysomenare, adj. (compar.), more unpleasant, disagreeable, 32/99.

noman, no-one, 26/237; 29/143; 29/217; 29/336; 30/138; 31/216; 31/284; 34/10; 34/55; 35/130; no(m)an (NS noman), 33/323.

nomore, no more, nothing more or further, 30/148; 30/278; 30/302; 31/346; 34/132; 34/331; 35/174; no moo, 27/173; no more, adj., no further, 34/268; nomore, no more, adv., never again, no longer, to no greater extent, 29/192; 29/334; 31/31; 31/99; 31/292; 31/303; 32/122; 32/294; 34/221.

none, n., noon, the ninth hour of the day (about 3.00 p.m.) 31/45; 34/45; 35/15. (See also General note to 1.45, Play 34).

nonys, in pl. for ye nonys, for the purpose, for the occasion, 29/283; 31/332; 35/215; for ye nones, 30/366.

noon, adj., see no.

noote, n., see note.

nor, conj., nor, 27/137; 29/15; 29/194; 29/308; 30/8; 30/29; 31/311; 32/326; 33/22; 33/311; 34/13.

note, n., office, employment, 29/352; 30/182; 31/396; noote, 26/67; 34/307; matter, 31/85; 32/99; 35/239; noote, 35/27; notis, pl., 31/350.

no thyn?, n., nothing, 30/125; 34/130; 35/149; 36/145; for no thyn, for no reason, 29/318; 29/319; adv., not at all, in no way, 31/193; 32/55.

noxe, adv., now, 27/31; 29/310; 30/16; 30/114; 31/149; 31/157; now, 27/76; 33/267; 33/314; noxe, conj., since, 29/205; noo, 30/496.

nowele, n., owl, 29/116.

o, adj., one, 29/55; 29/365; 31/270.

O, interj., O! (used vocatively, in salutations, etc.) 30/55; 30/56; 30/167; 30/252; 30/358; 30/406; 33/150; 33/179; 33/319; 33/387; (expressing emotion) 30/130; 30/234; 31/118; 31/166; 31/332; 32/252.

obeye, v. imper. sg., obey, 30/396.

obblisshe, v. 1 sg. pres. ind. (refl), pledge, bind, 35/53.

of, prep., of, 29/51; 30/41; 30/131; 32/98.

offende, v. inf., offendi, displease, 33/283.

offe, adv., often, 26/90.

offe tyymes, adv., many times, on many occasions, frequently, 30/197.
oy, n., 30/366; MS anoy = an oy, an oyez. (OED, see oye, "app. alteration of oyes, Oyez, int., and sb. Perh. meant as a sing. of oyes; poss. for OF imper. sg. oye 'hear (thou)' or for oyez with a z mute as in mod.F").

oyas, v. imper. and interj., hear, hear ye! 30/369; 30/370; oyes, 31/331; 31/374.

oyement, n., ointment, 26/133; 26/141.

olde, adj., old, 29/314; 34/166.

on, prep., on, upon, 27/159; 28/297; 29/81; 29/179; 30/107; 30/337; 32/82; 32/233; 33/49; 34/9; of, 30/497; in, 30/470; 33/323; 36/104; one, on, upon, 35/44.

on, adv., on, onward, 27/55; 29/310; 30/115; 30/217; 30/529; 30/537; 32/36; 32/389; on, on, 35/48; on (ellipt.) = go on, advance, 30/165.

on dervh, 35/2, see dergh.

one, adj., one, 29/361; 31/330; 34/12; alone, 33/465.

one, pron., someone, 26/131; 34/231; one, a certain, 28/256; 28/267; 30/189; 30/287; 31/220; one, 27/170; 29/357; 33/469.

ones, adv., once, 34/2; 34/13; 34/139.

onewayne, adj., troublesome, 30/512.

oon, adv., see on.

onhanged, ppl. adj., unhanged, not (yet) executed by hanging, 26/174; 32/186.

onslepe, adv., asleep, 28/66.

 oppen, adj., plain, 26/202.

oppresioun, n., oppression, 36/10.

or, prep., before, 28/150.

or, conj., (1) before, 31/132; 31/290; 32/223; 35/82; 35/215; 36/332.

or, conj., (2) or, 33/18; 34/285; 34/317; or, otherwise, 32/3; 34/256.


othir, adj., other, different, 32/330; 34/50; other, further, additional, 27/141; 29/269; 32/313; 34/54; 35/27; pron., pl., others, other men, 28/145; 29/100; 31/158; oyr, 34/127.

othir, adv., otherwise, 27/110.

othir, conj., or, 27/68.

othirwise, adv., otherwise, differently, 27/27.

oueresone, v. pa. part., surmounted, overcome, 26/277.

ouerewyn, v. inf., overcome, vanquish, 32/104.

ouerpasse, v. inf., pass through, 28/58.

ouersprede, v. pa. part., widely diffused, 32/69.
oure, n., hour, 28/242; oure, 28/74.

out! interj. (an exclamation of lamentation, distress, etc.), 33/165; 33/268; out: 28/260; 28/272; out!: 30/158.

outhir, adv., in outhir ... or, either ... or, 31/83; 34/283; outhir, 33/290; outhir, 26/26.

outtrayes, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., goes beyond the bounds of moderation, 33/99.

owre, n., see oure.

owthir, adv. see outhir.

owte! interj., see out!

page, n., page, varlet, 29/377; 31/340; 33/123; pages (gen.), 29/354.

paie, n., payment, 32/190.

pavere, n., payer (or prob.) punisher, 33/374. (Recorded in the sense 'one who pays', 1362 by OED, but see pav, v., sense 7b, "to inflict, bestow, give (punishment, a blow, etc.)" recorded from 1300. Smith suggests "beater, striker").

pavemente, n., payment, 32/171; payment, 32/197.

pavne, n., penalty, 32/145; vpavne payne, under penalty, 30/371; 34/10; vpavne payne, 30/244; of a payne, 30/401; payne, pain, 35/222; pain, suffering, 33/33; 34/190; payne, sorrow, distress, 26/144; payne, trouble, difficulty, 34/237; paynes, pl., sufferings, 35/145.

pavre, v. inf., impair, lessen, harm, 26/114; 34/256.

paleys, n., palace, 29/266.

palle, n., rich cloth, 33/390.

papse, n., (the name of a game) 29/354. (OED: "the name of some game or sport; or perhaps pl. 'pranks'." No other example recorded.)

paradise, n., in paradise place principall, in the royal city of Paradise, 36/212.

parceyue, v. imper. sg., understand, comprehend, 36/274.

parfite, adj., perfect, 31/340.

parlament, n., council, 32/33.

parred, v. pa. part., confined, enclosed, penned, 33/33.

parte, n., part, share, portion, 27/52; 34/328; 34/331; 35/175; for my parte, as far as I am concerned, 33/357.

party, n., part, respect, 27/26.

pasc, n., the Jewish feast of the Passover, in phr. lambe of pasc, Paschal lamb, 27/29.
passe, v. inf., pass, proceed, make (one's) way, 26/156; 33/221; escape, 23/161; 32/264; escape, avoid, 32/145; pass, go free, 32/139; 1 sg. pres. ind., depart, 29/134; passes, 3 sg., surpasses, exceeds, 29/266; paste, pa. part., departed (from this life), 36/131; past(e), (as passen), 3 sg. pa. subj., proceeded, 23/300; paste, 1 pl., 23/191; 2 pl., passed (from), 30/115; passe free, pass free, be put at liberty, 32/149; 32/265.

passioun, n., Passion, sufferings, 23/67; 23/104.

past, ppl. adj., past, finished, over, 33/471; paste, 27/100; 35/212.

past, prop., beyond, 33/273.

patria, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., patters, chatters, 35/266.

paunch, n., stomach, 33/371; paunche, 33/372.


peyne, n., see Payne.

pele, n., appeal, 26/110 (OED: "a calling to account before a legal tribunal": "a criminal charge or accusation, made by one who undertook under penalty to prove it; spec. impeachment of treason or felony").

peny, n., penny, 26/272; pens, pl., pence, 26/146; 26/152; penys, 26/132; money, 26/136.

penne, n., pen, 26/75.

repull, n., people, 26/113; 30/313; 30/463; 34/183; repul, 30/20; repill, 27/10; 30/462; with repull, in the crowd, among the multitude, 29/134.

pere, n., peer, equal, 30/38; 30/258; 33/319; 35/222; 36/5.

perelles, adj., peerless, without peer, unequalled, 30/265; 32/34; 33/27; 34/190.

perelous, adj., see perillus.

perill, n., peril, 32/162.

perillus, adj., serious, harmful, dreadful, 31/129; perelous, greatly to be feared, 26/16.

persiure, n., perjury, a false oath, 26/75.

perlowned, v. 3 sg. pret., made of no effect, 30/32; 3 pl., 30/31.

perpetuell, adj., perpetual, unceasing, 33/243.

persone, n., in phr. youre persone, yourself, 30/458; to my persone, to my person, to me, 30/92.

perete, adj., bold, 31/260; intelligent, expert, skilled, 33/109.

peretely, adv., openly, skillfully, boldly, 30/448; openly, readily, boldly, 30/32; quickly, 30/166; pertly, plainly, readily, 29/133.

pervertis, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., leads astray, corrupts, 26/113.
pese, n., in pese, at peace, 30/157.

pety, petic, n., see pite.

philosoferes, n. pl., men of learning, 26/17.

py, n., magpie, 35/266.

picht, n., 30/13 (prob. an error for plight; see OED plight, sb^2, sense II), condition, state.

pilche, n., a leather or coarse woollen outer garment, 33/374.

pilgrimes, n. pl., pilgrims, travellers, 32/333.

pyne, n., punishment, suffering, torment, 27/139; 33/243; 33/311; 35/260.

pyvying, ppl. adj., tormenting, afflicting, 33/33.

pite, n., pity, compassion, 26/143; pety, in phr. to haue pety, to have pity, 33/371; to haue retie, 33/372; it were pite, it would be regrettable, 33/40.

pitously, adv., grievously, lamentably, 36/32.

place, n., place, 31/324; 32/369; 33/109; house, palace, 30/349; city, in paradise place principall, in the royal city (of) Paradise, 36/212; plasis, pl., places, positions, 31/5.


playne, n., plain, 31/5.

plasis, n. pl., see place.

plately, adv., plainly, 30/3; platly, plainly, bluntly, 33/243.

platte, v. imper. (refl.), in platte you to pis playne, spread, lay yourselves down upon the ground, 31/5.

pleasaun(c)e, n. (MS pleasaune), indulgence, complaisance, 36/105.

pleyntes, n. pl., plaints, lamentations, 30/3; accusations, charges, 29/335.

plextis, 31/5 (apparently a scribal error for pleytis, v. imper., wrangle, argue).

plye, v. inf., submit, comply, give way, 26/76.

plight, n., peril, danger, risk, 32/162; plyght, sin, offence, guilt, 35/52.

poynpte, n., purpose, aim, object, 32/330; point, particular, 31/315; condition, state, 31/340; charge, accusation, 32/241; 33/311; poytis, pl., 31/129; 32/34; poynpes, 33/134; pantes, 30/402; no point, not at all, 29/314.

pontificall, adj., pontifical, episcopal, high-priestly, 30/206.

poore, adj., see poure.

poost, n., power, authority, 26/114; poste, 26/88; pouste, strength,
33/206; in his owne poste, under his own authority, 27/10.

poure, n., power, might, strength, 29/41; 28/205; 30/217; 30/448; 30/517; 33/471; poure, 33/278; poure, authority, 31/406; a host, army, 23/277.

poure, adj., poor, 26/143; absol. in pl. sense, the poor, 27/24; poore, 26/144.

pouste, n., see pooste.

powre; n., see poure.

prayer, n., prayer, 28/30; 28/37; 28/40; prayere, entreaty, supplication, 33/372.

prayse, v. inf., praise, value, esteem, 30/70; speak highly of, 33/421; praise, glorify (God), 26/37; for to prayse, to be praised, 29/266.

preces, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., see prese.

preaching, vbl. n., preaching, 26/113; 30/70; 30/171.

prees, n., crowd, throng, 33/40; 34/12; prese, 29/134; 30/371; prese, distressful situation, 36/162; 36/327; in prese, in a crowd, 33/109; putte me in prese, use my best endeavours, 30/166.

prayse, v. see prayse.

prelate, n., prelate, ecclesiastical dignitary, chief priest, 29/14; prelatis, pl., 30/31; 30/349; 30/402; 30/454; 33/34; prelates, 30/270; 33/37; prelatis, (gen. pl.) 29/335.

prese, n., see preses.

prese, v. inf., hasten, 30/207; strive, endeavour, 26/114; presse, oppress, crush, 30/20; preses, 3 sg. pres. ind., strives, 26/230.

presence, n., presence, 30/3; 30/319; 31/99; 33/134; 33/206.

