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“Beginning and Beginning-Again”:

Processions, Plays, and Civic Politics in York and Chester

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IN LATE MEDIEVAL ENGLAND, the expansion of Corpus Christi festivities to include long sermons, elaborate processions, and dramatic performances suggests widespread enthusiasm for the new feast.¹ York and Chester, unusually among English towns, developed processions and biblical play cycles, both civic productions involving the craft guilds, as linked forms of Corpus Christi performance.² This commonality, together with their abundance of records, invites a comparative analysis of procession and drama in these two towns.³ In York and Chester, the spilling over of the feast to different days bespeaks tension as well

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¹Corpus Christi was universally promulgated in 1317 and published in England in 1318. See Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 181, 199.

²Biblical cycle drama associated with Corpus Christi seems to have been the exception rather than the rule in later medieval England. Although liturgical processions for Corpus Christi were relatively common, research into local dramatic traditions shows that drama was not more widespread on Corpus Christi than on other occasions such as Whitsuntide or Midsummer. See Alexandra Johnston, “The Feast of Corpus Christi in the West Country,” *Early Theatre* 6.1 (2003): 15–34.

³For a recent study that considers the York and Chester cycles comparatively, see Christina M. Fitzgerald, *The Drama of Masculinity and Medieval English Guild Culture* (New York: Palgrave, 2007). Fitzgerald’s insight that these two cycles are both distinctly concerned with masculinity accords with our perspective, although we differ in believing that the representations of masculinity must be further contextualized with reference to artisanal politics and interests.

as celebration, as the feast day itself became unable to accommodate the diverse urban interests marking its observance. In both towns, processions and drama were separated from each other and performed on different days. Viewing this separation as more than simply a pragmatic decision to accommodate expanding play cycles, we explore a larger set of issues underlying the relation of procession to drama through a close analysis of each cycle's first pageant, an episode that interrogates civic ceremonial itself.⁴ In doing so, we expand upon recent work that emphasizes the self-reflexivity of civic theater, offering a new explanatory paradigm for the treatment of the angelic fall in the York "Fall of the Angels" and the Chester "Fall of Lucifer" pageants.⁵ Both are suffused with light imagery, and both stage the angels' fall in terms of a competition over brightness. The depiction of Lucifer as the chief angel who embodies and then loses God's light in the opening moments of creation was widespread in medieval commentary and drama. Yet the terms of contestation over light in these two urban pageants point to a specific historical form of light-bearing as a context for civic dramatic production. This contestation can be located within the struggle for craft guild precedence represented by the bearing of torches in the liturgical procession of Corpus Christi. In examining the urban contexts for this representation, we explore how the ceremonial practices of each city influenced the dramatic presentation of Lucifer's fall.

The legend of the angelic fall developed from biblical sources, including Genesis 1–3, the creation story, Genesis 6, the account of the "sons of God" who fell to earth in search of human wives, and Isaiah 14:12–15, in which the prophet refers to Lucifer, cast into hell for his attempt to rival God.⁶ Meditating on the origins of evil, Augustine interpreted

⁴Following medieval usage, we employ the term "pageants" to refer to the short episodes that make up the larger cycles. "Pageant" (*pagina*) had a range of meanings in late medieval England: it could refer to a wagon used for performance or to the performance itself, whether a sort of mime show (*tableau*) or a fully scripted drama.

⁵Kathleen Ashley explores several of the York pageants as reflexive cultural productions commenting upon questions of status, work, and gender in late medieval York. She stresses the variety of forms reflexivity might take, from pageants that seem to celebrate a guild's participation in drama, to pageants that may offer "deliberate critique of the craft and its work through the visual and verbal signs." Kathleen Ashley, "Sponsorship, Reflexivity, and Resistance: Cultural Readings of the York Cycle Plays," in *The Performance of Middle English Culture: Essays on Chaucer and the Drama in Honor of Martin Stevens*, ed. James J. Paxson, Lawrence M. Clopper, and Sylvia Tomasch (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1998), pp. 9–24, quotation on p. 18.

⁶For a full summary of patristic and early medieval commentary on the angelic fall, see Edward J. Montano, *The Sin of the Angels: Some Aspects of the Teaching of St. Thomas* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1955), pp. 1–78. The Isaiah verses, which describe Lucifer desiring in his heart to "exalt my throne above the stars of God . . . sit in the mount of the covenant . . . ascend above the height of the clouds

the angels' "turning away from him who supremely is, and their turning toward themselves" as the first-ever instance of pride.⁷ While Augustine made little mention of the chief angel's physical appearance, the name Lucifer ("light-bearer"), the title of the morning star and a son of Jupiter in Roman tradition, bespeaks a connection with visible light. Saint Gregory described Lucifer as "clarior" [brighter] than all the other angels,⁸ and in early medieval England the prolific abbot Ælfric imagined Lucifer admiring his own brightness.⁹ Lucifer's traditional captivation by his own brightness as a precursor to his fall figures in several later medieval dramatizations of the angels' fall.¹⁰ But while light becomes a central issue in the fifteenth-century French *Mistère du Viel Testament* and the Towneley *Creation* pageant, these dramas demonstrate an interest in brightness as it figures in Lucifer's competition with God, rather than portraying the conflict over brightness *among* angels, as in the York and Chester cycles.¹¹

... like the most High," have dramatic potential "as the suggestion of a program of false impersonation of the Deity." R. W. Hanning, "'You Have Begun a Parlous Pleye': The Nature and Limits of Dramatic Mimesis as a Theme in Four Middle English 'Fall of Lucifer' Cycle Plays," in *The Drama of the Middle Ages: Comparative and Critical Essays*, ed. Clifford Davidson, C. J. Gianakaris, and John H. Stroupe (New York: AMS Press, 1982), pp. 140–68, quotation on p. 143.

⁷The Latin reads, "ab illo, qui summe est, auersi ad se ipsos conuersi sunt." Augustine, *De Civitate Dei, Libri XI–XXII* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1955), p. 359. Translation from *The City of God*, trans. Henry Bettenson (New York: Penguin, 1972), p. 477. Augustine argued in *On the Literal Meaning of Genesis* and *City of God* that the creation and fall of the angels occurred virtually simultaneously, during the first day of creation. The York and Chester playwrights follow this chronology.

⁸Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob Libri XXIII–XXXV*, ed. Marc Adriaen (Turnhout: Brepols, 1985), p. 1666.

⁹Ælfric writes, "him wel gelicode his wurfulnisse þa: se hatte 'Lucifer', þæt ys, 'Leohberend', for ðære miclan beorhtnisse his mæran hiwes" (his magnificence pleased him very much: he was called 'Lucifer,' that is, 'Light-bearing,' on account of the great brightness of his glorious appearance). *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch, Ælfric's Treatise on the Old and New Testament, and His Preface to Genesis*, ed. S. J. Crawford, EETS o.s. 160 (London: Oxford University Press, 1922), p. 19 (text from BL MS Laud Misc. 509). Translation in Michael Fox, "Ælfric on the Creation and Fall of the Angels," *Anglo-Saxon England* 31 (2002): 175–200 (185).

¹⁰Augustine argued that good angels were separated from bad at the moment God separated light from dark, a tradition from which the York and Chester dramatists diverged. For discussion of this point, see Richard Beadle, "Poetry, Theology, and Drama in the York *Creation and Fall of Lucifer*," in *Religion in the Poetry and Drama of the Late Middle Ages*, ed. Piero Boitani and Anna Torti (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1990), pp. 213–27 (219–20).

¹¹The auspices for these dramas are uncertain. The *Mistère* is a set of Old Testament episodes known to have been performed in Paris: see Barbara M. Craig, ed., *La Création, La Transgression, and L'Expulsion of the Mistère du Viel Testament*, University of Kansas Publications, Humanistic Studies 37 (Lawrence: University of Kansas Publications, 1968), pp. 1–2. The pageants in the Towneley manuscript, a dramatic anthology, were not associated with full-fledged craft production: see Barbara D. Palmer, "'Towneley

The parallels that emerge between light as a source of strife among angels and light-bearing as a source of friction among guilds invite readers to consider how these first pageants in York and Chester accentuate the conditions of playing, guiding us to ask what was at stake, for city governments and guilds themselves, in the representational practices of civic devotional drama. York's and Chester's depictions of the angelic fall had differing associations with the liturgical Corpus Christi procession. York's "Fall of the Angels" was probably written during the first half of the fifteenth century to follow directly upon the Corpus Christi procession, which originally preceded the cycle on the same day. In Chester, the "Fall of Lucifer" pageant was added in the early sixteenth century, when the cycle was expanded and shifted from Corpus Christi to Whitsuntide (Pentecost), to be played on Whitsun Monday, about ten days before Corpus Christi.¹²

Both pageants, despite their differing dates and auspices, perform and recuperate the social disruption endemic to Corpus Christi, first calling into question the feast's ideology of civic wholeness and then endeavoring to remake it on terms more favorable to guild interests. After dramatizing Lucifer's sin of pride in terms of captivation by his physical light and staging battles for possession of light among good and bad angels, the York and Chester pageants end in strikingly similar ways, with God beginning again, resuming the first day of creation by separating darkness from light. While the struggles among angels over light and position onstage allude to the history of discord over processional order, these new beginnings articulate artisanal interests and diffuse the power associated with the top-down creation of arbitrary hierarchies of honor. In making such an assertion, we assume that although the dramatic texts were certainly not written by the guilds, they were composed in close collaboration with them so as to represent the guilds' distinctive features and particular interests.¹³ In both pageants, these dramatic par-

Plays' or 'Wakefield Cycle' Revisited," *Comparative Drama* 21.4 (1987–88): 318–48 (341–42). The "Fall of Lucifer" episode from the N-Town manuscript, certainly not associated with urban craft-guild production, differs from the others in never mentioning Lucifer's role as light-bearer. See Stephen Spector, ed., *The N-Town Play*, 2 vols, EETS s.s. 11, 12 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 1:23.77–78.

