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Résumé de l'article

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The York Vintners' 'The Marriage at Cana' and the Puzzle of Pageants Withheld from the Register

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York's Register of Corpus Christi plays never included the Vintners' play 'The Marriage at Cana'. As Richard Beadle notes in his Early English Text Society (EETS) edition, 'The failure of the Vintners to register their text … is especially to be regretted, since the subject is otherwise unknown in early drama, though it is often represented in the visual arts of the period'.[1]

We can to some extent assume the play's dramatic action since the event is described in a single gospel account, John 2:1–11:

> And the third day there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee, and the mother of Jesus was there. And Jesus also was invited and his disciples to the marriage. And the wine failing, the mother of Jesus said to him, 'They have no wine'.
>
> And Jesus said to her, 'Woman, what is that to me and to you? My hour is not yet come'.
>
> His mother said to the waiters, 'Whatsoever he shall say to you, do'. Now there were set there six water pots of stone according to the manner of the purifying of the Jews, containing two or three measures apiece.

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> Jesus said to them, 'Fill the water pots with water'. And they filled them up to the brim. And Jesus said to them, 'Draw out now, and carry to the chief steward of the feast'. And they carried it.
>
> And when the chief steward had tasted the water made wine and knew not whence it was (but the waiters knew who had drawn the water), the chief steward called the bridegroom and said to him, 'Every man at first sets forth good wine, and when men have well drunk, then that which is worse. But you have kept the good wine until now'. This beginning of miracles did Jesus in Cana of Galilee and manifested his glory, and his disciples believed in him.[2]

A list of the pageant's characters and most important properties survives in the 1415 ordo paginarum found in the A/Y Memorandum Book. Given the gospel account, the list of characters and stage properties is unsurprising: included are Jesus, Mary, the bridegroom, the bride, the steward (Architriclinus), and his servant, as are six jars.[3] Notably absent from this list are the disciples, who in the biblical passage witnessed the miracle and believed.

The play's incomplete opening lines, copied at some point into the Register by John Clerke as he watched the procession of pageants at the first station,[4] were rather surprisingly spoken by Architriclinus ('Archdeclyne'), who appears in the gospel account only near its conclusion: 'Loo this is a yoyfull day / For me and … '.[5] The lines seem strange in the mouth of a steward; they would seem more appropriately spoken by the father of the bride or bridegroom, someone more directly affected by and involved in the marriage, not someone supervising the feast in a professional capacity. Further, the gospel narrative suggests Architriclinus had the last truly important lines of the play, given the absence of the disciples: his pronouncement that the (unbeknownst to him) miraculously produced wine was good, 'the best'. That Architriclinus opened and likely concluded the pageant points to his character's significance, a significance briefly unpacked by Alan Justice: 'Architriclinus, the steward, probably tasted the wine made miraculously from water and pronounced his judgment on it … In all likelihood, then, this pageant reflected the craft's customary right and duty to search wines, an important trade function of the Vintners'.[6] Architriclinus appears to be an historical representative (or perhaps forebear) of the medieval guild members who staged the play. As such, he is unusual: although, as Nicole R. Rice and Margaret Aziza Pappano have argued, artisans involved in the production of Corpus Christi plays undoubtedly used them to fashion 'their own self representations' and certainly as opportunities for product placement, few pageants at York represented crafts

so literally and directly, with recognizable members participating in the biblical events depicted on stage.[7]

The Vintners' careful self-representation may have been especially important given that their guild over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries experienced a change in name, suffered direct competition from other crafts and merchants, and attempted to enforce contentious claims over their products. The Vintners' conflicts, alliances, and conceptions of their own trade, including their (potentially consciously chosen) affiliation with the biblical figure of Architriclinus, may suggest potential reasons why their play was never included in the city Register. The Vintners very likely did not forget to submit their play to the common clerk, either when the Register was first compiled or when the city council later directed all outstanding pageants to be submitted for transcription. The only other guild apparently intentionally to withhold a pageant was the Ironmongers; their 'Jesus in the House of Simon the Leper' was also expected and is also missing. The reasons for the two plays' absence cannot be determined conclusively. However, I posit that the Vintners and Ironmongers asserted their privilege and expressed their resentments as specialized merchants by refusing to share their play text with the city government, all the while continuing to participate in the Corpus Christi performance, sharing their pageants with fellow citizen performers and spectators.

Who Were the Vintners?

As Heather Swanson has noted, 'The terminology of the wineselling business [in medieval York] is confusing; references occur in the records to vintners, taverners, wyndrawers, hostellers and innkeepers and the meaning of these different terms altered with time'.[8] Taverner seems to have been the earliest name given to someone engaged in local wine sales. In the first list of plays catalogued in the 1415 ordo paginarum, 'The Marriage at Cana' was attributed to the 'Vynters'; however, this craft designation was written over an erasure Beadle asserts was 'doubtless' of 'Taverners' given that the second 1415 list attributes the play to the latter.[9] The term taverner ceased to appear in the York register of freemen after 1412 while the term vintner appeared and became common at approximately the same time.[10] Taverners and vintners probably occupied the same or similar roles before and after 1412, although what they did exactly remains unclear. Likely, they mainly engaged in local sales although nothing precluded some or all from importing their own supplies — for example, in September 1364, John de Sevenhous, Roger de Selby, George de Coupemanthorp, and Laurence Lovell, all from York, were

granted licenses specifically as vintners to travel from the port of Dover to Gascony with £50 each 'to buy wines of the coming year'; Robert de Fangfosse was granted a license for the same activity operating from the port of Hull.[11] The role of the York Winedrawers is more obscure as no ordinance survives for this guild, only three men appear in the freemen's roll identified as members of this craft (all in the first half of the fourteenth century),[12] and scholars have found no references to winedrawers in the civic records other than to their pageant, 'Christ's Appearance to Mary Magdalene'.[13] Beadle has suggested that the designation 'winedrawer' in the fourteenth century distinguished merchants importing wine from taverners involved in local retail, and that it may have represented 'not so much a craft as a fraternity within the mercantile community that included those who had a hand in the overseas wine trade'.[14] By the fifteenth century, however, the distinction appears no longer to have been current.

Hostellers and innkeepers or innholders — in contrast to taverners, vintners, and winedrawers — supplied lodging and food as well as drink. Members formed part of York's retail trade in wine, although other services they provided helped define their craft and set them apart from vintners and winedrawers.[15] The Hostellers took responsibility for the play of 'The Coronation of the Virgin' from the city at some point between 1462 and 1468, before their name changed to the Innholders after 1482.[16] Notably, until this play's suspension between 1548 and 1554 and again in 1563 and 1569,[17] the yearly Corpus Christi pageants included no fewer than three plays sponsored by groups involved to varying degrees in the buying and selling of wine, a number that increases to five if the Spicers and the Mercers are included in their number.