present, n.(1), in present, present, 29/313.

present, n.(2), present, gift, offering, 31/331; 31/405; presente, 31/98.

presente, adj., present, 29/134.

presente, v. inf., present, 29/339; 29/377; 30/207; present, 26/230.

prese, n., see wres.

prese, v. see wresse.

wrest, adj., eager, keen, 26/271; 29/134; 33/357; wreste, 30/115; ready for action, 30/517.

wreste, adv., quickly, 30/375; 30/401.

wrestly, adv., earnestly, 23/11; 23/155; wirstly, promptly, readily, 33/27.

prestis, n. pl., priests, 30/206; in phr. prince of prestis, high priest, chief priest, 27/109; princes of prestis, 26/150.
presumption, n., presumption, effrontery, 36/88.
pretende, v. 3 pl. pres. ind., intend, purpose, plan, 28/52.
preualy, adv., stealthily, craftily, 29/117; preualy, privately, 30/92.
preve, v. inf., prove, 33/206; 33/440; prewe, 29/133; 30/349; prove, be shown, 26/16; strive, 26/155; preves, 3 sg. pres. ind., proves, 31/129; proves, have experience of, 26/113; provynge, pres. part., proving, 30/462; proved, pa. part., 29/14; 30/18; 30/517; 32/9; preuwd, 32/25; proued, 30/19; 30/448; 30/454.
price, n., price, 32/329; excellence, renown, 30/265; 30/406; 30/454; pris, 29/14; of price, of great worth, excellence, 29/266.
price, n., see prize.
priude, n., pride, 30/19; 30/207; 30/217; 33/421; 34/6; 36/111.
priued, v. 3 sg. pret., grieved, pained, 26/144.
prince, n., prince, 26/16; 26/88; 30/19; 30/38; 30/201; 30/206; 30/252; 30/265; 30/330; 30/406; 30/453; 31/93; 32/9; 32/25; 32/34; 32/40; 33/27; 33/84; 33/421; 36/5; princes, pl., 26/155; 30/31; princes, 30/37; prince of prestis, chief priest, high priest, 27/109; princes of prestis, pl., 26/150.
princenall, adj., foremost, at the head of all the rest, 27/75; princenall, royal, in paradise place principall, the royal city (of) Paradise, 36/212.
princenall, adv., principally, 36/62.
pris, n., see prize.
prise, n., prize, reward, 30/37; price, prize, 26/230.
pruuite, n., in in pruuite, in private, concealment, secrecy, 29/314.
propheres, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., proffers, presents, 33/372.
prophetable, adj., profitable, beneficial, 33/37.
prophete, n., prophet, 34/148; prophette, 31/167.
prophecie, n., prophecy, 34/148.
prophte, n., advantage, benefit, 26/271.
prophtie, v. inf., advance, further, 26/110; prophitis, 3 sg. pres. ind., is beneficial, 30/69.
prove, v. see preve.
prowd, adj., proud, 33/393; prowde, 30/115; prowde, proud, of high degree, 30/13; prowde, splendid, magnificent, 26/155; prowd, vigorous, valiant, 33/374; prowde (as a noun), that proud one, that one of high degree, 30/14.
prowdely, adv., proudly, 30/18.
prowe, n., benefit, advantage, profit, 26/156; 26/272; 29/394; 31/315.
pulle, v. inf., pull, 30/217; pull, 1 sg. pres. ind., 33/374.
punyash, v. 1 sg. pres. ind., punish, 36/32.
quarte, n., in **quarte**, in health, alive and well, 29/166.
quelle, v. inf., destroy, kill, 32/47; **quell**, 33/66 (apparently for) to be put to death, to die).
quenes, n. pl., scolds, 34/211; 34/222; **quenys**, 34/192.
quytes, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., (refl), acquires, 33/255; **quitte**, pa. part., 31/394.
owat, adj., interrog., see **what**.
**quell**, v. see **quelle**.
**quhat**, adj., see **what**.
**qwy**, n., man, 31/38 (OED **qwy** (1))

**rable**, n., rabble, crowd, 33/103.
**race**, n., in phr. on a **race**, in a run, 33/223; **rase**, in phr. his race till he **rove**, until he repents his course of action, 30/213.
raldy, adv., quickly, without delay, 30/177.
**rared**, v. pa. part., torn in pieces, 36/120; 36/253; 36/304.
**rare**, n. pl., shreds, pieces, 30/36.
ray, v. inf., (aphetic form of array), arrange, deal with, 26/246; imper. pl., set (forth), display, 25/38; **rayed**, pa. part., arrayed, dressed, 30/32; 31/358.
rayke, v. inf., go, proceed, 30/150.
raynebowe, n., rainbow, 32/34.
rayse, v. inf., raise, 29/263; 35/276; 36/35; rouse, get out of bed, 30/232; 30/262; **rayser**, 3 sg. pres. ind., raises, restores to life, 30/144; 30/272; **rayse**, 1 pl., will raise, lift, 35/104; **raise**, imper., lift, 35/219; **raysed**, 3 sg. pret., raised, restored to life, 31/223; pa. part., raised, 35/216; **raysede**, 26/34.
**rakis**, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., goes, proceeds, 30/125; **rake**, imper. sg., 36/273; **rakand**, pres. part., running, rushing, 31/222.
**ranke**, adj., rebellious, 26/33.
rare, v. see **rare**.
rayvng, vbl. n., roaring, loud cries, 31/223.
raze, n., see **race**.
raftely, adv., quickly, 29/263; 29/306; 33/362; **(r)athely** (MS rathely), 31/339.
**rawe**, n., in on **rawe**, in a line, in succession, 27/19; 27/130; 29/38; on **rove**, 33/290.
reasoune, n., see **reasoune**.
rebalde, n., knave, varlet, rascal, base fellow, 29/268; 30/145; 30/491; 31/260; 31/368; 32/84; rebald, 33/362; ribald, 33/277; rebaldis, pl., ribalds, jeering knaves, 32/5.

rebelles, n. pl., rebels, 36/15.

reche, v. inf., reach, 26/285; imper. sg. in phr. reche vs oute, render to, give us, 29/306.

recorde, n. in rolls of recorde, official (legal) records (of proceedings and judgments), 31/400.

recorde, v. l sg. pres. ind., recollect, remember, 33/314.

recouerance, n., recovery, help, 26/101.

recourse, n., recourse, means of assistance, 27/141.

rede, v. inf., counsel, advise, suggest, propose, 29/156; 1 sg. pres. ind., 26/246; 25/147; 29/77; 29/306; 29/346; 33/363; 34/344; 35/282; 35/293; 36/293; reede, 28/6; redes, 3 sg., reads, 32/84; in phr. so right he redes, he's got the right idea, 35/24; rede, 2 pl., interpret, 30/16; rede, pa. part., advised, 30/89.

refe, v. see reue.

regent, n., regent, 26/2.

region, n., realm, kingdom, 26/2.

regnys, v. 3 pl. pres. ind., reign, hold sway, 32/5.


rehete, v. inf., persecute, 29/284; imper. pl., assault, attack, 33/362; 33/363.

reke, n., smoke (used fig. for uproar, disturbance), 26/34.

rekeles, adj., (as a noun) fat rekeles, that heedless, imprudent (one), 26/285.

reken, v. inf., name or mention one after another in due order, 33/108; rekens, 2 sg. pres. ind., recount, relate, tell, 30/491; rekenne, 3 pl., 30/334.


reme, n., realm, kingdom, 26/34; remys, pl., realms, regions, 30/22; 30/164.

remelaunt, n., remainder, rest, 27/23.


renke, n., ?for renge, a form of reign, n., 29/17.

renke, n., man, knight, 30/89; 30/305; 31/35; 32/10; renkes, pl., 30/22; 33/108; 33/162; renkis, 30/16; 30/232; renkis, 31/17.

renne, v. inf., run, 33/223; 34/149; renand, pres. part., 31/17; renne, pa. part., 29/27; 29/194.

renoune, n., renown, distinction, fame, 26/1; renoune, 28/215.
rente, n., revenue, 26/1.

rente, v. inf., rend, pull asunder, 30/36; 1 pl. pres. ind., 33/356; pa. part., 36/120; 36/253; 36/304.

repaire, v. imper. pl., return, go back, 31/381; 31/405.

resayue, v. inf., receive, 26/245; imper. sing., 33/86.

resoune, n., reason, explanation, argument, assertion, statement, 29/305; 36/62; 36/334; resounces, pl., 29/307; in phr. and reason why, and this is the reason, 32/258; resoune and skill, reason and cause, 32/103; by all goode resoune, by all good reason, 32/230; by resoune, by reason, 31/404; as resoune is (NS as resoune as), as is reasonable, 31/40; as resoune it is, as is right, suitable, 29/18; me thynkith it ... resoune, I think it right, 33/456; ye do me ... no resoune, you treat me unjustly, 32/366.

respoans, n., answer, reply, 32/289.

reste, n., rest, repose, 30/125; 30/150; 31/35; rest, 30/518; take oure reste, take our rest, 28/20; take youre reste, 29/63; full of reste, at peace, in tranquillity, 28/122.

rest, v. inf., rest, be at rest, take repose, 29/72; 31/389; 35/282; rest, 26/207; reste, rest, lean on, 26/73; 36/195; rest, 1 pl. pres. ind., rest, cease, 26/286; reste, 2 sg. pres. subj., reste of, desist from, 30/82.

restreyne, v. imper. pl. (refl.), in restrayne you for, restrain yourselves from, 30/2.

reue, v. inf., rob, deprive, 30/164; refte, deprive of, 30/164; refte, pa. part., taken from, 30/174; taken away, 36/265.

reuerence, n., reverence, veneration, 33/277; obeisance, 30/311; his reuerence, his reverence, 30/179; saue youre reuerence, save your reverence (a phr. of apology), 30/354.

rewe, v. inf., repent, regret, 33/334; 34/278; 36/236; rewis, 2 sg. pres. ind., you rewis, you'll regret it, 30/62; rewe, inf., in imper. constr., yet may me rewe full ill, that may I bitterly repent, 32/167; all his sawes sore schall hym rewe, he shall bitterly repent all his sayings, 27/111; all pi resouns sare schall ye rewe, 32/289; thoo sawes schall rewe hym sore, 35/69; 2 pl. pres. subj., in on me rewe, have pity on me, 32/233.

rewly, adj., disciplined, orderly, calm, 26/36.

rewth, n., calamity, distress, 33/162; ruthe, matter of sorrow or regret, 30/390; rewe in I haue rewe of, I feel compassion for, 30/305.

ryall, n., royal power, 29/17 (prob. an error for rialte, kingdom).

ryallest, adj., (superl.), most royal, 26/1.

ryally, adv., royally, 33/290.

rialte, n., kingdom, 28/122; ryalte, royalty, sovereignty, 30/111.

ribald, n., see rebalde.

riche, adj., rich, wealthy, 30/343; richeste (superl.), most splendid, costly, 32/10.

richely, adv., richly, sumptuously, 31/280; rychely, 30/128.

richesse, n., wealth, 30/174; opulence, 30/42 (??? error for richaste, most splendid, costly).
rigge, n., back, 34/73.
right, n. in phr. with right, rightfully, properly, 30/354; by right, 29/19; right nor .. rescoue, 32/366; for our right, for our just claim, 30/202; ye right, the truth, 33/314; rightlie, pl., rights, claims, 29/23.
rightwisse, adj., guiltless, 32/159.
ryme, v. inf., rend, pull asunder, tear apart, 30/36; 30/390; ryme, part asunder, 35/248.
rode, n., see roode.
roye, n., prince, king, 26/1; 31/353; roy, 26/286.
rolyng, vbl. n., 30/232; (OED, quoting this line, states, "the sense is not clear"; see rolling, vbl. sb.(2).
rollis, n. pl., in phr. rollis of recorde; see recorde, n.
rome, n. in imper. phr. make rome, make way, draw back, 34/16.
romour, n., talk, report (of someone), 26/34.
roo, n., rest, repose, 30/177.
roo, n., roe, deer, 30/262.
roode, n., cross, 36/253; on roode, on the cross, 36/120; on rode, 36/304.
roope, n., rope, 35/131; roopes, pl., 30/213; 30/390; 34/52.
røre, v. inf., roar, shout, yell, 30/145; rare, 33/162; raris, imper. pl., 31/309.
roste, v. inf., roast, 27/11; 27/16; pa. part., 27/7.
rought, v. 3 sg. pret., had no care of, 30/125.
rome, n., see rane.
rowte, n., mob, crowd, 32/5.
rowtes, n. pl., blows, strokes, 33/355; 33/363.
rutely, adv., harshly, 31/309; violently, roughly, 33/277.
rugge, v. inf., tug, pull violently, 34/53; rug, 30/390; rugge doune, 35/131.
ruths, n., see rowth.
sabott, n., Sabbath, 36/342; sabbotte, 30/417.
sabott day, n., Sabbath-day, Sabbath, 29/144; 29/257; 29/383; 32/95; 33/476; sabott daye, 36/46; 36/276; sabotte day, 32/46; sabbott day, 26/99; 34/23.
sadde, adj., sad, mournful, sorrowful, heavy, 29/168; 31/296; sorrowful, distressing, serious, grave, 33/44.