¹² A similar shift occurred in Exeter, where the mayor attempted to move the Skinners' play from Corpus Christi to Whitsuntide, in an apparent effort to augment his power over that of the ecclesiastical authorities, who controlled Corpus Christi festivities (Johnston, "The Feast of Corpus Christi," pp. 26–29).

¹³ Guild relationships to the play texts varied between York and Chester: whereas in York, "ultimate control" over dramatic texts remained with the guilds producing them,

allels between God and the mayor suggest a local, artisanal version of a *speculum principis*, in which Tanners warn of the dangerous effects a mayor's arbitrary rule might have on the civic community.

Edward Said has argued that "a beginning is basically an idea that implies return and repetition rather than simple linear accomplishment."¹⁴ Although he contends that "beginning and beginning-again are historical whereas origins are divine," our analysis shows that the "return and repetition" involved in beginning these dramatic cycles make the histories of civic performance visible in divine acts of creation.

Procession and Cycle Drama: Relations and Theories

Many towns in late medieval England, York and Chester among them, were ruled by urban oligarchies, small groups of men generally drawn from the merchant class, who succeeded in monopolizing government and controlling the economic structure—chiefly the artisanal or manufacturing body—for their own benefit. In the context of this centralized urban system, civic ceremonial often became the means by which the governing body sought to regulate or naturalize the prevailing social order, thereby "reproducing the political and economic relations that guaranteed oligarchic power," as Sheila Lindenbaum has argued about the London Midsummer Watch.¹⁵ In similar fashion, Heather Swanson and Sarah Beckwith have studied how the powerful merchant oligarchy of York used the Corpus Christi cycle to impose its vision of corporate organization on the city.¹⁶

The inscription of local hierarchy was readily visible in the Corpus Christi processions of York and Chester, where proximity to the host conferred the greatest honor, so that whether the Eucharist was carried in the rear (as in York) or the front (as in Chester), clergy were closest,

in Chester the city held control over the texts. Alexandra F. Johnston, "The York Cycle and the Chester Cycle: What Do the Records Tell Us?" in *Editing Early English Drama: Special Problems and New Directions*, ed. A. F. Johnston (New York: AMS Press, 1987), pp. 121–43 (128).

¹⁴Edward Said, *Beginnings: Intention and Method* (New York: Basic Books, 1975), p. xiii.

¹⁵Sheila Lindenbaum, "Ceremony and Oligarchy: The London Midsummer Watch," in *City and Spectacle in Medieval Europe*, ed. Barbara A. Hanawalt and Kathryn L. Reyerson (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), pp. 171–88 (178).

¹⁶Heather Swanson, *Medieval Artisans: An Urban Class in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), esp. 107–26; Sarah Beckwith, *Signifying God: Social Relation and Symbolic Act in the York Corpus Christi Plays* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), esp. pp. 23–55.

followed by town dignitaries, then craft guilds, in descending order of status as their distance from the host increased. Although ceremony might be controlled by these elite groups who placed themselves at the apex of the hierarchy, the control was never complete. Civic records from York and Chester, as well as other cities, including Beverley and Newcastle,¹⁷ document intense friction and even physical violence over guild order in their Corpus Christi processions. As Miri Rubin observes, "The story of Corpus Christi processions is also one of *disorder*, of law-suits generations long, of disputes over precedence and riots."¹⁸ Drawing from the sociological theories of Pierre Bourdieu, Erik Paul Weissen-gruber argues that the participating guilds in York used the Corpus Christi festivities to "secure distinctions, distinctions that were to be sanctified by the presence of the sacrament."¹⁹ Were such distinction compromised by placement in a low position, he suggests, the guilds were prepared to undermine the very symbols of civic authority by disrupting the festivities.

Such analyses, which point out how celebrations of Christ's body became occasions for contestation and disruption among competing interests, are indicative of the most recent scholarship that expresses skepticism over the tendency to see Corpus Christi ceremonies and other medieval rituals as achieving the unity they laid claim to. Many of these critics take explicit aim at Mervyn James's 1983 thesis about the formation of a "social body" in the late medieval town. While James had analyzed the "vertical structure of status and authority" characteristic of the Corpus Christi procession, he had suggested that the dramatic

¹⁷In Beverley in 1430, marching order for the Corpus Christi procession was officially recorded and accompanied by the threat of a forty-shilling fine, "[q]uedam discordia facta fuit inter Aldermannos et seneschallos arcium diversarum pro portacione cercorum sive tortorum suorum annuatim ante hec tempora in processione" ([d]issension having arisen between the aldermen and stewards of divers crafts as to the carrying of wax lights or torches yearly heretofore in the procession). Arthur F. Leach, ed., *Beverley Town Documents* (London: Bernard Quaritch, 1900), p. 35. See also J. J. Anderson, ed., *Records of Early English Drama: Newcastle Upon Tyne* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), pp. 4, 6, 21.

¹⁸Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, p. 263.

¹⁹Erik Paul Weissen-gruber, "The Corpus Christi Procession in Medieval York: A Symbolic Struggle in Public Space," *Theatre Survey* 38.1 (1997): 117–38 (132). Bourdieu speaks of distinction in terms of the "symbolic transformations of *de facto* differences and more generally, the ranks, orders, grades and all the other symbolic hierarchies" incorporated from the structures themselves. See *Language and Symbolic Power*, ed. John B. Thompson, trans. Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), p. 238.

cycles, with their emphasis on “equality, change and social mobility,” provided the “natural complement” to the hierarchical procession, allowing for a creative tension by which conflicts were transformed into a larger understanding of corporate membership (the “social body”).²⁰ For our purposes, James is important for delineating a complex relation between procession and cycle. While some critics have tended to understand the relation as evolutionary—the cycles developing out of the procession²¹—others have dismissed the notion of any relation whatsoever.²²

In this essay we argue that the guilds used cycle drama to comment upon and perhaps even reform the procession. While we do not see the two ceremonies as “complementary” in James’s terms, we show that there was a dialogic rather than homeostatic relation between the two as we trace how, in the towns of Chester and York, the Corpus Christi festivities were gradually modified to separate the performances of procession and cycle to different days. Our contention is that the first pageants of these cycles, performed by the Tanners’ guilds in both York and Chester,²³ dramatize the disputes of the torch-bearing procession, demonstrating the failure of hierarchy to ensure civic order. Hence, rather than view the processional “disruptions” as part of a symbolic struggle for individual distinction, as Weissengruber has argued via Bourdieu, we show that both pageants exhibit a critical relation to the hierarchical organization that fostered these disruptions and, as such, have political meaning and functions. Through these dramatizations, the guilds sought actively and eloquently to shape the celebration of Corpus Christi in their towns.

Corpus Christi Festivities in York

York supported both a Corpus Christi procession and play of some kind in the late fourteenth century, but only in 1415, with the creation of

²⁰ Mervyn James, “Ritual, Drama, and Social Body in the Late Medieval English Town,” *Past and Present* 98 (1983): 3–29.

²¹ Martin Stevens, “The York Cycle: From Procession to Play,” *LeedsSE* n.s. 6 (1972): 37–61.

²² Alexandra F. Johnston, “The Procession and Play of Corpus Christi in York after 1426,” *LeedsSE* n.s. 7 (1974): 55–62.

²³ Different reasons have been proposed as to why the leather-making crafts were assigned this pageant. Richard Beadle suggests that the leather costumes typically required for devils may have prompted the affiliation (“Poetry, Theology, and Drama in the York *Creation and Fall of Lucifer*,” 215). Anne Higgins observes that the fumes and

the *Ordo paginarum* (order of pageants), does a clearer picture emerge. At that time, the *Ordo*, a “checklist” delineating fifty-two pageants and their guild sponsors, was compiled and inserted into the back of the city’s Memorandum Book.²⁴ Appended to the *Ordo* is a processional list in which ten guilds and the civic officeholders (the mayor, the twelve aldermen, and group of twenty-four), are listed as torchbearers.²⁵ A second list designates ten torches for the Corpus Christi guild.²⁶ Founded in 1408, this religious guild grew into an exceptionally large and powerful organization that included members from high ecclesiastical and temporal offices across England. While the Corpus Christi guild did succeed in gaining the most coveted ceremonial role of carrying the shrine housing the host and placing its priests and officers nearest the shrine, Alexandra Johnston has stressed that the procession continued to be a local civic affair, controlled by the mayor and city council of York, who most importantly decided the marching order of the participating crafts.²⁷

The 1415 *Ordo* assigns the “Fall of the Angels” pageant to the guild of Tanners, yet this still leaves open the question of when exactly the text preserved in the Register was developed.²⁸ Many of the York pageants underwent considerable revision. Meg Twycross argues that “the second and third decades of the fifteenth century were a time of drastic change in the organization and contents of the Corpus Christi Play,” proposing even that the 1415 *Ordo* may be reflective of something like “tableaux” rather than scripted pageants, which were developed subsequently.²⁹ Before the Register was compiled in the later fifteenth century—it is generally dated 1463–77—individual guilds maintained

boiling cauldrons of hell iconography suggest parallels with the tanning process. “Work and Plays: Guild Casting in the Corpus Christi Drama,” *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 7 (1995): 76–97 (81).

