

ENGLISH MIRACLE PLAYS MORALITIES AND INTERLUDES SPECIMENS AND EXTRACTS

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ENGLISH MIRACLE PLAYS MORALITIES AND INTERLUDES

SPECIMENS OF THE PRE-ELIZABETHAN DRAMA EDITED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION NOTES, AND GLOSSARY, BY ALFRED W. POLLARD, M.A. ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, OXFORD

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TO THE

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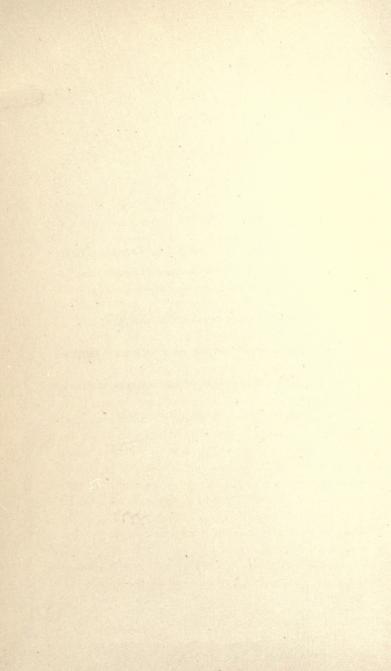
THIS VOLUME IS GRATEFULLY DEDICATED

IN ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF THE HELP WHICH ITS EDITOR

IN COMMON WITH ALL STUDENTS OF OUR EARLIER LITERATURE

HAS RECEIVED FROM HIS WRITINGS

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PREFACE.

THE small attention devoted to the pre-Elizabethan drama in all histories of English Literature is the best excuse for the appearance of the present volume of Specimens. Of the works from which these Specimens have been drawn, the greater part are accessible to students only in the Publications of Societies or in limited editions, expensive and difficult to procure. It seemed therefore to the Editor that a volume which should bring together within a small compass illustrations of the English dramatic literature of more than two centuries, with an unpretentious introduction and commentary, might fairly escape the charge of book-making, and be useful to many lovers of literature unable to make the subject their special study. It may be added that, while no sample can ever perfectly represent the complete work from which it is taken, the peculiar difficulty in illustrating dramatic work by means of specimens hardly applies in this case. It is perhaps ungrateful for one who has derived so much pleasure from these old plays to accuse them of prolixity and lack of unity, but a very small acquaintance with them will convince the student that illustration by means of selected episodes offers no injustice to the dramatists.

In writing the Introduction and Notes I have endeavoured to make the best use of the labours of my predecessors, to

PREFACE.

most of whom I have made special acknowledgment as occasion arose. I am also under obligations to Dr. Furnivall, Mr. Henry Bradley, Miss Toulmin Smith, Miss Emily Hickey and Mr. York Powell for much kind help, and to Mr. Gurney and His Grace the Duke of Devonshire for permission to consult MSS.

ALFRED W. POLLARD.

May 24th, 1890.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION.

For the second edition, in addition to a general revision of both text and notes, I have improved the text of the Towneley Play by the edition prepared for the Early English Text Society by Mr. George England; and in the notes to *Everyman* have made use of the critical edition published by Dr. Henry Logeman, along with the Dutch original, *Elckerlijk* (1892). I wish also to acknowledge my indebtedness to Dr. Max Kolbing, of Breslau, for his searching review of my first edition in *Englische Studien*, by which I hope I have profited.

A. W. P.

August, 1894.

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§ 1.

AT the outset of his enquiries almost every student of the modern drama is found instinctively peering through long centuries of darkness for some glimmerings of the brilliant torch-light of Greek tragedy. In this pious desire to connect new things with old, to link together the names of Æschylus and Shakespeare, the services of a motley crew are called into requisition, in which poets, philosophers, saints, mimes, jugglers, monks, nuns, bishops and tradesfolk have all to play their part; but the pedigree is like that of many a modern genealogy, clear at the beginning and the end, with a huge hiatus gaping between. Under the later Roman Empire the drama died a natural death, not because the Church condemned it, but by a lust for sheer obscenity and bloodshed which made true dramatic writing impossible. Until the theatres in which men were made to die and women to prostitute themselves, not in show but in reality, had long been closed and forgotten, the stage was something too vile and horrible for any attempt to Christianize it : nor could the innate dramatic instincts of mankind again find free play amid the unhealthy surroundings of a dying civilization. Yet one piece of positive evidence has long been quoted and re-quoted to the contrary. A drama entitled X ριστός Háo you, on the subject of the Passion of Christ and the sorrows of the Blessed Virgin, has been generally attributed to St. Gregory Nazianzene, a writer of the fourth century. Save for the absence of lyrical choruses, it is cast strictly upon the lines of Greek tragedy, and it is interesting to classical scholars because, together with a few verses from Æschylus (chiefly from the Prometheus Vinctus), the writer has incorporated into his play several hundred lines of Euripides, many of which have not

been preserved in any other form. A cento such as this is necessarily destitute alike of dramatic appropriateness and religious feeling, and it is a pleasure to find some better reason for denying its authorship to St. Gregory than the doubt as to its strict orthodoxy, which, until quite recently, alone excited suspicion. To Dr. J. G. Brambs¹, the latest editor of the Χριστός Πάσχων, belongs the credit of a conclusive proof that the metre, prosody and grammar of this play are not those of St. Gregory, nor of any other writer of the fourth century, and cannot be reasonably attributed to an earlier period than some six hundred years later. The Χριστός Πάσχων, whether, as Dr. Brambs conjectures, the work of Joannes Tzetzes, or of one of his contemporaries, in any case thus ceases to be the dramatic landmark which it has long been represented, and falls into the same class with the plays of the learned nun Hroswitha, to which also a somewhat undue importance is generally attributed.

This Hroswitha² was a nun of Gandersheim in Saxony, and her six plays are planned in some measure on the comedies of Terence. Not that, like the author of the $X\rho\iota\sigma\tau\deltas \Pi d\sigma\chi\omega\nu$ with the Greek dramatists, she incorporated his verses into her own work, or made any attempt to imitate his metres; but that Terence, of whom it has been said that he 'bore a charmed life amid the monasteries of the middle ages,' appeared to the good nun undeservedly and dangerously popular, and she wished to show what much better comedies might be written to inculcate strict moral and religious teaching. That she succeeded in this attempt it is impossible to allow. What has been justly called her 'supersensuous modesty' (Hase)³, is to modern readers infinitely more offensive than the license of her original. Her language is bald, and her characters without life or humanity. In one of her comedies a wicked Roman Governor goes to visit

¹ Christus Patiens. Tragædia Christiana Gregorio Nazianzeno falso attributa. Recensuit Dr. J. G. Brambs. Lipsiæ, 1885.

² Théâtre de Hrotswitha, religieuse allemande du X^o siècle. Traduit en français avec le texte latin, revue sur le manuscrit de Munich. Par C. Magnin. Paris, 1845.

³ Miracle Plays. An historical survey. Translated by A. W. Jackson. 1880.

the Christian virgins, whom, with some improbability, he has caused to be imprisoned in the scullery of his palace. Suddenly he is struck with madness, and addresses his embraces to the pots and pans, covers himself with dirt, and is hustled by his own bodyguard as a devil. This farcical scene is Hroswitha's one attempt at humour; for the rest her plays are written to display the heroism of martyrs and the glories of chastity, and deserve the credit due to goodness of intention, and little else. Whether they were ever acted is a matter of controversy. On the one hand some of her incidents could hardly have been represented with modesty; on the other, the really humorous situation in the scullery is so baldly treated as to depend largely upon acting for its effect, and throughout her plays the extreme brevity of the diction and absence of any attempt at literary grace, point to an appeal to an audience rather than to readers. But the audience, it is needless to say, would have been confined to the nunnery and its benefactors, and there is no reason to suppose that, whether acted or not, the half dozen plays of the literary nun exercised the smallest influence on the history of the drama. But what Hroswitha did at Gandersheim other religious persons were doing in other monasteries, if not contemporaneously, at all events within the next hundred years, but with all-important differences. The comedies of Hroswitha are exotics, based, at however great a distance, on a heathen model, coined in the main from her imagination, having nothing to do with the services of the Church. The dramatic representations which we have next to describe are popular in their aim, liturgical in their origin, taking as their subjects events which belonged strictly either to sacred history or to accepted legends.

Anyone who enters a Catholic Church at Christmas time is likely to see near one of the altars a coloured illumination representing the infant Saviour in His cradle, St. Joseph and the Blessed Virgin watching Him, and an ox and an ass munching their food hard by. The children delight in it, and it brings home to them the scene at the manger-bed at Bethlehem more vividly than a thousand sermons. In the thirteenth century St. Francis of Assisi, at his altar in the forest, represented that scene still more realistically, with a real child, real men and women, a

real ox and ass. At any primitive little Italian town, when the members of the different religious gilds and confraternities walk in procession on Corpus Christi Day, little children toddle among them, dressed, some with a tiny sheepskin and staff to represent St. John the Baptist; others in sackcloth as St. Mary Magdalene; others in a blue robe, with a little crown, as the Blessed Virgin; others again with an aureole tied to their little heads, as the infant Saviour. Similar instances of the attempt to bring home to an unlettered people the reality of the chief events connected with the Christian religion might be multiplied indefinitely. The shepherds who, at Christmas time come into Rome from the Abruzzi, and pipe before the pictures of the Virgin, or the German peasants who, down to the beginning of the present century, used to go round their village in the guise of the Three Kings from the East, illustrate the way in which the efforts of the Church were seconded by the common people. Not from vapid imitations of Euripides and Terence, but from such simple customs as these did the religious drama take its beginnings.

¹All evidence points to Easter as the festival with which the earliest religious dramas were most intimately connected, and it is probable that the first form which the Easter Play assumed was that of a ceremony in which the crucifix was solemnly buried on Good Friday, and again disinterred on Easter Day amid a pompous ritual. Most commonly the 'sepulchre' in which the crucifix was deposited was a wooden erection placed within a recess in the wall or upon a tomb, but according to the interesting article 'Sepulchre,' in Parker's Glossary of Architecture, several English churches still contain permanent stone structures especially built for the purpose. Among the churches which Mr. Parker mentions are those at Navenby and Heckinton, Lincolnshire; Hawton, in Nottinghamshire; Northwold, in Norfolk; and Holcombe Burnell, in Devonshire. In the temporary structures the lower part generally contained a representation of sleeping soldiers, intended for the Roman guard, and in a curious account of the delivery by a certain Maister Canynge on July 4th, 1470, of 'a new sepulchre well gilt with golde and a civer

¹ The next few paragraphs are mainly quoted from an article on Easter Plays contributed to the *Guardian* by the present writer, May 22, 1889.

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thereto,' to the vicar of St. Mary Redcliffe, Bristol, there is mention of '4 knights armed, keeping the sepulchre, with their weapons in their hands; that is to say, 2 axes and 2 spears, with 2 pavés.' In this sepulchre both hell and heaven were represented, together with figures of angels and of still more sacred persons. In Davis's *Antient Rites of Durham* we are told:-

'Within the church of Durham, upon Good Friday, there was a marvellous solemn service, in which service time, after the Passion was sung, two of the ancient monks took a goodly large crucifix all of gold of the picture of our Saviour Christ, nailed upon the Cross. . . . The service being ended, the said two monks carried the Cross to the *Sepulchre* with great reverence (which *Sepulchre* was set up that morning on the north side of the Quire, nigh unto the High Altar before the service time), and there did lay it within the said *Sepulchre* with great devotion.'

At the cathedral of Rouen there was a special service for the occasion called 'Sepulchri Officium.' Trace of the ceremony still lingers in the custom of veiling the crucifix above the altar from Holy Thursday to the first evensong of Easter. In its original form it was of long continuance, and we are told that as late as 1316 its popularity was so dangerous that in that year an Archbishop of Worms ordained that thenceforth it should take place within closed doors, and in the presence of the priests only.

Other Easter services also bear traces of a dramatic origin. After the Third Lesson, and before the *Te Deum* at Matins, the clergy walked in procession to the high altar, and there two choirmen would take the parts of SS. Peter and John, while three others in albs would represent the Three Maries in the following colloquy :—

> Apostoli—Dic nobis, Maria, Quid vidisti in via.
> Prima Maria—Sepulchrum Christi viventis Et gloriam resurgentis.
> Secunda Maria—Angelicos testes Sudarium et vestes.
> Tertia Maria—Surrexit Christus spes mea, Praecedit vos in Galilæam.
> Apostoli—Credendum est magis soli Mariæ veraci

Quam Judæorum Pravæ cohorti. Omnes-Scimus Christum surrexisse A mortuis vere. Tu nobis, victor Rex, miserere.'

The same colloquy was repeated at Mass as part of the sequence, *Victima paschalis laudes*, and may be seen in its entirety in the York Missal, not for Easter Day itself, but for the following Tuesday. In modern missals the words from 'Credendum' to 'cohorti' are omitted, but the retention of the other verses which are sung alternately by the basses and trebles, is only one instance among several of the highly dramatic character of the services of the Roman Church from Palm Sunday onwards.

But the Easter plays soon attained a far higher development than the simple ceremonies of which the services we have quoted retain the trace. In an Appendix at the end of this volume is printed in the text of Thomas Wright from a manuscript of the thirteenth century, preserved in the Library of the city of Orleans, a Latin play on the subject of the Resurrection, which, while intended to be acted in church, and probably in an interval of the service of the day, is no mere ceremony but a real drama. Although some of the characters are women, the play is acted exclusively by monks or clerks, and it begins by three of these, attired as the Three Maries, slowly and sadly advancing up the church to where a grave has been prepared, singing the while a lamentation for the death of the Good Shepherd. As they approach the grave they see at its head an angel arrayed in an alb, with a mitre on his head, a palm in his left hand, and a branch of candlesticks in his right. The gospel narrative is followed in the ensuing dialogue, in the visit of Peter and John to the tomb, and in the appearance to Mary Magdålene of 'One arrayed in the likeness of a gardener.' The angels then invite the congregation to behold the empty grave. the sere-cloth is held up to view and placed on the altar, and the Holy Women answer one another with outbursts of joy. The next stage direction enjoins him 'who afore was the gardener to come in the likeness of the Lord,' gorgeously arrayed. His

appearance is greeted by the choir with Alleluias, and the play ends with the singing of the *Te Deum*.

An early Christmas play on the subject of the Slaughter of the Innocents (Interfectio Puerorum), which has been handed down to us in the same manuscript, is cast upon very similar lines to the Mystery of the Resurrection we have just been considering. The part of the Innocents (the fact that they were under two years of age is neglected !) was taken by the choir boys, the other characters, including the women, would be played by the monks. In one part of the church (pews, it will be remembered, were a later invention) is erected a manger: in another a throne for Herod : a distant corner is supposed to represent Egypt. With this simple stage-arrangement the action proceeds. The story is set forth in the fewest possible words, interspersed with anthems for the choristers. Towards the end of the play the boys (having arisen from the dead) enter the choir; the throne of Herod is taken by another actor, who represents Archelaus; an angel bids the Holy Family return from Egypt, and then the Precentor begins the Te Deum and the performance is over.

The manuscript which has preserved for us these two plays contains also eight others, four of which are concerned with the miracles of St. Nicholas, while the rest have as their respective subjects the Adoration of the Magi, the Appearance of Christ to the two disciples on the road to Emmaus, the Conversion of St. Paul, and the Raising of Lazarus. All ten plays have the same characteristics. They are all intended to be performed in church, introducing anthems and hymns from the office of the day, and requiring only the simplest stage-machinery. They are all written with great brevity and simplicity, partly in prose, partly in classical metres, partly in monkish rimes. A knowledge of classical Latin is indicated by adaptations from Virgil in two of the plays, and by the tag from Sallust (Incendium meum ruina restinguam), which is put into the mouth of Herod in the Interfectio Puerorum; but the plays themselves have no pretensions whatever to any literary merit.

As has already been said, the Orleans manuscript, in which the plays we have been considering are preserved, belongs to the thirteenth century. Its contents, however, were probably

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composed before the year 1200, and may thus be reckoned as contemporaneous with those of Hilarius, with which we have next to deal. Of this Hilarius, both of his works and of what little is known of his life, an excellent account is given in the third volume of Professor Morley's English Writers, and a shorter one in his Sketch of English Literature, so that the less need be said here. He is thought, on good grounds, to have been an Englishman, and we know from his writings that he was a pupil of the celebrated Abelard. Of his three plays (all in Latin), that on the history of Daniel was composed in collaboration with two other writers, and was probably intended for representation at Christmas. Another is on the Raising of Lazarus : while the third, which is printed in our Appendix, has for its subject a miracle wrought by St. Nicholas in defence of the honour of an image of himself, under the care of which a heathen is supposed to deposit a treasure for safe keeping. The treasure is stolen by robbers, and the heathen on his return upbraids and beats the image which has played him so false. Smarting under the blows, St. Nicholas appears to the robbers, and in a speech, of which, from what we know of Hilarius, there is no reason to suppose the humour unconscious, forces them to restitution. The heathen returns again, and in his joy makes honourable amends to the saint, and is converted to Christianity. This play is noteworthy for its refrains in old French. Similar French refrains are found in Hilarius' play on the Raising of Lazarus, and are extended to short speeches in the Mystery of the Ten Virgins, another early French play. Similarly German and Latin are mingled in the episode of the anointing of the feet of Christ by St. Mary Magdalene, in a play written about this time in Germany. These refrains and short speeches paved the way tor the composition of whole plays in the vernacular, of which in France we find very early specimens, e.g. the Norman play on the subject of Adam, which belongs to the thirteenth century.

Before the Norman Conquest we have no reason to suppose that dramatic representations were known in England. The performance of the earliest play of which we have any mention

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must probably be assigned to the reign of William Rufus. According to Matthew of Paris (writing circ. 1240), a certain Geoffrey, who afterwards became Abbot of St. Albans, while yet a secular person, was invited from France to take the mastership of the Abbey School. His arrival was delayed, and in the meanwhile the school was given to another. He therefore settled for a while at Dunstable, and while there borrowed from the sacristan of St. Albans copes (capæ chorales) in which to array the performers of a Miracle Play in honour of Saint Katharine. During the performance of the play these copes were destroyed by fire, and Geoffrey took this disaster so much to heart, that he abandoned the world and entered the Abbey of St. Albans as a monk. By III9 he had risen to be its Abbot. and it is by reckoning back from this year that we arrive at the end of the eleventh century as the probable date of the performance of his unlucky play. A century later such representations had become common. William Fitzstephen, who wrote circ. 1182, in his Life of Saint Thomas à Becket, contrasts with the theatrical spectacles of ancient Rome the 'holier plays' of London, in which were represented the miracles and sufferings of the confessors and martyrs of the Church : repræsentationes miraculorum quæ sancti confessores operati sunt, sive repræsentationes passionum quibus claruit constantia martyrum. The word miraculorum in this quotation, and the phrase quem miracula vulgariter appellamus, used by Matthew Paris in writing of the play of St. Katharine, reminds us of a distinction between Miracle Plays and Mysteries, of which a great deal is made in all text-books of English Literature, but which in England had no existence in fact during the centuries in which the sacred drama chiefly flourished. 'Properly speaking,' says Professor Ward (English Dramatic Literature, vol. i. p. 23), 4 'Mysteries deal with Gospel events only, their object being primarily to set forth, by an illustration of the prophetic history of the Old Testament, and more particularly of the fulfilling history of the New, the central mystery of the Redemption of the world, as accomplished by the Nativity, the Passion, and the Resurrection. Miracle Plays, on the other hand, are concerned with incidents derived from the legends of the saints of the Church.' The distinction in itself is, as Professor Ward

remarks, a legitimate one, but it is rendered rather confusing by the fact that, while in England we have no single extant example of a pure Miracle Playas thus defined, all dramatic representations on this subject were called by this name, and the word mystery is said to have been first applied to them in this country by Dodsley, in the preface to his collection of Old Plays, early in the eighteenth century¹. But the English preference for the word miracula must have had some basis in fact, and its predominance gives a certain plausibility to the theory of Professor Ten Brink (Gesch. der alt. eng. Litt. § 248), that in the development of the sacred drama legendary subjects preceded Biblical, and those drawn from the Old Testament the ones taken from the New. The theory, however, is not one to be hastily accepted, partly because the motives of reverence to which it is assigned appeal far more to the modern mind than to mediæval simplicity, and partly because it hardly fits in with the existence of the liturgical dramas for Christmas and Easter, to which attention has already been drawn. On the other hand, it may be taken as certain that the sacred drama had no independent origin on English soil, but was introduced into this country after the Norman Conquest. It is thus probable that towards the beginning of the twelfth century the miracles of the saints formed the favourite theme of the French playwrights in England, and that the English preference for the word miracle over that of mystère was due to the fact that it was to this class of play that English audiences were first introduced.

¹ The Ludus de Sancta Katharina at Dunstable, pageants on the subject of the lives of St. Fabyan, St. Sebastian and St. Botulf, performed in London, plays at Windsor and Bassingbourne on St. George, and the Ludi beata Christinæ at Bethersden, Kent, are the only Miracle Plays, in the scientific use of the term, of which I can find mention of the performance in England, and none of these unfortunately now survive. The classification of the play of St. Paul in the Digby MS. is perhaps doubtful; the play of St. Mary Magdalene, from which extracts are given in this volume, as introducing the character of Christ and the Resurrection, is at least in part a mystery. But, as remarked in the preface to it in my notes, this interesting play unites in itself all the features which are commonly assigned respectively to Miracle Plays, Mysteries and Moralities.

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Of Miracle Plays written in Latin none now exist of which it can be said with any probability that they were acted in England. An early play on the subject of the creation and fall of Adam, which was stated by its first editor, M. Luzarche, to be written in Anglo-Norman, is now regarded as purely Norman, and although it is highly probable that French plays were written and acted in England during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, we are in possession of no trustworthy evidence on the subject. According to statements made at the end of the sixteenth century in the Banes or proclamation of the Chester Plays, this great cycle dates in some form from the mayoralty of John Arneway (1268-1276). Its composition is attributed to 'Randall Higgenett, a monk of Chester abby,' and the story is confused by the assignment of Arneway's term of office to the years 1327-28. An attempt has been made to reconcile these statements by supposing that the plays were originally acted in French at the earlier of the two dates, and that 'Randall Higgenett,' who has been somewhat rashly identified with Ralph Higden, the Chronicler, subsequently translated them into English. The theory is supported by some minor evidence, but is discredited by the language of the plays, and by the relations in which they stand to other cycles. It was probably not in the West, but in the East-Midlands¹, that Miracle Plays were first acted in English, though we may assign the probable date of their first performance to a period very little later than the mayoralty of Sir John Arneway. The Harrowing of Hell, an East-Midland poem in dialogue, quoted in full in our Appendix, though not itself a Miracle Play, undoubtedly shows that dramatic influences had been at work before its composition, and three extant manuscripts of it date from the reign of Edward II. The East-Midland play of Abraham and Isaac (also quoted from in the Appendix), discovered by Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith, at Brome Hall in Suffolk, may be assigned to the fourteenth century, and about the year 1350 a Ludus Filiorum Israel was performed at Cambridge. Passing from the East-Midlands northwards, we are confronted with the great York cycle of plays dating from about 1360, with the

¹ In the geographical grouping of the plays I follow Professor Ten Brink (Gesch. der alt. eng. Lit. § 251).

closely related 'Towneley' or Woodkirk cycle of about the same period, and with the lost Beverly cycle, some remnants of which may possibly be preserved in the fragments lately printed by Prof. Skeat ¹ from an early fifteenth century MS. Further north still we find another at Newcastle, of which one play (*The Building of the Ark*) still remains. Westwards, again, in the fifteenth century, Chester became a kind of dramatic metropolis for Preston, Lancaster, Kendall and Dublin. Southwards, the fame of Coventry gradually overshadowed that of all its rivals, and we hear of plays performed at Tewkesbury, at Reading, and at Witney. Throughout the fourteenth, the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, we have continuous evidence of the popularity ² and frequent production of Miracle Plays in nearly

1 Academy, Jan. 4 and 11, 1890.

² The plays did not always meet with approval. I quote from a Wycliffite sermon against them the apology which the preacher puts into the mouths of their defenders. It gives a good summary of medieval views on the subject, and, inferentially, of the nature of the preacher's attack.

But here agenis thei seven that they pleyen these myraclis in the worschip of God, and so dyden not these Jewis that bobbiden [mocked] Crist. Also, ofte sithis by siche myraclis pleyinge ben men converted to gode lyvynge, as men and wymmen seyng in myraclis pleyinge that the devil by ther array, by the which thei moven eche on othere to leccherie and to pride, makith hem his servauntis to bryngen hemsilf and many othere to helle, and to han fer more vylenye herafter by ther proude aray heere than thei han worschipe heere, and seeynge ferthermore that al this worfl]dly beyng heere is but vanité for a while, as is myraclis pleying, wherthoru thei leeven ther pride, and taken to hem afterward the meke conversacioun of Crist and of his seyntis, and so myraclis pleyinge turneth men to the bileve, and not pervertith. Also ofte sythis by siche myraclis pleyinge men and wymmen, seynge the passionn of Crist and of his seyntis, ben movyd to compassion and devocioun wepynge bitere teris, thanne thei ben not scornynge of God but worschipyng. Also, prophitable to men and to the worschipe of God it is to fulfillun and sechen alle the menes by the whiche men mowen seene synne and drawen hem to vertues; and sythen as ther ben men that only by emestful doynge wylen be convertid to God, so ther ben othere men that wylen be convertid to God but by gamen and play; and now on dayes men ben not convertid by the emestful doyng of God ne of men, thanne now it is tyme and skilful to assayen to convertyn the puple by

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every part of England. During this period we have record of the performance of plays in at least thirty English towns and villages, some of them quite small places. In London, in 1378, the choristers of St. Paul's prayed for the suppression of the performances of 'unexpert people'; in 1391 the Parish Clerks played for three days at Skinners' Well near Smithfield, and we have record of another play at the same place in 1407, which lasted no less than eight days. In 1416 a play of St. George of Cappadocia was performed before Henry V. and the Emperor Sigismund at Windsor, and in the following year the English Bishops at the Council of Constance entertained first the Burghers and afterwards their fellow-councillors with a Christmas play, representing the Nativity, visit of the Magi, and Slaughter of the Innocents. Similar references might be almost indefinitely multiplied.

From the mention of the *ludi sanctiores* in William Fitzstephen (circ. 1182), to the prayer of the choristers of St. Paul's in 1378, we have no reference to Miracle Plays in London. During these two centuries a great change had been wrought in the plays and the manner of their performance, with the gradual evolution of which we are only imperfectly acquainted. Originally, as we have seen, they were acted in, or in the precincts of, churches, and by the priests and their assistants. But the apparently instantaneous popularity of the plays led to a demand for their extension, which gradually resulted in the exclusion of the original performers from all participation in them. In the shows and processions which formed so prominent a feature in medieval life, allegorical personages and symbols had from very early times played a part. In the procession of

pley and gamen, as by myraclis pleyinge and other maner myrthis. Also, summe recreatioun men moten han, and bettere it is, or lesse yvele, that thei han theyre recreacoun by pleyinge of myraclis than by pleyinge of other japis. Also, sithen it is leveful to han the myraclis of God peynted, why is not as wel leveful to han the myraclis of God pleyed, sythen men mowen bettere reden the wille of God and his mervelous werkis in the pleyinge of hem than in the peyntynge, and betere thei ben holden in mennus mynde and oftere rehersid by the pleyinge of hem than by the peyntynge, for this is a deed bok, the tother a qu[i]ck.'—MS. of the end of the fourteenth century in library of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, quoted in Wright and Halliwell's *Reliquiæ Antiquæ*, vol. ii. p. 45.

a gild the patron saint would form a prominent figure, and on the occasion of royal entries and rejoicings his representative would act as the spokesman of the craft from one of the gaily decorated scaffolds, which were erected at different points along the route. As the Miracle Plays grew in popularity and the desire arose for greater elaboration in stage-effects, performances in churches became increasingly impossible. The churchyard, which was next tried, was equally unsuitable, for the crowds of spectators desecrated the graves. Gradually, therefore, the players left the church and its precincts, and performed in any convenient open spaces about the town. When this practice became the rule the members of the trade-gilds entered the lists as competitors with the clergy, while the wandering jugglers or histriones were ready to supplement by their aid the dramatic deficiencies of either party. At the same time, now that the plays were more and more dissevered from the services of the Church, the Ecclesiastical authorities began to feel grave doubts as to the advisability of the participation of the clergy in such performances. In 1210 Pope Gregory had forbidden the clergy to act in churches or at mummings, and the prohibition was repeated by the Council of Treves in 1227. Strict Church feeling on the subject is well summed up in a passage in the Manuel de Peché, written in Norman-French about the end of the thirteenth century, and quoted here in its translation under the name of the Handlyng Synne, by Robert Mannyng of Brunne, in or about the year 1303.

> 'Hyt ys forbode hym yn the decre Miracles for to make or se;
> For miracles, 3yf you begynne,
> Hyt ys a gaderynt, a syght of synne.
> He may yn the Cherche, thurgh thys resun,
> Pley the resurrecyun;
> That is to seye, how god ros,
> God and man yn myght and los,
> To make men be yn beleve gode,
> That he ros with flesshe and blode;
> And he may pleye withoutyn plyght
> How god was bore yn thole nyght,
> To make men to beleve stedfastly
> That he lyght yn the vyrgyne Mary.

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3yf thou do hyt in weyys or grenys. A syght of synne truly hyt semys.' Ed. Furnivall.

The compromise which these lines represent was of no long duration. The spirit of the times was all in favour of the openair performances in the highways and public greens, and no English play which has been preserved to us contains any marks of its representation by clerical actors.

Eight years after the appearance of Robert of Brunne's Handlyng Synne, a great impetus was given to the Miracle Plays by a decree of the Council of Vienne (1311). The feast of Corpus Christi, instituted by Pope Urban in 1264, owing to his death in the same year, had never been observed. Its due celebration on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday was now strictly enjoined, and was adopted by the trade-gilds in many towns as their chief festival of the year. The custom of linking several plays on kindred subjects into one grand performance was now greatly extended, in order to provide each craft, or group of crafts, with a separate scene. There was nothing in the nature of the festival, as there is in those of Christmas and Easter, to limit the thoughts of Christians to particular events in the Bible narrative, and the fact that the Thursday after Trinity Sunday mostly falls within a few weeks of the longest day, also lent itself to the performance of those great cycles 'of mater from the beginning of the world' to the Day of Judgment, four of which have come down to us as the most important remains of the English religious drama.

The manner of performance of the Miracle Plays has often been described. In order to enable as large a number of people as possible to be spectators, each play was repeated several times in different parts of the town, called 'stations,' and to this end moveable scaffolds were constructed, which could be drawn by horses from point to point. With this much premised, there can be no difficulty in understanding the oft-quoted account by Archdeacon Rogers (obiit, 1595), who witnessed one of the last performances of the Whitsun plays at Chester, the year before his death.

'Every company,' he writes, 'had his pagiant, or parte, which pagiants weare a high scafolde with two rowmes, a higher and a lower, upon four wheeles. In the lower they apparelled

them selves, and in the higher rowme they played, beinge all open on the tope, that all behoulders mighte heare and see them. The places where they played them was in every streete. They begane first at the abay gates, and when the firste pagiante was played it was wheeled to the highe crosse before the mayor, and so to every streete; and soe every streete had a pagiant playinge before them at one time, till all the pagiantes for the daye appoynted weare played: and when one pagiant was neere ended, worde was broughte from streete to streete, that soe they mighte come in place thereof excedinge orderlye, and all the streetes have theire pagiantes afore them all at one time playeinge togeather; to se which playes was greate resorte, and also scafoldes and stages made in the streetes in those places where they determined to playe theire pagiantes.'

It will be noted that the word pageant, which is ultimately connected with the Greek $\pi \eta \gamma \mu a$, and is found spelt in every conceivable way, is primarily applied to the moveable scaffold on which the play was acted, and only secondarily to the performance itself. In some cases, e.g. in that of the *Trial* of *Christ*, for the proper performance of a play two scaffolds would be required, and the actors would go from one to another, as between the judgment halls of Pilate and Herod. Messengers also would ride up to a scaffold through the town, and there are stage directions such as that 'here Herod shall rage on the pagond and also in the streete.' In the more elaborate performances some attempt was made at scene shifting, as is indicated by directions in the Coventry Play of the *Last Supper*.

'Here Cryst enteryth into the hous with his disciplis and ete the Paschal lomb; and in the mene tyme the cownsel-hous beforn-seyd xal sodeynly onclose, schewyng the buschopys, prestys, and jewgys syttyng in here astat, lyche as it were a convocacyon.'

And again,

'Here the buschopys partyn in the place, and eche of hem takyn here leve, be contenawns, resortyng eche man to his place with here meny redy to take Cryst: and than xal the place ther Cryst is in xal sodeynly unclose round abowt, shewyng Cryst syttyng at the table and hese dyscypules eche in ere degré, Cryst thus seyng,' &c.

In simpler performances a different part of the stage was accepted as a different scene, and actors who were not taking

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part in the dialogue remained in view of the spectators. The dresses, as was long the custom on the English stage, aimed rather at splendour than appropriateness, save in the hideous attire assigned to the demons. God was represented in a white coat, and until the injurious effects of the process were understood, the actor who played this part used to have his face gilded.

In the accounts of the gilds and municipalities there are numerous entries for the purchase of these dresses, for the housing and repair of the pagond, for meat and drink for the actors during rehearsals, and for their fees for the performance. In his *Dissertation on the Coventry Mysteries* (pp. 15, 16), Mr. Sharp quotes in full the expenses incurred by the Smiths in 1490 in rehearsing and exhibiting their pageant of the *Trial*, *Condemnation, and Passion of Christ.* They are as follows :

'This is the expens of the furste reherse of our players in Ester weke. Imprimis in Brede, iiij⁴.

Itñi in Ale, viijd.

Itm in Kechyn, xiijd.

Itm in Vynegre, jd.

Itm payd at the Second Reherse in Whyttson weke, in brede, Ale and Kechyn, ij^a. iiij^d.

Itm for drynkynge at the pagent in having forth in Wyne and ale, vij^d.

Itm in the mornynge at diner and at Sopper in Costs in Brede, vijd.

Itm for ix galons of Ale, xviijd.

Itm for a Rybbe of befe and j gose, vjd.

Itm for kechyn to dener and sopp, ijs. ijd.

Itm for a Rybbe of befe, iijd.

Itm for a quarte of wyne, ijd.

Itm for another quarte for heyrynge of procula is gowne, ijd.

Itm for gloves ijs. vjd.

Itm spent at the repellynge of the pagantte and the expences of havinge it in and furthe, xiiij^a.

Itm in paper, ob.

Md payd to the players for corpus xisti daye.

Imprimis to God, ijs.

Itm to Cayphas, iij^s. iiij^d.

Itm to Heroude, iijs. iiijd.

Itm to Pilatt is wyffe, ijs.

Itm to the Bedull, iiijd.

Itm to one of the Knights, ijs.

Itm to the devyll and to Judas, xviijd. Itm to Petur and malchus, xvjd. Itm to Anna, ij^s. ijd. Itm to Pilatte, iiij^s. Itm to Pilatte is sonne, iiijd. Itm to another knighte, ij^s. Itm to the Mynstrell, xiiijd.

To meet these expenses a yearly rate, varying in the different gilds from a penny to fourpence, was levied on every craftsman. The spending of this rate (called pageant-silver), and of any additions to it through fines, &c., was entrusted to pageantmasters, who were annually elected, and had before leaving office to account for all monies received. The payments to the players (supers like the Bedull and Pilate's son, who received fourpence, being excluded) began at Coventry at fourteenpence, and reached in some cases as much as four shillings, no inconsiderable sum in 1490, when a rib of beef could be bought for threepence, and ale was twopence a gallon. At any rate there was no lack of candidates for the honour of acting, and one of the duties of the pageant-master was to examine into the qualifications of these trade-folk actors. In York this duty was taken up by the Council itself, who on April 3, 1476. ordained :

'That yerely in the tyme of lentyn there shall be called afore the maire for the tyme beyng iiij of the moste connyng discrete and able players within this Citie, to serche, here, and examen all the plaiers and plaies and pagentes thrughoute all the artificers belonging to Corpus Xti Plaie. And all such as thay shall fynde sufficiant in personne and connyng, to the honour of the Citie and worship of the saide Craftes, for to admitte and able; and all other insufficiant personnes, either in connyng, voice, or personne to discharge, ammove, and avoide.

'And that no plaier that shall plaie in the saide Corpns Xti plaie be conducte and reteyned to plaie, but twise on the day of the saide playe [i.e. shall not take more than two different characters]; and that he or thay so plaing plaie not overe twise the saide day, vpon payne of xls. to forfet vnto the chaumbre as often tymes as he or thay shall be founden defautie in the same.'

From this it will be seen that in the larger towns, at any rate, the plays were most carefully rehearsed and prepared, and that Shakespeare's caricature of the tradesman-amateur in Bottom

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and his fellows cannot fairly be applied to these performances. On this part of our subject it only remains to quote the York Proclamation as to the performance of the Corpus Christi plays, which not only illustrates the importance which was attached to them, but gives us the interesting information that the plays began between four and five a.m. The Proclamation belongs to the year 1415, after the performance of the plays had been. transferred from the festival of Corpus Christi to its vigil. It is given here as transcribed by Miss Toulmin Smith for her edition of the York Plays.

· Proclamacio ludi corporis cristi facienda in vigilia corporis cristi.

'Oiez &c. We comand of ye Kynges behalue and ye Mair and ye Shirefs of yis Citee yat no mann go armed in yis Citee with swerdes ne with Carlill-axes, ne none othir defences in distorbaunce of ye Kingis pees and ye play, or hynderyng of ye processioun of Corpore Christi, and yat yai leue yare hernas in yare Ines, saufand knyghtes and sowyers of wirship yat awe haue swerdes borne eftir yame, of payne of forfaiture of yaire wapen and inprisonment of yaire bodys. And yat men yat brynges furth pacentes yat yai play at the places yat is assigned yerfore and nowere elles, of ye payne of forfaiture to be raysed yat is ordayned yerfore, yatis to say xls. And yat menn of craftes and all othir menn yat fyndes torches, yat yai come furth in array, and in ye manere as it has been osed and customed before yis time, noght haueyng wapen, careynge tapers of ye pagentz. And officers yat ar keepers of the pees of payne of forfaiture of vaire fraunchis and vaire bodyes to prison : And all maner of craftmen yat bringeth furthe ther pageantez in order and course by good players, well arayed and openly spekyng, ypon payn of lesyng of Cs. to be paide to the chambre without any pardon. And that every player that shall play be redy in his pagiaunt at convenyant tyme, that is to say, at the myd howre betwix iiijth and yth of the cloke in the mornynge, and then all over pageantz fast followyng ilk one after over as ver course is, without tarieng. Sub pena facienda camere vis. viiid.'

§ 3.

In approaching the consideration of the four great cycles of Miracle Plays still extant (the York, Towneley, Chester and Coventry), it must be remembered that no one of them, in the form in which it has come down to us, can be regarded as a homogeneous whole, the work of a single author. So little attention has as yet been devoted to these plays, that the relations of the different cycles to each other, and of the

different parts of the same cycle to the whole, have as yet been very imperfectly worked out1. It is plain, however, that the dramatists borrowed ideas and sometimes whole scenes from each other, and that the plays were frequently rewritten, often to the great detriment of the original metre. The connection of the plays with the trade-gilds was in itself a great cause of confusion. Where a city was prosperous new gilds would arise, and the original plays have to be subdivided in order to give them a share in the performance. When, on the other hand, the means or the enthusiasm of the gilds was on the decline, two or more plays would have to be run together. The manuscript of the York cycle, which dates from about 1430-40 contains forty-eight plays : in 1415 there had been fifty-one, and another list, probably a few years earlier, gives fifty-seven. The process of subdivision had probably reached its height about the end of the fourteenth century, and the tendency thenceforward would be to amalgamation or excision. In the Chester cycle, of which we have no extant manuscript earlier than 1591, the number of the plays is only twenty-five, and marks of amalgamation are easily traced. Thus each cycle as it has come down to us must be regarded rather as an organic growth than as the work of a single author.

From whatever point of view we regard them, whether as to antiquity, length, or serious interest, the York Plays, which have been the last to receive the honours of print, have the first claim on our attention. The date of the composition of the cycle as a whole is referred by Miss Toulmin Smith to the years 1340-1350. The plays are forty-eight in number, and they follow the Bible narrative very closely, though with the occasional introduction of apocryphal legends from the pseudo-gospels and similar sources. It will be convenient, therefore, to take the York cycle as our standard of comparison, and in order to give the fullest idea of its contents the Ordo Paginarum of 1415 is here subjoined in a translation, that of Drake (the author of the *Eboracum*), slightly emended from the Latin text printed by Miss Toulmin Smith.

¹ An article by Dr. A. Hohlfeld in *Anglia*, Bd. xi. (1889) has recently given a foretaste of the interesting results which might be obtained from a systematic study of the relations of the four cycles.

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⁶The order of the Pagents of the Play of Corpus Christi, in the time of the mayoralty of William Alne, in the third year of the reign of King Henry V., anno 1415, compiled by Roger Burton, town clerk.

		God the Father Almighty creating and forming the
I.	Tanners	heavens, angels and archangels, Lucifer and the
		angels that fell with him to hell.
	Disstances	God the Father, in his own substance, creating the earth and all which is therein, by the space of five
2.	Plasterers	days.
	_	God the Father creating Adam of the clay of the
2	Cardmakers	earth, and making Eve of Adam's rib, and inspiring
3.	Cardinakers	them with the breath of life.
		God forbidding Adam and Eve to eat of the tree of
4.	Fullers	life.
		Adam and Eve and a tree betwixt them; the serpent
	a	deceiving them with apples; God speaking to them
5.	Coopers	and cursing the serpent, and with a sword driving
		them out of paradise.
6	Armourers	Adam and Eve, an angel with a spade and distaff
0.		assigning them work.
7.	Gaunters	Abel and Cain offering victims in sacrifice.
	[Glovers]	
8.	Shipwrights	God warning Noah to make an Ark of floatable
	Deserves	wood.
9.	Pessoners [Fishmongers]	Noah in the Ark, with his wife; the three sons of
	and Mariners	Noah with their wives; with divers animals.
10	Parchment-	
	makers	Abraham sacrificing his son Isaac on an altar, a boy
	Bookbinders	with wood and an angel.
	TTester	Moses lifting up the serpent in the wilderness; King
11.	Hosiers	Pharaoh; eight Jews wondering and expecting.
		A Doctor declaring the sayings of the prophets of the
12.	Spicers	future birth of Christ. Mary; an angel saluting her;
1	(Mary saluting Elizabeth.
13.	Pewterers	Mary, Joseph wishing to put her away; an angel
	Founders	speaking to them that they go to Bethlehem.
		Mary, Joseph, a midwife; the Child born, lying in a
14.	Tylers	manger betwixt an ox and an ass, and an angel
		speaking to the shepherds, and to the players in the
		next pageant.
15	Chandlers	The shepherds talking together, the star in the East; an angel giving the shepherds the good tidings of the
. 9.	onunurors	
		Child's birth.

The three kings coming from the East, Herod asking 16, 17. Orfevers them about the child Jesus; the son of Herod, two [Goldsmiths] counsellors, and a messenger. Mary with the Child, Goldbeaters a star above, and the three kings offering gifts. Monemakers 41. [Misplaced in the MS.] Mary with the Child, Joseph, Anna, the midwife with Formerly the young pigeons; Simeon receiving the Child in his Hospital of arms, and two sons of Symeon. St. Leonards, now the Masons. 18. Marshals Mary with the Child, and Joseph fleeing into Egypt [Shoers of at the bidding of an angel. horses.] 19. Girdellers Herod commanding the children to be slain; four soldiers with lances ; two counsellors of the king, and Nailers four women lamenting the slaughter of the children. Sawyers The Doctors, the Child Jesus sitting in the Temple in 20. Spurriers their midst, questioning and answering them. Four Lorymers Jews, Mary and Joseph seeking Him, and finding [Bridle makers] Him in the Temple. 21. Barbers Jesus, John the Baptist baptizing Him. [Omitted in the (Jesus, Mary, bridegroom with bride, the Ruler of the MS.] Feast with his household, with six water-pots, in which the water is turned into wine. Vintners 22. Fevers Iesus upon the pinnacle of the Temple, Satan tempting Him, with stones, and two angels ministering. [Smiths] Peter, James and John; Jesus ascending into the mountain and transfiguring Himself before them; 23. Curriers Moses and Elias appearing, and a voice speaking from a cloud. [Omitted in the (Jesus, and Simon the Leper asking Jesus to eat with MS.7 him; two disciples, Mary Magdalen washing the feet Ironmongers (of Jesus with her tears and wiping them with her hair. 24. Plumbers Jesus, two Apostles, the woman taken in adultery, Pattenmakers) four Jews accusing her. Pouchmakers Lazarus in the tomb, Mary Magdalene, Martha, and Bottlers two Jews in wonderment. Capmakers Jesus upon an ass with its foal, xii Apostles following Jesus, six rich and six poor men, eight boys with 25. Skinners branches of palms, singing Benedictus, &c., and Zacchæus climbing into a sycamore-tree.

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1 0 11	
26. Cutlers	
Bladesmiths	
Sheathers	Pilate, Caiaphas, two soldiers, three Jews, Judas
Scalers	selling Jesus.
Bucklemakers	3
Horners	
27. Bakers	The paschal lamb, the Lord's supper, the xii Apos- tels, Jesus girt with a linen towel washing their feet; the institution of the Sacrament of Christ's Body in the New Law; the communion of the Apostles. (Pilate, Caiaphas, Annas, fourteen armed soldiers,
28. Cordwaners	Malchus, Peter, James, John, Jesus, and Judas kissing and betraying Him.
29. Bowyers Fletchers [Arrow-feather- ers]	 Jesus, Annas, Caiaphas, and four Jews persecuting and scourging Jesus. Peter, the woman accusing Peter, and Malchus.
30. Tapisers Couchers	Jesus, Pilate, Annas, Caiaphas, two counsellors and four Jews accusing Christ.
31. Littesters	Herod, two counsellors, four soldiers, Jesus and three Jews.
32. Cooks) Pilate, Annas, Caiaphas, two Jews, and Judas bringing
Waterleaders	back to them the thirty pieces of silver.
33. Tilemakers	
Millers	Jesus, Pilate, Caiaphas, Annas, six soldiers carrying
Turners	spears and ensigns, and four others leading Jesus from
Hayresters	Herod, desiring Barabbas to be released and Jesus to
[Workers in	be crucified, and then binding and scourging him,
Horse Hair?	
Bollers	soldiers casting lots for the vest of Jesus.
[Bowlmakers?]	
	Jesus, covered with blood, bearing His cross to Cal-
	vary; Simon of Cyrene, Jews compelling him to bear the cross; Mary, the mother of Jesus, the Apostle John informing her of the condemnation of her
34. Tunners	Son and of His journey to Calvary; Veronica wiping
	blood and sweat from the face of Jesus with the nap-
	kin on which is imprinted Jesu's face; and other
	women lamenting Jesus.
ar Dinnora	, The Cross, Jesus stretched upon it on the earth, four
35. Pinners Latoners	Jews scourging and dragging Him with ropes, and
Painters	afterwards uplifting the Cross and the body of Jesus
rainters	nailed to it, on Mount Calvary.

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		, The cross, two thieves crucified, Jesus hung on the
		cross between them, Mary the mother of Jesus, John,
36	. Butchers	Mary, James and Salome. Longeus with a lance, a
	Poulterers	slave with a sponge, Pilate, Annas, Caiaphas, a cen-
		turion, Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus laying
		Him in the tomb.
37	. Sellers)
	[Saddlers]	The second s
	[Glaziers]	Jesus despoiling Hell, twelve spirits, six good and six
	Fuystours	bad.
	[Makers of	The state of the s
	Saddle Trees]	
		Jesus rising from the tomb, four soldiers armed, and
28	Comontone) the three Maries lamenting. Pilate, Caiaphas [and
30.	Carpenters	Annas. A young man clad in white, sitting at the
		tomb, talking to the women].
39.	Winedrawers	Jesus, Mary Magdalene with spices.
40.	Broggours)
	[Brokers.]	Jesus, Luke and Cleophas in the guise of pilgrims.
	Woolpackers	
42.	Escriveners	
	Luminers	
	[Illuminators]	The Distance of the second sec
	Questors	Jesus, Peter, John, James and other apostles. Thomas
	[Pardoners] Dubbers	feeling the wounds of Jesus.
	Refarbishers	
	of cloths])
		Mary, John the Evangelist, two Angels, and eleven
43.	Talliaunders	Apostles; Jesus ascending before them and four
	[Tailors]	angels carrying a cloud.
	2 12 1/2 13	Mary, two Angels, eleven Apostles, and the Holy
44.	Potters	Spirit descending on them, and four Jews in wonder-
		ment.
	- Street	Jesus, Mary, Gabriel with two angels, two virgins and
45.	Drapers	three Jews of the kindred of Mary, eight Apostles.
		and two devils.
[Omitted in MS.]	Four apostles carrying the bier of Mary; Fergus
	inen-weavers	nanging upon the bier, with two other lews, land
		one angel].
46.	Weavers . of	Mary ascending with a crowd of Angels, eight Apos-
	Woollen (tles, and Thomas the Apostle preaching in the desert.

47. Hostlers	Mary, Jesus crowning her, singing with a crowd of
48. Mercers	Jesus, Mary, twelve Apostles, four angels with trum- pets and four with a crown, a lance and two scourges; four good spirits and four evil spirits, and six devils.

The next cycle which we have to consider is that of the Towneley Plays, so called from the only known manuscript in which they exist having been long in the possession of the Towneley family, from whom it has now passed into the hands of Mr. Bernard Quaritch. This cycle is also frequently quoted as that of the Widkirk, Woodkirk, or Wakefield plays. The authority for the name Widkirk is a tradition of the Towneley family (recorded by Mr. Douce in the Towneley Catalogue for 1814), by which the plays are supposed to have formerly 'belonged to Abbey of Widkirk, near Wakefield, in the County of York.' Widkirk, however, as Prof. Skeat showed in the Athenæum of Dec. 2, 1893, is only an earlier spelling for Woodkirk, the old form naturally surviving in the mouths of the country people. Woodkirk itself is about four miles to the north of Wakefield, and here there was a cell of Augustinian Canons, in dependance on the house of St. Oswald, at Nostel. We must agree, therefore, with the Rev. J. Stevenson, the first editor of these plays, that 'whatever weight there may be attached to the supposition or tradition respecting the original possession. must be given to the claim of this Cell of Canons at Woodkirk.' With Wakefield the connection of these plays is beyond a doubt. Thus at the head of the first play in the series is written in a large hand 'Wakefelde, Barkers'; at the head of the second 'Gloser Pag[eant]'; at the head of the third 'Wakefeld,' and before the play of the Travellers to Emmaus 'Fysher Pageant.' There is also an allusion (in the second play of the Shepherds) to the 'shroges,' or rough moorland of Horbery, a village two or three miles to the south-west of Wakefield. Plainly, therefore, several of these plays were acted by the Trades of Wakefield, and it is probable that the monkish compiler of the Towneley or Woodkirk cycle borrowed them from a cycle, now lost, which used to be performed at Wakefield. But the correctness of the assignment of the whole

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INTRODUCTION.

Towneley cycle to Wakefield is made very improbable by the fact that five 1 of the plays are substantially the same with Nos. 11, 20, 37, 38, 48, in the York cycle. We may therefore safely regard this cycle as a composite one, though the language of the plays, despite some diversities, makes it improbable that the compiler travelled out of Yorkshire in search of his originals. The cycle, as we have it, consists of thirty-two plays, of which two, The Raising of Lazarus and The Hanging of Judas, are inserted at the end of the MS. out of their right order. Twelve quires have been lost from the MS. at the end of the Creation, and another twelve after the Ascension, besides other probable losses. We can only note, therefore, that in our text there is nothing to answer to the York Plays 22, 23, 24 part i, 25-27, 29, 39, 44-47; but it is most probable that if a complete manuscript should ever be recovered its contents would be found to correspond very closely indeed to the York cycle. As compared with the other plays which have come down to us, these two Northern cycles are distinguished by their vigour and originality. They have little pathos, but much humour, and are especially rich in those interpolations on the Scripture narrative, in which the dramatists felt themselves freed from the restraints by which they were hampered in dealing with sacred personages.

Of the origin of the Chester cycle something has already been said, and a short account of the extant MSS. will be found in the notes to the two extracts here printed. The MSS. are all of them late, but they appear to be based on a text of the beginning of the fifteenth century. The composition of the cycle probably dates from some fifty or sixty years earlier. The fame of cycles appears to have spread to Chester, and to have awakened the ambition of a local playwright. As regards metre and form the cycle shows exceptional unity. It is mainly written in eight-line stanzas, the author, as Dr. Hohlfeld points out, at the beginning of each play making a manful attempt to content himself with two rimes (aaabaaab), but soon drifting into the use of three (aaabcccb). In some of the Chester plays

¹ The Departure of the Israelites from Egypt; Christ with the Doctors in the Temple; The Harrowing of Hell; The Resurrection, and The Judgment.

(notably for that of Jesus in the Temple) we can trace the influence of the Yorkshire cycles, and the play on the sacrifice of Isaac was borrowed either from, or from the same original as, the Brome play, printed by Miss Toulmin Smith. But if it be true, as Professor Ten Brink suggests, that the Chester cycle is both less important and less original than those of York and Woodkirk, and that its best, both of pathos and humour appears to be borrowed, it must be allowed on the other hand that its author was possessed of an unusual share of good taste. There is less in the Chester plays to jar on modern feelings than in any other of the cycles. The humour is kept more within bounds, the religious tone is far higher, and though the plays are not spoilt by any obtrusive didacticism such as we find in the Coventry cycle, the speeches of the Expositor at the end of each play show that a real effort was made to serve the religious object to which all Miracle plays were ostensibly directed. On a comparison of the contents of this cycle with that of York we note that fresh subjects are introduced in the histories of Lot and of Balaam, in the play on Ezekiel, which contains prophecies of the end of the world and the Fifteen Signs of Doom, and in the very curious embodiment of the medieval legends on the coming of Antichrist. On the other hand, there is no play of the Exodus, the plays on the history of the Blessed Virgin are represented only by a Salutation and the Nativity of Christ (in the course of which the Emperor Octavian is introduced giving his orders for all the world to be taxed), and there is no play on the Assumption. Like those of York, the Chester plays were enacted by the members of the Trade-Gilds, not, however, on the feast of Corpus Christi, but at Whitsuntide.

The fourth cycle of plays which we have to consider is contained in a manuscript, the greater part of which was written in the year 1468, and which now belongs to the Cottonian Collection in the British Museum. On the fly-leaf of this manuscript, which was probably purchased by Sir Robert Cotton about 1630, is written in the handwriting of his librarian, Dr. Richard James, the following note :- Contenta Novi Testamenti scenice expressa et actitata olim per monachos sive fratres mendicantes : vulgo dicitur hic liber Ludus Coventria, sive Ludus Corporis

Christi: scribitur metris Anglicanis. We know from numerous contemporary allusions that a cycle of Corpus Christi plays was performed by the Grey Friars at Coventry, and the identification of these plays with those of the Cottonian MS. has won a general, though rather uneasy, acceptance.

The lengthy prologue to these plays contains at its end a passage—

A Sunday next, yf that we may, At six of the belle, we gynne oure play In N—— towne;

which points to the performances of a strolling company, and the upholders of the Coventry theory are driven to conjecture that the increasing popularity of the plays of the Trade-Gilds of the city (of which only two specimens have come down to us) drove the Franciscans to take their cycle elsewhere. In the present state of our knowledge it is dangerous to dogmatize-I can only express my own belief that further investigation will lead to the decisive connection of this cycle, not with Coventry, but with the Eastern counties. As Prof. Ten Brink has pointed out (Gesch. der alt. Eng. Litt. § 275), the dialect and scribal peculiarities of these plays belong rather to the North-East Midlands than to the neighbourhood of Coventry, and in the fifteenth century, to the early part of which the composition of this cycle must be attributed, it was in the East-Midlands that the writers of Miracle plays and Moralities were most busily at work. In language, in metre, in tone, in the elaborate stage directions, in the proclamation of the play by the wandering banner-bearers or vexillatores, this cycle appears to bear close affinities to the later Miracle plays, such as the Croxton play on the Sacrament, and the play of Mary Magdalen, and with the early Moralities such as the Castell of Perseverance, all of which are of East-Midland origin, and to the East-Midlands I feel sure that it will eventually be assigned 1. As divided by its editor, Mr. Halliwell Phillipps, the cycle consists of forty-two plays, which, as we learn from a passage in the twenty-ninth,

¹ It is worth noting in this connection that the beautiful speech of Christ on the Resurrection morning, beginning 'Earthly man that I have wrought,' is taken almost word for word from the old East-Midland dramatic poem of the *Harrowing of Hell*.

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were not all of them performed in any one year. Comparing the plays with those of the York cycle, we note that a long didactic play on the Giving of the Law takes the place of that of the Exodus (11), that the thirteenth York play is expanded into a series of seven, dealing with the history of S. Joseph and the Blessed Virgin up to the time of the Nativity, that there is no play on the Transfiguration, and that the three York plays on the Death of Mary, her Appearance to St. Thomas, Assumption and Coronation, are represented by a single long play on the Assumption. In this cycle the didactic speeches elsewhere assigned to a 'Doctor' or 'Expositor' are delivered by an allegorical personage called Contemplacio. Death is personified, and a play on the Salutation is prefaced by a long prologue in heaven, in which the speakers are (besides Deus Pater and Deus Filius), Veritas, Misericordia, Justicia, and Pax¹. This tendency towards the personification of abstract ideas is a mark of late date in the history of the Miracle play, and helps to link this cycle to the earlier Moralities, of which we shall soon proceed to speak. Taken as a whole ², these so-called Coventry plays show the least dramatic power of any of the four cycles which we have examined. Their interest is mainly didactic, and they are especially concerned with the doctrine of the Holy Trinity and of the honour due to the Blessed Virgin. But they are not without vigour, and their refusal of humorous episodes is not to be reckoned against them.

§4.

In the English Miracle plays which we have been examining, as in the religious dramas of other European countries, two distinct centres of interest offer themselves for examination. The student of the history of religious thought will investigate the respective influences in the composition of these plays of the Bible narrative, the Apocryphal Gospels, and the Medieval Legends. He will be interested in the position assigned to the

¹ This scene, which forms one of our extracts, closely resembles one at the end of the *Castell of Perseverance*. A similar heavenly conference occurs in the French *Mystère du Vieil Testament* in a play on the sacrifice of Isaac.

² Some exceptions must be made. Thus the plays on the Woman taken in Adultery and the Death of Herod are both vividly dramatic.

Blessed Virgin, in the reality with which the truths of the Christian Faith have been apprehended, and in the underlying meaning of the irreverence and prurience with which the most sacred subjects are occasionally handled. This is a line of investigation well worthy of pursuit, but which the scope of this volume absolutely forbids. Such an investigation must take as its field the whole remains of the religious drama in this country, viewed in connection with the contemporary literature both at home and abroad. Nor could its results be adequately supported except by selections at least ten times as long as those which are here presented. For us, therefore, the interest of these plays comes primarily from their dramatic side, and their importance in the history of medieval thought can only be made the subject of incidental illustration. It is this principle which has come to our help in the selection of typical extracts, which otherwise would have been a task of almost insuperable difficulty. Thus our first extract (The Creation, and Fall of Lucifer) may be taken as exemplifying the power of these primitive playwrights in developing a great historical situation; the second, that of Noah's Flood, their development of a humorous incident (the controversy between Noah and his wife) within the limits of the Miracle play proper; while our third extract, on the Sacrifice of Isaac, exhibits the treatment of the most tragic and pathetic incident, with one exception, with which the playwrights were concerned. They may thus be taken as representing the nearest approach which the religious drama could properly make to the Histories, Comedies, and Tragedies of the great days of Elizabeth, an approach so distant as to demonstrate that had all foreign influences been excluded, the development of the drama in England would have been almost indefinitely delayed. Yet our fourth extract, the Shepherd's Play (No. 2) from the Towneley manuscript, may give us reason to believe that, however great the time which would have been needed for its unaided evolution, the seed, at least of Comedy, had reached a considerable stage of development before the influence of classical and Italian models quickened the progress of the drama to a speed in which the shares of its respective factors becomes difficult to distinguish.

In any exhaustive treatment of the history of the Miracle

play, one of the most important lines of investigation would be concerned with the characters with whom the medieval dramatist felt himself free to deal as he pleased. These characters are almost exclusively those of persons to whom neither Scripture nor legend ascribed either name or individuality. Cain's 'Garcio' or Servant, Noah's Wife, the Detractors of the Blessed Virgin, the Shepherds, the Soldiers sent to slay the Holy Innocents, the Pharisees who brought before Christ the Woman taken in Adultery, the Woman's Lover, the Beadle of Pilate's Court, the Workmen who set up the Cross, the Soldiers who watch at the Tomb,-it is in the treatment of these nameless characters that some of the most dramatic touches are bestowed. They are obviously introduced for the sake of relief, and in the York plays it is in the intervals of the torturing and crucifixion of Christ that these interludes, all more or less humorous, are most frequently introduced. Pilate toys with his wife in open court, and to the intense amusement of the spectators is reproved by his Beadle, just before Jesus is led in fresh from the buffettings in the Hall of Annas; the despair of Judas is followed by a scene in which a Squire is cheated of his title-deeds to Calvary-Locus; the soldiers who set up the Cross wrangle together through a hundred lines over their work. These interludes are to us at times inexpressibly painful, but dramatically they are good art, and were welcomed by their spectators as a relief to the extreme tension of feeling which the protracted exhibition of Christ's Passion could not fail to excite. On the same principle the rough sport of the Shepherds is made to introduce the touching scenes of the Manger Bed at Bethlehem, and it is to this desire for dramatic relief that we owe the story of Mak and his sheep-stealing, our first English Comedy.

§ 5.

If of all the sacred dramas of whose performance in England we possess a record the full text had been handed down to us, the field for investigation would have been so vast as to frighten rather than attract enquirers¹. There is, however, at least one

¹ This seems to have happened in France, where, according to Mr. Stoddart's Bibliography, fifteen MSS. containing plays or cycles, extending from 4000 to 37,000 lines apiece, are still awaiting a printer.

play of which the most faint-hearted student must bitterly regret the loss. 'Once on a time 1,' we are told, 'a play setting forth the goodness of the Lord's Prayer was played in the city of York; in which play all manner of vices and sins were held up to scorn, and the virtues were held up to praise.' This play is alluded to by Wyclif², and we have a few details respecting a gild which was formed in York for the special purpose of its maintenance. In her introduction to the York Plays, Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith describes a compotus Roll of this gild Oracionis domini, 'dated Michaelmas, 1399, which shows that there were then over 100 members and their wives, and that they possessed rents and receipts amounting to f_{26} 5s. II¹/₂d.' The Roll contains a special mention of a ludus Accidie 'holding up to scorn' the vice of gluttony. The gild was dissolved by Henry VIII, but in 1558 the play was performed at the expense of the city in place of the Corpus Christi plays, and this happened again in 1572. In that year, however, Grindal was Archbishop of York, and demanded that a copy of the play should be submitted to him. The copy was sent, and its return requested three years later, but thenceforward we hear of it no more. The loss is irreparable, for this is the earliest Morality Play of which we have any mention, and must have been written nearly a century before the Castell of Perseverance, its earliest extant successor. Besides the play of the Lord's Prayer, we know of the performance at York of a Creed Play, which also must have been rather a Morality than a Miracle play. 'It was performed,' Miss Smith tells us, 'about Lammas-tide every tenth year, and five such performances, beginning in 1483, are recorded; the last of these, in 1535, superseded the usual Corpus Christi plays. A performance was proposed in 1568. but the question was referred to Dean Hutton, whose opinion was adverse, and we know nothing more as to the play.'

