

THE MEDIEVAL DRAMA OF EAST ANGLIA  
Studies in Dialect, Documentary Records  
and Stagecraft  
in Two Volumes

Volume Two

Notes and Bibliography

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. K. Sisam, Fourteenth Century Verse and Prose (Oxford 1921); the map precedes the Introduction.
2. Plays in manuscript were obviously susceptible to revision in connexion with specific performances. For a clear cut Continental example see O. Jodogne, 'Le Théâtre Médiéval et sa Transmission par le Livre', Research Studies (Washington) 32 1964 pp. 63-75.
3. N. Davis, Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments, E.E.T.S. S.S.1, (Oxford 1970) pp. cxi-cxiv, 114-5. (Hereafter cited as 'Davis, NCPF').
4. R.H. Robbins, 'An English Mystery Play Fragment ante 1300', M.L.N. 65 1950 p. 30; confirmed by Davis, NCPF p. cxii.
5. Davis, NCPF p. cxiv, compares the language with that of the Anglo-Irish Pride of Life (no. 6 in the text, below) and comments that 'It would not be surprising if this also came from Ireland...'
6. J.A.W. Bennett, G.V. Smithers, Early Middle English Verse and Prose (2nd ed., Oxford 1968) pp. 196-200, 370-3; B. Dickins, R.M. Wilson, Early Middle English Texts (London 1951) pp. 132-5, 240-2.
7. R.S. Loomis, 'Lincoln as a Dramatic Centre before 1500', Mélanges d'histoire du théâtre...offerts à Gustave Cohen (Paris 1950) p. 241.
8. Dame Sirith is printed in Bennett and Smithers, Early Middle English, pp. 80-95, and the relationship with the Interludium is discussed on p. 197. The

surviving text of the fabliau is in the west-midland dialect of Bodleian Ms. Digby 86 (c. 1272-83) but there is no doubt that the underlying language is north-east midland. It seems likely that both texts originated in south Lincolnshire, or an adjoining county; cf. E. Ekwall, 'Some Notes on Place-names in Middle English Writings', Selected Papers, Lund Studies in English 33 1963 pp. 121-4.

9. Davis, NCPF pp. cxiv-cxv, 116-7.
10. Davis, NCPF p. cxiv, dates the manuscript and the dialect is noted by Sisam, Fourteenth Century Verse and Prose p. xxvi.
11. Davis, NCPF pp. xiv-xxii, 1-7.
12. The fragments were first discussed by W.W. Skeat, The Academy, 4 Jan. 1890 p. 11, who suggested that they were in Yorkshire dialect. Davis however, NCPF p. xxi, points out marked north-west midland features.
13. Davis, NCPF p. xxii. For the early Lichfield performances see K. Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church (Oxford 1933) 2 pp. 522-3; Young also favoured Lichfield diocese as the probable area of origin for the texts.
14. Davis, NCPF pp. cxv-cxviii, 118-9. A minor hint of a clerical scribe's work here is the pen-trial 'Fuit homo' (Davis, p. cxvi), from John 1:6.
15. Davis, NCPF p. cxviii.
16. Davis, NCPF pp. lxxxv-c, 90-105; J. Mills, The Account Roll of the Priory of Holy Trinity, Dublin, 1337-1346 (Dublin 1891) pp. 126-42.

17. For the date see Davis, NCPF p. lxxxv, for the scribes Mills, Account Roll pp. 185-6.
18. W. Heuser, Die Kildare-Gedichte (Bonn 1904) pp. 66-71; Davis, NCPF pp. xcvi, c. The Pride of Life was also included by A. McIntosh and M.L. Samuels in their inventory of Hiberno-English manuscripts: 'Prolegomena to a Study of Medieval Anglo-Irish', M.Ae. 37 1968 p. 3.
19. Davis, NCPF pp. c-cxi, 106-13.
20. Davis, NCPF p. cxi.
21. M. Eccles, The Macro Plays, E.E.T.S. 262, (Oxford 1969) pp. viii-xxvii, 1-111 (hereafter cited as 'Eccles, MP'); D.M. Bevington, The Macro Plays, A Facsimile Edition with Facing Transcriptions (New York and Washington 1972).
22. Eccles, MP p. viii.
23. Eccles, MP p. x.
24. W.K. Smart, in 'The Castle of Perseverance: Place, Date and a Source', Manly Anniversary Studies in Language and Literature (Chicago 1923) pp. 42-53, noted that the reference to 'Canwyke' at line 2421 could relate to the place of that name just outside Lincoln (mod. Canwick). J. Bennett, in 'The "Castle of Perseverance": Redactions, Place, and Date', M.S. 24 1962 pp. 141-52, argues that the Macro copy itself was made in the Lincoln area, but Eccles (MP p. xi) shows that this view is unsound on purely linguistic grounds. Loomis, 'Lincoln as a Dramatic Centre' pp. 244-5, also argued for Lincoln.

25. Eccles, MP p. xi; Furnivall, in F.J. Furnivall, A.W. Pollard, The Macro Plays, E.E.T.S. E.S. XCI, (London 1904) pp. xxxiii-xlii.
26. Davis, NCPF pp. xlvii-lviii, 32-42.
27. Davis, NCPF p. lvii; the manuscript was studied in detail by R. Brotanek, Mittelenglische Dichtungen aus der Handschrift 432 des Trinity College in Dublin (Halle 1940).
28. Block, K.S., Ludus Coventriae, or The Plaie called Corpus Christi, E.E.T.S. E.S. CXX, (London 1922) (hereafter cited as 'Block, LC'); a new edition is currently being prepared by Dr. S. Spector.
29. Block, LC p. xv.
30. Block, LC pp. xv-xvi, xxxiii.
31. Block, LC p. xvi.
32. The Lincoln hypothesis has recently been reconsidered by M. Eccles, 'Ludus Coventriae, Lincoln or Norfolk?', M.Ae. 40 1971 pp. 135-41, and re-stated by C. Gauvin, Un Cycle du Théâtre Religieux Anglais au Moyen Age (Paris 1973) pp. 63-92. Cf. my review of the latter work, M.Ae. 44 1975 pp. 303-5.
33. W.W. Greg, The Assumption of the Virgin (Oxford 1915), p. 7; E.K. Chambers, English Literature at the Close of the Middle Ages (Oxford 1945) p. 47; E.J. Dobson, 'The Etymology and Meaning of Boy', M.Ae. 9 1940 p. 152; N. Davis, 'The Language of the Pastons', Proc. Br. Academy 40 1955 p. 133; Eccles, 'Ludus Coventriae, Lincoln or Norfolk?', p. 137. Gauvin, Un Cycle du Théâtre p. 80, quotes the judgement of Professors McIntosh and Samuels, who 'place' the main scribe of the Cottonian Ms. in south

- central Norfolk. Cf. also J. Bennett, 'The Language and Home of the Ludus Coventriae', Orbis 22 1973 pp. 43-63.
34. Block, LC pp. 354-73; Greg, The Assumption of the Virgin, ed. cit.
35. Block, LC p. xvi; Greg, The Assumption of the Virgin p. 7.
36. Greg, The Assumption of the Virgin pp. 7, 21.
37. Eccles, MP pp. 114-52 (Wisdom) and 154-84 (Mankind); cf. also Bevington, The Macro Plays, A Facsimile.
38. Eccles, MP p. xxvii; Bevington, ed. cit. p. xvii, follows Pollard in distinguishing two hands (Furnivall and Pollard, The Macro Plays, 1904 ed., p. xxviii). Cf. also N. Davis and M.B. Parkes, N. and Q. 220 1975 p. 79, a review of the Bevington facsimile. I deal with the scribal problem here in detail, in Chapter Four.
39. The evidence is summarized by Eccles, MP p. xxxviii.
40. Furnivall, The Macro Plays (1904 ed.) pp. xxxiii-xlii; Dobson, 'The Etymology and Meaning of Boy', p. 152; Eccles, MP p. xxxi. On the places mentioned in Mankind see Eccles's note to lines 505-15, and the references there.
41. Eccles, MP pp. xxviii-xxix, xxxvii.
42. Davis, NCPF pp. cxx-cxxiv, 121-3.
43. For further biographical notes on Reynys see I.G. Calderhead, 'Morality Fragments from Norfolk', M.P. 14 1916 pp. 1-9.



44. Davis, NCPF pp. lviii-lxx, 43-57.
45. Davis, NCPF pp. lx-lxi.
46. Davis, NCPF p. lxx.
47. Davis, NCPF pp. cxviii-cxx, 120.
48. The ownership marks and some of the contents serve to connect the manuscript with both East Anglia and Cheshire; see J.P. van Zutphen, A Litol Tretys (Rome 1957) pp. xli-xlii. It was evidently owned at some time by a Cistercian who had business in East Anglia, and the contents include Richard Lavenham's Tretys and a selection from Dives and Pauper; cf. P. Barnum, Dives and Pauper 1 (1), E.E.T.S. 275 (Oxford 1976) p. xii.
49. L. Toulmin Smith, York Plays (Oxford 1885).
50. Toulmin Smith, York Plays p. xviii; W.W. Greg, Bibliographical and Textual Problems of the English Miracle Cycles (London 1914) p. 26.
51. A.C. Cawley, The Wakefield Pageants in the Towneley Cycle (Manchester 1958) pp. xii ff.
52. G. England, A.W. Pollard, The Towneley Plays, E.E.T.S. E.S. LXXI (Oxford 1897). A new edition is being prepared by Professor Cawley and M. Stevens.
53. A.C. Cawley, M. Stevens, The Towneley Cycle, A Facsimile Edition of Huntington MS. HM 1 (Leeds 1976) pp. ix, xvi-xvii.
54. Cawley and Stevens, ed. cit., p. ix.
55. A critical edition of both texts has been promised by Mr. W. Host, of the Ohio State University, U.S.A.

56. N. Davis, 'Two Unprinted Dialogues in Late Middle English, and their Language', Revue des Langues Vivantes 35 1969 pp. 461-72. Some account of the texts will also be found in A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 3 ed. A.E. Hartung (New Haven 1972) pp. 742-4, 900.
57. Davis, 'Two Unprinted Dialogues' pp. 461, 466-7.
58. Davis, 'Two Unprinted Dialogues' p. 469, and cf. M.L. Samuels, 'Some Applications of Middle English Dialectology', English Studies 44 1963 pp. 81-94.
59. Davis, 'Two Unprinted Dialogues' p. 471.
60. F.J. Furnivall, The Digby Plays, E.E.T.S. E.S. LXX, (London 1896) (hereafter cited as 'Furnivall, DP') pp. 139-66. A new edition of all the plays edited by Furnivall under this title is being prepared by D.C. Baker and J.L. Murphy.
61. D.C. Baker, J.L. Murphy, 'The Late Medieval Plays of Digby Ms. 133: Scribes, Dates, and Early History', R.O.R.D. 10 1967 pp. 153-66.
62. Baker and Murphy, 'Digby Ms. 133' p. 156.
63. Professor Baker, in a private communication, tells me that the forthcoming E.E.T.S. re-edition of the play will place it in East Anglia.
64. Block, LC p. xvi.
65. Furnivall, DP pp. 27-52.
66. Baker and Murphy, 'Digby Ms. 133' pp. 154-6.
67. Chambers, English Literature at the Close of the Middle Ages p. 44.

68. See the O.E.D. entry under x.
69. Furnivall, DP pp. 55-136.
70. Baker and Murphy, 'Digby Ms. 133', p. 155.
71. Furnivall, DP p. 53; Dobson, 'The Etymology and Meaning of Boy' pp. 152-3.
72. Furnivall, DP pp. 1-24.
73. Baker and Murphy, 'Digby Ms. 133' pp. 154-5.
74. Baker and Murphy, art. cit. p. 155.
75. Furnivall, DP p. xiv; H.R. Patch, 'The Ludus Coventriae and the Digby Massacre', P.M.L.A. 35 1920 pp. 324-43.
76. Davis, NCPF pp. lxx-lxxxv, 58-89.
77. Davis, NCPF pp. lxxi-lxxii, indicates the division of labour amongst the scribes.
78. Davis, NCPF p. lxxxv.
79. McIntosh and Samuels, 'Prolegomena to a Study of Medieval Anglo-Irish' pp. 7, 11 n34; Davis, NCPF p. lxxxiv.
80. Mr. M. Benskin of Glasgow University, who has made a special study of the Anglo-Irish manuscripts with Professors McIntosh and Samuels, tells me that the Play of the Sacrament is now considered not to be even partially Anglo-Irish.
81. Furnivall, DP pp. 171-226. Baker and Murphy are also re-editing these texts for the E.E.T.S, and they deal with Furnivall's error in 'The Bodleian

- Ms. E. mus. 160 Burial and Resurrection, and the Digby Plays' R.E.S. NS 19 1968 pp. 290-3.
82. Furnivall, DP p. 170.
83. R.M. Lumiansky, D. Mills, The Chester Mystery Cycle 1, E.E.T.S. S.S.3, (Oxford 1974) pp. ix-xxvii.
84. A.C. Cawley, 'The Sykes Manuscript of the York Scriveners' Play', Leeds Studies in English 7-8. 1952 pp. 45-80.
85. Cawley, 'York Scriveners' Play' pp. 45, 49.
86. H. Craig, Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays, E.E.T.S. E.S. LXXXVII, (2nd. ed., Oxford 1957) pp. 33-71.
87. Craig, Coventry Corpus Christi Plays pp. 1-32.
88. T. Sharpe, A Dissertation on the Pageants or Dramatic Mysteries Anciently Performed at Coventry (Coventry 1825) pp. 83-114.
89. For the rediscovery of the Kirkpatrick text see F.I. Dunn, 'The Norwich Grocers' Play and the Kirkpatrick Papers at Norwich', N. and Q. 217 1972 pp. 202-3.
90. R. Fitch, 'Norwich Pageants: The Grocers' Play' N.A. 5 1859 pp. 8-31.
91. O. Waterhouse, The Non-Cycle Mystery Plays, E.E.T.S. E.S. CIV, (London 1909) pp. 8-18.
92. Davis, NCPF pp. 8-18.
93. H. Bourne, The History of Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Newcastle 1736) pp. 139-141, Davis, NCPF pp. xl-xlvii, 19-31.

94. See A.H. Nelson, The Medieval English Stage (Chicago and London 1974) pp. 42, 154ff. and references there.
95. For Chester see F.M. Salter, Medieval Drama in Chester (Toronto 1955) pp. 45ff., esp. 48-9; for York, M. Dorrell, The Corpus Christi Play at York (Leeds University, Ph.D. thesis, 1973) p. 231.
96. W.W. Greg, A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama to the Restoration 1 (Oxford 1939) p. 81; Fulgens and Lucrece, surviving in a copy printed between 1515 and 1519, is thought to have been written c. 1497, three years before Medwall's death, cf. F.S. Boas, Fulgens and Lucrece (Oxford 1926) pp. ix and xix ff.
97. See E. Norris, The Ancient Cornish Drama (Oxford 1859); C.J. Stratman, Bibliography of Medieval Drama (2nd. ed., New York 1972) entry nos. 3721-8.
98. For a recent account of early dramatic activity in London see Nelson, The Medieval English Stage pp. 170-8.
99. See, in the first instance, H.C. Darby, A New Historical Geography of England (Cambridge 1973), 'England circa 1334' (by R.E. Glasscock) and 'Changes in the Later Middle Ages' (by A.R.H. Baker). I deal with the matter in the Interchapter between Chapters Four and Five of the text, below.
100. The alliterative 'Blacksmiths' poem (Sisam, Fourteenth Century Verse and Prose pp. 169-70) occurs in a Norwich manuscript, B.L. Ms. Arundel 292; cf. N.R. Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain (London 1964) p. 138. 'Rats Away' (Sisam, p. 170) is in Bodleian Ms. Rawlinson c. 288, primarily a volume of elementary devotional treatises both copied and

owned in East Anglia; cf. W.D. Macray, Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodlianae 5 (2) (Oxford 1878) cols. 125-6.

101. The occasion of Dr. Doyle's remarks was his lecture course 'Later Middle English Manuscripts' delivered at the University of London in 1965, and as yet unpublished. Dr. Doyle has most generously allowed me to check this point and others in the typescript of his first lecture. Of the situation in East Anglia he observes: 'Although in 1388 the numerous Norfolk guilds made almost all their registrations in English, unlike any other part of the country... and although we know that many churches of the region were already well supplied with books, not only for services, we have hardly any fourteenth century Middle English books therefrom, in strong contrast to the next century'.
102. Block, LC p. xxxiv.
103. Eccles, MP p. xxx.
104. Davis, 'Two Unprinted Dialogues' pp. 461, 466, dates the manuscript and points out the resemblance to the Interludes.
105. A. Brown, 'The Study of English Medieval Drama', pp. 269-70 in Franciplegius, Medieval and Linguistic Studies in Honor of Francis Peabody Magoun Jr. ed. J.B. Bessinger and R.P. Creed (New York 1965).
106. O.B. Hardison, Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages (Baltimore 1965).
107. R.P. Axton, European Drama of the Early Middle Ages (London 1974). The importance of quasi-dramatic secular activities is also emphasised in G. Wickham,

Early English Stages 1300-1660 1 (London 1959).

108. V.A. Kolve, The Play Called Corpus Christi (Stanford 1966).
109. R. Woolf, The English Mystery Plays (London 1972),  
R. Potter, The English Morality Play (London 1975).
110. Cf. D. Mills, 'Approaches to Medieval Drama', Leeds Studies in English NS 3 1969 pp. 47-61, who draws attention to the possibility that sudden and wide variations of tone and emphasis in the cycles could be the result of independent local developments in different communities (pp. 57-8).
111. Salter, Medieval Drama in Chester; Sharpe's essay on the Coventry materials (cf. n.88) is still valuable, as is shown in the use made of his work by C. Phythian-Adams, 'Ceremony and the Citizen: the Communal Year in Coventry', in Crisis and Order in English Towns, 1500-1700 ed. P. Clarke and P. Slack (London 1972), pp. 57-85.
112. Nelson, The Medieval English Stage, op. cit.
113. Cf. the reservations expressed in reviews by A. Johnston, University of Toronto Quarterly 44 1975 pp. 238-48, and the present writer in M.Ae. 45 1976 pp. 347-50.
114. R.R. Wright, Medieval Theatre in East Anglia (Bristol University M.Phil thesis, 1971). Mr. Wright's title is somewhat misleading. A good deal of his evidence, and most of the best of it, relates to Essex in the sixteenth century, not usually considered to be part of East Anglia. Cf. also his article 'Community Theatre in Late Medieval East Anglia', Theatre Notebook 28 1974 pp. 24-39, which deals principally with the Corpus

Christi play at Dunmow (Essex) in the sixteenth century.

115. S.J. Kahrl has recently hinted at the sort of contrast I urge here. In the first chapter of his Traditions of Medieval English Drama (London 1974) he notes the amount of material which has survived from the east midlands with the observation that it is 'distinctively different' from the northern evidence (pp. 25 ff.). This seems to me an important step forward in our approach to the subject.
116. 'The N-Town plays should be compared with nine other plays of the fifteenth century written in the language of Norfolk, Suffolk, or Cambridgeshire: three plays in the three Macro MSS., The Castle of Perseverance, Wisdom, and Mankind; three plays in Digby MS. 133, The Killing of the Children, The Conversion of St. Paul and Mary Magdalene; the Brome Abraham and Isaac, Dux Moraud; and the Croxton Play of the Sacrament'; Eccles, 'Ludus Coventriae: Lincoln or Norfolk?' pp. 137-8.
117. A. McIntosh, 'A New Approach to Middle English Dialectology' English Studies 44 1963 pp. 1-11.
118. Davis, 'The Language of the Pastons', art. cit.
119. E. Colledge, C. Smetana, 'Capgrave's Life of St. Norbert: Diction, Dialect and Spelling', M.S. 34 1972 pp. 422-34; P.J. Lucas, 'Consistency and Correctness in the Orthographic Usage of John Capgrave's Chronicle', Studia Neophilologica 45 1973 pp. 323-55; M.C. Seymour, 'A Fifteenth Century East Anglian Scribe', M.Ae. 37 1968 pp. 166-73.
120. Cf. Patch 'The Ludus Coventriae and the Digby Massacre', art. cit.; Block, LC pp. liv-lv.



## NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO

1. Statements concerning the dialects of some of the plays listed in Chapter One have been highly conjectural - only the more authoritative judgements have been repeated there. Examples are the placing of Ludus Coventriae in Wiltshire (Kramer, quoted by W.W. Greg, The Assumption of the Virgin (Oxford 1915) p. 21) and the characterisation of the language of Mary Magdalene as 'West Midland with Kentish forms' (Schmidt, surprisingly quoted in the revised Manual of the Writings in Middle English 5 ed. A. Hartung (New Haven 1976) p. 1352).
2. A. McIntosh, 'The Analysis of Written Middle English', T.P.S. 1956 pp. 26-55.
3. O.E.D. s.v. 'dialect', sb. 2.
4. J.P. Oakden, Alliterative Poetry in Middle English 1, 'The Dialectal and Metrical Survey' (Manchester 1930); S. Moore, S.B. Meech, H. Whitehall, Middle English Dialect Characteristics and Dialect Boundaries, University of Michigan, Essays and Studies in English etc. 13 1935. Most of the important results of these investigations, together with references to earlier work on the subject, will be found in the Plan and Bibliography of the Middle English Dictionary. The most up-to-date account of the subject is E.J. Crook's translation and revision of Jordan's Handbuch der Mittelenglischen Grammatik (Heidelberg 1925, 1934): Handbook of Middle English Grammar, Phonology (The Hague 1974), which also contains new maps adapted from Oakden and Moore et al., and an extensive bibliography.
5. Jordan-Crook, Handbook pp. 2 ff. and Map 5; S. Moore (rev. A. Marckwardt), Historical Outlines of English Sounds and Inflexions (Ann Arbor 1969), also recognises

six regions, but these are not identical to the ones given in Jordan-Crook. Moore has Southern, Kentish, West Midland, Northeast and Southeast Midland and Northern (pp. 110 ff. and Map, p. 112); this pattern is followed by the M.E.D., Plan and Bibliography p. 8.

6. For a compact account see the Translator's Preface to the Jordan-Crook Handbook, pp. V - XIX.
7. H. Bradley, 'On the Relations between Spoken and Written Language with Special Reference to English', Proc. Br. Acad. 6 1913-14 pp. 227-8.
8. O.E.D. Supplement, s.v. 'grapheme' (first recorded 1939), 'graphemic' (1951).
9. J. Vachek, 'Some Remarks on Writing and Phonetic Transcription', Acta Linguistica 5 1945-9 pp. 90, 93.
10. McIntosh, 'The Analysis of Written Middle English', art. cit.
11. McIntosh, art. cit. p. 35.
12. For further details of this use of orthographic information see A. McIntosh, 'A New Approach to Middle English Dialectology', English Studies 44 1963 pp. 1-11, M.L. Samuels, 'Some Applications of Middle English Dialectology', ibid., pp. 81-94.
13. Instances of limitations in the use of spelling evidence in relation to pronunciation are given by C.T. Onions, 'The Value of Spelling as Evidence', T.P.S. 1943 pp. 14-39.
14. McIntosh, 'The Analysis of Written Middle English' p. 35, and other writers occasionally refer to 'East Anglian' spellings like xal 'shall' and myth

'might', and these are clearly of interest in dealing with the language of the play texts. Traditionally, however, such features have not usually been employed when dealing with the dialect of unlocalised texts; cf. Jordan-Crook Handbook pp. XV - XVI.

15. E.J. Dobson, 'Early Modern Standard English', T.P.S. 1955 pp. 25-54.
16. A. Kihlbom, A Contribution to the Study of Fifteenth Century English, Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift 1926.
17. Kihlbom, op. cit., p. 193.
18. Kihlbom, loc. cit. Cf. E. Holmqvist, On the History of the English Present Inflexions (Heidelberg 1922) p. 100: '...only the features of the Norfolk dialect [sc. in the east-midland dialect] or perhaps rather the scribal peculiarities of Norfolk texts, seem to have been marked enough to have maintained themselves down to the end of the Middle English period'.
19. McIntosh, 'A New Approach to Middle English Dialectology', Samuels, 'Some Applications of Middle English Dialectology', arts. cit.
20. McIntosh, 'The Analysis of Written Middle English', art. cit.
21. The propriety of using literary texts for this purpose is dealt with by McIntosh, 'A New Approach ...' pp. 5 ff. For the key notion of 'fitting' unlocalised but dialectally homogeneous texts into a pre-established framework of orthographic information drawn from localised sources see especially pp. 5-6.

22. The word 'dialect', because of its primary and historical association with spoken language (cf. n.3 above) is not altogether satisfactory when used with reference to written forms - though McIntosh and Samuels have continued to use it. One naturally boggles at using 'grapholect' or some such neologism to describe the regional variations in Middle English spelling with which we are concerned.
23. The following references deal, of course, chiefly with the spoken language of East Anglia - but note Bokenham's intention 'to speak and write after the language of Suffolk speech'. The unusual persistence of both pronunciation and spelling of a provincial character in East Anglia has been noted by Kihlbom and Holmqvist (n. 18).
24. H.E. Butler (ed.), The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond (London 1949) p. 40. Samson in fact came from Tottington in southern Norfolk, near Thetford (T. Arnold, Memorials of St. Edmunds Abbey, Rolls Series 96 (3) (London 1896) p. 7); Jocelin, as his name suggests, came from the same area.
25. J.R.R. Tolkien, 'Chaucer as a Philologist: The Reeve's Tale', T.P.S. 1934 pp. 1-70. Tolkien suggests that the East Anglian dialect would have been familiar to fourteenth century Londoners: 'The reeve is...the symbol of the direction from which northerly forms of speech invaded the language of the southern capital...' (p. 6). For details of East Anglian immigration into London in the early fourteenth century see E. Ekwall, Studies on the Population of Medieval London (Stockholm 1956) pp. XLII ff. Cf. also Samuels, 'Some Applications ...' pp. 89 ff; T.J. Garbaty, 'Satire and Regionalism: the Reeve and his Tale', Chaucer Review 8 1973 pp. 2-7; J.A.W. Bennett, Chaucer at Oxford and at Cambridge (Oxford 1974), Chapter 4.

Langland's satirical remark about the linguistic outlandishness of Norfolk - his Covetousness knows 'no French but of the furthest end of Norfolk' - is best seen in this context: Langland, Piers Plowman ed. J.A.W. Bennett (Oxford 1974) p. 44, line 239; to Bennett's illuminating note to the line (p. 166) might be added the scurrilous Latin 'Descriptio Northfolciae' (A.G. Rigg, A Glastonbury Miscellany of the Fifteenth Century (Oxford 1968) pp. 81-2.)

26. See A.B. Emden, A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge (Cambridge 1963), 'Capgrave, John', for details of Capgrave's career and writings.
27. C. Horstman, John Capgrave's Life of St. Katherine of Alexandria, E.E.T.S. O.S. 100, (London 1893) p. 16.
28. See A.L. Mayhew, Promptorium Parvulorum, E.E.T.S. E.S. CII, (London 1908) pp. xiii-xvii.
29. Mayhew, ed. cit. col. 3. Because of variations in Middle English spelling and pronunciation copyists of the Promptorium found difficulty in preserving the alphabetical order of the original - see Promptorium Parvulorum, ed. A. Way, 3 (Camden Soc. 89 1865) p. 539, where the compilation is described as 'secundum vulgarem modum loquendi orientalium Anglorum'. Cf. also A. McIntosh, 'Some Linguistic Reflections of a Wycliffite', Franciplegius, Medieval and Linguistic Studies in Honor of F.P. Magoun Jr. (New York 1965), ed. J.B. Bessinger and R.P. Creed, pp. 290-3.
30. The Book of Margery Kempe ed. S.B. Meech and H.E. Allen, E.E.T.S. 212, (Oxford 1940) pp. 6 and xxx.

31. Buckenham was usually spelt 'Bokenham' in East Anglia in the later medieval period. People of the name were quite numerous in Norfolk, see J.N. Chadwick's Index Nominum (Lynn 1862) to Blomefield's History of Norfolk.
32. Legendys of Hooly Wummen ed. M. Serjeantson, E.E.T.S. O.S. 206, (London 1936) line 4063.
33. See F.A. Foster (ed.), The Northern Passion, E.E.T.S. O.S. 147, (London 1916) pp. 13-14.
34. Cf. McIntosh, 'A New Approach...' p. 8 and 'Word Geography in the Lexicography of Medieval English', Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 211 1973 pp. 60-1. For an example of a northern copy of Love's 'Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ' apparently used by a southern reader or scribe see E. Salter, Nicholas Love's "Myrroure of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ", Analecta Carthusiana 10 1974 p. 11.
35. M.C. Seymour, 'A Fifteenth Century East Anglian Scribe', M.Ae. 37 1968 pp. 166-73.
36. G. Kane, Piers Plowman, The A Version (London 1960) pp. 7 ff. Texts nos. 2059, 2062, 1901 and 2045 of the Brown-Robbins Index of Middle English Verse occur in the same sequence in Harley and Ii, and are found nowhere else.
37. N. Davis, 'The Language of the Pastons', Proc. Br. Acad. 40 1955 p. 132.
38. W. Horn, 'E. Coote's Bemerkungen über Englische Aussprache, (1596)', Anglia 28 1905 p. 482.
39. H. Kökeritz, The Phonology of the Suffolk Dialect, Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift 1932 caps. 272-8.

40. Sir Thomas Browne, Miscellany Tracts VIII, 'Of Languages', in the Works ed. G. Keynes (London 1931) 5 pp. 94-5.
41. R. Forby, Vocabulary of East Anglia (London 1830), E. Moore, Suffolk Words and Phrases (Woodbridge 1823).
42. For a survey see Way, Promptorium Parvulorum 3 pp. lxxix-lxxxiii.
43. J. Wright, The English Dialect Dictionary (London 1898-1905).
44. H. Orton et al., Survey of English Dialects (Leeds 1962- ).
45. J. Gairdner, The Paston Letters A.D. 1422-1509 (London 1904); G.K. Neumann, Die Orthographie der Paston Letters von 1422-1461 (Marburg 1904). Gairdner's edition, in various ways unsuitable for close linguistic study (cf. nn. 47, 110, and references there) is now superseded by N. Davis, Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century, 1 (Oxford 1971), 2 (Oxford 1976). For the Norfolk gild Returns see J. Toulmin Smith, English Gilds, E.E.T.S. O.S. 40, (London 1870), and cf. the study by E. Schultz, Die Sprache der 'English Gilds' (Hildesheim 1891).
46. The languages of the Margery Kempe manuscript and Bokenham's Legendys were studied by Meech and Serjeantson respectively, eds. cit. Dibelius's study of Capgrave's language (W. Dibelius, 'John Capgrave und die Englische Schriftsprache', Anglia 23 1901 pp. 153-94, 323-75, 427-72, 24 1901 pp. 211-63, 269-308) is now known to be marred by reliance on Hingeston's faulty edition of the Chronicle (F.C. Hingeston, The Chronicle of England

- by John Capgrave, Rolls Series 1, (London 1858)); this is pointed out by P.J. Lucas, 'Consistency and Correctness in the Orthographic Usage of John Capgrave's Chronicle', Studia Neophilologica 45 1973 p. 326.
47. But cf. N. Davis, 'The Text of Margaret Paston's Letters', M.Ae. 18 1949 pp. 13-4, for reservations about the use of linguistic forms from Gairdner's edition of the Paston materials in historical grammars and related studies.
48. F.J. Furnivall, A.W. Pollard, The Macro Plays, E.E.T.S. E.S. XCI, (London 1904) pp. xxxv-xxxix.
49. The phrase is from Furnivall's 'Forewords' to Horstman's edition of Capgrave's Life of St. Katherine, ed. cit. p. xxviii.
50. See for instance Foster, The Northern Passion p. 30; C. D'Evelyn, 'The Middle English Metrical Version of the Revelations of Methodius', P.M.L.A. 33 1918 p. 151 n. 55. Cf. also Holmqvist, English Present Inflexions pp. 46-7, for another list of 'certain peculiarities of writing which prove to have been employed by Norfolk writers'. These include xall, xuld and qu-, qw- spellings but not t, th for 'ght'; t instead of 'th' in the inflexion of the 3rd person singular present indicative of verbs is also held to be characteristic of Norfolk copyists.
51. Printed by S. Tymms, Proc. Suffolk Institute of Archaeology 1 1853 pp. 165-6.
52. Commonly occurring orthographic features are cited from S. Tymms, Wills and Inventories from the Registers of the Commisary of Bury St. Edmunds etc., Camden Soc. 49 1850, as follows: L1(2), pp. 15-44;

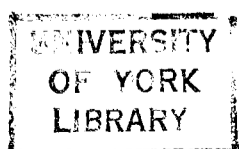


- L1(3), pp. 55-68; L1(4), pp. 45-50; L1(5), pp. 50-5; L1(6), pp. 73-81.
53. Information on orthography from S.B. Meech, 'John Drury and his English Writings', Speculum 9 1934 pp. 72-3.
  54. Commonly occurring orthographic features appear in the text printed by Arnold, Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey 3 pp. 358-68.
  55. Meech, 'John Drury and his English Writings', discusses the language on pp. 71-3 and prints the texts on pp. 76-83.
  56. The manuscript is described in J.M. Manly and E. Rickert's Text of the Canterbury Tales (Chicago 1940) 1 pp. 170 ff. For Samuels's placing of the scribe see A.I. Doyle and G.B. Pace, 'A New Chaucer Manuscript', P.M.L.A. 83 1968 p. 25. Orthographic information is collected in R.A. Caldwell, 'The Scribe of the Chaucer Ms. C.U.L. Gg.4.27', M.L.Q. 5 1944 pp. 33-44 and Seymour, 'A Fifteenth Century East Anglian Scribe' pp. 166-9.
  57. G.R.C. Davis, Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain (London 1958) p. 33. For a printed version of the part of the text in English see M. Bateson, 'The Register of Crabhouse Nunnery', N.A. 11 1892 pp. 57-63.
  58. See E. Flügel, 'Eine Mittelenglische Claudian Übersetzung (1445)', Anglia 28 1905 pp. 255-77, 421-38.
  59. For printed texts see H.M. Flad dieck, Mittelenglische Originalurkunden 1405-30 (Heidelberg 1926) pp. 31-42.
  60. Serjeantson, Legendys of Hooly Wummen, ed. cit.

61. Serjeantson, ed. cit. pp. xiii, xxiv; the language is discussed in great detail on pp. xxviii-lxxx and a select glossary is provided (pp. 295-322).
62. D'Evelyn, 'The Revelations of Methodius', art. cit. For the commonly occurring orthographic features see the text, pp. 156-82.
63. F. Blomefield, C. Parkin, An Essay Towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk (London 1805-10) § p. 67.
64. Printed by A. Hanham, The Cely Letters, E.E.T.S. 273, (Oxford 1975) nos. 42 and 65, and cf. p. 259.
65. Printed by E.P. Wilson, A Descriptive Index of the English Lyrics in John of Grimestone's Preaching Book, M.Ae. Monographs, NS 2 (Oxford 1973).
66. For the provenance see Wilson, ed. cit. pp. xiii ff, for the language pp. xvi, xix-xx.
67. See W. Hudson, J.C. Tingey, The Records of the City of Norwich (2 vols., London and Norwich 1906), as follows: L13(1), 1 pp. 93-108; L13(2), 1 pp. 114-6; L13(3), 2 pp. 389-91; L14(1), 1 pp. 122-9; L14(2), 1 pp. 348-52 ; L14(3), 2 pp. 278-87; L14(4), 2 pp. 316-7; L14(5), 2 pp. 317-8; L15(1), 2 pp. 149-51; L15(2), 2 p. 152.
68. Printed by H. Harrod, N.A. 4 1855, as follows: L16(1), pp. 327-9; L16(2), pp. 329-31.
69. See F. Blomefield, A History of the Ancient City and Borough of Thetford (Fersfield 1739) p. 80.
70. W.D. Macray, Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodlianae 2 (Oxford 1883) p. 113. East Anglian spellings for numerous common words

- (discussed in detail in Chapter Three) appear passim. On the linguistic provenance see now A. McIntosh, 'The Language of the Extant Versions of Havelok the Dane, M.Ae. 45 1976 pp. 44-5.
71. Printed by M.C. Seymour, The Bodley Version of Mandeville's Travels, E.E.T.S. 253, (Oxford 1963); cf. n. 56 above.
  72. Unprinted. See F. Madan et al., Summary Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library 4 (Oxford 1897) pp. 246-7; Davis, Medieval Cartularies p. 110.
  73. Unprinted. See Madan et al., Summary Catalogue 4 p. 247; Davis, Medieval Cartularies p. 125.
  74. Printed by Toulmin Smith, English Gilds pp. 443-60.
  75. Madan et al., Summary Catalogue 3 (Oxford 1895) p. 307; printed by Horstman, John Capgrave's Life of St. Katherine, ed. cit.
  76. For a note on Gybbe's scribal activities (he also copied Eton College Ms. 34 and Bodley 152) see D.A. Pearsall, 'John Capgrave and Romance Style', Medievalia et Humanistica NS 6 1975 pp. 136-7, and cf. W. Watson, An Historical Account of the Ancient Town and Port of Wisbech (Wisbech 1827) pp. 153-4, giving Gybbe's chaplaincy in Wisbech.
  77. For the complete contents of the manuscript see A. Hackman, Catalogi Codicum Manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae 4 (Oxford 1860) cols. 764-5. For an edition of a substantial text in Reynys's hand see R.E. Parker, The Middle English Stanzaic Versions of the Life of St. Anne, E.E.T.S. O.S. 174, (London 1928) pp. 110-126, with discussion of the language on pp. xxi-xxiii.

78. See also I.G. Calderhead, 'Morality Fragments from Norfolk', M.P. 14 1916 pp. 1-9; C.L.S. Linnell, 'The Commonplace Book of Robert Reynys of Acle', N.A. 32 1958-9 pp. 111-28.
79. Meech and Allen, The Book of Margery Kempe, ed. cit. The language is discussed in detail by Meech, pp. vii-xxxii, and a glossary is provided.
80. Meech and Allen, ed. cit. pp. xxxiii, xliv-xlv.
81. See J.F. Williams, 'The Black Book of Swaffham', N.A. 33 1962-5 pp. 243-53. A photographic copy in the Norwich Record Office, PD52/473, has been examined, and a hand of the 1470's responsible for folios 26-32 is cited below.
82. A.D. Stallard, Tilney Churchwardens' Accounts (London 1922); orthographic information from scattered entries in English pp. 1-61.
83. Photographic copies, Norwich Central Library, Coleman and Rye Collection WYM.338.64, have been consulted.
84. N. Pevsner, The Buildings of England: Suffolk (Harmondsworth 1961) pp. 344-5.
85. See the edition by G. Brodin, Agnus Castus, A Middle English Herbal, Essays and Studies on English Language and Literature (Uppsala) 6 1950: provenance pp. 31-2, language pp. 61-85, full glossary pp. 250 ff.
86. See C.F. Bühler, 'A Middle English Medical Manuscript from Norwich', Studies in Medieval Literature in Honor of Professor A.C. Baugh ed. MacE. Leach (Philadelphia 1961) pp. 285-98, with extracts.



87. H. Craig, The Works of John Metham, E.E.T.S. O.S. 132, (London 1916); for the date and the provenance of the manuscript see pp. vii-xiii, on the language, p. xlii.
88. T.E. Marston, 'The Book of Brome', Yale University Library Gazette 41 1967 pp. 141-5, and cf. Chapter One, no. 15, and the references there. For Melton's work see L. Toulmin Smith, A Commonplace Book of the Fifteenth Century (London 1886) pp. 2 ff., 167-76.
89. Toulmin Smith, English Gilds pp. xiv-xv, 127-31.
90. Only three others, from London, are in English (Toulmin Smith, op. cit. pp. 3-11).
91. For the current classification and numbering see H.F. Westlake, The Parish Gilds of Medieval England (London 1919) pp. 138-238.
92. Toulmin Smith, English Gilds pp. 14-44.
93. Toulmin Smith, op. cit. pp. 45-109.
94. Toulmin Smith, op. cit. pp. 110-8.
95. Toulmin Smith, op. cit. pp. 119-20.
96. Toulmin Smith, op. cit. pp. 121-3.
97. P.J. Lucas, 'John Capgrave, O.S.A. (1393-1464) Scribe and "Publisher"', Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society 5 1969 pp. 1-35. Lucas's system of numbering for the Capgrave manuscripts is adopted in the text.
98. Edited by J. Munro, Capgrave's Lives of St. Augustine and St. Gilbert etc., E.E.T.S. O.S. 140,

(London 1910); for the language see pp. xiv-xxi and the glossary.