²⁴Meg Twycross, “The *Ordo paginarum* Revisited, with a Digital Camera,” in “*Bring furth the pagants*”: *Essays in Early English Drama Presented to Alexandra F. Johnston*, ed. David N. Klausner and Karen Sawyer Marsalek (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2007), pp. 105–31 (105).

²⁵*Records of Early English Drama: York*, ed. Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Rogerson, 2 vols. (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1979), 1:24. Hereafter cited as *REED:York* with reference to volume and page number.

²⁶*Ibid.*, 1:26.

²⁷“The Guild of Corpus Christi and the Procession of Corpus Christi in York,” *Medieval Studies* 38 (1976): 372–84 (384).

²⁸The 1415 description reads, “Deus pater omnipotens creans & formans cellos Angelos & archangelos luciferum & angelos qui cum eo ceciderunt in infernum” (God the almighty Father, creating and forming the heavens, the angels and archangels, Lucifer and the angels who fell with him into hell) (*REED:York*, 1:17, 2:703).

²⁹“The *Ordo paginarum* Revisited,” 112.

their own “regynalls” of the pageants, probably altering the contents from time to time. Hence, although we know that the Tanners were responsible for a “Fall of the Angels” “pageant” as far back as 1415, the contents of the drama probably evolved in the decades following, a chronology that is important for understanding the pageant’s relation to processional disputes.

At their inception, both Corpus Christi ceremonies were performed on the same day in processional fashion, but the dramatic cycle and procession held different meanings in York. On one hand, the cycle is almost entirely the product of the city’s craft guilds. Although recent scholarship has suggested that the merchant oligarchy effectively used the cycle to enforce the specialized guild system upon the workers of the city,³⁰ these artisans, even with complaints and under duress, did stage the pageants and proudly claim ownership of them, as “mayntenez & sustenez par les Comunes & Artificers demesme la Citee en honour & reverence nostreseignour Iesu Crist & honour & profit de mesme la Citee” (maintained and supported by the commons and the craftsmen of the same city in honour and reverence of our Lord Jesus Christ and for the glory and benefit of the same city).³¹ The artisans’ time, labor, and expense are involved in the cycle’s production. The procession, on the other hand, is of a more composite nature, made up of a large group of priests, the governing structure of the city, officials of the Corpus Christi guild, and representatives of some of the craft guilds. No one has yet satisfactorily explained why only a small portion of the city’s numerous craft guilds participated in the torch procession.³²

³⁰See above, note 16.

³¹*REED:York*, 1:11, 2:696.

³²There were perhaps ten guild participants for most of the fifteenth century, the Tanners’ guild not among them. Based on a misreading of a record concerning the wearing of summer livery in the procession, Weissengruber does suggest that “only those guild members who could afford the garments of the city’s ‘honorable men’” could participate in the procession (“The Corpus Christi Procession,” p. 119). In fact, the regulation appears to be referring to the proper clothing for the city officials’ servants and is not directed at the guilds. With the exception of the Cobblers and the Porters, two small and poor crafts, the craft guilds listed as torchbearers in the procession are also responsible for pageants in the cycle, so it does not seem that a guild generally chose to participate in one ceremonial event rather than the other. James of course insisted that a guild needed to have a place in both play and procession “for the full expression of its place in the social body” (“Ritual, Drama, and Social Body,” p. 16), although this clearly was not the case in York for most guilds. Possibly the governing council and Corpus Christi Guild did not want their presence in the procession overwhelmed by the crafts.

Although the rationale for participation in the procession remains unclear, one may say that, given the small number of guilds involved, it did not approach the representative and collective undertaking that characterized the cycle and, as such, had a much different meaning and function for the artisanal body. In Bourdieu's terms, York's Corpus Christi procession allowed the guilds to express distinction, for indeed the procession, organized hierarchically, offered perhaps more definitive modes of representing status and difference than the cycle. Not only were the guilds assigned particular places in the procession, but they were also assigned a specific number of torches, enabling rather precise means of exhibiting status to the town.

Guilds sometimes resorted to physical brawls to express their dissatisfaction over their placement in the procession, which served as a marker of a guild's relative importance or "honor" in the community. In 1419, members of the Skinners' guild reported that "*diversi artifices carpentariorum et allutariorum civitatis . . . ipsorum torcheas accensas & ut portarentur in processione dicti festi . . . fregerunt & deorsum traxerunt cum fustibus suis & Carlelaxaes quos illuc portauerunt & alia enormia fecerunt in gravem perturbacionem pacis domini Regis & impedimentum ludi & processionis corporis christi*" (various craftsmen of the carpenters and cordwainers . . . broke the burning torches as they were carried in the procession of the said feast . . . and then dragged them down with their staves and Carlisle axes which they brought there, and committed other enormities, to the grave disturbance of the king's peace and to the hindrance of the play and procession of Corpus Christi). The council proceeded to imprison two carpenters and a cordwainer; however, the carpenters quickly acknowledged their fault and, according to the record, "*posuerunt se in misericordia gracia & ordinacione marioris & consilii*" (placed themselves upon the mercy, grace, and regulation of the mayor and council).³³

The civic document concentrates upon the ferocity of the attack, the consequences to devotional performance, and the swift enactment of justice, themes that we will see reiterated in the Tanners' "Fall of the Angels" pageant. The carpenters, making a quick confession and seeking "mercy, grace, and regulation" from the mayor and council, exalt their judicial power, positioning the civic authorities as the font of mercy and site of a restorative and rational order. Yet the document makes no

³³ REED:York, 1:32–33, 2:717–18.

mention of any similar propitiation from Thomas Durem, the cordwainer involved in the disturbance. Some guilds were clearly less willing to accept the mayor's authority than others; indeed, several decades later the Cordwainers resisted their new placement in the processional order, carrying on a dispute with the mayor and city council that lasted about a dozen years and even involved the intervention of the king.³⁴

From its earliest years until perhaps 1476, the procession preceded the cycle in York on the feast of Corpus Christi; hence a fracas in the procession, as in the assault on the Skinners, represented a serious disruption to the timing of the day's ceremonial events. In 1426, Friar William Melton offered some logistical advice on York's Corpus Christi festivities. Although he praised the play, Melton noted that the audience "*non solum ipsi ludo in eodem festo verum eciam comessacionibus ebrietatibus clamoribus cantilenis & aliis insolenciis multum intendunt servicio divino officii ipsius diei minime intendentes*" (attend not only to the play on the same feast, but also greatly to feasting, drunkenness, clamours, gossipings, and other wantonness, engaging the least in the divine service of the office of that day). Melton suggested that the play and procession should be held on different days so that the audience could attend church services. The city council records that they were persuaded by Melton and agreed that the cycle should be performed on Wednesday, the day before the Corpus Christi feast, and that "*processio fiat semper modo solempni in die ipsius festi*" (the procession should always be made solemnly on the day of the feast itself), so that the audience might also go to services and receive indulgences.³⁵ When pressed to differentiate the two ceremonies, the city, it seems, accepted Melton's distinction, aligning the procession with religious celebration in contradistinction to the cycle, which is associated with "wanton" behavior despite the history of violence endemic to the procession. At any rate, we see that procession and cycle were linked but opposed performances, each inscribed with particular meanings in the civic arena.

Melton's recommendation was not implemented until 1476, at which time the city council separated procession and cycle but awarded, it would appear, pride of place to the drama, which continued to be performed on the feast of Corpus Christi. The procession was slightly expanded and moved to the day after the official feast, as was the official

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 1:162–63.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 1:42–44, 2:728–30.

Corpus Christi day sermon.³⁶ The 1476 record states that the guilds carrying torches should “pacifice eant in suis ordine forma et locis” (go peaceably in the order, manner, and places) set out by the clerk.³⁷ With this injunction, the record implies that the ordering of the procession continued to be a site of contestation.

A Turbulent Beginning

We can be fairly certain that the Tanners’ pageant was developed while the procession and cycle were performed sequentially, the “Fall of the Angels” following closely upon the turbulent torch procession on the feast of Corpus Christi. As the first episode in the cycle, the “Fall of the Angels” records this fraught performance event, the difficulties, anxieties, and real disturbances associated with ordering the hierarchical procession that immediately preceded it. In particular, the pageant’s emphasis on light, and the contest over who shines most brightly, reflects upon the guilds’ struggles over torch-bearing precedence. Keeping with theological tradition, this episode first depicts God’s creation of nine orders of angels, whom he dubs his “ministers.” Among these, God singles out Lucifer as his special deputy, naming him “berar of lyghte” (36) and appointing him “moste nexte” (33) after himself.³⁸ God promises Lucifer that as long as he is “buxumly berande” (40), he will dwell in bliss and enjoy prosperity. Immediately, then, God establishes a hierarchical order, installing a leader whose chief job is to “bear” light to glorify him, echoing the very framework of the Corpus Christi procession, including the terminology of “berying” used for carrying torches.³⁹ Foreseeing potential strife, God warns the angels that those who are not “stabill in thoghte” (30) shall “be put to my presone at pyne” (32) (put in my prison to suffer), citing precisely those penalties experienced by the unruly Carpenters and Cordwainers imprisoned for attacking the Skinners in the 1419 procession.