sadly, adv., steadfastly, earnestly, resolutely, vigorously, firmly, 30/129; 30/353; 30/417; 32/308; 33/347; 33/462; 33/466; heartily, 30/98; seriously, gravely, solemnly, earnestly, 31/175; 31/339; 32/62; 33/36; 33/247; sadly, steadfastly, firmly, 29/165.

sadness, n., seriousness, gravity of conduct, 31/25.

safe, v. inf., keep, observe, 36/342.

safely, adv., safely, without risk of error, 30/46.

saggard, n., sagg ing weight (OED, "?one who 'sags' or hangs helplessly"), 36/82.

say, v. (1), inf., say, speak, tell, 27/117; save, 27/136; 29/19; 29/126; saie, 26/189; 28/134; 36/82; 36/332; sege, 33/18; saie, 1 sg. pres. ind., 27/132; 27/140; 36/1; 36/322; save, 29/2; 29/128; 30/236; sayes, 2 sg., 29/252; sais, 31/37; sales, 30/260; saies, 3 sg., 27/73; 27/94; 29/157; 30/65; sales, 29/378; sesges, 33/97; saith, 29/300; sale, 1 pl., 31/96; save, 29/257; save, 2 pl., 27/18; sav, 28/205; sale, 29/73; say, imper. sg., 30/246; 35/165; saie, 35/251; save, 31/94; sale, 35/105; pl., 29/386; saies, 30/146; say, 29/216; saie, 1 sg. pret., 26/185; 29/128; 25/161; 2 sg., 29/122; 29/162; 3 sg., 27/182; 35/275; 36/110; 3 pl., 36/96; saie, pa. part., 29/227; 34/44; seggid, 32/16.

saye, v. (2), inf., assay, apply (ourselves), 28/240; saie, imper. sg., assay, try by tasting, 30/98.

sakless, adj., blameless, innocent, 28/93; 32/139; 34/183; sakless, 26/288.

sale, n., hall, chamber, 26/294; sail, 33/86; sales, pl., 33/18; in sales, 33/397.

sall, v. aux., pres. ind., see schall.

same, adj., same, 26/141; 28/3; 29/209; 29/259; 29/387; 30/82; 31/228; 31/371; 33/452; 34/235.

same, adv., together, 31/24; 35/246; all same, all together, 26/276; 26/294; 28/190; 28/266; 30/271; 32/246; all samme, 26/126.

samen, adv., together, 34/129.

sandi, n., see sonde.

sand, n., land (as opposed to sea) in phr. be see and be sande, 36/328; be see nor be sande, 31/143.

sare, adv., see sore.

satchelles, n. pl., purses, 27/172.

sattelles, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., sinks down, 33/247; sattilles, 3 pl., settle, establish (themselves), 28/69.

sauery, adv., with enjoyment, relish, 29/79.

saulse, n., soul, 30/163; sawle, 36/121; saules, pl., 35/58; 35/264.
sauterell, n. (CED: "variant, possibly erroneous, of saunterell"), 31/322; 32/91; saunterell, 32/274.

saunterelle, n. (CED: "Of obscure origin and meaning; perh. a var. of saunterel with the sense 'pretended saint'." "Used as a term of contempt.")", 26/190.

scape, v. see skape.

scarred, pl. adj., scarred, 33/34.

scathe, n., see skathe.

schafes, n. pl., shafts, 33/168; schaftis, 33/241.

schake, v. inf., flee, depart, 28/141; schakis, 3 sg. pres. ind., shakes, wavers, 33/245; schuke, 3 pl. pret., 33/168.

schalke, n., man, 30/295; schalkes, pl., 33/2.

schall, v. auxil., shall, will, must, 1 sg. pres. ind., 30/360; 34/144; 2 sg., 34/241; 3 sg., 32/378; 35/209; 1 pl., 27/130; 2 pl., 30/33; 31/90; 3 pl., 27/105; schalle, 1 sg., 29/326; 3 sg., 31/238; 36/283; 1 pl., 36/103; 2 pl., 35/44; 3 pl., 28/139; schal, 1 sg., 34/140; 3 sg., 26/119; 3 pl., 30/173; shall, 1 sg., 29/12; 2 sg., 27/135; 3 sg., 26/21; 1 pl., 36/281; 2 pl., 27/162; shalle, 3 sg., 35/22; schalte, 2 sg., 26/273; 3 sg./275; sall, 1 sg., 33/367; 2 sg., 33/307; 3 sg., 33/391; 1 pl., 28/202; 33/46; 2 pl., 33/28; 3 pl., 33/479; schulde, 1 sg. pret., 27/107; 2 sg., 32/229; 3 sg., 34/149; 1 pl., 35/171; 2 pl., 31/230; 3 pl., 30/316; schuld, 3 sg., 31/339; shulde, 1 sg., 28/138; 3 sg., 34/125; shuld, 1 sg., 33/235; 3 sg., 26/266; suld, 1 sg., 33/324; 3 sg., 33/165; 2 pl., 33/331.

schappe, n., physical appearance, bodily form, 26/287; shappe, cut (of a garment), 29/360.

schappe, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., imper. pl. (refl.), see shappe.

schappely, adj., fine-looking, well-formed, 33/2.

scharid, v. pa. part., see sheris.

schath, n., see skathe.

schaye, n., sight, spectacle, 30/56.

schaye, v. inf., behold, look upon, see, 33/2.

sche, pron., see scho.

schedde, v. 1 sg. pret., shed (blood), 36/128.

schende, v. see shende.

schene, adj., see shene.

schenely, adv., brightly, 33/241.

schene, n., sheep, 27/144; 28/144.

schewe, v. see shewe.

schyne, v. 3 pl. pres. ind., radiate splendour, 33/241.

schynynge, pl. adj., resplendent, brilliant, 30/56.

scho, pers. pron., 3 sg., fem., nom., she, 30/27; 30/85; 30/114; 30/125; she, 26/133; sche, 26/134; 30/26; 30/284; 30/285; she
schoffe, v. imper. sg., thrust, 36/297.
schonne, v. 2 sg. pres. ind., avoid, 32/244.
schorte, adj., short (used of a period of time), 26/102; (used of spatial measurement), 34/92; the schorte cutte, 35/295 (in casting lots, the drawing of a stick or straw shorter than the others; see OED cut, st.1).
schortely, adv., briefly, concisely, 30/17; quickly, 26/50; 30/214; 30/524.
schoute, n., uproar, 34/192.
schulde, schuld, v. pret., see schall.
schuldur, n., shoulder, 35/190.
sclaunderees, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., slanders, defames, 29/301.
scored, v. pa. part., marked (with a line or lines), 35/111.
scone, n., see skorne.
scone, v. imper. pl., see skorne.
sconynge, vbl. n., see skornyng.
scountes, n. pl., whips, 33/337.
seeg, seege, n., see segge.
seeges, n. pl., seats, 27/159.
seele, n., good fortune, happiness, prosperity, 26/121; in phr. as I have seele, as I hope for happiness, 35/138; als euer have I seele, 28/164.
seere, adj., various, diverse, 27/86; 27/177; 29/260; 36/268.
sees, v. imper. pl., see see.
seete, n., seat, 29/7.
sege, v. inf., see say, v.(1).
sege, n., man, 29/32; 30/493; 30/504; 33/193; sege, 33/25; 33/39; 33/156;
seeg, 30/279; 30/323; seege, 26/190.
segger, n., braggart, boaster, 28/201.
seke, adj., sick, 29/34.
sekeirly, adv., certainly, assuredly, 30/303; 34/67.
selcouth, n., wonder, marvel, 31/143; 31/219.
sembland, n., appearance, demeanour, 29/92.
semely, adj., fair, pleasing, handsome, 30/27; 36/136; semeliste, (superl.), goodliest, 30/279; semelyest, 33/49; semely (as a noun), fine man, 30/338; 33/397; fair one, 30/121.
semely, adv., fittingly, appropriately, 26/30; 29/7; 30/345; pleasingly, 30/334.
semes, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., befits, beseems, 27/6; me semys, it
befits me, 29/7; it seems, it seems, 26/56; 26/168; 29/82; 29/374; 31/304; no seems, no seems, it seems to me, 30/65; 30/431; 30/343; 33/36; hym seems, he seems, 31/176; 1 pl. pres. ind., seem, 29/288; seemad, pres. part., be seeming, 30/341.

semlys, v. 1 pl., pres. ind., assemble, meet together, 31/24.

sen, conj., since, seeing (that), considering (that), 26/23; 26/44; 26/231; 27/73; 27/96; 29/255; 30/523; 31/23; 32/275; 33/85; 34/99; 35/89; (terror for Towneley if) 34/133; sen yat, 28/156; 28/269; 31/401.

sende, v. inf., send, 28/42; 30/303; 36/177; send, 1 sg. pres. ind., 30/185; sendis, 3 sg., 29/34; 29/35; 31/103; sende, imper., 33/358; sente, 1 sg. pret., 32/103; 3 sg., 33/69; 2 pl., 32/116; pa. part., 28/116; 29/32; 29/187; 30/293; 34/6; 34/88.

seniour, n. (as a form of address), lord, 30/73; senioure, pl., my lords, 30/523; 36/1; seniures, 30/351; seniouris, lords, 33/180.

senous, n. pl., see synnous.

sente, v. inf., assent, 32/144; 2 pl. pres. ind., 32/39; 1 sg. pret., 32/195; pa. part., come to agreement, 32/166.

sentoure, n., sceptre, 31/259; septure, 33/405.

serche, v. inf., examine, question rigorously, 29/272; 32/120; sere, 32/275; serchid, pa. part., examined, 30/353.

sermones, v. imper. pl., speak, 30/302.

seruaunte, n., servant, 30/129; 30/321.

serulce, n., service, 27/50; 32/225; seruise, 32/216; service (of food), 27/6.

see, v. inf., cease, stop, 31/18; 32/123; 35/138; sees, desist (from), 26/100; see of, stop, leave off, 30/360; see, come to an end, 30/162; put a stop to, 30/323; see, imper. pl., be silent, 26/58; see of, cease, stop, 29/2; sees, cease, be silent, 34/162; 36/1; seesed of, pa. part., ceased, 35/68.

sette, v. inf., seat, place, set, 33/397; he will sette you by hym selfe, he will place you next to him, 33/53; sette (refl.), sit down, be seated, 30/362; sette, place (in position), 29/359; set, put, 36/110; accompany, 29/111; sette aside, put on one side, 36/109; settes, 3 sg. pres. ind., puts, sets, 33/91; sette, imper. sg. (refl.), seat yourself, 29/358; sette, imper. pl. (refl.), be seated, sit down, 30/96; settes fourth, imper. pl., set forth, 27/45; sette, 2 pl. pres. subj. (refl.), sette doune, sit down, 28/6; sette, 3 sg. pret., directed, guided, 29/228; sette, pa. part., seated, 29/92; 30/338; made to sit down, 35/19; set (of the sun), 26/263; established, ordained, 27/33; firmly fixed, made secure, 35/233.

gesse, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., see suye.

shall, shalle, v. see schall


shamely, adv., shamefully, 30/295.

shamously, adv., shamefully, 32/143.

