

MEDIEVAL ENGLISH THEATRE

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EDITORIAL

The second part of Volume 1 continues the theme of the Pageant Waggon, with the publication of edited versions of four more of the papers given at the meeting in April 1979, and a detailed look at the mechanics of the York Mercers' waggon from Philip Butterworth. Reg Ingram's paper on Coventry will appear in the first part of Volume 2 (1980). There is a further lengthy instalment of the Directory, which we hope will encourage readers of similar interests to get in touch with each other, and three pages of advance notices of productions with projects.

As you know, the generous gift of £200 from the John Lewis Partnership enabled us to launch *Medieval English Theatre*: but it is not a recurrent grant, and from now on we must clearly exist by subscriptions alone. During 1979 inflation caught up with us; both the endemic variety from which the whole country is suffering, and our own particular and more encouraging brand, which was that we had so much more material than we originally expected that we had to increase the size of each issue from a planned 28 pages to 44. A realistic estimate of next year's costs means that we must regretfully raise the subscription to £3.50 (£4.50 for overseas subscribers – the extra covers postage but not exchange dues, so we must ask for it in sterling) for two issues. We hope that you will feel, as we do, that Volume 1 has been a highly satisfactory beginning to the venture, and that you will spread the news of its existence around, and get others to subscribe as well.

A subscription form for 1980 is enclosed with this issue. We would be glad if you would return it as soon as possible, with your subscription, as plans for the next issue are well under way.

We would like once again to invite contributions in the form of notes, queries, articles (preferably brief), notices of forthcoming productions and other events, and comments on those already past. As you will see from pages 46–7, productions of at least three of the major Cycles are planned for 1980–1 in England alone, and this seems a good time to promote discussion about modern directors' ideas of how they should be staged, and how suitable these turn out to be for medieval drama.

PM MT

ADVANCE NOTICES

Medieval English Theatre Meeting at Leeds

The 1980 meeting will be at the University of Leeds on Saturday March 29th, and the subject for discussion will be 'Props and Costumes'. The catering charge (a medieval lunch will be provided!) will be about £2–3 for the day. Anyone who wishes to come should get in touch with Peter Meredith, School of English, University of Leeds, *Leeds*, LS2 9JT as soon as possible.

Dublin Medieval Drama Colloquium

The dates of the Dublin Conference of the International Society for the Study of Medieval Theatre (Société Internationale pour l'Étude du Théâtre Médiévale) have been CHANGED from 11th–14th July to **9th–11th July 1980**. Those interested should get in touch with Alan Fletcher, Department of English, University College, Belfield, *Dublin 4*, EIRE.

Medieval Pageant Waggon Project

The Manchester University Drama Department are mounting a two-year project on *The Medieval Pageant Waggon*, under the supervision of Philip Cook. The first session, in 1979–80, will be devoted to researching and building a pageant-waggon superstructure on an existing farm-waggon; the second session, in 1980–81, to the production of certain selected plays from the processional Cycles and to the researching, designing, and making of the costumes.

The plays will be presented in the first week of the Summer Term of 1981, on the campus of Manchester University. Exact dates will be announced later. It is envisaged that Day 1 will 'present the Banns', and Days 2, 3, and 4 the plays themselves. These will take place in daylight, probably in the lunch hour to attract a maximum audience. Two or three plays will be performed each day, different plays on successive days, lasting each day less than an hour all told.

Further details from, and offers of advice/assistance to Philip S. Cook, Department of Drama, University of Manchester, *Manchester*, M13 9PL.

York Festival and Mystery Plays

The York Cycle will be performed as usual in St. Mary's Abbey as part of the York Festival from 6th–30th June 1980. It will be directed by Patrick Garland. Enquiries to York Festival Office, 1 Museum Street, *York*, YO1 2DT.

Mystery Plays at Lincoln 1981

Keith Ramsay, Director of Drama, Lincoln Cathedral, is preparing for a second production of the *Ludus Coventrie* at Lincoln in 1981. The production is on the York model:

a largely amateur cast, with three professional actors only, but a professional stage crew. Dates are to be announced. Enquiries to Keith Ramsay, Mayfield Garth, Waddington, Lincoln, LN5 9RN.

The Towneley Cycle at Wakefield

The whole of the *Towneley Cycle* is to be performed in the open air on a fixed stage outside the West door of Wakefield Cathedral, on the weekend of 28th–29th June 1980, as part of the Wakefield Festival. The plays will be shared between a number of local groups.

York ‘Lords Of Misrule’ at Manchester

The Lords of Misrule will be performing *Pharaoh* from the *York Cycle* with one or two shorter comedies at the Manchester University Medieval Festival on Monday March 10th 1980, between about 11.30am and 2.30pm. This is by way of a warm-up for their waggon play performance at the York Festival in the summer.

Ramona Pageant, Hemet, California

Robert H. Hethmon, Department of Theater Arts, UCLA, recommends the annual Ramona pageant, held around April/May each year at Hemet, California. It is, he says, ‘performed by the citizens, animals, and musicians of Hemet-San Jacinto. It is a massive drama, performed out of doors on an extensive stage with ‘mansions’ and *platea*. The audience at each performance numbers thousands. I learned a lot about the possibilities of medieval civic dramas by watching this one at Hemet (it’s based on Helen Hunt Jackson’s *Ramona*)’. The Editors would be glad to hear of other similar happenings.

Renaissance Drama Newsletter

An up-to-date newssheet providing information about productions, conferences, editions, etcetera, can be obtained from Lois Potter, Department of English, University of Leicester, *Leicester*, LE1 7RH. Subscription is £1 for five issues per year. Chronologically, it starts where we leave off.

Queries

Robert R. Wright, Leicester Polytechnic, Scraptoft Road, Scraptoft, *Leicester*, LE7 9SU, would be glad of any information on *Game-House(s) in the Medieval Theatre of East Anglia*.

William Ingram, Department of English, University of Michigan, *Ann Arbor*, Michigan 48109, USA, would like to learn of anyone working on *medieval plays at Clerkenwell* or elsewhere in London.

Modern Productions of Medieval Plays: A Proposed Archive

David Staines of Ottawa has proposed that Medieval English Theatre should collect an archive of programmes and other information on modern productions of medieval English plays. This archive is to be stored initially at Lancaster and will be available for consultation by those interested in this field. Arrangements for cataloguing and collating material will be made as the archive grows.

We should be grateful to receive copies of programmes, reviews, photographs, and any other related material concerning medieval plays in which would have been involved, or to which you have been. We would also appreciate a covering letter with answers to the following questions

1. was the text original, modernised, or translated?
2. was it cut or played whole?
3. what was the setting (church, theatre, University campus, school, etc.)?
4. what was the director trying to do?
5. what kind of staging (pageant waggon, platea and mansion, proscenium stage, etc.)?
6. how was it costumed? what sort of scenery, props, effects, music?
7. what style of acting? how did it work?
8. what type of audience was it aimed at? how did they react? was it generally judged successful?

We hope for a world-wide coverage: readers in Australia and New Zealand please note. At present the advisor board consists of:

David Staines, Department of English, University of Ottawa, Ottawa, Ontario, K1N 6N5, Canada;

John R. Elliott Jr., Department of English, Syracuse University, Syracuse, NY 13210, USA (who already has a large collection of material gathered for his forthcoming book *Playing God*);

Peter Meredith, School of English, University of Leeds, Leeds, LS2 9JT, Great Britain;

Meg Twycross, Department of English Language and Medieval Literature, University of Lancaster, Lancaster, LA1 4YT, Great Britain.

All material should be sent to Meg Twycross at the above address.

Past Productions

We received news of the following too late to be able to give them advance publicity, but would be glad of reports, programmes, etc from those involved:

Digby *Killing of the Children*, directed by Shirley Carnahan, Department of English, University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado 80302, USA.

THE CHESTER PAGEANT CARRIAGE – HOW RIGHT WAS ROGERS?

David Rogers' early seventeenth century descriptions of the Chester pageant carriage need little introduction. For many years they have been taken as a basis for the popular idea of a medieval pageant waggon. Recently, however, their accuracy has been challenged and questions raised about the reliability of the statements. With the exception of an article by Clopper,¹ this criticism derives largely from speculation about the practicality and theatrical effectiveness of the construction rather than from the corroborative or contradictory evidence of the surviving Guild accounts for the Chester plays. It is specifically with those records which relate to Rogers' descriptions that I shall be concerned with here, whilst acknowledging that the accounts provide much additional information about the carriage and performance which for the present purpose has not been drawn upon.

From the five extant descriptions² it appears that Rogers considered the distinctive features of the pageant and carriage to be:

a high place or scaffold made like a house or four-square building with two rooms;

a lower room, hung richly and close, where none but the actors went to apparel and dress themselves;

a higher room where the actors played their parts and which was open so that all beholders might hear and see them;

all set upon four or six wheels.

Perhaps the most discussed feature arising from the descriptions is the number of wheels the pageant was set upon. In the two earliest Breviaries (Chester Archives copy and BL Harley Ms 1944) Rogers describes six wheels, whereas in the remaining three he mentions only four wheels. The Chester records are too vague to resolve this discrepancy satisfactorily,³ although the Smiths' account for 1546 does provide corroborative evidence, in the two payments for axle-trees, for at least four wheels: 'we gaue for an axeyll tre to Rich belfounder vjd' and 'for an other axelltire to Ric hankey iijjd'. This expenditure cannot be taken as proof of only four wheels, as it is impossible to tell from the account whether this was a total or partial replacement of the axle-trees. Similarly the expenditure on wheels is not specific enough to determine the precise number required. For example, in 1561 the same Guild paid 'for wod to make welles 3s 4d' and 'payd for making the welles to the Cartwright 7s 4d', a total payment of 10s 8d. It seems unlikely that this represented the purchase of two wheels, as the Coopers were able to buy a pair in 1575 for only four

shillings. It may, however, be unrealistic to equate the two payments, as the Smiths were clearly having their wheels made to order, whereas the Coopers were possibly buying second hand, as in the year following their purchase, they sold ‘a peare of the carriage whelles’, presumably used, for 4s 8d. In the case of the Smiths, it is interesting to note that the sum paid for materials and making of the wheels is divisible by four – 2s 8d per wheels, or 5s 4d for a pair – but not exactly by six. Such information is of more interest than value in determining the number of carriage wheels in use, as it presumes that the Cartwright was paid at a piece rate, rather than the more usual day rate, and cannot take account of the possibility that the Smiths were in possession of some wheels not requiring replacement.

The Coopers’ accounts are just as intriguing and inconclusive. In 1572 they appear to have spent money on three wheels:

Item for ieren & byndyng of a welle & one stable one neue welle and the dresyng
of one howled welle the wyche comes to vs jd.

For the following presentation of the plays in 1575 they paid for ‘a peare of whelles iiij’, giving a total of 9s1d spent on five wheels over two performances, although it is quite possible that this purchase provided for the renewing of the wheel which was ‘howlde’ in 1572.