³⁶ Processional marching orders from 1501 list sixteen crafts, representing about one-quarter of the city’s craft guilds (ibid., 1:186). Determining the actual number of craft guilds in York is an impossible task, for some amalgamated and/or divided from year to year and some never registered ordinances.

³⁷ Ibid., 1:109, 2:777.

³⁸ All references to the York “Fall of the Angels” are from *The York Plays*, ed. Richard Beadle (London: Edward Arnold, 1982) and will be cited parenthetically by line number.

³⁹ REED:York, 1:58.

As soon as God exits, a division occurs among the angels. The good angels praise "þat luffy lorde of his lighte" (43) and express their hope that "never felyng of fylth may full us nor fade us" (60). In contrast, Lucifer and the rebellious angels are immediately mesmerized by their light-bearing capacities. Lucifer says.

þe bemes of my brighthode ar byrnande so bryghte,
 And I do semely in syghte myselfe now I se,
 For lyke a lorde am I lefte to lende in this lighte.
 More fayrere be far þan my feres,

 My powar es passande my peres.

(50–56)

Lucifer's captivation by his own brightness leads him to compare himself with a lord and to vaunt himself as fairer and more powerful than the other angels. The brazen egotism he evinces in these lines proves corrupting, for another angel boasts of his brightness in nearly identical terms: "þe bemes of my brighthede are bygged with þe beste. / My schewynge es schemerande and schynande" (68–69). When the other angel begins to imitate Lucifer, following him on his rebellious course, we see the dangers to a collective enterprise of individual striving. Not only does Lucifer disobey God, but he also fractures the community of angels. While the good angels understand their light to be the endowment of God, and hence a sign that unites them to him, Lucifer and the rebellious angels believe that their light is self-generated, existing independently of God and endowing them with individual powers. Such pursuit of individual honor quickly destabilizes the harmony of heaven.

Lucifer's misplaced equation of his light with power leads him to disobedience. He not only claims that his brightness places him above his peers to dwell "on heghte in þe hyste of hewuen" (88), but he also compares himself to God:

Ther sall I set myselfe full semely to seyghte,
 To ressayve my reverence thorowe righte o renowne;
 I sall be lyke unto hym that es hyste on heghte.

(89–91)

As the chief "bearer of light," Lucifer strives for a more exalted position, one close to God himself; this indeed was the subject of many guild

quarrels, as each strove to be placed above their peers and closer to the body of Christ in the rear of the procession to receive greater “reverence” and “renowne” in the community. When the procession and cycle were viewed in succession, as they were for the first half-century, viewers would likely be reminded of the guilds’ struggles over their assigned position in the marching order.⁴⁰ In the “Fall of the Angels,” Lucifer’s quest to be close to God anatomizes such struggles as vain strivings for illicit power—a demonic usurpation of a devotional enterprise.

Lucifer and the rebellious angels are soon struck down, transformed from shining angels to black devils in Hell. “Whare es my kynde become, so cumly and clere? / Nowe am I laytheeste, allas, þat are was lighte. / My bryghtnes es blakkeste and blo nowe” (99–101), Lucifer laments. Lucifer has taken his “kynde” down with him, and the bad angel places the blame squarely on him for losing their light-bearing position: “Owte on þe Lucifer, lurdan, oure lyght has thou lorne. / . . . / to spill us þough was oure spedar, / For thow was oure lyghte and oure ledar” (108–11). A scuffle and fistfight ensue between the two devils, evoking the physical violence endemic to the disputes of the torch-bearing procession. When Lucifer complains that “ye smore me in smoke” (118), the memory of the smoldering torches, cast to the ground, might be evoked or might even be represented, if real torches were used to represent “light.” In this scenario, the proper devotional attitude and reverence for the host are sacrificed to individual striving, as *fraternitas* quickly turns to chaos and loss of light, or distinction altogether.

As strife reigns in hell, the good angels praise God, emphasizing his righteousness and ability to judge each individual fairly according to his proper “work”: “Thi rightewysnes to rewarde on rowe / Ilke warke eftyr is wroghte—/ thorowe grace of þi mercyfull myghte” (124–26). The angels that worship God will remain dwelling in heaven, rewarded for their obedience in recognizing that it was God who “us this lyghte lente” (121). The torches indeed were intended to signify, at least ostensibly, reverence for the host and the honor of the city rather than the power of the guild. To invest in the lights as signifying a guild’s individual status rather than devotion to God is to rebel against the divinely sanctioned order, which is here framed in terms of guild members’ dis-

⁴⁰ Even after the procession and cycle were separated and performed on different days, the drama’s commentary on processional disputes would have remained meaningful for the audience, for such public performances were sustained and layered in the cultural memory.

obedience to the mayor, the one who assigns places in the procession through his superior wisdom—and holds the power to punish and reward.

The Tanners and the Cordwainers: Rivals and Rebels

The analysis above suggests that the Tanners' pageant evolved in dialogue with the quarrels and disruptions of the torch procession on the feast of Corpus Christi. We find it especially significant that the Tanners reflect upon these disruptions, for in York processional disputes were more closely associated with their main rivals, the Cordwainers, than with any other guild. As already noted, craft participation in the York procession was somewhat arbitrary, with only ten guilds listed as participants in 1415. Among these, it is striking that the Cordwainers, although not placed particularly prominently, were assigned fourteen torches, far more than any other craft guild, and more even than the Guild of Corpus Christi.⁴¹ The Cordwainers appear to have been particularly devoted to the procession, participating annually and upholding a large number of torches. However, despite or perhaps because of their devotion, the Cordwainers ran into more trouble than any other guild, fined and imprisoned on a number of occasions in the fifteenth century for violence or disruption to the procession.

The large and powerful crafts of Tanners and Cordwainers were involved in a protracted struggle throughout the fifteenth century, demanding numerous interventions by the civic authorities to maintain peace between the guilds. Historically, tanners, those who turned animal hide into leather, and cordwainers, makers of shoes, a major leather product in the Middle Ages, had constituted a single craft. But with the enforcement of the guild system and its attendant specializations in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the two crafts were separated into makers of leather and makers of leather shoes. However, the potential for infringement on one another's work was so great that national legislation in 1389 prohibited cordwainers from tanning leather; this ban was lifted in 1402 but reinstated in 1423. When banned from tanning leather themselves, the cordwainers sought to increase control over their suppliers, the tanners, by demanding rights of search (inspection).⁴²

⁴¹ REED:York, 1:24.

⁴² Swanson, *Medieval Artisans*, pp. 55–56.

There is evidence from the first few decades of the fifteenth century, when the Tanners' pageant was likely created, that they were already disputing with the Cordwainers, and we know that the Cordwainers had already disrupted the Corpus Christi procession. These events could well be the basis for the Tanners' interpretation of the "Fall of the Angels." Indeed, the earliest ordinances from the Tanners' guild in York, dated 1416, already speak of the "magna et diutina varietas lisque et discordia" (great and longlasting differences, quarrel and discord) between the two crafts.⁴³ These ordinances provide for a central inspection body consisting of two searchers from each of four crafts, the tanners, cordwainers, girdlers, and curriers. All tanned leather in York and its suburbs was to be inspected by this body before it could be sold. However, in 1430, the tanners, complaining that the system was overly burdensome, made a "rogatum magnum et petitionem humilem" (great request and humble petition) to the mayor and city council; they succeeded in having this provision repealed and were henceforth allowed to conduct their own searches within their craft.⁴⁴ By 1453, however, the Cordwainers appear to have regained the search of red leather.⁴⁵ The final set of ordinances available for the Tanners, dated 1476, makes no mention of their participation in a common search committee.⁴⁶ For the Tanners, seeking to preserve the integrity of their craft, the Cordwainers were troublemakers and interlopers, interfering with their work and causing them loss of profit.⁴⁷

The Tanners were clearly interested in petitioning the governing council to keep the right to search leather for themselves. The "Fall of the Angels" pageant could provide an opportunity for the Tanners to dramatize their position by representing the Cordwainers as contentious and blind to communal interests. While seeking to appeal to the mayor as a wise individual who justly punishes wrongdoers, the Tanners might effectively undermine their troublesome rivals. In this way, the representational agenda of the pageant may be seen as a political strategy for the Tanners to curry favor. While such a particularized historical argu-

⁴³*York Memorandum Book (1388–1493)*, ed. Maud Sellers, 2 vols. (Durham: Surtees Society, 1915), 2:162.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 2:165.

⁴⁵*York City Chamberlains' Account Rolls, 1396–1500*, ed. R. B. Dobson (Durham: Surtees Society, 1978–79), p. 70.

⁴⁶*York Memorandum Book*, 2:166–67.

