

British Saint Play Records

The Saint Plays and Pageants of Medieval Britain

This compilation had its inception during the preparation of “The Middle English Saint Play and Its Iconography,” published in *The Saint Play in Medieval Europe, Early Drama, Art, and Music* Monograph Series 8 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1986), 31–122; see also the listing by John Wasson in the same volume (p. 259). It has not been possible here to include individual figures of saints in processions, though an inventory of these would also be desirable.

Bibliographic references in the list which follows have been kept to the essentials, and earlier works such as E. K. Chambers, *The Mediaeval Stage*, 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1903), have not been cited unless they provide information not readily available elsewhere. An asterisk preceding an entry indicates an extant text or fragment.

Abbreviations:

- Collections III* Jean Robertson and D. J. Gordon, eds. *A Calendar of Dramatic Records in the Books of the Livery Companies of London, 1485–1640*. Malone Society Collections 3. Oxford, 1954.
- Collections VII* Giles E. Dawson, ed. *Records of Plays and Players in Kent, 1450–1642*. Malone Society Collections 7. Oxford, 1965.
- Collections VIII* Stanley J. Kahrl, ed. *Records of Plays and Players in Lincolnshire, 1300–1585*. Malone Society Collections 8. Oxford, 1969 [1974].
- Collections XI* David Galloway and John Wasson, eds. *Records of Plays and Players in Norfolk and Suffolk, 1330–1642*. Malone Society Collections 11. Oxford, 1980–81.
- Digby Plays* Donald C. Baker, John L. Murphy, and Louis B. Hall, eds. *The Late Religious Plays of Bodleian MSS Digby 133 and E Museo 160*. EETS, 283. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982.
- Extracts* John Stuart, ed. *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1398–1570*. Spalding Club 12. Aberdeen, 1844.
- Fletcher* Alan J. Fletcher. *Drama, Performance, and Polity in Pre-Cromwellian Ireland*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.
- Gilbert, Dublin* J. T. Gilbert. *A History of the City of Dublin*. 4 vols. Dublin: J. Duffy, 1861.
- Illustrations* Clifford Davidson. *Illustrations of the Stage and Acting in England to 1580*. Early Drama, Art, and Music Monograph Series 16. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1991.

- Johnson** A. H. Johnson. *The History of the Worshipful Company of the Drapers of London*. 5 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914–22.
- Kipling, *Receyt*** Gordon Kipling, ed. *The Receyt of the Ladie Kateryne*. EETS, 296. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- L** Ian Lancaster. *Dramatic Texts and Records of Britain: A Chronological Topography to 1558*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984.
- Leland, *Collectanea*** John Leland. *Collectanea*. 6 vols. London, 1770.
- Machyn** Henry Machyn. *The Diary*, ed. John Gough Nichols. Camden Society 42. London, 1848.
- Mepham, “Plays”** W. A. Mepham. “Mediaeval Plays in the 16th Century at Heybridge and Braintree,” *Essex Review* 55 (1946): 8–18.
- Mill, “Perth”** Anna J. Mill. “The Perth Hammermen’s Play: A Scottish Garden of Eden,” *Scottish Historical Review* 49 (1970): 146–53.
- Mill, *Scotland*** Anna J. Mill. *Mediaeval Plays in Scotland*. 1927; reprint New York and London: Benjamin Blom, 1969.
- Morant** Philip Morant. *History and Antiquities of the County of Essex*. 2 vols. London, 1767.
- Nelson** Alan H. Nelson. *The Medieval English Stage*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974.
- Non-Cycle Plays*** Norman Davis, ed. *Non-cycle Plays and Fragments*. EETS, s.s. 1. London: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- REED: Bristol*** Mark C. Pilkinton, ed. *Records of Early English Drama: Bristol*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997.
- REED: Chester*** Lawrence Clopper, ed. *Records of Early English Drama: Chester*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979.
- REED: Cornwall*** Rosalind Conklin Hayes, C. E. McGee, Sally L. Joyce, and Evelyn Newlyn, eds. *Dorset, Cornwall*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999.
- REED: Coventry*** R. W. Ingram, ed. *Records of Early English Drama: Coventry*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981.
- REED: CWG*** Audrey Douglas and Peter Greenfield, eds. *Records of Early English Drama: Cumberland, Westmorland, Gloucestershire*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986.
- REED: HereWor*** David Klausner, ed. *Records of Early English Drama: Hereford and Worcestershire*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990.

- REED: Norwich II* David Galloway, ed. *Norwich, 1540–1642*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984.
- REED: Shropshire* J. Alan B. Somerset, ed. *Records of Early English Drama: Shropshire*. 2 vols. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994.
- REED: Somerset* James Stokes and Robert J. Alexander, eds. *Records of Early English Drama: Somerset and Bath*. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1996.
- REED: York* Alexandra F. Johnson and Margaret Rogerson, eds. *Records of Early English Drama: York*. 2 vols. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979.
- RORD* *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama*.
- Venice* Rawdon Brown and G. Cavendish-Bentinck. *Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts Relating to English Affairs, Existing in the Archives and Collections of Venice, and in Other Libraries in Northern Italy*. 7 vols. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1864–90.
- Wasson, "Ipswich" John Wasson, "Corpus Christi Play and Pageants at Ipswich," *RORD* 19 (1976): 99–108.
- Withington Robert Withington. *English Pageantry*. 2 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1918.

Agnes

1409 — Winchester. Derek Keene, *Survey of Winchester*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985); Jane Cowling, "A 15th-Century Saint Play in Winchester: Some Problems of Interpretation" (unpubl.; read at Leeds Medieval Congress, 1999).

Scripted "pleye of synt agnes," including roles of steward, tormentor, soldiers. Probably not played since Richard Syngere, who was to provide props and costumes, did not keep his part of the bargain. Four players then burglarized his house and took away the playtext ("originale Sancte Agnetis") and "pleyngcloþ" on 14 July 1409, two days before the play was to have been presented.

Andrew

1525 — Braintree, Essex. L 395; Morant, 2:399; Mephram, 14–16.

"There was a Play of St. Andrew acted in the Church the Sunday before Relique Sunday" (antiquarian copy of churchwardens' accounts). Receipts: £8 9s 6d; expenses: £4 9s 9d. In this year Relic Sunday was 28 November. Proceeds were used for repair and additions to the church; see *Illustrations*, 31–33, fig. 35.

1604 (15 March) — London. L 1136; Withington, 1:222–23; John Nichols, *The Progresses, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First*, 3 vols. (London: J. B. Nichols, 1828), 1: 337–99.

*Riding of St. George and St. Andrew, both armed knights, planned for the entry of James I on 15 March 1604. In the dialogue prepared, the saints were to be interrupted by Genius of City, who was to insist on the right to be the first to welcome the new king. Dekker, who had a major responsibility in the city's entertainment of the king on this occasion, wrote: "This should have been the first offering of the Cittie's love; and his Majestie not making his entrance according to

expectation, it was (not utterly throwne from the altar, but) layd by.” The riding illustrates the adapting and secularizing of saints as national patrons.

Blythe

1512 — London. L 969; *Collections III*, 2.
Pageant in Midsummer Show; Drapers’ accounts.

Catherine

1080–1120 — Dialogue. L 6; M. Dominica Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and Its Background* (1963), 311–12.