Members of the Spicers guild imported, distributed, and sold 'exotic substances' such as pepper, mace, ginger, cinnamon, cloves, aniseed, saffron, and sugar.[18] Those involved in the spice trade operated under a number of different titles, partly dependent on when they did business and partly dependent on the focus of their practices. In the mid fifteenth century, those involved in the sale of spices might alternatively refer to themselves as 'grocers', a name change Leslie G. Matthews has suggested implies a 'broadening [of] the variety of wares formerly handled by the spicers'.[19] At least one other occupation was closely connected to both groups: that of apothecarius or apothecary.[20] This term may have signified a specialty within the profession of spicer or have been used interchangeably with that designation; as Beadle notes, spices were used 'not only in the enrichment and preservation of food, but, equally importantly, in the preparation of medicines'.[21] Spices, typically considered hot and dry, could be used to balance the humours and to rid the body of pollutants, if used as purgatives.[22] Spicers and

apothecaries likely prescribed, prepared, and dispensed medicines — medicines sometimes suspended in or concocted with wine.

One final profession overlapped with that of the vintners: the merchants or 'mercers'. As exporters, their economic activities were distinct and defined: most York merchants dealt in the export of wool, cloth, lead, and cereals to continental Europe, along with a small amount of manufactured goods. However, they could and did import goods ostensibly the purview of others — most pertinent, merchants exporting wool often imported in exchange commodities such as nuts and dried fruit (the specialty of spicers and grocers) as well as wine. For example, a John Harper exported lead and cloth on Robert Hall's ship The Trinity out of Hull on 20 or 22 November 1489;[23] in the cargo of the same ship on 20 April 1490 he imported black and white metal plate, iron, madder, bolting cloth, alum, hops, and a pipe (2 hogsheads) of wine.[24] On 28 January 1490, on Andereas Gudde's ship Jesus, he imported a pipe of 'fructus' or dried fruit.[25] This John Harper was almost certainly a merchant from York;[26] the goods of other York merchants are found in the ship manifests,[27] most notably, those of John Tong, a York merchant and later mayor.[28] Jenny Kermode, in a family tree for the Brounfleet, Thornton, and York families of the city, draws a connection between a York merchant named John Harper and John Tong. Harper was married to Tong's stepdaughter Joan or Jane, daughter of Thomas Brounfleet.[29]

A few years earlier, on 27 June 1483, a John Harper of York formed part of a special arrangement made with the Vintners before the city council: 'it was agreid that Iohn harper shall sell a vessill of white wyn that he has w*ith* owt ony thyng payng thar for to the Vinters pagent so that the said Iohn herp*er* sell the said wyn for x d A galon'.[30] The fact that the sale price was specified in the records suggests that the Vintners relinquished pageant silver only once reassured Harper would not undercut retail cost.[31] The John Harper of this arrangement was most likely the merchant whose imports and exports from Hull were later recorded; if he was, the Vintners had little choice but to concede. Other business attended to by council on 27 June included the appointment of a temporary replacement for the mayor who 'for diwyrs causis Resonable must depairte owt of the Cite for a Certen tym'. His replacement was (perhaps the same) Harper's step father-in-law, John Tong: 'the Ryght Worshipfull Iohn Tong shalbe leutenaunt for my said lord the Mair to soch tym as he cu*m*ys ayan'.[32] This John Harper may have been a politically powerful man unwise to cross and given to argument. He would be involved in at least one recorded dispute, with another alderman, William Todd, in 1486. The two men argued over precedence in a squabble that, according to Kermode, descended into 'defamation and fighting'.[33]

These overlapping interests and business dealings suggest, as Swanson has argued, that craft identity and allegiance in York was in part a personal choice. At very least, those engaged in the wine trade could choose to identify primarily as merchants if more invested in exports (of wool, cloth, lead) or as vintners if more invested in the import and retail sale of wine. According to Swanson, 'the distinction between the different groups was probably more a social than a business one, arising rather from the formation of fraternities than from craft specialization as such'.[34] The organization of citizens in York according to artisan identities and craft distinctions was thus in some instances accommodating of personal selection and self-fashioning. And the public identity of a York businessman engaged in the importation and/or retail sale of wine would have been constructed to some degree by the biblical narrative he chose to sponsor with his pageant silver.

Challenges: Competition from the Mercers and Spicers Guilds

Perhaps because craft identity and allegiance for those involved in the wine trade was so open, competition from other guilds rankled the Vinters. For example, on 29 September 1433, the Vintners complained to the mayor and aldermen that 'men of other craftes þat selles swete wynes and other wynes for yair wynes be retail wythin þe franchese of þis Cite whilk swete wynes are p*er*tenand to vs als a p*ar*celle of oure crafte suld and awe after custume of þis Cite be contributory to vs in bryngyng furthe of our pagent in corpus christi play' (they claimed that they had raised this complaint 'diu*er*se tymes' before).[35] The Vintners noted that they had been forced to contribute to the production of other Corpus Christi plays when they had strayed outside their guild boundaries; they requested that others pay them 'lyke als merchantz makes vs to pay to þam when we mell wyth pruys fflanders and other plac[<.>] of whilk swte wynes we haf þit no answer nor remedy'.[36] They highlighted a basic injustice here: merchants had penalized vintners when the latter imported or sold goods from Prussia, Flanders, and other places; however, the Vintners claimed, they lacked similar recourse to enforce their own rights.

The Vintners' specific complaint in this petition was not, surprisingly enough, against the Mercers, although their mention was likely not accidental. Instead, without specifically naming their guild rivals, the Vintners registered their displeasure with and targeted members of the York Spicers. The types of wine sold in the city as well as wine's role in medieval medicine may explain this conflict. An important distinction inhered between regular and 'sweet' wine; the former, imported mainly from Gascony, made up the bulk of the wine traded and sold

in England; naturally sweet wines came from the Mediterranean and, true to name, were sweeter and lasted longer because they had higher alcohol content. 'Claret', as understood by the English, was a preparation made from wine infused with spices and sweetened with sugar or honey;[37] other types of sweetened and spiced wines included hippocras and piment, which were consumed for pleasure before and after meals and were considered medicinal, as they heated the stomach and improved digestion.[38] Fifteenth-century medical recipes from nearby Thornton Dale (twenty-five miles from York) call for mixtures of ginger, pepper, and wine.[39] Spicers, or those who purchased the commodities they offered in order to produce claret, hippocras, and piment, could then presumably claim the right to search and sell spiced and sweetened (with sugar or honey) wines. The York Vintners wanted to maintain a clear distinction of categories: 'And who so will wythstand or agaynesay þis lat þam p*ro*ue whether þair swetewynes þat þay sell be grewyng of grape or elles wynes made wyth spicery or other crafte wyth outen grape'.[40]

To legitimize their own claims, the Vintners represented themselves to city council as a craft with a long history and offered specific recent precedents of appropriate recognition and fair treatment: 'And worshipfull lord and s*ir*s like you to consider þat we haf bene in possession of swete wynes sald be retaill inso mykill þat Richart Russell when he was our pageant Maist*er* receyued pageant silu*er* of Thom*as* Dam and all other after yair afferant for sellyng of swete wynes at þat tyme / And so eu*er*more other men when yay occupied þe same office'.[41] Richard Russell was the Vintners' pageant master in 1426;[42] a 'Thomas del Dam' entered the freedom of the city as a spicer in 1390.[43] The petition then offered yet another historical example of respect shown to the Vintners' mandate:

