MEDIEVAL ENGLISH THEATRE

EDITORIAL

Two of the papers of this issue of *Medieval English Theatre* (those by John Wasson and Peter Happé) stem from the *Props and Costumes* meeting held in Leeds earlier this year: and, in general, our emphasis seems to have switched from waggons to dragons. John Wasson writes about the *St. George* and *Robin Hood Plays* in Devon: Peter Meredith and John Marshall contribute a note on the *Luttrell Psalter* wheeled dragon: the second part of Meg Twycross's discussion of the Flemish *ommegangen* includes Fantastic Animals: and Miriam Skey's piece on Japanese pageant cars felicitously combines the two. (It is only a pity that we cannot print her illustrations in their original gorgeous colour.) The odd man out is Peter Happé: presumably dragons were a frivolous Papist property John Bale felt he could do without.

We asked in our last issue for any comments on the recent productions of medieval plays, and would like to thank the one or two people who sent them to us. Unfortunately they were too few to make up a separate discussion: but Peter Happé responded with a piece on Mystery Plays and the modern audience which we hope will provoke further observations. We also hope our readers will send in any comments they may have, however brief, on material in this or previous issues. We would very much like to use *Medieval English Theatre* as a forum for discussion as well as for more formal contributions.

The 1981 *Medieval English Theatre* meeting will be on March 28th, at Westfield College, London, and the subject for discussions will be *Stage Directions*. We are hoping to cover all the major English play-texts in our field fairly comprehensive. Enclosed in this issue is a registration form: if you wish to come, please could you fill it in and send it to Marie Collins at Westfield as soon as possible?

Also enclosed is an order form for *Medieval English Theatre* vol. 3, which will appear in two parts in July and December 1981. Please could you return this with your cheque, also as soon as possible? We are glad to be able to keep the price at the 1980 level for this next year at least. We would, however, like to remind our overseas subscribers that their subscription covers the higher overseas postage costs, but not exchange dues: if you cannot send a sterling cheque or money order, you should add at least $1 or the equivalent to cover bank charges.

MT   PM

Mystery Plays at Lincoln

Keith Ramsay, Director of Drama at Lincoln Cathedral, is producing a four-hour, open-air version of the *Ludus Conventrie* in a 1000-seat, tiered arena facing the West Front of Lincoln Cathedral from 22nd June to 4th July 1981 (not Sunday 8th). There will be a large cast, including three professional actors playing Christ, Lucifer, and Herod. The plays start at 7.45pm, and tickets, at prices ranging from £5 to £2.50 with party concessions, are available from: The Mystery Plays Office, 8 Castle Hill, Lincoln. The director says 'I hope the production will be spectacular, and yet have moments of intimacy'. Bill Tydeman and Peter Meredith will be giving lectures during the fortnight of the production.

Victoria Theatre, Stoke-on-Trent

Nigel Bryant has compiled a mystery cycle entitled *The Crown of Thorns* which will be performed at the Victoria Theatre, Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire, from Wednesday 18th Mary to Friday 27th, Monday 30th March to Saturday April 4th, and Monday 13th to Saturday 25th April 1981 at 7.30pm (matinées Wednesday at 2.30pm, no performance Sundays or on Easter Monday 20th April). Tickets at £2.50 (£2.60 Saturdays) and at reduced rates for parties, Senior Citizens, students, etc. can be obtained from the Ticket Office, Victoria Theatre, Hartshill Road, Stoke-on-Trent, ST4 6AE, telephone (0782) 615962.

Poculi Ludique Societas, Toronto: British Tour 1981

The *PLS* are hoping to make a tour of Britain in the late spring (end of April - beginning of May), with a repertory of the following short plays: *Mankind*; *Mactacio Abel*; *Tom Tiler and his Wife*; *The Blessed Apple Tree*; and *Robin Hood and the Friar*. These can be combined to provide two full-evening performances, plus *Robin Hood* as an outside play where there is a suitable acting area. Those of use who were at the Dublin conference in July can vouch for the very high standard and entertainment value of these performances. If you would like to be included in their itinerary, could you please write as soon as possible to: David Parry, Artistic Director, PLS, c/o Center for Medieval Studies, 39 Queen's Park Crescent E, Toronto, Ontario, Canada, M5S 1A1.

N-Town Plays at Toronto

The *PLS* will collaborate with *REED* and the graduate Center for the Study of Drama at Toronto, together with local church and community groups, to present the *N-Town Passion Plays* on the campus of the University of Toronto on August 1st, 2nd and 3rd, 1981. The text will be prepared by Stanley Kahrl, the director will be Kathy Pearl, and the producer Tony Luengo. For further information, please write to David Parry, address as above.

PROPERTIES AND COSTUMES IN THE PLAYS OF JOHN BALE

The evidence for the consideration of Bale's use of properties and costumes is scattered through his five extant plays.[1] Though I hope to show he makes careful and purposeful use of them, he did not attempt to present them to his readers systematically. He made some specific points, and was prepared to leave the rest to emerge. A study of them must look in several different places. As reference to the checklist at the end of this article will show, there are indications in a few stage direction of particular properties and also occasionally of changes of costume. In general, however, most information is embedded in the dialogue. Introductory speeches, and self-revelatory soliloquies, especially by Sedition and Infidelity, who work in similar dramatic modes, often reveal symbolic items of costume or properties. Actions or gestures, which may be described in stage directions, or implicit in speeches, may demand specific properties.

The information to be found in Bale's texts is influenced by two particular factors: the state of each text as it has come down to us, and the dramatic conventions which Bale inherited or developed in each play. Bale had by 1548 written some 24 plays, a fact which suggests that he might have acquired considerable expertise. Surviving from these are the manuscript of *King Johan*, and four which were printed by Dirik van der Straten at Wesel in 1547-8, at the end of Bale's first exile.[2] *God's Promises*, *John the Baptist's Preaching*, and *The Temptation of Our Lord* form a close-knit group, presumably Bale's attempt to produce a Protestant mystery cycle. Van der Straten's edition of *John the Baptist's Preaching* has disappeared, but fortunately it was reprinted so carefully in the *Harleian Miscellany* of 1744 that many of the typographical features, including the punctuation, were preserved. These editions are sparing in details of production, and the stage directions are in Latin, a circumstance which, I suspect, reveals that Bale was publishing for the study, rather than for the stage. In the event he did not give up the idea of another production, and these three plays were performed together at Kilkenny on 20 August, 1553.[3] Similarly *Three Laws*, also printed by van der Straten, is nearly as sparing of stage directions relating to properties and costumes, and all are in Latin. Again, there was at least an attempt to produce the play after its publication.[4] Special consideration is necessary, however, of the Colophon, which is about 'aparellynge', and is in English (39).

The manuscript of *King Johan* is a much more complex survival, since in its present form, it contains an early version written by an unknown scribe, probably by 1538, when there was at least one performance at Canterbury.[5] Later Bale carried out revisions, some of which appear as corrections in the manuscript in his own hand, and some of which are embodied in substitute autograph sheets watermarked '1558'. As far as we know, this

play was not printed until J.P. Collier's edition for the Camden Society in 1838. As we have it, the text is relatively rich in stage directions about costume and properties, and they are all in English. The probability is that this manuscript was at first a fair copy which followed a production, and was then revised by the author for another production much later – which may or may not have taken place. In other words, it seems much closer to actual performance than do the other four texts.

Turning now to dramatic conventions, it would seem highly likely that Bale would have been aware of the mystery play tradition through personal contact. He was sent to the Carmelite House in Norwich at the age of twelve in 1507, and stayed there for seven years.[6] During this time the play were almost certainly performed in the city.[7] Later, in 1533, he was Prior of the Carmelite House in Ipswich, and it is known that the Carmelites were involved in pageants there;[8] and he also resided in Doncaster in the years 1534-6, from where he may have encountered the plays at Wakefield, York, and Hull. He took over the idea of short plays dealing with specific biblical incidents. But for his sources he turned directly to the Bible, and to Protestant commentary upon it, and he tried to interpret all the substance of the plays in the light of Protestant polemic, particularly the over-riding doctrine of justification by faith. In doing this he pared away what he considered to be superstition, and he removed much allusive and comic detail. The dramatic action was concentrated upon argument and upon symbolic gesture, an outward and visible sign of an inner doctrine. Perhaps because he was acting as Cromwell's publicist, he tried to make the doctrine as clear and sharp as possible, and to achieve a kind of symbolic peak in the action which concentrated attention upon divine intervention. He was attempting to create visual dramatic images of doctrine, often at a moment of poise in the action.

Reference to the checklist shows how closely costume and properties were involved in this process. In *God's Promises*, indeed, there is little attention to story as such. Each of the promises is given as a result of disputation between God and his respondent. Bale's characterisation of Adam, Noah, Abraham, and Moses is distinctly more argumentative than in the mystery cycles. In each act, God's wrath rises and is assuaged, and a new attitude – the promise – is embodied in a symbol which would almost certainly appear as a stage property. These are the sentence – probably a scroll – the rainbow, the lamb, the temple, the rod, all of which are implied in the text, and the golden tongue to which the stage direction (8) refers. Properties in the other plays seem to have a similar symbolic effect. The dove in *John the Baptist's Preaching* descends accompanied by the voice of God. This recalls the use of the dove in the *Noah* Play, particularly at Chester, where we have some evidence of a technical device for managing this *coup de theatre*.[9] In *the Temptation*, there is specific use of stories derived from the scriptural account, and also of visible properties or equipment in the pinnacle, the mountain, and the angelic food. The *gresynges* do not appear in the English mystery play.

Bale would perhaps have been closer to the mysteries with costume in these three plays. Pharisaeus and Sadducaeus would seem likely to have been costumed in a manner reminiscent of Annas and Caiaphas, particularly as Bale was anxious to discredit Catholic ecclesiastics. Satan, at the critical moment in *The Temptation* (1), adopts the disguise of a religious order: this implies that he must have been reminiscent of the traditional Satan initially, perhaps as in Chester.[10] Otherwise all the characters in *God's Promises*, as well as the Baptist, the Armed Soldier, and the Angels, would fit into a tradition. The appearance of God is hardly likely to have included the golden mask found in the mystery cycles, and Craik is credible in suggesting a simpler, more Lutheran appearance.[11]

Since the dramatic action in these plays is so simplified, and they are really quite short in length, there seems little doubt that Bale would have worked towards a direct and powerful visual register which in properties and costumes would rely upon immediate apprehension. Moreover, although Bale wrote little that was completely free from polemics, these three plays are very much less aggressive than the other two extant plays which operate within the mode of the morality play, and are the essence of religious controversy.

The two morality plays show Bale ready to exploit techniques already well established in the clash of virtuous and vicious characters who are reduced to simple moral outlines. The main action in both plays may be described as the destruction of the virtuous rather than temptation by the vices. This distinction is probably a theological one in origin, since the morality tradition seems to have contained elements of penitence and confession in the regenerative process: Bale rejected this theologically and ridiculed it in *King Johan*: cf. the use of the stole in (20). The evil characters are led by early examples of the Vice-convention, Sedition in *King Johan*, and Infidelity in *Three Laws*. The actual clothing of the Vice in later times is somewhat obscure, but it seems likely that outrageous eccentricity became the chief identifying aspect: for Bale the Vice, like Satan in *The Temptation*, had to suggest by his costume the wickedness of the Roman clergy. Sedition explains his Protean use of ecclesiastical disguise (5), and he appears as a bishop (5), a proctor (12), a monk (17), and as the archbishop (22). This satirical attack upon the clergy is continued in Dissimulation as a monk from different religious orders (10 and 39), and Treason as a priest (35). Bale's skill here is to use the familiar appearance of the clergy as a means of attacking them.

The identification of moral corruption by many kinds of ecclesiastical garments is, however, only part of a much wider purpose. The evils of Usurped Power, Private Wealth, and Sedition are first shown to the audience as themselves, but towards the end of the first half of the play – and notably in that part copied out by the first scribe by 1538 – these abstractions move towards a change to particular historical characters contemporary with John, and part of the historical circumstances which exemplify the moral truths Bale is concerned with. By the time the specific stage direction asking for a

change of costume (17) is reached, Usurped Power has already been seen as Pope (13-16), Private Wealth as the Cardinal (l. 878 ff), and Sedition as Steven Langton (l. 937). The stage direction means that the change will now be visible to the audience. It also means something of the older manifestation must be identifiable, lest the link between the abstraction and historical character be lost. The change of costume is thus used as marking a stage in the process of deception, and at the same time, because the audience perceive the connection between abstraction and historical character, a moral point is being established. We are not simply witnessing the use of an alias, so much as responding to the working of evil at difference levels, a process pointed by costume. This formulation is rare, though I think the personification of the two corrupt Elders as Sensualitas and Voluptas in Thomas Garter's *Virtuous and Godly Susanna* is close to it.

Apart from this, costume is used more conventionally to reveal the state of life, as England's widow's weeds show her sad decline (1 and 2). Similarly the blindness of Commonalty reveals a fall, and this may have been reflected in his costume, perhaps a veil as for Law of Moses in *Three Laws* (36). Usurped Power, as the Pope, appears in 'lyght apparell' (15). By using varied colours, Bale signifies the trickery of his ecclesiastical characters, as in Dissimulation (*King Johan*, 10) and Sodomy (*Three Laws*, 10).

Costume has a bearing upon doubling, and the text of *King Johan* has valuable indications of the way the parts were shared, and the frequency with which actors were required to make changes. Doubling must have depended upon disguise – the change of costume at (18), for example, did not mean that the audience should equate Cardinal with Nobility. Equally the costumes so adopted would need to be instantly recognisable, costumes for social types rather than individuals. One therefore suspects that Civil Order would be dressed in legal robes (25) and Nobility in a peer's costume.

The fact that *King Johan* and *Three Laws* are marked for doubling is evidence of the style of performance for which they were intended. We cannot assume that Bale ran a professional company, but it seems likely from the limited records that have survived that he did go on the road with his actors for a time.[12] In these circumstances doubling – as well as conventional characterisation – would be an indispensable technique. Moreover it would help if costumes were both compendious and easily recognisable whatever the physical context of the performance.

The properties used in the play are apparently simple and easily identified – a scroll (16, 21, 23), a stole (20), a crown (32). Some of them are to be seen in a particular ecclesiastical context, particularly the bell, book, and candle for the excommunication (17, 27, and 36). There is also the list of relics which if they were actual properties and not mimed would provide all sorts of opportunities for fantastic business (a fart? a fig-leaf?). Such a collection is a reflection of one of Bale's familiar devices for controversy, his tendency to accumulate vast quantities of detail: cf. *Three Laws* (11). The satire upon

trick relics is presumably primarily a literary one, found in *The Pardoner's Tale*, for example: Bale adopted it for the stage.

In *Three Laws* , the stage directions dealing with properties are concentrated in the first and last acts. In the former the three properties (1-3) are used for their symbolic power: the Latin phrase *pro signo* appears in each stage direction to emphasise this. The heart, the tables, and the New Testament are highly simplified iconographical details: Bale's Protestant taste leads him to such direct methods. They are recalled in the dialogue of the last act (35, 37, and 38) to emphasise their importance – the action of the play is complete, and the symbolism exact.

The last act shows three ways by which Vindicta Dei drives out Infidelity. The methods used are scriptural, and Bale adapts them for the stage: the water (32)[13] –

> *Ecce ego adducem aquas diluvii super terram* (Genesis 6:17)

the sword (33) –

> *Inducam super vos gladium ultorem foederis mei* (Leviticus 26:25)

and the fire (25) –

> *Ignis ante ipsum praecedet, et inflammabit in circuitu inimicos eius* (Psalm 96:3).

