

THE SEALING OF THE TOMB: N.Town and its Context

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The whole action of the setting of the watch over Christ's tomb occurs at the very end of the chapter of a single Gospel, and the sealing of the tomb appears almost as an afterthought in that same passage (Matthew 27:62–6). Pilate having been approached yet again by the princes, priests, and Pharisees, this time to make sure that Christ's body is not stolen away by the disciples in order to pretend that he has risen from the dead, as he foretold, tells them that as they have the means, they should go and set guards themselves; *illi autem abeuntes munierunt sepulchrum signantes lapidem cum custodibus* (Matthew 27:66; my emphasis). The Wycliffite Bible translation maintains the awkwardness and the imprecision of the Latin: ‘Forsooth thei goynge forth, kepten the sepulchre, markinge the stoon, with keperis’; the Pepysian Gospel Harmony develops the idea a little but keeps to the word ‘mark’: And þe kniȝttes wenten forþ yarmed þo, and merkeden þe ston þat lay beforne þe entree’; but Tyndale, having likewise turned the parenthetic phrase into a main clause, makes the meaning specific, thereby giving the action the prominence which it had already often possessed: ‘They went, and made the sepulcre sure with watche men, and sealed the stone’.¹ No phrase in the Gospels is going to be free of exegetical cross-referencing in the Middle Ages, especially when it can be linked with an image as rich as the sealed books of the Apocalypse (5:1, etc.), or as potentially rich as the fountain sealed in the Song of Songs (4:12) or the sealed door in Daniel (Daniel 14:10, etc), but the sealing of the tomb never becomes one of the key types.² For Bede, what is important is the irony that by sealing the tomb the Jews demonstrate Christ's power more clearly; the *Glossa Ordinaria* stresses the parallel between Christ's rising from the sealed tomb and being born of a virgin; and Ludolphus of Saxony, like Bede, sees irony, in that the Jews, by sealing the tomb, bear witness to the Resurrection.³ But the episode is not found, for example, in the *Biblia Pauperum* or in the extensive collection of types in the *Pictor in Carmine*.⁴

If we turn to the English plays, there is only one group that includes the setting of the watch and the sealing, N.Town. In York/Towneley, the

words and actions of Annas and Cayphas relate simply to setting a watch to obviate any chance of the disciples stealing the body and pretending that Christ has risen, while in Chester they fear witchcraft being used to make believe Christ has risen, but again simply set a watch.⁵ This lack of concern with the secure closing of the tomb is apparent also in the treatment of the setting of the watch and the subsequent actions and reactions of the ‘knights’. In York/Towneley there are four guards, and they simply sit on each side of the tomb — it is clearly envisaged as a table-top tomb. In Towneley, in an expansion of the York text on which it is otherwise quite closely based, the soldiers claim their own positions:

- 1 Miles Who shuld be where? fayn wold I wytt.
2 Miles Euen on this syde wyll I sytt.
3 Miles And I shall fownde his feete to flytt.

Towneley 26, lines 218–20

In Chester there are only three soldiers, but the same attention is paid to positioning:

And I shall nowe sett us soe,
yf that he ryse and would goe,
one of us, or elles two,
shall see of his upryste.
Stand thou there, and thou here,
and I myselfe in middle mere.

Chester 18, lines 146–51

This treatment leads to a sense of schoolboyish competition in Towneley and of military organisation in Chester, and to some extent in York, but more importantly distracts from the tomb itself.

The treatment of the Resurrection and of the waking of the soldiers similarly draws attention away from the closed tomb. In York there is little indication of the staging of the Resurrection. The soldiers settle and an enigmatic stage direction follows: *Tunc Jhesu resurgente* ('Then with Jesus rising' York 38, sd after line 186). Immediately afterwards the three Maries appear. The stone, they observe, has been 'putt beside' (line 230), the Maries see 'a zonge childe', dressed in white, sitting where they are going (line 225); they approach, and an English version of the *Quem queritis* dialogue with the single angel follows. In Towneley, generally speaking there is the same order of events, but instead of the simple statement of Christ's rising, there is a cue for music, *Tunc cantabunt angeli* ('Then the angels shall sing', sd after line 229), and then a very long speech by Jesus.