*Anglo-Norman life of St. Catherine, with dialogue (fragmentary) and hence possibly designed for mimed performance; mentioned by Legge, who notes that its discovery was reported in [E. C. Fawtier-Jones, “Les Vies de Sainte Catherine d’Alexandrie en Ancien Française”], *Romania* 56 [1930]: 80–104 [Not seen].

c.1100–19 — Dunstable, Bedfordshire. L 616; *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani a Thoma Walsingham*, ed. H. T. Riley, 3 vols., Rolls Series 28 (1867-69), 1:73; C. B. C. Thomas, “The Miracle Play at Dunstable,” *Modern Language Notes* 32 (1917): 337–44.

Geoffrey caused to be made “quemdam ludum de Sancta Katerina, — quem ‘Miracula’ vulgariter appellamus.” Geoffrey, who had borrowed choir copes from the sacristan at St. Albans, atoned for their loss by fire prior to the performance by entering the monastery. Possibly intended for playing before Henry I at nearby Kingsbury Regis.

1393 — London. L 908; *A Chronicle of London, from 1089 to 1483*, ed. Edward Tyrell and Nicholas H. Nicolas (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1827), 80.

“In this yere was the pley of seynt Katerine.”

1491 — Coventry. L 563; *REED: Coventry*, 74.

“A Play of St Katherine in the Little Parke” (Annals).

1501 — London. L 963; Kipling, *The Recept*, 12–15.

*Pageant of St. Catherine and St. Ursula on London Bridge for Katherine of Aragon; see also St. Ursula, below. St. Catherine was played by “a faire yonge lady with a wheel in hir hand . . . with right many virgyns in every side of her” placed in a loft. Angels censed the Trinity, which appeared above both the saints. St. Catherine’s speech introduces her as from one from “the Courte Celestiall” come to earth to welcome Lady Katherine.

1503–c.1548 — Hereford. L 768; *REED: HereWor*, 115–16.

Mayor’s List, reporting Journeymen Cappers’ pageant of “Seinte keterina with Tres Tormentors,” in Corpus Christi procession.

1525–26 — Shrewsbury. L 1391; *REED: Shropshire*, 1:183–84.

“Saynt Kateryn is play” in Bailiff’s accounts. A number of payments were made on the occasion of the play, including for a “lord of mysrule” which may or may not have been part of it. Expenses also include payments for wigs, beards, gold foil, six dozen bells, gunpowder, etc.

Christian

1505 — Coventry. L 567; *REED: Coventry*, 100, 128, 536.

City Annals report “the Play of St Christian in the Little Park.” At Whitsuntide. Verified by

Proof of Majority of Walter Smythe (1528) where it is called "Magnum ludum vocatum seynt christeans play."

Christina

1519–21 — Bethersden. L 374; *Churchwardens' Accounts at Betrysdon 1515–1573*, ed. Francis R. Mercer, Kent Record Soc. 5 (1928), 3–5, 78–80

Three-day play with playwardens, rehearsals, banns, deviser and his equipment, dressing chamber, stage, minstrels.

Christopher

1534 — London. L 969; *Collections III*, 21–23.

Drapers' pageant, with Christopher (Jesus on his shoulder) and hermit, in Midsummer Show. 1609 — Nidderdale. L 1210; C. J. Sisson, "Shakespeare Quartos as Prompt-Copies, with Some Account of Cholmeley's Players and a New Shakespeare Allusion," *Review of English Studies* 18 (1942): 137–43; G. W. Boddy, "Players of Interludes in North Yorkshire in the Early Seventeenth Century," *North Yorkshire County Record Office Journal* 3 (1976): 95–130; Christopher Howard, *Sir John Yorke of Nidderdale 1565–1634* (London: Sheed and Ward, 1939), 20–26; Hugh Aveling, *Northern Catholics: The Catholic Recusants of the North Riding of Yorkshire 1558–1790* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1966), 289.

During the Christmas season, Cholmeley's Men, a company of recusant players from Egton led by Christopher Simpson, a cordwainer, performed a play of St. Christopher from a printed book at Gowthwaite Hall. The play, now lost, dramatized the story of Reprobus, who served the Emperor until he discovered that the Emperor stood in fear of the devil, whereupon he took up service for the devil. But when he found that the devil stood in fear of the cross (in this case "a great yallow coloured crosse"), he was converted, did penance, and took on a new name, Christopher. For Catholic households the players added a scene of conflict between a Roman Catholic priest (in white displaying the yellow cross) and a Protestant clergyman (in black, with a Bible) in which the latter is ultimately carried off to hell by devils. At Gowthwaite Hall the audience was delighted at the scene. Other plays in the players' repertoire included *King Lear*, *Pericles*, and *The Three Shirleys*.

1609–10 — Masham, North Riding. L 1174; Boddy, "Players of Interludes in North Yorkshire," *North Yorkshire County Record Office Journal* 3 (1976): 107–08.

Performance, in winter, auspices of Sir Thomas Danby, of the same play reported at Gowthwaite Hall in the previous season. When the devil carried off the Protestant clergyman, "all the people greatlie laughed and rejoiced a long time together."

Clare

1455–56 — Lincoln. L 863; *Collections VIII*, 32.

Misc. Rolls I: "ludus de Sancta Clara."

Clement

1613 (20 August) — Wells. L 1484; *REED: Somerset*, 1:372.

Smiths' pageant of St. Clement riding "with his booke And his ffrier rode allsoe who dealt his

almes out of his Masters Bagge. . . .” Show for the Queen.

Crispin and Crispinianus

1528 — Dublin. L 1738; Gilbert, *Dublin*, 3:3–4; Fletcher, 136.

Shoemakers’ play dramatizing “the Story of Crispin, and Crispinianus” on Hoggen Green (later College Green), in Christmas season, for the Lord Deputy.

1613 (20 August) — Wells. L 1484; *REED: Somerset*, 1:372.

Cordwainers pageant, for the Queen. Probably a static tableau, but with the the addition of a morris dance presented by this company.

Cuthbert

1410–11 — Durham. J. T. Fowler, *Extracts from the Account Rolls of the Abbey of Durham*. 3 vols. Durham: Andrews, 1898– 1901. 1:138

Account rolls list payment of 6s 8d for “miraculum Sci. Cuthberti.”

Denys

1455 — York. L 1570; *REED: York*, 1:77, 88.

Robert Lasingby’s will of 1455 gives “ludum oreginale Sancti Dionisij” to the church of St. Denys for privilege of being buried in the church. In 1449 the City Chamberlains’ Books indicate payment of 4d for “ij ludentibus de parochia Sancti Dionisij,” but neither of these may have been connected with the manuscript noted in Lasingby’s will.

Dorothea

1620–24 — London. L 1144; *The Virgin Martyr*, in Thomas Dekker, *The Dramatic Works*, ed. Fredson Bowers, 4 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1953–61), 3:365– 463; G. E. Bentley, *The Jacobean and Caroline Stage*, 7 vols. (1941–68), 3:263–64.

*Stage play by Dekker and Philip Massinger, newly produced at the Red Bull by His Majesty’s Revels in 1620 after some apparent difficulty with censor, George Buc, who had insisted on “new reforming” and had charged a double fee; entered in Stationers’ Register on 7 December 1621 (STC 17644).

Edward the Confessor

1456 (14 September) — Coventry. L 557; *REED: Coventry*, 29–44.

*Pageant of Edward and St. John the Evangelist at the east end of Bablake Church for entry of Queen Margaret. Included a speech by each saint. Produced by John Wedurby of Leicester.

1474 (28 April) — Coventry. L 560; *REED: Coventry*, 53–55.