These three stage directions seem to me to be in the same dramatic style as the three in the first act, but here the action is both symbolic and violent. They reveal Bale's inherent sense of the stage. It should not be overlooked that the discomfiture of the chief villain is one of the strongest conventions of the morality play.

In this last act Bale also uses the 'vayle' again as a sign that be removing it God restores true sight to Moses (36).

The costumes in *Three Laws* follow Bale's denigration of the Catholic clergy. He conveniently sums them up in the Colophon (39) where Sodomy is given the costume of a monk (cf. 31), Ambition a bishop (cf. 21), False Doctrine a Popish doctor (cf. 25), and Hypocrisy a grey friar (cf. 24). Infidelity himself appears as a grey friar, though he draws attention within his speech to the fact that this is a disguise (17). For Covetousness Bale again uses the scripture-based convention of the corrupt Pharisee, and Idolatry is a female witch (cf. 8 and 9).

Costume and symbolic action are closely related in the tormenting of Evangelium by False Doctrine and Hypocrisy (29). This episode is near the end of Act IV when things are at their very best for the villains. Bale's Latin stage directions seem designed to point this dramatic moment for the reader, and it presumably recalls a memorable incident in performance. It seems very likely that this action is mean to recall a ritual degradation – one of the features of the persecution of Bale's Protestant contemporaries.[14] There is no doubt that to change costume is an important device of didactic theatre, but to have the change occur before the eyes of the audience is doubly powerful: dressing and undressing are intensely theatrical events.[15]

One further hint about the conventional nature of Bale's stage costume may be found in the illustration to the title-page of *Three Laws* which shows Adam and Eve in Paradise. They appear to be covered in skins, and it may be relevant to note that the Chester *Creation* (Play II) refers to 'dead beastes skinnes', and the stage direction has *tunicis pelliciis*.[16] Adam would perhaps follow this in *God's Promises*. It is also notable that Bale himself carries a testament in the portrait, and that he is dressed as a preacher, a suitable costume for his appearance in the plays.

From this review of Bale's use of costume and properties, it appears that he was prepared to accept conventional styles for the most part in costume – 'The rest of the partes are easye ynough to conjecture' –but that he repeatedly gave a polemical edge to his work by attacking the corruption of the Roman clergy in the costuming of Vices. Equally a doctrinal point is given to the use of properties, particularly by strategically drawing attention to the inner meaning at key points in the action. Both these features suggest close concentration upon staging. Perhaps he did for a while live as an actor on tour, and learned in that short period of his remarkable life a practical sense of the theatre. It seems that his use of costumes and properties is both purposeful and economic, and combines doctrinal point and theatrical effects.

Checklist of References to Costumes and Properties

A. *King Johan*

I

1		42	I mervell right sore how thow commyst chaungyd thus.
			(KJ on England's poor clothing.)
2		59	That I, a wedow, apere to yow so barely. (England)
3		154 sd	Go owt Ynglond and drese for Clargy.
4		195-210	(Sedition describes his disguises, which run from monk to Pope.)
5		296-9	Yea, but first of all I must chaunge myn apparell
			Unto a bysshoppe, to maynetayene with my quarell,
			To a monke or pryst or to sum holy fryer. (Sedition)
6		312 sd	Her go owt Sedwsion and drese for syvyll Ordere.
7	P	521	And this to performe set hand and kysse the bocke.
			(KJ to Civil Order)
8		555 sd	… and Syvile Order drese hym for Sedewsyon.
9		665	But what arte thou callyd of thyn owne munkych nacyon?
			(Sedition to Dissimulation)
10		724-9	Nay, dowst thou not se how I in my colours jette?
			To blyng the peple I have yet a farther fette.
			This is for Bernard and this is for Benet,
			This is for Gylbard and this is for Jhenet;

60

			For Frauncys this is, and this is for Domynyke,
			For Awsten and Elen, and this is for Seynt Partryk.
			(Dissimulation)
11		745	Now he is a bysshoppe … (Dissimulation on Private Wealth)
12		810	We of the Chirch now are the fower generall proctors.
			(Dissimulation, Private Wealth, Usurped Power and Sedition)
13		833-5	Usurpid Powr here, which, thowgh he apparaunt be
			In this apparel, yet hathe he autoryte
			Bothe in hevyn and erth, in purgatory and in hell.
			(Private Wealth on Usurped Power as Pope)
14		864	Dowght not of my powr thowgh my aparell by light.
			Usurped Power)
15		868-70	Thowgh he for his plesure soche light apparel have
			Yt is now sommer and the heate ys withowt mesure,
			And among us he may go light at his owne plesure.
			(Private Wealth on Usurped Power)
16	P	890 sd	Here Dissimulacyon shall delever the wrytynges to Usurpyd Powr.
			(Letter from Bishops to Pope for help)
17	P	983 sd	… Usupyd Powr shall drese for the Pope, Privat Welth for a cardynall,
			and Sedycyon for a monke. The cardynall shall bring in the crosse, and
			Stevyn Launton (ie. Sedition) the bocke, bell, and candell.
			(Excommunication at l. 1035 ff)
18		1061 sd	Here go owt (Cardinal) and dresse for Nobylyte.
II			
19		1135	Yowr habyte showythe ye to be a man of relygeon.
			(Nobility on Sedition as Steven Langton)
20		1148	Put on yowr stolle … (Nobility asks Sedition to hear confession)
21	P	1180-1	Godes holy vycare gave me his whole autoryte.
			Loo, yt is here, man. (Sedition)
22		1191	Ys not yowr fatherhood Archebysshope of Canterbery?
			(Clergy to Sedition disguised)
23	P	1211	Lo, here ys the bull of myn Auctoryte. (Sedition)
24	P	1215-30	(A list of relics: bone, turd, feather, tooth, harp-string, blood, milk,
			louse, scab, nail, maggon, fart, figleaf, grape, bead, bracelet, lachet, rib,
			knuckle-bone, bones and relics.)
25		1263	… we lawers … (Civil Order)
26		1301 sd	Privat Welth cum in lyke a cardynall.
27	P	1357-8	Here I cursse yow … with crosse, bocke, bell and candell.
			(Private Wealth)
28		1397 sd	Go owt (Cardinall) and dresse for Nobylyte.
29		1490 sd	Here go owt Clargy and dresse for YnglonD, and Syvyll Order for
			Commynnalte.
30		1533 sd	Here Nobelyte go owt and dresse for the Cardynall.
31		1550	Me thynke thow are blynd. (KJ on Commonalty)
32	P	1728 sd	Here the kyng shall delevyr the crowne (and sceptre) to the Cardynall.

33	P	1778 sd	Here Kyng John shall delevyr the oblygacyon. (Document)
32	P	1779-80	(Money paid by KJ to Cardinal)
35		1809	… Me thynke thu art a pryste. (KJ on Treason)
36	P	1875	… Gett me boke, belle and candle. (Private Wealth)
37	P	1917	Lete me see those cheanes. (Private Wealth releases Treason)
38	P	1971	By God and by all the contentes of thys boke. (Private Wealth)
39		2093	He doth seme a farre some relygyouse man to be.
			(England on Dissimulation)
40	P	2104	… a marvelouse good pocyon. (Dissimulation on the poison)

B. *God's Promises*

1	P	135-9	(Seal as sign of first Promise – possibly a scroll)
2	P	178 sd	(Portative organs: also 298 sd, 423 sd, 551 sd, 677 sd, 798 sd, 942 sd.)
3	P	262	(Rainbow as sign)
4	P	454-5	Convertynge thys rodde into a lyvelye serpent,
			And the same serpent into thys rodde agayne.
5	P	527	(Passover lamb as sign)
6	P	650	(Sign of building the temple)
7	P	771ff	(Sign of the rod of Jesse)
8	P	879 sd	*Hic extendes dominus manum, labia Joannis digito tanget ac ori imponet auream linguam.*

C. *John the Baptist's Preaching*

1		188 sd	*Eo locum deserente intrant Pharisaeus ac Sadducaeus.*
			(They would probably follow the traditional costume of the mystery cycle, the rest of the cast likewise)
2	P	431 sd	*Descendit tunc super Christum Spiritus Sanctus in columbae specie et vox Patris caelo audietur hoc modo.*
			(For descent of dove compare mystery cycle)

D. *The Temptation of Our Lord*

1		77 sd	*Hic simulata religione Christum aggreditur*
			(Presumably Satan was not so clothed at the beginning of the speech, and this sd marks a change. His motive is to find out who Christi is, ll. 71-2)
2		83	A brother am I of thys desart wyldernesse. (Satan)
3	P	104	Make of these stones breade.
4	P	187	Come here, on the pinnacle we wyll be by and by.
5	P	203	Here are gresynges made to go up and downe therby. (Steps)
6	P	268	A mountayne here is which I wolde yow to se.
			(A mountain is used as a prop. in mystery plays)
7	P	359	We have brought ye fode to confort your weake bodye. (Angel)
8	P	364 sd	*Hic coram angelis ex appositis comedet.*

E. *Three Laws*

I

1	P	112 sd	*Hic pro signo suo cor ministrat.* (God to Law of Nature)
2	P	122 sd	*Hic pro signo lapideas dat ei tabulas.* (God to Law of Moses)
3	P	134 sd	*Hic pro signo dat ei novum testamentum.* (God to Law of Christ)

II

4   P   177ff   Bromes for shoes and powcherynges,
Botes and byskyns for newe bromes. (Infidelity)

5   P   235   For by thys blessed boke. (Infidelity)

6   242   With a bearde upon your face. (Infidelity to Law of Nature)

7   389 sp. hd.   *Sodomismus. Monachus.* (Cf. Colophon)

8   399 sp. hd.   *Idololatria. Necromantic.* (A witch – see Colophon)

9   406-7   Yow soch a prati mynyon,
And yow now in relygyon. (Infidelity to Idol. and Sodom.)

10   623-6   The fellawe is wele decked,
Dysgysed and wele necked,
Both knavebalde and pyepecked
He lacketh nothynge but bels. (Infidelity on Sodom.)

11   P   659-68   Here have I praty gynnes
Both brouches, beades and pynnes,
With soch as the people wynnes,
        Unto ydolatrye.
Take thu part of them here,
Beades, rynges, and other gere,
And shortly the bestere
        To deceive Man properlye.
Take thys same staffe and scryppe,
With a God here of a chyppe … (Infidelity)

12   P   675-81   Here is stoole for the
A ghostlye father to be,
To heare Benedicite,
        A boxe of creame and oyle,
Here is a purse of rellyckes,
Ragges, rotten bones, and styckes,
A taper with other tryckes. (Infidelity)

13   722-3   Now underneath her wynges
Idolatry hath kynges.

14   751ff   (Law of Nature with leprosy)

III

15   P   893   (Glove for Infidelity's challenge)

16   P   913   But what meane those tables that ye have in your hande?
        (Of Law of Moses)

17   952   Graye fryer am I non. (Infidelity reveals he is disguised)

18   968-9   I am a worshypfull Doctour, / A Scrybe … (Avarice)

19   977   (Ambition as Prelate)

20   P   1104   A vayle wyll I sprede upon the face of Moses.
        (Avarice imposes this to obscure Law of Moses)

21		1183	My mytar (Ambition)
22		1259/65	(Law of Moses made blind by Avarice and lame by Ambition)
IV			
23		1435	Fryre Flyp Flap. (Infidelity of Hypocrisy)
24		1495	Saynt Frances habyte with the holy girdle and whode.
			Hypocrisy's defence against being sent to hell)
25		1670	… Mastre Doctour … (Infidelity on False Doctrine)
26		1684	(Infidelity) a true proctour of the howse of Saynt Antonye,
27	P	1689	And here I blesse ye with a wynge of the Holy Ghost.
			(Infidelity)
28	P	1691	Lo, here is a belle to hange upon your hogge. (Infidelity)
29		1731 sd	*Hic veste spoliatum sordidioribus induunt.*
			(Probably a ritual degradation of Evangelium)
30	P	1772	Fyll in all the pottes … (Infidelity)
V			
31		1818	… that polde, shorne knave that men call Sodomye.
			(Infidelity on Sodom.)
32	P	1823 sd	*Hic Infidelitatem lympha percutit.* (Vindicta Dei)
33	P	1834 sd	*Gladio Infidelitatem denuo cedit.*
34	P	1855 sd	*Ignis flamma Infidelitatem locum exire coget.*
35	P	1893	Kepe styll that same hart … (God to Law of Nature)
36	P	1895	Thu, Law of Moses, geve me that vayle from the. (Moses)
37	P	1899	Lose not those tables … (God to Law of Moses)
38	P	1905	Reserve the same boke for a synge of heavenly poure …
			(God to Law of Christ)
39		Glv *Colophon*	The apparellynge of the six vices, or frutes of Infidelyte.
			Lete Idolatry be decked lyke an olde wytche, Sodomy lyke a monke of all sects, Ambycyon like a bishop, Covetousnesse lyke a Pharyse or spyrituall lawer, False Doctryne lyke a popish doctour, and Hypocresy lyke a graye fryer. The rest of the partes are easye ynough to conjecture.

NOTES

1. *A brefe Comedy or enterlude concernynge the temptacyon of our lorde* Wesel, (1547) STC 1279.

   A Tragedye or enterlude manyfestyng the chefe promises of God Wesel (1547) STC 1305.

   A Comedy concernynge thre lawes Wesel (1548) STC 1287.

   'A brefe Comedy or Enterlude of Iohan Baptystes preachynge in the wyldernesse' in *Harleian Miscellany* 1 (1744).

   King Johan MS HM 3, Huntington Library, San Marino, California, edited by B.B. Adams, San Marino (1969).

2. The timing of Bale's preparation of his printed texts is intriguing. Could it be that with the approaching death of King Henry he was preparing his return to a more Protestant England?

For the lost plays see his *Anglorum Heliades* c.1536 (BL MS Harley 3838), ff 111v-112v; and *Illustrium maioris Britanniae Scriptorum … Summarium* Wesel (1548) ff 243v-244.

3.   J. Bale *Vocacyon* Wesel (1553) f 24v.

4.   J. Bale *Expostulation … agaynste … a franticke papist of Hampshire* (1552) sig C3.

5.   *King Johan* edited by J.H.P. Pafford and W.W. Greg MSR (1931) xvii-xviii.

6.   *Summarium* f 243.

7.   A.H. Nelson *The Medieval English Stage* Chicago (1974) 131-2.

8.   See the transcription from early sixteenth-century Ipswich Borough records, Nelson 215-6.

9.   *The Chester Plays* 1 edited by H. Deimling EETS ES 62 (1892) 59: stage direction at l. 272.

10. On the appearance of Satan in the mystery and morality plays, see R. Woolf *The English Mystery Plays* (1972) 115, and T.W. Craik *The Tudor Interlude* Leicester (1958) 50. Bale's concept is echoed in his polemical prose – 'He that tempted Christ was an he devil, a relygyous devyll, and a prestyle devyll' *Actes of Englysh Votaryes* Antwerp (1540) sig A3.

11. Craik ibid.

12. Cf. Pafford and Greg, xvii; and for the activities of Lord Cromwell's Men at Thetford, Cambridge, and Barnstaple in the years 1536-40 see J.T. Murray *English Dramatic Companies* 1558-1642 2 vols (1910) ii, 36.

13. I cite the *Vulgate* as it seems likely that Bale was still using it when writing the plays in the late 1530s: he quotes it directly in *God's Promises* 895-6.