After that, the Maries appear, the lifted stone is again simply referred to as already ‘put besyde’ (line 394), and the *Quem queritis* dialogue follows, this time with two angels. Chester has a longer stage direction for the Resurrection:

Tunc cantabunt duo angeli: ‘Christus resurgens a mortuis’ etc., et Christus tunc resurget; ac postea, cantu finito, dicat ut sequitur.

Chester 18, sd after line 153

‘Then two angels shall sing: ‘Christ rising from the dead’ etc., and then Christ shall rise; and afterwards, when the song is finished, he shall say as follows.’

Some manuscripts follow this with: *Jesus resurgens et eos pede milites quatiat* (‘And Jesus, rising, shall stir/prod the soldiers with his foot’). After a speech by Christ, another stage direction indicates: *Tunc duo angeli poste aquam Christus resurrexit, sedebunt in sepulchro, quorum alter ad caput, alter ad pedes, sedeant* (‘Then, after Christ has risen, two angels shall sit on the tomb, one of them at the head, the other at the feet’, sd after line 185). Whereas in York and Towneley the Resurrection is followed by the coming of the Maries, in Chester it is followed immediately by the waking of the soldiers, so that they wake not to an empty tomb, but to one inhabited by bright shining angels (line 214). Unlike the York/Towneley soldiers, their reactions are brief and the tomb remains a ‘divine’ space — presumably in full view during the ensuing dialogue with Pilate, Annas, and Cayphas. There is no indication of when or how the stone is put aside, with the doubtful exception of a brief reference in York/Towneley.

To understand this reference, it is first necessary to make clear that there is no evidence that the York/Towneley soldiers were other than fast asleep during Christ’s rising from the tomb. Their reaction on waking is utter amazement that the tomb is empty (Towneley 26, lines 447–64). There is absolutely no suggestion here of a tranced sleep in which they would be able to see Christ rise. It is true that the First Soldier says later (lines 467–8) that he (Christ) certainly rose alone, but, given the strong evidence for their sleeping, it would be more appropriate to see this as the simple certainty that no-one else came near, rather than any real awareness of what actually occurred. The Second Soldier in Towneley claims to have seen Christ go (lines 472–4, not in York), but is immediately squashed; again appropriately, it would seem, in view of his first reaction. They then decide to lie about the event (lines 481–8), until brought up short by the First (York)/Fourth (Towneley) Soldier’s assertion that they must tell the

truth — which they do, with the expected result of a storm of abuse from Pilate. They then fall back on their first line of approach and start lying: nobody dared do anything, we were so frightened we fell down and trembled, we trembled and dared not move — ‘When that he put besyde the stone’ (York line 378, Towneley line 532). Given this stream of invented reaction, clearly at odds with the earlier evidence that they were fast asleep, it would be unwise to use this as a guide to the staging of the episode, namely that Christ himself moved the stone.

To sum up then: in none of the three treatments is any emphasis laid on the fact that the tomb is securely closed, and there is no trustworthy evidence of when or how the tomb is opened. The emphasis is on the antics of the soldiers, except where, in York/Towneley, the visit of the Maries to the tomb intervenes between the setting and the breaking up of the watch; though even there the tomb is already open, so it is not the wonder of the closed tomb but the solemnity of the open one that one is aware of. In contrast, N.Town devotes 27 lines purely to the episode of the sealing. This may not seem much, but given the fast-moving nature of the action in N.Town, and the stage business involved, this constitutes an emphasis.

Pylatus Now, jentyl serys, wole ȝe vowchsaffe
To go with me and sele þe graffe?
þat he ne ryse out of þe grave
þat is now ded.