The loss of these two plays of the Lord's Prayer and the Creed cannot be too deeply regretted; we may be grateful,

¹ English Gilds, by Toulmin Smith, p. 137, Preamble to ordinances of Gild of the Lord's Prayer. (Quoted by Miss Toulmin Smith).

² '& herfore freris han tauyt in Englond be Paternoster in Englisch tunge, as men seyen in be playe of Yorke,' *De officio pastorali*. Cap. XV. (written about 1378), ed. F. D. Matthew for E. E. T. S.

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however, even for the bare record of their existence, which helps us to a clearer notion of the origin and nature of the Morality play than we could otherwise obtain. In its later development the Morality became dull, narrow, and essentially sectarian, and its heavy didactics were only relieved by the insertion of scenes of low humour, of which the humourousness is far from apparent. But in its earlier days the Morality was not wholly unworthy to be ranked with the Miracle plays, to which it formed a complement. The Miracle play takes as its basis the historical books of the Bible and the legends of the Church, but these alone do not furnish a complete answer to the questions 'What must I do-What must I believe-to be saved?' and in the two centuries during which the popularity of the sacred drama was at its height, various plays were written in which the moral and sacramental teaching of the Church are assigned the prominence which in the Miracle play is occupied by its history. We know that in the play of the Lord's Prayer 'all manner of vices and sins were held up to scorn, and the virtues were held up to praise,' and in the contest between the personified powers of good and evil, the Seven Cardinal Virtues and the Seven Deadly Sins, for the possession of man's soul, we have the essence of the Morality play. This contest naturally involved the use of personifications, for the medieval playwright was too simpleminded to anticipate the method of Ben Jonson, by representing men and women living human lives with human relationships. and at the same time embodying a single humour or quality, to the exclusion of all others. We must not, however, regard the use of personification as involving a dramatic advance. It was essential to the scheme of the Morality, and must have been present no less in the fourteenth century plays, of which we hear at York, than in their successors. In itself, as tending to didacticism and unreality, personification is wholly undramatic, and the popularity of the later Morality significantly coincides with the dullest and most barren period in the history of English literature.

It is remarkable that most of the early Morality plays which have come down to us, together with the contemporary Miracle plays, to which they exhibit the closest affinity, are connected with the East-Midland district, throughout which, during the

fifteenth century, the popularity of the religious drama appears to have been very great. Reasons have already been assigned for connecting with this district the cycle of Miracle plays usually attributed to the Grey Friars of Coventry, and in this cycle the influence of the Morality is shown in the personifications in the Council in Heaven (quoted in our specimens), and in the appearance of Death at the Court of Herod, and also in the unflinching didacticism which devoted an entire scene to an exposition of the Ten Commandments. The play of S. Mary Magdalen, from which also extracts are given in this volume, shows even stronger proofs of the influence of the Morality in the appearance of Good Angel and Bad Angel, and of the World and the Flesh as no less real personages than the Devil himself. Again, the Croxton play of the Sacrament, which should certainly be connected with the Norfolk rather than with any other Croxton, although not a Morality and introducing no personifications, is yet allied to the Morality in its endeavour to bring the sacramental teaching of the Church within the scope of the religious drama. The subject of the play and its treatment by the dramatist are both so painful that it is difficult to award this drama the attention which, as dealing with a modern legend and introducing almost contemporary characters, it in some respects deserves. The medieval hatred of the Jews gave rise to a succession of legends of their obtaining possession of the Consecrated Host, and by fire and sword endeavouring to torture afresh the Christ believed by devout worshippers to be there present. In a Yorkshire church a fresco has recently been uncovered in which is commemorated such an attempt on the part of some Flemish Jews in the fourteenth century. The Croxton play 1 deals with a miracle ' don in the forest of Aragon. In the famous cite Eraclea, the yere of owr lord God m.cccc.lxi.' It introduces Aristorius, a Christian merchant, who for one hundred pounds procures the Host for the Jews; Ser Isoder, his chaplain; Jonathas, Jason, Jasdon, Masphat and Malchus, five Jews, of whom the first is the chief; a Bishop, and a Quack

¹ Edited by Mr. Whitley Stokes, from the MS. in Trinity College, Dublin, in the Appendix to the *Transactions of the Philological Society* for 1860, 61.

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Doctor¹, with Colle, his servant, who are called in to heal the hand of Jonathas, withered as a result of his sacrilege, and indulge in much buffoonery. The play has absolutely nothing to recommend it. It is without dignity, pathos or dramatic power, and its incongruous humour is of the lowest kind. Only one other point need be noted in connection with it, that its performance, although localised at Croxton (whether permanently or not, we cannot say), was announced throughout the neighbouring villages by *vexillatores* or banner-bearers, of the same kind as those who advertised the plays of the itinerant actors who represented the 'Coventry' cycle and the *Castell of Perseverance*.

§ 6.

We at length approach the consideration of the earliest extant Morality play, the *Castell of Perseverance*, the importance of which consists not only in its antiquity, but in the completeness with which it developes the central ideas underlying all the plays of their class.

The cause of our comynge you to declare says the second banner-bearer,

Every man in hymself for sothe he it may fynde, Whou mankynde into this world born is ful bare And bare schal beryed be at the last ende; God hym geryth two aungel ful γ ep and ful pare The goode aungel and the badde to hym for to lende The goode techyth hym goodnesse, the badde synne and sare, Whanne the ton hath the victory the tother goth behende be skyll The goode aungel coveytyth evermore man's salvacion And the badde bysyteth hym euere to hys dampnacion, And God hathe gevyn man fre arbitracion

Whether he wyl hym[self] save hy[s soul?].

His comrades take up the story :

Spylt is man speciously whanne he to synne assent, The bad aungel thanne bryngeth hym iiij enmys so stout The werlde, the fende, the foul Flesche, so joly and jent, Thei ledyn hym fful lustyly with synnys al abowt.

¹ The appearance of the Quack Doctor is particularly interesting, because of his survival in the Christmas mummings and plays of St. George and the Dragon, which are still acted in some country villages.

To trace the spiritual history of *Humanum Genus* (Mankind, or the Typical Man) from the day of his birth to his appearance at the Judgment Seat of God, to personify the foes by whom his pathway is beset, the Guardian Angel by whose help he resists them, and the ordinances of Confession and Penance by which he is strengthened in his conflict, this was the playwright's object; and, however dramatically impossible, it was certainly a worthy one. The opening pageant of *Mundús*, *Belyal* and *Caro*, the World, the Devil, and the Flesh, each boasting of his might; the appearance of *Humanum Genus*, naked save for the chrism cloth on his head, and conscious of his helplessness; the first struggle for his soul of his Good and Bad Angels, and the victory of the latter, make up an impressive prologue, which ends with the lament of *Bonus Angelus*, chanted to music:

> Mankynde hath forsakyn me, Alas, man, for love of the! Ya for this gamyn and this gle Thou schalt grocchyn and grone.

In the next division of the play Mankind is presented to Mundus, to whom he professes allegiance, and is confided to the care of Pleasure, Folly, and Backbiting (Voluptas, Stultitia, Detraccio), and ultimately to Belial and Caro, and the Seven Deadly Sins, each of whom enters with an appropriate speech. Then Mankind's Good Angel calls to his aid Confessio and Schrift, and with the help of Penitencia the sinner is converted and reconciled, and safely lodged in the Castle of Perseverance, there to await the fresh assaults of his enemies. These are not long delayed. In what we may call Act III, Detraccio brings the news of Mankind's conversion to Caro, and after brief counsel they report what has happened to Mundus. But if the forces of Hell are mustering, those of Heaven are not idle. Caritas, Abstinencia, Castitas, Solicitudo, Largitas, and Humilitas, successively come on the scene, each with his exhortation. That of Solicitudo is perhaps the best worth quoting, and may serve as a specimen of the rest :

> In besynesse man loke thou be With worthi werkes goode and thykke, To slawthe if thou cast the It schal the drawe to thoutes wyckke.

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It puttyth a man to pouerte And pullyth hym to peynys prycke. Do sumwhat alwey for love of me Thou thou schuldyst but thwyte a stycke, With bedys sumtyme the blys. Sum tyme rede and sum tyme wryte And sum tyme pleye at thi delyte The devyl the waytyth with dyspyte Whanne thou art in Idylnesse.

But the *Deadly Sins* are advancing to the attack, led by *Belial*, whose banner is borne by *Pride*, while *Caro* is apparently on horseback, and *Gula* flourishes a long lance. The Virtues meet their assault with roses ¹, the emblem of Christ's Passion, and the Vices are driven back. Then *Mundus* calls *Avaritia* or *Covetyse* to the rescue, and by him *Humanum Genus* is lured from the Castle. Old Age is creeping upon him, and he yields to its besetting sin :

Penyman best may spede, He is a duke to don a dede;

is his argument, and, despite the laments of his Good Angel and the warnings of *Solicitudo* and *Largistas*, he gives himself over to sin, and the division of the play ends with the exultation of *Mundus* over his fall.

In Act IV (the divisions are my own) *Humanum Genus* receives his reward in the shape of a thousand marks. To the gift, however, there is a stipulation attached:

Lene no man hereof for no karke, Thou he schuld hange be the throte, Monk nor frere, prest nor clerke, Ne helpe therwith chyrche nor cote Tyl deth thi body delve. Thou he schuld sterve in a cave, Lete no pore man therof have, In grene gras tyl thou be grave Kepe sum what for thi selve.

¹ Thus *Ira*, after threatening *Patientia* with 'styffe stones,' presently cries out:

I am al beten blak and blo With a rose that on rode was rent.

The money is hid in the ground and there abides. But Death is making ready to strike *Humanum Genus* down, and *Mundus* sends *Garcio* to claim the money as his inheritance.

What devyl! thou art not of my kyn, Thou dedyst me nevere no maner good, I hadde lever sum nyfte or sum cosyn Or sum man hadde it of my blod: I trowe the werld be wod

is the exclamation of *Humanum Genus*, but he laments in vain. Bereft of his goods and in terror for his soul, he awaits Death, and amid his prayers to *Misericordia* and the gibes of his Bad Angel his spirit takes its flight, to become in the 'fifth Act' the subject of an argument in heaven between *Misericordia*, *Justitia*, *Veritas*, and Pax, similar to the one quoted from the 'Coventry' plays. 'Lete hym drynke as he brewyit' is the plea of Justice, but Mercy appeals to Christ's Passion, and the decision of Pater sedens in trono is merciful.

The Castell of Perseverance cannot escape the charge of prolixity. At a rough guess it contains about 3500 lines, nearly as many as all but the longest of Shakespeare's tragedies. The language, again, is without grace, and too often sacrifices clearness to the desire for alliteration. But with all its faults the play is a fine one, dealing with man's salvation in no unimpressive fashion, and distinguished by a logical development and unity of purpose, which is found in the great cycles of Miracle plays when regarded as dramatic entities, but nowhere else. As the stage directions, quoted in the short Introduction in the Notes, sufficiently show, it was intended to be presented with something of the elaborateness of the Miracle plays, and it is altogether a very noteworthy production. The manuscript of which it forms part, and which by the kindness of its owner, Mr. Gurney, and of Dr. Furnivall, I hope soon to have the honour of editing for the Early English Text Society, contains also two other plays. the examination of which need not detain us long¹. They are full of interesting points, but are inferior in every way to the

¹ Both of these plays, as also the *Castell of Perseverance*, are analysed in vol. ii. of Collier's *History of English Dramatic Poetry*. From having once belonged to Mr. Cox Macro they are often alluded to as the 'Macro Moralities.'

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play we have been considering. The first of them is called by Mr. Collier Mind, Will, and Understanding, but by Dr. Furnivall¹ A Morality of the Wisdom that is Christ. Everlasting Wisdom discourses to Anima on the means of grace, Mind, Wyll, and Understanding declare themselves as the three parts of the soul, and are seduced by Lucyfer in the guise of a 'proud gallant.' When they have loudly expressed their determination to be wicked Wisdom re-enters, and with Wisdom Anima, now 'in the most horrible wyse, fowlere than a fende,' and with little devils running from under her skirts. Mind, Wyll, and Understanding are converted, and Wisdom delivers a long discourse on the nine works specially pleasing to God. A curious passage on the evils of the age, especially the practice of maintenance, forms the most noteworthy portion of the text of the play, but it is probable that the spectators were best pleased with the rich dresses of the actors, and the dumb shows by which the representation was diversified. Thus in one part of the play a procession was formed of the Five Wyttes (or, as we should say, five senses) as 'five vyrgynes, with kertyllys and mantelys, and chevelers and chappelettes,' singing an anthem, 'and they goyng befor, Anima next, and her folowynge Wysdom, and aftyr hym Mynde, Wyll, and Undyrstondynge, all iii in wyght cloth of golde, cheveleryde and crestyde in sute;' and in another place there enters a dumb show of 'six dysgysyde in the sute of Mynde,' viz. Indignation, Sturdiness, Malice, Hastiness, Revenge (or Wreche) and Discord, 'with rede berdes and lyons rampaunt on here crestes and yche a warder in his honde.' Apart from these scenic diversions the play must have been dull enough, for of dramatic action there is none, and the speeches are terribly long and didactic.

The third play in Mr. Gurney's MS., called by Mr. Collier Mankind, is cast upon somewhat more dramatic lines. It consists of a struggle between Mercy and Mischief for the soul of Mankind. Mischief is aided by Nought, New Gyse and Nowadays, whose assaults Mankind repulses by a threat to 'ding' them with his spade. But when Titivillus, a more potent devil, appears on the scene, Mankind yields to his temptations,

¹ In his edition for the New Shakspere Society of a part of the play as it survives in the Digby MS. declaring 'Of labure and preyere I am nere yrke of both.' *Mischief* triumphs over *Mercy*, and *Mankind* is nearly persuaded to hang himself, but is rescued and reconciled by *Mercy*. This play is probably of a later date than its two companions, and forms a connecting link between the earlier Moralities and their later development, of which we shall soon have to speak.

Of the plays handed down to us in printed editions, that of *Everyman*, though now known to be only a translation from the Dutch *Elkerlijk*, claims the first place. It was printed at least four times early in the 15th century, twice by Richard Pynson and twice by John Skot. Though planned on a far less extensive scale than the *Castell of Perseverance*, it is distinguished by the same breadth of motive as the earlier play, and both in language and treatment it is thoroughly dramatic. Its plot, as Prof. Ten Brink has noted, is derived from the old Buddhist parable known to Europeans through the legend of Barlaam and Josaphat. The extracts given in the present volume are so long, comprising nearly half the play, that no further analysis is needed. It is sufficient here to note its prominent introduction of Catholic teaching on the subject of the seven sacraments, and its exaltation of the priesthood.

For preesthode excedeth all other thynge; To us holy scripture they do teche And converteth man fro synne heven to reche; God hath to them more power gyven Than to any aungell that is in heven.

11. 728, sqq.

And again-

Ther is no emperour, kyng, duke ne baron, That of God hath commissyon, As hath the leest preest in the worlde beynge, For of the blessed sacramentes pure and benigne He bereth the kayes, and thereof hath cure For mannes redempcion, it is ever sure.

11. 709, sqq.

Prof. Ten Brink is inclined to place this play as early as the reign of Edward IV, and it is certain that it must have been composed before the end of the 15th century.

Only once again, in 'a proper new interlude of the World and the Child, otherwise called Mundus et Infans,' do we find the Morality concerned with issues that touch the whole of human nature. Though called a 'new interlude' when printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1522, this remarkable play, by its language, its strong alliteration, and its bragging speeches, cast almost in Herod's vein, is manifestly of a much earlier date, and cannot be assigned to a later reign than that of Henry VII. It traces the career of man through its successive stages of Infancy, Boyhood, Youth, Manhood, and Age. In Infancy he is called by his mother Dalliance, in Boyhood *Mundus* gives him the name of Wanton, in Youth he is called Love-Lust and Liking. When 'one and twenty winter is comen and gone' *Mundus* thus addresses him :

> ¹ Now welcome, Love-Lust and Lykynge For thou hast ben obedyent to my byddynge I encreace the in all thynge And myght[i]y I make the a man. Manhode Myghty shall be thy name. Bere the prest in every game, And wayte well that thou suffre no shame, Neyther for londe nor for rente: Yf ony man wolde wayte the with blame, Withstonde hym with thy hole entent Full sharpely thou bete hym to shame With doughtynesse of dede: For of one thynge, Manhode, I warne the I am moost of bounte. For seven kynges sewen me Bothe by dave and nyght. One of them is the kynge of pryde, The kynge of envy, doughty in dede, The kynge of wrathe that boldely wyll abyde, For mykyll is his myght. The kynge of covet[ise] is the fourte: The fyfte kynge he hyght slouthe, The kynge of glotony hath no Jolyte There poverte is pyght : Lechery is the seventh kynge, All men in hym have grete delytynge, Therfore worshyp hym above all thynge, Manhode with all thy myght.

¹ Quoted from the Roxburghe Club reprint of 1817.

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Manhood promises obedience to Mundus in all things, but now Conscience comes on the scene and Manhood is persuaded, though not without considerable reluctance, to profess himself his servant. His conversion, however, is very half-hearted, for he says of Mundus,

> But yet wyll I hym not forsake, For mankynde he dothe mery make: Thoughe the worlde and conscyence be at debate, Yet the worlde will I not despyse, For bothe in chyrche and in chepynge, And in other places beynge, The world fyndeth me all thynge And dothe me grete servyse.

Weakened by this determination to serve two masters, Mankind falls an easy victim to the wiles of Folly, and it is not until his name is changed to Age that he learns the lessons ¹ of Perseverance, and receives from him his final appellation, Repentance. There is little action about the play, and such rough eloquence as it may have originally possessed, is sadly marred by the obvious imperfections of the form in which it has come down to us. It remains, however, a notable play, and stands a head and shoulders higher than any of its successors.

\$ 7.

In the prologue to *Everyman* we are told that the drama is 'by figure a moral play.' As we have already noted, when Wynkyn de Worde printed the *World and the Child*, he called it, according to the fashion of the day, an Interlude. The change of name aptly marks the great differences between the earlier moral dramas, conceived and carried out on the scale of the *Castell of Perseverance*, and their later and in every way inferior successors², whose history we must now consider.

¹ The lessons, it should be noted, include a long exposition of the twelve articles of the Creed.

² The wonderful Scotch Morality by Sir David Lyndsay, called *The* Sature of the Three Estates, must be excepted from any accusation of inferiority, but as belonging to Scotch literature and not to English it forms no part of our subject. An excellent analysis of it will be found on pp. 271-276 of Morley's First Sketch of English Literature. These later plays seldom greatly exceed a thousand lines in length, they required no stage accessories, and could mostly be performed by four or five players dividing the parts amongst them. In place of the whole of man's life in its relation to its eternal issues, they deal with mere fragments of it, and their moral teaching is confined to exhortations against the besetting sins of youth, and to the praise of learning and studiousness. In other plays for the sacramental teaching of the Church there is substituted the Reformation controversy, and these polemics of the stage were carried to such a length as to draw down on themselves the royal prohibition. The word *Interlude* reminds us of the more trivial nature of these later performances, from which, however, most of the popular ideas about Morality plays have usually been derived ¹.

The 'Enterlude of Hycke-scorner,' which, as printed by Wynkyn de Worde, may be reckoned as one of the earliest specimens of the new Moralities, is in many respects a good example of its class. It opens with a colloquy between *Pity* and *Contemplation*, who are soon joined by *Perseverance*. They lament together over the wickedness of the times, and their place is then taken by *Freewill* and *Imagination*, who recount to each other the pranks they have been playing in

¹ An example of this confusion is to be found in the prominence assigned in all accounts of the Morality to the character of the Vice, to whom allusion is made by Ben Jonson in his Staple of News, ii. I, and The Devil is an Ass, i. I, and by other Elizabethan writers. In the Morality proper the Vice has no part, but when the desire was felt for some humourous relief in the didactic interludes, a character probably dressed in the traditional garb of the domestic Fool was introduced and attained great popularity. The etymology of the name is doubtful, for in Heywood's Play of the Wether (1534), one of the earliest instances in which the Vice is specifically mentioned by name, he plays the part of Mery Report, who is a jester pure and simple, without any connection with any of the deadly sins. So in Jack Juggler, Jack himself is called the Vice, and in Godly Queen Hester (1561) the name is given to a jester called Hardy Dardy. In other plays, however, the part of the Vice is assigned to characters such as Sin, Fraud, Inclination, Ambition, &c., and the list given in the Devil is an Ass (Fraud or Covetousness, or lady Vanity, or old Iniquity), confirms the theory that the obvious etymology, is the true one.

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very unseemly language. To them enters Hickscorner, a traveller, who soon proves himself a worthy comrade. He comes to blows, however, with Imagination, and Pity returns to help keep the peace. The three knaves, indignant at his intervention, bind him and go their ways. Pity is released by Perseverance and Contemplation, and goes in quest of his adversaries. Meanwhile Freewill has been imprisoned in Newgate for 'conveying' a cup, but has been delivered by Imagination. He is now confronted by Perseverance and Contemplation, who effect his conversion by their arguments. Imagination again appears on the scene, at first only to scoff, but in a little while he too is converted, and in this edifying manner the play ends. Hickscorner, it will be noted, after whom the interlude is named, disappears altogether unnoticed, and there is no single dramatic touch in the whole production. The play, however, must have enjoyed a fairly long life, for the author of an Interlude of Youth, printed by Waley, probably in the reign of Mary, took it as his model, and incorporated whole sentences from it into his own work. With Hickscorner and Youth may be classified 'an enterlude,' printed both by Vele and by William Copland, 'called Lusty Juuentus, lyuely describing the frailtie of youth: of natur prone to vyce: by grace and good counsayll traynable to vertue.' This very dull play, only relieved by two rather good songs, was the work of a vehemently Protestant author. The characters are-a Messenger. Lusty Juuentus, Good Counsaill, Knowledge, Sathan the deuyll, Hypocrisie, Felowship, Abhominable Lyuyng, God's Merciful Promises, and their names sufficiently indicate the general course of the plot. Juventus is nourished in the strictest principles of the Reformation, until by direction of Satan, Hypocrisy, under the name of Friendship, leads him first into heresy and from heresy into unclean living, from which he is finally rescued by his former friends Good Counsaill and Knowledge.

Of the second class of the later Moralities, or, as I should prefer to call them, didactic interludes, those namely which were written in praise, not of religion, but of learning, the *Interlude* of the Four Elements is the earliest that has come down to us. The only known copy which has been preserved is unfortu-

nately imperfect, so that the course of the plot cannot be set forth at length, but the writer's unflinching didacticism and the expedients by which it is relieved, are sufficiently illustrated in the short extracts quoted in the present volume. Another interlude in praise of learning is the Wyt and Science of John Redford, written probably towards the end of the reign of Henry VIII, and first printed in the Shakespeare Society's Publications for 1848. Though itself so long in obtaining the honours of print, Redford's play served as a model to the anonymous author of 'a new and pleasant enterlude, intituled the Marriage of Witte and Science,' licensed in 1569-70 to its printer, Thomas Marshe. This is a really amusing play, very brightly and trippingly written, with scarcely a bad line in it. It was probably composed by a schoolmaster for performance by his boys, and traces the mishaps of Wit in his endeavour to win the hand of his lady Science, the daughter of Reason and Experience. In all his adventures Wit has a charming companion and page in Will, whose talk is much wittier, in the modern sense, than his master's. The play is regularly divided into acts and scenes, and in this and other respects is so widely removed from the earlier didactic interludes, as hardly to come within the scope of the present volume. In the same way the Nice Wanton and the Disobedient Child, the latter by Thomas Ingelend, both probably written during the reign of Elizabeth, have passed too far into the regions of comedy to be treated here, though their inculcation of the necessity of discipline in youth entitles them to be ranked with the didactic interludes.

Two famous names recall us to an earlier period. John Skelton and John Heywood are both of them known to English literature in other capacities than as dramatists, but Heywood put his best work into his plays, while Skelton's *Magnificence* (c. 1520?), though learned and painstaking, and with some fine passages, is a dull and lifeless performance, which its author's fame as a satirist has caused to be somewhat overrated. The minor characters are numerous and, as nearly all of them change their names for the purpose of disguise, the thread of the play (of which a brief summary is given in the *Notes*) is by no means easy to follow. The same charge may fairly be brought against a play by John Heywood, a unique copy of which exists in the Bodleian Library, but has never yet provoked an editor to reprint it. The play is on the subject of Love, and its characters—Loving not Loved, Loved not Loving, Both Loving and Loved, Neither Loved nor Loving, &c.—are such mere puppets, that the play is the most confusing the present writer has ever grappled with. Yet there is much wit in the dialogue, as for instance in this pitiful complaint of the woman Loved not Loving, concerning the too pertinacious suit of her admirer:

> For it doth lyke me evyn lyke as one Shold offer me servyse most humbly With an axe in his hande, contynually Besechyng me gentylly that this might be sped, To graunt hym my good wyll to stryke off my hed.

The play is really little more than a disputation (interrupted by one long and not too pleasant narrative) as to the comparative intensities of the happiness and misery to be won from love. As such it is essentially undramatic, and the only incident by which it is diversified, in which Neither Loved nor Lovyng pretends to have set Loved not Lovyng on fire, is but poor stuff. Heywood's other plays are much better, and it is strange that one of them, the Play of the Wether, of the two editions of which unique copies respectively exist in the Bodleian and the library of St. John's College, Oxford, has had to wait so long for a modern editor. In this 'new and very mery interlude all maner wethers,' Jupiter deputes Mery Report to hear and recount to him all the different prayers that the various characters offer up for different varieties of weather. Mery Report's account of his experiences gives so excellent a summary of the play that I append it below¹, with little doubt that its length

1 Merry Report-

Now such an other sorte as here hath bene In all the dayes of my lyfe I haue not sene, No sewters now but women, knauys, and boys, And all theyr sewtys are in fansyes and toys. Yf that there come no wyser after thys cry I wyll to the god and make an ende quyckely. Oyes, yf that any knaue here Be wyllynge to appere For wether fowle or clere, Come in before thys flocke,

will be excused. The didactic import of this interlude is obvious, and it is thus connected with *Thersites*, that admirable lesson

And be he hole or syckly Come shew hys mynde quyckly.

All thys tyme I perceyue is spent in wast, To wayte for mo sewters, I se non make hast. Wherfore I wyll shew the god all thys procys, And be delyuered of my symple offys. Now, lorde, accordynge to your comaundement, Attendyng sewters I haue ben dylygent, And, at begynnyng as your wyll was I sholde, I come now at ende to shewe what eche man wolde. The fyrst sewter before your selfe dyd appere, A gentylman desyrynge wether clere, Clowdy, nor mysty, nor no wynde to blow, For hurt in hys huntynge; and then, as ye know, The marchaunt sewde for all of that kynde For wether clere and mesurable wynde, As they maye best bere theyr saylys to make spede; And strenght after thys there came to me in dede An other man who namyd hym selfe a ranger, And savd all of hys crafte be farre brought in dannger For lacke of lyvynge, whyche chefely ys wynde fall, But he playnely sayth there bloweth no wynde at al, Wherfore he desyreth, for encrease of theyr fleesys, Extreme rage of wynde trees to tere in peces. Then came a water myller, and he cryed out For water, and sayde the wynde was so stout The rayne could not fall; wherfore he made request For plenty of ravne to set the wynde at rest. And then, syr, there came a wynde myller in, Who savde for the rayne he could no wynde wyn. The water he wysht to be banysht all. Besechynge your grace of wynde contynuall. Then came ther another that wolde banysh all this, A goodly dame, an ydyll thynge iwys; Wynde, rayne, nor froste, nor sonshyne wold she hauc, But fayre close wether her beautye to save. Then came there a nother that lyueth by laundry, Who muste have wether hot and clere here clothys to dry. Then came there a boy, for froste and snow contynnall, Snow to make snowballys and frost for his pytfale,

against unseemly boasting, the work of an unknown author, whose pen we may well wish to have been more prolific. In Heywood's other plays, briefly mentioned and described in the Notes, no didactic purpose can be traced. They may be classified as satiric interludes, if the word satire can be rightly applied to the work of a man whose temper was as genial and sunny as that of Chaucer himself, to whose writings his own were largely indebted. In these plays Heywood breaks away altogether from the Morality, and becomes the precursor of Nicholas Udall and of John Still or whoever was the author of *Gammer Gurton's Needle*.

The last play from which extracts are given in the present volume is the *King John* of Bishop Bale. Bale was not only a Protestant controversialist, but an antiquary, and it is characteristic of him that in his *God's Promises* and *Johan Baptystes*, he should have endeavoured to infuse fresh life into the Miracle play by adapting it to strictly Protestant teaching. In his *King John* he again endeavours to unite new and old, by welding the didacticism and personifications of the moral interlude with the history of an English king. The play apparently remained in MS. until printed by Mr. Collier in 1838, and there is no reason to imagine that it in any way influenced the rise of the English historical drama, which did not take place until more than a

For whyche, god wote, he seweth full gredely. Your fyrst man wold have wether clere and not wyndy; The seconde, the same saue cooles to blow meanly; The thyrd desyred stormes and wynde most ext[re]mely; The fourth, all in water and wolde have no wynde: The fyft no water, but all wynde to grynde; The syxst wold have non of all these nor no bright son; The seventh extremely the hote son wold have wonne; The eight and the last for frost and snow he prayd. Byr lady we shall take shame I am afrayd! Who marketh in what maner this sort is led May thynke yt impossyble all to be sped. This nomber is smale, there lacketh twayne of ten. And yet, by the masse, amonge ten thousand men No one thynge could stand more wyde from the other, Not one of theyr sewtes agreeth wyth an other. I promyse you here is a shrewed pece of warke.

quarter of a century after its first composition¹. It is thus as a curious development of the didactic interlude, and not as the forerunner of Shakespeare's chronicle-histories, that *King John* finds a place in the present volume.

§ 8.

The last performance of the York Miracle plays took place in 1579, when Shakespeare had attained his Roman majority. The Newcastle plays lasted ten years longer, by which time his career as a dramatist had begun. The Chester plays were acted till the end of the century; the Beverly till 1604, when Shakespeare's work was already drawing towards its close. Even later than this we hear of a Passion Play acted before Gondomar. the Spanish ambassador, but as to this allowance must be made for foreign influence, and we may regard the Miracle play as finally dving with the death of Elizabeth. In its prolonged old age it had overlapped the noblest period of the English drama, but its direct influence had long passed away², and the reminiscence of the Harrowing of Hell in the Porter's speech in Macbeth, is perhaps the most notable trace which it has left on the drama of the Shakespearian age. But the Miracle plays had fostered a love of acting in almost every county in England. They had prepared the ground from which the Shakespearian harvest was to spring in all its glorious abundance, and in this indirect manner their influence had been potent for good.

The history of the Morality, in its later development as the didactic interlude, is somewhat different. During the first half of the reign of Elizabeth plays with many of the characteristic features of the later Moralities enjoyed much popularity. Such were the *Triall of Treasure* (printed 1567), *Like Will to Like* (printed 1568), *All for Money* (printed 1578), *The Three Ladies of London* (printed 1584), and *The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London* (printed as late as 1590). The increasing

¹ The play seems to have been revised after the accession of Elizabeth, but was probably written in the reign of Edward VI.

² The influence of the old play of St. George of Cappadocia is remotely traceable in the Christmas mummings still acted in a few out-of-the-way villages in different parts of England.

individuality of the characterization in these plays was doubtless in part only a natural development, but in part also it was due to the influence of the comedies and tragedies founded on classical and Italian models. But though the didactic Interlude learnt something from these splendid rivals, it could not better the instruction, and its latent promise of a domestic drama of purely English growth was never fulfilled. For better or for worse, however, the transformed Morality at this period takes its place as one of the threads which went to make up the wondrous web of the Elizabethan drama, and as such passes out of the scope of the present volume. Here it must suffice us to have attempted to follow the dramatic element in English literature, from a date nearly coincident with the birth of Chaucer, to the time when Shakespeare was old enough to play a boy's part in some moral interlude in praise of learning at the Grammar school of Stratford-on-Avon.

ENGLISH MIRACLE PLAYS, &c.

pork plays.

THE BARKERS.

THE CREATION AND THE FALL OF LUCIFER.

[SCENE I. Heaven.]

[DEUS.] Ego sum Alpha et O. vita, via, Veritas, primus et nouissimus.

I am gracyus and grete, god withoutyn begynnyng, I am maker unmade, all mighte es in me, I am lyfe and way unto welth wynnyng, I am formaste and fyrste, als I byd sall it be. My blyssyng o ble sall be blendyng, 5 And heldand fro harme to be hydande, My body in blys ay abydande Une[n]dande withoutyn any endyng.
Sen I am maker unmade, and moste so of mighte, And ay sall be endeles, and noghte es but I, 10 Unto my dygnyte dere sall diewly be dyghte A place full of plente to my plesing at ply, And therewith als wyll I have wroght

Many dyvers doynges be-dene,

Whilke warke sall mekely contene, And all sall be made even of noght.

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3. But onely the worthely warke of my wyll In my sprete sall enspyre the mighte of me, And in the fyrste, faythely, my thoghts to full-fyll, Baynely in my blyssyng I byd at here be 20 A blys al-beledande abowte me; In the whilke blys I byde at be here Nven ordres of aungels full clere, In lovyng ay lastande at lowte me. Tunc cantant angeli : Te deum laudamus, te dominum confitemur. 4. Here undernethe me nowe a nexile I neven, 25 Whilke Ile sall be erthe now, all be at ones Erthe haly and helle, this hegheste be heven, And that welth sall welde sall won in this wones. Thys graunte I yowe mynysters myne, To-whils yhe ar stabill in thoghte; 30 And also to thaime that ar noghte [To Lucifer. Be put to my presone at pyne. 5. Of all the mightes I have made moste nexte after me, I make the als master and merour of my mighte, I beelde the here baynely in blys for to be, 35 I name the for Lucifer, als berar of lyghte. No thyng here sall the be derand In this blys sall be yhour beeldyng, And have al welth in youre weledyng, Ay whils the ar buxomly berande. 40 Tunc cantant Angeli, Sanctus sanctus sanctus, dominus deus sabaoth. 6. PRIMUS ANGELUS SERAPHYN. A! mercyfull maker, full mekill es thi mighte, That all this warke at a worde worthely has wroghte Ay loved be that lufly lorde of his lighte.

That us thus mighty has made, that nowe was righte noghte;

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FALL OF LUCIFER.

In blys for to byde in hys blyssyng, Ay lastande, in luf lat us lowte hym, At beelde us thus baynely abowete hym, Of myrthe nevermore to have myssyng.

7. PRIMUS ANGELUS DEFICIENS LUCIFERE.

All the myrth that es made es markide in me, The bemes of my brighthode ar byrnande so bryghte, And I so semely in syghte my selfe now I se, 51 For lyke a lorde am I lefte to lende in this lighte, More fayrear be far than my feres, In me is no poynte that may payre, I fele me fetys and fayre, 55

My power es passande my peres.

8. ANG. CHERABYN.

Lord ! wyth a lastande luf we love the allone,

Thou mightefull maker that markid us and made us, And wroghte us thus worthely to wone in this wone,

Ther never felyng of fylth may full us nor fade us, All blys es here beeldande a-boute us, 61

To-whyls we are stabyll in thoughte

In the worschipp of hym that us wroghte Of dere never that us more dowte us.

9. PRIM. ANG. DEFIC.

O! what I am fetys and fayre and fygured full fytt! The forme of all fayrehede apon me es feste, 66

All welth in my weelde es, I wete be my wytte,

- The benes of my brighthede are bygged with the beste.
- My schewyng es schemerande and schynande,

So bygly to blys am I broghte,

(Me nedes for to noy me righte noghte,) Here sall never payne me be pynande.

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10. ANG. SERAPHYN, which ye With all the wytt at we welde we wyrschip thi wyll, Thu gloryus god that es grunde of all grace, Ay with stedefaste steven lat us stande styll, 75 Lorde ! to be fede with the fode of thi fayre face. truly Thi dale, lorde, es ay daynetethly delande, destrulation In lyfe that es lely ay lastande, And who so that fode may be felande To se thi fayre face es noght fastande. 80 11. PRIM. ANG. DEFEC. LUCIFER. Owe! certes! what I am worthely wroghte with wyrshyp, i-wys! For in a glorius gle my gleteryng it glemes, I am so mightyly made my mirth may noghte mys, Av sall I byde in this blys thorowe brightnes of bemes. Me nedes noghte of noy for to neven, 85 All welth in my welde have I weledande, Abowne yhit sall I be beeldand, house On heghte in the hyeste of hewven. 12. Ther sall I set my selfe, full semely to seyghte, To ressayve my reverence thorowe right o renowne, I sall be lyke unto hym that es hyeste on heghte; 91 Owe! what I am derworth and defte.-Owe! dewes! all goes downe ! My mighte and my mayne es all marrande, marrand Helpe! felawes, in faythe I am fallande. SEC. ANGEL. DEFEC. Fra heven are we heledande on all hande, 95 To wo are we weendande, I warande. wending

FALL OF LUCIFER.

[SCENE II. Hell.]

13. LUCIFER DEIABOLUS IN INFERNO. such

Owte owte! harrowe! helples, slyke hote at es here, This es a dongon of dole that I am to dyghte, Whare es my kynde be-come, so cumly and clere,

Nowe am I laytheste, allas ! that are was lighte.

My bryghtnes es blakkeste and blo nowe; luvid 101 My bale es ay betande and brynande, many

That gares ane go gowlande and gyrnande.

Owte! ay walaway! I well enew in wo nowe!

14. SECUNDUS DIABOLUS.

Owte! owte! I go wode for wo, my wytte es all wente nowe

All oure fode es but filth, we fynde us beforn,

We that ware beelded in blys in bale are we brent nowe,

Owte! on the Lucifer, lurdan! oure lyghte has thu lorne.

Thi dedes to this dole nowe has dyghte us,

To spille us thu was oure spedar,

IIO,

For thou was oure lyghte and oure ledar, The hegheste of heven hade thu hyght us.

15. LUCIFER IN INFERNO.

Walaway ! wa es me now, nowe es it war thane it was. Unthryvandely threpe yhe, I sayde but a thoghte.

SECUND. DIAB. We! lurdane, thu lost us.

LUC. IN INF.Yhe ly, owte ! allas !I wyste noghte this wo sculde be wroghte.116Owte on yhow ! lurdans, yhe smore me in smoke.SECUND. DIAB.This wo has thu wroughte us.LUC. IN INF.Yhe ly, yhe ly !SECUND. DIAB.Thou lyes, and that sall thu by.

We! lurdans, have at yowe, lat loke.

I 20

YORK PLAYS.

[SCENE III. Heaven.]

16. ANGELUS CHERUBYN.

A! lorde, lovid be thi name that us this lighte lente, Sen Lucifer oure ledar es lighted so lawe,

For hys unbuxumnes in bale to be brente.

Thi rightwysnes [redes] to rewarde on rowe Ilke warke eftyr [it] is wroghte.

125

louly

Thorowe grace of thi mercyfull myghte

The cause I se itt in syghte,

Wharefore to bale he es broghte.

- 17. DEUS. Those foles for thaire fayre-hede in fantasyes fell,
 - And hade mayne of mighte that marked tham and made tham, 130
 - For-thi efter thaire warkes were, in wo sall thai well, For sum ar fallen into fylthe that evermore sall fade tham.

And never sall have grace for to gyrth tham.

So passande of power tham thoght tham, my trought

Thai wolde noght me worschip that wroghte tham, For-thi sall my wreth ever go with tham. 136

18. Ande all that me wyrschippe sall wone here, i-wys, U For-thi more forthe of my worke wyrke nowe I will.

Syn than ther mighte es for-marryde that mente all o-mys, amins

Even to myne awne fygure this blys to fulfyll, 140 Mankynde of moulde will I make;

But fyrste wille I fourme, hym before,

All thyng that sall hym restore.

To whilke that his talents will take.

19. Ande in my fyrste makyng to mustyr my mighte, 145 Sen erthe is vayne and voyde, and myrknes emel,

I byd in my blyssyng yhe aungels gyf lyghte To the erthe, for it faded when the fendes fell.

FALL OF LUCIFER.

In hell sall never myrknes be myssande, The myrknes thus name I for nighte, 150 The day that call I this lyghte. dring My after-warkes sall thai be wyssande; 9~ 20. Ande now in my blyssyng I twyne tham in two, The nighte even fro the day, so that thai mete never, But ather in a kynde courese thaire gates for to go. Bothe the nighte and the day, does dewly yhour devver, duty 156 To all I sall wirke be yhe wysshyng. This day warke es done ilke a dele, A And all this warke lykes me ryght wele, And baynely I gyf it my blyssyng. 160

Explicit.

Chester Plays.

I. NOAH'S FLOOD.

THE WATTER LEADERS AND THE DRAWERS OF DEE PLAYE.

God. I, God, that all this worlde hath wroughte, Heaven and eairth, and all of naughte, I see my people in deede and thoughte Are sette fowle in synne;
My ghoste shall not linge in mone, That through fleshe-likinge is my fonne, But tell sixe skore yeaires be comen and gone,

5

10

15

20

To loke if they will blynne. Man that I made I will destroye. Beaste, worme and fowle to flye; For one eairth they doe me nye,

The folke that are theirone; It harmes me so hurtfullye, The malice that doth nowe multiplye, That sore yt greives me hartelye

That ever I made mon. Therefore, Noye, my servante free, That rightious man arte, as I see, A shippe sone thou shall make thee,

Of treeyes drye and lighte ; Littill chamberes therin thou make, And byndinge slyche also thou take, Within and without thou ne slake

To anoynte yt through all thy mighte.

9

Three hundreth cubettes it shall be longe, And fiftie brode, to make yt stronge; Of heighte fiftie the meete thou fonge, Thus messuer thou it aboute.	25
One wyndowe worcke through thy wytte, A cubitte of lengthe and breade make itt, Upon the syde a dore shall sit For to come in and oute.	30
Eattinge places thou make alsoe,	
Three rowfed chamberes on a roe: For with watter I thinke to slowe Man that I can make;	35
Destroyed all the worlde shalbe,	
Save thou, thy wiffe, and children three,	
And ther wiffes also with thee, Shall saved be for thy sake.	40
Nove. O, Lorde, I thanke thee lowde and still,	40
That to me arte in suche will,	
And spares me and my howse to spill, As I nowe southly fynde.	
Thy byddinge, Lorde, I shall fulfill,	45
And never more thee greve nor grill,	10
That such grace hath sente me till	
Amonght all mankinde.	
Have done, you men and wemen all, Hye you, leste this watter fall,	50
To worche this shippe, chamber and hall,	50
As God hath bedden us doe.	
SEM. Father, I am all readye bowne;	
An axe I have, by my crowne!	
As sharpe as anye in all this towne, For to goe therto.	55
Сам. I have a hacchatt wounder keeyne,	

To bitte well, as maye be seene,

A better grownden, as I wene, Is not in all this towne.	60
JAFFETTE. And I can make well a pynne, And with this hamer knocke it in: Goe wee worcke boute more dynne, And I am readye bowne.	
Noves WIFFE. And we shall bringe tymber too, For we mone nothinge elles doe; Wemen be weeke to underfoe Any greate travill.	65
SEMES WIFFE. Hear is a good hacckinge stoccke, One this you maye hewe and knocke; Shall none be idle in this floccke; Ney nowe maye noe man fayle.	70
CAMMES WIFFE. And I will goe gaither slyche, The shippe for to caulke and pyche, Anoynte yt muste be every stiche, Borde, tree, and pynne.	75
JEFFETTES WYFFE. And I will gaither chippes heare To make a fier for you in feare, And for to dighte youer dynner, Againste your cominge in. Then Noye begineth to builde the Arcke, and speaketh Nov	80 ne :
Nove. Now in the name of God, I will begyne To make the shippe that we shall in, That we maye be readye for to swyme At the cominge of the fludde: Thes bordes heare I pynne togeither, To beare us saffe from the weither, That we maye rowe both heither and theither, And saffe be from the fludde.	85

I. NOAH'S FLOOD. 11

Of this treey will I make the maste, Tyed with cabbelles that will laste, With a saile yarde for iche blaste, And iche thinge in their kinde:	90
With toppe-castill, and boe-spritte,	
With cordes and roppes, I hold all meete To sayle fourth at the nexte weete,	
This shippe is att an ende.	95
Wyffe, in this vessel we shall be kepte:	
My children and thou I woulde in ye lepte.	
NOVES WIFFE. In fayth, Noye, I hade as leffe thou slep	ote !
For all thy frynishe fare,	100
I will not doe after thy reade.	
NOYE. Good wyffe, doe nowe as I thee bydde.	
Noves WIFFE. Be Christe! not or I see more neede Though thou stande all the daye and stare.	2,
Nove. Lorde, that wemen be crabbed aye,	105
And non are meke, I dare well saye,	
This is well seene by me to daye,	
In witnesse of you ichone.	
Goodwiffe, lett be all this beare,	
That thou maiste in this place heare;	110
For all the wene that thou arte maister,	
And so thou arte, by Sante John!	

Then Noye with all his familie shall make a signe as though the wroughte upon the shippe with divers instrumentes and after that God shall speak to Noye, sayinge:

GOD. Noye, take thou thy meanye, And in the shippe hie that you be, For non soe righteous man to me Is nowe one earth livinge;

	Of cleane beastes with thee thou take,	
	Seven and seven, or then thou slake,	
	He and shee, make to make,	
	Belive in that thou bringe.	120
	Of beastes uncleane towe and towe,	
	Male and femalle, boute moe,	
	Of cleane fowles seven alsoe,	
	The he and shee togeither;	
	Off fowles uncleane twene and noe more,	125
	As I of beastes sayde before;	
	That man be saved through my lore,	
	Againste I sende this weither.	
	Of all meates that mone be eatten,	
	Into the shippe loke there be getten;	130
	For that maye be noe waye forgetten,	
	And doe all this bydene,	
	To sustayne man and beaste therin,	
	Tell the watter cease and blynne.	
	This worlde ye filled full of synne,	135
	And that is nowe well seene.	
	Seven dayes be yette cominge,	
	You shall have space them in to bringe;	
	After that it is my likinge,	
	Mankinde for to anoye.	140
	Fourtye dayes and fortye nightes	
	Raine shall fall for ther unrightes,	
	And that I have made through my mightes,	
	Nowe thinke I to destroye.	
Nov	E. Lorde, to thy byddinge I am bayne,	145
	Seinge noe other grace will gayne,	
	Yt will I fulfill fayne,	
	For gracious I thee fynde;	
	A hundred wyntter and twentye	
	This shippe makinge taryed have I,	150

I. NOAH'S FLOOD.

Yf through amendment thy mercye	
Woulde fall to mankinde.	
Have donne, you men and wemen alle,	
Hye you, leste this watter fall,	
That iich beaste were in stalle,	155
And into the shippe broughte;	
Of cleane beastes seven shalbe,	
Of uncleane two, this God bade me:	
The fludde is nye, you maye well see,	-
Therefore tarye you naughte.	160
Then Noye shall goe into the Arcke with all his familye	, his
wife excepte, and the Arcke must be borded round at	
and one the bordes all the beastes and foules painted.	
SEM. Sir, heare are lions, leapardes, in,	
Horses, mares, oxen, and swyne;	
Goote and caulfe, sheepe and kine	
Heare sitten thou maye see.	
CAM. Camelles, asses, man maye fynde,	165
Bucke and doo, harte and hinde,	105
And beastes of all maner kinde	
Here be, as thinketh me.	
JAFFETT. Take heare cattes, dogges too,	
Atter and foxe, fullimartes alsoe;	170
Hares hoppinge gaylie can goe, Heare have coule for to eate.	
Noves WIFFE. And heare are beares, woulfes sette,	
Apes, oules, marmosette,	
Weyscelles, squirelles, and firrette,	175
Heare the eaten ther meate.	
SEMES WIFFE. Heare are beastes in this howse,	
Heare cattes make yt crousse,	
Heare a rotten, heare a mousse,	
That standeth nighe togeither.	180

CAMES WIFFE. And heare are fowles lesse and more, Hearnes, cranes, and bittor, Swannes, peacokes, and them before Meate for this weither.	
JEFFATTES WIFFE. Heare are cockes, kitte, croes, Rookes, ravens, manye roes, Cuckoes, curlues, who ever knowes, Iche one in his kinde; Heare are doves, digges, drackes, Red-shonckes roninge through the lackes,	185
And ech fowle that leden makes In this shippe nowe maye fynde.	
Nove. Wiffe, come in : why standes thou their? Thou arte ever frowarde, I dare well sweare; Come in, one Godes name! halfe tyme yt were, For feare leste that we drowne.	195
Noves WIFFE. Yea, sir, sette up youer saile, And rowe fourth with evill haile, For withouten [anye] fayle I will not oute of this towne;	200
But I have my gossippes everychone, One foote further I will not gone : The shall not drowne, by Sante John ! And I may save ther life.	
The loven me full well, by Christe ! But thou lett them into thy cheiste, Elles rowe nowe wher thee leiste, And gette thee a newe wiffe.	205
Nove. Seme, sonne, loe ! thy mother is wrawe: Forsooth, such another I doe not knowe.	210
SEM. Father, I shall fetch her in, I trowe, Withoutten anye fayle.— Mother, my father after thee sende,	

.

I. NOAH'S FLOOD.	15
And byddes thee into yeinder shippe wende. Loke up and see the wynde, For we bene readye to sayle.	215
Noves WIFFE. Seme, goe againe to hym, I saie; I will not come theirin to daye.	
Nove. Come in, wiffe, in twentye devilles waye ! Or elles stand there without.	220
CAM. Shall we all feche her in?	
Nove. Yea, sonnes, in Christe blessinge and myne! I woulde you hied you be-tyme, For of this flude I am in doubte.	
THE GOOD GOSSIPPE'S SONGE.	
The flude comes fleetinge in full faste, One every syde that spreades full ferre; For feare of drowninge I am agaste; Good gossippes, lett us drawe nere And lett us drinke or we departe,	225
For ofte tymes we have done soe; For att a draughte thou drinkes a quarte, And soe will I do or I goe.	230
Heare is a pottill full of Malmsine, good and stron It will rejoyce bouth harte and tonge;	nge;
Though Noye thinke us never so longe, Heare we will drinke alike.	235
JEFFATTE. Mother, we praye you all together, For we are heare, youer owne childer, Come into the shippe for feare of the weither,	
For his love that you boughte!	240
NOVES WIFFE. That will not I, for all youer call,	

But I have my gossippes all.

SEM. In faith, mother, yett you shalle,	
Wheither thou wylte or [nought].	
NoyE. Welckome, wiffe, into this botte.	245
Noves WIFFE. Have thou that for thy note!	
Nove. Ha, ha! marye, this is hotte!	
It is good for to be still.	
Ha! children, me thinkes my botte remeves,	
Our tarryinge heare highlye me greves,	250
Over the lande the watter spreades;	
God doe as he will.	
A! greate God, that arte so good,	
That worckes not thy will is wood.	
Nowe all this worlde is one a flude.	255
As I see well in sighte.	
This wyndowe I will shutte anon,	
And into my chamber I will gone,	
Tell this watter, so greate one,	
Be slacked through thy mighte.	260
Then shall Noye shutte the wyndowe of they Arcke, and	! for a
littill space be silent, and afterwards lookinge r	
aboute shall saye :	
[Now [*] 40 dayes are fullie gone	
Send a raven I will anone	
If ought-were earth, tree or stone,	
Be drye in any place.	
And if this foule come not againe	265*
It is a signe, soth to sayne,	
That drye it is on hill or playne,	
And God hath done some grace.	
Tunc dimittet corvum et capiens columbam in manibus	dicat.
Ah Lord wherever this raven be	
Somewhere is drye, well I see;	270*

* The following 47 lines occur only in MS. Harl. 2124.

I. NOAH'S FLOOD.

17

But yet a dove by my lewtye After I will sende. Thou wilt turne againe to me, For of all fowles that may flye Thou art most meke and hend. 275*

Tunc emittet columbam et erit in nave alia columba ferens olivam in ore quam dimittet aliquis ex malo per funem in manus Noe; et postea dicat Noe.

Ah lord, blessed be thou aye, That me hast confort thus to day; By this sight, I may well saye, This flood beginnes to cease. My sweete dove to me brought hase 280* A branch of olyve from some place, This betokeneth God has done us some grace And is a signe of peace. Ah lord honoured most thou be, All earthe dryes now I see, 285* But yet tyll thou comaunde me Hence will I not hye. All this water is awaye Therfore as sone as I maye Sacryfice I shall doo in faye 290* To thee devoutlye. DEUS. Noe take thy wife anone, And thy children every one, Out of the shippe thou shalt gone, And they all with thee. 295* Beastes and all that can flie Out anone they shall hye, On earth to grow and multeplye;

I wyll that yt soe be.

300*

305*

NoE. Lord I thanke the through thy mighte, Thy bydding shall be done in height, And as fast as I may dighte, I will doe the honoure And to thee offer sacrifice, Therfore comes in all wise, For of these beastes that bene hise Offer I will this stower.

Tunc egrediens archam cum tota familia sua accipiet animalia sua et volucres et offeret ea et mactabit.]

Nove. Lorde God, in magestie,
That suche grace hath graunted me,
Wher all was [lorne] salfe to be,
Theirfore nowe I am boune,
My wife, my children, and my meanye,
265
With sacrifice to honour thee
Of beastes, fowles, as thou maiste see,
And full devocion.

GOD. Noye, to me thou arte full able,	
And thy sacrifice acceptable,	270
For I have founde thee true and stable;	
On thee nowe muste I myne;	
Warrye eairth I will noe more,	
For mannes synnes that greves me sore,	
For of youth mon full yore	275
Has bene inclynde to synne.	-13
You shall nowe growe and multiplye,	
And eairth againe to edifye,	
Ich beaste, and fowle that maye flye,	
Shalbe feared of you;	.0.
And fish in sea that maye fleete	280
Shall sustaine you, I thee behett,	
entre sustaine you, i thee benett,	

I. NOAH'S FLOOD.

To eate of them ye ne lette That cleane bene, you mon knowe; Theras you have eaten before 285 Treeyes and rootes, since you were bore, Of cleane beastes nowe lesse and more I geve you leve to eate: Save bloode and fleshe bouth in feare, Of rouge dead carrion that is heare, 290 Eate not of that in noe manere, For that aye you shall lete. Man-slaughter also you shall flee, For that is not pleasante unto me; The that sheedeth blood, he or shee, 295 Oughte-wher amonge mankinde, That bloode fowle shedde shalbe And vengeance have, that men shall see; Therfore beware now all ye, You falle not into that synne. 300 A forward, Noye, with thee I make, And all thy seede, for thy sake, Of suche vengance for to slake, For nowe I have my will; Heare I behette thee a heste, 305 That man, woman, fowle, ney beste, With watter, while this worlde shall leste, I will noe more spill. My bowe betweyne you and me In the firmamente shalbe, 310 By verey tocken that you shall see, That suche vengance shall cease. That man ne woman shall never more Be wasted with watter, as hath before; But for synne that greveth me sore, 315 Therfore this vengance was. Wher cloudes in the welckine bene, C 2

320

325

That ilke bowe shalbe seene, In tocken that my wrath and teene Shall never thus wrocken be. The stringe is torned towardes you, And towarde me is bente the bowe, That suche weither shall never shewe, And this behighte I thee. My blessinge, Noye, I geve thee heare,

To thee, Noye, my servante deare; For vengance shall noe more appeare, And nowe fare well, my darlinge deare.

Finis. Deo gratias / per me, George Bellin. 1592. Come Lorde Jesu, come quicklye.

II. THE SACRIFICE OF ISAAC.

[From the Histories of Lot and Abraham, the fourth of the Chester Plays, acted by the 'Barbers and the Waxe Chaundlers.' The first part of the play is occupied with the meeting of Abraham and Lot, God's covenant with Abraham, and the explanations of these events by the Expositor.]

GOD. Abraham, my servante, Abraham.

ABRAHAM. Loe, Lorde, all readye heare I am.	210
GOD. Take, Isaake, thy sonne by name, That thou loveste the best of all,	
And in sacrifice offer hym to me	
Uppon that hyll their besides thee.	
Abraham, I will that soe it be,	215
For oughte that maye befalle.	
ABRAHAM. My Lorde, to thee is myne intente	
Ever to be obediente.	
That sonne that thou to me hast sente,	
Offer I will to thee,	220
And fulfill thy comaundemente,	
With hartie will, as I am kente.	
Highe God, Lorde omnipotente,	
Thy byddinge done shalbe.	
My meanye and my children eichone	225
mam Lenges at home, bouth all and one	
Save Isaake, my sonne, with me shall gone	
To a hill heare besyde.	

Heare Abraham, torninge hym to his sonne Isaake, sain	th:
Make thee readye, my deare darlinge,	
For we must doe a littill thinge.	230
This woode doe on thy backe it bringe,	
We maye no longer abyde.	
A sworde and fier that I will take;	
[Heare Abraham taketh a sworde and fier.]	
For sacrafice me behoves to make:	
Godes byddinge will I not forsake,	235
But ever obediente be.	
Heare Isaake speaketh to his father, and taketh a b of stickes and beareth after his father, and saieth:	urne
ISAAKE. Father, I am all readye	
To doe your byddinge moste mekelye,)
And to beare this woode full beane am I,	
And to beare this woode tail board and y	240
ABRAHAM. O Isaake, my darlinge deare,	
My blessinge nowe I geve thee heare,	
Take up this faggote with good cheare,	
And on thy backe it bringe.	
And fier with us I will take.	245
ISAAKE. Your byddinge I will not forsake;	10
Father, I will never slake	
To fulfill your byddinge.	
[Heare they goe bouth to the place to doe sacriffice.]	
ABRAHAM. Now, Isaake sonne, goe we our waie	
To yender mounte, yf that we maye.	250
ISAAKE. My deare father, I will asaye	
To followe you full fayne. share	
Abraham, beinge mynded to sleye his sonne Isaake, leift his handes, and saith fowlowinge.	es up
ABRAHAM. O! my harte will breake in three,	
To heare thy wordes I have pittye;	
to meane thy wordes a mare pretye,	

II. THE SACRIFICE OF ISAAC. 23

As thou wylte, Lorde, so muste yt be, To thee I wilbe bayne. <i>Indiant</i> Laye downe thy faggote, my owne sonne deare	255
ISAAKE. All readye, father, loe yt is heare. But whye make you sucke heavye cheare?	260
ABRAHAM. Therof, sonne, is non upon this hill, That I see here in this steade.	
Isaake, fearinge leste his ffather woulde slaye him, saith	
ISAAKE. Father, I am full sore [affearde] To see you beare that drawne [swerde]: I hope for all myddel earde You will not slaye your childe.	265
Abraham comfortes his sonne, and saieth:	
ABRAHAM. Dreede thee not, my childe, I reade; Our Lorde will sende of his godheade Some manner of beaste into this [steade], Either tame or wilde.	270
ISAAKE. Father, tell me or I goe Wheither I shalbe harmede or noe.	
ABRAHAM. Ah! deare God! that me is woe! Thou breakes my harte in sunder.	275
ISAAKE. Father, tell me of this case Why you your sorde drawne hase, And beares yt nacked in this place, Theirof I have greate wonder.	280
ABRAHAM. Isaake, sonne, peace, I praie thee Thou breakes my harte even in three.	
ISAAKE. I praye you, father, leane nothinge from me, But tell me what you thinke.	

ABRAHAM. Ah ! Isaake, Isaake, I muste thee kille !	285
ISAAKE. Alas! father, is that your will,	
Your owine childe for to spill	
Upon this hilles brinke?	
Yf I have treasspasede in anye degree,	
With a yarde you maye beate me;	290
Put up your sorde, yf your wil be,	
For I am but a childe.	
ABRAHAM. O, my deare sonne, I am sorye	
To doe to thee this greate anoye:	
Godes commaundmente doe muste I,	295
His workes are ever full mylde.	
ISAAKE. Woulde God my mother were here with me	1
Shee woulde kneele downe upon her knee,	
Prainge you, father, if yt may be,	
For to save my liffe.	300
ABRAHAM. O! comelye creature, but I thee kille,	
I greve my God, and that full ylle;	
I maye not worke againste his will,	
But ever obediente be.	
O! Isaake, sonne, to thee I saie,	305
God hath commaunded me to daye	
Sacrifice, this is no naye,	
To make of thy bodye.	
ISAAKE. Is yt Godes will I shalbe slayne?	
ABRAHAM. Yea, sonne, it is not for to leane;	310
To his byddinge I wilbe bayne,	
And ever to hym pleasinge.	
But that I do this dilfull deede,	
My Lorde will not quite me in my nede.	
ISAAKE. Marye, father, God forbydde,	315
But you doe your offeringe !	
Father, at home your sonnes you shall fynde,	-0
That you must love by course of kinde:	le

II. THE SACRIFICE OF ISAAC.	25
Be I onste out of your mynde, Your sorowe maie sone cease; But yet you muste do Godes byddinge. Father, tell my mother for no thinge.	320
Here Abraham wrynges his handes, and saith :	
 ABRAHAM. For sorowe I maie my handes wringe, Thy mother I can not please. Ho! Isaake, Isaake, blessed muste thou be! Allmoste my witte I lose for thee; The blood of thy bodye so free I am full lothe to sheede. 	325
Here Isaake askinge his father blessinge one his knyes,	and
saith : ISAAKE. Father, seinge you muste nedes doe soe,	
Let it passe lightlie, and over goe;	330
Kneelinge on my kneeyes towe,	200
Your blessinge on me spreade.	
ABRAHAM. My blessinge deere son, give I thee	
And thy mothers with hart free	
The blessing of the Trinitie	335
My deare sone, on thee lighte.	
ISAAKE. Father, I praye you hyde my eyne	
That I see not the sorde so keyne,	
Your strocke, father, woulde I not seene,	
Leste I againste yt grylle.	340
ABRAHAM. My deare sonne Isaake, speake no more, Thy wordes makes my harte full sore.	
ISAAKE. O deare father, wherefore ! wherefore !	
Seinge I muste nedes be dead,	
Of on thinge I will you praie,	345
Seithen I muste dye the death to daie,	010
As fewe strockes as you well maie,	
When you smyte of my heade.	

ABRAHAM. Thy meeknes, childe, makes me affraye;	
My songe maye be wayle-a-waie.	350
ISAAKE. O dere father, doe awaye, do awaye	
Your makeinge so moche mone!	
Nowe, trewlye, father, this talkinge	
Doth but make longe taryeinge.	355
I praye you, come and make endinge,	000
And let me hense be gone.	
Hence Isaake riseth and cometh to his father, and he ta	keth
hym, and byndeth and laieth hym upon the alter	r to
sacrifice hym, and saith:	
ABRAHAM. Come heither, my childe, thou arte soe swe	eete,
Thou muste be bounde both hande and feete.	
ISAAKE. Father, we muste no more meete,	
Be oughte that I maie see;	3 60
But doe with me then as you will,	
I muste obaye, and that is skille,	
Godes commaundmente to fulfill,	
For nedes soe must yt be.	
Upon the porpose that you have sette you,	365
For south, father, I will not let you,	
But ever more to you bowe, While that ever I maie.	
Father, greete well my brethren yinge,	
And praye my mother of her blessinge,	370
I come noe more under her wynge,	01-
Fare well for ever and aye;	
But father ! crye you mercye,	
For all that ever I have trespassed to thee,	
/ Forgeven, father, that it maye be	375
Untell domesdaie.	
ABRAHAM. My deare sonne, let be thy mones!	

