

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

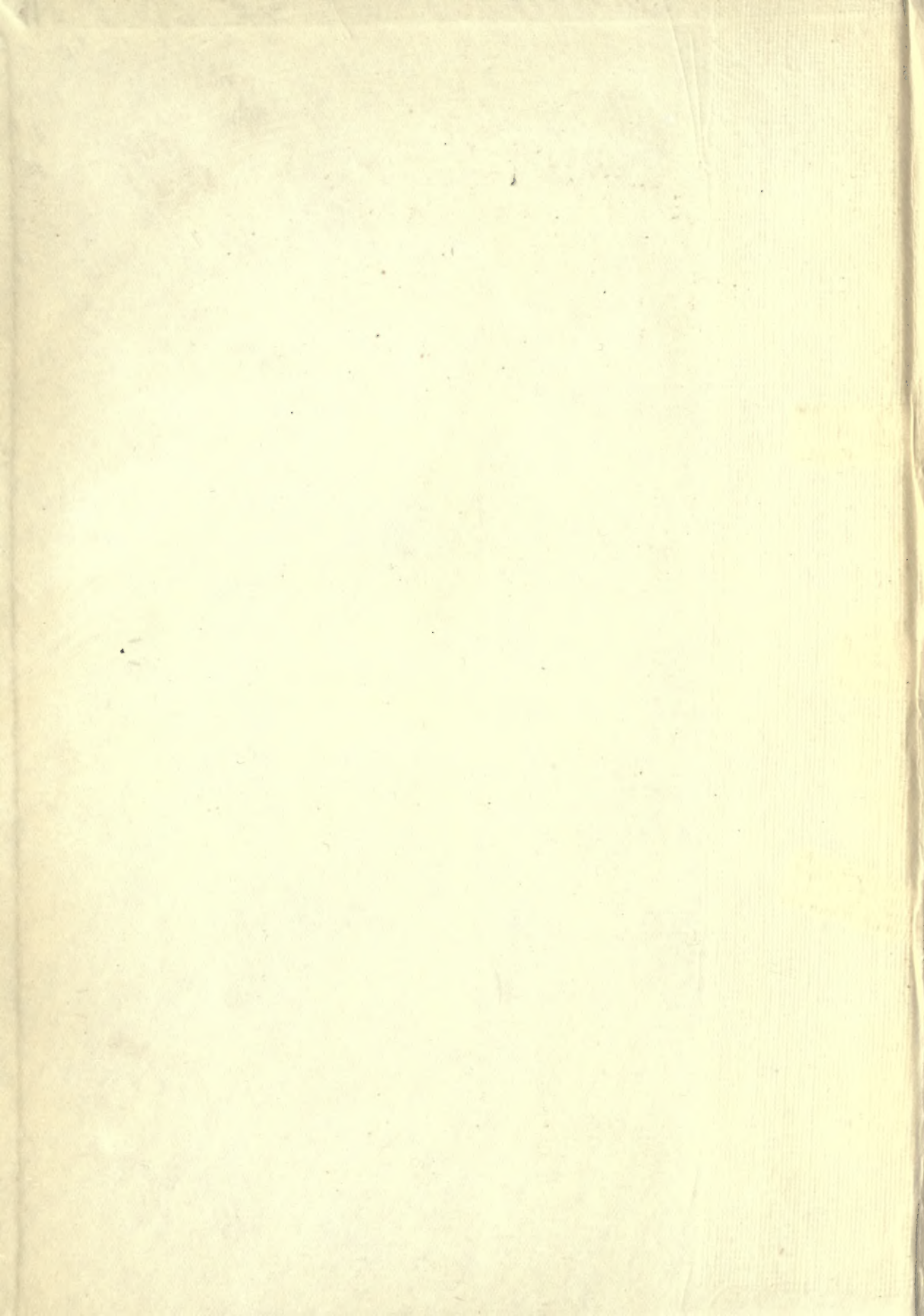


3 1761 00050109 8

PR  
1261  
E8  
1910

UNIV. OF  
TORONTO  
LIBRARY











Engl. Philol.  
p. 32  
5005  
A.

# Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas

UNTER MITWIRKUNG DER HERREN

J. Q. Adams, Jr.-ITHACA, F. S. Boas-LONDON, A. Brandl-BERLIN, R. Brotanek-PRAG, F. I. Carpenter-CHICAGO, Ch. Crawford-LONDON, G. B. Churchill-AMHERST, W. Creizenach-KRAKAU, H. de Vocht-LOUVAIN, E. Eckhardt-FREIBURG I. B., A. Feuillerat-RENNES, R. Fischer-INNSBRUCK, W. W. Greg-LONDON, F. Holthausen-KIEL, J. Hoops-HEIDELBERG, W. Keller-MÜNSTER, R. B. Mc Kerrow-LONDON, G. L. Kittredge-CAMBRIDGE, MASS., E. Koepfel-STRASSBURG, J. Le Gay Brereton-SIDNEY, H. Logeman-GENT, J. M. Manly-CHICAGO, G. Sarrazin-BRESLAU, † L. Proescholdt-FRIEDRICHSDORF, A. Schröer-CÖLN, G. C. Moore Smith-SHEFFIELD, G. Gregory Smith-BELFAST, A. E. H. Swaen-AMSTERDAM, A. H. Thorndike-NEW-YORK, † A. Wagner-HALLE A. S.

BEGRUENDET UND HERAUSGEGEBEN

VON

W. BANG

o. ö. Professor der Englischen Philologie an der Universität Louvain

---

**BAND XXVIII** : Everyman, reprinted by W. W. Greg from the fragments of two editions by Pynson, preserved in the Bodleian Library and the British Museum together with critical apparatus.

---

LOUVAIN  
A. UYSTPRUYST

LEIPZIG  
O. HARRASSOWITZ

LONDON  
DAVID NUTT

1910

BINDING LIST MAR 1 1926



BAND I : *The Blind Beggar of Bednall Green* von Henry Chettle und John Day nach der Q 1659 in Neudruck herausgegeben von W. Bang. X, 82 pp. Preis frs 5,50; für Subscribenten frs 4,50.

BAND II : *The King and Queenes Entertainement at Richmond* nach der Q 1636 in Neudruck herausgegeben von W. Bang und R. Brotanek. X-30 pp. Preis frs 2,25; für Subscribenten frs 1,75.

BAND III : *Pleasant Dialogues and Drama's* von Tho. Heywood nach der Octavausgabe 1637 in Neudruck herausgegeben von W. Bang. XII, 380 pp. Preis frs 18,00; für Subscribenten frs 15,00.

BAND IV : *Everyman*, reprinted by W. W. Greg from the edition by John Skot preserved at Britwell Court. VIII-32 pp. Preis frs 2,25; für Subscribenten frs 1,75.

BAND V : *A newe enterlude of godly queene Hester*, edited from the quarto of 1561 by W. W. Greg. XVI-62 pp. Preis frs 5,00; für Subscrib. frs. 3,75.

BAND VI : *The Devil's Charter* by Barnabe Barnes, edited from the quarto of 1607 by R. B. Mc Kerrow. XXIII-144 pp. Preis frs 8,50; für Subscribenten frs 7,00.

BAND VII ERSTER TEIL : *Ben Jonson's Dramen*, in Neudruck herausgegeben nach der Folio 1616 von W. Bang. 276 pp. Preis frs 30,00; für Subscribenten frs 25,00. ZWEITER TEIL : 276 pp. Preis fr. 30,00; für Subscribenten frs 25,00.

BAND VIII : *Pedantius* a Latin comedy formerly acted in Trinity College, Cambridge, edited by G. C. Moore Smith. LVI-164 pp. Preis frs 12,00; für Subscribenten frs 10,00.

BAND IX : *Studien über Shakespeare's Wirkung auf zeitgenössische Dramatiker* von E. Koepfel. XI, 103 pp. Preis frs 7,00; für Subscribenten frs 6,00.

BAND X : *Ben Jonson's Every Man in his Humor*, reprinted from the Quarto 1601 by W. Bang and W. W. Greg. VIII, 88 pp. Preis frs 6,00; für Subscribenten frs 5,00.

BAND XI : *Ben Jonson's Sad Shepherd with Waldrons Continuation* edited by W. W. Greg. XXV, 99 pp. Preis frs 8,50, für Subscribenten frs 7,00.

BAND XII : *The Enterlude of Youth nebst Fragmenten des Playe of Lucrez und von Nature* herausgegeben von W. Bang und R. B. Mc Kerrow. XXIV 108 pp., Preis frs 14; für Subscribenten frs 11.

BAND XIII : *The Queen or the Excellency of her Sex* nach der Quarto 1653 in Neudruck herausgegeben von W. Bang, IX. 60 pp. Preis frs 6,50; für Subscribenten frs 5,50.

BAND XIV : *Victoria, a Latin Comedy* by Abraham Fraunce, edited from the Penhurst manuscript by G. C. Moore Smith. XL. 130 pp. Preis frs 10,00; für Subscribenten frs 8,00.