The limited evidence of the Smiths’ and Coopers’ accounts suggests carriages incorporating at least two axles and four wheels. This is now generally accepted as the most probably and workable arrangement, indeed, in an attempt to disprove the use of six wheels, Nelson and Clopper have suggested that the *vi* which appears in the earliest of Rogers’ descriptions may have been a mistranscription for *iv*, and that in later versions Rogers read his original source correctly and translated the Roman numeral into the Arabic 4.⁴ Although, initially, this seems a plausible explanation, it rests upon the assumption that *iv*, as well as the more usual *iiij*, was used to represent ‘four’ at or before the time Rogers compiled the Breviaries. Such usage seems to have been extremely rare, a factor acknowledged by Alan Nelson in his article. I have been unable to find a single example of it in the Chester records of the period, and although I make no claim to an exhaustive survey of the matter, it does seem, without further evidence, a questionable assumption on which to discount at least the possibility of a six-wheeled pageant carriage. Furthermore, in the Smiths’ accounts for 1572, there is a fascinating payment for ‘6 cart clouts & nayles vijd’, which may indicate, in Chester, the use of such a vehicle. The simplest, yet perhaps most controversial, interpretation of the record is that these plates of iron were purchased to fix to the underside of each axle-tree arm in order to prevent wear on the six revolving wheels. Unfortunately the records are so tantalisingly brief that this item, on its own, cannot be taken as supportive evidence of Rogers’ earliest description of the pageant under-carriage.

As with the expenditure on axles and wheels by the same Guild, there is no way of telling in what permutation the clouts were used. It is, for example, possible that more than one clout was fixed to each axle-tree arm, or that six were bought in order to keep two spare, or even that they were used for some other constructional purpose. Nevertheless, the possibility that this payment derives from the Smiths' ownership of a six-wheeled carriage, and consequently that Rogers' description was accurate, cannot be ignored.

In fairness to Alan Nelson, it must be pointed out that his main reason for rejecting the use of waggons with six wheels is not the possibility of mistranscription, but the complexity of steering mechanism necessitated by such vehicles. His comprehensive article clearly demonstrates this, but it is, of course, only a problem if the vehicle in question steers. One solution, although it creates problems of a different kind, is to construct a vehicle with fixed axles. In this connection I would like to suggest, albeit tentatively for the present, that the pageant waggons or carriages of medieval England, whether four or six wheeled, may not have possessed a pivoted front axle, but were instead manhandled around the processional routes.

There is a continuing debate concerning when the pivoted front axle was reintroduced into medieval Europe. Although some scholars doubt whether the technology was ever lost, others, using pictorial evidence, date the reintroduction as late as the XVth century. In some ways this debate is inessential to the question of pageant carriage manoeuvrability. It is, perhaps, more appropriate to question whether such technology was absolutely necessary for vehicles used only occasionally and where considerable manpower was available to move them. Certainly there is evidence from Europe and the Far East of a number of ceremonial and military vehicles with fixed axles that depended upon labour to effect changes in direction. Evidence for carriages with fixed axles at Chester, though, is either negative or somewhat tenuous. In none of the surviving Guild records is there mention of anything which might serve as the bolt or king-pin necessary to locate a pivoting axle. This omission could be explained by a bolt of iron requiring infrequent replacement, or alternatively by its irrelevance to a vehicle with fixed axles.

The second piece of evidence is concerned with the storage and setting up of the carriage before each performance. It is clear from the Smiths' accounts that they dismantled their carriage after the performance in 1567; 'for gettinge the Carriage out of the Axeltree viijd & settinge in of the Carriage into the weuers howse viijs': and that they reassembled it the following year, 'to the Right for gettinge the Carriage off & on viijd'. There is no similar record for the next performance in 1572, but the same procedure may be inferred from the payment 'for Tallow for wheles ijd pins for the Axtrees ijd'. If it were possible to be certain that the plural 'Axtrees' is an accurate reference, rather than a scribal slip, then it would be

reasonable to claim the existence of a fixed-axle vehicle, as a carriage fitted with four wheels and a pivoted front axle would require only the rear axle-tree to be secured with pins. For a six-wheeled carriage to steer effectively, two pivoting axles are necessary, which again leaves only a single axle-tree to be fixed by pinning. Thus 'Axtrees' may suggest that the Smiths' carriage was not capable of independent steering, providing 'pinns' refers specifically to axle-tree pins, probably made of wood, and not used loosely to include a metal bolt for the pivot as well.

In support of the theory it is necessary to digress a little from the consideration of Rogers' accuracy. Horwitz maintain that a vehicle with fixed axles was customarily turned by means of a pole applied as a lever to the rear of the waggon.⁵ Although the Chester records provide no proof of the use of this system there is, perhaps, evidence of it operating elsewhere. The most striking example would seem to be that of the Norwich Grocers' pageant with the payment in 1534 'to 4 men for ther labowrs, wayghtyng upon the Pageant with lewers, 16d'.⁶ The York Mercers' 'Item for j pottying stang jd' (1463),⁷ and the Newcastle Fullers' and Dyers' 'Item for 2 spares for stanges 6d', which appears in their account for 1561, immediately before the 'Item for drynk and thayr suppers that wated of the paient 5s',⁸ may indicate a similar practice if the stang or pole was used as a lever as suggested by Peter Levins' definition of 'stangue' as 'vectis' in *Manipulus Vocabulorum* (1570).

The application of this method of manoeuvring waggons may, in part, explain the relatively large number of men employed by the various Guilds to put the pageants. At Chester the Smiths paid 'io men for portage of Carrag ijs 6d' in 1568, as they had in 1567, and in 1575 hired '9 men to Carry our Carryche' while the Coopers and the Painters required seven or eight men to move the carriage they shared.

None of this evidence disproves Rogers' description of a six-wheeled vehicle, but neither, with the possible exception of the reference to six cart clouts, is it confirmed. It is, of course, conceivable that the carriages differed, with some incorporating four and others six wheels depending on the size and weight of the carriage superstructure. The Smiths, for example, may have found the larger number necessary to take the additional strain of a 'steple' which is referred to their 1567 account.

Concerning the body of the carriage, Rogers is less contentious, although his description of a lower room has been challenged by Wickham, who rejects the implication of a tiered waggon on the grounds of it being top-heavy, and places the dressing room adjacent to the acting area.⁹ This assumes that the room was a conscious feature of design, which seems unlikely to have been the case. Rogers describes the pageants as a 'high place', and the evidence of contemporary booth stages and continental pageant waggons suggests a stage floor at the eye level of a standing audience. Assuming that the carriage bed was used as the stage floor, the considerable amount of space below could have been utilised as a dressing

room. As might be expected, the Chester Guild accounts do not contain the kind of information that would confirm or contradict this. Indeed, it could be argued that such a facility is unnecessary, as the players were presumably dressed before the performance began. On the other hand it is probable that they needed somewhere to prepare for entrances hidden from audience view, and an area in which to change for the parts which were doubled. The Coopers may well have used this space when their actor playing Pilate needed to make the quick costume change to Herod suggested by the entries for 1572, 'payde for the carynge of pylates clothes vid' and 1575, 'Item paied vnto pylat and to him that carried arrates clothes & for there floues vjs vjd'.

The rich hangings which Rogers describes as enclosing the lower room, in Cheshire Record Office Ms DCC 19, are not specifically referred to in the Guild records, although much was spent on inkle pins, packthread, and on the general dressing of the carriage which may well have included the fastening of hangings. The Smiths, in 1561, paid 'for 3 Curten Cowerds iijd', and in 1568 'to griff Yeuous wife to pay for wessing the Curtens 4d', possibly in connection with covering the sides of the carriage on view to the audience. Certainly some kind of curtaining would seem necessary if the area beneath the stage was used to conceal the players.

Rogers' description of the higher room 'beinge all open on the tope' (BL Harley Ms 1948) has also been questioned, largely because it has been interpreted, following Salter,¹⁰ as referring to the absence of a carriage roof rather than, as Rogers may well have intended, to the four sides of the playing space so that 'all behoulders mighte heare & see them'. This would not preclude the use of some form of roofing to the carriage, although the accounts are unhelpful here, with the only possible reference appearing in the Coopers' account for 1572, 'Item spende at the brengeng vp of ty (the carriage) to the menseter gate for cordes & penes to sette vp the howsynge of the caryghe iis'. The fact that the Coopers were using cords and pins, and that in 1575 they paid only sixpence 'for newe housinge to our cariadge' suggests that, in their case, the housing may have been a cloth canopy or covering rather than of wooden construction. Regardless of material, the Cooper's housing must have been fixed to something, and Rogers' description of the pageant as a 'howse' or 'four square buildinge' implies an arrangement of four corner pillars. Unless these are accounted for by general references to timber for the carriage, the Chester records make no mention of pillars, though it is possible that repair or replacement of iron ones, as at York, would be infrequent and therefore unrecorded in the comparatively brief period covered by the accounts. A further possibility is that Rogers' descriptions were based on the most spectacular pageants, and that not all carriages required elaborate superstructures involving pillars and a roof. Those carriages which apparently incorporated a steeple – the Shoemakers and the Smiths – may have mounted them above a roof, in the manner of the Louvain Pentecost pageant, or on the carriage bed, but the records yield no indication of size or placing.

This paper has attempted to test the accuracy of Rogers' description of the Chester pageant carriages, using the evidence of the Guild accounts. Although the question of wheel numbers remains unresolved, the possibility of both four- and six-wheeled vehicles has, I hope, been demonstrated. The description of a lower dressing room has not been contradicted, and is perhaps confirmed, if only by inference, while the Coopers' 'housing' may indicate a covered higher room which maintained a sense of openness. How right then was Rogers? If the records do not provide the evidence to say confidently that he was right, they do suggest that he was not seriously wrong.

NOTES

1. Lawrence M. Clopper 'The Rogers' Description of the Chester Plays' *Leeds Studies in English* NS 7 (1974) 63–94.
2. These descriptions are quoted here from Clopper's article for comparison:
 - a. Chester Archives copy and BL Harley Ms 1944 c. 1609–10.
 ... these pagiantes or carige was a highe place made like a howse with 2 rowmes beinge open on the tope. the lower rowme theie. apparelled and dressed them selues. and the higher rowme(s) theie played. and thei stode vpon vj wheelles ...
 - b. Cheshire Record Office Ms. DCC 19 c. 1619.
 ... which Pagiant was a scaffold, or a high foure square buildinge, with .2. rowmes a higher and alower, the lower hanged aboute richly and crosse, into which, none, but the actors came, on the higher they played their partes beinge all open to the beholders, this was sett on .4. wheelles, and soe drawne from streete to street ...
 - c. BL Harley Ms 1948 c. 1623.
 ... which pagiants, weare a high scaffold with .2. rowmes ahiger & alower, vpon 4 wheelles In the lower they apparelled them selues, And In the higher rowme they played beinge all open on the tope that all beholders mighte heare & see them ...
 - d. The Lysons copy, BL Additional Ms 9442 c. 1623.
 ... pagents which was a buildinge of a great height with a lower & higher rowme being all open & set upon fower wheelles and drawne from place to place where they played ...
3. The play records of only four Chester companies survive. The fullest of these are the Smiths' accounts, which are not original but a XVIIth century transcription made by Rangle Holme (BL Harley Ms 2054), containing play expenses for the years 1546 (ff 14^v–15^r), 1567 (ff 18^r–18^v), 1568 (ff 18^v–19^r), 1572 (f. 19^v), and 1575 (ff 20^v–21^r). The earliest account (1546) is reproduced by F.M. Salter *Medieval Drama in Chester* (Toronto 1955) 76–7. Salter, following the date given in the manuscript, refers to the year of this account as 1554, but this is almost certainly a scribal error and the entry can be dated internally as 1545–6; see Lawrence M. Clopper 'The Chester Plays: Frequency of Performance' *Theatre Survey* 14 (1973) 46–58, and John Marshall 'The Chester Whitsun Plays: Dating of Post-Reformation Performances from the Smiths' Accounts' *Leeds Studies in English* NS 9 (1977) 51–61. Extracts from the Smiths' Accounts also appear in Rupert H. Morris *Chester in the Plantagenet and Tudor Reigns* (Chester nd) 305–6, 310–1, 322.

