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ALLEGORY IN PERFORMANCE: AN ANALYSIS OF THE CASTLE OF
PERSEVERANCE, EVERYMAN, AND WISDOM WHO IS CHRIST

by

ZIVA STAMBERG PILTCH

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in English in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor
of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

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Abstract

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by

Ziva Stamberg Piltch

Adviser: Professor Martin Stevens

This dissertation examines the ways in which stage performance alters and enhances allegory, arguing that the personification allegory of The Castle of Perseverance, Everyman, and Wisdom is multifaceted, rooted both in the language of allegory and in image; that the audience creates meaning from performance by bringing to it a familiarity with images and ideas suggested or represented in performance; and that the performance itself presents, simultaneously, several allegorical levels: even as the personification is made literal in its naming and in the dress and action of the performer, the verbal images and stage signs reconstruct the allegory, creating a different path to spiritual truth.

Each of the three morality plays studied provides another perspective on these issues. The Castle of Perseverance provides a paradigm for the ways in which staging can amplify verbal text through visual sign. Chapter Two analyzes the use of iconographic frames, especially the

topoi of the Seven Ages of Man and the Last Judgment to create a visual memory system that enlarges the allegory.

While Everyman draws upon the same iconographic frames, the focus of the play on the journey to death privileges Judgment Day iconography, and the brevity of the play renders it adaptable to a variety of stagings and interpretations. Chapter Three examines a number of these adaptations to show the ways in which this generalized morality play can be altered and particularized by contemporary contexts.

The examination of Wisdom in Chapter Four considers the influence of Song of Songs iconography on the staging and therefore the significance of the play. If the process of allegoresis allows the reader of The Song of Songs to move from a literal reading of the text to an allegorical one, the viewing of Wisdom involves some reversal of that process, allowing for the simultaneous presentation of literal action and sign.

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Reappraising the Moralities: The Critical Tradition

In 1831, John Collier defined the morality play as "a drama, the characters of which are allegorical, abstract, or symbolical, and the story of which is intended to convey a lesson for better conduct of human life." He appraised it as "mere allegory and abstraction, unenlivened by mental or personal idiosyncrasy, by varied incident, or by temporary allusion," and he deemed it a failure, "ill calculated for popular assembly" (II, 259-260 in Davidson, 4-5). Literary historians have since recorded the popular life of morality performances, hardly "ill-calculated" in the eyes of their audiences; literary critics, on the other hand, have only in the last thirty years rescued the moralities from accusations of being "mere allegory," lacking in literary and dramatic merit. Yet, as this study will show, it is the very use of allegory in the morality plays that makes them complex, effective, and unique dramatic forms.

The survey of morality play criticism that follows reveals that critics of the plays have historically grappled with the problems implicit in allegorized drama and that the most recent criticism, especially the study of semiotics and of the intertextual nature of art and drama, has laid the foundations for a study of the morality play as a form that uses both visual sign and verbal discourse to convey complex

meanings and messages.

For several generations of critics of medieval drama, as for critics today, the morality play poses many problems. It is easy to read the earlier critics and decide that their unenlightened views not only condemned the morality for its lack of Aristotelian unity and tragic potential and for its use of doctrine and didacticism, but ignored its existence as a popular and performed genre. However, careful reading of these critics reveals that the qualities for which we have begun to value the morality plays and upon which this study is based -- their complex use of allegory and their effectiveness in performance -- are recognized by even the earliest critics, those that condemn the plays as dry and didactic. In 1914 an early book-length study of the moralities, J. M. McKenzie's The English Moralities from the Point of View of Allegory, concentrates on classifying and interpreting the allegorical content of the plays. McKenzie's study is also a defense of the genre: classification of the plays allows the critic and his readers to avoid a purely historical look at the plays and forces them to analyze and interpret the allegorical content. Having accomplished such an analysis, McKenzie points out the obvious: allegorical characters, when performed on stage, take on specificity and realism; and the best allegorical characters "come alive" on stage: "No criticism of the Moralities can be definitive which ignores

the fact that they were presented to contemporaries as acted performances" (263). Not only does McKenzie argue for the effectiveness of the plays in performance; he also sets up a definition of the morality, one which provided a subtle corrective for Collier and is still used by many commentators today:

... a play, allegorical in structure, which has for its main object the teaching of some lesson for the guidance of life, and in which the principal characters are personified abstractions or highly universalized types. (9)¹

Although McKenzie appreciates the importance of performance, he does not study the plays from the context of performance. Both McKenzie and the critics who followed him studied the morality purely as literary text, and, for this reason as well as for others, the morality remained an anomaly. Its didactic purpose and dramatic use of allegory made it incompatible with dramatic realism; its use of a repetitive, open-ended structure defied Aristotelian unity. Whether judged by Aristotelian standards or by the developing appreciation of the structure and purpose of earlier religious drama, the morality was viewed as a problematic and possibly inferior form.

What we might term the earliest generation of critics of medieval drama is those that O.B. Hardison, in Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages, calls the "Darwinians." Just as McKenzie limited his consideration of the moralities by viewing them completely through the

perspective of philological classification, so the Darwinians were unable to focus on the unique characteristics of the moralities because they evaluated them completely by standards developed for earlier and later dramatic forms. The historical study of medieval drama which began with J.A. Symonds' study in 1894, was, in Hardison's words, "established in 1903 by E.K. Chambers' The Medieval Stage. Karl Young's The Drama of the Medieval Church, published in 1933, sharpens the definition of the subject, modifies several important details, and adds...fresh documentation....Craig's English Religious Drama uses fresh data but does not depart from Young and Chambers'... view" (1). We might add to this list K. L. Bates (English Religious Drama [1902]), C.F. Tucker Brooke (Tudor Drama [1911]), and Willard Farnham (The Medieval Heritage of Elizabethan Tragedy [1935]). As Hardison points out, these studies view the medieval drama as steps in a process of evolution through which drama developed and improved as it moved from the Quem Quaeritis trope to church drama to the mystery play. Hardison explains that, according to these studies, "Drama had 'arisen' from simple medieval beginnings, had 'flowered' in the works of Marlowe, Shakespeare, and Ben Johnson, and had then passed into a phase of 'decadence' until its expiration in 1642" (4). If the drama of the church and the later mystery plays are important steps in this evolution, many of these critics see

the morality as an unfortunate byproduct. This view is first expressed by Symonds:

[the morality play]...can hardly be said to lie in the direct line of evolution between the Miracle and the legitimate Drama, but rather to be an abortive side effort which was destined to bear barren fruit. (149)

It is reiterated by Willard Farnham:

...the allegory and the abstract characters to which the morality was in a large measure committed represented an unfortunate retreat from the concrete realities of the miracles and the mysteries. (179)

Because Chambers and Young consider themselves historians rather than critics, they avoid aesthetic considerations,² concentrating on the classification and description of the plays. Nevertheless, there is an implicit aesthetic at work in these studies, an aesthetic that necessarily excludes the morality from the mainstream of medieval drama and postpones serious examination of the form for half a century. An understanding of the common aesthetic (and its variations) in these early studies yields some understanding of the early assessment of the morality plays, and of the degree to which it contrasts with yet contributes to current assessment of the plays.

One of the obvious criteria by which the plays are judged is by their tendency toward naturalism, a tendency that moves them in the direction of Renaissance drama. Both Chambers and Young see the purpose of drama in the impersonation of characters and situations (Young, 79-80;

Chambers, English Literature at the Close of the Middle Ages, 3). For Chambers and Young, the impulse towards such impersonation exists in opposition to the liturgical or doctrinal contents of the plays; it is difficult both to imitate reality and to teach a lesson. Given these criteria, the mystery plays, with their use of realistic characters and situations, are clearly more defensible dramatically than the moralities, whose use of personification allegory cannot as easily be seen as mimetic. This emphasis on the value of realism can be found in Glynne Wickham's Early English Stages:

The important distinguishing feature between the miracle cycle and the open air morality is the precedence in the latter of theme over plot. Dramatically one is a narrative, the other an argument. Development of the miracle cycle therefore could take place in elaboration of narrative, in character portrayal, and in the enrichment of both aural texture and visual spectacle. The latter was also possible in the morality; but in point of narrative and character, development could only be slight. (236)

Strongly related to the values that privilege plot and characterization is the notion that the primary value of the plays is in their role as stepping stones to Renaissance tragedy. Judged by Aristotelian criteria, both the mystery plays and the moralities are seen as failed tragedies. The moralities in particular lack the two ingredients normally ascribed to tragedy, the tragic hero and the tragic situation:

The early moral dramatists had no appreciation of the difference between tragedy and comedy and took

no pains to develop sympathy for their leading characters. (Adams 54)

Farnham, who discusses the "development" of tragic potential in the moralities, sees the morality as closer to tragedy than the mystery (177), but he also sees the early moralities as lacking in tragic quality:

So long as the moral dramatist and his audience conceive that a universal law of justice, under which man lives and engages himself with his destiny, is dominated by the force of mercy, their recognition of tragedy must necessarily be small. The grip of tragic forces is allowed to be found in this world only to be broken either in this world or in the next; and the sense of irreparable loss - partial and total -- and of inevitable suffering by which the greatest tragedies move men to...pity and fear must remain thwarted. (193)

It is clear to these critics that "pity and fear" are not achieved in the mysteries or the moralities. What is not clear to them are the aesthetic objectives of these forms in particular. Although Hardison groups Hardin Craig with these Darwinists, Craig differs from Chambers and Young in avoiding the comparison with later dramatic forms:

Critics of the medieval religious drama have treated excrescences and aberrations as if such things, thought of as looking forward to the dramatic masterpieces of the Renaissance, were the end and purpose of centuries of dramatic activity....[they] have sometimes been indifferent to the fact that the medieval religious drama existed for itself and for the discharge of a religious purpose and not as an early stage of secular drama. (6)

Unlike Chambers and Young, Craig devotes a chapter to the morality plays, concentrating on the development of the form but also on the relationship between the plays and the

theology that informs them. Although he devotes most of that chapter to an investigation of the sources and types of the plays, he makes an implicit case for their structural and theological integrity, thereby, perhaps, laying the groundwork for later serious considerations of the morality form.

Reconsideration of the moralities became possible only after an aesthetic for medieval religious drama was defined. Auerbach's Mimesis laid important groundwork for consideration of medieval drama on its own terms, defining an aesthetic that differed from the purely realistic. Auerbach's defense of the use of multiple episodes and the combination of "high" and "low" styles that characterized the mystery plays is evidenced in his study of the twelfth-century Mystere d'Adam and his description of the later mystery cycles:

In principle, this great drama contains everything that occurs in world history. In it all the heights and depths of human conduct and all the heights and depths of stylistic expression find their morally and or aesthetically established right to exist; and hence there is no basis for a separation of the sublime from the low and everyday, for they are indissolubly connected with Christ's very life and suffering. Nor is there any basis for concern with the unities of time, place, or action, for there is but one place -- the world; and but one action -- man's fall and redemption. (138)

While the earlier historical critics linked the liturgical drama and the mystery plays to liturgy and the moralities to the sermon, Auerbach is the first to establish

the connection between the form of the plays and their religious content. The aesthetic of these plays is seen to be antithetical to that of tragedy: it is not the purgation of pity and fear but rather the "taking in" of divine revelation.

The form and purposes of Christian drama are further explored in O. B. Hardison's Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages. Attacking the historical, "Darwinian" perspective of earlier critics, Hardison analyzes the structure of the Easter liturgy and parallels it with that of the early liturgical plays: both are "dramatic in structure and nonrepresentational in mode" (176); both are episodic, containing similar rising and falling actions; both share the same dramatic-mythic purpose, "a movement from agon to peripeteia to theophany" (177). It can be argued, as Robert Edwards does ("Techniques of Transcendence" 104), that Hardison, the critic who defines and opposes the use of Aristotelian criteria for these plays, cannot completely escape their frame of reference in describing the "dramatic" rising and falling action; yet Hardison establishes for liturgical drama, and for critics of the mystery plays that follow him, a different and useful aesthetic.

The 1950's and 1960's saw a second generation of critics who began to consider the mysteries and moralities in a different light. With the renewed interest in the aesthetic

purposes of the mystery play came some significant studies of the morality as a separate dramatic form, in 1958 Spivack's Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil and in 1962 Bevington's From Mankind to Marlowe. As the titles of these studies indicate, this second generation of critics still consider the moralities largely as sources for later drama; but, like Craig and unlike Chambers, Farnham, et. al., they consider the plays on their own grounds, the grounds of dramatized allegory which lays the foundations for later studies of the moralities as performed drama.

Spivak is the first to extend McKenzie's study by discussing the impact of allegory on the morality structure. Like earlier critics, he traces the morality to Prudentius' Psychomachea and to the sermon and then assesses the impact on the structure:

...the image of the moral conflict is supplemented by...the image of moral sequence. Imitating Christian thought, Christian allegory always conceives human life as inescapably committed to movement, whether upward or downward, and the direction of that movement is determined by the outcome of the war between virtuous and vicious impulses. (101)

Spivak may be the first critic to consider the morality as a complex interaction of drama, literary allegory, and sermon. According to Spivak, the morality has a dual purpose: it is at once mimetic (as seen in the movement of plot in the play) and expository. He points out that the direct address to the audience in the prologue and epilogue of the early moralities is undisguised sermon and that these sermons are

supplemented by the self-exposition of the personified abstractions throughout the early plays; the plot, therefore, serves to illustrate that sermon:

The moral play, in short, divides itself into the dramatic dimensions of its allegory and the homiletic dimensions of its significatio, although the two are always closely interwoven. (177)

The close interweaving of lesson, mimesis, and pageantry in the early morality, Spivak implies, leads to an aesthetic effect that is simultaneously formal and intimate. The perfect balance of figures of virtue and vice derived from the Psychomachea takes on the formality of a game (100).³ The homiletic direct address to the audience, combined with the use of an apron stage, creates a closer relationship between audience and play, what Spivak terms "didactic intimacy" (113).

Spivak is perhaps the first critic to construct an aesthetic for the morality genre. Although Spivak sees the use of allegory in the plays as important, the purpose of his book is to trace the evolution of the vice figure into a more complex, realistic character, and, therefore, the transformation of the allegorical morality play into realistic Tudor drama. Unlike his predecessors, Spivak does not judge the moralities by the standards of Tudor drama, but allows a new appreciation of Tudor drama based on an understanding of the moralities. Essentially, however, he remains a Darwinist. In differentiating between the "homiletic" nature of the early plays and the "dramatic"

nature of Elizabethan drama he implies a belief in the development and "improvement" of dramatic form and character. His study of the metamorphosis of the morality vice into Iago the intriguer includes references to "change," "decline," "growth" and "hybridization." Spivak's appreciation of the moralities is necessarily flawed by this developmental approach.

Like Spivak's study, Bevington's From Mankind to Marlowe analyzes the morality underpinnings of Tudor tragedy; and, as in Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil, the study sets up a new aesthetic for the morality:

One cannot account for these plays by aesthetic laws of unity, correspondance, subordination and the like, because they were not composed with such ideas in mind. (3)

Instead, Bevington points out, "copiousness of detail" and "multiple unity" are the rule in medieval drama as in medieval art:

In drama as well as in graphic and plastic arts, the simultaneous presentation of separate scenes led to a panoramic, narrative, and sequential view of art rather than a dramatically concise and heightened climax of sudden revelation. (3)

Bevington's study presents the aesthetic and poses the problems of such an aesthetic. How can the panoramic view, the "multiple unity" of medieval art, be most effective within the restrictions of time imposed by dramatic presentation? Without Aristotelian structural principles, how do the plays effect emphasis, avoid monotony, and effectively juxtapose serious and comic modes? "Again, the

inclusive medieval point of view saw no virtue in eliminating one element or the other, and structural success must be measured not by movement toward classical 'purity' but by the integration of obverse and alternating textures into a single yet multiform art" (4). Bevington's study concerns the development of performance and structure, tracing the popular performances of the late moralities, particularly Mankind, and discussing the changes in "solutions" to this problem through the Tudor drama. Like Spivak, Bevington analyzes the plays through comparison with later drama; he adds to the notion of Christian drama the notion of drama with specific performance needs and effects. Noting the connection between the serious and satirical in performance, he draws a connection between this interaction and carnival. Like Hardison, he establishes the relationship between the morality drama and the "drama" of Christian ritual: of Mankind he writes, "The play was probably intended as a Shrovetide presentation, and the theme is appropriately that of a Lenten victory over licentiousness" (17). This is a notion that will be profitably explored by other critics, and the use of carnival devices and referents in the moralities will be a major concern of this study.

The studies of Spivak and Bevington are important in establishing the moralities as drama that develops doctrinal concerns in terms of a new dramatic aesthetic. A third

"generation" of critics focuses more exclusively on the morality itself, exploring the connection between the moralities and Christian doctrine: L. V. Ryan's study of salvation doctrine in Everyman, Jo Anne Martin's study of the relationship between the moralities and doctrine, and Robert A. Potter's book The English Morality Play (1975). All three studies are based on the premise that the doctrine of salvation structures the plays and determines the personifications.

The allegory was meaningful and therefore effective because the abstract ideas and their actions fit a coherent and familiar theology, specifically the doctrine of salvation.... allegory that does not have such a clear and recognizable basis in doctrine is not successful. (Martin 29)

In studying the structure and use of allegory in the plays from this perspective, Robert Potter points out that "the traditional morality play was not a battle between virtues and vices but a ritual drama about the forgiveness of sin" (57); the moral conflict it presents is not waged between the forces of good and evil but between the forces of two realities, that of the world in which the initial character immerses himself, and that of God, towards which the process of repentance releases him. Comprehension of the doctrine of salvation permits a better understanding of the nature and function of the personified abstractions. The vices, for example, represent the Seven Deadly Sins as the active temptations of the World and the Flesh; the Virtues,

in opposition, are the traditional remedia for these temptations. Beset by these forces, the central figure is difficult to portray as a single personification (as borne out by the multiple personifications of the central character in Mundus et Infans and in Wisdom Who is Christ). Complex and occasionally fragmented in nature, humankind represents a "medieval duality": "on the one hand man is the central figure in the universe-- on the other, transitory and insubstantial" (40).

Potter provides a useful theological underpinning to the plays, a rationale for the use of allegory and a doctrinal framework for the two structural patterns in the plays, the episodic conflicts and the overarching progression toward death that Spivak had referred to as "the image of moral sequence." Although Potter's emphasis on doctrine seems congruent with the traditional notion that the plays are more didactic than dramatic, he also sees, as Auerbach originally did, an aesthetic purpose in the plays: a participation in the process of redemption, a "taking in" by the audience of divine grace. Potter presents a strong and useful argument for the doctrinal, structural, and aesthetic integrity of the moralities.

Edgar Schell's 1968 article, "On the Imitation of Life's Pilgrimage in The Castle of Perseverance," later expanded into the book Strangers and Pilgrims (1988), argues, as Potter does, for a linear, unified plot that

transcends the episodic conflicts in the plays. If the early critics of the moralities decry the lack of Aristotelian unity in the plays, and Spivak, Bevington and Potter define what they perceive to be a distinctly non-Aristotelian aesthetic shaping their plot and purpose, Schell reconciles these ideas by interpreting Aristotle's concept of "imitation of action" as

a rendering in the 'language' appropriate to a particular narrative medium...of that synthesizing principle which distinguishes plot from a series of casually related episodes, that principle which subsumes the episodes under an intelligible pattern with a beginning, a middle, and an end. It is this principle of intelligibility, this perception of the relationships among discrete episodes, which lies behind plot, informing its order and emphasis. ("Imitation..." in Taylor and Nelson 281)

For Potter this unity is based on the doctrine of redemption. In Schell's study of The Castle of Perseverance he argues that the unifying principle is grounded in the implicit metaphor and explicit techniques and imagery of pilgrimage allegory. As a paradigm of pilgrimage allegory, Schell uses Guillaume Deguilleville's allegorical poem, Le Pelerinage de la Vie Humaine, the most extended example of this form. Both in the Pelerinage and in The Castle the pilgrimage "proceeds through three closely intertwined journeys": the journey through life to death, the journey from "flawed innocence" to salvation, and "the pilgrim's physical journey through a symbolic landscape, by means of which the temporal and spiritual journeys are given sensuous

form" ("Imitation...." 283). If, in The Castle, Humanum Genus is not explicitly a pilgrim, his progress through life is informed by references to the journey; and his journey through the circular platea "realizes in theatrical terms the moral landscapes of the narrative pilgrimages"

("Imitation...." 284):

The mansions take on moral qualities...and throughout the play they serve...as physical indices of Mankind's moral state. The platea itself, the neutral ground between, is the place of moral change where the first stirrings of the spirit toward God or the world are given physical form in movements toward symbolic scaffolds. (285)

Although Bevington's is the first study to consider the relationship between the exigencies of theatrical performance and the plots and themes of the moralities, Schell's is the first study that considers the ways in which theatrical presentation translates and amplifies allegory, creating a different rendering of "imitation of action."

Fourteen years later, in Strangers and Pilgrims, Schell not only extends this analysis of The Castle but also amplifies his argument for a broader definition of Aristotelian aesthetics. Earlier critics of the morality assumed that the primary purpose of a literary work must be either mimetic or didactic; Schell argues that the mimetic and the didactic may not only coexist in a single work, but also derive from the same impulse:

Insofar as both aim to make sense of their incidents by relating them to the universal categories to which they belong, there is no difference in kind between mimetic narratives

and allegory. (7)

As Schell interprets Aristotle, mimetic pleasure comes from "the feeling of learning itself" (7). The difference between a mimetic narrative and a didactic allegory arises from what Schell considers "a matter of balance": "where mimetic poems reach from experience toward ideas for illumination, didactic allegories reach from ideas toward experience for illustration" (8).

Schell adds to his original study of The Castle as dramatized allegory the acknowledgment that the play remains "dramatized sermon," but given his interpretation of Aristotle, he does not mean by this that the morality -- or the sermon from which it springs -- is a purely didactic, and, by implication, undramatic work. Spivak had already shown that the morality shares with the sermon a special relationship to the audience, a "didactic intimacy" (113). Schell goes further, establishing groundwork for an assessment of the moralities as performed drama:

to associate morality plays initially with sermons rather than with other forms of medieval drama or other forms of allegory has the advantage of highlighting the particular way in which they are theatrical....Unlike literary allegories, morality plays and sermons are both modes of performance....(27)

Both the morality play and the sermon "speak in complex language" (28) -- the language of inflection, gesture, movement; both use this language to "reveal moral probability itself, stripped of the accidents of individual

experience" (28). It is this idea of a moral perception that overrides the depiction of the individual experience that Schell, in the tradition of Spivak and Bevington, traces through the late moralities to Shakespeare.

Potter's study of the morality as a form with its own integrity of structure and purpose, and Schell's defense of allegorical drama as a viable dramatic form whose purpose is consonant with the principles in Aristotle's Poetics resolve many of the problems that troubled Adams, Farnham, et. al. The morality can no longer be seen as "mere" allegory, and allegory itself can no longer be viewed as incompatible with the aesthetics of dramatic structure or performance. With these issues laid to rest for the moment, the more recent critics are able to address another issue, one first encountered in Schell's original article and one that is the central concern of this study: in what ways does the presentation and performance of allegorical drama alter and expand allegorical form?

A brief overview of the changes in theory of allegory over the last twenty five years reveals that the shift in perspective in critical theory parallels the shift in critical considerations of the morality. Schell does not refer to Angus Fletcher's Allegory: The Theory of a Symbolic Mode, published in 1964, four years before "On the Imitation...", nor does Fletcher turn to Bevington or Spivak for documentation in his study of allegorical form. Yet

Fletcher's consideration of allegorical structure and purpose provides an interesting theoretical underpinning to these three studies of the morality.

Unlike Schell, Fletcher defines structure of moral allegory as being in direct contrast with the structure of mimetic forms as described in Aristotle. The structure of allegory, he contends, is always dominated by two plots that often converge, the pilgrimage and the battle of virtues and vices. Each seems to move toward a logical conclusion, the quest to a destination and the battle to a resolution, but the movement itself is cyclical: the pilgrimage encompasses cycles of fall and redemption, and the battle involves juxtaposed speeches or actions. Action is symbolic to the point of being ceremonial, and, like processions, has no real destination. Conflict is balanced but, like the debate, rarely reaches a final resolution (151-161). Action and plot, moreover, are determined not through the agency of human will but through external intervention (150-151), and the central character is no more than a static medium through which plot reveals itself (36). The purpose of allegory is to reveal the nature of a hierarchical universe:

...considered as a rhetorical device, allegory has the further capacity to provide narrative and dramatic equivalents of visual, geometric diagrams. (69)

Fletcher's description of allegorical form is congruent with Bevington's description of the morality plot as being "panoramic, narrative and sequential" (3). His description

of the plot or movement of allegory as diagrammatic rather than linear provides a theoretical foundation for Schell's analysis of plot in The Castle. If, as Schell points out, the mansions on the platea provide indices of spiritual progress, the movement of Mankind from one mansion to another, to the castle or the area beneath it, provides a narrative and visual diagram of the cosmos.

Although the morality plays seem to fit Fletcher's criteria quite well, Fletcher's references are to narrative and poetic forms. It can be argued that the needs of dramatic presentation cause necessary changes in the form of dramatic allegory. Dramatic presentation replaces the described with the visual. The moral cosmos is reduced to the symbolic delineations of the stage setting; the elaborate description of the personifications is translated into costuming and symbolic movement. Structurally, Fletcher describes allegorical narrative as "expressing a tendency toward infinite extension" (177). But, as Bevington pointed out, dramatic presentation lacks the time and space to accommodate the proliferation of plot. While the plays maintain the cycle of balanced scenes and speeches, this balance coexists with an increased emphasis on sequence of plot and resolution.

Fletcher's description of the ceremonial nature of allegory provides an interesting parallel as well to V. A. Kolve's study of medieval drama as "play," The Play Called

Corpus Christi (1966). Fletcher asserts that allegory is ceremonial in nature: it contains "a more or less ritualized movement of ideas and events" (172), "...emblematic, isolated mosaic imagery; ...paratactic order;...[and] the lack of that perspective which would create a mimetic world" (171). In these characteristics, it parallels Kolve's definition of games (based on Huizinga) as both serious and convention-bound, dependent on formal order, and on the creation of "a world within a world of real life...(20)." Kolve's study, a "game analysis" of the mystery cycles, points out that medieval drama, like play, "lies outside the antithesis, truth or falsehood," and thus outside the values and expectations we have of literalist drama. The sets and action of the plays are "not designed to resemble reality but rather to translate it into a game mode, a play equivalent" (26). Writing and action are formally and deliberately stylized to create "a mythic quality, where inner meaning is made as external as any other kind of outward appearance (26). "The function of the play, as of the game, is to distance the participant and the audience from the everyday world, and to thereby "enclose the action, whether natural or mythic, in the frame of commentary" (27).

The need to instruct in doctrinal truth, to clarify and make visual certain important meanings that were spiritual and mysterious in nature, undoubtedly played a part in shaping the medieval conception of theatre: it had to be a medium in which these things could 'happen.' This necessity liberated it, and greatly increased its expressive potential. (27)

When viewed together, Fletcher's theory of allegory and Kolve's analysis of the non-allegorical mystery plays flesh out Spivak's earlier argument that the balanced formality of the morality plays is closely linked to the formality of the game, and that this formality itself leads to a deliberate departure from mimesis, and to the "didactic intimacy" that characterizes the moralities.

Combining the perspectives of Fletcher and Kolve also reveals that what allegory, game, and medieval drama in general share is an impulse to distance the audience-participant completely from everyday reality. The nature of this distancing is described by Elizabeth Burns in Theatricality: A Study of Convention in the Theatre and in Social life (1982):

Fifteenth century interludes and morality plays started with an introduction, often provided by an intermediary -- a Presenter, later by a Prologue who defined the bounds of stage illusion and established the characters as fictions that the actors would interpret. There was no attempt to deceive the spectators into believing the characters and actions to be real. They were 'mere figments.' Nevertheless, this very escape from the world of everyday reality could give such 'people' and 'actions' a significance of the people and actions of ordinary life, and could also be used to project the insignificance and essential unreality of mundane existence. (41-42)

As Burns implies, the use of distancing and allegorical personifications in the moralities does not preclude the use of figures and situations drawn from everyday life. In Flamboyant Drama, Kelley notes that this mixture of the literal and the allegorical is characteristic of fourteenth

and fifteenth century style. But the style itself is the product of fourteenth and fifteenth century ideas.

In "The Idea of a Person in Medieval Morality Plays" (1978), Natalie Crohn Schmitt argues for the dual nature of morality play personifications, at once both symbolic and literal, and notes that

the plays provide a phenomenological account of existence, and that the concepts "allegory," "personified abstraction," and "universalized type" do not account for the whole of the medieval experience of the plays, nor for the whole of our experience of them either. (23)

Schmitt argues that what we call "personified abstractions" are also projections of human drives and personalities, although the playing area may represent both the cosmos and the self: "the boundaries between the internal and the external are not clear" (25). The boundaries between literal and symbolic are further blurred by the exigencies of staging: because the characters are portrayed by real actors, "the figures are experienced as far more real than a reading suggests" (28). The concept of what Schmitt calls "simultaneous realities" (31) can be taken even further: what represents the cosmos and the self can also be a figure. Thus Schmitt reminds us that the Castle of Perseverance is also Paradise as well as the castle of the Virgin Mary. "And so Mankind is identified with Christ and the Castle with a womb" (31).

Schmitt notes that the complex levels of meaning in these plays have been discussed by Bevington, Spivak, Kolve,

and Potter (24-32), but in fact the idea of the intersection of symbol and character is suggested even in McKenzie's English Moralities from the Point of View of Allegory (1914). When McKenzie notes that the morality consists of "personified abstractions" and "universalized types," he is implicitly suggesting that, at least in the morality plays, allegory is not a simple, two-tiered view of reality. In 1955, R. W. Frank, in "The Art of Reading Medieval Allegory," extended McKenzie's argument when he described the difference between personification allegory and "symbol allegory," noting that personified abstractions are "never allegorical. They are literal; they mean what their names say they mean" (243). Meaning in such allegory resides in a "reading" of the actions and the relationships among personifications rather than in an explication of the meaning of the personifications themselves.

This first step in reevaluating the textual differences between the symbolic and the mimetic was followed, in two succeeding decades, by the destruction of another traditional dichotomy, that between allegory and symbolism. Re-examinations of allegory by Barney and Krieger point out that the relationship between the literal and symbolic levels in allegory is an extension of the distance between language and reality, between the "the signifier and the signified" in all literature. If current critical activity focuses on the figurality of all language, then the allegory

becomes a superstructure, a figure of a figure, and the distinction between allegorical and "realistic" literature becomes less certain.

Maureen Quilligan extends this when she argues that in allegory the literal and the symbolic may not exist on parallel planes: there is no simple one-to-one relationship between the personification and the universal which it represents:

the vertical conceptualization of allegory and its emphasis on disjunct 'levels' is absolutely wrong. ...it would be precise to say that allegory works horizontally, interconnecting and crisscrossing the verbal surface long before one can accurately speak of moving to another level 'beyond' the literal. (28)

Quilligan further points out that allegoresis, the act of interpreting the levels of meaning of an allegory, is a process which is preliminary to the actual, holistic experience of reading allegory, or viewing allegorical drama, an experience which fuses the particular and the universal (29-32), and, through this fusion,

...calls attention to the 'other'--- in a word, to God, or to some possible sacredness; by interfolded correspondences between word and world, one woven web of sense (one text) calls attention to the plexed...artistry of another text. (152)

The other text may be, as in typological drama, the Bible; it may be the "woven web of sense" that is this world; and it may be the pictorial arts.

The applicability of these theories of allegory as written text to the allegorical drama is made apparent in

Carolynn Van Dyke's The Fiction of Truth (1985). Noting that "in the semiotic system of allegory, an agent can take physical form without ceasing to be also a universal," Van Dyke analyzes the conjunction, in the morality, of personifications and particularized characters. Since plays like The Castle of Perseverance concern themselves with mankind's "descent into particularity" (113), it is fitting that the characterized Humanum Genus evolves into a fully realized individual or that the vices behave like "dehumanized but reformable sinners" (121). The constant shift from the abstract persona to the individual character impels a parallel shift on the part of the morality audience:

The movement of the audience's perspective between...[real characters and personifications] can be classified according to its direction... downward or upward. That is, we may apprehend intelligible truth as materially real, or we can recognize material reality's participation in universal truth. (111)

It is the tension between the allegorical and literal perspectives that Van Dyke calls "a kind of allegorical conflict" (111) and the moment at which the two merge becomes what she terms the "dramatic moment":

The dramatic moment is the one at which an abstract category becomes a human character. That kind of drama, based on ontological metamorphosis, is peculiar to allegory. (108)

Van Dyke describes the "dramatic moment" entirely through analysis of the written text. But recent scholarship in the semiotics of drama makes it clear that to truly

understand the significance of the "signifier" and the "signified" in drama, one must look not only at language, the written text, but also at the other components and conditions of performance. As Richard Emmerson points out ("The Morality Character as Sign...."), "it is important to realize that all theatrical and textual elements of medieval drama are signs requiring interpretation" (6).

Semiotic theories of drama share with current theories of allegory the notion that in theatre, as in the written text, there is an elaborate and complex interaction of signs. These signs include what Elizabeth Burns has called "rhetorical conventions," "including demeanor, gestures, and movements of the actors as well as staging, setting and timing -- all those things that contribute to understanding of the whole dramatic situation" (Burns 41). Each of these conventions is a sign, that is, language or action that stands for something else. Words, for example, become, in the words of Umberto Eco, "signs of signs," that is, they are spoken by an actor and therefore understood in the context of who is saying them. The "object of the statement" is the actor, and the world of performance therefore becomes "a world of lies in which we are entitled to celebrate the suspension of disbelief" ("Semiotics of Theatrical Performance" 115). Eco's actor/sign has multileveled significance: like a figure of speech, he is recognizable on many levels -- as representative of another

individual, a group of people, and even an ideological abstraction (117). Moreover, the complex semiotic system of acting impacts on the meaning of other signs, so that the performed play becomes the sum of their meaning. Umberto Eco describes this as "square semiosis": everything on the stage represents something else, so that "every element of that portion of the world that has been framed [put on the platform] becomes significant" (112). The semiotic view of drama, then, what Keir Elam calls "the system of systems" (32), expands on the notion that verbal representation, both literary and dramatic, has multiple and intersecting layers of meaning.

The applicability of such semiotic theory to medieval drama in general and the morality play in particular is especially significant. In "The Morality Character as Sign," Richard Emmerson reminds us that "medieval thought viewed the world as a textual complex of signs requiring interpretation" (4), but also that it differed from modern theories of semiotics in one important way: modern semioticians argue that in language every sign represents yet another sign, "in an endless chain which is hopelessly cut off from nonverbal affairs" (5); in contrast, the medieval theory of signs argues that beyond this chain of semiosis lies an ordered reality, divine Truth (5). The experience of viewing a morality play, then, involves yet transcends the process of allegoresis. Emmerson notes that

the moralities "present a hypothetical world" in which the "characters are dynamic signs generating the play's meaning, not simply human representatives of the abstract" (4), and concludes that the characters are not universalized abstractions but "individuals that signify within the rich hypothetical world created by the play" (31).

Emmerson's study indicates a new direction that morality criticism is beginning to make and that this study will undertake: a consideration of the applicability of semiotic theory to allegorical drama. The semioticians contribute to the study of the moralities a theoretical underpinning and the notion that all elements of production must be studied to truly understand their purpose. In his reassessment of medieval drama, Robert Edwards ("Techniques of Transcendence in Medieval Drama") points out that medieval drama consists in large measure of spectacle, and that this spectacle is composed of images from memory, iconography, and music (107-108). This component of the play provides a symbolic subtext that converges on the action and adds "a vertical image to the horizontal movement of mimesis." (108) Richard Falk ("Text Free Methodology for Medieval Theatre") provides the further consideration of performance context and variables. Falk broadens his definition of drama to all performance and calls this genre "theatre"; he notes that theatre may best be understood as a continuum of performer, spectators and

performance (107-108). Another intersection can be constructed from these considerations, the intersection of text and audience. Again, the levels of meaning shift, and what is constructed, in text and performance, to reveal what Edwards calls the "transcendant" can be deconstructed by the audience to reveal the "particular" -- the mimetic dimension of the play, shown in the realism of characterization and detail and, most emphatically, in the inclusion, in the mystery cycle and the moralities, of social satire.

Kolve's theory of medieval drama suggests that the "game" in which the play and the audience interact is a doctrinal one that creates its own reality (20); Jerome Taylor ("Prophetic Play and Symbolist 'Plot' in the Beauvais Daniel") describes it as "symbolist plot," "visibly divorced from reality yet intrinsically associated with serious values and portent and profoundly related to culture" (29). New responses to Kolve suggest, however, that the game involves more than the symbolic, that it is played on both symbolic and particular levels. In "Carnival Against Lent" (1986), Anthony Gash describes the content of medieval religious drama as a "counterpoint of hieratic formality and energetic clowning" (81). But if the purpose of "hieratic formality" is obviously the apprehension of divine reality, does the comic/satiric undercurrent exist only to serve this purpose? Both Gash and Martin Stevens ("The York Cycle as Carnival" [1988]) argue that the impulse for this

undercurrent is rooted in what Mikhail Bakhtin, in Rabelais and His World (1968), describes as "carnival." Bakhtin explores the phenomena of "ritual spectacles" such as carnival pageants and comic shows of the marketplace and finds in them "a boundless world of humorous forms and manifestations opposed to the official and serious tone of medieval ecclesiastical and feudal culture"(4). Constructed as the other side of a "doubled" perception of life, it opposed the perception of order, hierarchy, and immutability sanctioned in "official feasts"(9). Relegated to the marketplace and yearly carnival festivities, it provided an experience "opposed to all that was ready-made and completed, to all pretense at immutability..." (11). Carnival imagery refers to the body and its functions, to what Bakhtin terms "grotesque realism," just as the symbolic imagery of the religious spectacle refers to the divine. Seen as an element in medieval religious drama rather than as a separate celebration, the use of "carnival" becomes "subversive": it allows for the criticism of social and religious institutions even as it affirms existing hierarchies; it allows for what Bakhtin calls "festive laughter" (12), "the mood of sheer Dionysiac release" (Gash 88) even as it leads the audience to an affirmation of divine redemption.

The impact of this dualism on the purpose and dimension of allegorical drama is explored in Gash's analysis of the

morality Mankind.

Against the hierarchical dualism inherent in the formal structure of the play with Mercy up above, hell down below, and Mankind in between, ...[the vices] alert the audience to a continuous ambivalence at every level, often by exploiting the fissure that can occur when an allegorical mode is translated into dramatic form, so that moral abstractions must be rendered as recognisable social types. Mercy is Christ, the Church, and a friar.... (94)

While the vices, particularized in social types and characterized as vice-ridden individuals, can satirize and undercut the social and religious hierarchies, the use of such satirical elements in the medieval drama does not undermine the larger purpose of the plays. Stevens points this out in his discussion of the York mystery plays:

Obviously, the York plays...were not designed to render topical commentary. Nor are they properly to be classified with feasts of 'misrule,' since they are designed to show us the most exemplary rule that any community could achieve....Rather they reverse the view of the carnival: they allow the spectator to view true kingship while exposing the political rulers of 'this' world ... as the corruption or even the parodies of that standard (155).

In Shakespeare and the Dramaturgy of Power (1989), John Cox extends this argument for unity of purpose. Cox argues against the New Historicist notion that the carnival-like clowning and the satirical figures in the mystery and morality plays function to destroy the plays' affirmations of social and theological hierarchy. Using as an example the vices in Mankind, he points out that

to describe devils and the Vices as radical manifestations of popular culture is not enough: one also needs to ask what social task those manifestations actually perform in the drama.... (33)

If the Vices are designed to attack social oppression, the attack is in keeping with, rather than in opposition to the central purpose of the play, the affirmation of "Augustinian orthodoxy." Particularizing the vices allows the audience to recognize and reject as trivial the power figures of the world; characterizing Mercy as a peasant, conversely, allows the audience to associate him with Christ: no longer merely a personified abstraction, he becomes representative of a higher order of reality (34).

Once it is recognized that the morality can mix personifications with more particularized figures for a deliberate effect, it is possible to base analyses of individual plays on an assumption that the methods and purposes of the play are unified. Milla Riggio's "The Allegory of Feudal Acquisition," for example, argues that the specific references to contemporary social and economic abuses in The Castle of Perseverance are not digressive but form a "constant substructure of allusions" (207) that reinforce the play's central purpose. Both Cox and Riggio show that the use of the particular, the satirical, and socially subversive elements is compatible with the formal and abstract aspects of the play and adds dimension to the allegory.

Having recognized that the morality play is a complex allegory profoundly influenced both by its religious purpose and the cultural context in which it is performed, critics

must find the evidence from which to determine the context and the purpose. As Clifford Davidson puts it,

...the function of the text in the process of being produced or staged demands that it be tied to the visual or the iconographic tableau -- a scene or tableau likewise bound by the time, place and culture in which it is displayed. The entire work, both the words spoken on stage...and the spectacle that is seen, is not in fact something autonomous, but rather it is the result of a 'reciprocal interaction' between text and the community which brings it into being and/or observes its performance. ("Towards a Sociology of Visual Forms" 221)

Much of the current work on the mysteries and moralities is centered on the mutual dependence of audience and text. As Alexandra Johnston ("The Audience of the English Moral Play") has shown, an understanding of the audience illuminates the purpose and performance of the plays, just as textual evidence from the plays themselves provides the evidence for the nature of the audience. Thus Stevens' "The York Cycle as Carnival" discusses the York plays as reflections of a distinctly urban culture; S. E. Holbrook's "Covetousness, Contrition and the Town in The Castle of Perseverance" shows that its moral concerns are most relevant to "an audience of provincial towns" (283). Gail McMurray Gibson's "The Play of Wisdom and the Abbey of St. Edmund," argues that Wisdom, having been associated with the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, was directed at lay members of the audience but was concerned with "a specifically monastic sin -- the temptation to abandon the contemplative life" (48), while Donald C. Baker's "Is Wisdom a

Professional Play?" argues from textual evidence that the play was performed by a professional troupe in several different places and was primarily concerned with the conflict between the spiritual and the carnal. The most thorough of these studies is Gail McMurray Gibson's Theatre of Devotion which establishes links between East Anglian culture, Marian iconography, and the concerns of the N-Town Cycle.