shappe, n., see schappe.
shappe, v. inf., contrive, take measures for, 36/28; schapist, 2 sg. 
pres. ind., make, 32/177; schappe, 3 sg. (for fut.), contrive, 26/50; 
imper. pl. (refl.), set, address (oneself), 33/241.
she, pers. pron., see scho.
shende, v. inf., disgrace, 33/105; schende, destroy, ruin, bring to 
destruction, 26/50; 32/207; 36/28; shendes, 3 sg. pres. ind., is 
disgraced, 33/245; schende, imper. pl., injure, 26/287; shente, pa.part.,
confounded, discomfited, put to confusion, disgraced, 29/61; 33/158;
33/202; 33/268; brought to destruction, 30/295; schente, disgraced,
32/143; schent, brought to destruction, 26/50; 32/206; schente, overcome
with fatigue, exhausted, 35/191.
shene, adj., fine, 29/360; schene, resplendent, 33/2.
sheris, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., pierces, cuts through, 29/168; scharid,
pa. part., shorn (of their fleeces), 28/141 (Smith glosses 'scared', but
see OED shear, v., sense 5); schorne, cut off, 29/287.
shewe, v. inf., display, 32/244; schewe, conduct, 30/121; schewys, 3 sg.
pres. ind., looks, appears, 30/27; schewed, 3 sg. pret., displayed,
30/504; schewid, pa. part., shown, 30/17; schewed, 31/219; 34/185.
sho, pers. pron., see scho.
shrewdnesse, n., wickedness, evil act, 33/158.
shrewe, n., villain, wicked man, rascal, 29/360.
shulde, shuld, v. pret., see schall.
side, n., side, 28/19; 30/21; 30/121; 33/454; 34/9; 35/148; 35/181;
35/233; syde, 33/49; sidis, pl., 34/315.
sidas, n. pl., occasions, 27/177; 29/260.
sigh, v. imper. sg., sigh, 36/268; sighyng, vbl. n., sighing, 28/69;
34/172; sighyngis, pl., sighs, 34/129.
sight, n., sight, spectacle, 29/40; 33/165; 33/168; 33/271; 34/110;
34/139; 34/151; 34/173; 36/135; sist, 28/262; 28/264; sight, eyesight,
vision, 28/134; 29/35; sight, 26/29; 26/292; 30/17; 30/73; 30/326;
30/329; 30/344; 30/454; 31/219; 33/462; 36/17; 36/49; to yer sight, to
be seen by them, 26/190.
siker, adj., sure, certain, 29/34; sikir, 30/296.
siluere, n., silver, money, 26/276.
synfull, adj., sinful, 27/95; 36/121.
synge, v. inf., sing, 33/422; sange, 3 pl. pret., 30/314; 30/342.
synnous, n. pl., sinews, 35/132; 35/147; senous, 35/103; 35/108.
syte, n., sorrow, 34/117.
sithen, adv., afterwards, subsequently, 29/244; 29/276; 30/21; 33/78;
34/50; 34/111.
sithfull, adj., sad, 34/151 (recorded by OED only fr. 1610).
skantely, adv., inadequately, in short measure, 35/111.
skape, v. inf. (aphetic var. of escape, v.), escape, 28/225; 29/102;
29/344; scane, 29/279; 36/47; skape, 3 sg. pres. subj., 29/384; 30/143.
skathe, n., harm, damage, 26/41; skathe, 26/130; schath, 33/34; skathes, pl., injuries, 33/337.

skathed, adj., unharmed, 29/279; 30/143; 30/144.
skelpe, v. imper. pl., beat, strike, 33/337.
skelyvs, n. pl., blows, 33/34.
skiffe, n., shift, device, 26/130.
sky(f)te, v. inf., escape, get away (from), 26/41.
skyppes, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., skips, leaps, 33/369.
slaa, v. inf., slay, put to death, 32/141; 32/168; 32/280; slaye, 33/85;
slee, 31/398; 32/166; 32/174; slo, 33/323; slayve, pa. part., 28/93;
29/58; 32/140; 30/142; 33/104; 34/163; slane, 28/111; sole, 30/162.
slakke, v. 3 pl. pres. ind., set free, release, 30/8.
slang, v. 3 sg. pret., cast away, 32/321.
slee, v. see slaa.
sleyghtis, n. pl., wiles, 30/8; sleightis, tricks, 31/164.
sleyl, adv., cunningly, artfully, 30/8; sleyve, quietly, 30/137.
sleppe, v. inf., sleep, 28/22; 28/127; 30/137; 2 pl. pres. ind., 28/98;
imper. pl., 30/148; 3 sg. pres. subj., 33/422.
slye, adj., skilful, cunning, 31/164.
slike, adj., such, 33/130; 33/165; 33/271; 33/396; 34/228; slik, 31/143;
33/100; slyke, 29/78; 30/182.
slo, v. see slaa.
slopee, n., an outer garment, a gown, robe, 31/77.
smerely, adv., sharply, briskly, 34/5.
socoure, n., help, assistance, 26/42; 28/42; 28/103; 36/177; shelter, protection, 27/147.
socoure, v. inf., succour, 26/58.
sofferayne, n., see souerayne.
softere, adv., softly, 26/58.
softely, adv., gently, carefully, 31/49; 31/259; softly, gently, quietly,
solace, n., solace, comfort, consolation, 26/294; 28/42; comfortable existence, 30/162.

solace, v. inf., comfort, 30/334.

solemnly, adv., solemnly, gravelly, 28/203.

solemnly, n., feast, festival, 36/261; with solemnly, with solemnity, 30/314.

some, adj., some, 28/40; 28/108; 29/381; 30/159; 31/34; 31/155; 32/330; 33/158; sum, 33/275.

some, indef. pron., some, 29/219; 29/251; 34/92; 35/275.

somewhat, n., something, 31/322; 31/329.

somewhat, adv., to some extent, a little, 28/31.

sonde, n., embassy, 30/163; sand, 30/293.

sone, n., son, 26/221; 28/92; 28/249; 29/50; 30/220; 30/342; 30/161; 30/359; 31/280; 31/339; 32/81; 33/101; 33/189; 34/213; 35/270; 36/242; 29/123; 29/291; 30/10; 30/161; 30/65; 30/98; 30/102; 30/131; 30/157; 30/209; sonnes, pl., 34/165.

sonne, n., sun, 26/263; 30/73; vndir sonne, on earth, in the world, 30/279.

soore, adv., see sore.

soper, n., supper, 26/129; sopere, 27/6.

sorcery, n., sorcery, 33/288; sorcery, 29/96.

sore, n., suffering, affliction, 28/103; 34/213.

sore, adj., painful, heartfelt, 34/129; 34/172.

sore, adv., with much suffering, dearly, 29/329; deeply, intensely, 34/201; intensely, 28/69; bitterly, 27/111; 35/69; 36/236; grievously, 33/24; severely, 34/338; firmly, strongly, 29/137; closely, forcefully, 30/360; 32/120; sore, bitterly, 32/289; vigorously, 33/466; greatly, 36/221; se sall sytt hym full sore, you shall afflict him grievously, 33/25; it schall sitte vow full sore, it will affect you painfully, i.e. you'll pay harshly for it, 26/168; it may sitte vs full sare, it may affect us very grievously, cause us great hardship, 30/524; I schall sitte hym full sore, I shall vex him grievously, 30/204; my bourdevne satte me soore, my burden afflicted me severely, 35/207.

sori, adj., sorry, distressed, 29/34; sorie of, pained at heart, sorrowful, by reason of, 29/40.

sorrowe, n., sorrow, 28/69; 28/46; 29/163; 29/168; 30/278; 30/323; 32/285; 33/422; 34/149; 34/213; 36/159; 36/171; 36/188; sorrow, 33/358; (as an imprecation, in phr.) with sorrowe, 31/322; sorowes, pl., sorrows, 28/116; 31/296; 36/96; 36/268.

sorcery, n., see sorcery.

sotelly, adv., insidiously, treacherously, 34/150.

sotelte, n., skill, sagacity, 30/504; soteltes, pl., stratagems, 34/114.

soth, n., truth, 26/29; 28/243; 29/149; 30/204; 30/329; 30/523; 31/295; 32/42; 32/62; 33/288; 33/323; 33/480; 36/17; sothe, 29/303; 29/311; 33/39;
soye, 26/129; 30/351; sotoh (MS soth), 30/286; in soth, in truth, truly, 30/260.

sothly, adv., truly, certainly, 28/92; 28/268; 30/476; 30/485; 33/83; 33/478; sothely, 28/135; 28/143; 28/240; 30/10; sothly, 27/17.

softe, n., fool, blockhead, dolt, 26/288; 29/259; 31/74.

soueraynely, n., sovereign, 32/91; soueraynely, adv., as a sovereign, 35/55.

soueraynest, pl., souereynes, 26/189.

soueraynely, adv., as a sovereign, 35/55.

space, n., in space, after a time, 36/66; space, opportunity, 26/262; time, opportunity, 30/469; time, period of time, 34/79; 35/124; in fat space, at that time, 33/63; ye space of an owre, the period of one hour, 28/74; adv. phr., a space, for a while, 28/112; 28/237; yis space, for this space of time, 32/52.

spare, v. inf., spare, allow to escape, 28/230; spare of oure speche, be sparing of our speech, 28/237; spare for, refrain, forbear, on account of, 35/91; spare, imper. sg., spare, hold back, 26/193; spare of, restrain, 32/187; spare not, don't hold back, 31/324; spared, 3 sg. pret., was sparing, refrained, 33/76.

speche, n., speech, speaking, discourse, 28/236; 33/129; my speche, my words, 33/280.

speciall, adj., particular, 32/91.

specified, v. pa. part., named, spoken of explicitly, 34/147.

spede, n., profit, assistance, in phr. for our spede, in order to assist us, 27/97; spedde, speed, quickness, 35/91; source of help, in phr. he be my spede, 36/349; a spede, with speed, 30/337; in a speede, quickly, 36/40; goode spede, 35/29; goode spede, 34/288.

spede, v. inf., prosper, fare well, 30/469 (MS speke), 36/241; prosper, make progress, 28/236; bring (sth.) about, accomplish, 36/39; 36/224; haste, 32/307; speed, go with speed, 36/169; phr. so motte I spede, as I may prosper, 34/77; so motte you spede, 34/306; ill motte yai spede, 33/174; foulle motte hym spede, 36/65; so god motte me spede, 33/320; spedde, v. imper. sg., make haste, 29/237; speddis, 3 sg. pres. ind., 36/66; phr. noght speddis it, it avails nothing, 32/187; speddis, 1 pl., make haste, go with speed, 36/199; spedde, 3 sg. pres. subj., prosper, in phr. ille spede yame, 35/71; ye deviill hym spede, 23/217; spedde, pa. part., prospered, fares, succeeded, 29/184; finished, 34/241.

spedely, adv., quickly, 30/205; 30/245; 31/44; 35/124.

spake, v. inf., speak, 29/147; 31/333; 32/293; imper. sg., 26/193; 30/469; 31/324; 33/299; 1 sg. pres. ind., 34/4; spake, 3 sg. pret., 33/76; lpl. 36/40.

spell, n., speech, tale, 26/193; spellis, pl., discourse, 29/274; sayings, fables, 29/237.

spell, v. inf., utter, 33/63; relate, tell, 30/245; 1 pl. pres. ind., 33/129.