⁴⁷As the Chamberlains' accounts illustrate, the fines collected from searching red leather would devolve (at least partly) to the Cordwainers rather than to the Tanners.

ment is necessarily speculative, given the two hundred year performance history of the cycle, we must also note that the dispute between the Tanners and Cordwainers was virulent and endured perhaps as long, and that disruptions to the Corpus Christi procession were also ongoing and deeply entrenched affairs of civic life.⁴⁸

From approximately 1482 to 1493 (and perhaps earlier), the Cordwainers engaged in a protracted struggle with the city council over their participation in the Corpus Christi procession.⁴⁹ While Weissengruber argues that the Cordwainers were protesting their new marching position next to the Weavers, which represented a demotion and “loss of distinction,” we contend that something more was at stake. For more than a decade the Cordwainers refused to participate in the procession as the city council attempted to induce them to accept the marching position next to the Weavers. Only after pressure from Henry VII, a series of fines, imprisonments, and seizure of property did they finally agree. However, in agreeing to accept this new position, “going of the wevers left handes,” they also demand in their ordinances the right “fromhenceforth for evermore . . . [to] have Serche of Rede and blak ledders.”⁵⁰ While the Cordwainers may have felt disgruntled at being placed in a lower position in the procession, their quarrel may not have been so much with the Weavers as with the Tanners. In this document the Cordwainers cannily render their symbolic struggle over processional placement inseparable from their material struggle over the inspection of tanned leather.

How might townspeople have viewed the Tanners’ pageant during this turbulent period? In 1490 the City Council conducted an inquiry into the Cordwainers’ actions concerning the procession. Testimony from townspeople showed that the Cordwainers were attempting to gather support from other craftsmen to side against the mayoralty.⁵¹

⁴⁸ See Swanson, *Medieval Artisans*, pp. 138–39, on the longevity of strife between these guilds.

⁴⁹ A record dated June 21, 1476, shows the Cordwainers appealing to the city council to forgive them for the “riots, transgressions and offenses” they had committed. Although the circumstances are not mentioned, the petition occurs a week after Corpus Christi day of that year. See *The York House Books, 1461–1490*, ed. Lorraine Attreed, 2 vols. (Wolfboro Falls, N.H.: Alan Sutton, 1991), 1:40–41.

⁵⁰ REED:York, 1:172–73.

⁵¹ William Cooke, a member of the Tailors’ guild, which also marched in the procession, testified that John Smith, Cordwainer, “was at him showing that where the Mayor, Alderman and City council hath determined upon his craft they to pay ten pounds for non bearing of their torches, saying that if the Mayor, alderman and city council obtain against them in that than his craft to beware for they should be the next craft that should be in like trouble.” While Smith’s alleged demand to Cooke is enigmatic (“ye to

The proceedings disclose that the Cordwainers were attempting to organize some sort of large-scale rebellion against the council's authority. Witnesses reveal that the Cordwainers had tried to rally two, three, and even four hundred men to their cause: evidently they were prepared to turn their protest against processional order into a major public display of dissent. In such a context, the Tanners' pageant could have been played to promote that guild's own obedience and remind fellow citizens of the scheming Cordwainers, poised like Lucifer to take down his followers with him.

After the Fall: A New Beginning

Even if the Tanners effectively dramatized the dangers of following the rebellious Cordwainers in their pageant, ultimately the Cordwainers seem to have won, as they gained the right to search leather after agreeing to march in the procession in 1490, and also had these rights to search "forevermore" enshrined in their ordinances in 1493.⁵² The evidence suggests that the Cordwainers succeeded in gaining these special rights by using their placement in the procession as a bargaining chip: they were clear that the price of their peaceful participation was the right to search red and black leather. To the Tanners, such a use of the procession to infringe upon their trade surely made them question the privileges the city council granted to processional participation—and by extension, the role of the procession in general. In this situation, the procession, a hierarchical and exclusive ceremony in which the mayor held the power of organization, enabled an arbitrary economic decision with negative consequences for their trade. Although the events described above took place after the Tanners' play was created, it is likely that given the widespread nature of protests over Corpus Christi processions, not only in York but also in many other English towns, similar conflicts had occurred before. Processions, like that of Chester discussed below, were frequently fraught occasions in which the mayor, seeking to exercise control, arbitrarily rewarded some guilds over others.

We believe that such arbitrary decision-making accounts for the Tan-

do for us as ye would we should do for you"), it implies an effort to gather support for the Cordwainers' demonstration. See *York Civic Records*, ed. Angelo Raine, 8 vols. (Wakefield: Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series, 1939), 2:57. The syntax of Raine's translation is somewhat unclear, and unfortunately the original document is not available in a modern edition.

⁵²*York Civic Records*, 2:58.

ners' characterization of the torch procession in their drama as something of a failed beginning. For this reason, the "Fall of the Angels" pageant ends not in the darkness of hell but with a new beginning that casts the dispute of Lucifer and the rebellious angels as a prehistory, a coming before. The drama thus constructs the procession and cycle as "twyn[ned]" (153) or divided from each other, the former ceremony split off from the remainder of the cycle. After the fall of the rebellious angels, God calls the creation of day his "fyrst makynge" (145), although he has already "made" the angels ("Of all the mightes I have made" [33]) in the beginning of the episode. This is what he says:

Ande in my fyrste makynge, to mustyr my mighte,
 Sen erthe es wayne and voyde and myrknes emel,
 I byd in my blyssing ȝhe aungels gyf lyghte
 To the erthe, for it faded when þe fendes fell.
 In hell sall never myrknes by myssande,
 Þe myrknes thus name I for nighte,
 The day, þat call I this lyghte—

(145–51)

Hence, in the restarting of the action, God's second "first making," he works in concert with the good angels, asking them to give light.⁵³ This is an unusual depiction, as in Chester's "Fall of Lucifer," God makes the day alone: "Lightnes and darkenes, I byde you twene: / The darke to the nighte, the lighte to the day."⁵⁴ As a divinely-sanctioned but collaborative enterprise, light-bearing, now framed in craft terminology as a "making,"⁵⁵ is shown as a harmonious working between God and the angels, representative of the mayor and obedient craftsmen. God's order to the angels to "give light" may function as an embedded stage direction, as the good angels step forward with torches to relight the pageant and start the cycle anew.

⁵³Scribe A, the scribe of the first three pageants recorded in the York Register, British Library MS Additional 35290, has divided God's final speech in two with a red line, contrary to his practice anywhere else. Elsewhere, lines occur to separate characters' speeches from one another, never within the speech of a single character. The scribe's rubrication makes the second part visually distinct from the first, implying that this medieval reader also understood this part of the pageant as a new beginning.

⁵⁴*The Chester Mystery Cycle*, ed. R. M. Lumiansky and David Mills, 2 vols., EETS s.s. 3, 9 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), 1:13.292–93. Hereafter this source will be cited parenthetically with reference to line number.

⁵⁵On the importance of "making" in the York Cycle, see Beckwith, *Signifying God*, esp. pp. 42–71.

Through the use of light imagery, the Tanners' pageant performs creation not as a continuous act, but actually as a two-part process, the first part of which is cast off and separated from the rest. The darkness created by the rebellious angels' fall is figured as a stoppage in time, a return to the space before the torches are lit for the performance to begin. Because the "Fall of the Angels" immediately followed the torch procession, this scenario can be seen as a commentary on the tribulations of the procession that threatened to disrupt the smooth functioning of the Corpus Christi celebration. We propose that the Tanners' depiction of God beginning his creation anew with the cooperation of the angels speaks to their desire for a more inclusive and representative kind of ceremonial practice. When God summons the angels to "give light," he invites his own creatures to be part of the creation process. He does not name a new leader to replace Lucifer but simply calls upon the remaining angels, requiring their lights to continue with creation, which in essence becomes the cycle itself.

While the procession is figured more clearly as the work of the town oligarchy and the locus of much strife, the cycle is here seen as a joint enterprise, where power has been delegated and hierarchy is acceptably diffused into an imagined collaboration of "making." The dramatic strategy operates here to claim an absolute distinction between the procession, as a governmental tool, and the cycle itself, as an expression of a more representative body. The drama seeks to expunge hierarchy in the form of the procession from the cycle's etiology, rendering it a fall into darkness, blankness, or nothingness. When the angels step forward to "give light" at God's command, it is as if the cycle drama is just now beginning. Indeed, as the first pageant, performed at daybreak, the "Fall of the Angels" may be staking claims to creating or opening the "day" of the Corpus Christi feast.⁵⁶

Chester: Civic Controversy and the Mayor's Power

Although early records documenting Corpus Christi celebrations are scarcer for Chester than for York, the Chester Mayor's Books reveal that the procession was marred several times by dissent among guilds during the period when procession and play were performed on the same day.

⁵⁶Richard Beadle suggests that "the combining of the themes of creation and light with the physical setting of the dawn of the Corpus Christi day was a *coup de théâtre* in the grand manner" ("Poetry, Theology, and Drama," p. 227).

In 1399 a violent fracas took place in which the masters of the Weavers and Fullers allegedly attacked their journeymen and servants.⁵⁷ In 1474–75, the mayor personally adjudicated a dispute over marching order between the Bowyers and Fletchers on the one hand and the Coopers on the other. In its focus on light-bearing as a source of social disruption, the 1474–75 document signals concerns about hierarchy and distinction that will reappear in the Tanners’ “Fall of Lucifer” episode, newly written for Chester’s cycle when it was shifted to Whitsuntide.