Only one play account of the Shoemakers has been found (Chester Archives, Shoemakers' Accounts 1547–98, G 8/2, f. 16^r–16^v), dated by Clopper in 'Chester Plays' 52 as possibly for 1550.

Play records exist for three years in the Accounts of the Painters, Glaziers, Embroiderers, and Stationers: 1568 (ff 35^r–36^v), 1572 (ff 47^r–48^r), and 1575 (ff 59^r–60^r). This account book is retained by the Company, and the play expenses are transcribed by Joseph C. Bridge 'Items of Expenditure from the 16th century Accounts of the Painters, Glaziers, Embroiderers and Stationers' Company, with special reference to the "Shepherds' Play"' *Journal of the Architectural, Archaeological and Historic Society for the County and the City of Chester, and North Wales* 20 (1914) 153–191. In the present paper I have not referred to the records of this Company as they do not concern the actual structure of the pageant carriage. The Painters did not possess a carriage of their own, but hired that belonging to the Coopers, and consequently their expenditure throws little light on Rogers' description.

The Account Book 1571–1611 of the Coopers' Guild, in the possession of the Company, includes play expenses for two years: 1572 (ff 3^r–3^v), and 1575 (ff. 7^r–8^r). Both accounts are reproduced in Salter 72–76.

Citations from the Company records are from my own transcriptions, and I should like to thank Lawrence M. Clopper for generously allowing me to compare them with those he has prepared for the forthcoming Chester volume in the *REED* series.

4. Alan H. Nelson 'Six-Wheeled Carts: An Underview' *Technology and Culture* 13 (1972) 391–1416, esp. 415–6; Clopper 79.
5. I.H.T. Horwitz 'Die Drehbewegung in ihrer Bedeutung für die Entwicklung der materiellen Kultur' *Anthropos* 28 (1933) 721–57, 738.
6. *Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments EETS* SS 1 edited by Norman Davis (1970) xxxii.
7. Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Rogerson *Records of Early English Drama: York 1* (Manchester 1979) 96.
8. John Brand *The History and Antiquities of the Town and County of Newcastle upon Tyne* 2 vols (London 1789) vol. 2, 370–1.
9. Glynne Wickham *Early English Stages 1300 to 1660* I (London 1963) 173.
10. F.M. Salter *Medieval Drama in Chester* 68–9.

DIANA WYATT

NORTH LONDON POLYTECHNIC

THE PAGEANT WAGGON: BEVERLEY

I shall outline the evidence Beverley can provide following the list of points we were given. It's worth nothing that, although there are some complete gaps on the list, Beverley does have some other interesting things to offer, by way of comparison. Sometimes, of course (and this is true not only of Beverley), the lack of clear evidence is the result merely of scribal over-succinctness: they will often tell us that the details

of certain expenditure, say, are listed ‘elsewhere’, and then ‘elsewhere’ fails to turn up anywhere. But what definite evidence can be gathered, I shall give.

One *caveat* may be necessary here: although the scribes in Beverley do often take the trouble to distinguish between the pageant as the waggon structure, and the pageant-play acted on it, they aren’t absolutely consistent in this respect (in fact Stanley Kahrl used Beverley as an example of such ambiguity in his *Traditions of Medieval English Drama*), so that in some records we find the Guilds playing *pagendas* as well as, in other instances, playing *ludos* on *pagendas*. In such cases one just has to make the interpretation that seems most appropriate in the context.

I ought perhaps to mention at this stage that not all Beverley references to pageant waggons deal with the Corpus Christi cycle: they had a *Paternoster* play too, and pageant waggons were used for it as well.

One of Beverley’s most interesting pieces of information – which I’m bringing in first because it fails to fit neatly under any of the headings on the list – is one from the *Great Guild Book*:

Item die veneris prox. post festum Translacionis sancti Willhelmi Anno domini
MCCC nonogesimo primo venit Johannis de Erghes hayrer in gilda Aula coram
xij Custodes ville Beuerlaci & manuscipit pro se & sociis suis eiusdem artis
ludere quondam ludum vocatum paradise sufficienter vz. quolibet anno in festo
corporis christi quam alij artifices eiusdem ville ludunt durante vita ipsius
Johannis Erghes sumptibus suis proprijs volens & concedens se soluere
communitati ville Beuerlaci tociens quociens deficeret in ludo predicto xs. per
plegium Nicholi ffauconer aceciam manucepit reliberare xij Custodibus ville qui
pro tempore erunt in fine vite suo omnes res necessities quas ipse habet
pertinentes ludo predicto sub pena xxs. vz. 1 Karre viij hespis xvij stapils ij
visers ij Wenges Angeli 1 firsparr 1 Worme ij paria caligarum linearum ij paria
camisarum 1 gladius (fol. 13^r–1391)

You might call it Beverley’s little answer to the *York Mercers’ Indenture*. It is an agreement between John of Erghes (Arras in the East Riding) of the Hairers’ Guild, and the twelve Keepers or Governors of Beverley. It lists necessities for the play of *Paradise*, for which he was to take responsibility, and which were to be returned after his lifetime. It gives a certain amount of details of props and costumes, but unfortunately none about the waggon itself. (One disadvantage of trying to make use of Beverley material is that of course there’s no text against which records can be checked; we only have this sort of indenture, and a very useful late list, of about 1515, given all the Guilds and the plays assigned to them.) The emphasis here, then, is all on props and costumes; still, we do start in firmly with *1 Karre*.

Although this is the only place in the extant records where the word ‘car’ is used, and though other suggestions have been made about the nature of this one, I think the simplest and most plausible suggestion here is that the waggon is meant.

Other than that, we have a rather puzzling set of eight hasps and sixteen staples, the use of which is unclear to me; I would welcome any helpful suggestions. Apart from these, there is a fairly adequate set of props and costumes; masks, an Angel’s wings, a sword, a *Worme* or serpent, shirts and hose, and a wooden pole. Although the play is here (and in other records) called *Paradise*, which has a rather pre-Lapsarian ring, the list suggests a very compact play covering possibly the *Creation of Adam and Eve*, and certainly the *Temptation* and *Expulsion*; we have the *Worme* (presumably a mechanical prop representing Satan), and the *firsparr* or pole, which I take speculatively to be a stylised Tree of Knowledge. (That is, I admit, an arguable point.) And we also of course have the Angel’s wings and his sword, suitable for the *Expulsion*. So I’d suggest the play covers at least the *Temptation* and *Expulsion* episodes – which are set in Paradise – hence the title. (Beverley’s late list tends altogether to bear out the suggestion that it was a pretty compact cycle: 36 plays compared with York’s recorded maximum of 57, and extant total of 48.)

The Hairers’ list, then, is perhaps a less than resounding answer to the fascinating details of something like the *Mercer’s Indenture*, yet it still gives us a clear idea that the habit of the Corpus Christi Play, that is, the whole Cycle, was well established by 1391.

Information, however, becomes somewhat thin on the ground when we consider the checklist:

DIMENSIONS: Beverley has no evidence about dimensions.

ROOFING: Beverley gives no evidence about whether waggons had roofs or not.

DISMOUNTABLE: We don’t know.

WHEELS: We can’t even be sure about this – though since all the evidence about route and method of performance suggests that Beverley went in for the familiar processional, and thus presumably wheeled performance, it seems not unreasonable to assume that the waggons did have wheels, though I have never seen them mentioned.

MOVING OF WAGGONS: The only specific evidence I can dredge up is, in Beverley’s fashion, delightfully vague:

Et similiter quod omnes & singuli seruientes (of the Tilers) secundum antiquam constitutionem ducent & ponant pagendam suam in festo corporis christi

(*Town Chartulary* fol. 45r. – April 1448)

... *seruientes* ... *ducent & ponant pagendam suam* – that is, they are to ‘pull’ or ‘draw’, and to ‘place’ or ‘set up’ their waggon. This points certainly to

manhandling, and since at no point are horses mentioned in this connection, I shall speculate that the Beverley waggons are manhandled.

CURTAINED OR OPEN: There is no evidence. In fact, the 1391 list is fairly typical of Beverley records in its lack of any information about superstructure or drapery. So for

SPECIAL DECORATIONS: again we have no specific evidence.

PROCESSIONAL FLOATS: No evidence that the waggons were used in that way. We know that on Corpus Christi Day there was a procession, in which the Guilds carried torches, and the Play, for which waggons were used; but nothing suggests that the waggons were used in that or any other procession. There is, however, the *Paternoster* Play; we do know that that was another use for waggons, though not whether the same waggons served for both.

MATERIALS: No evidence at all. One might draw a dangerous analogy with the Beverley Guilds' 'castles', in which the master sat to watch the St. John of Beverley procession on Rogation Monday: we know they were wooden; could they and the waggons have been built to the same basic pattern? The absence of evidence leaves the question very open!

I have a few additional points not mentioned on the check-list, which seem worth including. This is one of the few references to the waggons as a physical structure:

Porters & crelers inferius nominati moniti sunt ... quod habeant 1 pagendam de nouo factam ad ludendum supra die Corporis Christi proximo futuro post datam presencium ... sub pena forisfacture xls. vd vsum Communitatis.

Governors' Minute Book 1 fol..139–1456)

Unfortunately we're told nothing about the size or shape or what it was made of – only that this particular one was falling apart, and the Guild was ordered strongly to provide a new one for the next year. One might say that this is another ambiguous use of *pagenda*, and that the problem is not a decrepit or damaged waggon, but an unsuitable play. But there is no evidence that the play previously performed by the Porters and Creelers was rewritten at this time, and I find it less farfetched to assume that it is in fact the waggon that is referred to here.

The next extract refers to something almost peculiar to Beverley: York and Lincoln are the only other towns known to have had *Paternoster* plays:

Ludus de Pater noster hoc Anno ludendus

Consencientes de diuersis artificibus ville Beuerlaci ad ludum de Pater noster ludendum infra villam Beuerlaci die dominica in Crastino festi Sancti Petri ad vinculas ...