spens, n., money, 32/134; spence, expense, 36/241.
spere, v. see spire.
spie, n., spy, 29/91.
spill, v. inf., put to death, slay, 28/216; spille, 31/133; 32/39; 32/69; 32/198; 36/40; spoil, 29/274; 34/4; perish, 36/66; 36/199; shed (blood), 32/195; 36/36; (refl.), kill (oneself), 32/307; spilte, pa. part., put to death, 32/213; 32/245; 36/39; shed (of blood), 36/306.
spire, v. inf., ask, 27/97; spere, 29/322; spere of, enquire about, 29/237; spir, imper. sg., ask, 30/245.
spirit, n., spirit, soul, 36/259; spiritus, pl., spirits, forces (of evil), 28/80.
spiritual, adj., spiritual, 33/303.
spirringes, vbl. n., pl., questions, 33/63.
sprites, n. pl., insults, outrages, 30/326.
spiritously, adv., shamefully, ignominiously, cruelly, violently, 35/39; 36/36.
sporte, n., sport, entertainment, diversion, 26/222; 29/274; 30/205; 30/245.
spotte, n., piece, in a spotte of erthe, a piece of land, 32/332.
sprise, v. inf., bound, leap, 30/537; 36/224.
stabely, adv., firmly, 35/247.
stabill, v. inf., hold firm, 33/186; 33/194.
stabill, adj., stationary, 29/107.
stalke, v. inf., stagger, totter, 30/85.
stale, v. 1 sg. pret., stole, 26/138.
staless, n. pl., deceits, 31/75.
stalke, v. inf., walk softly, 29/175; stalkis, imper. pl., 31/65; stalke, 1 sg. pres. ind., 33/335.
stalkyng, vbl. n., stealthy movements, 30/156; 33/14.
stalle, n., standing-place, 33/261.
stalworth, adj., strong, 34/91.
stalworthely, adv., stoutly, 30/85.
stande, v. inf., stand, 35/247; stande stille, 34/208; 35/230; stande, hold, 35/102; stand, stand, 33/415; 33/473; stande, 1 sg. pres. ind., 33/248; standis, 2 sg., 31/323; 3 sg., 30/222; stande, 1 pl., 26/23; standis, 3 pl., 30/261; stonde, imper. sg., 30/364; stande, 36/294; stonde, pl., 34/2; stode, 3 sg. pret., 29/375; 31/253; stonde, pa. part., 31/253.
standard, n. pl., banners, 33/214; standardes, 33/194.
standyng, vbl. n., standing-place, 30/382; 30/383.
stare, v. 1 sg. pres. ind., stare (in amazement), 33/160; starea.
3 sg., 30/222.
stark, adj., unmitigated, obdurate, 26/166.
state, n., state, condition, 29/375; circumstances, condition, prosperity, 34/256; state, pomp, splendour, 26/23; high rank, exalted condition, 30/268; 33/330; states, pl., lords, nobles, 30/261.
stately, adj., majestic, splendid, 30/74; imposing, powerful, 33/229; stateliest (superl.), most princely, 33/50.
stately, adv., in a fitting manner, properly, 26/82.
stede, n., place, 29/175; 31/27; 33/157; 33/335; 33/450; 34/2; steedes, pl., stand, 28/175; 33/338; in yat stede, in place of it, 27/33; in ye same stede, 29/300.
stede, n., on stede, on horse-back, on a high-mettled horse, 33/50.
stede, v. inf., stay, restrain, 36/170; sted, imper. sg., tarry, 36/254; steede, pl., stand, 28/175; stedde, pa. part., stopped, delayed, 34/221; 34/245; fixed, put in position, 34/313; stede, settled, 30/515; sted, established, 33/50; stedde, placed, 33/148; y ame harde stedde, I am hard put to it, 31/276; you arte strongly stede, 28/73.
stedfast, adj., steadfast, 28/166.
steenes, n. pl., uprights (of a ladder), 34/91.
steere, v. inf., see stere.
stele, n., steel, 28/166; 34/96.
stemmys, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., abates, checks, 30/74.
steppe, v. inf., go, proceed, 30/229; advance, 33/330; steppe furth, 33/348; imper. sg., 30/364; steppe forth, 36/291; steppe on, inf., step upon, 33/261; imper. sg., 30/352; 30/383.
sterand, ppl. adj., active, energetic in action, 28/175.
steres, v. inf., control, manage, 33/214; steere, check, control, restrain, 34/193; 36/170.
estere, v. inf. (refl.), bestir (oneself), 33/473.
esterne, n., helm (used fig. from the metaphor of the ship of state, in phr. sterne of astate, helm of state, seat of government), 30/229.
esternely, adv., resolutely, 30/515.
estertis, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., goes, hastens, 29/355.
esteen, n., speaking, speech, 26/49; 36/170; voice, 28/45; 31/252; noise, 36/200; stevenyng, vbl. n., shouting, uproar, 32/6.
steve, n., path, narrow way, in phr. stye nor strete, 28/230.
sties, n. pl., ladders, 34/52; 34/90.
stiffe, adj., strong, strongly-built, 29/265.
stiffely, adv., boldly, resolutely, 36/294; firmly, 35/102.
stighill, v. inf., mediate, 31/75 (OED stightle, v. Obs. quotes ll. 74-5 as the only example of sense 3 "to intervene as mediator or umpire").
stille, adj., gentle, calm, quiet, 28/45.
stille, adv., quietly, 35/285; still, 29/175; as stille as a stone, as silently as a stone, 31/323; stille, still, motionless, 34/221; 34/245; stonde stille, 35/230; ligge stille, lie still, 34/332; ay still, always, 26/49; 26/138.

stynke, v. inf., check, bring to an end, 27/173; (const. with of), cease, 30/373; 33/14; imper. sg., 36/200; pl., 32/6.
stirre, v. inf., stir, move, go, 31/27; 1 sg. pres. ind., 33/335; stir, imper. sg. (refl.), bestir (yourself), 33/210; stirre, imper. pl., stir, move, 34/2; stirrid, pa. part., provoked, caused, instigated, 30/493.

stok, n., tree-stump, 29/116.
stole, n., stool, 29/355.
stonden, v. pa. part., bewildered, 30/261.
stone, n., stone, 29/265; 30/373; 31/323; 34/313; (with addit. fig. sense of 'a silent person') 31/277; stones, 27/173; 35/217.
stone still, adv., stone-still, absolutely still, silent, 31/65; 31/253; 32/2; stone stille, 28/175; 34/2.
stonyes, v. (aphetic form of astony), 3 sg. pres. ind., is stupefied, 30/222.

store, n., goods, wares, 26/82; stoor in phr. in stoor, on one side, in reserve, 34/332.

store, adj., loud, 31/252.
stounde, n., state of bewilderment, 30/165.
stounde, n. (as adv. accus.), a stounde, for a short time, for a while, 28/8; 36/295.

stoure, n., conflict, struggle, 28/73.

stoute, adj., valiant, brave, 30/382; stowte, loud, harsh, 32/6.
stoutely, adv., stoutly, resolutely, 33/330.

stoutnes, n., rebelliousness, 33/14.

strakis, n. pl., blows, 30/2.

strang, adj., strong, powerful, mighty, 28/175; strange, 26/49; 33/217; 33/229; 34/96; flagrantly guilty, in strange theffe, 26/166; traitoure strange, 35/32; strangest, (superl.), strongest.
most powerful, 33/214; strang (as a noun), mighty one, 33/415.
strangere, adj., violent, 33/376.
strangernes, n. pl., strangers, unknown persons, visitors, 31/75.
strayned, v. pa. part., constrained, 33/229.
strays, n. pl., rays, beams (of the sun), 30/74.
strength, n., power, authority, 26/49; 30/173; 33/50; stretch, strength, force, 30/2; 30/74; 33/186.
strident, v. inf., strengthen, 30/421; 2 sg. pres. subj., 28/45.
strength, n., strength, 33/229.
stressed, v. pa. part., afflicted, distressed, oppressed, 30/156.
strete, n., street, 30/85; 35/253; streteis, pl., 31/65; in phr. stye nor strete, 28/230.
strife, n., strife, contention, conflict, discord, antagonism, 27/173; 30/139; 32/2; 33/376; dispute, 30/515; anxiety, distress, 30/156; in strife, in a state of contention, 33/148.
strikes, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., smites, 29/145; streken, pa. part., 29/145; strike on, imper., strike on, 35/101.
strive, v. inf., resist, 34/289; stryve, resist, fight, contend, 33/416.
struyng, vbl. n., wrangling, 30/373.
stroyed, v. pa. part., destroyed, 30/173.
strongly, adv., in strongly stedde, hard beset, 28/73.
stubbe, n., a short thick nail, 35/102.
stuffe, n., property, goods, 30/173.
swapped, v. pa. part., see swapped.
such, adj., such, 27/79; 31/390; 34/217; 36/171; suche, 35/36; 36/30.
suerly, adv., surely, steadfastly, 35/118.
sufferand, adj., patient, 30/237.
suffer, v. 1 sg. pres. ind., suffer, 36/188.
suld, v. pret., see schall.
sum, adj., see some.
suppose, v. 1 sg. pres. ind., imagine, 33/433.
suppowle, v. inf., support, succour, 34/11.
surete, n., security, guarantee, 34/254.
surfette, n., 28/93 (either 'excess', or more prob. MS surffette of synne should read surffette or synne, 'transgression or sin').
susteyne, v. inf., maintain, preserve, in susteyne youre seele, preserve your prosperity, 26/121; sim. susteyne youre seele, preserve your good fortune, 26/205.

swaa, adv., N and Sc. form of so, thus, 32/256.

swage, v. inf., swage of, abate, mitigate, 30/372; imper. pl., 33/126.

swayne, n., swain, man (of low degree), 26/33; 31/103; 32/35; 33/361.

swannys, n. pl., swans, 31/14.

swapped, v. 3 sg. pret., swapped of, struck off, 29/141; swapped, came to, 30/180; 30/286; swapped, pa. part., struck, 31/14.

swappes, n. pl., blows, strokes, 33/361.

swarand, v. 1 sg. pres. ind., see warande

swaughter, n., force, impetus, 33/126.

swaving, vbl. n., noise, 30/372.

sweltes, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., faints, swoons, 33/383.

swerde, n., sword, 28/279; 29/145; 34/149; 36/159; sword, 29/145.

swerdie, pl., 27/168; 27/176.

swering, vbl. n., oath-taking, affirmations, 33/126.

swete, adj., beloved, 36/131; (in respectful address), swete sir, dear sir, 36/239; (implying affection), lord and maistir swete, 27/53.

swete, v. inf., sweat, suffer severely, 33/361; 1 sg. pres. ind., sweat, 28/50.

swetnes, n., delight, pleasure, 31/14.

swoune, n., dream, 30/188; 30/286.

swiftely, adv., swiftly, 29/141; 30/188; 30/286; 30/372; 33/126; 33/360.

swilke, dem. adj., such, 26/64; 26/106; 26/190; 23/147; swilk, 26/85.


swynge, v. imper., swynge to, aim blows at, 33/360.

swyre, n., squire, 33/360.

swithe, adv., rapidly, without delay, 30/372.

swoune, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., swoons, faints, 33/383; 34/226.

tabillis, n. pl., tables, 26/72.
tache, v. inf., attach, fasten, 35/119.
taille, n., in phr. by toppe and taille, by head and foot, 35/114;
from toppe vnto taille, from beginning to end, 31/199.
taynte, ppl. adj. (aphetic form of attaint) (as a noun) rat taynte,
that attained one, 26/279.
take, v. inf., seize, capture, 29/60; take, 35/235; give, 35/234; take kepe,
take heed, 31/26; take oure leue, take our leave, depart, 31/383;
take ensaunple, take example, 27/65; take youre reste, 29/63;
take, 1 sg. pres. ind., 36/124; takist, 2 sg., 29/193; takis, 3 sg.,
take, 2 pl., 31/416; takis, 3 pl., 33/99; takande, pres. part., 29/370;
take, imper. sg., 33/272; take, pl., 35/1; takes, pa. part., captured, taken prisoner, 28/129; tane, 27/115; 29/316;
tone, 26/279; takyn, taken, 26/90.
takyng, vbl. n., capture, 29/215; 32/142.
tale, n., tale, 29/133; 30/66; 30/459; 32/58; 33/234; 33/306; tales, pl., 26/85; 29/245; 29/323; 30/209; 30/407; 30/415; 31/81; 33/15;
33/117; 33/120; 33/286; 33/400; 35/185; 36/81; talis, 32/63; 32/83;
tale, discourse, talk, 30/117; tales, pl., 29/21.
talke, n., talk, 32/295.
talke, v. inf., talk, 29/246; talkis, 2 sg. pres. ind., tell, 33/306;
talkand, pres. part., talking, 33/432; talkes, imper. pl., 33/22.
talkyng, vbl. n., in take tente to my talkyng, take heed of what I
say, 26/177; similarly 36/2; 36/106.
tarand, n., 33/380 (OEDs "A name given to some northern quadruped
at length identified with the reindeer ... said to have, like the
chameleon, the power to 'change himselfe into the thing he toucheth
or leaneth vnto' (Florio); ... It is not certain that tarand (applied
scurrilously to Christ) in [this line] is the same word.").
tase, n. pl., toes, 35/180.
taste, v. inf., handle, touch, 27/42; test, put to the proof,
28/202; 33/96; taste, 1 sg. pres. ind., 33/379; taste, 3 sg. pret.,
taste, inf., experience, 28/109; tasted, pa. part., 33/35.
tastyng, vbl. n., touch, 30/134.
teching, vbl. n., teaching, 33/99; techyngeis, pl., doctrines,
33/379.
tene, n., see tene.
tellyng, vbl. n., for my tellyng, for what I said, 29/316.
templill, n., temple, 26/86; 28/295; 29/265; 29/315; 30/197; 32/92;
36/83; temple, 26/71; 26/80.
tempre, v. inf., temper, curb, moderate, 33/400.
tendirly, adv., gently, softly, 30/134; delicately, 31/51.

tene, n., anger, 33/35; affliction, 31/310; teene, suffering, 36/124;
woe, 36/73.

tene, v. inf., enrage, 32/112; tened (impers.), me tened, I grieved,
26/145; tened, pa. part., vexed, 29/323.

tensfull, adj., painful, vexatious, 32/152.

tente, n. (aphetic form of attente, intent), care, 26/5; tente, heed,
26/177; 28/222; 29/3; 29/21; 29/233; 31/416; 35/254; 36/2; 36/81; 36/106;
36/119; 36/190; care, 30/540; 31/173.

tente, n., tenth, 29/294.

tente, v. inf., attend, see to, 35/180; 2 pl. pres. ind., pay heed to, 35/185.
tentynge, vbl. n., tempting, 28/81.
tere, v. inf., rend, lacerate, 33/378.
ternyne, v. inf., state, declare, 32/59.
texte, n., text, wording, 32/59.
th- see also y-
thaym, thame, pron., see they.
than, conj., than, 30/45.
thanke, v. 1 sg. pres. ind., thank, 27/17; 33/60; imper. sg., 31/360; 33/419.
thanne, adv., then, 29/281; 30/505; 31/236; 35/25; 35/179; than, 26/241;
then, 33/225; thenne, 30/270.

thar, v. 2 pl. pres. ind., you need, 35/297; (impers.), the thar, you
need, 32/279; me thare, 32/302.