14. Craik 74.

15. Cf. the dressing of the Pope in Brecht's *Galileo*, the ritual deposition in *Richard II*, and, more recently, the stripping of the Parson in Bond's *The Fool*.

16. Deimling 35, l. 363, and 368 sd.

ADVANCE NOTICES continued

The Castle of Perseverance at Manchester

Philip Cook is directing a production of *The Castle of Perseverance* which will be performed in the Stephen Joseph Studio of the University of Manchester from 29th April to 2nd May 1981. It will be played in the round with perimeter stages, and with the original text, somewhat abridged. Since audience space will be limited, please write as soon as possible to Philip Cook, Department of Drama, Manchester University, *Manchester* M13 9PL for further information and bookings.

JOHN WASSON   WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY

THE *ST. GEORGE* AND *ROBIN HOOD* PLAYS IN DEVON

While it seems likely that there were about as many *St. George* plays as *Robin Hood* plays in Devon, information concerning them is quite meagre, partly because they were not acted after 1541, nearly fifty years before the *Robin Hood* plays were halted, and more importantly because earlier St. George's Guild records were not preserved after the Guilds themselves were disbanded or transmuted to 'Young Men's Guilds' and the like. In Devon, most of our information comes from only two parishes, Morebath and Exeter Holy Trinity.

What does seem clear is that the indispensable equipment for a *St. George* play was a sword and armour for the hero. When St. George's Guild was disbanded at Plymouth, the City Council in 1542 salvaged from its inventory 'St. George's harness', and it scoured, and bought a barrel to store it in.[1] The same thing happened at Dartmouth, where in 1541 and 1542 it was the Town Council which paid for the scouring of St. George's sword and 'salett'.[2] The earliest surviving records, those of Holy Trinity, Exeter refer to purchases in the 1470s and 1480s of 'scogens' or *scutis* for St. George and for members of the Guild.[3] How many of these 'scogens' were needed is not clear, but they were cheap and expendable, costing a yearly average of 15d. I am not at all confident that they had anything to do with a dramatic production; possibly the *scuta* were simply badges, rather than shields, to distinguish Guild members from outsiders at the annual feast. There are payments to mimes on St. George's Day, but these need not have been actors, and no other properties for a play seem to be in the Guild's inventory after they sold their sword in 1479.

At Morebath, however, the evidence concerning the *St. George* play is much fuller. My only question is whether most of the properties mentioned are not for a pageant rather than the play. In 1531, there is an expense for 'a new horse to our dragon', and another expense in the same year for 'a new iorge'.[4] In 1529, also, a new St. George is bought,[5] and in 1530 an 'image of St. George'.[6] The expenses in 1528, for a streamer with St. George painted on both sides, and for a banner with St. George on one side and St. Sidwell on the other, seem clearly for a procession.[7] There is no doubt that there was a play, but only in 1540 are the expenses specifically for the play. In that year, the churchyard was cleansed against St. Georgetide, boards and trestles were brought, and the 'city in the churchyard' built.[8] As for props and costumes, however, we have only a lump sum 'for stoffe and Dressyng for the same'. In the inventory made when St. George's Guild was liquidated in 1548, only the streamer and the banner are mentioned besides the usual candlesticks and other accoutrements for the chapel in the church.[9]

The *St. George* plays, in short, seem to have been anything but elaborate, requiring only a sword and armour for St. George, a dragon, and in one case a 'city' for a setting. One could wish for the Guild records of a town such as Barnstaple, where there was a separate chapel of St. George near the market place, and where a big event of some sort took place during the annual Easter fair.

The *Robin Hood* play seem likewise to have been kept simple for the most part. These have a much longer history, the earliest reference – perhaps the first anywhere – being at Exeter in 1426/7, and the last at Chagford in 1588, nearly 50 years after the demise of the *St. George* plays. Nearly every parish seems to have had one; they were so numerous in Exeter by 1509 that the City Council forbade them as a public nuisance.[10] (The ban was not completely successful, as St. John's was still presenting its play in 1554.)

Indispensable expenses for the *Robin Hood* plays were for coats or tunics for Robin Hood and Little John, and usually for the Vice or Fool. Every town with itemised expenses lists at least an expenditure for a coat for Robin Hood; Braunton seems to have bought nothing else, and Woodbury had only two green coats.[11] Others were more elaborate, apparently: St. John's Bow in Exeter and Ashburton frequently rented out their players' clothing to other parishes. At Chudleigh, Robin Hood's coat was distinguished from those of other players by being decorated with silk and whiplash.[12]

The Vice or Fool, too, needed special costuming. His coat is always mentioned separately from those of Robin Hood and Little John, and was doubtless made of different material. At Chudleigh in 1561 and at Chagford in 1588, special shoes were made for him.[13] And at Woodbury in 1554/5, he was supplied with a visor and bells.[14]

All but one of these plays must have been designed for mobile performance, like Christmas mummings. Only for a late play, at Woodbury in 1574, is there clear indication of a fixed setting: in that year, twenty-five yards of canvas were purchased to make 'Robin Hood's House'.[15] The *May Day Play* at Plymouth also had a fixed setting, on Plymouth Hoe, but it was not clearly a *Robin Hood* play. Special effects, too, are rare, though in 1571 Honiton did purchase 'one pound of gunpowder when Robin Hood of Colyton came to town'.[16]

Judging by costumes purchased, the size of the cast varied from the minimum of two, Robin Hood and Little John, to nine. Chudleigh in 1561 purchased coats for Robin Hood, the Vice, and seven other players.[17] The cloth for the seven unnamed players was purchased separately, so that it was presumably not of the same material as Robin Hood's. The other costumes were not decorated with whiplash, though there is a purchase of 'Sylke and bottonse' for them.

As every able-bodied male was required to have a bow and arrows, and as the parish owned pikes and armour and swords, one almost never finds expenses for hand props for these plays. The one exception is an arrow. When the *Robin Hood* play was finally abandoned at Chagford in 1588, the 'summer rode' was sold by the Hoodsmen, but they

kept the 'silver arrow' of Robin Hood.[18] That is the last reference in the county to a play property. The earliest, in 1508 at Exeter St. John's, is also to a special arrow: the expense is for 'renovation of St. Edmund's arrow for Robin Hood'.[19] This arrow was most likely Robin Hood's prize for winning the archery contest.

I have saved Ashburton for last, because the entries there are both varied and confusing. Ashburton had a *Robin Hood* play for many years, but it also had a Christmas and other plays, so that it is not always possible to tell to which play an expense pertains. Clearly, the gloves 'for him that played God Almighty' or in another year the gloves for Herod, are not for the *Robin Hood* play.[20] But the payments in 1534, for example, for painting the players' clothing and for 'gold skynnys bozgt to the same' could be for either the *Robin Hood* or the *Christmas Play* (though one would guess the latter).[21] Similarly, the payments in 1536 for two 'Schepe skynys ffor playyn clothes' and 'a hed of here and a Roll & other thynges' could be for either play.[22]

Some expenses, of course, are clearly for the *Robin Hood* play. Thus in 1527, a new tunic was made for Robin Hood, and in 1542 there is a purchase of *tunicarum pro Roberti Hode cum eis adherentibus*, telling us that Robin Hood had several followers.[23] The entries for 1528/9 present something of a puzzle: there are expenses for painting the players' clothing, for making tunics, for 'checkery' (chequered cloth) to make the tunics, for 'crests' for their hoods, and for making of *vaculorum* for the players.[24] According to Latham, a *va(s)culum* or *vacellum* could be a vessel, a ship, a measure of flour, a beehive, a piece of plate, a stream bed, or a coffin. None of these choices seems satisfactory, unless the *vacula* are simply vessels for collecting donations from the crowd.

We do not know when the annual *Robin Hood* play was acted at Ashburton. Elsewhere in the country it was invariably acted at Midsummer rather than at May Day or Christmas. The trouble is that at Ashburton the *Robin Hood* play may have been acted at Corpus Christi, and in some years there was also a religious Corpus Christi play presented, so that expenses linked with Corpus Christi are confusing. In 1517, for instance, there are payments for four 'Rattilbaggez & vysers … *pro lusoribus*'.[25] Also in that year is an expense for painting five heads of hair. In 1543 there were purchased the heads of devils, and four rattlebags.[26] And finally, in 1558, the rattlebags were mended for Corpus Christi Day.[27] As rattlebags are normally associated with Mummers' Plays, one might guess that some sort of elaborate Mummers' Play was presented. Or the expenses for two separate plays might be impossibly intertangled. As is so often the case with early records, these are more tantalising than revealing.

NOTES

1. West Devon Record Office, MS W 130, f 211v.

2. Devon Record Office (DRO), MS D.S. 61341, mb 2d.

3. DRO, MS Exeter Holy Trinity PW 2.

4. DRO, MS Morebath PW w, f 177v.

5. Ibid, f 114.

6. Ibid, 172v.

7. Ibid, f 174.

8. Ibid, f 69.

9. Ibid, f 185.

10. DRO, MS Exeter Chamber Act Book II, f 17.

11. DRO, MS Woodbury PW 1, p 31.

12. DRO, MS Chudleigh PW 1, p 5.

13. Ibid, DRO MS Chagford Add/A PW 3, f 32.

14. DRO, MS Woodbury PW 1, pp 112, 119.

15. Ibid, p 221.

16. DRO, MS Honiton PW 1, f 4.

17. DRO, MS Chudleigh PW 1, p 5.

18. DRO, MS Chagford Add/A PW 3, f 32.

19. DRO, MS D.D. 36769, mb 1.

20. DRO, MS Ashburton PW 1, ff 164v, 126.

21. Ibid, f 115v.

22. Ibid, f 122.

23. Ibid, ff 93, 135v.

24. Ibid, f 98.

25. Ibid, f 65.

26. Ibid, f 138.

27. Ibid, f 170.

[Fig. 1: *Luttrell Psalter* Wheeled Dragon.]

http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_42130_fs001ar
Go to 184r.

PETER MEREDITH

JOHN MARSHALL

UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

KING ALFRED'S COLLEGE, WINCHESTER

THE WHEELED DRAGON IN THE *LUTTRELL PSALTER*

The purpose of this brief article is to draw attention to the existence of the wheeled dragon in the *Luttrell Psalter* (BL Additional MS 42130:[1] c. 1340, and of East Anglian workmanship) and to make a tentative claim for its being a pageant dragon. The dragon in question is on f 184, and is reproduced below (FIG 1). It decorates the lower margin of one of the pages containing Psalm 103. On the page opposite is a grotesque, and in the right-hand margin above it is another grotesque, tailed and winged, with a hooded human head, human-faced belly, and enormously long legs. It is followed by yet another grotesque on f 184v. This section of the manuscript (from f 145 onwards) is dominated by these curiously unwieldy flights of fancy.

A number of objections to the theory that this is a representation of a pageant dragon suggested themselves to us. The most obvious is that the dragon is merely another grotesque. It is true that in this part of the manuscript grotesque follows grotesque in the lower margins of the leaves, but these creations are intermingled with naturalistic scenes and figures[2] and the place the dragon occupies is not therefore conclusive proof of its imaginary nature. It is also worth noticing that it is the only wheeled figure in the whole of the decoration of the psalter;[3] there are creatures on every imaginable kind of legs, and some on no legs at all, but none, except this dragon, on wheels.

Another objection is the appearance of the dragon. It does not look like a traditional dragon and its colouring seems to mark it out as an obvious non-naturalistic beast. As far as its shape is concerned, a look at the other dragons in the *Luttrell Psalter* makes it quite clear that for the artist this is what a dragon looked like. It is worth comparing this wheeled one with, for example, that in a more naturalistic scene fighting a Saracen (f 83v). There are differences (the wings, for example), but the head-shape, the ping-pong ball nose, the forehead and the tufted brow are clearly the same. The colouring of the wheeled dragon is, it is true, exotic; it has a green tongue in an orange mouth, a fawn head and a blue body, a gold spine with alternating green and fawn roundels, and orange wheels with green hubs. This can hardly be used in evidence against its reality as a pageant dragon, however, since we have little idea what colour dragons were considered to be in the early fourteenth century,[4] and certainly no idea of how a pageant one would have been decorated. The dragons in the *Luttrell Psalter* are very varied in colour, and the colour-schemes in general in the manuscript tend toward the gaudy.

On the other hand, there is some support within the manuscript for our claim. In the psalter there is occasional illustration of the text.[5] This is far from being a consistent or

continuous plan, but it is not uncommon. On f 157, for example, *Ecce alienigene* (Psalm 86 v 4) is accompanied by Saracens in the right margin. Likewise on f 157v, the text of Psalm 87 vv 4-7 is illustrated with a naked figure and a grave in the left margin, and on f 178 a pelican appears in the right margin beside *Similis factus sum pellicano* (Psalm 101 v 7). All these illustrations occur in the side margins. More pertinently, on f 185 there is in the margin at the foot of the page a bestiary-like representation of different types of reptile, and it seems almost certain that this is an illustration of *illic reptilia quorum non est numerus, Animalia pusilla cum magnis* (Psalm 103 v 25). The text, however, appears on the previous page (f 184v), not immediately beside the illustration. The text continues with *Draco iste quem formasti ad illudendum ei* (Psalm 103 v 26).[6] Is it possible that the wheeled dragon of f 184 is a similarly loosely-placed illustration of the psalter text, with the word *illudendum* suggesting to the artist or his director the 'play' dragon with which he was himself in some way familiar?

One further piece of evidence, though of a much later date, bears upon the likelihood of the wheeled dragon being a pageant one and that is the Brueghel picture of a *kermese*, where amongst sword-dances, religious processions, archery contests and general merrymaking, there is a St. George 'play' in progress with just such a wheeled dragon as the psalter one (Fig. 2).[7] It is of a more conventional kind (to modern eyes) and it is winged and breathing fire, but the similarity of its construction to the Luttrell one, combined with the fact of being able to see how it was used, provides just that touch of reality that the Luttrell dragon needs to bring it to life. How far back do such dragons go in the Netherlands? Does the apparent Flemish quality that has been seen in the *Luttrell Psalter* decoration extend beyond treatment to subject matter? Or is the Luttrell dragon a

FIG 2 : Brueghel: Dragon (detail)

sign of a thriving pageant tradition in East Anglia in the early fourteenth century long before any records suggest it?[8] These are difficult, not to say impossible, questions to answer, but they are ones which the *Luttrell Psalter* dragon, if it is accepted as the representation of a pageant dragon, raises: and they are of some significance for the development of the early drama in East Anglia, and, indeed, in England.

NOTES

1. See the partial facsimile edited by E.G. Millar (London 1932) for some idea of the range and type of decoration contained in this psalter. The whole of the page in question is reproduced there (f 184).

2. For example, f 147v contains an archery scene: f 148, a grotesque: f 166v has a woman feeding hens: f 167, a grotesque.

3. There are, of course, carts and waggons elsewhere in the manuscript; for example, the harvest cart, f 173v; the travelling coach, ff 181v-182.

4. In the colouring of a slightly earlier period, the dragon in the St. John's College, Oxford, *Bestiary* (MS 61) is white, but the asp is red with a blue head, and the viper white with a blue head. The twelfth century Ashmole *Bestiary* (MS Ashmole 1511) has a dragon, blue with red wings.

    Wings are not referred to in the *Bestiary* texts, but the fact that the dragon is reported *sepe ab speluncis abstractus fertur in aeream* may have given rise to the idea that they had them.

    Cornish's dragon of 1494 was 'a terrible and huge red' one (see William Tydeman *The Theatre in the Middle Ages* CUP (1978) 77).