My childe, thou greved me [n]ever ones;

II. THE SACRIFICE OF ISAAC.

Blessed be thou bodye and bones, And I forgeve thee heare! 380 Nowe, my deere sonne, here shalt thou lye, Unto my worke nowe must I hie; I hade as leeve my selfe to die, As thou, my darlinge deare.

ISAAKE. Father, if you be to me kinde, Aboute my head a carschaffe bynde, And let me lightlie out of your mynde, And sone that I were speede.

Here	Abraham	doth	kisse	his	son	ine	Isaake,	and	byndes	а
		charse	chaffe	aboı	ite	his	heade.			

ABRAHAM. Fare well, my sweete sonne of grace !

Here let Isaake kneele downe and speake.

ISAAKE. I praye you, father, torne downe my face 390 A litill while, while you have space, For I am sore adreade.

ABRAHAM. To doe this deed I am sorye.

ISAAKE. Yea, Lorde, to thee I call and crye, Of my soule thou have mercye, Hartelye I thee praie!

- ABRAHAM. Lorde, I woulde fayne worke thy will, This yonge innocente that lieth so still Full loth were me hym to kille, By anye maner a waye.
- ISAAKE. My deare father, I thee praye, Let me take my clothes awaie, For sheedinge blude on them to daye At my laste endinge.
- ABRAHAM. Harte, yf thou wouldeste borste in three, 405 Thou shalte never master me;

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I will no longer let for thee; My God I maye not greeve.

- ISAAKE. A! mercye, father, why tarye you soe?Smyte of my head, and let me goe.I pray you rydd me of my woe,For nowe I take my leve.
- ABRAHAM. Ah, sonne! my harte will breake in three, To heare thee speake such wordes to me. Jesu! on me thou have pittye, That I have moste in mynde.

ISAAKE. Nowe father, I see that I shall dye: Almightie God in magistie! My soule I offer unto thee; Lorde, to yt be kinde.

Here let Abraham take and bynde his sonne Isaake upon the alter; let hym make a signe as though he woulde cut of his head with his sorde; then let the angell come and take the sworde by the end and staie it, sainge:

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ANGELLUS. Abraham, my servante dere.

ABRAHAM. Loe, Lorde, I am all readye here !

ANGELLUS. Laye not thy sworde in noe manere
On Isake, thy deare darlinge;
And do to hym no anoye.
For thou dredes God, wel wote I,
That of thy sonne has no mercye,
To fulfill his byddinge.

SECUNDUS ANGELLUS. And for hys byddinge thou dose aye, And spareste nether for feare nor fraye, 430 To doe thy sonne to death to daie, Isake, to thee full deare:

Therfore, God hathe sent by me, in faye! faith

II. THE SACRIFICE OF ISAAC. 29 A lambe, that is bouth good and gaye, Into this place as thou se may, 435 Lo, have hym righte here. ABRAHAM. Ah! Lorde of heaven, and kinge of blesse, Thy byddinge shalbe done, i-wysse! Sacrafice here sente me is, And all, Lorde, through thy grace. 440 A horned weither here I see, Amonge the breyers tyed is he, To thee offred shall he be Anon righte in this place.

Then let Abraham take the lambe and kille hym, and let God saie:

GOD. Abraham, by my selfe I sweare,	445
For thou haste bene obediente ever,	
And spared not thy sonne to teare,	
To fulfill my byddinge,	
Thou shalbe blessed, that pleased me,	
Thy seed I shall so multiplie,	450
As starres and sande so manye het I,	
Of thy bodye cominge.	
Of enemyes thou shalte have power,	
And thy bloode also in feare,	×
Thou haste bene meke and bonere,	455
To do as I thee bade;	
And of all nacions, leve thou me, double and	
Blessed ever more shall thou be,	
Through frute that shall come of thee,	
And saved be through thy seede.	460
EXPOSITOR. Lordinges, this significacioun	
Of this deed of devocion,	
And you will, you witten mone, may	
Maye torne you to moche good.	

This deed you see done here in this place, 465 In example of Jesu done it was, That for to wynne mankindes grace

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Was sacrifised on the roode. holy more By Abraham, I maie understande The father of heaven that can fand With his sonnes bloode to breake that bande,

That the devill had broughte us to. By Isaake understande I maie Jesu, that was obedient aye, His fathers will to worke alwaie, And death for to confounde.

Here let the docter knele downe, and saie

Such obedience grante us, O Lorde! Ever to thy moste holye worde, That in the same we maie accorde

As this Abraham was bayne; And then al togaither shall we That worthy kinge in heaven see, And dwell with hym in greate glorye For ever and ever, amen.

Here the messinger maketh an ende.

Make rombe, lordinges, and geve us waye, And let Balacke come in and plaie, And Balame that well can saie

To tell you of prophescie. That Lorde that died on Good Frydaie, He save you all bouth nighte and daie! Fare well, my lordinges; I goe my waie,

I maye no longer abyde.

Finis. Deo gratias / per me, Georgi Bellin. 1592. Come, Lorde Jesu, come quicklye. Anno 1592.

veallity.

Towneley Plays.

SECUNDA PASTORUM.

[Abridged.]

PRIMUS PASTOR. Lord, what these weders ar cold, and I am ylle happyd; where the set

I am nere-hande dold, so long have I nappyd; My legys thay fold, my fyngers ar chappyd,

It is not as I wold, for I am al lappyd

In sorow.

In stormes and tempest,

Now in the eest, now in the west,

Wo is hym has never rest

Myd-day nor morow.

Bot we sely shepardes, that walkys on the moore, In fayth we are nere-handys outt of the doore; 10 No wonder, as it standys, if we be poore,

For the tylthe of oure landys lyys falow as the floore, As ye ken.

We ar so hamyd,

For-taxed and ramyd,

We ar mayde hand-tamyd,

Withe thyse gentlery men.

Thus they refe us oure rest, Oure Lady theym wary! These men that ar lord fest thay cause the ploghe tary.

That men say is for the best we fynde it contrary, Thus ar husbandys opprest, in pointe to myscary,

On lyfe.

15

Thus hold thay us hunder, Thus thay bryng us in blonder, It were greatte wonder,

And ever shuld we thryfe.

For may he gett a paynt slefe or a broche now on dayes,

Wo is hym that hym grefe, or onys agane says,

Dar no man hym reprefe, what mastry he mays, 30 And yit may no man lefe oone word that he says, No letter.

He can make purveance, With boste and bragance,

And alle is thrughe mantenance

Of men that are gretter. Ther shalle com a swane as prowde as a po, He must borow my wane, my ploghe also, Then I am fulle fane to graunt or he go. Thus lyf we in payne, anger, and wo, 40

By nyght and day; He must have, if he langyd; If I shuld forgang it,

I were better be hangyd

Then oones say hym nay. It dos me good, as I walk thus by myn oone Of this warld for to talk in maner of mone. To my shepe wylle I stalk and herkyn anone, Ther abyde on a balk or sytt on a stone

Full soyne.

For I trowe, parde; Trew men if thay be, We gett more compane

Or it be noyne.

[The second and third shepherd arrive, each with his complaint. To cheer themselves they sing a catch, and are

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then joined by MAK a neighbour of ill repute for thievery. After some talk they all betake them to sleep, the shepherds making MAK lie down between them so as to keep him under guard. Despite this precaution his thoughts are set on sheepstealing: he rises, while the shepherds sleep, . and says:]

MAK. Now were tyme for a man, that lakkys what he wold. 280

To stalk prevely than unto a fold,

And neemly to wyrk than, and be not to bold,

For he myght aby the bargan, if it were told fray for At the endyng.

Now were tyme for to reylle; randle 285 Bot he nedes good counselle

That fayn wold, fare weylle,

And has bot lytylle spendyng. Bot abowte you a serkylle, as rownde as a moyn, To I have done that I wylle, tylle that it be noyn, That ye lyg stone stylle, to that I have doyne, 291 And I shall say thertylle of good wordes a foyne. On hight

Over youre heydys my hand I lyft,

Outt go youre een, fordo your syght, 295 Bot yit I must make better shyft,

And it be right.

Lord, what thay slepe harde, that may ye alle here, Was I never a shepard, bot now wylle I lere. learn If the flok be skard, yit shalle I nyp nere. 300 How drawes hederward : now mendys oure chere Fro sorow.

D

A fatt shepe I dar say,

A good flese dar I lay,

Eft-whyte when I may,

Bot this wille I borow.

[He steals the sheep and goes home with it.]

How, Gylle, art thou in? Gett us som lyght.

- Uxor Ejus. Who makys sich dyn this tyme of the nyght? I am sett for to spyn: I hope not I myght
 - Ryse a penny to wyn: I shrew them on hight. 310 So farvs

A huswyff that has bene

To be rasyd thus betwene:

There may no note be sene

For sich smalle charys. gits

- Max. Good wyff, open the hek. Seys thou not what I bryng?
- Uxor. I may thole the dray the snek. A, com in, my swetyng.
- MAK. Yee, thou thar not rek of my long standing.

UXOR. By the nakyd nek art thou lyke for to hyng.

MAK. Do way:

I am worthy my mete,

For in a strate can I gett

More then thay that swynke and swette

All the long day.

Thus it felle to my lotte, Gylle, I had sich grace. 325 Uxor. It were a fowlle blot to be hanged for the case. MAK. I have skapyd, Jelott, oft as hard a glase.

Uxor. Bot so long goys the pott to the water, men says, At last

Comys it home broken.

MAK. Welle knowe I the token,

Bot let it never be spoken;

Bot com and help fast.

I wold he were flayn; I lyst welle ete:

This twelmothe was I not so fayn of oone shepe mete.

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UXOR. Com thay or he be slayn, and here the shepe
blete— 336
MAK. Then myght I be tane: that were a colde swette.
Go spar farlin
The gaytt doore.
UXOR. Yis, Mak,
For and thay com at thy bak— 340
MAK. Then myght I by, for alle the pak,
The dewille of the war.
UXOR. A good bowrde have I spied, syn thou can none,
Here shall we hym hyde, to thay be gone;
In my credylle abyde. Lett me alone, 345
And I shalle lyg besyde in chylbed and grone.
MAK. Thou red;
And I shalle say thou was lyght deleter and
Of a knave childe this nyght.
UXOR. Now welle is me day bright, 350
That ever I was bred.
This is a good gyse and a far cast;
Yit a woman avyse helpys at the last!
I wote never who spyse: agane go thou fast.
MAK. Bot I com or thay ryse, els blawes a cold blast. 355
I wylle go slepe.
Vit slepys alle this meneye
And I shall go stalk prevely, Viry
As if it had never bene I
That caryed thare shepe. 360
[Mak resumes his place between the shepherds. They awake
and go to look after their flocks, while Mak returns home.
A sheep is missed, and Mak is suspected. They go to his
house. Bidding them tread softly, he offers them drink :

MAK. I wold ye dynyd or ye yode, methynk that ye swette SECUNDUS PASTOR. Nay, nawther mendys oure mode drynke nor mette.

D 2

MAK. Why, sir, alys you oght bot goode? 515
TERCIUS PASTOR. Yee, oure shepe that we gette Ar stollyn as thay yode. Oure los is grette.
MAK. Syrs, drynkys! Had I bene thore,
Some shuld have boght it fulle sore. 520
PRIMUS PASTOR. Mary, som men trowes that ye wore. And that us forthynkes.
SECUNDUS PASTOR. Mak, som men trowys that it shuld be ye.
TERCIUS PASTOR. Ayther ye or youre spouse; so say we.
MAK. Now if ye have suspowse to Gille or to me, 525 Come and rype oure howse, and then may ye se Who had hir.
If I any shepe fott, feldud
And Culle my mufe rose nott
And Gylle, my wyfe, rose nott 530 Here syn she lade hir.
As I am true and lele, to God here I pray,
That this be the fyrst mele that I shalle ete this day.
[The shepherds search the house, Gyll upbraiding them and
keeping them away from the cradle. They find nothing
and take their leave, rather ashamedly. As they go a thought strikes one of them :]
PRIMUS PASTOR. Gaf ye the chyld any thyng?
SECUNDUS PASTOR. I trow not oone farthyng.
TERCIUS PASTOR. Fast agayne wille I flyng,
Abyde ye me there. 585
Mak, take it no grefe, if I com to thi barne.

MAK. Nay, thou dos me greatt reprefe, and fowlle has thou farne.

SECUNDA PASTORUM.

TERCIUS PASTOR. The child wille it not grefe, that	
lytylle day starne.	
Mak, with youre leyfe, let me gyf youre barne, Bot vj pence. 590	
MAK. Nay, do way: he slepys.	
TERCIUS PASTOR. Me thynk he pepys.	
MAK. When he wakyns he wepys.	
I pray you go hence.	
TERCIUS PASTOR. Gyf me lefe hym to kys, and lyft up	
the clowtt. 595	
What the dewille is this? he has a long snowte	
PRIMUS PASTOR. He is merkyd amys. We wate ille abowte.	
SECUNDUS PASTOR. Ille spon weft, i-wis, ay commys foulle	
owte.	
Ay so?	
He is lyke to oure shepe. 600	
TERCIUS PASTOR. How, Gyb! May I pepe?	
PRIMUS PASTOR. I trow, kynde wille crepe	
Where it may not go. Inal.	
SECUNDUS PASTOR. This was a qwantt gawde and a far cast.	
It was a hee frawde.	
TERCIUS PASTOR. Yee, sirs, wast. 605	
Lett bren this bawde and bynd hir fast.	
A! fals skawde, hang at the last;	
So shalle thou.	
Wylle ye se how thay swedylle	
His foure feytt in the medylle? 610	
Sagh I never in a credylle	
A hornyd lad or now.	
MAK. Peasse byd I: what! lett be youre fare;	
I am he that hym gatt, and yond woman hym bare.	1. and
PRIMUS PASTOR. What dewille shall he hatt? Mak, lo	ph san
God, Makys ayre! 615	

4

TOWNELEY PLAYS.

SECUNDUS PASTOR. Lett be alle that. Now God gyf hym
care,
I sagh.
Uxor. A pratty child is he
As syttys on a woman's kne;
A dyllydowne, perde. 620
To gar a man laghe.
TERCIUS PASTOR. I know hym by the eere marke: that is
a good tokyn.
MAK. I telle you, syrs, hark: hys noyse was brokyn.
Sythen told me a clerk, that he was forspokyn.
a good tokyn. MAK. I telle you, syrs, hark: hys noyse was brokyn. Sythen told me a clerk, that he was forspokyn. PRIMUS PASTOR. This is a false wark. I wold fayn be
wrokyn. with 625
Gett wepyn.
Uxor. He was takyn with an elfe;
I saw it myself.
When the clok stroke twelf
Was he forshapyn. 630
SECUNDUS PASTOR. Ye two ar welle feft, sam in a stede.
TERCIUS PASTOR. Syn thay manteyn thare theft, let do
thaym to dede.
MAK. If I trespas eft, gyrd of my heede.
With you wille I be left.
PRIMUS PASTOR. Syrs, do my reede. 635
For this trespas,
We wille nawther ban ne flyte,
Fyght nor chyte,
Bot have done as tyte, quiller
And cast hym in canvas. [They toss Mak.
Lord, what I am sore, in poynt for to bryst. 640
In fayth I may no more, therfor wylle I ryst.
SECUNDUS PASTOR. As a shepe of vij skore he weyd in
my fyst.
For to slepe ay whore, me thynk that I lyst.

SECUNDA PASTORUM.

TERCIUS PASTOR. Now I pray you, . Lyg downe on this grene. 645 PRIMUS PASTOR. On these thefys yit I mene. TERCIUS PASTOR. Wherto shuld ye tene So, as I say you? Angelus cantat 'Gloria in Excelsis': postea dicat. ANGELUS. Ryse, hyrdmen heynd, for now is he borne, That shall take fro the feynd that Adam had lorne: 650 That warloo to sheynd, this nyght is he borne, God is made youre freynd: now at this morne He behestys, At Bedlem go se, Ther lygys that fre 655 In a cryb fulle poorely, Betwyx two bestys. PRIMUS PASTOR. This was a quant stevyn that ever yit I hard. It is a marvelle to nevyn thus to be skard. SECUNDUS PASTOR. Of Godys son of hevyn he spak up ward. 660 Alle the wod on a levyn me thoght that he gard Appere. TERCIUS PASTOR. He spak of a barne In Bedlem, I you warne. PRIMUS PASTOR. That betokyns youd starne 665 Let us seke hym there. SECUNDUS PASTOR. Say, what was his song? hard ye not how he crakyd it? Thre brefes to a long. TERCIUS PASTOR. Yee, mary, he hakt it. maal Was no crochett wrong, nor no thyng that lakt it.

TOWNELEY PLAYS.

PRIMUS PASTOR. For to syng us emong, right as he
knakt it, Jerformed 670
I can.
SECUNDUS PASTOR. Let se how ye croyne.
Can ye bark at the mone?
TERCIUS PASTOR. Hold youre tonges, have done.
PRIMUS PASTOR. Hark after, than. 675
SECUNDUS PASTOR. To Bedlem he bad that we shuld gang: I am full fard that we tary to lang.
TERCIUS PASTOR. Be mery, and not sad: of myrth is
oure sang, Ever lastyng glad to mede may we fang, ac your Withoutt noyse, 680
Withoutt noyse. 680
Withoutt noyse. 680 PRIMUS PASTOR. Hy we theder for-thy; Frankford 100 If we be wete and wery,
If we be wete and wery,
To that chyld and that lady
We have it not to lose.
SECUNDUS PASTOR. We fynde by the prophecy-let be
youre dyn— 685
Of David and Isay, and mo then I myn;
Thay prophecyed by clergy, that in a vyrgyn
Shuld he lyght and ly, to slokyn oure syn And slake it,
Oure kynde from wo; 690
For Isay sayd so,
Citè virgo
Concipiet a child that is nakyd.
TERCIUS PASTOR. Fulle glad may we be, and abyde
that day
That lufly to se, that alle myghtys may. 695
Lord welle were me, for ones and for ay,
Might I knele on my kne som word for to say
To that chylde.

SECUNDA PASTORUM.

Bot the angelle sayd In a cryb was he layde; 700 He was poorly arayd, Both mener and mylde. PRIMUS PASTOR. Patryarkes that has bene, and prophetys beforne. Thay desyryd to have sene this chylde that is borne. Thay ar gone fulle clene, that have thay lorne. 705 We shalle se hym, I weyn, or it be morne, To tokyn. When I see hym and fele, Then wote I fulle weylle It is true as stevlle 710 That prophetes have spokyn To so poore as we ar, that he wold appere, Fyrst fynd, and declare by his messyngere. SECUNDUS PASTOR. Go we now, let us fare: the place is us nere. TERCIUS PASTOR. I am redy and yare: go we in fere To that bright. 716 ve_ Lord, if thi wylles be, We are lewde alle thre, Thou grauntt us somkyns gle To comforth thi wight. [They enter the stable. 720 PRIMUS PASTOR. Haylle, comly and clene: haylle, yong child ! Haylle, maker, as I meyne, of a madyn so mylde. Thou has waryd, I weyne, the warlo so wylde, The fals gyler of teyn, now goys he begylde. Lo, he merys; 725 Lo, he laghys, my swetyng, A welfare metyng, I have holden my hetyng, ? Have a bob of cherys.

SECUNDUS PASTOR. Haylle, sufferan savyoure, for thou
has us soght: 730
Haylle, frely foyde and floure, that alle thyng has
wroght.
Haylle, fulle of favoure, that made alle of noght!
Haylle! I kneylle and I cowre. A byrd have I broght
To my barne.
Haylle, lytylle tyné mop, 735
Of oure crede thou art crop:
I wold drynk on thy cop,
Lytylle day starne.
TERCIUS PASTOR. Haylle, derlyng dere, fulle of godhede,
I pray the be nere when that I have nede. 740
Haylle! swete is thy chere: my hart wold blede
To se the sytt here in so poore wede,
With no pennys.
Haylle! put furthe thy dalle, Fit
I bryng the bot a balle: 745
Have and play the with alle,
And go to the tenys.
MARIA. The fader of heven, God omnypotent,

That sett alle on seven, his son has he sent. My name couthe he neven and lyght or he went. 750 I conceyved hym fulle even, thrugh myght as he ment; And now is he borne. He kepe you fro wo: I shalle pray him so;

755

Telle furth as ye go,

And myn on this morne.

PRIMUS PASTOR. Farewelle, lady, so fare to beholde, With thy chylde on thi kne.

SECUNDUS PASTOR. Bot he lygys fulle cold. Lord, welle is me: now we go, thou behold. SECUNDA PASTORUM. 43

TERCIUS PASTOR. For sothe alle redy, it semys to be told Fulle oft. 761 PRIMUS PASTOR. What grace we have fun. SECUNDUS PASTOR. Com furth, now as we won. TERTIUS PASTOR. To syng ar we bun : runn Let take on loft. 765

Explicit pagina pastorum.

Coventry Plays.

XI. THE SALUTATION AND CONCEPTION.

CONTEMPLACIO. Ffowre thowsand sex undryd foure I telle. her Man ffor his offens and ffowle foly, Hath loyn yeres in the peynes of helle, And were wurthy to ly therin endlesly, But thanne xulde perysche your grete mercye. Good Lord, have on man pyté, Have mende of the prayour seyd by Ysaie, Lete mercy meke thin hyest magesté. 8 Wolde God thou woldyst breke thin hefne myghtye, And com down here into erthe; And levyn yeres thre and threttye, Thyn famyt ffolke with thi fode to fede. 12 To staunche thi thryste lete thi syde blede, Ffor erst wole not be mad redempcion. Cum vesite us in this tyme of nede, Of thi careful creatures, Lord, have compassyon ! 16 A! woo to us wrecchis that wrecchis be, Ffor God hath addyd ssorwe to sorwe; I prey the, Lorde, thi sowles com se, How thei ly and sobbe, both eve and morewe, With thi blyssyd blood ffrom balys hem borwe, Thy careful creaturys cryenge in captyvyté,

¹ babys, MS.

XI. THE SALUTATION AND CONCEPTION. 45

A! tary not, gracyous Lord, tyl it be to-morwe, The devyl hath dysceyved hem be his iniquité. 24
A! quod Jeremye, who xal gyff wellys to myn eynes, That I may wepe bothe day and nyght,
To se oure bretheryn in so longe peynes?
Here myschevys amende may thi meche myght !- 28
As grett as the se, Lord, was Adamys contryssyon ryght. Ffrom oure hed is ffalle the crowne,
Man is comeryd in synne, I crye to thi syght,
Gracyous Lord! Gracyous Lord! Gracyous Lord, come downe! 32
VIRTUTES. Lord! plesyth it thin high domynacion,
On man that thou made to have pyte,
Patryarchys and prophetys han mad supplycacion,
Oure offyse is to presente here prayeres to the. 36 Aungelys, archaungelys, we thre
That ben in the fyrst ierarchie,
Ffor man to thin hy magesté,
Mercy ! mercy ! we crye 40
The aungel, Lord, thou made so gloryous,
Whos synne hath mad hym a devyl in helle,
He mevyd man to be so contraryous,
Man repentyd, and he in his obstynacye doth dwelle. Hese grete males, good Lord, repelle, 45
Hese grete males, good Lord, repelle, 45 And take man onto thi grace,
Lete thi mercy make hym with aungelys dwelle,
Of Locyfere to restore the place. 48
PATER. Propter miseriam inopum, et gemitum pauperum nunc exurgam.
Ffor the wretchydnes of the nedy,
And the porys lamentacion,
Now xal I ryse that am Almyghty,
Tyme is come of reconsyliacion, 52

ls

COVENTRY PLAYS.

My prophetys with prayers have made supplicacion, My contryte creaturys crye alle for comforte, Alle myn aungellys in hefne, withowte cessacion, They crye that grace to man myght exorte. 56 VERITAS. Lord, I am thi dowtere, Trewthe, Thou wilt se I be not lore, wat Thyn unkynde creatures to save were rewthe, July The offens of man hath grevyd the sore. 60 Whan Adam had synnyd, thou seydest yore, That he xulde deye and go to helle, And now to blysse hym to restore, Twey contraryes mow not togedyr dwelle. 64 Thy trewthe, Lord, xal leste withowtyn ende, I may in no wyse ffro the go, That wrecche that was to the so unkende, He may not have to meche wo. 68 He dyspysyd the and plesyd thi ffo, Thou art his creatour and he is thi creature, Thou hast lovyd trewthe, it is seyd evyr mo, Therfore in peynes lete hym evyrmore endure. 72 MISERICORDIA. O ffadyr of mercye and God of comforte, That counselle us in eche trybulacion, Lete your dowtere Mercy to yow resorte, And on man that is myschevyd have compassyon. 70 Hym grevyth fful gretly his transgressyon, Alle hefne and erthe crye ffor mercy; Me semyth ther xuld be non excepcion, Ther prayers ben offeryd so specyally. 80 Threwthe sseyth she hath evyr be than, I graunt it wel she hath be so, And thou seyst endlesly that mercy thou hast kept for man Than mercyabyl lorde, kepe us bothe to, 84 Thu seyst veritas mea et misericordia mea cum ipso. Suffyr not thi sowlys than in sorwe to slepe,

XI. THE SALUTATION AND CONCEPTION. 47

That helle hownde that hatyth the byddyth hym ho! Thi love, man, no lengere lete hym kepe.	88
JUSTICIA. Mercy, me merveylyth what yow movyth, Ye know wel I am your sister Ryghtwysnes,	
God is ryghtfful and ryghtffulnes lovyth, Man offendyd hym that is endles,	
Therefore his endles punchement may nevyr sees;	92
Also he forsoke his makere that made hym of clay And the devyl to his mayster he ches, should	,
Xulde he be savyd? nay! nay! nay!	96
As wyse as is God he wolde a be, This was the abhomynabyl presumpcion,	
It is seyd, ye know wel this of me,	
That the ryghtwysnes of God hath no diffynicion. Therffore late this be oure conclusyon,	100
He that sore synnyd ly stylle in sorwe, He may nevyr make a seyth be resone,	J.
Whoo myght thanne thens hym borwe? reduce	104
MISERICORDIA. Syster Ryghtwysnes, ye are to vengeal Endles synne God endles may restore,	byl,
Above alle hese werkys God is mercyabyl,	,
Thow he forsook God be synne, be feyth he forso hym never the more.	108 00 K
And thow he presumyd nevyr so sore,	
Ye must consyder the frelnes of mankende,	
Lerne and ye lyst, this is Goddys lore,	
The mercy of God is withowtyn ende.	112
PAX. To spare your speches, systeres, it syt;	
It is not onest in vertuys to ben dyscencion, The pes of God ovyrcomyth alle wytt.	
The pes of cod ovyreomyth and wyth. Thow Trewthe and Ryght sey grett reson,	116
Yett Mercy seyth best to my pleson;	
Ffor yf mannys sowle xulde abyde in helle,	

COVENTRY PLAYS.

Betwen God and man evyr xulde be dyvysyon,	
And than myght not I Pes dwelle.	1 20
Therefore me semyth best ye thus acorde;	
Than hefne and erthe ye xul qweme, when	
Putt bothe your sentens in oure Lorde,	
And in his hygh wysdam lete hym deme.	I24
This is most syttynge me xulde seme,	
And lete se how we ffowre may alle abyde,	
That mannys sowle it xulde perysche it wore sweme,	91.1
Or that ony of us ffro othere xulde dyvyde.	128
VERITAS. In trowthe hereto I consente,	
I wole prey oure lorde it may so be.	
JUSTICIA. I Ryghtwysnes am wele contente,	
Ffor in hym is very equyté.	132
MISERICORDIA. And I Mercy ffro this counsel wole not	fle,
Tyl wysdam hath seyd I xal ses.	
Pax. Here is God now, here is unyté,	
Hefne and erthe is plesyd with Pes.	

wary magdalen.

mirale part [11. 1-48. Tiberius Caesar denounces all who murmur against his gods.]

Her entyr Syrus, the fader of Mary Maudleyn.

SYRUS. Emperor and kyngges and conquerors kene, Erlys, and borons, and knytes that byn bold, Berdes in my bower, so semely to sene, I commaund yow at onys my hestes to hold 52 Behold my person, glysteryng in gold, Semely besyn of all other men : Cyrus is my name, be cleffys so cold, I command you all obedyent to beyn; 56 Wo-so woll nat, in bale I hem bryng, 57 And knett swyche caytyfys in knottes of care. Thys castell of Maudleyn is at my wylddyng, With all the contre, bothe lesse and more, 60 And Lord of Jerusalem, who agens me don dare? Alle Beteny at my beddyng be; I am sett in solas from al syyng sore, And so xall all my posteryte. Thus for to leven in rest and ryalte, 65 I have her a sone that is to me ful trew, 66 No comlyar creatur of Goddes creacyon, To amyabyll douctors, full brygth of ble, crude Ful gloryos to my syth an ful of delectacyon. Lazarus my son, in my respeccyon. 70 Here is Mary, ful fayr and ful of femynyte, And Martha, ful [of] beute and of delycyte Ful of womanly merrorys and of benygnyte,

0	
They have fulfyllyd my hart with consolacyon.	74
* * * * * *	
Now Lazarus, my sonne, whech art ther brothyr,	79
The lordshep of Jerusalem I gyff the after my dysses,	
And Mary thys castell, alonly, an non othyr;	
And Martha xall have Beteny, I sey exprèse:	
Thes gyftes I graunt yow withowtyn les, further	83
Whyll that I am in good mynd.	84
LAZARUS. Most reverent father ! I thank yow hartely	85
Of yower grett kyndnes shuyd onto me!	d
Of yower grett kyndnes shuyd onto me ! Ye have grauntyd swych a lyfelod, worthy lwellur Ma to rectrown from all pessesyte	
Me to restreyn from all nessesyte.	88
Now, good lord, and hys wyll it be,	
Me to restreyn from all nessesyte. Now, good lord, and hys wyll it be, Graunt me grace to lyve to thy plesowans, And a-gens hem so to rewle me Thatt we may have joye withoutyn wervaups.	
And a-gens hem so to rewle me	el
Thatt we may have joye withoutyn weryauns.	92
MARY MAUDLEYN. Thatt God of pes and pryncyp	all
counsell,	93
More swetter is thi name than hony be kynd ! mah	-l
We thank yow, fathyr, for your gyftes ryall,	
Owt of peynes of poverte us to on-bynd;	96
Thys is a preservatyff from streytnes, we fynd,	
From wordly labors to my coumfortyng;	
For thys lyfflod is abyll for the dowtter of a kyng,	99
Thys place of plesauns, the soth to seye.	100
MARTHA. O ye good fathyr of grete degre,	101
Thus to departe with your ryches,	
Consederyng ower lowlynes and humylyte,	
Us to save from worldly dessetres:	
	105
So mekly to meynteyn us to your grace.	
Hey in heven a-wansyd mot yow be	
In blysse, to se that lordes face,	
Whan ye xal hens passe !	

CYRUS. Now I rejoyse with all my mygthtes; 110 To enhanse my chyldryn, it was my delyte : Now wyn and spycys, ye jentyll knyttes, On-to thes ladys of jentylnes.

[11. 114-139. Tiberius Caesar sends orders to Herod to search out rebels. 11. 140-228. Herod hears from his 'philosophers' a prophecy of Christ's Incarnation and 'rages.' He receives Tiberius' orders and sends them on to Pilate. 11. 229-264. Pilate receives the orders and declares he will execute them.]

Syrus takyt his deth.

Syrus. A! help! help! I stond in drede 265 Syknes is sett onder my syde! A! help! deth wyll aquyte me my mede! A! gret Gode! thou be my gyde; 268 How I am trobyllyd both bak and syde, Now wythly help me to my bede. A! this rendyt my rybbys! I xall never goo nor ryde! The dent of deth is hevyar than led. 272 A! Lord, Lord! what xall I doo this tyde? A! gracyows God! have ruth on me, In thys word no lengar to abyde. I blys yow, my chyldyrn, God mot with us be ! 276

Her avoydyt Syrus sodenly, and than [comyt] sayyng, Lazarus.

LAZARUS. Alas, I am sett in grete hevynesse! 277 Ther is no tong my sorow may tell, So sore I am browth in dystresse; In feyntnes I falter, for this fray fell; 280 Thys dewresse wyl lett me no longar dwelle, But, God of grace, sone me redresse. A! how my peynes don me repelle! Lord, with-stond this duresse! 284

E 2

MARY MAGLEYN. The in-wyttissymus God that xal reyne, Be his help, an sowlys sokor ! To whom it is most nedfull to cumplayn; He to bryng us owt of ower dolor— He is most mytyest governowr, From soroyng us to restryne.	ever 285 288 290
MARTHA. A! how I am sett in sorowys sad, That long my lyf y may not indeure! Thes grawous peynes make me ner mad! Under clower is now my fathyris cure, That sumtyme was here ful mery and glad. Ower lordes mercy be his mesure, And defeynd hym from peynes sad!	2 94 297
LAZARUS. Now, systyrs, ower fatherys wyll we exprese : Thys castell is owerys, with all the fee.	woll 298
MARTHA. As hed and governower, as reson is And on this wyse abydyn with yow, wyll wee; We wyll natt desevyr, whatt so be-falle.	301
MARIA. Now, brothyr and systyrs, welcum ye be. And ther-of specyally I pray yow all.	304
Her xal entyr the Kyng of the word, then the Kyng of flesch, and then the dylfe, with the seven dedly sym- bad angyll an an good angyl, thus seyyng the word.	nes, a
[THE KING OF THE WORLD.] I am the word, wort	hyest
that army and amounth	305
And also I am the prymatt portatur mission in	
Next heveyn, yf the trewth be sowth, — And that I jugge me to skryptur;—	200
And I am he that lengest xal induer,	308

And also most of domynacyon;

Yf I be hys foo, woo is abyll to recure? Meret with For the whele of fortune with me hath sett his sentur. 312

Her xal entyr the Kynge of flesch with slowth, gloteny, lechery.

I, kyng of flesch, florychyd in my flowers, Of deyntys delycows I have grett domynacyon, So ryal a kyng was nevyr borne in bowrys, Nor hath more delyth ne more delectacyon.

Here xal entyr the prynse of dylles in a stage, and Helle ondyrneth that stage, thus seyyng the dylfe.

SATAN. Now I, prynse, pyrked prykkyd in pryde, 358 Satan ower sovereyn, set with every cyrcumstanse, For I am a-tyred in my tower to tempt yow this tyde; As a kyng ryall I sette at my plesauns, 361 With wroth [and] invy at my ryall retynawns; The boldest in bower I bryng to a-baye; Mannis sowle to besegyn and bryng to obeysauns, Ya [with] tyde and tyme I do that I may 365 For at hem I have dysspyte that he wolde have the joye That Lycyfer, with many a legyown, lost for ther pryde; The snares that I xal set wher never set at Troye, So I thynk to be every wave wyde; 360 I xal getyn hem from grace, wher-so-ever he abyde, That body and sowle xal com to my hold.

Hym for to take,	372
Now my knythtes so stowth should	373
With me ye xall ron in rowte, company	
My consell to take for a skowte, which have	
Whytly that we wer went for my sake.	376

WRATH. With wrath or wyhylles we xal hyrre wynne. ENVY. Or with sum sotyllte sett hur in synne. 378

subtleby

53

380

381

whate

Dylfe. Com of than, let us begynne To werkyn hur sum wrake.

Her xal the deywl go to the word with his compeny.

SATAN. Heyle word, worthyest of a-bowndans! dry In hast we must a conseyll take; Ye must aply yow with all your afyauns, fframe A woman of whorshep ower servant to make.

[11. 384-469. The World recommends recourse to the Flesh, who sends his servant Luxuria (or Lechery) to Mary as she sits mourning her father's death. Luxury persuades Mary to amuse herself at Jerusalem.]

Here takyt Mary hur wey to Ierusalem with Luxsurya, and they xal resort to a taverner, thus seyyng the taverner.

I am a taverner wytty and wyse, 470 That wynys have to sell gret plente. Of all the taverners I bere the pryse That be dwellyng withinne the cete; ety 473 Of wynys I have grete plente, Both whyte wynne and red that [ys] so cleyr: 475 Here vs wynne of mawt and Malmeseyn, Clary wynne and claret, and other moo, Wyn of Gyldyr and of Galles, that made at the grome [?], Wyn of wyan and vernage, I seye also; Ther be no better, as ferre as ye can goo. 480 LUXSURYA. Lo, lady, the comfort and the sokower, 481 Go we ner and take a tast, Thys xal bryng your sprytes to fawor. Taverner, bryng us of the fynnest thou hast. 484 TAVERNER. Here, lady, is wyn, a repast 485 To man and woman, a good restoratyff; Ye xall not thynk your mony spent in wast, From stodyys and hevynes it woll yow relyff. 488 and all

55

490

MARY. I-wys ye seye soth, ye grom of blysse; To me ye be courtes and kynde.

Her xal entyr a galaunt thus seyyng.

GALAUNT [CURIOSITY]. Hof, hof, hof, a frysch new galaunt, Ware of thryst, ley that a-doune ! What! wene ye, syrrys, that I were a marchant, Because that I am new com to town ? With sum praty tasppysster wold I fayn rown;

LUXSUYRA. Lady, this man is for yow, as I se can ; 507 To sett yow i sporttes and talkyng this tyde.

14

MARY. Cal hym in, taverner, as *y*e my love wyll han, And we xall make ful mery, yf he wolle abyde. 510

[II. 511-587. Mary departs with the gallant and Satan rejoices over her fall. We next see Mary sleeping in an arbour, and then Simon the leper preparing for his feast. Then a good angel appears to Mary and says:]

GOOD ANGYLL. Woman, woman, why art thou so onstabyll? 588 Ful bytterly thys blysse it wol be bowth; Why art thou ayens God so veryabyll? Wy thynkes thou nat God made the of nowth? In syn and sorow thou art browth, -59² Fleschly lust is to ve full delectabyll; Salve for thi sowle must be sowth, And leve thi werkes wayn and veryabyll. 595 Remembyr, woman, for thi pore pryde, 596 How thi sowle xal lyyn in helle fiyr! A! remembyr how sorowful itt is to abyde Withowtyn eynd in angur and ire! 599 Remember the on mercy, make thi sowle clyr! I am the gost of goodnesse that so wold ye gydde.

MARY. A! how the speryt of goodnesse hat promtyt me this tyde,

And temtyd me with tytyll of trew perfythnesse. Alas ! how betternesse in my hert doth abyde ! 604 I am wonddyd with werkes of gret dystresse, 605 A! how pynsynesse potyt me to oppresse, That I have synnyd on every side. O lord ! wo xall put me from this peynfulnesse? 608 A! woo xall to mercy be my gostly gyde? I xal porsue the prophett, wherso he be, For he is the welle of perfyth charyte; 611 Be the oyle of mercy he xal me relyff. With swete bawmys I wyl seken hym this syth, wyl And sadly folow his lordshep in eche degre. 614

Here xal entyr the prophet with his desyplys, thus seyyng Symont leprus.

Now ye be welcom, mastyr, most of magnyfycens, 615 I beseche yow benyngly ye wol be so gracyows Yf that it be lekyng onto yower hye presens Thys daye to com dyne at my hows. 618

IESUS. God a mercy, Symontt, that thou wylt me knowe ! I woll entyr thi hows with pes and unyte; 620 I am glad for to rest, ther grace gynnyt grow; For withinne thi hows xal rest charyte, 622 And the bemys of grace xal byn illumynows. 623 But syth thou wytystsaff a dyner on me, With pes and grace I entyr thi hows.

SYMOND. I thank yow, master, most benyng and gracyus, That yow wol of your hye soverente; 627 To me itt is a joye most speceows, Withinne my hows that I may yow se! Now syt to the bord, mastyrs alle. 630

Her xal Mary folow alonge, with this lamentacyon.

MARY. O I, cursyd caytyff, that myche wo hath wrowthAyens my makar, of mytes most;632I have offendyd hym with dede and thowth,634But in his grace is all my trost,634Or elles I know well I am but lost,634Body and sowle damdpnyd perpetuall.637Yet, good lord of lorddes, my hope perhenuall,637With the to stond in grace and fawour to se,7how knowyst my hart and thowt in especyal;Therfor, good lord, after my hart reward me.640

Her xal Mary wasche the fett of the prophet with the terres of hur yys, whypyng hem with hur herre, and than anoynt hym with a precyus noyttment.

IESUS DICIT. Symond, I thank ye speceally	641
For this grett repast that her hath be;	
But Symond, I telle the fectually in the	
I have thynges to seyn to the.	644

Symont, behold, this woman in al wyse 665 How she with teres of hyr better wepyng She wassheth my fete, and doth me servyse, And anoyntyt hem with onymentes, lowly knelyng, 668 And with her her, fayer and brygth shynnyng, She wypyth hem agayn with good entent; But Symont, syth that I entred thi hows, 671 To wasshe my fete thou dedyst nat aplye, Nor to wype my fete thou wer nat so faworus; Wherfor in thi conscyens thou owttyst nat to replye. 674 But, woman, I sey to the werely, I forgeyffe the thi wrecchednesse, And hol in sowle be thou made therby.

- [11. 678-1132. Mary gives thanks: seven devils are cast out of her, and in the next scene we see Satan punishing his angels with blows for their ill-success. The history of the sickness and raising of Lazarus is then enacted, and at 1, 924 Part I of the play comes to an end.
- Part II begins with a boasting speech of the King of Marcylle; then we hear the devils crying out because Hell has been harrowed, upon which follows the scene in the garden of Joseph of Arimathea on the morning of Christ's Resurrection.]

Here devoyd all the three Maryys; and the kynge of Marcyll xall begynne a sacryfyce.

due

REX MERCYLL. Now, lordes and ladyys of grett a-p A mater to meve yow is in my memoryall,	orise,
A mater to meve yow is in my memoryall,	1134
This day to do a sacryfyce	
With multetude of myrth before ower goddes all,	1136
With preors in aspecyall before his presens,	
Eche creature with hartt demure.	1138
REGINA. To that lord curteys and keynd,	1139
Mahond, that is so mykyll of myth,	

With mynstrelly and myrth in mynd, Lett us gon ofer in that hye kyngis syth. **II**42

Here xal enter an hethen preste and his boye.

PRESBYTER. Now, my clerke, Hawkyn, for love of me Loke fast myn awter wer arayd; 1144 Goo, ryng a bell to or thre! Lythly, chyld, it be natt delayd. 1146 For here xall be a grett solemnyte. Loke, boy, thou do it with a brayd ! hasto 1148

[The boy is impudent, and the priest obeys the stage direction 'bete him.' Enter the King.]

REX DICITT. Now, prystes and clerkys, of this tempyll cler 1178

Yower servyse to sey, lett me se.

59

1190

PRESEVTER. A, soveryn lord, we shall don ower devyr. Boy, a boke a-non thou bryng me! 1181 Now, boy, to my awter I wyll me dresse; 1182 On xall my westment and myn aray.

Leacyo mahowndys, viri fortissimi sarasenorum. Glabriosum ad glumandum glumandinorum, Gormondorum alocorum, stampatinantum cursorum, Cownthtes fulcatum, congruryandum tersorum Mursum malgorum, Mararagorum.

* * * * * * * * * * * Howndes and hogges, in hegges and helles, 1198 Snakes and toddes mott be yower belles; Ragnell and Roffyn, and other, in the wavys, Grauntt yow grace to dye on the galows. 1201

PRESEVTER. Now, lordes and ladyys, lesse and more, Knele all don with good devocyon; 1203 Yonge and old, rych and pore, Do yower oferyng to sentt Mahownde, And ye xall have grett pardon, 1206 That longyth to this holy place; And receyve *y*e xall my benesown, And stond in Mahowndes grace. 1209

REX DICITT. Mahownd, thou art of mytes most, 1210In my syth a gloryus gost;1210Thou comfortyst me both in contre and cost1213With thi wesdom and thi wytt;1213For truly, lord, in the is my trost.1214Good lord, lett natt my sowle be lost!1217All my cownsell well thou wotst.1217Here in thi presens as I sett,1217Thys besawnt of gold, rych and rownd,1218I ofer ytt for my lady and me,1218

That thou mayst be ower counfortes in this stownd, ture Sweth Mahound, remembyr me.

[ll. 1222-1375. After two scenes representing the receipt of the news of Christ's Resurrection by Pilate and Tiberius Caesar, the angel Raphael is sent from heaven to Mary Magdalen.]

abare 1 ANGELUS. Abasse the noutt, Mary, in this place; 1376 Ower lordes preceptt thou must ful-fyll To passe the see in shortt space On-to the lond of Marcyll. 1379 Kyng and quene converte xall ye, And byn amyttyd as an holy apostylesse; Alle the lond xall be techyd alonly be the; Goddes lawys on-to hem ye xall expresse. 1383 Therfor hast yow forth with gladnesse, Goddes commaundement for to fulfylle. 1385

MARI MAWDLEYN. He that from my person vij dewlles 1386 mad to fle, Be vertu of hym alle thyng was wrowth; To seke thoys pepyll I wol rydy be. As thou hast commaunddytt, in vertu they xall be browth. With thi grace, good lord, in deite, 1390 Now to the see I wyll me hy, Sum sheppyng to asspy. Now spede me, lord, in eternall glory ! Now be my spede, allmyty trenite ! 1394

Here xall entyre a shyp with a mery song.

fretto.

SHEPMAN. Stryke ! skryke ! lett fall an ankyr to grownd ! Her is a fayer haven to se! Connyngly in, loke that ye sownd; John mid I hope good harbarow have xal wee! 1398 Loke that we have drynke, boy, thou.

| [The shipman's boy is as impudent as the priest's, with a like res | ult.] |
|--|-------|
| MAUDLEYN. Master of the shepe, a word with the. | 1423 |
| MASTER. All redy, fayer woman, whatt wol ye? | |
| MARY. Of whense is thys shep? tell ye me; | |
| And yf ye seyle with-in a whyle. | 1426 |
| MASTER. We wol seyle this same day, | 1427 |
| Yf the wynd be to ower pay. | |
| This shep that I of sey | |
| Is of the lond of Marcyll. | 1430 |
| MARY. Syr, may I natt with yow sayle? | 1431 |
| And ye xall have for yower awayle. | |
| MASTER. Of sheppyng the xall natt faylle; | |
| For us the wynd is good and saffe. | 1434 |
| Yond ther is the lond of Torke, | |

I wher full loth for to lye.

Now xall the shep-men syng.

| Of this cors we that nat a-baffe, | 1437 |
|--|------|
| Yender is the lond of Satyllye. | 1438 |
| Stryk! beware of sond! | |
| Cast a led, and in us gyde ! | |
| Of Marcyll this is the kyngges lond. | 1441 |
| Go a lond, thow fayer woman, this tyde, | |
| To the kyngges place; yonder may ye see. | |
| Sett of, sett of, from lond. | |
| | |

THE BOY. All redy, master, at thyn hand. 1445

Her goth the shep owt of the place.

[Mary Magdalen goes to the King and preaches to him.]

REX. Herke, woman, thow hast many resonnes grett; 1527 I thyngk, on-to my goddes aperteynyng they beth. But thou make me answer son, I xall the frett, And cut the tonge owt of thi hed. 1530

| MARY. Syr, yf I seyd amys, I woll return agayn. | 1531 |
|---|-------|
| Leve yower encomberowns of perturbacyon, | |
| And lett me know what yower goddes byn, | |
| And how they may save us from treubelacyon. | 1534 |
| REX. Hens to the tempyll that we war, | 1535 |
| And ther xall thow se a solom syth. | |
| Com on all, both lesse and more, | |
| Thys day to se my goddes myth. | 1538 |
| | |
| Here goth the Kynge with all his a-tendaunt to the temp | syll. |
| Loke now, qwatt seyyst thow be this syth? | 1539 |
| How pleyeaunttly they stond, se thow how ! | |
| Lord, I besech thi grett myth, | |
| Speke to this chrisetyn that here sestt thou. | 1542 |
| Speke, god lord, speke! se how I do bow! | |
| Herke, thou pryst ! qwat menytt all this? | |
| What ! speke, good lord ! speke ! what eylytt the no | ow? |
| Speke, as thow artt bote of all blysse! | 1546 |
| PRYSBYTER. Lord, he woll natt speke whyle chris | eten |
| her is. | |
| MARY. Syr kyng, and it pleze yower gentyllnesse, | 1548 |
| Gyff me lycens my prayors to make | |
| On-to my God in heven blysch, | |
| Sum merakyll to shewyn for yower sake. | |
| REX. Pray thi fylle, tyll thi ¹ knees ake. | 1552 |
| MARY. Dominus, illuminacio mea, quem timebo! | |
| Dominus, protecctor vite mee, a quo trepedabo! | |
| | |
| Here xal the mament tremyll and quake. | |
| Now, lord of lordes, to thi blyssyd name sanctificatt, | , |
| Most mekely my feyth I recummend. | 1556 |
| Pott don the pryd of mamentes violatt ! | |
| Lord, to thi lover thi goodnesse descend : | 1228 |

¹ then, MS.

Lett natt ther pryd to thi poste pretend, Wher-as is rehersyd thi hye name Jhesus. Good lord, my preor I feythfully send; Lord, thi rythwysnesse here dyscus!

Here xall comme a clowd from heven, and sett the tempyl one a fyer, and the pryst and the clerk xall synke.

[The remainder of the play shows the voyage of the King and Queen to the Holy Land, the wonderful restoration to life of the Queen and her baby by the aid of Mary Magdalen, the feeding of Mary in the wilderness by angels, her death, and her ascension.]

The Castell of Perseverance.

HUMANUM GENUS.

1 mg

After oure forme faderes' kende This nyth I waus of my moder born; Fro my moder I walke, I wende; Ful feynt and febyl I fare you beforn

I am nakyd of lym and lende, As mankynde is schapyn and schorn, (5)

(10)

(15)

I not wedyr to gon ne to lende, To helpe my-self mydday ny morn,

For schame I stonde and schende. I waus born this nyth in blody ble And nakyd I am as ye may se. A! Lord God in trinite,

Whow mankende is unchende! mustured

Where-to I waus to this werld browth, I ne wot but to woo and wepynge.

I am born and have ryth nowth To helpe my self in no doynge.

I s[t]onde¹ and stodye, al ful of thowth; Bare and pore is my clothynge,

A sely crysme my hed hath cawth, (20) That I tok at myn crystenynge;

Certes I have no more. Of erthe I cam, I wot ryth wele, And as erthe I stande this sele;

¹ sonde, MS.

| THE CASTELL OF PERSEVERANCE. | 65 |
|--|--------------|
| Of mankende it is gret dele,
Lord God I cry thyne ore. | (25) |
| Two ¹ aungels bene a-synyd to me:
The ton techyth me to goode,
On my ryth syde <i>y</i> e may hym se, | |
| He cam fro Criste that deyed on rode;
A-nother ordeynyd her to be, | (30) |
| That is my foo be fen and flode,
He is a-bout in every degre | |
| To ² drawe me to the dewylys wode,
That in helle ben thycke. | (35) |
| Swyche to hath every man on lyve,
To rewlyn hym and hys wyttes fyve,
Whanne man doth evyl the ton wolde shry | ve. |
| The tother drawyth to wycke. | |
| But syn these aungelys be to me falle,
Lord Jhũ to you I bydde a bone,
That I may folwe be strete and stalle | (40) |
| The aungyl that com fro hevene trone.
Now lord Jhũ in hevene halle | |
| Here whane I make my mone,
Coryows Criste to you I calle. | (45) |
| As a grysly gost I grucche and grone,
I wene ryth ful of thowth.
A! Lord Jhũ, wedyr may I goo? | |
| A crysyme I have and no moo!
Alas! men may be wondyr woo
Whanne thei be fyrst forth browth. | (50) |
| Bonus Angelus.
Ya forsothe and that is wel sene, | |
| Of woful wo man may synge,
For iche creature helpeth hym self bedene,
Save only man at hys comynge, | (55) |

¹ Ij, MS.

² Do, MS

F

66

THE CASTELL OF PERSEVERANCE. Nevyr-the-lesse turne the fro tene And serve Jhũ, hevene kynge, And thou shalt, be grevys grene, (60) Fare well in all thynge. That lord thi lyfe hath lante Have hym alway in thi mynde, That deved on rode for mankynde, And serve hym to thi lyfes ende, And sertes thou schalt not wante. (65)MALUS ANGELUS. Pes aungel, thi wordes are not wyse, Thou counselyst hym not a-ryth. He schal hym drawyn to the werdes servyse, To dwelle with caysere, kynge and knyth. That in londe be hym non lyche. (7c) Cum on with me stylle as ston : Thou and I to the werd schul goon, And thanne thou schalt sen a-non Whow sone thou schalt be ryche. BONUS ANGELUS. A! pes aungel, thou spekyst folye! (75) Why schuld he coveyt werldes goode, Syn Criste in erthe and hys meynye All in povert here thei stode? Werldes wele, be state and stye, Faylyth and fadyth as fysch in flode, (80) But hevene ryche is good and trye, Ther Criste syttyth, bryth as blode. Withoutyn any dystresse. To the world wolde he not flyt,

> But forsok it every whytt; Example I fynde in holy wryt,

(85)

He wyl bere me wytnesse.

THE CASTELL OF PERSEVERANCE. 67 Divicias et paupertates ne dederis iũ dñe. MALUS ANGELUS. Ya, ya, man leve hym nowth, But cum with me be stye and strete. Have thou a gobet of the werld cawth, (90) Thou schalt fynde it good and swete. A fayre lady the schal be tawth, That in bowre thi bale schal bete. With ryche rentes thou schalt be frawth, With sylke sendel to syttyn in sete. (95)I rede late bedys be: If thou wylt have wel thyn hele, And faryn wel at mete and mele, With goddes servyse may thou not dele But cum and folwe me. (100) HUMANUM GENUS. Whom to folwe wetyn I ne may: I stonde in stodye and gynne to rave, I wolde be ryche in gret aray, And fayn I wolde my sowle save. I wave as wynde in watyr: (105)Thou woldyst to the werld I me toke, And he wolde that I it forsoke. Now so God me helpe, and the holy boke, I not wyche I may have. MALUS ANGELUS. Cum on, man ! where of hast thou care ? Go we to the werld, I rede the, blyve; (111) For ther thou schalt now¹ ryth wel fare, In case if thou thynke for to thryve, No lord schal be the lyche. Take the werld to thine entent, (115)And late thi love be ther on lent. With gold and sylvyr and ryche rent A-none thou schalt be ryche.

> ¹ mow, MS. F 2

HUMANUM GENUS. Now syn thou hast be-hetyn me so I wyl go with the and a-say; (120) I ne lette for frende ner fo, But with the world I wyl go play, Certes a lytyl throwe. In this world is al my trust (125) To lyv[y]ng in lykyng and in lust: Have he and I onys cust, We schal not part I trowe. BONUS ANGELUS. A! nay, man! for Cristes blod! Cum agayn be strete and style ! The werld is wyckyd and ful wod, (130) And thou schalt levyn but a whyle, What coveytyst thou to wynne? Man, thynke on thyn endynge day, Whanne thou schalt be closyd under clay, And if thou thenke of that a-ray, (135)Certes thou schalt not synne. Homo memento finis et in eternú non peccabis. MALUS ANGELUS. Ya on thi sowle thou schalt thynke al be tyme ; Cum forth man and take non hede, Cum on and thou schalt holdyn hym inne. Thi flesch thou schalt foster and fede (140) With lofly lyvys fode. With the werld thou mayst be bold, Tyl thou be sexty wynter hold; Wanne thi nose waxit cold Thanne mayst thou drawe to goode. (145) HUMANUM GENUS. I vow to God, and so I may Make mery a ful gret throwe-I may levyn many a day, I am but yonge, as I trowe,-

For to do that I schulde. (150) Myth I ryde be sompe and syke, And be ryche and lord lyke, Certes thanne schulde I be fryke And a mery man on molde. MALUS ANGELUS. Vys be my feyth thou schalt be a lord, And ellys hange me be the hals. (156)But thou muste be at myn a-cord, Other whyle thou muste be fals A-monge kythe and kynne. Now go we forth swythe a-non, (160) To the werld us must gon, And bere the manly evere a-mong, Whanne thou comyst out or inne. HUMANUM GENUS. Yys, and ellys have thou my necke But I be manly be downe and dyche, (165)And thou I be fals I ne recke, With so that I be lord lyche I folowe the as I can. Thou schalt be my bote of bale, For were I ryche of holt and hale, (170) Thanne wolde I geve nevere tale Of God ne of good man. BONUS ANGELUS. I weyle and I wrynge and make mone This man with woo schal be pylt. I sye sore and grysly grone, (175)For hys folye schal make hym spylt. I not weder to gone, Pipe up [mu]sic. Mankynde hath forsakyn me, Alas, man, for love of the ! Ya, for this gamyn and this gle (180) Thou schalt grocchyn and grone. ¥ ×.

MUNDUS. Welcum, syr, semly in syth ! Thou art welcum to worthy wede, Mini (185) For thou wylt be my servaunt day and nyth, With my servyse I schal the foster and fede: Thi bak schal be betyn with besawntes bryth; Thou schalt have byggynges be bankes brede; To thi cors schal knele kayser and knyth, Where that thou walke be sty or be strete, (190) And ladys lovely on lere. But goddys servyse thou must forsake, And holy to the werld the take, And thanne a man I schal the make That non schal be thi pere. HUMANUM GENUS. Yys, Werld, and ther-to here myn honde To forsake God and hys servyse, (196) To medys thou geve me howse and londe, That I regne rychely at myn emprise. So that I fare wel be strete and stronde, Whil I dwelle here in werldly wyse, (200)I recke nevere of hevene wonde, Nor of Jhū that jentyl justyse ! Of my sowle I have no rewthe, What schulde I recknen of domysday So that I be ryche and of gret a-ray? (205) I schal make mery whyl I may, And ther-to here my trewthe. MUNDUS. Now sertes, syr, thou seyst wel! I holde the trewe ffro top to the too! But thou were ryche it were gret dele, (210) And all men that wyl fare soo. Tunc ascendat Humanum Genus ad Mundum. Cum up my serwaunt trow as stele,

Thou schalt be ryche whereso thou goo,

| Men schul servyn the at mele
With mynstralsye, and bemys blo,
With metes and drynkes trye.
Lust and lykynge schal be thin ese,
Lovely ladys the schal plese, | (215) |
|--|-------|
| Who so do the any disese,
He schal ben hangyn hye. | (220) |
| Lykynge, be-lyve ! | () |
| Late slothe hym swythe | |
| In robys ryve | |
| With ryche aray. | |
| Folye, thou fonde, | (225) |
| Be strete and stronde | |
| Serve hym at honde | |
| Bothe nyth and day. | |
| VOLUPTAS. Trostyly, | |
| Lord, redy! | (230) |
| Je vous pry, | |
| Syr, I say. | |
| In lyckynge and lust | |
| He schal rust, | |
| Tyl dethys dust | (235) |
| Do hym to clay. | |
| STULTICIA. And I folye | |
| Schal hyen hym hye, | |
| Tyl sum enmye | |
| Hym over goo. | (240) |
| In worldes wyt | |
| That in folye syt | |
| I thynke yyt | |
| Hes sowle to sloo. | |
| * * * * * | |
| HUMANUM GENUS. Mankynde I am callyd be kynd | e, |

With cursydnesse in costes knet,

(246)

In sowre swettenesse my syth I sende, With sevene synnys sadde be-set. Mekyl myrthe, I move in mynde, (250) With melody [al]¹ my mowth is met, My prowd power schal I not pende Tyl I be putte in peynys pyt, To helle hent fro hens. In dale of dole tyl we are downe We schul be clad in a gay gowne. (255) I see no man but the use somme Of these vij dedly synnys, For comonly it is seldom seyne. Who so no[1]² be lecherous Of other man he schal have disdeyne, (260) And ben prowde or covetous, In synne iche man is founde. Ther is pore nor ryche, be londe ne lake, That alle vij wyl forsake, But with on or other he schal be take (265) And in here bytter bondes bownde. BONUS ANGELUS. Somekyl the werse, wele a woo, That evere good aungyl waus ordeynyd the, Thou art rewlyd after the fende, that is thi foo, And no thynge, certes, aftyr me ! (270) Wele away, weder may I goo? Man doth me bleykyn blody ble. Hes swete sowle he wyl now slo, He schal wepe al hes game and gle At on dayes tyme, (275) Ye se wel all, sothly in syth, I am a bowte, both day and nyth, To brynge hys sowle into blis bryth, And hym self wyl it brynge to pyne. 1 at, MS. ² now, MS.

| MALUS ANGELUS. No, good aungyl, thou art not in | sesun, |
|---|--------|
| Ffewe men in the ffeyth they fynde, | (281) |
| For thou hast schewyd a ballyd resun, | |
| Goode syre, cum [get thee me] behynde, | |
| Trewly man hathe non chesun | |
| On thi god to grede and grynde, | (285) |
| Ffor that schuld cunne Cristis lessoun | |
| In penaunce hes body he muste bynde, | |
| And forsake the worldes [mynde] ¹ . | |
| Men arr loth on the to crye, | |
| Or don penaunce for here folye; | (290) |
| Therfore have I now maystrye | |
| Wel ny over al mankynde. | |
| Bonus Angelus. Alas, mankynde | |
| Is bobbyt and blent as the blynde, | |
| In feyth I fynde | (295) |
| To Crist he can nowt be kynde. | |
| Alas, mankynne | |
| Is soylyd and saggyd in synne, | |
| He wyl not blynne | |
| Tyl body and sowle parte a-twynne. | (300) |
| Alas, he is blendyd; | |
| A-mys man's lyf is i-spendyd, | |
| With fendes fendyd; | |
| Mercy, God, that man were a-mendyd! | |
| CONFESSIO What! man's aungel goode and trewe, | (305) |
| Why syest thou and sobbyst sore? | |
| Sertes sore it schal me rewe, | |
| If I se the make mornynge more. | |
| May any bote thi bale brewe, | |
| Or any thynge thi stat astore? | (310) |
| For all felyschepys, olde and newe, | |
| Why makyst thou grochynge under gore, | |
| | |

¹ MS. mende.

With pynynge poyntes pale? Why waus al this gretynge gunne, With sore syinge undyr sunne? (315) Tell me, and I schal, if I cunne, Brewe the bote of bale. Bonus Angelus. Of byttyr balys thou mayste me lete, Swete Schryfte, if that thou wylt. For mankynde it is that I grete: (320) He is iii poynt to be spylt. He is set in sevene synnys sete, And wyl certes tyl he be kylt. With me he thynkyth nevere more to mete, He hath me forsake and I have no gylt! (325) No man wyl hym amende! Therfore, Schryfte, so God me spede, But if thou helpe at this nede, Mankynde getyth nevere other mede But peyne withowtyn ende. (330) HUMANUM GENUS. A sete of sorwe in me is set, Sertys for synne I sye sore, Mone of mercy in me is met, Ffor werldys myrthe I morne more. In wepynge wo my wele is wet, (335)Mercy, thou muste myn fatt a-store. Ffro oure lordys lyth thou hast me let, Sory synne, thou grysly gore. Owte on the, dedly synne! Synne, thou haste mankynde schent, (340) In dedly synne my lyfe is spent; Mercy, God omnipotent, In youre grace I be-gynne. Ffor, thou mankynde have don a-mys. And he wyl falle in repentaunce, (345)

Crist schal hym bryngyn to bowre of blys, If sorwe of hert lache hym with launce. Lordyngys, ye se wel alle thys-Mankynde hathe ben in gret bobaunce, I now for-sake the, synne, i-wys, (350) And take me holy to penaunce: On Crist I crye and calle. A mercy ! schryfte ! I wyl no more ! Ffor dedly synne myn herte is sore: Stuffe mankynde with thyne store, (355)And have hym to thyne halle. CONFESSIO. Schryffte may no man for-sake: Whanne mankynde cryeth I am redy, Whanne sorwe of hert the hathe take Schryfte prefytyth veryly. (360) Who-so for synne wyl sorwe make Crist hym heryth, whanne he wyl crye. Now, man, lete sorwe thyn synne slake¹, And torne not a-geyn to thi ffolye; Ffor that makyth dystaunce, (365) And, if it happe the turne a-geyn to synne, Ffor Goddes love, lye not longe therinne: He that dothe alway evyl, and wyl not blynne, That askyth gret venjeaunce. * * * * HUMANUM GENUS. Now, syr Schryfte, where may I dwelle To kepe me fro synne and woo? (371)A comly counseyll ye me spelle, fall-To fende me now fro my foo. If these vij synnys here telle That I am thus fro hem goo, (375)The werld, the flesche and the devyl of hell Schul sekyn my soule for to sloo

¹ MS. slawe.