the, def. art., the, 27/4; 29/185; 30/509; 33/454.
the, adv., with compar., the, 35/38.
the, v. inf., thrive, prosper, 31/360; 31/412.
their, adv., there, to that place, 27/80; 34/104; 34/205.
theffe, n., thief, 26/166; 28/294; 36/142; theues, pl., 34/88.
they, pron., 3 pl., they, 27/46; 28/104; 30/249; 30/259; 31/156; 33/45;
thei, 29/196; them, acc. and dat., 30/372; 33/170; 33/174; thaym, 29/20;
31/268; hem, 27/123; 30/257; thame, those, 29/322; ther, poss. adj.,
their, 31/147; 33/122; 35/157; 36/29; 36/193.

then, thenne, adv., see thanne.
thir, dem. adj., these, 27/117; 31/152; 33/78; 33/170; 34/211; 35/145;
there, dem. pron., these, 31/269.
thir, dem. adv., there, 26/17; 29/13; 29/78; 29/363; 30/43; 30/168; 32/25;
there, 27/162; 29/363; 31/62.

there agayne, adv., against, in opposition to that, 36/117.
thynge, n., thing, matter, subject, 29/55; 29/209; 32/100; 34/72; 34/163;
35/90; 35/153; 36/60; act, deed, 34/314.
thynke, v. 1 sg. pres. ind., think, 32/124; thanke, intend, 28/207;
thynke, 2 pl., think, judge, consider, 30/69; thynkee, imper. pl.,
reflect, meditate, 34/163.
thynkith, v. impers. in constr. me thynkith, it seems to me, 33/456;
thirste, n., thirst, 29/65.
thirste, v. imper. sg., push (one's) way, thrust, 29/112.
thristy, adv., vehemently, 28/150; earnestly, 33/60; thrally, eagerly, 33/398.
thrane, n., thorn, 34/27.
throne, n., company, multitude, 29/112.
throne, n., contention, dispute, 26/256.
thritte, v. imper. sg., push (one's) way, thrust, 29/112.
thriess, adv., thrice, three times, 28/150; 29/164; thryes, 29/160.
thryng, imper. pl., throng, crowd around, 33/398.
thristis, v. imper., in me thristis, I thirst, 36/221.
throte, n., throat, 31/397.
throuh, prep., through, 31/130; 35/103; throughout, 33/212; 33/230; 35/234; through, by means of, by, by reason of, 26/32; 26/34; 26/78; 26/183; 28/120; 28/286; 29/39; 29/96; 30/209; 30/297; 32/29; 32/383; 33/30.
thus, adv., thus, 29/160; 32/305; 33/375; 33/400; 36/173.
thyandis, thyandis, n. pl., see tythandis.
thyde, n., time in phr. (at) is thyde, at this time, 26/177; 30/180; 31/388; 32/286; 33/52; 33/185; 35/235; 35/278; is thyde, 36/106; time and thyde, 34/114; be time ne be thyde, 34/11.
thyde, n., time, occasion, 27/104; 27/166; 28/139; 28/223; 29/99; 29/215; 30/126; 31/299; 32/142; 33/35; 33/36; 33/45; 33/340; 33/425; 34/47; 36/16; tymes, pl., 26/71; 27/135; at thyde, on that occasion, 26/35; 29/316; at is thyde, at this time, 28/81; 29/233; att ye firste thyde, on the first occasion, 35/231; is thyde, at this time, on this
occasion, 26/159; 26/220; 28/288; 29/3; in ris tyne, at this time, 28/177; tym and tyde, 34/145; be tyne ne be tyde, 34/11.

tymely, adv., soon, quickly, 30/130.

tyne, n., affliction, trouble, 30/190.

tyne, v. inf., lose, be deprived of, 26/146; 1 sg. pres. ind., 32/364; 1 pl., waste, 35/300.

tiraunte, n., villain, 32/227; tirrauntis, pl., 36/30.

tyte, adv., quickly, soon, 26/6; 26/146; 26/236; 26/255; 27/115; 28/213; 28/279; 29/11; 29/150; 30/53; 31/32; 32/271; tite, 32/322; 32/378; 33/349; tytte, 26/279; als tyte, 28/129.

tythandis, n. pl., tidings, news, information, 26/160; 26/178; 30/250; 32/151; 33/43; tithandis, 29/67; tythanies, events, occurrences, 31/80; tythyngis, 30/118; 30/119; news, 30/249; tydandis, 33/52; tydynis, 32/152.

tyttill, n., right, 32/37.

tyxste, v. 2 sg. pret., tyxste of, accused of, charged with, 32/287.

to, prep., to, 28/126; 29/307; 29/392; 30/76; 33/178; 36/289.

to, conj., until, 33/338 (to he be wepyng); 33/461 (to se bryng hym); 33/315 (to he be dreuen).

to, adv., too, 31/28; 33/132.

today, adv., today, 30/170; 33/452; todave, 36/83; today, in these times, 30/226.

togedir, adv., together, 27/76; 30/251; 34/106; togethère, unitedly, 33/116.

to yere, adv., this year, 35/164.

token, n., sign, 26/255; sign, symbol, 36/315.

tokenyng, vbl. n., sign, signal, 28/177; 29/138; 29/230.

tome, n., leisure, opportunity, 33/359.

tome, adj., empty, 29/246.

tomorne, adv., tomorrow, 30/146; 33/477; n., 29/388; 34/22; 36/276.

tonge, n., tongue, 30/358; tong, 33/15; tonges, pl., 29/254; tonges, 31/3.

tonyght, n., tonight, 29/180.

tonne, n., wine-cask, 29/246.

too, prep., to (it, the cross), 35/119.

toolés, n. pl., tools, 34/218; 34/298.

toppe, n., in fro toppe vnto tayle, from beginning to end, everything, 31/199; by toppe and taile, by head and foot, 35/115.

torne, n., act, deed, 32/300.

torned, v. pa. part., deflected, 28/50.
touche, v. inf., touch, harm, 28/289; touches, 3 sg. pres. ind., concerns, pertains, relates, to, 30/459; 31/127; touche, 3 pl., 30/415; 33/120; imper. sg., touch, 30/134; touched, 3 sg. pret., concerned, related to, 36/54; touched to, 33/333.

as touchymg, prep., as to, concerning, regarding, 31/409.
toune, n., see town.
tounges, n. pl., see tongue.
toure, n., tower, 26/86.
toward, adj., obliging, well-disposed, 26/159; agreeable, willing, 26/224.
towell, n., cloth, napkin, 27/42.
towne, n., town, 26/5; 28/231; 29/47; 33/212; toune, 29/262; 31/183; 34/177.
trace, n., path, road, way, 26/159; trayse, 30/117.
traye, n., trouble, vexation, 30/285; stratagem, trick, 29/60.
traylle, v. inf., drag, haul, 33/481.
trayne, n., guile, deceit, trickery, 26/267; 29/214; 30/187; 33/107; treachery, 28/129; 31/7; trick, stratagem, 29/70; 32/138; 34/274.
trayse, n., see trace.
traytoure, n., traitor, 26/264; 28/157; 29/204; 28/209; 28/250; 28/273; 30/301; 30/497; 30/529; 32/191; 32/249; 32/272; 32/286; 34/11; traytoure, 26/236; 29/231; 29/232; 30/9; 30/257; 32/252; 33/96; 33/161; traitoure, 29/323; 30/538; 32/63; 32/111; 34/219; 35/32; 35/77; traitour, 32/41; traytoure, pl., 26/6; 33/15; traytours, 31/7.
traitourfull, adj., treacherous, perfidious, 32/300.
traitoury, n., treachery, 32/227.
traytourney, adv., like a traitor, 32/137.
transgressioun, n., transgression, crime, in phr. dose transgressioun, violates the law, 36/11.
transgressours, n. pl., law-breakers, 36/25.
trante, n., stratagem, trick, 29/231; 32/252; trantis, pl., 36/73.
trappe, v. inf., trap, ensnare, 28/273; 36/30; trapped, pa. part., 30/157; 30/190; 30/285; 33/15.
trased, v. pa. part., 31/3 (OED: "derivation and meaning obscure"; possibly an early form of Trash, v.).
traste, adj., assured, confident, 32/378.
trausayle, n., labour, 28/289; 35/254; effort, 35/300.
trauyle, v. inf., toil, exert (oneself), 30/180; traueylis, imper. pl., labour, toil, 31/7.

treasuone, n., treachery, 32/232; treason, 32/287; 33/333; 35/77; 36/34; 36/60; treasuone, treachery, 26/160; 28/129; 32/364; treason, 30/453; 30/459; 31/127.

tree, n., tree, 34/66; tree, cross, 28/26; 33/481; 34/98; 34/219; 34/247; 35/42; 36/99; 36/138; tre, tree, 34/71.

tresorie, n., treasury, 32/322; tresory, 32/325.

tresoure, n., treasure, 26/72.

trespasse, n., transgression, offence, breach of law, 28/52; trespas, 30/479; trespasse, sin, transgression, 32/211; trespase, 36/1247.

trete, v. inf., negotiate, treat, 30/540; imper. pl., discourse, treat, 33/22.

tretynge, vbl. n., discussion, 31/3.

trew, adj., true, 29/3; 30/407; 31/81; 32/33; 36/190; 36/315; steadfast, 27/69; trustworthy, 29/214; honourable, virtuous, upright, 30/190; 32/235; trez, true, 26/178; (as a noun) yat tristy trewe, that honourable man, 32/311; he ha truytour or trewe, whether he be traitor or true man, 29/232; yat triste e for trewe, who trusted you as a loyal man, 32/287.

trewys, n. pl., truce, 30/9.

trewylye, adv., truly, faithfully, 27/160; 36/104; trewly, steadfastly, 26/252; truthfully, accurately, 32/53; 32/59; truly, verily, 28/273; 29/120; 29/231; truly, faithfully, 26/253; truly, correctly, 29/245; verily, 32/111; truley, faithfully, 32/164; precisely, 30/940; truly, accurately, 30/356; verily, 33/333; treuly, verily, 33/286.

tribute, n., tribute, 30/461; 30/410; 33/99; 36/55.

trye, v. inf., try, test, put to the proof, 26/72; tryved, pa. part., 26/181.

tryfils, n. pl., false tales, fables, 26/103; trufullis, 32/111; truffillis, trifles, idle tales, 31/312; triffillis, trifles, unimportant matters, 31/3.

tryne, v. imper., march, step, 33/225.

trist, adj., trusty, trustworthy, 33/125.

tristy, adj., faithfull, 32/311.

trouch, n., good faith, honesty, 29/138; troule, truth, 30/356; by my trouthe, by my troth, 30/34.

trowe, v. inf., trust, believe, 26/268; 30/407; 30/415; 32/73; 32/220; trowe on, believe in (s.o.), 36/104; trowe, 1 sg. pres. ind., think, believe, suppose, 26/160; 28/273; 31/127; 31/256; 31/310; 33/378; 34/315; 36/74; 36/315; trowes, 3 sg., believes.
true, adj., true, trusty, 33/125.
trufullis, truffillis, n. pl., see tryfils.
truly, trulye, adv., see trewlye.
trusse, v. inf., go, depart, 32/378; 34/274; 34/347; (refl.), 33/425; true, 33/71.
truth, n., truth, 26/181; 26/267; trewthe, 26/145; tremhe, 26/6.
tugge, v. imper., tug, haul, 35/114.
tulyd, v. pa. part., assailed, 28/118.
turment, v. 3 sg. pres. ind., torments, pains, 32/300; turmente, imper. pl., torment, torture, harass, 33/459.
turnement, n., torment, great agony, 28/90 (see General note to this line).
tussch, interj., (an exclamation of disparagement), 33/120.
twyes, adv., twice, 29/158; 29/192.
twynne, v. inf., depart, 34/143; twynne in twoo, separate, part, 35/193; 36/151.
unte, see vnto, prep.
vayle, n., benefit, 28/286.
vayle, v. inf., be of service to, 28/143.
vayne, n., in adv. phr. in vayne, in vain, uselessly, to no purpose, 28/281; 30/318.
vaynes, n. pl., see wone.
veynis, n. pl., veins, 35/147.
vengeaunce, n., vengeance, 28/281; 30/175; 30/289; 32/281; 34/197; takis vengeaunce, 28/280.
verse, n., verse, 29/309.
vmbycast, v. imper. pl., surround, 33/467.
vnbende, v. imper. pl., release, unfasten, 33/444.
vnbereid, ppl. adj., unburied, 33/479.
vnborne, ppl. adj., unborn, 30/141.
vnboune, ppl. adj., unbound, unfastened, 33/386.
vndir, prep., under, 26/75; 28/200; 30/279; 31/221; 32/25; 26/1
(vS ndir).
vndir, adv., under, in subjection, 33/94; under, beneath, 35/192.
vngayne, v. inf., disavail, disadvantage, be unhelpful to, 33/38.
vngentill, adj., unmannerly, discourteous, 30/388.
vpstritt, v. 1 sg. pret., sprang to (my) feet, 33/274.