Gibson's study bears out Davidson's contention that an understanding of the play and of the culture to which it is tied rests in part on an analysis of iconography. Although, as Martin Stevens ("The Intertextuality of Late Medieval Art and Drama") argues, the affinity of local art and drama is difficult to document (6), if one considers "the relationship between art and drama less in causative or agent terms and more on grounds of their complex intertextuality" (9), and if one considers the intertextuality of the morality with the broader spectrum of European art (for "by the late Middle Ages...visual representation...had attained an international status" [Stevens, "Intertextuality" 10]), there results a reciprocal illumination. The study of iconography, then, provides clues to the content of the plays and to their cultural context. But it also provides a key to the nature of staged allegory. Maureen Quilligan states that allegory bases itself on a sensitivity to language, that "The plots

of all allegorical narratives therefore unfold as investigations into the literal truth inherent in individual words...."(3), but recent studies by V. A. Kolve and Susan Hagen point out the centrality of imagery to the understanding of any narrative, particularly narrative allegory. In the first chapter of Chaucer and the Imagery of Narrative (1984), Kolve traces the importance of the image in medieval thinking: the eye is key to the process of understanding; the viewed image becomes transformed into the mental image. This mental image becomes the key to knowing and understanding reality, to viewing reality with an "inner eye" (9-35); and it is to this inner eye that the literary image appears:

literary images...reflect a reality not limited to the present and the material; they too present the supersensual in the form of a figure to be contemplated with the inner eye. (31)

Beyond such understanding, the image is also the key to memory, and a fixed arrangement of images can become a memorysystem, "a means of Christian remembering" (41). Kolve quotes the Rhetorica Ad Herrenium:

one should invent images [imagines] for things one wishes to remember, and then dispose them in images of places [loci], real or imaginary, that imply a single order of movement. (43)

Kolve sees the construction of images in narrative poetry, particularly the dream vision narrative, as a key to such a memory system. Thus, in Deguilleville's Pelerinage de la Vie de l'Homme:

The progress of the poem is in fact a veritable progress through images...Around it, and by its means, a good deal of the...iconographic detail, illustrative story, proverb, and moral counsel can later be reconstructed. (53-54)

Hagen's Allegorical Remembrance (1990) expands on this idea, using a detailed analysis of imagery in the Pelerinage to show that in written allegory, visualization and contemplation of the concrete image are the keys to understanding and remembering abstract concepts. She explains the medieval method of allegoresis as a triangle:

One angle represents the reading of signs for divine truths displayed in the created world.... The second angle...represents the visualization of corporeal similitudes for the elucidation of ideas; it directs us to the third angle...which represents the recall of visual images for remembrance of those ideas. (149)

This study will show that, like the dream vision allegory, the morality play draws its substance from the concrete image, both that presented on the stage and that reconstructed from stage presentations in the mind of the viewer. It can be interpreted as an elaborate memory system, one in which the loci of the stage set, the signs of costume, gesture and movement, and the elaborate relationship of ideas set up by the narrative play become a complex of signs. Yet it is also an immediate and moving experience, one established by the interaction of audience and performer.

The critical perspectives on the morality play discussed in this chapter overlap; considered in combination

and within the context of current theories of allegory and semiotics, they form a coherent larger view of a dramatic genre with a complex form and an integrity of aesthetic purpose. It is the purpose of this study to build on several strands of this developed criticism, particularly Potter's and Schell's considerations of the aesthetics and theology of the morality, Fletcher's and Quilligan's descriptions of allegory and the process of allegoresis, Eco, Emmerson and Elam's application of semiotic theories to staging, and Sheingorn's studies of the relationship between iconography and staging. Although much work has been done on the texts of the moralities, much remains to be discovered about the nature of the moralities as staged allegorical drama. It is the purpose of this dissertation to argue that through the shift from the printed page to the performance, the nature of the allegory is necessarily transformed.

The complex nature of allegorical drama in performance becomes clear when the nature of such drama is contrasted to the nature of performed drama in general. In his study of the semiotics of drama, Umberto Eco describes the multileveled significance of an actor playing a drunkard in a play advocating temperance: the actor represents an individual drunkard; the individual drunkard represents all drunkards, "the whole category" (117); yet he also "stands ironically for his contrary," temperance (117). Ultimately,

Since we have approached the rhetorical level, we are obliged to face the ideological one. Our

drunken man is no longer a bare presence. He is not even a mere figure of speech. He has become an ideological abstraction: temperance vs. intemperance, virtue vs. vice. (117)

Eco implies that the audience of performed drama is constantly engaged in a process of abstracting meaning from the specifics of performance, and that in this process the specific characters and actions are often perceived as standing for universal categories.

Eco's drunkard seems very similar to the morality Vice: both are deliberately stereotypical in their appearance and actions; both are created to represent categories and ideas. But the drunkard is never labeled: it is the audience that creates the category from the individual, abstracting the idea from the specifics of performance. In the morality play, where the characters are labeled Pride or Avarice or Sloth, the audience, liberated from engagement in the process of abstraction, may turn to the specifics of performance, to the ways in which the abstractions may be interpreted within the framework of contemporary life. Consideration of the semiotics of the morality play, then, will lead to a consideration of the ways in which the personified abstractions are deconstructed and reconstructed again in the process of performance.

Since the key to the meaning and shift in meaning of the morality plays rests in its visual elements, this dissertation will consider parallel depictions of personifications and topoi in contemporary iconography as a

means of amplifying our understanding of the staging of the plays. Clifford Davis provides an iconographic subtext for the Macro plays by studying central images, what he has termed "tableaux," for each play.⁴ This study will show that a complex of such images -- many common to all three plays discussed -- is present in the staging of the plays and that in the moralities such tableaux are used to juxtapose the static and abstract elements of the play with the dynamic elements of drama; but it will move beyond the study of the static image to consider the ways in which the placement of images in art is translated through performance into what Pamela King has called "a series of figurally inspired signals" ("Spatial Semantics and the Medieval Theatre" 47). Beyond studying and comparing the landscapes of picture and play, it will also consider the shift in the pictorial imagery produced by the play's movement in space -- the symbolism of movement across the platea -- and time -- and transformations in costuming and characterization.

In "The Visual Language of Drama," Pamela Sheingorn shows that the principles of composition which seem to govern both the late medieval pictorial arts and late medieval staging -- juxtaposition, balance, and framing -- "modulate transitions from scenes of static hierarchy to those of motion and emotion..." (183). In applying these principles to the three plays to be discussed, this study will show that these compositional elements reinforce the

complex relationship between the literal and symbolic levels of meaning in the plays.

While references to contemporary iconography will illuminate many of the "sign systems" which interact in the theatrical performance -- "facial mimicry, gesture, body movement, makeup, headdress, costume, accessory, stage design...." (Kowzan, Literature et Spectacle in Eco 108) -- the quality and possibilities of these signs must be furthered examined through the records of actual performance. In the absence of data for these plays, the circumstances of their performance in the fifteenth century and earlier can only be surmised from textual evidence in the plays themselves and from records of other productions in England⁵ and in Europe.⁶ This dissertation will use such sources to explain how the imagery common to pictorial art and drama was used in the staging, movement and gesture of plays, pageants and other public performances.

Yet another, very useful, key to the nature of the performed plays lies in contemporary productions which, as recent critics have demonstrated, have revised our notions of their scope and effect. These productions fall into two broad categories. Those that seek to re-create original conditions of performance, are, as Stanley Kahrl explains,

... a kind of laboratory experiment
Medievalists have come to understand better the theatrical dynamics of medieval play texts when they have been performed with knowledge and respect. ("The Staging of Medieval Plays" 132)⁷

Both David Parry's Toronto production of The Castle of Perseverance and Millia Riggio's production of Wisdom Who is Christ are such productions. My studies of The Castle and of Wisdom will rely heavily on tapes of these productions as well as on the producers' study of staging sources and performance effects.

A different, also useful perspective, however, can be gained through study of those performances that do not seek to reproduce the original circumstances of performance but rather test the possibilities of the text by using it in modern versions of the play. Of particular importance are the many and various productions Everyman, each adapted to the imagery and concerns of its own time⁸; the chapter on Everyman will analyze the spectrum of productions and interpretations to illustrate the possibilities of performance as a form of allegoresis and use Everyman as an example of the flexibility of dramatized allegory. Each of the three morality plays I have chosen to discuss in the chapters that follow exemplifies differently the problems and possibilities of performed allegorical drama. The Castle of Perseverance will provide the most complex paradigm of the use of traditional iconographic signs in staging; it will show how staging can amplify verbal text through visual sign. My discussion of Everyman, in contrast, will show how the text itself can be reinterpreted through shifts in signs and symbols; and my discussion of Wisdom

will trace the transformation of the play, through staging, from allegoresis to allegory to some particularization of the action in performance. As the study of these three moralities as performed drama yields hypothetical stagings of the plays, these stagings will be compared to their recent productions, or, in the case of Everyman, a history of multiple and diverse productions. Examination of these productions, both hypothetical and real, reveals the flexibility of these plays, and the shifting, multilayered nature of the allegory they present.

Notes

1. For current analyses of the morality as a separate genre see Merle Fifield, "Methods and Modes: The Application of Genre Theory to Descriptions of Moral Plays," in Everyman and Company, 7-14, which classifies morality plays in subcategories which include tragic and comic modes, and Robert Potter, "The Unity of Medieval Drama" in Contexts for Early English Drama, which argues, as does Fifield's study, for a generic definition which would include European morality plays as well as the English moralities. In Fifteenth Century English Drama: The Early Moral Plays and their Literary Relations, William Davenport argues that the morality is not a single genre, but rather that groups of morality plays can be generically considered tragedy, comedy, or epic-drama forms.
2. See Hardison 19.
3. Spivak notes that the game played by citizens of More's Utopia is probably parallel to the battles of Virtues and Vices in the Psychomacheia and in the Paternoster Play (100).
4. Cf. Clifford Davidson, Visualizing the Moral Life.
5. See the REED volumes.
6. Cf. Meredith and Tailby, The Staging of Religious Drama in the Late Middle Ages.
7. For discussions of productions of the plays studied in this dissertation which seek to reproduce the original conditions of performance, see David Parry, The Castle of Perseverance: A Critical Edition which uses evidence from his production of that play in Toronto; Milla Riggio, The Wisdom Symposium, a collection of essays which supply the critical underpinnings for Riggio's production of Wisdom at Trinity College while also drawing conclusions based on performance data, and Coletti and Sheingorn, "Playing Wisdom at Trinity College". For discussions of other such productions, see Neuss, "The Staging of the Creation of the World," Parry, "The York Mystery Cycle at Toronto," and Twycross, "Playing the Resurrection." For a history of morality play performances, see the first chapter of Potter, The English Morality Play.
8. For histories of Everyman performances, see pp. 145-147 of this dissertation; Potter, The English Morality Play, 1-5; Helen Adolf, "From Everyman and Elckerlijck to Hoffmansthal and Kafka"; and Astington, Everyman, 8. For studies of individual productions, see Martin Stevens, "The Reshaping of Everyman: Hoffmansthal at Salzburg;" Mimi D'Aponte, "

'Everyman and roach' in Retrospect:
A Study of Street Theatre that Worked," and Earl Schreiber,
"Everyman in America"; Patricia White, "Everybody on Stage";
and Glynne Wickham, Shakespeare's Dramatic Heritage, 33.

The Castle of Perseverance: Framing the Journey

In a recent study of the morality plays, W. A. Davenport (Fifteenth Century English Drama [1982]) reiterates the concerns of many earlier critics when he describes The Castle of Perseverance as ponderous and lacking in dramatic power:

It lacks...flexibility of tone...; its all-inclusiveness has the disadvantage of great length ...; its ambitious staging gives a ponderous deliberation to the actions and movements of the play....There is very little dialogue in the play; for the most part characters do not converse as much as elocute and expiate alternately. (106)

Davenport's critique underscores the continuing need to understand the nature of the morality plays on their own grounds, not those limited by the standards and pace of naturalism. As the earliest complete extant English morality play (c. 1400-1425) and the longest (3649 lines) The Castle of Perseverance is paradigmatic: it presents many of the ideas, images and structures of later and shorter plays. The Macro manuscript that contains the text also provides a stage plan, which has inspired important theatrical studies of the play; studies of the theatricality and theatrical performances themselves have, in turn, proven valuable to the understanding of the dynamics and significance of the play. To understand The Castle of Perseverance, therefore, it is useful to look at the underlying semiotic systems in

the play and at the ways in which may be understood and interpreted by the audience. In applying a semiotic approach to The Castle, Richard Emmerson notes that "The interpretation of a morality is...affected by...a consciousness external to, yet assumed by the play" (16).

At some points in the play the audience will draw on "common frames," common sense knowledge about practical and everyday situations, to correlate the signifier (world) with relevant signifieds (e.g., various kingdoms...). At other points the audience will draw on various "intertextual frames," knowledge that the play's action elicits from the audience's "treasury of intertextuality." The audience may thus interpret world by drawing upon its previous knowledge from relevant co-texts such as sermons. (16)

A comprehensive study of The Castle of Perseverance, then, must include examination of the text, the performance, and the audience's frames -- the various contexts through which they understand and react to the performed play. In this study, therefore, I will use iconography from fourteenth century church decoration, psalters, and illustrations from parallel dream-vision allegory to explain the images with which the audience is presumably familiar and which it associates with the allegory it will view. Images provide a key both to the staging and costuming of the plays (how they are performed in the particular) and their allegorical significance. Examination of the topoi as they appear as well in didactic literature will further amplify this frame. I will use performance data, particularly data drawn from the important David Parry

production in Toronto, 1979 (fig. 1) to show how the logistics of performed drama materialize the ideas of the text and associated iconography and how the actual performance affects the audience.¹ Understanding of the possibilities of performance will also be expanded through references to the staging of medieval mysteries and miracle plays. By using these sources, I will explore the ways in which the levels of meaning, literal, figural, and allegorical, coexist and interact in the play.

Semioticians point out that the existence of some kind of defined area where the acting takes place is essential to the existence of drama; the space is needed to provide a boundary between the real world of the audience and the illusion of the play (cf. Burns 72). The boundary defines the nature of the dramatic universe, the semiotic system that the play establishes for its audience; but to the degree that the boundaries change, so does the nature of the universe depicted. Writing about contemporary productions of medieval drama, Pamela King notes that

From reports of reconstructed performance comes an increasing awareness of the diverse relationships that the complex theatrical space created between the world of the play and that of the audience. Previously...most accounts assumed that the audience observed, interpreted, learned...on a plane...distinct from the players. Reconstructions have led to observations on how the audience becomes 'involved' in elements of the play ... we are struggling now to articulate the nature of the observable changing relationship between play and audience within the complex space. (46)

For The Castle of Perseverance, the nature of these

boundaries depends on the nature of the stage plan as shown in the Macro manuscript. The plan shows a castle surrounded by a circular moat; outside the moat is an arrangement of five scaffolds, representing God, the Devil, the World, the Flesh and Covetousness (fig. 2). In The Medieval Theatre in the Round, Richard Southern argues that this diagram represents the theatre. The moat, as well as a small hill, surrounds the theatre and within it the audience sits or stands on the grass. Although the scaffolds are shown to be outside the circle, Southern argues that they may have been inside it, and that actors moved freely between the scaffolds and the castle. The audience on the green would be turning to follow the action in the central castle or on the scaffolds, moved around by "stytelers" to allow the movement of actors and to keep the sightlines (and the paths of the actors) clear. "Here the spectators must have become accustomed to constant forming and reforming of the boundaries of illusion through conventions shared with the actors" (72) notes Elizabeth Burns, who accepts Southern's theory.

Natalie Crohn Schmitt's article, "Was There a Medieval Theatre in the Round?" challenges Southern's theory that the diagram in the Macro manuscript describes a whole theatre, arguing instead that the diagram represents a set design. In Schmitt's explication, the moat surrounds the castle; the scaffolds remain outside it. Traveling from scaffold to

platea, the actors might move among the audience members; traveling from scaffolds to the central castle, they would have to circle the central area, then cross a bridge to the castle. Schmitt's theory is grounded in practical considerations and draws upon solid textual and contextual evidence; it is also consistent with parallel allegorical depictions, in literature and in art, of the moated castle, besieged by the vices. According to this reconstruction, the moated castle would be the one part of the playing area completely cut off from the audience; the scaffolds would be accessible.

Steven Pederson's The Tournament Tradition and the Staging of The Castle of Perseverance presents further evidence for the separation between the castle playing area and the scaffolds. Arguing for a strong connection between the tournament tradition and The Castle, Pederson notes that in tournaments the circular playing area was always separated from the spectators, who were seated on scaffolds and galleries. Higher and more elaborate scaffolds were erected for kings and courtiers in the spectators' area, and these, like the scaffold of Mundus, "were decorated with tapestries, embroidery, buntings and shields" (43), representing the feudal hierarchies, loyalties and temptations of the outside world.

If the Macro manuscript illustration is in fact a stage set, then the location and significance of the central area

and surrounding scaffolds are essential to an understanding of the play. In Early English Stage Glynne Wickham points out that the concepts of platea, or acting area, and locus, or specified space, are common to all medieval stagecraft (160). In "Spatial Semantics and the Medieval Theatre," Pamela King builds on Wickham's definitions:

The locus is a confined area, probably dependent to a large degree on static placing of scenic elements and actors to create visually intelligible context, even arrangement like a devotional picture. The platea is the location of movement and action, of transition between those pictures.... In a drama dedicated to the articulation of man's relationship with the Deity according to an almost feudal order, the movement or disorder of the platea alternating with the order presented by the loci presents constantly a spatial articulation of the central preoccupations. (46)

The placement of (and separation between) platea and loci is important both in describing the relationship between audience and play and in explaining the figural relationship of the two elements within the play. The movement and disorder described by King means that the barrier between audience and play, and therefore the degree to which the audience separates from the world of the play and regards it as realistic or abstract, constantly shifts.

the figural meaning of this set and of all locus and platea spaces depends on the 'active' role of the audience being engaged and disengaged at different points in the action, in different places within the space. (King 51)

This "figural meaning," however, equally depends on the relationship (and, in this case, the separation) of the

castle and the scaffolds as symbols:

The barrier of the moat is...figurally the important division between the world at large and its temptations, and individual moral fortification....As the world outside is a mimetic presentation of everywhere at all times, it can have no containing boundaries. (King 50) ²

That the setting of The Castle of Perseverance depicts the universe of the play is underscored by its function as a mnemonic device. Both V.A. Kolve (Chaucer and the Imagery of Narrative) and Mary Carruthers (The Book of Memory) show that in medieval memory theory the use and orderly placement of concrete allegorical images not only expands human cognition of spiritual reality but also creates an orderly memory system. The architectural mnemonic system ("one should invent images...for things one wishes to remember and then dispose of them in images of places (loci)...that imply a single order of movement" [Rhetorica Ad Herennium quoted in Kolve 43]) calls for

the observer positioned frontally in respect to the scene, at a distance from which the whole composition can be taken in completely at a glance; [and]...the "hierarchical" arrangement of the images, which enables them to be "read off" in sequence -- this sequence can be from the center to either side, or, in a circular arrangement, clockwise or counterclockwise. (Carruthers 144)

In the case of The Castle the loci are the castle and the scaffolds; their significance is determined both by their function in this play and their symbolic significance in the memory systems already established in the audience; their location and the circular movements between them establish

the new memory system which the audience will retain after viewing the play. In The Castle of Perseverance, as in all performed drama, the significance of the loci is influenced both by the other semiotic "systems" of the performance --the acting, props, movement and narrative -- and by the perspective through which the audience views them. Southern, Schmitt, et. al. describe a playing area in which the stance and visual perspective of the audience on the green shifts with the movement of the action from scaffold to scaffold or scaffold to castle around the platea but in which the actual positions of castle and scaffolds remain fixed. It is useful, therefore, to analyze the significance in the symmetrical arrangement of the loci and the original arrangement of the characters before describing the changes made by possible shifts of perspective.

In "The Visual Language of Drama," Pamela Sheingorn argues that "visual composition, the ordering of individual visual units, shapes content and contributes to meaning" in drama as well as in art (174), and that "scenes that present subject matter governed by traditional medieval presentation in the medieval arts reflect specific ways of using the principles of visual composition based on perception theory" (177).

In A Primer of Visual Literacy, Dennis Dondis shows that balance is a primary principle of visual composition:

Many things in the environment appear to have no stability. A circle is a good example. It seems

the same however we look at it, but in the act of seeing, we supply it with stability by imposing on it the vertical axis that analyzes and determines its balance as a form and then adding the horizontal base as a reference that completes the sense of stability. (23-24)

The lack or presence of these balancing factors, says

Dondis, determines the effect of the visual form:

The process of ordering, of intuitively recognizing regularity or the lack of it, is an unconscious one....For both the sender and the receiver of visual information the lack of balance and regularity is a disorienting factor. In other words, it is the most effective of all visual means in creating an effect in response to message purposes. (25)

Sheingorn builds on these theories, showing that the principle of balance is particularly important in medieval art and drama:

Experiments in perception demonstrate that we seek balance by positing a main vertical axis and a subsidiary horizontal axis as referents, and...by "weighing" the visual elements on opposite sides of these axes....When a large and important figure coincides with the vertical axis of the composition and the eye finds that figure in the balancing center, a strong sense of stability results. Such is the case in medieval drama when the figure of God, Christ, or a Saint occupies the vertical axis of the composition. (Sheingorn 177)

In The Castle of Perseverance the castle in the middle of the circle represents such a vertical axis, the immobile "balancing center" in the compositional arrangement of the staging, the most important single factor in establishing the audience's perspective of the circular platea, a perspective further established by the horizontal referent of the moat. Yet this vertical axis does not symbolize the

centrality of God. While the castle is meant to represent the virtue for which it is named, and has also often been associated with the Virgin Mary, it is clear that in this play, as in much traditional literature, the castle also represents the body and soul of man:

In the castle of the body...one finds connections with other allegorical conceptions: with that of the dissension among the members of the bodily state, with that of the microcosm..., with that of the siege, and with that of the soul and its wardens. (Cornelius 19) ³

Sheingorn suggests that when, in the Chester Creation play, Lucifer's throne occupies the central position traditionally belonging to God, the substitution is deliberate and ironic: it expresses Lucifer's pride in visual terms (177). The central placement of the Castle of Perseverance is also a deliberate disarrangement of the traditional composition. In usurping the traditional stage location for the scaffold of God or of the crucifix, the castle substitutes for a suggestion of the macrocosm a representation of the microcosm of man. This dislocation is congruent with what Sheingorn notes is the late medieval interest the physical world:

Composition is affected in that there is diminished emphasis on the centricity of God. If he is omnipresent in his creation, he need not always occupy the center of the composition. (180)

Nevertheless, the dislocation of God as central figure creates an imbalance in art and in staging. In the formal, allegorical world of The Castle of Perseverance, the

placement of the scaffold of God to the east of the castle suggests a deliberate counterforce to balance and hierarchy.

Sheingorn points out that in medieval visual arts, symmetry and hierarchy complement the balance created by the central vertical axis. In medieval art, the central figure of God is surrounded by a hierarchy of symmetrically arranged figures so that "the size and placement of God, orders of angels, saints and human beings directly state the hieratic relationships among them" (177). The use of the castle as vertical axis suggests that the world of the play may not be in such perfect balance, and indeed Sheingorn asserts that

The simple balance created by absolute symmetry and hierarchic ordering about a strong balancing center characterizes the heavens or the prelapsarian creation, not the world of fallible humans. (177)

The postlapsarian world is not the world of chaos shown in depictions of Hell, but rather one of tension or stress, and, Sheingorn notes, in both late Gothic art and the Last Judgment plays in the Corpus Christi cycles, stress is emphasized through the introduction of vertical figures on either side of the central figure. In the Last Judgment the vertical groups are the saved and the damned, symmetrically placed at the right and left of the central figure of Christ:

The stress created by these conflicting vertical motions effectively reminds viewers of the stressful choice between good and evil behavior that confronts them. (Sheingorn 178)

The vertical scaffolds that surround the castle reflect similar tensions and choices. That the major conflict in the play is not the cosmic struggle between God and the Devil but between temporal and spiritual forces is underscored by their placement. The compass points at the perimeter of the platea are dislocating to modern perceptions: the South is on top and the North at the bottom; East is on the left and West on the right. The scaffold of God is to the East of the castle; facing (and opposing) it in the West is the scaffold of Mundus, the World. On the North is the scaffold of the Devil, and facing it, on the South, is that of the Flesh. The fifth scaffold, set between the scaffolds of the Devil and of God, completing what might be called a pentangular arrangement, is that of Covetousness. As far as can be determined in stage directions, Covetousness is the only scaffold which might possess, like the castle, a lower chamber. The reason for its inclusion and its unique construction becomes evident in the action of the play: it is between this scaffold and the castle that Humanum Genus most often travels; and if the essential opposition in the play is between the world and God, the resulting conflict is, ultimately, between the impulse of Perseverance, the force which impels Mankind to God, and that of Covetousness, the human appetite for material goods which impels him, with equal force, towards the world. If the opposition between God and Mundus is shown in their East and West positions, the

opposition of Perseverance and Covetousness is equally implicit in their placement on the platea. The castle is in the middle of the circle, but Covetousness exists on its furthest perimeter; the Castle is central, inward and static, but the scaffold of Covetousness is external, a stopping-off point in the journey of Humanum Genus, part of a larger, malevolent Primum Mobile that seeks to draw man centrifugally away from the state of Perseverance and into the cycle of mortal life, for it is "an euele ordeyned to loue good of pis world...." (The Book of Vices and Virtues 30).⁴

The location of the scaffold of Covetousness clearly disrupts the symmetry of the setting; and the imbalance it creates is underscored by its placement (in the Macro manuscript diagram) on the lower left side of the platea. According to Sheingorn,

A second element of perception theory asserts that the human eye, after seeking a balancing center, displays a marked tendency to scan the lower left portion of the visual field....Therefor weightier objects can occupy the lower left...where weight accrues to objects because of the tension required to maintain their positions away from the balancing center. (178)

In medieval staging, as in medieval art, Satan and his forces are traditionally placed on the left side of God or Christ and the tension between God and Satan is therefore reflected in the tension between the lower left object and the balancing center (Sheingorn 178). In The Castle of Perseverance, the placement of the scaffold of Covetousness

in this position underscores its importance, creates the same sort of visual tension, and also creates an automatic visual association of Covetousness with Satan.

As Sheingorn has pointed out, the disruption of balance and symmetry in late medieval art and staging reflects a growing consciousness of the imbalance in the postlapsarian world and of the tension between physical and spiritual impulses. Sheingorn notes the emergence of two additional compositional elements in late medieval art that reflect this tension, juxtaposition and framing:

At its most basic level juxtaposition pairs opposites like Church and Synagogue, Virtues and Vices, deadly sins and acts of mercy, pairings that both summarize narrative content effectively and make antithetical relationships immediately clear. For this reason morality plays tend to employ a structure of paired opposites. (184)

Certainly the first introduction to this pairing of opposites in The Castle of Perseverance is in the pattern of opposing scaffolds. But Sheingorn points out that there is another form of juxtaposition operative in late medieval art, the juxtaposition of the traditional subject and "environmental realism" (184). Sheingorn's example of such visual juxtaposition in drama is the final scene of the Second Shepherd's play, where, as in contemporary triptychs, the "balancing center of the Madonna and child,"

is surely staged so that false and true nativities are visual juxtaposed. The play thus resolves the dissension in the world of the shepherds in a profoundly moving moment that bridge the gulf between the sacred and the profane and, at the same time, through juxtaposition, resolves the conflict

between old and new modes. (185)

Sheingorn notes the use of juxtaposition to reveal and resolve the gap between the spiritual and the profane not only through a visual arrangement that mirrors the plot, but also in staging arrangements that vividly contrast a high level of physical activity on the platea ("dramatic action") with a static central tableau which becomes a "balancing center." She cites Otto Pacht's description of the Descent from the Cross in the Albany Psalter:

Out of action a stationary moment has been gained, a scene, cut out as it were from the flow of events, held up to the beholder "like a picture," hereby subliminating a passing episode into a ceremonial display of lasting significance. (Pacht in Sheingorn 185)

This central tableau, the "lasting display," in repeating a familiar mnemonic image, is iconic and symbolic in nature -- in essence, allegorical -- while the flow of activity on the stage is, in its use of familiar dialogue, dramatic action and contemporary references, literal.

Meg Twycross discovers such moments in her description of a contemporary production of a mystery play ("Playing 'The Resurrection'"):

The extreme of distancing comes when the 'framing effect' of the wagon posts and fascia is exploited so that the playwright, in the midst of events, suddenly resolves the action into a familiar picture -- the Annunciation, the Crucifixion, Pentecost. The contrast between action and image, the sudden shift of focus, can be emotionally extremely powerful; at one moment the characters are talking to the audience, at the next they are part of a venerable icon. This suddenness of contrast seems...to be part of the

playing with illusion.... [of] contrasts between different distances, different depths of focus. (277)

In the morality plays, visual juxtaposition may become a medium through which the allegorical element sublimates the literal event, while the literal event deconstructs the allegory of the central tableau. In The Castle of Perseverance the castle and the scaffolds as fixed stage set establish the permanent allegorical milieu of the play; they may be supplemented by the tableaux of elaborately costumed characters fixed in immobility on separate scaffolds while action continues on the platea below, creating an effective juxtaposition to action below them.

The final principle of composition which Sheingorn discusses is that of framing. In medieval art, elaborate pictures of foliage or everyday vignettes border pictures of scriptural subjects. These pictures do not comprise firm boundaries between the viewer and the picture, but rather serve as "mediators between the human and the divine that facilitate interpretation of the central, doctrinally significant scene" (187). Sheingorn sees analogues of this technique in the temporal framing devices of scenes and music of medieval drama, and points out that

In medieval wall painting, as in medieval theater, there is no firm division between viewer and field of vision. The audience is in the work of art. Framing as a principle of visual composition imposes meaningful order by supplying the appropriate context. (187)

Visually, it may be that the scaffolds surrounding the moated castle supply the "frame" for the action, and act as a buffer between the audience and the world of the play. Verbally, the frame is supplied both in the earlier banns and, at the beginning of the play, by the opening speech of Mundus. The formal introduction of the vexillators is the sermon before the exemplum which is the play. The vexillators, in the words of Elizabeth Burns, define "the bounds of stage illusion and...[establish] the characters as fiction that the actors...interpret" (42). Mundus' speech completes the framing effect by linking the beginning of the play to the end: it is intentionally and ironically similar in style and substance to the final speech of God. Thus, Mundus proclaims:

Al pe world myn name is ment.
 Al abowtyn my bane is blowe,
 In euery cost I am k nowe,
 I do men rawyn on ryche rowe
 Tyl pei be dyth to dethys dent. (ll.65-9)⁵

And, after reciting the names of all the world's kingdoms, concludes:

All pese londys at myn avyse
 Arn castyn to my werdly wyse. (ll. 179-189)

While, at the end of the play, God proclaims:

Kyng, kayser, knyght and kamyoun,
 Pope, patriark, prest and prelat in pes,
 Duke dowtyest in dede, be dale and be doun,
 Lytyl and mekyl, pe more and pe les,
 All pe statys of pe werld is at myn renoun;
 To me schel pei yeue accompt at my dygne des.
 (ll. 3611-16)

As a framing device, Mundus' speech also provides a

context for the play. The vexillators' speeches introduced the audience to the world of play; Mundus' speech involves them in that world. He directly addresses the audience, ordering them to be quiet and then requesting their allegiance; he reminds them that, while they live, they are under his command:

Buske you, bolde bachelerys, vndyr my baner to
abyde
Where bryth basnetys be bateryd and backys are
schent.
Ye, syrrys semly, all same syttyth on syde.... (163-
166)

In Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil, Spivack regards the conventional self-exposition of the vices as a formal sermon in reverse, a "conventional formula" (184) through which the character creates a bridge between lesson and play:

Creating for them as he does the moral lesson of the play, he continues his didactic assignment by interpreting the lesson for them at every opportunity, interlacing the action with a running commentary. (186)

As Spivack points out, the relationship between a vice and the audience is complex and fraught with irony: "he treats them as his fellow conspirators in the 'game' or 'sport' unfolding to their eyes and ears" (188). But the complexity of the Mundus-audience relationship is greater still: while it is clear that Mundus is an abstraction, the world in which he operates is the particular one of the audience.

The position and construction of the stage set establishes the world of illusion of the play; but it is the

appearance, speeches, and actions of the characters that deconstruct and reconstruct the level of reality on which they operate. An examination of the nature, action, and possible appearance of Mundus is therefore essential to an understanding of The Castle of Perseverance.

The personification of Mundus as a contemporary ruler to whom all nations owe allegiance is unusual; but the conflict between the world of man and the world of God is basic to the philosophy and the art of the fifteenth century. Both John Cox (Shakespeare and the Dramaturgy of Power) and Donald Howard (The Three Temptations) attribute the popularity of this idea to the centralization of power and the increasing separation of church and state in the late Middle Ages. As Howard points out, the notion of a corrupt and corrupting world is implicit in the traditional concept of the Three Temptations: the World exists as a tempter, an initiator: "at itself the World was a thing indifferent: it was not intrinsically evil, but it was a source of suggestion..."(65). The pull of the World is internal as well as external. It begins with the impulse of the senses, the needs of the body, and notions bred by worldly experience (60). It grows through lust for property or fear of adversity (62). Ultimately, it leads man away from God and toward the excesses of the Devil (kingly power, worldly honor, dignity and rank) (54).

Howard points out that the notion of the World, as the

first of the Three Temptations, leading inevitably to sin, became especially important between the twelfth century and the fifteenth century when Contemptus Mundi, "the attitude of indifference by which one kept the will from loving actively the things of the World" (68), became a set theme for treatises. The notion of Contemptus Mundi implies that any participation in the world will almost inevitably result in corruption, and that embracing the material world (and the Flesh) will as inevitably lead to the lust for power, the temptations of the Devil, and the ultimate sin of Pride. Therefore, implicit in the notion of Contemptus Mundi is a suspicion and ultimately a condemnation of worldly power.

John Cox traces this concept of antagonism between secular and spiritual powers beyond fourteenth century political concerns with burgeoning and overweening political power to the Augustinian concept of the City of God and the City of Man. Implicit in Augustine's work, says Cox, is a distrust of political realism and the sense that only through rejection of secular power can one survive spiritually. Derived from these concepts is the elemental conflict in medieval drama between potentia humilitatis ("an excellence which makes it soar above all the summons of this world...." [Augustine in Cox 23]) and libido dominandi, the desire for secular power.

The portrait of the powerful in medieval religious drama is in fact constructed on the principles of the City of Humankind, as Augustine describes it. Herod's jealousy of the Christ child expresses his

essential libido dominandi -- his inability to tolerate rivalry. The same motive animates other kings -- Gertrun..., Pharaoh, Pilate, Caesar....(23)

Cox discusses the characterization of Herod as tyrant in the mystery plays as an example of libido dominandi, and it is tempting to find a close correlation between the depiction of Herod in the mystery plays and that of Mundus in The Castle of Perseverance. The text of The Castle makes it clear that the audience must be reminded of the ranting Herod in the figure of Mundus the King. In all the English mystery cycles except Chester (where this monologue occurs later) the Herod plays open with speeches of self-exposition similar to that of Mundus; in these speeches, as in the speech of Mundus, a relationship is established between the character and the audience, whom he addresses directly, boasting of his power over them:

Peasse. both yong and old, at my biding, I red!
 For I have all in wold: in me standys life and dede.
 Who that is so bold, I brane hi thugh the hede!
 (Wakefield Herod ll. 91-93)

Rosemary Woolf points out that Herod represents more than the historical and the contemporary tyrant, citing from Towneley, "Lord I am of every land"...."All earthly thyng bowes to my hand"... "I am king of all mankinde" (203). Besides impersonating Mundus, Herod is, Woolf also notes, the type of Satan: "in the Ludus Coventriae he claims: 'I dyngge with my dowtynes pe devyl down to helle/ ffor bothe of hevyn and of herthe I am king sertayn,' and in Coventry he

asserts, 'And prynce am I of purgatorre and cheff capten of hell'" (203). As historical character, figure of contemporary power, type of Satan, and allegorical personification, Herod's self-proclaimed power is deconstructed by the text: although he believes he is Mundus, Satan, even God (" 'For I am evyn he thatt made both hevin and helle' [Woolf 203]), his power is limited and destined to be destroyed by God. Mundus' power, in contrast, though limited, is real: he has complete control over Mankind's earthly welfare. Herod's threats are vaguely comical: no one in the audience will be brained through the head; Mundus' threat, poverty or prison, is far more believable and certainly less bombastic. In his deliberate imitation of the speech of Herod, Mundus reminds the audience that like the tyrant he can destroy, but that, unlike Herod, he is not explicitly evil. The difference between Mundus and Herod is the difference between king and tyrant. The tyrant is actively evil because, in his blindness to the overarching cosmos, he attempts to subvert the natural order. Mundus, on the other hand, is a part of the natural order of things and exists on the bottom level of an ordered cosmos: he is a source but not an enactment of evil.

If Mundus reminds the audience of the tyrant of the mystery plays, he may be costumed more as a contemporary monarch than as the ranting Herod. Miriam Skey points out

that whereas earlier depictions of Herod might have depicted him as "majestic and powerful ruler," a symbol of secular power in pictures "glittering with gold" (4), depictions of Herod in the art of fifteenth-century England show him as substantially different in appearance from the dignified, crowned and sceptered king who greets the Magi. The Herod of the Massacre of the Innocents, of the mystery plays, is the one that most often appears in thirteenth, fourteenth, and particularly fifteenth century English churches. A scimitar has replaced the sword, and a snarling, blackened visage has replaced the earlier pose of majesty. This Herod is dressed in red rather than gold and is surrounded by demons who whisper in his ear or torment him and "in several instances where Herod is vividly associated with evil...[he is] shown wearing a special crown -- one inhabited by the devil himself" (7-8).

In his similarity to the earlier Herod and his distinct difference from the snarling, damned tyrant, Mundus reminds the audience of the very different evil of secularity. He is characterized and costumed as a contemporary monarch and his seating on a raised curtained "royal" scaffold establishes him as the equal of royal audience at a play or tournament. In the 1979 production of The Castle in Toronto, Mundus rode onto the platea in the manner of tournament participants, circling the playing space once before alighting and climbing the stairs to his scaffold. He was costumed in gold

and held crown, globe and scepter.⁶ The Toronto production added another touch, again consistent with the trappings of the tournament: encircling Mundus' arms were the coats of arms of all the countries of the world.

The Toronto production of The Castle also drew on traditional iconography in the depictions of Caro and Satan. Satan's scaffold was the Hell Mouth characteristic of the mystery plays: -- jawlike, fringed with teeth, with a trapdoor at the bottom, and cage doors instead of a curtain. At crucial moments in the play, smoke belched from it.⁷

(fig.3) Satan, again in keeping with traditional iconography, was bestial, horned, hooped and with a tail.⁸ As he spoke, attendant demons, also animal-like, descended from the scaffold and poked at the audience with pitchforks (according to Pederson the "energetic physicality of Satan's speech" suggests that he himself parades around the platea, returning to his scaffold [85]). Satan's opening lines support this traditional characterization:

I champe and I chafe, I chocke on my chynne,
 I am boystows and bold, as Belyal pe blake.
 What folk that I grope pei gapyn and grenne,
 Iwys fro Carlylle into Kent my carpynge pei take,
 Bothe pe bak and pe buttoke brestyth al on brenne,
 Wyth wekys of wreche I werke hem mykyl wrake.
 (ll. 198-203)

Clearly, Satan remains the scriptural figure of the mystery plays. This is the Satan that the Toronto production portrayed in contrast to the dignified Mundus. But the text of the play implies that this Satan also exists as exemplum:

he clearly embodies all the deadly sins and particularly, in this speech, the three principal sins, Wrath, Envy, and Pride, who inhabit his scaffold. The text also shows that Satan, like Mundus, is a king:

Pryde, Wrette, and Enuye, I sey in my sawe,
Kyngys, kayserys, and kempys and many a kene
knyth,
pese louely lordys han lernyd hem my lawe.
(ll. 214-216)

The Satan of the moralities, an idea made literal, would be more than the scriptural figure and the bestial creature of most scriptural illustrations, for the dialogue indicates that he is also arrayed and behaving as the enthroned Prince of Hell. More than the figure of Mundus, the character of Satan may be costumed to resemble the tyrannical Herod of fifteenth century drama and art, a figure that holds an unsheathed sword instead of a scepter, sits enthroned with red-stockinged legs crossed, grinning, and surrounded by horned, animal-like demons (Skey 5-7). The third Temptation, Caro, provides yet another, very human contrast:

I byde as a brod brustun-gutte abouyn on pese
tourys.
Euerybody is pe betyr pat to myb byddynges
bent.
I am Mankyndys fayre Flesch, flordhyd in flowrys.
My lyge is syth lustys and lykynges ilent.
With tapytys of tafata I tymbyr my towrys.
(ll. 235-239)

Again, the Toronto production drew on the traditional topos. Caro is fat, the victim of his own vices. He wears a large plumed hat and clothing representative of the traditional nobleman. His attendants, Lechery, Gluttony and Sloth, are

dressed in the costume of contemporary nobility (fig 4). The production extended the notion of juxtaposition in the play by again providing contrasts between the Three Temptations. In the Biblia Pauperum the three kings of the Epiphany, kneeling in the posture of humilitas, are flanked by two other kings, David and Solomon, seated, throned, and wielding scepters (fig. 5). Clearly the contrast between the Magi and their types is the contrast between humilitas and pride. The Temptations, also a group of three, also exemplify pride. For them, as for historical monarchs, kingship clearly denotes power:

Behold pe Werld, pe Deuyl, and me!
 Wyth all oure mythis we kyngys thre
 Nyth and day besy we be
 For to distroy Mankende (ll. 266-9)

The Temptations, then, are both abstract and particular: in the costume, gesture, and speech derived from traditional topoi, they recall to the audience the complex and abstract nature of vice; in the use of contemporary clothing, they remind the audience of the particularization of these vices in contemporary figures of power.⁹

While the speeches of the World, the Devil, and the Flesh make it clear that their scaffolds are inhabited, no reference is made in the early and middle portions of the play to the scaffold of God: it may well be empty or curtained. As Schell points out, it is, at this point

a theatrically passive boundary. No one seems to appear on the scaffold itself, and nothing happens in relation to it until very much

later in the play. And, if it has a curtain, it seems most likely that it is closed. Questions of salvation, then, are literally remote on the stage on which Mankind is set to act. (Strangers 22)

In contrast to the elaborately costumed, boasting Temptations, Humanum Genus first enters the platea (probably from a trap door under the Castle) entirely naked,¹⁰ except for the chrism cloth, protected only partially by the Castle above him. Like the costuming, the nakedness is emblematic. Traditionally a symbol of purity and innocence (*nuditas virtualis*) and of man's natural state (*nuditas naturalis*) (Ferguson 49), it also recalls the state of Adam and Eve: the life of Humanum Genus will parallel the scriptural fall and redemption of humankind. Yet his consciousness of his nakedness and vulnerability, like that of Adam and Eve, is the consciousness of a postlapsarian existence in which man is vulnerable to the needs of the body:

I am nakyd of lym and lende
 As Mankynd is schapyn and schorn
 I not wedyr to gon ne to lende
 To helpe myself mydday nyn morn. (ll. 279-282)

If Humanum Genus is all humankind, he is also the single, particularized individual, real in his shivering nakedness, for as Michael Kelley (Flamboyant Drama) points out, he continually refers to himself using the singular personal pronoun: "The result of this shift of reference and dramatic function is a flamboyant fusion of the abstract and the concrete, the general and the particular" (34-35).

Bonus Angelus echoes Humanum Genus' lament:

Of woful wo man may synge,
For iche creatyre helpyth hymself bedene
Saue only man at hys comynge. (ll. 328-330)

The two angels assigned to Humanum Genus, like Humanum Genus himself, are complex in nature: not really personified abstractions, they not only externalize the internal impulses of the central character towards good and evil but are also external forces. Clifford Davidson has pointed out that the Evil Angel is closely associated with the notion of the daemon, while the concept of the guardian angel derives from Acts 12.15 (56-57). The traditional representation of the angels can be seen in an illustration from a manuscript of the Pelerinage de l'Ame: the soul of protagonist, naked except for his scrip and staff, is being held aloft by two angels, the one on his right robed, nimbed and winged, and the one on his left horned, bestial, and bat-winged (fig.6). It is clear that these are representations of external forces of good and evil. Another illustration from the Pelerinage de l'Ame allows for a different interpretation: the still-naked protagonist, watching other naked souls ascend to heaven, stands in front of a larger guardian angel, nimbed, winged, cowled and tonsured as a monk (fig.7). The role of the angels as messengers/advisors allows them to be particularized in performance: in the Toronto production, they were both presented as monks (with folded, hardly noticeable wings), the good angel dressed in

white with a blue surplice, the bad angel in a monk's brown robe.