Into balys bowre. Therfore, I prey you, putte me (380) Into sum place of surete, That thei may not harmyn me With no synnys sowre. CONFESSIO. To swyche a place I schal the kenne, Ther thou mayst dwelle withowtyn dystaunse (385)And al wey kepe the fro synne, In to the Castell of Perseveraunce. If thou wylt to hevene wynne And kepe the fro werldyly dystaunce, Goo yone castell and kepe the therinne Ffor [it] is strenger thanne any in Fraunce; (390) To yone castel I the sende. That castel is a precyous place, Fful of vertu and of grace, Who so levyth there hes lyvys space (395) No synne schal hym schende. HUMANUM GENUS. A, Schryfte, blessyd mote thou be! This castel is here but at honde; Thedyr rathely wyll I tee, Sekyr over this sad sonde. Good perseveraunce God sende me, (400) Whyle I leve here in this londe ! Ffro fowle fylthe now I fle, Fforthe to faryn now I fonde To yone precyous port, Lord, what man is in mery lyve (405) Whanne he is of hes synnys schreve ! Al my doled doun is dreve, Christe is my counfort.

Everyman.

ve end of 15th century.

MESSENGER. I pray you all gyve your audyence

And here this mater with reverence, By fygure a morall playe. The somonynge of Everyman called it is, That of our lyves and endynge shewes How transytory we be all daye. This matter is wonders precyous, But the entent of it is more gracyous And swete to bere awaye. The story sayth: man, in the begynnynge Loke well and take good heed to the endynge, Be you never so gay, Ye thynke synne in the begynnynge full swete, Whiche in the ende causeth the soule to wepe, Whan the body lyeth in claye. Here shall you se how Felawshyp, and Iolyte Bothe, Strengthe, Pleasure and Beaute, Wyll fade from the as floure in maye. For ye shall here how our heven kynge

Calleth Everyman to a general rekenynge. Gyve audyence and here what he doth saye. 5

15

EVERYMAN.

GOD spekyth:

GOD. C. I perceyve here in my maieste
How that all creatures be to me unkynde,
Lyvynge without drede in worldly prosperyte
Of ghostly syght the people be so blynde,
Drowned in synne they know me not for theyr god,
In worldlye ryches is all theyr mynde.

I se, the more that I them forbere,42The worse they be fro yere to yere,41All that lyveth appayreth faste,45Therfore I wyll in all the haste45Have a rekenynge of every mannes persone.

4

They be so combred with worldly ryches 60 That nedes on them I must do justyce, On every man lyvynge without fere. Where arte thou Deth, thou mighty messengere?

DETHE.

65

DETHE. Almighty God I am here at your wyll, Your commaundement to fulfylle.

4

God. Go thou to Every man, And shewe hym in my name A pylgrymage he must on hym take, Whiche he in no wyse may escape, And that he brynge with him a sure rekenynge Without delay or ony taryenge.

DETHE. Lorde I wyll in the worlde go renne over all And cruelly out serche bothe grete and small. Every man wyll I beset that lyveth beestly Out of Goddes lawes and dredeth not foly. 75 He that loveth rychesse I wylle stryke with my darte, His syght to blynde and fro heven to departe. Except that almes be his good frende, In hell for to dwell, worlde without ende. Loo yonder I se Everyman walkynge, 80 Full lytell he thynketh on my comynge ! His mynde is on flesshely lustes and his treasure, And grete payne it shall cause hym to endure Before the lorde, heven kynge. Everyman, stande styll. Whyder arte thou goynge, 85 Thus gayly? hast thou thy Maker forgete?

EVERYMAN.

| EVERYMAN. Why asketh thou?
Woldest thou wete? |
|--|
| DETHE. Ye, syr, I wyll shewe you: |
| In grete hast I am sende to the 90 |
| Fro God, out of his mageste. |
| EVERYMAN. What, sente to me? |
| DETHE. Ye, certaynly. |
| Thoughe thou have forgete hym here, |
| He thynketh on the in the hevenly spere, 95 |
| As, or we departe, thou shalte knowe. |
| EVERYMAN. What desyreth God of me? |
| DETHE. That shall I shewe the: |
| A rekenynge he wyll nedes have, |
| Without ony lenger respyte. |
| EVERYMAN. To gyve a rekenynge longer layser I crave, |
| This blinde mater troubleth my wytte. |
| DETHE. On the thou must take a longe journey, |
| Therfore thy boke of counte with the thou bryng, |
| For tourne agayne thou can not by no waye; 105 |
| And loke thou be sure of thy rekenynge, |
| For before God thou shalte answere and shewe |
| Thy many badde dedes and good but a fewe, |

EVERYMAN.

How thou hast spente thy lyfe, and in what wyse, Before the chefe lorde of paradyse. 110 Have ado we were in that waye, For, wete thou well, thou shalte make none attournay. EVERYMAN. Full unredy I am suche rekenynge to gyve. I knowe the not. What messenger arte thou? DETHE. I am Dethe, that no man dredeth. 115 For every man I rest and no man spareth, For it is Goddes commaundement That all to me sholde be obedyent. EVERYMAN. O deth, thou comest whan I had thee leest in mynde ! In thy power it lyeth me to save, Yet of my good wyl I gyve thee, yf thou wyl be kynde. Ye, a thousande pounde shalte thou have, And dyfferre this mater tyll another daye. DETHE. Everyman it may not be by no waye. I set not by golde, sylver, nor rychesse, 125 Ne by pope, emperour, kynge, duke ne prynces, For, and I wolde receyve gyftes grete, All the worlde I myght gete; But my custom is clene contrary. I gyve the no respyte, come hens and not tary. 130 EVERYMAN. Alas ! shall I have no lenger respyte? I may saye deth gyveth no warnynge! To thynke on the it maketh my herte seke, For all unredy is my boke of rekenynge. But, xii yere and I myght have abydynge, 135 My countynge boke I wolde make so clere, That my rekenynge I sholde not nede to fere. Wherfore, deth, I praye the, for Goddes mercy, Spare me tyll I be provyded of remedy.

DETHE. The avayleth not to crye, wepe and praye. 140 But hast the lyghtly that thou were gone the journaye, And preve thy frendes, yf thou can. For, wete thou well, the tyde abydeth no man, And in the worlde eche lyvynge creature For Adams synne must dye of nature.

EVERYMAN. Dethe, yf I sholde this pylgrymage take, And my rekenynge suerly make, Shewe me, for saynt charyte, Sholde I not come agayne shortly?

- DETHE. No, Everyman, and thou be ones there, Thou mayst never more come here, Trust me veryly.
- EVERYMAN. O gracyous God, in the hye sete celestyall, Have mercy on me in this moost nede,
 - Shall I have no company fro this vale terestryall 155 Of myne acqueynte, that way me to lede?
- DETHE. Ye, yf ony be so hardy That wolde go with the and bere the company. Hye the, that thou were gone to Goddes magnyfycence, Thy rekenynge to gyve before his presence. What, wenest thou thy lyve is gyven the And thy worldely goodes also?

EVERYMAN. I had wende so veryle.

DETHE. Nay, nay, it was but lende the, For as sone as thou arte go 165 Another a whyle shall have it and than go¹ ther fro, Even as thou hast done.

- Everyman, thou art made! Thou hast thy wyttes fyve, And here on erthe wyll not amende thy lyve! For sodeynly I do come.
- EVERYMAN. O wretched caytyfe, wheder shall I flee, That I myght scape this endles sorowe?

¹ than thou go, Ed. against the sense.

145

Now, gentyll deth, spare me tyll to morowe, That I may amende me With good advysement. 175 DETHE. Nave, therto I wyll not consent, Nor no man wyll I respyte, But to the herte sodeynly I shall smyte Without ony advysement. And now out of thy syght I wyll me hy, 180 Se thou make the redy shortely, For thou mayst saye this is the daye That no man lyvynge may scape awaye. EVERYMAN. Alas I may well wepe with syghes depe, Now have I no maner of company, 185 To helpe me in my journey and me to kepe, And also my wrytynge is butt unredy. How shall I do now for to exscuse me? I wolde to God I had never be gete ! To my soule a full grete profyte it had be, 190 For now I fere paynes huge and grete ! The tyme passeth, Lorde helpe that all wrought! For though I mourne it avayleth nought. The day passeth and is almoost ago, I wote not well what for to do. 195 To whome were I best my complaynt to make? What and I to Felawshyp therof spake, And shewed hym of this sodeyne chaunce? For in hym is all myne affyaunce, addited We have in the worlde so many a daye 200 Be good frendes in sporte and playe. I se hym yonder certaynely, I trust that he wyll bere me company, Therfore to hym wyll I speke to ese my sorowe. Well mette, good Felawshyp, and good morowe. 205

FELAWSHYP speketh.

FELAWSHYP. Everyman, good morowe by this daye. Syr, why lokest thou so pyteously? If ony thynge be amysse I prave the me save, That I may helpe to remedy. EVERYMAN. Ye, good Felawshyp, ye, 210 I am in greate jeoparde. FELAWSHYP. My true frende, shewe to me your mynde, I wyll not forsake the to thy lyves ende, In the way of good company. EVERYMAN. That was well spoken and lovyngly. FELAWSHYP. Syr, I must nedes knowe your hevynesse. I have pyte to se you in ony dystresse. 217 If ony have you wronged ye shall revenged be, Though I on the grounde be slavne for the, Though that I knowe before that I sholde dye. 220 EVERYMAN. Veryly, Felawshyp, gramercy. FELAWSHYP. Tusshe, by thy thankes I set not a strawe, Shewe me your grefe and saye no more. EVERYMAN. If I my herte sholde to you breke, And than you to tourne your mynde fro me, 225 And wolde not me comforte whan ye here me speke, Then sholde I ten tymes sorver be. FELAWSHYP. Syr, I saye as I wyll do in dede. EVERYMAN. Than be you a good frende at nede, I have founde you true herebefore. 230 FELAWSHYP. And so ye shall evermore, For in fayth and thou go to hell I wyll not forsake the by the waye. EVERYMAN. Ye speke lyke a good frende, I byleve you well, I shall deserve it, and I maye. 235

FELAWSHYP. I speke of no deservynge by this daye, For he that wyll save and nothynge do Is not worthy with good company to go. Therfore shewe me the grefe of your mynde As to your frende moost lovynge and kynde. 240 EVERYMAN. I shall shewe you how it is: Commannded I am to go a journaye, A longe waye, harde and daungerous, And gyve a strayte counte, without delaye, Before the hye Juge Adonay. 245 Wherfore, I pray you, bere me company, As ye have promysed, in this journaye. FELAWSHYP. That is mater in dede! Promyse is duty, But and I sholde take suche vyage on me, with I knowe it well, it sholde be to my payne; 250 Also it make[s] me aferde, certayne. But let us take counsell here as well as we can, For your wordes wolde fere a stronge man. EVERYMAN. Why ye sayd, yf I had nede, Ye wolde me never forsake, quycke ne deed, 255 Though it were to hell truely. FELAWSHYP. So I sayd certaynely. But suche pleasures be set a syde, the sothe to saye, And also, yf we toke suche a journaye, Whan sholde we come agayne? 260 EVERYMAN. Naye, never agayne, tyll the daye of dome. FELAWSHYP. In fayth than wyll not I come there, Who hath you these tydynges brought? EVERYMAN. In dede deth was with me here. FELAWSHYP. Now, by God that all hathe bought, 265 If deth were the messenger, For no man that is lyvynge to daye I wyll not go that lothe journaye, Not for the fader that bygate me.

| EVERYMAN. Ye promysed other wyse, parde. 270 |
|---|
| FELAWSHYP. I wote well I say so, truely,
And yet yf thou wylte ete and drynke and make good
chere |
| Or haunt to women the lusty company,
I wolde not forsake you, whyle the day is clere,
Trust me veryly. 275 |
| EVERYMAN. Ye, therto ye wolde be redy:
To go to myrthe solas and playe
Your mynde wyll soner apply,
Than to bere me company in my longe journaye. |
| FELAWSHIP. Now in good fayth I wyll not that waye,
But and thou wylt murder, or ony man kyll, 281
In that I wyll helpe the with a good wyll. |
| EVERYMAN. O that is a symple advyse in dede!
Gentyll felawe, helpe me in my necessyte;
We have loved longe, and now I nede! 285
And now, gentyll Felawshyp, remember me. |
| FELAWSHYP. Wheder ye have loved me or no,
By saynt John I wyll not with the go. |
| EVERYMAN.
Yet I pray the, take the labour and do so moche for me,
To brynge me forwarde, for saynt charyte, 290
And comforte me tyll I come without the towne. |
| FELAWSHYP. Nay, and thou wolde gyve me a newe gowne,
I wyll not a fote with the go;
But and thou had taryed I wolde not have lefte the so,
And, as now, God spede the in thy journaye,
For from the I wyll departe as fast as I maye. |
| EVERYMAN.
Wheder a-waye, felawshyp? wyll thou forsake me?
FELAWSHYP. Ye, by my faye! To God I betake the. |

Farewell, good Fellawshyp! For the my herte is sore! Adewe forever, I shall se the no more. 300

FELAWSHYP.

In fayth, Everyman, fare well now at the ende, For you I wyll remembre that partynge is mournynge.

EVERYMAN. Alacke shall we thus¹ departe in dede? A lady! helpe, without ony more, comforte! Lo Felawshyp forsaketh me in my moost nede². 305 For helpe in this worlde wheder shall I resorte? Felawshyp here before with me wolde mery make, And nowe lytell sorowe for me dooth he take. It is sayd in prosperyte men frendes may fynde Whiche in adversyte be full unkynde. 310 Nowe whither for socoure shall I flee Syth that Felawshyp hath forsaken me? To my kynnes men I wyll truely, Prayenge them to helpe in my necessyte. I beleve that they wyll do so, 315 For kynde wyll crepe where it may not go.

* * * * *

[The 147 lines here omitted are summed up in the following speech.]

EVERYMAN. O to whome shall I make my mone
For to go with me in that hevy journaye?Fyrst Felawshyp sayd he wolde with me gone;His wordes were very plesaunt and gaye,
But afterwarde he lefte me alone.Than spake I to my kynnesmen all in dyspayre,
An[d] also they gave me wordes fayre.
They lacked no fayre spekynge,
But all forsake me in the endynge.

For thus, the Ed. reads this.
 From 1. 305 we have the help of Pynson's text.

Than wente I to my Goodes, that I loved best, In hope to have comforte, but there had I leest; For my Goodes sharpely dyd me tell That he bryngeth many into hell. 475 Than of my selfe I was ashamed, And so I am worthy to be blamed. Thus may I well my selfe hate. Of whome shall I now conseyll take? I thinke that I shall never spede 480 Tyll that I go to my Good Dede. But, alas, she is so weke That she can nother go nor speke. Yet will I venter on her now. My Good Dedes, where be you? 485 GOOD DEDES. Here I lye, colde in the grounde, Thy synnes hath me sore bounde That I can nat stere. EVERYMAN. O Good Dedes, I stande in great¹ fere, I must you pray of counseyll, 490 For helpe now sholde come ryght well. GOOD DEDES. Everyman, I have understandynge That ye be somoned a counte to make Before Myssyas, of Jherusalem kynge, 494 And you do by me the journay with you wyll I take. EVERYMAN. Therfore I come to you my moone to make. I praye you that ye wyll go with me. GOOD DEDES. I wolde full fayne, but I can nat stand veryly. EVERYMAN. Why is there onythynge on you fall? GOOD DEDES. Ye, syr, I may thanke you of all. 500 If ye had parfytely chered me, hum und Your boke of counte nowe full redy had be. Loke, the bokes of your workes and dedes eke ¹ om. Skot.

Ase howe they lye here under the fete To your soules hevynes. 505 EVERYMAN. Our Lorde Jesus helpe me, For one letter here I can nat se. GOOD DEDES. There is a blynde reckenynge in tyme of dystres. EVERYMAN. Good dedes, I praye you helpe me in this nede, Or elles I am for ever dampned in dede, 510 Therfore helpe me to make my rekenynge Before the Redemer of all thynge, That kynge is and was and ever shall. GOOD DEDES. Everyman, I am sory of your fall, And fayne wolde I helpe you, and I were able. 515 EVERYMAN. Good Dedes, your counseyll I pray you gyve me. GOOD DEDES. That shall I do veryly, Thoughe that on my fete I may nat go. I have a syster that shall with you also, Called Knowlege, whiche shall with you abyde, 520 To helpe you to make that dredefull rekenynge. KNOWLEGE. Everyman, I wyll go with the and be thy gyde, In thy moost nede to go by thy syde. EVERYMAN. In good condycyon I am now in every thynge, And am holy¹ content with this good thynge 525 Thanked be² God my creatoure. [EVERYMAN is taken to CONFESSION and does penance for his sins.] GOOD DEDES. Every man, pylgryme, my specyall frende, Blessyd be thou without ende, 630 For the is preparate the eternall glorye. ¹ hole, Skot. 2 by, Skot.

Ye have me made hole and sounde, Therfor I wyll byde by the in every stounde. EVERYMAN. Welcome, my Good Dedes! Now I here thy voyce I wepe for very swetenes of love. 635 KNOWLEGE. Be no more sad but ever rejoyce. God seeth thy lyvynge in his trone above, Put on thy garment, to thy behove, Which is wette with your teres, Or elles before God vou may it mysse, 640 Whan ye to your journeys ende come shall. EVERYMAN. Gentyll Knowlege, what do you yt call? KNOWLEGE. It is called the garment¹ of sorowe, Fro payne it wyll you borowe, Contrycyon it is, 645 That getteth forgyveness, He pleaseth God passynge well. GOOD DEDES. Everyman, wyll you were it for your hele? EVERYMAN. Now blessyd be Jesu, Maryes sone, For nowe have I on true contrycyon, 650 And lette us go now without taryenge. Good Dedes, have we clere our rekenynge? GOOD DEDES. Ye, in dede, I have them² here. EVERYMAN. Than I trust we nede not fere. Now, frendes, let us not parte in twayne. 655 KNOWLEGE³. Nay, Everyman, that wyll we nat certayne. GOOD DEDES. Yet must thou leade 4 with the Thre persones of grete myght.

¹ It is a garment, Skot. ² om. Skot. ³ The editions all assign this line and also 1. 666 to Kynrede, but surely wrongly, since Kynrede left the stage at 1. 366. ⁴ led, Skot.

EVERYMAN. Who sholde they be? GOOD DEDES. Dyscrecyon and Strength they hyght, 660 call And thy Beaute may not abyde behinde. KNOWLEGE. Also ye must call to mynde Your Fyve Wyttes, as for your counseylours. GOOD DEDES. You must have them redy at all houres. EVERYMAN. Howe shall I gette them hyder? 665 KNOWLEGE. You must call them all togyder, And they wyll here you incontynent. EVERYMAN. My frendes, come hyder and be present, Discrecyon, Strengthe, my Fyve Wyttes and Beaute. BEAUTE. Here at your wyll we be all redy, 670 What wyll ye that we shulde do? GOOD DEDES. That ye wolde with Everyman go, And helpe him in his pylgrymage. Advyse you, wyll ye with him or not in that vyage? STRENGTH. We wyll brynge hym all thyder 675 To his helpe and comforte, ye may byleve me. DYSCRECYON. So wyll we go with hym all togyder. [EVERYMAN receives the last Sacrament :] FYVE WITTES. Peas, for yonder I see Everyman come, Whiche hath made trewe satysfaccyon. GOOD DEDES. Me thynke, it is he indede. 770 EVERYMAN. Now Jesu be our¹ alder spede ! I have received the sacrament for my redempcyon, And than myne extreme unccyon. Blessyd be all they that counseyled me to take it ! And now frendes, let us go without longer respyte. 1 your, Skot.

90

I thanke God that ye have taryed so longe. 776 Now set eche of you on this rodde his honde, And shortely folowe me. I go before there I wolde be. God be our¹ gyde! 78c STRENGTHE. Everyman, we will nat fro you go, Tyll ye have gone this vyage longe. DYSCRECYON. I, Dyscrecyon, wyll byde by you also. KNOWLEGE. And though this pylgrymage be never so stronge I wyll never parte you fro. 785 STRENGTH. Everyman, I will be as sure by the As ever I was² by Judas Machabe. EVERYMAN. Alas, I am so faynt I may not stande, My lymmes under me doth folde. Frendes, let us nat tourne agayne to this lande, 790 Nat for all the worldes golde, For into this cave must I crepe, And torne to the erthe, and there slepe³. BEAUTE. What in to this grave, alas ! EVERYMAN. Ye, there shall we consume, more and lesse! 795 BEAUTE. And what, sholde I smoder here EVERYMAN. Ye, be my fayth, and never more appere! In this worlde lyve no more we shall, But in heven before the hyest lorde of all. BEAUTE. I crosse out all this ! adewe by saynt Johan! I take my cappe⁴ in my lappe, and am gone. 801 EVERYMAN. What, Beaute, whyder wyll ye? ¹ your, Skot. ² dvd, Skot. ³ And tourne to erth and there to slepe, Skot. Mr. Hazlitt assigns this line and the next but one to Beauty, and 11. 794, 796 to Everyman. ⁴ cappe, Skot only, rest tappe.

| BEAUTE. Peas! I am defe, I loke not behynde me, |
|--|
| Nat and thou woldest gyve me all the golde in thy chest. |
| EVERYMAN. Alas! wherto may I truste? 805 |
| Beaute gothe fast awaye fro me. |
| She promysed with me to lyve and dye. |
| STRENGTH. Everyman, I wyll the also forsake and denye, |
| Thy game lyketh me nat at all. |
| EVERYMAN. Why than ye wyll forsake me all! 810 |
| Swete Strength tarry a lytel space ¹ . |
| STRENGTH. Nay, syr, by the rode of grace, |
| I wyll hye me from the fast, |
| Though thou wepe till ² thy hert brast. |
| EVERYMAN. Ye wolde ever byde by me, ye sayd. 815 |
| STRENGTH. Ye, I have you ferre ynoughe conveyed. |
| Ye be olde ynoughe, I understande, |
| Your pylgrymage to take on hand. |
| I repent me that I hyder came. |
| EVERYMAN. Strengthe, you to dysplease I am to blame,
Yet promyse is dette, this ye well wot ³ . 821 |
| |
| STRENGTH. In fayth, as for that ⁴ I care not! |
| Thou arte but a foole to complayne,
You spende your speche and wast your brayne; |
| Go thryst ⁵ the into the grounde! 825 |
| EVERYMAN. I had wende surer I sholde you have founde, |
| But I se well ⁶ he that trusteth in his strength |
| She hym deceyveth ⁷ at the length, |
| For Strength and Beaute forsaketh me, |
| Yet they promysed me fayre and lovyngly ⁸ . 830 |
| 1 Strongth town I man a lot 11 D |
| ¹ Strength, tary I pray you a lytell space, <i>Pynson</i> . ² wepe to thy here to brast. <i>Skot</i> . ³ Wyll we breke promyes that is date (losing |

herte to brast, Skot. ³ Wyll ye breke promyse that is dette (losing the rime), Skot. ⁴ as for that, om. Skot. ⁵ trusse, Pynson. ⁶ om. Skot. ⁷ Is greatly disceyved, Pynson. ⁸ stedfast to be, Pynson.

| DISCRETION. Everyman, I wyll after Strengthe be gone
As for me, I wyll leve you alone. | ;; |
|---|----|
| EVERYMAN. Why, Dyscrecyon, wyll ye forsake me? | |
| DYSCRECYON. Ye, in good ¹ fayth, I wyll go fro the,
For whan Strength goth before 8
I folowe after ever more. | 35 |
| EVERYMAN. Yet I pray the, for love of the Trynyte,
Loke in my grave ones pyteously. | |
| Dyscrecyon. Nay, so nye wyll I not come ! Now farewell, fellowes ² , everychone. 8. | 40 |
| EVERYMAN. O all thynge fayleth save God alone,
Beaute. Strengthe and Dyscrecyon;
For whan Deth bloweth his blast
They all renne fro me full fast. | |
| FYVE WYTTES. Everyman, my leve now of the I take,
I wyll folowe the other, for here I the forsake. | 46 |
| EVERYMAN. Alas, then may I wayle and wepe,
For I toke you for my best frende. | |
| FYVE WYTTES. I wyll no lenger the kepe,Now farewell, and there an ende.85 | 50 |
| EVERYMAN. O Jesu helpe: all hath forsaken me. | |
| GOOD DEDES. Nay, Everyman, I wyll byde with the,
I wyll not forsake the in dede,
Thou shalte fynde me a good frende at nede. | |
| EVERYMAN.
Gramercy, Good Dedes, now may I true frendes se; 85
They have forsaken me everychone
I loved them better than my Good Dedes alone,
Knowlege, wyll ye forsake me also? | 5 |

¹ om. Skot.

² om. Skot.

- KNOWLEGE. Ye, Everyman, when ye to Deth shall go, But not yet for no maner of daunger. 860
- EVERYMAN. Gramercy, Knowlege, with all my herte.
- KNOWLEGE. Nay yet I will not from hens departe, Tyll I se where ye shall be come.
- EVERYMAN. Me thynke, alas, that I must be goneTo make my rekenynge and my dettes paye,865For I se my tyme is nye spent awaye.Take example, all ye that this do here or se,How they that I love best do forsake me,Excepte my Good Dedes that bydeth truely.
- GOOD DEDES. All erthly thynges is but vanyte, 870 Beaute, Strength and Dyscrecyon do man forsake, Folysshe frendes and kynnes men that fayre spake, All fleeth save Good Dedes and that am I.
- EVERYMAN. Have mercy on me, God moost myghty, And stande by me, then moder and mayde, holy Mary.

GOOD DEDES. Fere not, I wyll speke for the. 876

EVERYMAN. Here I crye, God mercy.

GOOD DEDES. Shorte our ende and mynyshe our payne, Let us go and never come agayne.

EVERYMAN. Into thy handes, lorde, my soule I commende. Receyve it, lorde, that it be nat loste! 881 As thou me boughtest so me defende,

And save me fro the fendes boost,

That I may appere with that blessyd hoost That shall be saved at the day of dome. In manus tuas, of myghtes moost, For ever commendo spiritum meum.

885

94

KNOWLEGE. Nowe hath he suffred that we all shall endure, The good dedes shall make all sure. Now hath he made endynge, 890 Me thynketh that I here aungelles synge, And make grete joy and melody, Where every mannes soule receyved shall be. THE AUNGELL. Come excellente electe spouse to Jesu! Here above thou shalte go. 895 Bycause of thy synguler vertue. Now the soule is taken the body fro Thy rekenynge is crystall clere; Now shalte thou into the hevenly spere, Unto the whiche all ye shall come 000 That lyveth well before the daye of dome. DOCTOUR. This morall¹ men may have in mynde: Ye herers take it of worth, olde and yonge, And forsake Pryde, for he disceyveth you in the ende, And remembre Beaute, Five Wyttes, Strength and Dyscrecyon, 905 They all at the last do Everyman forsake, Save his Good Dedes there doth he take. But beware,-and they be small, Before God he hath no helpe at all. None excuse may be there for Everyman! 910 Alas! howe shall he do than? For after dethe amendes may no man make, For than mercy and pyte doth hym forsake, If his rekenynge be not clere when he doth come, God wyll saye Ite maledicti in ignem eternum. 915 And he that hath his accounte hole and sounde Hye in heven he shall be crounde, Unto whiche place God brynge us all thyder That we may lyve body and soule togyder!

¹ memoryall, Pynson.

95

Therto helpe the Trinyte ! Amen, saye ye, for saynt charyte !

FINIS.

 Intus endeth this morall playe of every man
 Imprynted at London in Poules chyrche yarde by me Johň Skot

 ¹
 .

¹ (. Imprynted at London in Flete Strete | by me Rycharde Pynson | prynter to the kynges moost noble grace.

Interlude of the Four Elements.

THE MESSENGER. Thaboundant grace of the power devyne, Whiche doth illumyne the world invyron,
Preserve this audyence and cause them to inclyne To charyte, this is my petycyon;
For by your pacyens and supportacyon
A lytyll interlude, late made and preparyd,
Before your presence here shall be declaryd,
Whiche of a few conclusyons is contrivyd,

And poyntes of phylosophy naturall; But though the matter be not so well declaryed 10

As a great clerke coude do, nor so substancyall,

15

Yet the auctour hereof requiryth you all, Though he be ygnorant¹, and can lytyll skyll, To regarde his only intent and good wyll, Whiche in his mynde hath oft tymes ponderyd,

What nombre of bokes in our tonge maternall Of toyes and tryfellys be made and impryntyd,

And few of them of matter substancyall;

For though many make bokes, yet unneth ye shall In our Englyshe tonge fynde any warkes 20 Of connynge, that is regardyd by clerkes.

The Grekes, the Romayns, with many other mo,

In their moder tonge wrot warkes excellent.

Than yf clerkes in this realme wolde take payn so,

¹ yngnorant, Text.

Consyderyng that our tonge is now suffycyent

25

30

45

To expoun any hard sentence evydent, They myght, yf they wolde, in our Englyshe tonge Wryte workys of gravyté somtyme amonge; For dyvers prengnaunt wyttes be in this lande,

As well of noble men as of meane estate, Whiche nothynge but Englyshe can understande.

Than yf connynge Laten bokys were translate

Into Englyshe, wel correct and approbate, All subtell sciens in Englyshe myght be lernyd, As well as other people in their owne tonges dyd. 35 But now so it is that in our Englyshe tonge

Many one there is, that can but rede and wryte, For his pleasure wyll oft presume amonge

New bokys to compyle and balates to indyte, Some of love or other matter, not worth a myte: 40 Some to opteyn favour wyll flatter and glose, Some wryte curyous termes nothyng to purpose. Thus every man after his fantesye

Wyll wryte his conseyte, be it never so rude, Be it vertuous, vycyous, wysedome or foly; Wherfore to my purpose thus I conclude,

alta

Why shold not than the auctour of this interlude Utter his owne fantesy and conseyte also, As well as dyvers other now a dayes do.

[After the Messenger's speech there enter Natura Naturata (created Nature), Humanity and Studious Desire. Nature discourses 'of the situation, of the four elements, that is to say, the earth, the water, the air and fire, and of their qualities and properties, and of the generation and corruption of things made of the commixtion of them.' Humanity thanks her humbly and is left in the hands of Studious Desire for further instruction.]

STUDYOUS DESIRE. Now. Humanyte, call to your memory The connynge poyntes that Nature hath declaryd,

And though he have shewed dyvers pointes and many Of the elementis so wondersly formed,

Yet many other causys there are wolde be lernyd, 330 As to knowe the generacyon of thynges all

Here in the yerth, how they be ingendryd,

As herbys, plantys, well sprynges, ston and metall.

HUMANYTE. Those thynges to knowe for me be full expedient,

But yet in those poyntes which Nature late shewyd me, My mynde in them as yet is not content, 336

For I can no maner wyse parceyve nor see,

Nor prove by reason why the yerth sholde be

In the myddes of the fyrmament hengyng so small,

And the yerth with the water to be rounde withall. 340

STUDYOUS DESIRE. Methynkyth myselfe as to some of those pointes

I coude gyve a suffycyent solucyon;

For, furst of all, thou must nedys graunt this,

That the yerth is so depe and botom hath none,

Or els there is some grose thyng hit stondyth upon,

Or els that it hangyth, thou must nedes consent, $_{3+6}$ Evyn in the myddes of the fyrmament.

HUMANYTE. What than? go forth with thyne argument.

STUDYOUS DESIRE. Than marke well, in the day or in a wynters nyght,

The sone, and mone, and sterris celestyall, 350 In the est furst they do apere to thy syght

And after in the west they do downe fall,

And agayne in the morowe next of all, Within xxiiij. houres they be come just To the est pointes again, where thou sawist them furst. Than yf the erthe shulde be of endles depnes, 356

Or shulde stande upon any other grose thynge, It shulde be an impedyment dowtles

To the sone, mone and sterris in theyr movynge, They shulde not so in the est agayne sprynge. Therfore in reason it semyth moste convenyent 360 The yerth to hange in the myddes of the fyrmament. HUM. Thyne argument in that poynt doth me confounde, That thou hast made, but yet it provytht not ryght That the yerth by reason shulde be rounde; For though the fyrmament with his sterris bryght 365 Compas aboute the yerth eche day and nyght, Yet the yerthe may be playne, peradventure, Quadrant, triangle, or some other fygure. STUDYOUS DESYRE. That it cannot be playne I shall well prove the, Because the sterris that aryse in the oryent 370 Appere more soner to them that there be, Than to the other dwellynge in the occident. The eclypse is therof a playne experymente, Of the sone or mone, which, whane it doth fall, Is never one tyme of the day in placys all; 375 Yet the eclyps generally is alwaye In the hole worlde as one tyme beynge; But whan we that dwell here see it in the mydda, They in the west partis see it in the mornynge, And they in the est beholde it in the evenyng; 380 And why that sholde be so no cause can be found, But onely by reason that the yerthe is rownde. HUMANYTE. That reason proveth the yerth at the lest One wayes to be rownde I cannot gaynesay, As for to accompt from the est to the west; 385 But yet, not withstondynge all that, it may Lese hys rowndenesse by some other wave. STUDYOUS DESYRE. Na, no dowte yt is rownde everywhere, Whiche I coulde prove that thou shouldest not say nay,

Yf I had therto any tyme and leser;

390

But I knowe a man callyd Experyens, Of dyvers instrumentys is never without, Cowde prove all these poyntys, and yet by his scyens Can tell how many myle the erthe is abowte, And many other straunge conclusions no dowte 395 Hys instrumentys cowde shew them so certayn That every rude carter shold them persayve playn. Hu. Now wolde to God I had that man now here For the contembtacyon of my mynde! STU. Yf ye wyll, I shall for hym enquere, 400 And brynge hym heder yf I can hym fynde. Hu. Then myght I say ye were to me ryght kynde. STU. I shall assay, by God that me dere bought, For cunnyng is the thynge that wolde be sought. SENSUAL APPETYTE. Aha! now god evyn, fole, god evyn! It is even the, knave, that I mene. 408 Hast thou done thy babelyng? STU. Ye, peradventure, what then? 410 SEN. Than hold downe thy hede lyke a prety man, and take my blyssyng. Benedicite! I graunt to the this pardon, And gyve the absolucion For thy soth saws; stande up, Jackdaw! I beschrew thy faders sone. 415 Make rome, syrs, and let us be mery, With huffa galand, synge tyrll on the bery, And let the wyde worlde wynde! Synge fryska joly, with hey troly loly, For I se wel it is but a foly 420 For to have a sad mynd: For rather than I wolde use suche foly, To pray, to study, or be pope holy,

| I had as lyf be ded. | |
|--|-----|
| By [Jupiter] I tell you trew ! | 425 |
| I speke as I thynke now, else I beshrew | |
| Evyn my next felowes hed ! | |
| Master Humanyté, syr, be your leve, | |
| I were ryght loth you to greve, | |
| Though I do hym dyspyse; | 430 |
| For yf ye knewe hym as well as I, | |
| Ye wolde not use his company, | |
| Nor love hym in no wyse. | |
| Hu. Syr, he looketh lyke an honest man, | |
| Therfore I merveyll that ye can | 435 |
| This wyse hym deprave. | 100 |
| | |
| SEN. Though he loke never so well, | |
| I promyse you he hath a shrewde smell. | |
| Hu. Why so? I prey you tell. | |
| SEN. For he saveryth lyke a knave. | 440 |
| STU. Holde your pease, syr, ye mistake me! | |
| What! I trowe, that ye wolde make me | |
| Lyke to one of your kyn. | |
| SEN. Harke, syrs, here ye not how boldly | |
| He calleth me knave agayne by polycy? | 445 |
| The devyll pull of his skyn ! | |
| I wolde he were hangyd by the throte, | |
| For by the messe I love hym not, | |
| We two can never agre ; | |
| I am content, syr, with you to tary, | 450 |
| And I am for you so necessary, | |
| Ye can not lyve without me. | |
| Hu. Why, syr, I say, what man be ye? | |
| SEN. I am callyd Sensuall Appetyte, | |
| All craturs in me delyte | 455 |

| | I comforte the wyttys fyve, | |
|------|--|-----|
| | The tastyng, smellyng, and herynge; | |
| | I refresh the syght and felynge | |
| | To all creaturs alyve. | |
| | For whan the body wexith hongry, | 460 |
| | For lacke of fode, or ellys thursty, | |
| | Than with drynkes pleasaund | |
| | I restore hym out of payne, | |
| | And oft refresshe nature agayne | |
| | With delycate vyand. | 465 |
| | With plesaunde sounde of armonye | |
| | The herynge alwaye I satysfy, | |
| | I dare this well reporte; | |
| | The smellynge with swete odour, | |
| | And the syght with plesaunte fygour | 470 |
| | And colours I comforte; | |
| | The felynge, that is so plesaunte, | |
| | Of every member, fote or hande, | |
| | What pleasure therin can be | |
| | By the towchynge of soft and harde, | 475 |
| | Of hote or cold, nought in regarde, | |
| | Excepte it come by me. | |
| 11 | | |
| пџ. | Than I cannot see the contrary,
But ye are for me full necessary, | |
| | | |
| | And ryght convenyent. | 480 |
| Stu. | Ye, syr, beware, yet, what ye do, | |
| | For yf you forsake my companye so, | |
| | Lord Nature wyll not be contente. | |
| | Of hym ye shall never lerne good thyng, | |
| | Nother vertu, nor no other connynge, | 485 |
| | This dare I well say. | |
| SEN. | Mary, avaunt, knave! I the defye! | |
| | Dyde Nature forbyde hym my company? | |
| | What sayst thou therto? Speke openly. | |

104 INTERLUDE OF THE FOUR ELEMENTS.Hu. As for that I know well nay.490

- SEN. No, by [Jove]! I am ryght sure; For he knoweth well no creature Without me can lyve one day.
- Hu. Syr, I pray you, be contente,
 It is not utterly myne intente
 Your company to exyle;
 But onely to have communycacyon
 And a pastyme of recreacyon
 With this man for a whyle.
- STU. Well, for your pleasure I wyll departe. 500

495

515

- Hu. Now go, knave, go! I beshrew thy hart The devyll sende the forwarde!
- SEN. Now, by my trouth, I mervell gretly
 That ever ye wolde use the company
 So myche of suche a knave;
 For yf ye do non other thynge,
 But ever study and to be musynge,
 As he wolde have you, it wyll you brynge

At the last unto your grave ! Ye shulde ever study pryncypall 510 For to comfort your lyfe naturall

With metis and drynkes dilycate, And other pastymes and pleasures amonge, Daunsynge, laughynge, or plesaunt songe; This is mete for your estate.

Hu. Because ye sey so, I you promyse That I have musyd and studyed such wyse, Me thynketh my wyttes wery; My nature desyreth some refresshynge, And also I have ben so longe fastynge, That I am somwhat hongry.

| | Well than, wyll ye go with me
To a taverne, where ye shall se
Good pastaunce, and at your lyberte
Have what so ever ye wyll. | 525 |
|------|--|----------------|
| Hu. | I am content so for to do,
Yf that ye wyll not fro me go
But kepe me companye styll. | |
| Sen. | Company, quod a? ye, that I shall, poynt
And also do you good and trew servyce,
And therto I plyght my trouthe!
And yf that I ever forsake you,
I pray God the devyl take you! | devyse,
530 |
| Hu. | Mary, I thanke you for that othe! | |
| Sen. | A myschyfe on it ! my tonge, loo,
Wyll tryp somtyme, whatsoever I do,
But ye wot what I mene well. | 535 |
| Hu. | Ye, no force ! let this matter passe ;
But seydest evin now thou knewyst where
A good taverne to make solas ?
Where is that ? I prey the tell. | was
540 |
| SEN. | Mary, at the dore evyn hereby;
Yf we call any thynge on hye,
The taverner wyll answere. | |
| | I prey the, than, call for hym nowe. | 545 |
| SEN. | Mary, I wyll! How, taverner, how!
Why doste thou not appere? | |

Skelton's Magnytycence.

Magnyfycence | A goodly interlude and a mery | Devsysed and made by | Mayster Skelton, Poet Laureate.

Here FANCY cometh in.

MAGN. What tydynges with you, syr, that you loke so sad?

FAN. When ye knowe that I knowe, ye wyll not be glad

FoL. What, brother braynsyke, how farest thou? 1870

- MAGN. Ye, let be thy japes, and tell me howe The case requyreth.
- FAN. Alasse, alasse, an hevy metynge! I wolde tell you, and yf I myght for wepynge.
- FoL. What, is all your myrthe nowe tourned to sorowe? Fare well tyll sone, adue tyll to morowe.

Here goth FOLVE away.

MAGN. I pray the, Largesse, let be thy sobbynge.

FAN. Alasse, syr, ye are undone with stelyng and robbynge Ye sent us a supervysour for to take hede:

Take hede of your selfe, for nowe ye have nede. 1880 MAGN. What, hath Sadnesse begyled me so;

- FAN. Nay, madnesse hath begyled you and many mo; For Lyberte is gone and also Felycyte.
- MAGN. Gone? Alasse, ye have undone me!

FAN. Nay, he that ye sent us, Clokyd Colusyon, And your payntyd Pleasure, Courtly Abusyon, And your demenour with Counterfet Countenaunce And your survayour, Crafty Conveyaunce, Or ever we were ware brought us in adversyte And had robbyd you quyte from all felycyte. 1890
MAGN. Why, is this the Largesse that I have usyd?
FAN. Nay, it was your fondnesse that ye have usyd.
MAGN. And is this the credence that I gave to the letter?
FAN. Why, coulde not your wyt serve you no better?
MAGN. Why, who wolde have thought in you suche gyle?
FAN. What? Yes, by the rode, syr, it was I all this whyle That you trustyd, and Fansy is my name; And Foly, my broder, that made you moche game.

Here cometh in ADVERSYTE.

MAGN. Alas, who¹ is yonder, that grymly lokys? FAN. Adewe, for I wyll not come in his clokys. 1900 MAGN. Lorde, so my flesshe trymblyth nowe for drede!

Here MAGNYFYCENCE is beten downe, and spoylyd from all his goodys and rayment.

ADVER. I am Adversyte, that for thy mysdede
From God am sent to quyte the thy mede,
Vyle velyarde, thou must not nowe my dynt withstande,
Thou must not abyde the dynt of my hande:
Ly there, losell, for all thy pompe and pryde;
The pleasure now with payne and trouble shalbe tryde.
The stroke of God, Adversyte, I hyght;
I pluke downe kynge, prynce, lorde and knyght,

¹ 'why.' Text.

I rushe at them rughly, and make them ly full lowe, And in theyr moste truste I make them overthrowe. Thys losyll was a lorde, and lyvyd at his lust, 1912 And nowe, lyke a lurden, he lyeth in the dust: He knewe not hymselfe, his harte was so hye; Now is ther no man that wyll set by hym a flye: He was wonte to boste, brage and to brace; Nowe dare he not for shame loke one in the face: All worldly welth for hym to lytell was; Nowe hath he ryght nought, naked as an asse: Somtyme without measure he trusted in golde, 1920 And now without mesure he shall have hunger and colde.

Lo, syrs, thus I handell them all That folowe theyr fansyes in foly to fall: Man or woman, of what estate they be, I counsayle them beware of Adversyte. Of sorowfull servauntes I have many scores: I vysyte them somtyme with blaynes and with sores; With botches and carbuckyls in care I them knyt; With the gowte I make them to grone where they syt; Some I make lyppers and lazars full horse; 1030 And from that they love best some I devorse; Some with the marmoll to halte I them make; And some to cry out of the bone ake; And some I vysyte with brennynge of fyre; Of some I wrynge of the necke lyke a wyre; And some I make in a rope to totter and walter; welling And some for to hange themselfe in an halter; And some I vysyte to batayle, warre and murther, And make eche man to sle other : To drowne or to sle themselfe with a knyfe; 1940 And all is for theyr ungracyous lyfe. . Yet somtyme I stryke where is none offence. Bycause I wolde prove men of theyr pacyence.

But nowe a dayes to stryke I have grete cause, Lydderyns so lytell set by Goddes lawes. Faders and moders that be neclygent, And suffre theyr chyldren to have theyr entent, To guyde them vertuously that wyll not remembre, Them, or theyr chyldren, ofte tymes I dysmembre; Theyr chyldren, bycause that they have no mekenesse; I vysyte theyr faders and moders with sekenesse; 1951 And yf I se therby that they wyll not amende, Then myschefe sodaynly I them sende; For there is nothynge that more dyspleseth God Than from theyr chyldren to spare the rod Of correccyon, but let them have theyr wyll; Some I make lame, and some I do kyll; And some¹ I stryke with a franesy; Of some of theyr chyldren I stryke out the eye; And where the fader by wysdom worshyp hath wonne, I sende ofte tymes a fole to his sonne. 1961 Wherfore of Adversyte loke ye be ware, For when I come, comyth sorowe and care: For I stryke lordys of realmes and landys, That rule not by mesure that they have in theyr handys, That sadly rule not theyr howsholde men; I am Goddys preposytour, I prynt them with a pen; Because of theyr neglygence and of theyr wanton vagys, I vysyte them and stryke them with many sore plagys. To take, syrs, example of that I you tell, 1970 And beware of Adversyte by my counsell, Take hede of this caytyfe that lyeth here on grounde; Beholde, howe Fortune of hym hath frounde! For though we shewe you this in game and play, Yet it proveth eyrnest, ye may se, every day. For nowe wyll I from this caytyfe go, And take myscheffe and vengeaunce of other mo,

¹ syme, Text.

That hath deservyd it as well as he. Howe, where art thou? come hether, Poverte; Take this caytyfe to thy lore.

1980

Here cometh in POVERTE.

POVER. A, my bonys ake, my lymmys be sore; Alasse, I have the cyataca full evyll in my hyppe! Alasse, where is youth that was wont for to skyppe? I am lowsy, and unlykynge, and full of scurffe, My colour is tawny, colouryd as a turffe:-I am Poverte, that all men doth hate, I am baytyd with doggys at every mannys gate; I am raggyd and rent, as ye may se; Full fewe but they have envy at me. Nowe must I this carcasse lyft up He dynyd with delyte, with Poverte he must sup. Ryse up, syr, and welcom unto me.

Hic accedat ad levandum MAGNYFYCENCE et locabit eum super locum stratum.

MAGN. Alasse, where is nowe my golde and fe? Alasse, I say, where to am I brought? Alasse, alasse, alasse, I dye for thought!

- POVER. Syr, all this wolde have bene thought on before: He woteth not what welth is that never was sore.
- MAGN. Fy, fy, that ever I sholde be brought in this snare! I wenyd ones never to have knowen of care.
- POVER. Lo, suche is this worlde! I fynde it wryt, 2000 In welth to beware, and that is wyt.
- MAGN. In welth to beware, yf I had had grace, Never had I bene brought in this case.
- POVER. Nowe, syth it wyll non other be,

All that God sendeth, take it in gre;

IIO

For, thoughe you were somtyme a noble estate, Nowe must you lerne to begge at every mannes gate.

- MAGN. Alasse, that ever I sholde be so shamed! Alasse, that ever I Magnyfycence was named! Alasse, that ever I was so harde happed, we apply 2010 In mysery and wretchydnesse thus to be lapped! Alasse, that I coude not myselfe no better gyde! Alasse, in my cradell that I had not dyde!
- POVER. Ye, syr, ye, leve all this rage, And pray to God your sorowes to asswage: It is foly to grudge agaynst his vysytacyon. With harte contryte make your supplycacyon Unto your Maker, that made both you and me And, when it pleaseth God, better may be.

MAGN. Alasse, I wote not what I sholde pray ! 2020

POVER. Remembre you better, syr, beware what ye say, For drede ye dysplease the hygh deyte. _____ Put your wyll to his wyll, for surely it is he That may restore you agayne to felycyte, And brynge you agayne out of adversyte. Therfore poverte loke pacyently ye take, And remembre he suffered moche more for your sake, Howe be it of all synne he was innocent, And ye have deserved this punysshment. 2029

MAGN. Alasse, with colde my lymmes shall be marde!

POVER. Ye, syr, nowe must ye lerne to lye harde, That was wonte to lye on fetherbeddes of downe; Nowe must your fete lye hyer than your crowne : Where you were wonte to have cawdels for your hede, Nowe must you monche mamockes and lumpes of brede;

And where you had chaunges of ryche aray, Nowe lap you in a coverlet, full fayne that you may; And where that ye were pomped with what that ye wolde, Nowe must ye suffre bothe hunger and colde: With courtely sylkes ye were wonte to be drawe; 2040 Nowe must ye lerne to lye on the strawe; Your skynne that was wrapped in shertes of Raynes, Nowe must ye be storm ybeten with showres and raynes; Your hede that was wonte to be happed moost drowpy and drowsy,

Now shal ye be scabbed, scurvy and lowsy.

MAGN. Fye on this worlde, full of trechery, That ever noblenesse sholde lyve thus wretchydly!

POVER. Syr, remembre the tourne of Fortunes whele, That wantonly can wynke, and wynche with her hele. Nowe she wyll laughe, forthwith she will frowne 2050 Sodenly set up, and sodenly pluckyd downe: She dawnsyth varyaunce with mutabylyte; Nowe all in welth, forthwith in poverte: In her promyse there is no sykernesse; All her delyte is set in doublenesse.

MAGN. Alas, of Fortune I may well complayne !

POVER. Ye, syr, yesterday wyll not be callyd agayne: But yet, syr, nowe in this case, Take it mekely, and thanke God of his grace; For nowe go I wyll begge for you some mete; 2060 It is foly agaynst God for to plete; I wyll walke nowe with my beggers baggys, And happe you the whyles with these homly raggys.

Discedendo¹ dicat ista verba.

A, howe my lymmys be lyther and lame ! Better it is to begge than to be hangyd with shame, Yet many had lever hangyd to be,

¹ Difidendo Text.

Then for to begge theyr mete for charyte: They thynke it no shame to robbe and stele, Yet were they better to begge a great dele; For by robbynge they rynne to *in manus tuas* quecke, But beggynge is better medecyne for the necke; 2071 Ye, mary, is it, ye, so mote I goo: A Lorde God, howe the gowte wryngeth me by the too.

heywood's the Pardoner and the Frere.

A mery playe betwene the pardoner and the frere the curate and neybour Pratte.

THE FRERE. Deus hic, the Holy Trynyte, Preserve all that nowe here be! Dere bretherne, yf ye wyll consyder The cause why I am come hyder, Ye wolde be glad to knowe my intent. 5 For I com not hyther for monye nor for rent, I com not hyther for meate nor for meale, But I com hyther for your soules heale, I com not hyther to poll nor to shave, I com not hyther to begge nor to crave, 10 I com not hyther to glose nor to flatter, I com not hyther to bable nor to clatter, I com not hyther to fable nor to lye, But I com hyther you[r]e soules to edyfye ! For we freres are bounde the people to teche, 15 The gospell of Chryst openly to preche, As dyd the appostels, by Chryst theyr mayster sent To turne the people and make them to repent. But syth the appostels fro heven wolde not come, We freres now must occupy theyr rome. 20 We freres are bounde to serche mennes conscyens, We may not care for grotes nor for pens,

THE PARDONER AND THE FRERE. 115

We freres have professed wylfull poverte, No peny in our purse have may we, Knyfe nor staffe may we none cary, 25 Excepte we shulde from the gospell vary. For worldly adversyte may we be in no sorowe, We may not care to day for our meate to-morowe; Bare fote and bare legged must we go also, We may not care for frost nor snowe; 30 We may have no maner care, ne thynke, Nother for our meate nor for our drynke, But let our thoughtes fro suche thynges be as free As be the byrdes that in the ayre flee; For why our lorde, clyped swete Jesus, 35 In the gospell speketh to us thus: Through all the worlde go ye, sayth he, And to every creature speke ye of me, And shew of my doctryne and connynge; And that they may be glad of your comynge, 40 Yf that you enter in any hous any where, Loke that ye salute them and byd my peas be there; And yf that house be worthy and electe, Thylke peace there than shall take effecte; And yf that hous be cursyd or parvert, 45 Thylke peace than shall to your selfe revert; And furthermore yf any suche there be, Which do deny for to receive ye, And do dyspyse your doctryne and your lore, At suche a house tary ye no more, 50 And from your shoes scrape away the dust, To theyr reprefe, and I, bothe trew and just. Shall vengeaunce take of theyr synfull dede. Wherfore, my frendes, to this text take ye hede, Beware how ye despyse the pore freres, 55 Which ar in this worlde Crystes mynysters; But do them with an harty chere receyve,

I 2

Leste they happen your houses for to leve, And than God wyll take vengeaunce in his yre. Wherfore I now, that am a pore frere, 60 Dyd enquere w[h]ere any people were, Which were dysposyd the worde of God to here; And, as I cam hether, one dyd me tell That in this towne ryght good folke dyd dwell, Which to here the word of God wolde be glad; 65 And as sone as I therof knolege had, I hyder hyed me as fast as I myght, Entendyd by the grace of God almyght, And by your pacyens and supportacyon, Here to make a symple colacyon. 70 Wherfore I requyre all ye in this prese[nce] For to abyde and gyve dew audyence. But, fyrst of all, Now here I shall To God my prayer make, 75 To gyve ye grace All in thys place

His doctryne for to take.

And than kneleth downe the frere sayenge his prayers and in the meane whyle entreth the pardoner with all his relyques to declare what eche of them ben and the hole power and vertu thereof.

THE PARDONER. God and saynt Leonarde sende ye all his grace,

80

As many as ben assembled in this place! Good devoute people that here do assemble, I pray [God]¹ that ye may all well resemble The ymage after whiche you are wrought, And that ye save that Chryst in you bought

¹ Good, Text.

THE PARDONER AND THE FRERE. 117

Devoute Chrysten people, ye shall all wytte 85 That I am comen hyther ye to vysytte, Wherfore let us pray thus or I begynne; Our savyoure preserve ye all from synne, And enable ye to receyve this blessed pardon. Whiche is the greatest under the son, 90 Graunted by the pope in his bulles under lede, Whiche pardon ye shall fynde whan ye are dede, That offereth outher grotes or els pens To these holy relyques whiche, or I go hens, I shall here shewe in open audyence, 95 Exortynge ye all to do to them reverence. But first ye shall knowe well that I com fro Rome,-Lo here my bulles, all and some, Our lyege lorde[s] seale, here on my patent, I bere with me my body to warant, 100 That no man be so bolde, be he preest or clarke, Me to dysturbe of Chrystes holy warke, Nor have no dysdayne, nor yet scorne, Of these holy relyques which sayntes have worne. Fyrst here I shewe ye of a holy Jewes shepe 105 A bone, (I pray you take good kepe To my wordes and marke them well,) Yf any of your bestes belyes do swell, Dyppe¹ this bone in the water that he dothe take Into his body, and the swellyinge shall slake. 110 * *

Here is a mytten eke, as ye may se, He that his hande wyll put in this myttayn, He shall have encrease of his grayn, That he hath sowne, be it wete or otys, So that he offer pens or els grotes. And another holy relyke eke here se ye may,

¹ Dyype, Text.

70HN HEYWOOD.

The blessed arme of swete saynt Sondaye, And who so ever is blessyd with this ryght hande Can not spede amysse by se nor by lande, 136 And if he offereth eke with good devocyon He shall not fayle to come to hyghe promocyon. * Here is another relyke, eke a precyous one, 153 Of All Helowes the blessyd jawbone, Which relyke without any fayle 155 Agaynst poyson chefely dothe prevayle; For whom so ever it toucheth, without dout All maner venym from hym shall issue out, So that it shall hurt no maner wyghte. Lo of this relyke the great power and myghte, 160 Which preservyth from poyson every man. Lo of saynt Myghell eke the brayn pan, Which for the hed ake is a preservatyfe To every man or beste that beryth lyfe, And further it shall stande hym in better stede, 165 For his hede shall never ake whan that he is dede, For he shall fele no maner grefe nor payn, Though with a sworde one cleve it than atwayn, But be as one that lay in a dede slepe; Wherfore to these relykes now com crouche and crepe, But loke that ye offerynge to them make, 171 Or els can ye no maner profyte take. But one thynge, ye women all, I warant you, Yf any wyght be in this place now That hath done syn so horryble that she 175 Dare not for shame thereof shryven be, Suche folke shall have no power, nor no grace, 179 To offer to my relykes in this place ! 180

And who so fyndeth herselfe out of suche blame Com hyther to me on Crystes holy name; And bycause ye Shall unto me Gyve credence at the full; Myn auctoryte Now shall ye se, Lo here! the popes bull.

Now shall the frere begyn his sermon and evyn at the same tyme the pardoner begynneth also to shew and speke of his bullys and auctorytes com from Rome.

THE FRERE. Date et dabitur vobis:

Good devout people this place of scrypture

PARDONER. Worshypfull maysters, ye shall understand 190

F. Is to you that have no litterature,

P. That pope Leo the x. hath graunted with his hand,

F. Is to say in our Englysshe tonge,

P. And by his bulles confyrmed under lede,

F. As departe your goodes the poore folke amonge, 195

P. To all maner people bothe quycke and dede,

F. And God shall than gyve unto you agayne.

P. Ten thousande yeres and as many lentes of pardon,

F. This in the gospell so is wryten playne,

P. Whan they are dede theyr soules for to guardon, 200

F. Therfore gyve your almes in the largest wyse.

P. That wyll with theyr peny or almes dede

F. Kepe not your goodes: fye, fye on covetyse!

P. Put to theyr handes to the good spede

F. That synne with God is most abhomynable,

P. Of the holy chapell of swete saynt Leonarde,

F. And is eke the synne that is most dampnable

P. Whiche late by fyre was destroyed and marde.

F. In scrypture eke; but I say, syrs, how-

205

70HN HEYWOOD.

210

P. Ay by the mas, one can not here

F. What a bablynge maketh yonder felow!

P. For the bablynge of yonder folysshe frere!

[They resume their respective discourses for a little while, but at length begin to attack each other.]

F. But, I say, thou pardoner, I byd the holde thy peace !

P. And I say, thou frere, holde thy tonge styl! 252

F. What standest thou there all the day smatterynge?

P. Mary, what standyst thou there all day clatterynge?

FRERE. Mary, felow, I com hyder to prech the word of God, 255

Whyche of no man may be forbode,

But harde wyth scylence and good entent,

For why it techeth them evydent

The very way and path that shall them lede,

Even to heven gatys, as strayght as any threde; 260 And he that lettyth the worde of God of audyence Standeth accurst in the greate sentence;

And so art thou for enterruptynge me.

PARDONER. Nay thou art a curst knave, and that shalt thou se !

And all suche that to me make interrupcyon265The pope sendes them excommunycacyon,By hys bulles here, redy to be redde,By hys bulles here, redy to be redde,By hysshoppes and hys cardynalles confyrmed.And eke yf thou dysturbe me any thynge,Thou arte also a traytour to the kynge;270

For here hath he graunted me, under hys brode seale, That no man, yf he love hys hele,

Sholde me dysturbe or let in any wyse.

And yf thou dost the kynges commaundement dispise, I shall make the be set fast by the fete. 275 And where thou saydyst that thou arte more mete

THE PARDONER AND THE FRERE. 121

Amonge the people here for to preche, Bycause thou dost them the very way teche How to come to heven above, Therin thou lyest, and that shall I prove, 280 And by good reason I shall make the bow, And knowe that I am meter than arte thou. For thou whan thou hast taught them ones the way. Thou carest not whether they com there, ye or nay, But whan that thou hast done all togyder, 285 And taught them the way for to com thyther, Yet all that thou canst ymagyn Is but to use vertue and abstayne fro syn, And yf they fall ones than thou canst no more, Thou canst not give them a salve for theyr sore; 290 But these my letters be clene purgacyon, All thoug[h]e never so many synnes they have don. But whan thou hast taught them the way and all, Yet or they com there they may have many a fall In the way, or that they com thyther, 295 For why the way to heven is very slydder; But I wyll teche them after another rate, For I shall brynge them to heven gate, And be theyr gydes and conducte all thynges, And lede them thyther by the purse strynges, 300 So that they shall not fall though that they wolde.

FRERE. Holde thy peace, knave, thou art very bolde! Thou pratest in fayth even lyke a pardoner!

PARDONER. Why despysest thou the popes mynyster? Maysters, here I curse hym openly, 305 And therwith warne all this hole company, By the popes great auctoryte, That ye leve hym and herken unto me; For tyll he be assoyled his wordes take none effecte, For out of holy chyrche he is now clene rejecte. 310

70HN HEYWOOD.

FRERE. My maysters, he dothe but gest and rave: It forseth not for the wordes of a knave, But to the worde of God do reverence, And here me forthe with dewe audyence.

[They again resume their preaching, but after a little while break out into a fresh quarrel, upon which comes the stage-direction :]

Than the fyght.

FRERE. Lose thy handes away from myn earys! 538

PARD. Than take thou thy handes away from my heres! Nay, abyde, thou [rascal], I am not downe yet! 540

I trust fyrst to lye the at my fete!

F. Ye, [rascal,] wylt thou scrat and byte?

P. Ye, mary, wyll I, as longe as thou doste smyte!

THE CURATE.

- PARSON. Holde your handes! a vengeaunce on ye bothe two!
 - That ever ye came hyther to make this ado 545 To polute my chyrche, a myschyefe on you lyght!

I swere to you, by God all-myght,

Ye shall bothe repente, every vayne of your harte, As sore as ye dyd ever thynge, or ye departe.

FRERE. Mayster parson, I marvayll ye wyll gyve lycence
To this false knave in this audience
55^t
To publysh his ragman rolles with lyes.
I desyred hym y-wys, more than ones or twyse,
To holde his peas tyll that I had done,

But he wolde here no more than the man in the mone.

PARD. Why sholde I suffre the more than thou me? 556Mayster parson gave me lycence before the,And I wolde thou knewyst it ! I have relykes hereOther maner stuffe than thou dost bere !

THE PARDONER AND THE FRERE. 123

I wyll edefy more with the syght of it 560 Than wyll all the pratynge of holy wryt. For that, except that the precher hym selfe lyve well, His predycacyon wyll helpe never a dell, And I know well that thy lyvynge is nought.

PARSON. No more of this wranglyng in my chyrch! 570 I shrewe your hartys bothe for this lurche! Is ther any blood shed here betwen these knaves? Thanked be God, they had no stavys, Nor eggetoles¹, for than it had ben wronge! the Well ye shall synge another songe! 575 Neybour Prat, com hether I you pray.

PRAT. Why, what is this nyse fraye?

PARSON. I can not tell you. One knave dysdaynes another, Wherefore take ye the tone and I shall take the other, We shall bestow them there as is most convenyent, 580
For suche a couple. I trow they shall repente That ever they met in this chyrche here! Neyboure, ye be constable, stande ye nere.
Take ye that laye knave and let me alone With this gentylman. By God and by saynt John 585
I shall borowe upon presthode² somwhat ! For I may say to the, neybour Prat, It is a good dede to punysh such, to the ensample Of suche other how that they shall mell In lyke facyon as these catyfes do.