Cayphas We graunte wel, lete us now go.
Whan it is selyd and kepte also,
Than be we sekyr withowtyn wo,
And haue of hym no dred.

Tunc ibunt ad sepulcrum Pilatus, Cayphas, Annas et omnes milites, et dicit

‘Then Pilate, Caiaphas, Annas, and all the soldiers shall go to the tomb, and [Annas] says’

Annas Loo, here is wax ful redy dyght,
Sett on ȝour sele anon ful ryght;
þan be ȝe sekyr, I ȝow plyght,
He xal not rysyn agayn.

Pilatus On þis corner my seal xal sytt
And with þis wax I sele þis pytt.

Now dare I ley he xal nevyr flytt
Out of þis grave, serteayn.

- Annas* Here is more wax ful redy, loo.
All þe cornerys ȝe sele also,
And with a lokke loke it too,
Than lete us gon oure way.
And lete þese knytys abydyn þerby;
And yf hese dysciplys com preuyl
To stele awey þis ded body,
To vs they hem bryngé without delay.
- Pilatus* On every corner now is sett my seale,
Now is myn herte in welthe and wele.
This may no brybour awey now stele,
Þis body from vndyr ston.

N.Town *Passion Play 2*, lines 1272–99⁶

Something to notice in particular here is the intention of the sealers. The sealing (supplemented by a lock) and the presence of the watch will, they claim in N.Town, ensure that Christ cannot rise and that the body is not stolen. The addition of the lock becomes important because, in intention, it will prevent Christ rising; though the seals can easily be broken, the lock cannot. Yet the lock seems almost an afterthought. In York/Towneley, there is some disagreement about whether Christ can rise by his own strength or not. Annas is adamant that he can't (lines 145–6). In Chester, Pilate is fearful and Annas and Caiaphas scornful of Christ's unaided strength. In all cases the watch is seen as the answer, mainly to prevent outside interference. The possibility of the tomb itself preventing Christ's Resurrection is not considered.

In the other plays, the Harrowing of Hell is separated off in separate pageants. The continuity of N.Town allows for the integration of the Harrowing with the surrounding episodes. After Christ has died (line 920) Mary laments and John comforts her before leading her to the Temple (lines 921–92). That shift of the audience's attention presumably allows the Anima Christi to appear unnoticed (line 993) from behind/below Christ's body on the Cross. The beginning of the Harrowing follows. After the Setting of the Watch and the sealing (lines 1264–1367), comes the second part. Anima Christi leads the souls from Hell and goes to raise his own body:

*Tunc transiet Anima Christi ad resuscitandum corpus: quo resuscitato,
dicat Jhesus:*

N.Town *Passion Play* 2, sd after 1439

'Then the Soul of Christ shall go to revive the body; and when it is revived, Jesus shall say:'

There is no indication of how this was staged. Then, after a scene where Jesus visits his mother, the Soldiers at the tomb are awakened by an earthquake and rush off to tell Pilate. When the Maries arrive at the tomb, a stage direction says that Mary Magdalene looks into it (sd after 1709), as does at least one of the other Maries, without apparently seeing any angel first. The Angel does not speak until 24 lines after the stage direction. The Maries then hurry away to tell the disciples (line 1766). There is no indication of when the stone is removed from the tomb, but it is clearly off when the Maries first arrive. Again to sum up: there is clear interest in the sealed nature of the tomb in N.Town but apparently no continuing emphasis upon it. The guards sleep but are awakened by the earthquake and affirm that Christ has risen. It is not clear whether they know that instinctively or prove it by looking in the tomb. There is no indication of the latter, but if they do look then the stone must have already been moved.