Ludendus in locis assignatis

In primis Ad barras boriales Bulryng ad ostium Ricardi Couton in via alta
Crossebrig Wedynsday market Mysterbowe et Bek side

(Governors' Minute Book 1 fol. 204r –1467)

What is most interesting about it is that they used waggons. It seems to have been a very comprehensive undertaking involving a large number of Guilds, though it is recorded elsewhere that only eight waggons were used, with several Guilds responsible for each: one waggon was for each of the Seven Deadly Sins, and the eighth for what was called 'Vicious'. It would seem to represent vice in general; I'm not sure how significant it is that (as Alan Nelson has pointed out) it was assigned to the Gentlemen, the most respectable members of the community ... Like the Corpus Christi Play it was processional, and in fact used exactly the same performance route. It's possible to infer from the records that in the years when it was performed it was a substitute for the Cycle; the expense of putting on both in one year would presumably have been prohibitive.

Beverley has really no more to say about pageant waggons; the last thing I want to mention is the Guilds' 'castles' – a subject which is, as I said, possibly analogous:

Et quod quilibet magister (of the Fullers) qui de nouo eriget & occupabit ut
magister artis infuturum Soluat ad sustentacionem Castelli sui pagende sue
luminis & aliarum expensarum artis vjs. viijd. Prout predicti Burgenses soluerunt
ex consuetudine ...

(*Town Chartulary* fol. 39r. –1447-48)

... ordinatum est & pro perpetuo statutum quod de Mercatoribus Merceris &
pannarijs ville Beuerlaci sit vna confraternitas ... ad sustentandum inter se tres
ceros ... & vnun castellum ligneum decenter ornatum singulis annis die lune
Rogacionis ex opposito rangee Mercatorum erigendum inter Castella
Schermannorum & Carpentariorum. Et quod omnes pannarij ville predictae
annuatim infuturum eodem die lune dictum Castellum extra cum Caneuasio &
teldas cooperiant ...

(*Town Chartulary* fol. 40r. – undated: mid fifteenth century)

Et quod quilibet confrater Gilde predictae (Merchants) eodem die Rogacionis in
meliori indumento & apparatus suo sedeat in eodem Castello ad horam diei
primam quam venerabilis processio cum feretro sanctissimi confessoris
baiulabatur ad capellam ...

(*Town Chartulary* fol. 41r. – undated: mid fifteenth century)

These do seem worth a mention because they are as far as I know unique to Beverley; I'm very curious about why they had these structures, which they insist on calling 'castles' whenever they mention them, and why they were so important to each of the Guilds: again and again, the possession of 'a castle, and a light, and a pageant' seems to be the standard sign of Guild autonomy and prestige. When the Drapers broke away from the Mercers in 1493, their petition was to have 'a castle, a light, and a pageant, as other Guilds do', as if that indicated that they now had the resources to acquire those things, and so had 'arrived'. The castles were used obviously for ceremonial purposes, but not in any connection with Corpus Christi; as I mentioned, they were set up on Rogation Monday as the Guilds' viewing stations for the St. John procession. Each Guild had to set up a wooden castle, ornamented in various ways, with draperies, and the Masters of the Guilds sat in their respective castles in their liveries in order to watch the procession pass. They were obviously showpieces, too – a chance for the Guilds to demonstrate their numbers and their prosperity, which the liveries and the decoration of the castles themselves would reflect. What really interests me is that I have found no truly analogous cases; there is plenty of evidence for all kinds of scaffolds being built for the viewing of processions and plays, but nothing of quite this kind. So far, my researches have turned up nothing tangible about their dimensions, the transporting of them or their possible relation to the waggons – so I end with another request for any information which might throw some light on the subject: anything that anyone can provide will be gratefully received.

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THE NEWCASTLE PAGEANT 'CARE'

Only two records from Newcastle upon Tyne show unequivocally that portable stages were used in the performance of the Newcastle Corpus Christi Play. The records are mid-sixteenth century accounts, one belonging to the Fullers' and Dyers' Company, the other to the Slaters' Company. They survive only in copies made by John Brand which he published in his *History and Antiquities of Newcastle* (1789) 370–1. I reproduce relevant items from these accounts, not from the published *History*, but from Brand's own manuscript copies for the *History*, kept in Newcastle Public Reference Library.

Fullers' and Dyers' Accounts

1561. The Charggs of the Play this yere. A. 1561

...

Item for the Care & Banner berryng

0. 20.d

Item for ye carynge of the Trowt & wyn aboutt ye Towne

0 – 12 d

Item for the Mynstrell	0 – 12 d
Item for two Spares for Stanges	0 – 6 d
Item for Drynk & thayr suppers that watyd of the Pajent	5sh – 0
Item for Tentor Howks	0 – 3 d

...

Slaters' Accounts

1568. Item for the Plaers for thear dennares	3 sh.
--	-------

...

Item for the Care	20.d
-------------------	------

...

Item for bearers of the Care & the Banners	18 d
--	------

Item for drencke – 3d to theame that bare the Care	– 6d
--	------

and an ld to the plaeares in drenke & 2 the Horse mete

...

There is little doubt that these accounts relate to the Corpus Christi play. It is known from elsewhere that the Slaters' Corpus Christi pageant was 'The Offering of Isaac by Abraham', and the references to props found elsewhere in their account (including rosemary, the sword, charcoal, the crowns) accord well with this. References elsewhere in the Fullers' and Dyers' account (especially 'Item for ye Mawndy Loves & Caks 2sh – 8d) suggest that their pageant was 'The Last Supper'.

The evidence is thin, but it would seem from these accounts that the Newcastle 'care' was carried by bearers rather than pushed or pulled on wheels. The association of 'bearing the car' with 'bearing the banners' makes it difficult to interpret 'bearing' in some such weakened sense as 'attending on'. It may be then that the Newcastle 'care' was a vehicle without wheels (the OED, under Car sb. 1, sense 3, notes that the word was 'formerly extended to a sleigh or hurdle without wheels', and gives two examples from the fifteenth century). We may compare the several references to the 'bearing' of the Cordwainers' pageant of Bethlehem in the records of the Lincoln Cordwainers' Company. The horse in the Slaters' account might seem to indicate a horse-drawn waggon, but other explanations for its presence are possible – perhaps the horse is instead of the ass which in the York and Towneley versions Abraham uses to travel to the country where the sacrifice of Isaac must take place (from Genesis 22:3). I think the phrase 'the Horse mete' must mean not 'horse-meat' (to be used to realistic effect in the animal sacrifice), but 'food for the horse': this is invariably the meaning when the phrase is used elsewhere in sixteenth century Newcastle accounts (e.g. in the Newcastle Chamberlains' Accounts for 4 week October 1594: 'for horse-meate to theire horses 12s'), and the item in which it occurs here is concerned with participants, not props.

The word 'pageant, pagion' etc. occurs in a few fifteenth and sixteenth century Guild Ordinaries in the context of the Corpus Christi procession and play, but there it always seems to mean 'pageant' or 'play' rather than 'pageant vehicle'.

EASTER WEEK PAGEANTS IN VALLADOLID AND MEDINA DEL CAMPO

An important resource for the study of medieval pageant processions is the contemporary religious procession, particularly in Spain and in other European or New World countries with a history of religious and social conservatism. Perhaps the most extensive procession of pageant waggons is to be found in the *Semana Santa*, or Holy Week, procession of Valladolid. A more modest procession, useful for comparison, and easily accessible from Valladolid, is the Holy Thursday procession of Medina del Campo. The following report is based on my visit to these cities during the Easter holidays of 1975.

The Good Friday procession of Valladolid has been described at length by José Delfinad and Francisco Cantalpiedra, *Semana Santa en Valladolid: Pasos, Confradías, Imagineros* (Valladolid: Lex Nova, 1974). However, as the subtitle suggests, this study focuses on the history of the procession, on the religious guilds or confraternities who sponsor and mount it, and on the sculptors who carved the images borne on the pageants. Mechanical and technical details of interest to students of pageant productions are understandably passed over or taken for granted.

The Valladolid procession, which was founded in the sixteenth century, consists of twenty-four pageant waggons bearing groups of sculpted figures depicting scenes of the Passion from the *Last Supper* through the *Crucifixion*, and ending with the *Resurrection*, the *Virgin in Sorrow* and the *Empty Cross*. The Medina del Campo procession consists of eight sculpted scenes set on platforms which are carried rather than drawn through the streets. (Another set of figures is carried in a Good Friday procession.) The Medina del Campo pageants depict the events of the Passion in relatively modest detail.

During the greater part of the year, the Valladolid sculpture is displayed in churches or museums, most of the pageant waggons being put away in storage. Some of the waggons, however, are parked with their statuary intact in the side chapels of parish churches. Early in Holy Week, the waggons which have been stored away are brought out and checked over for mechanical faults. The statues are then placed in pre-existing brackets or mortises, and bolted down with hasps or clamps.

All pageant waggons of Valladolid are four-wheeled vehicles with steerable front axles. The wagon-tongues terminate in a cross-bar by means of which two men, one on either side of the bar, can both steer and push (FIGS. 1 & 7). Additional power is supplied by guildsmen stationed around the pageant pushing on bars which project



FIG. 1: 'I thirst' - Pageant Car of Valladolid
Photo by Ediciones FISA, Barcelona

outwards from the undercarriage. More guildsmen push from behind. The waggons have various devices, including elaborate jacking mechanisms, (see FIGS. 2 & 6), for raising the platforms five or six feet above street level. Supplementary flooring or hinged flaps (see FIG. 3) extend the platform out beyond the wheels. Curtain material provides a skirt which hides the wheels and the entire undercarriage from view (see FIG. 5). In at least one case the guildsmen, including the steersman, walk inside the skirts, so the vehicle seems to be self-propelled. In many cases, greenery is added as further decoration to the statuary. Battery-operated floodlights mounted on the platforms take the place of the torches of an earlier era (see FIGS. 1 & 12).

The pageants of Medina del Campo are similar to those of Valladolid from the platform upwards, but entirely different below. Heavy beams projecting from beneath the platform constitute 'handles' by means of which the pageants are carried on the shoulders of some twelve to twenty guildsmen. Each guildsman carries a pad on his shoulder to take the weight of the pageant, and carries a staff in his free hand on which to rest the pageant every hundred steps or so (see FIG. 9).

Holy Week in Valladolid consists of numerous events, many involving pageant waggons. Individual guilds sponsor their own processions; at 8.30 p.m. on Wednesday in the Plaza de España, a Way of the Cross procession marches by parked pageants; on Friday noon in the Plaza Mayor three Crucifixion pageants form the background to a sermon on the Seven Words from the Cross delivered by a Bishop (see FIG. 8). This sermon is announced by horsemen who ride through the streets beginning at 9 a.m., stopping at each major square or intersection to read the 'banns' from a parchment scroll (see FIG. 11).