PRAT. In good fayth, mayster parson, yf ye do so, Ye do but well to teche them to be ware.

PARDON. Mayster Prat, I pray ye me to spare; For I am sory for that that is done; Wherfore I pray ye forgyve me sone For that I have offendyd within your lybertye,

¹ egoteles, Text.

² prestholde, Text.

And, by my trouthe, syr, ye may trust me, I wyll never come hether more Whyle I lyve, and God before. PRAT. Nay, I am ones charged with the, 600 Wherfore, by saynt John, thou shalt not escape me, Tyll thou hast scouryd a pare of stokys. Streke PARSON. Tut, he weneth all is but mockes! Lay hande on hym, and com ye on, syr frere! Ye shall of me hardely have your hyre, 605 Ye had none suche this vii yere, I swere by God and by our Lady dere. PARDON. Nay, mayster parson, for Goddys passyon, Intreate not me after that facvon. For yf ye do it wyll not be for your honesty. 610 PARSON. Honesty or not, but thou shall se What I shall do by and by. Make no stroglynge! com forthe soberly! For it shall not avayle the I say. FRERE. Mary, that shall we trye even strayt-way. 615 I defy the, churle preeste, and there be no mo than thou, I wyll not go with the, I make God a-vow ! We shall se fyrst which is the stronger! God hath sente me bonys! I do the not fere! PARSON. Ye, by my fayth, wylt thou be there? 620 Neybour Prat, brynge forthe that knave, And thou, syr frere, yf thou wylt algatys rave-FRERE. Nay, chorle, I the defy ! I shall trouble the fyrst, Thou shalt go to pryson by and by ! 625 Let me se now! Do thy worste! Prat with the pardoner and the parson with the frere.

PARSON. Helpe! helpe! Neybour Prat! Neybour Prat! In the worship of God, helpe me som what! THE PARDONER AND THE FRERE. 125

- PRAT. Nay deale as thou canst with that elfe. For why I have inoughe to do my selfe! 630 Alas! for payn I am almoste dede, The reede blood so ronneth downe aboute my hede, Nay, and thou canst, I pray the, helpe me!
- PARSON. Nay, by the mas, felowe, it wyll not be! I have more tow on my dystaffe than I can well spyn! The cursed frere dothe the upper hand wyn! 636
- FRERE. Wyll ye leve than, and let us in peace departe?
- PARSON and PRAT. Ye, by our Lady, even with all our harte!
- FRERE and PARD. Than adew, to the devyll, tyll we come agayn.
- PARSON and PRAT. And a myschefe go with you bothe twayne. 640

Imprynted by Wyllyam Rastell the v. day of Apryll the yere of our lorde M. CCCCC XXX III. Mulmer and mis

Cum privilegio.

At

Thersytes.

A NEW ENTERLUDE CALLED

THERSYTES.

Thys Enterlude Folowynge Dothe Declare howe that the greatest boesters are not the greatest doers.

THE NAMES OF THE PLAYERS.

| THERSITES | | | | A boster. |
|------------|--|--|--|-----------|
| MULCIBER | | | | A smyth. |
| MATER . | | | | A mother. |
| MILES . | | | | A knyght. |
| TELEMACHUS | | | | |
| | | | | |

Thersites commeth in fyrste havinge a clubbe uppon his necke.

Have in a ruffler foorth of the Greke lande,

Called Thersites, if ye wyll me knowe.

Abacke, geve me roume, in my way do ye not stand, For if ye do, I wyll soone laye you lowe.

In Homere of my actes ye have red, I trow, 5 Neyther Agamemnon nor Ulysses, I spared to checke, They coulde not bringe me to be at theyr becke!

10

Of late frome the sege of Troy I retourned,

Where all my harnes excepte this clubbe I lost In an olde house, there it was quyte burned,

Whyle I was preparinge vytayles for the hoste. I must nedes get me newe, what so ever it cost.

I wyll go seke adventures, for I can not be ydle, I wyll hamper some of the knaves in a brydle.

- It greveth me to heare howe the knaves do bragge, 15 But by supreme Jupiter, when I am harnessed well,
- I shall make the dasters to renne into a bagge To hyde them frome, as from the devyll of hell,

I doubte not but hereafter of me ye shall heare tell, Howe I have made the knaves for to play cowch quaile. But nowe to the shop of Mulciber to go I wyll not faile. 21

Mulciber must have a shop made in the place and Thersites commethe before it, sayinge a-loude.

- Mulciber, whom the Poetes doth call the god of fyer, Smith unto Jupiter kinge over all,
- Come foorth of thy office, I the desyre, 24

And graunte me my petiction, I aske a thynge but small. I wyl none of thy lightning, that thou art wont to make For the goddes supernall, for yre when they do shake, With whiche they thruste the gyauntes downe to hell, That were at a convention heaven to by and sell; But I woulde have some helpe of Lemnos and Ilva, 30

That of theyr stele, by thy crafte, *condatur mihi galea*. MULCIBER. What, felowe Thersites, do ye speake Latyn

nowe?

Nay then, farewell ! I make God a vowe

I do not you understande, no Latyn is in my palet.

THERSITES. I say Abyde, good Mulciber ! I pray the make me a sallet.

MULCIBER. Why, Thersites, hast thou anye wytte in thy head? Woldest thou have a sallet nowe all the herbes are dead? Besyde that it is not mete for a smyth

To gether herbes, and sallettes to medle with.

Jon

| THERSITES. I meane a sallet with whiche men do fyght,
MULCIBER. It is a small tastinge of a mannes mighte 46
That he shoulde for any matter
Fyght with a fewe herbes in a platter!
No greate laude shoulde folowe that victorye! | | | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| THERSITES. [I pray thee,] Mulciber, where is thy wit and
memory? | | | | | | |
| I wolde have a sallet made of stele ! 50 | | | | | | |
| MULCIBER. Whye syr, in youre stomacke longe you shall | | | | | | |
| it fele. | | | | | | |
| For stele is harde for to digest. | | | | | | |
| THERSITES. Mans bones and sydes, hee is worse then a beest! | | | | | | |
| I wolde have a sallet to were on my hed, 55 | | | | | | |
| Whiche under my chyn with a thonge red
Buckeled shall be. | | | | | | |
| Doest thou yet perceyve me? | | | | | | |
| MULCIBER. Your mynde now I se. | | | | | | |
| Why, thou pevysshe ladde, 60 | | | | | | |
| Arte thou almost madde, | | | | | | |
| Or well in thy wytte? | | | | | | |
| Gette the a wallette! | | | | | | |
| Wolde thou have a sallette | | | | | | |
| What woldest thou do with it? 65 | | | | | | |
| THERSITES. I pray the, good Mulciber, make no mo bones,
But let me have a sallet made at ones! | | | | | | |
| MULCIBER. I must do somewhat for this knave! | | | | | | |
| What maner of sallet, syr, would ye have? | | | | | | |
| THERSITES. I wold have such a one that nother might | | | | | | |
| nor mayne 70 | | | | | | |
| Shoulde perse it thorowe, or parte it in twayne; | | | | | | |
| Whiche nother gonstone, nor sharpe speare, | | | | | | |
| Shoulde be able other to hurte or teare. | | | | | | |

I woulde have it also for to save my heade Yf Jupiter him selfe woulde have me dead; 75 And if he, in a fume, woulde cast at me his fire, This sallet I woulde have to kepe me from his yre. MULCIBER. I perceave youre mynde, Ye shall fynde me kynde. I wyll for you prepare. 80

And then he goeth in to his shop, and maketh a sallet for hym: at the laste, he sayth.

Here, Thersites, do this sallet weare, And on thy head it beare, And none shall worke the care.

Then Mulciber goeth into his shop, untyll he is called agayne.

THERSITES. Now woulde I not feare with anye bull to fyghte, Or with a raumpinge lyon, nother by daye nor nyghte, O what greate strength is in my body so lusty, 86 Whiche for lacke of exercise is nowe almost rustye! Hercules in comparison to me was but a boye When the bandogge Cerberus from hell he bare awaye, When he kylled the lyons, hydra, and the bere so wylde, Compare him to me and he was but a chylde. 91 Why Sampson, I saye, hast thou no more wytte? Woldest thou be as strong as I? come suck thy mothers tytte!

Wene you that David, that lyttle elvyshe boye, Should with his slinge have take my life awaye? 95 Nay ywys, Golyath, for all his fyve stones, I woulde have quashed his little boysshe bones O howe it woulde do my harte muche good To se some of the giauntes before Noes floud! I woulde make the knaves to crye creke, 100 Or elles with my clubbe their braynes I wyll breake!

But Mulciber, yet I have not with the do! My heade is armed, my necke I woulde have to! And also my shoulders with some good habergyn That the devyll, if he shote at me, coulde not enter in. For I am determined greate battayle to make, 106 Excepte my fumishenes by some meanes may aslake.

MULCIBER. Bokell on this habergyn as fast as thou canne, And feare for the metinge of nother beast nor manne; Yf it were possible for one too shote an oke 110 This habergyn wyll defende thee frome the stroke. Let them throwe mylstones at the as thick as haile, Yet the to kyll they shall their purpose faile. Yf Malverne hylles shoulde on thy shoulders light They shall not hurt the, nor suppress thy mighte, 115 Yf Bevis of Hampton, Colburne and Guy, Will the assaye, set not by them a flye, To be briefe, this habergyn shall the save Bothe by lande and water. Nowe playe the lusty knave !

. Then he goeth in to his shoppe againe.

THERSITES. When I consider my shoulders that so brode be, 120

When the other partes of my bodye I do beholde,

I verely thinke that none in Chrystente

With me to medele dare be so bolde.

Now have at the lyons on Cotsolde!

I wyll neyther spare for heate nor for colde, Where art thou king Arthur, and the Knightes of the Rounde Table?

Come, brynge forth your horses out of the stable. Lo! with me to mete they be not able! By the masse, they had rather were a bable! ¹²⁹ Where arte thou Gawyn the curtesse and Cay the crabed? Here be a couple of knightes cowardishe and scabbed!

Appere in thy likenesse Syr Libeus Disconius, Yf thou wilt have my clubbe lyghte on thy hedibus. Lo ! ye maye see he beareth not the face With me to trye a blowe in thys place. 135 Howe syrray, approche Syr Launcelot de Lake! What renne ye awaie and for feare quake? Nowe he that did the a knight make Thought never that thou any battaile shouldest take. Yf thou wilt not come thy self, some other of thy felowes send. 140 To battaile I provoke them, themselfe let them defende. Lo! for all the good that ever they se, They wyll not ones set hande to fight with me. O good lorde! howe brode is my brest, And stronge with all, for hole is my chest! 145 He that should medle with me shall have shrewde rest! Beholde you my handes, my legges and my feete Every parte is stronge proportionable and mete. Thinke you that I am not feared in felde and strete? Yes, yes, god wote they geve me the wall, 150 Or elles with my clubbe I make them to fall. Backe knaves! I saye to them; then for feare they quake And take me then to the taverne and good chere me make. The proctoure and his men I made to renne their waies, And some wente to hide them in broken heys. 155 I tell you, [yea, I,] I set not a [fly] By none of them al. Early and late I wyll walke, And London stretes stalke, 160 Spyte of them greate and small. For I thinke verely, That none in heaven so hve, K 2

Nor yet in hell so lowe, Whyle I have this clubbe in my hande, 165 Can be able me to withstande, Or me to overthrowe. But, Mulciber, yet I must the desyre To make me briggen yrons for myne armes, And then I will love the as mine owne syre, 170 For withoute them I can not be safe frome all harmes. Those once had. I will not sette a strawe By all the worlde, for then I wyll by awe Have all my mynde, or elles, by the holye roode, I wyll make them thinke the devyll caryeth them to the wood. 175 Yf no man wyll with me battayle take, A vyage to hell quickely I wyll make, And there I wyll bete the devyll and his dame, And bringe the soules awaye, I fullye entende the same. After that in hell I have ruffled so, 180 Strevghte to olde purgatorye wyll I go. I wyll cleane that so purge rounde aboute, That we shall nede no pardons to helpe them oute. Yf I have not fyghte ynoughe this wayes, I wyll clymbe to heaven and fet awaye Peters kayes, I wyll kepe them myselfe and let in a great route. 186 What shoulde suche a fysher kepe good felowes out? MULCIBER. Have here, Thersites, briggen yrons bright, And feare thou no man manly to fyghte, Thoughe he be stronger then Hercules or Sampson, 190 Be thou prest and bolde to set him upon. Nother Amazon nor Xerxes with their hole rable The to assayle shall fynde it profytable. I warrante the they wyll fle fro thy face, As doth an hare from the dogges in a chase. 195 Would not thy blacke and rustye grym berde, Nowe thou art so armed, make anye man aferde?

Surely if Jupiter dyd see the in this gere, He woulde renne awaye and hyde hym for feare! He wold thinke that Typhoeus the gyant were alive 200 And his brother Enceladus, agayn with him to strive! If that Mars, of battell the god stoute and bold, In this aray shoulde chaunce the to beholde, He would yelde up his sworde unto the, And god of battayle (he would say) thou shouldest be. Now fare thou wel, go the world through, 206 And seke adventures, thou arte man good ynough. THERSITES. Mulciber, whyle the starres shal shyne in the sky. And Phaeton's horses with the sonnes charret shall fly, Whyle the mornynge shall go before none, 210 And cause the darkennesse to vanysshe away soone, Whyle that the cat shall love well mylke, And whyle that women shal love to go in sylke, Whyle beggers have lyce, And cockneys are nyce, 215 Whyle pardoners can lye, Marchauntes can by, And chyldren crye, Whyle all these laste and more, Whiche I kepe in store, 220 I do me faythfully bynde, Thy kyndnes to beare in mynde. But vet, Mulciber, one thinge I aske more, Haste thou ever a sworde now in store? I would have suche a one that would cut stones, 225 And pare a great oke down at ones¹, That were a sworde, lo, even for the nones. MULCIBER. Truly I have suche a one in my shoppe

That wil pare yron, as it were a rope.

¹ once, Text.

230

Have, here it is, gyrde it to thy syde. Now fare thou well, Jupiter be thy guyde.

THERSITES. Gramercye, Mulciber, wyth my hole harte. Geve me thy hande and let us departe.

Mulciber goeth in to hys shoppe againe and Thersites saith foorth.

Nowe I go hence, and put my selfe in prease. I wyll seeke adventures, yea and that I wyll not cease, If there be any present here thys nyghte 236 That wyll take upon them with me to fighte, Let them come quickly, and the battayle shall be pyghte.

Where is Cacus, that knave, not worthe a grote, 239 That was wont to blowe cloudes oute of his throte, Which stale Hercules kine and hyd them in his cave? Come hether Cacus, thou lubber and false knave. I wyll teache all wretches by the to beware, If thou come hether I trappe the in a snare. Thou shalt have knocked breade and yll fare." 245 How say you, good godfather, that loke so stale Ye seeme a man to be borne in the vale, Dare ye adventure wyth me a stripe or two? Go, coward, go, hide the, as thou wast wonte to do. What a sorte of dasterdes have we here 250 None of you to battaile with me dare appeare!

Well, let all go ! whye, wyll none come in, With me to fyghte that I maye pare his skyn? 265

The mater commeth in.

MATER. What saye you my sonne, wyl ye fyght? God it defende !

For what cause to warre do you nowe pretende?

| Wyll ye committe to battayles daungerous
Youre lyfe that is to me so precious? |
|--|
| THERSITES. I wyll go! I wyll go! stoppe not my
waye! 270 |
| Holde me not good mother, I hartely you pray!
If there be any lyons, or other wylde beest,
What wyll not suffer the husbandman in rest,
I wyll go seeche them, and byd them to a feest. 274
They shall abye bytterlye the comminge of suche a gest !
I wyll searche for them bothe in busshe and shrubbe,
And laye on a lode with this lustye clubbe ! |
| MATER. O my swete sonne, I am thy mother,
Wylt thou kyll me and thou hast none other? |
| THERSITES. No! mother, no! I am not of suche
iniquitye, 280
That I wyll defyle my handes upon the.
But be contente, mother, for I wyll not rest
Tyll I have foughte with some man or wylde beast. |
| MATER. Truely, my sonne, yf that ye take thys way,
Thys shall be the conclusion, marke what I shall say! |
| Other I wyll drowne my selfe for sorowe, 286
And fede fyshes with my body before to morowe,
Or wyth a sharpe swerde, surely I wyll me kyll,
Nowe thou mayst save me, if it be thy wyll. |
| I wyll also cut my pappes awaye, 290
That gave the sucke so manye a daye,
And so in all the worlde it shall be knowen,
That by my owne sonne I was overthrowen.
Therefore, if my lyfe be to the pleasaunte,
That whiche I desyre, good sonne, do me graunte. 295 |
| THERSITES. Mother, thou spendest thy winde but in wast, where |

The goddes of battayle hyr fury on me hath cast,

I am fullye fyxed battayle for to taste. O how many to deth I shall dryve in haste! I wyll ruffle this clubbe aboute my hedde, 300 Or els I pray God I never dye in my bedde! There shall never a stroke be stroken with my hande But they shall thynke that Jupiter doth thonder in the land.

> MATER. My owne swete sonne, I, knelynge on my knee, And bothe my handes holdinge up to the, 305 Desyre the to ceasse and no battayle make. Call to the pacience and better wayes take.

THERSITES. Tushe, mother, I am deafe, I wyll the not heare !

No! no! yf Jupiter here him selfe nowe were, And all the goddes, and Juno his wife, 310 And lovinge Minerva, that abhorreth all stryfe, Yf all these, I saye, would desyre me to be content, They dyd theyr wynde but in vaine spente. I wyll have battayle in Wayles or in Kente, And some of the knaves I wyll all to rent. 315 Where is the valiaunt knighte, Syr Isenbrase? Appere, Syr, I praye you, dare ye not shewe your face? Where is Robin John and Little Hode? Approche hyther quickely, if ye thinke it good. I wyll teache suche outlawes wyth Chrystes curses 320 How they take hereafter awaye abbottes purses! Whye, wyll no adventure appeare in thys place? Where is Hercules with his greate mase? Where is Busyris that fed hys horses, Full lyke a tyraunte, with dead mens corses? 325 Come any of you bothe, And I make an othe, That yer I eate any breade I wyll dryve a wayne, . Ye, for neede, twayne, 330

| Betwene your bodye and your heade. | |
|---|-----|
| [This ¹] passeth my braynes ! | |
| Wyll none take the paynes | |
| To trye wyth me a blowe? | |
| O what a fellowe am I, | 335 |
| Whome everye man dothe flye, | |
| That dothe me but once knowe! | |
| MATER. Sonne all do you feare, | |
| That be present here, | |
| They wyll not wyth you fyghte. | 340 |
| You, as you be worthye, | |
| Have nowe the victorye, | |
| Wythoute tastynge of youre myghte. | |
| Here is none, I trowe, | |
| That profereth you a blowe, | 345 |
| Man, woman nor chylde. | |
| Do not set your mynde | |
| To fyghte with the wynde, | |
| Be not so madde nor wylde. | |
| THERSITES. I saye, aryse, who so ever wyll fighte | 1 |
| I am to battayle here readye dyghte. | 351 |
| Come hyther, other swayne or knyghte, | |
| Let me see who dare presente him to my syghte! | |
| Here with my clubbe readye I stande, | |
| Yf anye wyll come to take them in hand. | 355 |
| MATER. There is no hope left in my brest, | |
| To bring my sonne unto better rest, | |
| He wyll do nothinge at my request, | |
| He regardeth me no more then a best. | |
| I see no remedye, but styll I wyll praye | 360 |
| To God, my sonne to gyde in his waye, | |
| That he maye have a prosperous journ[y]ynge, | |
| And to bee save at his returnynge. | |
| | |

¹ Thus, Ed.

Sonne, God above graunte thys my oration, That when in battaile thou shalt have concertation $_{365}$ With your enemies, other far[r]e or nere, No wounde in them nor in you may appere, So that ye nother kyll nor be kylled.

THERSITES. Mother, thy peticion I praye God be fulfylled,

For then no knaves bloude shall be spilled. 370 Felowes, kepe my counsell, by the masse I doo but crake, I wyll be gentyll enoughe and no busenesse make. But yet I wyll make her beleve that I am a man! Thincke you that I wyll fight? no, no, but wyth the can, Excepte I finde my enemye on thys wyse 375 That he be a slepe or els can not aryse. Yf his armes and his fete be not fast bounde, I wyll not profer a stripe, for a thousande pound. Fare well, mother, and tarrye here no longer, For after proves of chivalry I do both thyrste and hunger, I wyll beate the knaves as flatte as a conger.

Then the mother goeth in the place which is prepared for her.

What! how long shall I tary? be your hartes in your hose, Will there none of you in battayl me appose? Come, prove me! whye stande you so in doubte? Have you any wylde bloude, that ye would have let oute? Alacke that a man's strengthe can not be knowen, 386 Because that he lacketh ennemies to be overth[r]owen!

Here a snaile muste appere unto him, and hee muste loke fearefully uppon the snaile, saienge :

But what a monster do I see nowe Cominge hetherwarde with an armed browe? What is it? ah, it is a sowe! No, by [my faith], it is but a grestle, And on the backe it hath never a brystle.

It is not a cow, ah there I fayle, For then it should have a long tayle. What the devyll! I was blynde, it is but a snayle! 395 I was never so afrayde in east nor in south, My harte at the fyrste syght was at my mouth. Mary, syr, fy! fy! fy! I do sweate for feare! I thoughte I had craked but to tymely here. Hens, thou beest and plucke in thy hornes

Haste thou nothynge elles to doo But come wyth hornes and face me so? Howe, how my servauntes, get you shelde and spere 405 And let us werye and kyll thys monster here!

*

*

*

Here MILES cometh in.

MILES. Is not thys a worthye knyghte That wyth a snayle dareth not fight Excepte he have hys servauntes ayde? Is this the chaumpyon that maketh al men afraid? 410 I am a pore souldiour come of late from Calice, I trust or I go to debate some of his malyce, I wyll tarrye my tyme till I do see Betwixt hym and the snayle what the ende wyll be.

THERSITES. Whye ye [rascal] knavys, regard ye not my callinge? 415 Whye do ye not come and wyth you weapons brynge? Why shall this monster so escape kyllinge? No! that he shal not, and God be wyllinge.

MILES. I promyse you, thys is as worthye a knyghte As ever shall brede oute of a bottell byte : 420 I thinke he be Dares, of whom Virgyll doth write, That woulde not let Entellus alone, But ever provoked and ever called on, But yet at the last he tooke a fall, And so within a whyle, I trowe I make the shall. 425

THERSITES. By [Jupiter], knaves, if I come I wyll you fetter !

Regarde ye my callinge and cryinge no better? Why, [rascals,] I saye, wyll ye not come? By the masse, the knaves be all from home! They had better have fette me an errande at Rome!

MILES. By my trouthe, I thynke that very skante 431 This lubber dare adventure to fighte with an ant !

THERSITES. Well, seinge my servauntes come to me will not,

435

450

I must take hede that this monster me spyll not,

I wyll joparde with it a joynte,

And, other with my clubbe or my sweardes poynte, I wyll reche it suche woundes,

As I woulde not have for xl M. poundes.

Plucke in thy hornes, thou unhappy beast,

What, facest thou me? wilte not thou be in reste? 440 Why? wylte not thou thy hornes in holde?

Thinkest thou that I am a cockolde¹?

[Nay, truly] the monster cometh towarde me styll! Excepte I fyght manfully, it wyll me surely kyll!

Then he muste fyghte against the snayle with his club.

MILES. O Jupiter Lorde! doest thou not see and heare How he feareth the snayle as it were a bere? 446

THERSITES. Well, with my clubbe I have had good lucke,

Nowe with my sworde have at the a plucke.

And he must cast his club awaye.

I wyll make the, or I go, for to ducke, And thou were as tall² a man as frier Tucke ! ¹ cocklode, *text*.² tale, *text*.

I saye yet agayne thy hornes in drawe, Or elles I wyll make the to have woundes rawe. Arte not thou aferde To have thy bearde Pared with my swearde?

Here he must fighte then with his sworde against the snayle and the snayle draweth her hornes in.

Ah well nowe no more ! Thou mightest have done so before ! I layed at it so sore That it thoughte it shoulde have be lore. And it had not drawen in his hornes againe, Surely I woulde the monster have slaine. But now farewell, I wyll worke the no more payne. Nowe my fume is paste, And dothe no longer laste, That I did to the monster cast. Now in other countreis both farre and neare Mo dedes of chyvalrye I wyll go inquere.

MILES. Thou nedes not seke any further for redy I am here,

I wyll debate anone, I trowe, thy bragginge chere.

THERSITES. Nowe where is any mo that wyll me assayle?

I wyll turne him and tosse him, both toppe and tayle, Yf he be stronger then Sampson was, Who with his bare handes kylde lyons apas.

MILES. What nedeth this booste? I am here at hande, That with the will fighte; kepe the heade and stande! Surelye for al thy hye wordes I wyll not feare 476 To assaye the a towche tyll some bloude apeare, I wyll geve the somewhat for the gifte of a new yeare.

And he begynth to fight with him, but Thersites must ren awaye, and hyde hym behynde hys mother's backe sayinge :

THERSITES. O mother, mother, I praye the me hyde! Throwe some thinge over me and cover me every syde!

MATER. O my sonne, what thynge eldyth the? 481 THERSITES. Mother, a thousande horsemen do persecute me!

MATER. Marye, sonne then it was time to flye! I blame the not then, thoughe afrayde thou be. A deadlye wounde thou mightest there sone catche, 485 One against so manye is no indyfferente matche.

THERSITES. No, mother! but if they had bene but ten to one,

I woulde not have avoyded, but set them uppon, But seinge they be so many I ran awaye. Hyde me, mother, hyde me, I hartely the pray. 490 For if they come hyther and here me fynde To their horses tayles they wyll me bynde, And after that fasshyon hall me and kyll me, And thoughe I were never so bolde and stoute 494 To fyghte againste so manye, I shoulde stande in doubte.

MILES. Thou that doest seke giauntes to conquere, Come foorth, if thou dare, and in this place appere! Fy, for shame, doest thou so sone take flighte? Come forth and shewe somewhat of thy myghte!

THERSITES. Hyde me, mother, hyde me, and never worde saye. 500

MILES. Thou olde trotte, seyst thou any man come thys waye,

Well armed and weaponed and readye to fighte?

MATER. No forsothe Maister, there came none in my sight.

MILES. He dyd avoyde in tyme, for withoute doubtes I woulde have set on his backe some clowtes. 505 Yf I may take him I wyll make all slowches carry fully To beware by him, that they come not in my clowches.

Then he goeth oute, and the mother saith:

MATER. Come foorth my sonne, youre enemy is gone, Be not afrayed, for hurte thou canst have none.

Then he loketh aboute if he be gone or not, at the last he sayth:

THERSITES. Ywys thou didest wisely, who so ever thou be, 510 To tarrye no longer to fighte with me,

For with my clubbe I woulde have broken thy skull, Yf thou were as bigge as Hercules bull. Why, thou cowardely knave, no stronger then a ducke Darest thou trye maystries with me a plucke, Nor Beelzebub, the mayster devyll, as ragged as a colte. I woulde thou wouldest come hyther ones againe, I thincke thou haddest rather alyve to be flayne. Come againe and I sweare, by my mothers wombe, 520 I wyll pull the in peeces no more then my thombe, And thy braines abrode I wyll so scatter That all knaves shall feare, against me to clatter.

[The play is interrupted here by the incident of the young Telemachus coming to Thersites' mother, to be cured of a disease. When he is gone, Thersites resumes his boasting.]

Then Miles cometh in saynge :

MILES. Wylte thou so in deede? Hye the, make good spede,

I am at hande here prest. Put awaye tongue shakynge And this folysshe crakynge,

Let us trye for the best. Cowardes make speake apase,

S[t]rypes prove the manne. Have nowe at thy face !

Keepe of, if thou canne!

And then he muste stryke at hym, and Thersytes muste runne awaye and leave his clubbe and sworde behynde.

Whye, thou lubber, runnest thou awaye,

And leavest thy swearde and thy clubbe thee behynde? Nowe thys is a sure carde, nowe I maye well saye

That a cowarde crakinge here I dyd fynde. Maysters, ye maye see by this playe in sighte 890 That great barking dogges do not most byte, And off it is sene that the best men in the hoost Be not suche, that use to bragge moste. Yf ye wyll avoyde the daunger of confusion, Printe my wordes in harte and marke this conclusion, Suche gyftes of God that ye excelle in moste, 896 Use them wyth sobernesse and youre selfe never bost. Seke the laude of God in all that ye doo, So shall vertue and honoure come you too. 800 But if you geve youre myndes to the sinne of pryde, Vanisshe shall your vertue, youre honoure away wil slide, For pryde is hated of God above. And meekenesse sonest obtaineth his love. To youre rulers and parentes be you obediente, Never transgressinge their lawefull commaundemente. 905 Be ye merye and joyfull at borde and at bedde, Imagin no traitourye againste your prince and heade. Love God and feare him, and after him youre kinge, Whiche is as victorious as anye is lyvinge.

880

885

Praye for his grace, with hartes that dothe not fayne, 910 That longe he may rule us without grefe or paine. Beseche ye also that God maye save his quene, Lovely Ladie Jane, and the prince that he hath send them betwen

To augment their joy and the comons felicitie. 914 Fare ye wel swete audience, God graunt you al prosperite.

Amen.

¶ Imprinted at London,
by John Tysdale and are to be solde at hys shop in the upper ende of Lombard strete in Alhallowes churche yarde neare untoo Grace church.

weak point = ete snail chisode

lack of restraint.

Bale's King John.

KING JOHN. For non other cawse God hath kyngs constytute

And gevyn them the sword, but forto correct all vyce.

I have attempted this thyng to execute 1275 Uppon transgressers accordyng unto justyce; And be-cawse I wyll not be parcyall in myn offyce For theft and murder to persones spirytuall, I have ageynst me the pristes and the bysshoppes all. A lyke dysplesure in my fathers tyme ded fall, 1280

Forty yeres ago, for ponyshment of a clarke: No cunsell myght them to reformacyon call,

In ther openyon they were so stordy and starke, But ageynst ther prynce to the pope they dyd so barke, That here in Ynglond in every cyte and towne Excommunycacyons as thonder-bolts cam downe. For this ther captayn had a ster apared crowne,

And dyed upon yt, with-owt the kynges consent. Than interdiccyons were sent from the popes renowne,

Whych never left hym tyll he was penytent, 1290 And fully agreed unto the popes apoyntment In Ynglond to stand with the Chyrches lyberte, And suffer the pristes to Rome for appeles to flee, They bownd hym also to helpe Jerusalem cyte

With ij hundrid men the space of a yere and more, 1295 And thre yere after to maynteyne battell free

Ageynst the Sarazens whych vext the Spanyards sore. Synce my fathers tyme I have borne them groge therfore, Consyderyng the pryde and the capcyose dysdayne,

That they have to kyngs whych oughte over them to rayne. 1300

PRIVAT WELTH *cum in lyke a Cardynall*. God save you, sur kyng, in your pryncly mageste.

K. J. Frynd, ye be welcum: what is yowr plesure with me?

P. W. From the holy father, Pope Innocent the thred, As a massanger I am to yow dyrectyd, To reforme the peace betwyn Holy Chyrch and yow 1305 And in his behalfe I avertyce yow here now Of the Chyrchys goods to make full restytucyon, And to accepte also the popes hely constytucyon For Stevyn Langton, archebysshop of Canturbery, And so admytt hym to his state and primacy : 1310 The monkes exilyd ye shall restore agayne To ther placys and londes, and nothyng of thers retayne. Owr holy fatheres mynde ys that ye shall agayne restore All that ye have ravyshyd from Holy Chyrche, with the more.

K. J. I reken yowr father wyll never be so harde, But he wyll my cawse as well as theres regarde. 1316 I have done nothyng but that I may do well, And as for ther taxe I have for me the gospell.

P. W. Tushe, gospell or no, ye must make a recompens.

K. J. Yowr father is sharpe and very quycke in sentence, Yf he wayeth the word of God no more than so; 1321 But I shall tell yow in this what Y shall do. I am well content to receyve the monkes agayne Upon amendement, but as for Stevyn Langton playne He shall not cum here, for I know his dysposycyon: 1325 He is moche inclyned to sturdynesse and sedycyon, There shall no man rewle in the lond where I am kyng With-owt my consent, for no mannys plesure lyvyng.

BALE'S KING 70HN.

Never-the-lesse, yet upon a newe behaver At the popys request here-after I may hym faver, 1330 And graunt hym to have sum other benyfyce.

P. W. By thys I perseyve ye bare hym groge and malyce, Well, thys wyll I say, by-cause ye are so blunte, A prelate to dyscharge Holy Chyrche was never wont, But her custome ys to mynyster ponyshment 1335 To kynges and princes beyng dyssobedyent!

K. J. Avant, pevysh prist : what, dost thow thretten me? I defye the worst both of thi pope and the. The power of princys ys gevyn from God above, 1339 And, as sayth Solomon, ther harts the Lord doth move. God spekyth in ther lyppes whan they geve jugement : The lawys that they make are by the Lordes appoyntment. Christ wylled not his the princes to correcte, But to ther precepptes rether to be subjecte. The offyce of yow ys not to bere the sword, 1345 But to geve cownsell accordyng to Gods word. He never tawght his to weare nowther sword ne sallett, But to preche abrode with-owt staffe, scrypp or walett; Yet are ye becum soche myghty lordes this hower, That ye are able to subdewe all princes power. 1350 I can not perseyve but ye are becum Belles prystes, Lyvyng by ydolls, yea, the very antychrysts.

P. W. Ye have sayd yowr mynd, now wyll I say myn also. Here I cursse yow for the wrongs that ye have do 1354 Unto Holy Churche, with crosse, bocke, bell and candell; And by-sydes all thys I must yow other-wyse handell. terdet Of contumacy the pope hath yow convyt; From this day forward your lond stond interdytt. ~ The bysshope of Norwyche and the bysshope of Wynchester, Hath full autoryte to spred it in Ynglond here. 1360 The bysshope of Salysbery and the bysshope of Rochester Shall execute yt in Scotland every where.

The bysshope of Landaffe, seynt Assys, and seynt Davy

BALE'S KING JOHN.

In Walles and in Erlond shall publyshe yt openly. Throwgh-owt all crystyndom the bysshopps shall suspend All soche as to yow any mayntenance pretend; 1366 And I cursse all them that geve to yow ther harte, Dewks, erlls, and lordes so many as take yowr parte: And I assoyle yowr peple from your obedyence, That they shall owe yow noyther sewte nor reverence. By the popys awctoryte I charge them yow to fyght 1371 As with a tyrant agenst Holy Chyrchys ryght; And by the popes auctoryte I geve them absolucyon *A pena et culpa*, and also clene remyssyon.

SEDYCYON extra locum.

- Alarum! Alarum! tro ro ro ro ro, tro ro ro ro, tro ro ro ro ro! 1375
- Thomp, thomp, thomp, downe, downe, downe, to go, to go!
 - K. J. What a noyse is thys that without the dore is made?
 - P. W. Suche enmyes are up as wyll yowr realme invade.
 - K. J. Ye cowde do no more and ye cam from the devyll of hell,
- Than ye go abowt here to worke by yowr wyckyd cownsell. 1380

Ys this the charyte of that ye call the Churche?

God graunt Cristen men not after yowr wayes to worche? I sett not by yowr curssys the shakyng of a rod,

For I know they are of the devyll and not of God.

Yowr curssys we have that we never yet demaundyd, 1385 But we can not have that God hath yow commandyd.

P. W. What ye mene by that I wold ye shuld opynly tell.

K. J. Why know ye it not? the prechyng of the gospell.

BALE'S KING JOHN.

Take to ye yowr traysh, yowr ryngyng, syngyng, pypyng, So that we may have the scryptures openyng: 1390 But that we can not have, yt stondyth not with yowr avantage.

P. W. Ahe, now I fell yow for this heretycall langage; I thynke noyther yow nor ony of yowres, iwys,

We wyll so provyd, shall ware the crowne after this.

II.

DISSIMULATION. Wassayle, wassayle out of the mylke payle, 2065

Wassayle, wassayle, as whyte as my nayle, Wassayle, wassayle in snowe froste and hayle, Wassayle, wassayle with partriche and rayle, Wassayle, wassayle that muche doth avale, Wassayle, wassayle that never wyll fayle.

K. J. Who is that, Englande? I praye the stepp fourth and see.

2070

E. He doth seme a-farre some relygyous man to be.

D. Now Jesus preserve your worthye and excellent grace, For doubtless there is a very angelyck face.

Now forsoth and God, I woulde thynke my self in heaven, If I myght remayne with yow but yeares alevyn. 2076 I woulde covete here none other felicyte.

K. J. A lovynge persone thu mayest seme for to be

D. I am as gentle a worm as ever ye see.

K. J. But what is thy name, good frynde, I praye the tell me? 2080

D. Simon of Swynsett my very name is per dee. I am taken of men for monastycall Devocyon, And here have I brought yow a marvelouse good pocyon, For I harde ye saye that ye were very drye.

K. J. In dede I wolde gladlye drynke. I praye the come nye. 2085

D. The dayes of your lyfe never felt ye such a cuppe, So good and so holsome, if ye woulde drynke it upp: It passeth malmesaye, capryck, tyre or ypocras; By my fayth I thynke a better drynke never was.

K. J. Begynne, gentle monke: I praye the drynke half to me. 2090

D. If ye dronke all up, it were the better for ye. It woulde slake your thirst and also quycken your brayne: A better drynke is not in Portyngale nor Spayne, Therfore suppe it of, and make an ende of it quycklye.

K. J. Nave, thu shalte drynke half, there is no remedye.

D. Good luck to ye than ! have at it by and bye; 2096 Halfe wyll I consume, if there be no remedye.

K. J. God saynt the, good monke, with all my very harte!

D. I have brought ye half; conveye me that for your parte. 2099

Where art thu, Sedicyon? by the masse I dye, I dye. Helpe now at a pynche! Alas, man, cum away shortlye.

S. Come hyther apace, and gett thee to the farmerye; I have provyded for the, by the swete saynt Powle, Fyve monkes that shall synge contynually for thy sowle, That, I warande the, thu shalt not come in helle. 2105

D. To sende me to heaven goo rynge the holye belle And synge for my sowle a masse of Scala Celi, That I maye clyme up aloft with Enoch and Heli: I do not doubte it but I shall be a saynt. Provyde a gyldar myne image for to paynt. I dye for the Churche with Thomas of Canterberye: Ye shall fast my vigyll and upon my daye be merye. No doubt but I shall do myracles in a whyle, And therefore lete me be shryned in the north yle.

S. To the than wyll offer both crypple, halte, and blynde, 2115

Mad men and mesels, with such as are woo behynde. [Exeunt.

- K. J. My bodye me vexeth: I doubt much of a tympanye.
- E. Now, alas, alas! your grace is betrayed cowardlye.
- K. J. Where became the monke that was here with me latelye? 2119

E. He is poysened, sir, and lyeth a-dyenge surelye.

K. J. It can not be so, for he was here even now.

E. Doubtlesse, sir, it is so true as I have tolde yow: A false Judas kysse he hath gyven and is gone.

The halte, sore, and lame thys pitiefull case wyll mone. Never prynce was there that made to poore peoples use 2125 So many masendewes, hospytals and spyttle howses, As your grace hath done, yet sens the worlde began.

K. J. Of priestes and of monkes I am counted a wycked man,

For that I never buylte churche nor monasterye,

- But my pleasure was to helpe suche as were nedye. 2130
 - E. The more grace was yours, for at the daye of judgment
- Christe wyll rewarde them whych hath done hys commandement,
- There is no promyse for voluntarye wurkes

No more than there is for sacrifyce of the Turkes.

K. J. Doubtlesse I do fele muche grevaunce in my bodye. 2135

BALE'S KING JOHN.

E. As the Lorde wele knoweth, for that I am full sorye.

K. J. There is no malyce to the malyce of the clergye: Well, the Lorde God of heaven on me and them have mercye.

For doynge justyce they have ever hated me. They caused my lande to be excommunycate, 2140 And me to resygne both crowne and princely dygnyte, From my obedyence assoylynge every estate; And now last of all they have me intoxycate. I perceyve ryght wele their malyce hath none ende: I desyre not els but that they maye sone amende, 2145 I have sore hungred and thirsted ryghteousnesse For the offyce sake that God hath me appoynted, But now I perceyve that synne and wyckednesse In thys wretched worlde, lyke as Christe prophecyed, Have the overhande: in me it is verefyed. 2150 Praye for me, good people, I besych yow hartely, That the Lorde above on my poore sowle have mercy. Farwell noble men, with the clergye spirytuall, Farwell men of lawe, with the whole commynalte. Your disobedyence I do forgyve yow all, 2155 And desyre God to perdon your iniquyte. Farwell, swete Englande, now last of all to the: I am right sorve I coulde do for the no more. Farwell ones agayne, yea, farwell for evermore. 2159

E. With the leave of God I wyll not leave ye thus, But styll be with ye tyll he do take yow from us, And than wyll I kepe your bodye for a memoryall.

K. J. Than plye_it, Englande, and provyde for my buryall.

A wydowes offyce it is to burye the deade. 2164

E. Alas, swete maistre, ye waye so heavy as leade. Oh horryble case, that ever so noble a kynge

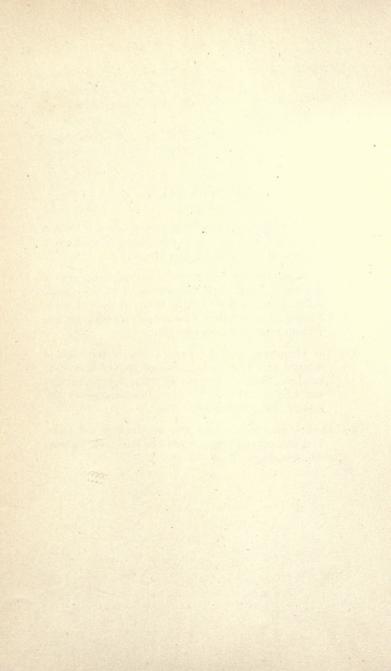
BALE'S KING JOHN.

Shoulde thus be destroyed and lost for ryghteouse doynge, By a cruell sort of disguysed bloud-souppers, Unmercyfull murtherers, all dronke in the bloude of marters!

Report what they wyll in their most furyouse madnesse, Of thys noble kynge muche was the godlynesse. 2171 [*Exeunt*.

APPENDIX,

- Mysterium Resurrectionis D. N. Jhesu Christi. From a MS. of the 13th century in the Library of the City of Orleans, as printed by Thomas Wright.
- II. Ludus super iconia Sancti Nicolai. By Hilarius, a pupil of Abelard, c. 1125. Text from edition of M. J. J. Champollion Figeac, entitled : Hilarii Versus et Ludi. Lutetiæ Parisiorum apud Techner Bibliopolam. (London, William Pickering) MDCCCXXXVIII. pp. 34-39.
- III. The Harrowing of Hell. From a MS. of the reign of Edward II. Text from edition of Dr. Edward Mall, entitled: The Harrowing of Hell. Das altenglische Spiel von Christi Höllenfahrt. Neue Bearbeitung von Dr. Eduard Mall. Berlin, 1871. 8vo.
- IV. Extracts from the Broome Play of Abraham and Isaac. Text from the transcript published by Miss Lucy Toulmin. Smith in Anglia, Band VII. Heft 3.



MYSTERIUM

RESURRECTIONIS D. N. JHESU CHRISTI.

Ad faciendam similitudinem dominici sepulchri, primum procedant tres fratres præparati et vestiti in similitudinem trium Mariarum, pedetentim et quasi tristes alternantes, hos versus cantent.

> PRIMA earum dicat: Heu! pius pastor occidit Quem culpa nulla infecit! O res plangenda!

> > SECUNDA.

Heu! verus pastor obiit, Qui vitam sanctis contulit! O mors lugenda!

TERTIA.

Heu! nequam gens Judaica! Quam dira frendens vesania! Plebs execranda!

PRIMA.

Cur nece pium impia Dampnasti Jhesum invida? O ira nefanda!

SECUNDA.

Quid justus hic promeruit Quod crucifigi debuit?

O gens dampnanda!

TERTIA.

Heu! quid agemus miseræ Dulci magistro orbatæ? Heu! sors lacrimanda!

PRIMA.

Eamus ergo propere, Quod solum quimus facere, Mente devota,

SECUNDA.

Condimentis aromatum Ungamus corpus sanctissimum : Quo pretiosa

TERTIA.

Nardi vetet commixtio, Ne putrescat in tumulo Caro beata.

Cum autem venerunt in chorum, eant ad monumentum quasi guærentes, et cantantes omnes simul hunc versum : Sed nequimus hoc patere sine adjutorio

Quisnam saxum hoc revolveret ab monumenti ostio? Quibus respondeat Angelus sedens foris, ad caput sepulchri, vestitus alba deaurata, mitra tectus caput, etsi deinfulatus, palmam in sinistra, ramum candelarum plenum tenens in manu dextra, et dicat moderata et admodum gravi voce:

> Quem quæritis in sepulchro O Christicolæ!

> > MULIERES

Jhesum Nazarenum crucifixum, O cælicola!

Quibus respondeat ANGELUS :

Quid, christicolæ, viventem quæritis cum mortuis? Non est hic, sed surrexit, prout dixit discipulis. Mementote quid jam vobis locutus est in Galilea, Quod Christum oportebat pati, atque die tertia

Resurgere cum gloria.

MULIERES conversæ ad populum cantent:

Ad monumentum Domini venimus Gementes; angelum Dei sedentem vidimus Et dicentem quod surrexit a morte.

Post hac MARIA MAGDALENE, relictis duabus aliis, accedat ad sepulchrum, in quod sape aspiciens, dicat : Heu dolor! heu! quam dira doloris angustia! Quod dilecti sum orbata magistri præsentia;

Heu! quis corpus tam dilectum sustulit e tumulo? Deinde pergat velociter ad illos qui in similitudine Petri et Johannis præstare debent erecti, stansque ante eos quasi tristis, dicat:

Tulerunt Dominum meum,

Et nescio ubi posuerunt eum,

Et monumentum vacuum est inventum,

Et sudarium cum sindone repositum.

Illi autem hoc audientes velociter pergent ad sepulchrum ac si currentes; sed junior, S. Johannes, perveniens stet extra sepulchrum, senior vero, S. Petrus, sequens eum, statim intret, postquam et S. Johannes intret, cum inde exierint, JOHANNES dicat:

Miranda sunt quæ vidimus ! An furtim sublatus est dominus ?

Cui PETRUS.

Imo, ut prædixit vivus,

Surrexit, credo, Dominus.

JOHANNES.

Sed cur liquit in sepulchro

Sudarium cum linteo?

Petrus.

Ista quia resurgenti

Non erant necessaria,

Imo resurrectionis

Restant hæc indicia.

Illis autem abeuntibus, accedat MARIA ad sepulchrum, et prius dicat :

Heu! dolor! heu! quam dira doloris angustia! Quod dilecti sum orbata magistri præsentia.

Quod dilecti suni orbata magistri præsentia.

Heu! quis corpus tam dilectum sustulit e tumulo? Quam alloquantur DUO ANGELI sedentes infra sepulchrum dicentes:

Mulier, quid ploras?

MARIA.

Quia tulerunt Dominum meum,

Et nescio ubi posuerunt eum.

ANGELUS.

Noli flere, Maria, resurrexit Dominus. Alleluia !

MARIA.

Ardens est cor meum desiderio Videre Dominum meum; Quæro et non invenio Ubi posuerunt eum, Alleluia!

Interim veniat quidam præparatus in similitudine hortulani, stansque ad caput sepulchri, dicat :

Mulier, quid ploras? quem quæris?

MARIA.

Domine, si tu sustulisti eum, dicito michi ubi posuisti eum, et ego eum tollam.

Et ILLE.

Maria !

Atque procidens ad pedes ejus, MARIA dicat :

Rabboni!

At ille subtrahat se, et quasi tactum ejus devitans, dicat :

Noli me tangere, nondum enim ascendi ad Patrem meum et Patrem vestrum, Dominum meum et dominum vestrum.

Sic discedat Hortulanus, MARIA vero, conversa ad populum, dicat:

Congratulamini michi omnes qui diligitis Dominum, quia quem quærebam apparuit michi, et dum flerem ad monumentum vidi Dominum meum. Alleluia !

Tunc DUO ANGELI exeant ad ostium sepulchri, ita ut appareant foris, et dicant :

> Venite et videte locum ubi positus erat Dominus. Alleluia !

Nolite timere vos :

Vultum tristem jam mutate:

Jhesum vivum nunciate :

Galileam jam adite:

Si placet videre, festinate :

Cito euntes dicite discipulis quod surrexit Dominus. Alleluia !

RESURRECTIONIS D. N. JHESU CHRISTI. 161

Tunc MULIERES discedentes a sepulchro dicant aa plebem: Surrexit Dominus de sepulchro, Qui pro nobis pependit in ligno. Alleluia!

Hoc facto, expandant sindonem, dicentes ad plebem : Cernite vos, socii, sunt corporis ista beati Lintea, quæ vacuo jacuere relicta sepulchro. Postea ponant sindonem super altare, atque revertentes alternent hos versus : PRIMA dicat :

Resurrexit hodie Deus Deorum.

SECUNDA. Frustra signas lapidem, plebs Judeorum,

TERTIA. Jungere jam populo christianorum.

Item PRIMA dicat : Resurrexit hodie Rex angelorum.

SECUNDA. Ducitur de tenebris turba piorum.

TERTIA.

Reseratur aditus regni cælorum.

Interea is qui ante fuit Hortulanus, in similitudinem DOMINI veniat, dalmaticatus candida dalmatica, candida infula infulatus, phylacteria pretiosa in capite, crucem cum labaro in dextra, textum auro paratorium in sinistra habens, et dicat mulieribus :

Nolite timere vos, ite, nunciate fratribus meis ut eant in Galileam, ibi me videbunt sicut prædixi eis.

CHORUS.

Alleluia ! Resurrexit hodie Dominus. *Quo finito, dicant* OMNES *insimul* : Leo fortis, Christus filius Dei.

Et CHORUS dicat: Te Deum laudamus, etc.

Explicit.

LUDUS SUPER ICONIA SANCTI NICOLAI.

Ad quem he persone sunt necessarie: persona barbari qui conmisit ei tesaurum; persona iconie; iiii^{or} vel sex latronum; Sancti Nicholai.

In primis BARBARUS, rebus suis congregatis, ad ichoniam veniet, et ei res suas conmendans dicet :

> Nicholae, quidquid possideo, Hoc in meo misi teloneo: Te custodem rebus adibeo, Serva que sunt ibi. Meis, precor, adtende precibus: Vide nullus sit locus furibus; Preciosis aurum cum vestibus Ego trado tibi. Profiscisci foras disposui: Te custodem rebus imposui. Revertenti redde quæ posui Tua sub tutela. Jam sum magis securus solito, Te custode rebus inposito; Revertenti vide ne merito Mihi sit querela.

Illo autem profecto, fures transeuntes cum viderint hostium apertum et nullum custodem, omnia diripient, BARBARUS vero rediens, non invento tesauro, dicet:

> Gravis sors et dura! Hic reliqui plura, Sed sub mala cura. Des! quel domage! Qui pert la sue chose purque n'enrage.

LUDUS SUPER ICONIA SANCTI NICOLAI. 163

Hic res plusquam centum Misi et argentum: Sed non est inventum. Des! quel domage! Qui pert la sue chose purque n'enrage. Hic reliqui mea; Sed hic non sunt ea. Est imago rea. Des! quel domage! Qui pert la sue chose purque n'enrage. Deinde accedens ad imaginem, dicet ei: Mea congregavi. Tibi commendavi: Sed in hoc erravi. Ha! Nicholax! Si ne me rent ma chose, tu ol comparras. Hic res meas misi Quas tibi conmisi; Sed eas amisi. Ha! Nicholax! Si ne me rent ma chose, tu ol comparras. Sumto flagello, dicet : Ego tibi multum Inpendebam cultum: Nun feres inultum. Hore & enci Qu'are me rent ma chose que g'ei mis ci. Tuum testor deum, Te, ni reddas meum, Flagellabo reum. Hore t' enci Qu'are me rent ma chose que g'ei mis ci. Tunc SANCTUS NICHOLAUS, veniens ad latrones, dicet eis : Miseri, quid facitis? Non longua deperditis Erunt vobis gaudia. Custos eram positus Vosque sum intuitus, Cum portatis omnia.

Flagella sustinui, Cum ea non potui, Ut debebam, reddere:

Verba passus aspera Cumque verbis verbera;

Ad vos veni propere. Reportate perdita. Erant enim omnia Sub mea custodia, Que portasti, posita. Quod si non feceritis, Suspensi cras eritis

Crucis in patibulo. Vestra namque turpia Vestra latrocinia Nunciabo populo.

Latrones timentes omnia reportabunt. Quibus inventis BARBARUS dicet :

> Nisi visus fallitur, Jo en ai. Tesaurus hic cernitur. De si grant merveile en ai. Rediere perdita, Jo en ai. Nec per mea merita, De si grant mervegle en ai. Quam bona custodia Jo en ai Qua redduntur omnia! De si grant mervegle en ai.

Tunc accedent ad imaginem et suplicans, dicet ;

Suplex ad te venio, Nicholax, Nam per te recipio Tut icei que tu gardas. Sum profectus peregre, Nicholax

tell the

LUDUS SUPER ICONIA SANCTI NICOLAI. 165

counce no

Sed recepi integre Tut ice que tu gardas. Mens mea convaluit, Nicholax: Nichil enim defuit De tut cei que tu gardas. Postea aparens ei beatus NICOLAUS, dicet : Suplicare mihi noli, Frater: inmo Deo soli. Ipse namque factor poli, Factor maris atque soli, Restauravit perditum. Ne sis ultra quod fuisti. Solum laudes nomen Christi: Soli Deo credas isti Per quem tua recepisti. Mihi nullum meritum. Cui respondens BARBARUS, dicet : Hic nulla consultacio, Nulla erit dilacio, Ouin ab erroris vicio Jam recedam. In Christum Dei filium. Factorem mirabilium, Ritum linquens gentilium, Ego credam. Ipse creavit omnia, Celum, terram et maria; Per quem erroris venia Mihi detur. Ipse potens et dominus Meum delebit facinus. Cujus regnum ne terminus Consequetur.

THE HARROWING OF HELL.

Alle herknep to me nou, A strif wille I tellen ou, Of Jesu and of Satan, po Jesu wes to helle gan For to fette benne his 5 And bringen hem to parais; De deuel heuede so michel pouste, Dat alle mosten to helle te; 8 Nas non so holi prophete, Sibben Adam and Eue ben appel ete, 10 And he were at bis worldes fine, Dat he ne moste to helle pine; Ne shulde he neuer benne come, Nere Jesu Crist, godes sone; For pat wes seid to Adam and Eue, 15 pat were Jesu Crist so leue, And so wes seid to Abraham, pat wes sobfast holi man, And so wes seid to Dauid, be king, pat wes of Cristes oune ofspring, 20 And to Johan, be Baptist, Dat folewede Jesu Crist, And to Moyses, be holi wiht, man pe heuede be lawe to zeme riht, And to mani oper holi man, 25 Mo ban ich telle can, pat weren alle in more wo. Dan I can ou telle fro. Jesu Crist areu hem sore And seide, he wolde fette hem bore: 30

THE HARROWING OF HELL.

He lihte of his heze tour On-to seinte Marie bour; He wes boren for oure nede In þis world in poure wede, In þis world he wes ded For to lesen ous fram þe qued. Do Jesu heuede shed his blod For oure sinnes on þe rod, He nam him þe rihte wei Unto helle for soþe to sei; Do he cam þer, þo seide he, Asse I shal nou telle þe.

DOMINUS. Harde gates haui gon, Sorewes suffred mani on ; Pritti winter and pridde half zer 45 Haui woned in londe her. Almost is so michel gan, Sippen I bicam first man; Ich haue sibben boled and wist Hot and cold, hunger and brist: 50 Man hab don me shame inoh Wib word and dede in here woh; He nomen me wibouten sake, Bounden min hondon to mi bake: He beten me, pat I ran on blode, 55 Demden me to deze on rode; For Adames sinne, ful iwis, Ich haue boled al bis. Adam, bou hauest dere aboht, Dat bou leuedest me noht; 60 Adam, bou hauest aboht sore And I nil suffre bat na more; I shal be bringe of helle pine And wip be alle mine. 65

SATAN. Who is pat ich here pore? Ich him rede speke na more, For he mai so michel do, Pat he shal ous come to, 167

35

For to ben oure fere, And fonden hou we pleien here. 70 DOMINUS. [Dou miht wel wite bi mi plei,] pat mine willi haue awei!] Wost bou neuer, what ich am? Almost be bridde winter is gan, Dat bou hauest fonded me trued 75 For to knowe, what I be; Sinne found bou neuer nan In me as in oper man; And bou shalt wite wel to-dai, pat mine willi haue awei, 80 Whan bou bileuest al bin one, panne miht bou grete and grone. SATAN. Par ma fei! ich holde mine Alle bo, bat ben her-inne; Resoun willi telle be, 85 Per azen miht bou noht be. agunt Whoso biggeth ani bing, It is his and his ofspring. Adam hungri cam me to, Manrede dide I him me do; hounge 90 For on appel ich 3af him, He is min and al his kin. DOMINUS. Satanas, it wes min, pe appel, bat bou zaue him, pe appel and be appel-tre 95 Bobe were maked bourh me. Hou mihtest bou on ani wise Of oper mannes bing make marchandise? Sippen he wes boht wip min, but Wib resoun wil ich hauen him. 100 SATAN. Jesu, wel I knowe be! Pat ful sore reweb me; pou art louerd ouer al. Wo is him, bat be knowe ne shal! Heuene and erbe tak to be, 105 pe soules in helle lef pou me!

THE HARROWING OF HELL.

Let me haue bat ich helde, pat pou hauest wel mote pou welde! DOMINUS. Stille be bou, Satanas, pe is fallen ambes as! when TTO Wendest bou, ich were ded for noht? For mi deb is mankin boht! pei, bat hauen serued me, Wib me he shulen in heuene be; pou shalt ben in more pine, 115 pan ani, þat þer is her-inne. SATAN. Ne mai non me werse do, Dan ich haue had hider-to. Ich haue had so michel wo, Dat I ne recche, whider I go; I20 3if bou reuest me of mine, I shal reue be of bine; I shal go fro man to man And reue be of mani an. DOMINUS. God wot! I shal speke be wib 125 And do be to holde grib ! So faste shal I binde be, Litel sholt bou reue me. [Were bou among men, Dou woldest me reuen mani of hem.] 130 De smale fendes, bat ben unstronge, He shulen among men 30nge, For to hauen alle hem, pat hem ne willen stonden agen. Helle gates I come nou to 135 And ich wille, that he undo. Where is nou bis 3ateward? Me binkeb he is a coward ! JANITOR. Ich haue herd wordes stronge, Ne dar I her no lengore stonde; 140 Kepe be zates whoso mai, I lete hem stonde and renne awei. DOMINUS. Helle zates her I felle ! And sippen wil ich herwe helle.

Satanas, her I be binde, 145 Ne shalt bou neuer henne winde, Her shalt thou ben in bondes ai, Til bat come domesdai! ADAM. Welcome, louerd, god of londe, Godes sone and godes sonde ; 150 Welcome, louerd, mote bou be, Longe haueb ous boht after be! Louerd, nou bou art comen to ous, Bring ous of bis lobe hous. Louerd, wost bou, what ich am? 155 Dou me shope of erbe, Adam ; For I bin heste held noht, Dere ich haue it her aboht. Haue merci of ous, godes sone, Let ous na more her wone ; 160 Alle, bat her-inne be, 3ore hauen zerned after be; We hopen wel bourh bi coming Of oure sinnes hauen froring. help. EUA. Knou me, louerd, ich am Eue; 165 Ich and Adam be were so leue, pou zaue ous to zeme parais, you We it zemeden asse unwis ! We bin heste dide forleten, po we of ben appel eten; 170 So longe haue we ben her-inne, Dere haue we bet oure sinne. Louerd, god, zif ous leue, Adam and me, his wif Eue, To faren of bis lobe wike place 175 To be blisse of heuene rike! DOMINUS. Adam, ich haue zouen mi lif For be and for Eue, bi wif; Wendest bou, ich were ded for noht? For mi deb wes mankin boht. 180 ABRAHAM. Louerd, Crist, ich it am,

pat pou calledest Abraham;

THE HARROWING OF HELL. 171

| pou me seidest, pat of me | |
|---|-----|
| Shulde a god childe boren be, | |
| > Pat ous shulde bringe of pine, | 185 |
| Me and wip me alle mine. | |
| pou art pe child, pou art pe man, | |
| pat wes boren of Abraham; | |
| Do nou þat þou bihete me, | |
| Bring me to heuene up wip be! | 190 |
| DOMINUS. Abraham, ich wot ful wel | |
| Mhat bou seidest, euerich del; | |
| pat mi suete moder wes | |
| Boren and shaped of bi fles. | |
| DAVID. Louerd, ich am Dauid, je king, | 195 |
| pat boren wes of pin ofspring; | |
| Do me also þou bihete | |
| pourh be lawe of be prophete; | |
| Nou pou art comen to ous, | |
| Bring ous fram þis dredful hous! | 200 |
| DOMINUS. David, pou were boren of mi kin, | |
| For þi godnesse art þou min, | |
| More for þi godnesse, | |
| Pan for ani sibnesse. | |
| JOHANNES. Louerd, Crist, ich am Johan, | 205 |
| Pat þe folewede in flum Jordan; | |
| Tuelue monep is agon, | |
| pat I polede martirdom; | |
| pou sendest me þe rihte wei | |
| In-to helle for sope to sei, | 210 |
| Pat þou, Crist, godes sone, | |
| Sone shuldest pider come, | |
| For to lesen of helle pine | |
| Alle, þat þou holdest þine. | |
| Nou þou art comen, nou þou do, | 215 |
| pat pou seidest me unto! | |
| DOMINUS. Johan, Johan, ich it wat, | |
| * Pat I sende þe þe gat; | |
| pou shalt se, þat I shal do, | |
| pat I seide er þe to. | 220 |

gnoe MOYSES. Louerd, bou zaue me al wib skil De lawe of Sinay upon be hil; Ich am Moyses, be prophete, Ich held be lawes, bat bou hete, Dat men shulde come to bete 225 De sinne, bat Adam bohte suete. Seemed DOMINUS. Moyses, bat ich hihte be mened In be olde lawe, bou didest me; And alle be ober, bat mine ben, Shulen to blisse wib me ten; 54 230 pei, bat nolden on me leuen, Shulen wib Satanas bileuen; Der he shulen wonen ai, Til bat come domesdai. [Auctor] God, for his moder loue 235 Let ous neuer bider come! Louerd, for bi michele grace Graunte ous in heuene one place: Let ous neuer be forloren For no sinne, Crist icoren; dimen 240 Ah bring ous out of helle pine, Louerd, ous and alle bine; And 3if ous grace to liue and ende In bi seruice and to heuene wende.