5. This is a not uncommon feature of psalter texts. The most fully illustrated is the ninth century *Utrecht Psalter*, but it was normal for at least the initial letter of certain psalms to be decorated with scenes or figures appropriate to some part of the text, usually the opening verse.

6. The *Douai Bible* translates this as 'This sea dragon which thou has formed to play therein', but the *sea* is simply derived from the context of vv 25-6, and it is so common a part of medieval Biblical exegesis for a text to be taken in isolation from its context that there is no difficulty in taking *Draco* simply as 'dragon'.

7. Reproduced in E.K. Chambers *The English Folk-Play* (Oxford 1933, reprinted 1969) facing p 204. See also H. Arthur Klein *Graphic Worlds of Pieter Bruegel the Elder* (New York, Dover, 1963) 59.

8. The still-surviving East Anglian dragons are of the Snap type, that is, harnesses bearing the hollow canvas body of the dragon fitting over a man's shoulders (see Richard Lane *Snap the Norwich Dragon* Norwich 1976). We have not so far found anything in the records suggesting the wheeled type. The Norwich ones are to some extent ambiguous, but 'To John Diggard for pleyng in the dragon 4d' sounds like the Snap type (see Alan Nelson *The Medieval English Stage* Chicago and London 1974, 122). Bassingbourne has only 'Item payd for fetching the dragon in expenses biside the carriage viijd' (see J. Charles Cox *Churchwardens' Accounts* London 1913, 273). York is also little help, since there are only payments to porters 'for beryng of the pagyant the dragon and St christofer' (Johnston & Rogerson *Records of Early English Drama: York* Toronto 1979, 318). St. Christopher was certainly an image of some sort, but as, beside St. George, a king, queen and maiden performed, it sounds as though the dragon fight was being enacted. Certainly no-one is paid for *playing* the dragon.

FESTIVAL WAGGONS IN JAPAN

Japan is a land of many festivals, both national and local. Waggon processions form the climax to the festivals in several cities: in Kyoto, the Gion Festival, begun in 876 as a petition to the gods, is now the biggest event of the year, with huge, carved, gilded floats being conveyed along the main city streets; in Takayama, the festival is highlighted by a procession of lacquered, gilded waggons, pulled through the streets by men dressed in ancient costumes. The city of Hamamatsu climaxes its festival with a three-hour parade of more than fifty magnificent waggons, each presented by a different section of the city. The festival waggons in Japan have not been used to carry actors or sculpted figures, so far as is known: they do, however, carry musicians who perform traditional music on drums, flutes, samisen, and cymbals during the entire procession. Responsibility for the waggons is assumed by the communities (much as it was by the trade guilds in England) and the waggons are pulled through the street much as the medieval pageant waggons may have been in England, and in a similar festival atmosphere. Therefore a look at the Japanese festival waggons may serve to deepen our appreciation of this staging technique, which was being used in Japan possibly when the miracle plays were being performed in England, and which has survived in the Orient well into the twentieth century.

The waggon of Higashu Iba (East Iba) (FIG 1), one of the communities in Hamamatsu, is a typical one. Like many others, this waggon was rebuilt after the war, following earlier specifications. It is made entirely of wood, including wooden pegs instead of nails, so that it has maximum 'give' when being pulled over rough places. The waggon is 1m 45cm wide, 4m 35cm long, and 4m 85cm high, with a space between the bottom of the waggon and the floor of the stage measuring about 60cm (accommodating extra supplies and an electric generator). Besides the corner pillars of the box frame, there are two extra pillars on every side; these are used to support the roof, the gorgeously carved wooden panels around the top of the framework, and also the rich brocade curtains which decorate and protect the waggon. A two-storied roof over the waggon, designed in the style used for shrine and temple roof-construction, and covered with copperplate, allows for ventilation and extra decoration as well as protection from the weather. The front wheels (44cm diameter) are much smaller than the rear wheels (92cm diameter) for manoeuvrability; they are wooden, but the rims are covered with iron (in some cases rubber) for extra durability. While in storage, the waggon, which is not dismountable, is jacked up, and rests upon thick wooden beams, so that the weight (about 1500lb) is taken off the wheels. There is a simple steering mechanism worked by one man, and a braking mechanism worked by another (FIG 2). The main decoration of the waggons is in the intricately-carved figures and panels, executed by master woodcarvers called in to aid the carpenters, much as Thomas Drawswerd may have been; they are all natural or stained

FIG 1: Men pulling the waggon onto the street from its storage shed.
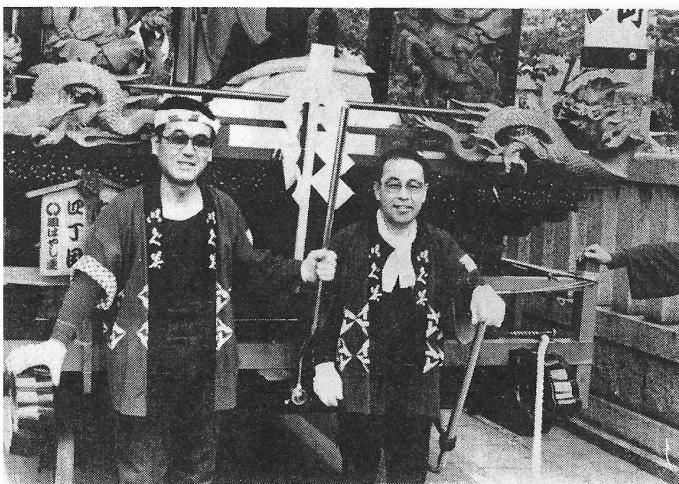
FIG 2: The longer handle is the brake, and the shorter handle is the steering mechanism.
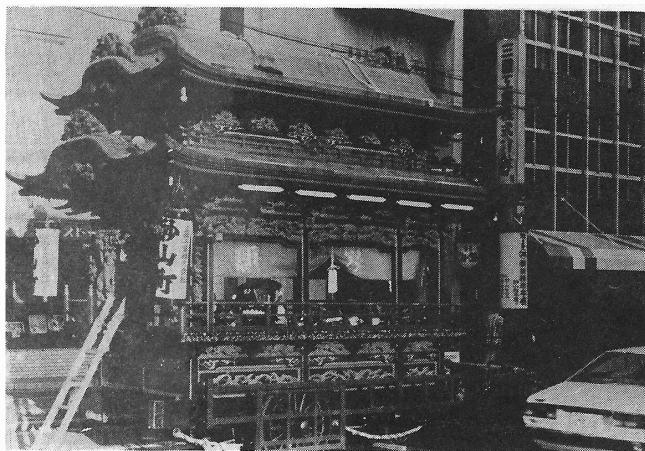
FIG 3: A waggon parked on the street during the day. Note the ladder at the back for reaching it (and the shoes left on the ground).
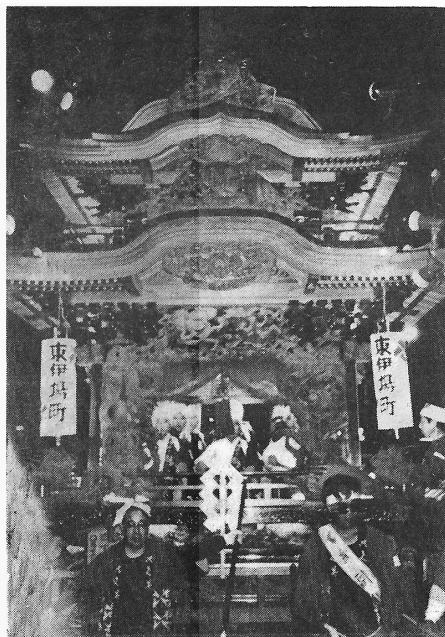
PHOTOS BY MIRIAM SKEY

FIG 4: Waggon at night — from the front. Note electric spotlights
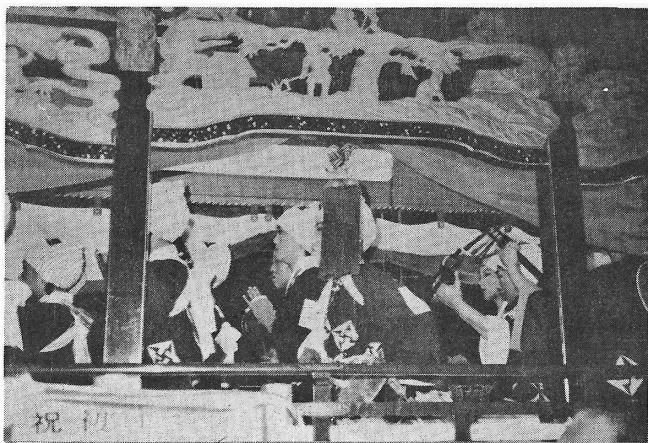
FIG 5: Waggon at night, from the side. The passengers are musicians.
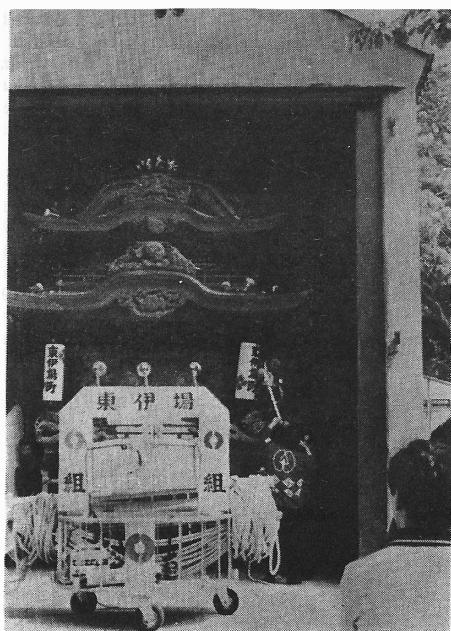
FIG 6: The waggon in its storage shed. The contrivance in front holds the pulling ropes.
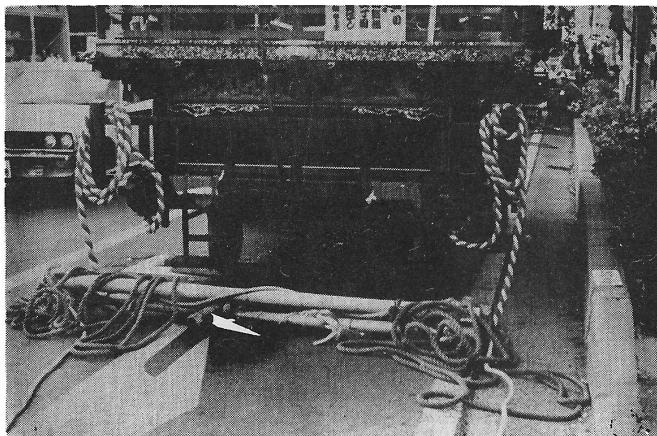
FIG 7: A waggon with a simpler set of pulling ropes, with bamboo poles. Note the storage space under the waggon deck.
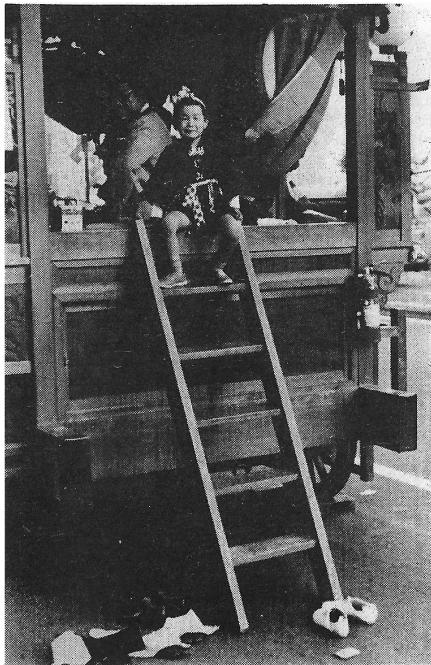
FIG 8:
Rear view of waggon,
with access ladder.
Note the storage space
for the generator, with
two sliding panels just
below the boy's feet.

wood, and the only use of paint or lacquer is for highlighting such details as dragons' eyes, although a goodly amount of mother-of-pearl inlay is used. The procession of waggons takes place in the evening, and so each waggon has its own lighting –some have Japanese paper lanterns, and others have electric spotlights, illuminating the waggons and the performers (Fig. 4).

On the first night of the three-day festival, the waggon is pulled through the streets of the local community (Fig. 1), and on the second and third nights, it is pulled in procession with all the other waggons through the main streets of the city. A long rope extends from the front of each waggon to form a loop which encloses all the children of the community, who dress in happi coats decorated with their local insignia and carry lanterns as they pull the waggon, accompanied, of course, by the adults who add their strength and encouragement. Each community forms a strong unit, much like the guilds in medieval England. Their local costume, like the livery of the guilds, is worn with pride. In Higashi Iba, ten women and three men are chosen each year to ride on the waggon and provide the music (Fig. 5). Most of them are children, about ten to twelve years of age, and they practise earnestly for their performances.

At the end of the festival, the waggon is returned to its storage shed, a garage two stories high, built especially for this purpose (Fig. 6) and located in a corner of the grounds of the local shrine. Although there is no explicit association with religion during the festival – the main events of the day are kite-flying contests – implicit connections are everywhere. The waggons are stored and guarded by various shrines in the city; the design for the Higashi Iba waggon was, in fact, taken directly from the Yomei-mon (Sunlight Gate) of Japan's most gorgeous and well-known shrine, the Toshugo Shrine at Nikko.

The festival waggons of present-day Japan are probably more spectacular and elaborate than anything that Thomas Drawswerd carved for the York Mercers' Doomsday pageant, and so far as is known, they have not been used for dramatic performances. They are, however, similar in size and construction to pageant waggons, and pulled through the streets of the town, in processio, during a 'civic(-religious)' festival in which communities function as medieval guilds once did in the Corpus Christi Festival in England. It is of some interest, then, that they have survived and indeed enjoy great popularity in Japan at the present time.

THE FLEMISH *OMMEGANG*
AND ITS PAGEANT CARS: 2

Meg Twycross

Leaving the superstructure for a while, how were these waggons propelled? Most of them were horse-drawn: the Brussels waggons by two pairs of horses, the Antwerp ones (where the horses are shown) by one, two, or even three pairs of horses. Hosley suggests that the Louvain artist's habit of showing strings of single horses hitched in tandem is shorthand for showing pairs, and that we should multiply by two each time, which seems plausible.[84] The Louvain artist also shows the shafts, poles, and allied gear fairly clearly.

Where the wheels show in the Van Alsloot painting of the Brussels waggons, there are four of them, the back pair being rather larger than the front, which possible suggests moveable steering.

Most of the Brussels wheels, however, are concealed by extremely elaborate 'painted cloths' which run all round the waggon, hanging from just under the edge of the platform to the ground. It is not easy to see how they are attached, unless the bottom table of the cornice is detachable and acts as a pelmet, as in the Valladolid waggons. The Louvain hangings, which are fringed, and look much more like curtains, could in some cases be attached like this. There is something unnaturally smooth about Van Alsloot's hanging which emphasises the squared-off nature of the waggon's base. The Antwerp waggons also have concealed wheels, but in this case it looks as if the cloths have been replaced by a wooden surround masking the wheels; the decoration suggest carved panelling.

About half the Antwerp waggons are, however, not waggons at all, but sleds. The 1571 *Inventory* divides the 'large pieces' (*groote stucken*) into *waghens* and *sledden*. Of the Biblical floats, *Augustus and the Sibyl*, the *Annunciation*, the *Visitation*, the *Three Kings*, the *Last Judgement*, and *Hell*, are all called sleds: only the *Circumcision* and the *Trinity* are waggons. This corresponds with Jan Jegher's 1649 woodcuts, save that his *Last Judgement* is a waggon. His *Seven Sorrows* is also a waggon. Surprising as this is to us, it seems on consideration Sledmen were

Jegher:
Annunciation
& *Visitation*
FIG 33

80

the heavy hauliers of the medieval city, and runners would probably move more smoothly over cobbles than wheels.