**Leet Book* describes pageant for entry of Prince Edward at Broadgate with ten estates and musicians; Edward made a speech of seven lines.

1547 (19 February) — London. L 1054; Withington, 1:185–87; Leland, *Collectanea*, 4:319.

*Pageant for procession of Edward VI prior to coronation. Edward the Confessor appeared on little conduit in Cheap, which had a tower at the top and waits playing. Edward, as an old man, enthroned with crown and scepter; before him a lion, “which moved his Head by vices.” St. George, below, on horseback.

Eligius (Eloy)

c.1400–1542 — Ipswich. L 790; *Collections XI*, 170–83; Wasson, “Ipswich,” 99–108.

Smiths’ pageant in Corpus Christi procession.

1485–1553 — Perth. L 1712; Mill, *Scotland*, 271–75, and Mill, “Perth,” 146–53.

Hammermens’ accounts for Corpus Christi in 1518 list payments to “playaris” for Adam and Eve, the devil, the devil’s chapman, “Sanct eloy,” etc. Mill believed that the reference denoted a play rather than mere pageantry. St. Eligius was the guild patron.

Erasmus

1485–c.1534 — Perth. L 1712; Mill, *Scotland*, 271–73; Mill, “Perth,” 146–47.

Payments by the Hammermen for players at Corpus Christi to “Sanct erasmus,” the “cord drawer,” “thre tormentouris” as well as for St. Elegius, Adam and Eve, the devil, etc. Also payments in 1520 for “sancterasmus cord” and in 1522 for “bluud.” Apparently St. Erasmus was dropped from the production in later years.

Ethelbert

1486 — Hereford. L 767; *REED: Here Wor*, 114–16.

Pageant for Henry VII.

Eustace

1534 — Braintree, Essex. L 396; Mephram, 14–16; Morant, 2: 399.

“There was a play of Placy Dacy als St. Ewe Stacy” (antiquarian copy of churchwardens’ accounts). Receipts: £14 17s 6½d; expenses: £6 13s 7½d. Fund raiser. Nicholas Udall would be appointed vicar at Braintree only in 1537, and hence should not be identified as the possible author.

Fabinus and Sabinus

1488–49 — Thame, Oxfordshire. L 1444; W. P. Ellis. “The Churchwardens’ Accounts of the Parish of St. Mary, Thame,” *Berks., Bucks., and Oxon. Archaeological Journal* 9 (1903–04): 53–54.

Expenses “when ye box of ye play of Fabine & Sabine was sett open on the morowe of the Apostles Peter & Paul” were 1d. Apparently shared expenses.

Feliciana and Sabina

1515–16 — Shrewsbury. L 1388; *REED: Shropshire*, 1:172, 2:591.

Bailiff’s accounts report expenses for “ludum & demonstracionem Martiriorum feliciane et Sabine martirum,” in dry quarry outside the city walls in Whitsun Week. Payment to the players (“lusoribus”) of 10s. Presented for the honor of the town.

Francis

c.1400 — *On the Minorite Friars*; Rossell Hope Robbins, ed., *Historical Poems of the XIVth and XVth Centuries* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 335.

Poem hostile to Franciscans in Cotton MS. Cleopatra B.ii, fol. 65^v. It is directed at either iconography illustrating the life of St. Francis or a play on this subject.

George

c.1400–1531 — Ipswich. L 790; Wasson, “Ipswich,” 99–108; *Collections XI*, 170–83.

Pageant in Corpus Christi Guild procession.

1408–1550 — Norwich. L 1223; *Records of the Gild of St. George in Norwich, 1389–1547*, ed. Mary Grace, Norfolk Record Society 9 (1937), 6–149; Benjamin Mackerell, “Account of the Company of St. George,” *Norfolk Archaeology* 3 (1852): 315–74; Withington, 1:23–29; Nelson, 121–22; *REED: Norwich II*, 4–30; *Illustrations*, 27–28, fig. 31.

Guild of St. George sponsored pageant and riding. In 1471 George was to ride in the “procession and make a conflicte with the dragon and kepe his astate” on two days. From 1534–35 Margaret and attendants, angels, and dragon (cf. Snap Dragon in Norwich Castle Museum) were included. A new line to the dragon purchased in 1545–46. Suppressed in 1550 and goods sold, but the dragon was retained. Accounts and Inventories list armor and sword for the George, garments, horse harnesses for George and the Lady, banners, books, and vestments.

1431 (April 23) — Chester. L 525; *REED: Chester*, 8.

Mayors List reports “in this yeare was St georges playes playd in chester.”

1456–1534 — Lydd, Kent. L 1162, 1164; *Collections VII*, 93, 124, 189, 199–200.

A “play of seint George” on 4 July 1456. The play was seen by the men of New Romney at Lydd in 1489–90. A new “pley boke” was produced by Mr. Gybson of London, in 1531–32 (he had been contacted as early as 1526–27); the play played for three days and also once more, apparently, before Mr. Gybson.

1461 — Bristol. L 405; *REED: Bristol*, 8; Withington, 1:151–52; *Political, Religious, and Love Poems*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, EETS, o.s. 15 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1903), 5.

Pageant for entry of Edward IV; St. George “on horsbakke,” king and queen “on hyghe in a castell,” daughter and lamb, dragon with which George battled, angels who provided “greet melody” at the slaying of the dragon.

1467–1532 — Leicester. Thomas North, *A Chronicle of the Church of S. Martin in Leicester during the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary and Elizabeth* (London and Leicester, 1866), 236–40, 244–45; reported by Sam Riches, “Ritual in Civic Saint Cults: The Riding of St George in Late Medieval England” (unpublished; read at Leeds Medieval Congress, 1999).

Civic records note Riding of St. George, which was theoretically to be presented annually.

1474 (28 April) — Coventry; *REED: Coventry*, 53–55.

*Description in *Leet Book* describes pageant for Prince Edward at Cross Cheaping with St.

George in arms, a dragon, “a kynges doughter knelyng a fore hym with a lambe and the fader & the moder beyng in a toure a boven” where they were watching the saint rescuing the daughter.

An organ played, wine ran from the conduit in four places, and St. George spoke a seven-line speech.

1482–83 — Thame, Oxfordshire. L 1443; W. P. Ellis, “The Churchwardens’ Accounts of the Parish of St. Mary, Thame,” *Berks., Bucks., and Oxon. Archaeological Journal* n.s. 20 (1914–15): 119.

Play of St. George, or church ale?

1486 — Hereford. L 767; *REED: Here Wor*, 114–15.

*Pageant presented for Henry VII upon his entrance through city gate; speech of George extant in which George promises to help king against his enemies with the assistance of the Virgin, as he has defeated the dragon.

1498–1566/67 — Dublin; John J. Webb, *The Guilds of Dublin* (London: Ernest Benn, 1929), 90–92; Gilbert, *Dublin*, 3:182–83; Fletcher, 138.

Chain Book reports St. George's day pageant, with emperor, with two doctors, and empress, with two knights and two maidens; George, on horseback, and four attendants with a pole-axe, standard, and swords for George and the emperor; "a mayd well aparelled to lead the dragon" (with a cord); four trumpeters; and the King and Queen of Dele, with attendants. The pageant was painted, and the empress (and, presumably, also the emperor, who wore a painted mask or "hed") wore a crown. Also shown on Corpus Christi.

c.1502–58 — York. L 1580; *REED: York*, 1:289–327; Eileen White, "Bryngyng forth of Saynt George: The St. George Celebrations in York," *Medieval English Theatre* 3 (1981): 114–21; *Testamenta Eboracensia*, ed. James Raine, 6 vols. (Durham: Andrews, 1836–1902), 4:212–13.