> And also be alde custume and vsage of þis Cite for serchyng of swete wynes p*er*tyens to þe Serchou*r*s of þe Vynters and to no nother inso mykill þat noght lang tyme passed our sercheou*r*s at co*m*mandement of þe Mair at þat tyme and hys consell serched swetewynes and other thurgh thys Cite And at þat tyme our Sherchou*r*s in p*re*sence of þe Mair fand in þe house of Iohn Asper in Stayngate a vessell of swete wyne vn abell to be sald and in other places also þe whilk war forfet and þe heuedes smyten oute openly in syght of þe poeple.[44]

A John Asper, 'spicer', acted as a pledge for a man named John Bell in his legal case against John Cook in 1416.[45] In 1447, Richard Asper, a barber and chandler, took out freedom of the city through his father, John Asper, who is again identified as a spicer.[46] Why the wine was 'vn abell' to be sold is not specified: whether

it was spoiled or adulterated or it had simply not been searched by the proper authorities, is unclear. Asper could have stocked this sweet wine to sell as a medicine or digestive;[47] if the wine was good, then he must have been in violation of the law simply by offering it for sale along with his spices from his home and not from a designated tavern. In any case, the focus of the Vintners' wrath in the 1433 petition seems clear: competition from the Spicers.

The Vintners concluded their appeal by placing emphasis on their long history as a craft: 'we beseke you to considre þis mater tenderly and þat we may be so demened þat we may contynue furth in our ald possession and noght be put þair fro more nowe þan we haf bene in tyme passed'.[48] The council, in response, affirmed the Vintners' right to collect money to support their Corpus Christi play, ruling that 'all those who sell sweet wines within the same liberty ought to be yearly contributors along with the Vintners of the city and pay to the pageant of the same Vintners proportionally as they encroach more or less and sell sweet wines of this kind'.[49] A sliding scale of contribution is allowed for here, perhaps acknowledging the overlapping boundaries between the craft guilds as established in the city.

The Spicers appealed this decision on 6 November, attempting to claim their own long history with the sale and search of naturally sweet as well as sweetened wines. Referring to themselves as 'the pore crafte of the Spicers', they asserted,

> we haf hadd wyth outen tyme of mynde the sherch of swetwynes alswele grewand as confect*es* ypocras Clarr and all other / that nowe late be þe suggestion of diu*er*se p*er*sones þe whilk neu*er* hadd als be þair craft knawlege of swilk wynes, to þam ys supposyd grauntyd þe sherch of þe same wynes wythin this Cite In grete harme wyth grevows hynderyng to þe losse of our crafte of Spicers als wele in our said craft as to our pageant / for Sen þe tyme at þe play was begun in thys Cite All þe Sellers be retaill swete wyne grewyng or confect*es* hass payed to our crafte of Spicers and to non other as for that m*er*chandyse.[50]

This appeal does not appear to have been successful. The Spicers may have presented a more convincing argument if they, like the Vintners, had cited specific precedents to establish the history of their guild and its rights. At very least, if the play they performed had represented the Spicers in a long-held position to judge and therefore control the disputed commodity, they could have claimed a more extended, even biblical authority over sweet wine — as the Vintners did.

Self-representation: 'The Annunciation' and 'The Marriage at Cana'

Beadle has suggested that the Spicers' connection with 'The Annunciation' likely made sense because of their preparation of medicines and association with the promotion of healing. This dramatic event begins humankind's ultimate spiritual redemption and salvation in the play cycle;[51] further, connecting the earthly and divine realms, it allowed for impactful product placement. Holly Dugan, noting the various plays produced by the cities' spicers in York, Chester, and Norwich, has argued that 'spice signified the pleasures of paradise and divinity', linked as it was to religious ritual through the burning of incense.[52] The Spicers likely used their merchandise to create an olfactory sense-scape for their audience at the angel's appearance before Mary. However, the play offered the guild no real opportunity for self-representation.

In contrast, the miracle at the wedding feast in Cana offered the Vintners a near-perfect vehicle for self-promotion. Through the character of Architriclinus they could claim direct artisanal descent from a witness to Christ's first miracle (in the canon gospels). This lineage pushed their local and relatively recent claim of right of search and sale back to the life of Christ, an historical moment well before the time of their pageant master Richard Russell. Not wine producers but rather judges of its quality, the Vintners did not claim the Christ-like power of a maker. Instead, in close proximity to the miraculous transformation of water into wine, they validated evidence of Christ's divinity. Additionally, they pointed to a more common, everyday miracle in the present, one that produced the wine they offered for sale and guaranteed to be of high quality. In his commentary on the book of John, Augustine suggested that the miracle effected by Christ in Cana was not against nature but rather an event in which natural processes were accelerated, defamiliarizing an everyday, underappreciated miracle:

> The miracle indeed of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereby He made the water into wine, is not marvellous to those who know that it was God's doing. For He who made wine on that day at the marriage feast, in those six water-pots, which He commanded to be filled with water, the self-same does this every year in vines. For even as that which the servants put into the water-pots was turned into wine by the doing of the Lord, so in like manner also is what the clouds pour forth changed into wine by the doing of the same Lord. But we do not wonder at the latter, because it happens every year: it has lost its marvellousness by its constant recurrence. And yet it suggests a greater consideration than that which was done in the water-pots. For who is there

> that considers the works of God, whereby this whole world is governed and regulated, who is not amazed and overwhelmed with miracles?[53]

The Vintners in their play reminded audiences of the extraordinary nature of the socially important product they offered for sale.

Enjoyed daily in the wealthiest households but accessible even to the moderately well-to-do, wine was both central to everyday rituals and aspirational. It was frequently served, for example, as a refreshment around the celebration of the funeral liturgy at wakes or vigils. According to Chris Woolgar, on these occasions wine was often served with spices; 'This combination was familiar in elite establishments and it was often used at the drinking that took place in great households and other institutions in the afternoon (a bit like afternoon tea) or at the conclusion of a meal, at what was known as the "voidy", after the meal was cleared away'.[54] Sweet and other wine would also have been served, if it could be afforded, after burial at the funeral feast, though it might be served only to 'elite guests'.[55] Woolgar has noted that while funerary feasts promoted 'conviviality and commensality for friends, neighbours and clergy', they also maintained 'hierarchies of individuals to whom particular foods might be served' — and to whom certain drinks, like wine, might be restricted.[56] Funeral feasts, then, formed part of a larger system of social ritual that re-enacted and reinforced communities within communities.