The remaining carts are those which have no visible means of locomotion, such as the *Ship* and the various Antwerp *Seamonster* and *Fishes*. The *Inventory* of 1571 calls the chariot of 'Nereus and Doris' a *sledde*, but doesn't mention how the *Fish*, the *Seamonster*, or the *Ship* are propelled. It does, however, list *tweendertich halsbanden die den Vis ende het Zeemonster draegt* ('32 collars for those who drew the *Fish* and the *Seamonster*'). The Jegher illustration shows two little windows in the front end of the *Neptune* chariot: in the same place on the *Dolphin* and the *Whale* there are seamonster masks. These windows also appear in

FIG. 34: Jegher *Neptune*

FIG. 35: Van Essen *Dolphin*.

in the 1698 painting by Van Bredael (FIG. 27). They are peepholes for the leading pullers

FIG 36: *The Solemn Mock Procession*

concealed under the stage by the skirts of the waggon; as with some of Alan Nelson's Valladolid cars. An illustration to a London Pope-Burning of 1680[85] shows more clearly what is going on. The men inside the *Whale* also worked the pumps which spewed water from its mouth and ear (?) on the crowd: *desen Vis spuydt overvloedig waeter uyt sijn in-ghewandt*.[86] Sixteen bearers suggests a considerable weight: one can not tell if the *Whale*

FIG 37: Bochius *Descriptio Publicæ Gratulationis* : *Whale*

and *Ship* were sleds or on wheels: they look too heavy to be litters.

Though they do not strictly count as waggons, one ought to mention the *Fantastic Animals*, especially since James Laver seems to believe that the Brussels quartet (Fig. 7) are real camels dressed up.[87] Real camels appear in the foreground of the picture: but those in the background are wickerwork beasts, whose long skirts disguise the legs of the men inside them. The Louvain illustrations make this perfectly clear. Though they are distinctly
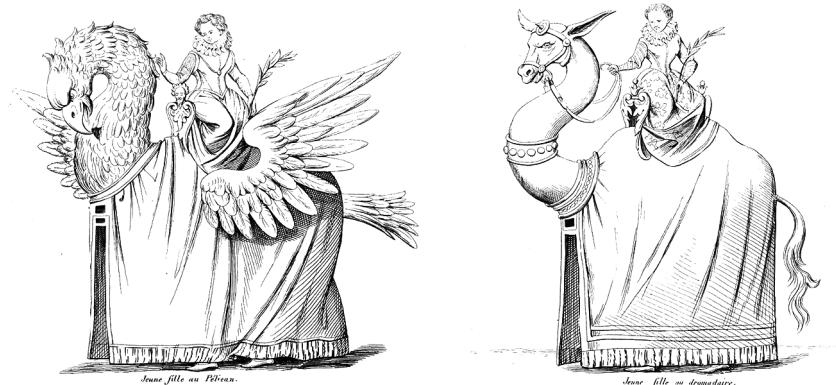
Fig. 38: Louvain *Wickerwork Pelican and Camel.*

'folkloric' in aspect, and multiply in number and variety as the years go by, they seem originally to have been meant for the Three Kings to ride on: they were introduced into the Louvain procession in 1482, and were called the *drie kemelen oft beesten daer die drie Coninghen op ryden in die processie* ('three camels or beasts on which the Three Kings ride in the procession'),[88] and one of the things which particularly struck Dürer as he watched the Antwerp *ommegang* in 1520 was *die heiligen 3 konig auff grosen camelthiren und auff andern selczamen wundern reidend* ('the Holy Three Kings riding on great camels and other marvellous monsters').[89] The Louvain camels were made on the pattern of the great wickerwork *Bayard*, ridden by all four Sons of Aymon first in 1428. The Sons were all small boys, presumably because of their weight: Bayard and his passengers were carried by two men only.[90] This is presumably what the Dublin 'camell' and the Chester 'drombandarye' looked like.[91]

It is difficult to determine the dimensions of the waggons, for various reasons. Some dimensions are given for the more striking secular pieces, and we can try to compare their relative heights with the Biblical waggons when they appear together in the panoramic pictures, but any deductions must only be approximate. They are very tall. The Antwerp *Giant* was 27 foot high; the *Whale* 27 foot long and 17 foot high, *Neptune's Chariot* was 28 foot long, the *Ship* 20 foot long and 33 foot high. No widthways dimensions are given.[92]

The attempts by Hosley[93] to estimate the dimensions of the Brussels waggons from Van Alsloot's painting shows how difficult this can be. He decides on a possible 10 foot wide by 13 foot long for the *Annunciation* waggon, 12 foot by 20 foot for the *Nativity*. This could well be right, but we must be careful. The *Parnassus* waggon looks much the same size, base-wise, as the *Nativity* waggon: yet the English Court Revels managed to get the same cast on a 'Chariott of xiiij foote Long & viij foote brode with a Rock vpon it & a fountayne therin with the furnishing and garnishing therof'[94] which seems to have included a seat. People tend to overestimate the amount of space needed to group standing figures in a tableau, especially if they are slightly raked. The Lord Mayor's Show waggons quoted by Morrissey[95] were only one of them over 8 foot wide, and that was a pageant 10 foot square: the others were respectively 8 foot wide by 15, 14 (twice) and 13 foot long).

Hosley points out that the artist tends to use different scales for the actors in the tableaux and the characters on the ground. It is not even safe to make guesses from the actors, as many of them seem to be children. The Angel in the Brussels *Annunciation* is a child (Fig. 8), if one looks a second time: *Era el Arcangel San Gabriel vn niño blanco y rubio vestido de blanco, y nuestra Señora vna hermossisima donzella vestida de tafetan blanco* ('The Archangel Gabriel was a boy, red and white, dressed in white: and Our Lady a most beautiful damsel dressed in white taffeta').[96] The four-year-old Kings on the *Jesse Tree* are an extreme example, as are the children riding on the camels. It is difficult to tell if Don Christobal only mentions child actors when they are conspicuously not grown up, and his

word for the girls playing the Virgin is either *niña* or *donzella*, which seems to mean just 'girl'. Bergeron, a French visitor to Antwerp in 1619, speaks of the pageants as being *assez bien representez par jeunes filles et garcons*[97]: in the Antwerp *Landjuweel* of 1561, an English visitor described how the Brussels Chamber of Rhetoric entered in seven pageants 'being carried by 150 men; and the pageants being so trymmyd with young children in cloth of gold, silver, and satin in all colours so embroidered and wrought, and to such good purpose, that I cannot tell what to write of them', but later he speaks of the waggons as bearing 'very faire personages'.[98] The *Maid of Antwerp* and her attendants look very grown up until we come to the picture of them in Rubens' *Entry of the Archduke Ferdinand* (1635),[99] when it suddenly becomes apparent that they are all little girls.

In some cases, living people seem to have shared the stages with carved figures and automata,[100] but these seem to be the later rather than the medieval pageants, which if anything went in for rather disconcerting realism.[101]

The stage platforms of the Brussels waggons seem to be of a roughly standard height from the ground: rather higher than the heads of the shepherds accompanying the *Nativity* waggon. The Louvain drawings are useless in this respect: the artist has used a different scale for the undercarriage, which strikes him as less important than the tableau it carries. The Antwerp waggons seem to be of differing heights, but none seems to be below should height, and most are represented as being above head height. When one looks at the crowd scenes of Bouttats and Van Bredael, the reason for this is obvious.

Access to the *Maid of Antwerp*'s carriage in the Rubens illustration is by a draped gangway almost as long as the waggon itself: in the Bochius *Entry of Albert and Isabella* it is by a flight of steps.[102]

These tableaux never developed into plays, probably because there was a strong independent tradition of semi-professional dramatic performance by the Chambers of Rhetoric.[103] The *Rederijckers* ('Rhetoricians') were a far more organised body of literary men than anything that existed in England at the time: each City had several 'Chambers' and national competitions were held for plays composed on a set theme. The *Rederijckers* would sometimes present a dramatic performance on a fixed stage after the *ommegang*: Boonen's drawing shows a performance of the *Judgement of Solomon* taking place on a booth stage in the main square of Louvain (Fig. 39). These plays were never of Cycle length, and as far as I know do not appear to have used the waggons as stages.

Nonetheless, I think we are right in seeing these waggons as all but dramatic. They are not static allegorical groups: they show incidents in a story, frozen in a carefully arranged pictorial tableau, but with the potential of movement and speech. The Angel has just arrived, the Virgin looks up from her book: *Estaua de rodillas con vn libro en las manos, que era cosa de maravilla de ver la modestia y honestidad de su rostro* ('she was on her knees with a book in her hands, that it was a marvel to see the modesty and candour of her countenance').[104]
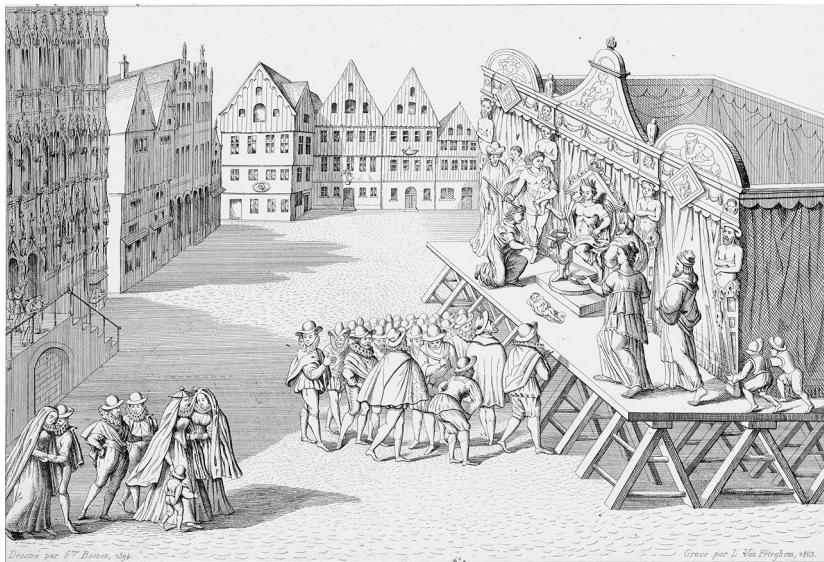
Fig. 39: Louvain 'Standing Play' of *The Judgement of Solomon*.

A great deal is made of 'speaking' gestures: Gabriel holds up his hand in the traditional herald's greeting; the child Christ in the Brussels *Doctors* holds his up as if preaching; the Resurrected Christ of Louvain greets his Mother with a gesture of blessing. The chapbooks attempt to supply the words: *Wat seyt dat Engeltien, aen die Maeghet? hy seyt Aldus …* ('What is the little Angel saying to the Virgin? he is saying this …').[105] But the pageants themselves often supply them, inscribed in cartouches on the waggon skirts, on

placards, on scrolls held by the characters: the Brussels Angel of the *Nativity* holds a scroll inscribed GLORIA IN EXCELSIS DEO, the skirts of the *Annunciation* waggon proclaim AVE MARIA, as does the placard across the canopy of the 'bed' on the Antwerp waggon: in Jeghers, a man marches before the Antwerp *Judgement* waggon with a placard saying RECTVM IVD(IC)IVM TVVM DOMINE. The mottoes vary between the dramatic (what are the characters actually saying?), the hortatory (what moral are we draw from this?) and the explanatory (what does this mean?). Sometimes there are various mottoes of differing length:

FIG 40

> *Bouen den Hemel stont gheschreuen Deo Trino & Vni ende wat benedenn Tres viros vidit Abraham, vnum adorauit. Voor wert ghedraghen in dese inscriptie:*
>
> > *Die aenbidt eenen Godt in persoonen Dryvuldick Ghelijck*

85

> *Abraham eertijdts heft ghedaen, Wordt hier gheloont seer menichfuldich Ende*
> *sal namaels des Hemels croon ontfaen.*

('Above the heaven was inscribed *To God in Three and One*, and somewhat below, *Abraham saw three men and worshipped one*. In front was borne this motto:

> *Who worships One God in Persons Three*
> *As Abraham did of yore,*
> *Shall be repaid here plenteously,*
> *And Heaven's crown gain therefore.*')[106]

If the characters do not speak, except in writing, they are however allowed to sing: *Hier boven state ghescreven **Gloria in Excelsis Deo** … Die Schaepheyderkens die reopen al **be be**, dat is to segghen **Benedictus**, ofte ghebenedijt moet wesen den desen die comt genesen onse sonden met onverdiende wonden* ('Above this was inscribed *Glory to God in the highest* etc … The shepherds all halloo *Be be*, that is to say *Benedictus*, or Blessed may He be who comes to heal our sins with undeserved stripes'),[107] which sounds like a Flemish carol. There seems to have been a tradition that the shepherds sang: in Louvain they apparently also poured out wine, whether for the spectators, as Van Even suggests, or for themselves, which seems more likely: *Den herders die achter Bethlehem ghingen al singhende, voir haren cost van wijnen die sy schincen doen men onser liever Vrouwen andwerf ommedroegh* ('The shepherds who walked after Bethlehem all singing, for their cost for the wine that they poured out, during our Lady's *ommegang*').[108] In Brussels in 1549, Joseph was made to react to the singing:

> *Venia tras este otro carro, en que yuan vnos pastores y vnos niños en forma de Angeles todos vestidos de blanco, que cantauan, **Gloria in Excelsis Deo** … Estaua la Virgen con su hijo como parida en la cama, la qual era vna muy Hermosa donzella y junto à ella el santo Joseph entendiendo en su oficio de carpinteria. Parauase algunas vezes con gran alegria como espantado de oyr las diuinas bozes delos Angeles y pastores que yuan cantando.*

> ('Behind this came another waggon, in which were shepherds and children got up like the angels dressed in white, singing, *Glory to God in the highest* … The Virgin, a very beautiful damsel, was in bed with the child, as if lying in, and next to her was St. Joseph busy about his trade of carpentry. He paused from time to time with great joy as if he were astonished to hear the heavenly voices of the angels as they sang.')[109]

The costumes, settings, and props are the familiar mixture of the symbolic, the domestic, and the highly ornamented that we see in our own plays. The Louvain wagons have the most elaborate architectural detail, and the simplest costumes: there is an absence of properties which seems to me unreal, and one wonders how much has been filtered through the eye of the nineteenth century copyist. The Brussels *Annunciation* and *Nativity* waggons are the nearest to the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century Flemish

paintings on the same themes, with all the traditional furniture and props:[110] the Blessed Virgin's rep-canopied bed, the lily pot, the priedieu – each of which, as Panofsky has tried to show[111] is not merely a realistic scene setting, but expressive of a moral or typological truth. The Blessed Virgin herself is dressed neither in contemporary costume, nor in the anonymous draped 'biblical' garb of the Louvain (and later Renaissance) painters: with her ruff, veil, and crown, she looks far more like the statue of Notre Dame de Sablon.[112] She appears like this both with Gabriel (who is dressed in alb and stole), on the top of the *Jesse Tree*, and with the shepherds, who wear totally contemporary garb – one raises his hat to the Child. A group on the parapet outside the stable includes a shepherdess: they are listening to one of their number playing a bagpipe; they carry crooks, and, apparently, luncheon baskets. In the Antwerp procession, the sacred personages are distinguished with haloes, good solid star shaped ones that sit firmly on the top of their heads, unlike the rather improbably flying-saucer type seen in Louvain. Altogether, the Louvain illustrations suggest a certain amount of idealisation: Adam and Eve, for example, are shown stark naked, whereas in 1531 we know they wore doublet and hose.[113] There is no space here to go into the question of props and costumes, which deserve an article to themselves: the 1571 *Inventory* ranges from 'A sword named the Word of God' and 'two pairs of wings made of peacocks' feathers' to 'two carved wooden pigeons' and a wardrobe that seems to go in for red, yellow, and green, with stripes and fringes ad lib.