BAND XV ERSTER TEIL : *A Concordance to the Works of Thomas Kyd* by Ch. Crawford. 200 pp. Preis frs 25,00; für Subscribenten frs 20,00. ZWEITER TEIL : 200 pp. Preis frs 25,00; für Subscribenten frs 20,00. DRITTER TEIL : 290 pp. Preis frs 30,00; für Subscribenten frs 25,00.

BAND XVI : *Ben Jonson's Every Man out of his Humor*, reprinted from Holme's Quarto of 1600 by W. Bang and W. W. Greg. VIII, 128 pp. Preis frs 10,00; für Subscribenten frs 8,00.

BAND XVII : *Ben Jonson's Every Man out of his Humor*, reprinted from Linge's Quarto of 1600 by W. Bang and W. W. Greg. V, 128 pp. Preis frs 10,00; für Subscribenten frs 8,00.

BAND XVIII : *Anthony Brewer's The Love-sick King*, edited from the Quarto of 1655 by A. E. H. Swaen. XV, 64 pp. Preis frs 6,00; für Subscribenten frs 5,00.

BAND XIX : *Äussere Geschichte der Englischen Theatertruppen in dem Zeitraum von 1559 bis 1642*. Zusammengestellt von Hermann Maas. X, 283 pp. Preis fr. 22,50; für Subscribenten frs 18,00.

BAND XX : *Satiro-Mastix or the Vntrussing of the Humorous Poet*. By Thomas Dekker. Herausgegeben nach den Drucken von 1602 von Dr. Scherer. XVI, 135 pp. Preis frs 10,00, für Subscribenten frs 8,00.

BAND XXI : *Documents relating to the Office of the Revels in the time of Queen Elizabeth* edited, with Notes and Indexes, by Albert Feuillerat. XVII, 512 pp. Preis frs 60,00; für Subscribenten frs 50,00.

BAND XXII : *Ben Jonson's The Fountain of Self-Loue or Cynthia's Revels*. Nach der Quarto 1601 in Neudruck herausgegeben von W. Bang und L. Krebs. VIII, 92 pp. Preis frs 7,00; für Subscribenten frs 6,00.



1

Materialien zur Kunde  
des  
älteren Englischen Dramas

VON

W. BÄND

LEIPZIG UND BERLIN



Materialien zur Kunde  
des älteren Englischen Dramas

UNTER MITWIRKUNG DER HERREN

F. S. Boas-LONDON, A. Brandl-BERLIN, R. Brotanek-PRAG, F. I. Carpenter-CHICAGO, Ch. Crawford-LONDON, G. B. Churchill-AMHERST, W. Creizenach, KRAKAU, E. Eckhardt-FREIBURG I. B., A. Feuillerat-RENNES, R. Fischer-Innsbruck, W. W. Greg-LONDON, F. Holthausen-KIEL, J. Hoops-HEIDELBERG, W. Keller-MÜNSTER, R. B. Mc Kerrow-LONDON, G. L. Kittredge-CAMBRIDGE, MASS., E. Koepfel-STRASSBURG, J. Le Gay Brereton-SIDNEY, H. Logeman-GENT, J. M. Manly-CHICAGO, G. Sarrazin-BRESLAU, † L. Proescholdt-FRIEDRICHSDORF, A. Schröer-CÖLN, G. C. Moore Smith-SHEFFIELD, G. Gregory Smith-BELFAST, A. E. H. Swaen-GRONINGEN, A. H. Thorndike-NEW-YORK, † A. Wagner-HALLE A. S.

BEGRUENDET UND HERAUSGEGEBEN

VON

W. BANG

o. ö. Professor der Englischen Philologie an der Universität Louvain

---

ACHT UND ZWANZIGSTER BAND

---

202002  
19.4.26

LOUVAIN  
A. UYSTPRUYST

LEIPZIG  
Ö. HARRASSOWITZ

LONDON  
DAVID NUTT

1910



# EVERYMAN

REPRINTED BY

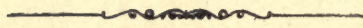
**W. W. Greg**

FROM THE FRAGMENTS OF TWO EDITIONS BY PYNSON

PRESERVED

IN THE BODLEIAN LIBRARY AND THE BRITISH MUSEUM

TOGETHER WITH CRITICAL APPARATUS



LOUVAIN  
A. UYSTPRUYST

LEIPZIG  
O. HARRASSOWITZ

LONDON  
DAVID NUTT

1910



12

PR  
1261  
E8  
1940



## INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The work on the text of *Everyman* undertaken in 1904 is now complete. Reprints of the two Skot editions form volumes four and twenty four of the *Materialien*. The present issue includes reprints of the two fragmentary Pynson editions, together with critical apparatus.