In this way they resembled the fraternity meals shared by spiritual and craft guild members on agreed upon (including patronal) feast days each year. At some of these feasts, departed guild members would be remembered first through liturgical celebrations of the mass and second at a meal shared by their colleagues.[57] Gervase Rosser has argued that 'Feasting and drinking were in the Middle Ages regarded as defining activities of the guilds'; the 'feast's defining rhetoric of honorable equality and commensality enabled new relationships to be legitimately forged, often between participants of markedly different background or economic status'.[58] At a particular moment in the guild feast, in a performance of community, 'wine was circulated in a common drinking vessel, either a horn or else a cup, whose resemblance to the eucharistic chalice did not pass unnoticed by clerical observers'.[59] This encouragement of inclusion and relationship did not mean that conflict could and did not play out at these feasts, nor that social distinctions and differences were left at the door of the guild hall. 'The motifs of hierarchy and community were not in competition with one another. Rather, each was vital to the realization of a fraternity feast, whose occurrence depended on a formal institution which derived its public and ecclesiastical sanction from

subscription to hierarchical values prevalent in the wider social world yet whose social encounters … acquired both their legitimacy and their prestige from the informing rhetoric of community'.[60] Wine mediated social relations in complex ways, a commodity suggestive of the liturgical power of inclusion and at the same time one powerfully marking class distinction and privilege.

Wine likely similarly signified inclusion and privilege in its consumption at events surrounding the performance of the York Corpus Christi plays. The city chamberlains' books record foodstuffs purchased by the city for the feast of Corpus Christi between 1520 and 1554. Pots of ale, less expensive, always appear on these lists, as does wine: for example, in 1520, an expense of 7s 8d is recorded for wine meant specifically for the mayor, councilmen, and the council of the twenty-four as well as an expense for 'wine for the common clerk according to custom'.[61] In the same list of expenses appears a note of 2s spent 'on wine for the lady mayoress and for her sisters: 1 gallon from the Vintners and 1 gallon from the Bakers according to custom'.[62] In 1521, 7s were spent on 'wine', with an additional 8d spent on wine for the common clerk, and 16d given to the Bakers and the Vintners 'according to custom' for two gallons of wine.[63] In 1522, 8s 4d were spent 'on red wine, claret, white wine, Rhine (wine), and malmsey', with 16d spent on wine and bread for the common clerk.[64] Again, in 1524, 6s 9d were spent 'on red wine, claret, white (wine), Rhine (wine), and malmsey'; 16d on wine and bread for the clerk; 8d on a 'gratuity to the bakers' and 8d on a 'gratuity to the vintners', either for wine (as noted before) or for gifts of 'mayne bread' (as noted in later expense accounts).[65] 7d less were spent on various wines in 1525, but again gratuities are noted for the Bakers and the Vintners of 8d; 16d were spent again on wine for the common clerk.[66] 6d were spent on various wines in 1527; 8d were given in gratuity to the Bakers 'for wine according to custom'.[67] 7s 9d were spent on wine in 1528; in addition, 8d were paid in gratuity to the 'searchers of the Bakers, along with the aforesaid pageant masters for a gallon of wine' and another 8d 'on payment for the said gallon to the searchers of the Vintners, etc'.[68] Finally, in 1554, 4s were spent on six gallons of claret, 18d for two gallons and a quart of white wine, 6d for a 'pottell Sekk' [bottle of Sack], and 8d to both the Vintners and Bakers 'in Reward'.[69]

Wine was likely consumed by the mayor and his companions throughout the day's Corpus Christi celebrations. The nature and import of the two gallons supplied to the mayor's and councilmen's wives by the Vintners and Bakers in 1520 (and perhaps at other times, though this is not later specified) is lost to us today, but the sacramental subject matter of the two guilds' plays — 'The Marriage at Cana' and 'The Last Supper' — perhaps emphasized its symbolism of inclusion

but also of privilege. I have argued elsewhere that the gifting of mayne bread for the city council to enjoy while watching the production of the Bakers' 'The Last Supper' flattered the corporation through comparison of the mayor and councilmen to Christ and his disciples (the administrators of York eating together as Christ and his disciples shared their last meal).[70] The women may have saved their special wine for this same moment in the cycle, sharing in the depiction of the first celebration of the sacrament in a kind of privileged communion. They could also have enjoyed some of their wine as they watched the Vintners' 'Marriage at Cana', joining in with the dramatized feasting depicted in this particular pageant.

Other food items were likely displayed and possibly consumed as part of the Vintners' wedding feast — for example, the mayne bread mentioned above. In 1542, both the Vintners and Bakers were 'p*ai*d in reward' for the presentation of 'maynebrede': the Vintners 'for a great skallop [in the shape of a shell] of maynebrede y*a*t they haue been accustomed to gyf to my said lorde mayer & his bred*er*ne' and the bakers 'in lik man*er* … for the p*re*sent of sheyld [in the shape of a shield] of maynebrede'.[71] Mayne bread, a moulded biscuit similar to German springerle,[72] seems to have been a local specialty and may have been regularly served at religious and secular feasts in the city of York. In 1558, in response to doubling and tripling food costs, the mayor and council agreed to moderate the number and expense of civic feasts. Some were discontinued or suspended, but some were maintained, 'bycause metyng of neighburghes at the sayd fest*es* & dynars and there makyng mery togiders was a good occasion of contynewyng and renewyng of amytie and neighburghly love one w*it*h an other'.[73] Only the most essential of refreshments would be served. For example, on 'the day of the Election of the mayo*u*r he to gyve at his comyng home onely maynbread beer or ale and wyne'.[74] Probate inventories offer evidence that mayne bread was sometimes served at funeral feasts — for example, at the funeral of Alison Clark of York, her 1509 will specifying that 'skallapis of mayne breid' should be served at her dirge dinner;[75] and at the funeral of John Smith, Sheriff of York, his 1526 will specifying that 'x s. in mayne breid' should be 'delt to every husler in Overton parishe'.[76]

Less direct evidence exists for the kinds of food and drink enjoyed at wedding banquets and therefore perhaps included as properties in the Vintners' production. Wine was central to the play; beyond this obvious fact, the miracle at Cana's allusion to the Last Supper and to the sacrament of the mass suggests that the Bakers' and the Vintners' plays may have visually echoed each other. As Beadle has noted, 'The transformative nature of the miracle [at Cana] was held to prefigure the institution of the Eucharist, and in later medieval art the scene was usually

pictured in such a way as to resemble the iconography of the Last Supper'.[77] According to C.M. Kauffmann, late medieval visual depictions of the banquet at Cana represented in greater detail and variety foods that might be served at contemporary feasts, emphasizing their domestic as opposed to sacramental nature; and visual representations of the Last Supper sometimes included foods popular in particular regions.[78] Mayne bread, then, could have appeared on both the Cana and Last Supper pageant wagons.

The specific type of wine represented in the Vintners' play could relate back to their bitter dispute with the Spicers. According to the biblical account in John, Jesus performed his miracle only after the wine originally supplied for the banquet had 'failed'; the steward or Architriclinus, having tasted the wine, observed, 'Every man at first sets forth good wine, and when men have well drunk, then that which is worse. But you have kept the good wine until now' (John 2:11). The wine served at this moment therefore followed the meal, possibly accompanying a final course of wafers and sweets (including mayne bread, perhaps). As noted above, wine served before and after meals was considered digestive and was usually sweet or sweetened and spiced. A contemporary audience may have assumed that the wine Architriclinus tasted and proclaimed 'good' was sweet wine. The timing of the play's production could have supported this assumption as the feast of Corpus Christi falls between 21 May and 24 June. The purchase and shipping of wine was determined by the release for sale of the yearly vintage. By the middle of the fifteenth century most English ships sailed to Gascony to collect new (vintage) wines produced from that year's grapes around 1 November. They travelled again in March to buy 'reek' wines, the same wines taken off their lees for preservation and storage.[79] Now older and no longer fermenting, these wines had a short shelf life.[80] Sweet wines from Spain and the Mediterranean arrived in England in July and August when reek wines had begun to sour or been used up.[81]

Why Was the Vintners' 'The Marriage at Cana' Withheld from Civic Authorities?