Riding on St. George's day canceled; apparently traditional; "auncient Custome" revived in 1554, probably after brief suppression. City waits in that year paid for both riding and a play. In 1554 George was to be "brought forth"—terminology which White suggests refers to a pageant wagon. Canvas was provided for a "pagyant," and both the pageant and the canvas were painted. Payments were also made "for beryng of the pagyant the dragon and St christofer," for actors who played St. George, the King, the Queen, and the "may," and for musicians. Sponsor of the riding and the play was apparently the Guild of SS. Christopher and George (suppressed in 1549). The will of Sir William Todd, a merchant and former mayor of York, in March 1503 left his "fyne salett to Saynt Christofer gyld; and my will is it to be used evere at the ridyng of Saynt George within the said cetie."

1511 — Bassingbourn, Cambridgeshire. L 365; J. C. Cox, *Churchwardens' Accounts from the Fourteenth Century to the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (London: Methuen, 1913), 270–74.

Churchwardens' accounts list receipts and expenditures for "the play . . . off the holy martir seynt georg" on St. Margaret's day (20 July); these include expenses for costumes, properties, and play books ("to the garnement man"); musicians; making and painting of three falcions and of four axes for the tormentors; bearing the playbook (to John Hobard, a priest); very large payments for food and drink. A wheelwright-carpenter contributed the axes, falcions, and toward "a Rymbyll of a whele." The playing area was a croft. A fund-raiser "toward an ymage of george" with the King and Queen which would be delivered 1 March 1512.

1528–c.1547 — Morebath, Devon. L 1189; *REED: Devon*, 208–11; John Wasson, "The *St. George* and *Robin Hood* Plays in Devon," *Medieval English Theatre* 2 (1980): 66–67.

St. George's Churchwardens account suggest a pageant or play. In 1531 payments of £5 were recorded "for owr laydy"; "a new iorge & a new horsse" as well as a new dragon. The churchyard was cleaned up for the pageantry or play in 1537–38 and subsequent years. A play seems likely in 1539–40 when the churchwardens paid for boards and trestles and for setting up ?scaffolds and a ?platform as well as "þe cite in þe cherche yerde," presumably scenery.

1530–56 — Aberdeen. L 1630; Mill, *Scotland*, 124–31; *Extracts*, 449–59.

Pageant in Corpus Christi procession of "sanct georg," by Baxters.

1536 — Lostwithiel, Cornwall. *REED: Cornwall*, 499–500.

"St Georges rideng" noted in St. George's Guild accounts, which mention armor for George and a piper.

1547 — London. L 1054; Withington, 1:185–87.

*Pageant for procession of Edward VI prior to coronation. St. George on horseback by little conduit in Cheapside, a page holding his shield and a spear, a maid holding a lamb "in a string." A child was to make a Latin oration, St. George an English one, but time did not

permit, though a song was sung. Texts of George's oration and the song are preserved in Leland, *Collectanea*, 4:319.

1604 — London. L 1136; Withington, 1:222–26.

*Riding of St. George and St. Andrew for entry of James I; see entry above for Andrew.

1607 — Wells. L 1483; *REED: Somerset*, 1:268–365; C. J. Sisson, "The Wells May Game," in *Lost Plays of Shakespeare's Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1936), 162–85.

Pageants at May games included "representing" St. George, who fought with and killed "the Counterfeite of a dragon with a man within him that carried the same." The event was a church ale designed to raise money for the church.

1613 (20 August) — Wells. L 1484; *REED: Somerset*, 1:372.

Mercers' pageant of St. George for the Queen: "King Ptolomeus with his Queene & daughter which was to bee devoured of the dragon. St George with his knightes who slew the dragon and rescued the virgin."

James

1454–55 — Lincoln. L 862; *Collections VIII*, 32.

"Ludus de Sancto Jacobo" (Misc. Rolls I).

1446 — York. L 1566; *REED: York*, 1:68

Codice of William Revetour's will, leaving the book containing the Creed Play and banners to the York Corpus Christi Guild, and "gilde sancti christofori quemdam ludum de sancto Iacobo Apostolo in sex paginis compilatum."

John of Bowre

1527 (18 June) — Grimsby, Lincolnshire. L 738; *Collections VIII*, 12.

Preparations for "the play of holy John of bowre." ?John of Beverley; ?John the Baptist (feast on 24 June).

John the Baptist

1392 — London. L 907; Richard Maydiston, "The Reconciliation of Richard II. with the City of London," in *Political Poems and Songs*, ed. Thomas Wright, 2 vols. (London: Green, Longman and Roberts, 1859-61), 1:294–95; Withington, 1: 129–31; Gordon Kipling, "Richard II's 'Sumptuous Pageants' and the Idea of the Civic Triumph," in *Pageantry in the Shakespearean Theater*, ed. David M. Bergeron (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985), 83–103.

John the Baptist, as if in wilderness (in the midst of an array of wild beasts), pointed to Agnus Dei; pageant set above Temple Bar. An angel descended to give tablets representing the Crucifixion to the king.

1521 — London; L 969; *Venice*, 3:136–37.

Pageant, with Herod at table, tumbler, executioner, St. John imprisoned; Midsummer Show. c.1536–38 — John Bale, *Vitam Dixi Joannis Baptisti*, in 14 books. L 282; Peter Happé, *John Bale* (New York: Twayne, 1996), 5, 113.

Lost play of the *Life of John the Baptist*, apparently not related to the extant *Preaching of John the Baptist*.

1540–62 — Maldon, Essex. L 1168; A. Clark, "Maldon Records and the Drama," *Notes and Queries*, 10th ser. 7 (1907): 182–83; W. A. Mephram, "Municipal Drama at Maldon in the Sixteenth Century," *Essex Review* 55 (1946), 169–75; 56 (1947), 34–41.

On Relic Sunday 1540 (July 11), Maldon's town play was directed by Felstede of London. The characters included John the Baptist, in a costume of "calveskynnes," and Christ. Salome is not mentioned in the records, but her presence is verified by payments for "the dawncers bellis." Scaffolds were set up. In 1562, Burles the property player was retained.

1553–54, 1568 — London; L 969; *Collections III*, 48–50; Machyn, 47–48, 73; Withington, 2:13–15. Pageant for Lord Mayor's Show; Machyn reported "the pagant of sant John Baptyst gorgyusly, with goodly speches," followed by the King's trumpeters, in scarlet copes, and waits, also playing, on 29 October 1553; speeches, by Richard Mulcaster, for four boys in 1568.

1613 (20 August) — Wells. L 1484; *REED: Somerset*, 1:372.

Tailors' pageant, apparently including King Herod, Herodias, dance of Salome, beheading of John the Baptist. Among shows for Queen.

John the Evangelist

c.1400–1531 — Ipswich. L 790; *Collections XI*, 170–83; Wasson, "Ipswich," 99–108.

Tailors' pageant of "sancto Johan."

1456 (14 September) — Coventry. L 557; *REED: Coventry*, 29–34.

*Pageant of St. John (?Evangelist) and St. Edward in entry of Queen Margaret. Devised by John Wedurby. Speeches of welcome to Queen spoken by the saints.

c.1510–20 — London (printed edition). L 1272; "Day Book of John Dorne, Bookseller in Oxford, A.D. 1520," ed. F. Madan, in *Collectanea*, I, ed. C. R. L. Fletcher (Oxford Historical Society, 1885), 131.