The great procession takes place on Friday evening, making its way through numerous streets, but giving its greatest display in the Plaza Mayor. The audience sits on chairs which have been placed in the centre of the square and on the perimeter. A path some twenty feet in width is left free for the pageants. The procession, which begins at 8pm, includes not only the twenty-four pageant waggons, but marching groups such as bands, religious guilds, and military formations. The major body of each guild marches before its pageant; other guildsmen help to push and steer the pageant. The procession takes about an hour and twenty minutes to pass by any given spot; the entire event ends about 11.20 p.m.

The procession of Medina del Campo is less highly organised, as befits a much smaller and less metropolitan town. On Thursday night, well before sunset, a crowd gathers around the open doors of the principal church. After a long wait, the lights of the first pageant are visible in the interior. The pageant finally emerges (see FIG. 10) into the waning light, and the crowd gives way, opening up a path along the street. The

[Fig. 2: Jacking mechanism of pageant car

Fig. 3: Pageant Car in storage with flaps raised

Fig. 4: Manhandling cars from church doors

Fig. 5: Attaching hangings and pelmet

PAGEANT CARS AT VALLADOLID AND MEDINA DEL CAMPO
EASTER 1975

Fig. 6: Car with figures in place and jacking mechanism full extended

Fig. 7: Decorated car parked in side street

Fig. 8: Sermon on the Seven Words from the Cross

Fig. 9: Medina del Campo: pageant litter

Fig. 10: Medina: litter emerging from church

Fig. 11: Valladolid: reading the Banns



FIG. 12: Christ at the Pillar: Valladolid pageant car
Photo by Ediciones Fisa, Barcelona

Fig. 12: *Christ at the Pillar*: Valladolid pageant car. Photo by Ediciones Fisa, Barcelona.]

pageants are extremely heavy; the bearers seem to be undertaking an act of penance. The bearers walk to the beat of a drum, pausing every hundred or so paces. Progress is much slower than in Valladolid: it is nearly midnight by the time the procession is entirely finished.

* * * * *

The significance of the Valladolid and Medina del Campo processions for the student of medieval pageant waggons is various, and may provoke the following random observations:

1) A pageant procession can be a fully self-sufficient event, though it can also be coordinated with other events, including sermons, independent processions, liturgical services, and so forth.

2) Although a good deal of technical and mechanical competence is required to construct suitable waggons or portable pageants and to keep them in good order, the basic requirements are nevertheless quite straightforward: sturdy four-wheeled carts with steerable front axles, which even the great weights can be propelled with considerable ease by human power so long as the way is relatively smooth and level. Pageants which must be carried incur much greater limitations as to weight; nevertheless, a number of sturdy men can carry a considerable burden, especially if given the opportunity to take rests along the way.

3) None of the pageants in Valladolid or Medina del Campo are covered by canopies, which would clearly obscure the sculpted figures from the view of the audience.

4) The principal axis of processional pageants is normally longitudinal, i.e. toward the front. Reconstructions of English pageants with orientation to the side should be considered problematic, as a) virtually without precedent in illustrations of medieval or Renaissance processions, and b) limiting visibility to one side of the pageant or the other, unless the pageant is turned around in its course. Conversely, it is probably not the case that a given pageant waggon is equally suitable for dramatic and processional use.

5) In the case of English pageants where wheels are not in evidence, as at Lincoln, the pageants of Medina del Campo may be a better analogue than the pageants of Valladolid.

6) Could the 'putting stang' of the York records be equivalent to the bars or staves by which the pageants of Valladolid are pushed through the streets?

In conclusion, it is obvious that the pageants of Valladolid and Medina del Campo are not exact equivalents of medieval English pageant waggons; nevertheless, watching these processional pageants in action enable us to read the archival records of England from a fresh perspective, and may suggest unsuspected advantages and limitations in pageant productions.

NOTE: See also my article, 'A Pilgrimage to Toledo: Corpus Christi Day 1974', *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 17 (1974) 123–9.

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A PAGEANT-LITTER DRAWING BY DÜRER

Readers of the articles in this issue by Alan Nelson and John Anderson may not be familiar with a drawing by Albrecht Dürer which seems to show a pageant litter of the type they suggest might have been used at Lincoln and Newcastle. This drawing is at present in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett. It has in the past been used to illustrate the late medieval Antwerp *ommegang*, as it was thought to have been drawn during the artist's visit to the Netherlands in 1520–1,¹ when he saw and described the procession in his *Diary*.²

However, Prof. Dr. Fedja Anzelewski, Director of the Kabinett, informs me that the paper has an Italian watermark, and is thus more likely to date from Dürer's Italian visit of 1505–6. In support of this, one should note that Antwerp *ommegang*, in common with most other Netherlandish *ommegangen*, was mounted on wheeled pageant-waggon, whereas the Corpus Christi procession in Venice, which seems likely to be the source of this drawing, was carried on litters.³

It is interesting to compare the litter in this drawing with the ones from Medina del Campo that Nelson illustrates. The first thing that strikes the viewer is the very odd distribution of weight: instead of being supported from the sides, the litter is borne by fifteen men on poles which project fore and aft, and seem much too slender to support the central weight. Other, though later drawings of the Venetian Corpus Christi processions either show shorter poles held by fewer bearers, or the litters supported from the sides.

The litter is hung round the base with a tasselled cloth, like that of the *Small Pageant Car of Maximilian*.⁴ Unlike Nelson's, this litter is covered with an ornamental canopy in Italian Renaissance style, supported on four slender columns with putti riding on dolphins (another details which suggests Venice?) at the bases. The canopy is presumably a sign of honour rather than a protection from the elements. There are no such canopies in the later Venetian pictures.

Apart from this, the litter is open on all four side to the spectators. The scene is the familiar devotional image of *The Man of Sorrows*, here supported by the Blessed Virgin and St. John.⁵ This motif was a favourite with Dürer, and it is always possible that the drawing is a design for a pageant litter or an imaginary reconstruction based on what he had seen in Venice, rather than a direct report.

The axis of the scene, as with the Spanish pageants, seems to be longitudinal, but it is interesting to note that because he is drawing it from the side, which is after all the usual spectator's eye-view, Dürer has turned the figures slightly round to face us. It is surely only a step from this to rotating the whole scene through 90 degrees for a stage performance, once this has become necessary?

One cannot tell whether the figures are meant to be live or sculpted. They seem to be slightly larger than life, but this may be simply artistic licence, showing relative importance. The postures of the figures seem to be too awkward for live actors to sustain for long, and the Christ-figure is seated up to the knees in the Tomb, so that it is hard to see where his feet would be, if he were live. But it may just be that Dürer has not related the figures very well to their setting. Something which is hard to reconcile with either living actors or sculpted figures is that the Christ-figure is directing the stream of blood from his side into the chalice which he holds in his left hand: this is one of the things which suggests to me that this drawing may be a reconstruction or design. The analogues in the Venice Corpus Christi procession, and from modern Spain suggest that it is more likely that Dürer is thinking of sculpted figures than live actors, but this is only my conjecture.

[This drawing is reproduced by kind permission of the Director of the Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museum Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.]

NOTES

1. By J. Veth & F. Müller *Albrecht Dürer's Niederländische Reise* (1918) II 45 and pl. LXXIII: followed by Leon Voet *Antwerp: The Golden Age* (Antwerp 1973) 442.
2. See Hans Rupprich 'Die Beschreibungen Niederländischer Prozessionspiele durch Albrecht Dürer und Hieronymus Koler D.Ä.' *Maske und Kothurn* I (1955) 88–102; Albrecht Dürer *Schriften, Tagebucher, Briefe* ed Max Stech (Stuttgart 1961) 44–5; translated by, among others, Philip Troutman *Albrecht Dürer: Sketchbook of His Journey to the Netherlands 1520–1* (London, Elek, 1971) 60–2. Erwin Panofsky *Albrecht Dürer* (Princeton 1943) II 72, no. 892 is inclined to attribute it to this period on grounds of style.
3. See Bianca Tamassia Mazzarotto *Le Feste Veneziane* (Florence 1961) ch. X 155–64 and Tav. 11 (from Giacomo Franco *Habiti di Huomini e Donne Venetiane*, 1610); Ernest Gombrich 'Celebrations in Venice of the Holy League and the Victory of Lepanto' *Studies in Renaissance and Baroque Art presented to Anthony Blunt* (London 1967) 62–8 and Pl. XIII.
4. See Fedja Anzelewsky *The Drawings and Graphic Works of Dürer* (London, Hamlyn, 1970) pl. 74. The hangings are almost identical.
5. See Johan Eckhart van Borries 'Albrecht Dürer: Christus als Schmerzmänn' *Bildhefte der Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe* nr. 9 (1972) for the theme in general, Gertrud Schiller *Iconography of Christian Art II* (Lund Humphries, London, 1972) 197–215 and pl. 681–767.

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THE YORK MERCERS' PAGEANT VEHICLE, 1433–1467: WHEELS, STEERING, AND CONTROL

The discovery of the 1433 York Mercers' indenture¹ has provided us with insights into the composition and construction of the Mercers' fifteenth century pageant vehicle that were hitherto obscure, and much is owed to Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Dorrell for their initial work on the document.² This 1433 indenture is the earliest of the documents that relate to the Mercers' *Doomsday* Pageant within the Corpus Christi Cycle at York.

In 1501 a vehicle, described as 'newe substancialie', was to be constructed by Thomas Drawswerd, carver, as condition of his acceptance into the 'broderheid of the fraternitie'.³ Between the years 1467 and 1501, records that might furnish us with additional evidence of the pageant vehicle have not survived.⁴ The documents under consideration therefore date from between 1433 and 1467. In this article I propose to draw on evidence outside these dates when considering evidence relating to mechanical principles.

‘byndyng of a paire of whelys’

The 1433 indenture informs us that the pageant vehicle had four wheels. Another document, initially published by Sellers,⁵ and later reproduced by Johnston and Dorrell,⁶ records payment for the pageant vehicle as follows:

Item, for byndyng of a paire of whelys, js.

The reference to such a payment is unique in the York Mercers’ documents, although similar references are to be found in guild expenses at Coventry and Chester.⁷ The term ‘byndyng’ refers to the process of fastening an iron tyre to the rim of the wheel.⁸ The process of binding wheels became common practice during the fifteenth century, as the following extract from the *York Civic Records* shows:

The same day is was enacted and established fermely hereafter to be observed that a proclamacion shalbe maid in the opyn market that every denysen and foreyn that bryngez waynez or carts bound with yren and loden with any maner stuff, except the Kyngs carriage and comez within this Citie upon the Payvement whiche of newe is maid to the gret coste and charge of the Citie shall fro nowfurthe pay for every tyme xij^d to the common well of this Citie; and thei that brings woollen on unbound waynes or cartez and without any naylez with any maner stuffe to be welcome and to have fre entre and passage.⁹

The record is dated *28 April 12 Henry VII* (1497), and seems to have been revoked in 1517 (possibly because it was an unrealistic piece of legislation), when it was ‘Agreed that no money from hensforthe shalbe taken of any man for any yren bounde waynes coming to this Citie with any wode or any other thing at any of the barrez by any of the officerz of this Citie or ther servaunts during thre yerez next insuyng the date herof’.¹⁰ Clearly, prohibitive measures of this kind did not affect the shoeing of the Mercers’ vehicle in 1464.