Ultimately the argument that draws Humanum Genus beyond the ditch that surrounds the castle and toward the scaffolds is the promise of food and the consolation of time:

pi flesche pou schalt foster and fede
 Wyth lofly lyuys fode.
 Wyth pe Werld pou mayst be bold
 Tyl pou be sixty wyntyr hold.
 Wanne pi nose waxit cold,
 panne mayst pou drawe to goode. (ll. 414-419)

Humanum Genus agrees:

I vow to God, and so I may
 Maky mery a ful great throwe
 I may leuyn many a day;
 I am but yonge, as I trowe.... (ll. 420-423)

Humanum Genus leaves the shelter of the Castle, crosses the ditch and begins to travel around the circumference of the platea-cosmos, coming into contact, for the first time, with the audience, and his movement within the platea can be said to shift the significance of the staging. Traced from scaffold to scaffold, this movement is clearly westward, or counter-clockwise. Is the movement deliberate? Is Humanum Genus consciously headed toward the scaffold of Satan? Edgar Schell seems to argue for such purposeful movement when he points out the congruence of this symbolic movement with the journey of the pilgrim in such allegorical poems as the Pelerinage de la Vie De l'Homme. Schell notes that in the earlier scene with the angels

the sense that life is a spiritual journey is sustained through the scene in verbal figures. And

at the end of the scene, as at important moments throughout the play, the underlying action is manifested in physical movement, as Mankind and the Bad Angel set off for the Mundus scaffold, weaving a wandering path to symbolize a long journey. (45)

In arguing against the use of the pilgrimage motif in The Castle, Clifford Davidson notes that the circular arrangement of the stage design "argues against seeing the play in terms of pilgrimage: instead, the action folds back around itself" (52). But, as Donald Howard points out in his study of The Canterbury Tales, in art as in literature,

Pilgrimages may have been visualized by a rota design. A pilgrimage, though a linear journey, was made by many pilgrims to a central shrine; all roads led back to Jerusalem in a wheel-like pattern. (The Idea of the Canterbury Tales 202)

Howard notes that medieval maps of the world depicted the universe as a series of concentric circles:

The eternal and cosmic had the time-bound world or man at its center; but the world had at its center Jerusalem which symbolized eternity -- as man had within his earthly body his eternal soul. The center of one design becomes the periphery of the other -- it is wheels within wheels indeed. (203)

The mnemonic device of the wheel defines the circular journey of Humanum Genus to the audience as a pilgrimage. Just as Jerusalem becomes the goal of the earthly pilgrimage, so the central Castle comes to represent the state of timelessness towards which Humanum Genus must travel.

The notion of a pilgrimage seems to imply a conscious journey toward a goal and underscores Humanum Genus' free

choice in moving from the scaffold of Mundus to Caro and Belial; but Humanum Genus seems unaware of the direction in which he is headed. Rather his journey around the platea seems inevitable, like the segments of the cosmic wheels. Such inevitability is also clearly the cases in Guillaume Deguilleville's Pelerinage. In this poem, as in The Castle, the topoi of life as a pilgrimage and life as a cycle clearly intersect: the life journey is revealed to the central character by an intermediary, Grace Dieu. The life span of man, she explains, is essentially cyclic, a microcosmic pattern parallel to that of the planets:

For if thy lyff (Yt is no doute,)
 Ys lyk a cyrcle that goth aboute,
 Round and swyffte as any thout,
 Whych in hys course ne cessel nouht
 Yiff hew go ryht and wel compace
 Tyl he kome to hys restyng place,
 Whych is God.... (ll. 12377-83)

The planets, by will, move toward the East (the direction of God) contrary to the larger, more powerful westward movement of the Caelum Mobile; and this larger movement, working against that of the planets, may force them into epicycles, retrograde westward movement, or, at best, leave them static or delayed. So, too, man's journey to God can be delayed, stopped, or even reversed by the involuntary, contrary impulses of his body, which impel him toward corporeal satisfactions, and, therefore, Death, as insistently as his soul impels him toward God and eternal life; and it is through the force of his spiritual impulse

alone that man can overcome this retrograde motion:

But yif thow have perseveraunce
 Yet in thy course be alway strong
 By process of tyme long,
 Thou shalt retourne ageyne by grace
 Un-to thyn owne du place,
 Reste in god, and ther abyde. (ll. 12404-409)

The difference between the poem and the play is the visio: aware of the nature of life, the central character of The Pelerinage is free to choose the direction of his journey. In choosing to cross into the platea, Humanum Genus recapitulates the fall of Adam and Eve from Eden. He is thrown into a world of delusion, where a vision of the divine is denied him. In the words of Carolyn Van Dyke, he descends into particularity -- and mortality (113).¹¹ In his description of the stage set of The Castle, Davidson notes that Mankind is trapped on three sides by the scaffolds of the Temptations; "his escape must be only through movements toward the East" and the (possibly curtained) scaffold of God. But Humanum Genus is unaware of this escape route. Increasingly blinded by the Temptations, his westward journey is initially impelled by biological necessity.

The circular arrangement of the platea accommodates the circular movements of Humanum Genus; but it also may reflect yet another popular topos, the Wheel of Life. In The Ages of Man, J.A. Burrow cites four versions of this topos in native English churches (Kempeley, Gloucestershire, and Leominster) and psalters of the thirteenth century. Of these, he says,

the most striking example is in the Psalter of Robert de Lisle:

At the hub of the wheel is God's head, surrounded by an inscription: "Cuncta simul cerno, totum ratione guberno"...The eternal God sees the whole of time as eternally present, including the times of man's life, which are all equidistant from him: the four ages at the corners (infantia, iuventus, senectus and decrepitus) with the ten ages into which they can be subdivided forming a circle of medallions around him. (45-46) (fig.8)

The pictures and inscriptions on the wheel clearly carry didactic meaning:

the folly of youthful hope ('I shall never suffer a fall'), the pride of maturity ('King I am, I rule the world), and the bitter disillusionment of the dying ('Life has deceived me'). (46)

If the Wheel of Life is a part of the memory system of the audience, a memory evoked by the circular arrangement of the scaffolds (surrounding the "eternally present" Castle) and the circular journey of Humanum Genus, then the ideas implied by the wheel are also implied in the circular journey. In the topos of the wheel, the biological determinism that moves man upward from infancy to "the pride of maturity" and then downward to the coffin determines, as well, his behavior. Life, then, is seen as a series of roles which man, in "the world of particularity" (Van Dyke 113) cannot escape.

The fact that the life-journey will consist of a series of deliberately played roles is indicated in the text of the play, for when Humanum Genus asserts, "...wyth the World I

wyl go play" (l. 395), it is at once both a child's willful statement and an acknowledgement that all that will follow on the world-stage will be "play" in the sense that Huizinga and Kolve have described it -- a "stepping out" from ordinary life into a realm of representation which which involves a formal set of rules and a series of disguises (Kolve 21-22).

The "differentness"...of play...[is] most vividly expressed in "dressing up." Here the "extra-ordinary" nature of play reaches perfection. The disguised or masked individual "plays" another part, another being. He is another being. (Huizinga 13)

The roles that Humanum Genus will deliberately assume are the same as those in the Wheel of Life; the fact that they are accompanied by costumes which he assumes as he travels from scaffold to scaffold underscores the contrast between the roles that Humanum Genus plays and the real Humanum Genus that continues to exist beneath the accumulating layers of clothing: he never truly becomes the gallant, the noble, the king, or the miser, but merely assumes their role and function. He is always, at the same time, the topos and the person; and the person is man the actor.

In the Toronto production of The Castle, the Vices and Angels are masked from the beginning of the play. The use of half masks, covering the eyes and nose, allows for fixed expressions and thus helps to establish the characters as personified abstractions: Meg Twycross and Sarah Carpenter

note that in the moralities "masks are used as moral emblems.... [which] provide a physcal symbol for a spiritual state..." (172). Masks also imply hiddenness, double nature, and deception. Twycross and Carpenter point out that in later plays "the audience are aware that the mask is a 'false face' hiding the 'true face' beneath" (175). Consequently, a tension is created between the mask and the actor beneath it, and the audience is encouraged to look for the "true face" beneath the mask. (T&C 175).

In contrast with the other personifications, Humanum Genus is not masked until he ascends the scaffold of Mundus and is clothed. The mask he now acquires becomes an important part of the roles he is to play and the personified abstractions he will copy yet not become: it hides, though not completely, the individual beneath, and allows the audience to disassociate themselves with him.

"Watching such stylized sin," says Carolyn Van Dyke,

the audience can feel little empathy with Humanum Genus; thus his fall produces a distance between his perspective and ours, a distance that widens painfully as he embraces more and more of his allegorical enemies. (114)

Yet before Humanum Genus ascends to the scaffold of Mundus, his servants, Lust, Lykyng, and Folly, descend from the scaffold to the platea to welcome both Humanum Genus and the audience:

Pes, pepyl, of pes we you pray.
 Syth and sethe wel to my sawe.
 Whoso wyl be ryche and in gret aray
 Toward pe Werld he schal drawe. (ll. 491-494)

As Van Dyke has pointed out, although the audience is distanced from Humanum Genus and can clearly judge his folly, they are constantly reminded of their relationship to him: "We must continue to acknowledge participation in Humanum Genus' fall even as we look down on it from the vantage point of the angels" (115).

The De Lisle Wheel of Life subdivides the ten medallioned ages by depicting four ages at its corners: Infantia, Iuventus, Senectus, and Decrepitus (Burrow 45). Each flanks two medallioned ages. In addition, a fifth medallioned age, the crowned, throned figure of man at the height of his pride, is at the top of the wheel, while directly below it is the tenth "Age," the coffin. When Humanum Genus travels the platea to the scaffold of Mundus, he travels from Infantia to Iuventus, and is properly addressed by Mundus' underlings as "yonge Folly" (l. 520). Dressed in fashionable array, he clearly is identified with the topos of the young gallant. In "Lusty fresche Galaunts," Tony Davenport describes the appearance and significance of this topos as both a moral personification and a figure of topical social satire in the sermons, treatises, poetry, drama and art of the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. Clothing is the most obvious characteristic of the gallant. It can be fashionable, reminiscent of the social parasite, consisting of "padded shoulders, wide, high collars, long spurs on the heels, and tight drawn hose, making it

impossible to kneel or bend" (Davenport 113), the picture of the lover and of worldly vanity, or it can, as well, denote the wastrel: in the early fifteenth century the gallant is pictured wearing

tight fitting hose splitting at the knee, the showy stomacher at the front and the torn short at the back, the long-toed shoes, the shirt cut low to show the chest, the short tunic, the empty purse, the long hair, the mixture of gaudy colors -- the whole worthless vagabond. (Davenport 113) (fig. 9)

If the "rich araye" (1.626) with which the World bids Stulticia and Voluptas to dress Humanum Genus resembles these costumes, it establishes him as the lover and the wastrel -- simultaneously the allegorical figure of Youth, the embodiment of Lust and Folly,¹² and the figure of current conspicuous consumption. It is also, obviously, and effectively, a disguise through which Humanum Genus immerses himself in the "role" that is demanded of him. As Davenport points out:

Based on the idea of an assumed facade, the gallant was very much an actor's image, seen with irony in this period of growing self-consciousness about stage illusion. The ironic link between the performance and the play's theme in the idea of disguise reflects the treatment of behavior in allegorical drama in terms of phases and arbitrary shifts. (127)¹³

As S.G. Holbrook ("Covetousness, Contrition and the town in The Castle of Perseverance") points out, the text makes it clear that the rich array of Humanum Genus is also the livery of the knight of Mundus. Thus Mundus promises that "He schal be kyng and were pe croun/ Wyth rycchest

robys in res" (ll.476-477), while Voluptas promises that whoever lives with the World will be "a lord of hys clothynge" (l.501) (Holbrook 279). Clothing becomes the external sign of the feudal contract between Humanum Genus and the World. As Milla Riggio ("The Allegory of Feudal Acquisition") points out, this feudal imagery, sustained throughout the play, becomes both a subversive set of allusions to the evils of the fifteenth century feudal system and an apt metaphor for the sworn, formal bonds of loyalty that Humanum Genus maintains in the "servyse" of God or of the world. In choosing the service of Mundus, Humanum Genus must renounce loyalty to God:

To forsake God and hys seruyse,
To medys pou yeue me howse and londe
pat I regne rychely at myn enterprise. (ll.598-
600)

and Mankind's speech when ascending the scaffold of the World establishes this contract:

Who schuld I but I pi hestys helde?
pou werkyst wyth me holy my wyll.
pou feffyst me wyth fen and felde
and hye hall, be holtys and hyll. (ll.739-742)

It also establishes Humanum Genus as a ruler in his own right; his speech echoes the boasts of Mundus and of the traditional stage tyrant:

I am kene as a knyht.
Whoso ageyn pe Werld wyl speke
Mankynde schal on hym be wreke,
In strong presun I schal hym steke,
Be it wronge or rythe. (ll.746-750)

Humanum Genus becomes the mirror image of Mundus,

taking his place in a secular hierarchy that is defined by feudal terms: Mundus is the emperor; Covetousness is his "tresorer" whose function is to apportion the World's holdings; Lust and Folly are his barons, the other vices are his dukes, and Detraccio is his messenger and page. Although Humanum Genus becomes a king, he is bound to employ them in his service and use them as counselors to help him learn his duties and functions.

The references to feudal hierarchy remind the audience that Humanum Genus also represents contemporary rule. Holbrook notes that the verb feffe occurs five times in this section of the play and that the property ceded Humanum Genus is concrete and specific, consisting of "fen, field, high hall, parks, places, glade, land, ponds [ll. 740-741, 776, 798]" (280). Riggio similarly notes the predominance of the verb "sesyd," "designating the feudal bond by which possession of a property is given to a tenant or a purchaser as a fee," "a bond that would involve both Humanum Genus and Mundus, as knight and feudal lord, in a complex, binding, and continuing social contract (193).

Humanum Genus' education is that of the young prince, an education that begins with his formal pledge of obedience to the World ("be it wrong or rythe" [l.750]), continues with Detraccio, and culminates with the lecture of Sir Covetyse, a subversive sermon in which he is instructed in simony, extortion, and false assizes:

Helpe no man but poue haue why.
 Pay not pe seruantys here serwyse.
 pi neyborys loke pou dystroy,
 Tythe not on non wyse.
 Here no beggar pou he crye;
 And panne schalt thou ful sone ryse. (ll.844-49)

"In sum," concludes Holbrook,

the result of non-productive accumulation is the rejection of family (ll.4532-33), the deterioration of obligations to neighbors and to church, the neglect of duties to servants and poor, and the shortchanging of merchants and manufacturers (ll.841-52). In such covetous practices we see the encroachment on the town of an incessantly acquisitive feudal nobility. (280)¹⁴

Implied in these practices is an essential chaos that underlies the apparent order of the social hierarchy, a chaos that, as Riggio has argued, exists in contrast to the order of the kingdom of God. Thus the use of feudal language, costume and procession serves the dual and interlocking purposes of social criticism and allegorical exposition and Humanum Genus becomes, at the same time, the ambitious individual, the contemporary type, and the allegorical representation.

The use of costuming plays a large part in constructing and deconstructing the feudal references. If, indeed, the costuming is exaggerated, as is the case in carnival, then it points also to the disarray beneath the apparent order and hierarchy of the vices. Michael Bristol notes that

Carnival pageantry is antithetical to allegory. Instead of figuring forth an invisible reality, it represents the arbitrary transitoriness of all social forms. Costumes, masks, heraldic insignia and practical objects confuse the relationship

between the signifier and the signified.... Guise, that is, the customary appropriate garb or social integument, is permitted to mingle with disguise and the will to deception. (65)

On Mundus' scaffold Humanum Genus adds to his gallant's costume a cape festooned with gold coins ("In bryth besauntys he is bound" [l.702]), symbolizing both his wealth and his servitude to Mundus; further enfiefed to Covetyse and led to his scaffold by the page Backbiter, his servitude will not be complete until Covetyse calls forth the other six deadly sins. In his study of the staging of The Castle, Steven Pederson notes that Covetousness calls out from his scaffold on the platea, where Mankind has joined him, to Pride, Wrath and Envy on the Devil's scaffold (ll.893-4) and Lechery, Sloth and Gluttony on the scaffold of the Flesh (ll.895-6). What follows is a series of self-declarations from each sin on his scaffold, and then a procession:

all six [deadly sins] ... move to Covetousness together. Possibly, when the first Sins leave ("all thre at onys" -- l.938) they move from the southern scaffold to Flesh's scaffold in the North. Thus, rather than go the shorter distance to Covetousness, they travel the long way allowing Gluttony, Lechery and Sloth to join them on their journey. This procession of the major antagonists around the place would be visually impressive and also parallel similar processions of combatants around the lists prior to the actual combat of a tournament. (Pederson 75)

The focus of the early part of this scene is scattered, as the audience's attention is moved from scaffold to scaffold and as the individual vices move around the platea, and Michael Kelley (Flamboyant Drama) sees in this movement

a dynamic contrast to the static, abstract quality of the conceptual allegory presented in ...[the vices'] speeches....This constantly moving focus of attention...quickens the pace of performance. As they circle the stage, some of the characters deliver theatrical asides to the surrounding audience...creating a close, even personal interrelationship that further deemphasizes the characters' abstract quality. (36-37)

But individual movement is followed by the spectacle of the gathered sins moving in procession to the scaffold of Covetousness, and the naturalism introduced by the individual speeches and movement is succeeded by the formalism of the ceremony that follows. The length and impressive show of the procession is useful: it marks a turning point in the play; it provides a reference to royal processions,¹⁵ and it connects this to the ceremony of *Humanum Genus'* enfeoffment to the sins. In Carnival and Theatre, Michael Bristol explains the purpose of such processions:

Official pageantry, which includes the royal progress, religious processions, and much civic pageantry, is a display of ranks and categories of the social structure [which] is made visible by allegorical representation. For some observers, a public procession is a central and privileged objectification of what is real and essential in the social order, for it is in this act of public pedagogy that the various ranks and functions of society are fully enumerated.
(59)

The procession of the Sins, then, reflects in its sense of order the apparent order of the secular/social world. This order, however, is deconstructed by the exaggerated appearance of the Sins, hardly chivalric ideals. The

emblematic presentation of these Sins draws heavily on iconographic convention. Directions for the Majorca Last Judgment play describe what must have been a very similar procession, in which the Seven Deadly Sins are described very much as they appear in late medieval art:

Envy, well dressed, with spectacles....Then, on the right of Envy, Gluttony well dressed and carrying things to eat. On the left, Anger, in armor...with a helmet...on his head. Then Lust, dressed as a woman, with a mirror, and on her right shall walk Avarice in a long robe, an ink container...at his waist, a purse...in his hand with objects inside to make a sound like money jingling when he wishes and a book under his arm. On the other side of him shall walk Sloth in a short jacket..., in sagging breeches..., with a pillow under his arm for having a rest when he feels like it. (Meredith and Tailby 89)

This procession, like that in The Castle breaks the ranks of pageant and succeeds in parodying its order; it is the mock-procession of Carnival:

Carnival is a travesty; costumes, insignia of rank and identity, and all other symbolic manifestations are mimicked or misappropriated for purposes of aggressive mockery and laughter. (Bristol 63)

The satirical presentation of the Deadly Sins depends on convention, and in both the Majorca procession and that of The Castle the Deadly Sins would be readily recognizable to an audience familiar with images of exactly such personifications described in sermon and pictured in church decorations and psalter illustrations. As Jennifer O'Reilly points out, iconography of the Virtues and Vices flourishes in the twelfth to fifteenth century, providing mnemonic

images for the didactic and penitential literature and sermons of the time. As personifications, these are represented not in Psychomachean conflict, but in juxtaposition to each other. "The causes, effects and relationships of the Virtues and Vices could...be demonstrated through imagery suggesting family relationships, growth and decay, disease and its remedy" (91). Emphasis on the relationships between these personifications led to greater differentiation between them. Representation of the Virtues continued to be emblematic: they are usually represented as static, draped figures, each holding a symbolic object by which she is identified (O'Reilly 113-155). Personified Vices, however, become increasingly dynamic and particularized, so that the viewer is never completely certain whether these are, in fact, personified abstractions or exempla. Katzenellenbogen describes an early example of such iconography in the twelfth century bas relief series of the Cathedral of Sens. Directly below, and juxtaposed to a series of largely undifferentiated, medallioned figures of Virtues is a series of figures engaged in "all the hurly burly of sinful activity" (76):

A fundamental change in outlook is shown by the fact that all the vices are now illustrated by examples in the form of sinners in everyday life; these seem to have an immediate deterring effect on the observer, since they are men like himself and not remote personifications. (78)

Moreover, the actions that these figures are engaged in

both illustrate the natures of the Deadly Sins and consist of specific civic or ecclesiastical crimes. In effect, these figures are both personified abstractions and particularized individuals.

The particularization of the personified vices, as many critics have recognized, is made even more concrete in the circumstances of performance. "In most instances," says Robert C. Jones, "the characters act as though we are responding to them as 'real' embodiments of the vices they represent--as though we belong to the same world they do...." (50). The spectacled Envy and the helmeted Wrath are concrete figures which nevertheless convey their nature through iconographic props; but the three sins of the Flesh are far more concrete. Gluttony is obviously fat, the victim of his own vice. Lechery, dressed as a harlot, issues instructions and an invitation: "perfore, Mankynd, my leue lemman/ I my cunte pou schalt crepe" (ll.1188-1189). And Accidia, sloppily dressed and speaking slowly, is invited, in turn, to join Mankind: "Come nere perfor, myn fayre foode,/ and lulle me in pyne armys" (ll.1232-1233). The social realism apparent in the contemporary apparel of the vices is underscored by speeches containing what Michael Kelley calls "elements of bourgeois realism typical of the medieval fabliaux -- homely proverbs, highly perceptual similes..., and vulgar, even gross epithets" (37).

Counterpointing this apparent informality is the formal

ceremony in which the vices instruct Humanum Genus:

Now follow six symmetrical groups of speeches;
 in each of them one of the Sins gives a stanza
 describing the quality he bestows on man, then man
 replies with a stanza of his own in acknowledgment
 and appreciation and finally follow two couplets
 -- one from the Sin and one from Man -- neatly
 bringing the Sin up from the Place to sit with Man
 on the scaffold. (Southern 174)

Each of the sins reveals herself or himself to be the direct result of the preceding sin, and Accidia, who comes to Humanum Genus because he is lying in bed with Lechery, is the last of the six because he represents the final rejection of God: "I make men, I trowe,/ In Goddes seruyse to be ryth slowe" (1236-37) and the despair which will not allow Mankind to repent: "Penaunce enjoyned men in shryfte/ Is undone, and pat I make" (ll. 1219-20). For an audience viewing the play through the frame of fourteenth-century art and literature, the appearance of Accedia as the last of the sins is appropriate. Like the other vices, Accedia is both an external temptation and a product of the human will. The Book of Vices and Virtues describes the progression of this quality within the will from an initial lassitude ("evil beginning") and dread of spiritual endeavor ("tenderesse") (26-27), to laxity of virtue and acceptance of sin ("yeuel descrecion"), man's abandonment to the demands of the body and the world (34-36), to total loss of faith in oneself and in God's grace in which the sloth-ridden sinner "biweileth hymself as a man in wanhope, and so yeueth hym to al manere euele deedes, and ne douteth to do no synne" (29, ll. 32-33).

As an internal manifestation, the impulse of Acedia began with Humanum Genus' wavering ("as wynde in water I wave" [l. 379]), a manifestation of "tendresse," progressed to "untrewth" ("Ya, on thi sowle thou schalt thynke al betyme" [l. 412]), and culminates with his immersion of the sins and acceptance of the personified Sloth. It is Sloth that makes Human Genus' acceptance of the other sins final and binding, for at this point it represents Wanhope, or despair: the final failure of the spiritual appetite, a total lack of faith both in the existence of virtue (in synne iche man is founde" [l. 1255]) and in the redeeming power of Shrift.¹⁶ In the Toronto production the relationship of Sloth to Humanum Genus and to the other Deadly Sins is made apparent in the final tableau on the scaffold of Covetousness: Humanum Genus sits enthroned and on Lechery's lap, obviously besotted, a cup in hand, flanked by his attendants, five other Deadly Sins; crouched underneath him, Humanum Genus' legs leaning on his shoulders for support, is Sloth.

A similar model for this final tableau, one that stresses pride rather than despair and makes a direct connection between secular rule and the Deadly Sins, is found in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's fresco, "Bad Government" (Palazzo Publico, Siena [Meiss, fig.74]). The central figure of the fresco, Tyranus, throned, robed, cup in hand, and wearing, instead of a crown, the horned helmet associated

with Pride, sits flanked by Deadly Sins and by the devil on his left. Above him are three winged vices -- Avarice on the right, Vainglory above, and Pride directly above (fig. 10).

It is only now, when he has taken in all the deadly sins from Pride to Sloth, that Humanum Genus assumes the topos of the crowned, throned King that sits at the top of the Wheel of Life, the symbol both of maturity and of pride. In the de Lisle wheel, the figure at the top of the wheel is inscribed, "King I am, I rule the world" (Burrow 46); in the text of the De Lisle Psalter, he announces, "Adorned with strength I live blessed in the world" (Burrow 46). Humanum Genus similarly proclaims:

Mnkynde I am called be kynde,
 Wyth curssydnesse in costys knet.
 In sowre swetteness my syth I send,
 Wyth seuene synnys sadde beset.

 My prowde pouer schal I not pende
 Tyl I be putte in peynys pytte. (ll.1237-
 40;1244-45)

Like Mundus, he is crowned and sceptered; and his tone of voice and gestures may ape those of Mundus as well.

In The Castle, the use of the topos does not allow Humanum Genus, as an allegorical representation, to be seen only as an abstraction. The crowned Humanum Genus makes his relationship to the audience clear:

In synne ich man is founde.
 per is pore not ryche, be londe ne lake
 pat alle pese seuene wyl forsake,
 But wythe on or opyr he schal be take
 And in here byttyr bondys bownde. (ll. 1255-
 1259)

As a particularized individual, however, Humanum Genus is obviously in a state of confusion. In her discussion of this scene, Carolyn Van Dyke argues that

Humanum Genus' redefinition of himself contradicts ...our sense of logical propriety. A certain incoherence appears in his own oxymorons -- he claims to live in sour sweetness, in dangerous mirth -- and in the incongruity between his boasting tone and his devastating admission that he is "sadde beset" and bound for hell. More significantly, his claim that mankind is inherently sinful forms part of a circular argument: he offers it to justify prolonging the very behavior that substantiates the claim.
(115-116)

What Van Dyke does not recognize is the appropriateness of this incoherence to the state in which Humanum Genus finds himself, to the role that he plays; he is in "byttyr bondys bownde" to the sins of Pride and Despair; as King of Life he is their embodiment. And because Pride does not allow him to see beyond the bounds of himself, he cannot, in his despair, allow for the possibility of a greater, saving force. Subverting the image of the King of Life are the expressions, and perhaps the gestures, of despair that Humanum Genus employs (fig. 11).¹⁷

Van Dyke points out that the quarrel that ensues between Malus Angelus and Bonus Angelus is to some degree an extension of the conflict made apparent by Humanum Genus' state of mind, of "The standoff between empirical and formal logic...." (116). Costumed as monks, the angels extend the feudal references by acting as Humanum Genus' spiritual advisors, spiritual emissaries sent by Satan and God. Yet

they are also, as the text makes clear, Mankind's representatives. If Malus Angelus argues for the empirical point of view, it is a point of view characterized less by logic than by the comic-sinister cynicism and defiance of the traditional vice¹⁸; yet it also reflects Humanum Genus' own despair:

Fewe men in pe feyth pey fynde.
For pou hast schewyd a balyyd resun,
Good syre, cum blowe myn hol
behynde. (ll.1274-75)

This speech suggests that Malus Angelus, like the traditional demons in this play and the mystery plays, may have firecrackers exploding in his "hol behynde" to punctuate his speech, a comic touch that both links him with Satan and his underlings¹⁹ and emphasizes Humanum Genus' own immersion in the world of the flesh.

Malus Angelus' comic summation of Humanum Genus' situation contrasts in tone rather than in content with the argument of Bonus Angelus. Like Malus Angelus, Bonus Angelus reflects Humanum Genus' own despair:

Alas, Mankynde
Is soylyd and saggyd in synne.
He will not blynne
Tyl body and sowle parte atwynne. (1294-97)

Although Bonus Angelus has been sent by Christ (ll.302-3), he acts as a representative of Humanum Genus and as such can only ask for divine intervention ("Mercy, God, pat man were amended" [1296]); he cannot bring it about or be sure that it will happen; conversely, as an intermediary between

Humanum Genus and Christ, he can only summon Confessio; he cannot prevent Humanum Genus from rejecting him (ll.1768-75). Conversely, when Penitence pricks Humanum Genus with his lance, he must willfully respond to this act of Grace.

In Visualizing the Moral Life, Clifford Davidson notes that "Penance's action at this point is presented in terms of an iconographic tableau" (60) and that, viewed through the intertextual frame of the visual arts and the mystery plays, this tableau reflects depictions of the Crucifixion:

From the standpoint of formal artistic design, the scene is not so different from the familiar Crucifixion scene in which the blind Longinus reaches up with his spear to thrust it into Christ's side -- an act which culminates in the soldier's miraculous gaining of his sight. (61)

As Davidson points out, the meanings in the Castle tableau are precisely reversed. The act of piercing is not "blind" but "a deliberate intrusion of divine truth"; the piercing heals rather than wounds; and true vision is gained not by the figure with the lance but by the wounded man (61). The relationship between the tableaux can be extended even further. The allusion to Christ, the exemplum of humilitas, contrasts with and underscores the condition of Humanum Genus as King of Life and exemplum of pride. And, as in the references to Adam at the beginning of the play, the visual reference to the Crucifixion reminds us of Humanum Genus' place in history: the Crucifixion has made Shrift -- and, therefore, Humanum Genus' salvation -- possible.

The possible frame of the Crucifixion suggested by Davidson underscores the process of Humilitas which Humanum Genus undergoes, a process which will culminate in his entering the Castle. Alternately, it may be seen as a process of healing, the "lancing" of the wound of corruption by the Church. In the Toronto production *Confessio*, clothed in purple and carrying a book, is characterized as a monk, while Shrift, wearing a nun's habit, carries a lance and a banner. Clearly the connection between the spiritual process and the contemporary Church is thus established. Yet the representation of Shrift as a woman (*Malus Angelus* calls her "yon olde trate," l.1578), and her lance, connects her with the militant virtues of the Psychomachia: clearly she is a personified virtue as much as a personification of church ritual.²⁰

The virtues to which *Humanum Genus* is brought through penance are neither the set of three divine and four cardinal virtues nor the traditional seven Gift Virtues, but virtues designed specifically to act as "remedia" for the Seven Deadly Sins which *Humanum Genus* has absorbed and which extend the imagery of healing begun in the "lancing" of Shrifte:

Lykyng lelys, ye be my leche (l. 1668)

 Dame Meknes, in your myth
 I wyl me wryen fro wyckyd wreche (ll. 1671-2)

 Paciens, to don as ye me preche;
 Fro Wrathe ye schal ne kepe.
 Charyte, ye wyl to me entende.

Fro fowle Envy ye me defende. (ll. 1674-7)

....
 Abstynens, to you I tryst;
 Fro Glotony ye schal me drawe.
 In Chastyte to lerne me lyst,
 pat is Oure Ladys lawe.
 Besynes, we schul be cyste;
 Slawthe, I forsake pi sleper sawe.
 Largyte, to you I tryst,
 Covetyse to don of dawe. (1680-7)

The sermons of the Virtues constitute a process of purification which begins with Shrift and Confession, continues with the substitution of Humility for Pride and culminates in the banishment of Covetousness by Largesse. This process can be regarded, as it is by Milla Riggio, as an "initiation" which prepares Humanum Genus for entrance across the moat and into the Castle.

The appearance of these Virtues is less easy to discern than that of the Vices. By the early fifteenth century the images of armored, helmeted figures of the Virtues in the Psychomachia had given way to static, draped, figures almost indistinguishable from each other. The early thirteenth century Virtue and Vice cycle cartved on the facade of Notre Dame Cathedral, Paris provides a good example:

As if locked together by an invisible band, the twelve virtues sit, peaceful and self-sufficient, ...as if they sought to embody in a large, harmonious company the purity and tranquillity of the soul....Each virtue holds a circular disc with a symbolical device, which serves as a characteristic enabling one to establish the identity of each of these otherwise practically indistinguishable figures. (Katzenellenbogen 75-6)

In The Castle of Perseverance, the device within the disc

can become the stage prop, or the emblem on a heraldic banner. Whenever possible, the emblem reminds us of the contrasting vice: Abstinence holds a small cup; Largesse, like Covetousness, holds a purse, but her purse is open. The costume of the Virtues does not reflect contemporary taste in clothing. These characters rely on dialogue rather than emblem to establish their existence on stage, their movements, however formal, linking them to the world of particularization. Yet chivalric imagery persists: Humanum Genus refers to the Virtues as "Ladys in londe, louely and lyt" (l. 1667) and exclaims, "pis is a curteys cumpany" (l. 1688). Their speech and demeanor, Milla Riggio points out, "gracefully reflect genuine courtly manners," thereby contrasting with "the raucous behavior, the impression of brash, newly rich lordship, the modish clothes and French phrases which characterize the followers of the World, the Flesh, and the Devil and which have been associated with feudal patronage" (199).

Riggio argues that the Virtues represent an alternate image of royal power, that of absolute sovereignty. They serve the Virgin Mary, referred to as a "curteys qwene" (l. 1632) and "Emperes" (l. 1706) (199-200). Humanum Genus is being inducted into a new and different chivalric mode:

The two ceremonies of induction illustrate clearly the distinction between the concept of feudal patronage associated with the World and the ideal of divine sovereignty which characterizes the authority of God. (Riggio 197)

With Humanum Genus' entry into the castle, explicit allusions to the Kingdom of Mundus are replaced with implicit allusions to the Kingdom of God. The instructions of the virtues parallel those in The Book of Vices and Virtues, which instructs men to seek

a lost but native noblesse regainable ultimately not here, a noblesse which every soul had as belonging to the "kin" of the sons of God. (Tuve, Allegorical Imagery 44)

In the Book of Vices and Virtues Perseverance is presented as the sixth and penultimate degree of Prowesse, the remedy for the vice of Acedia and the ultimate virtue of the Christian knight. The process through which Humanum Genus confesses, is shriven, and enters the Castle can be compared to the spiritual development of the Christian knight, from Drede, Love and Knowledge to Magnanimity, the desire to shun the world ("Fro fowle fylth now I fle" [1.1565]). Perseverance represents that degree of spiritual progress that allows man to remove himself from the mutability of human life and to submit to the strength of God (Book of Vices and Virtues 56-143).²¹ In the Castle of Perseverance, therefore, the "process of initiation" must be one in which Humanum Genus removes all the trappings of Mundus -- the crown, the jewels, the cape of coins, the fancy attire. The castle which he now enters -- like a church -- must represent that quality within himself that has allowed him to remove

himself from the corrupt and corrupting world.

This castel is of so qweynt a ginne,
That whosoevere holde him therinne,
He schal never fallyn in dedly sinne
It is the Castel of Perseveranse. (ll. 1703-6)

If the trappings of feudal monarchy and corruption have been discarded, how is Humanum Genus now dressed? Two images present themselves as possibilities. The notion of Prowesse as a virtue of the knight of God, the chivalric associations of the castle and the "courtly" Virtues and the symbolic possibilities of adorning Humanum Genus in the "armor" of his faith²² suggest an appearance that is congruent with the image of the virtuous ruler in Ambrogio Lorenzetti's fresco, Good Government (Palazzo Pubblico, Sienna) (Meiss, fig. 129). Juxtaposed to the fresco of Bad Government, this allegorical representation is identical in composition to its counterpart, with robed figures of the Virtues replacing the more colorful ones of the Vices. The central figure sits with scepter and shield but no cape or crown, directly underneath a winged, hovering Caritas (fig. 12). But the emphasis of The Castle of Perseverance on Contemptus Mundi transcends the implicit social satire: there can not be any good government in a world that is inherently corrupt, and the image of the repentant Humanum Genus as any sort of ruler seems inimical to the purpose of the play. The image of the sixth age that succeeds the King of Life in the De Lisle Wheel of Life, of a robed, hooded figure carrying a pilgrim's staff and looking upward ruefully at the image of

the King (fig. 8), may come closer to describing the role that Humanum Genus plays. In either case, whether Humanum Genus carries the shield of God or the robe of repentance, it is clear that he has assumed yet another fixed role and that his behavior will be congruent with that role. To the degree that Humanum Genus' costume and demeanor identify him with a familiar topos, he will be regarded by the audience as a personification, as someone set apart from and yet representing themselves.

In the Toronto production, Humanum Genus enters the castle and climbs to the top, where he remains while the Virtues are posted at the battlements. As Pederson points out, both the drawing of the castle, where only the towered portion is enclosed and therefore protective, and references in the text ("They let Mankind gon up hye/ Into yene castle...." [ll.1803-4]; "Why lete ye Mankind fro you go/ In yone castel so hye?" [ll.1817-18]) suggest Mankind's position at the top of the castle (Pederson 77).²³ This position at the top of the castle, moreover, reinforces the notion that the process of repentance is, for Humanum Genus, also an ascent to God.

The scene that follows puts the castle into yet another complex intertextual frame, that of the besieged castle in literature and iconography. As O'Reilly acknowledges in her study of Vice and Virtue iconography, the "cross-fertilization" of the many castle-battle motifs is

complicated (63). Important among such motifs are Grosseteste's besieged "castle of love" "whose component parts are the Theological and Cardinal Virtues and which is defended by seven barbicans or virtues against the Seven Sins" (O'Reilly 64), as well as various reworkings of the Psychomachia, including a series of what Riggio describes as "courtly chateau d'amour battles" (190) which feature besieged castles and battles fought with flowers.²⁴ Finally, the tone of the battle -- fought between the self-indulgent Vices and the abstinent Virtues -- also closely resembles the yearly battle between Carnival and Lent, a battle in which these traditional ingredients of pageant are parodied. Because it draws on all these sources, the battle of the Vices and Virtues in The Castle creates, through text and action, a conflict not only of forces, but of perspectives as well, counterpointing the comic and very physical actions of the Vices with the stylized and symbolic reactions of the Virtues.

The counterpoint of the satirical and the symbolic begins with summoning of Backbiter by Malus Angelus. Pederson points out that Humility's last lines ("Kepe Mankind in this castel clos/ And put alway in his purpos/ To fle the sinnys seven!" [ll 1712-14]) may be viewed, from the perspective of tournament tradition, as a challenge to a pas d'armes, a challenge which Malus Angelus answers ("He schal be wonne from these wonys/ With the werld, the Flesch,

and the Devil of helle...."[ll. 1722-3]) (Pederson 77-78). Is the conflict viewed as a pas d'armes only by Malus Angelus? If so, then a dramatic contrast has been set up between the limited (and therefore comic) perspective of the Vices, who view the world through the distortions of Pride, Wrath and Envy and therefore through the skewed values of the feudal system, and the perspective of the Virtues, who quietly wait while the Vices prepare for battle. If the audience also views the battle through the intertextual frame of the tournament, however, then a formal -- and therefore allegorical -- framework has been established for the physical battle. As Kelley points out, the symmetrical use of speeches and stanza patterning, both in the segment when Backbiter mobilizes the Vices and in the battle itself, "creates stylized groupings of characters that contrast sharply with the stage business...." (48-9).

In the prologue to the battle, Backbiter carries news of Humanum Genus to the Three Kings, emphasizing the feudal nature of the relationship of Backbiter to the Kings and the Kings to their underlings:

Heyl, kynge, I calle!
 Heyl, prinse, proude prekyd in palle!
 Heyl, hende in halle!
 Heyl, syr kynge, fayre pe befall! (ll. 1791-4)

True to his nature, however, Backbiter delights in the disintegration of the feudal order that his news brings: each of the Deadly Sins is beaten by his feudal master, one of the three kings, and forced to prepare for battle.

Carolynn Van Dyke comments that this scene confuses the allegorical scheme, since evil is no longer only fighting good; but, in fact, the allegorical nature of the Vices is underscored here: they fight because they are driven by the qualities they personify, and because, as qualities of a temporal world and a temporal system, they are bound to self destruct.

As Kelley points out, "The actual battle is a ... combination of realistic theatrical activity and decorative tableaux...." (49). Yet the contemporary language of the Vices -- their references to the Virtues as "grene gese" (l.1907), "mamerynge moderys" (l.1917), and "pone bychys" (l.1965), and their threats of physical harm ("Wyth byttyr balys pei schul blede" [l.1919]; "For to schetyn yone iche skowte/ On hyr arse..." [ll.1930-1]); "peu schul shettyn for fere" [l.1968]) serve to underscore the allegorical nature of the Virtues, whose appearance and language are in sharp contrast to the Vices' descriptions of them. The courtly appearance of the Virtues fixes them as personified abstractions and distances the audience from them; yet the comic behavior of the Vices, the almost cartoon slapstick of the scene, distances them as well from the audience. Hence both remain theatrical signs -- part of the semiotic of the play's performance.

The contrast is heightened in the actual fighting. The attack is led by Belyal who, the directions underneath the

manuscript illustration indicate, has "gunnepowdyr brennynge
 In pypys in hys handys and in hys erys and in hys ars whanne
 he go the to batayle" (Macro front.). The weapons of the
 Vices are, with the exception of the banner of Pride, very
 real: Wrath carries stones, Envy carries a bow, Gluttony
 slings a firebrand across his shoulder, and Lechery carries
 coals used "to make a fere in mans towte" (l. 2289). The
 weapons of the Virtues, in contrast, are obviously symbolic,
 linked to God's grace through Christ: The banner of Humility
 destroys that of Pride because it is marked with an emblem
 of the Crucifixion; the thrown stones of Wrath and the
 arrows of Envy miss their marks while the roses of Patience
 and Charity, explicitly identified with Christ's passion,
 inflict real injury ("I am al betyn blak and blo/ Wyth a
 rose pat on rode was rent" [ll. 2219-2220]); Gluttony's
 fire is "slaked" (l. 2266) "Wyth bred pat browth us out of
 helle" (l. 2267); and the rod of Chastity ("Maydyn Mary,
 well of grace" [l.2302]) quenches the "fowle hete" (l. 2303)
 of Lechery. The power of the apparently harmless emblems
 over the recognizably dangerous weaponry of the Vices
 renders the latter comic. Moreover, the particularity of the
 Vices' physical weapons is deconstructed by the
 corresponding weapons of the Virtues: as the stones, the
 arrows, and the fires are challenged and destroyed by the
 emblems of Christ, they themselves are seen to be emblems.
 Conversely, however, the Virtues' allegorical weapons become

particularized as they render the Vices "blak and blo" ("I am al betyn, toppe and tayl" [l. 2383]; "For ferd I falle and fent" [l. 2391]; "I swone, I swete, I feynt, I drulle!/ Yene qwene wyth hyr pytyr-patyr/ Hath al to-dayschyd my skallyd skulle./ It is as softe as wulle" [ll. 2397-2400]).