Interlude listed as "saint jon euuangeliste en trelude." Possibly the same as the play reprinted by John Waley in c.1550 as *The Enterlude of Johan the Euangelyst* (L 100, STC 14643); ed. W. W. Greg (Malone Society, 1907).

1521, 1529, 1535 — London. L 969; *Collections III*, 5–26; *Venice*, 136–37.

Drapers' accounts for pageant in Midsummer Show. John on Patmos, scenery, dragon, red satin garment for saint, boys as executioners in 1521. New pageant of saint "vppon a mount" produced by a painter in 1529. A dragon and child appeared in 1535, when pageant was made new again.

1530–56 — Aberdeen. L 1630; Mill, *Scotland*, 124–31; *Extracts*, 449–59.

Websters, Walkers, and Bonnet Makers' pageant in Corpus Christi procession, of "sanct Ion" (Evangelist?).

Lawrence

1441–42 — Lincoln. L 859; *Collections VIII*, 30.

"Ludus Sancti Laurencij" (Misc. Rolls I).

?c.1475–1500 — Ashmole Fragment, of unknown provenance; text in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Ashmole 750, fol. 168^f. L 70; *Non-Cycle Plays*, 120; Stephen K. Wright, "Is the Ashmole Fragment a Remnant of a Middle English Saint Play?" *Neophilologus* 75 (1991): 139–49.

*Actor's part for Second Soldier.

1523 — Dublin. Fletcher, 134, 136, 381.

"[T]he lyff of saincte larens playyde one the hoggen gren."

1530–56 — Aberdeen. L 1630; Mill, *Scotland*, 124–31; *Extracts*, 449–59.

Barbers' pageant in Corpus Christi procession: "sanct lowrence and his trumentouris."

Luke

- c.1400–1531 — Ipswich. L 790; *Collections XI*, 170–83; Wasson, “Ipswich,” 99–108.
Pageant of the Carpenters (with ten other guilds) in Corpus Christi procession.

Magnus

- 1298 — London. L 883; Withington, 1:124–25.
Pageant of Fishmongers’ Guild with figure of St. Magnus, on St. Magnus’s day, in honor of Edward I’s victory at Falkirk.

Margaret

- 1445 — London. L 937; Withington, 1:148; Carleton Brown, “Lydgate’s Verses on Queen Margaret’s Entry into London,” *Modern Language Review* 7 (1912): 225–34; Gordon Kipling, “The London Pageants for Margaret of Anjou: A Medieval Script Restored,” *Medieval English Theatre* 4 (1982): 5–27.
*Pageant of St. Margaret and angels at Tun in Cornhill; verses welcoming queen by Lydgate spoken by the saint.
1456 (14 September) — Coventry. L 1456; *REED: Coventry*, 29–34.
*Pageants for entry of Queen Margaret concluded with St. Margaret slaying “a grete dragon . . . be myracull” at the conduit in Crosscheaping. Accompanied by “as mony Virgyns as myght be” on the conduit. Speech followed Margaret’s act of dragon-slaying. Producer of pageants was John Wedurby of Leicester.
1541 — London. L 969; *Collections III*, 33–34; Johnson, 2: 274–78.
Pageant, with Margaret, the “Sowden” (in armor), and four angels (played by children) with blonde wigs (hired from Felsted) and wings (two of peacocks’ feathers) who had speaking (or singing?) parts, in Midsummer Show. Mummings carried torches about the pageant. Dragon with fire in its mouth. Preceded by minstrels with shawms and harps.

Martin

- 1527 — Colchester. L 553; W. G. B[enham], “‘Seynt Martyns Pley’ at Colchester,” *Essex Review* 48 (1939): 83.
Fine “for gaderyng of Corn for Seynt Martyns pley.” Probably a game.
1530–56 Aberdeen. L 1630; Mill, *Scotland*, 124–31; *Extracts*, 449–59.
Cordwainers’ pageant of “sanct martyn” in Corpus Christi procession.

Mary, Blessed Virgin

- 1393–1543 — Lincoln. L 856; *Collections VIII*, 26–67.
Annunciation and Visitation; Cathedral accounts list payments for gloves for Mary, angel, and Elizabeth. Elizabeth dropped after 1395–96, and in 1399 two prophets were added (separate prophets play?). Presented in morning of the feast of the Nativity; prophets are not mentioned after 1440–41.
c.1400–1542 — Ipswich. L 790; *Collections XI*, 170–83; Wasson, “Ipswich,” 99–108.
Drapers’ pageant of “the assumption of our lady” or “Imagine Assumptio beate Maria” in Corpus Christi procession.

c.1425 — Text, probably from East Anglia, in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Eng. Poet. f.2 (parchment roll). L 40; *Non-Cycle*, 106–13; Constance B. Heatt, “A Case for *Duk Moraud* as a Play of the Miracles of the Virgin,” *Mediaeval Studies* 32 (1970): 345–51.

*Duke’s part, apparently from a miracle of the Virgin; see also Richard L. Homan, “Two Exempla: Analogues to the *Play of the Sacrament* and *Dux Moraud*,” *Comparative Drama* (1984): 241–51, for analogues.

c.1450–75 — N-town Mary Play, from East Anglia. Text in British Library, Cotton Vespasian D VIII. L 55; *The Mary Play: From the N-town Manuscript*, ed. Peter Meredith (London: Longman, 1987); *The N-Town Play*, ed. Stephen Spector, EETS, ss. 11–12 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

*A discrete section imported into the N-town manuscript contains the story of Mary from her conception through the Visitation.

1459–1543 — Lincoln; *Collections VIII*, 33–62.

Assumption “& visus” in the cathedral on the feast of St. Anne (1459–60); “visus Assumpcionis beate Marie” specified in nave in accounts dated 29 July 1469. In June 1483, cathedral officials decided to have the “Ludum siue serimonium” repaired and prepared for showing in the procession in the nave, as usual; included Coronation.

1469 — Norwich; Henry Harrod, “Elizabeth Woodville’s Visit to Norwich in 1469,” *Norfolk Archaeology* 5 (1859): 35–36.

Pageant of Annunciation and Visitation with Mary, Elizabeth, Gabriel, other angels, apostles, two patriarchs, two giants, sixteen virgins, and three empresses; speech provided by Geoffrey Spirleng. Paired with another (unidentified) pageant; both may have been produced by William Pernel of Ipswich, who “frequentat prouidere subtilia ludorum et Stacionum.” See Mark Eccles, “*Ludus Coventriae* Lincoln or Norfolk?” *Medium Aevum* 40 (1971): 138–39.

c.1475–1525 — Durham Prologue. L 26; *Non-Cycle Plays*, 118–19; Stephen K. Wright, “The Durham Play of Mary and the Poor Knight: Sources and Analogues of a Lost English Miracle Play,” *Comparative Drama* 17 (1983): 254–65.

*Possibly Theophilus legend; Marian miracle.

1486 — Hereford. L 767; *REED: HereWor*, 115.

*Pageant presented for Henry VII at the entrance to the cathedral: “our lady With many virgins mervealous & Richely besene”; speech of Mary (extant) welcomed Henry to the cathedral.

1486 (14 May) — Worcester. L 1530. *REED: HereWor*, 406–11.

Pageants, with speeches, for Henry VII at Whitsun included the Virgin Mary.