99. Edited by C.A. Mills, Ye Solace of Pilgrimes (London 1911).
100. See the discussion of the language by E. Colledge and C. Smetana, 'Capgrave's Life of St. Norbert: Diction, Dialect and Spelling', M.S. 34 1972 pp. 422-34.
101. The language has been discussed in detail by P.J. Lucas, 'Consistency and Correctness in the Orthographic Usage of John Capgrave's Chronicle', art. cit. (n. 46).
102. E. Colledge, 'The Capgrave "Autographs"', Trans. Cambridge Bibliogr. Soc. 6 1974 pp. 137-48, with plates.
103. Lucas, 'Consistency and Correctness...', art. cit.
104. Lucas, 'Consistency and Correctness...' pp. 353-4.
105. Mayhew, Promptorium Parvulorum, E.E.T.S. ed. (n. 28), A. Way, Promptorium Parvulorum, 3 vols., Camden Soc. 25 (1843), 54 (1851), 89 (1865).
106. Way, ed. cit. 3 pp. xxxvi-xli; another text (fragmentary) not noted by Way is in St. John's College, Cambridge, Ms. F.26, see M.R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St. John's College Cambridge (Cambridge 1913) no. 163.
107. Way, ed. cit. 1 p. v.
108. Way, ed. cit. 3 p. xxviii; the names 'Johannes

Buckenham' and 'Thomas Wyndham' evidently reflect Norfolk place-names.

109. N. Davis, Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century 1 (Oxford 1971), 2 (Oxford 1976).
110. M.Ae. 31 1962 p. 229, from a review of Carstensen, Studien zur Syntax des Nomens, Pronomens und der Negation in den Paston Letters (1959), based on Gairdner's text (cf. nn. 45, 47).
111. Davis, 'The Language of the Pastons', art. cit. (n. 37) pp. 122-31.
112. N. Davis, 'A Scribal Problem in the Paston Letters', English and Germanic Studies 4 1951-2 pp. 31-64.
113. Aspects of the language of Edmond I, John I, William II and Clement II are dealt with by Davis, 'The Language of the Pastons' pp. 123-5.
114. For Sir John cf. also Davis, 'The Language of the Pastons' pp. 125-6.
115. Cf. also Davis, 'The Language of the Pastons' pp. 126-8.
116. For a detailed account of the letters in Edmond II's hand see N. Davis, 'A Paston Hand', R.E.S. NS 3 1952 pp. 209-21.
117. For William II and Walter cf. also Davis, 'The Language of the Pastons' p. 129.
118. Davis, Paston Letters and Papers 1 pp. lxxv-lxxix.
119. Art. cit. (n. 112).

120. For further references in the letters to most of those cited see the Index to Davis, Paston Letters and Papers, 2 pp. 619 ff.
121. A cartulary of Bruisyard Abbey (Sf.), once at Henham Hall in Suffolk, is known to have contained entries in English; it remains untraced (Davis, Medieval Cartularies pp. 11-12). B.L. Ms. Add. 12195, an English and Latin miscellany of the fifteenth century copied by a scribe from North Creake (Nf.) has not been available for consultation; cf. the Catalogue of the Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum 1841-1845 (London 1850) pp. 50-1.
122. McIntosh, 'The Language of the Extant Versions of Havelok the Dane' pp. 44-5.
123. Davis, Paston Letters and Papers 1 p. xxiii.
124. M.Ae. 45 1976 pp. 36-49.
125. E.J. Dobson, The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe, E.E.T.S. 267, (Oxford 1972) pp. xlvii ff., cxi-clxv.
126. Dobson, ed. cit. pp. cxliiii-cxlvii.
127. McIntosh, 'The Language of the Extant Versions of Havelok' pp. 41-2, and references there. In the following chapter I refer in particular to C.U.L. Mss. Ff.2.33 and Ee.3.60; cf. Davis, Medieval Cartularies p. 16.
128. B. Selten, The Anglo-Saxon Heritage in Middle English Personal Names: East Anglia 1100-1399, Lund Studies in English 43 1972.



NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. R. Jordan, Handbook of Middle English Grammar, transl. and rev. E. Crook (The Hague 1974) cap. 300, Rem.
2. E. Holmqvist, On the History of the English Present Inflexions (Heidelberg 1922) p. 47.
3. F.J. Furnivall, A.W. Pollard, The Macro Plays, E.E.T.S. E.S. XCI, (London 1904) p. xxxv.
4. See, for instance, Holmqvist, English Present Inflexions pp. 46 ff., P. Hodgson, The Cloud of Unknowing, E.E.T.S. O.S. 218, (Oxford 1944) p. xxxix.
5. O.E.D., s.v. 'X'; cf. also the entry under 'shall'.
6. Jordan-Crook, Handbook cap. 181.
7. E.J. Dobson, 'The Etymology and Meaning of Boy', M.Ae. 9 1940 p. 152.
8. For a suggestion about the phonic significance of the x spellings see S.B. Meech, 'John Drury and his English Writings', Speculum 9 1934 p. 73.
9. The northern s forms are generally held to have extended no further south than the southern end of the Wash, in the east (M.E.D., Plan and Bibliography Map 3 p. 9).
10. See O. Arngart, The Middle English Genesis and Exodus, Lund Studies in English 36 1968 p. 19; E.J. Dobson, The English Text of the Ancrene Riwe, E.E.T.S. 267, (Oxford 1972) p. clvi; R. Morris, An Old English Miscellany, E.E.T.S. O.S. 49, (London 1872) (cf. pp. 1-25 for the Bestiary),

- glossary s.v. schal; F. Hervey, The Pinchbeck Register Relating to the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds (Brighton 1925) (i.e. C.U.L. Ms. Ee.3.60) 1 pp. 295, 360.
11. On the significance of the s spellings in early Norfolk texts cf. also A. McIntosh, 'The Language of the Extant Versions of Havelok the Dane', M.Ae. 45 1976 p. 39.
  12. P.J. Lucas, 'Consistency and Correctness in the Orthographic Usage of John Capgrave's Chronicle', Studia Neophilologica 45 1973 pp. 330-1, 352.
  13. N. Davis, 'A Paston Hand', R.E.S. NS 3 1952 pp. 209-21, esp. 219, 221.
  14. Margaret Paston's important Norwich clerk also abruptly ceased to use x spellings (together with other typical East Anglianisms) between 1448 and 1454 (N. Davis, 'A Scribal Problem in the Paston Letters', English and Germanic Studies 4 1951-2 p. 42).
  15. Furnivall and Pollard, The Macro Plays p. xxxv.
  16. Holmqvist, English Present Inflexions p. 47.
  17. O.E.D., s.v. 'wh', cf. also 'q'.
  18. Arngart, Genesis and Exodus p. 18; Morris, Old English Miscellany (Bestiary) passim; Dobson, English Text of the Ancrene Riwe p. clvii; C.U.L. Ms. Ff. 2.33 folios 45, 46, 48, 50 (cf. D. Whitelock, Anglo-Saxon Wills (Cambridge 1930) pp. 34 ff.).
  19. Jordan-Crook, Handbook cap. 195, map p. 180.
  20. B. Selten, The Anglo-Saxon Heritage in Middle English Personal Names: East Anglia 1100-1399, Lund Studies

in English 43 1972 pp. 146, 149. The work by Kristensson is A Survey of Middle English Dialects 1290-1350: The Six Northern Counties and Lincolnshire, Lund Studies in English 35 1967.

21. Lucas, 'Consistency and Correctness in ... John Capgrave's Chronicle' pp. 340-1, 354.
22. N. Davis, 'The Language of the Pastons', Proc. Br. Acad. 40 1955 pp. 126-8.
23. Davis, 'A Scribal Problem in the Paston Letters' pp. 34-6, 45.
24. S. Tymms, Wills and Inventories from the Registers of the Commisary of Bury St. Edmunds etc., Camden Soc. 49 1850 p. 234.
25. An East Anglian hand which uses only the q spellings is found in the herbal manuscript from Fransham; G. Brodin, Agnus Castus, A Middle English Herbal, Essays and Studies on English Language and Literature 6 1950 p. 77.
26. For further discussion see H. Whitehall, 'A Note on a North West Midland Spelling', P.Q. 9 1930 pp. 1-6.
27. E.J. Dobson, English Pronunciation 1500-1700 (2nd. ed., Oxford 1968) 2 cap. 414.
28. For examples see E. Schultz, Die Sprache der 'English Guilds' (Hildesheim 1891) p. 44; M.C. Seymour, 'A Fifteenth Century East Anglian Scribe', M.Ae. 37 1968 p. 168; Lucas, 'Consistency and Correctness in...John Capgrave's Chronicle' p. 341. Professor McIntosh contends that 'qu is in general a later development than w' in East Anglian orthography, 'The Lanugage of the Extant Versions of Havelok', p. 47 n. 3.

29. C. Horstman, Capgrave's Life of St. Katherine of Alexandria, E.E.T.S. O.S. 100, (London 1893) pp. xxv-xxvi.
30. Skeat wrote to Furnivall, 'For all you know Capgrave may have had a French speaking father or grandfather' (in Horstman, ed. cit. p. xxix).
31. W.W. Skeat, 'The Proverbs of Alfred', T.P.S. 1897 pp. 399-418, and Notes on English Etymology (Oxford 1901) pp. 471-5.
32. Dobson continues: 'cf. my article 'The Etymology and Meaning of Boy' [M.Ae. 9 1940 pp. 152-3] where Furnivall's opinion, that the loss of gh is especially frequent in Norfolk texts in the fifteenth century, is quoted', English Pronunciation 2 cap. 140; cf. also 424.1 for the dating of the development: 'The true evidence begins in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries'.
33. See, for instance, M. Eccles, 'Ludus Coventriae: Lincoln or Norfolk?', M.Ae. 40 1971 p. 138. Lucas has contrasted Capgrave's regular omission of gh with the equally regular tendency of London scribes to use it, 'Consistency and Correctness in ... John Capgrave's Chronicle' p. 353.
34. McIntosh, 'The Language of the Extant Versions of Havelok' p. 47 n. 3.
35. McIntosh, loc. cit.
36. C.U.L. Ms. Ff.2.33 folios 22r, 23v, 45r, 45v, 48r, 49v etc.; Ee.3.60 folios 126v, 161r etc.
37. Arngart, Genesis and Exodus pp. 17, 45.

38. E.g. nout, nowt 'nought'; see P. Ekselius, A Study on the Development of the Old English Combinations aht/oht in Middle English (Uppsala 1940) pp. 77 ff.
39. Dobson, English Text of the Ancrene Riwe p. cliii.
40. Dobson, ed. cit. p. clx, McIntosh, 'The Language of the Extant Versions of Havelok', map, p. 45.
41. Selten, Middle English Personal Names...East Anglia pp. 146, 149.
42. Cf. Ekselius, OE ... aht/oht in ME p. 100.
43. In Horstman, Capgrave's Life of St. Katherine p. xxv.
44. 'Consistency and Correctness in...John Capgrave's Chronicle' p. 349. I cannot agree with Dr. Lucas's contention (p. 355) that Capgrave's spelling is 'avant-garde' in this respect; the pattern is surely established in East Anglia well over a century earlier.
45. E. Colledge, C. Smetana, 'Capgrave's Life of St. Norbert: Diction, Dialect and Spelling', M.S. 34 1972 pp. 430, 432.
46. Though Capgrave's behaviour in this respect is quite contrary to that suggested by his attitude to xal etc. and q for 'wh', it is nevertheless readily explicable in terms of regional orthography. As Lucas notes, the Capgrave copyist was a methodical man and the user of a carefully thought out spelling system. It was probably no more than common sense which led to the consistent adoption of a local spelling corresponding to the regular pronunciation of 'ght' in the area. Cf. Lucas, 'Consistency and Correctness in...John Capgrave's Chronicle' p. 355.

47. There are several examples. Sir John Paston (II) virtually ceased to use his native mythg, rythg etc. after a period at court just before 1464. The standard ght becomes habitual thereafter, though a tell-tale reverse spelling, wryght 'write', appears after this date; Davis, 'Language of the Pastons' p. 125. For comparable examples (John III, Edmond II and Margaret Paston's Norwich scribe) see Davis, art. cit. p. 126, 'A Paston Hand' p. 219 and 'A Scribal Problem...' pp. 36-8.
48. Metham has rhymes like hyght 'hight': wryght 'write' and wryte: syte 'sight'; H. Craig, The Works of John Metham, E.E.T.S. O.S. 132, (London 1916) p. 19. Cf. also bu3t 'but', ho3t 'hot' etc. in the Fransham Ms.; Brodin, Agnus Castus p. 76.
49. S. Moore, Historical Outlines of English Sounds and Inflexions (rev. A. Marckwardt, Ann Arbor 1969) p. 115, and map p. 112.
50. Davis, 'Language of the Pastons' pp. 126-30; cf. Holmqvist, English Present Inflexions p. 114.
51. Holmqvist, op. cit., p. 47.
52. Seymour, 'A Fifteenth Century East Anglian Scribe' p. 167.
53. They also occur in the work of Anglo-Irish scribes; see A. McIntosh, M.L. Samuels, 'Prolegomena to a Study of Medieval Anglo-Irish', M.Ae. 37 1968 p. 5.
54. McIntosh, 'The Language of the Extant Versions of Havelok' pp. 38-9.
55. Arngart, Genesis and Exodus pp. 15, 31.

56. E.g., C.U.L. Ms. Ff.2.33 folio 20v, liget 'lieth', and cf. kythet (ipv.) folio 45r.
57. Dobson, English Text of the Ancrene Riwe p. cxlix.
58. Cf. A. McIntosh, 'Towards an Inventory of Middle English Scribes', N.M. 75 1974 p. 612. The well-known hatz, watz 'has', 'was' of the Gawain-Pearl Ms. is clearly unrelated; for discussion see J.R.R. Tolkien, E.V. Gordon, Sir Gawain and the Green Knight (2nd. ed., rev. N. Davis, Oxford 1967) p. 136.
59. Colledge and Smetana, 'Capgrave's Life of St. Norbert' p. 427.
60. O.E.D., s.v. 'nyn'; 'nen', with the same meaning, is cited but twice, from Lydgate.
61. Apart from the instances in the plays, the 100 or so Norfolk manuscripts so far examined for the Edinburgh project have yielded nyn in two cases and nen in three.
62. M.E.D., s.v. 'heaven'; O.E.D., s.v. 'seven'. Heffnes (gen.) and seffne (beside usual seoffne) appear much earlier in the Ormulum.
63. Ex inf. Professor McIntosh. Cf. G. Kane, Piers Plowman, The A Version (London 1960) p. 16, for details of the manuscript, University College Oxford, 45. The scribe of folios 32r-36v uses a combination of spellings typical of East Anglian work: knyth, tawte, mende 'mind', -i3t (3rd. sg. pres. ind.) etc.
64. For a discussion of the provenance see R.L. Greene, A Selection of English Carols (Oxford 1962) p. 173, and cf. McIntosh, 'The Language of the Extant Versions of Havelok' p. 44.

65. N. Davis, Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century 1 (Oxford 1971) p. 393.
66. Cp. O.E.D., s.v. 'errand'; M.E.D. s.v. 'erden(e)'.
67. Arngart, Genesis and Exodus lines 787, 1372, 1400, 1402, 1418, 2073.
68. See the text printed by R.L. Greene, The Early English Carols (Oxford 1935) p. 169.
69. Eccles, 'Ludus Coventriae: Lincoln or Norfolk?' p. 140; O.E.D., s.v. 'search' (vb.).
70. E. Flügel, 'Eine Mittelenglische Claudian Übersetzung' Anglia 28 1905 p. 267; S.B. Meech, H.E. Allen, The Book of Margery Kempe, E.E.T.S. 212, (Oxford 1940) p. 14; Horstman, Capgrave's Life of St. Katherine line 1803; A. Way, Promptorium Parvulorum 1 p. 67 (Camden Soc. 25 1843); Davis, Paston Letters and Papers 1 pp. 291, 222, 322.
71. E.P. Wilson, 'The Earliest 'Tys = it is' N. and Q. 219 1974 pp. 127-8.
72. K.S. Block, Ludus Coventriae, or The Plaie called Corpus Christi, E.E.T.S. E.S. CXX, (London 1922) p. 266; M. Eccles, The Macro Plays, E.E.T.S. 262, (Oxford 1969), Mankind line 828 and n.
73. Dobson, English Pronunciation 2 cap. 431.5.
74. Arngart, Genesis and Exodus, glossary s.v. hu; Morris, Old English Miscellany (the Bestiary) 2/31, 3/55.
75. M.E.D., s.v. 'how'. Isolated instances of w forms are in very much earlier or later texts, Trinity Cambridge Ms. B. 14.39 (13th.C., see M.R. James,



The Western Mss. in the Library of Trinity College Cambridge (Cambridge 1900) 1 pp. 438 ff.) or the seventeenth century copy of Pierce the Ploughman's Crede (W.W. Skeat, E.E.T.S. O.S. 30, (London 1867) pp. iv-v).

76. Colledge and Smetana, 'Capgrave's Life of St. Norbert' p. 433; Lucas, 'Consistency and Correctness in...John Capgrave's Chronicle' p. 340.
77. W. Hudson, J.C. Tingey, The Records of the City of Norwich (Norwich and London 1906) 2 pp. 278-82, 287; M. Serjeantson, Legendys of Hooly Wummen, E.E.T.S. O.S. 206, (London 1936) p. xlvii; Davis, Paston Letters and Papers 1 pp. 409, 31, 41, 117.
78. K.G. Ek, The Development of Old English y and eo in South Eastern Middle English, Lund Studies in English 42 1972 pp. 58-9, 62-3, and map p. 123. Selten, Middle English Personal Names...East Anglia pp. 115-6. Cf. also H.C. Wyld, 'Southeast and Southeast Midland Dialects in Middle English', Essays and Studies 6 1920 pp. 113, 118-9; M. Serjeantson, 'The Dialectal Distribution of Certain Phonological Features in Middle English', English Studies 4 1922 p. 100.
79. See the examples quoted by L. Morsbach, Mittelenglische Grammatik (Halle 1896) cap. 129.2, and O. Boerner, Die Sprache Robert Mannyngs of Brunne, Studien zur Englischen Philologie 12 1904 p. 103.
80. A. Kihlbom, A Contribution to the Study of Fifteenth Century English, Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift 1926 p. 23. For examples of 'official' London usage in this period (state documents etc.) see L. Morsbach, Über den Ursprung der neuenenglischen Schriftsprache (Heilbronn 1888) pp. 38-42, and J. Lekebusch, Die Londoner Urkundensprache von 1430 bis 1500, Studien

zur Englischen Philologie 23 1906 pp. 13-16.