At the best of times, the importation of wine was an expensive and dangerous proposition. Non-sweet wine in the Middle Ages was a highly perishable commodity and needed to be consumed within a year of its production.[82] Journeys by sea were dangerous, with ships vulnerable to poor weather and rough seas, piracy, and in times of war, attack by the enemy with seizure of cargo or conscription of merchant ships called into royal service. Sea journeys were long, with ships hugging the coast to avoid open water; bad weather or unfavourable winds forced

them into port, extending journeys and increasing the cost of provisioning crews. Importers faced many incidental costs: the expense of securing the wine on the ship for transport, repairing casks damaged during the journey, off-loading and cellaring in port (wine bound for York was initially cellared in Hull), and finally transporting the wine by water along a river or over land to its final destination. Over land, wine needed to be transported by carts requiring as many as six horses. Rough or flooded roads might prevent its transportation; wine would be lost if a cart overturned and damaged casks. If a cask leaked or if wine evaporated from its container (during a rough or too warm journey), the importer would be responsible to fill the cask with a wine of equal quality before delivering it.[83]

The final phase of the Hundred Years War and the end of English rule in Gascony brought about a significant reduction in trade in the latter half of the fifteenth century.[84] With the English loss of Bordeaux in 1453 and the imposition of high taxes on its exports by Charles VII, the volume of wine imports to England from Gascony reduced sharply in the later 1450s.[85] English merchants found it difficult and expensive to obtain safe-conducts and licenses to trade; if issued, they might not be honoured.[86] The Ordinance of Amboise (July 1463) reestablished the right of English merchants to do business in Gascony and the volume of wine traded between the two countries increased again.[87] According to Margery James, however, 'It was … in no sense a period of normal trade and one of the most marked characteristics of these years was the great decline of native enterprise in favour of the Bretons and Spaniards who were fast coming to dominate the carrying trade between Bordeaux and England'.[88] The English civil war then further disrupted business between 1469 and 1471.[89] The Treaty of Picquigny and its commercial counterpart (signed in 1475 and 1476) 'ended what was probably the worst period for the wine trade' from 1300 to 1500.[90] Conditions improved in the last quarter of the century. However, a statute ordained by Henry VII in 1485 ironically kept wine imports capped although intending to expand input. The statute specified that only English, Irish, or Welsh ships could bring wine from Guienne and Gascony to English shores. However, because English ships tended to be much smaller than the Spanish, the overall volume of imports decreased.[91]

The York Register was initially compiled at the tail end of this 'worst period for the wine trade'. Beadle has suggested that the guilds' 'originals' were first called in for vetting and transcription as a consequence of the 'Ordinacio pro ludi Corporis Christi' of 3 April 1476, a 'carefully worded document that marks a new departure in the arrangements for the Play'.[92] Guilds were newly required to allow 'iiij of þe moste connyng, discrete and able playeres within þis Citie, to

serche, here and examen all þe plaiers and plaies and pagentes thrughoute all þe artificers belongyng to Corpus Christi plaie'; actors auditioned and found 'sufficiant in personne and connyng' would be accepted while those found 'insufficiant' would not be allowed to perform.[93] Guilds accustomed to working more independently must have regarded the change in process as a fairly direct assault by the corporation and assertion of its right to evaluate and regulate the Corpus Christi pageants.

Originals submitted in response to the Ordinacio were transcribed into the Register. However, the Vintners' play was not forthcoming, although the main scribe made preparations for its inclusion.[94] Other plays not immediately supplied but similarly obviously expected were the Fullers' 'Adam and Eve in Eden' and the Ironmongers' 'Jesus in the House of Simon the Leper'.[95] Many years later, on 9 July 1557, the city council ruled that 'suche pageantz as be not registred in the Cite booke shall be called in to be registred by discrec*i*on of my lord mayor'.[96] The Fullers' play was submitted apparently in response (an entry in the city chamberlain's books records an expense of xij d paid to John Clerke for transcribing the text).[97] Again, on 17 June 1567 the city council, perhaps at John Clerke's promptings,[98] ordered that 'the Pageant*es* of Corp*us* chr*ist*i suche as be not allready Registred shalbe w*it*h all convenyent spede be fayre wrytten by Iohn Clerke in the [bo] old Registre y*er*of viz. of Vyntenors the Archetricline'.[99] By this date, only one other play (in its entirety) was missing from the manuscript and still desired: 'of thyron mongars / Marie Magd*alene* wasshyng the Lord*es* feete &c.'.[100]

Given the repeated calls for submission, it seems extremely unlikely that guilds did not notice, forgot, or mistakenly neglected to comply. Why might they have intentionally held back their pageants? Unfortunately, the Fullers' delay and the Vinters' and Ironmongers' failures to submit are nowhere explained. The Fullers guild had for years been in serious decline after its height of success in the latter half of the fourteenth century. Already in 1425 a decision of council ordered the Fullers to inspect 'cloth fulled by foreign fullers in such a way that they show them no hate or malice in inspecting'. Denizen fullers were to restrict their own shearing to 'the cloth which they themselves fulled'; otherwise they would be required to 'be contributors with the Shearers to their pageant and to their other burdens'.[101] However, other guilds faced similar competition from foreign and local craftsmen and significant challenges as a result of the city's waning prosperity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They did not express their unhappiness or frustration by holding back their originals. But what else might explain the strange delay?

The Ironmongers, like the Vintners, *never* submitted their play; the eight pages left for its inclusion remain largely blank, except for a heading and, later, John Clerke's transcription of the pageant's description from the ordo paginarum, which he later erased, possibly believing the text would be forthcoming.[102] Perhaps significantly, the Ironmongers' guild resembled the Vintners' quite closely: according to Beadle, 'Some ironmongers traded in iron as bulk commodity, but others were retailers of the numerous iron objects manufactured by other craftsmen, both within York and elsewhere'.[103] The few extant records referencing the guild and its play include a 1419 agreement between various members and the city council that those opening shops on Sundays would be fined 20s; further, 'if any henceforth shall have sold anything called in English ironware and shall not have made the thing himself, ironware imported from overseas excepted, he must pay with the aforesaid craftsmen yearly to the support of the play, the pageant, and their other burdens'.[104] The exception here perhaps suggests a (negotiated) concession to merchants importing ironware manufactured abroad who identified primarily as merchants. That a John Granger, 'Marchaunt', was appointed pageant master for the Ironmongers in 1562 suggests individuals had a right to identify with either group.[105] According to Beadle, the Ironmongers most likely 'existed as a fraternity within the mercantile community, rather than an artisanal grouping of the usual type', evidence suggesting that the Ironmongers were 'one of the elite mercantile groups in the city'.[106]