Before going on, there is a textual problem that needs to be mentioned first: the part of the N.Town play which runs from Christ's death on the Cross to his Resurrection straddles the break-up of the continuous text of what has come to be called *Passion Play* 2. Put as briefly as possible, the continuous text of *Passion* 2 stops at line 880, just before Christ's fourth Word from the Cross, and picks up again in a somewhat muddled form at line 1043, the Centurion's affirmation of Christ's Godhead. It then stops in the middle of the Setting of the Watch at line 1263, and picks up again (if ever) at line 1766 after the Visit of the Maries to the Sepulchre. Consequently, the death of Christ and the first part of the Harrowing (lines 881–1042), and then, later on, the sealing of the tomb, the second part of the Harrowing, the Resurrection, and the Visit of the Maries (lines 1264–1765), are all outside the *Passion Play* proper, and form part of what I have called elsewhere 'the pageant material'. In other words, the text of all the episodes we are concerned with here is not part of the *Passion Play*. Though this creates a problem for talking about the *Passion Play*, it is not necessarily a problem in trying to see how the stage action of Burial to Resurrection was envisaged here, since all the significant elements are

contained within one type of textual evidence, the so-called ‘pageant material’.⁷

Confirmation of N.Town’s concern with the sealing of the tomb (and, incidentally, of the play’s Norfolk provenance) has been found in the presence of the unusual roof boss in the north cloister of Norwich Cathedral, which has for some time now been seen as a parallel representation. Martial Rose’s recent description is the most detailed:

This scene [in the N. Town play] is shown in the carving. Pilate is on the left of the tomb and behind him are two of his courtiers and four of his knights. In the play he designates four knights, and names them, to guard the tomb. On the right of the tomb are Annas and Caiaphas, and behind them four priests. Annas carries in his left hand a jar of wax. Behind him Caiaphas, with his gloves held in his left hand, has his right hand palm upwards on the tomb as though sealing the wax with his signet ring. In the play specific reference is made to Pilate’s seal being affixed to the tomb. Pilate carries his staff in his left hand, the top of which has been broken off. At the level of his head the golden clasp of the lock of the tomb waits perhaps to be snapped to, across the mid-part of the tomb.⁸

Some elements of the boss, however, are not as clear as this description would suggest. There are in fact five characters behind Pilate, not six. Since four of them carry weapons it could be that there are four knights, but only one is in armour and one is wearing the same headdress and short tunic as the ‘courtier’ immediately behind Pilate. Annas is carrying what is surely a bag, with typical tassel-like attachments at the bottom corners; he is gesturing across the tomb towards Pilate, but his gesturing hand has been broken off. There are four characters behind Annas and Caiaphas. They are distinguished from the figures on Pilate’s side of the tomb by their round-necked upper garments, almost certainly thrown-back hoods. Caiaphas’s right hand is indeed palm-up on the tomb, but there is nothing to suggest a seal or a ring, and the figure behind him also has his hand palm-up on the tomb. They could well have been making the same gesture as Annas. As to the ‘lock’, there seem to be many objections. It joins up with the end of the weapon which the armoured man is carrying and could be part of that weapon, held reversed. It would almost certainly have been partially if not wholly concealed by the head of Pilate’s staff: it could even have been a part of it. There is also the possibility that it could be part of the uncarved background which the gilder has mistaken for an object.

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PLATE 4: Norwich Cathedral Cloisters: Roof boss CNA5
Early fifteenth century (before 1430)
Pilate, Annas, and Caiaphas with followers surround the tomb of Christ

Photo © Peter Meredith

(part of the uncarved background can be seen over Pilate's left shoulder). Finally, it is a very odd shape for the hasp of a lock and anyway that kind of lock would only be useful if the stone top were hinged.

The scene looks most like one in which some bargain is being struck, or some offer or request is being made — with a monetary inducement. Though none of the English plays has any handing over of money until after the Resurrection, it appears elsewhere. There is even a promise of it in N.Town (line 1310). It is possible, therefore, that this boss represents a version of the setting of the watch. If it had been a sealing, one would have expected far more emphasis on the seals themselves, and there is no sign of them. N.Town's uniqueness does not seem to have local support here.