### THE BODLEIAN FRAGMENT.

Among the Douce fragments at the Bodleian Library are four leaves forming sheet C of an edition of *Everyman* from the press of Richard Pynson. They have apparently been rescued from a binding and are much stained and torn, the top six lines of each page, moreover, have been bodily cut away. The type is the same in respect to size and character as that used in Skot's editions. There is one signature (C 1) but no catchwords, nor does any signature-title appear in the portion preserved. There are normally 31 lines to a full page, against 32 in Skot's editions, the result being that the text, instead of ending on the recto of the last leaf, fills most of the verso as well, only leaving room for a three-line colophon at the foot. In the reprint an attempt has been made to indicate as exactly as possible the present state of the original. The mutilations are shown by brackets, and no letter has been printed outside the brackets of which sufficient trace does not remain to render its identity certain apart from the context. Of the letters printed within the brackets, some trace is to be



seen in the original, but not sufficient for identification without reference to the sense or to another edition. Where no trace remains a blank has been left in the reprint. The original has been mended with rather yellow tracing paper, with the result that the photographic facsimile of the last page here given is in parts less legible than the original.

#### THE BRITISH MUSEUM FRAGMENT.

An imperfect copy of an other edition from Pynson's press is preserved among the Garrick plays at the British Museum. It evidently once had the collation A<sup>6</sup>B<sup>6</sup>C<sup>4</sup>, but the last two gatherings are alone extant. It is printed in the same type as the Bodleian fragment, with which it agrees page for page, but it differs alike from that and all other known editions in having the speakers' names in smaller type than the text. In the presence of signatures and signature-titles, and the absence of catch-words, running-titles and pagination, it agrees with Skot's editions. The type-page (including signatures and speakers' names) measures 147 × 109 mm. The fragment has been interleaved and collated with the copy now at Britwell. In this edition the Latin phrases are printed in roman type to distinguish them from the English text, which is, of course, in black letter. In the reprint they have been rendered in italic, but the original arrangement can be seen in the facsimile.

---

[ ]

THE  
BODLEIAN  
FRAGMENT









[

[

710 [

[

[

[Th

That of god hath cōmyssyon

715 As hath the lest preest in the worlde beyng  
 For of [th ] blessyd sacramentes pure and benygne  
 He bereth the keyes and therof hath cure  
 For mānes redempcion it is euer sure  
 Whiche god for our soules medesyne

720 Gaue vs out of his herte with grete payne  
 Here in this transytorye lyfe for the and me  
 The blyssed sacramentes .vij. there be  
 Baptyme confirmacion with preesthode good  
 And ȳ sacrament of godes precious flesshe & blood

725 Maryage the holy extreme vnccyon and penaūce  
 These .vij. be good to haue in remembraunce  
 Gracious sacramentes of hye deuynyte

]y mā ¶ Fayne wolde I receyue that holy body  
 And mekely to my gostely fader I wyll go

]yttes ¶ Euery man that is the best that ye can do  
 God wyll you to saluacion brynge  
 For preesthode exceedeth all other thyng  
 To vs holy scriptue they do teche  
 And conuerteth man fro synne heuen to reche

735 God hath to them more power g[y]uen  
 Than to ony aungell that is in heuen  
 With .v. wordes he may concecrate  
 Goddes body in flesshe and blode to take





770 [

[

[

[

[

775 [B

And nowe frēdes let vs go without lenger respy[te  
 I thanke god that ye haue taryed so longe  
 Nowe [s ]eche of you on this rodde his honde  
 And shortly folowe me

780 } I go before there I wolde be  
 } God be our guyde

lgth. ¶ Euery man we wyll not fro you go  
 Tyll ye haue gone this vyage longe

lecōn ¶ I discrecion wyll byde by you also

wlleg ¶ And though this pilgrimage be neuer so strōge  
 785 I wyll neuer parte you fro