ves, v. inf. (refl.), accustom (oneself), 30/231; vses, 3 pl. pres. ind., partake of, 27/30.

vtir, v. imper. sg., utter, 26/204.

wacche, v. inf., keep watch, 32/384; watch, be vigilant, 26/259.

waffe, v. inf., in waffe away, wave away (with the hand), 31/258.

wayte, v. inf., lie in wait for, 29/117; waites, imper. pl., waites to, keep watch upon, 33/252; wayte, see to it, 29/351; in compound wayte-skathe, jackanapes, 34/59.

wake, v. inf., guard, keep watch over, 28/144; wakand, pres. part., remaining awake, keeping watch, 28/10; 28/78; 29/351; waking up, awakening, 30/272; wakande, 29/368; wakid, pa. part., remained awake, watched, 28/75.

wakken, v. inf., awaken, wake up, 33/365; wakens, 3 sg. pres. ind., 30/140; wakyna, imper. pl., wakyna vpe, wake up, 28/128; wakened, 2 pl. pa. subj., awoke, 28/71.

wan, adj., pale, sickly, 36/278; dark, lacking in light, 36/314.

wandle, v. inf., shrink from, 34/140.

wanderede, ppl. adj., bewildered, 28/5.

wandyng, vbl. n., flinching, hesitation, 28/9; wandynges, 28/77.

wanes, n. pl., see wonne.

wanyandi, (N. pres. part. of wanien, wane, v.) in in ye wanyandi, 30/389 (OED waniand, "In the phrase in the waniand prob. with ellipsis of mone (cf. 'on wani-jendum monan', Sax. Leechd. I.320) = at the time of the waning moon, i.e. in an unlucky hour; hence used as a vague imprecation or as an exclamation of anger, impatience, etc. = 'with a vengeance', 'with a plague'."); in ye wylde wanyandi, 33/485.

wantist, v. 2. sg. pres. ind., wantist of, fail to have, 30/387; wantis, impers., me wantis, I lack, 35/204; me wantis of, I fail to have, 26/139.

wappe, v. inf., wappe of, pull off roughly, 33/342; wapped, pa. part., wrapped, 31/12.

warrande, v. inf., warrant, guarantee, 29/66; 35/104; warandi, 29/171; warrant, undertake, pledge, 29/351; warande, 1 sg. pres. ind., I guarantee, I'll be bound, I (I'11) warrant, 28/163; 29/247; 29/368; 30/442; 31/139; 33/110; 33/121; warandi, 29/91; 31/361; 34/297; 34/341; warrande, 35/245; swarand, 33/383.

warde, n., custody, 26/43.
ware, adj., on one's guard, watchful, vigilant, 28/172; prudent, sagacious, 30/167; warre, 33/136.

wary, v. 3 pl. pres. ind., see wery.

warisoun, n. reward, 36/89.

warely, adv. watchfully, 28/77.

warlove, n., sorcerer, scoundrel, 29/184; 30/140; 30/258; 30/318; 33/387; 30/400; 30/510; 30/526; 31/59; 32/65; 32/104; 32/108; 32/384; 33/171; 33/190; 34/302; 35/63; pl., warlous, 36/278.

warne, v. inf., warn, 26/259; 34/131; 34/141; warne, 1 sg. pres. ind., 27/116; 32/179; warne, imper. sg., 29/82; warned, pa. part., 26/44; ordered, 31/58; advised, 31/349.

warrande, v. 1 sg. pres. ind., see warande.

warre, n., see were.

warre, adj., see ware.

warred, v. pa. part., provided, spent, in phr. it is wele warred, 34/77.

warrok, v. imper. pl., bind, 30/526.

wathe, n., danger, 34/57; watthes, pl., dangers, perils, 27/165; wathis, harm, 27/179.

watir, n., water, 27/40; 28/50; 33/443.

wauyd, v. pa. part., in wauyd away, disclaimed, refused, 32/318.

wawe, v. inf., move to and fro, sway, 35/232. (See also waffe.)

waxe, v. inf., grow, become, 31/245; 31/329; waxis, 3 sg. pres. ind., 35/63; 36/278; waxe, 1 sg. pret., 26/134; waxe, 3 sg. pres. subj., 30/84.

we, pers. pron., 1 pl., we, 30/204; 31/170; 32/38; 34/17; 35/183; wee, 29/351; we (we ve), 26/292; vs, acc. and dat., us, 32/379; 33/341; 34/56; 34/238; 35/28; us, 26/46; 26/239; vs (refl.), ourselves, 28/161 (vs lune), 33/473 (stere ve), 36/71 (dresse ve); oure, poss. adj., 30/208; 30/232; 31/153; 32/102; 33/283; 33/421; our, 26/116; 26/291; 32/383; 33/361; oure, 26/109; 27/181; 35/4; 36/19.

wede, n., garment, raiment, garb, 33/391; wedia, pl., 33/342; 31/352; 31/353; in wede, in raiment, apparel, 27/93; vnworthy in wede, 33/171; worthely in wede, 30/536.

welde, v. inf., command, 33/301; hold, have the advantage of, 32/273; having at (my) disposal, 27/62; wolde, rule, reign over, 32/65; welde, 1 sg. pres. ind., wield, 29/6; wolde, bear, carry, support, 31/78.

wele, adj., pleasing, 26/207.

wele, adv., well, 32/175; 32/262; 34/146; 35/295; 36/53; well.
satisfactorily, 29/220; well knawyn, 29/178; well (as a prelim. word), well, 31/94.

welle, n., well, source, manifestation, in phr. welle of all womanhede, epitome of womanhood, 30/39.

welthe, n., well-being, happiness, 27/62; 29/294; 34/118; 35/59; prosperity, 32/150; wethis, pl., 31/92.

wende, v. inf., go, depart, proceed, journey, make one's way, 26/260; 27/74; 27/126; 28/82; 28/128; 29/179; 29/391; 30/81; 30/94; 30/230; 31/58; 31/139; 31/352; 32/155; 33/424; 34/18; 34/119; 35/287; wendan, 28/301; wendis, 3sg. pres. ind., 32/384; wende, 1pl., 33/439; 34/204; wendis, imper. pl., 31/397; wendand, pres. part., 30/68; wende, 3sg. pret., 30/294; 34/270; wendis, imper., youre way, 32/289; wend me my way(e), wend my way, go on my way, 32/365; 34/270; wende his wayes, 33/281; wende, imper., youre way, 32/289; wende my way(e), send me on my way, 30/67; wente, 1 pl. pret., oure wayes, 34/111; wend away, get away, escape, 29/62; 3sg. pres. subj., 32/121; 33/88; wende agayne, return, 28/96; 28/101.

wene, v. inf., think, believe, surmise, expect, conceive, 27/108; 28/160; 1sg. pres. ind., 30/397; 33/163; 33/269; 35/163; wenes, 2sg., 29/373; wenys, 3sg., 31/281; 32/65; 32/104; 36/228; wene, 1pl., 31/69; 2pl., 27/165; 32/38; 31/227; 31/363; wende, 3sg. pret., 30/225; pa. part., 36/187; wenyd, 33/232.

wenyng, vbl. n., thinking, expectation, 31/87.

wepe, v. inf., weep, 36/149; wemung, pres. part., 33/338.

werpe, vbl. n., weeping, 36/144.

wepon, n., weapon, 33/382.

were, n., peril, danger, 26/213; distress of mind, apprehension, 28/5; 28/82; his witte is in warre, his mind is confused, 30/400.

were, v. inf., wear, 31/353.

wery, v. inf., wery away, harass (with repeated aggression), 33/95.

wery, v. inf., Curse, 32/108; wary, 3pl. pres. ind., pour curses (upon), 33/430; weried, pa. part., cursed, afflicted with evil, 31/237.

werie, adj., weary, tired, 30/151.

werie, v. pres. ind., see wirke.

what, pron., interrog., what, 26/80; 26/85; 26/199; 26/225; 26/229; 26/265; 29/106; 29/126; 30/95; 30/432; 30/449; 31/154; 32/161; 32/169; 32/203; 33/164; in phr. what ye deuyll, what the devil, 31/247; what a deuyll, 31/297.

what, interj., what! 26/194; 28/66; 28/68; 28/95; 28/287; 29/192; 29/261; 29/283; 29/325; 30/180; 30/290; 31/342; 31/363; 32/88; 32/104; 32/254; 34/274; in phr. what deuyll! what the devil! 31/269; 31/276.

when, adv., when, 30/60; 34/3; 34/139; 34/205; whenne yat, 30/94.

wheasid, v. 3sg. pret., wheezed, 33/198.
whyned, v. 3 sg. pret., whined, 33/198.

white, adj., white, 31/342; 31/350.

whill, conj., while, 33/183; whille, 33/33; whill, 30/86.

whils, conj., while, 27/76; 28/143; 29/124; whills, 33/94; whillis, 29/164.

whyned, v. 3 sg. pret., whined, 33/198.

white, adj., white, in white apparel, 31/336.

white, n., in white in white apparel, 31/336.

whoever, pron., indef., whoever, 30/32; 36/16.

wicchecrafte, n., witchcraft, 29/57; 30/292; 30/442.

wyde, adj., wide, 26/165; 28/17; 34/251.

wifhe, n., wife, 30/26; 30/38; 30/87; 30/124; 30/166; 30/294.

wight, n., man, being, person, 29/95; 30/258; 30/346; 31/374; 32/234; 32/255; 32/379; 33/110; 34/17; 36/134; 36/228; wichte, 29/33; 29/88; 30/357; 31/155; 32/34; 32/183; wightis, pl., 27/92; 29/62; 33/98; 33/252; 33/430.

wight, adj., strong, stalwart, 35/199; mighty, 35/213; wighter (compar.) stronger, more stalwart, 35/201; wightest (superl.) most stalwart, robust, mighty, 33/213.

wight, adv., swiftly, quickly, 34/111.

wightely, adv., quickly, swiftly, 28/96; 28/128; 30/81; 31/197; 32/389; 33/483; 34/18; wightely, 33/281; 33/424.

wikkid, adj., wicked, evil, 26/165; 26/265; 35/66; dreadful, terrible, 35/213.

will, v., 1 sg. pres. ind. (as auxil.); will, 30/468; 33/440; wille, 35/151; desire, want, wish, 32/121; will, 2 sg., 36/210; wille, 27/124; will, 3 sg., 32/120; 33/433; 34/68; wille, 33/58; woll, 34/328; will, 1 pl., 27/180; wille, 28/76; wille, 2 pl., 28/68; will, 30/73; wille, 3 pl., 34/193; 28/73; wolde, 1 sg. pret., 28/260; 30/415; 33/279; 34/49; 2 sg., 29/162; 29/327; 31/93; 32/169; 32/224; 32/254; wolde, 33/185; wolde, 3 sg., 29/249; 29/382; 30/99; 30/461; 31/102; 31/133; 31/142; 31/265; 33/302; wolde, 33/63; wolde, 2 pl., 29/63; 30/410; 30/432; 30/449; 3 pl., 30/362 (should); 31/95; 32/112; 33/190.

wille, adj., perplexed, at a loss, 35/205.

willid, pa. part., strayed, 28/17.
wynde, n., wind, 30/235; breath, 29/118; 35/204; swish (of air), 33/365.
wyne, n., wine, 29/65; 29/74; 29/75; 30/135; 31/40; 32/125; wyne, 30/93.
wynke, v. inf., sleep, slumber, 29/75; 31/40.
wynly, adv., joyfully, 29/294.
wynne, n., joy, delight, 30/94.
wynne, n., see wyne.
wynne, v. inf., win, 35/295; gain, 35/199; wynnes, 3 sg. pres. ind., 32/379; wonne, pa. part., obtained, procured, 33/106.
ynso, prep., see vnto.
wyre, n., wire, 32/22.
wyte, v. inf., blame, in phr. worthy to wyte, blameworthy, culpable, 26/70; wite, 34/135.
within, prep., within, 32/93; 32/273; 33/139; 35/100; 35/173; 35/198; withouten, 29/214; 33/107; 36/5; withoutyn, 31/153; withowten, 33/321; withoutyn, 26/108.
wyte, v. inf., blame, in phr. worthy to wyte, blameworthy, culpable, 26/70; wite, 34/135.
within, prep., within, 32/93; 32/273; 33/139.
wyte, v. inf., blame, in phr. worthy to wyte, blameworthy, culpable, 26/70; wite, 34/135.
within, prep., within, 32/93; 32/273; 33/139.
wyte, v. inf., blame, in phr. worthy to wyte, blameworthy, culpable, 26/70; wite, 34/135.
within, prep., within, 32/93; 32/273; 33/139.
wyte, v. inf., blame, in phr. worthy to wyte, blameworthy, culpable, 26/70; wite, 34/135.
within, prep., within, 32/93; 32/273; 33/139.
wyte, v. inf., blame, in phr. worthy to wyte, blameworthy, culpable, 26/70; wite, 34/135.
within, prep., within, 32/93; 32/273; 33/139.
wyte, v. inf., blame, in phr. worthy to wyte, blameworthy, culpable, 26/70; wite, 34/135.
within, prep., within, 32/93; 32/273; 33/139.
witteles, adj., witless, out of (one's) wits, 29/247; wittles, 33/163.