Alan Nelson in his Valladolid article was worried that the pageant tableaux he had seen were all set on a longitudinal axis, and that therefore 'reconstructions of English pageants with orientation to the side should be considered as problematic'.[114] He points out that we have no existing illustrations of Biblical pageants meant to be seen from the side, and that it would be difficult to use those designed as stages (presumably with backcloths) as pageant floats as well, as seems to have happened at Norwich, for example. It is true that 'a bigger iron fane to sett on the ende of the Pageante'[115] could suggest that the Norwich Grocers' cart was longitudinally arranged. But it is also true that unless you have a very tidy and symmetrical tableau, like that of *Christ and the Doctors* at Brussels, it is always going to make more sense from some points of view than from others, and that if you are trying to pose almost a copy of a well-known picture, there is bound to be a back to front: someone is always going to be looking at the back of the Virgin of the *Annunciation*'s head. Also, though a tableau may be grouped longitudinally, the spectators are still going to get their best view of it latitudinally, as it passes directly in front of them. Painters like Van Alsloot have accommodated for this slightly already: they arrange the tableau so you, who are looking at the picture, can see it to its best advantage, which usually means showing it broadside on, so that the scene is set in the widest possible frame. Seen from the front, Van Alsloot's Virgin would be totally obscured by her bed hangings. Would one not merely do the same thing with a living picture, if it were to be presented as a play?

The difficulty would come with the backcloth, and a backcloth the York Mercers' waggon certainly seems to have had. One possibility would be to rethink the whole reconstruction so that, like the Antwerp *Last Judgement*, the backcloth really was at 'the bake

syde of þe pagent'. This would give a stage deeper than it was wide, which goes against all our modern instincts, but there is nothing to say that it is impossible. It would certainly make it possible for spectators to stand on both sides of the street, instead of only on one. I think my main objection to this in York is the likelihood of spectator stands: would people pay to see only one half of a performance? what about the privileged spectators at the upper windows? and, in Norwich, would you have to act over the horses' backsides?

It really depends on whether you see the pageant waggons as being primarily pageant floats (as Alan Nelson clearly does) or as booth stages on wheels (as most of the rest of us probably do). Either way, you can't have everything. There were possibly more open-sided waggons, and more waggons with no roofs at all, than we have been brought up to imagine, conditioned as we are, even now, by the proscenium stage. It would be interesting to hear further arguments. How pageant waggons related to pageant stages will clearly be germane to the problem.

This can only be an introduction to a fascinating and I think relevant field. My main intention has been to sketch in the background and reproduce as many of the pictures as possible: but I hope it has also suggested a few other lines of enquiry.
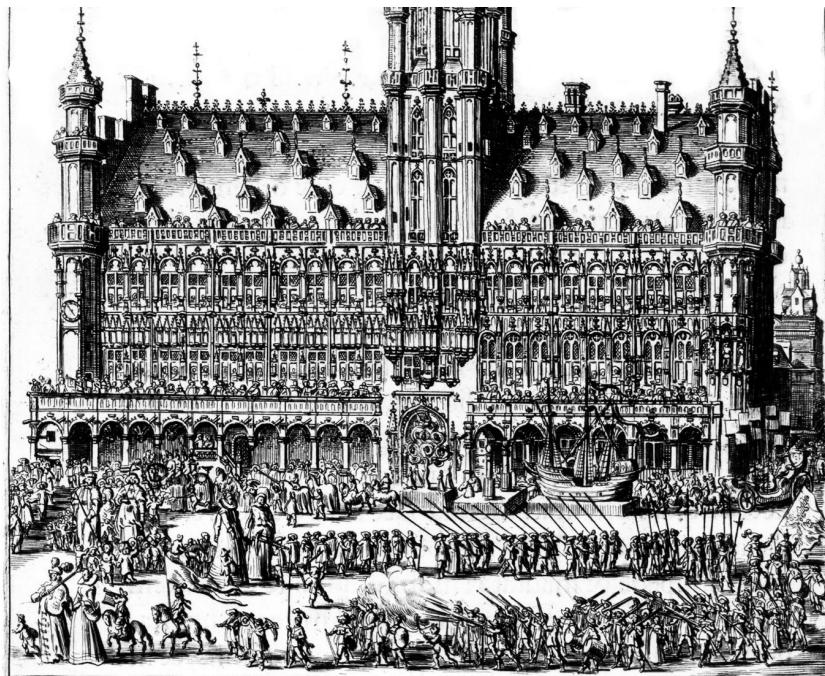
FIG 41: Erycus Puteanus *Brussels Ommegang 1644* (detail)]

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

MAIN SOURCES

I have only included works on Joyous and Triumphant Entries when these include floats from the *ommegangen*, or which later entered the *ommegangen*.

ANTWERP

Leo de Burbure (de Wesenbeeck) 'De Antwerpsche Ommegangen in de XIVe en Xve Eeuw' *Maatschappij der Antwerpsche Bibliophilen* 2 (Antwerp 1878): manuscripts from 1398, 1420/59, 1491, and undated.

Albrecht Dürer *Tagebuch der Reise in die Niederlande* (1520-1): printed by Hans Rupprich 'Die Beschreibungen Niederländischer Prozessionsspiele durch Albrech Dürer und Hieronymus Koler d.Ä.' *Maske und Kothurn* 1:2 (1955) 88-102.

Cornelius Grapheus Scribonius (Schrijver): *Spectaculorum in susceptione Philippi … Mirificvs Apparatvs* (Antwerp 1549) illustrated: there is also a Flemish and a French version.

Ordinantie van den Besnijdenis Ommeganck van desen tegenwoordeghen Jar. M.D. ende LIX (Antwerp, Hans de Laet, 1559).

Ordinancie, Inhoudende de Poincten vanden Helighen Besnijdenis Ommeganck der Stadt van Antwerpen, geschiet inden Iare M.D.LXI (Antwerp, Hans de Laet 1561) allegorical tableaux only.

Ordinancie, Inhoudende de Poincten vanden Heylighen Besnijdenis Ommeganck der Stadt van Antwerpen … M.D.LXII (Antwerp, Hand de Laet, 1562) allegorical waggons.

Ordinantie van de nieu Punten van onser Vrouwen Ommeghanck half Oogst, 1563 (Antwerp, Hans de Laet, 1563) new allegorical waggons only.

Ordinantie inhoudende die Oude en Nieuwe Poincten van onser Vrouwen Ommeganck, der Stadt van Antvverpen, geschiet inden Iare. 1564 (Antwerp, Hans de Laet, 1564) Biblical waggons as well as allegorical ones.

Nieuwe ende Poetijscje Inuentien figuerlijcken vvtgestelt tot den Ommegangck van der stadt van Antwerpen … 1564 (Antwerp, Hans de Laet, 1564): new waggons.

Ordonantie (sic) inhoudende de nieuw Poincten van den Ommeganck half Oogst Anno 1566 (Antwerp, Hans de Laet, 1566): see Floris Prims 'De Antwerpsche Ommeganck op den vooravond van de Beeldstormerij' *Mededeelingen van de Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schoone Kunsten van Belgie* Klasse der Letteren 8:5 (1946) 5-21.

Lodovico Guicciardini *Descrittione … di Tutti I Paesi Bassi* (Antwerp, Guglielmo Silvio, 1567).

Inventaris van alle de abyten ende ciraten die men in de twee groote ommeganghen jaerlijcx binnen deser stadt gehouden, gebesicht heeft, gheinventarieert den twelfden dach decembris, 1571 … typescript kindly supplied to me by Dr. Van Roey from an unpublished transcription of Ms. P.K. 2194, Oude Standhuis, Antwerp.

Michael Etzinger (Aitsingerus) *De Leone Belgico* 2 volumes (1583); history of the Netherlands, with royal entries: illustrations by Frans Hogenberg.

La Ioyeuse & magnifique Entrée de Monseigneur Francoys, Fils de France, et … Duc … d'Anjou … en sa tres-renommée ville d'Anvers (Antwerp, Christopher Plantin, 1582) illustrated by Abraham de Bruyn: edition by H.M.C. Purkis for *Renaissance Triumphs* 5 (Johnson Reprint Co. New York, s.d.) general editor Margaret McGowan.

Johannes Bochius *Descriptio Publicæ Gratulationis Spectaculorum et Ludorum in Adventu Serenissimi Principis Ernesti, Archidueis Austriæ Omnia a Ioanne Bochio S.P.Q.A. a secretis conscripta* (Antwerp, Plantin, 1595): illustrations by Pieter Van Der Borcht (Entry 1594): see also Bodleian MS Douce 387.

Johannes Bochius *Historica Narratio Profectionis et Inaugurationis Serenissimorum Belgii Principum Alberti et Isabellae, Austriae Archiducum …* (Antwerp, and Brussels, Plantin-Moretus, 1602): illustrated Van Der Borcht (1599).

C.L. Truyens-Bredael *Het kantwek van den Ommegang* (Antwerp 1941): illustrated description of the lace bedcover showing scenes from the *ommegang* probably presented to Albert and Isabella on their Entry into Antwerp in 1599.

Cort Verhael van t'Ghene is ghepresenteert ghevveest in den Ommeganck die men tot Antvverpen ghehouden heeft op den xiiij. Iunij Anno 1609 (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1609).

Verclaringhe ofte bedietsel vande verthooninghen die ghedaen sullen worden in den Ommegang diemen tot Antwerpen sal houden op den xvj. Augusti 1615 (Antwerp, Abraham Verhoeven, 1615).

Jan Gessler 'De Antwerpse Ommegang van 1619' *De Gulden Passer NS 13:4* (Antwerp, 1935) 123-5 quotes description by Pierre Bergeron, who visited Antwerp in 1619.

Caspar Gevaert and Pieter Rubens *Pompa Introitvs Honori Serenissimi Principis Ferdinandi Austriaci … a S.P.Q. Antverp. WV Kal. Maii MDCXXXV* (Antwerp, J. Meursius, 1635): Theod. A. Tulden engraved the illustrations from Rubens' drawings.

Jan Van Hilten *Den Triumphanten Omganck van Antwerpen* (Amsterdam, Jan van Hilten, 1648).

Christopher Van Essen *Antwerpsche Omme-gangh ofte Lvst-Trivmphe* (Antwerp, Jocab van Ghelen, 1649) woodcuts.

Jan Jegher(s) *Icy voeyez vovs la Triomphante procession d'Anvers. Fort cvrievsement Svivant levr prototype. Mis en lumiere par Iean Iæghers.* (Antwerp 1649) panoramic series of woodcuts.

Verbeldinghe van den Jaerlijckxschen Trivmphanten Ommeganck van Antwerpen (Antwerp Jacob Mesens, 1661): woodcuts.

Michel de Saint Martin *Relation d'Vn Voyage fait en Flandres … en l'An 1661* (Caen Marin Yvon, 1667): Antwerp, Brussels, Ghent.

Edward Browne *Nauwkeurige en Gedenkwaardige Reysen* (Amsterdam 1685): account by an English doctor of his travels, contains engraving by Jan Luyken (1649-1712) of the *ommegang*. This engraving also appears independently, undated, and reversed. A brief description of the *ommegang* appears in the 1696 edition (f 42).

Alexander Casteels (d. 1681) *De Ommegang op de Meir* Musée Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels. Appears to be a copy in oils of Bouttats (see below): the dating or attribution seems suspect, unless Bouttats is a copy of this.

Gaspar Bouttats *Verbeeldinghe vanden Triumphanten Jaerlycksen Ommeganck van Antwerpen … Ghemaeckt naer't door Gasper Bouttats …* (Antwerp, Hieronymus Verdussen 1685): broadsheet.

Alexander Van Bredael *De Ommegang op de Grote Markt*, *De Ommegang op der Meir* (1696 according to Wilenski 349): Musée des Beaux Arts, Lille; Museum van Rijsel.

Solemnelen ende Triumphante Antwerpschen Extraordinarischen Omme-ganck Verthooninghe der triumphwaghens nieuwe Cavalcade door de studenten vande Paters der Societeyt Jesu … 25 Maij 1698 (Antwerp, Hieronymus Verdussen 1698).

Daniel Papebrochius SJ (Papenbroeck) *Annales Antverpienses ab Urbe Condita ad Annum MDCC* (Antwerp, J.E. Buschmann 1845) 5 volumes: see 1698.

LOUVAIN

Edward Van Even *L'Ommegang de Louvain* (Louvain, Brussels 1863) lists all printed material and makes extensive quotations from manuscript archives. He also reproduces the text and drawings of the *ommegang* by William (Guilliam) Boonen made in 1594.

BRUSSELS

Alphonse Wauters *L'Ancien Ommeganck de Bruxelles* (Brussels, Briard 1848) cites archive material not easily available elsewhere, and prints the ordinance of 1547 as an appendix.

Juan Christoual Calvete de Estrella *El Felicissimo Viaie d'El Muy Alto y Muy Poderoso Principe Don Phelippe, Hijo d'El Emperador Don Carlos Quinto Maximo …* (Antwerp, Martin Nucio 1552): tour by Philip in 1549.

Jan De Pottre *Dagboek* (1549-1620) *Maatschappij der Vlaamsche Bibliophilen* 3:5 (Ghent 1861).

Hieronymus Cock *La Magnifica e Suntuosa Pompa Funerale* (Antwerp, Plantin 1559): funeral nef of Charles V.

Denis Van Alsloot *The Triumph of Isabella* (1615): painting in the Victoria and Albert Museum: described by James Laver *Isabella's Triumph* (Faber 1947): the fullest account is by Fr. V. Baesten SJ 'L'Ommeganck de Bruxelles en 1615 d'apres les Tableaux de Denis van Alsloot' *Précis Historiques* (Brussels 1889): see also Leo Van Puyvelde 'De Ommegang te Brussel in 1615 naar de schilderijen van Denijs van Alsloot' *De Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde* nr. 1-2 (Ghent 1958).

Adriaan de Meerbeeck *Theatre Fvnebre Ou sont representees les funerailles de plusieurs Princes et la vie, trespass, & magnifique obseques de Albert le pie* (Brussels, Ferdinand do Hoy-maecker 1622).

Erycus Puteanus *Pompa Funebris … Principis Alberti Pii … veris imaginibus expressa a Iacobo Francquart* (Brussels, J. Mommartius 1623) quadrilingual.

Bruxella Incomparabile exemplo Septenario (Brussels, J. Mommartius 1644): engraving of the Town Hall and *ommegang* 124.

Michel de Saint Martin *Relation d'Vn Voyage fair en Flandres … en l'An 1661* (Caen Marin Yvon 1667).

Jacques Stroobant *Brusselsche Eer-triumphen* (Brussels, Peeter de Dobbeleer, 1670).

Cort Verhael van de Feeste van get Hondert jarigh Jubilé over de herstellinghe van het Alder-heylighste Sacrament van Mirakel … (Brussels, Peeter de Dobbeleer 1685).

Vier-hondert-jarigh Jubilé over de Memorable Victorie van Woeringhen … (Brussels, Martinus van Bossuyt 1688).