The Fletchers (makers of arrows) and the Coopers (makers of barrels) marched together in the Corpus Christi procession, cooperating in the cost of torches and contributing to a pageant, the “Trial and Flagellation of Christ.” Although it is unclear who made the decision that they should march together, both guilds seem to have resented the loss of status that their shared position implied, and both sued for a better rank in the procession. To resolve the dispute, the mayor imposed a new hierarchy by putting the Coopers first, in a more prestigious position with respect to the eucharistic host at the head of the procession, without offering any justification for his decision. The text of his order, preserved in the Mayor’s Books, makes an initial reference to a disagreement over placement in the procession, then notes that the “seidez parties haue agreit thaym & ichon of thaym to abide perfourme & obeie such ordenaunce dome & awarde” as the mayor (John Southworth) should make.⁵⁸ The mayor, after hearing the two guilds’ “greyvaunce & compleyntes,” “hath ordenet demed & awerdet the saides parties to be gode ffrendes. . . . Also he hath ordenet & awardet that the saides cowpers & thaire Successors Cowpers of ye said Cety from hensforth shall bere thaire Lightes yerely iij lightez on that on side ye pauement and iij on that opposite . . . next before the lights of the saides ffletchers & bowers And the [said Bowyers and Fletchers] evenly to bere thaire lightes [next to] the saides Cowpers by the said Award.”⁵⁹ The mayor’s

⁵⁷ *Records of Early English Drama: Chester*, ed. Lawrence M. Clopper (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), pp. 5–6, for the Latin account, from the Mayor’s Books, and 491–92 for a translation.

⁵⁸ *REED: Cheshire Including Chester*, ed. Elizabeth Baldwin, Lawrence M. Clopper, and David Mills, 2 vols. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 1:58. Hereafter *REED: Cheshire* with reference to volume and page number.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 1:58. Bracketed material from R. M. Lumiansky and David Mills, “Documents Providing External Evidence,” in *The Chester Mystery Cycle: Essays and Documents* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), pp. 203–310 (210).

command to obey his “ordenaunce dome & awarde” lends a solemn religious dimension to his authority. Even as he uses the phrase “gode frendes” to smooth over the new, apparently arbitrary distinction he has created between the crafts, the mayor acknowledges that imposition of hierarchy will always be linked to the danger of pride and the fear of losing status.

Chester’s history of the Corpus Christi controversy and the mayor’s role in managing processional disputes are critical to interpreting the social meanings of angelic discord and new beginnings in Chester’s “Fall of Lucifer” pageant. In contrast to the York “Fall of the Angels,” the Chester “Fall of Lucifer” was neither late medieval nor a Corpus Christi pageant. Although a Corpus Christi “play” is mentioned as early as 1422, the sparse fifteenth-century evidence suggests that the dramatic event originated, in Lawrence Clopper’s words, as “more a Passion play than a cycle.”⁶⁰ The Lucifer episode was added to Chester’s civic play sequence around the time that the drama was shifted (by 1521) from Corpus Christi to a new liturgical occasion: the days following Whitsunday (Pentecost), the fiftieth day after Easter.⁶¹ As of 1521, the expanded cycle was performed over a three-day period on Whitsun Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, with an ambulatory mode of staging that followed a different route from the Corpus Christi procession.⁶²

Although no contemporary explanation survives for why the cycle was separated from the procession, moved to a new occasion, and expanded to include more pageants, many scholars view this separation as an assertion of civic control over festive performance: control that in

⁶⁰Lawrence M. Clopper, “The History and Development of the Chester Cycle,” *MP* 75 (1978): 219–46 (219). The 1422 record testifies to a dispute between Ironmongers and Carpenters over the recruitment of members of other guilds (Fletchers, Bowyers, Stringers, Coopers, and Turners) to help with the “Flagellation” and “Crucifixion” pageants.

⁶¹A documentary reference in 1521 to the “whitsun playe & Corpus christi light” indicates that by then, the procession and cycle had been definitively separated (*REED:Cheshire*, 1:69). Peter W. Travis suggests that the “Fall of Lucifer” was added as part of the shift to Whitsunday: see *Dramatic Design in the Chester Cycle* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), pp. 44–61. Clopper argues that the “Fall of Lucifer” was added after 1521 (“History and Development,” p. 231).

⁶²While the procession traveled from the church of St. Mary’s (the traditional spiritual home of the Chester earls) to the church of St. John’s, the bishop’s seat, the Whitsun play traveled along a new route: starting at the Abbey gate and eventually fanning out into “every street” of the city. David Mills, “The Chester Mystery Plays: Truth and Tradition,” in *Courts, Counties, and the Capital in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. Diana E. S. Dunn (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1996), pp. 1–26 (10, 22).

Chester was centered in the city council and with the mayor himself. Clopper suggests the change may have stemmed from the close relationship between the powerful guild merchant and the city council: "The guild mercatory was associated with the granting of important freedoms to the city; the production of the plays, therefore, celebrated the prestige of the city and the guild government and probably accounted for the insistence that the plays were devised by the supposed first mayor, John Arnewaye."⁶³ Focusing on the mayor himself, David Mills argues that "the shift at the turn of the fifteenth century from Corpus Christi to Whitsuntide correlates with the final appropriation of the plays as a celebration of mayoral office."⁶⁴ The mayor's power had increased steadily in the later medieval period: sharing power with the council, he presided over two of the city's three courts and controlled the Port of Chester as well as the Dee Estuary.⁶⁵ Under the terms of Chester's Great Charter of 1506, which granted the city palatine status and augmented its powers of self-government, mayors were afforded enhanced ceremonial dignity and frequent occasions for self-display.⁶⁶

Just as a popular (though incorrect) legend held that an earlier mayor, John Arnewaye, had instituted the Corpus Christi drama in 1327–28, the Early Banns, originally composed for the Corpus Christi play and revised for the Whitsuntide performance, credit the mayor for moving the dramatic performance to Whitsun: "Our wurshipffull mair of this Citie / with all this Royall cominaltie / Solem pagens ordent hath he / At the fest of whitsonday tide."⁶⁷ After the descriptions of all the pageants, another stanza is devoted to the cycle, and then one to the procession. These two stanzas seem designed to justify their separation and to reassure listeners that the procession will still happen, now ten days later than the cycle. The first stanza promises "That played shalbe this godely play / In the whitson weeke / That is brefely forto sey / vppon monday tuisday and wennysday."⁶⁸ Subsequent lines remind listeners about the Corpus Christi procession: "Also maister Maire of this Citie / withall his

⁶³ Clopper, "History and Development," p. 245.

⁶⁴ Mills, "The Chester Mystery Plays," p. 18.

⁶⁵ See J. T. Driver, *Cheshire in the Later Middle Ages, 1399–1540* (Chester: Cheshire Community Council, 1971), pp. 29, 40.

⁶⁶ For example, the mayor was authorized to have his sword and mace carried before him and to process in ceremonial garb to worship every Sunday, attended by aldermen, sheriffs, and council (Mills, "The Chester Mystery Plays," p. 19).

⁶⁷ REED:Cheshire, 1:82.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 1:86; see Mills, "The Chester Mystery Plays," p. 18.

bretheryn accordingly / A Solempne procession ordent hath he / to be done to the best / Appon the day of corpus christi.”⁶⁹ Thus, as Mills argues, “the plays are seen to be ordained and constructed by the individual mayor, not by custom or by the collective will of the citizens.”⁷⁰

The decision to change the cycle’s occasion was in all likelihood made from the top down, and whatever the mayor’s precise role in effecting the shift, he continued to control the organization and assignment of the pageants throughout the cycle’s history.⁷¹ But the Tanners’ “Fall of Lucifer,” the newly written first pageant of the expanded Whitsun cycle, may be read most profitably not only as a tool of mayoral self-promotion but also as a reflection of Chester’s diverse artisanal interests and the city’s own history of disruption in the Corpus Christi procession. The Tanners marched in Chester’s Corpus Christi procession together with the Cordwainers, according to the guild list of about 1500.⁷² Having battled the mayor throughout the late fourteenth century to be chartered as a distinct craft group, the Tanners had their own experience of controversy over hierarchy, amalgamation, and distinction.⁷³ Chester’s “Fall of Lucifer” pageant, likely written, as noted earlier, in cooperation with guild members, and evidently approved by the mayor, exploits its primacy in the cycle to reflect critically upon the mayor’s power to determine guild fortunes and upon the discord historically associated with Corpus Christi procession. In the pageant, while the angelic contest over light-bearing evokes Corpus Christi struggles, God’s subsequent “beginning again” works to justify the shift to Whitsun, a new liturgical

⁶⁹ REED: *Cheshire*, 1:86.

⁷⁰ Mills, “The Chester Mystery Plays,” p. 17.

⁷¹ A note from 1539–40 asserts that “it is at the libertie and pleasure of the mair with the counsell of his bretheryn to Alter or Assigne any of the occupacons Aboue writen to any play or pagent as they think necessary or conuenient” (REED: *Cheshire*, 1:81).

⁷² See Clopper, “History and Development,” p. 224. Clopper shows that this document, preserved among otherwise unrelated items in BL MS Harley 2104, does not list Corpus Christi pageants, as previous scholars had assumed, but rather indicates guild order in the procession. Although the order gives an idea of the episodes that each guild performed, it should be treated with care, as “other guilds in the list may have co-operated in a segment of the play but may have been listed separately for the procession” (p. 225).