1499, 1515–16 — Chester. *REED: Chester*, 21, 23–24

Assumption play, on 3 or 4 August 1499, for Prince Arthur. A Mayors’ list indicated that the “Storie of the Assumption of our Lady was played at the abbey gates and at the heigh crosse.” The Assumption, along with a “shepards play,” was also played in the churchyard of St. John’s Church in 1515–16.

1511 — Aberdeen. L 1628; Mill, *Scotland*, 158–59; William Dunbar, *The Poems*, ed. James Kinsley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 135–37.

Pageants for entry of Queen Margaret; “pleasent padgeanes playit prattellie,” including first a pageant of Annunciation (“the salutatioun . . . / Of the sweitt Virgin,” with the music “of menstrallis blawing to the sky”).

1512–13 New Romney, Kent. L 1207; *Collections VII*, 130.

“Et sol’ in regard’ lusorum beate marie viijd.”

1512–41 — London. L 969; *Collections III*, 2–33, 37; *Venice*, 136–37.

Assumption, in Midsummer Show; Drapers’ accounts, described as “very wele done” in 1521. In 1523 played by young girl; two harpers and two lute players “in albys with winges & crownys” apparently flanked the Assumption and, on one night, four children in surplices who sang. New pageant prepared by painter in 1536; four child singers in this year for two performances; orchestra of shawm, lute, rebecs, and harps; a winch was used, operated by a joiner in 1535–36. Shown in Lord Mayor’s show in 1540.

1519 — London. L 969; *Collections III*, 4.

Visitation, in Midsummer Show. Hired from Barking; roles of Mary and Elizabeth were played by “2 Maidens.”

1522–23 — London. L 998; *Withington*, 1:174–79; C. R. Baskerville, “William Lyly’s Verse for the Entry of Charles V into London,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 9 (1936); Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Poetry*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 201–02; Johnson, 2:10–11.

*Pageant for the entry of Charles V into London on 6 June 1522, situated at the little conduit in Cheapside. It represented heaven, with the sun, moon, stars, clouds, angelic hierarchies, the apostles, and SS. George, John the Baptist, Edmund, Edward the Confessor, Henry VI, Dunstan, Thomas Becket, Erkenwald, and others “with the assumption of our lady meruelous goodly conveyde by a vyce and a clowde openyng with Michael and Gabriel angellys knelyng and dyuers tymes sensyng with sensers and with voyces off yonge queretters syngyng psalmys and ympnys with chalmys and organs with most swetyst musyke that cowed be devysede.” At the conclusion of the pageant Mary was “assumed” up into the clouds. Verses by William Lily were spoken by an apostle. The pageant was repeated in 1523.

1523–24 — Sutterton, Lincolnshire. *Collections VIII*, 91.

A “play playd on the day of the assumption of our lady” may have been an Assumption play.

1528 — Dublin. L 1738; Gilbert, *Dublin*, 3:3–4.

Carpenters’ play “of Joseph and Mary,” on Hoggen Green (later College Green), presented for the Lord Deputy on one of days of Christmas.

1530 — Aberdeen. L 1630; Mill, *Scotland*, 124–31; *Extracts*, 449–59.

Corpus Christi pageant of the “coronatioun of our lady” by Tailors.

1535 — London. L 969; *Collections III*, 26; *Withington*, 1: 41–42.

Ironmongers’ pageant in which mummers carried torches about St. Elizabeth; portative organs were played (hired from Trinity parish); “Cater & hys [five] childre for playing & syngyng in the pagent . . . boyth nyghts.”

1539 – Holbeach, Lincolnshire. *Collections VIII*, 18–19.

Possible Assumption play noted in churchwardens’ accounts, which list payments “for beryng of þe marycart” and for a cloud machine.

Mary Magdalen

?c.1500. — Text in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Digby 133, fols. 95^r–145^r, from East Anglia. L 75; *Digby Plays*, 24–95.

*Play of *Mary Magdalen*, dramatizing her legendary life, in 2143 lines. The manuscript is a copy dated 1515–25.

1506–07 — Oxford, Magdalen College. L 1261; R. E. Alton, “The Academic Drama in Oxford: Extracts from the Records of Four Colleges,” in *Malone Society Collections V* (Oxford, 1960), 46.

Paid to John Burgess “pro scriptura lusi beate marie magdalene.”

c.1547–66 — London (printed book). L 143; Lewis Wager, *A New Enterlude of the Life of Marie Magdalene* (London, 1566); Paul Whitfield White, ed., *Reformation Biblical Drama in England* (New York: Garland, 1992), 1–66.

*STC 24932 and 24932a. Protestant presentation of the biblical story; hostile to traditional religion.

Meriasek

c.1500 — Text in Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, Peniarth MS. 105. L 430; *Beunans Meriasek: The Life of Saint Meriasek, Bishop and Confessor*, ed. Whitley Stokes (London: Trübner, 1872).

*Extant play of St. Meriasek, in Cornish; 4568 lines.

Michael

c.1541–56 — Spalding. Reference in antiquarian account by Maurice Johnson, in *Minute Book of the Spalding Gentlemen’s Society, 1723–24*, and summary of play by Johnson given in E. H. Gooch, *A History of Spalding* (Spalding, 1940); reported by James Stokes, “Saints’ Plays in Lincolnshire: What the Records Tell Us” (unpublished; read at Leeds Medieval Congress, 1999).

Three-day play, at Priory gate; there was a playtext by a priest named Howson and a principal actor named Edgoose. The waits of Grantham were also employed. Stokes suggests scaffold staging and possible dramatization of the war in heaven as representative of the end of time.

Nicholas

c.1250 — Reference in a homily. L 207; Carleton Brown, “An Early Mention of a St. Nicholas Play in England,” *Studies in Philology* 28 (1931): 594–601.

In Cambridge, Trinity College MS. B.14.39, a sermon, probably by a Dominican, appears to refer to a St. Nicholas play about a good king whose desires were granted by the saint: “yf ye wollet stille ben/ in is pleye ye mowen isen. . . .”

1283 — Gloucester. L 684; *REED: CWG*, 290, 421–22.

Clerks’ play, “ludentibus miracula sancti Nicholai,” and boy bishop.

1462 — Glasgow. L 1691; Mill, *Scotland*, 75, 246–47.

An “interludium,” popular in character but approved for performance, for feast of the translation of the saint (9 May), at university.

1530–56 — Aberdeen. L 1630; Mill, *Scotland*, 124–31; *Extracts*, 449–59.

Litsters’ Corpus Christi pageant of “sanct nicholes.”

Paul

c.1500 — Text in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Digby 133, fols. 37^r–50^v; from East Anglia. L 74;

Digby Plays, 1–23; Heather Hill-Vasquez, “The Possibilities of Performance: A Reformation Sponsorship for the Digby *Conversion of Saint Paul*,” *REED Newsletter* 22 (1997): 2–20.

*Play of *Conversion of St. Paul* (662 lines). Additions from c.1560. Performance under Protestant auspices has been suggested.

Robert of Sicily

1452–53 — Lincoln. L 861; *Collections VIII*, 31.

Misc. Rolls I provides citation of “*ludus de Kyng Robert of Cesill*.”

1529 — Chester. L 530; *REED: Chester*, 26, 484.

Mayors lists report a “play” or “*Enterlude*” of Robert of Sicily at the high cross.

1577 — Perth. L 1716; Mill, *Scotland*, 276–81.

Reference to “*sanc tobertis play*” (?Robert of Sicily, questionable but so interpreted by Nelson, 202).

Rosmonus (Rosemont)

1555–56 — Ashburton, Devon. L 352; *REED: Devon* 28.