The emphasis of the Vices on bodily functions, the obvious physicality of this scene, recalls again the battle of Carnival and Lent. As Michael Bristol points out,

In popular pageantry, traditional religious and political symbols are combined with humble objects from the kitchen and the workshop, and with images of bodily functions. (67)

Bristol uses Breugel's painting, The Battle of Carnival and Lent as an example: the personification of Carnival rides a wine barrel and wears a meat pie on his head, combatants fight with cooking utensils and are also crowned with food and utensils: "Carnival brings all knowledge of social reality down to earth and places the body...at the center of the social process" (67). But in the staging of The Castle the burlesque of carnival is deconstructed by the decorous actions of the Virtues; the frenzied action of the Vices at the periphery of the castle is contrasted with the ritualized movement of the Virtues within the castle: never quite drawn into the fray, they destroy through the emblematic power of the rose and the banner.

Carolynn Van Dyke points that in the battle the Virtues "all speak as human beings transfigured by divine example" (121). Humilitas says that the Devil "trapyd us wyth tresun"

(l. 2099); Patience tells us that Christ suffered "Us pacyens to techyn and lerne" (l. 2137); and Chastity says, "At Oure Lady I lere my lessun (l. 2113) (Van Dyke 121). The doctrinal purpose is clear and consistent with the emblems of the battle: virtue exists only through the sacrifice of Christ. Like the Vices, the Virtues embody the qualities that they illustrate, and, at least in these speeches, they become exempla rather than pure personification.

If the first turning point in the play was marked by the lament of Bonus Angelus, a second turning point is marked by the lament of Malus Angelus, one that is parallel in structure to the earlier one (a first stanza of lament, a second stanza that begs for help) yet radically different in tone:

For sorwe I morne on pe mowle,
I carpe, I crye, I coure, I kacke,
I fret, I fart, I fesyl fowle.
I loke lyke an howle.
Now Syr World, whatso it cost,
Helpe now, or pis we haue lost; (ll. 2406-2411)

Both stand in the midst of the platea, addressing a scaffold but the audience as well. Bonus Angelus may have arms aloft, in a gesture of supplication; Malus Angelus similarly raises his arms to Mundus, but his words of rage also suggest the ranting posture of the mystery play tyrant.²⁵

Carolynn Van Dyke observes that an essential difference between the traditional Psychomachean battle and the battle of the Vices and Virtues in The Castle is the presence of

Humanum Genus (121-122). It is Humanum Genus' presence that transforms the battle from an abstract, cosmic conflict to a battle of the psyche, for it is the will of Humanum Genus alone that can decide the outcome of the battle. The battle of the Vices and Virtues is therefore succeeded, with great dramatic contrast, by the sole appearance and argument of Covetousness. Humanum Genus' protection is spiritual; physically defenseless, aging Mankind, like the infant at the beginning of the play, is easily blinded by his own mortality:

Couetyse, whedyr schuld I wende?
 What wey woldyst pat I sulde holde?
 To what place woldyst pou me sende?
 I gynne to waxyn hory and olde.
 My bake gynnyth to bowe and bende,
 I crule and crepe and wax al colde.
 Age makyth man ful vnthende,
 Body and bonys al vnwolde; (ll.2479-86)

This is Humanum Genus' final struggle for mortal survival, and Covetousness remains invincible because it is rooted in a need to survive, to live.²⁶

Clearly Humanum Genus has adopted a new role, and a new appearance, that of the seventh age, Senex. In the De Lisle Wheel of Life, Senex appears after the figure of penitent middle age. He is cloaked, bearded, bent; he leans on a cane and on the shoulder of a child (fig. 8), and his appearance is congruent with that described by Humanum Genus himself:

My bonys are febyl and sore.
 I am arrayed in a sloppe,
 As a yonge man I may not hoppe,

My nose is colde and gynnyth to droppe,
Myn her waxit al hore. (11.2487-91)

In the Longthorpe Tower Wheel of Life the figure of Senex as the seventh age appears similarly dressed, leaning on a staff, and carrying a bag of money (Burrows 44 and fig. 6).

The notion that the wheel has come full circle is supported by the similarities between the fall of Humanum Genus in old age and that of the infant Humanum Genus: both are impelled by weakness and physical need and by a desire to "pley" with the world (1.2723). In both cases, simple needs yield to the desire for "more and more" (1.2715; 1.2758; 1.2773) and false faith is substituted for faith in God:

Penyman is mekyl in mynde;
My loue in hym I leye and laue.
Where pat euere I walke or wende
In wele and woo he wyl me haue;
He is gret of grace. (11.2667-2671)

Lack of faith in God drives Humanum Genus from the castle to the false protection of Covetousness' scaffold; but although Covetousness offers Humanum Genus protection ("Go we knowe my castek cage./ In pis bowre I schal pe blys" [11. 2703-4]) directions on the Macro manuscript illustration ("Covetyse Copbord Schal Be at pe Ende of Castel Be pe Beddys Feet" [fig. 2]) indicate that Humanum Genus may, as Alan Fletcher argues, drag the cupboard from the scaffold of Covetousness to the lower portion of the castle, where he himself will remain. Fletcher points out that the chest at the foot of the dying man's death is

important "not only in several death bed exempla on avarice but also in fifteenth century artistic depictions of the deathbed scene, where it is often located at the foot of the dying man's bed" (309). Another -- and final -- topos is established, that of the dying man at the bottom of the Wheel of Life; and the tableau of Humanum Genus and his chest provides another intertextual frame for the castle: it has now come to represent man's own sense of security and faith -- a false faith that contrasts ironically with the notion of Perseverance:

Now wolde I haue castel wallys,
 Strong stedys and styf in stallys.
 Wyth hey holtys and hey hallys,
 Covetyse, pou must me sese. (ll. 2747-2750)

Although the tableau of the aged and dying Humanum Genus seems to indicate that he has become completely the topos of Senex and the victim of Avarice, again the personification is deconstructed by references to the particular. As was the case earlier in the play, references to contemporary vices ("Thus hast gotyn, in sinful slo/ Of pyne negborys be extorcyon" [ll. 2756-7]) are meant to remind the audience of their relationship to Humanum Genus. But beyond that, Carolynn Van Dyke points out, for the first time there are references to an individual life, to a wife, children, neighbor, parks and palaces:

The concrete images that have appeared in the play have been materializations of sin, virtue, conscience, and perseverance. Now the more familiar facts of human life break through, with all the rhetorical power of reality, to support

the definition of humanity proffered by Mundus and Avaritia. (123)

This intersection of the personification and the particularization again serves to emphasize the mortality of Humanum Genus, a mortality that becomes apparent with the appearance of Death.

Hieronymus Bosch's painting Death and the Miser suggests the appearance of Death in this penultimate tableau. The dying man, sitting up in bed, is flanked by an angel (who supports him and points to the open door) and a devil (who appears from under the bedclothes, grabbing at a bag of money beside the dying man). Another devil, with a spear, crouches above the bed, while an old man (another miser or Covetousness himself?) opens the chest at the foot of the bed, filled with coins and yet another devil. The bed is on a raised platform, below which are the discarded spear and armor of a knight. Death, a skeleton clothed in a winding sheet, lance in hand, is walking through the half open door (fig. 13).²⁷ Bosch's Death -- the same tall, robed figure that appears in the Toronto production -- seems particularly appropriate for the Castle tableau because, unlike contemporary depictions of Death as transi, half decomposed or mummified corpse,²⁸ this figure is not a mirror of the living Humanum Genus, but a personification, an emissary of God, what Aries describes as "a symbol of blind fate, very different...from the individualism of the arts and danse macabres" (119).

With words and actions that are parallel to the earlier ones of Shrift (l. 1377 ff.), Death pierces Humanum Genus' heart with his lance ("Wyth pis poynt I schal hym broche" [l.2836]). Again, Humanum Genus learns the temporal and treacherous nature of the World. As he weakens, Mundus sends a new page, Garcio, from his scaffold to the castle to take Humanum Genus' property. An ironic reincarnation of the young Humanum Genus, Garcio most likely wears the gallant's outfit that Humanum Genus once wore; his words reflect Humanum Genus' own cupidity and cruelty:

Whou faryst, Mankind? Art pou ded?
 Be Goddys body, so I wene.
 He is heueyer than any led.
 I wolde he were grauyn under grene. (ll. 2921-2924)

As Garcio replaces Humanum Genus, the Wheel of Life comes full circle. As Van Dyke points out, his name, "I wot never whoo" (l. 1968), reflects the anonymity of the role in which he is immersed, for "Garcio mirrors the loss of identity to which Humanum Genus' involvement in particularity has led him" (124). Divested of his goods, Humanum Genus is also divested of all roles, and of the illusions in which they are grounded. Again forced into self-recognition ("Sore may Mankind rewe/ God kepe me fro dyspayr! [ll. 2988-89]"), his last words are a plea for redemption ("...God me graunte of hys grace [l. 30001]"; "I putte me in Goddys mercy.[l.30006]"). No longer is Humanum Genus representative of all mankind; instead he is an

individual, an example from which the audience can learn:

Now, good men, takythe example at me.
Do for youreself whyl ye han spase. (ll.
2995-6)

The tableau of the deathbed scene presented in The Castle of Perseverance reflects not only the Holbein painting but a familiar contemporary topos, for as Phillippe Aries points out, "in the fifteenth century, the iconography of the Last Judgment was replaced by a new iconography" (107), the iconography of the deathbed as a place of judgment. Traditionally, Mankind is flanked by his Guardian angel, and possibly Christ, or the Virgin, or "the whole court of heaven...; on the other side, Satan and his monstrous army of demons" (108). But the confrontation does not involve the dying man himself, for he is a powerless witness with no choices left, nor is it characteristically an overt, Psychomachian struggle between the forces of God and Satan, for man can no longer yield to temptation.

Heaven and hell can not do battle....
They are present at this final ordeal, an ordeal
whose outcome will determine the meaning of his
whole life. (109)

Instructions in the Macro manuscript illustration specify that "Mankyndeis bed schal be vndyr pe castel and per schal pe sowle lye vndyr pe bed tyl he schal ryse and pleye" (1 and front. ill.). At the point of Humanum Genus' death, Anima, (in the Toronto production played by a small child costumed to indicate nakedness) arises from under the bed; again, the tableau reflects a common iconographic

motif:

...after the thirteenth century, iconography in general and funerary iconography in particular clearly indicate that death was seen as the separation of the soul and the body. The soul is depicted as a naked child...being exhaled by the recumbent figure. (Aries 248)

The newly released soul is then either caught by an angel and spirited to Heaven, or snatched by devils and taken to Hell (Aries 248). As Deborah Markow's study has shown, the depiction of the soul as a small figure in psalter illustrations is linked to the condition of the soul at the time of individual judgment, its reduced size both the sign of the presence of the Holy Spirit and a consequence of its condition "at God's footstool undergoing particular judgment" (67); the relatively late depiction of this small figure as nude relates to its condition at the time of Baptism (80-81,122). The soul in judgment, like the baptized child, is defenseless save for Divine Grace. One illustration of such a naked Anima appears in an illustration in Guillaume Deguilleville's Pelerinage de l'Ame where the naked soul, still carrying the pilgrim's staff but suspended in midair, is being pulled at by an angel his right and a devil at his left (fol.111vc.) (fig. 6). An even more dramatic iconographic parallel is found in what Aries calls "the most significant and famous example of this theme" (248) the Death of the Christian in the fifteenth century Rohan Hours. In the lower left corner of the painting lies the naked, just dead body, the scrolled

words, "je meurs mas dominie commende spiritum meum" emanating from his mouth. Directly above his mouth is the tiny figure of a child, representing the soul. A devil has already grabbed it, but above the devil, sword raised in battle, is St. Michael. At the top right hand corner of the painting, gazing sadly at the dead man, is God the Father, nimbed and richly robed, holding orb and upraised sword (fig. 14).

The notion of judgment intersects with the notion of mercy. If St. Michael is the defender of man's soul, the Guardian Angel is the traditional force that intercedes for the dying man. It is therefore appropriate that Humanum Genus' last cry and Anima's first is the plea for God's mercy, and that it is to the personified Mercy that Bonus Angelus appeals while Malus Angelus departs to the scaffold of Belial, carrying Anima with him ("Haue good day! I goo to helle" [l. 3127]).

In a discussion of recent productions of The Castle of Perseverance, Richard Proudfoot refers to the dramatic "shock" with which the audience reacts to the abduction of Anima by Malus Angelus (99; 109). But even as the audience's attention travels, with Anima, to the scaffold of Belial, that attention becomes focused (perhaps by the raising of a curtain) on the scaffold of Deus, "to reveal a tableau of God in glory with the Virtues and Good Angel...." (Proudfoot 109). The nature of this tableau is made apparent in a

number of extant stage directions for other plays,
particularly plays of the Last Judgment:

And Paradise is opened, made like a throne,
with gold rays all around. In the midst of which
is God on an ornamented throne with on his right
Peace, below her Mercy. On his left Justice, below
her Truth, and all around them nine orders of
angels one above the other. (Rouen, 1747 in
Meredith and Tailby 92).

The description of the float for Heaven in the Bourges
parade is even more elaborate: it is a Paradise eight feet
wide and twelve feet long, encircled with smaller thrones,
cherubim, and seraphim:

In the middle was a seat made like a rainbow on
which sat the Godhead...and behind two golden suns
in the midst of a throne which turned ceaselessly
in opposite directions. At the four corners were
the four Virtues -- Justice, Peace, Truth and
Mercy -- richly dressed, and at the sides of the
said Godhead were two other small angels singing
hymns.... (Meredith and Tailby 92) ²⁹

Clearly, the tableau of God's scaffold is designed to
eclipse all others on the platea, and to dramatically draw
the audience's attention away from the other scaffolds to
center their perspective on the transcendent reality of God.
Descending from the scaffold to the platea are the Four
Daughters of God, clad, as staging directions in the Macro
illustration specify, in the emblematic colors of white,
red, green and black and arguing their cases in debates of
equal length: "the stanzas are arranged symmetrically and
organize the characters who speak them into a kind of
heavenly tableau" (Kelley 52).³⁰ In the the final focus of
the play on the conflict of ideas and on the

personifications that embody them, the use of particularity, and the individuality of Humanum Genus, disintegrate, and the audience must ponder the realities underlying the role playing which has involved them.

The debate of the Four Daughters, derived from a line in Psalms Ixxv.10, "Misericordia et Veritas obuiauuerunt sibi, Justicia et Pax osculate sunt," is a familiar allegorical motif in late medieval art and drama, used to resolve the question of man's redemption.³¹ In the N-Town mystery cycle the Four Daughters appear and debate in answer to an impassioned plea of Contemplatio for divine mercy for sinning mankind ("The devil hath dysceyved hem in hys iniquite" [Woolf 166]); the resolution of the debate makes possible the coming of Christ. The Debate of the Daughters at end of The Castle of Perseverance serves a parallel function, for, as David Bevington has shown, in late medieval literature and visual arts, the Last Judgment and the judgment of the individual man are often conflated. Bevington cites as evidence the juxtaposition of the Weighing of Souls and the Seven Deadly Sins in the wall paintings of churches (eg. Gloucester and Sussex) ("Man, Thinke on Thine Endinge Day" 148) and in woodcut illustrations such as "a scene of Last Judgement from Syon...prominently featuring a skeletal Death aiming his dart at the human figure which is about to be judged" (149) and a woodcut of 1540 by Jorg Breu the Youger,

entitled The Last Judgment with the Ages of Man and Death which "unites in one composition the Second Coming with seven generic portraits of the life of Man from infancy to old age" (149).

If, in The Castle, as in sixteenth century art, the coming of Death recapitulates the Last Judgment, then it is easy to relate the debate of the Four Daughter with the trial of mankind. Richard Proudfoot argues for that relationship, and cites as an example of the possible staging of such a trial the sixteenth century German woodcut Trial in Heaven (fig.15).

In this case the Holy Trinity serve as a panel of judges, with the devil...as prosecutor, bringing the defendants Adam and Eve before the bar of justice. Mercy and Peace appear as witnesses for the defense, and Truth and Justice testify for the prosecution. The crucial evidence is also in view -- Adam's fall, for the prosecution, and Christ's passion, for the defense. (136)

Other details in the painting amplify the significance of the debate in scriptural history, making it parallel to the position of the debate in the N-town cycle. On the lower right corner, below Mercy and Peace and the scene of the Crucifixion, appear the souls in Hell being freed by Christ. On the Left, below Truth and Justice and the depiction of the Fall, appear damned souls suffering in Hell.

Viewed through the intertextual frame that the Debate provides, the life of Humanum Genus recapitulates scriptural history: like Adam, he is initially tempted by the flesh and falls; through Christ's sacrifice, represented by Confessio

and Shrift, he is saved; now, as in the Last Judgment, his fate again hangs in the balance. Although the Debate reaches an impasse, the resolution, which lies beyond logic and argument, has already been ordained: Christ's sacrifice has tipped the balance (ll. 3547-60) and the Four Daughters embrace:

Late loue and charyte be at oure bord,
 All venjaunce away wende,
 To heuene pat Man may be restoryd (3539-41)

"Thus," notes Milla Riggio,

the debate in Heaven is resolved not by means of litigious process but through reconciliation. In the kingdom of Mundus legal process creates discord and disorder. In the patria of God legal process itself gives way to the establishment of an eternal order.... (202)

In a scene designed to evoke the Harrowing of Hell, the Daughters descend from the scaffold of God and travel across the platea to the scaffold of Belial. Pamela Sheingorn describes the tendency in the depiction of the Last Judgment in the visual arts to destabilize the perfectly balanced tableau of the heavenly court with the vertical movement of the damned and the elect:

Although paradise and hell form a balanced pair to Christ's right and left, with the eternally elect on one side corresponding to the eternally damned on the other, paradise and hell are vertically differentiated in terms of the soul's ultimate destiny: the elect rise to enter paradise whereas the damned are thrust into hell. ("Alle this was token Domysday to Drede" 125-126)

This vertical movement is repeated in the descent of Christ in the mystery plays and in the final scenes:

Corpus Christi drama of Judgment displays a sequence of vertical movements expressive of dramatic conflict and resolution...God descends as Christ to earth...; angels lead off the saved to heaven with song, while demons herd their victims into hell with jibes and torturing. ("Domysday to Drede" 128-129)

In a similar vertical movement, the Virtues confront Malus Angelus and Belyal ("Go pou to helle/ pou devyl bold as a belle" [ll. 2589-90]), enter the jaws of Hell Mouth and carry off Anima to the scaffold of God, where, in a final tableau, he is seated at God's right hand.

My mercy, Mankynde, yeue I the.
 Cum syt at my ryth honde.
 Ful wel haue I loued pe,
 Vnkynd pow I the fonde.

Milla Riggio points out that in moving beyond all conventional social laws to pardon the sinning Humanum Genus, God renders social conventions meaningless. In God's final declarations of mercy, therefore, "the 'topical' satire of Mundus and the 'universal' allegory of God merge into one dramatic whole" (203).

The play ends with this tableau and with the singing of Te Deum Laudamus. At the beginning of this chapter it was noted that the nature of the boundaries between the audience and the play defines the nature of the semiotic system that the play presents. Throughout The Castle of Perseverance, there has been a "constant forming and reforming of the boundaries of illusion" (Burns 72), and to the degree that the boundaries have changed, so has the nature of the universe depicted in the play. The elaborate spectacle of

the final tableau has recentered the audience's perspective; turned to face the scaffold of Deus as a central locus, it perceives and accepts divine reality, rejecting the material world that the rest of the platea represents. Now the text undercuts this perception and relocates the boundaries of illusion once more. The materialization of Divine Grace is undercut by God's final speech, releasing the audience from the world of play and providing a concluding frame:

pus endyth oure gamys.
 To saue you fro synnyng
 Euyr at the begynnyng
 Thynk on youre laste endyng! (ll. 3645-3648)

Through its extensive use of pageantry and spectacle The Castle of Perseverance allows us to understand the importance of the visual dimensions of the morality plays. Iconographic evidence helps us to understand the visual images of the play; and these images, while deconstructing the moral abstractions and making them concrete in performance, also construct an associative framework that allows the audience to retain their allegorical significance.

Notes

1. Richard Proudfoot ("The Virtue of Perseverance," pp. 106-109) describes other recent productions of The Castle of Perseverance including Philip Cook, Abingdon Priory (1974), Peter Meredith, St. Bartholomew Church (1978), and the Drama Department, University of Manchester (1981). For a complete history of modern revivals of The Castle, see David Parry, The Castle of Perseverance: A Critical Edition (unpublished dissertation), University of Toronto, 1983.
2. In "The Stage Plan of the Castle of Perseverance," Theatre Notebook 28 (1974): 124-32, Catherine Belsey argues against Schmitt's revision of Southern's theory, noting that there is little evidence in the text to suggest the existence of the moat specifically around the castle or to associate the moat with the water of grace. Placed around the entire playing area, she argues, the moat serves "to define the limits of the circular 'world' in which the action of the play takes place" (127) and to include the audience in that world. Belsey's theory implies a less complex interaction between audience and play. Every major study of The Castle of Perseverance (see Works Cited) has discussed and participated in the staging controversy. For a theory that argues for a non-circular platea see Miyajima, The Theatre of Man, 36-45; For evidence in support of the round platea in tournaments see Peter Arnott, "The Origins of Medieval Theatre in the Round," 84-87, and in art, see Alan Nelson, "Early Pictorial Analogue of Medieval Theatre-in-the-Round," 93-106. Discussions of the platea of The Castle in this study are based on the descriptions of Pederson which seem also congruent with the stage set used in the Toronto production (see fig. 1).
3. Also see discussions of the history of the siege in O'Reilly, 61-77, and Davidson, 72-74.
4. For an extended discussion of Covetousness as the principal sin of the fifteenth century, see V. A. Kolve, "Everyman and the Parable of the Talents," in Medieval English Drama, ed. Taylor and Nelson, 316-340.
5. All quotes from The Castle are taken from The Macro Plays, ed. Mark Eccles. I have substituted *th* for the runic thorn.
6. Tenth and eleventh century Byzantine art frequently features Mundus as a personification. Dressed as a contemporary monarch with scepter, crown and robe, he is represented at the bottom of pictures of the Pentecost, tiny in scale in contrast to Christ and the disciples and

receiving tribute from other monarchs (Cf. Mt. Athos Mon., Dionysos 61 and Psalm XIX Serb. Psalter, Munich Staatsbib. Slav 14) (In Index of Christian Art, Princeton University). I have not found other representations of a Mundus personification, but his association in the text of The Castle and in this earlier art with the feudal monarch suggest that he is costumed much like the contemporary tyrant.

In "Apparell Comlye," Meg Twycross notes that in the mysteries and the pageants the apparel of the tyrant or king was always sumptuous. In the mystery plays "The most expensive garments on record belong to the Coventry Herod" (35), while in a characteristically more sumptuous pageant, the Golldyn Arber in the Arche yerd of Plesyr (1511), "the King and his five companions used 39 yards of shining blue satin, 21 3/4 yards of blue velvet for Milan bonnets, and 8 1/2 yards of cloth of gold for hose..." (38).

The rich attire of the mystery play tyrant also connotes his aspirations to divinity, as in the case of the Herod of the York cycle (see Rosemary Woolf, 250).

7. In The Wakefield Mystery Plays Martial Rose argues for a fundamental similarity of staging for the Ludus Coventriae and the Castle of Perseverance (43), noting that in both productions Hell is represented by a two story structure in the northern part of the platea. He argues that Hell consists of a tower above and a Hell Mouth below: "Close to limbo are the gaping jaws of hell through which the actors pass by trap door to the ground level beneath the pageant....Access from the hell pageant to 'the place' is made through the jaws of hell" (47). Similar structures are described in stage directions for the Lucerne Passion play of 1583 (Meredith and Tailby 81), the Majorca Last Judgment play (MT 88-89), the Metz play in 1437, the Rouen Play in 1474, the Montferrand play in 1477, the Paris Resurrection play in 1477 (MT 90) and the Mons play (MT 91).

8. As Rosemary Woolf points out, in mystery plays as in medieval art from the twelfth century on the devil is depicted as a "striking moral symbol, the evil of his nature being indicated by the repulsive ugliness of his appearance....In medieval iconography, therefore, the devil may be shown half man, half beast, erect like a man, but with claws, horns, bat's wings, tail and perhaps with an animal face. He is often hairy like an animal, and may have more than one head..." (110-111). Both Woolf (111) and Twycross ("Apparell Comlye" 36) note the use of masks and canvas suits covered with hair for the devils in the Coventry Drapers' Pageant of the Last Judgment, and similar costuming is worn by Satan in a description of the Hell float in the Bourges procession: "He wore a bear skin with a sequin hanging from each hair and a pelt with two [animal]

masks...adorned with various colored materials; he ceaselessly vomited flames...." (Meredith and Tailby 91). Yet Woolf also argues for a typological relationship between Satan and Herod; this relationship might be exploited by costuming the bestial Satan as a king. This alternative costuming is recorded at least once, in stage directions for the Majorca Last Judgment Play: "Then three devils shall enter in no particular order, helter skelter, dressed in the usual manner except that Lucifer shall wear a crown and carry a scepter" (Meredith and Tailby 89)

9. In Theatre in the Middle Ages Tydeman notes that in medieval drama "contemporary clothing was worn by the majority of characters" (209). Meg Twycross ("Apparell Comlye") challenges this generalization, noting the frequent, documented use of emblematic, stylized costumes and headdress as well as of contemporary, everyday clothing (46-48). Certainly this mix of the symbolic and the everyday costume would be used effectively if Humanum Genus' costume were that of the contemporary feudal lord.

10. It is likely that Humanum Genus wears a skin tight garment to simulate nudity (this is also the case in the Toronto production). Meg Twycross ("Apparell Comlye") cites REED evidence that actors in mystery plays wore skin tight garments (called "sirks" or "cotes"-- "the nearest approximate term for a body suit" [39]) made of untanned leather or canvas dyed the color of human skin to represent nakedness and uses as examples the suits of Adam and Eve in the Cornish Creacion of the World (36), the costumes of the "naked" souls and demons in the Coventry Drapers' Doomsday play (36), and the leather garment of the naked Christ figure of the Coventry Passion, Resurrection, and Doomsday (39).

11. Emerson ("The Morality Character as Sign") agrees that the platea represents the temporal world: "Covetousness refers to all that is outside the Castle as 'this world' (2519)...and the plot certainly makes clear that the platea is a dangerous place, the Castle being something like a fortified outpost in enemy territory" (22).

12. Cox notes the costuming of Lucifer, Herod, and various allegorical figures in other moralities specifically as gallants, and notes that such costuming is a common emblem of Folly as well as of libido dominandi (32-34).

13. For a discussion of changes of name and costume as theatrical devices see Glynne Wickham, Early English Stages 1300 to 1660, Vol. 3 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), pp. 100-109. Wickham cites Albion Knight (1537) as the earliest play to use costume change to signal the new

"role" a character takes on; he does not discuss the similar use of costuming in the somewhat earlier Castle of Perseverance.

14. Millard Meiss discusses the conflation of the personified vices and a corrupt ruling class in thirteenth century Italy, an artistic tradition that, together with penitential tracts, may well have influenced the portrayal of vices during this period. Meiss cites Giovanni Vilani's condemnation of Florentine society in which vainglory, pride and avarice are specifically associated with nobility. Vainglory is manifested in the elaborate use of finery which had to be controlled by sumptuary laws, avarice "with fraudulent trade and highly venturesome loans," "and pride connotes for him the desire of ... a tyrant to govern -- that is, to violate and despoil -- the citizenry" (52-53). Villani's Chronicle seems to reverse the discussion of the relationship of sin and contemporary evils found in sermons and religious tracts: his goal is not repentance but the maintenance of fair and stable government. For a discussion of paintings influenced by this concept, see Meiss, 49-53.

15. Merle Fifield ("The Castle in the Circle") discusses the connection between the staging of The Castle and the presentation of royal pageants and processions, particularly the coronation pageant of 1377 which "resembled the castle sketch to the extent that it had a central tower, a kind of mansion, a platea through which Richard could pass, and a mobile but controlled audience" (3), a pageant of 1392 in honor of Richard's progress which again features a tower-stage representing a castle (3), and the reception for Katharine of Aragon, which focussed on a mechanized tower.

If the audience of The Castle recognizes the resemblance of the play to such pageants, it must also connect the processions in the play to royal progresses.

An alternate staging of the procession would have the Vices mounted on appropriate animals, as is common in medieval art (fig. 4) (See Kolve, Chaucer and the Imagery of Narrative pp.92-94 and O'Reilly, pp. 68-73). There is no indication in the text of such use, but the Toronto production stages the later procession of the Vices to battle by mounting Mundus on a horse and carrying Belial and Caro on elaborate litters.

16. For an extended discussion of the role of Acedia in the Castle and other morality plays, see my article, "From Cosmology to Psychology: The Transformation of Acedia in the Medieval Morality Play," Centerpoint I (1974): 17-23. For an analysis of the development of Sloth in Christian tradition, see Siegfried Wenzel, The Sin of Sloth: Acedia in Medieval Thought and Literature, Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina Press, 1957.

17. An appropriate gesture, and a common iconographic sign of despair in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, would be holding his hand to his hair, his face or his beard. This gesture is often found in illustrations of the Fall and of the Day of Judgment and might thus associate Humanum Genus' condition with the historical condition of fallen man. See Moshe Barasch, Gestures of Despair, pp. 9-20. For an early illustration that may reflect medieval acting styles see fig. 11.
18. In the Toronto production, the Bad Angel is portrayed as a manipulator, in the tradition of the Vice as described in Spivak, 130-150. Such a portrayal is consistent with the text but disrupts the balance between the Malus Angelus and Bonus Angelus in a play that emphasizes balance.
19. Such effects would be consistent with the legend on the Macro manuscript illustration, which indicates that later Satan has "gunpowder brennyng in ...hys erys...." and with directions for such effects in other plays. See Meredith and Tailby, 105.
20. See Davidson, 62.
21. See also Tuve, Allegorical Imagery, 56-143.
22. Jennifer O'Reilly describes a panel from the "Hampton Court" panels (Brussels, 1500), depicting the Psychomachea, in which the Christian knight is being armed by the Seven Virtues. The motif of the armour of Virtue, she notes, originates in St. Paul, appears in Prudentius' description of Patientia, and is implicit in the Somme Le Roi (67). However, there is no textual evidence to suggest that Humanum Genus is similarly armed; the castle itself seems to serve the same function as such armor.
23. Clifford Davidson, Visualizing the Moral Life, 63-64, cites similar castles in the manuscript illuminations of La Fortress de Foy (Bruges, c.1474-80), as well as in the castles used for various summer outdoor entertainments in England.
24. See also: O'Reilly, 60-65; Roberta D. Cornelius, The Figurative Castle, 45-65; Schmitt, 137; Fifield, The Castle in the Circle, 3-13; Fifield, "The Assault on the Castle of Perseverance -- The Tradition and the Figure," Ball State U. Forum XVI, 4(1975): 16-26.
25. See Cox, 34: "libido dominandi" is the common link between Satan, tyrant and vice.
26. See Kolve, "Everyman and the Parable of the

Talents."

27. See Holbrook; for discussion of this topos see Aries 6-112.

28. For discussion of the topos of the transi, see Leonard Kurtz, The Dance of Death; Aries 112-124; Davidson 120-123.

29. For other descriptions of Heaven scaffolds, see Meredith and Tailby, pp. 83, 94, 95, 121, 130.

30. For a complete stanzaic analysis of the debate, see Kelley, 52-53.

31. For history of this topos see Potter ("Divine and Human Justice"), 137-138. For treatment of this scene in the N-town cycle, see Woolf, 164-7. See also Bevington, "Man, Think on Thine Endynge Day," pp. 155-156.

Fig. 1: Photograph of stage set, Poco Ludique Societas production of The Castle of Perseverance (Toronto, 1979) reproduced in Proudfoot 107.



Fig. 3: Illustration of a Hell Mouth on a seventeenth century pageant cart (Dresden, Kupferstichkabinett) showing the traditional use of flames. Reproduced in Margot Berthold, The History of World Theater, 286. See also fig. 6 in Chapter Three of this dissertation.

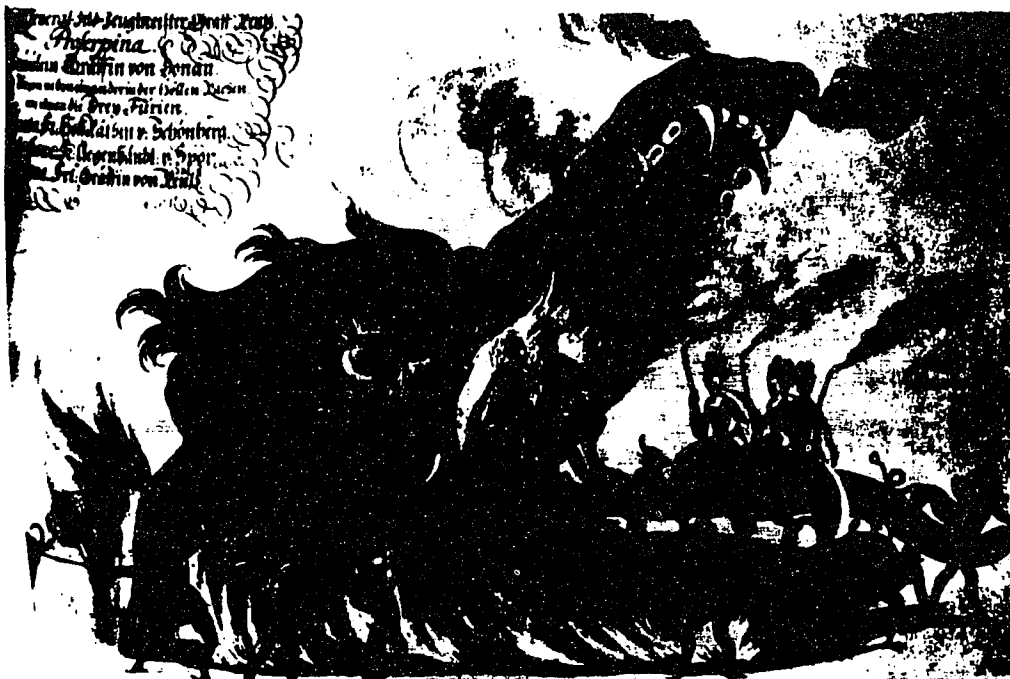


Fig. 4: Personifications of Envy, Gluttony and Lechery from a fifteenth century English ms. Reproduced in Kolve, Chaucer and the Imagery of Narrative, 175. Each personified Deadly Sin is carrying a characteristic animal. Another illustration of Lechery (bottom right) from a French painting by Honore, c. 1295, is as a courtly lady. Reproduced in Kolve 93.



Fig. 5: Illustration of Epiphany from Biblia Pauperum.
Reproduced in Smeltz 17.



Fig. 6: The naked soul ascending to Heaven, pulled by Good and Bad Angels. Illustration from Guillaume de Deguilleville, Pelerinage de l'Ame. London: British Museum, Add. 38120, fol. 111vc. In Index of Christian Art, Princeton University.



Fig. 7: Watching naked souls ascend to Heaven. Illustration from Guillaume de Deguilleville, Pelerinage de l'Ame. London: British Museum, Add. 38120, fol. 131vc. In Index of Christian Art, Princeton University.



Fig. 8: Wheel of Life, from the psalter of Robert de Lisle (c. 1308-10). Reproduced in Kolve, Chaucer and the Imagery of Narrative, 169 and in Burrows, The Ages of Man, plate 7.



Fig. 9: Portrait of a gallant from a facsimile of a woodcut in the Basle edition of The Ship of Fools (1494). Reproduced in Tony Davenport, "Lusty Fresche Gallants," 110.



Fig. 10: Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Bad Government, Fresco, Palazzo Pubblico, Sienna. Reproduced in Meiss, Painting in Florence and Sienna after the Black Death, fig. 74.

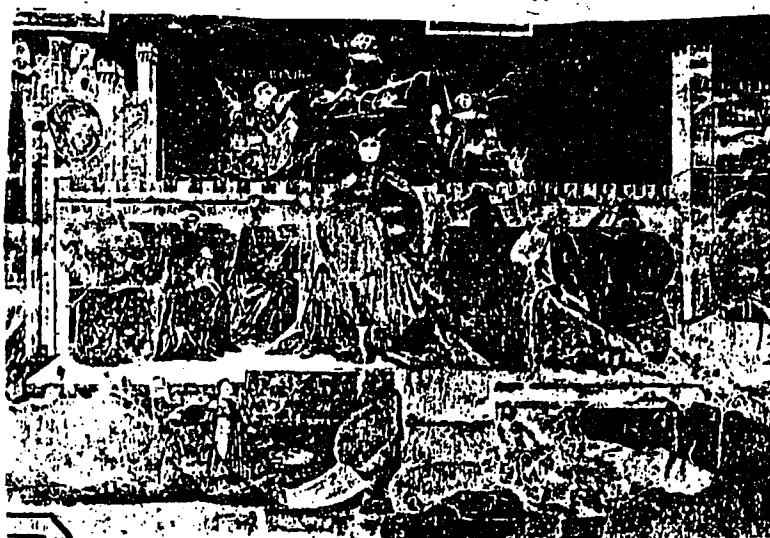


Fig. 11: Illustration to Terence's Plays, Leydensis Vosianus 38, fol 6v. Reproduced in Barasch, Gestures of Despair in Early Medieval and Renaissance Art 19.



Fig. 12: Detail of central figure, Ambrogio Lorenzetti, Good Government. Reproduced in Meiss, fig. 109.



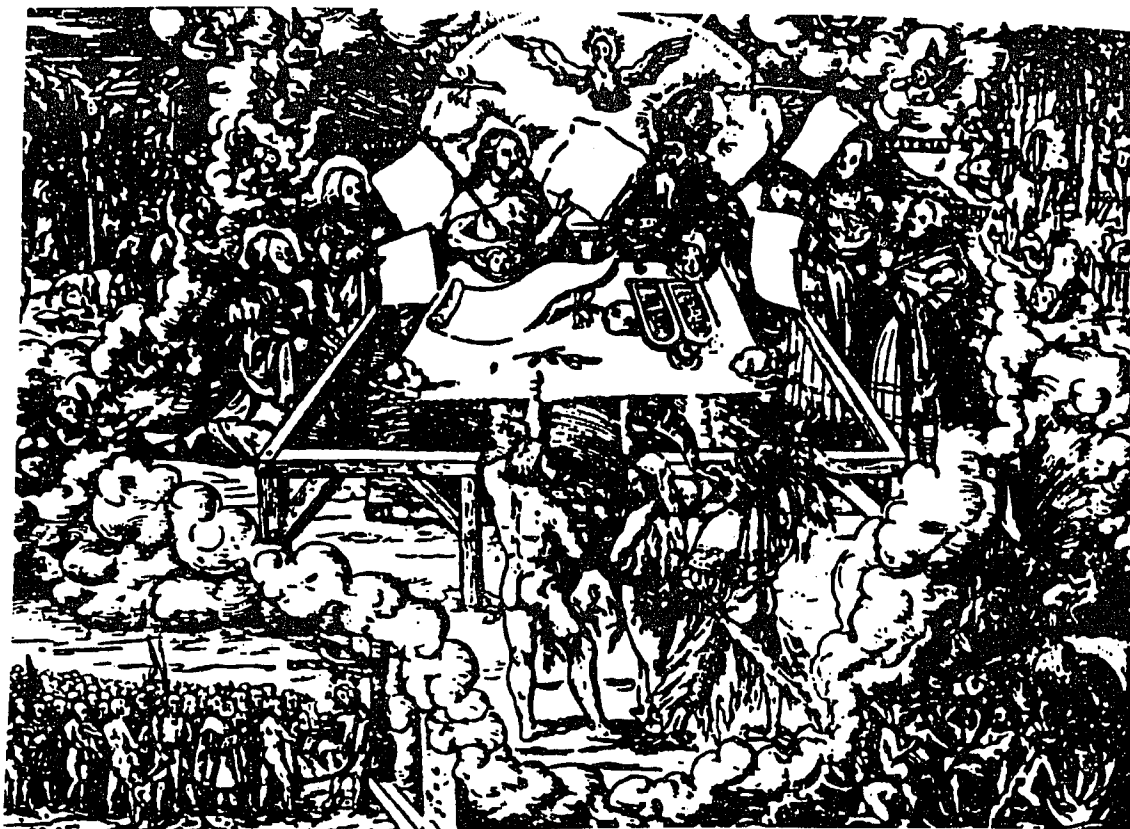
Fig. 13: Hieronymus Bosch, Death and the Miser. Reproduced in Taylor and Nelson 293.



Fig. 14: Death of the Christian, from The Grandes Heures de Rohan, Bibliotheque Nationale. Reproduced in Aries, cover.



Fig. 15: The Trial in Heaven, German woodcut. Bodleian Library: Douce Collection. Reproduced in Potter, "Divine and Human Justice," 136.



Everyman: Staged Allegory and its Adaptations

I have used The Castle of Perseverance to set up the paradigms that I see operating in the morality play. In this chapter I will test the parameters of the form through a reading of Everyman. In The Castle of Perseverance the inclusion of the staged diagram and staging directions makes it possible to flesh out the text by recreating, to a degree, the original staging of the play. Everyman, concentrated in structure and lacking in stage directions, presents more problems and more possibilities. As Stanford B. Garner has pointed out,

Everyman presents us with a literary paradox. On the one hand, it demonstrates its embodiment in performance -- its 'bodying forth,' in props and actors, words and actions.... At the same time, the play resists the distractions threatened by this embodiment. (273)

At the heart of the paradox is the grounding of the text in abstractions -- the isotype (Everyman) and the personifications are not explicitly related to contemporary types; nor is any reference made to contemporary manners or situations. But precisely because Everyman is less grounded in the particularities of time and society, it is more readily adaptable to stagings that employ the particular characters and situations of their own time and society. In this chapter, therefore, I would like to examine the conflict between text and performance. The text presents us

with the allegorical; the performance deconstructs the allegory into the particular, viewing the play through the lens of its own times. The play in performance can be viewed through several intertextual frames -- those of its own time and those supplied by contemporary production.

Everyman has been frequently and variously produced in modern times, each production clearly embodying the dominant aesthetic emphasis of its time. William Poel's production, acted outdoors in the Master's Court at Charterhouse in 1901, was clearly influenced by expressionism:

...the text of the play was increasingly cut in performance, and additional spectacle and music introduced....The general effect was to remove the rough medieval edge of Everyman and give it a more congenial pre-Raphaelite texture. (Potter, The English Morality Play 222)

This was succeeded by a series of Poel-inspired productions from 1907 to 1928, the most famous and influential of which was Max Reinhardt's staging of Hugo von Hoffmansthal's adaptation, Jedermann, in 1920.¹ The Reinhardt production substituted naturalism for expressionism and parable for allegory: Everyman was particularized as a tavern owner, "a greedy materialist exploiting the poor" (Potter 230); other characters, including a mother, were introduced. Since that time productions of Everyman have been so numerous that they resist cataloging and so varied that they all but ignore the original text. Changes characterized performances at Cambridge and Oxford, by Old Vic, the Birmingham Repertory Company, and Westminster Abbey, in musical versions, opera

and cantata, on television and as a film (Potter 5). Three West African versions were staged in the 1960's, two adaptations of the Hoffmansthal version by the Yoruba Opera Company and another Nigerian version in 1961; a version by Obotunde Sjinnere was presented by the Negro Ensemble company in 1979. Two successful American adaptations of the Hoffmansthal Jederman -- Walter Sorel's Everyman Today (1948) and Geraldine Fitzgerald's and Walter Ringkamps's Everyman and roach (1968) -- transformed Everyman once more into modern parable. An American rock opera produced as street theater, Everyman and roach locates the play in a New York ghetto and focuses on the relationship between Everyman and his fellow man, adapts its characters and plot to problems caused by the urban decay and moral blight but retains the encounter with a personified Death.² Glynne Wickham's 1964 production at the University of Bristol also transposes the play to the twentieth century and uses the metaphor of Everyman as rock hero to produce an antiwar allegory: Everyman is dressed in jeans and jacket; Death is dressed "as a Marine Commando with face blackened and armed literally to the teeth with knife, dynamite, napalm and lasso...." (Wickham 33).