Euery man I wyll be as sure by the  
 As euer I dyde by Iudas machabee

ly mā ¶ Alas I am so faynt I may not stonde  
 My lymmes vnder me do folde

790 Frenedes let vs not turne agayne to this londe  
 Not for all the worldes golde  
 For in to this caue muste I crepe

lutye And torne to the erthe and there to slepe

ly mā ¶ What in to this graue alas

lutye ¶ ye there shall ye consume more and lesse

ly mā ¶ And what sholde I smoder her

¶ ye by my fay and neuer more appere

In this worlde lyue no more we shall

But in heuen before the hyest lorde of all

- 800 [ ]  
 [ ]  
 [ ]  
 [ ]
- 805 [ ] [euer]  
 Beaute gothe faste awaye and hye  
 She promysed with me to lyue and dye  
 ¶ Euery man I wyll the also forsake an[ ] dlenye stren[ ]  
 y] game lyketh me not at all
- 810 ]y than ye wyll forsake me all ] euey[ ]  
 ] strength tary a lytell space  
 ¶ Nay syr by the rode of grace ] [st]re[n]  
 I wyll hie me fro the faste  
 Though thou wepe tyll thy herte to braste
- 815 ¶ ye wolde euer hyde by me ye sayd euey[ ]  
 ¶ ye I haue you ferre ynough conueyd streng[ ]  
 ye be olde ynough I vnderstonde  
 your pylgrymage to take on honde  
 I repente me that I hether came
- 820 ¶ Strength you to displease I am to blame euey[ ]  
 Wyll ye breke promyse that is dette  
 ¶ In faythe I care not streng[ ]  
 Thou arte but a foole to complayne  
 you sp[en]de your speche and waste your brayne
- 825 Go thirste the in to the grounde  
 ¶ I had went surer I sholde you haue founde eu[ ]ry[ ]  
 He that trustet[h] in his strength  
 She hym deceyueth at the length  
 Both strength and Beaute forsaketh me
- 830 yet they promysed me fayre and louyngly



[  
[  
[  
[

835 [

[I folowe a

- ] mā ¶ yet I praye the for the loue of the trinyte  
Loke in my graue ones petyously
- ]ecōn ¶ Nay [s ]nye I wyll not come  
840 Forwell euerychone
- ]y mā ¶ O all thyngge fayleth saue god alone  
Beaute strength and discrecion  
For whan deth bloweth his blaste  
They all ronne fro me faste
- ]yttes ¶ Euery man of the nowe my leue I take  
I wyll folowe the other for here I the forsake
- ]y mā ¶ Alas than may I wayle and wepe  
For I take you for my beste frende
- ]yttes ¶ I wyll no lenger the kepe  
850 Nowe forwell and there an ende
- r]y mā ¶ O Ihesu helpe all hath forsaken me
- ]ededē ¶ Nay euery man I wyll byde with the  
I wyll not forsake the in dede  
Thou shalte fynde me a good frende at nede
- ]y mā ¶ Gramercy good dedē now may I true [frē]des se  
They haue forsake me euerychone  
I loued them better than my good dedes alone  
Knowlege wyll ye forsake me also
- o]wleg ¶ ye euery man whan you to deth do go  
860 But not yet for no maner of daunger
- ]ry mā ¶ Gramercy knowlege with all my herte





[  
 895 [  
 [  
 [  
 [  
 ]

- 900 Vnto the whiche all ye shall come  
 That lyueth well after the daye of dome  
 Iure ¶ This[ m]emoryall men maye haue in mynde  
 ye herers take it aworthe olde and yonge  
 And forsake pryde for he deceyues you in the ende  
 905 And remēbre beaute .v. wyttē strength & discrecion  
 They all at last do euery man forsake  
 Saue his good dedes there do he take  
 But beware for and they be small  
 Before god he hathe no helpe at all  
 910 None excuse may be there for euery man  
 Alas howe shall he do than  
 For after deth amendes may no man make  
 For than mercy and pyte dothe hym forsake  
 If his rekenynge be not clere whan he do come  
 915 God wyll say ite maledicti in ignem eternum.  
 And he that hath his accounte hole and sounde  
 Hye in heuen he shall be crounde  
 Vnto whiche please god brynge vs all thether  
 That we may lyue body and soule togyder  
 920 Therto helpe the trinyte  
 Amen saye ye for saynt charyte.

¶ Finis.