Corpus Christi play in which one actor played God and another played “*Saynt Rosemont*.”

Sabina

See Feliciana, above.

Sebastian

1530–56 — Aberdeen. L 1630; Mill, *Scotland*, 124–31; *Extracts*, 449–59.

Fleshers’ pageant in Corpus Christi procession: “*sanct bestien [Sebastian?] and his trumatouris*.”

Stephen

1530–56 — Aberdeen. L 1630; Mill, *Scotland*, 124–31; *Extracts*, 449–59.

Skinners’ pageant in Corpus Christi procession: “*sanct stewin’ [and his] tormentouris*.”

Susanna

1447–48 — Lincoln. L 860; *Collections VIII*, 31.

“*Ludus Sancti Susanni*” (Misc. Rolls I).

Swithin

1523 — Braintree, Essex. L 394; Mepham, “*Plays*,” 14–16; Morant, 2: 399.

“*A Play of St Swythyn acted in the church on a Wenesday*” (antiquarian copy of churchwardens’ accounts). Receipts £6 14s 11½d; expenses: £3 1s 4d. Fund raiser.

Theophilus

See Mary, Blessed Virgin, above.

Thomas Becket

1385 — King’s (before 1540, Bishop’s) Lynn, Norfolk. L 806; *Collections XI*, 38.

Chamberlains’ account rolls report payments for “*ludentibus interludium Sancti Thome*”

- Martiris," perhaps on the feast of the translation (7 July).
- c.1400–1542 — Ipswich, Suffolk. L 790; *Collections XI*, 170–83; Wasson, "Ipswich," 99–108. Barbers' pageant in Corpus Christi procession. Tabernacle of saint for procession noted in 1473 accounts.
- 1504–38, 1542–43, 1555–56 — Canterbury. L 501; *Collections VII*, 191–98; J. B. Sheppard, "The Canterbury Marching Watch with Its Pageant of St. Thomas," *Archaeologia Cantiana* 12 (1878); 27–46; Peter Clark, *English Provincial Society from the Reformation to the Revolution* (Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 1977), 416–17; J. B. Sheppard, "The Records of the City of Canterbury," *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, 9th Report (1883), 156.
- Pageant, with effects (stage blood in leather bag), a "vyce" for the (puppet) angel, armor for knights (played by child actors in 1521–22), costumes and vestments, a frequently repaired and painted mask or head of Thomas, and an altar with an image of the saint, a figure of the Virgin, and two gilt angels. The performance was on a wagon, with a painted cloth of canvas hung about it. Reduced in elaborateness after 1532 and altered in 1542–43 to a "pley" with four tormentors (on a different subject, or with a Protestant twist?), and revived in the reign of Queen Mary.
- 1505 — Mildenhall, Suffolk. L 1183; *Collections XI*, 190; cf. John Wasson, "The Morality Play: Ancestor of Elizabethan Drama?" *Comparative Drama* 13 (1979): 218.
- Churchwardens' accounts, for Guild of St. Thomas Becket, report profits "ffor a play off Sent Thomas . . . in the hall yard."
- 1519 — London; L 969; *Collections III*, 3–4.
- Pageant in Midsummer Show; Life and Martyrdom of Becket, beginning with his father Gilbert, imprisoned in a pageant prison with a jailer, the Soldan, and the "Jewess," presumably Thomas's mother, played by Robert Hynstok. The *crossarius* (Edward Grim) and William de Tracy are also named. Pageant wagon hired. Skinners' Renter Wardens' accounts.

Thomas of India (Apostle)

- 1321–69 — Lincoln. L 851; *Collections VIII*, 24–25.
- "Ludus de Sancto Thoma didimo," in time of Easter in nave of cathedral. Probably a *Peregrinus* play.
- c.1535–40 — York. L 1574; *REED: York*, 2:649–50.
- Letter referring to disturbance at presentation of "a religious interlude of St. Thomas the Apostle" on 23 August; printed by Halliwell, *Letters of the Kings of England* (1854), 354.
- Probably spurious (no trace of manuscript of this letter has been found) and forged on basis of Scriveners' pageant of St. Thomas which was known in the early nineteenth century.

Ursula

- 1501 — London. L 963; Kipling, *Receyt*, 12–15.
- *Pageant of St. Ursula and St. Catherine on London Bridge for Katherine of Aragon; see St. Catherine, above. Ursula, played by a girl, appeared in a tabernacle "with her great multitude of virgyns right goodly dressid and arayed." In her speech she claimed to be kin to King Arthur.
- 1523, 1529 — London. L 969; *Collections III*, 13–19.
- Drapers' accounts. Pageant in Midsummer Show; played by young girl in 1523, when she was attended by "vj virgyns." In 1529, a painter was hired for making a new pageant of Ursula

“vppon a castyll.”

Apostles (unnamed)

1528 — Dublin. L 1738; Gilbert, *Dublin*, 3:3–4; Fletcher, 136.

Play of the Martyrdom of the Apostles, on Hoggen Green (later College Green) for the Lord Deputy on one of the days of Christmas; by the Priors of St. John of Jerusalem, the Blessed Trinity, and All Hallows.

Unnamed Saints

1170–82 — London. L 878; William FitzStephen, *Descriptio Londoniae, in Materials for the Study of Thomas Becket*, 7 vols. (1877; reprint Kraus, 1965), 3:9; Anne Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre: City Drama and Pageantry from Roman Times to 1558* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 31, 221–22.

Plays of unspecified saints which are compared to the spectacles of ancient Rome: “*Londonia pro spectaculis theatralibus, pro ludis scenicis, ludos habet sanctiores, repraesentationes miraculorum quae sancti confessores operati sunt, seu repraesentationes passionum quibus claruit constantia martyrum*” (“holier plays, wherein are shown forth the miracles wrought by Holy Confessors or the sufferings which glorified the constancy of Martyrs”).

NOTES

¹ Lawrence M. Clopper, “*Communitas*: The Play of Saints in Late Medieval and Tudor England,” *Mediaevalia* 18 (1995 [for 1992]): 81–109. Clopper defends his view of the English saint play in remarks in *Early Theatre* 2 (1999): 107–13; I believe the title supplied for his remarks—“Why Were There So Few English Saint Plays?”—is an assertion of a point of view that I believe will not stand up to analysis, as I indicated in a brief response and as I believe the list of verifiable, probable, and possible saint plays included below will demonstrate.

² These are St. George at Lydd, Kent; Thomas Becket at London in 1170–82; and St. George at York in 1554. Allowing Thomas Becket, martyred in 1170, is odd here since there is no evidence in William Fitzstephen’s *Descriptio Londoniae* for any specific saint plays except to divide them into two groups: confessors and martyrs. Clopper omits the reference in his list of saint plays “for which we have sufficient evidence” in his *Drama, Play, and Game: English Festive Culture in the Medieval and Early Modern Period* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 300.

³ Clopper, “*Communitas*,” 105.

⁴ The listing of English saint plays and pageants that appears above does not identify individual characters who merely walked in processions.

⁵ See the index to Ian Lancashire, *Dramatic Texts and Records of Britain: A Chronological Topography to 1558* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), esp. 602–05. For some factors in the choice of subjects for saint plays, pageants, and processional figures, see V. M. O’Mara, “Saints’ Plays and Preaching: Theory and Practice in Late Medieval Sanctoral Sermons,” *Leeds Studies in English* 29 (1998): 257–74.