I want now to turn to some French plays. In contrast to the English, the French Passions and Resurrections frequently emphasise the securing of the tomb. Michel and Gréban, Arras and Mons, for example, all have an episode of the sealing, but the play which best follows through the significance of the sealed tomb is the *Mystère de la Résurrection* from Angers (1456).⁹ It was written to be performed over two days and the Burial and Resurrection are split between the two. On Day 1, after brief lamentations from Peter and James the Less and a very long Hell scene (including the first part of a Harrowing), lines 328–3494, there is a series of events similar to those in Michel before the tomb is sealed.

After getting Pilate's agreement to the setting of the watch, Caiaphas and Annas bargain with the soldiers over payment and then go to the tomb. They need to know it is the right one, so Caiaphas tells them to lift the stone a little and look inside. Which they do. Satisfied, they proceed to seal the tomb on the grounds that they will then be able to tell at once if the body has been stolen. The guards are left and Caiaphas and Annas go to find Joseph of Arimathaea. A prison is built on stage (accompanied by the *farce* of the blind man and his servant), Joseph is put inside and the door is then sealed (lines 3813–4565). There is then a brief scene between four angels and the *Anima Cristi*, where the angels seek permission to go and honour the body of Christ which lies in the tomb. This they do and the guards marvel at the great light which they are aware of, passing to and fro by them. Gabriel then goes to visit the Virgin Mary. There is a further scene between the blind man and his servant, and then between the Virgin Mary, the three Maries, and John, leading on to the buying of the ointment from the apothecary. This ends the Day (lines 4566–5318). I have given this in rather extreme detail to show, unlike N.Town, just how

little space is given to the central story, 319 out of 4990 lines. Day Two begins with Christ leading the souls out of Limbo (line 5586) — in effect, the second half of the Harrowing — and sending the Saved Thief to lead them, ultimately, into the Terrestrial Paradise. After scenes for the Virgin Mary and the Disciples, the Resurrection follows at line 6236, with this elaborate stage direction:

Icy endroit, Magdalaine et les autres troys femmes dessus nommees se partent d'avecques la mere de Jhesus pour aller au tombeau o leurs boestes et oignemens et sejournent en chemin secretement jusques a ce qu'il soit temps d'aler en avant; et Jhesus vestu de blanc et les piéz nudz et accompagnié de trois anges, c'est assavoir Michel, Raphaël et Uriel, doit soudainement et subtillement saillir de dessoubz terre de costé son tombeau par une petite trappe de boys couverte de tourbe de terre herbue, laquelle se reclot sans ce que on s'en apperçoive. Et se siee dessus sondit tombeau sans froisser ne entamer aucunement. Et lors semblablement Carinus et Leoncius, vestuz de blanc et les piéz nudz, se sourdent et resuscident de leurs tombeaux qui doivent estre en Jherusalem assez loignet du tombeau de Jhesus, lequel doit estre prez de Jherusalem. Et lors soit fait artificielement ung escroix et terrible tremblant de terre, dont les quatre gardes du Sepulcre cheent comme mors tous platz de grant paour sans soy lever, si non les testes, jusques a ce qu'ilz aille[nt] anonce aux Juifz ladicte Resurrection. Et lors die Jhesus seant sur son tombeau:

Angers 342-3

'Here Magdalen and the other three [a mistake for 'two'] women above-named take leave of the mother of Jesus to go to the tomb with their boxes and ointments, and wait unobtrusively on the way until it is time for them to move on, and Jesus, dressed in white and with bare feet, and accompanied by the three angels, namely Michael, Raphael, and Uriel, must suddenly and ingeniously come out from below the ground beside his tomb by means of a small wooden trapdoor, covered with grassy turf, which re-closes without anyone noticing. And he is to seat himself on top of the said tomb without knocking or opening it at all. And then similarly Carinus and Leoncius, dressed in white and with bare feet, must rise and come out of their tombs, which ought to be in Jerusalem at an appropriate distance from the tomb of Jesus, which ought to be near Jerusalem. And then there must be made artfully a commotion and great trembling of the earth, at which the four guards of the