¶ Imprinted at London in Fletestrete at the  
 Sygne of the George by Rycharde Pynson /  
 prynter vnto the Kyngē noble grace. 1520

THE  
BRITISH MUSEUM  
FRAGMENT





- 305 Lo felowshyp forsaketh me in my moost nede  
 For helpe in this worlde / whither shall I resorte  
 Felowshyp here before with me / wolde mery make  
 And nowe lytell sorowe for me doth he take  
 It is sayd / in prosperite men frendes may fynde
- 310 Whiche in aduersite be full vnkynde  
 Nowe whither for socour shall I flye  
 Syth that felowshyp hath forsake me  
 To my kynnes men I wyll trewely  
 Prayeng them to helpe in my necessite
- 315 I beleue that they will do so  
 For kynde wyll crepe where it may nat go  
 I will go say / for yonder I se them go  
 Where be you nowe my frendes & kynnes men.  
 ¶ Here we be nowe / at your cōmaundement Kynrede.
- 320 Cosyn I pray you shewe vs your entent  
 In anywise and nat spare.  
 ¶ ye Euary man and to vs declare Cosyn.  
 If ye be disposed to go any whether  
 For wete you well / we will lyue and dye togider.
- 325 ¶ In welthe and wo / we will with you holde Kynrede.  
 For ouer his kyn a man may be to bolde.  
 ¶ Gramercy my frendes & kinnes men kynde euery man.  
 Nowe shall I shewe you the grefe of my mynde  
 I was commaunded by a messangere
- 330 That is a hye kynges officere  
 He bad me go on pilgrymage to my payne  
 And I knowe well I shall neuer come agayne  
 Also I must gyue rekening strayte  
 For I haue a great enemy / that hath me in wayte
- 335 whiche entendeth me for to hynder.  
 Euary man. B



- Kynrede. ¶ What a counte is that whiche ye must rendre  
That wolde I knowe.
- euery man. ¶ Of all my werkes I must shewe  
Howe I haue lyued / and my dayes spent  
340 Also of yll dedes that I haue vsed  
In my tyme syth lyfe was me lent  
And of all vertues that I haue refused  
Therefore I pray you go thether with me  
To helpe to make myne accoūte for saynt charite
- Cosyn. ¶ What to go thether / is that the mater  
Nay Euery man / I had leuer fast brede & water  
All this fyue yere and more
- euery man. ¶ Alas that euer I was bore  
For nowe shall I neuer be mery  
350 If that you forsake me.
- Kynrede. ¶ Ah syr / what ye be a mery man  
Take good hert to you / and make no mone  
But one thyng I warne you by saynt Anne  
As for me ye shall go alone
- euery man. ¶ My cosyn will nat with me go.
- Cosyn. ¶ No by our lady / I haue the crampe in my too  
Trust nat to me / for so god me spede  
I will disceyue you in your moost nede.
- Kynrede. ¶ It auayleth you nat vs to tyse  
360 ye shall haue my mayde withall my herte  
She loueth to go to feestes there to be nyse  
For to daunce and abrode to sterte  
I wyll gyue her leaue to helpe you in that iournay  
If that you and she may agre.
- euery man. ¶ Nowe shewe me the very effecte of your mynde  
Will you go with me / or byde behynde



- What wolde ye haue / lyghtly me say.  
 euery man. ¶ Come hyther good / in all the hast thou may  
 400 For of ccounsayle I must desyre the  
 good dedes. ¶ Syr & ye in the wolrd haue sorowe or aduersite  
 That can I helpe you to remedy shortly.  
 euery man. ¶ It is another disease that greueth me  
 In this worlde it is nat / I tell the so  
 405 I am sent for / another way to go  
 To gyue a strayte counte generall  
 Before the hiest Iupyer of all  
 And all my lyfe I haue had my pleasure in the  
 Therefore I pray the nowe go with me  
 410 For paraunture thou mayst before god almighty  
 My rekenyng helpe / to clene and purifye  
 For it is sayd euer amonge  
 That money maketh all ryght that is wronge  
 good dedes. ¶ Nay nay / Euery man I synge another song  
 415 I folowe no man in suche vyages  
 For and I went with the  
 Thou shuldest fare moche the worse for me  
 For bycause on me / thou dyddest set thy mynde  
 Thy rekenyng I haue made blotted and blynde  
 420 That thyne accounte / thou can nat make trewely  
 And that hast thou for my loue trewely.  
 euery man. ¶ That wolde greue me full sore  
 Whan I shulde come to that ferefull answeere  
 Vp and let vs go thyther togyther.  
 good dedes. ¶ Nay nat so / I am to brotell I may nat endure  
 I wyll folowe no man / one fote be ye sure.  
 euery man. ¶ Alas I haue the loned / and had great pleasure  
 All my lyue dayes / on my good and treasure