Amen

BROME PLAY OF ABRAHAM AND ISAAC.

ll. 316–435.

| THE ANGELL. I am an angell, thou mayist se blythe, | 316 |
|--|-----|
| That fro hevyn to the ys senth, | |
| Our lord thanke the an c. sythe, | |
| For the kepyng of hys commawment. | |
| He knowyt thi wyll and also thy harte, | 320 |
| That thou dredyst hym above all thyng, | |
| And sum of thy hevynes for to departe | |
| A fayr Ram yynder I gan brynge, | |
| He standyth teyed, loo! a-mong the breres | 324 |
| Now Abraham, a-mend thy mood, | |
| For Ysaac, thy yowng son that her ys, | |
| Thys days schall not sched hys blood; | |
| Goo, make thy sacryfece with yon Rame. | 328 |
| Now for-wyll blyssyd Abraham, | |
| For on to hevyn I goo now hom, | |
| The way ys full gayn. | |
| Take up thy son so free. [Exit Angel. | 332 |
| ABRAHAM. A! lord I thanke the of thy gret grace, | |
| Now am I yeyed on dyvers wysse, | |
| A-rysse up, Ysaac, my dere sunne a-rysse, | |
| A-rysse up, swete chyld, and cum to me. | 336 |
| YSAAC. A! mercy, fader, wy smygth ye not yyt | |
| A! smygth on, fader, onys with yowr knyffe. | |
| ABRAHAM. Pesse, my swet sir! and take no thowt, | |
| For our lord of hevyn hath grant thi lyffe | 340 |
| Be hys angell now. | |
| That thou schalt not dey this day, sunne, trul | y. |

| YSAAC. A! fader, full glad than wer I
I-wys! fader, I sey, i-wys!
Yf thys tale wer trew. | 344 |
|--|-------|
| ABRAHAM. An hundyrd tymys, my son fayer of hew,
For joy thi mowth now wyll I kys.
YSAAC. A! my dere fader, Abraham, | 348 |
| Wyll not God be wroth that we do thus? | |
| ABRAHAM. Noo, noo! harly my swyt son,
For yyn same Rame he hath us sent
Hether down to us.
Yyn best schall dey here in thi sted.
In the worthschup of owr lord a-lon.
Goo fet hym hethyr, my chyld, in ded. | ¥ 352 |
| YSAAC. Fader, I wyll goo hent hym be the hed,
And bryng yon best with me a-non. | 356 |
| A! scheppe, scheppe! blyssyd mot thou be,
That ever thow were sent down heder,
Thow schall thys day dey for me,
In the worchup of the holy Trynyte.
Now cum fast and goo we to-geder, | 360 |
| To my fader of hevyn.
Thow thou be never so jentyll and good
Yyt had I lever thow schedyst thi blood,
I-wysse, scheppe, than I. | 364 |
| Loo! fader, I have browt here full smerte
Thys jentyll scheppe,And hym to you I gyffe
But lord God, I thanke the with all my hart | 368 |
| For I am glad that I schall leve,
And kys onys my dere moder. | 372 |
| ABRAHAM. Now be rygth myry, my swete chyld,
For thys qwyke best that ys so myld,
Here I schall present before all other. | |
| YSAAC. And I wyll fast begynne to blowe
Thys fyer schall brene a full good spyd;
But, fader, wyll I stowppe downe lowe,
Ye wyll not kyll me with yowr sword, I trowe? | 376 |

| My mornyng ys past, | | | |
|---|---------|--|--|
| YSAAC. Ya! but I woold that sword wer in a glad,
For i-wys, fader, yt make me full yll a-gast. | | | |
| | | | |
| [Here Abraham mad hys offryng, knelyng and seyyng thus: | | | |
| ABRAHAM. Now lord God of hevyn in Trynyte,
Allmyty god omnipotent, | 384 | | |
| My offeryng I make in the worchope of the, | | | |
| And with thys qweke best I the present. | | | |
| Lord reseyve thow myn intent. | 388 | | |
| As art god and grownd of our grace. | | | |
| DEUS. Abraham, Abraham, wyll mot thow sped, | | | |
| And Ysaac, thi yowng son the by,
Truly, Abraham, for thys dede, | 200 | | |
| I schall multyplye yowres botheres sede | 392 | | |
| As thyke as sterres be in the skye, | | | |
| Bothe more and lesse; | | | |
| And as thyke as gravell in the see, | 396 | | |
| So thyke multyplyed your sede schall be, | | | |
| Thys grant I yow for yowr goodnesse. | | | |
| Off yow schall cume frowte gret,
And ever be in blysse with owt yynd, | 100 | | |
| For γ e drede me as God a-lon, | 400 | | |
| And kepe my commawmentes everyschon. | | | |
| My blyssyng I geffe, wer so ever ye goo. | | | |
| ABRAHAM. Loo, Ysaac, my son, how thynke ye, | 404 | | |
| Be thys warke that we have wrogth, | | | |
| Full glad and blythe we may be | | | |
| Agens the wyll of God that we grucched nott, | 10.44 M | | |
| Upon thys fayer hetth. | 408 | | |
| YSAAC. A! fader, I thanke our lord every dell, | | | |
| That my wyt servyd me so wyll, | | | |
| For to drede God more than my detth. | Sec. | | |
| ABRAHAM. Why! dere-wordy son, wer thow a-dred?
Hardely, chyld, tell me thy lore. | 412 | | |

BROME PLAY OF ABRAHAM AND ISAAC. 175

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ABRAHAM. Noo, harly, swet son have no dred,

| YSAAC. | Ya, be my feyth, fader, now hath I red, | |
|--------|--|-----|
| | I wos never soo afrayd before, | |
| | As I have byn at yyn hyll. | 416 |
| | But be my feyth, fader, I swere | |
| | I wyll never more cume there | |
| | But yt be a-gens my wyll. | |
| ABRAH | AM. Va, cum on with me, my owyn swet sonn, | 420 |
| 1 | And hom-ward fast now let us goon. | |
| YSAAC. | Be my feyth, fader, ther-to I grant, | |
| 1 | had never so good wyll to gon hom, | |
| | And to speke with my dere moder. | 424 |
| ABRAH. | AM. A! lord of hevyn, I thanke the, | |
| I | For now may I led hom with me | |
| 1 | Ysaac, my yownge sonn so fre, | |
| | The gentyllest chyld above all other. | 428 |
| | Thys may I wyll a-voee. | |
| 1 | Now goo we forthe, my blyssyd sonn. | |
| YSAAC. | I grant, fader, and let us gon, | |
| I | For be my trowthe wer I at home, | 432 |
| I | wold never gon owt under that forme. | |
| I | prey God geffe us grace ever mo, | |
| A | And all thow that we be holdyng to. | |

NOTES.

YORK PLAY.

SUBJECT.—The Creation of the Universe and the Fall of Lucifer form the subject of a play, or part of a play, in each of the four great cycles. The versions followed by the different authors and by the writer of the *Cursor Mundi* exhibit only trifling differences, the chief of which are recorded in the notes. The York Play on this subject may certainly claim pre-eminence over its rivals. It is full of dramatic vigour, and is pervaded by a certain homely grandeur of style, which contrasts very effectively with the baldness of the Coventry playwright or the turgidity of the Chester.

DIALECT.—The dialect in which the York Plays were written was the Northumbrian, but the language of the plays as they have come down to us is strongly affected by the influence of a Midland scribe. Note, however, the Northern a for o in formaste, ane, awne, etc., the Northern form of the second person singular in thu has, thou lyes, thou was, the plural in s after the substantival subject,

Thi dedes to this dole nowe *has* dyghte us (l. 109), and again the imperative plural in *es* (the pronoun being absent),

Bothe the nighte and the day, does dewly yhour deyver.

Note also the present participles in *and*, *ande*, and the Northern forms *als*, *whilke*, *slyke*, *gyf*, *sall*, etc.

METRE.—The metre of this play, like that of the fortieth and forty-fifth, consists of eight-line stanzas, of which the first quatrain rimes abab with four beats to the line, the second quatrain cddc, with three beats. Each line is alliterative on three stressed syllables at least. TEXT.—The text of this play is taken from the editio princeps with the following title:

'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, Now first printed from the unique manuscript in the Library of Lord Ashburnham. Edited with introduction and glossary by Lucy Toulmin Smith. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1885.'

Ego sum Alpha et O., &.c. This is compounded of two texts: Rev. i. 8, 'I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the ending,' and John xiv. 6, 'I am the way, the truth, and the life.' The Towneley, Coventry and Chester Plays quote only from the Revelation.

3. Way unto welth wynnyng: i.e. way winning, or leading, unto wealth (well-being).

5. My blyssyng o ble sall be blendyng, & c.: my blessing shall be blinding of aspect, and when it descends a protection from harm.

17. But onely the worthely warke, &-c.: i.e. but my spirit shall breathe my might only into the worthy work of my will.

23. Nyen ordres of aungels. The nine orders are thus summed up in the corresponding Chester play—

> Lord, through thy mighte thon haste us wroughte Nine orderes heare, that we maye see

Cherubyn and Seraphyn through thy grace,

Thrones and domenaciones in blesse to be.

With principates that order brighte

And potestates in blissful lighte,

Alsoe vertutes through thy greate mighte,

Angell, also arckeangele.

The Cursor Mundi says

Of angels wald he served be That suld of ordres haf thris thre, He ches til him that lauerd hend The men suld mak the ordre tend.

Cotton MS., 429-432.

But in the Towneley Play the tenth order was originally composed of the Angels who afterwards forfeited their place, for the *Primus demon* in reproaching Lucifer says—

Thou has maide IX, there was X.

So also in Cædmon.

25. *Nexile*: 'an exile, *s*. aisle, from Lat. axilla, a detached part of the structure of the world; here seems to be confounded with *isle*.' (Note in Miss Smith's Glossary, *York Plays*, p. 546.)

28. And that welth sall welde, & c.: i.e. and [they] that shall enjoy well-being shall dwell in these habitations.

32. Be put : i. e. that they be put.

49. Markide : i.e. is made conspicuous.

71. Me nedes: i.e. I have no need to trouble myself in any way.

92. Owe! dewes! all goes downe: Lucifer's self-gratulation is here cut short by his fall from heaven. In the Cursor Mundi and in the Towneley and Chester Plays his sin is represented as more heinous than that of mere boasting.

Thus in the Cursor we read-

'Sette,' he said, 'mi sete I sal Gain him that heist es of all: In the north side it sal be sette, O me servis sal he non gette, Qui suld I him servis yeild? Al sal be at myn auen weild.'

Cotton MS., 457-462.

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And in the Plays Lucifer seats himself in God's throne.

106. All oure fode es but filth, we fynde us beforn: i.e. all the food we find before us is but filth.

124, 25. Thi rightwysnes, &-c.: I supply [redes] and [it] as suggested by Dr. Kölbing, and adopt his punctuation.

134. Than thoght tham: 'Thai thoght tham' would mean 'they thought themselves,' and 'tham thoght thai weren,' it seemed to them they were,' but 'tham thoght tham' is loose grammar.

142. Before : i.e. in point of time.

NOTES TO CHESTER PLAYS.

CHESTER PLAYS.

I. NOAH'S FLOOD.

SUBJECT.—The Building of the Ark, the entrance into it of Noah and his Wife, and the Flood, were among the most popular subjects in the Miracle Cycles. In addition to the York, Towneley, Coventry, and Chester plays, a Newcastle play acted by the Shipwrights' Gild is still preserved, and is printed in Brand's History of Newcastle, vol. ii. In the *Miller's Tale* of Chaucer, where a clerk persuades a foolish carpenter to pass the night in a basket slung from a window in preparation for a second flood, there are naturally many allusions to Noah. See especially lines 348-357.

> 'Hastow nat herd how saved was Noe, Whan that our Lord had warned him biforn That al the world with watir schulde be lorn?' 'Yis,' quod this carpenter, 'ful yore ago.' 'Hastow nought herd,' quod Nicholas, 'also The sorwe of Noë with his felaschipe, That he hadde or he gat his wyf to schipe? Him hadde wel lever, I dar wel undertake, At thilke tyme, than alle his wetheres blake, That sche hadde hadde a schip hirself alone.'

The Flood is treated at great length in the alliterative poem on Noah and in the *Cursor Mundi* (ll. 1625-2000), but there is no allusion there to the obstinacy of Noah's wife.

METRE.—Stanzas of eight lines, for the most part riming aaab cccb, but occasionally aaab aaab. The fourth and eighth lines have only three beats, the rest four. There is much use of alliteration.

TEXT.—The Chester Plays have come down to us in five manuscripts, all transcribed within fifteen years, and all late. The earliest, written in 1591 by 'Edward Gregorie, a scholar of Bunbury,' is now in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, by whose kindness the present editor has had the use of it for this edition. The next two transcripts were made by George Bellin in 1592 and 1600 respectively. These are both in the British Museum, MS. Add. 10,305 and Harl. 2013. The fourth copy is in the Bodleian (MS. 175); it was written by William Bedford in 1604. The fifth and last, dated 1607, was the work of James Miller, and this also is in the British Museum (Harl. 2124). As to the relations of the five MSS. all that can be said here is that the transcripts of 1592 (here called B) and 1607 (E) show, especially in this play, most striking differences, and that the Devonshire MS. (A) is a link between them, though nearer to B than to E. Harl. 2013 and Bod. 175 belong to the same group as B and are of no great importance. For the present edition I have followed Wright's Shakespeare Society edition (1843), and take my text from B; but with important corrections from A and E, and a long passage for which E is our sole authority. In 1892 the E. E. T. S. issued the first half of the late Dr. Deimling's critical edition, the text of which is based on E.

I. I, God, that all this worlde hath wrought: 'hath' for 'have' through the interposition of the word 'God.'

4. Are sette fowle in synne : C reads 'Are fowle sotted.'

5. My ghoste shall not linge in mone... but tell, & c.: my spirit shall only (not... but) continue in man for six score years. Cp. Gen. vi. 3.

8. They: here and in ll. 11, 201, 204, written the in B.

10. Fowle to flye: gerundial infinitive, cp. ll. 57, 58, a hacchette wounder keyne to bitte well.

11. They doe me nye, The Folke, & c.: 'for on earth they, the folk that are thereon, do me wrong.' This seems better than to omit (with Wright) the comma after 'nye,' when we must render: 'for they cause me to harm the folk that are thereon.'

15. Hartelye. A and E read 'inwardlie,' but see Gen. vi. 6. 17. My servante free: 'free,' i.e. noble.

19. The directions here given are paraphrased from Gen. vi. 14-16: 'Make thee an ark of gopher wood (treeyes dry and light, l. 20); rooms (littill chamberes, l. 21) shalt thou make in the ark, and shalt pitch it within and without with pitch (ll. 22-24). And this is the fashion which thou shalt make it of: the length of the ark shall be three hundred cubits, the breadth of it fifty cubits, and the height of it thirty cubits (ll. 25-28). A window shalt thou make to the ark, and in a cubit shalt thou finish it above (ll. 29-30); and the door of the ark shalt thou set in the side thereof (ll. 3I-32); with lower, second and third stories (three rowfed chamberes on a roe, l. 34) shalt thou make it.'

21. Thou make : imperative.

27. The meete thou fonge: take thou the measure. 'Meete' is the reading of MS. A, for 'nexte' of B, and 'melt' of E. The height as given in Genesis is thirty cubits, not fifty (E) or sixty (A).

31. A dore shall sit: i.e. shall be placed. This is the reading of E and rimes with 'wytte' and 'itt.' A and B both read 'sutte,' the northern spelling of 'shutte.'

34. Three rowfed chamberes on a roe. These do not answer to the 'rooms' of Gen. vi. 14, but to the 'lower, second and third stories' of verse 16. 'Rowfed' is the reading of E, and shows 'ronette' of A and D to be a mistake for 'rovette,' a northern spelling of the same word. C reads 'round,' and gives us also 'on a roe' instead of the senseless 'one or two' of the other MSS.

35. *Slowe*: i.e. slay, is the reading of E and superior to 'flowe' (?=flood) of the other manuscripts.

40. Saved be for thy sake: another reading from E instead of the senseless 'shall fall before thy face,' which loses the rime with 'make' in 1. 36.

42. To me arte in such will : art so minded towards me.

43. house, B 'howseholde.'

50. Hye you, leste this watter fall. E reads 'Helpe for aughte that may befall.'

75. Every stiche : i.e. every stick. B 'with stiche.'

93. Toppe-castill: a ledging surrounding the masthead.

94. With cordes and roppes, I hold all meete, E; the other MSS. read: 'Bouth cordes and roppes I have all meete.'

115. For non soe righteous man to me: (to me, i.e. in my sight) A and E. 'For non soe righte, nor non to me,' B.

113-124. Cp. Gen. vii. 1-3.

115-133. Cp. Gen. vi. 19-21.

125. more, B 'moe.'

131. Forgetten, B 'forgotten.'

137-144. Cp. Gen. vii. 4.

145. bayne, B 'beane.'

151. *Yf through amendment*, &-c.: i.e. to see if—an explanation of his slowness. The 'hundred wynter and twentye' of line 149 are a repetition of the 'six skore yeaires' of line 7, both being taken from Genesis vi. 3. But according to Genesis v. 32 Noah was apparently over five hundred before the Ark was begun, and according to Genesis vii. 6 only six hundred when it was finished. The writer reckons by the 'long hundred.'

152. unto, B 'to.'

155. That iich beaste were in stalle: a wish; cf. Ch². 388, 'And sone that I were speede.'

170. Fullimartes : i.e. polecats, A ; 'fulmart,' E. 'Fillie, mare also,' B, which clashes with 'horses, mares,' &c. of l. 162.

187. Cuckoes, curlues, &-c. For 'cuckoes' we have in B 'Duckes,' but our reading is supported both by its alliteration and by the occurrence in l. 189 of 'digges, drackes.'

Who ever knowes. Perhaps we should only regard this as a loose way of saying 'for anyone who knows to see,' or 'as any one knows;' but lines 189-191 may be taken as explanatory of 'iche one in his kinde,' and the construction be completed by line 192.

206. But, 'unless'; elles, redundant.

207. Nowe. A and E unite in reading Noe in preference to this ('Els rowe forth Noe whether the liste'). B thy for thee.

220. There without: substituted, to save rime and sense, on the authority of A and E, for the 'their all daye' of B.

225. Fleetinge : i.e. floating, AE ; 'flitting,' B.

226. Spreades full ferre (B'farre'). The transcriber of E, or his authority, not recognising that the metre of the Gossippes Song is different from that of the rest of the play, has altered these words to 'it breadeth (broadens) in haste,' in order to preserve the triple rime with 'faste' and 'agaste.' Again in line 228 he reads : 'Good gossip, let me come in.'

233. *Heare is a pottill, &-c.* This and the three following lines are omitted by E. It will be noted that they are metrically an excrescence.

238. Childer: retained by A only; other MSS. 'children.'

244. nought, B 'note.'

246. Have thou that for thy note! We are to understand that Shem has carried his mother by force into the boat, and that she is replying to her husband's sarcastic welcome with a blow. The reading 'note' (use) makes good sense, and contains a possible pun: it is supported by A and B. But there is much to be said for the 'mote' (argument, speech) which is found in E.

249. *Remeves*: i.e. removes, moves away, AE. 'Renewes' of B is plainly a scribes error.

257. Shutte, AB; steake, E.

259. So greate one, AE; so greate wone, B.

[261*-398*.] The following forty-eight lines are given only by E. As they closely follow the Bible narrative [Gen. viii. 6 sqq.], and supply what in the other texts is an obvious lacuna, while the *naïveté* of the stage directions is an additional argument for their genuineness, I have no hesitation in printing them.

275^{*}. Stage direction: 'Then shall he let loose a dove and there shall be in the ship another dove bearing an olive in her mouth, which some one shall let down [the verb should plainly be *demittet*] by a string into the hands of Noah.'

299*. Soe be, text 'be soe.'

305^{*}. Comes in all wise. 'Comes,' the northern imperative plural; cp. does Y. 156. 'All wise': by all means.

263. Wher all was [lorne] salfe to be. I have ventured thus to emend, despite the agreement of the MSS. in favour of 'borne.' For 'salfe,' A; safe, E; MS. B reads 'false.'

268. And full devocion : so AB, but in E the line appears as 'I offer here right sone.'

270. Thy, AE; to my, B.

276. Has, AE; halfe, B.

278. And, AE; on, B.

292. Lete, B leave.

293. Flee, B fleye.

296. *Mankinde*: the rime in l. 300 shows that the original reading was probably 'mankynne.'

305-7. Heste, beste, leste, B heiste, beste, last.

311. Verey, AE; every, B.

313, 4. That man ne woman, AE; in B the line limps haltingly as, 'man shall never more.' To make up for this the next line is much too long, 'Be wasted with watter, as he hath been before.' I follow A in omitting 'he' and 'bene,' elliptical expressions being common in these plays. E reads: 'as is before.'

318. Ilke, AE ; same, B.

II. THE SACRIFICE OF ISAAC.

SUBJECT.—Five other English miracle-plays on this subject have been handed down to us. Of these the least interesting is that of the Coventry series, in which Isaac bows at once to

his fate, and the story is told as baldly as possible. Better than this, but still with the omission of much of the small incident and by-play of our text, is the short Towneley version. In the York Play the charm of the story is marred by the unhappy freak of making Isaac thirty years of age, apparently that in this also he should be a type of Christ. In a Dublin play (15th century), printed by J. P. Collier in 1836 from a manuscript in Trinity College, Dublin, the distinguishing features are the introduction of Rebecca and the longer speeches assigned to Deus. The fifth version is that first printed by Miss Toulmin Smith in Anglia, Band vii. pp. 323-337, from a 15th century MS. found at Brome in Suffolk. This play has especial interest for us, not only on account of its intrinsic merit, but from the strong resemblance of its lines 164-314 to the corresponding 134 lines in the Chester version. This resemblance, sometimes of phrase, sometimes only of meaning, is interrupted by occasional passages in the Brome MS., which have no equivalents in the Chester. Apparently both editors worked upon a common original, but the Chester poet compressed the more freely, and in so doing greatly heightened the effect of the dialogue. But he shewed poor taste in omitting the charming scene between the Father and the Son after their agony is over, and I give this in full in an Appendix. It is possible, however, that the Chester Play has come down to us mutilated. It was plainly at one time a separate play, and when amalgamated with that of Abraham and Lot may well have been cut down for greater convenience of performance.

230. Doe a littill thinge: i.e. 'go about a little piece of business,' but the phrase seems to have had some liturgical associations; cp. Chaucer's Knightes Tale, 1435, of Emily's sacrifice to Diana—

Two fyres on the auter gan sche beete, And dide hire thinges, as men may biholde;

and in the same way 'said her thinges' is used for 'said her prayers.'

265. [Affearde] . . . [swerde]. Following Wright, I thus emend 'afrayde'... 'sworde' of the MSS.

268. You will not slaye your childe. The fine scene which follows, perhaps the most pathetic in our older literature, was doubtless suggested to the dramatist by the consideration that

Isaac, as a type of Christ, must have been a willing sacrifice. The author of the *Cursor Mundi* had no such inspiration.

'Sir,' he said, 'quer sal we take The beist of sacrifice to make, Sin we wit us now broght has nan.' He said, 'drightin sal send us an.' Wit this he stod the child nerhand And dernlike [privily] he drou the brand That the child was not parceveid Ar the suerd him hade deceveid.

Cotton MS., 3165-72.

271. [Steade]; fyelde, A; feilde, B; stydd, E.

281. I praie thee... even in three. Here A and E give us the true reading for B's unmetrical

Isaake, sonne, peace I thee praie Thou breakes my harte in sunder.

299. If it maye be: after 'she woulde kneele downe' the regular construction here requires 'might,' which is actually the reading of E. But the present tense is full of dramatic vividness.

300. Dr. Kölbing points out that a half stanza has here been lost, and that we may supply three lines of it from the Brome MS. 178-80:

And sythyn that my moder ys not here

I pray yow, fader, schonge yowr chere,

And kyll me not with yowyr knyffe.

314. Will not quite me in my nede, B; quite me my meede, AE; the latter reading is perhaps slightly the better. Neither takes a very high view of Abraham's motive.

319. Onste. Wright misread this as 'ouste,' a word probably not in use at this time. A and E read 'once.'

333. My blessinge, &-c. These four lines are printed from A and E. In B (followed by Wright) they do not appear.

335. The blessing of the Trinitie. Allusion to the Holy Trinity are frequent in plays on Old Testament subjects.

336. Grylle should rime with *lighte*. Perhaps we should read gryghte, murmur (from grucchen).

369. [Yinge]; yonge, MSS.

378. Thou greved me [n] ever ones: Dr. Kölbing's emendation from Brome MS. 270 ('In all thy lyffe thou grevyd me neuer onys'); thou greves me ever ones, B; thou greeves me every ones, A; thou greved me but ones, E.

388. And sone that I were speede : a wish, cp. C. L. 155.

391. A litill while, while you have space. B omits the first 'while,' rather to the improvement of the sense. But the word is more likely to have dropped out in B than to have been repeated in A and E, and is needed for the sake of the metre.

397. I woulde fayne . . . Full loth were me: the subtle indication by the tenses that Abraham's resolution is faltering is worth noting.

411. I praye you rydd me. This reading (from A), though less forcible than the 'I praye God rydd me' of E, is supported by the Brome MS. The disputed word is omitted altogether in B.

435. Into this place as thou se may. Only given in E. Not a good line, but needed for the metre.

446. ever: pronounced as 'e'er.'

447. To teare, AB; E weakly reads 'so deare.'

454. And thy bloode, AE; and of thy bloode, B; but the reference is plainly to Gen. xxii. 17, 'and thy seed shall possess the gate of his enemies.'

456. To do, AE; And do, B.

457. And of all nacions, & c. I leave the text of this and the three following lines as it stands in B because it makes good sense, without any emendation, viz. that Abraham is to be blessed of all nations and himself to be saved by his descendant, Christ. But the text followed is plainly Gen. xxii. 18: 'And in thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed.' Now in 1. 458 AE omit *thou*, in 1. 459 they read *The* for *Through*, and in the 1. 460 omit *be*.

And of all nations, leve thou me, Blessed evermore shall be The fruite that shall come of thee, And saved through thy seede.

The stanza is thus much closer to Gen. xxii. 18, but contains a most awkward change of construction in the last line.

466. In example, AE; An example, B.

473. Understande I maie, AE ; I maie understande, B.

476. And death for to confounde, AB; his death to underfonge,

E. Neither reading, it will be observed, supplies a rime to l. 472. 477. Suche obedience, &.c. The remaining stanzas are not given in E.

485. Make rombe, lordinges, &*c. Spoken by the herald of the next play, probably on horseback.

NOTES TO TOWNELEY PLAY.

TOWNELEY PLAY.

SECUNDA PASTORUM.

SUBJECT.-We have in all six plays treating of the Adoration of the Holy Child by the Shepherds ; two in the Towneley Cycle. which must have been used as alternatives; one each in those of York, Chester and Coventry; and a single play acted by the Shearmen and Taylors of Coventry, probably a part of the lost Cycle of the Trade Gilds of that town. The Shepherds of the Coventry (Grey Friars?) Cycle are distinguished from their fellows by their superior learning, by their dulness and their abstinence from gifts. In the other plays the Shepherds are all genuine rustics, rough in their talk and manners, but full of real devotion. They talk of their sheep, eat their poor meals, wrestle (as in the Chester Play) with their lad and are ignominiously beaten, try to imitate the angels' song, and then betake them to Bethlehem, there to offer their humble gifts. All these features appear in the Towneley Play, but inwoven with them is a genuine farce, which makes it of a great importance in the history of the development of the English drama.

DIALECT.-In the main that of the West Riding of Yorkshire.

METRE.—A very vivacious stanza of thirteen, with two and three accents to a line, riming abababababdddc. This metre runs through five of the Towneley Plays and appears in four others. Couplets, alternates, and other metres appear in the rest of the plays. There is much alliteration.

TEXT.—The MS. of the Towneley Plays (now in the possession of Mr. Quaritch) was originally copied and collated in 1836 for the Surtees Society. The extracts here given are taken from the Early English Text Society's forthcoming edition.

. 11. Nere handes outt of the doore : nearly homeless.

13. Lyys falow: i.e. because they could not afford to cultivate them.

20. Fest thay cause the ploghe tary: they make the plough stick fast—a contrast to the old toast 'Speed the Plough.'

28. May he gett a paynt slefe, & c. In the days of Sumptuary Laws an embroidered sleeve would presumably betoken a man of rank.

32. He can make purveance. Purveyance was the right of purchasing provisions and necessaries for the royal household at an arbitrary price in preference to any other buyer. The first of forty statutes against it was made by Canute, but the right was not finally surrendered till 1660. On a smaller scale it would be practised by every feudal lord.

289. Bot aboute you a serkylle. Mak (a character who is probably adapted from the favourite comic character, the conjurer and buffoon Maugis of the Romance of the Four Sons of Aymon), like a rustic magician, draws an imaginary circle round the Shepherds, in which they are to sleep until his theft is done and his protestations of innocence ready prepared.

294. Over your heydes, & c.: by way of a charm.

309. I hope not I myght ryse a penny to wyn: I have no expectation of making anything by getting up.

314. There may no note be sene, & c.: such small jobs prevent my having any work to show.

317. A, com in, my swetyng : she recognizes her husband.

341. Then myght I by far alle the pak, & c.: then might I fare much the worse at the hands of all the pack.

587. Fowlle has thou farne: a scoff at the Shepherds' unsuccessful search of the house.

598. We wate ill abowte : we are waiting about to no purpose. Primus Pastor has not yet discovered Mak's trick.

602. Kynde wille crepe, & c. A proverb ; cp. Everyman, l. 315. 614. I am he that hym gatt. Mak now pretends that the sheep is a changeling put in place of his child.

634. With you wille I be left: I will stand by your judgment.
639. And cast hym in canvas: i.e. they toss Mak in a blanket.

642. A shepe of vii skore : i.e. of seven score pounds.

655. Ther lyges that fre. For the use of 'free' as a substantive (=noble fellow), cp. York Play of the Entry into Jerusalem, 1, 183-

And than we will go mete that free;

also 'To that bright' in l. 716 of the present play. In the York Play of the *Shepherds*, the Holy Child is called 'that frely foode.'

667. *How he crakyd it*: 'crakyd,' sang out loud (M. E. craken, to cry out: cp. 'corn-crake'), occurs in the York Play, where one of the Shepherds, after imitating the angels' song, says—

I have so craked in my throte That my lippes are nere drye. 671. I can: so Pastor Primus in the York Play, says— I can synge itt alls wele as hee And on a-saie itt sall be sone proved or we passe. Yf we will helpe, halde on! late see, for thus it was.

And the Shepherds all sing together. In the Chester Play, on the other hand, Pastor Primus modestly remarks,

He hade a moche better voyce than I have,

As in heaven all other have so.

685. By the prophecy of David and Isay. In the Processus Prophetarum in the Towneley Plays the prophets who appear are Moses, David, the Sibyl and Daniel, but the play has some signs of being imperfect. In the Coventry Play no less than twenty-seven prophets are made to bear their witness.

691. Citè virgo, &-c.: Isaiah vii. 14 (in the Vulgate: 'Ecce virgo concipiet et pariet filium, et vocabitur nomen ejus Emmanuel').

703. Patriarkes, & c. : cp. Luke x. 24.

729. A bob of cherys. Only the Shepherds of the Coventry Cycle bring no gifts; in the other plays some imagination is shewn in the choice of rustic presents. Thus in the first Towneley Play the gifts are a 'lytyll spruse cofer,' a ball and a bottle; in the York, a brooch with a tin bell, 'two cobill notis uppon a band' (cob-nuts on a riband), and a horn spoon that will hold forty peas. In the Chester Play double gifts are offered, a bottle, hood and shepherd's pipe by the 'Boys,' and a bell, spoon and cap by the Shepherds. In the Coventry Play of the Shearmen and Taylors, the gifts are a pair of mittens, a hat, and a stick for hooking down nuts or plums.

735-36. Haylle lytyll tyne mop, Of oure crede thou art crop. These phrases are repeated from the corresponding scene in the Prima Pastorum.

747. The tenys. Tennis was a fashionable game in France at the end of the 14th century (cp. the Dauphin's gift of tennis balls to our Henry V.), and was well known in England and Scotland about the same time. In the romance of *The Turke* and Gawin it is alluded to as having been played by Arthur's Knights!

Thou shalt see a tennisse ball, That never knight in Arthur's hall Is able to give it a lout.

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749. That sett alle on seven: that put all things in order. The phrase is repeated from the *Prima Pastorum*, in an earlier part of which it occurs slightly altered as 'to cast the world in seven.' In the play of *Magnus Herodes* the King threatens to 'sett alle on sex and seven.'

765. Let take on loft: let us deliver on high, let us sing out loudly.

COVENTRY PLAY.

THE SALUTATION AND CONCEPTION.

SUBJECT.—There is no counterpart to this play in any of the other cycles, and it is to this fact rather than to any special merit, whether literary or dramatic, that its selection is due. We have here a personification of the heavenly virtues of Truth, Mercy, Justice and Peace, and we thus advance a step towards the dramatic allegory of the earliest Morality Plays, such as the *Castell of Perseverance*, which ends with a precisely similar scene.

METRE.—This play is written throughout ¹ in stanzas of eight lines, riming ababbcbc, with the occasional substitution of two more A-rimes for the Cs in the second quatrain. This very undramatic metre runs through eleven of the Coventry Plays and appears also in twelve others. The chief variation from it is a still longer stanza, riming ababababcdddc.

DIALECT.—The chief scribal peculiarity is the appearance of x in such words as xal, xulde, etc. According to Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps this is in harmony with the traditional attribution of the Cycle to Coventry, or its neighbourhood, but xal, xulde, etc. are usually associated with the East-Midland dialect, and I have elsewhere stated my belief in the East-Midland origin of this Cycle.

TEXT.—The text of this extract is taken from Mr. Halliwell-Phillipps' edition for the Shakespeare Society, the title of which runs as follows :

'Ludus Coventriae. A collection of mysteries formerly represented at Coventry on the Feast of Corpus Christi. Edited by James Orchard Halliwell. London: printed for the Shakespeare Society, 1841.'

¹ There are three half-stanzas of four lines each.

The proofs have been read with the unique Manuscript in the Cottonian Collection at the British Museum, dated 1468.

1. Flowre thowsand sex undryd foure. (The MS. adds yere, but see l. 3.) As there are nearly 200 computations of the number of years between the Creation of Man and Birth of Christ it is hardly worth enquiring to whom this particular calculation should be credited. It is six hundred years longer than the reckoning of Archbishop Usher (4004 years), now usually inserted in Bibles. According to Jewish chronologists the length of the period is 3992 years, according to the Samaritan 4293, while other calculations vary between 3483 and 6984.

7. Seyd by Ysaie : Isaiah lxiii. 15.

10. Into erthe: a rime is wanted to 'fede.' We should rather read 'this stede,' and explain 'erthe' as a gloss.

13. Thi thryste: for 'thi' we should have expected 'their.'

21. Balys. Mr. Halliwell suggested this as an emendation and in deference to his authority I have so marked it. But the word in the MS. looks to me far more like 'balys' than 'babys.'

25. Quod Jeremye : Jerem. ix. I.

38. That ben in the fyrst ierarchie : see note to York, 1. 23.

48. Of Locyfere to restore the place : see note to York, l. 23.

49. Propter miseriam, & c. : Ps. xii. 5.

71. Thou hast lovyd trewthe : Heb. i. 9.

85. Veritas mea, & c.: Ps. lxxxv. 10.

87. Byddyth: imperative, 'Cry "Ho" to that hell-hound who hates thee.' Cp. Chaucer, Knightes Tale, 1796-98.

And when that Theseus hadde seen his sighte,

Unto the folk that foughten thus echon

He cryde, 'Hoo! no more, for it is doon.'

93. Therefore his endles punchement. The argument is that because God is eternal, i.e. with an existence not conditioned by time, therefore any offence against Him partakes of His eternity, and provokes an eternal punishment.

95. The devyl to his mayster he ches. For the use of 'to' cp. Skelton's Magnificence, l. 1961-

I sende ofte times a fole to his sone.

107. Above : i.e. in a greater degree than.

108. He : i.e. man.

Be feyth he forsook hym never the more: i.e. though man fell into sin and so forsook God and presumed on His mercy (1. 109), none the less he retained his faith in God.

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NOTES TO MARY MAGDALENE.

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114. In vertuys: i.e. among angels of the order of Virtues to which Mercy and Justice belong.

134. Tyl wysdam : the heavenly Wisdom, or Christ.

MARY MAGDALENE.

SUBJECT.—The importance of this play consists chiefly in its union of all the essentials of every kind of religious and didactic drama. It is a miracle play, according to the current definition, as treating of the life and death of St. Mary Magdalene. It is a mystery play, by virtue of the introduction of scenes from the life of Christ. It is a morality play, as exhibiting the contest between good and evil, and as introducing upon the stage such abstract personages as the King of the Flesh.

Dr. Furnivall has divided the play, which has the least possible dramatic unity, into two parts, with twenty scenes in the first, and thirty-one in the second. The play must have been an expensive one to produce, as there are upwards of forty different characters in Part I. and twenty-six in Part II. Probably only two pageants were used for its representation, for several of the scenes appear to be inserted only to give time for a 'shift' on the other pageant. But if any attempt were made to depict the burning temple or the incidents of the voyage of the King and Queen of Marcylle, realistically, the resources at the command of the stage manager must have been extensive.

The story of the play is adapted, with very few variations, from the account of St. Mary Magdalene in the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacobus de Voragine, of which an English edition was published by Caxton in 1483. The identification of Mary Magdalene with Mary the sister of Lazarus was accepted by Gregory the Great, and being supported by his authority was hardly questioned until the 16th century.

DIALECT.—According to Dr. Furnivall the dialect of the play is East-Midland, probably from the neighbourhood of Lynn in Norfolk, or from Lincolnshire. The most notable dialectal and scribal forms are xal (shall) and qwat (what).

METRE.—The metre is very irregular. It seems to have originally been written in 8- or 9-line stanzas, and to have remained so now and then. Other stanzas, alternates and couplets, also occur. The line numbers which are taken from Dr. Furnivall's edition, show them to some extent. Pt. II. is mainly in alternates.

TEXT.—The text here given is from Dr. Furnivall's edition of the *Digby Mysteries* (see Introduction) for the New Shakspere Society. The Bodleian manuscript in which these plays are preserved was the work of three different hands, but the greater part was probably written between 1480 and 1490.

54. Besyn of all other men: for the use of 'of' after 'besyn' (beseen) cp. I Cor. xv. 5, 'And that He was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve.'

55. Cyrus is my name. The following is the account of the Magdalene's parentage in the Legenda Aurea:

'Mary Magdalene had her surname of magdalo a castell | and was borne of right noble lygnage and parentes | whiche were descended of the lygnage of kynges | And her fader was named Sirus & her moder eucharye | She wyth her broder lazare & her suster martha possessed the castel of magdalo: whiche is two myles fro nazareth | & bethanye the castel whiche is nygh to Iherusalem and also a grete parte of Iherusalem, whiche al thise thynges they departed amonge theym in suche wyse that marye had the castelle magdalo. whereof she had her name magdalene | And lazare had the parte of the cytee of Iherusalem : and martha had to her parte bethanye.'

Legenda Aurea. Second Edition (1493), f. 184, ver. 80. 55. Be cleffys so cold: a meaningless tag; cp. 'in contree and cost,' l. 1212.

60. Bothe lesse and more: i.e. the whole of it; cp. l. 1202. For 'more' and 'sore' we should read 'mare' and 'sare.'

84. Whyll that I am in good mynd: i.e. in my right senses, in full possession of my faculties.

89-91. Hys wyll... a-gens hem. There is here a confusion of pronouns past any certain unravelling. 'Agens hem' (i.e. with respect to them) probably refers to Lazarus' sisters.

93. Thatt God of pes. For 'Thatt' we should probably read 'Thou.'

106. To your grace : to your honour or credit.

269. Bak and syde: a phrase for the whole body, as in the famous drinking song, 'Back and side, go bare, go bare.'

285. In-wyttissymus. Dr. Furnivall glosses this word in his margin as 'infinitissimus,' most infinite; but it clearly stands for 'invictissimus,' most unconquered.

288. *He to bryng us*: the construction is altered at the end of the line and the pronoun repeated.

299. Thys castell is owerys: the reply of Martha shows that in 'ours,' Lazarus is using the royal plural. In l. 81 the 'castell' had been given to Mary, and in l. 303 she seems to claim it as hers.

308. And that I jugge me to skryptur: and as to this I refer my claim to Scripture.

359. Satan ower sovereyn : ? for 'yower sovereyn.'

362. At my ryall retynawns : in my royal train.

377. We xal hyrre wynne. This is the first intimation that the attack is to be specially against the Magdalen.

476. Wynne of mawt, &c. Even with the aid of Henderson's Ancient and Modern Wines it is difficult to identify all the different varieties mentioned in the lists in which medieval taverners delighted. Wine of Mawt is possibly Maltese wine rather than wine made from malted barley; Malmeseyn came from Malvasia in the Morea; 'clarry' wine (vin doulce et clarré) was red or white wine seasoned with honey (cp. Chaucer, Knightes Tale, 613); it seems to have been a mixture made as required, as opposed to 'claret' which was manufactured. 'Gyldyr' is Guelder; 'Galles,' Galicia; 'at the grome' stands for 'at the Groine,' the port in Spain. 'Wyan' is our English way of writing 'Guyenne'; 'Vernage' a wine grown near Verona, and often mentioned, as in Chaucer's Merchant's Tale.

484. The fynnest thou hast. Note the change from the polite your and you, with which Satan addresses Mary, to his thou hast to the Taverner. So Harry Bailey speaks to the Shipman as thou and to the Prioress as you. In the dialogue in ll. 615-630 of this play, Simon addresses Christ as 'Ye' and is addressed by Him as Thou.

507. Lady, this man is for you: for you, at your service, cp. Much Ado, ii. 1. 387 ' My lord, I am for you, though it cost me ten nights' watching.'

590. Agens God so veryabyll. For 'against' meaning 'in regard to,' cp. Trevisa's tr. of Higden's Polych. vi. 'Merciable agenst pore men.'

610. *The prophett* : i.e. Christ, who, however, has not previously been mentioned.

612. Be the oyle of mercy. The softening and healing properties

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of oil have caused it to be regarded as symbolical of mercy and forgiveness; cp. its use in the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, and the legend, narrated in the *Cursor Mundi*, that Seth, when Adam lay dying, was sent to Paradise to seek the oil of mercy for him.

619. That thou wylt me knowe: because thou art minded to recognise Me.

638. With the to stond: the infinitive is probably explanatory of 'my hart and thowt' in the next line.

670. With good entent, text ' with good in entent.'

1140. *Mahond*: throughout the Miracle Plays Mahomet is the common god of all heathens; cp. in the Coventry Plays the speeches of the soldiers who guard the sepulchre :

PRIMUS MILES. My head dulleth.

My heart fulleth

Of sleep.

Saint Mahound,

This burying ground

Thou kepe.

'Secundus Miles' calls on 'Mahound Whelp' and the third soldier on 'Mahound of Might.'

1146. Lythly, chyld, it be natt delayd: i.e. it may not lightly be delayed.

1186. *Glabriosum*, &·c. It is impossible to extract any meaning out of this Mahound's Lesson, but the gibberish seems to have been intended to carry along with it a suggestion of bad words.

1200. Ragnell and Roffyn. In the Chester Plays of Antichrist, Antichristus at his death calls out :

> Helpe, Sathanas and Lucifier, Bellsabube, bolde Balacher,

Ragnell, Ragnell, thou arte my deare.

And in The Fall of Lucifer Primus Demon calls on

Ruffyne, my frinde fayer and free

Loke that thou kepe mankinde from blesse.

1377. Our lordes precepte, &-c. The story as given in the Aurea Legenda here shows some differences from the version adopted by the playwright. It runs as follows:

'Saint maxyme, marie magdalene: and lazar her brother martha her suster Marcelle chamberer of martha, and saint cedonye whiche was born blynde & after enlumyned of oure

lorde | alle these to gydre and many other crysten men were taken of the mescreauztes and put in to a shippe in the see without ony takell or rother for to be drowned, but by the puruyaunce of almyghty god they came all to marcelle | where as none wold receyue them to be lodged they duellyd and abode under a porche to fore a temple of the peple of that contree | And whan the blessyd marie magdalene sawe the peple assembled at this temple for to do sacrefyce to the ydollis she aroos vp pleasybly wyth a glad vysage & discrete tongue & well spekynge | And began to preche the faith and lawe of Jhesu cryst | and wythdrewe them fro the worshyppyng of thy dollis.'—*Legenda Aurea.* Second Edition (1493), f. 185.

1435. The lond of satyllye: Satalie (Attalia), part of Armenia, was the scene of one of the campaigns of Chaucer's Knight.

1540. *How plezeauntly they stond*: here the king points to his idols.

1553. Dominus, illuminacio mea : Ps. xxvii. 1.

THE CASTELL OF PERSEVERANCE.

SUBJECT.—The date of the *Castell of Perseverance*, which can scarcely be later than the middle of the reign of King Henry VI, is a full half-century earlier than that of any Morality yet printed in its entirety. A curious sketch at the beginning of the MS., reproduced in a plate facing p. 23 of Sharp's *Dissertation* on the Coventry Mysteries, gives us a good idea of the manner in which it was played and the machinery used for its performance.

'A reference to the plate,' writes Mr. Sharp, 'will shew a rude representation of a castle, raised some height from the ground, upon pillars or supports, and standing in the centre of a circle formed by two lines one within the other, in the space between which is written "+ this is the watyre a bowte the place, if any dycke may be mad ther it schal be pleyed; or ellys that it be strongly barryd al a bowte: & lete nowth over many stytelerys [marshalmen?] be withinne the plase¹." Over the castle we read: "This is the castel of perseveranse that stondyth in the myddys of the place; but lete no men sytte ther for lettynge of

¹ I write out the contractions in full.

syt, for ther schal be the best of all." Beneath the castle and within the supports to it stands a bed, below which are these words :—" Mankynde is bed schal be under the castel, & ther schal the sowle lye under the bed tyl he schal ryse & pleye." On each side of the castle is written the following direction:— " Coveytyse copbord schal be at the ende of the castel, be the beddys feet."

'On the outside of the circle five stations for scaffolds are marked out; beginning at the top we read: "Sowth, Caro skaffold—West, Mundus skaffold—Northe, Belyal skaffold— North Est, Coveytyse skaffold—Est deus skaffold." Underneath the circle are the following directions to the performers:—"& he that schal pley belyal, loke that he have gunne powder brennyng in pypys in his hands and in his ers [ears], etc. whanne he gothe to batayle...the iiij dowters schul be clad in mentelys, Mercy in wyth, rythwysnesse in red al togedyr, Trewthe in sad grene, & Pes al in blake, and they schul pleye in the place al to gedyr tyl they brynge up the sowle."

A week before the play was acted criers were sent round to the neighbouring villages proclaiming its subject, and announcing its performance 'this day sevennyt' 'at N on the grene in ryall aray.' The play begins with a conference between the World the Flesh and the Devil (Mundus, Caro and Belyal); and then Humanum Genus comes forth, apparently from under the bed, and begins as in our extract. From this point our quotations sufficiently indicate the course of the play until Humanum Genus enters the Castle of Perseverance, where he is besieged by the Seven Deadly Sins and defended by the Virtues in rather a dull war of words. At last Mankind is tempted forth from his Castle by wiles of Covetyse, the peculiar sin of old age. He is rewarded with a thousand marks, but a little later learns his folly on the arrival of Garcio, his heir, who demands from him everything he has. But his good angel once more draws near to his side. There is a dispute as in the Coventry Play between Misericordia, Veritas, Justicia and Pax, but God the Father (Pater sedens in trono) admits Mankind to mercy, and the play ends with a warning to the spectators 'Evyr at the begynnynge thynke on your last endinge.' [For remarks on the importance of this play see Introduction.]

METRE.—The greater part of the play is written in stanzas of 13 lines, riming ababababaccca, the ninth and thirteenth lines

having three accents, the rest four. But we find also a nineline stanza, riming ababcdddc; an eight-line stanza, with two accents to a line, riming aaabcccb, and other varieties.

TEXT.—The text of these extracts is based on a transcript from Mr. Hudson Gurney's MS., which has been very kindly placed at my disposal by Dr. Furnivall, for whom it was made some years ago, when he intended to edit it for the New Shakspere Society.

5-7. Lende ... lende. Here, as in Chaucer, who copies the French rule as to 'rimes riches' two words identically spelt may rime together if their meanings are different. Cp. Chaucer's *Prol.*

The holy blisful martir for to seeke [seek]

That hem hath holpen whan that they were seeke [sick].

11. 17, 18.

13. Whow mankende is unchende. 'Unchende' can only mean 'unkende,' unkind, unnatural; but the spelling is surprising and the sense hardly what is wanted. Prof. Skeat suggests 'unhende,' unserviceable, clumsy, as a possible emendation, and this exactly suits the sense.

16. I am born and have ryth nowth: i.e. now that I am born I have nothing, etc. It seems better to construe thus than to put a comma after 'wot' in l. 15, and connect together 'to woo and wepynge I am born.'

20. Crysme. The 'chrism' or 'chrisom-cloth' was properly a white cloth placed by the baptizing priest on the head of an infant to prevent the holy oil from rubbing off. It was afterwards enlarged into a white robe covering the whole body, as a token of the innocency conferred in baptism; but the words 'my hed hath cawth' show that the reference here is to the original chrisom-cloth.

28. The ton. The apparent doubling of the article is really a survival of the old *thet on*, that one; cp. l. 38, Hey. 579, and Chaucer's Legend of Good Women, A. text, l. 325.

Techyth me to goode. The presence of the preposition is explained by the old meaning of 'teach' = show, direct. Cp. Piers Plowman, i. 81, 'Tech me to no Tresour.'

32. Be fen and flode: the first of nearly a dozen periphrases for 'everywhere'; cp. be 'strete and stronde,' 'strete and stye,' 'downe and dyche,' 'sompe and syke' &c.

43. *Hevene trone*: 'hevene' is a genitive; cp. next line, and 'heven kynge,' Ev. 19.

78. All in povert here thei stode. The pronoun is inserted because of the intervention of 'all in povert' between the nouns and their verb. See Abbott, Shaksp. Gram. §§ 242, 243.

90. Have thou, & c. : conditional; cp. l. 126.

98. Faryn wel at mete and mele: an allusion to the inconvenience of fasting.

115. *Take the werld to thine entent*: take the world as the subject of your thoughts. The construction is as in the phrase 'take to wife.'

137. Thou schalt thynke al be tyme: 'schalt' here is equivalent to 'you are sure to'; cp. Richard III, v. 3. 201,

And, if I die, no man shall pity me;

i.e. 'it is certain that no man will pity me.' See Abbott, Shaksp. Gram. § 315.

139. Thou schalt holdyn hym inne: you will easily keep Bonus Angelus in his place.

141. With lofty lyvys fode : with the food of a lovely life, i.e. with dainty living.

145. Goode: probably a misreading for 'Gode' (God); cp. 'fode,' l. 141.

146. And so I may make mery. The sentence should end 'I will do what I please yet a while,' but Hum. Gen. slightly alters his turn of thought in l. 148.

151. Ryde be somple and syke. To be possessed of a horse to carry one dryshod through swamps and streams is taken as a mark of wealth.

158. Other while thou muste be fals. We are tempted at first to read 'otherwise,' as if Mal. Ang. were explaining that any failure of 'acord' with him would be treacherous to Hum. Gen.'s new allies. But 1. 166 shows that 'other while' (occasionally) is right, though a little abrupt.

170. Holt and hale: 'hale' means a 'tent,' a 'pavilion,' and makes but poor sense in connection with 'holt,' but in these phrases everything is sacrificed to the alliteration. The distinction here is between 'land' and 'house.'

195. And ther to here myn honde. For the omission of the verb, cp. Ev. 150, 'Farewell, and there an end,' also l. 207 of this stanza.

201. I recke nevere of hevene wonde: I care not whether I turn aside from heaven.

231. Je vous pry. It has been contended that, inasmuch as from the reign of Edward III onward French ceased to be the language of the English Court, the fact that in the Chester and other Miracle Plays, and in the present Morality Play, the scraps of French fall exclusively to kings and courtiers, is to be disregarded, and we are to see in them traces of French literary originals. But stage traditions in such matters would be very conservative, and the coincidence is too strong to be explained away.

246. With cursydnesse in costes knet: in my manners made up of cursedness.

259. Who so [nol] be lecherous. I have ventured to substitute nol for MS. now, as the point of the remark is that if a man has not one sin he has another; if a man is not lustful he is proud, etc.

263. Ther is pore nor ryche. For the ellipse of 'neither' cp. Shaks. Son. 141-

But my five wits nor my five senses can

Dissuade one foolish heart from seeing thee.

Abbott, Shaksp. Gram. § 376.

272. Man doth me bleykyn blody ble: man makes my countenance black and bloody—a strong metaphor.

281. *Ffewe men in the ffeyth they fynde.* If the text is right, 'they fynde' must be used for 'men find' or 'we find,' i. e. one finds now few men in the faith.

286. For that schuld cunne Cristis lessoun, & c.: he who is to learn Christ's lesson must bind his body in penance. For the use of 'should' see Abbott, Shaksp. Gram. § 324.

309. May any bote thi bale brewe. The true phrase is given in 1. 317, where Schrift says, 'I schal, if I cunne, Brewe the bote of bale,' i.e. concoct or devise for thee a remedy out of thy evils.

321. He is iij poynt to be spylt: Dr. Skeat suggests to me that for 'iij' we should read 'in,' and the phrase as it stands in the transcript is barely possible.

323. And wyl certes: i.e. will continue to sit there. Cp. 1. 353.

325. He hath me forsake and I have no gylt. For this use of 'and,' almost with the meaning of 'though,' cp. Apol. for Lollards, 40: 'And he was riche He was mad nedy for us.'

NOTES TO EVERYMAN.

363. slake. This reading is required to rime with 'make' in l. 361. MS. reads 'slawe' = slay. 372. ye me spelle: imperative.

EVERYMAN.

The play of *Everyman* is perhaps the finest of all the Morality Plays that have come down to us. Its early popularity is testified by the fact that it was twice printed by Richard Pynson and twice by John Skot. Neither of the Pynson editions is now extant in a single perfect copy. Of one the British Museum possesses a large fragment containing from 1. 305 to the end, of the other a few leaves only are preserved at the Bodleian. Skot's editions have been more fortunate. Of the one identified only by his device a copy is in the library of Mr. Huth; while of the edition bearing his imprint an example was formerly preserved at Lincoln, and from a transcript of this our extracts have been made. The original is now at Britwell.

Like the *Castell of Perseverance*, the play of *Everyman* was written to persuade men to a life of good deeds and morality, and it inculcates the sacramental teaching of the Catholic Church. In 1892 Dr. Henri Logeman shewed that, with the exception of the prologue, it is a translation, made probably towards the end of the fifteenth century, of the Dutch play *Elckerlijk*, attributed by Dr. Logeman to a certain Petrus Dorlandus, a native of Diest. (See *Elckerlijk and Everyman*, edited by Dr. H. Logeman. Gand, 1892.) The metre of the play is the rimed couplet with sometimes four, sometimes five, beats to the line. But for the couplet is sometimes substituted a quatrain with alternating rimes, and in the Messenger's prologue after each couplet comes a line of three beats with rime in *-aye*.

3. By figure : i. e. as to its form.

7, 8. *Mater*...*entent*: the 'matter' is the play, the 'intent' its didactic purpose.

19. Heven kynge : cp. CP. (43) note.

45. In all the haste. For the presence of the article where we should now omit it, cp. 'at the lengthe,' l. 828.

77. Fro heven to departe : to separate him from heaven.

104. With the thou brynge: cp. Ch¹. 21, 22.

Littill chamberes therin thou make, And byndynge slyche also thou take.

III. Ado: the reading is from the 'Salisbury' Skot; the Lincoln reads 'have I do.'

116. Spareth. The termination is influenced by 'dredeth' in the previous line.

132. I may saye deth gyveth no warnynge: for the form of the assertion cp. l. 182, and Bale's King John, 2078, 'a lovynge person thou mayst seeme for to be.' Cp. also Aesch. Agam. 737—

Παρ' αὐτὰ δ' ἐλθεῖν ἐς Ἰλίου πόλιν

λέγοιμ' αν φρόνημα μέν νηνέμου γαλάνας, κ.τ.λ.

145. *Of nature*: i.e. in accordance with nature; cp. the still current phrase 'of necessity.'

179. *Without ony advysement*: Dethe scornfully refers to Everyman's 'with good advysement' in l. 175.

194. Ago: gone by. The prefix a- here answers to the German prefix er. (A.S. agan, agangan = Ger. ergehen.)

245. Adonay: the Hebrew name for the Deity, a plural form of Adon, 'lord,' with the pronoun of the first person.

248. *Promise is duty:* a poor version of the old proverb 'behest is debt.'

272. And yet: i.e. and even now. 'Yet' here is purely temporal.

290. To brynge me forwarde: to escort me; cp. Rich. II, i. 2.
2. 'How far brought you high Hereford on his way?' Cp. also l. 675.

315. For kynde will crepe where it may not go: a proverb; cp. T. 602.

495. And you do by me : if you will act by my advice.

500. I may thanke you of all: not 'of all people I may thanke you,' but 'I may thank you for everything.' In A.S. the verb thank takes a genitive of the thing and dative of the person; cp. Alis. 7576: 'And thanked him of his socour.' (Mätzner, ii. 235.)

522. Thy gyde ... to go by thy syde. For the use of the gerund cp. Ch^{1} . 10 : 'Beaste, worme and fowle to flye.'

640. *Before God*: not an oath, but 'when ye come into God's presence.'

669. Five Wyttes : i.e. the Five Senses.

787. Judas Machabe: cp. 1 Macc. iii. 3, 4, etc.

795. More and lesse: great people and little. A common phrase in Chaucer for 'all.'

800. I crosse out all this: I make no account of this.

801. I take my cappe in my lappe: 'I doff my cap (so deep that it comes) into my lap.' Only Mr. Huth's Skot edition reads 'cappe,' the others having 'tappe,' for which no meaning can be found. The explanation is due to Dr. Logeman.

850. Farewell, and there an ende : for the ellipsis cp. CP. (195.) 902. Memoryall : Mr. Hazlitt prints 'memory all.'

903. Take it of worth: i.e. value it. 'Take in worth' was the more common phrase; cp.

When a poore friend a small gift gives to thee Take it in worth, and let it praysed be.

Baker's Cato Variegatus.

The form 'take it of worth' occurs again in the Epilogue to this play-

This moral men may have in mind;

Ye hearers, take it of worth, old and young.

FOUR ELEMENTS.

In one of the speeches of Experience in this play, there occur the lines—

Till now, within this twenty years, Westward be found new lands, That we never heard tell of before this By writing nor other means.

The discovery of America by Columbus took place in 1492, and if we may construe 'within this twenty years' strictly literally, we must assign the first performance of this play to about 1510. But in a later passage Experience remarks—

> But this new lands found lately Been called America, because only Americus did first them find;

as if he knew nothing of Columbus, but thought that Amerigo Vespucci's voyage in 1497 was the first discovery of the new world. This would place our play about five years later, viz. 1515-1520. To its author we have no clue, although a legend has grown up that it was both printed and published by John Rastell. The unique copy (unhappily imperfect) in the British Museum, was at one time bound up with a work printed by Rastell, and this may account for the attribution. It has the appearance of having been printed a little before 1540.

14. To regard his only intent and good wyll: 'only' may here be an adjective (= sole), or we may regard it as an adverb transposed, as in Shaks. Cor. i. 1. 40—

He did it to please his mother, and to be partly proud.

16. What nombre of bokes... be made and imprintyd. Taking the date of this interlude as about 1510, the number of books printed in the third of a century, since Caxton's first dated volume (*The Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers*, 1477), would not have been very large, probably 500 would be a high estimate. For Caxton is only known to have printed something under a hundred; the tale of Wynkyn de Worde's four hundred would not yet be nearly complete, and his fellow-apprentice Pynson was much less prolific.

17. Of toyes and tryfellys. Caxton's tastes lay chiefly in the direction of works of morality and devotion, but he printed the works of Chaucer and Gower, and Malory's King Arthur. Wynkyn de Worde kept much on his master's lines, but added one or two interludes, some grammars and law books. To call these works 'toys and tryfellys' is unjust to our early printers; but it is true that they shrank from the labour and expense of publishing editions of the classics or many of the great works of medieval learning. In the Day Book of John Dorne, an Oxford bookseller, for 1520, the entries of 'Balets' and Kesmes Kerrells (ballads and Christmas Carols) sold at a half-penny each, show a brisk trade in these 'trifles.'

25. Our tonge is now sufficient, & c. Contrast Chaucer, who refuses to descant on Canacee's beauty, in the tone of an artist working in an imperfect material, saying—

I dar not undertake so high a thing. Myn English eek is insufficient; It muste be a rethor excellent, That couthe his colours longing for that art, If he sholde hir discryven every part.

And he complains elsewhere of the poverty of the language which he himself so nobly enriched.

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NOTES TO FOUR ELEMENTS.

47. Why shold not than, &. Our dramatist is of Juvenal's mind-

Semper ego auditor tantum, numquamne reponam?

330. Other causys there are wolde, be lernyd. For the use of would for requires to, cp. 1. 404-

For cunnyng is the thynge that wolde be sought.

Also-

Which would be howled out in the desert air. Macbeth, iv. 3. 194.

And for the omission of the relative-

I have a brother is condemned to die.

Measure for Measure, ii. 2. 33.

See Abbott's Shaksp. Gram. §§ 244, 329.

339. In the myddes of the firmament. According to the Ptolemaic system the earth was a sphere, immoveable in the centre of the universe, and the entire heavens revolved round it every four and twenty hours. The work of Copernicus (*De Revolutionibus*), which revived the Pythagorean doctrine of the sun as the centre of the planetary world, was not published till 1543.

367. May be playne. The earth was anciently believed to be a flat disc of land, surrounded by the river Oceanus. The discovery of its sphericity is ascribed to Thales (640 B.C.).

373. The eclypse ... is never one tyme, & c.: e.g. an eclipse not visible at Greenwich until 6.10 a.m. would be visible at Dublin at 5.35, or a quarter of an hour earlier.

394. How many myle: the circumference of the earth at the equator is 24,899 miles, its equatorial diameter 7926.6 miles.

402. Then myght I say: i.e. if you were to bring him hither I should have reason to say, etc.

404. Wolde be sought : cp. note on l. 330.

417. Synge tyrll on the bery: a fragment of a song; cp. Ralph Roister Doister, ii. 3. 36—

Heigh derie derie Trill on the berie;

and Browne's *Brit. Past.* i. 2. 'Piping on thine oaten reede upon this little berry (some ycleep a hillock).' [*Murray's Dictionary.*]

430. Hym: i.e. Studious Desire.

476. Nought in regarde: i.e. the feeling, for what pleasure there may be in it, is nothing to be esteemed, except it be due to me.

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517. Such wyse, me thynketh: in such a manner that it seems to me my wits grow weary. For the omission of 'that' cp.

I am so much a fool it would be my disgrace. Macbeth, iv. 2. 27.

529. Poynt devise : exactly, faultlessly; cp. As You Like It, iii. 2. 351 'Point device in your accoutrements.'

SKELTON'S MAGNIFICENCE.