81. Tymms, Proc. Suffolk Institute of Archaeology 1 1853 p. 165; Flügel, 'Mittelenglische Claudian Übersetzung' pp. 291, 299; D'Evelyn, 'The Revelations of Methodius' pp. 161, 167, 171 etc.; Bodl. Digby Ms. 99, passim; Horstman, Capgrave's Life of St. Katherine pp. 10, 12 etc.; Parker, ME Stanzaic Life of St. Anne pp. xxi; Meech and Allen, Book of Margery Kempe p. xx; Bühler, 'ME Medical Ms. from Norwich' pp. 289, 290, 291 etc.; Craig, Works of John Metham pp. 15, 27, 29 etc.; Lucas, 'Consistency and Correctness in...John Capgrave's Chronicle' p. 343; Munro, Capgrave's... St. Augustine and St. Gilbert pp. 82, 97; Caldwell 'C.U.L. Ms. Gg.4.27' p. 38; Serjeantson, Legendys of Hooly Wummen p. xlviii; Wilson, Grimestone's Preaching Book pp. 19, 25, 33 etc.; Davis, Paston Letters and Papers 1 pp. 359, 70, and 'Language of the Pastons' p. 129. Cf. Chapter Two, Secn. V and full references there.
82. E.J. Dobson noted rhymes showing e from OE y as a feature determining the Norfolk origins of Ludus Coventriae ('The Etymology and Meaning of Boy' p. 152). Cf. N. Davis, Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments, E.E.T.S. S.S. 1, (Oxford 1970) pp. lxxxii, cvii for comparable remarks.
83. Davis, NCPF p. lxxxiv.
84. O.E.D., s.v. 'cure', 'discure', 'uncure', 'recure'.
85. M.E.D., s.v. 'cure', 'discure'. Citations for 'cure' etc. in both the O.E.D. and M.E.D. illustrate how common such forms are in the 'East Anglian' plays.
86. Tymms, Wills and Inventories from...Bury St. Edmunds

- pp. 19, 54, 75; Craig, Works of John Metham pp. 49, 141; Toulmin Smith, English Gilds pp. 55, 76, 79, 98; Davis, Paston Letters and Papers 1 pp. 231, 117; cf. also p. 662 for the rhyme endure : dyscure (Margery Paston). Unpublished instances are curyth, C.U.L. Hh.1.11 f.131v, an East Anglian theological miscellany of the fifteenth century (cf. B. Wallner, An Exposition of Qui habitat and Bonum est in English, Lund Studies in English 23 1954 p. lxxii for provenance) and curyng, C.U.L. Add. Ms. 6969 f.120v, a register of Thetford Priory, 1483-1540 (cf. G.R.C. Davis, Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain (London 1958) p. 110).
87. M.E.D., 'erd' (n., 3 and 4) "earth".
88. M.E.D., 'erd' (n., 1) "a dwelling".
89. E.P. Wilson, A Descriptive Index of the English Lyrics in John of Grimestone's Preaching Book, M.Ae. Monographs NS 2 (Oxford 1973) p. 63, and cf. pp. xix-xx.
90. D'Evelyn, 'The Revelations of Methodius' pp. 157, 162 etc.; Horstman, Capgrave's Life of St. Katherine pp. 242, 298, 305 etc.; Way, Promptorium Parvulorum 1 p. 141.
91. M.E.D., s.v. 'deth' (n.).
92. M.E.D., s.v. 'ded' (n.) "death".
93. Jordan-Crook, Handbook cap. 207.3.
94. De(a)d 'death' is used as a rhyme word throughout Genesis and Exodus, Arngart ed. cit. p. 16; Morris, Old English Miscellany (Bestiary) p. 2; Dobson, English Text of the Ancrene Riwe p. clvii; Toulmin Smith, English Gilds pp. 113, 121, 122; Bateson,

- 'The Register of Crabhouse Nunnery' p. 58;  
 Horstman, Capgrave's St. Katherine pp. 280, 324;  
Promptorium Parvulorum ed. Mayhew col. 122, ed. Way  
1 p. 115.
95. Jordan-Crook, Handbook cap. 168.1; O.E.D., s.v.  
 'world'.
96. Arngart, Genesis and Exodus lines 280, 591, 1315  
 etc.; Dobson, English Text of the Ancrene Riwe  
 p. clvii.
97. C.U.L. Ff.2.33 folio 46v. The OE document which  
 was the Bury scribe's copy is now B.L. Harley  
 Charter 43.c.4; see Whitelock, Anglo-Saxon Wills  
 pp. 38-42, and notes there.
98. Meech, 'John Drury and his English Writings' pp. 77,  
 78; D'Evelyn, 'The Revelations of Methodius' pp.  
 156, 160, 166 etc.; Horstman, Capgrave's Life of  
St. Katherine pp. 2, 110, 154; Bodl. Tanner 407  
 folios 19r, 29v, 34r etc., and cf. Parker, Life of  
St. Anne pp. 113, 119; Meech and Allen, Book of  
Margery Kempe pp. 11, 13, 81 etc.; Craig, Works of  
John Metham p. 14; Promptorium Parvulorum ed.  
 Mayhew col. 522, ed. Way 3 p. 522. Cf. also Davis,  
Paston Letters and Papers 1 pp. 236, 335, 119.
99. All these words or forms will, in one way or  
 another, be represented by maps in the planned  
 'Atlas of the Dialects of Later Middle English'.
100. M.L. Samuels, 'Some Applications of Middle English  
 Dialectology', English Studies 44 1963 p. 86.
- 101 Kihlbom, A Contribution to the Study of Fifteenth  
Century English pp. 24-5.

102. Lucas, 'Consistency and Correctness in...John Capgrave's Chronicle' pp. 344, 353.
103. Kihlbom, A Contribution to the Study of Fifteenth Century English p. 25.
104. Samuels, 'Some Applications of Middle English Dialectology' p. 86.
105. Lucas, 'Consistency and Correctness in...John Capgrave's Chronicle' pp. 344, 353.
106. Dr. Kihlbom observes that 'wech... seems still to have been used in colloquial speech' in the east; A Contribution etc., p. 25.
107. M.E.D., s.v. 'ani'.
108. Samuels, 'Some Applications of Middle English Dialectology' p. 90.
109. C.U.L. Ee.3.60 folio 127r (Bury doc.); Morris, Old English Miscellany (Bestiary) p. 16; Arngart, Genesis and Exodus line 2179. Another early instance of ony 'any' (together with other typical East Anglianisms: myth, brouth, 3rd. sg. pr. ind. in -yt) occurs in verses in the commonplace book of a thirteenth century Norfolk friar, John Rudham (Caius, Cambridge, Ms. 512; cf. M.R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Mss. in the Library of Gonville and Caius College 2 (Cambridge 1908) pp. 581 ff.).
110. The usual south-eastern eny is virtually unknown in East Anglia in the fifteenth century, and occurrences in the writings of John Paston III and his brother Edmond II are probably part of a general shift towards 'Standard' forms in their

orthography. Cf. Kihlbom, A Contribution to the Study of Fifteenth Century English pp. 68-9.

111. Kihlbom, op. cit. pp. 67 ff.
112. Kihlbom, op. cit. p. 74. There have been varied explanations of how eastern ony might have arisen: Jordan-Crook, Handbook cap. 48.3; Serjeantson, Legendys of Hooly Wummen p. xxxix; Dobson, English Pronunciation 2 cap. 70.1.
113. C. Jones, An Introduction to Middle English (London 1972) p. 196.
114. According to the map, cherche was widely used in Suffolk, but was restricted to a relatively small area of south central Norfolk.
115. E. Björkmann, Scandinavian Loan Words in Middle English, Studien zur Englischen Philologie 7, 11 1900-2 p. 85; G. Försstrom, The Verb 'To Be' in Middle English: A Survey of the Forms, Lund Studies in English 15 1948 pp. 119-20.
116. Försstrom, The Verb 'To Be' p. 226.
117. Cf. Dobson, 'The Etymology and Meaning of Boy' p. 153, where wore 'were' in Ludus Coventriae is taken to suggest Norfolk origins.
118. For a discussion of whore 'where' in general in Middle English see Jordan-Crook, Handbook cap. 49.2. For the currency of whare 'where' in certain north-west Norfolk texts see McIntosh, 'The Language of the Extant Versions of Havelok' p. 47.
119. For rhymes involving whore, thore etc. in north-eastern texts in general see Boerner, Die Sprache Robert Mannyngs of Brunne p. 117-9.

120. Arngart, Genesis and Exodus p. 22; Morris, An Old English Miscellany (Bestiary) pp. 4, 22.
121. Hudson and Tingey, Records of the City of Norwich 1 p. 348, Norwich Record Office, PD 52/473 folio 30; Bodl. Tanner 407 folio 30v; Meech and Allen, Book of Margery Kempe p. xxxi; Craig, Works of John Metham pp. 57, 58; Davis, Paston Letters and Papers 1 pp. 156, 390, 379; Toulmin Smith, English Guilds p. 84; Kihlbom, A Contribution to the Study of Fifteenth Century English p. 76 (on P6).
122. Furnivall and Pollard, The Macro Plays p. xxxvii.
123. Jordan-Crook, Handbook cap. 300.
124. Jordan-Crook, loc. cit., Rem.; Schultz, Die Sprache der 'English Guilds' p. 26; Serjeantson, Legendys of Hooly Wummen p. lxii; Parker, Life of St. Anne pp. 113, 120; Brodin, Agnus Castus p. 78.
125. M.E.D., Plan and Bibliography map 4, p. 9.
126. Morris, Old English Miscellany (Bestiary) p. 21; Hudson and Tingey, Records of the City of Norwich 1 pp. 94-7, 107; Davis, Paston Letters and Papers 2 p. 372; Colledge and Smetana, 'Capgrave's Life of St. Norbert' p. 428.
127. M.E.D., Plan and Bibliography map 2, 'Endings of the Present Tense', p. 8; map 3, 'theim/hem', p. 9. East Anglian scribes of the later fifteenth century begin to use the s inflexion for the 3rd. sg. pr. ind. around 1470, e.g. some of the Paston men; Davis, 'Language of the Pastons' pp. 126-30.
128. See Dobson, English Text of the Ancrene Riwe p. cliv; Arngart, Genesis and Exodus pp. 30-1 and glossary; Schultz, Die Sprache der 'English Guilds' p. 33 (showing occasional /th/ forms in north-west

- Norfolk); Munro, Capgrave's...St. Augustine etc. p. xix ( /th/ once), and cf. Colledge and Smetana, 'Capgrave's Life of St. Norbert' pp. 428-9; N. Davis, 'The Letters of William Paston', Neophilologus 37 1953 p. 39; Brodin, Agnus Castus pp. 79-80, 83; Meech and Allen, Book of Margery Kempe p. xxvi ( /th/ once).
129. Meech, 'John Drury and his English Writings' p. 72; D'Evelyn, 'The Revelations of Methodius' pp. 158-9, 161 (occasional /th/ forms); Serjeantson, Legendys of Hooly Wummen p. lxii; Davis, 'A Scribal Problem' p. 46 and 'The Epistolary Usages of William Worcester', Medieval Literature and Civilisation, ed. D.A. Pearsall and R.A. Waldron (London 1969) p. 273.
130. Davis, 'Language of the Pastons' pp. 122-9.
131. A. Rynell The Rivalry of Scandinavian and Native Synonyms in Middle English, Lund Studies in English 13 1948.
132. O.E.D., s.v. 'give'; Rynell, op. cit. p. 312.
133. Schultz, Die Sprache der 'English Gilds' p. 19; Meech and Allen, Book of Margery Kempe, glossary s.v. zeuyn; Brodin, Agnus Castus, glossary s.v. zewe etc.; Lucas, 'Consistency and Correctness in...John Capgrave's Chronicle' p. 330.
134. Kihlbom, A Contribution to the Study of Fifteenth Century English pp. 45-9.
135. For earlier suggestions that the two words may be of geographically restricted occurrence see Dobson 'The Etymology and Meaning of Boy' p. 153 (therk); Davis, 'Language of the Pastons' p. 133 (swem).



136. O.E.D., s.v. 'sweam'.
137. Meech and Allen, Book of Margery Kempe p. 431;  
Munro, Capgrave's Lives...St. Augustine p. 29.  
Cf. also swem in Genesis and Exodus, ed. Arngart,  
lines 391, 1961.
138. See Colledge and Smetana, 'Capgrave's Life of St. Norbert' p. 426; Serjeantson, Legendys of Hooly Wummen p. 313.
139. M.E.D., s.v. 'derk'.
140. O.E.D., s.v. 'therk'.
141. Miscellany Tracts VIII, 'Of Languages', in the Works ed. G. Keynes (London 1931) 5 pp. 94-5.
142. Flügel, 'Eine Mittelenglischen Claudian Übersetzung' pp. 259, 298; Serjeantson, Legendys of Hooly Wummen p. 313; Davis, NCPF p. cxxiii; Munro, Capgraves Live's...St. Augustine pp. 16, 77; Colledge and Smetana, 'Capgrave's Life of St. Norbert' p. 426; Promptorium Parvulorum ed. Mayhew cols. 290, 478, ed. Way 2 p. 339.
143. Cf. A. McIntosh, 'Word Geography in the Lexicography of Medieval English', Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences 211 1973 pp. 55-66.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. F.J. Furnivall, A.W. Pollard, The Macro Plays, E.E.T.S. E.S. XCI, (London 1904) p. xxxv; M. Eccles, The Macro Plays, E.E.T.S. 262, (Oxford 1969) p. xi. J. Bennett, 'The "Castle of Perseverance": Redactions, Place, and Date' M.S. 24 1962 pp. 141-52, argues that the language of the play is that of Lincolnshire, but his case is seriously weakened by a neglect of (amongst other things) the orthographic evidence; cf. Eccles, loc. cit. for details.
2. Eccles, MP p. xiii; citations by line are from this edition.
3. Eccles, MP p. xiv.
4. Eccles, MP p. xiii; numerous examples of relevant spellings were listed by Furnivall, The Macro Plays (1904 ed.) p. xxxvii.
5. Eccles, MP pp. xiv-xv; the yht and yh are emended in the text, perhaps unnecessarily.
6. The usual ner and nor(e) also occur. The use of nyn by the main hand in Cotton Vespasian D. viii as well as in the Castle is one of several small orthographic resemblances between the two texts.
7. Cf. the equally unusual erdon in Cotton Vesp. D. viii, main hand.
8. Chapter Three, Secn. III (i). The wh spellings are highly characteristic of the Capgrave Mss., and also appear in Cotton Vesp. D. viii (main hand).
9. Eccles, MP p. xiii.

10. Ded(-) (beside deth) 2600, 2612, 2844, and at 3023 in rh. with red ('advice'); werd(-) (beside werld (world)) 157, 192, 342.
11. Mykyl (41, 89, 131 etc.) may also indicate scribal origins in an area where Scandinavian influence on the language was strong.
12. There are occasional minority forms, e.g. syche (480) wyche (383).
13. C. Jones, An Introduction to Middle English (London 1972) p. 196.
14. Furnivall, The Macro Plays (1904 ed.) listed the relevant forms, p. xxxvii.
15. Eccles, MP p. xv.
16. Eccles, MP p. viii.
17. A map will be found at the end of this chapter showing a suggested 'placing' of the Castle scribe in west central Norfolk. I am indebted to Professor McIntosh, who drew the map on the basis of information gathered for the proposed 'Atlas of the Dialects of Later Middle English' by the Edinburgh group and Professor Samuels.
18. I follow the numbering of the hands used by K.S. Block, Ludus Coventriae, or the Plaie called Corpus Christi, E.E.T.S. E.S. CXX, (London 1922) pp. xv-xvi. The hand responsible for the Assumption play is dealt with separately.
19. M. Eccles, 'Ludus Coventriae, Lincoln or Norfolk?' M.Ae. 40 1971 pp. 135-41, deals in particular with the erroneous account of the language in H. Craig,

English Religious Drama of the Middle Ages (Oxford 1955) p. 266.

20. Recent accounts of the language have tended to rely on traditional phonological and morphological criteria for the localisation. C. Gauvin Un Cycle du Théâtre Religieux au Moyen Age (Paris 1973) pp. 68 ff. continues the argument in favour of Lincolnshire origins; J. Bennett, 'The Language and Home of the Ludus Coventriae', Orbis 22 1973 pp. 43-63 argues for Norfolk. Both of these writers ignore Eccles's important study (prec. note), and both treat the work of all four hands occurring in the manuscript as if they were one. This does less than justice to some distinctive orthographic features in the Assumption play.
21. Block, LC p. xv.
22. Block, LC pp. xv-xvi. The kinds of difference referred to here affect both the way the scribe writes and the way he spells, what Professor McIntosh has referred to as the 'graphetic' and the 'graphemic' levels in written Middle English (A. McIntosh, 'Scribal Profiles from Middle English Texts', N.M. 76 1975 pp. 218-35, esp. 222). The problem in Vesp. D. viii deserves much more attention than it can be given here. A possible approach may be suggested in the treatment of the scribe responsible for the copies of Wisdom and the bulk of Mankind in the Macro manuscript, set out below.
23. There are one or two minority forms, e.g. shall(e) 58/5, 66/84, sal 233/77, ssalte 397/118. As we have seen (Chapter Three, Secn. I (i)) forms like the last two just quoted are not necessarily northern; they are characteristic of west Norfolk texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

24. The important points which emerge from the bibliographical evidence are summarised by Block, LC p. xxxiii.
25. The usual later ME and incipient 'Standard' ght is also not uncommon, and this, together with other features to be mentioned presently, probably reflects the relative lateness of the text (compared, for instance, with the Castle, the Assumption play in the Cottonian Ms. and Dux Moraud). For a characteristic ambiguity arising out of the scribe's varied representations of 'ght' see H. Kökeritz, "'Out-born" in Ludus Coventriae', M.L.N. 64 1949 pp. 88-90.
26. There are a few examples of inflexions in /s/: lyse (3rd. sg. pr.) in rh. with devyse (13/430), cf. lyce : servyse (85/83); syttys (114/174), however, occurs within the line.
27. An East Anglian hand of the fifteenth century with important orthographic resemblances to the Cottonian main hand wrote B.L. Ms. Sloane 2593 (lyrics and carols). This hand likewise uses xal etc., q for 'wh', th for 'ght', -t (3rd sg. pr.) and very rare East Anglian forms like hefne 'heaven' and ardene 'errand'. Professor McIntosh places this scribe in the Thetford area of south-west Norfolk (A. McIntosh, 'The Language of the Extant Versions of Havelok the Dane', M.Ae. 45 1976 pp. 44-5) and the ms. itself may have associations with Bury St. Edmunds (R.L. Greene, A Selection of English Carols (Oxford 1962) p. 173).
28. E.J. Dobson takes these forms in rhyme as evidence of Norfolk origins: 'The Etymology and Meaning of Boy', M.Ae. 9 1940 p. 153. According to Bennett, 'Language and Home of the Ludus Coventriae' p. 49, e forms are much more numerous than those in y.

29. Dede (320/1424); erde (265/984ff.), herd (264/951); werd(e) (1/11, 38/102, 68/148, 92/331, rh. record), with minority forms werld, werdl, worlde, worde, and wurd- (282/312 werld, rh. word 'word', 172/108, 149/96, 183/150, 54/77).
30. Mech(e) (68/137, 98/28, 99/68 etc.) mekyl (18/66, 24/269, 125/37 etc.), mekell (159/246), mykyl (172/103).
31. Other forms used are swyche, swich and soch; cf. Block, LC, glossary.
32. For evidence of the possibility that the Passion plays had a separate existence from the bulk of the manuscript at some time see Block, LC p. xxxiii. For instances of the e spellings see 225/4, 240/266, 242/309, 245/393, 400, 259/822 etc.
33. A. Rynell, The Rivalry of Scandinavian and Native Synonyms in Middle English, Lund Studies in English 13 1948 p. 109; for the provisional 'Atlas' map for 'church' see Jones, An Introduction to Middle English p. 196. According to the latter the Vesp. D. viii scribe is likely to have been at work in a marginal area of Norfolk where the northerly kyrke and the eastern cherche overlap.
34. Bennett, 'The Language and Home of the Ludus Coventriae' p. 53, says that there are 16 and(e) forms for the present participle, but this figure is arrived at by conflating the occurrences in the work of the main hand with those in the Assumption play, the work of another scribe.
35. Bennett, art. cit. p. 52, quotes figures suggesting that h forms are about four times as common as those in /th/.

36. Rynell, Scandinavian and Native Synonyms in Middle English p. 109.
37. See the map at the end of this chapter for a 'placing' in Norfolk on the basis of information held by the McIntosh-Samuels 'Atlas'.
38. Block, LC pp. xxxvi-xxxvii.
39. Block, LC pp. xviii-xix; this scribe was also an East Anglian, as the discussion which follows shows.
40. P.H. Reaney, A Dictionary of British Surnames (London 1958) p. 362.
41. For details see M.A. Farrow, Index of Wills Proved in the Consistory Court of Norwich 1370-1550 etc., Norfolk Record Soc. 16 (3) 1945 pp. 400, 405; V.B. Redstone, Calendar of the pre-Reformation Wills, Testaments and Probate Administrations Registered at the Probate Office, Bury St. Edmunds, supplement to Proc. Suffolk Institute of Archaeol. 12 1906, pp. 71, 95; H.L. Bradfer-Lawrence, The Muster Returns from Divers Hundreds in the Country of Norfolk, Norfolk Record Soc. 6 1935 (1) p. 7, (2) p. 150. The name 'John Hasycham' appears (with several others) on f. 91v of the Cottonian Ms. (Block, LC p. 151). The only English place-name with which this can obviously be linked is Hassingham (Nf., between Norwich and Yarmouth).
42. Block, LC pp. xvi, xviii-xix.
43. W.W. Greg, The Assumption of the Virgin (Oxford 1915); citations are from Block's text, LC pp. 354-73.
44. Greg, ed. cit. p. 7.