As both retailers and specialist merchants, the Vintners and Ironmongers may have enjoyed a privilege not shared by the Fullers: the power to continue to withhold their pageants from the city government because of real hardships or simmering resentments or simply to defend their prerogative, ownership, and authority against more powerful rivals in the sometimes mercer-dominated corporation. At least one vintner publicly expressed frustration with what he perceived to be (or wished to represent as) merchant privilege in York: in a case brought before the chancery court between 1475 and 1485, vintner Richard Wayte assumed and complained that he would not be given a fair hearing in a legal dispute with Thomas Neleson — merchant, councilman, and two-time mayor (in 1453 and 1464) — because of Neleson's wealth and 'standing in the city'.[107]

Members of the Ironmongers' guild were apparently not active in city government, or possibly were active but identified as merchants when in council. Reviewing the *Register of Freemen* and crosschecking the names of mayors and councilmen with entries into the freedom from 1426 to 1570, I have found one councilman specifically identified as an ironmonger (John Whyte in 1493) in the council list;[108] a John Preston sat on council in 1443, likely the John Preston,

'irenmanger', whose son Robert Preston, 'mercator', entered the freedom that same year.[109] Members of the Vintners guild were more obviously involved on city council. Richard Russell, the Vintners' pageant master in 1426 mentioned in their case against the Spicers in 1433, was also a councilman in 1426;[110] in 1427, a William Wrawby (who may be the 'vynter' who entered the freedom in 1410) sat on council.[111] The 1429 councilman Thomas Kyrk may have been a merchant and/or a vintner, as a Thomas Kirk entered the freedom in 1410 as a mercer, while a John Kyrk entered under his father Thomas in 1424, both vintners.[112] Later, in 1440, Thomas Kirke became mayor.[113] In 1457, William Skynner and in 1460 William Welles, both identified as 'VYNTER', sat on council, and William 'WELLIS' became mayor in 1478.[114] Christopher Marshall became mayor in 1472; in 1491, a Richard Marshall, 'grocer' entered the freedom as the son of 'Xpoferi Marshall, vynter et alderman'.[115] A William Marshall, who may have been Christopher's son (and entered the freedom under his father 'Xpoferi Marshall, vynter' in 1477), sat on council in 1489.[116] Henry Sparke, who perhaps entered the freedom in 1503 as a vintner, became a councilman in 1512;[117] in 1523 Hugh Hewley, 'VYNTYNER', and in 1558 Richard Ayneley, 'VYNT.', sat on council.[118] Peter Pullayn, Robert Drewry, and John Standeven, all identified as 'VINT.', were councilmen in 1561, 1563, and 1566 respectively.[119] To summarize, from 1426 to 1570, ironmongers were mostly absent from or not identifiable in city government; perhaps as many as twelve vintners sat on council, and perhaps three became mayors of York — neither an overwhelming representation in the corporation nor evidence of exclusion.

The Vintners' and Ironmongers' relationships to power and the reasons for their decisions (they must surely have decided) not to comply with direct orders from the corporation cannot be reconstructed, but the latter may well have been political. After all, other acts of non-compliance — pointed refusals to participate and withholdings — have been preserved in the records. In a drawn out affair from 1482 to 1493, the Cordwainers refused to march in the procession held the day after Corpus Christi because they had been ordered to walk with their candles to the left of the Weavers, an arrangement that apparently displeased them.[120] In 1554, four drapers 'obstinatly' refused to pay their pageant silver to support the newly reinstated play 'The Death of the Virgin', perhaps for doctrinal reasons, perhaps for economic reasons, perhaps for both.[121] In the same year, the Bakers' searchers presented to city council the names of two members who did not 'attend vppon ther pagyant' on Corpus Christi day,[122] again perhaps for doctrinal reasons. And in January 1554, a baker by the name of John Langton, upset with the city council, declared 'in great fury with rayling wordes' that he and

other members of his craft would disobey city ordinances, and in a 'ferm voyce' he warned the mayor and aldermen, 'doo what ye can for ye shall have neyther maynbread ne any other bread baken by us'.[123]

Given mayne bread's cultural significance in the city, Langton's warning likely carried symbolic weight: he threatened to withhold a foodstuff representative of the community and enjoyed at important celebrations. His threat points as well to a potentially significant similarity between the two plays never transcribed into the manuscript of the York Corpus Christi plays: both the Vintners' and the Ironmongers' pageants dramatized meals attended by Christ and, in a sense, sanctified by his presence.[124] If social relations could be and were mediated through the sharing of feasts in the city of York and elsewhere, the Vintners' and Ironmongers' refusals to share even the representation of such feasts with the corporation perhaps rather powerfully signalled displeasure and dissent.

Of course, theirs were not the only plays dramatizing meals in the Corpus Christi sequence; the Bakers' 'Last Supper' and the Wool-packers' / Wool-sellers' / Sledmen's / Wynedrawers' 'The Supper at Emmaus' also featured sacramental and figuratively sacramental meals centred on the character of Christ. These plays were submitted for transcription and appear in the Register; their guilds did not forget — or neglect — to respond to the city clerk's call for originals when the manuscript was first compiled. None of this specific group of pageants was identified as doctrinally problematic, excluded from performance during and after the Reformation (as were many of the Mary plays) and perhaps therefore held back by the Vintners and Ironmongers.[125] Why the two guilds did not submit cannot ultimately be determined. Perhaps they wished to assert their independence as specialized members of the general fraternity of merchants; perhaps they wished to assert symbolically their creative control over their plays, as Rice and Pappano have suggested: 'Craftsmen may have preferred to retain their pageant in its state of oral performance rather than in a written document, hence keeping greater control over its content'.[126]

Whatever the reason for their lack of action, the two guilds continued to perform their pageants as part of the larger play cycle.[127] Although they may intentionally have withheld written texts from city authorities, they appear freely to have shared performances with members of their community on the day. The difference may be that the city council issued orders — in the first instance the call was made 'by discrec*i*on of my lord mayor'[128] — to be obeyed. Participation in the larger Corpus Christi performance constituted a very different kind of obedience and service, not to civic authorities but to the city itself, its citizens, and all those collected together to see the plays.[129]