John Skelton was probably a native of Norfolk, and born about the year 1460. He studied at Cambridge, and has been identified with a 'Scheklton' who took his M.A. degree in 1484. Lines on the death of Edward IV (1483) and the Earl of Northumberland (1489) were probably among his earliest writings, and in 1490 Caxton describes him as having translated the Epistles of Cicero Ad Familiares and Diodorus Siculus. Caxton also mentions that Skelton had been 'late created poete laureate in the vnyuersite of oxenforde,' and the same distinction was conferred on him at Cambridge in 1493. In 1498 Skelton took Holy Orders, and soon afterwards was appointed tutor to the future Henry VIII. Before 1504 he had been given the rectory of Diss in Norfolk. By this time Skelton had engaged himself in literary quarrels with Sir Christopher Garnisshe, with Alexander Barclay, and with William Lily, the grammarian. As yet, however, he enjoyed the patronage of Wolsey. But the poet was a born satirist, and shortly after the Cardinal's appointment as Papal Legate (July, 1518), Skelton drew down on himself his bitter enmity by a series of scathing satires. Of these his Colyn Cloute touches Wolsey but slightly, and may possibly have been written before 1518, but Why come ve nat to Court and Speke, Parrot, are full of bitter invective, and Skelton was obliged to take sanctuary at Westminster against the Cardinal's vengeance, and remained there till his death, June 21, 1529. Of another satirical work, an allegorical poem entitled the Bowge of Court, we have no clue to the date. Skelton also wrote a charming lament of a nun for her pet bird (Phyllyp Sparrowe), and a coarsely humorous description of an ale-wife (The Tunnyng of Elynour Rummyng). The Garlande of Laurell, a poem of sixteen hundred lines in his own honour,

was composed late in life. Of his four dramatic compositions, the *Enterlude of Vertue*, the *Comedy callyd Achademios*, the *Nigramansir* (Necromancer) and *Magnyfycence*, the first and second have utterly perished, the third was seen by Warton (in an edition by Wynkyn de Worde, 1504) in the possession of William Collins, the poet, but has since disappeared, while *Magnyfycence* survives in a folio edition, assigned to the press of William Rastell, with the title: 'Magnyfycence, A goodly interlude and a mery deuysed and made by mayster Skelton poet laureate late deceasyd.'

Skelton's Works were admirably edited in two volumes by the late Alexander Dyce in 1843. From this edition is taken the text of our extract, while the foregoing brief memoir is mainly compiled from Mr. Dyce's Introduction.

Mr. Dyce entertained a higher opinion of the merits of Magnyfycence than the present editor finds it easy to share. It is distinctly inferior to the earlier plays, such as Everyman, and except in a few scenes does not tower greatly above Hickscorner, Lusty Juventus, and the like. The play begins with a controversy between Liberty and Felicity, who both submit themselves to Measure (Aristotle's virtue of the 'mean'), and all three are taken by Magnificence as his counsellors. They are superseded, however, by the vices Fancy, Counterfeit, Countenance, Crafty Conveyance, and others, under false names. These new advisers bring Magnificence to ruin, and he comes under the blows of Adversity, and is visited by Poverty, Despair, and Mischief. Only the entrance of Good Hope saves him from suicide, but by the help of Redress. Sad Circumspection, and Perseverance he is eventually restored to his high estate. Our extract exhibits the fall of Magnificence and his visitation by Adversity and Poverty, and certainly shows Skelton at his hest.

1879. *Ye sente us a supervysour*. In l. 1808 Magnificence had appointed Clokyd Colusyon his supervisor, to direct Largesse and Liberty in the management of his affairs.

1885. Clokyd Colusyon, & c. A rather distracting feature in these plays is the habit of the evil characters taking to themselves the names of their contrary virtues. Thus Clokyd Colusyon went by the name of Sober Sadnesse, Crafty Conveyance as Surveyance, Counterfeit Countenance as Good Demeynaunce, Courtly Abusyon as Lusty Pleasure, and Fansy as Largesse. 1893. The letter: a forged letter by which Fansy had won the favour of Magnificence.

1909. I make them overthrowe: 'overthrowe' is here a substantive.

1923. That folowe theyr fansyes in foly to fall. For the use of 'to' to express a result, cp. Gen. iii. 22, 'Man is become one of us to know good and evil.'

1938. *I vysyte to bataylle*. In ll. 1927, 1934 and 1951 we have 'vysyte *with*,' and this, as Dyce suggests, is probably the true reading here.

1955. To spare the rod. The writers of Morality Plays were devout adherents of this text, see *The Nice Wanton*, which begins by quoting it; compare also *The Disobedient Child*, who dilates on the crueltics of schoolmasters at great length, and persuades his father not to send him to school, to his own subsequent misery. But the brutality of the schoolmasters of old is well established.

1960. *A fole to his sonne*. For the use of 'to' cp. Mark xv. 23, 'The seven had her to wife,' and Co. 95 'The devyl to his mayster he ches.'

1967. I am Goddys preposytour: 'preposytour,' i. e. a scholar appointed by the master to overlook the rest. 'I am preposyter of my boke, *Duco classem.*' Hormanni Vulgaria, ed. 1530. [Dyce's note.]

1973. Of him hath frounde. I can find no instance of 'frown' used with the preposition 'of,' nor does such usage seem reasonable. Dyce queries on, and probably rightly.

1989. *Have envy at me.* For the use of 'at'as 'introducing what is at once the exciting cause and the object of active emotions,' cp. Metr. Hom. 78, 'The fende at him had grete envye.'

2006. For, though you were sometyme a noble estate: i.e. a person of rank; cp. l. 311, 'Syr, yf I have offended your noble estate.'

2042. Shertes of Raynes: i.e. shirts of fine linen from Rennes in France; cp. the Romance of Eger and Gryme, l. 305-

She gave me 2 shirts of Raines in fere.

2070. In manus tuas. The beginning of the text 'In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum' (Lord, into Thy hands I commend my spirit), used by repentant criminals at their execution.

HEYWOOD'S THE PARDONER AND THE FRIAR

John Heywood, if we may believe Wood's Athenæ, was a native of London, but he is elsewhere stated to have been born at North Mimms in Hertfordshire, where he certainly had property and was a neighbour of Sir Thomas More. He studied at Broadgate Hall, now Pembroke College, Oxford, and later on won the favour of Henry VIII and his daughter Mary. A staunch Catholic, despite his clear perception of the abuses then present in the Church, Heywood was suspected of treason during the reign of Edward VI, and narrowly escaped hanging. After the death of Mary he thought it wise to quit England, and settled at Mechlin, where he is said to have died in 1565.

Of Heywood's non-dramatic works the two chief are his [Six]Centuries of Proverbes, first published in 1546, and reprinted with corrections in 1561, and The Spider and the Flie, an allegory, the first commenced and last finished of his works, which contains an allusion to the reign of Oueen Mary. Of his dramas, five have come down to us, possibly all he wrote, and all of them early works, four having been published in or before 1533, and the fifth, which bears no date, belonging to about the year 1540. The Play of Love deals with the contrarieties of lovers, The Play of the Weather with the troubles of Jupiter in bringing the elements into accord with the wishes of contending petitioners. A Play between John the husband, Tyb the wife, and Sir John the priest, takes a hen-pecked husband as its subject, while of The Foure PP .: a very mery enterlude of a Palmer, a Pardoner, a Potecary and a Pedlar, the humour consists in the rivalry of the first three characters as to which can tell the greatest lie, and the prize is won by the Palmer, who declares that in all his travels he has never yet seen 'any one woman out of patience.' Our extracts are taken from 'A merry Play between the Pardoner and the frere, the curate and the neybour Pratte. [Colophon :] Imprynted by Wyllyam Rastell, the v. day of Apryll, the yere of our lorde M. CCCCC. XXXIII.,' and are reprinted from a facsimile made about the year 1830 from the original folio in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire. Sufficient is here given to render superfluous any analysis of Heywood's plot. For his conception of the play he was undoubtedly greatly indebted to

the characters of the Pardoner and the Frere in Chaucer's *Prologue*, from which he borrows freely. Further illustrations of the ill practices of the Pardoners will be found in Jusserand's *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages*.

9. To poll nor to shave: not to bestow the tonsure, for this ceremony, being part of the rite of ordination, could only be performed by a bishop, but to shear and shave people of their money, or, as we should say, to 'fleece' them.

23. Wylfull poverte. In the decadence of the Mendicant Orders this vow was evaded by means of an arrangement with the Pope, in whose name the Friars held property.

36. On the gospell : cp. Mark xvi. 15, and Luke x. 5-12.

79. Saint Leonard: Deacon and Martyr, roasted alive at Rome, A.D. 258.

97. I com from Rome: cp. Chaucer's Pardoner, whose mail or bag was 'bretful of pardons com from Rome al hot.'

98. All and some: 'each and all'; cp. Chaucer, Anelida and Arcite, 1. 26-

For which the people blisful, al and somme, So cryden, etc.

104. These holy relyques. Lists of impossible or ridiculous relics formed a favourite weapon of satirists against the Pardoners. Chaucer contents himself with mentioning a veil worn by the B. Virgin, and a piece of the sail of St. Peter's boat; but other lists, and Heywood's among them, are full of medieval light-hearted irreverence.

174. *In this place*: probably the e-final in 'place' is here to be sounded, so also in 'shame' in l. 176.

192. Pope Leo X: Giovanni de' Medici, born 1475, raised to the papacy March 11th, 1513, died December 1st, 1521. This allusion makes it probable, though by no means certain, that the play was composed during the pontificate of Leo X, i.e. at least ten years before it was printed.

195. As departe: for 'as' used to introduce an imperative, cp. Chaucer, Troilus, 522-

'For love of God,' ful pitously he seide,

'As go we seene the paleis of Creseide.'

262. Accurst in the greate sentence. This may refer either to the Final Judgment or to the sentence of Greater Excommunication, but probably to the former.

289. Yf they fall ones, &c. There is no reference here to the

subject of Article XVI of the Church of England (Of Sin after Baptism). The Pardoner does not mean that from sins against knowledge there is no recovery, but that the knowledge remains, and there would thus be no need for the Friar to repeat his instructions.

300. And lede them thyther by the purse strynges: cp. Chaucer. Prologue, 225-232 (character of the Friar)—

> For unto a poure order for to give Is signe that a man is well i-schrive. For if he gaf, he dorste make avaunt He wiste that a man was repentaunt. For many a man so hard is of his herte, He may not wepe although him sore smerte. Therfore in stede of wepyng and preyeres Men moot give silver to the poure freres.

552. Ragman's rolles: a long, unintelligible story. 'Ragman was the name of an old medieval game in which characters of persons, good or bad, were written on a roll, and a string with a seal appears to have been attached to each character, so that when it was rolled up the persons engaged in the game might draw characters by chance.' (Halliwell.) Hence the application to any document with many signatures and seals, such as the roll offering their allegiance to Edward I, subscribed by the Scots nobility in 1296, and always quoted as the Ragman's Roll. But Ragman or Rageman was also a name for the Devil, and this seems to have given an almost uniformly opprobrious turn to the phrase, which is quite in keeping with our text.

557. Mayster parson gave me lycence before the. In the 'Merie Tales of Skelton,' the eighth tells us How the Fryer asked leave of Skelton to preach at Diss, which Skelton wold not grant.

'There was a fryer the whych dydde come to Skelton to have licence to preach at Diss. What woulde you preache there? sayde skelton: dooe not you thynke that I am sufficiente to preache there in myne owne cure? Syr, sayde the freere, I am the lymyter [=district-beggar] of Norwych, and once a yeare one of our place dothe use to preache wyth you, to take the devocion of the people; and if I may have your good wil, so bee it, or els I will come and preach against your will, by the authoritie of the byshope of Rome, for I have hys bulles to preache in everye place, and therfore I wyll be there on Sondaye nexte cummyng.' Skelton routed this particular friar with a stupid joke about bulls and calves, but the tale suffices to show that the leave of the parish priest was merely asked by way of form and could be dispensed with.

574. *Eggetoles*. Mr. Hazlitt in his modernized edition quite rightly renders 'egoteles' of the text by edgetools. Two lines of Chaucer give the right spelling :

No flesh ne wiste offence of egge or spere.

Former Age, 1. 19.

But yet it maketh sharpe kervynge toles.

Troilus, 1. 632.

579. The tone : see CP. (28).

596. *Within your lybertye*: i.e. within the district in which Pratt acted as a constable. Liberty = ' a place or district within which certain privileges or franchises were enjoyed.'

620. Wylt thou be there ? is that what you are after ?

635. More tow on my dystaffe, & c.: more work than I can get through.

THERSITES.

At the end of this play the actors exhort their audience to-

Pray for his grace, with hearts that doth not feign,

That long he may rule us without grief or pain.

Beseech ye also that God may save his queen,

Lovely Lady Jane, and the prince that he hath sent them between

To augment their joy and the Commons' felicity!

Fare ye well, sweet audience, God grant you all prosperity.

Prince Edward, afterwards Edward VI, was born on Aug. 12th, 1537, and his mother, Jane Seymour, died two days afterwards. The epilogue, therefore, must have been spoken between the two events, or at least before the news of the queen's death had reached the place where the play was acted. This may perhaps have been at Court, as, though the numerous classical allusions rather seem to point to a school or university performance, August 13th or 14th would not be a very likely date for such a festivity.

The only known copy of the original edition of this play is in the possession of the Duke of Devonshire, by whose permission a facsimile-reprint was made by Mr. Ashbee, from a copy of which the present extracts are printed. The title of the original edition runs :

'A new Enterlude, called | Thersytes. | This Enterlude Folowynge | Dothe Declare howe that the | greatest boesters are not | the greatest | doers.

'The names of the players :--

THERSITES, A boster. MULCIBER, A smyth. MATER, A mother. MILES, A knyght. TELEMACHUS, A childe.

'[Colophon.] Imprinted at London, by John Tysdale, and are to be solde at hys shop in the vpper ende of Lumbard streete, in Alhallowes Churche yarde neare vntoo grace church.'

John Tysdale is not known to have begun to print before 1561, so that the publication of the play must be dated nearly a quarter of a century later than its first performance. It was first reprinted in 1820 by Joseph Haslewood, and is included (in modernized spelling) in Mr. W. C. Hazlitt's edition of Dodsley's Old English Plays (Vol. i. pp. 391-431).

Our extract gives, with very slight omissions, the whole of the play, with the exception of the curious episode of the visit of Telemachus (the son of Ulysses) to the mother of Thersites to be cured of the worms. The plot is apparently original.

The play opens with three seven-line stanzas riming ababbcc. A fourth is begun, but after the quatrain is abandoned for couplets, which form the normal metre of the play, though occasionally relieved by quatrains and triplets. The number of accents in a line varies from two to five. Occasionally we get a line that might be read as a perfect heroic couplet, such as—

If Malvern hills should on thy shoulders light,

They shall not hurt thee, nor suppress thy might. But the succeeding line—

If Bévis of Hámpton, Cólburn and Gúy, is of a much more typical nature.

5. In Homer of my actes ye have red. The story of the attempt of Thersites to excite the Greeks against their leaders, and his reproof and chastisement by Ulysses, is given in the second book of the *Iliad*, but the Latin Homer is almost certainly referred to.

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20. To play cowch quaile. Strutt in his Book of Sports mentions a game called 'Kales,' which is our Ninepins. 'Couch kale' may have been a term used in the game=lie down ninepin. But to couch is a term in falconry ('Like a falcon towering in the skies coucheth the fowl below.' Rape of Lucrece, 506), and the reference may be to this.

21. Mulciber : another name for Vulcan.

24. Office: officina, a workshop. Tysdale's edition prints the line-

Come forth, of thy office I the desire,

which may be forced into meaning 'I desire the help of your craft.'

30. Lemnos and Ilva. It was at Lemnos that Vulcan touched ground when hurled from Olympus, and here was his workshop. Ilva (Elba) is mentioned on account of its iron mines. Mr. Hazlitt proposes to read Ithalia (better Aethalia), another name for Elba, for the sake of the rime to 'galea.'

31. Condatur mihi galea: a helmet may be fashioned for me.

37. A sallet, nowe all the herbes are dead. For the play on the two meanings of 'sallet,' cp. Jack Cade's speech at the beginning of scene 10, act. iv, King Henry VI: 'Now am I so hungry, that if I might have a lease of my life for a thousand years, I could stay no longer. Wherefore o'er a brick-wall have I climbed into this garden, to see if I can eat grass, or pick a sallet another while, which is not amiss to cool a man's stomach this hot weather. And I think this word "sallet" was born to do me good: for many a time, but for a sallet, my brainpan had been cleft with a brown bill; and many a time, when I have been dry and bravely marching, it hath served me instead of a quart-pot to drink in; and now the word "sallet" must serve me to feed on.'

88. *Hercules.* The references are to the twelfth, first, second, and fourth labours of Hercules, viz. his bringing Cerberus from the lower world, his fight with the Nemean lion, with the Lernean hydra and Erymanthian boar.

90. Bere so wylde. Bere, i.e. bear, is a misprint or mistake for bore or boar.

95. Have take: cp. l. 102, 'have do.'

116. Bevis of Hampton, Colburne and Guy. Three old English heroes. Bevis of Southampton performed his exploits chiefly in Armenia; Colburn, or Colbrand, was a giant of Danish descent, slain by Guy of Warwick; and Guy, his slayer, fought the Saracens, killed the boar of Windsor, the dun cow of Dunsmoor, and other ferocious beasts. See Drayton's *Polyolbion*, Books II, XII, XIII, and Copland's chapbooks of Bevis of Hampton and Guy of Warwick.

124. Lyons on Cotsolde. 'Cotswold lions' was a cant term for sheep. Cp. Heywood's Proverbs-

He semeth like a bore, the beaste should seme bolde,

For he is as fierce as a lyon of Cotsolde.

130. Gawyn the curtesse, was Arthur's nephew, and was slain in error by his friend Lancelot. Cp. Carle of Carlile, l. 28.

Sir Gawaine was steward in Arthur's hall,

Hee was the curteous knight amongst them all.

Percy Folio, vol. ii.

'Kay, the crabbed,' was Arthur's foster-brother, and a mean, unpleasant person, disliked at Court for his habit of giving nicknames.

132. Syr Libeus Disconius: Li Biaus Desconneus (The Fair Unknown), whose name is thus corrupted, was a son of Sir Gawain. He is the subject of an English Romance printed in the *Percy Folio*, vol. ii, of which the French original was discovered in 1855.

136. Syr Launcelot de Lake. Lancelot was the son of Ban, King of Benwick, but was brought up by Vivienne, the Lady of the Lake, from whom he derived his epithet.

150. They geve me the wall: i.e. as a mark of respect, the road next the wall being cleaner. Cp. Scott's Fair Maid of Perth, ch. ii. 'More than once, when from chance, or perhaps from an assumption of superior importance, an individual took the wall of Simon in passing, the Glover's youthful attendant bristled up with a look of defiance.'

154. The proctoure and his men. The phrase confirms the indications offered by the numerous classical allusions in *Thersites*, and points to the play having been performed at Oxford or Cambridge, where the Proctors and their men are still part of the University police.

181. Olde purgatorye: 'olde' is here a 'colloquial intensive'; cp. Macbeth, ii. 3, 'If a man were porter of hell-gate, he should have old turning the key.'

183. No pardons: i.e. no pardons such as were sold by Pardoners.

200. *Typhoeus*: a monster with a hundred heads, killed by Jove's thunderbolt and buried under Etna.

201. Enceladus, like Typhoeus, son of Tartarus and Ge (Hell and Earth), shared his brother's rebellion and fate.

216. Whyle pardoners can lye: see preface and notes to the extract from Heywood.

233. Let us departe: i.e. separate; cp. 'till death us depart' in the old form of the Marriage Service.

339. Cacus, a giant, son of Vulcan, dwelt in a cave on Mount Aventine, and stole some of the oxen which Hercules had taken from Geryon. For the story of his theft and its punishment see Virgil, *Æneid*, viii. 193-279.

246. Good godfather: apparently addressed to some one in the audience. 'Gaffer' (i.e. 'godfather') was till lately still a rustic mode of address to any elderly man.

247. A man to be borne in the vale: i.e. of the kind who would be born in a valley. Dwellers in mountainous districts have always regarded their neighbours of the valleys as dullwitted, as the Athenians the Bœotians.

297. Goddes of battayle : Bellona.

315. All to-rent: tear in pieces; cp. Chaucer, Parl. of Foules, 432, 'That with these foules I be al to rent.' So also 'to-torn,' 'to-shivered,' etc.

316. Syr Isenbrase : a gallant knight of whom his chronicler tells us-

He was lyvely large and longe,

With shoulders broade and armes stronge.

He fell into the hands of 'the Sowdan,' and nearly suffered martyrdom for the faith, but eventually by his prowess gained not only liberty but a kingdom. A romance of 'Syr Isenbras,' with a very humorous picture of the knight on the title-page, was published by Copland.

318. Robin John and Little Hode. Hazlitt is probably right in thinking the transposition is intentional.

324. Busyris: a king of Egypt, who sacrificed strangers to Zeus, but was slain by Hercules.

399. I had craked to tymely here: had boasted too opportunely, i.e. when there was some one at hand to accept his challenges.

421. Dares. See Virgil, Æneid, v. 362-484, for the story of how Dares, after conquering the boxers of his own age, provoked

the veteran Entellus to fight, and drew down on himself heavy punishment.

430. They had better have fette me an errand at Rome. The allusion is probably only to the length of time which any business at the Papal Court was protracted. It is possible, however, to read the line as a threat, inasmuch as appeals to Rome, without the king's leave, were severely punishable under the statutes of Præmunire.

470. Now, where is any mo? Thersites as yet has not heard the challenge.

477. *Tyll some bloude apeare*. Miles challenges Thersites to try a hit with him (assaye the a towche) to see who can draw first blood, the usual terms of a match with single-sticks or quarter-staves.

503. There came none in my sight. If readiness to fight was of the essence of the description of the foe, Thersites certainly did not answer to it, and Mater's reply was strictly accurate.

882. Cowardes make speake apase: there appears to be some confusion between 'may speak' and 'make speech.'

913. Lovely Ladie Jane : see preface to this Extract.

BALE'S KING JOHN.

LIFE OF BALE .- John Bale was born at Cove, near Dunwich, in Suffolk, on Nov. 21, 1495. At the age of twelve he was sent to a Carmelite monastery, and subsequently studied at Jesus College, Cambridge. Although in Holy Orders, he took to himself a wife and preached against the celibacy of the clergy. He was protected by Thomas Cromwell, and given the living of Thornden in Suffolk. But on Cromwell's execution he was obliged to flee to Germany, where he remained till 1547. On his return he was made Rector of Bishopstoke, and in 1552 became Bishop of Ossory, where his stringent measures against the adherents of the old religion nearly cost him his life. On the accession of Mary he was again obliged to flee, this time to Basle, where he remained till the close of her reign. Returning to England in 1559 he was given a Prebend's stall in Canterbury Cathedral, and died peacefully in 1563, after an eventful and turbulent life.

Distinguished in a century of bitter controversy for his

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unseemly virulence, which earned him the epithet of 'Bilious,' Bale gave the best of his strength to polemics. While in Germany he published an attack on the monastic system entitled The Actes of Englyshe Votaries, and also Lives of Sir John Oldcastle, William Thorpe and Anne Askew and the scurrilous Pageant of Popes. Another controversial work, The Image of both Churches, appeared while he was Rector of Bishopstoke, and after his stormy experiences at Ossory he printed an account of his 'Vocacyon' to that see. To a different category belongs his Illustrium Majoris Britanniæ Scriptorum Summarium (1549), an account of five hundred British authors, which though full of mistakes and largely founded on the labours of Leland, yet entitles him to the gratitude of all students of the history of English literature. But our own interest in Bale has mainly to do with his plays, of which five out of twenty-two mentioned in his Summarium, have been preserved. Of these The three Lawes of Nature, Moses and Christ has been printed in Anglia, Bd. v, and The Temptacyon of our Lorde by Dr. Grosart in the 'Fuller Worthies Library.' A Tragedy or Interlude manifesting the chief promises of God unto man by all ages in the old law, from the fall of Adam to the Incarnation of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the Life of John the Baptist, were published in 1538, and are said to have been greatly admired by Cromwell. They have been reprinted respectively by Dodsley and in the Harleyan Miscellany. Plays on 'God's Promises' or 'Processus Prophetarum' have left their traces on each of the four great cycles of Miracle Plays, but Bale's sermon in seven acts has a tediousness all its own. The play on St. John the Baptist, on the other hand, is enlivened by much party spirit and invective against the Old Church.

KING JOHN.—Bale's third surviving play is of later date than its predecessors. There is a reference to Darvell Gathyron, a Welsh image supposed to possess miraculous powers, which was burnt in 1538; in the Interpreter's speech at the end of act i, Henry VIII is alluded to as 'our late Kynge Henrye,' and the Epilogue, beginning—

Englande hath a queene, thankes to the Lorde above,

Whych maye be a lyghte to other princes all,

clearly alludes to Elizabeth. On the other hand, the play is mentioned in the edition of Bale's Illustr. M. Brytan. Script.

Summarium, and must therefore have existed in some form when that work was written. The most probable supposition is that the first draught of *King John* should be dated between 1547, when Bale returned from abroad, and 1552, when he began his troublous experiences in Ireland.

The play opens with a speech by the King, in which he declares his determination to do justice. England, as a widow, implores his help against the clergy, but their conference is interrupted by Sedition, who is strongly clerical in his sympathies. Nobility, Clergy, and Civil Order, come in and discuss the state of the kingdom, and Clergy makes a hypocritical submission. Dissimulation and Sedition take counsel, and bring in Private Wealth and Usurped Power to their aid. They procure the election of Stephen Langton as Archbishop (here we touch history), and soon after we have the Pope cursing King John for his attacks on the Church. This closes act i. In the second act we find the clergy preparing to resist the King, and then follows our first extract. In a subsequent scene we are shown John's submission to Pandulph and the hard terms exacted of him, but Sedition is not satisfied, and procures a fanatic monk to murder the King. The scene in which he effects this forms our second extract. But now come on Verity and Imperial Majesty. The memory of the King is vindicated, and the play ends with compliments to Queen Elizabeth.

That Bale took his views of King John and his reign from any previous historian is unlikely. Holinshed, whose *History* was published in 1577, distinctly tells us that all previous historians had been prejudiced against the King, and that he had been obliged to base his facts on the testimony of hostile witnesses. He inclines to Bale's view, though somewhat doubtfully. Yet he can write of John: 'Certeinlie it would seem that the man had a princelie heart in him, and wanted nothing but faithful subjects to have assisted him in revenging such wrongs as were done and offered by the French king and others.' Quite, too, in Bale's tone is his mention of 'The sawcie speech of proud Pandulph the pope's lewd legate to King John, in the presumptuous pope's behalf.'

TEXT.—The text of our extracts is taken from the edition printed in 1838 for the Camden Society, and edited by Mr. John Payne Collier, from the unique manuscript, part of which is in Bale's autograph, in the Library of the Duke of Devonshire. 1273. Constytute. For other instances of Bale's use of this unanglicized form of the Latin past participle, see l. 1357, convyt (convictus); l. 1358, interdytt (interdictus); l. 2141, excommunycate (excommunicatus); l. 2144, intoxycate intoxicatus).

1287. A ster apared crowne. Bale probably wrote these words intending them to mean 'a star-adorned crown.' But Mr. Bradley has pointed out to me a verse on the martyrdom of Becket in No. 46 of the *Songs and Carols*, edited by Thomas Wright from Sloane MS. 2593, which runs as follows—

> Beforn his auter¹ he knelyd adoun, Ther they gunne *to paryn his crown*, He sterdyn the braynys up and down, *Optans celi gaudia*.

The prefix a- (=ge-, y-) was not very uncommon in the 15th century in the formation of past participles, and 'ster apared' may thus mean 'star-clipped.' In either case the reference is to Becket's head when covered with wounds, and Bale may have intended some kind of pun.

1288. Upon it : in consequence of it.

1289. The Pope's renowne : cp. 'the king's majesty.'

1292. Stand with : is consonant with; cp. l. 1381-

Yt stondyth not with your avantage.

1294. To helpe Jerusalem cyte. According to Holinshed's account the third, fourth, and fifth clauses of the agreement ran as follows.

3. 'Item that within three years after the nativity of our lord next ensuing he [Henry II] should take upon him the crosse and personallie passe to the Holie Land.

4. 'Provided that if upon any urgent necessitie he chanced to go into Spain to warre against the Saracens there, then so long space of time as he spent in that journie he might defer his going to the East parts.

5. 'Item he bound himselfe in the meantime by his oth, to emploie so much monie as the Templers should thinke sufficient for the finding of two hundred knights or men of armes, for one yeares terme in the defense of the Holie Land.'

1314. With the more: i.e. with the additional amount payable as compensation.

¹ Text 'aunter,' by a clear mistake of the scribe.

1318. As for ther taxe: cp. Holinshed, 'Moreover in this yeare [1207] about Candlemasse the K[ing] caused the 13 part of everie man's goods, as well of the spiritualtie as of the temporalitie, to be levied and gathered to his use.'

1320. Quyck in sentence : i.e. hasty of judgment.

1340. As saith Solomon: 'The king's heart is in the hand of the Lord, as the rivers of water: he turneth it whithersoever he will,' Prov. xxi. 1.

1359. The bysshope of Norwyche and the bysshope of Wynchester. Bale seems here to be drawing on his imagination, as the Bishop of Norwich was appointed in 1210 John's Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and three years later brought 500 men to his aid, while the Bishop of Winchester also is expressly mentioned as having been of the king's party. The Bishops to whom the Pope's bull was directed were those of London, Ely and Worcester, who with Jocelyn, Bishop of Bath, and Giles, Bishop of Hereford, subsequently fled from John's vengeance over sea.

1366. Any mayntenance pretend : offer you any support.

1374. Absolucyon a pena et culpa, and also clene remyssyon. Absolution a pæna removes the penalties imposed by the Church; absolution a culpa, or 'clean remission,' removes guilt and reconciles the sinner with God.

1385. Your curssys we have that we never yet demanded. Bale, who took a great interest in Wyclif's movement, may have been thinking of the story he tells in the *De Officio Regis* of the man who told his priest that, since excommunication was such an excellent medicine, he might keep it for his own use.

2065. Wassayle, wassayle. 'This is probably,' says Mr. Collier, 'the oldest drinking song in our language.'

2075. Now forsooth and God. Probably the word 'wold' or 'would' has dropped out of the text (now of a truth if God so willed), or we may suspect Bale of confusing the 'for' in 'forsooth' with the 'fore' in the common oath 'fore or before God.

2076. Alevyn. The number appears to be dictated only by the necessities of rime and metre.

2078. Thu mayest seme for to be: a polite affirmative; cp. Ev. 130 and note.

2082. I am taken of men for monastycall Devocyon: a very undramatic line, only to be excused as a kind of clumsy aside to the audience. 'Taken of men for'=interpreted by men as, taken as the type of.

2087. Malmesaye, capryck, tyre or ypocras. Malmsey or malvoise is a sweet white wine from Malvasia in the Morea; capryck came from Capri near Naples, Tyre from Tyre in Phœnicia; hippocras was a mixture of wine, spices and sugar, said to have derived its name from *Hippocrates' Sleeve*, the name for the strainer through which it was passed.

For another list of wines compare the Taverner's speech in the interlude of the *Four Elements*—

Ye shall have Spanish wine and Gascon, Rose colour, white, claret, rampion, *Tyre, Capric and Malvoisin*, Sack, raspice, Alicant, rumney, Greek, *ipocras*, new-made clary, Such as ye never had; For if ye drink a draught or two, It will make you, ere ye thence go, By [Jupiter], stark mad.

Also MM. 470-480, and note.

2090. I praye the drynke half to me. The dozen lines that follow show that Bale was not quite destitute of dramatic power. The poor fanatic does what he can for himself, and, when escape is hopeless, repeats the king's 'there is no remedye' in a wistful aside.

The alternative account of John's death given in Higden's *Polychronicon* comes nearest to Bale's version. 'John, kynge of Ynglonde,' he writes, 'diede of the flix at Newerke... Nevertheless the commune fame is that he was poysonede at the monastery of Swynyshed of White Monkes. For as hit is seide, he seide ther at a dyner that he sholde make a loofe, that tyme was worthe an halpenny, to be worthe xij^d. by the ende of the yere, yf he myghte have lyve. Oon of the brethren of that place, familier with the kynge, herynge that, ordeynede poyson, and receyvynge the sacrament afore, toke that poyson to the kynge, and so they dyede bothe by the drynkynge of hit.' In Holinshed the monk poisons some of a dish of pears, and knowing himself which to avoid, escapes. In Hardyng the poison is given in plums.

2107. A masse of Scala Celi. The reference is to a chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin outside the walls of Rome on the road to Ostia, to which special indulgences were attached.

It derived its name from a vision of St. Bernard, who, while celebrating mass, saw the souls for whom he was praying ascending to heaven by a ladder. See *Academy*, 974 (Jan. 3, 1891), where a will is quoted, dated 13 Hen. 7, in which the testator leaves money 'for j honest prest to syng att Rome att scala cely by the space of iiij yeres contynually for the soule of the seid John herwarde,' and references there given.

2110. Provyde a gyldar, & c. Another dramatic passage. Bale doubtless wrote it as a part of his polemic against the old religion, but the curious detail of the monk's dream suits well with his fanatic character.

2115. To the than will offer, & c. 'Sedition' speaks in contemptuous irony.

2120. Where became the monke? Another good touch. The monk has not been mentioned by England, but the King's thoughts turn to him on the word betrayed.

2127. So many masendewes, &-c. Bale was probably applying his remarks to his own times, of which they were fairly true. Holinshed gives no mention of any such benefactions made by John, but alludes to his building or repairing Beaulieu Abbey and six other monasteries, as a proof that 'he was not so void of devotion towards the Church as divers of his enemies have reported.'

2134. Voluntarye workes: cp. the XIVth Article of the Church of England, 'Voluntary works, besides, over and above, God's commandments, which they call Works of Supererogation, cannot be taught without arrogancy and impiety.'

2135. Sacrifice of the Turke: cp. Article XIII. 'Of Works before Justification.'

2171. Report what they wyll, & c. Bale here shows himself uneasily aware that his view of King John was not the one generally accepted. Holinshed, as has been noted, in summing up John's reign, alludes to the hostility of the witnesses on whom he had been obliged to rely.

GLOSSARIAL INDEX.

ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED.

 Ch^1 . = Chester Play of the Flood.

Ch². = Chester Play of the Sacrifice of Isaac.

Co. = Coventry Play.

CP. = Castle of Perseverance.

Ev. = Everyman.

FE. = Interlude of the Four Elements.

Hey. = Heywood's Parson, Pardoner, and Neighbour Prat.

Hh. = Harrowing of Hell. (Appendix.)

KJ. = Bale's King John.

MM. = Play of St. Mary Magdalene.

Sk. = Skelton's Magnificence.

T. = Towneley's 'Secunda Pastorum.'

- Th. = Thersites.
- Y. = York Play of the Creation.

Also adj. adjective; adv. adverb; num. numeral; pr. p. present participle; pp. past participle; sb. substantive; sb. pl. substantive plural.

The following abbreviations are used in a particular sense: -v. verb in the infinitive mood; pr. s., pt. s. the third person singular of the present or past tense; pr. pl., pt. pl. the third person plural of these tenses, except when the numerals I or 2 are added; imp. s., imp. pl. the second person singular or plural of the imperative mood.

А.

A, prep. of; 'maner a way,' manner of way. Ch². 400.

A for he. FE. 529.

A for have; a be = have been, Co. 97; God a mercy. MM. 619.

A, for ah. Ev. 304.

- A-baffe, v. turn aside, waver. MM. 1437.
- Abasse, imp. s. abase. MM. 1376.

A-baye, sb. surrender. MM. 363.

- Aboht, pp. paid for, atoned for. Hh. 59, 61, 158.
- Abowndans, sb. abundance. MM. 381.
- Abowne, prep. above. Y. 87.

Abrode, adv. abroad. Th. 522.

Abydande, pr. p. abiding. Y. 7.

- Abye, v. pay for, atone for. T. 283; Th. 275.
- Abyll, adj. sufficient. MM. 99.
- Accompt, v. count, reckon. FE. 385.
- Acord, sb. agreement, judgment. CP. (157).
- Acqueynt, sb. acquaintance. Ev. 156.
- Adeu, Adewe = adieu, farewell. Hey. 640; Ev. 300, 800.

Adoun, adv. down. MM. 492.

- Adreade, pp. dismayed. Ch². 260.
- Aferde, pp. afraid. Ev. 251; Th. 197.
- Afyauns, sb. affiance. MM. 383.

- Agane, prep. against. T. 29.
- Agaste, pp. afraid. Ch¹. 227. Agens, prep. against. MM. 61, 91, 590, 632.
- Ago, pp. gone, past. Ev. 194.
- Ai, adv. aye, ever. Hh. 147, 233.
- Al-beledande, pr. p. all-sheltering. Y. 21. Alder, in phr. 'your alder,' of
- you all. Ev. 771.
- Alevyn, num. adj. eleven. KJ. 2076.
- Algatys, by all means, all the same. Hey. 622.
- All and some, anybody. Hey. 98.
- All-be, conj. although. Y. 26.
- Almyght, adj. almighty. Hey. 68, 547.
- Alonly, adv. only, solely. MM. 1382.
- Als, adv. as. Y. 4, 13, etc. Alys, pr. s. ails. T. 515.
- Ambes as, double ace, the worst throw of the dice, and so symbolical of ill-luck. Hh. 110.
- Amytted, pp. admitted. MM. 1381.
- An, conj. and. MM. 69, 81, 286. And, conj. if. Commonly in Ev.
- and Th., also Co. 113; Ch1. 204; T. 27; MM. 1548; KJ. 204, 1379, etc. Y. 103.
- Ane, one.
- Anon, adv. at once. MM. 1180; CP. (73).
- Anoye, sb. harm. Ch2. 294
- Anoynt, pp. anointed. Chi. 75.
- Antychrysts, sb. pl. antichrists. KJ. 1352.
- Anythynge, as an adv., in any manner. Hey. 268.
- Apas, adv. apace, quickly. Th. 472, 882.
- Apere, v. appear. FE. 351.
- Aply, v. apply. MM. 383, 672.
- Apon, prep. upon. Y. 66.
- Appayreth, pr. s. becomes worse. Ev. 44.
- Appeles, sb. pl. appeals. KJ. 1203.
- Apply, v. apply oneself to. Ev. 278.

- Appose, v. dispute with. Th. 383.
- Approbate, adj. approved. FE. 33.
- A-prise, s. enterprise, achieve-ment. MM. 1133. Aquyte, v. pay. MM. 267.
- Aray, sb. attire. MM. 1183; CP. (135).
- Arayd, pp. arrayed. MM. 1143.
- Are, adv. ere, before. Y. 100.
- Aren, had pity on. Hh. 29.
- Armony, sb. harmony. FE. 466. As, sb. ace. See Ambes as. Hh. IIO.
- Asay,' v. try, assay. Ch². 251; CP. 120.
- As now, phr. as things are. Ev. 295.
- Aspecyall, in aspecyall, especially. MM. 137.
- Assaye, v. try, prove. Th. 117, 477.
- Asse, conj. as. Hh. 168.
- Assoyle, pr. 1. s. absolve. KJ. 1360.
- Assoylynge, pr. p. absolving. KJ. 2143.
- Asspy, v. espy, see. MM. 1392.
- Astore, v. repair. CP. (310), (336).
- Asynyd, pp. assigned. CP. (27).
- At, dem. and rel. pron. that. Y. 73, etc.
- At, prep. to. Y. 12, 20, etc.; T. 654.
- Ather, pron. either. Y. 155.
- Atter, sb. otter. Ch1. 170.
- Atwayne, adv. asunder. Ev. 655 note.
- Atwynne, adv. asunder. CP. (300).
- Atyred, pp. prepared, equipped. MM. 359.
- Auctour, sb. author. FE. 47.
- Aungelys, sb. pl. angels. CP. (40).
- Autoryte, sb. authority. KJ. 1360.
- Avant, imp. s. avanut. KJ. 1337.
- Avertyce, pr. s. advertise, warn. KJ. 1306.
- Avoyde, v. decamp, run away. Th. 504; avoyded, pp. Th. 488.

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- Avoydyt, pr. s. goes out. MM. 276.
- A-wansyd, pp. advanced. MM. 107.
- Awayle, sb. avail, profit. MM. 1432.
- KJ. Awctoryte, sb. authority. 1371.
- Awe, sb. fierceness, rage. Th. 173.
- Awne, adj. own. Y. 140.
- Awter, sb. altar. MM. 1143, 1182.
- Ayre, sb. heir. T. 615.
- Aythor, conj. either. T. 529.
- Agen, prep. against. Hh. 134.

в.

- Bable, sb. a fool's bauble. Th. 129.
- Bable, v. babble. Hh. 12.
- Babys, sb. a scribe's error for balys, bales, evils. Co. 21.
- Bake, sb. back. Hh. 54.
- Balates, sb. pl. ballads. FE. 39.
- Bale, sb. evil. CP. (309), (317); Y. 102.
- Balk, sb. ridge. T. 49.
- Ballyd, adj. bald. CP. (282).
- Balys, sb. pl. bales, evils. Co. 21.
- Ban, v. curse. T. 636.
- Bandogge, sb. a bound or chained dog, a mastiff. Th. 89. Barne, sb. child. T. 586.
- Bawmys, sb. pl. balms. MM. 613.
- Bayne, adj. obedient. Ch¹. 145; Ch². 256, 311, 480.
- Baynely, adv. obediently, directly; Y. 20, 35, 47, 160.
- Be, prep. by. Ch¹. 103; Co. 108; M. 55, etc.
- MM. 62. Be, pr. s. is.
- Be, pp. been. Ev. 201, 502; Th. 459.
- Beane, adj. obedient. Ch². 239.
- Beare, sb. loud noise. Ch1. 109.
- Becum, v. become. KJ. 1351.
- Bedden, pp. bidden. Ch1. 51.
- MM. Beddyng, sb. bidding. 62.

Bede, sb. bed. MM. 270.

- Bedene, adv. presently, forthwith, but often without much force. Y. 14. CP. (55).
- Bedys, sb. pl. prayers. CP. (96).
- Beeldand, pr. p. living, abiding. Y. 61, 87.
- Beelde, v. build, make, Y. 35, 47; pp. 107.
- Beeldyng, sb. shelter. Y. 38.
- Beestly, adv. like an animal. E. 74.
- Behaver, sb. behaviour. KJ. 1329.
- Behette, pr. 1 s. promise. Ch¹. 305; behighte. Ch1. 324; behitte. Ch1. 282.
- Behetyn, pp. promised. CP. (119).
- Behove, sb. behoof, profit. Ev. 638.
- Beledande, pr. p. al-beledande, all-protecting. Y. 21.
- Belive, adv. quickly. Ch¹. 120; CP. (221).
- Bemes, sb. pl. beams, rays. Y. 50, 68; bemys. MM. 623.
- Bemys, sb. pl. trumpets. CP. (215).
- Bene, pr. pl. are. Ch1. 317.
- Benesown, sb. blessing. MM. 1208.
- Benyng, adj. benign. MM. 626.
- Benyngly, adv. benignly. MM. 616.
- Berande, pr. p. bearing, behaving. Y. 40.
- Berar, sb. bearer. Y. 36.
- Berdes, sb. pl. maidens. MM. 51.
- Besawnt, sb. a gold coin. MM. 1218; besawntes. CP. (186).
- Besegyn, v. besiege. MM. 364.
- Best, sb. beast. Th. 359 ; beste, Hey. 164.
- Besych, pr. I s. beseech. KJ. 2152.
- Besyn, pp. beseen. MM. 54.
- Bet, pp. made amends for. Hh. 172.
- Betake, v. commit. Ev. 298.
- Betande, pr. p. flaming. Ý. 102. Bete, v. heal, amend. CP. (93); Hh. 224.

- Beth, pr. pl. are. MM. 1528.
- Better, adj. bitter. MM. 666.
- Betternesse, sb. bitterness. MM. 604.
- Be-tyme, adv. betimes, quickly. Ch1. 223.
- Beyn, v. be. MM. 56.
- Bicam, pt. I s. became. Hh. 48.
- Hh. 87. Biggeth, pr. s. builds.
- Bihete, pt. 2 s. promisedst. Hh. 189, 197.
- Bi-leven, v. remain behind. Hh. 233.
- Bitte, v. bite. Ch1. 58.
- Bittor, sb. bittern. Ch1. 182.
- Y. Blakkeste, adj. most black. IOI.
- Ble, sb. colour, complexion, countenance. MM. 68; CP. (10), (272); blee. Y. 5.
- Blendyng, pr. p. blinding. Y. 5.
- Blendyd, pp. blinded. CP. (301). Blent, pp. blinded, deceived. CP. (294).
- Bleykyn, v. turn pale, blench. CP. (272).
- Blinde, adj. confused, mater.' Ev. 102: 'blind 'blind rekeninge.' Ev. 508.
- Blo, adj. blue, livid. Y. 101.
- Blo, sb. blow; 'bemys' blo', the blowing of trumpets. CP. (215).
- Bloudsouppers, sb. pl. bloodsuppers. KJ. 2169.
- Blynne, v. cease. Ch1. 8, 134; CP. (299), (368).
- Blys, pr. s. bless. MM. 276.
- Blysch, sb. bliss. MM. 1540.
- Blyssyng, sb. blissfulness. Y. 5.
- Blyve, adv. quickly. CP. (111).
- Bob, sb. bunch, cluster. T. 729.
- Bobaunce, st. pride. CP. (349). Bobbyt, pp. cheated. CP. (294).
- Bocke, sb. book. KJ. 1355.
- Boht, pp. bought. Hh. 112. Boke, sb. book. Ev. 104, 136.
- Bokell, v. buckle. Th. 108.
- Bokys, sb. pl. books. FE. 39.
- Bone, sb. boon, favour. CP. (41).
- Bonere, adj. debonair, complaisant. Ch2. 455.

- Boost, sb. boast. Ev. 883.
- Borde, sb. board. Ch1. 75.
- Bore, pp. born. Ch1. 286.
- Borowe, v. redeem. Ev. 644; borwe. Co. 21.
- Bot, conj. but. T. 10.
- Bote, sb. salve, remedy, healer. CP. (169), (309), (317). MM. 921, 1546.
- Botte, sb. boate. Ch1. 245.
- Boune, see bowne.
- Boute, prep. without. Ch1. 63, 122.
- Bouth, adj. both Ch¹. 234, 289.
- Bower, sb. chamber. MM. 363.
- Bowne, adj. ready, prepared. Ch1. 52, 64; boune. Ch1. 264.
- Bowrde, sb. jest. T. 343.
- Bowrys, sb. pl. bowers. MM. 336.
- Bowth, pp. bonght. MM. 589.
- Brace, v. bluster. Sk. 1916.
- Bragaunce, sb. boasting. T. 34.
- Brage, v. boast, Sk. 1916.
- Brast, v. break. Ev. 814.
- Brayd, sb. haste. MM. 1148.
- Breade, sb. breadth. Ch¹. 29.
- Brede, adj. broad. CP. (187).
- Brefes, sb. pl. short notes. T. 668. Ev.
- Breke, v. open, declare. 224; break through. Co. 9.
- Bren, v. burn. T. 606.
- Brennynge, sb. burning. Sk. 1934.
- Brent, pp. burnt. Y. 107.
- Browe, v. brew, concoct, prepare. CP. (309), (317).
- Briggenirons, sb. brigandines. Th. 170, 188.
- Brighthode, sb. brightness. Y. 50, 68.
- Bring forward, v. escort. Ev. 200.
- Brode, adj. broad. Ch1. 26; Th. 120.
- Browth, pp. brought. MM. 279, 592, 1389; CP. (14), (52).
- Brynande, pr. p. burning. Y. 102.
- Bryst, v. burst. T. 640.
- Bryth, adj. bright. CP. (82); brygth. MM. 669.
- Bun, pp. bowne, ready. T. 764.

- But, conj. except, unless. Ch1. 7, 206; MM. 1529.
- Buxomly, adv. obediently. Υ. 40; Hey. 610.
- By, v. for abye, suffer for. Y. 119.
- Bydde, v. pray. CP. (41).
- Byddyth, imp. pl. bid. Co. 87.
- Byde, pr. 1 s. bid, command. Y. 22.
- Byde, v. abide. Y. 47.
- Bydene, adv. immediately. Ch1. 132.
- Bygged, pp. built, made. Y. 68.
- Byggyngys, sb. pl. biggings, buildings. CP. (187).
- Bygly, adv. powerfully. Y. 70.
- Byleve, v. believe. Ev. 676.
- Byn, v. be. MM. 623, 1381; pr. pl. are. MM. 1533.
- Byrnande, pr. p. burning. Y. 50.
- By-sydes, adv. besides. KJ. 1356.

C.

- Cabbelles, sb. pl. cables. Ch¹. 90.
- Cam, pt. s. and pl. came. CP. (23), (30); Hey. 63; KJ. 1285, 1379.
- Capcyouse, adj. captious. KJ. 1299.
- Carbuckyls, sb. pl. carbuncles.
- Sk. 1928. Carde, sb. 'a sure carde,' a sure proof. Th. 888.
- Careful, adj. full of cares. Co. 16, 23.
- Carshaffe, sb. kerchief. Ch2. 386.
- Cast, sb. contrivance. T. 352.
- Catyfes, sb. pl. caitiffs, rascals. Hey. 590.
- Cawdels, sb. pl. caudels, possets. Sk. 2034.
- Cawth, pp. caught. CP. (20), (90).
- Caysere, sb. kaiser, emperor. CP. (69).
- Caytyfys, sb. pl. caitiffs, rascals. MM. 58.
- Cete, sb. city. MM. 473.

Charret, sb. car, chariot. Th. 210. Charys, sb. pl. jobs. T. 315.

- Cheiste, sb. chest, used of Noah's ark. Ch1. 206.
- Chere, sb. countenance, demeanour. Hey. 57; Th. 469.
- Chered, pp. entertained. Ev. 501. Ches, pt. s. chose. Co. 95.
- Chesun, sb. enchesun, reason. CP. (284).
- Childer, sb. pl. (northern form), children. Ch¹. 238.
- Chriseten, sb. Christian. MM. 1547; Chrisetyn. MM. 1542.
- Chrystene, sb. Christendom. Th. 123.
- Chyldyrn, sb. pl. children. MM. 276.
- Chyte, v. chide. T. 637.
- Clary, sb. a sweet wine. MM. 477.
- Clatter, v. talk, brag. Th. 523, Hey. 10.
- Cleffys, sb. pl. cliffs. MM. 55.
- Т. Clergy, sb. science, learning. 686.
- Clokys, sb. pl. claws, clutches. Sk. 1900.
- Clowches, sb. pl. clutches. Th. 507.
- Clower, sb. clover. MM. 294.
- Clowtes, sb. pl. blows. Th. 505.
- Clowtt, sb. cloth. T. 595. Clyme, v. climb. KJ. 2108.
- Clyped, pp. called. Hey. 35.
- Clyr, adj. clear. MM. 600.
- Coke, sb. pl. cocks. Ch1, 185.
- Colacyon, sb. homily, sermon. Hey. 70.
- Combred, pp. cumbered. Ev. 60.
- Comeryd, pp. cumbered. Co. 31.
- Comliar, adj. comelier, hand-somer. MM. 67.
- Commynalté, sb. commonalty. KJ. 2155.
- Compane, sb. company. T. 53.
- Compas, v. surround. FE. 366.
- Concertation, sb. conflict. Th. 365.
- Conger, sb. a sea eel, Th. 381.
- Connynge, adj. clever. FE. 327.
- Connynge, sh. knowledge, ability, power. FE. 21; Hey. 39.

- Connyngly, adv. skilfully. MM. 1307.
- Consell, sb. counsel. MM. 375.
- Conseyll, sb. counsel. MM. 382.
- Conseyte, sb. conceit, imagination. FE. 44.
- Contembtacyon, sb. contentation, contentment. FE. 399.
- Contene, v. hold together. Υ. 15.
- Convey, imp. s. stow away. KJ. 2099.

Conveyed, pp. escorted. Ev. 816.

- Convyt, pp. convicted. KJ. 1357.
- Cop, sb. cup. T. 735. Cors, sb. body. CP. (188).
- Cors, sb. course, direction. MM. 1437.
- Coryows, probably a transliteration from Greek kúpios, lord: 'Coryows Christe,' Lord Christ. CP. (46).
- Cost, sb. coast. MM. 1212.
- Costes, sb. pl. manners. CP. (246).
- Coule, sb. cabbage. Ch1. 172.
- Counte, sb. account, reckoning. Ev. 104, 493, 502.
- Courese, pr. pl. course, run. Y. 155.
- Courtes, adj. courteous. MM. 490.
- Covetyse, sb. covetousness. Hey. 204.
- Cowch Quail, sb. ? a cry used in the game of Kales, or ninepins. Th. 20. See note.
- Cowde, pt. pl. could. KJ. 1379.
- Cowre, pr. 1 s. cower. T. 733.
- Crake, w. boast. Th. 371.
- Craked, pp. boasted. Th. 399; pt. s. crakyd, sang noisily. T. 667.
- Crakynge, sb. boasting. Th. 880; as pr. p. Th. 889.
- Craturs, sb. pl. creatures. FE. 455.
- Creke, 'to cry creke,' to yield. Th. 100.
- Croes, sb. pl. crows. Ch¹. 185.
- Crop, sb. head. T. 736.
- Crosse out, v. annul, make no count of. Ev. 800.
- Crouche, imp. pl. kueel. Hey. 170.

- Crousse, adj. brisk, lively. Ch1. 178.
- Croyne, pr. 2 pl. croon. T. 672.
- Crysme, sb. a chrisom cloth. CP. 20.
- Crystyndom, sb. Christendom. KJ. 1365.
- KJ. 1325; imp. s. Cum, v. come. KJ. 2101; CP. (71), (100), (110).
- Cumly, adj. comely. Y. 99.
- Cunne, v. learn. CP. (2 know, be able. CP. (316). CP. (286);
- Cunnyng, sb. knowledge. FE. 404.
- Cunsell, sb. counsel. KJ. 1282.
- Curlues, sb. pl. curlews. Ch¹. 187.
- Curssys, sb. pl. curses. KJ. 1385.
- Curteys, adj. curteous. MM. 1137.
- Cust, pp. kissed. CP. (126).
- Cyataca, sb. sciatica. Sk. 1982.
- Cyte, sb. city. KJ. 1274.

D.

- Dale, sb. dole, bounty. Y. 78.
- Dalle, sb. fist. T. 744.
- Damdpnyd, pp. damned, con-demned. MM. 636; dampned, Ev. 310.
- Dar, pr. 1 s. dare. T. 303. Dasters, sb. pl. dastards. Th. 17.
- Daynetethly, adv. daintily. Y. 78.
- Debate, vb. abate, diminish. Th. 412, 469.
- Ded, pt. s. did. KJ. 1280.
- Ded, pp. dead. Hh. III; Hey. 631.
- Dede, sb. deed. MM. 633.
- Dedyst, pt. 2 s. didst. MM. 672.
- Dee, sb. Dieu, God; 'per dee,' par dieu. KJ. 2081.
- Deed, pp. dead. Ev. 255.
- Defe, adj. deaf. Ev. 803.
- Defte, adj. clever, dexterous. Y. 92.
- Delande, pr. p. dealing, distribut-Y. 78. ing.
- Dele, sb. part, bit. Y. 158.
- Dele, sb. pity. CP. (210).
- Dele, v. deal, have part with. CP. (99).

- Delectabyll, adj. delightful. MM. 593.
- Dell, sb. part, bit, whit. Hey. 563. Delycows, adj. delicious. MM.
- 335.
- Delycyte, sb. delicacy. MM. 72.
- Demden, pt. s. condemned. Hh. 56.
- Deme, v. judge. Co. 124.
- Demenour, sb. director. Sk. 1887.
- Dent, sb. blow. MM. 272.
- Departe, v. (i) depart, go away, separate. Ev. 96. 296; Th. 233. Hey. 549. (ii) divide, e. g. 'depart your goodes' = divide your wealth. Hey. 96. (iii) part with, e. g. departe with your riches. MM. 102.
- Depnes, sb. deepness. FE. 356.
- Deprave, v. depreciate, slander. FE. 436.
- Dere, adj. precious. Y. II.
- Dere, sb. harm, injury. Y. 64.
- Derand, pr. p. harming. Y. 37.
- Derworth, adj. precious. Y. 92.
- Descend, v. make descend. MM. 1558.
- Desevyr, v. separate. MM. 301.
- Dessetres, sb. distress. MM. 104.
- Desyplys, sb. pl. disciples. MM. 614.
- Devoyd, pr. pl. go out. MM. 1132, 3.
- Devyne, adj. divine. FE. I.
- Devyr, sb. devoir, duty. MM. 1180.
- Dew, adj. due, fitting. Hey. 72; dewe. H. 314.
- Dewes, int. the deuce. Y. 92.
- Dewks, sb. pl. dukes. KJ. 1368.
- Dewresse, sb. duresse, hardship. MM. 281; duresse. MM. 284.
- Dewylys, sb. pl. devils. CP. (34).
- Deyver, sb. devoir, duty. Y. 156.
- Deze, v. die. Hh. 56.
- Diewly, adv. dewly. Y. 11.
- Diffynicion, sb. definition, limit. Co. 100.
- Digges, sb. pl. ducks. Ch¹. 189.
- Dighte, v. make ready, prepare. Ch¹. 79, 301.
- Dilfull, adj. sorrowfull. Ch². 313.

- Disese, sb. discomfort. CP. (219).
- Do, pp. done. KJ. 1354; Th. 102.
- Does, imper. pl. do. Y. 156.
- Dold, adj. stupid. T. 2.
- Dole, *sb.* sorrow, trouble. CP. (407); Y. 98.
- Dome, sb. doom, judgment. Ev. 261, 885, 901.
- Don, adv. down. MM. 1203.
- Don, pr. pl. do. MM. 61.
- Dore, sb. door. KJ. 1377.
- Dowtles, adv. doubtless. FE. 358.
- Douctors, sb. pl. daughters. MM. 68.
- Dowtter, sb. daughter. MM. 79.
- Doyne, pp. done. T. 291.
- Drackes, sb. pl. drakes. Ch¹. 189. Drawe, pp. drawn over, covered.
- Sk. 2040.
- Dray, v. draw. T. 317.
- Dresse, v. direct. MM. 1182.
- Dreve, pp. driven. CP. (407).
- Dyd, v. did. Ev. 474.
- Dyghte, pp. prepared. Th. 351; Y. 11, 109.
- Dynt, sb. blow. Sk. 1904.
- Dysceyved, pp. deceived. Co. 24.
- Dyscus, *imper. s.* spread abroad. MM. 1562.
- Dyspare, sb. despair. Ev. 468.
- Dysses, sb. decease. MM. 80.
- Dystaunce, sb. distance, estrangement. CP. (384).
- Dystres, sb. distress. Ev. 508.
- Dyvers, *adj.* several. FE. 49, 328.

E.

- Ech, adj. each. Ch1. 191.
- Een, sb. pl. eyes. T. 295.
- Eft-whyte, v. requite again, restore. T. 305.
- Eftyr, adv. after. Y. 125; efter, Y. 131.
- Egge-toles, sb. pl. edge-tools. Hey. 574.
- Eke, conj. also. Ev. 503; Hey. 208, 210.
- Eldyth, pr. s. aileth. Th. 480.

- Elfe, sb. oaf, lubber. Hey. 629.
- Elles, adv. else. Ch1. 66, 207; MM. 635; Th. 101, etc.
- Elvysshe, adj. simple. Th. 74. Emel, prep. among. Y. 146.
- Emprise, sb. enterprise. CP. (198).
- Encomberowns, brance, MM. 1533. Prough. Y. 104. encum-
- Enew, adj. enough.
- Enhanse, v. exalt. MM. 611.
- KJ. Enmys, sb. pl. enemies. 1378.
- Enquere, v. enquire. FE. 400, Hey 61.
- Entendyd, pp. minded, determined. Hey. 68.
- Entent, sb. will, purpose, meaning. Sk. 1946; MM. 670; Ev. 8. CP. (115.)
- Envy, sb. ill-will. Sk. 1989.
- Es, pr. s. is. Y. 2, 10, etc.; art. Y. 74.
- Est, sb. the east. FE. 351, 355.
- Estate, sb. class or order in the commonwealth. KJ. 2143.
- Everychone, every one. Ev. 840, 856.
- Evyn, sb. evening. FE. 407.
- Excommunycate, pp. excommunicated. KJ. 2141.
- Exorte, v. go forth. Co. 56.
- Expoun, v. expound. FE. 26.
- Exprese, adv. expressly. MM. 82.
- Exprese, v. express, read out, declare. MM. 298, 1184, 1383. Eylytt, pr. s. aileth. MM. 1545.
- Eynd, sb. end. MM. 599.
- Eynes, sb. pl. eyes. Co. 25.

F.

Facyon, sb. fashion. Hey. 590, 609.

- Fade, v. make faded. Y: 60, 132.
- Ev. 514. Fall, so. case, plight.
- Famyt, pp. famished. Co. 11.
- Fand, v. find. Ch2. 470.
- Fane, adj. fain, glad. 7 Fang, v. take. T. 679. T. 39.
- Fantasyes, sb. pl. fancies. Y. 129; fantesye. FE. 43.

- Fard, pp. feared, afraid. T. 677. Fare, v. go. T. 714; pr. 1 s. P.
- (4); faren, v. Hh. 175.
- Farmerye, sb. infirmary. KI. 2102.
- Farne, pp. fared. T. 587.
- Faryn, v. go. CP. (403).
- Fastande, pr. p. fasting. Y. 80. Fatherys, sb. gen. case, father's. MM. 298.
- Fatt, so. fate. CP. (336).
- Faver, v. favour. KJ. 1330.
- Fawor, sb. fervour. fawour. MM. 638. MM. 483.
- Faworus, adj. desirous. MM. 673.
- Faye, sb. faith. Ch1. 290; Ch2. 433; Ev. 298.
- Fayer, adj. fair. MM. 669.
- Fayn, adv. gladly. MM. 495; fayne. Ch1. 147; Ch2. 252; Ev. 515.
- Fayne, v. feign. Th. 910.
- Fayre, adj. fair. Y. 65; adv. Ev. 872.
- Fayrear, comp. adj. fairer. Y. 53.
- Fayrhede, sb. fairness, beauty. Y. 66.
- Faythly, adv. faithfully. Y. 19.
- Fe, sb. possessions. Sk. 1993.
- Feare, sb. companion; in fere, together. Ch¹. 78, 289; Ch². 454.
- Fearefully, adv. timorously. Th. 387. s. d.
- Fectually, adv. effectually, truly. MM. 643.
- Fede, pp. fed. Y. 76.
- Fee, sb. money, goods. MM. 299.
- Felande, pr. p. feeling. Y. 79.
- Felawe, sb. fellow. Ev. 284.
- Felde, sb. field. Th. 149.
- Felescheppys, sb. pl. fellowships. CP. (311).
- Fell, pr. 1 s. fell, lay low. KJ. 1392.
- MM. 280. Fell, adj. cruel.
- Felyng, sb. feeling. Y. 60.
- Femynyte, womanliness. sb. MM. 71.
- Fende, sb. fiend. CP. (269); Ev. 883; fendes. CP. (303); Hh. 131.