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sepulchre fall down prostrate as if dead from great terror, without raising themselves, except their heads, until they go to announce the Resurrection to the Jews. And then Jesus, sitting on his tomb, says:

Thus the tomb remains closed. Christ rises, not from an open tomb, but through a trap beside (?behind) it, and there is obvious concern with ensuring that the tomb remains unaffected. The episode is completed (52 lines later) with Gabriel removing the covering of the tomb:

Icy endroit, Gabriel doit descendre diligemment de paradis au tombeau et oster la pierre de dessus et se y seoir au costé destre avant que les femmes y soient arrivees. Et ce pendant, Carinus et Leoncius qui doivent estre resuscitez quant et Jhesus, dient, et premierement Carinus ...

Angers 347

'Here Gabriel must go down promptly from paradise to the tomb and remove the stone from on top and seat himself on the right side before the women have arrived. And meanwhile, Carinus and Leoncius, who should have risen when Jesus did, speak, and first Carinus ...'

No-one comments on the fact that Christ has risen from a tomb which has been securely sealed (though it is possible that the seals are so noticeable that they are their own advertisement – the *grant seau de chire rouge* ('great seal of red wax') that Caiaphas at Mons attaches to the tomb — nevertheless, there seems at Angers to be a deliberate attempt to maintain the significance of the sealed tomb without specifically drawing attention to it. This is borne out by the earlier return of Anima Cristi to the body in the tomb. Anima Cristi (incidentally always addressed as 'Ma Dame') says to Enoch and Elias — and to the audience — (lines 5858–81) that she is going to revive the body to prepare for the appearances which are to follow. The stage direction which indicates how and when this occurs comes some 300 lines later.

... lors l'ame de Jhesus et celle de Carinus et de Leoncius se doivent partir de paradis terrestre et aller visiblement devant les gens du jeu se bouter es lieux ou sont leurs corps et y entrer sans les ouvrir pour resusciter incontinent apres ledit congié. Puis, en la maniere que cy apres sera declaré ou prouchain fueillet et apres lesdictes resurrections faictes, s'en doivent lesdictes trois ames aller par dessoubz terre si que on ne les voye point ne plus.

Angers 340

'... then the soul of Jesus and that of Carinus and of Leoncius should leave the terrestrial paradise and go openly in front of the players to end up at the places where their bodies are and to go in there without opening [the tombs] to revive them immediately after the aforesaid leave-taking [between the Maries, John, and the Virgin]. Then, in the way that is afterwards described on the next leaf and after the said resurrections have happened, the three souls ought to go beneath the ground so that no-one sees them again.'

Does the soul disappear down the same trap that the body will later rise up through? It would be one way of drawing the audience's attention back to the sealed nature of the tomb in preparation for the Resurrection. Unfortunately it isn't specified. Nevertheless, the continued emphasis upon not disturbing the tomb allows for the possibility that the sealing, in itself a small and unimportant action, can have the sort of significance that Bede or Ludolph of Saxony saw in it.

N.Town has a similar kind of potential. In my description of Angers, I have emphasised that the playwright or director took the offered opportunity of maintaining the significance of the sealed tomb throughout the play, without actually drawing attention to it. The stage directions always indicate actions that are in keeping with this: Anima Cristi rises from the sealed tomb and returns to it, and later Christ rises from it, all before the stone is removed. The same could be true of N.Town. At first the sequence of actions is slightly different: Anima Christi appears from the Cross and not the tomb (line 993). In staging terms, this means that the first 'rising' from the sealed tomb does not happen. But the pattern thereafter is similar. The 'sowle' goes to the gates of Hell for the first part of the Harrowing (sd after line 1016–line 1042), breaks down the gates and confronts the devil, Belial.