Notes

1 Richard Beadle, ed., *The York Plays: A Critical Edition of the York Corpus Christi Play as recorded in British Library Additional MS 35290*, 2 vols (Oxford, 2009, 2013 for 2011), 2.181.
2 Angela M. Kinney, ed., *The Vulgate Bible Volume VI : The New Testament, Douay-Rheims Translation* (Cambridge, MA, 2013), 481 (translation lightly modernized).
3 See Alexandra F. Johnston and Margaret Rogerson, eds, *REED: York* (Toronto, 1979), 1.19.25–6 (Latin); 2.705 (translation).
4 Beadle, *York Plays*, 2.183.
5 Ibid, 1.179.1–2.
6 Alan D. Justice, 'Trade Symbolism in the York Cycle', *Theatre Journal* 31.1 (1979), 47–58, 51, https://doi.org/10.2307/3219454.
7 Nicole R. Rice and Margaret Aziza Pappano, *The Civic Cycles: Artisan Drama and Identity in Premodern England* (Notre Dame, 2015), 3. The only other plays to include similar self-representation were the Shipwrights' 'The Building of the Ark' and the Fishers and Mariners' 'The Flood'.
8 Heather Swanson, 'Craftsmen and Industry in Late Medieval York', PhD thesis (University of York, 1981), 163.
9 Beadle, *York Plays*, 2.182; Johnston and Rogerson, *REED: York*, 1.19.25, 1.25.33.
10 Swanson, 'Craftsmen', 167.
11 *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Edward III 1364–7*, vol. 13 (London, 1912), 16, 17. See also Beadle, *York Plays*, 2.374.
12 Swanson, 'Craftsmen', 164; see also Beadle, *York Plays*, 2.373.
13 Beadle, *York Plays*, 2.374.
14 Ibid.
15 A 'Willelmus Bradley' entered the freedom of the city as a 'vynter, haberdasher, & inholder' in 1504; presumably he sourced the wines he sold in his own lodgings. See Francis Collins, ed., *Register of Freemen of the City of York from the City Records*, vol. 1, 1272–1558, Publications of the Surtees Society vol. 96 (Edinburgh, 1897), 229.
16 Beadle, *York Plays*, 2.442, 443.
17 Ibid, 2.444.
18 Ibid, 2.79; see also Ann Rycraft, 'Can We Tell What People Ate in Late Medieval York?', in *Feeding a City: York*, ed. Eileen White (Blackawton, 2000), 61–76, 69–70.
19 Leslie G. Matthews, 'The City of York's First Spicers, Grocers and Apothecaries', *Pharmaceutical Historian* 1.1 (1967), 2–3, 2.

20 For a general discussion of the profession of apothecary in the city, see Philip Stell's 'The Apothecaries of Medieval York', *York Historian* 14 (1997), 26–31.
21 Beadle, *York Plays*, 2.79.
22 See Paul Freedman, Chapter Two, 'Medicine: Spices as Drugs', *Out of the East: Spices and the Medieval Imagination* (New Haven, 2008), 50–75.
23 Wendy R. Childs, *The Customs Accounts of Hull, 1453–1490* (Leeds, 1986), 213.
24 Ibid, 203.
25 Ibid, 210.
26 A John 'Herpar' was added to the list of freemen as a merchant in 1470–1 (Collins, *Register of Freemen* 1.191); a councilman John Harper served in 1476–7 (ibid, 1.199). In 1473, a John Harper was admitted to the Corpus Christi Guild with his wife — see Robert H. Skaife, ed., *The Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi in the City of York*, Publications of the Surtees Society vol. 57 (Durham, 1872), 90. Finally, a John Harper, 'MERCATORE', rose to the title of merchant mayor in 1488 (Collins, *Register of Freemen*, 1.213); Skaife identifies this Harper as the individual admitted to the Corpus Christi guild in 1473 (*Register of the Guild*, 90–1 note y).
27 In the import manifest of 20 April 1490 (transcribed in Childs, *Customs Accounts*, 202–4), the following men appear (among others). Their names can be found in the York register of freemen within a few decades of one another, recorded as either entering the freedom of the city themselves or having apprentices or children entering the freedom of the city. All are identified as merchants: William Sadelar (Collins, *Register of Freemen*, 1.231; subsequent references are to this text); John Fereby (206); John Metcalf (204); Thomas Scotton [(178), councilman in 1472 (191), mayor in 1490–1 (216)]; John Norman (227); William Russell (214); Thomas Brounfleet (202); Robert Leversam / Levesham (203); Alexander Dauson (186); Nicholas Lancaster (192); Otwell Portyngton [(206); councilman in 1490 (215)]; George Kyrke/ Kirke [councilman in 1484 (208); mayor in 1494 and again in 1511 (219, 235)]; John Gilliot [a John Gylliot was entered as the son of a John Gylliot in 1480 (203); one of the two became mayor in 1489 (214)]; and Thomas Darby (203).
28 Childs, *Customs Accounts*, 203, 213.
29 Jenny Kermode, *Medieval Merchants: York, Beverley and Hull in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1998), 85. Joan or Jane's will is reproduced in James Raine, ed., *Testamenta Eboracensia*, *A Selection of Wills from the Registry of York*, vol. 5, Publications of the Surtees Society vol. 79 (Durham, 1884), 36–39.
30 Johnston and Rogerson, *REED: York*, 1.129–30, 39–40, 1–2.
31 The price of wine was set by assize, and in York it was based on the price in the nearest port, Hull. The year 1482–3 'was a year of very high prices in which wine was

bought in bulk for as much as £10 a ton and sold retail at from 10*d*. to 12*d*. a gallon'. See Margery James, *Studies in the Medieval Wine Trade* (Oxford, 1971), 53.

32 Johnston and Rogerson, *REED: York*, 1.129.36–9.

33 Kermode, *Medieval Merchants*, 60. See also 40 n 92, 45, 60, 85.

34 Swanson, 'Craftsmen', 163.

35 Johnston and Rogerson, *REED: York*, 1.53.7–11, 6.

36 Ibid, 1.53.11–14.

37 Miranda Threlfall-Homes, *Monks and Markets: Durham Cathedral Priory 1460–1520* (Oxford, 2005), 65, https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199253814.001.0001.

38 Freedman, *Out of the East*, 57.

39 These recipes are found in the Thornton Manuscript, published by Margaret Sinclair Ogden as *The 'Liber de Diversis Medicinis'*, Early English Text Society (EETS) vol. 207 (rev. rpt London, 1969). See Stell, 'Apothecaries of Medieval York', 27.

40 Johnston and Rogerson, *REED: York*, 1.53.32–35.

41 Ibid, 1.53.14–19.

42 Meg Twycross, 'Some Aliens in York and Their Overseas Connection: up to c. 1470', *Leeds Studies in English* 29 (1998), 359–80, 368.

43 Collins, *Register of Freemen*, 1.89.

44 Johnston and Rogerson, *REED: York*, 1.53.19–28.

45 Maud Sellers, ed., *York Memorandum Book Part II (1388–1493) Lettered A/Y in the Guildhall Muniment Room*, Publications of the Surtees Society vol. 125 (Durham, 1915), 60, 61.

46 Collins, *Register of Freemen*, 1.168.

47 Stell also notes this dispute and offers a similar (brief) reading of this case in 'Apothecaries of Medieval York', 27.

48 Johnston and Rogerson, *REED: York*, 1.53.29–32.

49 Ibid, 1.53–54.39–40, 1–3 (Latin); 2.737 (translation).

50 Ibid, 1.54.8–18.

51 Beadle, *York Plays*, 2.79.

52 Holly Dugan, 'Scent of a Woman: Performing the Politics of Smell in Late Medieval and Early Modern England', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38.2 (2008), 229–52, 232, https://doi.org/10.1215/10829636-2007-025.