45. I differ here from some recent writers on the subject (cf. nn. 20, 34).
46. Greg, ed. cit. pp.7-8 (orthography), 9-21 (phonology and morphology).
47. The main hand's occasional alternative to xal is shall(e) (58/5, 66/84), perhaps another indication of lateness, earlier 15th. C. East Anglian hands usually having schall (e.g. Capgrave, Castle of Pers.).
48. Greg, Assumption of the Virgin pp. 7-8.
49. E.g. myht (356/41, 359/117).
50. Meche (356/39, 360/162, 361/187; at 364/242 meche in rh. with preche, teche, speche); mekyl 372/471.
51. E.g. sweche (355/20, 23; 368/353); swyche (367/345).
52. E.g. 358/90, 360/141, 362/193.
53. N.b., Block prints any in error at 355/17; Greg, ed. cit. line 47, has the correct reading, ony.
54. Greg, Assumption of the Virgin p. 18.
55. For a suggested placing of the Assumption play scribe in the Ely area see the map at the end of the chapter.
56. Eccles, MP, notes to lines 721, 789, 793-4, 832 of Wisdom.
57. Eccles, MP, notes to lines 274, 452, 505-15, 628 of Mankind.



58. Eccles, MP p. xxvii. Pollard thought that 'they [sc. all three plays in the Macro Ms.] were written separately by different scribes'; Furnivall and Pollard, The Macro Plays (1904 ed.) p. xxviii.
59. D.M. Bevington, The Macro Plays, A Facsimile Edition with Facing Transcriptions (New York and Washington 1972) p. xvii.
60. See, for instance, Craig, English Religious Drama pp. 349-51, where W is characterised as 'a literate play well informed in the lore of psychology' and M as 'ignorant, corrupt, probably degenerate, and vulgar to the point of obscenity'.
61. Eccles is judgement has recently been confirmed by Professor Davis and M.B. Parkes; see N. and Q. 220 1975 p. 79 (review of Bevington, Facsimile).
62. Eccles, MP pp. xxvii, xxxvii.
63. A detailed palaeographic analysis could well be revealing. The scribe's treatment of at least two letters varies considerably in the different pieces of work. In W the letter 'a' is often written with a round backed form [ɑ] which is not used in M. M has the open bottomed form [æ] which is very infrequent in W. M also has a final 's' shaped like a pot-ladle [ʃ] which does not seem to occur in W. In general, however, the style remains the same whilst such minor details differ - the sort of pattern a regular modern longhand writer might observe in his work over a period of years. References to orthographic features in the text from this point may be checked in either Eccles or Bevington, but the latter must be consulted where the scribe's system of abbreviation or contraction is involved (e.g. yi 'thy', yu 'thou' etc.).

64. These somewhat unusual spellings with w for usual initial u/v are found in a number of words in both texts: wp(pe), ws, wndyr.
65. Mekyll has perhaps been retained for stylistic reasons in line 47. Mischief's gibe at Mercy, 'Yowr wytt ys lytyll, yowr hede ys mekyll 3e are full of predycacyon', is evidently intended to be an imitation of the kind of doggerel often found in English folk-plays: 'In comes I that's never been yit/with my big head and my little wit'. Cf. A. Brown, 'Folklore Elements in the Medieval Drama', Folklore 63 1952 p. 69.
66. Examples are: ware : are (vb.) 105, wore : sorre 331; at 588 the scribe writes wer to rh. on spare and after line 809 the sequence is fare : are : were.
67. E.g. W 678ff. wynnande (pr.pple.): stande : vsande (pr.pple.): lande : hande; cf. M 682, 686.
68. The scribe's copy for M evidently had other examples of qw for 'wh'. At 483 the scribe evidently mistook double 't' for crossed double 'l' and wrote qwyll 'while' instead of qwytt 'quit'; see Bevington, Facsimile f. 128r.
69. The case is very like the occasional tell-tale examples of q- amidst the usual wh- forms in the Capgrave Mss.; see Chapter Three, Secn. I(ii) and n. 21 there.
70. The scribe not only wrote thow 'though' but also the most unusual thow 'those'. Cf. n. 125, below.
71. W wer(e) 46, 194, 205, M wher(e) 6, 200, 253; W wo 50, 57, 71, M who 33, 140, 188; W wat 73, 78, 96, M what 164, 203, 351; W wen 115, 185, wan 138, 231, M when 62, 173, 175.

72. W. has her(e) some seven times against yer some five, with hem (x10) against yem (x4). The /th/ spellings have become regular in M, with hem twice and her once.
73. W 73, 78, 82, 226, 411, 504, 647, 1147 and 479, 550, 689, 999; M 75, 161, 299, 367 etc.
74. In W togedyr, hedyr, modyr etc. 8, 197, 495, 728; 199, 732; 982, 988, 991; in M together, hethyr, moyer etc. 111, 456, 517; 53, 351, 425; 756, 758.
75. S.B. Meech, H.E. Allen, The Book of Margery Kempe, E.E.T.S. 212, (Oxford 1940), cf. the glossary under the words concerned; P.J. Lucas, 'Consistency and Correctness in the Orthographic Usage of John Capgrave's Chronicle', Studia Neophilologica 45 1973 p. 337.
76. N. Davis, 'Scribal Variation in Late Fifteenth Century English', Mélanges Fernand Mossé (Paris 1959) p. 99.
77. Examples are: 'then' W 119, 139, 181 ((140)); M 81, 175, 178, 242 ((74)); 'than' W 33, 871, 1009 ((1049)); M 165, 225, 264 ((171)); 'when' W 115, 185, 969 and 138, 231; M 62, 173, 175, 632.
78. W selff 97, 185, 195 etc. (-sylff once, 95); M sylffe 19, 238, 297 etc. (selffe twice, 329 (in rh.) 793). Sylf was apparently more characteristic of Suffolk than Norfolk copyists, cf. M.L. Samuels, 'Some Applications of Middle English Dialectology', English Studies 44 1963, map p. 90.
79. The rhymes involving the s inflexions show that the original of W is likely to have been composed in the northern part of the east midlands - they are certainly not characteristic of London English at

this time. At 272ff. three instances rhyme with tellys, pres. ind. pl., also clearly northern, and at 1010 conteynys (3rd. sg.) rhymes with peynys (n., pl.) showing vowels of unstressed inflexional syllables in y as part of the language of the original, and also not southern. Cf. also has : face (177), solace : has : lace ('laces', 3rd. sg.) : mace ('makes', 3rd. sg., 574ff.).

80. Cf. Chapter Three, note 50, and the authorities cited there.
81. The details in W are: 678ff. wynnande (pr.pple.): stande (vb., pres.pl.): vsande (pr.pple.): lande (n.). At 777ff. pres. pples. rhyme amongst themselves in ande, but on the other hand forms in ynge also rhyme with verbal substantives and proper nouns with the same ending (137ff., 278).
82. See Bevington, Facsimile f. 99r, where both of these errors occur. The scribe's exemplar for the Macro text also appears to have had East Anglian orthographic features. The thowte/'youth' error has a quite straightforward explanation in terms of provincial spelling. The exemplar must have used y for h and th for 'ght', and youth could signify either 'youth' or bouth 'thought'.
83. The instance deducible at line 763 is of particular interest, as it is probably another example of the scribe mistaking a provincial form in the exemplar and writing whom instead of whow 'how'. The Macro scribe also produces a reverse spelling in this case, how 'who' (W 763).
84. The orthography of the Brome hand is dealt with in detail in the following section.
85. Eccles, MP pp. xxx, xxxviii.

86. The scribe's career seems to have spanned the period occupied by other East Anglian play copyists, e.g. Cotton Vesp. D. viii main hand (1460's-70's) and the literary hand in the Brome Ms. (? 1450's-1490's, see below).
87. The change from initial y, in many words, to 3 looks at first sight like a reversion to an old-fashioned or provincial pattern. It is probably better interpreted, however, as an attempt to avoid errors of the sort induced by the regular equation of p and y (e.g. n. 82). On the other hand, the change from w to wh in the initial position is a move away from a common East Anglian pattern to a 'Standard' form.
88. The parallel with Capgrave's orthographic system is interesting. The Lynn scribe carefully avoided East Anglianisms like xal, and qw for 'wh', but equally invariably wrote local forms of the ryth, browth type; cf. Chapter Three, Secn. I (i)-(iii) and nn. 12, 21 and 46.
89. Eccles, MP p. xxxvii and pp. 181-4.
90. For the maps see Samuels, 'Some Applications of Middle English Dialectology' p. 86; Jones, Introduction to Middle English p. 196.
91. Eccles, MP notes to lines 505-15. W.K. Smart ('Some Notes on Mankind', M.P. 14 1916 pp. 45-58) identified a number of the people mentioned with certainty, but was in error about others, and failed to locate one or two. Mr. Hammond of Swaffham Bulbeck (515), Mr. Huntingdon of Sawston (504) and William Patrick of Massingham (513) may now be properly identified.
92. The speeches of Nowadays and Nought, in particular, disrupt the attempt at verisimilitude and immediacy

by both naming people far apart in Cambridgeshire and Norfolk.

93. Thomas Huntingdon held Huntingdon's manor in Sawston between 1443 and 1498 (T.F. Teversham, A History of the Village of Sawston (Sawston 1942-7) 1 pp. 52, 106). For the Pichards of Trumpington see Smart, 'Some Notes on Mankind' pp. 51-2. William Hammond of Swaffham Bulbeck held Hammond's manor there until 1481 (E. Hailstone, A History of Swaffham Bulbeck, never publ., galleys held by C.U.L., cols. 13, 42).
94. For details of William Alington of Bottisham (d. 1479) see Hailstone's History and Antiquities of the Parish of Bottisham as cited by Smart, 'Notes on Mankind' pp. 48ff. Alexander Wood of Fulbourn was a J.P. at the same time as Alington, in the 1470's (Smart, pp. 49-50).
95. William Baker of Walton (d. 1491) has been plausibly identified by Smart, art. cit. pp. 52-3. William Patrick of Massingham was probably the man whose will (1499) survives in the Norwich Record Office; cf. Farrow, Index of Wills Proved in the Consistory Court of Norwich etc. 2 p. 202. It is curious that the Norfolk men's Christian names are given, but not those of the Cambridgeshire worthies.
96. A map showing the area of suggested scribal origin for the surviving text of Mankind will be found at the end of the chapter.
97. For a spellings of 'where' in west Norfolk texts see McIntosh, 'The Language of the Extant Versions of Havelok' p. 47, and map, p. 45.
98. Eccles, MP pp. xxxiii-xxxiv; the very extensive debt to Hilton was first noted by W.K. Smart, Some

English and Latin Sources and Parallels for the  
Morality of Wisdom (Menasha 1912).

99. A.B. Emden, A Bibliographical Register of the University of Cambridge (Cambridge 1963) s.n. 'Hilton, Walter'.
100. A detailed account of judicial administration in the diocese of Ely towards the end of the fourteenth century is given by M. Aston in Thomas Arundel (Oxford 1967) Chapters 3-4. Legal officials from Ely had an obvious connexion with the heart of the legal world of London in the Bishop of Ely's palace in Holborn; cf. E. Williams, Early Holborn and the Legal Quarter of London (London 1927) 1 cap. 336ff.
101. For a recent survey see the section on 'Poems Dealing with Contemporary Conditions' in A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 5 ed. A. Hartung (New Haven 1976).
102. Cf. M. McC. Gatch, 'Mysticism and Satire in the Morality of Wisdom', P.Q. 53 1974 p. 357. Gatch presses the conclusion that the play was both written and performed in London and largely evades the question of the East Anglian language (p. 361 n. 62). The most obvious argument for authorship by an outsider is that the references to the judicial system in London in the play are uniformly disparaging. By contrast, the administration in Ely, at least in Bishop Arundel's time, was remarkably efficient; Aston, Thomas Arundel pp.81-2.
103. Eccles, MP pp. xxvii, xxxvii. There is no evidence that the manuscripts of Wisdom and Mankind, presumably together from the first, had any connexion with the Castle of Perseverance manuscript in medieval times.

104. The family of de Hengham held a manor at Hingham, and the name is naturally fairly common in fifteenth century East Anglia; see J.N. Chadwick's Index Nominum (Lynn 1852) to Blomefield's History of Norfolk, and Blomefield, 2 pp. 422-55, esp. p. 433.
105. T. Arnold, Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey, Rolls Soc. 96 (3) (London 1896) p. xxxiv; Smart, Sources and Parallels for ... Wisdom p. 86, looked no further than this for the owner of the manuscripts.
106. Eccles, MP pp. xxvii-xxviii and references there. C.U.L. Ms. Ii.3.10 (Sermones, 14th. C.) is signed 'liber Thome Hengham monachi Norwicensis 1462' on folio 1r, but the signature bears no resemblance to those in the Macro Ms. I have not seen Edinburgh, Nat. Libr. Scotland Ms. 6125, which this Hengham also owned. The handwriting of the Hengham signatures in the Macro Mss. bears a certain resemblance to the style adopted by the main hand for the Latin rubrics in W, which, as Pollard observed, is different from that used in the vernacular parts (Furnivall and Pollard, The Macro Plays (1904 ed.) p. xxx.
107. A. Jessopp, Visitations of the Diocese of Norwich, A.D. 1492-1532, Camden Soc. 43 1888, pp. 8, 77.
108. The 'monachus Hengham' would certainly have been the sort of man to have relished the coarser parts of Mankind, if the account of him in the visitation is to be believed. Amongst his offences were numerous debts, the wearing of fine underclothes and stockings, visiting the town illegally and breaking into a chest. He was also 'suspectus cum Agnete Hoberd', and other women were thought to have visited him in his cell; Jessop, op. cit. pp. 97, 100.



109. Eccles MP pp. xxviii-xxix, xxxvii. In addition to the information there note that three wills of men named John Plandon (Planden) were registered at Bury between 1488 and 1512. See Redstone, Pre-Reformation Wills ... at Bury pp. 132, 161, 171. A Robert Oliver lived at Bunwell in south Norfolk in 1553; Blomefield, History of Norfolk 5 p. 134.
110. N. Davis, Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments, E.E.T.S. S.S. 1, (Oxford 1970) pp. lviii-lxx.
111. Davis, NCPF p. lviii; the discovery was reported by L. Toulmin Smith in her A Commonplace Book of the Fifteenth Century (London 1886) p. 1.
112. Davis, NCPF p. lx.
113. Davis, NCPF p. lxii.
114. Davis, NCPF p. lxx; the language of the play is described on pp. lxviff.
115. Line references to P are from Davis's edition of the text, those from F and other texts in the manuscript from Toulmin Smith, A Commonplace Book. The formulary is of unusual interest, and may well show the scribe's orthography uninfluenced by the effects of copying from other manuscripts. There are signs which indicate that the English translations which follow the Latin documents may have been made ad hoc by the scribe as he went along, e.g. blanks left in the English where an odd or unfamiliar word appears in the Latin; cf. Toulmin Smith, p. 146 and n. The place-names in the documents are also something of a guide to where the scribe was at work. They include Bury, Preston, Hopton and Sudbury (Sf.), Cambridge and Foxton (Cambs.), Ormesby, Worstead, Cressingham and Terrington (Nf.).

116. Davis, NCPF p. lxviii.
117. Davis, NCPF p. lxviii; in this respect (and in various others) the Brome hand's spelling has a good deal in common with the Macro Wisdom-Mankind scribe's work of the earlier phase (cf. n. 84, above). Examples are were(e) 'where' (P 19, 42 etc., F pp. 144, 147), wyche (P 17, 199 etc., F pp. 138, 141), qwyll (P 462), qwan (33/261), qwy (42/511).
118. Davis, NCPF p. lxviii; F. pp. 141, 148. The gth forms for 'ght' evidently stood for the same sound as those in t/th, cf. lygth 'lieth', degth 'death', P 303, 310.
119. Davis, NCPF p. lxix and F pp. 138, 141 etc.; cf. lygth 'lieth' (P 303) and the preceding note.
120. The rhyme words are steryd 'stirred' (P 76) and swerd 'sword' (P 286).
121. Davis, NCPF p. lxx, Toulmin Smith op. cit. 27/76, 30/183, 42/506, 77/199. Ward 'world' is also used by the scribe of B.L. Ms. Stowe 953, associated with south-east Norfolk; cf. Chapter Two, localised texts etc., L. 10; Chapter Three, Secn. IV (3).
122. For mekyll see Toulmin Smith 25/30, 34/304, 37/ (381), 86/120 etc., for swech(e) 73/39, 50, 89/213, 93/320, for weche F p. 134.
123. According to the map in Jones, Introduction to Middle English p. 196, chyrche was used in east and south-east Norfolk rather than anywhere else in East Anglia. It was also the Macro Wisdom-Mankind scribe's preferred form.

124. Neither item occurs in the play: swem Toulmin Smith 75/131, therk 92/313.
125. A close orthographic relative of the Brome hand is, as suggested in n. 121, that responsible for B.L. Stowe 953, also using xall etc., w/qw for 'wh', t/th 'ght', erde, warde, mekyl, sweche and so forth. And, as we have seen, the more important of these also appear in the work of the Macro Wisdom-Mankind scribe. The Brome hand's very rare thow 'those' (P 434, F pp. 141, 146) also appears in Wisdom (cf. n. 70). Another odd-looking Brome spelling is abothe 'above' (F pp. 139, 141); this looks like an error, but also appears in one of the Wymondham Gild Books (Chapter Two, localised texts etc., L 27(1), p. 18). For a provisional placing of the Brome scribe see Professor McIntosh's map at the end of the chapter.
126. N. Davis, 'Two Unprinted Dialogues in Late Middle English and their Language', Revue des Langues Vivantes 35 1969 pp. 461-72. I am grateful to the librarian and authorities at Winchester for allowing me to examine and quote from Ms. 33A at the College.
127. Davis, 'Two Unprinted Dialogues' pp. 467-8; them and thayme (rh. payne) are exceptions in L (ff. 62v, 59r. For 'give' see ff. 55v, 57r, 68v, 69r etc.
128. Myche and mochel each appear once (L 58v, O 65v) as does ony (L 55r).
129. Out 'aught' appears under idiomatic circumstances: 'He my3t nat be ri3tful dome wel/Safe Adam þat synne out wro3t'. For a comment on this type of construction in an East Anglian play see Kökeritz's note, cit. n. 25, and cf. Mankind 257 and the Brome Abraham 169.

130. Davis compares these and other scribal forms with the maps published by Samuels in 'Some Applications of Middle English Dialectology'; 'Two Unprinted Dialogues' pp. 468-9.
131. Davis, 'Two Unprinted Dialogues' p. 467.
132. The contents of the dialogues are obviously a guide to their origins and early ownership. Lucidus, which is only vestigially dramatic, is largely based on the Elucidarium of Honorius of Autun and is presumably the product of a learned background; cf. B.S. Lee, 'Lucidus and Dubius', M.Ae. 45 1976 pp. 79-96. Occupation is certainly a play, and belongs to the genre of the 'Tudor Interlude', but must be many years earlier than all other representatives.
133. Davis, NCPF p. ci. The contents of the assize-roll relate to the activities of an early fourteenth century East Anglian judge, William de Ormesby of Ormesby (north-east Nf.).
134. The language has been described by Professor Davis, NCPF pp. cvi-cxi, with the comparisons noted.
135. Note reverse spellings for this word in other East Anglian texts: tyght, Mankind 157, LC 222/383 (rh. ryght); cf. also tyth (rh. nyth 'night') LC 16/508.
136. Che 'she' occurs in the early Norfolk Genesis and Exodus (ed. O. Arngart, Lund Studies in English 36 1968, cf. p. 14) as well as in Paston hands and B.L. Sloane 2593 (Davis, NCPF pp. cx-cxi).
137. Trinity College, Dublin, Ms. F.4.20 folios 338r-356r; citations are from Davis's text, NCPF pp. 58-89.

138. Davis suggests 'half a century or so later' than the date at the end of the play, NCPF p. lxxxv.
139. Professor Davis mentions Babwell Priory on the outskirts of Bury St. Edmunds and about a dozen miles from the Croxton near Thetford (NCPF p. lxxxiv); it was in fact on the Thetford road out of Bury. Babwell Mill itself was well known and documented in medieval times. It belonged to the abbey at Bury, and often appears in inventories of the estates; see, e.g., Dugdale's Monasticon Anglicanum ed. J. Caley et al. (London 1846) 3 pp. 121, 172.
140. Brundish is in east Suffolk, and there were certainly people of that name in Bury in the later medieval period, e.g. Willelmo Brundysshe mentioned on f. 217v of C.U.L. Ms. Gg.4.4, a register of the abbey (cf. G.R.C. Davis, Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain (London 1958) p. 15); see also Redstone, Pre-Reformation Wills ... at Bury p. 2. The name in the play was presumably some sort of local joke. The quack-doctor lived in a colcote (621) - a charcoal burner's hut - near Babwell Mill, and as Dr. Axton has pointed out, this further indicates the charcoal burning area of Norfolk (R.P. Axton, European Drama of the Early Middle Ages (London 1974) p. 199). C.U.L. Ms. Add. 6969, a Thetford Priory register of 1483-1540 (cf. Davis, Medieval Cartularies p. 110) which gives abundant references to local and professional playing in the Breckland (see Chapter Five) also reveals widespread trade in wood and charcoal (folios 100v, 153r, 160v etc.).
141. The division of labour amongst the scribes is indicated by Davis, NCPF pp. lxxi-lxxii. A recent suggestion that the text contains Anglo-Irish as

well as Norfolk features is now discounted (cf. Chapter One, n. 80).