wittenesse, n., witness, 29/299; 29/328; witnesse, testimony, 33/106; witnesse, uninfl. pl., witnesses, 33/121; bere witnesse, bear witness, 34/187; beres witnesse, 30/51; beris wittenesse, 31/375.

witty, adj., wise, sagacious, prudent, 28/9; 30/455; 33/136; wittie, intelligent, clever, 30/39.

wittles, adj., see witteles.

woode, adj., see woode.

wofull, adj., woeful, 34/155.

wolde, n., possession, keeping, 32/273.

woman, n., woman, 29/113; 29/158; 30/167; 36/144; womanne, 36/153; pl., women, 29/127; womanne, 29/132.

womanhede, n., womanhood, 30/19.

wombe, n., womb, 30/l30; 36/134.

wondir, n., wondrous thing, 35/130; wondrous act, miracle, 31/211; pl., 30/299; wondres, 29/95; wonderys, 29/269; wonderes, 29/253; 31/197; wirke vs wondre, do us great evil, 33/89; it is litill wondir, it is not very surprising, 31/236.

wondir, adv., wondrously, 35/207; woundir, extremely, 26/194.

wondirfull, adj., of wonder, 29/33; 29/109.

wondirly, adv., wonderfully, 32/175; 34/112; 36/67.

wondere, n., see wondir.

wone, n., dwelling, 30/38; wones, pl., 30/93; wonyes, in phr. in his wone, here, 31/330; in his wone, in this world, here, 36/252; wortely in wone, in this life, 28/166.

wone, n., in phr. wille of wone, bewildered, at a loss, 27/164; will of his wone, 31/271; abundance, in phr., grate wone, in great quantity, 29/269; wavyes, pl., hopes, expectations, 28/286.

wone, v. inf., stay, 34/261; wonne, remain, dwell, 30/159; wenneung, pres. part., living, dwelling, 30/477.

wonne, n., habit, custom, 29/249; wanea, pl., practices, 33/106.

wonne, v. see wonne.

woode, adj., mad, 31/249; 32/104; 33/163; 35/63; wode, 31/301.

wordely, adj., see worldly.

workis, workith, v. pres. ind., see wirke.

world, n., world, 28/17; 28/33; 30/12; 30/225; 35/284; 36/187; world, 33/98; in worlde, on earth, 27/93; 27/142; 27/161; 29/16; 30/477; 34/155.

worldly, adj., worldly, 34/118; wordely, 27/128.

worthely, adj., worthy, 28/199; 30/26; 30/536; 36/194; 36/228.

worthely, adv., worthily, 28/60; worley, 28/106; worthy, 28/94.

wondir, adv., see wondir.

wraste, n., evil trick, 26/248.
wreste, v. imper. pl., twist, pull, drag away, 30/526; wrasted, pa. part., pulled, plucked, 33/269; wriste, forced out of, unsettled, unfixed, 31/271.

wrathe, n., wrath, anger, 31/12; wretthe, 26/119; 26/154.

wrenthose, n., anger, 31/12.

wrecche, n., wretch, 26/43; 26/119; 30/7; 33/111; wriche, 31/374.

wryes, v. 2 sg. pres. ind., charge, accuse, denounce, 29/321.

wreke, n., punishment, 32/306.

wreke, v. inf. (refl), vent, 26/154; imper. sg., 30/493.

wreckynge, vbl. n., vengeance, 29/320.

wrenchis, n. pl., tricks, stratagems, 30/483.

wreth, n., wrath, fury, 29/318; wrethe, anger, 30/493.

wrethe, n., see wrathe.

wriche, n., see wrecche.

wrie, v. inf., twist, turn from side to side, 35/182; wrye, wriggle, 30/7.

wrythe, n., carpenter, 29/54; write, 30/503.

wryghe, v. inf., writhe, struggle, 26/119; wrynghia, 3 sg. pres. ind., twists, writhes, 33/249; wrynghe, imper. pl., harass, distress, 33/338; wring, 3 sg. pres. subj., afflict, 36/76.

wrynghis, n. pl., tricks, cunning devices, 30/67.

write, n., see wrighte.

write, v. inf., write, garre write, have set down in writing, 31/370; wrotte, 1 sg. pret., wrote, 36/115; wretyn, pa. part., 27/142.

wrythe, v. inf., turn, deflect, 30/483; wretie, 1 pl. pres. ind., wretie, 31/12.

writynge, vbl. n., inscription, 36/107.

wronge, n., wrong, wrongdoing, transgression, 29/108; 32/163; 32/234; 32/255; wrong, 26/143; wrique we wrang, we act unjustly, 26/249.

wrothe, adj., angry, irate, 26/40; 26/134; 27/118; wroth, 30/235; 30/272.

wrought, v. 1 sg. pret., acted, 33/279; wroughte, 2 sg., performed, did, committed, 32/163; wroght, 3 sg., 26/134; 29/124; 32/255; wroght, 29/153; wrought, 3 pl., contrived, 34/112; wrought, pa. part., committed, performed, carried out, executed, wrought, done, 26/43; 26/120; 28/60; 28/106; 29/95; 29/108; 30/292; 32/234; 33/183; 33/252; 34/281; 35/66; 35/152; 35/250; 36/67; 36/252; wroght, 28/63; 28/94; 29/109; 29/172; 29/253; 30/298; 30/521; wrought, acted, 33/111; 35/94; 36/203; wroght, made, constructed, 34/47; wrought, born, created, 32/127; wroght, uttered, spoken, 27/44.
y, pers. pron., 1 sg. nom., 30/90; 30/127; 30/468; 30/475; 31/78; 31/139; 31/229; 31/245; 32/267; 31/256; 31/258; 31/260; 31/270; 31/276; 31/283; 31/316; 31/318; 31/361; 31/391; 32/9; 32/12; 32/302. (See also I.)

ya, adv., yes, 29/31; 29/94; 29/197; 29/224; 30/98; 30/225; 30/291; 31/29; 31/244; 31/126; 31/174; yha, 30/53; 30/71; 30/135; 30/142; 30/215; 30/295; 30/246; 30/251; 30/261; 30/270; 30/297; 30/319; 30/352; 30/362; 30/513.

yappely, adv., nimbly, 30/230.

yeh, adj., every, 26/15; 33/152; 34/216; 34/218; 34/220; 35/129; 35/132; 35/134; yf rod, if, 31/236; 32/54. (See also if.)

yhe, pron., see ye.

yhe, pron., see ye.

yis, adv., yes, 29/26; 31/66; yhis, 30/501.

yof, conj., see yosh.

yondir, adv., yonder, over there, 30/261; 31/72; 31/82.

yone, adj., yonder, 29/68; 29/112; 29/131; 30/229; 30/328; 30/510; 31/65; 32/91; 32/261; 36/34; 36/107; yon, 32/255.

you, yone, yow, pron., see ye.

y - see also th-

ya, 31/241, app. a form of ye, thee, in howe likis ya? how does it please you?

yai, tax, pron., see yai.

yan, adv., then, 26/15; 26/217; 27/151; 28/142; 29/66; 29/271; 30/262; 31/94; 32/78; 33/236; 34/79; 35/101; 35/162; yanne, 28/295; 31/84; 31/379; 32/36; 32/192; 35/16; 35/63; 35/245; yane, 35/42; ten, 26/53; 26/110; 33/459; yanne, 28/180; 29/227; yanne, when, 28/139.

yan, conj., than, 26/71; 29/317; 29/327; 29/337; 31/155; 31/363; 32/88; 32/90; 32/100; 35/63; 35/201; 35/262; ten, 27/165; 31/156; yanne, 31/183.

yare, dom., poss., adj., see yer, yere.

yare, adv., see yere.

yat, rel. pron., that, who, which, 28/126; 29/30; 31/4; 31/220; 31/321; 33/415.

yel, pron., 3 pl., 26/89; 27/110; 28/4; 29/214; 30/242; 30/309;
Jere, adv., demon., there, fer, adv., see fere. Jer, 26/31; dat., 27/38; 27/78; Jis, dem. adj., sg., this, 26/2; ferto, adv., to it, 30/470; 31/86; 33/349; 36
Jer till, adv., thereto, to it, Verof, adv., thereof, of it, 27/22; 33 Ver till, adv., thereto, to it, Verof, adv., thereof, of it, 27/22; 33/276.
Jere, adv., see Jere.
Jeraftir, adv., accordingly, 34/80. Jere, adv., demon., there, 26/34; 27/158; 29/217; 31/294; 32/296; 34/38; yer, 26/31; 26/120; 26/157; 28/142; 29/31; 29/361; 30/513; 31/35; 31/214; 32/11; 32/135; 33/61; 33/349; 35/167; 36/17; yere, 26/89; yere, 31/97; 34/39; 34/220; 34/296; 34/335; 35/105; 35/163; 35/209; yere, rel. or conj., where, 28/101; yer, 28/82; 31/253.
yere, adv., thereof, of it, 27/22; 27/35; 36/249; thereat, at that, 33/276.
yeron, adv., thereon, on it, 34/101.
Yer till, adv., thereto, to it, 34/280; yer till, 35/12; yer till, about it, 32/169; to that purpose, 32/308.
yerto, adv., to it, 30/413; to that purpose, 26/98; 26/280.
yer, adv., thereupon, 30/371.
yic, dem. adj., sg., this, 26/2; 26/197; 28/242; 30/161; 30/327; 32/234; 33/452; 34/15; 35/283; 36/137.
yis, dem. pron. sg., this, 26/75; 28/164; 29/231; 31/118; 32/175; 33/269; 34/181; 35/269.
Y, dem. adj., pl., those, 36/15.
yoh, conj., although, 33/278; yoff, 26/105; yof, 30/45.
yogh, n., thought, 35/62; intention, purpose, design, 29/170; yought, anxiety, care, 29/71.
yore, adv., see Yere.
you, pron. 2 sg., thou, you, 27/122; 29/193; 30/194; 30/350; 30/365; 30/476; 30/490; 32/186; 33/148; 33/387; 34/36; 34/196; 35/51; 36/81; 36/118; 36/136; ye, acc. and dat., 27/56; 27/97; 27/120; 27/126; 27/129; 27/132; 31/316; 31/317; yee, 27/47; ye (refl.), 28/152; 30/381; 30/398; 32/288; 33/139; 33/210; 33/299; 34/199; 35/73; 36/85; 36/99; y, poss. adj., 30/478; 31/397; 33/265; 36/220; yin, 33/287; 33/379; yin, 32/31.
yus-ratis, adv., thus, in this way, 26/153.
Ye, adv., yes, 31/31; 31/273; 33/422; 36/77; 3aa, 32/250; 33/34; 34/327; see, 31/9; 31/159.
ze, pron., 2 pl., you, 27/144; 33/484; 34/171; ze, 34/164; 35/3; ze (as singular), 27/18; 29/328; 33/25; zou, as pl., dir/indir. obj., 26/58; 27/83; 27/116; 27/119; 28/19; 28/34; 28/81; 28/193; 33/3; 33/5; 33/61; 33/164; 33/203; as obj. of prep., 27/20; 27/63; 27/118; 27/169; 28/177; as refl. pron., yourselves, 27/19; 28/6; 33/127; 33/241; zon, 28/6; zou, 28/66; as singular, dir/indir. obj., you, zou, 26/76; 26/126; 26/214; 28/77; 29/189; 32/144; 33/130; as obj. of prep., 26/30; 26/162; 28/247; 33/180; as refl. pron., yourself, 26/122; 28/197; zoure, poss. adj., 26/58; 26/78; 26/93; 26/205; 26/251; 27/61; 28/77; 28/140; 33/14; 33/17; 33/38; 33/41; 33/132; zoun, 33/3; 33/26.

zone, n., toke zone, took heed, 27/160.

zone, v. inf., take heed, 27/66; imper. pl., take care of, protect, 31/417.

zis, adv., yes, 26/262; 26/278; 28/13; 28/76; 28/176; 28/252; 28/293; 28/299; 29/351; 33/137; 35/98; 35/102; 35/245.

zoue, dem. adj., that, 28/201; 28/203; 32/375; yonder, that (those) ... (over there), 29/132; 33/270; 35/172; 35/173; 36/16; 36/72; 36/278; zon, 33/242; zoone, 33/45.

zouge, adj., young, 27/66; (absol.) in olde ne zouge, old nor young, 29/314.

zouye, n., youth, 27/66.