⁷³ In 1362 the Tanners petitioned the mayor for a charter forbidding the Cordwainers from interfering with their craft. Although the charter was granted, it was revoked eight years later on the grounds that separating the trades was not conducive to the profit of the city, and the mayor granted the Skinners, Cordwainers, and Tanners a charter for practicing the three crafts jointly. See Rupert H. Morris, *Chester in the Plantagenet and Tudor Reigns* (Chester: G. R. Griffith, n.d.), p. 411.

season that might offer a new chance for a more expansive display of the crafts as a unified yet hierarchical body.

Chester's "Fall of Lucifer" and the Trouble with Corpus Christi

By giving Lucifer first rank within the larger hierarchy of the angels and associating his privileged position with light-bearing, the Chester "Fall of Lucifer" creates the conditions for social disruption, already associated with the tradition of light-bearing at Corpus Christi. In his opening speech, God refers to the perfection of his light and to the fact that he alone can hold distinction within unity: "I ame the tryall [triad] of the Trenitye / which never shall be twyninge, / pearles patron ymperiall, and Patris sapiencia. / My beames be all beawtitude; all blisse is in my buyldinge" (7–9). Although God's light is at once boundless and unified,⁷⁴ for the angels who have just been created, hierarchy becomes the central means for God to ensure his superior power. The terms of the angels' creation and separation call to mind the procession described in the Banns, of "marchaunts and craftys of the cite / by order passing in their degree." God declares, "Here have I you wrought with heavenly mighte, / of angells nine orders of greate beautye, / iech one with others, as it is righte, / to walke aboute the Trenitie" (64–67). Arraying the angels in "orders," God demands dignified, hierarchically organized movement.

God's subsequent warning to the angels implies anxiety that, like craft guilds disputing their position in the Corpus Christi procession, his creatures may attempt to violate the order he has ordained. God warns Lucifer and Lightbourne, Lucifer's second in command: "For crafte nor for cuninge, cast never comprehension; / exsalte you not to exelente into high exaltation. / Loke that you tende righte wisely, for hence I wilbe wendinge. / The worlde that is bouth voyde and vayne, I forme in the formacion, / with a dongion of darkenes which never shall have endinge" (70–74). As he prepares to form the terrestrial "worlde," God's language of "crafte and cuninge" admonishes participants not to transgress assigned positions. Being cast into darkness would represent banish-

⁷⁴The image of God's light "diffusing itself in every direction and dimension, bringing eternity and infinity and time and space into existence" was a commonplace of Augustinian and Franciscan thought. See Norma Kroll, "Cosmic Characters and Human Form: Dramatic Interaction and Conflict in the Chester 'Fall of Lucifer,'" *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England* 2 (1985): 33–50 (38).

ment from the ordered celestial realm, a loss of the stabilizing hierarchy necessary for the angels' articulation as a unified body.⁷⁵

Even as God presides over the angelic hierarchies rather like the mayor managing the Corpus Christi procession, the pageant text suggests that the privilege of light-bearing coexists uneasily with the maintenance of a stable hierarchy. Whereas God earlier declared, "Here have I you wrought with heavenly mighte, / of angells nine orders of greate beautye" (64–65), Lucifer impudently alters that formula: "Thou hast us marked with greate might and mayne, / in thy blesse evermore to byde and bee, / in lastinge life our life to leade. / And bearer of lighte thou has made me" (98–101). Imitating God, Lucifer emphasizes his singular power rather than his status as a "wrought" creature. Thus the "Fall of Lucifer," when read in parallel with the recorded guild controversy of 1474–75, recalls the way actual "bearers of light" fiercely defended their positions in the hierarchy, even in the knowledge that their positions, like many guild ascriptions themselves, were arbitrarily imposed. The early emphasis on God as "maker" of an unchanging hierarchy implicates God and, by extension, the mayor, in creating a structural contradiction between a stable hierarchy and a privileged position for Lucifer, a position that quickly engenders pride in its bearer.

Disorder and the Mockery of Christ's Body

As the first pageant in the new Whitsuntide cycle, the "Fall of Lucifer" suggests not only the Corpus Christi holiday's potential for destroying its own hierarchies but also its potential for making a mockery of Christ's body, the very entity the feast was created to revere. Lucifer's struggle for primacy over God involves a fight with other members of the angelic hierarchy, which one might read to figure other guilds. By making the focus of the conflict the possession of light and the co-opting of a central position onstage, the Tanners' pageant recalls discord between guilds over placement in the Corpus Christi procession. Lucifer's temporary usurpation of God's light and position, culminating in the preposterous demand to his fellow angels, "to your sovereigne kneele one your knee, / I ame your comforte, bouth lorde and head" (191–92), represents an unthinkable violation of order. No guild would ever at-

⁷⁵ Echoing Genesis 1:2 with the mention of a "dongeon of darkness," Chester's "Fall of Lucifer" episode is unique among the cycles in mentioning the creation of hell, which awaits any disobedient angels.

tempt to commandeer the head of the Corpus Christi procession, which belonged to Christ in the Eucharist.

Although the good angels, in refusing to follow Lucifer, express their desire to conserve God's hierarchy, the events of the pageant suggest that this structure cannot bind together the interests of all the competing parties. In response to Lucifer's demand that they assent to his proposition that "Of all heaven I beare the lighte" (128), the Virtues reply, "Wee will not assent unto your pride / nor in our hartes take such a thoughte; / but that our lorde shalbe our guyde, / and keepe that he to us hath wroughte" (134–37). Asserting faith in God as their "guyde" against Lucifer's sin of "pride," the obedient angels create a visual image that recalls the hierarchies onstage at the start of the drama, evoking an idealized Corpus Christi procession, in which guilds "kepe" order behind a designated "guyde": Christ in the Eucharist.

The gravity of Lucifer's attempt to exploit position and brightness to rival God is reflected in an insistent, disturbing focus on Lucifer's own body as the transmitter of light. Encouraged by Lightbourne, who claims, "The brightness of your bodie cleare / is brighter then God a thousandfolde" (164–65), Lucifer appropriates Christ-like language to display his own body, activating an even stronger association with the occasion of Corpus Christi. But Lucifer's rebellion against God evokes the challenge that individual pride presents to the wholeness of Christ's salvific body and to the idealized social body that it encompasses. Lucifer uses body, light, and physical positioning to challenge God outright: "Here will I sitt nowe in his steade, / to exsaulte myselfe in this same see. / Behoulde my bodye, handes and head—/ the mighte of God is marked in me" (186–89). This language strongly recalls Christ's familiar exhortation (in contemporary drama, lyrics, and sermons) to witness the bodily proof of his suffering in the Passion or triumph in the Resurrection.

The display of Christ's body is familiar from many of the other Chester pageants. In the "Last Judgment," the risen Christ will display his bleeding body to explain how he ransomed mankind from the devil: "Behould nowe, all men! Looke on mee / and see my blood fresche owt flee / that I bleede on roode-tree / for your salvatyon" (425–28). This passage, with its close parallels to Lucifer's speech, emphasizes the simultaneity of Christ's sacrifice and redemption of mankind, so that although the body presented onstage is broken and suffering, visually far removed from the white wholeness of the eucharistic wafer, it still re-

deems and unites “all men.” Using parodically Christ-like language to show Lucifer “exalting” himself, the “Fall of Lucifer” exposes the ways in which efforts of individual guilds to exalt themselves above others may detract from the proper focus of Corpus Christi.

God’s Anguish and the Renovation of Light

As God combines righteous anger with anguish at Lucifer’s disobedience, the pageant comes full circle, using light to resume creation with a new focus on craft unity. This new beginning suggests that by moving the cycle to Pentecost, the mayor may escape from the social division and rancor that he himself fostered by instituting hierarchies of distinction among guilds. By depicting God’s crisis over Lucifer’s betrayal as a questioning of the original structure, the drama suggests doubt about the appropriateness of Corpus Christi as a day to celebrate God’s glory with performance. Proceeding to resume Creation by dividing darkness from light, God’s actions recall not only the Easter vigil, which they quote directly (Genesis 1), but by extension the Pentecost liturgy, whose hymns and sequences depict the Holy Spirit as a renovating force, a light that unifies rather than one that divides. Liturgical associations work subtly in this final section to justify and naturalize the shift from Corpus Christi to Pentecost.

As God steps in to banish Lucifer and Lightbourne to hell, he decries Lucifer’s assault to the hierarchy but also poignantly asks why Lucifer disobeyed him.⁷⁶ He says,

Lucifer, who set thee here when I was goe?
 What have I offended unto thee?
 I made thee my frende; thou arte my foe.
 Why haste thou trespassed thus to me?
 Above all angels there was no moe
 that sitt so nighe in my majesty.
 I charge you to fall til I byd ‘Whoo,’
 Into the deepe pitt of hell ever to bee.

(222–29)

⁷⁶As Travis notes, at the end of the “Fall of Lucifer,” “God descends from his august diction and displays a quite human sense of hurt and disappointment” (*Dramatic Design*, p. 73).

Even as he condemns Lucifer's attack on the hierarchy, God expresses a surprising anxiety that he has done something wrong. The echoes of Christ's "Improperia" speeches from the Good Friday liturgy, in which Christ accuses the Jews of betraying him, lend these lines a complex charge.⁷⁷ Although God appears almost pitiable here, audience members know that he, unlike Christ, has created the conditions for his own suffering. A few moments later God openly admits that he suffers along with the angels: "I maye well suffer: my wille is not soe / that they shoulde parte this from my blesse" (276–77). Given that God did little before his departure except install the angelic hierarchy, one might well conclude that his "offense" lay in the very order to Lucifer to combine the privilege of light-bearing with the directive to remain humble.