The reference to ‘waynez or carts bound with yren’ either refers to a continuous iron-tyre that was heated and shrunk onto the rim of the wheel, or to a number of iron-bars formed around the felloes and nailed into place.

The requisite technology for producing spoked wheels is known to have existed in Roman Britain, but evidence of the utilisation of such skills in the fifteenth century is scant. Pictorial details provide some indications of construction, but are not entirely to be relied upon, since the details under examination are often visually ambiguous.¹¹ The continuous or hoop iron-tyre is known to have been fitted both to the solid wheel and the spoked wheel, whilst iron-bars were only nailed to the felloes of spoked wheels: these iron-bars were later known as strakes.¹²⁻

‘Without any naylez’ in the 1497 ordinance is possibly tautological, since ‘unbound waynes’ would be unlikely to have the felloes studded with nails, thereby qualifying for a ‘xijd’ fine and at the same time foregoing the benefits of being shod with strakes. It is possible, however, that fitting ‘unbound waynes’ with large-headed nails might have helped to improve traction.¹³ It seems likely that the nails thus referred to were large-headed strake-nails.¹⁴ The function of these nails, with tapered-shanks, was essentially to hold the strakes in position even though the nail-head and strake would eventually become worn.¹⁵ The number of strakes used on a wheel often correspond to the number of felloes, and the relationship was such that the strakes overlapped the felloe joints, thereby serving to strengthen the overall tension of the wheel.¹⁶ The ‘naylez’ were generally distributed unevenly in order to avoid splitting the grain of the felloes. A strake was normally fastened by eight to twelve strake-nails, so that a new pair of wheels would require between 96 and 144 nails.¹⁷

Iron-bound wains and carts were a constant source of irritation to the Mayor and Aldermen of York, for in 1524 dung-carts were singled out as the cause of ‘newe payyd’ streets being ‘bressyd and brokin’.¹⁸ It is not clear if iron-bound vehicles caused similar damage to the streets of York between 1433–1465; it is clear, however, that the Mercers’ pageant vehicle of 1464 possessed one pair of iron-bound wheels, and it is likely that both pairs of wheels are similarly bound. It is possible that the wheels that were bound in 1464 were the unbound ‘pare of newe wheles’ made in 1462.¹⁹ The fact that the Mercers’ vehicle possessed bound wheels might allow for the possibility that pageant vehicles for other guilds were similarly bound. Whether this was the case or not, it appears that the Mercers’ vehicle was exempted from civic ordinances that restricted the use of iron-bound vehicles.

Of the two processes of binding wheels that were known to have existed, the system of employing strakes appears to have been a more likely custom, although the use of shrunken iron-hoops cannot be ruled out.²⁰

‘sope to the whelys’

Contained in the same Mercers’ document of 1464 is a reference to the following payment:

Item, for sope to the whelys, ijd.²¹

A similar reference is to be found in another of the Mercers’ documents of 1467.²² Such records of payment for soap, grease, and tallow exist in guild documents at Chester and Coventry.²³ The assumption to be made therefore is that the soap and grease were intended to act as lubricants. Such an inference leads us to the moving parts of the wheel construction, namely, the axle, and the wheel hub or nave. Clearly, the wooden axle and wheels were not fastened so that they turned together,²⁴ otherwise the soap would have

been applied ‘to the axeltre’ and not ‘to the whelys’, since the friction and resultant sound would have been produced by the axle and its supports, and not by the axle and nave.²⁵ If, therefore, the axle was stationary, and fixed in some way to the undercarriage of the vehicle, the rotating wheels is likely to have consisted of a hub and spokes.²⁶

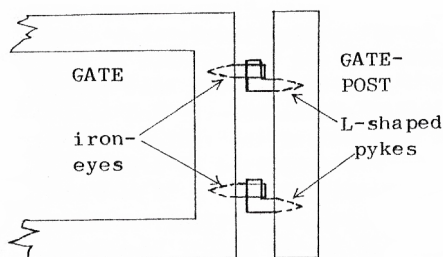
‘iren pykes and gret nales’

The means of attaching the axle to the undercarriage is suggested in the Mercers’ 1467 document:

Item payd for iren pykes and gret nales for þe alextre²⁷

A stationary axle-tree would need to be fastened to the under-carriage of the vehicle, or to the base platform. Either ‘pykes’ or ‘nales’ or both could have been the means by which the axle was so attached.²⁸ It is unlikely that nails alone, however large, would have been the means of fastening the heavy superstructure to the axle. A stronger method of fastening two pieces of thick timber together is by the use of the bolt, since it penetrates and exits from both pieces of timber: ‘iren pykes’ may have performed the function of bolts.

Another possibility is provided by the *English Dialect Dictionary* definition of *pike*: ‘The iron hinge pin at the foot of the post of a gate or door’. Often such pins were L-shaped (see Diagram): the ‘pykes’ may have been similarly formed, and hammered into the axle-tree, allowing the remaining vertical part of the pin to take up a hole in another piece of timber, or an iron-eye fastened to appropriate timber.



Nails ‘for þe axeltre’ were often required to pin ‘clouts’ into position on the axle-tree arm.²⁹ Clouts are not recorded in the Mercers’ documents,³⁰ but the purpose of such iron plates was to reduce the wear on the axle-arm.³¹ The possibility exists that ‘iren pykes’ were clout-nails.

‘costers’

The following items are recorded in the 1433 indenture:

A grete coster³² of rede damaske payntid for the bake side of þe pagent ij other lesse costers for ij sides of þe Pagent iij other costers of lewent brede for þe side of þe Pagent³³

Johnston and Dorrell have suggested that the ‘iij other costers of lewent brede for þe sides of þe Pagent’ were cloths to cover and conceal the wheels on three sides of the vehicle, the fourth side being covered by ‘A grete coster of rede damaske payntid for the bake side of þe pagent’.³⁴ Such conjecture seems reasonable when considering the placing of the coverings, but it is not clear why Johnston and Dorrell immediately assume that the costers were used to conceal the wheels, unless by analogy with pictorial evidence of a rather later date.³⁵ They also state that ‘It is clear that there must have been some device attached to the axle of the waggon by which it was pulled, and further suggest that such a device would have ‘disturbed than hang of the curtain’. However, there is no clear evidence in the 1433 indenture to suggest that the vehicle was pulled in this manner: indeed, it is not clear whether the vehicle was pulled, or pushed, or both. The only practical advantage of having a pole fastened to the axle, as a means of pulling the vehicle, would have been if the front axle were part of a turning-train.³⁶ It has been suggested that one can infer a vehicle that possesses ‘lock’³⁷ from pictorial evidence where the front wheels are of a smaller diameter than the rear wheels: the implication being that the front wheels are thus able to turn towards the body of the vehicle without fouling the sides, since the body is made narrower, thereby facilitating a greater degree of ‘turn’.³⁸ Again, there is no clear evidence that the Mercers’ vehicle had one pair of wheels of a smaller diameter.³⁹

If the vehicle did not possess a pivoting front axle which allowed it to be manoeuvred by ‘pulling’, then the issue with regard to the position of the ‘costers’ is important. To have hung ‘iij other costers of lewent brede’ in such a manner as to cover the wheels implies that the assumed acting platform needed to have been of a larger surface area than that of the wheelbase. This would automatically raise the centre of gravity: a critical factor when considering the stability required for hoisting God up and down on his ‘brandreth’ from earth to heaven.⁴⁰ It is possible that the costers were positioned to hang on the inside of the wheels, and that the wheels were part of the means of manhandling the vehicle. This seems appropriate in that the vehicle would be propelled or braked at four strategic points, thus ensuring the required control. A pole attached to the axle would have been a dangerous and ineffectual system when negotiating the hill from Holy Trinity to the corner of Coney St.⁴¹

‘j pottyng stang’

Johnston and Dorrell suggest that the ‘pottyng stang’ referred to in the 1463 document was indeed the pole that fitted into the front axle of the Mercers’ vehicle, enabling it to be pulled, and presumably steered.⁴² The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines *stang* as ‘a pole or stake, a wooden bar or beam’, and gives a nineteenth century example of its use as ‘a pole applied as a lever to press on a cart wheel, to prevent too great a velocity in rapid descents’.

It has been further suggested that the ‘pottying stang’ was a lever used in such a way as to turn the direction of the vehicle.⁴³ This crude method of steering and braking is also indicated by the accounts of the Norwich Grocers, concerning their play of *Paradyse*:

Item, to 4 men for ther labowrs, wayghtyng upon the Pageant with lewers,
16d.⁴⁴

The turning would be accomplished by men levering the vehicle at diagonally opposite corners. The act of turning the vehicle through 90°, as at the Ousebridge/Coney Street junction, would have placed great pressure on the subframe: the wheels would have had to have been dragged around into their new alignment. Braking would have been accomplished by the ‘putters’ holding on to the wheels, as well as ‘putters’ using the ‘stang’ placed over the rim of the wheel with the end of the ‘stang’ wedged into part of the vehicle subframe. This would not be an easy operation, and might further account for some of the references in the Mercers’ documents concerning repairs to the vehicle.

‘ij shorte rolles of tre’

The 1433 indenture contains the following item:

ij shorte rolles of tre to putte forther þe pagent⁴⁵

Johnston and Dorrell indicate that the ‘ij shorte rolles’ were used as rollers in the initial ‘putting forth’ of the vehicle chassis. In other words, they suggest that the wheels were removed from the vehicle body during storage, and were replaced when the vehicle was again ‘putte for the’. In order to roll out the chassis, however, more than two rollers would be required, the rear roller being replaced at the front as the vehicle body travelled forward. The inclusion of these ‘ij shorte rolles’ in the indenture does not in itself determine that the vehicle body was parted from the wheels during storage, though the operation would have been feasible, and there were advantages to be gained in adopting the practice.⁴⁶ Pageant vehicles at Chester and Hull were thus treated, which does not necessarily mean that the Mercers’ vehicle underwent similar treatment.⁴⁷

It seems likely that the two ‘rolles’ were employed either as ‘pottying stangs’, used by the ‘putters’ in pushing, levering, and braking the vehicle, or as crude ‘roller scotches’. George Sturt describes the latter as follows:

The roller was a little cylinder of elm – about eight inches long by three inches in diameter – hanging at the back of a wagon so as to be let down as a scotch for the hind-wheel, going up hill. Whenever the horses wanted to stop for a rest,

there was the roller ready to keep the load from running backwards, for it followed the hind-wheel at not more than three or four inches away.⁴⁸

Whilst Sturt's description is of a relatively sophisticated nineteenth century method of preventing a waggon from rolling backwards, the Mercers' fifteenth century vehicle would have required similar 'checking' when being returned to Toft Green at the end of the day. However many 'putters' were used in moving the vehicle up the hill toward Toft Green, it is clear that they would need to have stopped for a rest: the 'ij shorte rolles of tre' would have then been wedged behind the rear wheels. There would have been similar requirements on the descent of Mickelgate, particularly at stations 2 and 3, which were presumably positioned on the steepest section of the hill.⁴⁹