These productions illustrate the adaptability of Everyman to a variety of frames. As Potter points out,

Poel's production had made Everyman a contemporary fact, and the morality play a part of the twentieth century. As such it became susceptible to various twentieth century

interpretations....Whether the
 revived Everyman was in fact a theatrical tour
 de force, a religious service, a drama of ideas, a
 poetic allegory, or a good commercial investment
 depended largely upon whether one was, say, George
 Bernard Shaw, W. B. Yeats, or Max Reinhardt...."
 (225)

The productions also illustrate the effect of the frame on
 the abstractions on stage: frequently they are deconstructed
 into the social type or the particularized individual.

Poel, for example, established a tradition of Everyman as
 female but Everyman is as frequently played by an actor
 (Astington 8), and, in a recent New York production renamed
Everybody, the character of Everyman was played serially by
 a number of different actors: "Everybody changed into or
 developed from other characters (or concepts or things) that
 he sought out; at the end, the original Everybody reappeared
 as Good Deeds that led the way to salvation" (White 105).

Although many modern productions particularize the
 personified abstractions and the situations of the play, the
 attraction of Everyman remains its universality: it is the
 power of the personifications that allows them to be
 deconstructed into particularizations on stage and yet
 retain their allegorical significance; and, as Stanton
 Garner points out, it is the tension between the allegory of
 the text and the particularity, the "here and now" of the
 stage production, that creates the "theatricality" of the
 play (273). In staged versions of Everyman, Garner argues,
 the "here and now" is presented only so that it can be

deconstructed, so that "the things of the stage (like the things of the world) are steadily stripped away" (275). Thus the tension between the production -- grounded in the particular -- and the text (which has few referents to the particular) is deliberate, and reflects the tension between the world of man and the world of God that is the central focus of the play.

The study of Everyman, like that of The Castle of Perseverance, will explore the coexistence and interaction of allegorical and literal levels through the study of text, staging, and context. Twentieth-century productions, not only those of Poel and Reinhard but also those that appear periodically in colleges and cathedrals, illustrate the variety of ways in which the play can be adapted to particular time and circumstance, to the social "framework" of the modern audience; this study will make reference to these productions as a means of illustrating the ways that the text can be adapted and nevertheless retain its double nature. But examination as well of the intertextual frames -- the various dramatic and iconographic contexts through which fifteenth century audiences understood and reacted to the performed play -- amplify our understanding of the allegorical significance of Everyman and provide information about the specifics of staging and costuming in the original productions.

Although the Macro manuscript reveals a great deal about

the staging of The Castle of Perseverance, we can learn little about the original staging of Everyman from the four surviving texts.³ Perhaps because they may be translations meant to be read, they contain no stage directions and no evidence of having been staged.⁴ Moreover, textual evidence suggests that a production of Everyman would require a far less elaborate staging than the other plays, staging that could work equally well in a theater-in-the-round, church, or courtyard, and that would be adaptable for a small troupe of traveling players. The play calls for three scenic structures -- an elevated throne for God (possibly curtained), a house of salvation, and a place for the grave (Astington 4). The last might be staged either as an area underneath a trapdoor on a raised wooden structure (as it was in The Castle) or as yet another structure which looks like a tomb or a sepulchre. Two alternate possibilities for staging the play present themselves. If, as in The Castle, the grave is indicated by a trapdoor, then the play reproduces the vertical cosmography which, in The Castle, is represented in the upper and lower levels of the castle and the trapdoor and here is represented in the throne of God, the central playing area, and the trapdoor (see Bucknell's reconstruction, fig. 1). The staging of the Parry productions represents an adaptation of this plan:

The play was acted in a three quarter round, on and around a simple wooden platform ten feet square and eighteen inches high. The stage had a central hinged trap, with crawl spaces to gain

access to it from below. A small square platform three feet in height, with steps down to floor level, represented both heaven and the house of salvation. (Astington 103) (fig. 2)

This is also the construction of the Wickham production which places a mitred God directly above the House of Salvation while Everyman and the other characters are ranged directly below him (fig. 3).

A combination of woodcuts that illustrate the title page of John Skot's undated editions of Everyman (STC 10605 and 10606) (fig. 4), however, suggests an alternate staging plan, one that combines the vertical with the horizontal. The illustration presents two figures: on the right (the viewer's left) is a figure labeled Everyman: he is dressed in the costume of the contemporary gallant. This illustration is juxtaposed to a larger one: on Everyman's left (the viewer's right) is Death, a cadaver who has apparently risen from the grave, for in his left hand he holds a coffin lid. In the background are crosses and an arched gateway (which Clifford Davidson interprets as a cemetery ["Of Woodcut and Play" 15]). Although Davidson asserts that "In no sense...can the made-up woodcut on the title page of the play be regarded as an illustration showing aspects of an actual production of Everyman" ("Of Woodcut and Play" 16), the illustration does suggest a staging in which the archway, an entryway to Death, like Hell Mouth in The Castle, appears to the left of the protagonist (perhaps with a trapdoor below), while the House

of Salvation is on his right. An elevated throne of God might be placed above the House of Salvation, as in the Fouquet "Martyrdom of St. Apollonia" and the set of the Valenciennes Passion Play (figs. 5 and 6).⁵

A variant staging might use three scaffolds, with the elevated throne of God in the center of the stage, creating what Pamela Sheingorn has called a "balancing center": "such is the case in medieval drama when the figure of God, Christ, or a Saint occupies the vertical axis of the composition" ("The Visual Language of Drama" 177). Such a composition would parallel depictions of the Last Judgment which appear in the visual arts of twelfth and thirteenth centuries, often, as Pamela Sheingorn points out, on the western wall of churches ("For God is such a Doomsman" 40). Rosemary Woolf describes the scene as it appears in cathedrals:

According to common iconographic design this is a majestically crowded scene. In the centre is Christ, who extends his hands so as to reveal his wounds, but with a difference of gesture, so that with his right he welcomes the blessed, with his left rejects the damned. Behind him angels... display the instruments of the Passion. Below and at his side is the Virgin, and beyond them, evenly divided, are the twelve apostles, who...sit with Christ as assessors....The entry to heaven on Christ's right...is guarded by St. Peter or an angel; near it are the saved. On Christ's left the entry to hell is symbolised by a cauldron or the mouth of Leviathan, and near or around it are a group of devils about to drag off the damned. (Woolf 295-6) (See fig. 7).

Both Sheingorn and Woolf link the general design of such iconography to the staging of the Judgment Day plays; David

Leigh's description of the settings of the York and Chester Domsday plays illustrates this similarity:

The Chester play spectacularly unites heaven and earth by mechanically lowering Christ on a cloud from which he judges the souls of persons gathering from earth, heaven and hell to reunite with their bodies....The York play gives no clear indication of place but presents Christ seating himself and his apostles on judgment seats....The souls are called by two trumpeting angels and separated by a third angel. Demons apparently run up from Hellmouth and lead away their victims.... (260-1)

In her analysis of the similarity between the iconography of the Last Judgment and Ludus de Antichristo Pamela Sheingorn ("For God is such a Doomsman....") points out that the composition of pictures and play draw heavily on the principles of balance and symmetry. Hierarchy in iconography exists through the vertical arrangements of groups: both in picture and in play the uppermost figure is that of Christ the Judge. Both sculptures and dramatizations present figures "symmetrically balanced about a central axis" (46) which is Christ the Judge. Symmetry becomes an organizing principle in both. In drama it emerges in the repetition and balance of battles and speeches and particularly in symmetry and symbolism of movement:

The many battles in the play, which could easily cause visual confusion, sort themselves out by reference to the symmetrically arranged sedes of the combatants just as the individual incidents in the tympanum can be interpreted only by reference to their placement on left or right side. (49)

Such symbolic movement is repeated in the Corpus Christi

Last Judgment plays:

In the Towneley Judgment, the angel with sword.... orders the souls to "stand not togeder, parte in two!....On his right hand ye good shall go/....on his left hande as none of his" (ll. 74-80) The stage directions are no less explicit in describing Christ's symbolic movement to right and left....The York text is basically identical in these particulars, and has Christ speak of "Mi blissid childre on my right hande (l. 277), though this version does not include the actual stage direction of turning toward them. (Sheingorn and Bevington, "Alle this was Token Domysday...." 127)

If the staging of Everyman parallels the balance and symmetry of the Judgment plays, its visual composition also allows for symbolic movement between loci: movement to the right indicates movement to salvation; movement to the left (the scaffold of Death) also implies movement toward damnation.

The use of loci and a central playing area provide a mnemonic pattern for Everyman, a pattern similar to depictions of the Last Judgment and the settings of Last Judgment plays. These similarities may be deliberate, for, beginning in the late thirteenth century, a strong relationship is established in art and in drama between the biblical Last Judgment and the judgment of the individual. In scenes of the Last Judgment, explains Philippe Aries, eschatology is replaced by "judicial machinery": "The apocalyptic descent from heaven to earth has become a court of justice" (102), and it is in this court that the fate of the individual man is weighed.

The significance of this Judgment to moral conduct is made clear: bracketing the Last Judgment tympanum at Chartres Cathedral are columns depicting the Virtues and Vices; they appear below the Last Judgment at Notre Dame, Paris. Bevington points out that a Doom Panel at Gloucester is inscribed " 'In all thy works remember thy last' " ("Man, Thinke on Thine Endynge Day" 148). Below the Divine Court is always the individual. In a Last Judgment scene from a Birgittine convent in Syon, England, a human figure is about to be judged while a "skeletal Death" aims a dart at him; a 1540 woodcut entitled "The Last Judgment with the Ages of Man and Death" "unites in one composition the Second Coming with seven generic portraits of the Life of man from infancy to old age" (Bevington 149) (cf. fig. 18). This iconography, then, may exist as an important intertextual frame for the moralities, and particularly for Everyman.

In arguing for close similarities between the Doomsday plays of the mystery cycles and early morality plays, David Leigh underscores the importance of Doomsday art and drama as intertextual frames for Everyman. He notes that both the Doomsday plays and the moralities exist "outside of history," in the realm of universals; both employ personifications and "universal types" to portray the individual; and both link eschatology to the moral judgment of the individual (260-78). Underlying these similarities is what Aries calls

...a relationship between this judicial conception of the world and the new idea of life as a biography. Each moment of life will be weighed someday in a solemn hearing, before all the powers of heaven and hell. (103)

As the previous chapter pointed out, the portrayal of the life span in The Castle of Perseverance parallels the historic scope of the mystery cycles, and the penultimate Coming of Death episode in The Castle parallels the Doomsday plays. Everyman begins almost where The Castle ends, with the confrontation with Death, and though the play encapsulates the human biography of The Castle, it focuses, more than The Castle, on the the judgment of the individual. It is this notion that is conveyed in the initial appearance of God. Astington argues that God's speech clearly reveals him as Father and Son and that he might therefore appear as the Trinity: "a seated bearded figure in a king's gown, and wearing triple crown, with the crucifix resting between his knees, and the dove of the holy spirit appearing above his right shoulder" (7). But God's speech is also completely consistent with the character of Christ as he appears in the Judgment Day tympani -- a throned Christ who judges mankind even as he extends his hands to reveal his wounds (fig. 6):

My law that I showed when I for them died
 They forget clean, and shedding of my blood red.
 I hanged between two thieves, it cannot be denied;
 To get them life I suffered to be dead; (ll.
 29-32)

....
 Therefore I will, in all the haste,
 Have a reckoning of every man's person. (ll. 45-6)

The God that appears is both the judge of the

individual and the crucified Christ that will appear on the Day of Judgment, and his opening speech, describing the condition of mankind is, as Carolyn Van Dyke has pointed out, "less sermon than soliloquy; modern spectators may imagine that they are overhearing the reflections of a troubled monarch" (128). As the play shifts from the Messenger's sermon to God's soliloquy, its focus expands to include the allegorical, particular, and historical:

...the play's movement from a double to a single time is one of its finest artistic strategies. Because the play concerns a single figure called Everyman...it speaks of death as it may come to any one of us, individually, at any time. The play's historical moment is in that sense a perpetual present, not tied down to history. But simultaneously a specific historical time is also addressed which is nothing less Doomsday, the general death that will befall all those still living at the end of the world. (Kolve 328)

Important in Doomsday iconography is a the Book of Reckoning, "at once the history of an individual, his biography, and a book of accounts, or records, with two columns, one for the evil and the other for the good":

...in the middle of the fourteenth century, a painting by J. Albergo shows Christ the judge sitting on his throne and holding on his knees an open book....Although it is reserved for the damned, it is a record of the deeds of humanity. Even more remarkable are the souls that are pictured below the Christ figure in the form of skeletons. Each of these souls holds his own book in his hands and expresses by his gesture how much the reading frightens him. (Aries 104)

Aries notes that "while it is true that the book contains the entire history of a life, it is written to be used only once, at the moment when the accounts are settled, when the

assets and liabilities are compared, when the balance sheet is closed" (106).⁶ This is the moment at which Everyman begins, and the Book of Reckoning, handed from God to Death (ll. 66-70) and from Death to Everyman (l. 104) becomes the link between individual and collective judgment. In Aubrey Simpson's 1986 production, where Everyman is played serially by a number of different actors, it is the Book of Accounts (passed on from one actor to another) that transforms a character into Everyman. "Each Everybody, as the Book passed to another, scurried away as any of us would do if reprieved from imminent Death" (White 106). In the Parry production, the book becomes the central property:

The Messenger carried it as he came onto the stage and left it lying there, whence it was picked up by Death and subsequently delivered to Everyman. Everyman tried to rid himself of it by throwing it at Death's feet on l. 113; it was roughly thrust back at him on l. 130. Thereafter it always lay in view on the stage...picked up to be shown to Kindred, and then to Good Deeds....He then laid it at the foot of the grave, where it remained until the entrance of the Doctor, who picked it up and carried it during his final speech. (Astington 105).

The first three tableaux of the Messenger, God, and Death accomplish not only a transition from the message of collective judgment to the judgment of the representative individual but also the progressive distancing of the audience from the action on stage. The play moves from the Messenger's direct address to the audience ("Man, in the beginning, / Look well, and take good heed to the ending" [ll.10-11]) to the third person references to all men by God

("They be so cumbered with worldly riches/ That needs on them I must do judgment" [ll. 60-1]) to the direct address of Death to Everyman ("Everyman, stand still! Wither art thou going/ Thus gaily? Hast thou thy maker forgot?" [85-6]). This transition corresponds with what Elizabeth Burns has called the "bounds of stage illusion...[which establishes] the characters as fiction that the actors...interpret" (42)⁷ Distanced from this illusion, the audience can judge Everyman the individual at the same time that they remain aware that he is their representative. The encounter between Everyman and Death that follows is the most famous and powerful tableau of the play; and its impact derives in part from a contextual frame -- that of late medieval macabre iconography. In a sense this is a frame within a frame, for, as Phillippe Aries has shown, the encounter with a personified Death who acts as God's servant originally appears in a depiction of the Last Judgment (112); as emphasis shifts to individual judgment, Death most often appears with spear in hand, as man on his deathbed submits his book of accounts to a celestial jury (108-110).⁸ Death in such illustrations is the personified abstraction, "the faithful executor of the will of God" (Aries 112), but increasingly he is also shown as the transi, the decaying corpse, the image of the living man as he will become (fig. 8). Confrontations with the transi become more sudden, direct and personal. In the topos of the Three Living and

the Three Dead which often appears in English wall painting and in manuscript illuminations,⁹ three of the living, most often youths, sometimes kings at the pinnacle of fortune, once a king, queen and bishop (Chew 230), occasionally representing the three ages of man (Davidson, Visualizing 126), are forced suddenly to confront "a fearful apparition of three corpses, fleshless, worm eaten...the second, speaking, tells them to behold in him a mirror sent by God of their future state" (Didron 164) (fig.9). An illumination in the De Lisle psalter inscribes above the Three Dead: " 'Ich wes wel faire'; 'Such scheltou be'; 'For godes loue be wer by me' (fol 27)" (Davidson, Visualizing 126). The image of Death as transi deconstructs the image of Death as Messenger. The Messenger, a robed skeleton, is a personified abstraction, a representation of a universal force outside the self; the transi is a particularization, an image of the self in decay. Because of its dramatic nature, the most famous topos of the confrontation with Death, and the one most frequently associated with Everyman, is that of the danse macabre,

...an eternal round in which the dead alternate with the living. The dead lead the dance; indeed, they are the only ones dancing. Each couple consists of a naked mummy, rotting, sexless, and highly animated, and a man or a woman, dressed according to his or her social condition and paralyzed with surprise. Death holds out its hand to the living person whom it will draw along with it, but who has not yet obeyed the summons. (Aries 116) (fig. 10)

Fifteenth century depictions of the Dance of Death exist in

wall painting and poetry; there is some evidence as well of performances of the Dance.¹⁰ As Robert Potter points out, both Everyman and the Dance of Death most likely derive from dramatized illustrations of sermon material, and both use the confrontation with Death as a warning for man to repent (The English Morality Play 20-21). Both the Dance and the play mirror the nature of man through a larger perspective. In his double, the living corpse, the dancer/ protagonist recognizes his mortal and corruptible body; in the Dance of Death, as in Everyman, he sees his progression to the grave.

Although the Dance of Death shares with Everyman a dramatic confrontation with human mortality, there is nothing to suggest that the Dance of Death was an actual source of the play or that it existed in the play itself.¹¹ The Dance of Death, however, is an important part of many modern versions of the play. If, as Clifford Davidson puts it, Everyman represents the most essential element of the Dance of Death -- the "moment of arrest" of the individual (Visualizing 126) -- these productions use the Dance to broaden the scope of this "arrest" and to locate it in a specific time and society. Martin Stevens points out that Hoffmansthal uses the Holbein Totentanz as the source for his depiction of Death and for the figures in his banquet scene, each of whom encounters Death in his various forms. Moreover, "in Jedermann the whole ballet scene, which Death joins at its height, becomes literally the Dance of Death"

("The Reshaping of Everyman" 129). Stevens notes that the Holbein Death is "a chameleon type figure" seen "in virtually all guises in the Totentanz cycle" ("The Reshaping of Everyman" 128). Drawing upon this concept, Everyman and roach transforms the Dance and its dancers into a Death Machine comprised of multiple personifications of Death, including Suicide, Disease, Time, War, Accident. In Everyman Today the Dance is composed of "six manifestations of Everyman --the dictator, the businessman, the general, the scientist, the politician, and the intellectual. Each in turn is claimed by Death, and none has time to amend his ways" (Schreiber 104). And in the Aubrey Simpson production, the audience participate in the Dance of Death as they make their way into the cathedral and again at the end of the play as they descend to the crypt (White 107).

In the Simpson Everybody the Dance is used to bridge the barrier between audience and play (and to deconstruct the gradual distancing accomplished by the first three tableaux): the audience is Everyman, and his fate -- and time -- is theirs. In Everyman and roach the Dance particularizes Death: in personifying its various manifestations it deconstructs the abstract notion of the Messenger of Death. In Everyman Today the Dance of Death serves the same satiric purpose as in the fourteenth century -- to show Death as an equalizing force who strikes down king and peasant alike:

Through all this speaks a society in which abuses have become serious, in which the privileged are coming to be severely judged. Death, fortunately, is the same for all: through death, order is re-established. (Male, Religious Art 148-9)

In Everyman Today Everyman becomes representative of society as well as of humanity. Deconstructed into his various social roles, he is represented by the power figures of his age. If Everyman portrays the conflict between the world of man and the world of God, the focus of many of these productions is on the world of man. Death functions not only as a messenger of individual judgment, but also, as in the Dance, as an instrument of social justice. The apocalyptic vision of Doomsday art is translated to the social sphere.

Adapters of Everyman can deconstruct the central figure because, unlike the protagonist of The Castle of Perseverance, he is never explicitly identified with a specific age or social role. Nevertheless, in both the text and the illustration in the Skot edition Everyman seems to be dressed as the rich young gallant (fig. 4), and this costuming is repeated in most productions (figs. 11 and 12). This is the Everyman that the Parry production presents, drawing as well on references to Everyman as dancer:

The entry of Everyman was made into a tableau: to a dance tune Everyman was teasingly pulled around the edge of the stage by two companions, who wrapped and entangled him in long, coloured sashes. At Death's summons this dance abruptly stopped, the companions fled, and the cloth sashes dropped to the ground around Everyman's feet. (Astington 104)

In the Parry production, the dance mirrors Everyman's

entrapment in the confusion of mortality ("This blind matter troubleth my wit" [l. 102]).

Like Humanum Genus when he first steps beyond the protective bounds of the Castle, Everyman is blind "of ghostly sight" (l. 25); "his mind is on fleshly lusts and his treasure" (88). The costume and topos of the gallant allows the audience to understand that Everyman, like Humanum Genus, is playing a role. (The 1974 Stratford Connecticut production emphasizes this by using half masks to hide both Everyman's face and the faces of the first three friends [fig.13]). By beginning the dramatic action at the midpoint of the protagonist's life, at the psychological moment when he, like the young Humanum Genus, is at a height of moral corruption and confusion, and omitting a portrayal of his progression into that confusion, the play implies that Everyman's fall into sin may not be the result of a conscious choice of secular over divine values: in the world of Everyman moral blindness is the human condition. Everyman, uninstructed by a Good Angel, unprotected by a Castle, falls naturally into values and loyalties that are purely secular. Upon the appearance of Death he is, as unresistingly, forced into an apprehension of their limited and damning value.

If the costumed Death that approaches Everyman on the stage resembles the illustration in the Skot manuscript, he is both Messenger and transi: he holds coffin lid rather

than dirt and his body is skeletal, but his "grave clothes hang loosely on him" (Davidson, "Of Woodcut and Play" 15) - - the costume of a decaying corpse. The contrast between the elaborate costume of Everyman and the tatters of Death suggests that Death the Messenger is also the mirror of Everyman's own mortality.

If Death presents Everyman with a knowledge that transcends the limited perspective of the mortal man, Everyman's very mortality obstructs his recognition: his initial response to Death illustrates God's earlier description of contemporary man as "blind": "Drowned in sin, they know me not for their God,/In worldly riches is all their mind" (26-27). As Carolynn Van Dyke explains,

Mankind's representative comes on stage so insulated in particularity that he does not even see Death and God until the latter addresses him. He responds to the name "Everyman" but not yet to the general truths that govern every man. Apparently, he thinks he is merely an individual. (128)

Everyman's non-recognition of Death makes clear the clash between his mortal perspective and the larger, allegorical perspective of the play. As the play progresses, his perspective will enlarge. The major metaphor for this progression to Knowledge is the pilgrimage:

On thee thou must take a long journey;
Therefore thy book of count with thee thou bring,
For turn again thou cannot by no way. (ll. 103-5)

Death makes it clear that the terminus of this pilgrimage is death and divine judgment:

And look thou be sure of they reckoning,
For before God thou shalt answer.... (ll. 106-107)

Merle Fifiield argues that in Everyman, as in The Castle of Perseverance, the movement of the protagonist upon the platea suggests such a journey, that he moves clockwise around the platea in "an allegorically regular but visually varied route" (45) which will take him from the scaffolds of the first set of friends to the scaffolds of the second, and finally to the scaffold of Death.

Does this pilgrimage, then, as in The Castle of Perseverance, serve in reality to mirror the inescapable life-journey of Everyman? The structure of the plot does suggest some similarities with the structuring topos of the Ages of Man. Although Everyman's name and identity never change and there is no evidence that Everyman changes mask or costume -- except to don the robe of penitence -- Everyman, like Humanum Genus in The Castle of Perseverance, seems implicitly to take on some characteristics of the Ages. In his encounter with his first three friends is recalled the entire process of his fall into sin: his earlier devotion to Fellowship, Cousin and Kin has involved the vices of the flesh one associates with youth and the gallant; his subsequent relationship with Goods reveals a role not much different than that of the knight of Mundus. With the taking on of the second set of friends Everyman, like Humanum Genus in the Castle, takes on the topos of the mature penitent. Like the aging Humanum Genus, however,

Everyman remains vulnerable: self-knowledge brings with it excessive faith in one's own mortality. Ultimately, Everyman, like the aged Humanum Genus, must face death alone. Everyman, like The Castle of Perseverance, suggests that such role playing is the inescapable consequence of mortality, part of the inevitable life journey the upon which the protagonist is embarked.

Discussing the spiritual pilgrimage as it appears in allegory, Edgar Schell points out that the protagonists/pilgrims

...are seen always in spiritual transit, in motion between heaven and hell. And the acts they perform are always imagined as stages in a moral process...Under such assumptions, man is not merely an aimless traveler through time; he is, rather, a pilgrim journeying toward a goal he shares with other men. (12-13)

This description of the allegorical pilgrimage, which Schell applies to The Castle of Perseverance, seems much more fitting for Everyman. Once given his goal, Everyman's journey is self-impelled and purposeful; and although the play encapsulates Everyman's life, it does so through retrospect: the action takes place in the span of a single day, a day which Death describes much like the Day of Judgment:

See thou make thee ready shortly,
For thou mayst say this is the day
That no man living may scape away. (ll. 181-3)

V. A. Kolve argues that the pilgrimage upon which Everyman embarks is not the pilgrimage of life, which "has

been underway since Everyman's birth and....does not...require a message of command" (326) but

...the death-journey of the soul to Judgment Day -- Deguilleville's Le Pelerinage de l'Ame -- and most of the play is devoted to showing the soul freeing itself from earth so that it depart. (326)

In the play, says Kolve, the pilgrimage takes place only at the end, when Everyman ascends to heaven. Yet the movement of the play follows what Angus Fletcher has defined as typical allegorical progress, the "questing journey" which leads to "a better home" -- or a redefinition of the self (151). The "death journey," therefore, encompasses the entire plot of the play, and the Pelerinage de l'Ame becomes another intertextual frame through which it can be understood.

Like the life-journey of *Humanum Genus*, the pilgrimage of Everyman involves sloughing off the layers of mortality -- and of moral blindness -- that surround mortal man. What The Castle of Perseverance describes in the staged imagery of clothing and shelter, Everyman develops dramatically through the shedding of concentric layers of social contact. The initial encounter with Death pierces the illusory *Theatrum Mundi*, the world of money and secular power; the encounters with -- and desertions of -- Fellowship, Kindred and Cousin destroy the social spheres of friendship and family loyalty. The desertion of Goods cuts Everyman loose from social contacts; and, in the desertion of Beauty,

Strength, Five Wits and Discretion he sheds the mortal protections of the body and the intellect. With the final desertion of Knowledge, Everyman stands spiritually "naked" and thereby purified. Clothing and stage props, although not specified in the text or stage directions, can provide visual and mnemonic analogues to the dramatic structure of shedding mortality and purifying the self; at the same time, costume, whether be the necklace, cape and plumed hat of the Skot illustration, Jederman's rich burgher's suit, or the gold chains of the street theatre Everyman, particularizes Everyman's mortality, locating him in a specific time and place.

Carolynn Van Dyke describes Fellowship, Kindred and Cousin as "the most easily individualized of allegorical actors, demonstrably more illustrative than symbolic" (130), but, as Van Dyke points out, their behavior and appearance are governed by the generalizations that they illustrate. In an illustration in the Skot edition, they are dressed in elegant contemporary costume:

...hose, skirted doublets, short gowns, round-toed shoes, and squarish Tudor caps; 'Kynne' wears a long gown with long sleeves. (Astington 16)

In addition, Fellowship wears a sword, an elegant scimitar. Such clothing establishes Fellowship both as Everyman's double and as a generalization. If Death as a ragged cadaver is a reflection of Everyman's own mortality, the elaborately dressed Fellowship reflects Everyman's own immersion in the

material world; and, as David Parry points out, Fellowship's sword is an ironic reminder of Death's spear: "Fellowship becomes a grotesque antagonist of Death." (Astington 28).

As a personification of mortality, Fellowship (and subsequently Kinship, Cousin and Goods) also embodies those deadly sins that spring from overvaluation of worldly things: his offer of revenge is a manifestation of Wrath; his offer to "ete, and drynke, and make good chere,/ or haunt to women the lusty company...." (ll. 272-273) manifests Gluttony and Lechery.

Glynne Wickham notes that Fellowship, Kindred and Cousin

...may all be abstract personifications...; but each is characterized broadly and firmly enough for the imaginative actor to fill in just enough detail to endow the character with a personality. The spectator can then easily take the last step and equate this personality with a real-life character of his own acquaintance. In this sense, the characters possess a reality during the actual performance which can appear to be more vivid and three dimensional than many naturalistically documented characters.... (33)

Although Fellowship, Kindred and Cousin all represent social ties and the material world, and although they are all reflections of Everyman himself, the differences in the characterization of these three personifications makes it possible to particularize them. Fellowship's overstatements clearly characterize him as a braggart; offering Everyman friendship unto death ("If any have you wronged, ye shall revenged be,/ Though I on the ground be slain for thee -- /

Though that I know before that I should die" [ll. 218-220]), he refuses to accompany Everyman on his pilgrimage ("If Death were the messenger,/ For no man that is living today/ I will not go on that loath journey" [ll. 266-268]).

Kindred, a pleasure seeker, offers a substitute on the journey ("Ye shall have my maid with all my heart;/ She loveth to go to feasts, there to be nice,/.../I will give her leave to help you in that journey,/ If that you and she may agree." [ll. 360-364]). And the particularization of these abstractions is made explicit when Cousin reminds Everyman that he, too, is an individual:

Cousin Everyman, farewell now,
For verily I will not go with you.
Also of my own an unready reckoning
I have to account; therefore I make tarrying. (ll. 373-376)

Director's notes to the Parry production make the individuation of these Friends apparent: they describe the exits of Kindred (l. 351 ff.) and Cousin (l. 356):

Having had time to prepare himself, Kindred approaches Everyman to dispense general sympathy, and then to leave. A look or gesture of hopeful appeal from Everyman is sternly killed off by l. 353....Cousin's reactions are more comically transparent than those of Kindred. A farcical collapse or limp is called for here, which can, of course, magically disappear for the exit. (Astington 40)

Cousin's exit is at once comically realistic and allegorical, for his excuse, "I haue a crampe in my toe" (l.356) is a manifestation of Sloth. As R. T. Van Laam points out, Sloth is traditionally "the sin of the feet:

Sloth, or the slothful man, suffers from the gout; sometimes his feet are gnawed" (468). But what gnaws at Cousin's feet is the psychic inability to begin the spiritual pilgrimage, and this unwillingness to reverse his course is the direct result of his commitment to mortality. Thus the Acedia that was first shown in Everyman's willed blindness to the finitude of time and death and his tendency to postpone ("O Death, thou comest when I had thee least mind/..../ Yea, a thousand pounds thou shalt have/ And defer this matter til another day" [ll. 118; 122-23]) is reflected in the Friends' refusal to accompany Everyman.

Like the aging Humanum Genus, Everyman now turns for security to earthly riches, represented by Goods; but Goods' immobility, unlike that of Fellowship, Kinship and Cousin, contrasts with Everyman's growing urgency:

Who calleth me? Everyman? What! hast thou haste?
I lie here in corners, trussed and piled so high,
And in chests I am locked so fast,
Also sacked in bags. Thou mayst see with thine eye
I cannot stir; in packs low I lie. (ll. 393-397)

Goods is the first allegorical personification in this play that seems resistant to particularization; moreover, this personification is difficult to characterize on stage, since it has no counterpart in contemporary literature or art: it is neither Virtue nor Vice. Yet because Goods is resistant to particularization, many contemporary productions of Everyman transform Goods from a personification into a person: in Jederman he is Mammon; in

Everyman and roach he is No-Count, Everyman's business manager.¹² The characterizations of Mamon and No-Count reinforce the identification of Goods with the pull of the mortal world. Like Goods, Mamon and No-Count are morally ambiguous: although they are not explicitly or apparently evil, like Mundus they tempt the central character into Covetousness. Thus Goods describes his nature to Everyman:

For my love is contrary to love everlasting.
 But if thou had me loved moderately during,
 As to the poor give part of me,
 Then shouldst thou not in this dolour be,
 Nor in this great sorrow and care. (ll. 430-434)
 ...
 My condition is man's soul to kill;
 If I save one, a thousand I do spill. (ll. 441-2)

The Parry production attempts to preserve the allegorical nature of Goods. Goods enters the playing area when Everyman opens the trapdoor (the same trapdoor through which he will eventually exit in death).

Goods was played primarily by one actress, who crawled into the trap from below, but the opening lines were split up among four other actors, who crept and rolled into positions roughly at the four corners of the stage. Goods thus became multiple, as his name suggests: he spoke from many places and with different voices, and the laughter at the end of the scene could build and echo as the actors rolled and staggered back to their positions. (Astington 104)

Goods' costume might well be emblematic: clad in rich clothing and adorned with gold coins, she/he could simultaneously (like Mundus and like Mamon) represent the rich man and personify riches. Hofmannsthal's Mamon is painted in gold and perched upon a chest of gold (figs. 14

and 15): the chest recalls the miser's chest at the foot of the dying man in the Bosch "Death of the Miser" (Chapter two, fig.13) and, therefore, the notion that Everyman's wealth, like Goods, has been corrupted through disuse and misuse. V.A. Kolve's important study, "Everyman and the Parable of the Talents" explains the significance of the buried or hoarded goods: stacked, locked and buried, they become "unprofitable in the economy of man's love and God's salvation" (331). To establish that the relationship between Goods and Everyman is not only extraneous, Everyman, clad in the costume of a gallant, might also wear a cloak of gold coins like Humanum Genus'. The cloak would not only represent his vanity and commitment to the material, but also the fact that Goods itself is a reflection of his own commitment.

Accumulated Goods is the result of Covetousness, a vice that, by definition, is "an euele ordeyned to loue good of this world" (Book of Vices and Virtues 30). The desertion of Goods, therefore, marks the separation of Everyman from the *Theatrum Mundi* -- the world of role playing and social relationships -- and the beginning of self-realization:

Then of myself I was ashamed,
And so I am worthy to be blamed; (476-477)

That this is not a cry of despair but rather a countermovement to Everyman's former Acedia is indicated by the lines that follow:

I think that I shall never speed

Till that I go to my Good Deed. (ll. 480-481)

Like Goods, Good Deeds has been immobilized by Everyman's neglect and reflects Everyman's own moral immobility:¹³

...alas, she is so weak
That she can neither go nor speak;
Yet will I venture on her now.
Good Deeds, where be you? (ll. 482-485)

Everyman's determination to mobilize Good Deeds indicates that he has reversed the moral direction of his life and has embarked upon a spiritual pilgrimage. If he has been clad in finery, he will remove it now; if he has been moving in a counterclockwise direction around the staging area, the direction of his movement may be reversed.

A reversal in the direction of Everyman's movements might be accomplished through the staged search for Good Deeds. As David Parry points out,

Everyman's search for Good Deeds will be most effective if it focuses attention away from the part of the stage from which she will speak; most obviously, he will look for her in the same area where he has previously discovered Fellowship and the others. (Astington 50)

In the Parry production Good Deeds, who lies "cold in the ground" (l. 486), is speaking from the grave trap, "the visual symbolism being that Everyman must revive what is spiritually dead before he can undergo physical death" (Parry in Astington 50). However, Merle Fifield's far more elaborate hypothetical staging of Everyman as theatre in the round suggests another location for Good Deeds. If, as Fifield suggests, Kyndred and Cousin occupy a western

mansion similar to that of Mundus in the Castle plan, Goods, like Covetousness in The Castle, would be placed in the northwestern corner, between Kindred and Cousin and the grave, while Good Deeds would be placed in a diametrically opposite southeastern position between the scaffolds of God (in the east) and the House of Salvation. Stanton Garner notes that, with the exception of the protagonist, the characters in the play remain relatively static, moving only rarely and with "almost processional simplicity" (281); when they exit, they never return. Everyman alone moves from character to character and scaffold to scaffold, and his travels mark the progress of his allegorical pilgrimage, first in the epicycle of human life, and then in the self-determined pilgrimage to salvation. According to Fifield, the direction of the stage movement throughout the play is clockwise; but, if the search for Good Deeds causes Everyman to look behind him, it might call for Everyman to reverse direction, to travel toward the House of Salvation rather than in the direction of the grave: the object of his pilgrimage is no longer the sequence of life and its terminus death but rather judgment and salvation.¹⁴ If, at this point of the play, Everyman reverses the direction in which he walks, it is a reversal that reflects the contrast between the two juxtaposed encounters with Goods and Good Deeds. Like Goods, Good Deeds has been called upon to help in the pilgrimage and, like Goods, she has been bound and

immobilized by Everyman's sins. Like Goods, therefore, both her appearance and her first speech are direct chastisements of Everyman, and the language of that speech, like that of Goods, uses the imagery of accounting:

Look, the books of your works and deeds eke!
Behold how they lie under the feet
To your soul's heaviness. (ll. 503-505)

The encounter with Good Deeds marks a philosophic and psychological turning point in the play. As John Conley notes, the play follows a traditional hierarchical classification of goods into external goods, goods of the body and soul and goods of grace (380). The desertion of Fellowship, Cousin, Kindred and Goods reveals the evanescence of the Lower Goods which, after all, are subject to fortune and mortality; it parallels a process of psychological maturation through which Everyman learns to rely first on his own character and later on the grace of God.

Everyman becomes a person as well as a personification through the actor's portrayal of a man in stress and personality change, change that is indicated through the text and fleshed out in performance. The change is first indicated in his deliberate search for Good Deeds, his determination to help Good Deeds to her feet, and his summoning of Knowledge. Although Knowledge has not yet accompanied Everyman, he indicates that he has achieved some measure of understanding when he acknowledges that his

reckoning is

Before the Redeemer of all thing,
That king is, was, and ever shall (ll. 511-12)

This acceptance becomes internalized with the arrival of
Knowledge:

In good condition I am now in everything,
And am wholly content with this good thing,
Thanked be God my creator. (ll. 524-26)

Parry's director's notes acknowledge the importance of
portraying internal change in Everyman:

In these lines (524-27) new physical and vocal
qualities must be apparent in the actor. Everyman
has been bent over the prostrate body of Good
Deeds, pathetically imploring her assistance. The
appearance of help leads him to rise...and removes
the strain of fear from his voice. (Parry in
Astington 54)

Although Everyman has become an individual as well as a
category, Good Deeds and Knowledge remain personified
abstractions. Carolynn Van Dyke describes Good Deeds as "the
dramatization of a miracle -- the animation of what ought to
remain inanimate" (132), since Everyman's deeds, good and
bad, are already recorded in the book of reckoning. Van Dyke
suggests that Good Deeds is a manifestation of another level
of reality, "that Reality whose harsher forces intruded
upon...[Everyman] in the opening scene" (133). There is an
apparent connection between Good Deeds and the theological
virtue of Charity (Caritas) and Van Dyke therefore suggests
that Good Deeds, like Caritas, represents a completely
external spiritual force. But, just as Goods is the product
rather than the portrayal of Cupiditas, Good Deeds is the

result, not the embodiment, of Cupiditas' opposite, Caritas: she represents the sum of Everyman's accomplishments. Moreover, her sudden appearance at the call of Everyman (Munson notes that "She crystallizes perception by locating herself" [256]) seems to establish her as an extension of Everyman's will. Good Deeds, then, both personifies the external force of virtue and reflects the will of Everyman himself. To understand how she can be materialized on stage we must look at both traditional portrayals of Caritas and at clothing and behavior that can show the relationship of this character to Everyman himself.

In the cycles of virtues and vices that flank depictions of the Day of Judgment in late medieval cathedrals, Caritas -- clothed simply -- is identified less through a single symbolic emblem (she may be shown with a lamb, a cross, or a loaf of bread) than through characteristic action -- she is most often depicted clothing the poor. In a typical illustration, Caritas bends over a poor man in a gesture that combines Humility with Charity (fig. 16); the gesture and composition provides a mnemonic frame for the staging of this scene as Everyman similarly bends over Good Deeds. Everyman's gesture of humiliation is followed by self-recognition: he now begs Good Deeds for her "good counsel" (l. 515) and is rewarded by the appearance of her "sister," Knowledge. Most stagings of the play recognize the relationship between the two personifications by

clothing them identically, frequently in the nondescript white gown and cowl that is most often worn by personified Virtues (fig. 17). Astington's production notes suggest differences in personality that can be fleshed out in the actor's performance: he notes that Knowledge has a greater "confidence and assurance which must have physical equivalence" (16). And, more than Good Deeds, Knowledge represents both a gift of God (this is the first character not directly summoned by Everyman) and the materialization of Everyman's growing self-awareness:

In good condition I am now in everything
And am wholly content with this good thing,
Thanked be God my creator. (ll. 524-6)

As Knowledge and Everyman move to the House of Salvation, ll. 535 and 545 indicate that they may come to or cross "Confession, that cleansing river" (535). Carolyn Van Dyke refers to the river as "a figurative landscape that does not correspond to the stage" (134); there are no stage directions to indicate the existence of an actual ditch, and no current stage productions have attempted to reproduce one. Yet the existence of a "ditch" here much like the one in The Castle of Perseverance can show that here, as in The Castle, a water-barrier is used to separate the secular and the spiritual areas, and it would be logical to suppose that Everyman can cross such a barrier to approach the House of Salvation, just as Humanum Genus crossed the ditch to enter the Castle of Perseverance.¹⁵ In Everyman, however, the

river represents not only transition but also the materialization of a textual image. In his study of Everyman, John Cunningham links the images in the play with those of a liturgical prayer of repentance, the Oratio, which

charts a...journey away from a state where one is diseased and sick onto death..., filthy or defiled..., blind and devoid of light..., poor and destitute...towards the physician...of life that one may be healed, toward the fountain...of mercy that one may be washed, toward the radiance of eternity...that one may be given sight, and toward the Lord of heaven and earth...that one may be made rich. (165)

Just as in Everyman stage movement makes the journey concrete, so it is the physical presence of an object or setting that materializes these textual images. It is the physical presence of the Book that links Everyman's individual judgment with the complex imagery of spiritual debt and payment; it may be, as well, the physical presence of a "river" that materializes the metaphors of cleansing and healing.

It is typical of allegory that Confession, initially materialized in the river, then is referred to as a "holy man" (539) and finally is represented in a female personification, a "moder of salvation" (552). Confession the river represented the process of spiritual purification; Confession the personification exists as a gift of divine grace, the catalyst that initiates the process of penance. Finally, Confession becomes a process, and through that

process the qualities of spiritual knowlege become absorbed in Everyman himself:

O eternal God, O heavenly figure,
 O way of righteousness, O goodly vision....
 O ghostly treasure, O raunsomer and redemer,
 Of all the worlde hope and conduiter,
 Mirour of joy foundatour of mercy,
 Which enlumineth heven and erth therby!
 Here my clamorous complaint, thou it late be;
 Receive my prayers, of thy benignitye! (ll.
 581-94)

It is important to note that Everyman acknowledges the audience in the midst of his prayer ("Here I cry mercy in this presence" [ll. 581-94]): while he remains the audience's representative he also elicits the audience's pity. Once more the allegorical display -- the crossing over the river and the appearance of the personified Confession -- is subsumed in the psychological, by Everyman's character change, by his apprehension of divine reality. Everyman the personification is once again deconstructed into Everyman the individual.