The notion that a problem existed in the original angelic hierarchy is reinforced by the fact that God, after dispatching the rebel angels to hell, resolves to start over in a more successful and profitable way. Unlike the new beginning of the York "Fall of the Angels," where God recruits the good angels to help shed light upon the earth, the Chester God does not interact further with the angels but instead draws attention to his cooperation with the other "two persons" of the Trinity. Although the essential content of God's last speech, in which he foretells the creation of humankind and divides light from dark, resembles that of the York pageant, this speech takes on a particular meaning in the context of Whitsuntide. God's references to the other members of the Trinity and to dividing light from darkness resonate with the Pentecost liturgy, which emphasizes the renovating power of the Holy Spirit and the unifying power of light. God says,

And though they have broken my comaundement,
me ruse yt sore full sufferently.
Nevertheless, I will have myne intente—
that I firste thought, yet soe will I.
I and two persons be at one assente
A sollempne matter for to trye.
A full fayer image we have imente,

⁷⁷The first three reproaches are: "Popule meus" (Micah 6:3), "Ego eduxi" (Jeremiah 2:21), and "Quid ultra" (Isaiah 5:2, 40). The Micah and Jeremiah texts echo most strongly in God's speech. Micah 6:3 reads: "O my people, what have I done to thee, or in what have I molested thee? answer thou me." Jeremiah 2:21 reads: "Yet, I planted thee a chosen vineyard, all true seed: how then art thou turned unto me into that which is good for nothing, O strange vineyard?"

that the same stydd shall multiplie.
 In my blessinge here I begyne
 The first that shalbe to my paye.
 Lightenes and darkenes, I byde you twene:
 The darke to the nighte, the lighte to the day.
 Keepe your course for more or myne
 and suffer not, to you I saye;
 but save yourselfe, bouth out and in.
 That is my will, and will allwaye.

(282–97)

Although one might hear a warning about Corpus Christi in this speech—“keeping your course” perhaps referring to maintaining processional order—certain aspects of the speech are distinct to this pageant and carry particular force in the context of the shift from Corpus Christi to Whitsuntide. God’s references to the other “two persons” of the Trinity—Christ and the Holy Spirit—remind audiences that the Holy Spirit is the critical actor at Pentecost, which celebrates the Holy Spirit’s descent upon the apostles. This visitation necessarily involved light, for the Holy Spirit was typically pictured as a flame infusing the apostles with fire.

The traditional sequence for the Mass of Pentecost, “Sancti spiritus adsit nobis gratia,” sung on Whitsunday, the day before the play, speaks of the Holy Spirit as a renovating light drawing people away from darkness: “Spiritus alme, illustrator omnium, / Horridas nostrae mentis purga tenebras; / Amator sancte sensorum semper cogitatum, / Infunde unctionem Tuam clemens nostris sensibus” (Most gracious Spirit, light of all, / Our minds from darkness disenthral; / O Thou, Who holy thoughts dost love, / Pour down Thine unction from above).⁷⁸ A later verse refers to the Holy Spirit’s participation in the creation of heaven, earth, and sky, a creation that in the Chester “Fall of Lucifer” has already occurred in the first moments of the drama and continues as God returns to his “first intent,” dividing dark from light in the next step of the creation story. Part of the sequence reads, “Quando machinam per Verbum suum fecit Deus caeli, terrae, marium, / Tu super aquas, faturus eas, numen Tuum expandisti, Spiritus” (When God did by the Word create / Heaven, earth and sky, that fabric great, / Thou brooding o’er

⁷⁸Charles Buchanan Pearson, ed. and trans., *Sequences from the Sarum Missal* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1871), pp. 68–69.

the waters face / Didst shed abroad Thy mystic grace).⁷⁹ In the pageant, God's return to "my first intent" to finish the creation summarized in this Pentecost sequence, a process already put in motion but stalled by the fall of the angels, invites the audience to see this moment as the true beginning of the dramatic cycle, one that they should associate with the more liturgically significant occasion of Pentecost.

Moreover, if they had attended church at any point during the Whitsun octave, the audience of the "Fall of Lucifer" would have heard the following verses after the Alleluia: "Emitte Spiritum tuum et creabuntur: et renovabis faciem terrae" (Send forth thy Spirit, and they shall be created, and Thou shalt renew the face of the earth). This verse from Psalm 103.30, which also recalls God's imperative in Genesis 1:28 to replenish the earth after the Flood, would have been followed, on Whitsun Tuesday, by the following: "Veni, Sancte Spiritus, reple tuorum corda fidelium: et tui amoris in eis ignem accende" (Come holy Spirit, fill the hearts of thy faithful, and kindle in them the fire of thy love).⁸⁰ Together, these verses combine the image of light with the idea of renewal, a combination also present in God's speech. The cycle is thus made continuous with the liturgy of Pentecost, appropriate to this day, a time for renewal of obedience to God and recovery of apostolic fellowship.

Although the imagery of dividing light from darkness is not unique to the Chester pageant, this language, together with God's statement that this new creation "shall be to my paye" (that is, will produce social and material capital for the mayor himself), has a particular function in Chester. These discourses naturalize the move away from Corpus Christi and promote the cycle's new beginning on a day more profitable, perhaps not just for the mayor but also for the artisans involved in the dramatic production, notably those who, like the Tanners, did not have their own pageant before the Whitsun shift. Like the two stanzas in the Banns, which mention first the cycle and then the Corpus Christi procession, this Whitsun purification retains a disciplinary function with respect to Corpus Christi, preparing audiences and guild members themselves to arrive at Corpus Christi, ten days later, aware of the temptations that holiday's procession might present to their prideful tendencies. But even as the pageant, like the Whitsun Banns, credits the mayor

⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 70–71.

⁸⁰ See Francis Henry Dickinson, ed., *Missale ad Usum Sarum* (London: Burntisland, 1861–83), pp. 429, 432.

for this new plan for spiritual renovation and social cohesion, the drama has also shown this venerable figure admitting his mistake and acknowledging its consequences for the unity of the artisanal body. Thus the guild-produced drama makes its own history and interests visible, staking a claim to the increased profit and social unity that may result from this new occasion for dramatic production.

Conclusion: Toward a Better Government

The concern of both "Fall of the Angels" pageants with the processional ceremonies from which they developed reveals something of the complexity of civic relations in York and Chester. Emphasizing the tension between merchant oligarchies and artisans in late medieval towns, recent scholarship has traced such tensions in the civic cycle drama as they unfold in the space between the guild players and merchant organizers of the Corpus Christi ceremonial. Since the merchant oligarchies were overseers of and prominent participants in the Corpus Christi procession, the vexed relation between procession and play also reveals some of these social tensions. The Tanners' pageant, a work that specifically engages with the procession, thus allows us to begin to trace an artisanal perspective on civic relations and understand how ceremonial language could be used to enunciate dissenting positions.

The York and Chester pageants we have considered were composed about a hundred years apart, and certainly urban relations changed during this time. However, the importance of the celebration of urban identity on and through the feast of Corpus Christi had a remarkably continuity until its final suppression. The unity, harmony, and inclusivity promised by Corpus Christi proved a resonant symbol for urban centers not only despite but also because of the strain of tense social relations. The symbol was an eminently useful one, open to manipulation by those in power: in a town context, frequently the merchant oligarchies. Our essay suggests that the artisans were cognizant of the symbolic manipulation of Corpus Christi and sought to respond through their own articulations of this ritual language. In York, the Tanners sought to prioritize the cycle drama, casting the procession as an unfair tool of mayoral privilege. Likewise, in Chester, the Tanners' pageant ultimately turns away from the town's troubled history of Corpus Christi celebration, seeking to focus on a new feast, Whitsuntide, with perhaps greater promise of democratic representation. Both of these

plays reveal that the occasion of Corpus Christi, although a relatively recent feast, had accrued a reputation as a site of power struggle. Yet, while York's Tanners sought to appropriate the language of a corporate enterprise, the late date of the Chester pageant may indicate that the language of Corpus Christi had become too encumbered to recuperate.

Although the Tanners of Chester may advocate a new occasion altogether for civic celebration, neither drama turns away from hopeful civic relations. Both are engaged in a process of reform and renovation, seeking to find new modes of organization and expressions of ceremonial relations rather than to renounce them altogether. In this way, one can see that artisans like the Tanners were deeply invested in their local towns and sought ways within the mercantile-controlled political order to enunciate their own concerns with the organization of civic life, offering powerful mayors opportunities to reflect on their own conduct and its consequences for the civic body. Although tanning was a relatively lucrative occupation, tanners never attained social prominence, and very few ever became part of their town's governing body.⁸¹ Their pageants in these cycles may be their major site for social commentary in which we can hear the murmurings of an artisanal voice.

⁸¹ Tanners may have experienced a certain social marginalization because of the fumes and malodorous processes involved in leather making (Swanson, *Medieval Artisans*, p. 65). Notably, although among the largest crafts in York, Tanners were not included in either the thirteen major or fifteen minor crafts in the newly formed council when the city reorganized its governing structure in 1517 (ibid., p. 123).