Vier-hondert-Iarighen Iubilé van den Brusselschen Ommegangh … (Brussels, Jacob vande Velde 1688).

Brusselschen Ommegangh ofte Des self Vrueghden-feest (Brussels, Jodocus de Grieck 1688).

Afbeeldinghe Van den Solemnelen ende seer Triumphanten Brusselschen Ommeganck … (Brussels, Martinus van Bossuyt 1698).

Cavalcade ende Triumph-Waghen … door de Jonckheyt der Scholen Van de Paters der Societeyt Jesu … (Brussels, Martinus van Bossuyt 1698).

NOTES

1. Anthony Munday *Chrysanaleia; or the Golden Fishing* (1616) edited by J.G. Nicholls, printed 1844 for the Worshipful Company of Fishmongers, with facsimile coloured illustrations.
2. I must apologise to our Belgian colleagues for my very English use of terminology. I use 'Flemish' for the language and culture of the Germanic-speaking people of the South Netherlands, which roughly corresponds with present-day Belgium. Names of cities I give in the form in which they are most commonly known to the English: thus *Antwerp*, *Brussels*, *Louvain* – this last partly because it is the form used by Kernodle in his article (see n. 4).
3. See Van Alsloot under *Sources*.
4. George R. Kernodle 'The Medieval Pageant Waggons of Louvain' *Theatre Annual* 1 (1943) 58-62; see Van Even under *Sources*.
5. Guicciardini 69-70.
6. *Kort Verhael … van het Seven Hondert, en Vijftig-Jaerig Jubilé van Het Mirakeleus Beeld des Alder-heyligste Maegd … MARIA … binnen Mechelen den 17. en 24 August 1738* (Brussels, J. Lambertus Marchant, 1738); Victor Vervloet *Album du Jubile de 875 Ans de l'Honneur de Notre Dame d'Hanswyk* … (Mechelen 1863). The *ommegang* of St. Rumoldus (*Rombout*) seems to have been in early July (his saint's day is June 24th).
7. Van Even 13.
8. Calvete de Estrella 74R. In 1549, which Don Christobal describes, this fell on June 2nd: in 1615, on May 31st–Baesten 13 n. 1. The Ghent *ommegang* in honour of the Holy and Miraculous Blood was on the octave of Corpus Christi, but it was only established in 1584 – *Boecxken vanden oorspronck … den Ghendtschen Ommeganck* (Ghent Maximilien Graet 1698). The Bruges Procession of the Holy Blood is now (as a revival) held on Ascension Day; earlier it was on May 3rd–*Album Descriptif des Fêtes et Cérémonies Réligieuses à l'Occasion du Jubilé de 700 Ans du Saint Sang, par l'Abbé C.C.* … (Bruges 1850) 20. This is the Feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross.
9. Baesten 107, 110.
10. Louvain: Van Even 26 (1394); Brussels: Baesten 97-8 (the Dukes of Brabant rode in cavalcade); Aalst: Baesten 104-5 (costumed figures presenting the Apostles, etc.: the first cars did not appear till 1424); Antwerp: De Burbure xi n.1.
11. Antwerp: De Burbure ix, 1; Louvain: Van Even 26; Mechelen: Baesten 104; Brussels: Baesten 106.
12. Louvain: Van Even records a slimming-down to 16 floats and fantastic animals by 1502. Antwerp is harder to estimate: not all the floats went out at once.
13. *Dieser umbgang von anfang bis ans end, ehe er für unser hauss gieng, wehret mehr dann zwo stunde* Rupprich 90.
14. JoAnna Dutka 'Mystery Plays at Norwich: Their Formation and Development' *Leeds Studies in English* NS 10 (1978) 108.
15. It is difficult to tell precisely why this happened. In Antwerp, the Feast of Corpus Christi, which had been the third occasion in which the *ommegang* was held, was deliberately turned

back to a purely religious procession by an ordinance of June 11th 1544: Leon Voet *Antwerp: the Golden Age* (Antwerp, Mercatorfonds, 1973) 452.

16. Guicciardini 70.
17. *Ordinantie 1564*. The Ship: dimensions from Bochius *Ernest* 121: the young sailors: Van Hilten (1648).
18. Calvete de Estrella 74ᵛ-77ʳ (the pagination jumps from 74ᵛ-77ʳ).
19. York: Alexandra Johnston and Margaret Rogerson editors *Records of Early English Drama 1: York* (Toronto/Manchester 1979) 142, 145, 149; Coventry: Reg Ingram *Medieval English Theatre* 2i 9-10. See also Wauters 11 for Brussels entertainments.
20. Calvete de Estrella 245ᵛ-246ʳ *meneaua la cabeça algunas vezes … mouia los ojos de tal fuerte, que ponia espanto al que le miraua*: Grapheus L4ᵛ *nutat non-numquam capite, grandesque oculos mouet, aliquo scilicet ad intrinsecus agente*.
21. De Meerbeeck description, 59-78; given to the city, 260.
22. *Afbeeldinghe* 1698. Its popularity can be measured by the fact that the diarist Jan de Pottre mentions it particularly as one of the features of the depleted *ommegang* of 1585: *ende het scheept ende Plus oultre* (the Ship, and the Pillars of Hercules bearing the device of Charles V *Ne plus ultra*) the pillars are in fact set on a separate waggon, as can be seen from the engraving in Puteanus *Septenario* 124 (Fig. 41).
23. Pieter Geyl *The Revolt of the Netherlands* 1555-1609 (London, Ernest Benn 1958); Geoffrey Parker *The Dutch Revolt* (Pelican 1979).
24. Calvete de Estrella lists *The Conception, Birth and Infancy of the BVM* (a symbolic scene), the *Holy Kinship* (a *Jesse Tree* pattern), the *Presentation of the BVM in the Temple*, the *Annunciation*, the *Nativity*, the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, the *Circumcision*, the *Three Kings*, the *Purification*, the *Resurrection*, the *Pentecost*, and the *Assumption*. Of these, only the *Jesse Tree*, the *Annunciation*, and the *Shepherds* appear in Van Alsloot, who, however, also shows *Christ and the Doctors* (the Fourth Joy), which Calvete de Estrella does not mention.

   Wauters says *dans le jours de deuil, dans les années de calamite, toute cette splendeur disparaissait; on la renvoyait à des temps meilleurs* (13). He then traces the pattern of depletion and renewal from 1539 to 1585 through brief mentions in chronicles and diaries like that of De Pottre (13-15). Louis Hymans *Bruxelles à travers les Ages* (Brussels 1882-9, 3 volumes) 186 says *L'Ommegangh perdit beaucoup de son éclat pendant les troubles religieux*. It was, he says, revived after the submission to Parma (1585), and recovered all its old splendour under Albert and Isabella, but *Les cavalcades du XVIIe siècle, quoique très belles, d'avaient rien de commun avec l'ancien Ommegangh du Sablon*. However, though it is true that in the accounts of the *ommegangen* of the 1580s and 1590s, the only 'old' features seem to be the patron saints, the giants, the fantastic animals (who have proliferated) and the *nef*, by 1615 the religious cars have returned, though there are fewer of them. Baesten 110 suggests that not all the waggons would be rolled out in any one year because of repairs and so forth: he gives no evidence for this, but it sounds quite plausible.
25. Baesten 119-23 defends his Society against the charge that their addiction to classical mythology and high-flown allegory alienated the common people.
26. E.G. Antwerp *Cort Verhael* 1609, *Verclaringhe* 1615, Van Hilten 1648 which explains the subjects of the waggons as if to a small child, Van Essen 1649, Kan Jeghers 1649, *Verbeldinghe* 1661, Bouttats 1685.
27. E.g. the Entries of the *Duke of Anjou* 1582, Bochius *Ernest* 1595 and *Albert and Isabella* 1599, published 1602.
28. Laver 3-4. The companion piece has been cut in two.
29. Baesten 10-18: illustrations Hymans *Bruxelles* 181, 185.

30. As in e.g. *Anjou* 1582, Bochius *Ernest* 1595 and *Albert and Isabella* 1599: occasionally the odd spectator is put in for scale, but even so there is a tendency to reduce the height of the base of the waggons, as the artist is only interested in the superstructure.

31. Alan H. Nelson 'Easter Week Pageants in Valladolid and Medina del Campo' *METh* 1:2 (1979) 62-70.

32. Sheila Williams 'De Antwerpse Ommegang en de 'Lord Mayor's Show' te London' *Tijdschrift der Stadt Antwerpen* 2 Juli 1958; 'Les Ommegangs d'Anvers et les Cortèges du Lord-Maire de Londres' in *Fêtes et Cérémonies au Temps du Charles Quint, Les Fêtes de la Renaissance* 2, edited by Jean Jacquot (Paris, CNRS, 1960) 343-57.

33. Norwich: Norman Davis *Non-Cycle Plays and Fragments* EETS SS 1 (1970) xxxv; Antwerp *Ordinantie 1564* see *Sources*.

34. *Cort Verhael 1609*.

35. Jeghers (1646).

36. Antwerp: De Burbure 3, 4; Louvain, Van Even 28.

37. Browne (translated Jacob Leeuwe Dirkx) 1696 edition: the spiritual orders produce scenes from *de passie van Christus, den Hemel / de Hel / of eenige andere dingen / waar toe een groote tobloed van menschen komt / welcke dit siende alle op de knyen moeten nedervallen.*

38. The earliest illustrations are the panels of the lace bedspread (Truyens-Bredael) of 1599, which show the *Annunciation* and the *Three Kings*.

39. The *Ordinantie* of 1559 is the earliest.

40. Van Even 33.

41. Calvete de Estrella 77^v-78^r.

42. *Description du Jubilé de Sept Cent Ans de S. Macaire, Patron particulier contre la Peste, qui fera célébré dans la Ville de Grand … 30 Mai-15 Juin 1767* (Ghent, Jean Meyer, 1767) fig. 3.

43. The standard work is still D'Essling & Muntz *Petrarque, ses etudes d'art son influence …* (Paris, Gazette des beaux-arts, 1902). For a modern summary, see D.C. Carnicelli *Lord Morley's Tryumphes of Fraunces Petrarcke* (Harvard UP 1971) 38-46.

44. See e.g. Margaret Freeman *The Unicorn Tapestries* (New York, Dutton, 1976) Figs. 66, 68; Jean Seznec *The Survival of the Pagan Gods* (Bollingen Series 38, New York, 1953) Fig. 89 (a sea-borne version); the curious plinth-like chariots of the planets in the astrological works printed by Erhard Ratdolt in Augsburg and Venice, and of the planets of Nicola d'Antonio degli Agli (illustrations unfortunately most accessible in S. Klossowski De Rola *Alchemy* (London, Thames and Hudson, 1973) Figs. 31-4. See also my note 67. The *trionfo* chariots in the Flemish tapestries of c. 1520 in the Victoria and Albert Museum and Hampton Court (Carnicelli Figs. 7-10: H.C. Marillier *The Tapestries at Hampton Court Palace* HMSO 1962, 19-23), and in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam (A.M.L. Erkelens *Wandtapijten 1*, Rijksmuseum, 1962 28-33) are still basically of this type, and Gordon Kipling informs me that the ship-type of chariot took some time to come North across the Alps.

45. Gordon Kipling *The Triumph of Honour* (Leiden UP 1977).

46. *York Mercers and Merchant Adventurers* edited by Maud Sellers, *Surtees Society* 129 (1918 for 1917) 65. The chief mart town was Antwerp, Sellers xxxvi-xlii.

47. Georges Doutrepont and Omer Jodogne *Chroniques de Jean Molinet (1488-1506)* Academie Royale de Belgique (Brussels 1935) volume 2, 394.

48. Doutrepont & Jodogne volume 2 398.

49. Grapheus L^r-L3^v.

50. Sellers *York Mercers* 140-3.

51. Sellers *York Mercers* 151-2.

52. Johnston & Dorrell *REED York* 652 (1513-14), 654 (1550, 1551).

53. Davis *Non-Cycle Plays* xxxv. In Brussels, they were called *huysken* ('little houses') Wauters 13-14.

54. Rogers *Breviary* Cheshire Record Office MS DCC 19 version, quoted by John Marshall 'The Chester Pageant Carriage' *METh* 1:2 (1979) 54. All versions of the *Breviary* were of course written while the Flemish waggons were still in use.

55. The waggons are grouped together at the end as 'large pieces' (*groote stucken*).

56. Van Even 17-18.

57. *Inventory* 1570, De Burbure x. In Brussels they were stored *dans un magasin situé près de l'église du Sablon … qui se nommait la Grange aux Géans, de Reuse Schure … fut rebati en 1591 (et) était loué par la ville à l'église, moyennant 300 florins du Rhin* Wauters 8.

58. *York Mystery Plays* edited by Toulmin Smith (1885) 112: The Tilethatchers' Pageant of the *Nativity* l.18.

59. *Records of Early English Drama: Chester* edited by Lawrence M. Clopper (Toronto/Manchester 1979) 50 (1550), 78 (1567).

60. Van Even 29 and n.6.

61. The Louvain dragon vomited flames and fireworks (Van Even 30 and n.3, 10); so did the Brussels dragon and St. Michael's devil. (Calvete de Estrella 77ʳ, 77ᵛ). The Antwerp *Whale* spouted water, *Parnassus* had real fountains, and *Hell* fireworks (e.g. Bouttats). The *Giants* rolled their eyes, moved their heads, etcetera.

62. Calvete de Estrella 78ʳ.

63. Van Even 30.

64. Johnston & Dorrell *REED York* 142, 145, 149.

65. Peter Meredith 'The Development of the York Mercers' Pageant Waggon' *METh* 1:1 (1979) 10-14 invents a not dissimilar reconstruction in three dimensions.

66. Calvete de Estrella 77ᵛ.

67. Munday *Chrysanaleia* Fig. 5: most of his floats are open-topped, mounted on cube-shaped bases hung with painted cloths to represent the sea.

68. The title often seems to go with the Pageant Mastership of the *ommegang*. In Antwerp in 1398, Andries De Cuypere, *pyngerere, die den ornamente maecte ende pyngerde ende bewaerde how dat zy gaen ende riden souden* ('painter, who made and painted the decorations, and ruled how they were to go and ride') had 21 shillings for his pains (De Burbure x); a century later, in 1494, Hendrik Scillemans was to come *met synen boeck, ende set inne de mechende, ende die personagien vervolghende* ('with his book, and position the Maiden and the personages who follow') De Burbure 10. The 'book' sounds like the official procession book, like Roger Burton's pageant list. In Louvain, there seems to have been a continuous succession of Pageant Masters, all professional painters or sculptors, from 1398 to 1681. They designed and made new waggons and repaired and painted the old (Van Even 26-54). The city ordered a new pageant book in 1505: there were also two *Registers* (Van Even 35).

69. See especially George L. Hersey *The Aragonese Arch at Naples* (Yale Publications in the History of Art 24 (Yale UP 1973) 13-16 and 63-4, Figs. 8 and 9. The 1443 Entry of Alfonso of Aragon into Naples took place on a 'great chariot, extremely magnificent, with four wheels, with a great construction (*bastiment*) above the said wheels made in the manner of catafalque', horse-drawn: in the illustrations it appears as the chair-set-on-a-cube type of early triumph car. Over him was borne 'a very rich canopy of gold brocade, held up by twelve staffs': though the staffs are borne by attendants, the general effect is precisely that of our house-on-a-cart waggons. See also the triumph car of the Queen of Sheba in Maso Finiguerra *A Florentine Picture Chronicle* edited by Sidney Colvin (Blom, New York, 1970 reprint of 1898 edition) Fig. 13 and *The Triumph of Julius Caesar* tapestry, M. Freeman *The Unicorn Tapestries* (New York, Metropolitan Museum, 1976) Fig. 267.