The process of penance culminates in the final scourging of the flesh: the process of purification which began through an act of grace (the appearance of Knowledge and Confession) is completed through an act of will. The Parry production placed Everyman center stage; behind him is the scaffold of Heaven. Just as, when touched by the lance of penitence, Humanum Genus reminds the audience of his spiritual model, Christ, so Everyman's scourging can be staged as a tableau reminiscent of the crucifixion. Everyman

is not a type of Christ, but his pilgrimage is made in conscious emulation of Christ as exemplum:

Here shall you receive that scourge of me
Which is penance strong that ye must endure,
To remember thy Saviour was scourged for thee
With sharp scourges, and suffered it patiently;
(ll. 561-564)

Potter (47) and Van Laan (473) both note the consonance of Everyman's pilgrimage with Christ's death and resurrection; John Cunningham adds that

Everyman's penitential identification with
Christ's passion makes possible a joyful
anticipation of identification with Christ's
resurrection. (171)

Good Deeds' restoration, then, is identified with Christ's resurrection, as Everyman's ascent to Heaven will be identified with the ascension of Christ. With the healing of Good Deeds all references to sickness and blindness disappear from the text; as Cunningham points out, the rehabilitation of Good Deeds provides a resolution "of sickness, blindness, and indebtedness into their contrasting images" (Cunningham 170), is both pictorial and dramatic.¹⁶

The process of penance also materializes and extends the imagery of nakedness and clothing. Having already removed the cloak of the gallant, Humanum Genus now assumes the cloak of Contrition:

Put on this garment to they behove,
Which is wet with your tears,
Or else before God you may it miss
When ye to your journey's end come shall. (ll.
638-41)

Like Humanum Genus, Everyman is vulnerable and "naked" in

his mortality. The garment of contrition, like the Castle, represents the protective powers of divine grace.

Parry's director's notes describe this scene as "mysterious" and "ceremonial"; he also notes that "Everyman should change visibly as the robe settles on his shoulders"¹⁷ Everyman has assumed a new role, that of the penitent and the pilgrim, and, like *Humanum Genus* when he enters the Castle of Perseverance at the midpoint of that play, his attire may be that of the mature penitent, Middle Age on the Wheel of Life in the De Lisle psalter. Like the penitent --and like Guillaume's pilgrim (fig. 17) -- he is clad in hooded robe; the pilgrim's staff that priesthood will later give him (l.778) may also suggest this intertextual frame.¹⁸ That he has become a pilgrim, that Acedia has been replaced by movement toward God is underscored by Everyman himself:

For now have I on true contrition.
And let us go now without tarrying; (ll. 650-651)

The appearance of Beauty, Strength, Discretion and Five Wits shows that Everyman's pilgrimage reflects his self-recognition. There is also the suggestion that, just as the first set of friends seem to embody the Seven Deadly Sins, these personifications are the products of the gift-virtue, *Scientia* -- the quality of self-knowledge in the spiritual pilgrim. The development of *Scientia* within the spiritual pilgrim, as described in The Book of Vices and Virtues, seems to parallel the progress of Everyman: it

begins with self knowledge, proceeds to the subjection of the flesh and finally manifests itself in the governance (through Discretion)¹⁹ of the five wits. Like the Castle of Perseverance, Scientia is a form of spiritual self-protection, for

Whan thes fyue wittes ben wel y-kepte, than is the castel sikeer and stedefaste, for thes ben the gates of the soule. (Book of Vices and Virtues 22)

The illustrations in the Skot manuscript indicate that, like the earlier set of friends, these personifications are clothed in contemporary costume, with Strength, like Fellowship, carrying sword and scabbard. "Beauty is the only female character shown: she wears a waisted gown with a collar and slashed sleeves, and on her head a cap and headress" (Astington 6). Both sets of friends are, at the same time, reflections of Everyman's own impulses and personified abstractions.

The promises of the second set of friends echo those of the first set. The sworded Strength, like Fellowship, promises to "by you stand in distress,/Though thou would battle fight on the ground" (ll. 684-685), and Five Wits, like Kindred, vows, "though it were through the world round,/We will not depart for sweet ne sour" (ll. 686-687). The parallel speeches remind the audience that the scope of these promises is limited to the world; the audience, if not Everyman, is made aware of the impending desertion of the second set of friends.

As Everyman takes the sacrament, Knowledge and Five Wits discuss the fact that priesthood may be corrupt. Although most critics maintain that this scene is digressive, an examination of its staging possibilities makes its relevance to the plot more apparent. In the Parry staging, Everyman moves once again to the House of Salvation, where he takes the sacraments visibly, on stage. In front of this tableau stand Five Wits and Knowledge, debating. Five Wits speaks of the sacredness of the priests ("God hath to them more power given/ Than to any angel that is in heaven" [ll. 735-736]), while Knowledge argues that "Sinful priests giveth the sinners example bad" (l. 759). The debate is never resolved; rather it is undercut by the tableau behind it: the priest as a particularized person is less important than the priest seen as an agent of the grace of God. The tableau reflects the overwhelming reality of divine grace in contrast to the secular. Everyman moves again from the House of Salvation to midstage;²⁰ this time he holds the "rode"; and as he has his friends swear on it, it becomes evident that it is Everyman who has taken charge of the pilgrimage.

Studies of allegory have frequently noted the tendency of the form to repeat and elaborate upon narrative action.

As Gay Clifford points out:

the recurrent forms of allegorical action, quest, journey, masque or procession...all involve a high degree of patterned repetition. In order to demonstrate effectively how an ideal or principle

should operate the allegorist shows it in action in several different but basically comparable situations. (28)

In Everyman, as in The Castle, the second part of the play recapitulates the first: Everyman relies on friends only to be again deserted; his journey to the House of Salvation to receive the sacraments from Priesthood repeats his earlier journey to Confession. At least one critic, Carolyn Van Dyke, has noted the "redundant" nature of the double desertions. Van Dyke also argues that

A visit to Priesthood to receive the sacraments is superfluous for a man who has already encountered Confession and Penance directly. (136)

But as an allegory of spiritual pilgrimage Everyman moves in a theologically straight line. The desertion of the first set of friends has moved him away from the secular world and into a recognition of his own mortality; the second desertion will move him from spiritual self-awareness to awareness of God. In the encounter with Confession and Penance and his subsequent scourging, Everyman imitates Christ; in the sacraments he "comes into direct and intimate contact with...Christ" (Jambeck 118).

In The Castle of Perseverance Humanum Genus' early blindness to the nature of the world is repeated in the second part of the play; Everyman, in contrast, becomes progressively stronger and more spiritually aware. It is Everyman who takes control of his affairs, making his testament and correcting his reckoning;²¹ it is Everyman who

travels alone to Priesthood ("Fain would I receive that holy body,/And meekly to my ghostly father I will go" [ll.728-729]); and it is Everyman who leads his friends to the grave ("Now set each of you on this rodde your hand,/ And shortly follow me" [ll. 778-779]). Clifford points out that this sense of progression, of change, within the pattern of repetition is again characteristic of allegory: while repetition and symmetry convey to the reader "an imagined model of the universe," the concern with the progression of the plot -- and the protagonist -- is equally important:

Hence the recurrence of forms such as the journey or quest...and on the progressive evolution, education, and enlightenment of the hero. (34)

On an allegorical plane, Everyman the personification, the representative of the audience, grows progressively more enlightened. But the character on stage reveals this progressive enlightenment through his increasing autonomy. The actor's portrayal must reveal this, and, in doing so, a particularized character who undergoes development and personality change is created.

As Everyman moves toward the grave, the friends follow. It is probable that their movement follows a ritualized procession like that of the Virtues and Vices in the The Castle. As an emblematic form such a procession may demonstrate a hierarchy: the movement, like that of the dance, has pattern but not real progress. As Clifford points

out,

Generally, where these forms are self-contained, the observer is uninvolved, serving only as a notional audience...who is offered a demonstration of a particular set of relationships without initiating or participating in that movement. (26)

To the degree that this procession, like those in The Castle, serves the purpose of allegorical demonstration, it shares with the allegorical dance a timeless pattern. In Everyman and roach, Everyman travels not to the grave but to the Death Machine, a group of dancers:

The staging of the Death Machine conveys its meaning and function within the play. It is composed of a number of actors...who represent the various modes of death. The actors are joined into one group which moves in a highly choreographed and stylized manner. No actor moves individually, and there is no sense of individuals but rather of a construct having diverse manifestations and visages. (Schreiber 108)

Like the traditional allegorical procession -- and the Dance of Death -- the Death Machine has no beginning and no end. It is juxtaposed with the moral progress of Everyman himself, a progress which ends when he allows himself to be absorbed into the Machine.

In contrast, the final procession of Everyman derives purpose from Everyman's pilgrimage. It is Everyman who leads Beauty, Strength, Discretion, and Five Wits to the grave. One by one the friends drop away as they recognize death, until Everyman is left alone with Good Deeds and the grave. The symmetry and ceremony of the desertions, as each friend leaves the procession, is juxtaposed to a particularization

of each departing friend. If the friends have seemed allied to the virtues, in their final departure they assume a more human nature, behaving much like Fellowship, Kindred and Cousin, for like their predecessors they are products of mortality. Thus Beauty exclaims, "what, should I smother here?/....I take my cap in my lap and am gone" (ll. 797, 801); Strength exclaims, "Thy game liketh me not at all/....I repent me that hither I came" (ll. 809,818); Discretion leaves with Strength, and finally Five Wits exclaims "Now farewell and there an end" (l. 850). Once more the play repeats the pattern of desolation ("O Jesu, help! All hath forsaken me" [l. 851]) followed by enlightenment ("Into thy hands, Lord, my soul I commend" [l.880]) and, in doing so, reveals a final character change in Everyman.

In staging Everyman's death, David Parry argues for the effectiveness of an above-the-ground grave into which Everyman creeps:

During this speech the actor must find his own time to enter the grave, and slowly assume the position of a corpse laid out for burial. In a trap, of course, he will disappear from the audience's view, but he may remain visible if the grave is staged as...a sepulchre. (Astington 82)

The above-the-ground grave not only allows for the continued presence of Everyman on the stage, but also, like Hell Mouth in The Castle of Perseverance, can provide an effective visual contrast to the final tableau, the appearance of God.

As in The Castle of Perseverance, the final appearance of an enthroned God may be staged to recall the God of the

Judgment Day tympani and the Judgment Day pageants. If God has been sitting visible but silent throughout the play he rises to reveal himself now; if, as in the Fouquet "Martyrdom," his scaffold has been curtained since the first part of the play, the curtain is now raised to reveal God, most probably (as references to the "angel's song" suggest) flanked by angels. Ascending to the scaffold of God, Everyman forms the final, vertical movement of the play, relocating the audience's perspective.²² Building on evidence of the Angel's invitation to Everyman ("Come excellent electe spouse to Jesu!" [l. 894]) and mention of an "angel's song," Douglas Cowling suggests that the song is taken from liturgy derived from the Song of Songs and that it therefore provides another intertextual frame for Everyman, that of the mystical marriage of the soul to Christ. The use of such a frame also raises interesting questions about staging. Is Everyman's soul a separate female figure who ascends from the grave to the tower of heaven? Is she wedded with Christ and seated on the throne to the accompaniment of celestial harmony? (Cowling, "Angel's Song" 303) Certainly such a frame would provide one more common link between Everyman and The Castle of Perseverance (which also portrays the soul as another character) and Wisdom (which uses the mystical marriage as an important intertextual frame). But the imagery of the mystical marriage can and should coexist with the imagery of

divine reckoning which is used through the play to build to this conclusion.

Sheingorn and Bevington speak of the Judgment Day depictions, both pictorial and dramatic, as experiences in which

the spectator of painting or play is invited, in fact exhorted, to reflect on himself as a member of the limitless congregation of human beings awaiting final judgment. ("All This was Token Domysday...." 143)

Twentieth century adaptations build on this by stressing play-audience interaction, especially at the conclusion: in the Reinhardt open air production of Hoffmansthal's Jedermann the town became stage set and the barrier between audience and play gradually dissolved. As Martin Stevens describes it, "the play was timed so that it ended at the onset of darkness";

Actors were stationed throughout the town, on the towers of churches, on rooftops, in the fortress, to call out "Jedermann" at the appropriate moment. (Stevens 130)

In the recent Aubrey White Everybody the audience joins the procession to the grave.

In the text of Everyman the inclusion of the audience begins at the end of the procession to the grave, when Everyman directly addresses the audience:

Take example, all ye that this do hear or see,
How they that I loved best do forsake me,
Except my Good Deeds that bideth truly. (ll. 867-869)

But even as the members of the audience are forced to

recognize themselves as participating in the process of judgment, they are, as well, gradually detached from the world of the play. As in the conclusion of The Castle of Perseverance, successive speeches, first by Knowledge and then by the Doctor, establish "boundaries of illusion" between audience and play (cf. Burns 72) and provide a concluding framework.

This moral men may have in mind
Ye hearers, take it of worth, old and young (ll.
902-903).

As Stanton B. Garner has pointed out,

The tautness and power of *Everyman*...results from the ways in which it works against its condition in performance, paring away its theatrical inessentials, finally abandoning the things on the stage as it does those of the world. (284)

This study of the play not just as text but as performed drama has attempted to probe the core of this paradox, to show the ways in which the play, when "embodied" in performance, can both deconstruct the allegorical personification into the particular character, and, at the same time, amplify the allegory, making its meaning more relevant through the specific characterization and more theologically complex through suggested iconic and literary frames.

Notes

1. For histories of Everyman performances, see Astington 8 and Potter 1-5.
2. The script of Geraldine Fitzgerald and Br. Jonathan Ringkamp, Everyman and roach is unpublished. For a description of the production, see Earl G. Schreiber, "Everyman in America" and Mimi D'Aponte, "'Everyman and roach' in Retrospect: A Study of Street Theater that Worked." A videotape of the production is available at the Lincoln Center Library for Performing Arts.
3. The four printed copies of Everyman that survive are from four different editions, printed between 1508 and 1537 -- two fragmentary copies printed by Richard Pynson and two complete editions by John Skot. The A.C. Cawley edition of Everyman from which all quotes in this chapter are taken is derived from the Britwell copy of a Skot manuscript.
4. Most critics now agree that Everyman is a translation of the Dutch Elckerlijck. Astington theorizes that Everyman may have originally appeared "as a publisher's venture in translation" (1) and this may account for the lack of performance data for the play. It is likely, however, that the play was performed not long after its publication.
5. In The Castle in the Circle Merle Fifield suggests an even more elaborate staging that would be congruent with the circular staging of The Castle of Perseverance. This staging would call for a tower for God and an "allegorically appropriate north mansion" (40) for Death. Fellowship's scaffold would be in the South, as was the scaffold of Caro in The Castle, while "the mansion of Kindred and Cousin would coincide with that of Mundus, the west mansion in the Castle sketch" (41). Such an arrangement would allow Everyman to journey in a clockwise direction and would flesh out the concept of the pilgrimage.
6. V.A. Kolve also notes the parallel between Everyman's judgment and Doomsday but argues that Everyman's Book of Reckoning is distinct from "the sublime image of Revelations 20:12, 15. "We must not confuse these images....These books are kept in heaven, they are part of a mystery. Everyman, in strong contrast, must bring with him his own account book -- it is a literal stage property -- and his urgent task is to ready and 'clere' it" (317). However, depictions of the Judgment day clearly show that while the two "books" are distinct, they are also related.
7. See Chapter Two, 18.

8. See Chapter Two, 74-5.
9. See Male, 140-2.
10. See Male 142-50.
11. See Potter, 20-21.
12. For a list of equivalent characters in Everyman, Jeredermann, and Everyman and roach see D'Aponte 169.
13. For an extended discussion of the relationship between Goods and Good Deeds see Kolve 331.
14. In medieval drama walkins is often used to indicate change of location or progress of time. See Meredith and Tailby 166.
15. We may assume that water, if shown, was represented by cloth.
16. The strong association between the crucified Christ and spiritual healing in the writings of the Church fathers is discussed in Labriola and Smertz's notes to the Biblia Pauperum:
"Christ, having overcome death, imparts his immunity to the faithful by his saving blood..." (169)
17. Because the robe is important in indicating the central change in Everyman and the dramatic action of the play, it is included in almost every adaptation of the play. In a note to "From Everyman to Elckerlijck to Hoffmansthal and Kafka" Helen Adolf notes the inclusion of the garment as "a white garment of purification" in Hofmannsthal's Jederman and Sassen's Homulus (1937) and of a white and brown mantle in Thusybaert's Chacun (1937) (footnote 11, p. 206).
18. See Astington, Appendix A. Astington notes that the word "rodde" rather than "rood" appears in all four extant manuscripts of the play. "Though it is true that it would certainly be fitting for Everyman to be given a crucifix by Priesthood..., it is equally likely that he is given a pilgrim's staff."
19. See Conley, "The Identity of Discretion in Everyman." Conley argues that in Everyman Discretion is identical to Prudence, "the power to make judgment on sensory perception."

20. There is some debate over whether Everyman does remain on stage in this episode. In "Everyman's last Rites and the Digression on Priesthood" M. W. McCrae argues that Everyman is not on stage and that the debate takes place in his absence because "the positions taken by Knowledge and V Wits effectively cancel each other in the sense that if either position were to direct an onstage encounter between Everyman and Presthode, the other would become contradictory in the allegory" (308). The Parry production, on the other hand, effectively uses the tableau of the sacrament: Parry notes that "as a commentary on the visible action the speech as a whole has more point" (Parry in Astington 66).

21. Parry notes that "Everyman's statement of his testament may involve the account book which he may hold during the speech. He will receive it from Good Deeds, and could carry it thereafter, taking it into the grave with him (Astington 68).

22. See the discussion of the final tableau of The Castle of Perseverance in Chapter Two. Here, as in The Castle, we are reminded that the Judgment Throne is also a court of law: in line 876 Good Deeds offers to "speak for" Everyman.

1. Drawing for set of Everyman. In Peter Bucknell,
Entertainment and Ritual: 600-1600, Chapter 3.

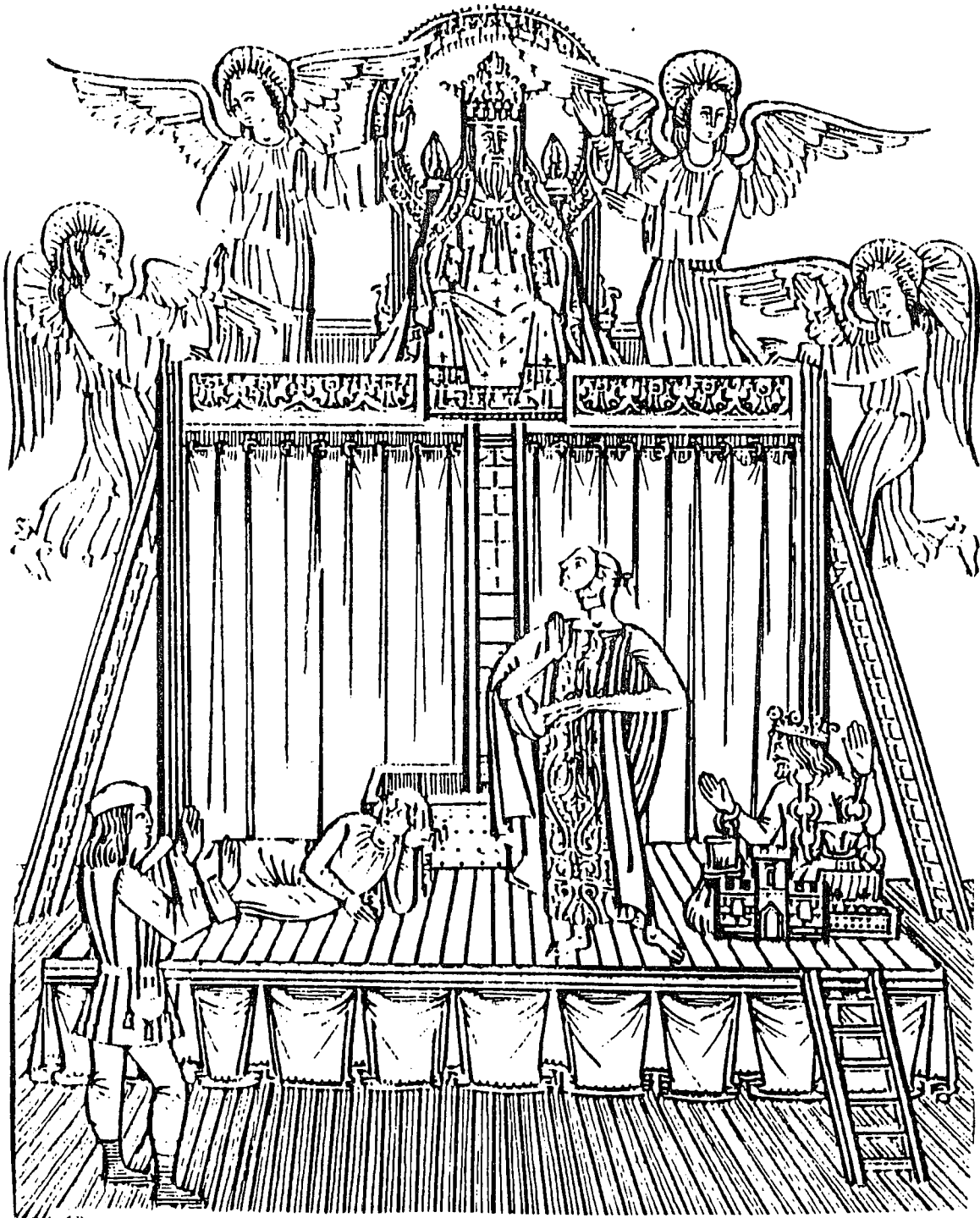


Fig. 2: Plan for staging of Everyman. In Astington 103.

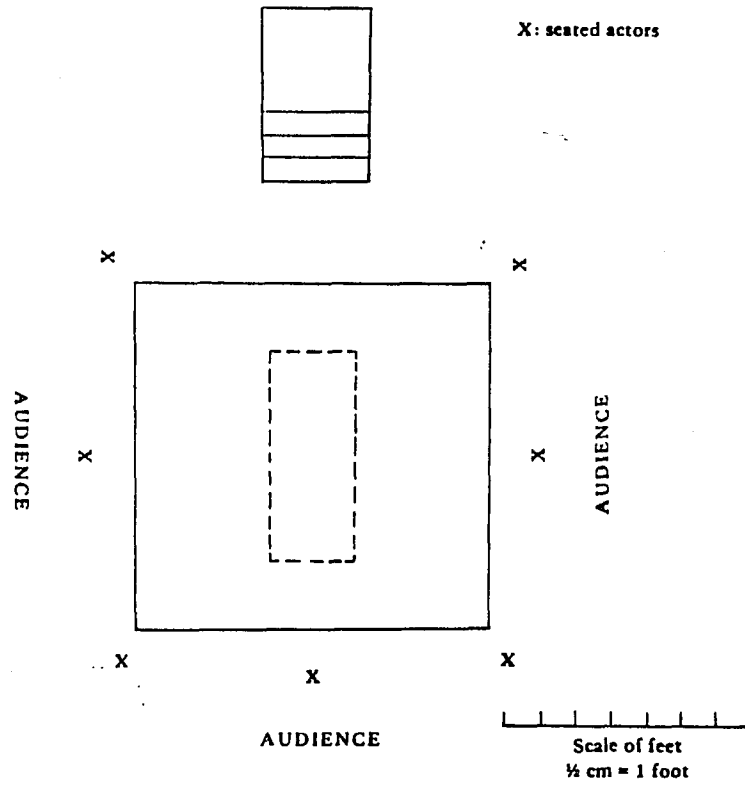


Fig. 3: Set of the 1964 Bristol production of Everyman. In Glynne Wickham, Shakespeare's Dramatic Heritage, plate II.



Fig. 4: Woodcut on the title page of John Skot's edition of Everyman (STC 10605 and 10606) from Holinett, English Woodcuts No. 2370, as reproduced in Davidson, "Of Woodcut and Play," 14.



Fig. 5: Fouquet, Martyrdom of St. Appolonia. Reproduced in Taylor and Nelson 85.

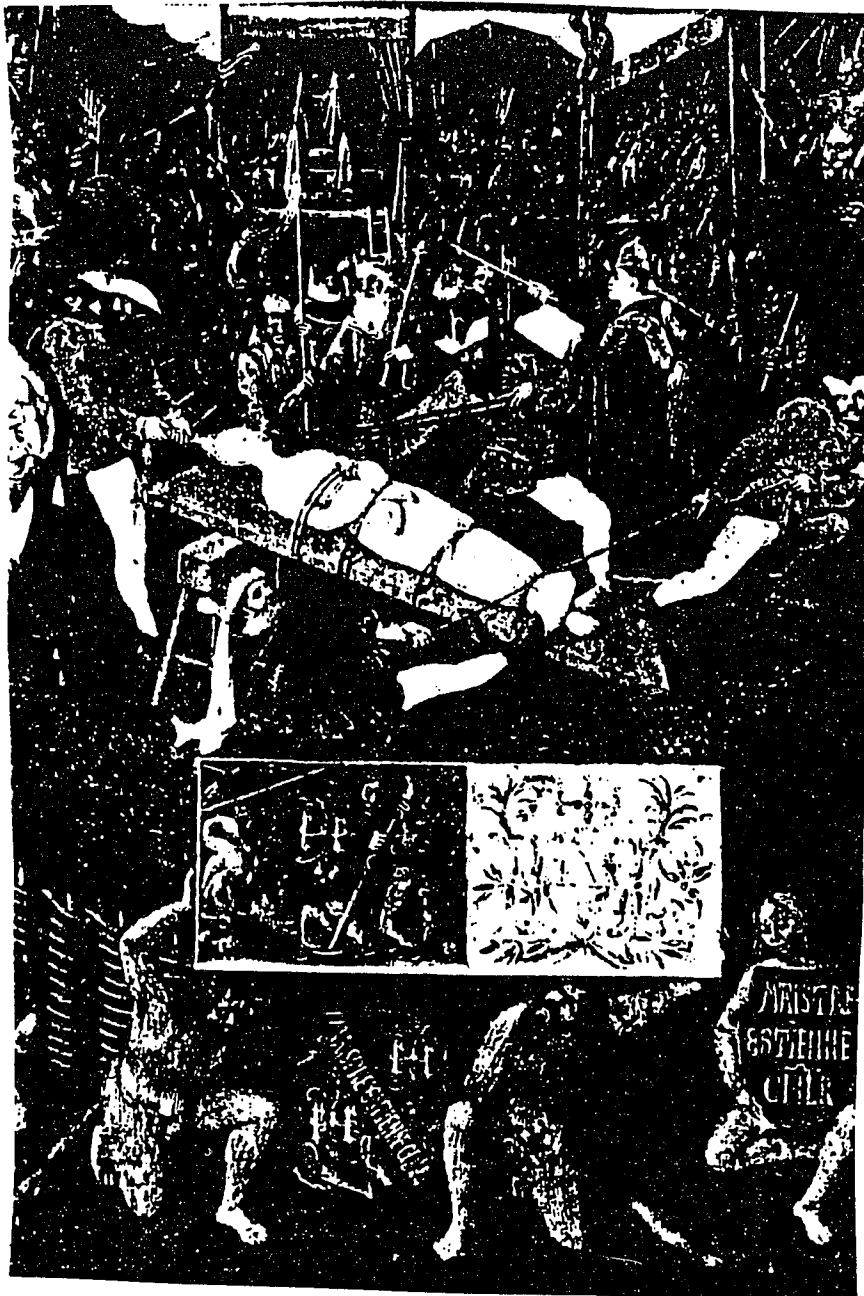


Fig. 6: Linear use of loci in the Valenciennes Passion Play (c. 1547) shows the traditional placement of Hell Mouth on the players' left and of the throne of God on the players' right. From Alan Nelson, "Configurations of Staging in Medieval Drama," in Taylor and Nelson, Medieval English Drama, 123. Cf. Nelson, 122-123.

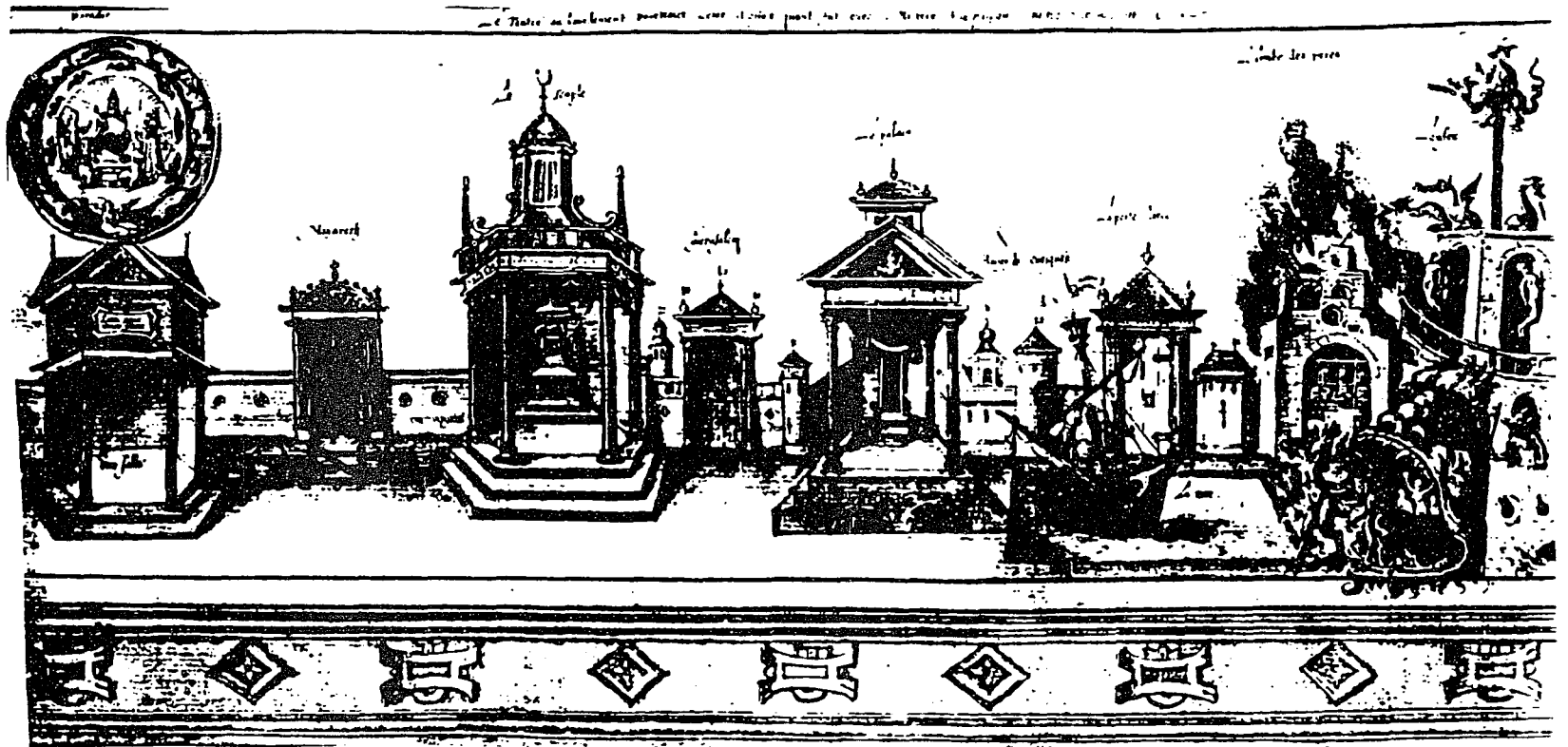


Fig. 7: Judgment Day Portals:
7a: Chartres Cathedral, South Portal. Reproduced in Male,
Fig. 21.

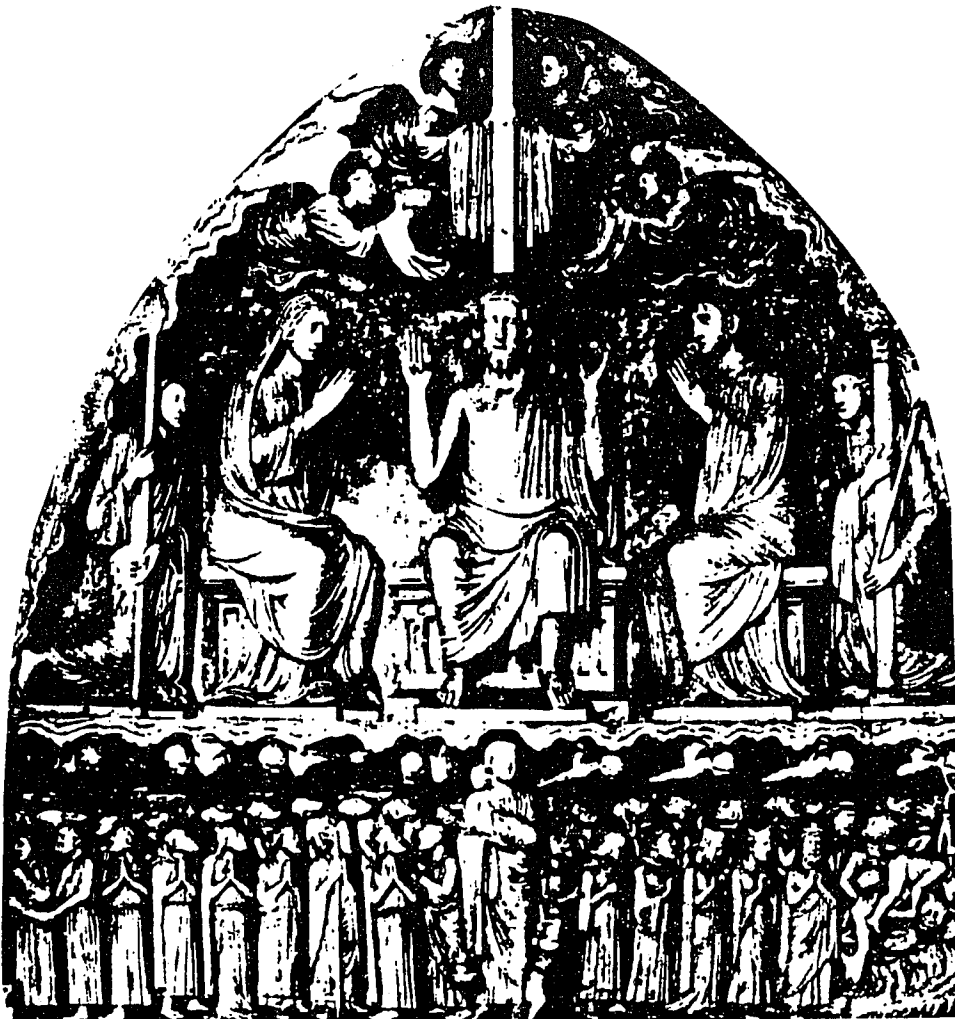


Fig. 7b: Bourges Cathedral, West Portal. Reproduced in Male, Fig. 22.



Fig. 7c: Detail from South Portal, Chartres Cathedral: The Damned being dragged to Hell Mouth.



Fig. 7d: Detail from south portal, Chartres Cathedral: the damned being dragged to Hell Mouth.



Fig. 8: Funeral monument of Cardinal Lagrange. Avignon: Musee Calvet. Reproduced in Male 31. This is the most striking example of the use of the transi figure.



Fig. 9: The Three Living and the Three Dead. Holland (Mastricht) c. 1300. Stowe ms. 17, fol. 199b-200. Reproduced in Buckhause, The Illuminated Manuscript. Oxford: Phaedon, 1969: fig. 38.



Fig. 10: Guyot Machaut, Danse Macabre. In Male, figs. 33 and 34.



Fig. 11: Anthony Quayle as Everyman, Earl Hyman as Death. In New York: Lincoln Center Library for Performing Arts.



Fig. 12: Garth Brooks as Everyman. Connecticut: Stratford Festival Production, 1974. In Lincoln Center for Performing Arts Library.



Fig. 13: Everyman and Goods. Connecticut: Stratford Festival, 1974. In Lincoln Center for Performing Arts Library.



Fig. 14. Goods and his chest. Salzburg: Hoffmannsthal's Jedermann. In Lincoln Center for Performing Arts Library.

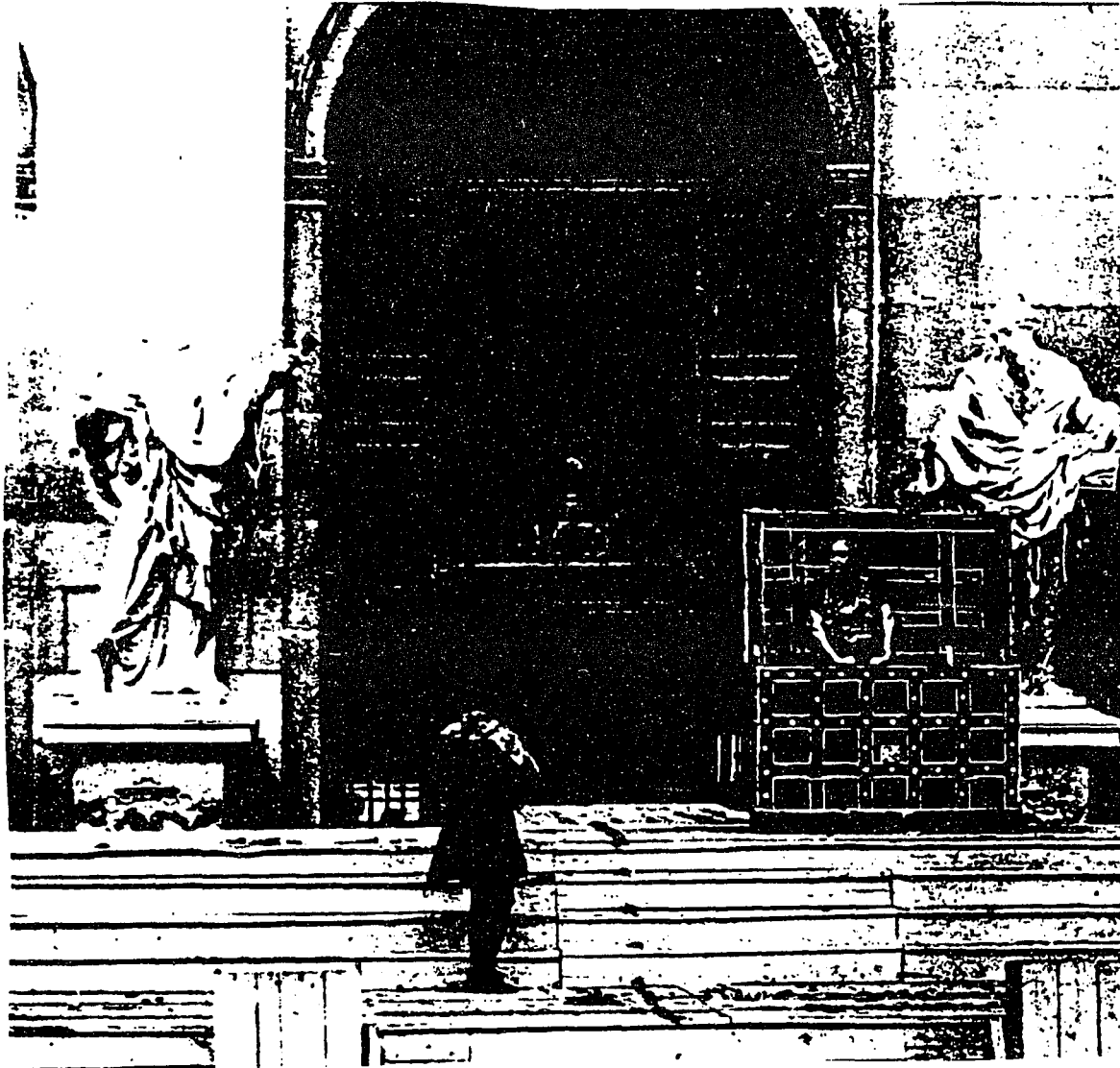


Fig. 15: Goods. Hoffmannsthal, Jedermann. East Hampton, Long Island: Rollins Studio Production. In Lincoln Center for Performing Arts Library.

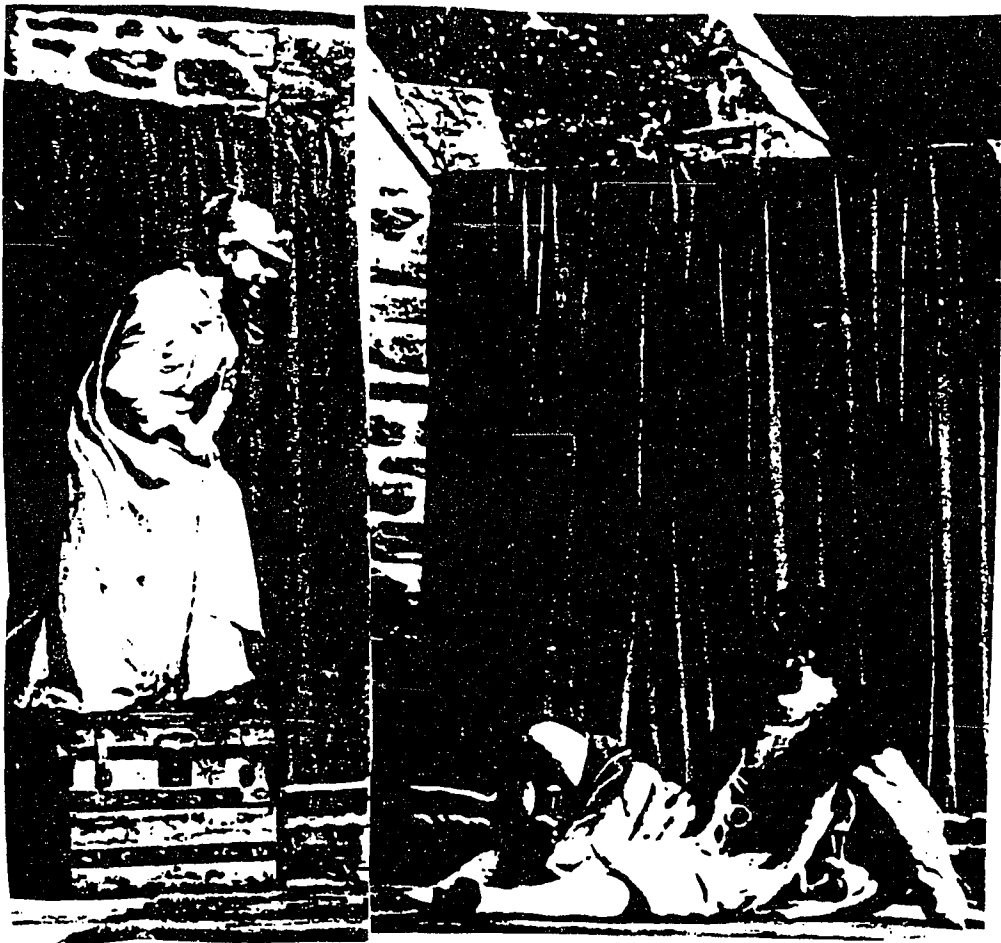


Fig. 16. Caritas. From Somme Le Roi. British Museum Add. 28162. In Index of Christian Art, Princeton University.