142. Davis, NCPF p. lxxxiv; hem occurs once (B 127).
143. A. Rynell, The Rivalry of Scandinavian and Native Synonyms in Middle English, Lund Studies in English 13 1948 p. 307.
144. Davis, NCPF p. lxxviii.
145. Davis, NCPF p. lxxx.
146. The Play of the Sacrament has been entered at Croxton on the map at the end of this chapter.
147. For some account of Blomefield and his career see D.C. Baker and J.L. Murphy, 'The Late Medieval Plays of Digby Ms. 133: Scribes, Dates, and Early History', R.O.R.D. 10 1967 pp. 163-4. Later sixteenth century documents giving details of plays and playing at Chelmsford in Blomefield's time have led to suggestions that Mary Magdalene had a second 'career' in Essex - J.C. Coldewey, 'The Digby Plays and the Chelmsford Records', R.O.R.D. 18 1975 pp. 103-21. This is at least conceivable, but it should be borne in mind that the language of the text would have looked very archaic by this time, and was perhaps a century old by the 1560's.
148. Baker and Murphy, 'Digby Ms. 133' pp. 162-3; Citations are from F.J. Furnivall, The Digby Plays, E.E.T.S. E.S. LXX, (London 1896) pp. 55-136.
149. Dobson, 'The Etymology and Meaning of Boy' p. 153, likens the language of hand D to that of the main hand in B.L. Cotton Vesp. D. viii, now clearly recognisable as a Norfolk text.

150. It is instructive to compare hand D's work with a piece of dated and localised East Anglian work of the early sixteenth century, e.g. The Pilgrimage of Sir Richard Torkington (B.L. Ms. Add. 28561, from Mulbarton, Nf., 1517; see W.J. Loftie, Ye Oldest Diarie of Englysshe Travell (London 1884)), where standard forms have replaced nearly all indications of earlier East Anglian orthography.
151. Dobson, 'Etymology and Meaning of Boy' p. 153.
152. For the regular yt ending see lines 6, 17, 171, 178, 215, 252 etc. The forms in s are bringis (18), davnys (35, rh. lawys, n. 'laws') and tellys, rebellys, dwellys (123-5); these probably indicate a later fifteenth century date, like the instances appearing in Paston writings after 1470 and in the Macro copy of Mankind (prob. 1480's).
153. Dobson, 'Etymology and Meaning of Boy' p. 153.
154. The use of h more often than /th/ forms for 'them' (9:2 in the first 1,000 lines or so) is characteristic of East Anglia in the later fifteenth rather than the sixteenth century. For 'give', forms with g are more frequent than forms in /y/, however (13:2).
155. Professor McIntosh suggests a placing in south-east Norfolk; see the map at the end of the chapter.
156. Baker and Murphy, 'Digby Ms. 133' pp. 162-3; citations are from Furnivall, DP pp. 27-52.
157. Cf. n. 147 and references there.
158. E.g. /th/ forms for 'their', 'them' 25, 26, 49, 306, 359 etc.; 'give' spelt g- 43, 48, 53 etc.

159. Baker and Murphy, 'Digby Ms. 133' p. 155; citations are from Furnivall, DP pp. 1-23.
160. Baker and Murphy, loc. cit., associate the name Parfre with the Thetford area.
161. /th/ forms are fully established in 'their' and 'them' (hem once, 37) and g is regular in 'give' (yeve once, E 391).
162. Baker and Murphy, 'Digby Ms. 133' p. 156; citations are from Furnivall, DP pp. 139-66.
163. See n. 147, and references there. The orthography of the main hand (F) in the Digby Killing bears in general a good deal of resemblance to that of the Wisdom hand in the same manuscript (G). The hands are also somewhat similar from the palaeographical point of view, but F (as Baker and Murphy suggest) is obviously rather later than G.
164. Eccles, MP p. xxx.
165. The texts in Bodleian Ms. Tanner 407, the commonplace book of Robert Reynys of Acle (cf. Chapter One, no. 14); they have been added to the accompanying map and table at the appropriate places.
166. The Winchester texts and the Digby Paul and Killing of the Children are all certainly of east-midland origin but cannot be included in the East Anglian group.



NOTES TO THE INTERCHAPTER

1. Consider Pevsner's reaction to Norfolk when he came to survey its buildings around 1960; he found it a 'curiously secluded [county], with many stretches and patches so remote and unvisited that one cannot believe that one is only 100 miles from London'; N. Pevsner, The Buildings of England: North-East Norfolk and Norwich (Harmondsworth 1962) p. 9.
2. Compare the state of things now, with Norfolk, fourth in size amongst the counties in England, ranking twenty-ninth in population. Pevsner, North-East Norfolk and Norwich p. 13.
3. D.C. Douglas, The Social Structure of Medieval East Anglia, Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History, ed. P. Vinogradoff, 2 1927 p. 2: 'The amalgamation of Norfolk and Suffolk into one district is no mere matter of geographical propinquity, but the result of the earlier history of the two counties...the individual character of East Anglia is made clear from the seventh century onwards'.
4. The Little Domesday Book contains the surveys for Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex, the latter tending to follow the pattern for the rest of the country; see Round, J.H., 'Domesday Survey', V.C.H. Essex 1 (London 1903) pp. 333-4.
5. H.C. Darby, A New Historical Geography of England (Cambridge 1973) Fig. 11, p. 46.
6. Darby, New Historical Geography Fig. 20, p. 68.
7. For details, see H.C. Darby, The Domesday Geography of Eastern England (3rd. ed., Cambridge 1971) pp. 353-6, where population distribution in the eastern counties is discussed, and cf. p. 360:

'...East Anglia was famed for its fertility during the later middle ages ... the two counties had escaped the worst evils of trampling armies in the years following the Conquest'.

8. B. Dodwell, 'The Free Peasantry of East Anglia in Domesday', Norfolk Archaeology 27 1939 pp. 145-57, and 'Holdings and Inheritance in Medieval East Anglia' Ec. H.R. 2nd. Ser. 20 1967 pp. 53-66; G.C. Homans, 'The Rural Sociology of Medieval England', Past and Present 4 1953 pp. 32-43; Douglas, Social Structure of Medieval East Anglia.
9. Partible inheritance, the Kentish 'gavelkind', involved the equal partition of a man's estate amongst his heirs. It was widely practised by the numerous free peasantry in Norfolk and Suffolk, and its main effect was to increase the number of smallholdings, and together with them, the population of the area; Homans, 'Rural Sociology of Medieval England' pp. 35-8.
10. Douglas, Social Structure of Medieval East Anglia pp. 207-9.
11. Douglas, op. cit. pp. 210, 218.
12. R.E. Glasscock, 'England circa 1334', in Darby, New Historical Geography, pp. 137ff.
13. Glasscock, loc. cit., Fig. 35 p. 139 and Table 4.1 p. 141.
14. E. Ekwall, Two Early London Subsidy Rolls (Lund 1951), Studies on the Population of Medieval London (Stockholm 1956).
15. Ekwall, Subsidy Rolls p. 69, and cf. Population of Medieval London pp. XLII ff. As Ekwall expresses

it, the east midland, and especially the Norfolk immigrants 'set an indelible mark on the population, perhaps the language of London', Population of Medieval London p. LXIV. Chaucer's Reeve in the General Prologue is perhaps a late reflex of the trend noted here, and of course the poet's grandfather is known to have been a Suffolk man. Cf. also Darby, New Historical Geography Fig. 34, p. 133.

16. This is indicated by the fact that some types of cloth derived their names from East Anglian villages, e.g. kersey (Sf.), worsted (Nf.). Cf. Ekwall, Population of Medieval London p. LXV.
17. See the discussion of the Suffolk cloth industry by J. Thirsk, 'Industries in the Countryside' in Essays in the Economic and Social History of Tudor and Stuart England ed. F.J. Fisher (Cambridge 1961) pp. 76-7.
18. P.J. Bowden, The Wool Trade in Tudor and Stuart England (London 1962) p. 52.
19. Long Melford was patronized by the Clopton family, Lavenham by the Springs; cf. B. McClenaghan, The Springs of Lavenham and the Suffolk Cloth Trade in the XV and XVI Centuries (Ipswich 1924).
20. A.R.H. Baker, 'Changes in the Later Middle Ages' in Darby, New Historical Geography Fig. 42 p. 191; Russell, J.C., British Medieval Population (Albuquerque 1948) pp. 132-3, 142-3. Norfolk was one of the few areas of the country with a population density of over 40 persons per square mile at this date. Contrasts of the sort suggested in the text with the north and north west midlands continue. On the relative wealth of the East Anglian region in the later medieval period see R.S. Schofield, 'The

Geographical Distribution of Wealth in England 1334-1649', Ec. H.R. 2nd Ser. 18 1965 Table 2 p. 504, pp. 505-8.

21. The particular density and architectural quality of East Anglian parish churches remain to this day a useful indication of the prosperity of the area in the later medieval period. Pevsner has remarked on the 'prodigious' number of parish churches in Norfolk: 'Norfolk has 607 ecclesiastical parishes... and more than 650 pre-Victorian parish churches, not including nearly 100 ruined ones, ..or any of the more than fifty monastic houses which survive in more or less conspicuous ruins or which are recorded to have existed. No other county in England can compete with these figures'; North-East Norfolk and Norwich p. 13.
22. C. Oman, The Great Revolt of 1381 ed. E.B. Fryde (Oxford 1969) p. xv. For comparisons between the East Anglian counties and the rest of the country in this period see App. II, pp. 162-6, 'The Population of England in 1381', and E. Powell, The Rising in East Anglia in 1381 (Cambridge 1896) App. I, pp. 120-5.
23. Oman, The Great Revolt p. 99.
24. Fryde, in Oman, The Great Revolt, p. xxix.
25. Powell, The Rising in East Anglia p. 57: 'it would seem evident that clubs or societies, which the working classes had already instituted, to enable them jointly to resist the obnoxious claims for labour, must have offered a convenient stock whereon to graft the scion of deliberate rebellion'.
26. The Norfolk Gild Returns have been referred to in another connexion in Chapters Two and Three. For

the historical background see H.F. Westlake, The Parish Gilds of Medieval England (London 1919) pp. 36-8.

27. The bulk of the Returns were in Latin or Anglo-Norman; they are surveyed as a whole in Westlake, Parish Gilds, Appendix. The Norfolk Returns in English were printed by J. Toulmin Smith, English Gilds, EETS. OS 40, (London 1870), and others have been printed in various different places - for further references see C.B. Firth, 'Village Gilds of Norfolk in the Fifteenth Century', Norfolk Archaeology 18 1911-14 pp. 161-203, passim. Suffolk gilds have been less extensively treated, and yielded fewer of the 1389 Returns; they were nevertheless still numerous - cf. C. Morley, 'A Checklist of the Sacred Buildings of Suffolk, to which are added Gilds', Proc. Suffolk Institute of Archaeology 19 1925-7 pp. 168-211.
28. W. Rye, 'Some Norfolk Gild Certificates', Norfolk Archaeology 11 1892 p. 106. Rye recorded 74 gilds in Lynn alone.
29. M.W. Beresford, H.P.R. Finberg, English Medieval Boroughs: A Handlist (Newton Abbot 1973) pp. 139-40; Suffolk had 11 boroughs, see pp. 165-7. On the situation in Norfolk the compilers remark 'Which county in England made boroughs least welcome? Why, Norfolk, a prosperous, densely populated, old-settled, trade oriented county with a borough occurring only per 217,000 acres...' p. 40. (Counties with most boroughs to area were Devon, 1 per 22,000 acres, and Gloucestershire, 1 per 27,000 acres). Cf. also Darby, New Historical Geography Fig. 31, p. 124.
30. W.I. Hayward, 'Economic Aspects of the Wars of the Roses in East Anglia', E.H.R. 41 1926 p. 170.

31. M. Rickert, Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages (Harmondsworth 1954) Chapter 6, pp. 122ff.;  
L.F. Sandler, The Peterborough Psalter in Brussels and other Fenland Manuscripts (London 1974) pp. 12, 135.
32. C. Woodforde, The Norwich School of Glass-Painting in the Fifteenth Century (London 1950).
33. According to Rickert, Painting in Britain: The Middle Ages p. 189, East Anglia produced 'more and finer painted screens than other parts of England' in this period.
34. P. Lasko, N.J. Morgan, Medieval Art in East Anglia 1300-1520 (Norwich 1973) p. 6. This volume, originally a catalogue of an exhibition held at Norwich, illustrates and discusses in detail the main phases of East Anglian art.
35. S. Moore, 'Patrons of Letters in Norfolk and Suffolk, c. 1450', P.M.L.A. 27 1912 pp. 188-207, 28 1913 pp. 79-105.
36. On Fastolfe's retirement see K.B. McFarlane, 'The Investment of Sir John Fastolfe's Profits of War', T.R.H.S. 5th Ser. 7 1957 pp. 91-116. During the 1440's and 50's he commissioned, or was otherwise associated with several translations made by his stepson, Stephen Scrope; see C.F. Bühler, The Dicts and Sayings of the Philosophers, E.E.T.S. O.S. 211, (Oxford 1941) p. xlii; The Epistle of Othea, E.E.T.S. 264, (Oxford 1970) p. xviii. After Scrope's death his translations were reworked by William Worcestre, once Fastolfe's secretary but by this time (1470's) an associate of the Paston family; Bühler, Dicts and Sayings pp. xxxix-xlvi.

37. H.S. Bennett, The Pastons and their England (Cambridge 1922) pp. 261-2.
38. Dame Julian and Margery are known to have met and discussed spiritual matters 'many days together' in Norwich; S.B. Meech, H.E. Allen, The Book of Margery Kempe, E.E.T.S. O.S. 212, (Oxford 1940) pp. 42-3.
39. N.R. Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain (London 1964), passim.
40. A.I. Doyle, A Survey of the Origins and Circulation of Theological Writings in English in the 14th, 15th and early 16th Centuries, with Special Consideration of the Part of the Clergy therein (Cambridge University Ph.D. thesis 1953).
41. A. McIntosh, 'The Language of the Extant Versions of Havelok the Dane', M.Ae. 45 1976 p. 44.
42. Lavenham's writings circulated widely in his area of origin, over half the extant copies of his treatise being found in East Anglian manuscripts; J.P. van Zutphen, A Litil Tretys (Rome 1957) pp. xlviiii-xlix.
43. Two other carol/lyric manuscripts, both related in various ways with the first three items just mentioned are also very clearly products of East Anglian scribes: Bodleian Ms. Eng. poet. e.1 and St. John's Cambridge Ms. S.54; cf. R.L. Greene, The Early English Carols (Oxford 1935) pp. 337-8, 342-3.
44. J.M. Manly, E. Rickert, The Text of the Canterbury Tales 1 (Chicago 1940) pp. 184, 170ff.

45. G. Kane, Piers Plowman, The A Version (London 1960) pp. 7, 9ff., and cf. the collations for numerous examples of the usual East Anglian spellings.
46. E. Salter, Nicholas Love's "Myrrour of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ", Analecta Carthusiana 10 1974 pp. 4,9. For remarks on the Norfolk language of Hh see B. Wallner, An Exposition of Qui habitat and Bonum est in English, Lund Studies in English 23 1954 p. lxxii.
47. P. Hodgson, The Cloud of Unknowing, E.E.T.S. O.S. 218, (Oxford 1944) p. xxxix.



NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1. See H.M.C., IIIrd. Report, Appendix (London 1872) p. 247, describing an 'Assembly Book, temp. Henry VI'.
2. D.M. Bevington, The Macro Plays, A Facsimile Edition with Facing Transcriptions (New York and Washington 1972) pp. 152-3. The interpretation of the diagram is given further attention in the East Anglian context in Chapters Six and Seven.
3. The position is shown on Map 4 at the end of Chapter Four.
4. I have consulted C.U.L. Add. Ms. 2792, a nineteenth century transcription of the original. The accounts for the play of 1511 appear here on pp. 76-80, and the following numbered list of contributory communities serves as a key to the sketch-map in the text: B Bassingbourn, 1 Royston, 2 Therfield, 3 Melbourne, 4 Litlington, 5 Whaddon, 6 Steeple Morden, 7 Barley, 8 Ashwell, 9 Abington, 10 Orwell, 11 Wendy, 12 Wimpole, 13 Meldreth, 14 Arrington, 15 Shepreth, 16 Kelshall, 17 Willingham, 18 Fowlmere, 19 Guilden Morden, 20 Tadlowe, 21 Croydon, 22 Hatley, 23 Wrestlingworth, 24 Haslingfield, 25 Barkway, 26 Foxton, 27 Kneesworth.
5. J.C. Cox, Churchwardens' Accounts (London 1913) p. 274.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

1. The best known modern account of scaffold-and-place staging is R. Southern, The Medieval Theatre in the Round (London 1957); an up-to-date survey of the main evidence will be found in R. Hosley, 'Three Kinds of Outdoor Theatre before Shakespeare', Theatre Survey 12 1971 pp. 1-33, esp. pp. 1-14.
2. The Cornish evidence for scaffold-and-place playing will be mentioned in more detail later in the chapter.
3. H. Rey-Flaud, Le Cercle Magique (Paris 1973), surveys Continental evidence for the 'theatre in the round', with numerous illustrations.
4. A. Freeman, 'A "Round" Outside Cornwall', Theatre Notebook 16 1961 pp. 10-11, quotes a late description of an amphitheatre at Shrewsbury from Churchyard's Worthiness of Wales (1587). It is also mentioned in a document of 1570, see J.T. Murray, English Dramatic Companies 1558-1642 (London 1910) 2 p. 391.
5. K.M. Dodd, 'Another Elizabethan Theatre in the Round', Shakespeare Quarterly 21 1970 pp. 125-156. The Walsham game-place was probably constructed in the second decade of the sixteenth century.
6. C.A. Mills; John Capgrave, Ye Solace of Pilgrimes (Oxford 1911).
7. Ye Solace of Pilgrimes pp. 17-18.
8. Quoted by D. Bigongiari, 'Were there Theatres in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries?', Romanic Review 37 1946 p. 217. Isidore's definition is discussed in detail by M.H. Marshall in 'Theatre in the Middle

- Ages: Evidence from Dictionaries and Glosses',  
Symposium 4 1950 pp. 8ff.
9. Ye Solace of Pilgrimes pp. 33-4.
  10. Rey-Flaud, Le Cercle Magique, op. cit.
  11. R. Carew, The Svrvey of Cornwall (London 1602),  
 f. 75v.
  12. Marshall, 'Theatre in the Middle Ages...' p. 14 and  
 p. 33, nn. 43-6.
  13. J. Bosworth, T.H. Toller, An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary  
 (Oxford 1898 etc.) s.v. 'pleg-stow'; T.H. Toller,  
 A. Campbell, Supplement (Oxford 1921) s.v. 'pleg-  
 stow', and cf. 'pleg-stede', 'A place of play, a  
 playground; now surviving in names of English  
 villages...' For a more spacious treatment of the  
 forms, with numerous examples, see A.H. Allcroft,  
The Circle and the Cross (London 1927-30) 2 pp. 345-6.  
 An interesting allusion in White's Natural History of  
Selborne brings together an early use of placea,  
 'playing place', and the native form 'playstow' as a  
 term for a feature of early English village life:  
 'in the year 1271 [Sir Adam Gurdon] granted to the  
 prior and covent of Selborne all his right and claim  
 to a certain place, placea, called La Pleystow, in  
 the village aforesaid... This Pleystow, locus  
ludorum, or play-place is a level area near the  
 church of about forty-four yards by thirty six...'  
 G. White, The Natural History and Antiquities of  
Selborne (London 1789) p. 345.
  14. Dodd, 'Another Elizabethan Theatre in the Round'  
 p. 130. East Anglian camping-closes usually ajoined  
 the churchyard; cf. R.W. Ketton-Cremer, 'Camping,  
 a Forgotten Norfolk Game', Norfolk Archaeology 24  
 1932 pp. 88-92.