- Fende, v. protect. CP. (373).
- Fendyd, pp. prevented, hindered. CP. (303).
- Fere, v. make afraid. Ev. 253.
- Fere, sb. companion. Hh. 69; in fere, together. T. 715; feres, 53.
- Ferre, adv. far. Ev. 816.
- Fest, adj. fast, fixed. T. 20 ; feste, pp. fastened. Y. 66.
- Fet, v. fetch. Th. 185.
- Fete, sb. pl. feet. MM. 667.
- Fett, sb. pl. feet. MM. 640, 1.
- Fette, v. fetch. Hh. 5, 30; pp.
- fetched. Th. 430. Fetys, adj. neat, well-made, elegant. Y. 55. 65.
- Fier, sb. fire. Ch1. 78.
- Fine, sb. end. Hh. 11.
- Firrette, sb. ferret. Ch1. 175.
- Fleete, v. float. Ch¹. 281.
- Fleetinge, pr. p. floating. Ch¹. 225.
- Fles, sb. flesh. Hh. 194.
- Fleshe-likinge, sb. fleshly lust. Ch¹. 6.
- Fleye, v. flee. Ch¹. 293.
- Florychyd, pp. flourished. MM. 334.
- Fludde, sb. flood. Ch¹. 84; flude, Ch1. 224.
- Flum, sb. river. Hh. 206.
- CP. Flyt, v. remove, turn aside. (84).
- Flyte, v. scold. T. 636.
- Y. 76. Fode, sb. food.
- FE. 407 ; Y. 129. Fole, sb. fool.
- Folwe, imp. s. follow. CP. (100).
- Folysshe, adj. foolish. H. 213; Ev. 872.
- Fonde, adj. foolish. CP. (225).
- Fonde, pr. 1 s. try. CP. (403).
- Fonded, pp. tried, made trial of. Hh. 75.
- Fondnesse, sb. folly. Sk. 1892.
- Fondon, v. find. Hh. 70.
- Fonge, imp. s. take. Ch. 27. Ch1, 6.
- Fonne, sb. pl. foes.
- Foo, sb. foe. CP. (32).
- Forbode, pp. forbidden. Hey. 256.
- Force, no force, no matter. FE. 538.
- Fordo, imp. pl. destroy. T. 295.

Forgang, v. forego. T. 43.

- Forgete, pp. forgotten. Ev. 86. 94.
- Forgeyffe, pr. 1 s. forgive. MM. 676.
- Forleten, pp. forego, abandon, Hh. 169.
- Forloren, pp. altogether lost, cast away. Hh. 239.
- Formarryd, pp. completely spoilt. Y. 139.
- Formaste, sup. adj. foremost, first. Y. 4.
- Forme, adj. first. CP. (1).
- Forseth, pr. s. it forseth not, it matters not. Hey. 312.
- For-shapyn, pp. transformed. T. 630.
- For-spoken, pp. bewitched. Τ. 624.
- Fortaxed, pp. overtaxed. * T. 16.
- Forthi, adv. therefore. Y. 131, 136.
- T. 681. Forthy, adv. therefore.
- Forthynkes, pr. 5. repents, grieves. T. 521. Forward, sb. covenant, agree-
- ment. Ch1. 301.
- Forwhy, adv. because. Hey. 630.
- Fote, sb. foot. FE. 473; Ev. 293. Fott, pt. 1 s. fetched. T. 528.

- Fourne, v. form. Y. 142. Fowle, adv. foully. Ch¹, 4. Fowle, sb. a fowl. Ch¹, 306. Foyde, sb. food. T. 731.
- Foyne, sb. for fone, few. Τ. 292.
- Fra, prep. from. Y. 95.
- Francesy, sb. frenzy. Sk. 1958 Frawth, pp. laden. CP. (94). Sk. 1958.
- Fray, sb. fear. MM. 280.
- Frel-nes, sb. frailty. Co. 110.
- sb. Ev. 629, 655; Frend, frendes. Hey. 54.
- Hey. 15. Freres, sb. pl. triars.
- Fro, prep. from. Ev. 644.
- Froring, sb. help. Hh. 164.
- Fryke, adj. bold, brave. CP. (153).
- Frynde, sb. friend. KJ. 2080.
- Frynishe, adj. nice, ingenious? Ch1. 100.

- Frysch, adj. fresh. MM. 491.
- Full, v. foul. Y. 60.
- Fullimartes, sb. pl. polecats. Ch1. 170.
- Fumishenes, sb. irritability. Th. 107.
- Fun, pp. found. T. 762.
- Furst, adv. first. FE. 351, 355.
- Fygure, sb. face, image. Y. 140. Fygured, pp. formed. Y. 65.
- Fynnest, sup. adj. finest. MM. 484.
- Fyr, sb. fire. MM. 597.
- Fytt, adj. fit, pretty. Y. 65.

G.

- Gaf, pt. 2 s. gavest. T. 582.
- Gaither, v. gather. Ch1. 73, 77.
- Galand, sb. galant. FE. 417.
- Gan, pp. gone. Hh. 4, 47, 74.
- Gar, v. cause. T. 621 ; gares, pr. s. Y. 103; gard, pt. s. Τ.
- 661. Gat, sb. gate, road. Hh. 218;
- gates. Hey. 43; Y. 155. Gawde, sb. trick. T. 604.
- Gayne, v. avail. Ch¹. 146.
- Gaynesay, v. contradict. FE. 384.
- Gaytt dore, sb. outer door. Т. 339.
- Gentlery men, sb. pl. gentry. T. 18.
- Gere, sb. array. Th. 198.
- Gest, v. jest. Hey. 311.
- Gete, pp. begotten. Ev. 189.
- Getten, pp. got. Ch1. 130.
- Getteth, pr. s. obtains. Ev. 646.
- Getyn, v. get. MM. 370.
- Geve, v. give. KJ. 1346; Th. 478; pr. 1 s. Ch¹. 288; pl. KJ. 1341; imp. s. Th. 233.
- Gevyn, pp. given. KJ. 1274, 1339.
- Ghoste, sb. spirit. Ch1. 5.
- Glad, sb. gladnesse. T. 679.
- Glase, sb. slippery place, diffi-culty? T. 327.
- Gle, sb. joy. Y. 82.
- Gleteryng, sb. glittering. Y. 82.
- Glose, v. speak smoothly. FE. 41; Hey. 10.

Go, pp. gone. Ev. 165.

- CP. Gobet, sb. piece, morsel. (90).
- God, *adj.* good. MM. 1543; FE. 407. 1203,
- Goddes, sb. goddess. Th. 297; sb. pl. gods. Th. 310.
- Gon, gone, v. go. Ch¹. 202; Ch². 227; MM. 1142; Ev. 465. Gon-stone, sb. bullet. Th. 72.

- Goo, imp. s. go. MM. 1145.
- Good, sb. goods. Ev. 121.
- Goon, v. go. CP. (72).
- Goote, sb. goat. Ch1. 158.
- Gore, sb. a gusset, 'under gore,' under the clothes, privily. CP. (312).
- Gore, sb. filth. CP. (338).
- Gost, sb. spirit. MM. 601, 1211; CP. (47).
- Gostly, adv. spiritual. MM. 609.
- Gothe, v. goes. Ev. 806, 835.
- Gowlande, pr. p. howling. Υ. 103.
- Gramercy, many thanks. Ev. 221, 861.
- FE. Gravyte, sb. seriousness. 28.
- Grawous, adj. grievous. MM. 293.
- Gre, sb. pleasure ; take in gre, take in good part. Sk. 2005.
- Grede, v. cry alond. CP. (285).
- Grestle, sb. young pig. Th. 391.
- Grete, v. weep. CP. (320); Hh. 82.
- Grete, adj. great. Y. I.
- Gretter, comp. adj. greater. Τ. 36.
- Gretynge, sb. weeping. CP. (314).
- Grevys, sb. pl. groves. CP. (59).
- Grill, v. grumble. Ch1. 46.
- Grith, sb. peace, treaty. Hh. 126.
- Groechyn, vb. grumble, murmur. CP. (181); grochynge, murmuring, groaning. CP. (312).
- Groge, sb. grudge. KJ. 1298, 1332.
- Grom, sb. man. MM. 489.
- Grome, sb. for Groine, a port in Spain. MM. 478.

- Grose, adj. gross, substantial. FE. 345, 357.
- Grotes, sb. pl. groats. Hey. 22, 93, 132.
- Grucche, v. murmur, grumble. CP. (47).
- Grudge, v. grumble. Sk. 2016.
- Grunde, sb. ground. Y. 74.
- Grylle, v. be terrified. Ch2. 340.
- Grysly, adj. horrible, dreadful, CP. (47); adv. CP. (175).
- Guardon, v. guerdon, reward. Hey. 200.
- Gunne, pp. begun. CP. (314). Gydde, v. guide. MM. 601.

- Gyde, sb. guide. Ev. 522, 780. Gyde, *imp. s.* guide. M. 1440. Gyf, *imp. pl.* give. Y. 147; pr. 1 s. Y. 160.
- Gyldar, sb. gilder. KJ. 2110.
- Gyler, sb. beguiler. T. 724.
- Gylt, sb. guilt. CP. (325).
- Gynnyt, pr. s. begins. MM. 621.
- Gyrnande, pr. p. grinning. Y. 103.
- Gyrth, v. protect. Y. 133.

H.

- Habergyn, sb. coat of mail. Th. 104, 108, 111.
- Hade, pt. 1 s. had. Ch¹. 99.
- Haile, sb. health. Ch1. 198.
- Hakt, pt. s. 'chopped away at,' and so 'had his will of,' 'mastered'? T. 668.
- Hale, sb. tent, pavilion. CP. (170).
- Hall, v. haul, drag. Th. 493.
- Hals, sb. neck. CP. (156).
- Haly, adv. wholly. Y. 27.
- Hamer, sb. hammer. Ch¹. 62.
- Hamyd, pp. cumbered. T. 15.
- Han, v. have. MM. 509; pt. Co. 35.
- Happe, v. wrap. Sk. 2063.
- Happyd, pp. circumstanced. Sk. 2010; wrapped. up. T. I.
- Harbarow, sb. harbourage. MM. 1398.
- Hard, pt. 1 s. heard. T. 658, 667; harde, pt. 1 s. KJ. 2084; pp. Hey. 257.

- Hardely, adv. surely. Hey. 605.
- Harnes, sb. armour, accoutrements. Th. 9.
- Harnessed, pp. armed. Th. 16.
- Harrowe, interj. a cry for help. Y. 97.
- Hart, sb. heart. MM. 74, 640; FE. 501; harte. Ch1. 234; KJ. 2098; hartt. MM. 1138; harts, hartys, hearts. KJ. 1340. Hey. 571.
- Hast, sb. haste. MM. 382.
- Hast, v. hasten. Ev. 141; imp. s. MM. 1384.
- Hat, pr. s. has. MM. 602.
- Hatt, v. be called. T. 614.
- Haunt, v. frequent. Ev. 273.
- Havi, have I. Hey. 43.
- Haveth, pr. s. has. Hh. 152.
- He, pron. pl. they. Hh. 53, 55; MM. 366, 370.
- Heale, sb. health. Hey. 8.; hele. Hey. 272.
- Heare, adv. here. Ch¹. 156, 180, etc.
- Hearnes, sb. pl. herons. Ch1. 182.
- Hed, sb. head. MM. 1530; FE. 427; headake, headache. Hey. 163.
- Hede, sb. head. FE. 411.
- Hede, sb. heed. CP. (138). Hey. 54.
- Heder, adv. hither. FE. 401.
- Hedibus, sb. comic Latinized dative plural for 'heads'. Th. 133.
- Hee, adj. high. T. 605.
- Hefne, sb. heaven. Co. 9.
- Hegges, sb. pl. hedges. MM. 1198.
- Hegheste, sup. adj. highest. Y. 27.
- Heiste, sb. promise. Ch¹. 305.
- Hek, sb. inner door. T. 316.
- Heldand, pr. p. descending, alighting. Y. 6; heledande. Y. 95.
- Hele, sb. health. CP. (96); Ev. 648.
- Helowes, sb. pl. hallows, saints. Hey. 154.
- Hely, adj. holy. KJ. 1308. Hem, pron. them. MM. 57, 91, 670; CP. (375); Hh. 6.

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- Henne, adv. hence. Hh. 146.
- Hens, adv. hence. Ev. 130, 862; Hey. 94; Th. 400; MM. 109, 1535.
- Hent, pp. seized. CP. (253). Her, adv. here. MM. 66, 643, 1396. 1597; CP. (31); Hh. 140, 143.
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- Herers, sb. hearers. Ev. 903. Heres, sb. pl. hairs. Hey. 539.
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- Herynge, sb. hearing. FE. 4 Herwe, sb. harrow. Hh. 145. FE. 467.
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- Hower, sb. hour, season. KI. 1349.
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I.

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- Intoxycate, pp. poisoned. KI. 2144.
- Invy, sb. envy. MM. 362.
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- Inwyttissymus, adj. invictissimus, most unconquered. MM. 285.
- Iwis, adv. certainly. Hh. 57; iwys, Y. 81; CP. (350); MM. 489; KJ. 1393; iwysse, Ch2. 438.

J.

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K.

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- Kende, sb. kind, nature. CP. (1).
- Kenne, v. show. CP. (383). Kente, pp. taught. Ch². 222.
- Kepe, sb. heed, care. Hey. 106.
- Kinde, sb. nature. Ch1. 92.
- Knakt, pt. s. performed cleverly. T. 670.
- Knet, pp. knitted, compounded of. CP. (246).
- Knett, v. knit. MM. 58.
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- Knyth, sb. knight. CP. (69); Knythtes, pl. MM. 673; Knyttes. MM. 112.
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L.

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- Lackes, sb. pl. lakes. Chi. 190.
- Laghe, v. laugh. T. 621.
- Langyd, pt. s. longed, desired. T. 42.
- Lante, pp. lent, given. CP. (61). Lappyd, pp. lapped, enveloped.
- T. 4.
- Lastand, pr. p. lasting. Y. 24, 46.
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- Late, v. let. Co. 101; CP. (96), 222).
- Lawe, adj. low. Y. 122.
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- Layser, sb. leisure. Ev. 101. Laytheste, sup. adj. most loathsome. Y. 100.
- Lazars, sb. lepers. Sk. 1930.
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- Lease, comp. adj. less. Ch1. 287.
- Led, sb. lead. MM. 272; a sounding-lead. MM. 1440; lede, a leaden seal. Hey. 71, 195.
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- Lef, *imp. s.* leave. Hh. 106. Lefe, *v.* believe. T. 31. Leffe, *adj.* glad. Ch¹. 99.

- Leiste, sb. pleasure, desire. Ch1. 207.
- Lekyng, adj. liking, pleasing. MM. 617.
- Lele, *adj.* leal, loyal. T. 532. Lely, *adv.* leally, truly. Y. 77.
- Lende, v. abide, linger. Y. 53; CP. 7.
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- Lenges, imp. s. remain. Ch2. 226.
- Lengest, sup. adj. longest. MM. 309.
- Lengore, comp. adj. longer. Hh. 140.
- Lent, pp. granted, given. CP. (116).
- Lere, v. learn. T. 299.

- Lere, sb. countenance, features. CP. (190).
- Les, sb. deceit. MM. 83.
- Lese, v. lose. FE. 387.
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- Leser, sb. leisure. FE. 390.
- Lest, sup. adj. least. FE. 383.
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- Let, v. hinder, delay. Hey. 273; Ch². 407; pp: hindered. CP. (337).
- Lete, v. let, allow. Co. 8; CP. (363); *imp. s.* KJ. 2114; lett bren, cause to burn. T. 606.
- Lete, v. deliver. CP. (318). Lette, v. refrain. CP. (121); pr. 1 s. hinder. Ch1. 283.
- Lettyth, pr. s. hinders ; lettyth of audience, hinders from being heard. Hey. 261.
- Leve, v. believe. CP. (88); leven, Hh. 232.
- Leve, v. live. CP. (401); leven. MM. 65; levyn. Co. 11; CP. (131), (394); levyth, lives. CP. (394).
- Leve, adj. dear. Hh. 16, 166; lever, more willingly. Sk. 2066. Leve, imper. s. leave. MM. 595.
- Leve, sb. leave, permission, FE.
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- Levyn, sb. lightning. T. 661.
- Lewd, adj. common, vulgar. Т. 718.
- Lewtye, sb. loyalty, faith. Ch1. 276.
- Ley, imper. s. lay. MM. 492.
- Lidderyns, sb. pl. rascals. Sk. 1946.
- Lighte, pt. s. alighted. Hh. 31.
- Linge, v. linger. Ch1. 5, 297.
- Litterature, sb. knowledge of letters, learning. Hey. 192.
- Lofly, adj. lovely. CP. (141).
- Loke, v. look. Ev. 503; imp. s., Hey. 42.
- Lokys, pr. s. looks. Sk. 1899.
- Lond, sb. land. MM. 1430; KI. 1327 ; londe. CP. (70) ; londes, pl. KJ. 1312.

- Longyth, pr. s. belongs. MM. 1185, 1207.
- Lore, sb. teaching. Ch¹. 127; Hey. 49.
- Lore, pp. lost. Co. 58; Th. 459.
- Lorne, pp. lost. T. 650; Y. 108.
- Lose, imp. s. loose. Hey. 538.
- Losell, sb. rascal. Sk. 1905; losyll, Sk. 192.
- Lothe, adj. loathsome. Ev. 268; Hh. 154, 175.
- Louerd, sb. lord. Hh. 103, 149, 165.
- Loven, pr. pl. love. Ch¹. 205.
- Lowte, v. bow before. Y. 24, 46.
- Loyn, pp. lain. Co. 3.
- Luf, sb. praise. Y. 46, 57.
- Lufly, adj. lovely. Y. 43.
- Lurden, sb. clown. Sk. 1914; Y. 108; lurdans, Y. 120.
- Lust, sb. pleasure. CP. (125), (217); Sk. 1912.
- Lybertye, sb. liberty, jurisdiction. Hey. 596.
- Lyche, adj. like. CP. (70), (II4).
- Lydderyns, sb. pl. rascals. Sk. 1945.
- Lye, v. used transitively for 'lay'. Hey. 541.
- Lyf, adj. glad. FE. 424.
- Lyfelod, sb. livelihood. MM. 87, 99.
- T. 291, 346. Lyg, pr. 2 pl. lie.
- Lyges, pr. s. lies. T. 655.
- Lyght, pp. delivered. T. 348.
- Lykes me, v. impers. I like. Y. 159.
- Lykyng, sb. delight. CP. (125), (217).
- Lyth, sb. light. CP. (337).
- Lyther, adj. bad, inactive. Sk. 2066.
- Lythly, adv. lightly. MM. 1146.
- Lyvys, sb. gen. life's. CP. (141). Lyyn, v. lie. MM. 597.

M.

- Mad, pp. made. Co. 14; pt. s. MM. 1386.
- Made, adj. mad. Ev. 168.
- Maintenance, sb. support. T. 35.

- Maiste, pr. 2 s. makest. Ch1. IIO.
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- Maistre, sb. master. KJ. 2166. Makar, sb. maker, creator. MM.
- 632. Make, sb. mate, partner. Ch1. 110.
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- Malmsine, sb. Malmsey wine. Ch1. 233.
- Mament, sb. Mahomet. MM. 1545, 1557.
- Mammockes, sb. pl. leavings, fragments. Sk. 2035.
- Maner, sb. manner. Ev. 185; no maner wyghte, no kind of man. Hey. 159; cp. 167.
- Mankin, sb. mankind. Hh. 112.
- Mannis, sb. gen. mans. MM. 364; mannys. KJ. 1328.
- Manrede, sb. homage, vassalage. Hh. 90.
- Manteyn, pr. pl. maintain. Т. 632.
- Marde, pp. marred, ruined. Hey. 200.
- Markide, pp. designed, noted. Y. 49, 58.
- Marmoll, sb. ulcer. Sk. 1932.
- Marrande, pr. p. marring. Y. 92.
- Marters, sb. pl. martyrs. KJ. 2170.
- Mary, sb. by the Blessed Virgin, an oath. FE. 487.
- Mas, sb. the Mass. Hey. 211.
- Mase, sb. mace. Th. 323.
- Masendewes, sb. pl. maisonsdieu, houses of charity. KJ. 2127.
- Massenger, sb. messenger. KJ. 1304.
- Mastry, sb. mastery, masterful behaviour. T. 30.
- Mater, sb. matter. Ev. 102, 248.
- Mawt, sb. Malta. MM. 476.
- May, sb. maid, virgin. T. 695.
- Mayne, sb. main, strength. Y. 92.
- Mayntenance, sb. support. KJ. 1366.
- Mays, pr. s. makes. T. 30.
- Maystries, sb. masteries ; to try maystries, to try conclusions. Th. 515.

- Meanye, sb. company. Ch1. 113, 265; Ch2. 225.
- Meche, adj. great. Co. 28, 68.
- Mede, sb. meed, reward. T. 679; CP. (329); to medys, by way of reward. CP. (197).
- T. 610. Medylle, sb. middle.
- Meete, adj. meet, fitting. Ch1. 94.
- Meke, v. make. Co. 8.
- Mekill, adj. great. Y. 41.
- Mekly, adv. meekly. MM. 106.
- Mekyl, adj. much. CP. (249).
- Mele, sb. meal. CP. (97).
- Mell, v. meddle. Hey. 589.
- Memoryall, sb. memory, thought. MM. 1134.
- Mende, sb. mind. Co. 7.
- Mene, pr. 1 s. mean, think. Т. 647. FE. 408.
- Mener, adj. handsome. T. 702.
- Meneye, sb. company. T. 357. Mente, pt. pl. thought. Y. 139.
- Menytt, pr. s. meaneth. MM. 1544.
- Merakyll, sb. miracle. MM. 1551.
- Mercyabyl, adj. merciful. Co. 107.
- Merour, sb. mirror. Y. 34.
- Merrorys, sb. pl. mirrors, i. e. shining qualities. MM. 73. Mery, adj. merry. FE. 416.
- Merys, pr. s. grows merry. T. 725.
- Mesels, sb. pl. lepers. KJ. 2116.
- Messe, sb. the sacrament of the Mass. FE. 448.
- Messuer, imper. s. measure. Ch1. 28.
- Mesure, sb. reward. MM. 296.
- Met, adj. meet. CP. (250), (333).
- Mete, sh. meat. T. 321.
- Mete, adj. meet, fitting. Th. 38. Meve, v. move. MM, 1134; mevyd, pp. Co. 43.
- Meynye, sb. company. CP. (77). Michel, adj. much, great. Hh. 7, 47, 67, 119.
- Mightefull, adj. powerful. Y. 58.
- Y. 33. Mightes, sb. pl. powers.
- Mo, comp. adj. more. T. 686;

FE. 22; Hey. 616; Th. 66, 467, 470; Sk. 1978.

- Moche, adv. much. KJ. 1326.
- Mockes, sb. pl. jests. Hey. 603.
- Mode, sb. mood. T. 5, 14.
- Moder, sb. mother. Hh. 193.
- Moe, comp. adj. more. Ch1. 122.
- Molde, sb. mould, earth. CP. (154).
- Mon, sb. man. Ch1. 275. mone, dative. Ch1. 5.
- Mon, pr. 2 pl. may. Ch1. 284.
- Mone, pr. pl. may. Ch1. 129, cp. Ch1. 66; Ch2. 463.
- Mone, sb. moon. T. 673; FE. 374; Hey. 555.
- Mone, v. moan. KJ. 2125; sb. T. 47; Ev. 461.
- Hh. 207. Moneth, sb. month.
- Mony, sb. money. MM. 487.
- Mop, sb. young creature. T. 735.
- Moo, comp. adj. more. MM. 477.
- Mot, pr. 2 pl. must. MM. 107, 276.
- Mow, v. may. Co. 64.
- Moyn, sb. moon. T. 289.
- Mustyr, v. show. Y. 145.
- Myche, adv. much. FE. 505; adj. MM. 631.
- Myddel earde, sb. the middle region, the world. Ch². 267.
- Myddes, sb. midst. FE. 361. Mykyll, adj. great. MM. 1140.
- Myle, sb. mile. FE. 394.
- Myn, pr. 1 s. mind. T. 685, cp. 756.
- Myne, v. mind, think. Ch¹. 272.
- Mynstrelly, sb. minstrelsy. MM. **II4I**.
- Mynyshe, v. diminish, lessen. Ev. 878.
- Myrkness, sb. darkness. Y. 146.
- Mys, v. fail. Y. 83.
- Myschevyd, pp. hurt. Co. 76.
- Mytes, sb. pl. mights, powers. MM. 632, 1210.
- Myth, sb. might. MM. 1140, 1541; v. CP. (151).

N.

Na, adv. no. Hh. 66. Nacked, adj. naked. Ch2. 279.

- Nam, pt. s. took. Hh. 39.
- Nan, adj. none. Hh. 77.
- Nas, for ne was. Hh. 9.
- Nat, adv. not. MM. 57, etc.
- Natt, adv. not. MM. 1431.
- Nawther, conj. neither. T. 514.
- Ne, conj. nor. Ch¹. 18, etc.
- Neemly, adv. nimbly. T. 282.
- Ner, conj. nor. CP. (121).
- Ner, adv. nearly. MM. 293, 482.
- Nere, for ne were. Hh. 14.
- Nerehande, nearly. T. 2; nerehandes, T. 10.
- Neven, v. name, proclaim, speak. Y. 25, 85; nevyn. T. 659, 750.
- Nexile, sb. an aisle. Y. 25. See note.
- Ney, conj. neither, nor. Ch1. 72, 306.
- Nil, for ne will, will not. Hh. 62.
- Nolden, for ne wolden, would not. Hh. 232.
- Nomen, pt. pl. seized. Hh. 53.
- Non, *adj.* none. CP. (138). None, *sb.* noon. Th. 210.
- Nones, 'for the nones,' for the occasion. Th. 217.
- Not, pron. naught. KJ. 2146.
- CP. Not, for ne wot, know not. (7) (109).
- Note, sb. nut, head. Ch1. 246.
- Note, sb. labour, work. T. 314.
- Nother, conj. neither. Ev. 483;
- FE. 485, 506; Hey. 32; Th. 72, 85, etc.
- Noutt, adv. not. MM. 1377.
- Nowth, pron. naught. MM. 591.
- Nowther, conj. neither. KJ. 1347.
- Noy, v. annoy, distress. Y. 71, 85.
- Noyn, sb. noon. T. 290; noyne, T. 54.
- Noys, sb. nose. T. 623.
- Noyther, conj. neither. KJ. 1374.
- Noyttment, sb. ointment. MM. 640, 641.
- Nyce, adj. foolish. Th. 215.
- Nye, adv. nigh. Ev. 839.
- Nye, sb. harm. Ch1. II.
- Nyp, sb. approach thievishly. T. 300.

Nyse, adj. foolish. Hey. 577. Nyth, sb. night. CP. (184).

о.

- O, prep. of. Y. 5, 90.
- Obeysauns, sb. obedience. MM. 364.
- Occident, sb. west. FE. 372.
- Of, adv. off. MM. 379, 1444; FE. 446; Th. 885; KJ. 2095.
- Ofer, v. offer, sacrifice. MM. 1219.
- Oferyng, sb. sacrifice. MM. 1204.
- Off, prep. of. Ch¹. 125.
- Oke, sb. oak. Th. 109, 226.
- O-mys, adv. amiss. Y. 139.
- On, adj. one. CP. (265), (275); Hh. 44, 91.
- On-bynd, v. unbind. MM. 96.
- Onder, prep. under. MM. 266.
- One, prep. on. Ch¹. 11, 117.
- Ones, adv. once. Ev. 150, 837; Hey. 283, 289, 553, 600; Th. 67, 143, 518; KJ. 2160.
- Onest, adj. honest. Co. 114.
- On-lyve, adj. alive. CP. (36).
- Onstabyll, adj. unstable. MM. 588.
- Onto, prep. unto. MM. 617.
- Ony, adj. any. Ev. 71, 100, 157, 218.
- Onymentes, sb. pl. ointments. MM. 668.
- Onys, adv. once. MM. 52; CP. (126); Th. 29.
- Oone, adj. own. T. 46.
- T. 45. Oones, adv. once.
- Opteyn, v. obtain. FE. 41.
- Or, prep. ere, before. Ch1. 103, 118; Hey. 87, 94. 295; Th. 449. Oration, so. prayer. Th. 364.
- Ore, sb. grace, favour. CP. (26).
- Oryent, *sb*. the East. FE. 370. Other, *conj*. either. Th. 73, 286,
- 352, etc.
- Other whyle, adv. occasionally. CP. (158).
- Otys, sb. pl. oats. Hey. 131.
- Ou, pron. you. Hh. 2, 28.
- Oughte wher, adv. anywhere. Ch1. 296.
- Ous, pron. us. Hh. 36.
- Overall, adv. everywhere. Ev. 72.

Owles, sb. pl. owls. Ch1. 174.

- Owt, prep. out. MM. 96.
- Owte, an exclamation of pain. Y. 104.

P.

- Pacyens, sb. pacience. Hey. 69.
- Palet, sb. palate. Th. 34.
- Parais, sb. Paradise. Hh. 6, 167. Parceyve, v. perceive, understand. Th. 58; FE. 337.
- Parde, for pardieu. Ev. 270; per dee, KJ. 2081.
- Parfytely, adv. perfectly. Ev. 501.
- Parsayve, v. perceive. FE. 397.
- Partriche, sb. partridge. KJ. 2168.
- Parvert, adj. perverted, repro-bate. Hey. 45.
- Passande. pr. p. surpassing. Y. 56.
- Passeth, pr. s. surpasses. KJ. 2088.
- Passynge, adv. surpassingly. Ev. 647.
- Pastaunce, sb. pastime. EF. 524.
- Pay, sb. pleasure. MM. 1428.
- T. 28; Paynt, pp. painted. T. payntyd, feigned. Sk. 1886.
- Payre, v. fade, deteriorate. Y. 54.
- Peas, sb. peace. Ev. 768, 803; Hey. 42, 554. FE. 441.
- Pen, sb. pin. Sk. 1967.
- Pende. v. suspend. CP. (251).
- Pens, sb. pence. Hey. 22, 93, 132.
- Peple, sb. people. KJ. 1369.
- Pepyll, sb. people. MM. 1388.
- Per, prep. by; per dee, par Dieu. KJ. 2081.
- KJ. 2157. Perdon, z. pardon.
- Peres, sb. pl. peers. Y. 56.
- Perfyth, adj. perfect. MM. 611.
- perfection. sb. Perfythnesse, MM. 603.
- Perhenuall, adj. perennial. MM. 637.
- adv. perpetually. Perpetuall, MM. 636.
- Perse, v. pierce. Th. 71.
- Th. Persecute, pr. pl. pursue. 482.

- Pes, sb. peace. Co. 115; MM. 93, 625; CP. (66), (75).
- Peynes, sb. pl. pains. MM. 96.
- Peynfulnesse, sb. painfulness. MM. 608.
- Pine, sb. pain. Hh. 12, 63.
- Placys, sb. pl. places, benefices. KJ. 1312.
- Pleien, pr. 1 pl. play. Hh. 70.
- MM. Plesauns, sb. pleasure. 100, 361.
- Pleson, sb. pleasure. Co. 116.
- Plesowans, sb. pleasure. MM. 90.
- Plete, v. plead. Sk. 2061.
- Plezeauntly, adv. pleasantly. MM. 1540.
- Ploghe, sb. plough. T. 38.
- Ply, v. turn. Y. 12.
- Plye, imp. s. apply oneself to. KJ. 2164.
- Po, sb. peacock. T. 37.
- Pocyon, sb. potion, drink. KJ. 2083.
- Poll, v. cut short the hair, fleece. Hey. 9.
- Pomped, pp. pampered. Sk. 2038.
- Pore, adj. poor. MM. 596; porys, of the poor. Co. 51.
- Porsue, v. pursue. MM. 610.
- Portatur, messenger, angel. MM. 306.
- Post, imp. s. put. MM. 1558.
- Poste, sb. might. MM. 1559.
- Pottill, sb. pottle, flask. Ch1. 233.
- Potyt, pr. s. strives? MM. 606.
- Pouste, sb. power. Hh. 7. Povert, sb. poverty. CP. (78).
- Poynt, sb. part ; three poynt, three parts, i.e. nearly. CP. (321).
- Prease, sb. readiness. Th. 234.
- Predycacyon, sb. preaching. Hey. 563.
- Prefytyth, pr. s. profits. CP. (360).
- Prengnaunt, adj. pregnant. FE. 29.
- Preor, sb. prayer. MM. 1561; preors. MM. 1137.
- Preparate, pp. prepared. Ev. 631.

- Preposytour, sb. officer, prefect. Sk. 1967.
- Prese, sb. misprint for presence. Hey. 71.

Presens, sb. presence. MM. 1137.

- Presone, sb. prisons. Y. 32.
- Prest, adj. forward, ready. Th. 191, 878.
- Pretend, v. offer. KJ. 1366.
- Preve, v. prove, try. Ev. 142.
- Prist, sb. priest. KJ. 1337; pristes. KJ. 1279.
- Promtyt, pp. prompted. MM. 602.
- Proves, sb. pl. proofs. Th. 380. Provyd, v. provide. KJ. 1394.
- Prykkyd, pp. adorned, set out. MM. 358.
- Prynse, sb. prince. MM. 358.
- Pryse, sb. prize. MM. 472.
- Pryst, sb. priest. MM. 1544;
- prystes. MM. 1178; KJ. 1351. Punchement, sb. punishment.
- Co. 93.
- Purveance, sb. 'purveyance.' T. 33.
- Pyche, v. pitch, tar. Ch¹. 74.
- Pyghte, pp. pitched. Th. 238.
- Pylt, pp. pushed, knocked. CP. (174).
- Pynande, pr. p. torturing. Y. 72.
- Pyne, v. pine, suffer torture. Y. 32. Pyninge poyntes, sb. pl. tor-
- turing pricks. CP. (313).
- Pynne, sb. pin. Ch1. 61.
- sb. pensiveness. Pynsynesse, MM. 606.
- Pyrked, pp. proud, conceited. MM. 358.

Q.

- Quecke, adj. quick. Sk. 2070.
- Qued, adj. evil. Hh. 36.
- Quod, pst. p. quoth, said. Co. 25; FE. 529.
- Quycke, adj. quick, living. Ev. 255; Hey. 197.
- Quyte, v. pay, requite. Sk. 1902.
- Qwantte, adj. quaint. T. 604, 658.
- Qwatt, int. pron. what? MM. 1539, 1544.
- Qweme, v. please. Co. 122.

R.

Ramyd, pp. overreached. T. 16. Rathely, adv. quickly. CP. (398).

- Raumpinge, pp. ramping. Th. 85.
- Rayle, sb. a rail, a small bird. KJ. 2168.
- Raynes, sb. the town of Rennes. Sk. 2042.
- Reade, sb. counsel. Ch1. 101.
- Reade, pr. 1 s. counsel, advise. Ch². 269.
- Recche, v. reck, care. Hh. 120.
- Recure, v. recover. MM. 311.
- Red, imp. s. advise. T. 347.
- Rede, v. counsel, advise. CP. (96), (111); Hh. 66.
- Redshonckes, sb. pl. redshanks. Ch1. 190.
- Refe, pr. pl. deprive. T. 19.
- KJ. 1315. Reke, pr. 1 s. reckon.
- Relyff, v. relieve. MM. 488, 612.
- Hey. 560. Relykes, sb. pl. relics.
- Rendyt, pr. s. rends. MM. 271.
- Renne, v. run. Ev. 72, 846; Th. 17, 154, etc. ; Hh. 142.
- Reprefe, sb. reproof. Hey. 52; T. 587.
- Reprefe, v. reprove. T. 30.
- Resonnes, sb. pl. reasons, arguments. MM. 1527.
- Respeccyon, sb. regard. MM. 70.
- Ressayve, v. receive. Y. 90.
- Restoratyff, sb. restorative. MM. 486 ; return, payment. MM. 651.
- Restore, v. refresh. Y. 143.
- Restryne, sb. restrain. MM. 290.
- Rether, adv. rather. KJ. 1344.
- Retynawns, sb. retinue. MM.
- 362.
- Reve, v. deprive. Hh. 122.
- Rewle, v. rule. MM. 91; KJ. 1327.
- Rewthe, sb. pity. CP. (203).
- Reylle, v. ramble. T. 285.
- Rightwysnes, sb. righteousness. Y. 124.
- Rihte, adj. right, direct. Hh. 39, 201.
- Rike, sb. kingdom. Hh. 176.

- Rod, sb. rood. Hh. 38.
- Rodde, sb. rod, staff. Ev. 777.
- Rode, sb. rood, the holy cross. Ev. 812; CP. (30); Sk. 1896.
- Rombe, sb. room. Ch². 485.
- Rome, sb. room. FE. 415; Hey. 20.
- Ron, v. run. MM. 374.
- Roninge, pr. pt. running. Ch¹. 190.
- Roode, sb. the holy cross. Th. 174; Ch². 468.
- Rotten, sb. rat. Ch1. 179.
- Rowe, sb. row, line; on rowe, in order, duly. Y. 124.
- Rowfed, pp. roofed. Ch1. 34.
- Rown, v. whisper. MM. 495.
- Rowte, sb. company. MM. 374.
- Ruffle, v. shake. Th. 300.
- Ruffled, pp. swaggered. Th. 180.
- Ruffler, sb. swaggering bully. Th. 1.
- Rughly, adv. roughly. Sk. 1910. Ruth, sb. pity. MM. 274.
- Ryall, adj. royal. MM. 95, 361.
- Ryalte, sb. royalty. MM. 65.
- Rybbys, sb. pl. ribs. MM. 271.
- Ryche, adj. rich. CP. (74).
- Ryche, sb. kingdom. CP. (81).
- Rydy, adj. ready. MM. 1388.
- Rype, imp. pl. rip, ransack. T. 526.
- Ryst, v. rest. T. 641.
- Ryth, adj. right. CP. (23), (48), etc.
- Ryve, v. dress, robe. CP. (223).

S.

- Sadly, adv. soberly, steadfastly. MM. 614; Sk. 1966.
- Saffe, adj. safe. Ch1. 86; MM. 1434.
- Saggyd, pp. oppressed, encumbered. CP. (298).
- T. 611. Sagh, pt. 1 s. saw.
- Sagh, pt. 1 s. say. T. 617.
- Sake, sb. cause. Hh. 53. Sall, fut. shall. Y. 10, 15, 16, etc.
- Th. 35, 43, Sallet, sb. helmet. etc; sallett, KJ. 1347.
- Sallet, sb. a salad. Th. 37, 39.
- Sam, adv. together. T. 631.

- Santificatt, pp. sanctified. MM. 1555.
- Save, adj. safe. Th. 363.
- Saveryth, pr. s. savours. FE. 440.
- Say, pt. said. Ev. 271.
- Saynt, adj. holy. Ev. 148, 290, 921.
- Saynt, v. give health to. KJ. 2098.
- Schemerande, pr. p. shimmering, Y. 69.
- Schende, v. destroy. CP. (395); used intransitively. CP. (9).
- Schent, pp. destroyed. CP. (340).
- Schewyng, sb. appearance. Y.69.
- Schreve, pp. shriven. CP. (406).
- Schryfte, sb. absolution after confession. CP. (319).
- Schul, v. shall. CP. (72).
- Schynande, pr. p. shining. Y. 69.
- Scrat, v. scratch. Hey. 542.
- Scyens, sub. science, knowledge. FE. 393.
- Se, v. see. Co. 19; MM. 507; Ev. 16, 42; Hey. 611; Th. 59, 99.
- Se, sb. sea. Co. 29.
- See, sb. sea. MM. 1391.
- Sees, v. cease. Co. 93.
- Sei, v. say. Hh. 40.
- Seidest, pt. 2 s. saidest. Hh. 216.
- Sekyn, v. seek. CP. (377).
- Sekyr, adj. safe. CP. (399).
- Sele, sb. time, opportunity. CP. (24).
- Sely, adj. good, innocent. T. 10; CP. (20).
- Semely, adj. seemly, comely. Y. 52; semly. CP. (182).

- Sen, v. see. CP. (73). Sen, adv. since. Y. 9. Sendel, sb. thin silk. CP. (95).
- Sene, gerund, see. MM. 51; pp. seen. CP. (53).
- Sens, adv. since. KJ. 2128.
- Sentence, sb. proposition. FE. 26; judgment. KJ. 1320; the greater sentence, probably 'the Day of Judgment,' but possibly 'the greater excommunication.'

- Sentens, sb. opinion. Co. 123.
- Sentt, adj. saint, holy. MM. 1 205.
- Sentur, sb. centre. MM. 312.
- Serkylle, sb. circle. T. 289.
- Sertes, adv. certes, certainly. CP. (307); sertys, CP. (208), (332).
- Sestt, pr. 2 s. seest. MM. 1542.
- Set, v. value at; set not a strawe, Ev. 222; cp. Th. 172; set not a flye, Th. 117; sett the shakyng of a rod, KJ. 1383; set by, Sk. 1915, 1945.
- Sete, sb. seat. CP. (95).
- Sett, pr. 1 s. sit. MM. 1217; sette, MM. 361.
- Seven, set on seven, put things in order. T. 749. Sewte, sb. suit. KJ. 1370.
- Sey, v. say. MM. 1179; pr. 1 s. MM. 675; seye, pr. 2. pl. MM. 489.
- Seyd, pt. 1 s. said. MM. 1531.
- Seyle, pr. pl. sail. MM. 1427.
- Seyn, gerund, say. MM. 644.
- Seys, pr. 2 pl. seest. T. 316.
- Seyst, pt. 2 s. sawest. Th. 501.
- Seyth, sb. atonement. Co. 103.
- Seyyst, pr. 2 s. saist. MM. 1539.
- Shelde, sb. shield. Th. 405.
- Shepe, sb. ship. MM. 1423, 1420.
- Sheppyng, sb. shipping. MM. 1392, 1431.
- Sheynd, v. reprove, shame. T. 651.
- Sholde, v. should. Ev. 137, 146.
- Hh. Shope, pt. 2 s. createdst. 156.
- Shorte, v. shorten. Ev. 878.
- Shortely, adv. quickly, without delay. Ev. 778. Shote, v, shoot. Th. 105, 109.
- Shrew, pr. 1 s. curse. T. 310; Hey. 573.
- Shrewde, adj. malicious, ill. FE. 438; Th. 146.
- Shryve, v. absolve after confession. CP. (38); pp. shryven. Hey. 176.
- Shuld, should. KJ. 1387.

- Shuyd, pp. shewed. MM. 86. Sibnesse, sb. kinship. Hh. 204. Siththen, adv. since. Hh. 48. Sitten, v. sit. Ch¹. 164. Skante, adv. hardly. Th. 431. Skard, pp. scared. T. 300, 659. Skawd, sb. scold. T. 607. Skille, sb. wisdom. Ch2. 362. Skowte, sb. enterprise, scheme. MM. 375. Skryke, ? misprint for 'stryke.' MM. 1395. Slake, v. slacken. Ch². 247; imp. s. Ch1. 18. Sle, v. slay. Sk. 1939. Slefe, sb. sleeve. T. 28. **S**lo, v. slay. CP. (273). Slokyn, v. slacken. T. 687. Slokyn, v. slav. CP. (244), (377). Sloo, v. slay. CP. (244), (377). Slowches, sb. lazy fellows. 506. Slowe, v. slay. Ch'. 35. Slyche, sb. plaster. Ch1. 17, 73. Slydder, adj. slippery. Hey. 296. Slyke, adj. such. Y. 97. Smoder, v. smother. Ev. 796. Smore, pr. 2 pl. smother. Y. 117. Snek, sb. latch. T. 317. Soche, adj. such. KJ. 1366. Sokor, sb. succour. MM. 286; sokower, MM. 481. Solas, sb. solace, pleasure. MM. 63; Ev. 277. Somekyl, adv. somewhat. CP. (267). Somkyns, some kind of. Т. 719. Somoned, pp. summoned. Ev. 493. Sompe, sb. swamp. CP. (151). Son, sb. sun. Hey. 90. Son, adv. soon. MM. 1529. Sond, sb. sand. MM. 1439. Sonde, sb. messenger. Hh. 150. Sonde, sb. message, errand. CP. (397). Sone, sb. sum. FE. 374. Sone, adv. soon. CP. (74); KJ. 2146. Sonest, sup. adv. soonest. Th.
- 903.

Sorde, sb. sword. Ch2. 291.

- Soroyng, pp. sorrowing. MM. 200.
- Sort, sb. company, crew. Th. 250; KJ. 2169.
- Sortes, adv. certes, certainly. CP. (65).
- Sorwe, sb. sorrow. Co. 18.
- Soth, sb. truth. MM. 100.
- Sothfast, adj. truthful. Hh. 18.
- Sotyllte, sb. subtlety. MM. 378.
- Southly, adv. soothly, truly. Ch1. 44.
- Sowlys, sb. gen. s. sonl's. MM. 286.
- Sownd, v. take soundings. MM. 1397.
- Sowth, pp. sought. MM. 307, 594.
- Soyne, adv. soone. T. 50.
- Spar, v. fasten. T. 338.
- Spares, pr. 2 s. sparest. Ch1. 43.
- Speceows, adj. special, particular. MM. 628.
- Spede, sb. progress. Hey. 205.
- Spede, v. help, forward. Ev. 771; CP. (327).
- Speede, pp. sped, despatched. Ch². 388.
- Spelle, v. tell, relate. CP. (372).
- Spere, sb. sphere. Ev. 899.
- Spill, v. destroy. Ch1. 43, 308; Ch². 287; Y. 110.
- Sprete, sb. spirit. Y. 18.
- Sprytes, sb. pl. spirits. MM. 483. Spyll, v. kill. Th. 434.
- Spylt, pp. destroyed. CP. (176), (321).
- Spyttle-howses, sb. pl. hospitals. KJ. 2127.
- Stale, adj. antiquated. Th. 246.
- Stale, pt. s. stole. Th. 241.
- Standes, pr. 2 s. standest. Ch1. 193.
- Starke, *adj.* stiff. KJ. 1283. Starne, *sb.* star. T. 588, 665. Stat, sb. state, condition. CP. (310).
- Stavys, sb. pl. staves, cudgels. Hey. 573.
- Steade, sb. place. Ch2. 207, 264. Stele, sb. steel. CP. (112).

- Stere, v. stir. Ev. 488.
- Sterris, sb. pl. stars. T. 658. Steven, sb. voice. Y. 75. Steylle, sb. steel. T. 710.

- Stiche, sb. stick. Ch1. 75.
- Stodyys, sb. pl. studies. MM. 488.
- Stokys, sb. pl. stocks. Hey. 602.
- Ston, sb. stone. CP. (71).
- Stond, pr. s. stands. KJ. 1358.
- Stondyth, pr. s. stands. FE. 345; stondyth not, is not consistent with. KJ. 1391.
- Stordy, adj. sturdy. KJ. 1283. Stott, sb. young bull. T. 529.
- Stounde, sb. time, occasion. Ev. 633.
- Stower, so. store. Ch1. 307*.
- Stownd, sb. time, occasion. MM. 1220.
- Stowth, adj. stout. MM. 373.
- Strate, sb. strait; 'in a strate,' at a pinch. T. 322.
- Straytway, adv. straightway, immediately. Hey. 615.
- Strayte, adj. strict. Ev. 244.
- Strete and stalle, CP. (42); strete and stronde, CP. (199), (226); strete and stye, CP. (7); strete and style, CP. (12); alliterative phrases with general meaning 'everywhere.'
- Streytnes, sb. straitened circum-stances. MM. 97.
- Sty, sb. a narrow lane, contrasted with strete, a highway, in the phrases stye and strete, CP. (89), (189); strete and sty, CP. (7).
- Stylle, adv. silently. CP. (71).
- Substancyall, adj. full of matter. FE. 11, 18.
- Sucke, adj. such. Ch². 259.
- Suete, adj. sweet. Hh. 193. Sum, adj. some. MM. 495.
- Supportacyon, sb. tolerance, forbearance. FE. 5; Hey. 69. Surely, adv. safely. Ev. 147.
- Suspowse, sb. suspicion. T. 525.
- Swane, sb. swain, fellow. T. 37.
- Swearde, sb. sword. Th. 435, 455.
- Swedylle, pr. pl. swaddle, wrap. T. 605.

- Co. 127. Sweme, sb. sorrow.
- Th. 288. Swerde, sb. sword.
- Swyche, adj. such. MM. 58, 87; CP. (36).
- Swynke, v. labonr. T. 323.
- Swythe, adv. quickly. CP. (160).
- Sye, v. sigh. CP. (175), (222), (332); syest, CP. (306); syinge, CP. (315).
- Syke, sb. stream. CP. (151).
- Sykenesse, sb. sureness. Sk. 2054.
- Symple, adj. simple, foolish. Ev. 283.
- Syn, adv. since. CP. (40), (77), (119).
- Syt, pr. s. sitteth. CP. (242); is becoming. Co. 113.
- Syth, adv. since. MM. 624; Ev. 312; Hey. 19.
- Syth, sb. sight. MM. 69, 613, etc.
- Syyng, sb. sighing. MM. 63.

T.

- Take, v. give. T. 765 ; take of worth, regard highly. Ev. 904.
- Tale, sb. count, reckoning. CP. (171).
- Talents, sb. pl. desires, inclinations. Y. 144. Tane, pp. taken. T. 337.
- Tappe, sb. ? Ev. 801.
- Taspysster, sb. fem. tapster, barmaid. MM. 495.
- Tast, sb. taste. MM. 482.
- Tastinge, sb. trial, proof. Th. 46, 343.
- Tawth, pp. tanght, given in charge, committed. CP. (92).
- Te, v. go, run. Hh. 8; tee. CP. (398).
- Techyd, pp. tanght. MM. 1382.
- Techyth, pr. s. shows, directs. CP. (28).
- Teene, sb. sorrow. Ch1. 319.
- Tell, adv. till. Ch1. 7, 134.
- Telle, v. reckon. Co. 1.
- Temtyd, pp. tempted. MM. 603.
- Ten, v. go, run. Hh. 231.
- Tene, *sb*. sorrow. CP. (57). Tene, *pr. 2 tl.* trouble. T. 648.

- Tenys, sb. tennis. T. 747.
- Teres, sb. pl. tears. MM. 666.
- Terestryall, adj. terrestrial. Ev. 155.
- Termys, sb. pl. phrases. FE. 42.
- Teyn, sb. sorrow. T. 724.
- Than, adv. then, Co. 81, 86; Ev. 166; Hey. 44, 289; KJ. 2096, etc.
- Thane, conj. than. Y. 113.
- Thar, v. need (used impersonally). Y. 64.; T. 318; MM. 1437.
- Thare, pron. their. T. 360.
- The, pron. they. Ch¹. 8; CP. (206), etc.
- Then, conj. than. Th. 514.
- Thenne, adv. thence. Hh. 13.
- Ther, adv. where. MM. 621.
- Ther, pron. their. MM. 79.
- Tho, adv. then, when. Hh. 4. Tho, dem. adj. those. Hh. 84.
- Thole, v. suffer. T. 317; pp. Hh. 49, 58; pt. 1 s. tholed. tholede. Hh. 208.
- Thore, adv. there. Hh. 65.
- Thorowe, prep. through. Y. 84.
- Thou, conj. though. CP. (344).
- Thought, sb. sadness, anxiety. Sk. 1995.
- Thowth, sb. thought. MM. 633; CP. (48).
- Thoys, dem. adj. those. MM. 1388.
- Thred, num. adj. third. KJ. 1303.
- Threde, sb. thread. Hey. 260.
- Threpe, pr. 2 pl. chide, dispute. Y. 114.
- Threttye, num. thirty. Co. 11.
- Thridde, num. adj. third. Hh. 45, 74.
- Thrist, sb. thirst. Hh. 50.
- Thritti, num. thirty. Hh. 45.
- Throwe, sb. while, time. CP. (123), (147).
- Thryfe, v. thrive. T. 27.
- Thryst, v. thrust. Ev. 825.
- Thryst, sb. thirst. MM. 492; thryste. Co. 13.
- Thu, pron. thou. KJ. 2078, 2100, 2105.
- Thyder, adv. thither. Ev. 675, 018.

Thylke, adj. that. Hey. 44, 46.

- Thynkes, pr. 2 s. thinkest. MM. 591.
- Till, prep. to. Ch1. 47.
- To, num. two. MM. 68; CP. (34).
- Tocken, sb. token. Ch1. 311, 318.
- Toddes, sb. pl. toads. MM. 1199.
- To-dyghte, pp. committed to. Y. 98.
- Togyder, adv. together. Ev. 666, 677; Hey. 285.
- Toke, pt. took. Ev. 848.
- Token, so. parable. T. 331.
- To modys, conj. provided that. CP. (197).
- Ton, adj. the one. CP. (28), (38).
- Tone, adj. the one, though used with the definite article, 'the tone.' Hey. 579.
- Tong, sb. tongue. MM. 278; tonge. Ch1. 234; MM. 1530.
- Too, sb. toe. CP. (209).
- Torke, sb. Turkey. MM. 1435.
- Tother, the, i.e. that other. CP. (39).
- Towe, num. two. Ch¹. 121.
- To-whyls, adv. whilst. Y. 62.
- Traysh, sb. trash. KJ. 1389.
- Treey, sb. tree. Ch1. 89.
- Tromyll, v. tremble. MM. 1554.
- Treubelacyon, sb. tribulation. MM. 1534.
- Trew, adj. true. MM. 66, 603.
- Trobylled, pp. troubled. MM. 269.
- Trone, sb. throne. Ev. 637; CP. (43).
- Trost, sb. trust. MM. 634, 1214. Trotte, sb. old woman. Th. 501.
- Trow, adj. true. CP. (212).
- Trye, adj. pure, refined. CP. (81), (216).
- Tryfellys, sb. pl. trifles. FE. 17.
- Twyne, pr. 1 s. separate. Y. 153.
- Tyde, sb. time, MM. 273, 1442.

Tympanye, sb. dropsy. KJ. 2117. Tyne, adj. tiny. T. 735.

- Tyte, adv. quickly; as tyte, as quickly as may be. T. 638. Tytte, sb. teat. Th. 73.
- Tytyll, sb. title, name. MM. 603.

υ.

- Unbuxumnes, sb. disobedience. Y. 123.
- Unchende, adj. unkind, unnatural? or for unhend, uncourteous. CP. (13).
- Underfoe, v. undertake. Ch.¹ 67. 412.

Underfonge, v. undergo. Ch².

Unkende, adj. unnatural. Co. 67.

Unkynde, adj. unnatural. Co. 59; Ev. 23; unkind. Ev. 310.

Unlykynge, adj. in poor condition. Sk. 1984.

Unneth, adv. scarcely. FE. 19.

- Unrightes, sb. unrighteousness. Ch1. 142.
- Unthryvandly, adv. in vain, unthrivingly. Y. 114.

Unyte, sb. unity. MM. 620.

V.

- Vagys, sb. pl. strayings. Sk. 1947.
- Vayne, sb. vein. Hey. 548.
- Velyarde, sb. old man, dotard. Sk. 1903.
- Vengeabyl, adj. vengeful. Co. 105.
- Venter, v. venture. Ev. 484.
- Vernage, sb. wine of Verona. MM. 480.
- Veryabyll, adj. variable. MM. 590, 595.
- Violatt, pp. violated, polluted, foul. MM. 1557.
- Vyage, sb. voyage. Ev. 249, 674. 782.
- Vyand, sb. food. FE. 465.

W.

- Walter, v. welter, roll about. Sk. 1936.
- Wane, sb. wain, waggon. T. 38.
- War, comp. adj. worse. Y. 113. War, v. were. MM. 1535.
- Warande, pr. 1 s. warrant. Y, 96; KJ. 2105.
- Ware, imp. s. beware. MM. 492. Ware, v. wear. KJ. 1324.

- Warke, sb. work. Y. 15, 17, etc. warkes. FE. 20.
- Warloo, sb. warlock, wizard. T. 651, 723.
- Warrye, v. curse. Ch¹. 273; wary. T. 19; waryd. T. 723.
- Wassayle, s. wassail, 'good health.' KJ. 2165.
- Wast, sb. waste. MM. 487.
- Wat, pr. I s. know. Hh. 217.
- Waus, pt. was. CP. (314).
- Waxit, pr. s. waxeth, grows. CP. (144).
- Waye, pr. 2 pl. weigh. KJ. 2166; wayeth. KJ. 1321.
- Wayn, adj. vain. MM. 595.
- Wede, sb. attire. CP. (183); Hh. 34.
- Weder, adv. wither. CP. (177), (271).
- Weders, sb. pl. weathers, storms. Т. 1.

Wedyr, adv. whither. CP. (49).

- Weeke, adj. weak. Ch1. 67.
- Weelde, sb. power. Y. 67.
- Weendande, pr. p. wending. Υ. 96.
- Weete, sb. wet, rain. Ch1. 95.
- Wei, sb. way. Hh. 39, 209.
- Weither, sb. weather. Ch1. 323, 876.
- Weither, sb. wether. Ch². 441.
- Weke, adj. weak. Ev. 482.
- Welde, v. wield, rule, enjoy. Y. 28, 73; Hh. 108.
- Welde, sb. power. Y. 86.
- Wele, sb. wealth, well-being. CP. (79), (335).
- Wele, adv. well. KJ. 2137, 2145.
- Weledyng, sb. wielding, rule. Y. 39; weledande, pr. p. Y. 86.
- Well, pr. 1 s. boil, seethe. Y. 104, 131.
- Welth, sb. well-being, salvation. Y. 3, 28, 85.
- Wemen, sb. pl. women. Ch1. 48, 67.
- Wende, pp. thought. Ev. 163.
- Wendest, pr. 2 s. weenest, thinkest. Hey. 179.
- Wene, v. think. CP. (48); cp. Ch1. III; MM. 493; wenest, Ev. 161.

- Wente, pp. gone. Y. 105.
- Wepyn, sb. pl. weapons. T. 626.
- Wer, pt. 2 s. wast. MM. 673.
- Werd, sb. world. CP. (72); werdes, CP. (68).
- Were, v. wear. Ev. 648; Th. 55, 129.
- Werely, adv. verily. MM. 675.
- Wery, v. weary, grow tired. FE. 518.
- Weryauns, sb. variance. MM. 92. Th. Werye, v. war against.
- 406. Wes, pt. s. was. Hh. 4.
- Westment, sb. vestment. MM. 1183.
- Wete, v. know. Y. 67; Ev. 88, 112, 143.
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- Weth, prep. with. FE. 522.
- Wetyn, v. know. CP. (101).
- Wexith, pr. s. waxes, becomes. FE. 460.
- Weyle, v. wail. CP. (173).
- Weylle, adv. well. T. 287, 709.
- Weyn, pr. 1 s. ween. T. 706.
- Weyscelles, sb. pl. weasels. Ch1. 175.
- Whan, adv. when. Ev. 641; whane, CP. (45).
- What, adv. how. T. 1, 298; CP. (405).
- Wheder, adv. whether. Ev. 287.
- Wheder, adv. whither. Ev. 297. 306.
- Wher, pt. pl. were. MM. 369; imp. subj. MM. 1436.
- Where, conj. whereas. Hev. 276.
- Whyder, adv. whither. Ev. 802.
- Who, pron. whoever. MM. 61.
- Whorshep, sb. worship. MM. 384.
- Whow, adv. how. CP. (13), (74)
- Whypyng, pr. p. wiping. MM. 640.
- Whytly, adv. quickly. MM. 376.
- Whytt, sb. bit, atom. CP. (85).
- Wiht, sb. wight, man. Hh. 23. Wike, sb. town, place. Hh. 175.
- Winde, v. escape. Hh. 146.

- Wist, pp. known. Hh. 49.
- Wite, v. know. Hh. 71.
- With so that, conj. provided that. CP. (167).
- Wo, pron. who. MM. 608.
- Wod, sb. wood. T. 661.
- Wode, adj. mad, furious. CP. (34); Y. 105.
- Wold, wolde, would. Hey. 558; KJ. 1387; Ev. 274.
- Wole, woll, will. Co. 14; MM. 488.
- Won, v. dwell. Y. 28.
- Wonde, v. turn aside from. CP. (201).
- Wonders, adv. wondrously. Ev. 7; wondersly, FE. 329.
- Wondydd, pp. wrapped, veloped in. MM. 605. en-
- Wone, v. dwell. Y. 137; Hh. 160; wonen, Hh. 233; woned, Hh. 46.
- Wones, sb. pl. places, dwellings. Y. 28.
- Wondyr, adv. wonderfully. CP. 51).
- Woo, pron. who. MM. 609.
- Wood, adj. mad. Ch¹. 254.
- Worche, v. work. Ch¹. 50; KJ. 1382.
- Word, sb. world. MM. 305, 381.
- Worthely, adj. worthy. Y. 17.
- Wo so, pron. who so. MM. 57.
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- Wyche, pron. which. CP. (107).
- Wycke, sb. wickedness. CP. (39).
- Wyhylles, sb. pl. wiles. MM. 377.

- Wylddyng, sb. wielding, power. MM. 59.
- Wylfull, adj. voluntary. Hey. 23.
- Wyn, sb. wine. MM. 485.
- Wynche, v. kick. Sk. 2049.
- Wynde, v. go. FE. 418.
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- Wyrk, v. work. T. 282. Wyrschip, sð. worship. Y. 81.
- Wyse, sb. manner. MM. 665.
- Wyshyng, pr. p. guiding. Υ. 157.
- Wyssande, pr. p. guiding. Y. 152.
- Wythly, adv. actively, swiftly. MM. 270.
- Wytt, sb. knowledge, understanding Co. 115; MM. 1213; wytte, Ch1. 29.
- Wytte, know. Hey. 85.

Wytystsauf, pr. 2 s. vouchestsafe. MM. 624.

X.

Xall, fut. s. shall. MM. 64, etc. Xulde, pt. s. should. MM.

Y.

Y, pr. I. KJ. 1322; MM 292. Ya, adv. yea, yes. CP. (53). Yarde, sb. stick, rod. Ch2. 290. Yarde, pp. made ready. Ch1. 91. Yare, adj. ready, prepared. T. 715.

Y-beten, pp. beaten. Sk. 2043. Ydolls, sb. pl. idols. KJ. 1352.

Yeinder, adj. yonder. Ch1. 214. Yender, adj. yonder. Ch². 250; MM. 1438.

- Yer, adv. ere, before. Th. 328.
- Yerth, sb. earth. FE. 332, 340.
- Yf, conj. if. FE. 24.
- Yinge, adj. young. Ch². 369. Yle, sb. aisle. KJ. 2114.
- Ylle, adv. ill. T. 1.
- Ymagyn, v. imagine. Hey. 287.
- Ynough, adv. enough. Th. 207; ynoughe. Ev. 816.
- Yode, pt. pl. went, ran. T. 517.
- Yone, adj. yonder. CP. (391), (404).
- Yower, pron. your. MM. 86.
- Yre, sb. ire, wrath. Hey. 59; Th. 77.
- Yrons, sb. pl. irons. Th. 170, 188.
- Ys, pr. s. is. KJ. 1313.
- Ywys, adv. iwis, certainly. Th. 96, 510; Hey. 553. Yys, sb. pl. eyes. MM. 640.
- Yys, adv. yes. CP. (155), (164).

Z.

- 3af, pt. gave. Hh. 91.
- zates, sb. pl. gates. Hh. 135.
- 3ateward, sb. porter. Hh. 137.
- zeme, v. guard, take care of. Hh. 24, 167.
- 3er, sb. year. Hh. 45. 3erned, pp. yearned. Hh. 162.
- 3if, imp. s. give. Hh. 173.
- 3if, conj. if. Hh. 121.
- zonge, *adj.* young. Hh. 132. zoven, *pp.* given. Hh. 177.

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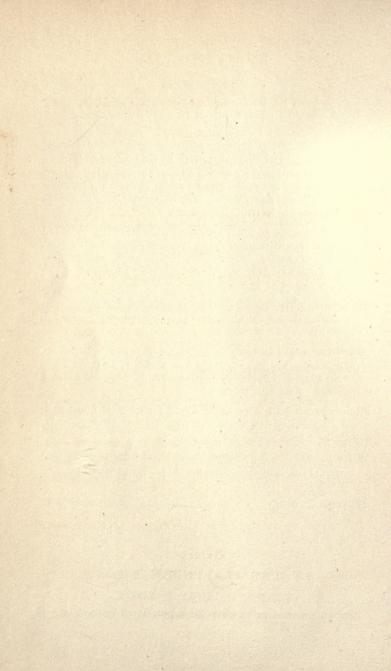
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