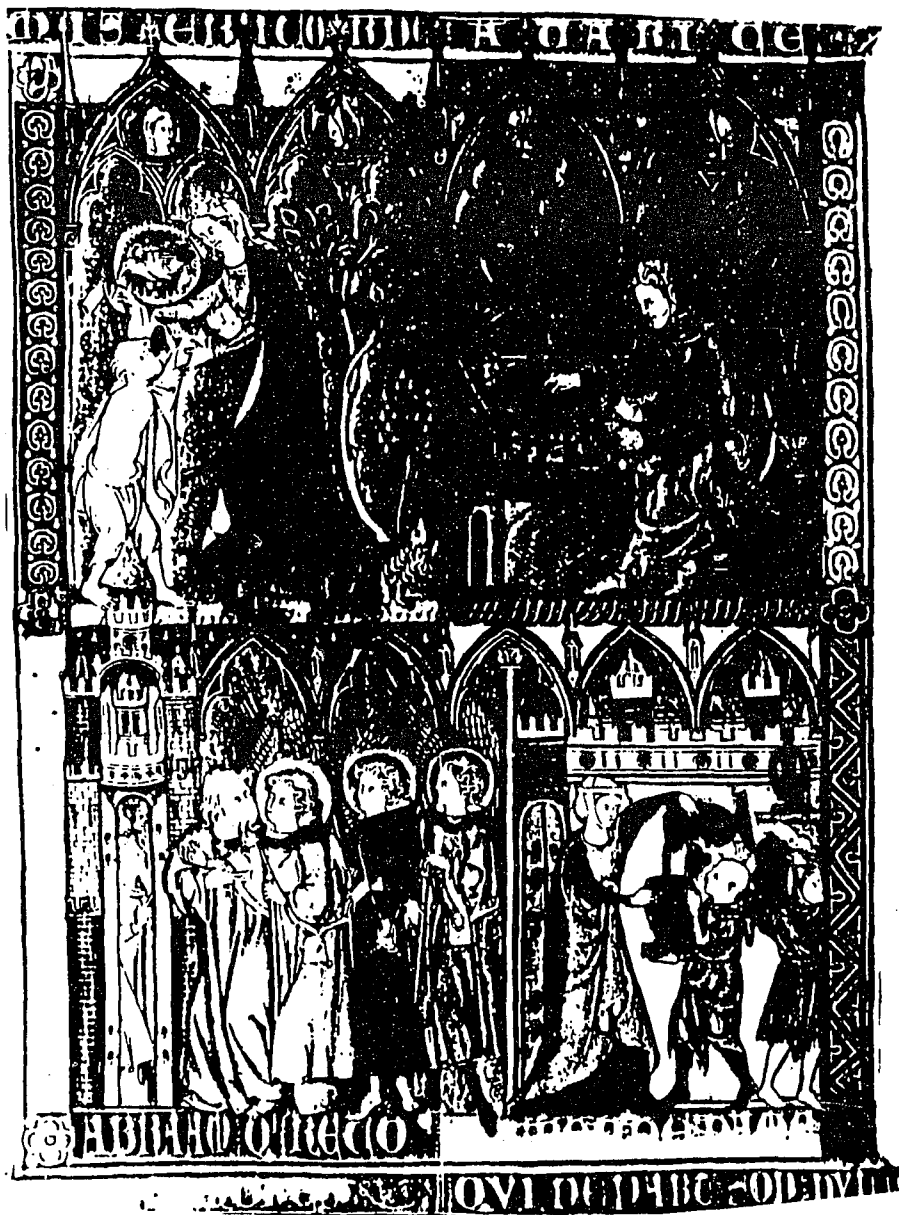


Fig. 17: The pilgrim and Pride. From Guillaume de Deguilleville, Pelerinage de la Vie de l'Homme. Paris: Verard, 1511: sg. 1 6v. Reproduced in Tuve, Allegorical Imagery, 207, fig. 69.



Wisdom Who is Christ: The Pilgrimage Completed

In his description of Wisdom Who is Christ, David Bevington notes that

The fifteenth century morality play...derives its theatrical form by the visualizing of metaphor, from the concretizing of homiletic and spiritual proposition. ("Blake and Wyghte...." 20)

While Bevington's statement holds true for the plays we have already discussed, it seems particularly apt for Wisdom. For The Castle of Perseverance the governing metaphor is the life journey; in Everyman this journey intersects with the spiritual progression of the individual; but, perhaps because one of its sources is Hilton's Scale of Perfection,¹ the emphasis in Wisdom is on the soul's hunger for and descent from spiritual perfection. For this reason² the emphasis is on pageantry and ritualized movement. Conspicuously absent is the isotype, the personified representation of the audience itself,³ and therefore also absent is the image and the plot of the life-journey. In Everyman and The Castle of Perseverance, the audience forms a complex relationship with the central character: it follows Everyman and Humanum Genus on their life-journeys around the platea, sometimes identifying with them, at other times judging them. Lacking such a central character, Wisdom depends on an audience involvement that is more cerebral and aesthetic. Commenting on a production

of Wisdom at Winchester Cathedral in 1981, Peter Happé notes that

This kind of theater is primarily iconographic and symbolic, inviting us to observe the relationship between its many elements and barely allowing for the sequence, the movement in time which is indispensable to most forms of drama. (v)

Although the differences between Wisdom and the two former plays may help us understand the parameters of the morality form, this study will show that Wisdom shares with Everyman and The Castle of Perseverance many of the same theological and iconographic frames that provide the mnemonic landscape of the plays. Moreover, sequence, and even movement in time, does continue to exist: although the pilgrimage of the soul has supplanted the pilgrimage of the body, the basic narrative structure, the progression through sin into redemption, remains the same. Now, however, the implicit notion of pilgrimage is even stronger, for the progression is toward mystic union with the divine rather than the journey to death, and it is willed rather than impelled by the inevitability of the life cycle. Finally, this chapter will show that this, the most abstractly allegorical of all the early moralities, illustrates most sharply of all the deconstruction of the abstraction into the particularized character not only through the necessity of stage performance, but also through the narrative itself: Lucifer removes his devil's costume to become the young gallant; Mind, Will, and Understanding, corrupted by the

temporal world, are transformed into contemporary individuals -- examples of maintenance, perjury and lechery. As Coletti and Sheingorn have commented, "Wisdom is at once the most abstract and the most concrete of plays" ("Playing Wisdom" 179).

As in the case of Everyman, the manuscript of Wisdom contains little evidence of physical staging. As Merle Fifield points out,

it only requires an open area facing the audience and an exit and entrance, needs which could be answered by the church aisle and sanctuary, the cart, the scaffold, the arena, the dining hall, or the proscenium. (The Castle in the Circle (26)⁴)

But the narrative focus of Everyman -- and of The Castle of Perseverance -- on the pilgrimage and life journey requires the presence of loci on the platea that demark the cosmos of the play, chart the spiritual progress of the protagonist, and create a mnemonic landscape for the audience. This landscape corresponds closely to what Mary Carruthers calls the "architectural mnemonic" (73), a system that originated in the Rhetorica Ad Herrenium and that consists of a spatially organized series of loci; memory is formed through the observer's movement from locus to locus and by the observer's perspective, her distance from the mnemonic landscape (72-73). In Wisdom the need for such a horizontal landscape disappears. Perhaps because the play is concerned with the vertical ascent to God rather than the horizontal-circular journey to death, movement around the

area takes the form of pageant-like processions and dances rather than the planned journey from scaffold to scaffold; therefore the mnemonic landscape of the place-and-scaffold setting may be replaced by another visual mnemonic, the vertical arrangement of loci in tiers as described by Brawardine:

The observation point is frontal, and far enough away from the scene so that everything in it can be seen clearly, fully, and at once. There is no suggestion here, as there is in the Ad Herrenium, that the mental eye's perspective will change as one "walks"....Into the cell-like arrangement of locations in tiers, one places the imagines....Because the memory retains distinctly only what is extraordinary, wonderful, and intensely charged with emotion, the images should be of extremes -- of ugliness or beauty, ridicule or nobility.... (in Carruthers 132-133)

In 1984, Trinity College attempted to "explicate" Wisdom by mounting two separate productions of the play, one as a "place and scaffold" production, the other as a banquet masque. Commenting on the two productions, Milla Riggio notes that the outdoor performance, while more spectacular, was largely ineffective in communicating the subtleties of the play. "In contrast, by setting the indoor performance as an abbot's banquet masque...we established an occasion in which the audience became a part of the dramatic fiction" ("The Staging of Wisdom" 2). The circumstances of the second production, moreover, reflected the preoccupation of the play with a vertical world picture, in which the emphasis is not on the circular life-journey but on the ascent to and descent from God. The banquet performance presented the play

in a narrow space, surrounded by the audience on three sides. In the back and center of the playing space was a staircase, leading to the only scaffold, the throne of Wisdom. The action took place on the stairs, in the passage in front of the throne, or at the sides of the throne, so that the throne and the stairs leading up to it formed the principal tiered mnemonic locus⁵: the principal characters were carefully arranged on the throne, on the steps and in horizontal and semicircular arrangements around it; processions moved outward from the throne and then back to it. The enthroned, personified Wisdom, then, formed the balancing center -- and the vertical axis -- of the stage picture:

...in a ryche purpull clothe of golde wyth a mantyll of the same ermynnyde wythin, hawyng abowt hys neke a ryall hood furred wyth ermyn, wpon hys hede a cheweler wyth browys, a berde of golde of sypres curlyed, a ryche imperyall crown perwpon sett wyth a cros perwpon and in hys ryght honde a regall schepter. (Stage directions for Wisdom, Eccles 114)

Milla Riggio has noted that both the appearance of Wisdom and his opening lines identify him with traditional portraits of Christ in Majesty ("The Staging of Wisdom" 8):

Yff ye wyll wet pe propyrte
 And the resun of my nayme imperyall
 I am clepyd of hem pat in erthe be
 Euerlastyng Wysdom, to my nobley egalle
 (ll. 1-4)⁶

While Riggio acknowledges that Christ in Majesty is a topos frequently found in medieval art and drama, she also

argues that this particular manifestation of the convention is unique. Wisdom's clothing, she points out, is contemporary royal apparel that could only be worn by British monarchs, and his appearance duplicates a portrait of Wisdom by Henry Suso (fig.1) author of the Orologium, and closely resembles a portrait of Edward IV (fig. 2). Only in Wisdom, Riggio asserts, does royal livery signify not vanity but divinity, "and feudal livery provides the metaphor for loyalty to good and bad masters" ("The Staging of Wisdom" 8).

The earlier chapters of this study, however, argue against the uniqueness of this topos for the morality play. Both the enthroned God that appears at end of The Castle of Perseverance ("Kyng, kayser, knyght, and kamyoun, /.../ All the statys of the world is at myn renoun" [Castle ll. 3611, 3615]) and the God that appears at the beginning of Everyman ("I perceive, here in my majesty/How that all creatures be to me unkind" [Everyman ll. 22-23]) clearly present themselves as feudal rulers; both are enthroned and probably magnificently dressed⁷; both may be present on stage, enthroned, throughout the play. While the appearance of Christ as Wisdom may be derived directly from the Suso manuscripts, it shares with the throned God of the other two plays another common framework, the appearance of God as monarch in the Judgment Day tympana and the Judgment Day plays, where he is, as in this play, both Judge and

Redeemer, as well as a supreme monarch to whom loyalty is owed.⁸ David Bevington notes the use of this frame, describing the staged Christ/ Wisdom much as this study has already described the appearance of God at the beginning of both The Castle and Everyman:

Christ's figurative and literal centrality in the opening scene suggests the iconography of Last Judgment art and drama, where Christ appears majestically in his second coming to judge mankind. Horizontal symmetry and vertical hierarchy are prominently developed, as in Judgment art, to distinguish left from right and ascent from descent. (" 'Blake and wyght...." 23)

The verticality that dominates this stage composition, then, reflects the fifteenth century emphasis on hierarchy that, as Pamela Sheingorn has pointed out, adds a "hieratic principle of organization" to the balanced symmetry of the Last Judgment tympani, creating "a triangular composition":

The hierarchy is clearly ordered, from God, Ruler of the Universe, at the apex, to his heavenly court...to the earth...and finally to paradise and hell. Frequently in English painting Christ dominates by reason of the very large scale to which he is drawn; his hierarchical function, rather than his humanity, is made visually central. ("Alle This Was Token Domyday...." 125) (Cf. Fig. 7, Chapter Three)

Sheingorn notes that in the Last Judgment paintings of Hubert and Jan Van Eyck the "dominant horizontal symmetry" disappears, and emphasis is placed completely on the vertical. Similarly, the staging of the Trinity Wisdom concentrates almost completely on the vertical composition. Earth and the heavenly court are not represented and paradise and hell mouth suggested only by stage movements

left and right. Symmetry exists in staged procession, but the emphasis is clearly on the enthroned Wisdom. The position and placement of Wisdom, like that of the large scale Christ in the Judgment Day tympana, illustrates both his centrality as a subject of contemplation⁹ and his place in the heavenly hierarchy.

The similarities among the throned monarchs in all three plays to each other and to worldly monarchs attest to the use of what Riggio defines as a rhetorical

"intersection":

the iconography of power and authority points simultaneously in two directions, inward to spiritual truth and outward to the many points of intersection which existed between political and theological discourse. The King is robed in garments which recall those of God the ruler, and Christ is clothed in a way that inevitably calls to mind the English king. ("The Staging" 8-9)

Yet in all three plays, the throned figures of God clearly represent a transcendent reality and power ("Merowre of pe divyne domynacyon" [Wisdom ll. 31]); in all three plays -- as in many of the Last Judgment tympani where he towers over crowned monarch -- God the King eclipses the power and majesty of worldly kings, creating a contrast between the order of the divine hierarchy and the disorder of the secular, mortal scramble for power.

Equally important, however, is the difference between Wisdom and the other two figures of God, who are clearly associated initially with judgment and only later with grace. Lacking the circular platea, Wisdom lacks the

apprehension of the secular world, and the throned Christ's speech is a revelation rather than a warning: the play begins outside the framework of the temporal world, in an apprehension of the divine. And Wisdom is more complex than these: as Christ he is both God and human; as Wisdom he is both deity and allegorical representation:

Therefor pe belowyde Sone hathe pis sygnyficacyon
 Custummaly Wysdom, now Gode, now man,
 Spows of pe chyrche and wery patrone,
 Wyffe of eche chose sowle. Thus Wysdome began.
 (ll. 13-16).

What unites the personification (Wisdom) with Christ is the image of the mystical bridegroom, taken from the Song of Songs:

Beholde now, Sowll, wyth joyfull mynde,
 How louely I am, how amyable,
 To be halsyde and kyssyde of mankynde.
 To all clene sowlys I am full hende
 And euer present wer pat pey be;
 I loue my lovers wythowtyn ende
 That per loue haue stedfast in me. (ll. 41-47)

The artistic/literary frame of Song of Songs exegesis allows Wisdom to provide an intersection of literary and allegorical levels that does not exist in the other moralities. Beginning with Origen, a tradition of Christian biblical exegesis interprets this poem, grounded in sensual imagery, as a multileveled allegory of spiritual marriage:¹⁰

It seems to me that this little book is ...a marriage song, which Solomon wrote in the form of a drama and sang under the figure of the Bride, about to wed and burning with heavenly love towards her Bridegroom, who is the Word of God. And deeply indeed did she love Him, whether we take her as the soul made in His image, or as the Church. (Origen 21)

As E. Ann Matter's study shows, such exegesis evolved into the traditional levels of allegory -- historical, allegorical, tropological and anagogical. Of these, the allegorical level consists of the identification of Christ and Wisdom; the tropological, the union of Christ and the soul; the anagogical, "the resurrection of Christ and the final Church of heavenly glory" (Matter 62). Two twelfth-century manuscript illustrations (figs. 3, 4) show the traditional lovers much as they must be shown in Wisdom: Christ, crowned and holding a book, is seated next to or slightly above the royally dressed Bride, Ecclesia, whom he is crowning. As Matter points out, the Bride represents not one interpretation of the text, but several,

a general artistic convention that made no distinction between the Song of Songs and its various interpretations. These...artistic representations are not based on one commentary, but have a well-articulated tradition of interpretation behind them.

The crowning, then, represents union in all its facets, the union of the soul with God and -- a more important reading before the twelfth century -- the apocalyptic union of Church and Christ at the Day of Judgment.

In the twelfth century, however, the primary reading of The Song of Songs shifts. For exegetes of this period, and particularly St. Bernard of Clairvaux, the Bride represents the soul, and the wedding represents the mystical union of the human with the divine. In the Cistercian tradition of exegesis which Bernard began¹¹ as well as in

the Orologium Sapientiae¹² that serves as a primary source of Wisdom, the allegory is transformed from one of historical redemption to one of personal redemption, and "The Song of Songs was increasingly read as a dynamic guide to the quest of each human being for union with God" (Matter 125). Bernard's Sermons describe the union of Christ and the soul as "a truly spiritual contract" (LXXXIII, i, 3):

...the affection between the word, Christ, and the soul cannot be more sweetly expressed than by calling them bridegroom and bride.... All is held in common by them...they are one flesh (VII, ii, 2 in Ferrante 28)

The single moment of the kiss becomes a central image, both as an initial apprehension of divine grace and as a goal of spiritual progression, a progression most appropriate to the ascetic, "from incontinence to chastity, from lust to austerity" (Matter 137), a progression that marks, as well, the plot of Wisdom.

As Ann Astell points out, Bernard's exegesis moves the reader of The Song of Songs not only from a literal to an allegorical reading of the text, but also, through this process, from consideration of the physical world (the attraction of physical love) to the sublimation of the physical in the spiritual:

The rhetorical strategy Bernard employs...aims at activating an emotive...desire for God that "makes the carnal sense taste flat" in comparison. In the

process he converts the literal meaning into the sacramental, a symbolum that is a source of actual grace for his auditors. (97)¹³

As Bernard's sermons show, allegoresis becomes the process through which the reader enters the text, fusing his own experiences with those within the text, becoming one with the Bride:

Calling the Song "the book of our own experience," Bernard works to establish a series of parallels between the affective love life of the Bride and the lives of of the monks listening to him. Again and again he invites his auditors to see whether their "inward experience reechoes" the psychological processes he describes, insisting that "only personal experience can unfold" the meaning of the Canticles. (Astell 99)

In Bernard's sermons, as Astell points out, the audience is moved from "imaginative identification with the [masculine] Bridegroom as he gazes on the face of his Beloved" to a mystical level in which "audience identification is redefined allegorically in terms of the feminine" (94). What happens to this movement in a staged drama? Origen notes that The Song of Songs is inherently dramatic,

For we call a thing a drama, such as the enaction of a thing upon the stage, when different characters are introduced and the whole structure of the narrative consists of their comings and going among themselves. (22)

Origen implies that the process of reading, of allegoresis, moves the reader from a narrative and dramatic level to an allegorical and mystical one which leads to introspection.¹⁴ In Wisdom, however, this process is reversed. The use of The Song of Songs as an allegorical frame for the dramatic presentation allows for the distancing accomplished in

pageantry and characterization.

This transformation is most evident in the play's characterizations of Wisdom/Christ and Anima as bridegroom and bride and in the binary opposition of genders they create. As Carolyn Bynum points out,

gender related symbols -- symbols that, at one level, signify maleness or femaleness ...-- do not simply determine the self-awareness of men and women as gendered nor ... cultural assumptions about what it is to be male or female. Gender related symbols, in their full complexity, may refer to gender in ways that affirm or reverse it, support or question it. ("The Complexity of Symbols" 2)

Bernard's reading of The Song of Songs reveals some of this complexity: it moves the masculine reader to gradual identification with the female Anima, in the process changing his self-awareness. In this reversal of gender identification the reader rejects the "masculine" traits of self-assertion and rationality to adopt the "feminine" qualities of submission and humility.

Since religious conversion meant the reversal of all earthly values, men enthusiastically adopted images of themselves as women -- that is, powerless, poor, irrational, without influence or authority. If God was male and the soul was other than God, woman was a natural image both for what God redeemed and for what the powerful, successful male became when he renounced the world. (Bynum, "And Woman His Humanity" 279)

The Orologium portrays the fluctuating allegiances and shifting self-awareness of the soul in search of God in the characterization of Anima, whose gender is sometimes portrayed as male and at other times as female. In Wisdom,

however, staged action precludes such movement: Anima is always a female.

If the traditional gender identity of Anima shifts, so does that of Wisdom/Christ. Although the identification of Christ with Wisdom is central to Christian theology,¹⁵ there is a parallel tradition of Sapientia as a female personified virtue, the seventh and ultimate Gift of the Holy Spirit. In the thirteenth century facades of Chartres Cathedral she appears twice, once directly underneath the Judgment Day tympanum, and once as the last figure in an arched procession of Beatitudes, all dressed as queens (Miller 56). And it is as a queen that she is represented in the final portion of the Psychomachia, where she sits enthroned much in the manner of the Christ in Majesty:

The Psychomachia closes ... with the image of Christ entering the abode of the cleansed and virtuous Christian soul. Christ knows that man's two-sided nature rends him in an uproar of rebellion between the Virtues and Vices....He comes to man's aid in the fight and then orders the virtues in a pure setting, thereby converting the dark carnal prison into the golden courts of His temple. There Wisdom, figure of the Logos, sits enthroned, setting in order the government of her realm, the Christian body and soul, and bearing, as sceptre of her authority, the eternally flowering rod of the redeeming Cross. (O'Reilly 31-2)

There is a separation here between the masculine Christ/Logos and the feminine Wisdom, his regent in the soul. Does the character of Wisdom in the play fuse the two figures? Even the identification of Christ as the bridegroom in the Song of Songs lends itself to a complex

interpretation of his gender and identity. According to Carolyn Bynum, one source of late medieval references to Christ as female is St. Bernard's Commentary on the Song of Songs 1:1-2: Bernard attributes the qualities of divine grace to Christ the Bridegroom ("Your breasts are better than wine") through the image of the nursing mother: "The richness of grace that flows from your breasts contributes ... to my spiritual progress...." (in Bynum, "And Woman His Humanity" 264). Thus the self-introduction of Wisdom reveals him as a fusion of opposites: he is "eche persone of pe Trinitye" (l. 7), divine and human, encompassing male and female qualities:

Therefor pe belowyd Son hathe pis sygnyficacyon
 Custummaly Wysdom, now Gode, now man,
 Spows of pe chyrche andd wery patrone
 Wyffe of eche chose sowle....(ll. 13-16)

The similar appearances of Wisdom and Anima at the beginning of the play seems to confirm the androgyny of Wisdom. Like Wisdom, Anima is dressed in royal apparel:

in a wyght clothe of golde gysely purfyled with
 menyver, a mantyll of blake perwpeon, a cheueler
 lyke to WYSDOM, wyth a tyche chappelet lasyde
 behynde hangyng down wyth to knottys of golde and
 syde tasselys, knelynge down to WYSDOM.... (Wisdom
 pp. 114-115)

The difference in position -- Anima much lower than Wisdom -
 - and the black mantle that Anima wears differentiate the
 two figures, however, and the tableau created strongly
 suggests illustrations of the bride and groom of the Song of
Songs (cf. figs. 3, 4, and 5). Reference to the bride and

groom suggests the binary opposition of male - female roles that they play. It is an opposition will become increasingly radical in the play as Anima moves away from Wisdom and toward the secular world until, finally, her position as fallen woman obliterates any resemblance between the two.

The submissiveness of Anima, the dominance of Christ clearly polarize their identities: the male Christ represents divine power, the female Anima the human and the helpless. Christ is perfect in his majesty; Anima is his imperfect shadow. Christ is powerful, Anima passive. The male Humanum Genus and Everyman are mirrors of the audience and molded in the image of God. As a female, Anima reflects a lesser and opposite force, an abstraction of human qualities rather than a human representative. As Charlotte Spivak points out,

What is interesting here in respect to the concept of gender is the silence and passivity of Anima. She is not directly tempted but is victimized by her faculties, or powers. Pure and worthy of Christ at the beginning and again at the ending, her worldly sojourn is enacted in effect outside of her own control. (140)

In the earlier moralities, female abstractions represent conflicting forces pulling at the male protagonist: the Psychomacheic, emblematic Virtues of The Castle of Perseverance defend Humanum Genus¹⁶ even as Lust tempts him; the female Good Deeds reflects an abstraction that Everyman chooses; when contemporary performances of Everyman characterize Goods as a female as well, they draw on a

tradition that uses women to represent abstract ethical poles.¹⁷ Anima, in contrast the central figure of this play, internalizes and encompasses this binary opposition. She is at once the virginal Bride of Christ, type of Mary¹⁸ (represented in the royal white robes) and the Fallen Woman, type of Eve (represented by the black mantle). Wisdom herself explains her dual nature:

Tweyn partyes, pe on sensualyte,
 Wyche ys clepyd pe flecly felynge
 The v owtewarde wyttys to hym be serwyng.

 The other part pat ys clepyde resone.
 And pat ys pe ymage of Gode properlyly.
 (ll. 135-7; 141-2)

The use of The Song of Songs as an intertextual frame allows the allegory, expressed initially in speech and visual display more than in action and narrative structure, to focus on the intersection of divine and secular realities. The plot, therefore, can move beyond the traditional morality conflict between external divine and secular forces to the internal oppositions of foul and fair, reason and sensuality that parallel them. Indeed, as David Bevington points out, Wisdom replaces the "metaphors of conflict" of moralities such as The Castle of Perseverance with "visual contrast" ("Blake and wyght...." 24).

Continued use of The Song of Songs as a visual/literary frame provides Wisdom with a vocabulary for inner conflict. In the visual display that follows Christ and Anima's dialogue, her character is allegorically fragmented into its

components, first in the appearance of the five internal senses who reflect Anima's purity, then in the appearance of Anima's internal trinity of Mind, Will and Understanding. In its depiction of the Senses, the play again draws on the "dramatis personae" of the Song of Songs, the Bride's attendant maidens;¹⁹ but they are clearly parts of the Bride herself: the song they sing echoes the words of the Song of Song's Bride, "Nigra sum, sed formosa, filiae Jerusalem," and, as well, the state of the Bride herself, whose black mantle covers an essential purity. Origen's commentary on these lines seems to define the boundary between outward and inner realities: "I am indeed dark...as far as my complexion goes...; but should a person scrutinize the features of my inward parts, then I am beautiful" (91). The wits are dressed in imitation of the Bride but without the black mantle, for, as Clifford Davidson points out, it is important to remember that these "wyttys of my sowle wythinne" (l. 163) are antitheses of the five senses; they are internal qualities whose function it is to safeguard the soul (Visualizing 96). They represent yet another duality between external and internal, for it will be the five outward senses which will be responsible for the corruption of Mind, Will and Understanding.²⁰ Just as Humanum Genus, in The Castle of Perseverance, moved beyond the castle and the ditch to the surrounding platea, so the action of Wisdom will move from the inward to the outward cosmos. As it does

so, references to The Song of Songs will disappear and the play will move from the allegorical and ceremonial to the particular and the satirical mode. The Trinity College production uses vertical mnemonics to signify this transition: Anima has already descended the staircase and the Might and Wits process below it; Lucifer will appear directly below the stairs and move backward down the aisle, frequently interacting with the audience.²¹ Manuscript stage directions indicate that the stage is cleared before Lucifer's appearance, the five wits leading the procession, singing "tota pulcra est" in apparent contrast to the opening "nigra sum." They will not reappear until Anima's contrition at the end of the play.²²

The appearance of Lucifer ("owte harow I rore" [l. 305]) creates a violent contrast to the ceremonial and symbolic processions which characterize the first portion of the play. In the Trinity banquet production he slithers snake-like down the center aisle: his successful temptation of Anima will recapitulate both the temptation of Eve and the temptation of Christ.²³ His self-declaration confirms his identification as Lucifer, the fallen angel, and his mission the historical temptation of mankind ("For envy I lore,/ My place to restore" [ll. 326-327]), but underneath the devil's attire is a second costume, that of the contemporary gallant. His self-declaration, which parallels those of Christ, Anima, and the Might, defines him as an

abstraction, a universal force; his attire identifies him as, in Riggio's words, "a kind of anti-Wisdom" ("Staging" 10). Lucifer's exterior black robes mirror Anima's black mantle, but the latter is a worldly overlay covering her white robe, her essential purity, while the former covers worldly attire. As Davenport points out, Lucifer's "I will change me into bryghtnes" (l. 375) ironically echoes "the brightness which in Wisdom is the mirror of God's goodness" (78); but the "bryghtness" is the deception of the gallant's outfit underneath his costume, not the light and glory of Wisdom but the bright colors (red in the Trinity College production) of contemporary costume. Here the natural order is reversed: unveiling becomes deception. When, in line 380, Satan reappears as the gallant,²⁴ not only is he deconstructed into a representative of the secular world, but the allegory of the play is also deconstructed: the play is moving into the world of the audience. In "The Dialogic Imagination" Bakhtin describes the tension in late medieval allegorical poetry between the "living historical time and the extratemporal otherworldly ideal" (158). The first is the horizontal axis, "real time, ...the specific biographical moment (the time of a human life) and historical time" (156); the second, which intersects it in the poetry, is the extratemporal vertical axis, the symbolic/ allegorical vision:

This is the source of the extraordinary tension that pervades Dante's world. It is the result of a

struggle between living historical time and the extratemporal other-worldly ideal. The vertical, as it were, compresses within itself the horizontal, which powerfully thrusts itself forward. (158)

In this portion of the play, it is the horizontal axis, that of the contemporary world, that reasserts itself. The world-stage becomes the locus of the play. This transition is emphasized in the Trinity College production through the use of the banquet space:

The interlude of sin is set in the banquet hall, with the tables as props for the actors, who interact regularly with the audience. In contrast, Wisdom's state of grace is set in infinite space and eternal time. Only when he descends from the throne to deliver his homily...does Wisdom acknowledge the assembled crowd. (Riggio, "Staging" 11)

The symbolic disrobing of Lucifer and the likely shift in staging foreshadow the fall into sin and subsequent particularization of the allegorical personages. Like Humanum Genus in The Castle of Perseverance, who is initially within the castle circle, Mind, Will and Understanding are separated from the world by their roles as contemplatives (in the Trinity College production they are dressed as monks); like Mundus in The Castle, Lucifer argues for the secular world, yet his temptation moves in degrees. To Mind he offers "suggestyun" -- an argument against the contemplative and for the active life: "Be in pe worlde, vse thyngys nesesse,/ The comyn ys best expres" (ll. 441-442); to Understanding he offers "dylectacyon," the evidence of the five senses:

Yowre fyve wyttys abrode lett sprede
 Se how comly to man ys precyus wede;
 Wat sorschype yt ys to be manfull in dede;
 pat bryngyt in dominacyon.
 Off pe symple what profyght yt to tak hede?
 Beholde how ryches dystroyt nede;
 It makyt man fayer, hym wele for to fede;
 And of lust and lykynge commyth
 generacyon. (ll.453-60)

The final part of the process, "confyrmacyon," permits Will to act upon the evidence of the senses ("As pe fyue wyttys gyff informacyon,/Yt semyth yowr resins be goode" [ll. 479-80].), weaken ("I woll no more ageyn pe floode" [l. 490]), and accept /the world ("Me seme, as 3ey sey, in body and soule,/ Man may be in the worlde and be ryght goode" [ll. 484-85]). The process of temptation in Wisdom reverses the process of salvation in Everyman: Everyman must acknowledge Beauty, Knowledge and Five Wits as friends, accepting their desertion only as he moves toward the grave. In Wisdom, on the other hand, the (unpersonified) five wits are the gateway to the outside world, and the outside world is inevitably corrupting. Lucifer wins by inverting the internal hierarchy. As Donald Howard explains,

The tripartite soul is a hierarchy in which reason should govern will and will should govern passion. The suggestion-delectation- consent formula depicts sin as beginning with passion, which influences will and finally captivates reason. Thus the distinction between moral good and moral will depends on whether sense or reason rules the soul. (The Three Temptations 57)

As Milla Riggio points out, the final consent of the Mightys ("Mynde: To pis suggestyon agre me/ Understondynge: Delyght perin I haue truly/ Wyll: And I consent perto

frelye" [ll. 497-99]) is formal, suggesting a ceremony of fealty parallel to that in The Castle of Perseverance, ll. 755-63 (Riggio, "Notes"). And the course that Lucifer now prescribes for the Mightes (and particularly Resone), although it substitutes language for stage movement, parallels the journey of The Castle's Humanum Genus around the platea:

So to couetyse he xall wende
 For pat enduryth to pe last ende.
 And on to Lechery, and I may hym rende. (ll. 532-34)

As Lucifer concludes his soliloquy, the imagery of journey becomes subsumed by that of transformation:

That soule God made incomparable
 To hys lyknes most amyable
 I xall make yt most reprouable
 Ewyn lyke to a fende of hell. (ll. 536-39)

The vocabulary of transformation allows the play to shift focus from the life-journey to vertical movement down from (and later up to) Wisdom, and to concentrate on the process of inward corruption rather than outward temptation. As in Everyman, the Seven Deadly Sins are never personified but rather exemplified by the changes in the protagonists; but, unlike Everyman, Wisdom does not focus alone on psychological transformation. The Mightes, personified qualities of Anima, change significantly in appearance as well as behavior, becoming examples of the Deadly Sins, and, in the process, of contemporary crimes as well. The allegorical level is maintained and amplified by staging and

costume.

In The Castle of Perseverance, the process of assuming increasingly rich layers of clothing as he travels around the platea signifies Humanum Genus' growing immersion in the secular world through a succession of disguisings and roles, moving him from the role of wastrel and lover (servant of the Flesh) to the role of King of Life (servant of the World) to his later role as the miserly senex (victim of the Devil).²⁵ Although the manuscript gives no clear description of the costuming of the Mightes, it is clear that they, following Lucifer's instruction to "Change pat syde aray" (l. 509), now appear in contemporary costume (Lo, me here anew aray/ Wyppe, wyrre, care away! [ll. 552-3]) and that, like the costume of Humanum Genus, this new "aray" is a form of disguise and concealment ("To me it is ioy most laudable/ Fresche dysgysynge to seme aymable" [ll. 589-590]). Like the Toronto production of The Castle, the Trinity College production of Wisdom costumes the fallen protagonist -- in this case the three Mightes -- in half-masks, again emphasizing the notion of disguise and role playing, eradicating the individuality of personal facial expressions and allowing the audience to focus instead on the mask's features -- the piggish snout of Will's mask, the Satanic red visage of Understanding's visor. As Riggio points out, "each mask implied a moral judgment of the masked character" ("Staging" 5), for, as Twycross and

Carpenter point out,

In the morality plays...masks are used as moral emblems. A mask will provide a physical symbol for a spiritual state, usually and must be read symbolically. ("Purposes and Effects...." 172)²⁶

And masks may also be used here as indicative of the carnivalesque character of what follows, for in carnival, as in the anti-masque following the Might's fall, masks allow for a shift in social/ personal identity, "a variant on the central pattern of travesty and identity switching" (Bristol 66).

As in The Castle of Perseverance, costume acts as a disguise that allows the individual immerse himself in a social role.²⁷ The Trinity production clothes the Might's in heraldic colors and emblems, "sutes" that their retainers will wear and which mirror the gallant's disguise of Lucifer; but it is also possible to costume them in the costumes of the topoi they represent -- the lover, the gallant/knight, and the miser. The costumes reflect the double purpose of this portion of the play. While they identify the protagonists with the Three Temptations, the Seven Deadly Sins, and possibly also the topoi of lover, knight and senex, they are, as in The Castle, very much the "new araye" of contemporary fashion: they particularize the characters' identities, if not the characters themselves as individuals.

Humanum Genus, the single protagonist, assumes costumes and roles as part of his progression through the life

He has become an example of covetousness,²⁹ a sin closely allied to pride, for it will lead him to challenge his place in the social and spiritual hierarchy:

To be holde ryche & reyalle
 I bost, I avawnt wer I xall.
 Ryches makyt a man equall
 To hem sumtyme hys soueryngys wer. (ll. 585-88)

The self-declarations of the Mightes culminate in dance ("...lo, howe I sprynge./ Lust makyth me wondyr wylde" [ll. 615-16]) and song ("... but a trebull I owtwrynge" [l. 619]). Milla Riggio points out that their three part ("trebull") harmony contrasts with the preceding "plainsong [which] symbolizes the unity of God; three part music, like modish clothing and masque dancing, symbolizes discord" ("Notes" ll. 617-9). (In her Trinity College production their voices are discordant and they are becoming increasingly drunk.) Yet this pageant also contrasts with the dances that will follow: it is but a transition to particularization and a discord that will grow in degree. Dance also forms a contrast to contemplation and signifies the Mightes' complete abandonment to the World:

Mynde: The welfare of pis worlde ys in ws, I avowe
 Understondyng: Lette eche man tell hys condycyons how
 Wyll: Begyne ye ande haue at yow,
 For I am aschamyde at ryght nought. (ll. 625-8)

As in The Castle of Perseverance, the immersion of the protagonists in the secular world leads to particularization; but particularization does not obliterate the allegory: Mind is simultaneously an

individual, an aspect of the self and a reflection of pride, envy and wrath -- connected with the Devil. Although he renames himself Maintenance, he does not personify this social abuse but rather exemplifies it. Moreover, Maintenance itself -- the bribing of judge or jury for profit -- itself is the product of inverted feudal loyalty: as in The Castle, loyalty to the world is inevitably corrupting:

I serve myghty lordeshyppe
 Ande am in grete tenderschyppe
 Therefor moche folke me dredys.
 Men sew to my frendeschyppe
 For meyntenance of her schendeschyppe. (ll. 631-5)

Like Lucifer, Mind attempts "to put himself in the place of God, scattering benefits in a lordly gesture to dependent creatures; worship is coming to him from evildoers" (Molloy 110). Moreover, the crime he exemplifies is a symptom of social disorder, for, as David Bevington points out, maintenance was the product of "the breakdown of central authority in England..." (Tudor Drama and Politics 30) in which local nobility "protected" their entourage against legal action and maintained their loyalty through interference with the legal system. Maintenance, then, signifies an inversion of loyalties and values. As Lynn Squires has pointed out, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries secular law represented "a religious ideal" and

the formal expression of divine will; it was the common belief that the common as well as the ecclesiastical law originated in the mind of God.
 (272)

Perversion of the law is therefore an act in defiance of divine will. And in a play that draws upon the iconography of Judgment Day and upon the apocalyptic overtones of The Song of Songs, the portrayal of men as their own corrupt judges and juries illustrates the inversion of divine reality and the perversion of divine will. The acts of Maintenance extend the notion that human judgment, unlike divine judgment, is fallible and corruptible.

The nominal transformation of Understanding (apprehension of the truth) into his opposite -- Perjury (the deliberate lie) -- extends the notion of social chaos through perversion of the legal system. As David Bevington has pointed out, this crime is an inevitable product of maintenance, for just as covetousness is an inevitable product of pride, "A covetous cleric is expert in usury, perjury, bribery, simony" (Tudor Drama and Politics 32).

Finally, Will renames himself Lechery, for "Lechery was never more vsande/ Off Lernityde & lewyde in this lande" (ll. 681-2). The evils, like the Mightes, are obviously interrelated: indulgence of the Flesh is both the cause and the result of the other evils. The dance with which the Mightes end their self-declaration becomes an affirmation of their interdependence, for as Bevington points out, "despite the seemingly contradictory behavior of the three worldly types, they are aspects of a composite portrait" (Tudor Drama and Politics 32). But the portrait itself is skewed,

for, led by Will rather than Mind, the Might's reflect an inversion of an inner hierarchy that they extend in the external social chaos they (as particularized individuals) create.

In Early English Stages, Glynne Wickham describes the dances of the three groups of retainers that follow as "mummings" or "plays, or revels within the play" and notes that they mark a transition "between theatrical game and dramatic earnest" (Early English Stages 111), underscoring, through sign and parody, the more serious drama before and after them. Wickham argues that Wisdom is the earliest extant play to use this device, but, as Chapter Two of this study has shown, the procession of the Seven Deadly Sins that begins the second portion of The Castle of Perseverance has the same carnivalesque quality and bears a striking resemblance to the processions and dances of the retinues that begin this portion of Wisdom. In The Castle of Perseverance, the formal procession of the Seven Deadly Sins to the scaffold of Covetousness forms a turning point in the play, both appropriating the symbols of hierarchy and rank to celebrate Humanum Genus's enfeeblement to the World, and misappropriating them for the purpose of mimicry and satire.³⁰ Exactly such a turning point is marked, and such a purpose is served, by the consecutive appearances of the three bands of retainers, each bearing the heraldic insignia of its leader. Mind's retinue is red-bearded, with lions

rampant on their crests, bearing warders and accompanied by minstrels and trumpets. Mind names them, Indignation, Sturdiness, Malice, Hastiness, Wreche "And pe viith am I Mayntenance" (l. 696). Their appearance bears all the characteristics of civic pageant: they are allegorical representations, heraldically emblazoned with the traditional royal symbol of the lion, and, as Michael Bristol explains,

The [civic] procession, objectively and hierarchically organized in space, is a natural and ideally appropriate image of society...Allegory is considerably more than a mere technique or instrument in [such] official pageantry: the nature of the allegorical symbol is an essential part of the truth about nature and society. The social structure is a kind of allegory, in that its order is also a sign of other, larger orders that form a chain of significance leading to that which does not signify -- the divine Logos. (60-61)

This order, says Bristol, is inverted in Carnival:

Carnival is a travesty; costumes, insignia of rank and identity...are misappropriated for purposes of ...mockery....In the pageantry of popular festivals, no fixed order may be set forth, because travesty subverts the possibility of orderly setting forth through the monstrous proliferation of differences and identities. (63-4)

Such inversion is immediately obvious in the appearance of the retinues. The symbolism of their appearance -- and even their proliferating numbers ("VII ys a numbyr of discorde & inperfyghtnes" [l. 697]) -- further display the transformation of social and divine order into chaos. Milla Riggio points out that the appearance of these retainers parodies that of Wisdom: their red beards (the color of the

Devil, of Judas, and of wrath)³¹ contrast with the gilded beard of Wisdom, and their warders, "which are heavy, club-like symbols of authority" parody the scepter that Wisdom is described as holding at the beginning of the play. The Trinity College production emphasizes this by staging Wisdom's throne as the Throne of Solomon: "The twelve gilded lions on that throne were then parodied by the rampaunt red lions worn as part of the livery of these dancers" (Riggio, "Notes" l. 692sd.).

The discord of the music further underscores this inversion. In "Techniques of Transcendance," Robert Edwards points out that for the medieval audience music is a mirror of universal order:

By a kind of sympathetic vibration based on numbers, man would be tied to a reaction...to the harmony of sound, to the harmony of relationships like bodies and souls,...to the harmony of the entire universe. (108)

As the retainers themselves point out, however, their disharmony signifies disorder: they substitute the trumpets of war (or, as Riggio suggests, of false secular judgments rendered through Maintenance ["Notes" ll. 701-6]) for the trumpets of Divine Judgment:

Ande here menstrellys be conveyent,
For trumpys xulde blowe to pe jugemente.
Off batell also yt ys on instrumente,
Yevynge comfort to fyght. (ll. 702-705)

In the dance that follows, the warders they carry may be brandished in what Glynne Wickham argues is a morris dance, a kind of sword dance that emphasizes their warlike

nature (Early English Stages 110). In the Trinity production, however, the dance is (in what may be an unnecessary anachronism) a stylized boxing match. Neither interpretation quite conveys what must be staged as a carnivalesque parody of the order and symmetry of the Judgment Day pageants.