15. For a survey with illustrations see C.G. Jung, Man and his Symbols (London 1964) pp. 240-9.
16. K. Miller, Mappaemundi: Die ältesten Weltkarten (6 vols., Stuttgart 1895-8) reproduces and discusses numerous examples. See also R.V. Tooley et al., A History of Cartography (London 1969) pp. 23-4.
17. The form also occurs in the visual arts of the period. For example, in the north choir aisle of Canterbury Cathedral (Window II, panel 16 - c. 1200) is an illustration in stained glass of the subject 'Tres filii Noe cum Ecclesia', a female figure of the Church accompanied by Noah's sons, who were held to symbolize Her. The three sons hold up a large disc lettered MVNDVS in the middle, and inscribed between the two concentric circles which form its outer rim is an abbreviated form for 'Noah's sons ruling for me each in his own part'. See B. Rackham, The Ancient Glass of Canterbury Cathedral (London 1949) p. 60 and Pl. 15(a).
18. Southern, The Medieval Theatre in the Round; Southern's 'modern' and 'professional' assumptions were noted by P. Ryan Jr. in a sharp review of the book in Quarterly Journal of Speech 44 1958 pp.444-5.
19. The Castle of Perseverance (ed. M. Eccles, E.E.T.S. 262) refers to 'pis wyde world so rounde' (2954); cf. Ludus Coventriae (ed. K.S. Block, E.E.T.S. E.S. CXX) 199/181, 'all pis world þat is so rownd', and 266/1009, 'pis werð rownde'. The dramaturgy of the Castle, which uses its circular playing area as an image of the world has been discussed by C. Belsey, 'The Stage Plan of the Castle of Perseverance', Theatre Notebook 28 1974 pp. 124-32.
20. R.S. Lopez, 'The Crossroads within the Wall' in Handlin, O., and Burchard, J., (eds.) The Historian

- and the City (M.I.T. and Harvard 1963) pp. 27-43.
21. J.G. Davies, The Origins and Development of Early Christian Architecture (London 1952) pp. 73ff, 81ff.; E. Mâle, The Gothic Image (1910, transl. London 1913) pp. 5-6.
  22. Op. cit. n. 13.
  23. The staging of the twelfth century Anglo-Norman Adam evidently required a set involving a platea, two artificial loci (a scaffold for Paradise and a contraption for Hell), and a church, from which God enters and to which he exits. There seems to be no certain way of knowing how these elements were placed in relation to one another; for recent suggestions see M. Mathieu, 'La Mise en Scène du Mystère d'Adam', Marche Romane 16 1966 pp. 47-56 and R. Axton, J. Stevens, Medieval French Plays (Oxford 1971) p. 5.
  24. Printed by K. Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church (Oxford 1933), 2 p. 539.
  25. R.P. Axton, European Drama of the Early Middle Ages (London 1974) pp. 162-3.
  26. The best account and edition of the text is by H.L.D. Ward, 'The Vision of Thurkill', Journal of the British Archaeological Association 31 1875 pp. 420-59; cf. also his Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum (London 1881-93) 2 pp. 506-15. Theatre historians have generally quoted an abridged version from Roger of Wendover's Flores Historiarum, e.g. R.S. Loomis, G. Cohen, 'Were there Theatres in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries?' Speculum 20 1945 pp. 94-5, Rey-Flaud, Le Cercle Magique pp. 36-8.

27. Ward, 'The Vision of Thurkill' p. 450.
28. Ward remarks: 'It has been urged upon me that this remarkable account of the Infernal Drama must have been concocted by the monkish Writer. As far as the Actors are concerned, their performances are very similar to those in the Church Plays ... But the circular stone [sic] building, with its seats all round, and its arena in the middle, seems certainly too Roman for a rustic dreamer in Essex, in the year 1206'; art. cit. p. 435.
29. Bigongiari, 'Were there Theatres in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries?' p. 215.
30. Edited by Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church 2 pp. 369-396; see also the translation ed. Wright, J., The Play of Antichrist (Toronto 1967) and the most recent edition, Günther, G., Der Antichrist (Hamburg 1970).
31. Wright, The Play of Antichrist pp. 24-40, gives a detailed account of the historical background.
32. Wright, The Play of Antichrist p. 51.
33. Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church 2 p. 394.
34. Wright, The Play of Antichrist p. 11. Michaelis thought that the stage set could be reconstituted by superimposing the instructions in the opening rubric of the play quite literally on one of the early mappaemundi, and though I would disagree with the result of this in theatrical terms I think the intuition which led him to connect the circular image of the world and the scope of the play was nevertheless correct: Michaelis, E.A., 'Zum Ludus de Antichristo', Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum 54 1913 pp. 79ff.

35. A good brief account appears in Axton, European Drama... pp. 91-2.
36. Axton, op. cit. p. 44; he notes in particular the outdoor performance given in the centre of Riga in 1204, involving a representation of the conflict between Gideon and the Philistines.
37. Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church 2 p. 371.
38. Michaelis, 'Zum Ludus de Antichristo' p. 79ff., makes two suggestions on this point: i) that the manuscript from which the present copy of Antichristus was made had ad ā, viz. 'austrum', for the position of the Greek king's seat, and ii) if austrum in the text as it stands is correct it may be a Germanic late Latin form signifying 'östen' - i.e. the seat of the King of the Greeks is 'to the east' of Germany's and therefore in the northern sector of the platea.
39. I assume this is what Dr. Axton intends when he says (European Drama... p. 210n.) that the north is 'where the audience would sit, according to the MS. rubrics'. The rubrics in fact make no mention of the audience as such, and this may be a reason for thinking that the play belongs to an established tradition of staging.
40. Günther, Der Antichrist p. 158.
41. Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church 2 p. 387. Cf. Axton, European Drama... p. 45, who sees the forming of the circle as an element related to primitive folk play.
42. Axton, European Drama... p. 91.

43. It is prominent in La Seinte Resureccion - see O.B. Hardison, Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages (Baltimore 1965) p. 266ff. Though I disagree with Hardison's hypothesis of the set for the play the reader will find that his analysis of the dialogue and action is equally applicable to the mise-en-scène which I suggest instead. The significant ordering of dialogue and action in symmetrical patterns (especially in connexion with the circular 'theatre') is a particular characteristic of Chaucer's Knight's Tale which links up with theatrical tradition here; see, in general, C. Muscatine, Chaucer and the French Tradition (Berkeley 1957) p. 178ff.
44. J.G. Wright et al., La Seinte Resureccion, Anglo-Norman Text Society No. 4, (Oxford 1943).
45. Wright, La Seinte Resureccion p. cxxxii.
46. Wright, La Seinte Resureccion pp. cxxxi-ii.
47. The two introductory passages are printed in parallel by Wright, La Seinte Resureccion pp. 1-3.
48. Hardison, Christian Rite and Christian Drama pp. 264-6.
49. Richard Axton has suggested for the Resureccion 'a possible circular set, with the "petit chastel" of Emmaus in the centre of the "place"' in Medium Aevum 37 1968 p. 227, (a review of Fifield, M., The Castle in the Circle (Muncie 1967)). Cf. his European Drama... p. 109.
50. Hardison, Christian Rite and Christian Drama p. 305.
51. This has been pointed out by both of the most important modern authorities on the play: W. Noomen,



'Passages Narratifs dans les Drames Médiévaux Français: Essai d'Interprétation', Revue Belge de Philologie 36 1958 p. 763, and O. Jodogne, 'Recherches sur les débuts du Théâtre Religieux en France', Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale 8 1965 pp. 186-8.

52. The general phenomenon of a locus in the midst of the platea has been examined in a rather confused and unsatisfactory monograph by Fifield, The Castle in the Circle; cf. the review by Axton mentioned in n. 49.
53. These are reviewed by Noomen, 'Passages Narratifs...' pp. 761-7.
54. Noomen writes: 'En réalité, ce soi-disant prologue n'est autre qu'un pendant en langue vulgaire des indications qu'on trouve en tête de plusieurs drames liturgiques latins', 'Passages Narratifs...' p. 766. Cf. Jodogne, 'Recherches sur les débuts...' pp. 185-8, esp. p. 186: 'Pour ma part, je les ai appelés des didascalies parce que je suis convaincu qu'ils ont servi primitivement au metteur en scène et qu'ensuite ils ont été convertis pour la lecture'.
55. P, for instance, describes Emmaus as a hostel, and does not mention a locus for Longinus. C's Emmaus is a chastel, and there is perhaps an additional locus described as the Tower of David and Bartholomew. (I argue presently in the text that this is a name for the 'gaol' mentioned in both P and C).
56. E.g. Wright, La Sainte Resurreccion, pp. cxvii-cxix; Hardison, Christian Rite and Christian Drama, pp. 265-6; Axton and Stevens, Medieval French Plays, pp. 48-9.

57. G. Cohen, 'Une Terme de Scénologie Médiévale: lieu ou mansion?', Mélanges Huguet (Paris 1940) pp. 52-58.
58. The Cornish evidence is discussed in detail in section VI of this chapter.
59. Hardison, Christian Rite and Christian Drama p. 271.
60. Hardison, Christian Rite and Christian Drama p. 272.
61. See J.K. Wright, Geographical Lore in the Time of the Crusades (New York 1925) pp. 248-9: 'most medieval maps...were nothing more than rough diagrams converted into works of art'. Natural geography was 'forced to conform to a circular or oval world'.
62. Receuil des Historiens des Croisades: Historiens Occidentaux 3 (Paris 1866) pp. 487-543. The St. Omer plan may be compared with a ground plan of the real site of Jerusalem in c. 1187 in C.R. Conder, The City of Jerusalem, Palestine Pilgrims Text Society, (London 1896).
63. The Tower of David was a medieval fortification built on the site of Herod's fortress; see Jerusalem: A History, with a Foreword by E.O. James (English ed., London 1967) p. 231. There are reasons for thinking it was topical when the play was written: Wright, La Seinte Resureccion p. cxiii.
64. Hebrews 13.12; the siting of both Golgotha and the Sepulchre within the walls of the city dates from their incorporation into Constantine's basilica of the Holy Sepulchre, completed in A.D. 335, see Jerusalem: A History p. 204, with plan.

65. See H. Michelant, G. Raynaud, Itinéraires à Jérusalem (Geneva 1882) pp. 107-22.
66. The structural prominence given to the locus for Emmaus 'en mi la place' is interesting. Historically speaking, the real Emmaus lay about seven miles outside Jerusalem. The narrative of the Journey to Emmaus and Christ's sudden disappearance there may have been a final climactic episode in the play. For suggestions about the influence of twelfth-century drama on manuscript illumination with respect to this scene see O. Pächt, The Rise of Pictorial Narrative in Twelfth Century England (Oxford 1962) pp. 38-44, and A.H. Nelson, 'Early Pictorial Analogues of Medieval Theatre-in-the-Round', Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama 12 1969 pp. 93-106.
67. R.E. Latham, Revised Medieval Latin World-List (London 1965) s.v. 'placea'.
68. M.W. Beresford, New Towns of the Middle Ages (London 1967) pp. 16, 33, 167, 322-3.
69. The distinction is shown in E.M. Carus-Wilson, 'The First Half-Century of the Borough of Stratford-upon-Avon', Ec. H.R. 2nd Ser. 18 1965 p. 5.
70. J. Wright, The English Dialect Dictionary, 'plack' sb. 2, 'place' sb. 4.
71. For Young's references to the platea see The Drama of the Medieval Church, index. The exceptional play in the Latin corpus is the 'Fleury' Resuscitatione Lazari (Young, 2 pp. 199-208) which required four loci and mentions a platea in the rubrics. The texts in the so-called 'Fleury Play-book' are atypical in a number of ways, and it would be unwise to attach too much significance to the isolated use of platea in the

- Lazarus text. The most recent authority on the manuscript affirms that the plays were performed inside the church: S. Corbin, 'Le Manuscrit 201 d'Orleans: Drames Liturgiques dits de Fleury' Romania 74 1953 pp. 1-43. Platea also occurs in medieval ecclesiastical condemnations of popular dancing to describe the area used for the dance: M. Sahlén, Etude sur la Carole Médiévale (Uppsala 1940) p. 142.
72. See P. Studer, Le Mystère d'Adam (Manchester 1918) lines 112, 172 and 590; per plateas is used on the first and third occasions, per plateam on the second. It is difficult to make sense of the plural form in theatrical or any other terms, and the text may be corrupt. The Latinity of the rubrics is often doubtful, and the text as a whole is defective in many places, as is shown in a recent diplomatic edition: L. Sletsjøe, Le Mystère d'Adam, Edition diplomatique ... etc. (Paris 1968).
73. Southern, The Medieval Theatre in the Round, pp. 219-236.
74. F.N. Robinson, The Works of Geoffrey Chaucer (2nd. ed. Oxford 1957) p. 35.
75. F.P. Magoun Jr., 'Chaucer's Ancient and Biblical World' Medieval Studies 15 1953 pp. 110-111.
76. A. Roncaglia, G. Boccaccio, Teseida (Bari 1941) VII 108-10, pp. 208-9.
77. Chaucer's reduction of the number of tiers of seats which could be accommodated in the 'theatre' to sixty is just within the bounds of credibility. As Magoun (loc. cit.) notes, the stadium would then hold about 200,000 people - about four-and-a-half times the population of medieval London, according to

- S.H. Herben, 'Knight's Tale A1881ff.', M.L.N. 53  
1938 p. 595.
78. Muscatine, Chaucer and the French Tradition, loc. cit. (n. 43).
79. Lines 2399, 2584f., 2678, 2690 and 2694.
80. G. Wickham, Early English Stages 1300-1660 1 (London 1959) pp. 13-50.
81. For a discussion of specific links between the tournament, the Knight's Tale and the medieval theatre-in-the-round see P.D. Arnott, 'The Origins of Medieval Theatre in the Round', Theatre Notebook 15 1961 pp. 84-7.
82. The specialized theatrical use of 'place' by Chaucer in his description of the arena has been examined in detail by Dean, who accounts for it as follows:  
'[Chaucer] wanted a word that would specifically indicate the grassy ground of the area within the lists. Lists itself was too general. But the fusing of the traditions of the tournament and of the outdoor drama enabled him to borrow and use place in its technical theatrical sense and this gave him the exact focusing word that he sought for his description of the final actions of the tournament'.  
C. Dean, 'The "Place" in "The Knight's Tale"', N. and Q. 211 1966 pp. 90-2.
83. M. Crow, C. Olson, Chaucer Life Records (Oxford 1966) pp. 472-3. I do not intend to imply that this was a direct influence on the conception of the theatre in the Knight's Tale, which is generally thought to have been written in the 1380's.
84. I. Gollancz, A Good Short Debate between Winner and Waster (London 1920).

85. 'It is as if the poet were describing a dramatic performance or a pageant play he is in the act of witnessing, and were reproducing the dialogues and monologues as overheard by him in the act of being spoken by the costumed actors he describes'; J. Speirs, Medieval English Poetry: The Non-Chaucerian Tradition (London 1957) p. 268.
86. R.W.V. Elliot, 'The Topography of Winner and Waster', English Studies 48 1967 pp. 134-40.
87. Gollancz, Winner and Waster lines 48-50.
88. Cf. Elliot, 'The Topography of Winner and Waster' pp. 135-7.
89. Quotations from the B-Text are from: G. Kane, E.T. Donaldson, Piers Plowman: The B Version (London 1975). Cf. G. Kane, Piers Plowman: The A Version (London 1960). Note that the collations to the lines quoted show that certain scribes had some sort of mental picture of the structure mentioned in line 14 - they substitute ytymbryd for ymaked. Cf. Castle of Perseverance 239: 'Wyth tapytys of tafata I tymbyr my towrys' (Flesh referring to his scaffold at the edge of the platea).
90. W.W. Skeat, The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman (Oxford 1886) 2 pp. 4-5; J.A.W. Bennett, Piers Plowman: The Prologue and Passus I-VII of the B Text ... (Oxford 1972) p. 82. 'Deep dale', as Bennett notes, refers directly to Hell.
91. Quotations are from E. Salter, D.A. Pearsall, Piers Plowman (London 1967). Cf. the C-Text printed by Skeat, op. cit., vol. I.
92. It would be surprising if Langland, as a local man, had not heard of or seen the great mappamundi in

Hereford Cathedral, probably completed c. 1300-5.  
See G.R. Crone, The Hereford World Map (London 1948),  
and The World Map of Richard of Haldingham in  
Hereford Cathedral (London 1954).

93. Salter and Pearsall, Piers Plowman, lines 14-19,  
and note.
94. Salter and Pearsall, Piers Plowman, p. 72, note.  
A.L. Kellogg, in an illuminating note entitled  
'Satan, Langland, and the North' (Speculum 24 1949  
pp. 413-4, kindly pointed out to me by Professor  
Pearsall) shows that the quotation 'Ponam pedem...'  
is from an Augustinian paraphrase of the biblical  
text. Langland is also drawing on a symbolic  
spiritual opposition of north and south already well  
established in Augustinian theology.
95. The traditional symbolic orientation of the church  
already alluded to (cf. n. 21) is clearly relevant.  
In addition to being placed at the opposite pole to  
the sacred east, the west also carried 'etymological'  
associations with death and the Last Judgement  
through occidens and occidere; cf. CI lines 16-17,  
Mâle, The Gothic Image pp. 5-6. The south side has  
the benefit of the sun through most of the day, and  
this perhaps underlies Langland's sun/Son pun here  
and elsewhere. The south porches of several Gothic  
cathedrals were decorated with programmes of  
statuary incorporating the Son and his Apostles, e.g.  
the handsome Christ in the south portal at Chartres,  
and the 'Beau Dieu' in the same place at Amiens.
96. Cp. the ending of the Castle of Perseverance, where  
the 'Pater sedens in iudicio' on a scaffold in the  
east bids the redeemed Mankind up from the platea to  
a seat beside him, (lines 3598ff.), whilst sinners  
are consigned to 'Hell-lake' (viz. dungeon) in the  
West, (3639).

97. Another example of the use of geographically orientated 'eschatological' space in the poem occurs in the Harrowing of Hell episode (C XX lines 117, 122, 167, 170; B XVII 113, 118, 165, 167) where the Four Daughters of God come from the points of the compass to engage in the dramatic debate over whether man shall be redeemed. N.b. especially C XX 170-1: '... se here bi southe/Where cometh Pees pleinge in pacience yclothed', where the allegorical figure is visualized clearly in dramatic terms. The context of the debate is the same as that in the Castle of Perseverance; its traditional context is of course before the Incarnation, e.g. in St. Bernard's sermon on the Annunciation, and the Meditationes Vitae Christi. See H. Traver, The Four Daughters of God (Bryn Mawr 1907).
98. Several of these are reproduced in the section of plates in Rey-Flaud, Le Cercle Magique, and the most notable example - in the 'Terence des Ducs' Ms. - appears as the frontispiece in Southern, The Medieval Theatre in the Round. Southern argues (p. 58) that the latter is 'an unusually direct record of one form of medieval theatrical presentation', but this is very doubtful. As Dr. Axton has recently shown, the artist's impression of the Roman theatre derives from twelfth century glosses rather than theatrical tradition: European Drama... pp. 23-4.
99. M. Fifield, 'The Arena Theatres in Vienna Codices 2535 and 2536' Comparative Drama 2 1968-9 pp. 259-82. The illustrations show allegorical castles and sieges, a common late medieval theme, and Hosley has already remarked that 'the assumption of theatrical relevance seems unwarranted' ('Three Kinds of Outdoor Theatre...' p. 29). The miniatures surely belong to a distinct artistic tradition; cf. R.S. Loomis, 'The Allegorical Siege in the Art of the Later Middle Ages', American Journal of Archaeology



2nd. Ser. 23 1919 pp. 255-269, who defines the relationship of the tradition to the Castle of Perseverance.