Clearly the 'putters' were employed to do the heavy work of manhandling the vehicle. It is not obvious from the documents whether the 'putters' accompanied the vehicle through the town, or for only part of the route. The various payments to the 'putters' that are recorded in the Mercers' documents are inconclusive in this respect, although the reference, 'Item for putyng of þe pagant ouer ousse and setting vpe viijd'⁵⁰ suggests that the bulk of the putters' work occurred between Toft Green, where the vehicle was stored, and the junction of Ousebridge and Coney Street. As for the number of 'putters' involved, the records are again inconclusive. Johnston and Dorrell suggest that between two and four men were required: it seems likely that more were employed, if we consider the physical effort required to control and manoeuvre this weighty vehicle up and down the hill from Micklegate.⁵¹

NOTES

1. The indenture was discovered in 1971 among documents in the possession of Grays Solicitors, Duncombe Place, York. It is now in the archives of the Company of Merchant Adventurers of York.
2. See Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Dorrell 'The Doomsday Pageant of the York Mercers' *Leeds Studies in English* NS 5 (1971) 29–34 (hereafter referred to as 'Doomsday Pageant'). For further discussion see Johnston and Dorrell 'The York Mercers and their Pageant of Doomsday, 1433–1526' *Leeds Studies in English* NS 6 (1972) 10–35 (hereafter referred to as 'York Mercers').
3. 'The York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers 1356–1917' edited by Maud Sellers, *Surtees Society* 129 (1918) 104–105.
4. The records that have survived are contained in 'York Mercers' Appendix I. It may be conjectured that the vehicle referred to in the 1467 document was replaced by Drawswerd's vehicle.
5. Sellers 'York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers' 72.
6. 'York Mercers' Appendix II. They date the document 1464, and record it as now lost.
7. J.O. Halliwell-Phillips *Outlines of the Life of Shakespeare* (London 1885) 5th edition 299; F.M. Salter *Medieval Drama in Chester* (Toronto 1955) 73; *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays EETS* ES 87 edited Hardin Craig (London 1957) 2nd edition, Appendix III, 109.

8. *Oxford English Dictionary* Bind v.8 'To secure with a border or edging of some strengthening material'; *English Dialect Dictionary* Bind 2 'To put the tyre on a wheel; to shrink a band of hot iron on any article'.
9. *York Civic Records* 2 edited Angelo Raine *Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series* 103 (1941) 132. Similar orders were passed at Beverley in 1367, 1369, and 1391. See *Beverley Town Documents* edited by A.F. Leach *Selden Society* 14 (London 1900) 20.
10. *York Civic Records* 3 edited by Angelo Raine *YASRS* 106 (1942) 67.
11. See J.J. Jusserand *English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages (XIVth Century)* (London 1889) for illustrations from the Luttrell Psalter 93, 97; R.H. Lane 'Waggons and their Ancestors' *Antiquity* 9 (1935) pl. III, 144; *A History of Technology* 2 edited by Charles Singer etc. (Oxford 1956) 547–550; J. Geraint Jenkins *The English Farm Wagon – Origins and Structure* (University of Reading 1972) 5–10.
12. *Oxford English Dictionary* *Strake* sb. 1 'A section of the iron rim of a cart-wheel'. See Lane 142; J.R. Willard 'Transportation in England during the Fourteenth Century' *Speculum* 1 (1926) 363; J. Geraint Jenkins *Agricultural Transport in Wales* (Cardiff 1962) 73–78; James E. Thorold Rogers *A History of Agriculture and Prices in England 1 '1259–1400'* (Oxford 1866) 544; George Sturt *The Wheelwright's Shop* (Cambridge 1923). Sturt suggests that hoop-tyres were only beginning to supersede strake-wheels in his workshop in the late nineteenth century, 104, 146; Sir Cyril Fox 'Sleds, Carts and Waggons' *Antiquity* 5 (1951) 185.
13. Jenkins suggests that strake-nails prevented the vehicle from slipping; this may well be the case, but 'unbound' felloes studded with strake-nails may have weakened the whole wheel construction: *English Farm Wagon* 27.
14. *Oxford English Dictionary* *Strake-nail* sb. 11, 9 'A kind of nail used for fastening the strakes to the wheel'.
15. 'A strake-nail was about as long as a sardine and a little thicker, but it was square-cornered and forged out to a thin end, wedge-shaped. A big thick head it had, battered over, and for half-an-inch or so under the head it was made tapering, to fit into the holes that had been punched, also tapering, in the strake. The idea was that, as the strake wore thin, still the tapering nail might hold tight in the iron' Sturt *Wheelwright's Shop* 149–50.
16. Sturt claims that the hoop-tyre was superior in this respect 146.
17. Rogers *History of Agriculture* 4 140101582 (Oxford 1882) 417, records that '120 great nails' were purchased for 'twelve strakes' in 1401.
18. *York Civic Records* 3 edited by Raine *YASRS* 106 (1942) 91. Cartwheels 'studded with triangular pointed nails' were prohibited in Devon in 1822; see Fox 'Sleds, Carts, and Waggons' 185.
19. 'York Mercers' Appendix I, 27. In 1448 the Mercers paid 'xiijs iijd' for 'a newe whele to our pageand' and in 1462 'a pare of newe wheles' cost 'iijjs viijjd'. The apparent discrepancy may be partially accounted for in that the 1462 pair of wheels were unbound. See note 39.
20. At Hull in 1487, the Trinity Guild who were responsible for 'setting owte' the ship of Noah, paid 'to Robert Whelton for C viij lb Iron for hupes to þe wheles the C vjs'. See Anna J. Mill 'The Hull Noah Play' *Modern Language Review* 33 (1938) 499; Jenkins *Farm Wagon* 25; Singer *History of Technology* 538.
21. The Mercers' document of 1464; Sellers 'Mercers and Merchant Adventurers' 72.
22. Sellers 'Merchants and Merchant Adventurers' 63; 'York Mercers' Appendix I 29.
23. Thomas Sharp *A Dissertation on the Pageants or Dramatic Mysteries anciently performed at Coventry* (Coventry 1825: facsimile reproduction EP 1973) 49–50; Hardin Craid *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays* 89; Salter *Chester* 73.

24. Arthur Young *Six Weeks' Tour through the Southern Counties* (3rd edition 1772) 'These Scottish carts may have been what Celia Fiennes at about the same date called 'Dung-potts', on which 'the wheeles are fastened to the axle-tree and so turn altogether'; quoted by Sturt *Wheelwright's Shop* 211.
25. A.C. Haddon *The Study of Man* (London 1898) 189; 'The groaning cart, or as the Spaniards poetically term it, the "singing cart", "Carro que canta", may still be heard in the picturesque parts of Cantabrian and Atlantic coasts; but it is probably doomed to disappear, as carts of the same shape but with an iron hub in the wheels, with felloes, with the axle fastened to the floor of the vehicle, and which do not squeak, are silently but surely replacing them. The friction of the axles against the wedges in the floor of the waggon which keep it in its place, produces the squeaking or jarring sound which from time to time sounds like a tune or its octave; this is useful as a warning to prevent two carts from meeting in a narrow street, and also serves for the recognition of an approaching waggon. In the towns the creaking of carts is forbidden, so the drivers grease the axles with tallow, soap, or bacon, but as soon as they have passed the last house of the town they remove the tallow and put resin and water on the axle to make it groan again, so great is the pleasure they take in it'.
26. Jenkins states that revolving axles were never found on four-wheeled vehicles. 'Even the earliest wagons were equipped with spoked wheels and stationary axles, whereas throughout the centuries carts have had revolving axles' *English Farm Wagon* 33. See Lane 'Waggons' 141; Rogers *History of Agriculture* I 543.
27. 'York Mercers' Appendix I, 29.
28. Rogers has identified 'gret nales' as strake-nails; he also states that 'gret nales' were sometimes known as 'frets'; see Salter *Chester* 73; Rogers *History of Agriculture* I 544; Craig *Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays* 107.
29. *Oxford English Dictionary* Clout sb.1, 2: 'A plate of iron, esp. (in more recent use) one fixed on some part of a plough, on an axle-tree, or on a shoe to prevent wear'.
30. Craig *Coventry Corpus Christi Plays* Appendix II, 89, 95.
31. Jenkins *English Farm Waggons* 82.
32. *Oxford English Dictionary* Coster 1 Obs 'A hanging for a bed, the walls of a room, etc.' What appear to be costers are similarly recorded at Norwich and Coventry. See *Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments EETS SS 1* edited by Norman Davis (1970) xxxv; Craig *Coventry Corpus Christi Plays* Appendix II, 84.
33. 'Doomsday Pageant' 29.
34. 'Doomsday Pageant' 31.
35. Glynne Wickham has also suggested, in his more generalised conception of the pageant waggon, that such cloths were used to conceal the wheels. He partially draws his interpretation from the Denis van Alsloot painting of the 1615 Brussels *Ommegang*. Of the ten pageant vehicles depicted in this painting, seven appear to have costers fastened to the supporting platform, and five of these vehicles are shown with the costers hanging on the inside of the wheels. The wheels thus left visible are a decorative feature, the spokes being turned and painted in different colours. The Car of Diana not only possesses differently coloured spokes, but also hubs depicting faces. The vehicles in van Alsloot's *Ommegang*, which were horse-drawn, appear to have overcome the problem of 'disturbing the hang of the 'curtains'. See *Early English Stages* I (London and New York 1963) 173; James Laver *Isabella's Triumph* (Faber 1967).
36. Singer *History of Technology* 548.