After the intrusion of the *Passion Play 2* material comes the sealing of the tomb. The guards sleep and the second part of the Harrowing follows, as at Angers. Anima Christi brings the souls from Hell and then returns to the body in the tomb. There are none of the lengthy stage directions that make the action of the Angers play clear, but the sequence of events is similar.

Does this evidence allow us to say that N.Town shows the same kind of concern with the sealed tomb that Angers shows? I think the immediate answer would have to be 'No'. On the other hand there is in the text and stage directions much that fits and nothing that directly conflicts with this. Christ's body is laid in the tomb, and the tomb is then sealed (and locked).

When the soul returns to the tomb to raise the body, a similar stage device to the Angers one could have been used, and when the Maries find the tomb open when they arrive, there is no reason why the angel cannot already have opened it, even if they do not see him until he speaks. The one element added to the Angers treatment is the lock on the tomb. Is the N.Town playwright/director deliberately playing on the theatrical nature of the incident? Certainly this is what Angers appears to be doing. The trap is to shut without anyone noticing; Christ is to be careful not to disturb the top of the tomb when he sits on it, and his appearance is to be done ‘suddenly and ingeniously/ cleverly/adroitly (*subtilement*)’. It is true that the Resurrection is the formative moment of the Christian religion and that the wonder created by the entering and leaving of a locked box is a theatrical wonder, but there seems no reason why the one should not be used in the service of the other. It is the sealing that initiates this transcendental, theatrical effect and the Angers *Résurrection* that demonstrates most clearly what N.Town may well have been aiming at. It is also worth bearing in mind that at the time of the Angers play and the likely time of N.Town, the Queen of England was from Anjou.

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NOTES

1. All biblical references are to the *Biblia Sacra Iuxta Vulgatam Versionem* edited B.Fischer and others, (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 4th edition 1994).
2. References to earlier translations of the Bible are to *The Gothic and Anglo-Saxon Gospels in Parallel Columns with the Versions of Wycliffe and Tyndale* edited Joseph Bosworth and George Waring, (London: Reeves and Turner, 3rd edition 1888). *The Pepysian Gospel Harmony* is edited by Margery Goates in EETS OS 157 (1922); passage quoted is at 101.
3. Bede's Commentary on Matthew's Gospel in Migne PL 92 (1862) col. 127; *Glossa Ordinaria* in Migne PL 114 (1862) col. 177; Ludolphus of Saxony in *Vita D.N. Jesu Christi* edited A.-C. Bolard, L.-M. Rigollot, and J. Carnandet (Paris & Rome: 1865) 686.
4. *Biblia Pauperum* edited Avril Henry (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1987); on ‘Pictor in Carmine’ see M.R. James in *Archaeologia* 94 (1951) 141–66.
5. *The York Plays* edited Richard Beadle (London: Edward Arnold, 1982), Play 38 ‘The Resurrection’; *The Towneley Plays* edited Martin Stevens and A.C. Cawley, 2 vols EETS SS 13 and 14 (1994), Play 26 ‘Resurrection’; *The Chester Mystery Cycle* edited R.M. Lumiansky and David Mills, 2 vols EETS SS 3 and 9 (1974 and 1986), Play 18 ‘Resurrection’.

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6. All references to N.Town are to *The Passion Play from the N.town Manuscript* edited Peter Meredith (London: Longmans, 1990).
7. For some discussion of this see *Passion Play* 8–9 and 245–47.
8. Martial Rose and Julia Hedgecoe *Stories in Stone: the Medieval Roof Carvings of Norwich Cathedral* (London: Herbert Press, 1997) 26.
9. Edited Pierre Servet, 2 vols (Textes Littéraires Français; Genève: Librairie Droz, 1993).