70. Kipling 76, 77, 111-5.

71. See e.g. D. Bouvy *Beeldhowwkunst* (Bussum 1966) Figs. 25, 42. The figure of Mary is often smaller than or subordinate to St. Anne: but in paintings, such as the famous *Altarpiece* of the Cologne *Master of the Holy Kindred* (National Gallery Catalogue, *Late Gothic Art from Cologne*, London 1977, 62-5), and the painting of the *Holy Kindred* by Quentin Massys (R.H. Wilenski *Flemish Painters* 2 (Faber 1960) PL 207) they sit side by side as equals. The motif was also copied in early sixteenth century Brussels tapestry: see *Tapisseries bruxelloises de la Pré-Renaissance* (Exhibition catalogue, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels, 1976) 55-57.

72. M. Corti & G.T. Faggin *L'opera completa di Memling* (Milan, Rizzoli, 1969) PL 12-13.

73. Van Even 31 n.2. It seems highly likely that, as he suggests (30 n. 11) the Kings are also real children, though in the engraving they are shown only as busts.

74. Calvete de Estrella 77^r, 77^v.

75. Ingram 'Coventry Pageant Waggon' *METh* 2:1 9. See, for other English versions of the Tree, G. Wickham *Early English Stages* 1 43-44 (in tourneys), 72 (a *Jesse Tree*), 244, and PL XVI Fig. 22 (pageant stage for Queen Claude, Paris 1517): also Kipling 118-21.

76. Wickham 44, 70, 91, 167, 170, 209, 220, 224-6 and PL XII Nos 16, 17. Kipling 97-9, 104, 109-10, 127.

77. Clopper *REED Chester* 32.

78. Bouttats.

79. *400-jarigh Jubilé* (van Bossuyt, 16; vande Velde, 3).

80. De Meerbeeck 77. In the tourney to celebrate the marriage of Prince Arthur one of the jousters entered in a ship with its 'nether parts … hanged with painted cloth coloured like to water' Kipling 123; see also 104, 122, 128-9, 132; and Wickham 44, 54, 92, 167, 201-2, 209, 213-6, 221, 223-4, 394, 396, 398.

81. *Cort Verhael* 1609.

82. Van Essen picture, quotation *Inventory*.

83. Jegher: Fig. 32 is the clearer copy by F.W. Fairholt *Lord Mayor's Pageants* (1843) xxx.

84. Richard Hosley 'Three Kinds of Outdoor Theatre before Shakespeare' *Theatre Survey* 12 (1971) 1-33, 17.

85. *The Solemn Mock Procession of the POPE Cardinalls Jesuits Fryers etc: through the City of London November the 17th 1680*: broadsheets. I am grateful to Gordon Kipling for drawing my attention to this picture.

   The funeral *nef* of Charles V was admired for its mysterious motion: *dit Schip wordt met gheen Peerden ghetrocken, aan ghedreven, ende keert hem so vlitich, als een Schip op het water* (*400-jarigh Jubilé*, van Bossuyt (1688) 18) ('this ship was not horsedrawn, but swept on and manoeuvred as cleanly as a ship on the water'). See also n.80. The pageant ship at the wedding celebrations of Prince Arthur and Katharine of Aragon in 1501 was 'sett upon whelys, without any leders in sight, in right goodly apparel … as though it hade been saylyng in the see' Wickham 209: *leders* surely means 'porters'?

86. Bouttats. In Brussels in 1682, a payment is made *aux individus qui ont dirigé le vaisseau* (Wauters 18).

87. Laver 8 PL 4.

88. Van Even 30 n.7. They were carried by two men each, and ridden by a child (64).

89. Rupprich 90.

90. Van Even 27.

91. Dublin: E.K. Chambers *The Medieval Stage* 2 (OUP 1903) 364 'for the body of the camel, and Our Lady and her chil(d)e well aperelid, with Joseph to lede the camel … and the Portors to berr the camell'. Chester: Clopper Reed Chester 72; the Midsummer Show had 'ffoure Ieans (giants), won vnicorne won drombandarye, won Luce, won Camell, won Asse, won dragon, sixe hobby horses & sixteen naked boyes': 'the Vnicorne the Antilop the fflowerdeluce &

Camell' were each borne by two men (481). R.M. Lumiansky & David Mills *The Chester Mystery Plays* EETS SS3 (1974): the Magi forsake their horses (158) for *dromodaryes* (160), and the stage direction is *Then goe downe to the beastes and ryde abowte* (161). Presumably the camels would not stand up to adult riders for the whole Watch, but the porters could last out for this short excursion in the play.

92. Bochius *Ernest* (1584) Giant 108, Ship 120, Whale 122: *Albert and Isabella* (1599) Neptune's Chariot 283. Purkis *Anjou* (1582) illustrates a great 'seahorse' - it looks more like a seadog! – which is said to be 20 foot tall (34).

93. Hosley 18-20.

94. *Documents relating to the Office of the Revels in the time of Queen Elizabeth* edited by Albert Feuillerat *Materialen zur Kunde des älteren Englische Dramas* edited by W. Bang 21 (Louvain 1908, Kraus reprint 1968) 157-8, 160, 162.

95. L.J. Morissey 'English Pageant Waggon' *Eighteenth Century Studies* 9 (1975-6) 353-74. He points out the extreme difficulty even a 12' by 20' waggon would have getting through the then streets of London. Dimensions, 368.

96. Calvete de Estrella 77[v].

97. Gessler 125.

98. *Het Antwerpse Landjuweel van 1561* edited by C. Kruyskamp (Antwerp 1962) xx.

99. Gevaert & Rubens 9. With hindsight, one can see the same of the Bochius *Albert and Isabella* (1599) Maid of Antwerp (185). Morissey makes the same point about the London Lord Mayor's Show pageant casts (364-7).

100. E.g. the funeral car of Albert (Puteanus *Pompa Funebris* 1622) which had a colossal figure of Liberality, 12' tall, which shook its right arm: it was accompanied by Virtues, who were boys (XLVII). The *Triumph Car of Calloo* designed by Rubens (Gevaert & Rubens, 1635, Fig. 43) which still exists, seems, from its surviving state, to have mixed carved figures with humans.

101. The Louvain *Christ on the Cross* of 1437 was a living person (Van Even 28). One of the first Louvain waggons was *The Martyrdom of St. Peter*, and St. Peter was played by a live actor: can he really have been bound to the Cross upside-down, as the story would require? (Van Even 26 and n.7).

102. See note 99.

103. Van Even 15. For the Antwerp Chambers, see Leon Voet *Antwerp: The Golden Age* (Antwerp, Mercatorfonds 1973) 417-8. In general, see Albert Heppner 'The Popular Theatre of the Rederijkers in the Work of Jan Steen and his Contemporaries' *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 3 (1939-40) 22-48: Pierre Brachin 'La Fête de Rhétorique de Gand (1539)' *Fêtes et Cérémonies au Temps de Charles Quint* 255-79. In Brussels, a play of one of the *Seven Joys of the BVM* was performed on a stage set up in the Grand'Place, one Joy per year until all were run through, and then going back to the beginning again (Wauters 10-11, 25). It has been suggested that the surviving plays on the First and Seventh Joys are two of these: see *Die Eerste Bliscap van Maria & Die Sevenste Bliscap van Onser Vrouwen*, edited by W.H. Beuken (Culemborg, Tjeenk Willink-Noordiujn, 1978) 10-18.

104. Calvete de Estrella 77[v].

105. Van Hilten 1648 (Antwerp).

106. *Cort Verhael* 1609.

107. Van Hilten 1648.

108. Van Even 28 n.10.

109. Calvete de Estrella 77[v].

110. No one particular painting suggests itself to me, but the general iconography is that of the late fifteen or early sixteenth century Flemish school. The Brussels *Annunciation* seems to be copying a painting in the tradition of Roger Van Der Weyden (possibly the *St. Columba Altarpiece*

from Cologne?): see E.Panofsky *Early Netherlandish Painting* (Harvard UP, 1953, reprint New York, Icon, 1971) 2, PL 214. Van Der Weyden introduced the bed in the Annunciation scene, with its looped-up curtain (Panofsky 1 254); previously it was glimpsed in the background in another room. The motif remains a Netherlandish one, copied by Memling (Corti, PL XII and XVI, also Fig. 17[A]), Petrus Christus (Panofsky PL 256 – but here the bed is green), and the German Dürer *De Houtsneden van Albrecht Dürer 1471-1528* (Foresta, Groningen, s.d.) PL 111 (1501) and 148 (1511). It also appears in popular woodcuts, as for example in the *Biblia Pauperum*. The baldacchino of the Antwerp *Annunciation* waggon is common as a distinguishing feature of the BVM as for other dignitaries in late fifteenth century Netherlandish and German art: for a similar version of the Annunciation, see H. Wofflin *The Art of Albrecht Dürer* (New York, Phaidon 1971) PL 109 (1526). I have not managed to find a *Nativity* with the motif, common to all three *ommegangen*, of Joseph busy to his carpentry: the nearest are the *Joseph's Trouble* scene in the Master of Mary of Burgundy's *Book of Hours for Engelbert of Nassau* edited by J.G. Alexander (London, Phaidon, 1970) fol 153[r], and Dürer's *Flight into Egypt*, *Houtsneden* 118.

111.   Panofsky 254, 287: Gertrud Schiller *Iconography of Christian Art* 1 (London, Lund Humphries, 1971: translated by Janet Seligman) 50-51.

112. See Wilensky 2, PL 514: Sallaert's *Procession of the Maidens dowered by the Infanta Isabella*, commissioned at the same time as Van Alsloot's *Triumph*.

113. Van Even 31 and n.11: cp. the Norwich Adam and Even, who wore *cotes* and *hosen* (Davis *Non-Cycle Plays*, xxxv).

114. Nelson 'Easter Week Pageants in Valladolid and Medina del Campo' *METh* 1:2 69.

115. Davis *Non-Cycle Plays* xxxv.

PETER HAPPÉ   **BARTON PEVERIL COLLEGE**

MYSTERY PLAYS AND THE MODERN AUDIENCE

At a time when there are more and more productions of mystery plays, it seems pertinent to ask what directors are revealing about their attitudes to audiences. In some ways the rich variety of modern productions is to be welcomed, for we may through them gain a better insight into the nature of the medieval dramatic experience, but every director has to ask himself what is to be done about the modern attitudes and expectations which an audience brings. He may decide he wants to make them try to see the plays through medieval eyes, or, say, at the other extreme, he may want them to remain unassailably modern, and hope that the plays will speak to them.

Four recent productions offer various solutions to this. In each case, the director had to fit his work into a wider context relating to time and place, and to the circumstances of real life which were to contain the play. This must have been the case in medieval times when the mystery plays were performed in the streets of English cities, but that context is irrecoverable. The 'now' of the medieval city cannot be the 'now' of the modern medievalist, let alone that of the festival audience. It is inescapable that the drama must function in a contemporary context.

At York this year the director invented a pseudo-audience. There were about two hundred actors in medieval costume who were present through most of the action. On occasions they gathered in large numbers around the actors, and they reacted to the play as outsiders. They hissed Satan and warned Eve. Later they shared, or spread, the action by eating during the Last Supper, and as souls were conducted to heaven or hell by the angels. Whilst it was exciting to see so many people on the stage, their real function seemed to me ambivalent, and perhaps they prevented the development of any real relationship between us the real audience and the actors. The effect of their presence was to make us conscious that they were not the same as us, and to make it difficult to decide who they really were.

The Wakefield production, which moved in processional sequence through three fixed stages, pushed the mystery cycle into the context of a modern city shopping centre, most of it on a Saturday afternoon. There was no telling where the audience began or ended. We could come and go, and the action of the plays went on serenely under its own momentum. Although not tied to the performance – most of the audience had not paid – the itinerant spectators could not resist the fascination of the play world. The strangeness of medieval religious life was there for us to discover, and we could not avoid being intrigued. It was like passing the sideshows at a fair and being unable to ignore them. In short, it was a very compelling experience – and the comments of mothers to children, husbands to wives, skinheads to skinheads revealed that this was a genuine dramatic experience in a modern context, and one which gripped its audience. It should be said that the groups of players preserved their own identity on the stages and also during the processions between them, and that happened in spite of contact with individuals in the crowd. The audience became part of the dramatic experience without participating in the action.

The National Theatre production of the *Passion* was one of two examples of promenade theatre in which the audience has no fixed position and is free to move about between centres of action. There were stages at either end of the theatre, identifiable by raised platforms and levels. The audience were hardly admitted to these areas, which were used, for example, as the meeting place of Annas and Caiaphas at one end, and of the disciples at the Last Supper at the other. The audience were mostly collected in a large space between, which was big enough for some of them to dance in, and which

99

became an acting area as well. In this central area the audience could press the actors very close, and they were frequently moved about by the actors. This closeness gave immediacy and excitement, but its effectiveness was limited by an uncertainty about the role of the actors. This uncertainty was made visible in their costumes, for they were each dressed in a modern way – a miner's overalls, a faded suit and tie, blue jeans and t-shirt. We were not allowed to forget this identity because these assumed modern costumes were always visible under the more stagey medieval costumes which were put on top. So once again, as at York, the immediate impact of the world of the medieval play was blurred by an intermediary who was apparently meant to be us in part, but really acted as a barrier. One further technical difficulty which was not overcome was that the audience kept interrupting the acting because it could not make up its collective mind about whether it wanted to sit or stand.

At Coventry the promenade was confined within the walls of the ruined cathedral, and there was for most of us no opportunity to sit. We had no doubt who the actors were even when they moved among us and shouted their words, or danced upon the base of a pillar. We could touch them, and they could – and did – touch us. Yet the impact was powerful theatre, and moving in religious terms. Perhaps it was the absence of fuss – they were the actors, we were the audience – and we all knew it. Though their language was rather medieval, and their costumes 'historic' there was really no difference about our perception of them. They shared with us the wonder and the horror of the events they were enacting, and the paradox was that the division between actor and audience, so clearly preserved even at very close quarters, was in fact a link and not a separation. It seems better to bring the audience into the closest possible contact with the strangeness they are witnessing. For the modern audience this strangeness must be part of the experience of medieval theatre. At York, and at the National Theatre, it seemed that we were watching something which was a kind of trickery, and perhaps the directors were talking down to their audiences.

I merely want to add that these approaches to the audience were reflected in the texts as played, particularly in the selection of material. At Wakefield, all the cycle was performed, and each separate play had its own chance of setting up its own milieu and pace – and, even where the acting was barely competent, the effect could still be impressive because of the viability of the text. The true-Coventry plays similarly established their own dramatic rhythm, and episodes were linked together by consistent language and imagery – in fact the additions from other cycles seemed to me less effective. The York text was rather fragmented, since the main dramatic intent was to make the various incidents function as one single spectacular play. The National Theatre production worked well in some scenes, particularly those involving Judas (Jack Shepherd), but suffered from the same fragmentation of episodes. In these last two productions there was, I think, a fear of letting the plays speak for themselves.

The Coventry Mystery Plays, Old Coventry Cathedral, July-August 1969 (Director: Ed Thomason).
York Mystery Plays, St. Mary's Abbey, York, June 1980 (Patrick Garland).
The Wakefield Cycle, Wakefield Cathedral Precinct, June 1980 (Jane Oakshott).
The Passion, Cottesloe Theatres (NT), September-October 1980 (Bill Bryden and Sebastian Graham-Jones).

VOLUME 2 (1980): INDEX