- ☞ That is to thy dampnation without leasing  
 430 For my loue is contrary / to ŷ loue of euerlasting  
 But if thou had me loued moderatly during  
 As to the poore gyue parte for the loue of me  
 Than shuldest thou nat in this dolour haue be  
 Nor in this great sorowe and care.
- 435 ☞ Lowe nowe was I disceyued or I was ware  
 And all I may wete myspending of tyme  
 ☞ What werest thou that I am thyne. Goodes.  
 ☞ I had went so. euery man.  
 ☞ Nay Euery man I say no Goodes.
- 440 As for a while I was lent the  
 A season thou hast had me in prosperite  
 My condicion is mannes soule to kyll  
 If I saue one. a thousande I do spyll  
 Wenest thou that I will folowe the
- 445 Nay nat fro this worlde verely.  
 ☞ I had went otherwise euery man.  
 ☞ Therefore to thy soule / good is a thefe Goodes.  
 For whan thou art deed this is my gyse  
 Another to desceyue in the same wyse
- 450 As I haue do the / and all to his soules reprefe.  
 ☞ O false good / cursed may thou be euery man.  
 Thou traytour to god / that hast disceyued me  
 And caught me in thy snare  
 ☞ Mary thou brought thy selfe in care goodes.
- 455 Wherof I am right gladde  
 I must nedes laughe I can nat be sadde  
 ☞ Ah good / thou hast had long my hertely loue euery man.  
 I gaue the that / whiche shulde be the lordes aboute  
 But wylt thou nat go with me in dede  
 Euery man. B.iii.

- 460 I pray the trouth to say.  
 Good.        ¶ No so god me spede  
 Therefore farewell / and haue good day.
- euery man.   ¶ O / to whom shall I make my mone  
 For to go with me that heuy iournay
- 465 First Felowshyp said / he wolde with me gone  
 His wordes were very plesaunt and gay  
 But after warde he lelse me alone  
 Than spake I to my kinnes men all in dispayre  
 And also they gaue me wordes fayre
- 470 They lacked no feare speking  
 But all forsoke me in the endinge  
 Than went I to my goodes that I loued best  
 In hope to haue foūde cōfort / but there had I lest  
 For goodes sharply dyd me tell
- 475 That he bringeth many into hell  
 Than of my selfe I was a shamed  
 And so I am worthy to be blamed  
 Thus may I well my selfe hate  
 Of whome shall I nowe counsaile take
- 480 I thinke that I shall neuer spede  
 Tyll that I go to my good dede  
 But alas she is so weke  
 That she can nother go ne speke  
 yet will I venture on her nowe
- 485 My good dedes where be you.  
 good dedes.   ¶ Here I lye colde on the grounde  
 Thy sinnes hath me sore bounde  
 That I can nat stere.
- euery man.   ¶ O good dedes I stande in great feare
- 490 I must you pray of counsaile

For nowe helpe and well.

- ¶ Euery man / I haue vnderstanding good dedes.  
 That ye be somoned a count to make  
 Before Messyas of Ierusalem kyng  
 495 And you do by me y<sup>t</sup> iournay with you will I take  
 ¶ Therefore I come to you my mone to make euery man.  
 I pray you that ye will go with me.  
 ¶ I wolde full fayne / but I can nat stande verely. good dedes.  
 ¶ Why is there any thinge on you fall. euery man.  
 500 ¶ ye syr I may thanke you of all good dedes.  
 If ye had parfityly chered me  
 your boke of a count nowe full redy had be  
 Loke the bokes of your workes and dedes eke  
 Ase howe they lye here vnder fete  
 505 To your soules heuinesse.  
 ¶ Our lorde Iesus helpe me euery man.  
 For one letter here I can nat se.  
 ¶ Here is a blinde rekenyng in tyme of distresse. good dedes.  
 ¶ Good dedes I pray you helpe me in this nede euery man.  
 510 Or els I am for ouer dampned in dede  
 Therefore helpe me to make my rekening  
 Before the redemer of all thinge  
 That king is and was / and euer shall.  
 ¶ Euery man I am sory of your fall good dedes.  
 515 And fayne wolde I helpe you and I were able.  
 ¶ Good dedes your coūsayle I pray you gyue me euery man.  
 ¶ That shall I do verely. good dedes.  
 Though that on my fete I may nat go  
 I haue a syster that shall with you also  
 520 Called knowlege / whiche shall with you abyde  
 To helpe you to make / that dredefull rekening