37. Sturt 'The Turning of the fore-wheels, in relation to the hind-wheels' *Wheelwright's Shop* 70–72, 218.
38. Singer *History of Technology* 548.
39. It may be conjectured that the front wheels were smaller than the rear wheels, by interpreting the discrepancy in the payments made for wheels in the Mercers' documents. See note 19.
40. 'Doomsday Pageant' 29.
41. If the pole were attached to the front axle then it would have made more sense to let the vehicle travel backwards down the hill. However, this seems an unlikely occurrence, in that the vehicle appears to have been enclosed with cloths on three sides, and if, as Meg Twycross has suggested, the stations were on the left-hand side of the route, this would have required the audience to move to the other side of the street in order to obtain a clear view of the 'interior'. Certainly a system involving the 'putters' in front of the vehicle, with the weight transmitted through a pole, would have been irresponsible. Meg Twycross puts the 'left-hand-side' theory in "Places to hear the play": pageant stations at York, 1398–1572' *Records of Early English Drama Newsletter* 1978:2 10–33.
42. 'York Mercers' 14.
43. John Marshall has put forward this proposition in discussion.
44. *Non-Cycle Plays* edited by Davis xxxii.
45. 'Doomsday Pageant' 30. The term 'to putte forth' as used here, I take to mean the act of manoeuvring the vehicle at any stage of the journey and not necessarily just the specific act of removal from the pageant house.
46. Henry Best describes one such advantage as follows: 'then doe wee lift up the wheeles, and underpropp each wheele before and behinde with good bigge stone, to keepe them from the moisture and dampnesse of the earth' *Rural Economy in Yorkshire in 1641 Surtees Society* 33 (1837) 137.
47. In the sixteenth century at Chester, the Coopers' vehicle was 'broken down' and stored in a cellar. See Salter *Chester* 72–73. At Hull in the fifteenth century, the ship of Noah used by the Trinity Guild on Plough Day was similarly parted from its wheels at the end of the festivities. See Mill 'Hull Noah Play' 489–505.
48. Sturt *Wheelwright's Shop* 180.
49. The exact location of these is not known. See Twycross "Places to hear the play" 10–33.
50. 'York Mercers' 1461 document, 26. They suggest that the 'setting vpe' refers to the initial setting up on the morning of the performance. It could refer to the setting up of the vehicle at the next station after negotiating Ousebridge. I take 'setting vpe' to indicate preparation of the vehicle for performance by manoeuvring it into place, and making it secure.
51. Eight porters were required in leading and moving a pageant vehicle in 1396 at York when the plays were performed before Richard II: *Chamberlains' Rolls* Cl:l m.1, York City Archives. The Coopers at Chester paid 'vij men putters of the caryge ijs viij' in 1572: Salter *Chester* 73. Sharp records the following concerning the Coventry Cappers' Pageant: 'twelve Men generally were paid for drawing the vehicle from station to station; sometimes eight to ten are mentioned in the accounts' *Coventry* 48. The churchwardens' account in Chelmsford for 1562/3 record the following: 'for tenn men to beare the pagiante'; see E.K. Chambers *The Medieval Stage* 2 (Oxford 1903) 346. In an account book of the Lincoln Cordwainers' Company, the following is recorded: 'It. Paid to vj berars of the pageaunt in the sam gild xviij' Hardin Craig 'The Lincoln Cordwainers' Pageant' *PMLA* 32 (1917) 608.

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Working on: As a very long-term project, a re-writing of Craig: that is, a large, comprehensive volume that attempts to cover the subject, as Craig did, but without his theses of dramatic development, or his many errors. This work is in collaboration with John Coldeway of the University of Washington.

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'Routs and Reyes' *Folklore* 89 (1978) 184–201.

'Suffer Fools Gladly' *The Fool and the Trickster* edited by P.V.A. Williams (Boydell Press, Ipswich, 1979) 36–55.

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The Lindisfarne Harrowing of Hell, a translation, published with some colleagues.

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'Layers of Revision in the N-Town Marian Cycle', submitted to *Notes and Queries*.

'Marginal Glosses in the N-Town Manuscript', submitted to *The Library*.

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'Henry Laneman's Curtain Playhouse as an "Easer" to the Theater, 1585–92' in *The First Public Playhouse: the Theatre in Shoreditch, 1576–1598* (McGill–Queen's, 1979).

"Neere the Playehowse": the Swan Theatre and Community Blight' *Renaissance Drama* NS 4 (1972) 53–68.

'The Playhouse at Newington Butts: A New Proposal' *Shakespeare Quarterly* 21:4 (Autumn 1970) 385–98.

Working on: The Bankside community: St. Saviour's Parish, Southwark in Elizabethan times.

The adult professional playing companies in London in Shakespeare's day.

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Publications: 'Chaucer and the Sacrifice of Isaac' *Chaucer Review* 9 (1975) 320–6.

'London Craft Guild Records' *REED Newsletter* 1978: 2, 1–9.

Working on: Editing London craft Guild records for the *REED* project.

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Department of English, Erindale College, University of Toronto, Mississauga, Ontario, L5L 1C6, Canada.

Interests: Medieval drama, especially the moral play.

Publications: 'The Sources of *Hyckescorner*' *Review of English Studies* NS 22 (1971) 257–73.

'The Provenance of *The Worlde and the Chylde*' *Publications of the Bibliographical Society of America* 67 (1973) 377–88.

'Robert Wyer's Alleged Edition of Heywood's *Play of the Weather*: The Source of the Error' *The Library Series* 5, 29 (1974) 441–6.

'*REED* Research Guide' *REED Newsletter* 1976: 1, 10–23.

'Bibliographer's Report' *REED Newsletter* 1976: 2, 11–15.

'The Auspices of *The World and the Child*' *Renaissance and Reformation* 12 (1976) 96–105.

'Records of Drama and Minstrelsy in Nottinghamshire' *REED Newsletter* 1977: 2, 15–28.

'Bibliography of Printed Records of Early British Drama and Minstrelsy for 1976–7' *REED Newsletter* 1978: 1, 5–17.

'Records of Early English Drama and the Computer' *Computers and the Humanities* 12 (1978) 183–8.

'Medieval Drama' in *Editing Medieval Texts* edited by George Rigg (New York 1978) 58–85.

Two Tudor Interludes: The Interlude of Youth and Hick Scorner The Revels Plays (Manchester 1979).

Working on: Annotated Bibliography of printed materials up to 1980 on the records of early British drama, minstrelsy and ceremony, the beginnings of 1642 (for *REED*: current bibliography for 1978–9 for *REED Newsletter*, 1980: 1).

An edition of the Revels accounts of Richard Gibson (of Henry VIII).

'The Corpus Christi Play at Tamworth' *Notes and Queries* forthcoming.

'Orders for Twelfth Day and Night ca. 1515 in the Second Northumberland Household Book' *English Literary Renaissance* forthcoming.

Geoffrey LESTER

Department of English Language, University of Sheffield, Sheffield, S10 2TN.

Interests: Medieval drama, tournaments, heralds.

Publications: Critical essays on 'John Heywood' and 'The Wakefield Master' in *Great Writers: Dramatists* (Macmillan, 1979) 286–8, 592–3.

Working on: Edition of Sir John Paston's *Grete Boke* (containing tournament items, ceremonial, etcetera).

Edition of *Mankind*, *Castle of Perseverance*, *Everyman*.

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Interests: Medieval drama in general, but especially the late medieval shift from the general to the particular. Production of medieval plays.

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Interests: All aspects of medieval drama, but particularly the Chester and *Ludus Coventriae* Cycles.

Publications: 'Sign and Transition: the *Purification* Play in Chester': *Leeds Studies in English*, forthcoming.

Working on: Matters arising from thesis on 'Sign and Related Didactic Technique in the Chester Cycle of Mystery Plays'.

Dr. Jean-Marie MAGUIN

6 Place de l'Adret, 34100 *Montpellier*, France.

Interests: Medieval and Renaissance drama in England.

Publications: *La nuit dans le théâtre de Shakespeare et de ses prédécesseurs* (Presses de l'Université de Lille III, 1980).

Working on: Dramatic imagery.

Dr. Sumiko MIYAJIMA

12-29 Fukazawa-8-chome, Setagaya-ku, *Tokyo* 158, Japan.

Interests: Medieval Drama.

Publications: *The Theatre of Man: Dramatic Technique and Stagecraft in the English Medieval Moral Plays* (Clevedon Printing Company Ltd., Avon, 1977).

Working on: Translating English mystery plays into Japanese.

Professor Alan H. NELSON

Department of English, University of California, *Berkeley*, California 94720, USA.

Interests: Medieval drama, especially pageant waggons, processional production; iconography of the morality plays.

Publications: “‘Sacred” and “Secular” Currents in the Towneley Play of Noah’ *Drama Survey* (1964) 393–401.

‘Early Pictorial Analogues of Medieval Theatre-in-the-Round’ *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 12 (1969) 93–106.

‘Principles of Processional Staging: York Cycle’ *Modern Philology* 67 (1970) 303–20.

‘On Recovering the Lost Norwich Corpus Christi Cycle’ *Comparative Drama* 4 (1970/1) 241–52.

‘Six-Wheeled Carts: An Underview’ *Technology and Culture* 13 (1972) 391–416.

‘The Wakefield Corpus Christi Play: Pageant Procession and Dramatic Cycle’ *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 13–14 (1970/1) 221–33.

Medieval English Drama: Essays Critical and Contextual edited with Jerome Taylor (University of Chicago Press, 1972).

Some Configurations of Staging in Medieval English Drama’ 116–47, and ‘The Temptation of Christ: or, The Temptation of Satan’ 218–29.

“‘Of the seven ages”: An Unknown Analogue of the *Castle of Perseverance*’ *Studies in Medieval Drama*, a special issue of *Comparative Drama* 8 (1974) 125–38.

The Medieval English Stage: Corpus Christi Pageants and Plays (University of Chicago Press, 1974).

‘A Pilgrimage to Toledo: Corpus Christi Day 1974’ *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 17 (1974) 123–29.

Working on: Edition of the *Plays* of Henry Medwall; Life records of Henry Medwall.

Book: *Lively Images in the English Morality Play*.

Dr. Lois POTTER

Department of English, University of Leicester, Leicester, LE1 7RH.

Interests: Essentially Renaissance and Restoration, but with some medieval throwbacks.

Publications: ‘Drama 1500–1575: The Plays and the Playwrights’ *Revels History of Drama in English* forthcoming.

Working on: Editing vols. I (*Medieval Drama*) and IV (1613–1660) of the *Revels History of Drama in English*: writing section on *Drama 1642–1660* for vol. IV.

Professor John W. ROBINSON

Department of English, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska 68508, USA.

Interests: English drama and theatre, especially the early periods.

Publications: 'The Art of the York Realist' *Modern Philology* 60 (1963) 241–51.

'The Late Medieval Cult of Jesus and the Mystery Plays' *PMLA* 80 (1965) 508–14, illustrated.

'A Commentary on the York Play of the Birth of Jesus' *JEGP* 70 (1971) 241–51.

'Medieval Drama' in *The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* 1 (1974) 719–42.

'A Mystery Play or Interlude by W.N. Ireland, 1795' *Comparative Drama*, forthcoming.

'Regency Radicalism and Antiquarianism: the Origin and Significance of William Hone's *Ancient Mysteries Described* (1823)' *Leeds Studies in English*, forthcoming.

Working on: William Poel's production of *Everyman*, 1901.

Professor David STAINES

Department of English, University of Ottawa, Ottawa, Ontario, K1N 6N5, Canada.

Interests: Medieval drama, especially the Cycles. Medieval French literature.

Publications: 'To Out-Herod Herod; the Development of a Dramatic Character' *Comparative Drama* 10 (1976) 29–53.

Working on: A book-length study of the cyclic form in medieval literature and drama.

Professor Linda E. VOIGTS

Department of English, University of Missouri, Kansas City, Missouri 64110, USA.

Interests: Medieval English drama; production.

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Department of Language and Literature, Polytechnic of North London, Prince of Wales Road, Kentish Town, London, NW5.

Interests: In particular, drama (and music and ceremonial activities) in Beverley and the East Riding up to the end of the XVIth century.

In general, plays in performance.

Publications: 'Two Yorkshire Fragments; Perhaps Dramatic?' *REED Newsletter* 1978: 1, 17–21.

Working on: Edition of the Beverley dramatic records to 1642 for *REED*.

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