The retainers of Understanding and Will extend the concept of fragmentation, particularization, and disorder. Understanding's retainers are dressed as hooded jurors. The double-faced masks they wear (cf. l. 718) are emblems of their characters ("...Wronge and Sleyghte,/ Dobullnes & Falsnes.../Raveyn & Disceyte..." [ll. 725-7]) and of the roles they are playing. Their essential nature is impenetrable, hidden twice over by their social roles. The bagpipes they play are both discordant and emblematic, symbols of vanity and the senseless speech of a windbag (Riggio, "Notes" ll. 724sd). The play grounds this allegory again in the particular time and place: their dance is equated specifically with the local Quest of Holborn and therefore with the particular implementation of contemporary corrupted judgment:

Here ys pe quest of Holborn, an euyll entyrecte.
 They daunce all pe londe hydyr and thedyr,
 And I, Perjury, yowr fownder. (ll. 731-33)

In the Trinity College production their dance disintegrates into twirling disorder; the dancers exit only after Understanding distributes coins.

The dances culminate with the retinue of Will, renamed

"jentyll Fornycacyon" (l. 756), a retinue that most dramatically inverts the images of the five virgins: "vi women in sut [iii] dysgysed as galontys & iii as matrones wyth wondyrfull vysurs congregent; here mynstrell a hornepype" (l. 752sd), ³² whom Will calls "Reckleshede and Idyllnes,/. . .Surfeyt and Gredynes,/For pe flesche, Spousebreche and Mastres" (ll. 753-55). Once again, sins -- Sloth, Gluttony and Lechery -- are fragmented into specific vices. The obscene disorder that marks this "hornpipe" (in the Trinity College production the dance is characterized by bumps and grinds) provides a dramatic contrast to the opening pageant of the play and to the iconographic frame of the Song of Songs. If the purpose of the Song of Songs is to move the reader from the corporal to the spiritual realm, the process is here reversed, and the play transforms love into lust, "pe stewys clene rebaldry" (l. 749). As Riggio points out, the "clene" moral purity of Anima is here ironically inverted into "the bawdy love play of the brothels" ("Notes" l. 74). The world into which the play has descended is clearly that of the audience, and the Trinity College production underscores this by once again breaking the boundary between audience and players as the dancers make forays into the audience. As a consequence of the destruction of love, the Mights' boasting disintegrates into fighting: "pi longe body bare/ To bett I not spare./Haue the ageyn!" (ll. 770-3).

In his discussion of carnival, Bristol notes that it celebrates the transitory world, shattering the "frozen time" of allegory and breaking down "the ceremonial gravity of allegorical form." (60-61) The world of carnival, then, is the world of particularization, and it is a world in which the *Mights* become increasingly enmeshed.

The *Mights'* descent has been completed, but their deconstruction into particular types continues: Understanding resolves to advance himself at Westminster through false recording and bribery; Mind resolves to bribe judges at St. Paul's; Will provides them with food, drink and women. But it is Will who further descends from type to specific individual, as he describes an adulterous relationship with "My cosyn Jenet N.":

Sche mornyth wyth a chorle, a very knaue,
 And neuer kan be mery.
 I play me per wem I lyst rawe;
 Than pe chorle wyll here dysprawe. (ll. 836-9)

Adultery becomes the ultimate perversion of love, the inversion of the spiritually elevating love of The Song of Songs and, again, the path to corruption. Mind offers to rebuke or beat the husband and Understanding offers corrupt use of the courts to wreak revenge on the husband and bribery to pay off witnesses to the injustice. All have become specific individuals, and the audience has become aware that the world they inhabit is its own (Riggio suggests that their remark "Now go we to pe wyne" provides "an opportunity to engage the audience in the drama;

assuming that the play is being staged as a banquet masque, the tables provide a ready source of wine" ["Notes" 1.868]). In the Trinity College production, vertical mnemonics are reasserted as the Mightys conclude the scene on the floor, singing in drunken disharmony, their backs turned away from the throne on which Wisdom has reappeared. The increasing consumption of food and wine that marks this portion of the play is characteristic of carnival, which celebrates the body. Also characteristic is the sense of parody and inversion, for, as Bakhtin has argued,

We find...[in carnival] a characteristic logic, the peculiar logic of the "inside out"... of the turnabout, of a continual shifting from top to bottom, from front to rear....A second life...is thus constructed; it is to a certain extent a parody of the extracarnival life, a 'world inside out.' (Rabelais and His World 11)

In "Exploring the World Upside Down" Fred Jonassen convincingly argues that the interludes of the vices in the morality plays reflect just such a carnivalesque inversion. When Mind, Will and Understanding indulge in carnivalesque play, they imply that there is no real morality or order in the world of contemporary society; like the double masks of Understanding's retinue, the disorder of play masks an underlying secular disorder; the only valid hierarchy that exists beyond this inversion is in the world of spiritual order.

The antagonist of Carnival is Lent, the period of fasting and repentance and Lent exploits "the most pervasive

tool of secular and religious authorities, fear, especially the fear of death, to reaffirm spiritual order" (Jonassen 2). Like the personification of Lent that appears to end the carnival, the figure of Wisdom is a messenger sent to remind Mind of impending Death; like Shrift in The Castle and Death in Everyman, he is a materialization of divine intervention. But Wisdom is, more than a messenger, an authority: like the figures of God in Everyman and The Castle, he represents the throned God of the Judgment Day tympani, and his warning echoes the warnings in the other two moralities:

O thu Mynde, remembyr the!
 Turne pe weys, pu gost amyse.
 Se what pi ende is, pu myght not fle.
 Dethe to euery creature certen ys.
 They pat lyue well, pey xall haue blys.
 They pat endyn yll, they goo to hell.
 I am Wysdom, sent to tell yow thys.
 Se in what stat, pu doyst indwell. (ll. 874-81)

But Wisdom remains a complex figure, for, as in the beginning of the play, he is both agent of Judgment (in his warning of Death) and of Grace: as Molloy points out, his questions, "What haue I to do" (l. 917) and "Myght I haue don ony more for thee?" (l. 919) are the words of the crucified Christ in Popule meus, sung in the Good Friday liturgy (137). He is, of course, also a quality (Wisdom) which, like vice and virtue, can be internalized: "To my mynde yt cummyth from farre/ That dowlles man xall dey" (ll. 882-3). As Riggio points out, Will's response echoes that of Malus Angelus in The Castle ("Notes" ll. 889-92), and it

also recalls the response of Everyman in its denial of human mortality:

We be yit but tender of age
Schulde we leve pis lyue, ya howe!
We may amende wen we be sage. (ll. 889-

91) Like Death (in Everyman) and Shrift (in The Castle), Wisdom implants "drede" in the human heart through the apprehension of human mortality; but in order for Understanding and Will to accept it, it must be materialized: "Here Anima aperythe in pe most horrybull wyse, fowlere pan a fende." (902) In the Trinity College production, Anima's masked face is white and skull-like, marked either by death or more probably leprosy; she is hooded and cloaked in black and cowers in fear. Like the appearance of Death as transi in Everyman, she is the reflection of the protagonists' decay ("Se howe ye haue dyvyguryde yowr soule./ Beholde yowrselff, loke veryly in mynde" [ll. 901-2]); but Anima, the eternal soul, is rotted by moral corruption rather than by the natural decay of death. In her disfiguration she recalls another personification, the fallen Jerusalem in Lamentations:

Jerusalem sinned grievously,
 therefore she became filthy;
all who honored her despise her,
 for they have seen her nakedness;
yea, she herself groans,
 and turns her face away. (Lamentations 1:8)

With the reappearance of Anima, the play returns to the frame of the Song of Songs and traces the ascent of the soul to God following the tripartite structure common to

Cistercian exegesis:

The first is penitence, where the soul regrets its sin and pleads for God's help in conquering the threatening vices of the flesh. The second stage is that of purification where the soul actually experiences, through love, God's presence when illuminated by piety and devotion. The third stage is that of spiritual fervor or divine contemplation in which the soul longs to be united with God in anticipation of their eventual heavenly union. (Camille, "Prefatory Pictures...." 139)

Michael Camille demonstrates the use of this tradition iconographically in a series of illustrations from a thirteenth century French apocalypse manuscript. In a picture describing the soul's original condition (fig. 7), the soul has been struck down by the enticements of carnal weakness and is besieged by small demons. Her appearance indicates illness:

The woman's livid downcast eyes are just visible ...below the band which also seems to act as a blindfold, and dark wrinkles of age line her discolored flesh....(Camille, "Prefatory Pictures" 140)³³

The image of small devils which torment the soul is made more ambiguous and perhaps more powerful in the play: the seven small boys "in pe lyknes of dewyllys" (l. 912) that run out from beneath her "horrybyll mantell" and then return may also be interpreted as her offspring, the deadly sins which she has created³⁴ and with which she is now infested.³⁵

In the dialogue with Anima that opened the play, Wisdom explained that drede begins the ascent to God:

The drede of God pat ys begynnyng
 The wedys of synne yt makyt to flee.
 And swete wertuus herbys in the sowle to sprynge.
 (ll. 90-93)

In this portion of the play, as in the opening dialogue, drede provides the key to self-recognition: "I see how I haue defowlyde pe noble kynde" (l.928); and the images of uprooting and replanting in the earlier portion of the play are replaced with the imagery of healing and cleansing³⁶ (To haue pe yiffte of hys specyall grace--/ How hys seke soule may be recurable/ At the jugment before hys face.[ll. 946-8]). The verbal imagery recalls the lancing of Shrift in The Castle and the healing of Good Deeds in Everyman. The staged imagery may repeat the composition of the first illustration in the French Apocalypse manuscript (fig.7): Christ the Bridegroom stands facing the prostrate Bride on the other side of a battlement wall, in one of his hands a communion wafer; an "almost imperceptible trio of thin lines...emanate from his mouth onto the woman's body, representing his healing breath" (Camille, "Prefatory Pictures" 141).

Another less dramatic model for the figure of Anima at the threshold of penitence appears in the thirtieth triptych of the Biblia Pauperum (fig. 8), the first of a series of illustrations linking the Song of Songs to the Resurrection of Christ. The left panel of the triptych illustrates Reuben looking into an empty well, searching for his brother Joseph; in the middle panel, the focus of the triptych, the three Marys visit the tomb of Christ to find it empty; in

the panel on the right appears the Bride, covered again by a mantle, lamenting her separation from her spouse. She says, "Quesivi illum et no inveni" -- I sought him but did not find him. Clearly, the Bride's search for the Bridegroom parallels Mary Magdalene's search for Christ. Like the Bride in the Song of Songs illustration, Anima does not immediately find redemption ("...wyth yow iii pe soule doth crye/ 'Mercy God!' -- Why change I nowte?" [ll. 949-50]); but like Mary Magdalene, Anima will be forgiven and purified. Read anagogically, all three panels represent a state of spiritual separation, a state which will be followed by revelation and reunion.

As in Everyman and The Castle of Perseverance the plea for mercy is not enough. Wisdom argues, as did Penance (The Castle l. 972) that "Wythowt sorowe of hert relesyt nought" (l. 967); and just as the prick of penance lanced and cured the repentant Humanum Genus, so, Wisdom tells Anima, contrition will be the "medsyne" that will make man "as clene as when he begane" (l. 969)³⁷ The process of confession will undo that of temptation: contrition, confession and satisfaction will uproot suggestion, delectation, and confirmation, and will reestablish the proper hierarchy of the Mightys:

By wndyrstondynge haue very contrycyon,
Wyth mynde of your synne confessyon make,
With wyll yeldynge to satysfaccon;
pan yow soule be clene, I wndyrtake. (ll.973-6)

As Anima weeps ("I wepe for sorrow, Lorde, I begyne

awake,/I that pis longe hath slumberyde in sin" [ll. 977-78]), the demons depart, and the verbal imagery of cleansing, healing, awakening is reinforced by the stage image. Again, the Song of Songs provides an iconographic frame for the scene. The second picture that Camille takes from the Burkhardt-Wilde apocalypse pictures the liberation of the bride-soul (fig. 9), suggesting the relative positions of Anima and Wisdom on the stage. Though the stage devils have departed the devils in the Apocalypse illustration continue to pull at the Bride's cloak, even as they are confronted by angels, but she has turned around and is now facing the Bridegroom, who is pulling her through the open gate. At the top of the gate, where, in the first picture, a demon squatted, stands St. Michael, his spear aimed at the demons. "The Bride breaks into the space of freedom at the right, exactly at the point where the diagonal scroll reads 'libera me'" (Camille, "Prefatory Pictures" 146). As Camille points out, there are clear references to the Exodus and to the Harrowing of Hell, the gateway clearly resembling Hell Mouth: individual redemption suggests redemption of mankind. The kinds of horizontal staging most likely in The Castle and Everyman -- where substitutes for Hell Mouth exist in the trap door and the cave -- could support such iconography. But the vertical staging more relevant to this play and used in Riggio's banquet production leaves no room for such a gateway.

Instead, the sense of physical and spiritual movement is evoked through the processional exit (and later reentry) of Anima and the Mightys and the same connection between individual and historical redemption is made through the song of Anima, for, as J.J. Molloy points out, her words of contrition, taken from Lamentations 2:12 and 1:2 (the words of the penitent fallen Jerusalem),

are sung during the first nocturn of matins for Holy Thursday. The procession of Anima and the Mightys may [therefore] be meant to be similar to that for the reconciliation of penitents on Holy Thursday. (150)

The departure of Anima and the Mightys leaves only Wisdom on the stage. In the Trinity College production, he descends from the throne to the playing area, not coincidentally occupying the same area that Lucifer did before the temptation of the Mightys: his speech will act as a remedium to the earlier speech of Lucifer. As in The Castle of Perseverance and Everyman the sermon dissolves the boundary between the audience and the play. As Milla Riggio has pointed out,

By playing these lines directly and personally to the to the audience, one can overcome the remoteness of their didactic tone and signal the difference between this inserted sermon and the rest of the play. Such interaction with the audience also complements the direct audience interaction with the world of sin. ("Notes" 11.997ff.)

If the form and address of the sermon move the play into the world of the audience, the content of the sermon continues the verbal imagery of the preceding scene,

providing specific remedia for the sins of the Mightes and moving the text from love of one's neighbor to love of God ("The ixth Gode sethe: Lowe me souerenly" [1.1057]). Clearly the play has moved beyond the theological scope of The Castle of Perseverance and Everyman, for the purpose of charity/good deeds goes beyond redemption and moves toward union with the divine. This play does not end with the sermon but moves back into the world of the play as Anima and her followers reappear. The subject of the final scene, unlike those of The Castle and Everyman, will be not death, redemption and the ascent to Heaven but unity with God .

When Anima enters, she is accompanied by the five wits ("goynge before") and the Mightes ("Mynde on pe on syde, & Wnderstondynge on pe other syde, & Wyll following" [1064sd]). All are dressed as before, but all are now crowned, in recognition of their victory over sin (Molloy 156). The Trinity College production continues the image of the Song of Songs by arranging the entry as a bridal procession, the wits being clearly the bridesmaids. The Bride, clothed again in white, no longer wears the black mantle, having substituted for it a purple cloth to reinforce the imagery of the crowns and to indicate the majesty of her position as bride of Wisdom. As Molloy points out, they sing the words of Psalm 115:12-13, the verses of which are traditionally sung by the mass celebrant "after he has received the Body of Christ and just before he drinks the Precious Blood"

(157). Molloy argues that this is evidence that Anima has taken the Eucharist and is in a state of grace (157): she is purified and prepared -- not for judgment and heaven but for her role as spiritual Bride, for she has reached the level of "delectacyon" (l. 1066):

My soule ys wasched by thy passyon
 Fro pe synnys cummynge by sensualyte
 A, be the, I haue a new resurreccyon.
 (ll.1067)

This moment of illumination is illustrated in another triptych of the Biblia Pauperum (fig. 10), which again connects the liberation of the soul from sin with the recognition of the risen Christ. In the panel on the left, the King of Babylon arrives at the lion's den, expecting to find Daniel dead; his head is turned away from the building where Daniel, still alive, looks out from behind a barred window; finding Daniel alive, the king will free him from imprisonment. In the right panel, the Bride of the Song of Songs is reunited with her spouse: the Bride, clad in white, is uncrowned; the Bridegroom to whom she extends her arms is the nimbed Christ; above her head are her words, "Tenui eum, nec dimittam." In the central panel a kneeling Mary Magdalene encounters the risen Christ in the garden. The translated transcription explains the relationship between the two women:

We read in the Canticle of Canticles...that when the bride had found her beloved, she said, "I have found him whom my soul loves; I will hold him and will not let him go. This bride prefigures Mary Magdalene who seeing her spouse, that is Christ,

wanted to touch Him. Christ responded "Do not touch me; I have not yet ascended to my Father."
(Labriola and Smeltz 130)

Although the Bride prefigures Mary Magdalene, all three panels in combination illustrate the situation of Anima. She has been spared but is not yet fully liberated, has apprehended the nature of Deity but has not yet been united with it. The positions of Anima and Wisdom in the Trinity College production come close to those in the right panel of the triptych: both Anima and Wisdom hold out their hands. But Wisdom is on the throne and Anima is still below it.

In his response to Anima's lament Wisdom becomes simultaneously the risen Christ who displays his wounds to Mary Magdalene,³⁸ and the Bridegroom of the Song of Songs, whose words he speaks:

Vulnerasti cor meum, soror, mea sponsa
In vno ictu oculorum tuorum.
Ye haue wondyde my hert, syster, spowse dere
In pe tweyn syghtys of yowr ey,
By pe recognycyon ye haue clere (ll. 1083-7)

As Molloy points out, Wisdom's is the language of courtly love, where "arrowbeams from archer eyes...[wound] the heart" (160); but it is also, as Riggio shows, a reference to the "tweyn mights" of the Soul that Anima has just described, the inner and outer senses: "Wisdom here tells Anima that she offended him not only by sins of the flesh but also through perversion of her mind and understanding" ("Notes" ll. 1083-91). The victim is Wisdom as Christ; the love wounds become the crucifixion, and the gestures of the

crucifixion, perhaps the staged gestures of Wisdom at this point in his speech, become also the gestures of love:

My handys sprede abrode to halse pe swyre;
 My fete naylyde to abyde wyth pe swet herte;
 My hert clowyn for pi loue most dere;
 My hede bowhede down to kys pe here.
 (ll.1102-5)

As Anima, accompanied by the Mightys, ascends the throne of Wisdom, his outstretched arms which recall the crucifixion also become a welcoming gesture: "Now ye haue receyuyde pw crownys victoryall,/ To regne in blys wythowtyn ende" (ll. 1115-6). In the Trinity College production, Anima's arms, like Wisdom's are outstretched, and this gesture may reflect the position and appearance of Anima in the third picture from the Burkhardt-Wiltdt Apocalypse of the soul in contemplation (fig. 11). In it the Bride has become the central figure, and she wears the bridal veil and the clothing of royalty. "Most striking is the orans gesture of her outstretched arms....[which] signified a heightened state of spiritual awareness" (Camille, "Prefatory Pictures" 148).

But if the Bride signifies the final stage of mystical union, she also represents the reward of the purified soul. The fortieth and final triptych of the Biblia Pauperum (fig. 12) depicts the bride and bridegroom much as they must be presented in the final tableau of the play. The triptych is titled "The reward of the righteous," and Anima and Christ occupy the central panel; they are clearly associated with

the literal bride and bridegroom of the Song of Songs and prefigure the Day of Judgment:

In the central panel of the fortieth triptych, the crown of eternal life -- the reward for having triumphed over temptation in the present life -- is bestowed on the sanctified soul....To allegorize such a union, Christ is depicted as king and bridegroom; the soul becomes his queen and spouse. To the left, Solomon crowns his bride, after having extolled her beauties and affirmed that she is without blemish....To the right is the angel who summons St. John the Divine to the heavenly Jerusalem, where he will see the bride of the lamb. (Labriola and Smertz 179)

In the play as in the picture, Anima has ascended the throne and kneels before Christ as he crowns her. The scene clearly parallels the final scene of The Castle of Perseverance when Humanum Genus climbs to the throne of God to sit at his right side. But here there is no mention of death, and the notion of judgment is subsumed by that of "perfeccyon":

Now yhe mut euery soule renewe
In grace & vycys to eschewe.
Ande so to ende wyth perfeccyon. (ll. 1159-61)

In the final sermon, Wisdom, like The Castle of Perseverance and Everyman, breaks through the boundary of the play. Though it ends in an apprehension of divine grace, through its direct address the sermon ends the play in the world of the audience.

Notes

1. See Walter Kay Smart, Some English and Latin Sources and Parallels for the Morality of Wisdom, esp. pp. 18-22, and Eccles, 205.
2. See Milla P. Riggio, "The Staging of Wisdom," 2-3, and Gail McMurray Gibson, "The Play of Wisdom and the Abbey of St. Edmund," 39-60.
3. In "Phenomenological Space and Personified Character: N-Town and Shakespeare," James Paxson defines the "isotype" as "a singular or individual representative who stands for a collectively larger number of ontological individuals" (5).
4. As Milla Riggio points out, the two 1984 productions of Wisdom attempted to recreate two alternative settings, one an outdoor place and scaffold staging, the other a banquet. ("The Staging of Wisdom" 2-3). As in the case of The Castle of Perseverance productions of Wisdom attempt to recreate the original production within medieval contextual frames (unlike productions of Everyman which reinvent the play). References in this paper to the Riggio "banquet" production, therefore, will be used to reinforce the analysis of the play as it might have originally been produced.
5. In "Playing Wisdom at Trinity College," Teresa Coletti and Pamela Sheingorn point out that "the lack of a set simply reinforced the fact that all the characters were abstractions that did not live in a world of buildings and furniture" (180).
6. This and subsequent quotes from Wisdom are taken from Mark Eccles, The Macro Plays.
7. See pp. 63 and 156-7 of this study.
8. See pp. 156-8 of this dissertation. Clifford Davidson describes other contemporary examples of Christ in Majesty, among them a 1430 image in glass now in York minster, a fourteenth century panel of English embroidery, and a fourteenth century English alabaster (Visualizing the Moral Life 85).
9. For an analysis of the figure of Christ in Wisdom as a "devotional image" see Clifford Davidson, Visualizing the Moral Life, pp. 83-90. Davidson argues that while Christ may be dressed in the attire of Christ in Majesty, he may also show wounds in hands, feet and body, "specifically

associated with the Image of Pity" (90).

10. See E. Ann Matter, The Voice of My Beloved, esp. pp. 1-31.

11. Michael Camille ("Him whom you have ardently desired") notes that Cistercian commentaries on the Song of Songs, beginning with St. Bernard, interpret the bride to be "the individual soul in its personal relation to God" (139). For contributions to this tradition by the mystics of St. Victor in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see Anne W. Astell, The Song of Songs in the Middle Ages (1990), pp. 73-88; for a discussion of Bernard's sermons on the Song of Songs see Matter, pp. 122-42 and Astell, pp. 90-104.

12. See footnote 16 of Riggio's unpublished ms. of Wisdom. Riggio notes that in Suso the image of the Song of Songs is used in two different ways, and "Wisdom speaks alternately as a man and a woman." As Christ, he is the bridegroom of the Church; as the personification of Wisdom, the female bride of the soul. The play unites Christ and Wisdom in the bridegroom.

13. Astell is quoting from Sermon 85: III.8. See St. Bernard. On the Song of Songs, Vol IV., trans. Kilian Walsh and Irene Edmonds Kalamazoo, Mich.: Cistercian Publications, 1980, p. 204.

14. E. Ann Matter points out that interpretation of The Song of Songs as a dramatic dialogue begins even before the tradition of Christian commentary and reflects the impulse to give the poem narrative coherence so that it can be allegorized. See Matter, pp. 56-57.

15. Cf. Molloy, A Theological Interpretation of the Moral Play "Wisdom Who is Christ", 1-4. Molloy cites Matthew 5:17 and Corinthians 1:24 as the source of the tradition, which is developed in St. Thomas Aquinas, Summa Theologica and St. Augustine, De Trinitate.

16. When, in carnivalesque battle, the Vices refer to these Virtues as "yene wenches" the audience is again reminded of the dual nature of woman.

17. For a discussion of female personifications as representations of good and evil forces see Joan Ferrante, Woman as Image in Medieval Literature, 37-64.

18. For a discussion of Mary as the Bride in the Song of Songs see Anne W. Astell, The Song of Songs in the Middle Ages (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), pp. 60-72.

19. In Origen's prologue to his commentary he specifically refers to the maidens as dramatic characters (21); in his First Homily, they are described as followers of the Bride, and incipient Brides, perhaps to be identified with the audience. See Origen, The Song of Songs: Commentaries and Homilies, trans. R.P. Lawson, New York: Newman Press, 1956, p. 274.

20. In her notes to l. 162 in her edition of Wisdom, M. Riggio notes that "These 'inwits' were thought by some medieval writers to correspond to the five 'outer' wits, or physical senses to create a total of 'ten wits' which were sometimes identified with the five wise and five foolish virgins in the parable of Matthew 25 1-13."

21. References to the Trinity College production appear in the present tense because they are based on Milla Riggio's videotape of that production, kindly provided by Martin Stevens.

22. David Bevington ("Blake and Wyght") points out that "tota pulcra est," also from The Song of Songs is "sung as an antiphon for the procession on Trinity Sunday in the Sarum Missal. The five wits are thus linked to liturgical procession [and] to liturgical song" as well as to traditional Song of Songs text and iconography. (27)

23. Lucifer reminds us that Mind, Will and Understanding are "Fygure of the Godhede" and that the disfigurement of Anima is therefore a disfigurement of God's image. The parallel between the unsuccessful temptation of Christ and the successful temptation of Anima is therefore deliberate: the offer of food (l. 468) parallels the offer of the Flesh, of "dominacyon" the World (l. 456), and of being raised to a pinnacle, the Devil. See Howard, The Three Temptations 73 and Riggio, unpublished, notes on ll. 451-61.

24. Costuming the devil as a dandy is noted in at least one other public performance: in Le Jour du Jugement the devil Eguinart is "dressed as a young dandy of the day in a blue surcoat with long ermine-lined sleeves falling almost to the floor, and a red hood" (Tydeman, "Costumes and Actors" 181).

25. See Chapter Two, pp. 35-41 for a more complete discussion of role playing and costume in The Castle of Perseverance. For a description of senex as it appears in the De Lisle psalter, see pp. 68-69 of this study.

26. Here masks have the specific connotation of evil and duplicity. As William Tydeman notes, "In many places masks were an important feature of devilish costume, and they also

feature among the details of Herod's equipment" ("Costumes and Actors" 182).

27. For the use of this device in later moralities and interludes, see Glynne Wickham, Early English Stages 1300 to 1600, Vol III: 100-110.

28. For an analysis of the gallant's costume in The Castle, see Chapter Two, page 39 of this study. For an analysis of the gallant as actpr and social type, see Tony Davenport, "Lusty Fresche Gallaunts."

29. One possible costume is suggested by a description of a procession of Sins in the Majorca Last Judgment play: "on her right shall walk Avarice in a long robe, an ink container...at his waist, a purse...in his handwith objects inside to make a sound like money jingling when he wishes and abook under his arm" (Meredith and Tailby 89). See Chapter Two of this study, p. 49.

30. See Chapter Two, pp. 42-43 of this study.

31. See Molloy, p. 115. Molloy stresses the identification with Judas: "Here we have Mind as a traitor to justice, and as a covetous man feeding his vainglory."

32. The insertion of [iii] is Milla Riggio's. In the notes to her unpublished edition of Wisdom Riggio argues that "the formula for the previous two sets of dancers, which have included six dancers each, suggests that the number iii has been omitted before dysgysyde as galontys; this would make a total of six dancers disguised half as gallants, half as women." Eccles concurs: his earlier edition of The Macro Plays (139) adds iii without benefit of brackets.

33. Camille notes that the picture is framed with lines from Lamentations which "evoke the idea of the soul as a city besieged by evil forces" ("Him Whom You Have Ardently Desired You may See: Cistertian Exegesis and the Prefatory Pictures in a French Apocalypse" 140) and notes that this is in keeping with a long tradition which pictures the soul as a lady within an earthly castle besieged on all sides by enemies (141). While this imagery is absent in the play, it does create a relationship between the condition of Anima here and that of Humanum Genus below the Castle of Perseverance.

34. Seen in the framework of Song of Songs exegesis, this would create an inversion of the conventional image of the Bride as Mary (as well as the Soul).

35. Milla Riggio argues that "the formula established during the formal masques applies here": the seven demons bear the same relationship to Anima that the retinues did to Mind, Will, and Understanding: "By linking each of the Mightes with their dancers and Anima with the sins in her soul, the play carries on the feudal metaphor of lordship and retainers" ("Notes" 912sd. vi).

36. The soul's "uncleanness" is an inversion of her condition at the beginning of the play: "To all clene sowlys I am ful hende/
And euer present wer pat pey be" (ll. 45-46).

37. In her note to ll. 949-56, Milla Riggio points out that Anima's appeal to mercy echoes Humanum Genus' final plea ("I putte me in Godys mercy" [l. 3006]), and that in adding the exchange between Wisdom and Anima, Wisdom "deftly modifies the appeal to mercy which in The Castle of Perseverance constitutes Humanum Genus' only act of penitence." However, as J.J. Molloy shows, there is an "almost perfect parallel" between Wisdom's words in the speech of Penitence in lines 973-6 of The Castle ("Sorwe of herte, is that I mene/ trewly her may no tunge telle,/ what waschyth sowlys more clene") (Molloy 143).

38. Clifford Davidson argues for the appearance, at this point of the play, of the crucified Christ displaying his wounds in the manner of contemporary devotional images, "images which make much of the wounds in hands, feet, and heart, as well as the marks of the Scourging which cover him from his head to his toes...." and which were commonplace in mystical literature (Visualizing the Moral Life 110). While Davidson visualizes a transformation from the earlier appearance of Christ in Majesty to a final appearance of the naked, suffering Christ, a tableau more consistent with the predominant frame of the Song of Songs would present Christ as Bridegroom, perhaps briefly displaying his wounds underneath his regal attire.

FIG. 1. Heinrich Suso, "Eternal Wisdom" (Herzog August Bibliothek ms. Wolfenblut), in David Bevington, "Blake and Wyght...." p.34.



Fig. 2. "King Edward," in Riggio, "Staging Wisdom," Plate 2.



Fig. 3. Song of Solomon: Twelfth century ms. illustration (Paris:Lib. Bib. Nationale, lat. 16260). Courtesy of the Index of Christian Art, Princeton University.

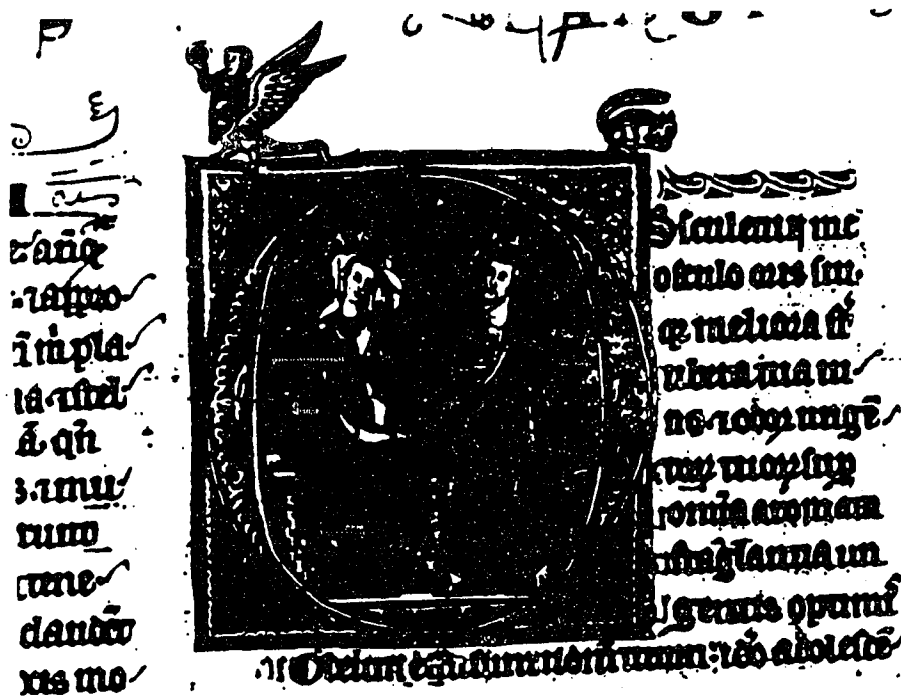


Fig. 4. Song of Solomon: Twelfth century ms. illustration (Arras: Lib. Bib. de la Ville, 575). Courtesy of the Index of Christian Art, Princeton University.

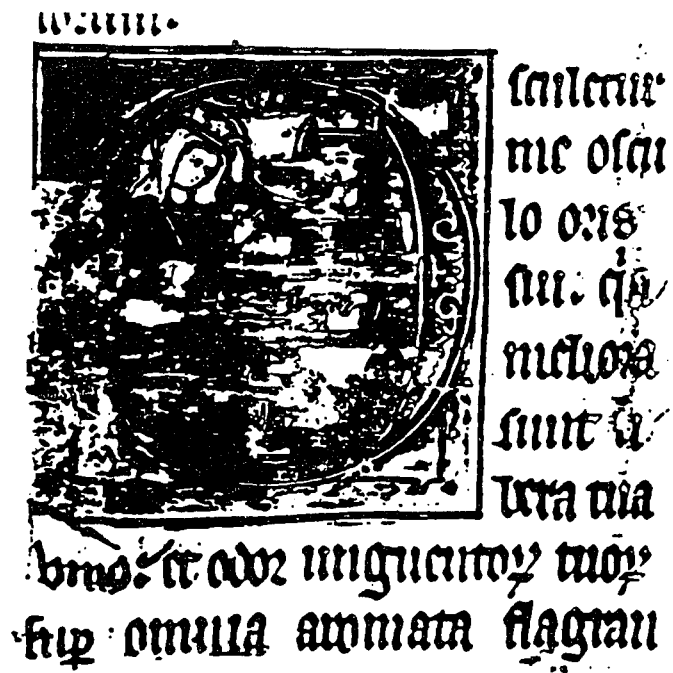


Fig. 5. Anima and Wisdom: The Trinity College production of Wisdom.



Fig. 8. "The Soul Liberated." The Burckhardt-Wildt Apocalypse (Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art).
Reproduced in Camille, "Prefatory Pictures," Fig. 2.



Fig. 10. "The Soul in Contemplation." The Burckhardt-Wildt Apocalypse (Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art).
 Reproduced in Camille, "Prefatory Pictures" fig. 3.

Veni in ora mei soror mea sponsa ut que prudenter quiescit inuenias q' adde



delicta in oculis q' iudicauerit p'ualia sit suscipias que dulcora dulcorali eius amplecti a suauit' ad h'

pl'auit' uoluntate tu' meum soror mea.

reas in me delectat dulcor et in me amore transformata in quiesce

Conclusion

The critical review with which this study began provided a foundation for a study of the morality plays as dramatic forms with many shared purposes and conventions. It also introduced a central question which the dissertation proposed to explore: how does stage performance alter and perhaps enhance allegory? Most of the critics discussed in the introductory chapter view allegory as primary verbal¹ or primarily visual,² but staged allegory combines the two emphases in the performance of the play. What is the effect of the performance, then, on the audience? St. Bernard argued that reading allegory involves an internal process of self discovery for the reader/interpreter of the text.³ But in staged performance this process is also externalized. The experience of viewing the plays is shared; what, then, are the social contexts of the dramatic performance?

Each of the three morality plays studied has provided another perspective on these issues. The Castle of Perseverance, the earliest and longest of the plays, provides a paradigm for the ways in which staging can amplify verbal text through visual sign. The setting provides a cosmos which describes the geography and circumscribes the limits of the allegorical journey; the placement of loci provides, moreover, a memory system for the audience, a means of locating and relating topoi and ideas. Both verbally and visually -- through costume,

gesture, and props -- the play draws from related recognizable images, primarily images in contemporary iconography, and the images can add allegorical dimensions to the text even as the action on stage literalizes the plot. Thus The Castle of Perseverance draws upon the topos of the Seven Ages of Man to expand upon the nature and direction of Human Genus' journey and on the nature of role playing, and uses the iconography of the Last Judgment to establish a relationship between Humanum Genus' journey and the course of scriptural history from the fall of humankind to its redemption.

It has been shown that Everyman draws upon the same iconographic frames, though the imagery is transformed through the relative brevity of the play and the lack of staging directions. The image of the life-journey is here telescoped into the single journey to death; the notion of role-playing remains, though the roles that correspond to some of the Ages are initially assigned to other personifications -- Fellowships, Kindred, Cousin, and Goods. The focus of the play on the journey to death privileges Judgement Day iconography, and, it has been argued in Chapter Three, such iconography may well determine the staging (and memory systems) of the play. The shorter length of Everyman and the lack of staging details in the text, however, also render it more adaptable to a variety of readings and stagings; an examination of some of these

adaptations reveals the flexibility of Everyman as staged allegory. While the discussion of The Castle of Perseverance focuses primarily on the literary and iconographic frames of the fourteenth and fifteenth century, the examination of Everyman adds to these contemporary frames and contexts, showing that the play can be read -- and viewed -- through a variety of perspectives, perspectives determined by the times and milieux in which the play is produced.

Finally, the examination of Wisdom offers yet another framework for, in addition to the topoi that the play shares with Everyman and The Castle of Perseverance -- and particularly the structure of the allegorical journey -- it draws heavily on the language and imagery of The Song of Songs. If the process of allegoresis allows the reader of The Song of Songs to move from a literal reading of the text to an allegorical reading, and therefore from physical to spiritual planes, the viewing of Wisdom in performance allows for some reversal of that process: Anima becomes a character and her fall and redemption are illustrated not only iconographically, through mask, costume and gesture, but also through characterization. Thus in Wisdom, as in The Castle and Everyman, staging allows for the simultaneous presentation of literal action and sign, and signification itself is multileveled: the Christ that appears at the end of Wisdom is simultaneously the wounded Christ and the allegorical Bridegroom; his final speech identifies him

as both Judge and Redeemer; and he remains, as well, Wisdom, both internal quality and divine gift.

Both R. W. Frank ("The Art of Reading Personification Allegory") and Maureen Quilligan (The Language of Allegory) present powerful arguments against reading personification allegory according to the fourfold method of allegoresis used for Biblical exegesis. In personification allegory, "The meaning of a character," Frank explains, "is expressed in its name. It cannot, therefore, mean two or three other things as well" (240). Quilligan, while accepting the existence of multiple meanings in allegory, challenges Dante's notion of separate allegorical "levels":

this vertical conceptualization of allegory and its emphasis on disjunct "levels" is absolutely wrong....It would be more precise to say that allegory works horizontally...so that meaning accretes serially, interconnecting and criss-crossing the verbal surface long before...[moving] to a level 'beyond' the literal[a level which is] located in the self-consciousness of the reader. (28-29)

One purpose of this study has been to distinguish between this process of reading allegory and the process of seeing it performed. It is clear that the personification allegory of The Castle of Perseverance, Everyman, and Wisdom is multifaceted, rooted both in the language of allegory and in image; that the audience creates meaning from the performance by bringing to it a familiarity with images and ideas that may be suggested or represented in the performance; and that the performance itself presents,

simultaneously, the levels of fourfold allegoresis: even as the personification is made literal in its naming and in the dress and action of the performer (the Lucifer of Wisdom becomes the contemporary gallant, The Castle's Mundus becomes a knight), the verbal images and stage signs reconstruct the allegory, creating a different path to an apprehension of spiritual truth.

Just as the process of reading allegory involves the active participation in creating meaning, so the process of viewing it provides a shared experience. The experience is drawn from two antithetical paradigms, the allegorical pageant/procession and the carnival. The first is formal, structured, hierarchical: it formally excludes the audience, yet reveals the audience's place in a structured cosmic order; here, as in official pageantry:

Allegory is considerably more than a mere technique or instrument of representation...: the nature of the allegorical symbol is an essential part of the truth about nature and society. The social structure is itself a kind of allegory, in that its order is also a sign of other larger orders that form a chain of significance leading to that which does not signify -- the Logos.
(Bristol 61)

Watching the formal procession of the Virtues at the midpoint of The Castle, Everyman's summoning and ultimate march to the grave, the processions of Wisdom, Anima, and Mind, Will and Understanding that begin and end Wisdom Who is Christ, the audience remains at the perimeter of the platea that marks not only the playing area but also the

cosmos of the play. But allegorical procession is undercut by its antithesis, the carnival: order is undercut by disorder; the signs of rank and hierarchy are mimicked and inverted. As Bristol points out, "Carnival pageantry is antithetical to allegory. Instead of figuring forth an invisible reality, it represents the arbitrary transitoriness of of all social forms" (65). The signs that point to spiritual reality are undercut by the scatology and satire that mirror the real and contemporary society of the audience. It is at the carnivalesque midpoints of Wisdom and The Castle ⁴ that the audience is drawn into the playing area, represented, addressed. The literal level that in the morality plays seems to coexist with the allegory here allows the audience to identify with the isotype. Drawn into the action again at the conclusion of the play, they share with the protagonist her/his ultimate redemption.

In Christian Rite and Christian Drama in the Middle Ages, O. B. Hardison argues that the Mass can be seen as an elaborate allegorical drama which moves "from agon to peripeteia to theophany" (177). Conversely, it can be said that the morality plays discussed in this study share with the Mass the ultimate object, theophany. In both, the audience plays an active part.

As Maureen Quilligan points out,

[a] communal sense of redemption is achieved in the Mass by a subtle and self-conscious role playing on the part of the participants; it is achieved in comedy by the audience's acceptance

of their own part within the charmed
circle....(287)

Just as dream vision poetry ends in the awakening of the protagonist from the allegorical vision, the sermons that end all three plays move the audience out of the world of play, the charmed circle, and into the world of their lives. Michael Bristol argues that "For plebeian culture, theater is valued mainly as a social institution where...[the] ethos of collective life may be sustained and...renewed." While the focus of the moralities is on individual redemption, it is this collective ethos that is ultimately addressed.

The ways in which iconography both supports and alters the text and performance of these morality plays, and the use of social contexts to enlarge and modify their content indicate that these plays have a greater density of texture than has hitherto been appreciated.

1. See especially Maureen Quilligan, The Language of Allegory: "All allegories are....texts first and last: webs of words woven in such a way as constantly to call attention to themselves as texts....allegories are always written" (25).
2. See the discussion of V. A. Kolve, Chaucer and the Imagery of Narrative and Susan Hagen, Allegorical Remembrance on pp. 35-36 of this study. See also Mary Carruthers, The Book of Memory.
3. See the discussion of Bernard's sermons on pp. 195-196 of this study.
4. Lacking formal pageantry, Everyman also lacks many of the elements of carnival. However, just as Everyman's formalized movement to the grave can said to be related to pageant, the language and imagery in Everyman's encounter with Fellowship, Kindred and Cousin is carnivalesque. Clearly the elements of pageant and carnival work well in this play as in the other moralities, for productions of Everyman often use both the formalized procession (eg. the Death Machine in Everyman and roach) and carnivalesque ribaldry (eg. the banquet scene in Jedermann).

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