100. Nelson, art. cit. n. 66. Professor Nelson's remarks about the exact relevance of his analogues to theatrical tradition are most judicious: 'Whatever their source, they show that a common way to organise witnesses to an action was to deploy them in a circle, and to present the action in the center of the enclosing circle', (p. 102).
101. The best-known and most ample account of the alleged theatrical significance of the miniature for the English tradition appears in Southern, The Medieval Theatre in the Round, pp. 91-107. More recently Rey-Flaud, Le Cercle Magique pp. 113-132, claims to have inferred the exact size and capacity of the theatre illustrated by Fouquet.
102. Hosley, 'Three Kinds of Outdoor Theatre...' Fig. 3 and pp. 3-5; Rey-Flaud, Le Cercle Magique pp. 132-136, with details alleging the dimensions of the structure.
103. The best reproduction of the St. Apollonia miniature currently available is in C. Sterling, C. Schaefer, Jean Fouquet: The Hours of Etienne Chevalier (London 1972) plate 45, with discussion. For details of the manuscript as a whole and its date see pp. 17ff.
104. For instance, Southern, The Medieval Theatre in the Round pp. 93-4, quotes with disapproval Decugis and Reymond: 'Ici la scène circulaire s'élève à un mètre au-dessus du sol, portée par des assemblages de fagots appelés "fascines". Le drame se passe sur la partie la plus avancée du plateau ... au fond se trouvent les specateurs...', and G. Bapst: 'L'estrade à peu près de la hauteur d'un homme est établie sur

des fascines; elle coupe diamétralement l'hémicycle formé par la ligne des loges'. In what follows I endorse the view of Southern and Rey-Flaud that the miniature represents circular scaffold-and-place staging, but it is not in the literal manner they assume. The deepest level in the composition - the audience and scaffolds in the background - functions as an area of picture space distinct from the martyrdom in the foreground; Bapst and Decugis/Reymond saw this, but drew false conclusions. To put it succinctly, the latter, in analyzing exactly what is to be seen in the miniature, were wrong for the right reasons; Southern and Rey-Flaud, I believe, are right about the nature of the 'theatre' shown, but for the wrong reasons, and stand as victims of Fouquet's trompe l'oeil.

105. Fouquet's key rôle in the development of perspective in fifteenth century painting has been explored in detail by O. Pächt, 'Jean Fouquet: A Study of his Style', Jour. of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 4 1940-1 pp. 85-102; J. White, 'Developments in Renaissance Perspective', ibid. 12 1949 pp. 58-79 and The Birth and Rebirth of Pictorial Space (London 1957, 2nd ed. 1967) pp. 219-235. Of particular interest is Pächt's analysis of the lozenge-shaped gathering of people in the 'Lit de Justice' miniature from a Munich Ms.; the concluding remark may be borne in mind in connexion with the St. Apollonia: 'Fouquet has the laugh of his biographers who were taken in by the illusion he created and thought that the shape of the pictorial representation was the shape of the object itself', (p. 93).
106. Sterling, The Hours of Etienne Chevalier, pp. 12-13.
107. Rey-Flaud, Le Cercle Magique, pp. 118-9.
108. Sterling, The Hours of Etienne Chevalier, pp. 14-15.

109. Professor Elizabeth Salter points out that the use of wattle fences to define areas of picture space occurs in manuscripts painted by the Boucicaut and Bedford Masters.
110. Cf. Pächt, 'Jean Fouquet: A Study of his Style' p. 92: 'In Fouquet's paintings there is never a single form which coincides in a material way with the picture plane. Every object is at angles to the picture surface'.
111. Southern, The Medieval Theatre in the Round pp. 95-105, discusses the scaffolds and their functions in detail.
112. Fouquet creates a similar effect in the Rape of the Sabine Women miniature (cf. n. 103), where several Sabines in the act of being plucked from their places are shown to be seated in a rank co-extensive with that of the audience which stretches into the background round the platea.
113. Cf. Pächt's attractive point about the activity of the régisseur in the miniature: 'In a sense, it could well be taken as Fouquet himself appearing as a director of his own world, setting the stage for one of the many pageants into which every event, be it sacred legend or profane history, automatically transformed itself in his imagination'. 'Jean Fouquet: A Study of his Style', p. 100.
114. Sterling, The Hours of Etienne Chevalier, p. 15.
115. See E. Norris, The Ancient Cornish Drama (Oxford 1859, 2 vols.); W. Stokes, Beunans Meriasek: The Life of St. Meriasek, A Cornish Drama (London 1872).
116. Carew, The Survey of Cornwall, f. 71.

117. D.C. Fowler, 'The Date of the Cornish "Ordinalia"', Medieval Studies 23 1961 pp. 91-125; F.E. Halliday, The Legend of the Rood (London 1955) p. 12.
118. R.T. Meyer, 'The Middle Cornish Play Beunans Meriasek', Comparative Drama 3 1969 pp. 54-64.
119. The Ordinalia were given over three days. The ends of the first two days of playing are indicated by a request in the text to the audience to be present on the morrow, and these are immediately followed in the manuscript by the first two diagrams for the staging: Norris, Ancient Cornish Drama 1 pp. 217-9, 477-9. The end of the third day's playing is likewise followed by a diagram; Norris 2 pp. 199-201. The two parts of Meriasek are laid out in the manuscript in identical fashion, the first day diagram following the text of that day's playing, the second coming at the end of the manuscript; Stokes, ed. cit. pp. 144, 266.
120. Southern, The Medieval Theatre in the Round, pp. 223-4, collects thirteen instances of platea from the stage-directions in the Ordinalia; he also draws attention to Norris's inaccurate translation of the word as 'stage'.
121. Stokes, Meriasek, lines 455, 271, 4030; cf. Southern, The Medieval Theatre in the Round, pp. 224-5.
122. Latham, Revised Medieval Latin Word-List s.v. 'tenta'; see Norris, Ancient Cornish Drama, 1 202/2660, 374/1934.
123. Norris, Ancient Cornish Drama 1 358/1711, 368/1841; Stokes, Meriasek, 1034, 1566; cf. Lat. 'turris', 1700.

124. Norris, Ancient Cornish Drama, 1 24/330, 26/342, 66/892, 386/2066; Stokes, Meriasek, 141, 812, 586, 949.
125. Norris, Ancient Cornish Drama, 1 180/2376ff., 356/1676; Stokes, Meriasek, 76ff., 168ff. The word used in the stage-directions is invariably 'pompabit'.
126. Norris, Stokes loc. cit. n. 119.
127. Stokes, Meriasek lines 2328 and 3427; R.M. Nance, 'The "Plen an Gwary" or Cornish Playing Place', Journal of the Royal Institution of Cornwall 24 1935 (pp. 190-211) p. 197.
128. R. Polwhele, The History of Cornwall (Falmouth 1803, 2 vols.), Book 2, Ch. 4 p. 191. There is some resemblance here to the East Anglian pattern of the camping-close adjoining the churchyard; cf. n. 14.
129. Nance, 'The "Plen an Gwary"...', p. 194.
130. The official list of recognized plans is by J.B. Cornish, 'Ancient Earthworks' in VCH. Cornwall 1 (London 1906) pp. 472-3; cf. Nance, 'The "Plen an Gwary"...' passim.
131. Carew, The Svrvey of Cornwall f. 71; Polwhele, History of Cornwall Bk. 2 Ch. 4 pp. 191-2, mentions the sizes of the plateae at Ruan Major, Ruan Minor and Redruth.
132. Both of these were described in some detail by Borlase, W., not perhaps without some imaginative elaboration. For St. Just see his Antiquities, Historical and Monumental, of the County of Cornwall (London 1769) p. 207, and for Perran The Natural

- History of Cornwall (London 1758) p. 298. The latter account is criticised by T. Holman, 'Cornish Plays and Playing Places', Theatre Notebook 4 1950 pp. 52-4. The theatre at St. Just was excavated in the early 1950's (it is now a car park): A. Guthrie, 'The Plain-an-Gwarry, St. Just, Cornwall: Report of an Exploratory Excavation', Proceedings of the West Cornwall Field Club 2 1956-7 pp. 3-7.
133. Dodd, 'Another Elizabethan Theatre in the Round', art.cit. n. 5.
134. For the date of the Walsham game-place see Dodd, art. cit. pp. 131-3. For evidence of playing at Walsham in the early sixteenth century see the transcriptions from the Thetford Priory Register in Chapter Five (no. 37), and nos. 40 and 41 there.
135. Dodd, art. cit. p. 130.
136. Dodd, art. cit. p. 126; the document cited is the 'Field Book of the Manor of Walsham-le-Willows', Bacon Mss., University of Chicago. The text continues, giving the abbutments of the game-place tenement, and from the details the position of the structure may be calculated to within a few feet. Building development since Dodd wrote in 1970 has now virtually obliterated the site.
137. Camping-closes were once a common feature of medieval East Anglian village topography; cf. the lists given by Ketton-Cremer, 'Camping, a Forgotten Norfolk Game' (n. 14) and C. Candler, 'On the Significance of Some East Anglian Field Names', N.A. 11 1892 p. 149. For the 'camping pightle' adjoining the churchyard in a Suffolk village see J. Cullum, The History and Antiquities of Hawsted (2nd. ed. London 1813) pp. 124-5. In 1475 John

Botwright, the rector of Swaffham (Nf.) left the 'cherche croft' or 'camping land' next to the churchyard for the common use of the town as a recreation area; Norwich Record Office PD/52/273-8.

138. R.R. Wright, 'Community Theatre in Late Medieval East Anglia', Theatre Notebook 28 1974 p. 38 n. 28, observes that the following settlements in East Anglia or nearby had enclosed playing-places: Walberswick, Shipdam, Necton, Yarmouth, Bassingbourn, Bishop's Stortford and Cratfield; 'Acle ... had a central playing space surrounded by a bank'. No authorities are given for this statement, though for the Yarmouth game-place see Chapter Five, no. 45.
139. W.J. Corbett, 'Elizabethan Village Surveys', T.R. H.S. 2nd. Ser. 11 1897 pp. 67-87, alludes to a number of Norfolk examples. Another instance of a survey referring to a playing-place is John Norder's Survey of Barley [n.e. Herts] ed. J.C. Wilkerson (Cambridge 1974) p. 26.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

1. A good example of this is the rôle of the character Covetousness in the Castle of Perseverance, the only one of the Seven Deadly Sins to have a scaffold to himself in the staging diagram. For a valuable discussion of this see J.W. McCutchan 'Covetousness in the "Castle of Perseverance"', University of Virginia Studies 4 1951 pp. 175-91.
2. D.M. Bevington, The Macro Plays: A Facsimile Edition (New York 1972) pp. 152-3; M. Eccles, The Macro Plays, E.E.T.S. 262, (Oxford 1969), frontispiece. Citations are from the latter edition.
3. The detailed interpretation of the Castle diagram has given rise to much disagreement, principally as regards the ditch, i.e. whether it stood outside or within the platea. The best known exposition is R. Southern, The Medieval Theatre in the Round (London 1957, 2nd. ed. 1975). It is a pity that the second edition (from which I quote) takes no account of recent discoveries and scholarship, and criticisms of the first. It should not be consulted without reference to F. Ryan's detailed account of the more extravagant propositions, set out in a review in the Quarterly Journal of Speech 44 1958 pp. 444-5. Cf. also N.C. Schmitt, 'Was there a Medieval Theatre in the Round? A Re-examination of the Evidence', Theatre Notebook 23 1968-9 pp. 130-42, 24 1969-70 pp. 18-25, and C. Belsey, 'The Stage Plan of the Castle of Perseverance', ibid. 28 1974 pp. 124-32.
4. The plot-morphology of the Castle has been discussed in the context of the moralities in general by R.L. Ramsay, Magnyfycence, E.E.T.S. E.S. XCVIII, (London 1908) p. clxv, and R. Potter, The English Morality Play (London 1975) pp. 44-5.



5. The phrase is from an illuminating article by E.T. Schell, 'On the Imitation of Life's Pilgrimage in The Castle of Perseverance', J.E.G.P. 67 1968 pp. 235-48.
6. Cf. Chapter Six, section II, and notes 18 and 19 to Chapter Six. I do not propose to enter in any detail into the discussion of whether the ditch shown in the Castle diagram stood within or without the earthen bank which probably formed the audience's viewpoint. Southern, The Medieval Theatre in the Round p. 53, thought it impossible for a ditch to separate the audience from the platea; but this was clearly the case at the game-place in Walsham-le-Willows, in the neighbourhood where the Castle manuscript is known to have circulated. Cf. the description quoted at the end of Chapter Six.
7. Southern, The Medieval Theatre in the Round pp. 28-49.
8. Southern, op. cit. pp. 108-13.
9. Southern, loc. cit.
10. McCutchan, 'Covetousness in the "Castle"...' pp. 175-6.
11. Southern, The Medieval Theatre in the Round p. 109.
12. D.A. Pearsall, Old and Middle English Poetry (London 1977) p. 257: 'The Castle of Perseverance ... disappears under the load of its own verbosity...'
13. The tendency towards symmetrical verbal arrangements in earlier scaffold-and-place texts - the Antichristus and La Seinte Resurreccion - has been noted in Chapter Six. It may well have influenced the rhetorical

patterning of Chaucer's description of the events approaching the tournament in the Knight's Tale.

14. The use of the thirteen-line stanza in the East Anglian drama in general is an interesting topic, worth further investigation. It is a characteristic of an early level of composition in the 'N-Town' plays, is used in Dux Moraud and the Reynys Extracts and appears to underlie parts of the metrically corrupt Mary Magdalene. A useful list of texts which use the form is given by T. Turville-Petre, 'Three Poems in the 13-line Stanza', R.E.S. NS 25 1974 pp. 1-14.
15. Another episode characterized by a virtually symmetrical grouping of stanzas is the first appearance of the Four Daughters of God (3129-3228), where they resolve to plead Mankind's fate before God. The verse structure does not indicate exactly how the scene is conceived on the set, and the staging diagram merely remarks that they play in the place. The fact that each Daughter speaks two similar stanzas in turn perhaps hints at some symmetrical arrangement. When Langland brings these four characters on between the Crucifixion and Harrowing of Hell episodes in Piers Plowman each of them approaches on foot from a different point of the compass; cf. note 97 to Chapter Six.
16. A. Katzenellenbogen, Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art (London 1939); R.S. Loomis, 'The Allegorical Siege in the Art of the Middle Ages', Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America 23 1919 pp. 255-269.
7. The Virtues speak in the same order as they have just engaged in conflict with the Vices; this also seems to have been the order in which they introduced

themselves to Mankind at his reception in the Castle (1602-1666, but a leaf is missing from the manuscript here).

18. Another dimeter stanza (in tail-rhyme) is also found in the Castle and from time to time in the 'N-Town' compilation; cf. K.S. Block, Ludus Coventriae, E.E.T.S. E.S. CXX (London 1922) 170/41ff., 327/1624ff., and elsewhere. These unusual forms are interesting forerunners of Skelton's well-known monorhyme 'leashes'. He may have acquired a taste for them during residence in Norfolk; cf. also J. Norton-Smith, 'The Origins of "Skeltonics"', Essays in Criticism 23 1973 pp. 57-62.
19. The most accomplished dramatic metrist of the period was the Wakefield Master, cf. A.C. Cawley, The Wakefield Pageants in the Towneley Cycle (Manchester 1958) pp. 127-8.
20. Eccles, MP p. xvii, quoting J. Bennett.
21. For the importance of this image in the Corpus Christi cycles see J.W. Robinson, 'The Late Medieval Cult of Jesus and the Mystery Plays', P.M.L.A. 80 1965 pp. 508-15.
22. Block, LC 99/49ff.; Eccles, MP p. xviii. The placing of the debate in 'N-Town' is traditional, following (for instance) the Meditationes Vitae Christi; cf. H. Traver, The Four Daughters of God (Bryn Mawr 1907). The 'undramatic' impact of the 'N-Town' version is perhaps due to the fact that it simply reproduces much of the dialogue from an early fifteenth century translation of parts of the Meditationes (not Nicholas Love's). The relevant passage has been printed by R. Klinefelter, 'The Four Daughters of God: A New Version', J.E.G.P. 52 1953 pp. 90-5, and is also used elsewhere in prose

- devotional literature of the period; cf. S. Brook, "The Charter of the Abbey of the Holy Ghost", M.L.R. 54 1959 pp. 481-8.
23. Piers Plowman, ed. E. Salter and D.A. Pearsall (London 1967), 158/116ff, and n.
  24. The scene is not as effective as Death's appearance in the midst of Herod's revelry in the 'N-Town' 'Slaughter of the Innocents', Block, LC 174/168ff. There are suggestive verbal resemblances between the 'N-Town' and Castle Death speeches; cf. Eccles, MP p. 198.
  25. Backbiter also introduces himself to the audience in the 'N-Town' 'Trial of Joseph and Mary', Block, LC 124/25ff.
  26. A. Forstater, J.L. Baird, "'Walking and Wending": Mankind's Opening Speech', Theatre Notebook 26 1971-2 pp. 60-4.
  27. Forstater and Baird, "'Walking and Wending"' p. 61.
  28. E.g. Eccles, MP pp. xxi-ii, following Southern, The Medieval Theatre in the Round. Banns precede two other East Anglian play-texts, the Play of the Sacrament and the 'N-Town' compilation, and the alternative I go on to suggest has already been put forward by E.K. Chambers, The Medieval Stage (Oxford 1903) 2 p. 421, in connexion with the latter.
  29. Bibliographical information on the Cottonian manuscript derives from Block, LC pp. xi-xxxiv.
  30. Block, LC p. xxxi.
  31. Block, LC p. 270 n.

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  30. Block, LC p. xxxi.
  31. Block, LC p. 270 n.

32. C.E. Wright, 'The Elizabethan Society of Antiquaries and the Formation of the Cottonian Library' in The English Library before 1700 ed. F. Wormald and C.E. Wright (London 1958) pp. 176-212, esp. 204ff.
33. Block, LC pp. xxxviii-ix and n.
34. Folio 3r of the present Cotton Caligula A ii has 'Vespasian D.8', crossed out, on it. In B.L. Additional Ms. 36682B, a catalogue of the Cottonian collection made before 1654, the arrangement by emperors is given in detail for the first time. The entries under Vespasian D.8 and D.9 (p. 193) both involve additions and alterations, including the substitution of the 'N-Town' Ms. for two other manuscripts which had previously occupied the D.8 position.
35. Block, LC p. xii.
36. Block, LC loc. cit.
37. Block, LC p. xv. An instance of the scribe's use of a different orthographic pattern in P. I is his taste for more dialectally colourful forms such as qwech(e), wech(e) and whech(e) in preference to the regular which(e) earlier in the manuscript.
38. There have been several attempts to present a unified picture of the staging of the 'N-Town' compilation as a whole, assuming such an entity existed, e.g. A.C. Gay, 'The "Stage" and the Staging of the N-Town Plays', R.O.R.D. 10 1967 pp. 135-40; K. Cameron, S.J. Kahrl, 'Staging the N-Town Cycle', Theatre Notebook 21 1967 pp. 122-38 and 152-65, and 'The N-Town Plays at Lincoln', Theatre Notebook 20 1965-6 pp. 61-9. A more cautious account is offered by A.H. Nelson in 'Some Configurations of Staging in Medieval English Drama', being pp. 116-47 of

Medieval English Drama: Essays Critical and Contextual ed. J. Taylor and A.H. Nelson (Chicago 1972).

39. In the references in the text which follow examples from Block, LC pp. 230-69 relate to Passion I and from pp. 271-318 to Passion II. The stage-directions follow the lines quoted.
40. For evidence of how the interpolations were made see Block, LC pp. 302-7. Latin rubrics, which may or may not relate to a scaffold-and-place setting, are found in this section and again on p. 317ff., where P. II is dove-tailed on to a series of shorter pageants dealing with events after the Resurrection. It is important to bear in mind that the 'N-Town' compiler had more than one version of the planctus Mariae and Harrowing of Hell episodes before him.
41. The situation in II is again complicated by the interpolation referred to in the previous note. Christ leads souls from 'hell lodge' (a phrase used several times here, but not elsewhere in the play; 305/974, 306/1012, 319/1382 etc.) to 'paradise' (318/1346).
42. This assumes that the dream of Pilate's Wife takes place on Pilate's own scaffold (289/522). She flees from the scaffold to Pilate, who is at this point in the council house in the centre of the platea (cf. 279/220ff., 287/465 s.d.).
43. For instance, there must have been a fairly large entrance to the platea, to accommodate the procession with which P. II opens. The 'place like a park' (262/908) representing the Mt. of Olives to which an angel descends from Heaven (263/944) was probably a makeshift locus in the platea, as were the

53. Southern, The Medieval Theatre in the Round p. 221.
54. G. Wickham, Early English Stages 2 (1) (London 1963) pp. 161-9; J.R. Elliot, 'Medieval Rounds and Wooden O's: The Medieval Heritage of the Elizabethan Theatre', in Denny (ed.) Medieval Drama, pp. 223-46.



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