53 St Augustin, *Homilies on the Gospel of John*, in *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, 1st series, ed. Philip Schaff, vol. 7, trans. John Gibb and James Innes (1888; rpt Edinburgh, 1986), 7–452, 57.

54 Chris Woolgar, 'Eating, Drinking and the Dead in Late Medieval England', *Leidschrift* 34.2 (2019), 35–47, 39.

55 Ibid, 43.

56 Ibid, 47.
57 Ibid, 40–1.
58 Gervase Rosser, 'Going to the Fraternity Feast: Commensality and Social Relations in Late Medieval England', *Journal of British Studies* 33.4 (1994), 430–46, 431, 432, https://doi.org/10.1086/386064.
59 Ibid, 435.
60 Ibid, 444.
61 Johnston and Rogerson, *REED: York*, 1.222.13–14, 19 (Latin), 2.819 (translation) (format continued below).
62 Ibid, 1.222.11–13, 2.819.
63 Ibid, 1.225.23, 39, 34–6; 2.821–2.
64 Ibid, 1.229.36–8, 41; 2.824.
65 Ibid, 1.235.17–18, 20, 21–2; 2.828.
66 Ibid, 1.237.38–9, 1.237–8.41–1, 238.3–4; 2.830.
67 Ibid, 1.244.18, 18–19; 2.833.
68 Ibid, 1.248.18, 20–3; 2.836.
69 Ibid, 1.317.1–3; 1.316.39–40.
70 Leanne Groeneveld, 'The York Bakers and Their Play of the Last Supper', *Early Theatre* 22.1 (2019), 37–70, https://doi.org/10.12745/et.22.1.3681.
71 Johnston and Rogerson, *REED: York*, 1.280.36–42.
72 Almute Grohmann-Sinz, 'Die Sonderstellung des schwäbischen Springerle und sein Bezug zu einem mittelalterlichen Gebäck aus England', *Neue Beiträge zur Modelbackkunst* (self published, 2013).
73 Johnston and Rogerson, *REED: York*, 1.326.15–18.
74 Ibid, 1.326.32–3.
75 James Raine, ed., *Testamenta Eboracensia. A Selection of Wills from the Registry at York*, vol. 5, Publications of the Surtees Society 79 (Durham, 1884), 5.
76 Ibid, 217.
77 Beadle, *York Plays*, 2.181.
78 C.M. Kauffmann, *Eve's Apple to The Last Supper: Picturing Food in the Bible* (Woodbridge, 2017), 72–80 ('Wedding at Cana'), 125–39 ('Last Supper').
79 Tim Unwin, *Wine and the Vine: A Historical Geography of Viticulture and the Wine Trade* (London, 1991), 187–8; James, *Medieval Wine Trade*, 125.
80 Ibid.
81 Unwin, *Wine and the Vine*, 188.
82 Ibid, 187.
83 For the above details of the importation of wine, see James, *Medieval Wine Trade*, Chapter 5, 'The Transit of the Wine', 119–59.

84 Ibid, 39, 42.
85 Ibid, 43–5.
86 Ibid, 44.
87 Ibid, 46.
88 Ibid.
89 Ibid, 47.
90 Ibid, 47–8.
91 Ibid, 49.
92 Beadle, *York Plays*, 1.xv.
93 Ibid, 1.xv–xvi, Beadle's punctuation; see also Johnston and Rogerson, *REED: York*, 1.109.10–17.
94 For example, blank pages were left in the manuscript and headings identify the Vintners as the guild responsible for the missing play.
95 Beadle, *York Plays*, 1.xxi.
96 Johnston and Rogerson, *REED: York*, 1.324.13–15.
97 Ibid, 1.330.9–11.
98 Beadle, *York Plays*, 2.183.
99 Johnston and Rogerson, *REED: York*, 1.351.28–31.
100 Ibid, 1.351.31–2.
101 Ibid., 1.41.6–8, 9–10, 13–15 (Latin), 2.726 (translation).
102 Beadle, *York Plays*, 2.190.
103 Ibid, 2.188.
104 Johnston and Rogerson, *REED: York*, 1.34.32–5, 35.4–7 (Latin), 2.720 (translation).
105 Ibid, 1.340.34–6. A 'Johannes Granger, marchaunte' entered the freedom of the city in 1554. See Collins, *Register of Freemen*, 1.275.
106 Beadle, *York Plays*, 2.188, 189.
107 Kermode, *York Merchants*, 63. For information about Neleson, see Collins, *Register of Freemen*, 147, 159, 173, and 184. For the National Archives short title description of the case (reference C 1/64/485), see https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C7450844.
108 Collins, *Register of Freemen*, 1.218.
109 Ibid, 1.161, 162.
110 Ibid, 1.139.
111 Ibid, 115, 140.
112 Ibid, 1.143, 115, 137.
113 Ibid, 1.157.
114 Ibid, 1.177, 180, 200.
115 Ibid, 1.192, 217.

116 Ibid, 1.200, 214.
117 Ibid, 1.228, 235.
118 Ibid, 1.245, 279.
119 Francis Collins, ed., *Register of Freemen of the City of York from the City Records*, vol. 2, 1559–1759, Publications of the Surtees Society vol. 102 (Edinburgh, 1900), 3, 5, 8.
120 Zina Petersen, '"As Tuching the Beyring of Their Torchez": The Unwholesome Rebellion of York's Cordwainers at the Rite of Corpus Christi', *Fifteenth Century Studies* 22 (1996), 96–108.
121 Johnston and Rogerson, *REED: York*, 1.313.11–17; Beadle, *York Plays*, 2.417.
122 Johnston and Rogerson, *REED: York*, 1.315.3–6, 11–13; see lines 4, 12.
123 House Books 21, f 21v (12 January 1553/4); qtd in Peter Brears, 'The Food Guilds of York', in White, ed., *Feeding a City*, 79–100, 83–4.
124 The second list in the ordo paginarum describes the Ironmongers' play as follows: 'conuiue in domo simonis' or 'The feast in Simon's house' (Johnston and Rogerson, *REED: York*, 1.25.36, 2.710).
125 In 'The York Bakers and Their Play of the Last Supper', I argue that the Bakers' play used bread rather than eucharistic wafers in its depiction of the sacrament. This staging choice makes sense given the guild ascription, the surviving content of the play (a leaf has been removed from the manuscript), and the play's apparent continued production (without recorded revision) in the sixteenth century. If 'The Last Supper' served as a reference point or model for 'The Marriage at Cana' and 'Jesus in the House of Simon the Leper' (and perhaps also for 'The Supper at Emmaus'), these plays too very likely survived friendly religious scrutiny during the Reformation.
126 Rice and Aziza Pappano, *The Civic Cycles*, 28.
127 An entry in the House Books for 1 June 1554 preserves the final (extant) affirmation that the Vintners would present their pageant on Corpus Christi day. See Johnston and Rogerson, *REED: York*, 1.311–12.
128 Ibid, 1.324.14–15.
129 Many thanks to the anonymous *Early Theatre* reviewer who encouraged me to think beyond the compilation of the Register to consider the plays in production: what it meant to share 'The Marriage at Cana' and 'Jesus in the House of Simon the Leper' in performance.