⁶ Lynette R. Muir, “The Saint Play in Medieval France,” in *The Saint Play in Medieval Europe*, ed. Clifford Davidson, Early Drama, Art, and Music Monograph Series 8 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1986), 124.

⁷ Clopper discounts specific reference to “a playe booke,” costumes, and props as well as a playing place in this case and instead suggests that a procession with an “effigy” of St. George was involved (“*Communitas*,” 91–92, 105). See J. C. Cox, *Churchwardens’ Accounts from the Fourteenth Century to the Close of the Seventeenth Century* (London, Methuen, 1913), 270–74. As Anne L. Brannan explains, however, the “play was part of a major and long-term project in the parish, which culminated in the purchase of a St. George statue for the church” in 1523 (“Parish Play Accounts in Context: Interpreting the Bassingbourn St. George Play,” *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 35 [1996]: 55–72, esp. 56). Brannan also identifies the play as a martyrdom play.

⁸ Clopper, “*Communitas*,” 87.

⁹ See John Coldewey, “Plays and ‘Play’ in Early English Drama,” *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama* 28 (1985): 181–88; Abigail Ann Young, “Plays and Players: The Latin Terms for Performance,” *REED Newsletter* 9 (1984): 56–62; 10 (1985): 9–16; and Glending Olson, “Plays as Play: A Medieval Ethical Theory of Performance and the Intellectual Context of the *Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge*,” *Viator* 26 (1995): 195–221.

¹⁰ Thomas of Walsingham, *Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani*, ed. H. T. Riley, 3 vols, Rolls Series 28 (1867–69), 1:73.

¹¹ Lawrence M. Clopper, “*Miracula and The Tretise of Miraclis Pleyinge*,” *Speculum* 65 (1990): 885. For St. Catherine’s Wheels, see Philip Butterworth, *Theatre of Fire: Special Effects in Early English and Scottish Theatre* (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1998), 111–12, fig 26.

¹² Young, “Plays and Players,” pt. 1, 57. To be sure, there is still considerable ambiguity with regard to the term ‘miracle’ as it is used in the account of the Dunstable example. When we consider the categories of *ludus* which Olson has noted in pseudo-Vincent of Beauvais’s *Speculum morale*, the Dunstable *St. Catherine* may have fit the category of *ludus devotionis* or even *ludus innocentiae*, but in my view would hardly have fallen among examples of *ludus derisionis* or *ludus insolentiae* (“Plays as Play,” 220).

¹³ *Records of Early English Drama: Cumberland, Westmorland, Gloucestershire*, ed. Audrey Douglas and Peter Greenfield (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), 290, 388.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 422.

¹⁵ Karl Young, *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), 2:338, 344.

¹⁶ *A Chronicle of London from 1089 to 1483*, ed. Edward Tyrell and Nicholas H. Nicolas (London, 1827), 80.

¹⁷ *Records of Early English Drama: Coventry*, ed. R. W. Ingram (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 74.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 100, 128.

¹⁹ I quote from the translation in *Records of Early English Drama: Shropshire*, ed. J. Alan B. Somerset, 2 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 2:591; the Latin terms are *ludus*, *demonstracio*, and *martirium* (*ibid.*, 1:172).

²⁰ “Et in Regardo dato lusoribus eiusdem Martirij tunc temporis hoc anno x s.” (*ibid.*, 172). Clopper suggests (“*Communitas*,” 88) that *lusores* “could mean either musicians or gamesmen.” Young notes that the most common meaning

was ‘player,’ but also could refer to a player “in a mixed musical and dramatic performance” (“Plays and Players,” pt. 1, 61).

²¹ *REED: Shropshire*, 1:183–84.

²² *Churchwardens’ Accounts at Bettrysden, 1515–1573*, ed. Francis R. Mercer, Kent Record Society 5 (Ashford, Kent, 1928), 3–5, 9–12, 78–80.

²³ See *Beunans Meriasek: The Life of Saint Meriasek, Bishop and Confessor*, ed. and trans. Whitley Stokes (London: Trübner, 1872), and *Records of Early English Drama: Dorset/Cornwall*, ed. Rosalind Conklin Hayes, C. E. McGee, Sally L. Joyce, and Evelyn S. Newlyn (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 543–44, 554; for commentary on the sparse population of Cornwall and the geography of the Cornish language, see Gloria Betcher, “A Reassessment of the Date and Provenance of the Cornish *Ordinalia*,” *Comparative Drama* 29 (1995–96): 438–39, 448–49.

²⁴ *The Records of Plays and Players in Kent*, ed. Giles E. Dawson, Malone Society Collections 7 (Oxford, 1965), 198. One possibility is a Protestantization of the Becket play to please the authorities.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 192–98.

²⁶ *A Calendar of Dramatic Records in the Books of the Livery Companies of London, 1485–1640*, ed. Jean Robertson and D. J. Gordon, Malone Society Collections 3 (Oxford, 1954), 3–4.

²⁷ This glass was formerly at the Church of St. Wilfrid, and is now divided between the York Minster Chapter House and the Church of St. Michael-le-Belfry; see Clifford Davidson, “The Middle English Saint Play,” in *The Saint Play in Medieval Europe*, 57–59.

²⁸ See Constance B. Hieatt, “A Case for *Duk Moraud* as a Play of the Miracles of the Virgin,” *Mediaeval Studies* 32 (1970): 345–51; and Stephen K. Wright, “The Durham Play of Mary and the Poor Knight: Sources and Analogues of a Lost English Miracle Play,” *Comparative Drama* 17 (1983): 254–65.

²⁹ See Peter Meredith, ed., *The Mary Play, From the N.town Manuscript* (London: Longman, 1987).

³⁰ See Gail McMurray Gibson, *The Theater of Devotion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 137–76.

³¹ *Records of Early English Drama: Chester*, ed. Lawrence M. Clopper (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 21.

³² *Ibid.*, 23–24.

³³ *Ibid.*, 23.

³⁴ For the identification of this fragment as a saint play of St. Lawrence, see Stephen K. Wright, “Is the Ashmole Fragment a Remnant of a Middle English Saint Play?” *Neophilologus* 75 (1991): 139–49.

³⁵ Anna J. Mill, *Mediaeval Plays in Scotland* (1927; reprint New York and London: Benjamin Blom, 1969), 271–73.

³⁶ *Records of Early English Drama: York*, ed. Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Rogerson, 2 vols. (Toronto:

University of Toronto Press, 1979), 1:68; for the full text of Revetour's will, see Alexandra F. Johnston, "William Revetour, Chaplain and Clerk of York, Testator," *Leeds Studies in English* 29 (1998): 153–72, esp. 163.

³⁷ Clopper, "Communitas," 96.

³⁸ *REED: York*, 1:88.

³⁹ Another source of ambiguity in the study of the saint play is suggested by a case to which Olson ("Plays as Play," 201) calls attention in Henry of Rimini's *Tractatus de quatuor virtutibus cardinalibus* (Strassburg, 1472), 4.4.7: a Venetian play about the Virgin Mary was created originally in her honor, and was acceptable when it maintained a proper devotional purpose. Now, however, the play has been subject to abuse and deserves to be suppressed or reformed.

⁴⁰ W. A. Mephram, "Mediaeval Plays in the 16th Century at Heybridge and Braintree," *Essex Review* 55 (1946): 14–16.

⁴¹ The term is F. P. Pickering's; see his *Literature and Art in the Middle Ages* (Coral Gables, Florida: University of Miami Press, 1970). The methodology described here is that followed in my "Middle English Saint Play."