- knowlege. ¶ Euery man / I will go with the & be thy guyde  
In thy moost nede to go by thy syde.
- euery man. ¶ In good condicion I am nowe in euery thinge  
525 And am holy content with this good thinge  
Thanked by god my creature.
- good dedes. ¶ And whan he hath brought you there  
Where thou shalt heale the of thy smarte  
Than go you with your rekening / & your good de  
530 For to make you ioyfull at herte (des toguyder  
Before the blessed Trinite
- euery man. ¶ My good dedes gramercy  
I am well content certaynly  
With your wordes swete.
- knowlege. ¶ Nowe go we together louingly  
To confession that clensing ryuere.
- euery man. ¶ For ioy I wepe / I wolde we there were  
But I pray you gyue me cognisyon  
539 Where dwelleth that holy man Confession.
- knowlege. ¶ In the howse of saluacion  
We shall fynde him in that place  
That shall vs comfort by goddes grace  
Lo this is Confession / knele downe & aske mercy  
For he is in good conceyte with god almighty.
- euery man. ¶ O glorious foūtaine y<sup>e</sup> all vnclēnes doth clarify  
Wasshe fro me the spottes and vices clene  
That on me no synne may be sene  
I come with knowlege / for my redempcion  
Repent with hert and full contricion  
550 For I am cōmaunded a pilgrimage to take  
And a great countes before god to make  
Nowe I pray you shryfte mother of saluacion

Helpe hyder my good dede / for my pitous exclama-

☞ I knowe your sorowe well euery man (cion. Cōfession.

555 Bycause with knowlege ye come to me

I wyll you comfort / aswell as I can

And a precious iewell I wyll gyue the

Called penaunce / voyder of aduersyte

There with shall your body chastysed be

560 With abstinence & perseueraūce / in goddes seruice

Here shall ye receyue that scourge of me

Whiche is penaunce stronge / that ye must endure

Remembre thy sauour was scourged for the

With sharpe scourges / and suffred it paciently

565 So must thou / or thou passe thy pilgrimage

Knowlege kepe hym in this vyage

And by that tyme / good dedes wyll be with the

But in any wyse be seker of mercy

For your tyme draweth fast / and ye wyll saued be

570 Aske god mercy / and he wyll graunt it the

Whan w̄ ȳ scourge of penaūce / mā doth him bynde

The oyle of forgyuenesse / than shall he fynde.

☞ Thanked be god / for this gracious werke

euery man.

For nowe I wyll my penaunce begynne

575 This hath me reioysed / and lyghted my herte

Though ȳ knottes be paynfull / & harde within.

☞ Euery man / loke your penaūce that ye fulfyll

knowlege.

What payne that euer it to you be

And I shall gyue you counsayle at wyll

580 Howe your account / ye shall make clerely

☞ O eternall god / O heuynly fygure

euery man.

O way of rightwysenesse / O goodly visyon

Whiche discended downe in a virgyn pure

- Bycause he wolde euery man redeme  
 585 Whiche Adam forfayted by his disobedience  
 O blessed godheed electe / and hye deuyne  
 Forgyue me my greuous offence  
 Here I crye the mercy in this presence  
 O goostly treasour / O mercyfull redemer  
 590 Of all the worlde / hope and conuiter  
 Myrrour of ioy / foundation of mercy  
 Whiche illumyneth heuen and erthe therby  
 Here my clamorous complaynt though it late be  
 Receyue my prayers vnworthy in this heuy lyfe  
 595 Though I be a synner / moost abhominable  
 yet let my name be written / in Moyses table  
 O Mary / pray to the maker of all thinge  
 Me for to helpe / at my endinge  
 And saue me fro the power of my enemy  
 600 For deth assayleth me strongly  
 And lady / that I may by meane of thy prayer  
 Of your sonnes glorie / to be partinere  
 By the meane of his passion / I it craue  
 I beseke you helpe me my soule to saue  
 605 Knowlege / gyue me the scourge of penaunce  
 My flesshe theirwith shall haue acquaintaunce  
 I will nowe begynne / if god gyue me grace.  
 knowlege. ¶ Euery man / god gyue you tyme and space  
 Thus I bequeth you / in y<sup>o</sup> handes of our sauour  
 610 Nowe may you make your rekening sure.  
 euery man. ¶ In the name of all the hole Trinite  
 My body punisshed sore shalbe  
 Take this body / for the synne of the flesshe  
 Also thou dellyted to go gay and fresshe



- 615 And in the way of dāpnacion thou dyd me brynge  
 Therefore suffre nowe strokes of punisshing  
 Nowe of penaunce I wyll wade the water clere  
 To saue me fro purgatory that sharpe fyre  
 ¶ I thanke god nowe / I can walke and go. good dedes.
- 620 And am deliuered of my sickenesse and wo.  
 Therefore with Euery man will I go & nat spare  
 His good werkes I will helpe him to declare.  
 ¶ Nowe Euery man be mery and glad knowlege.  
 your good dedes cōmeth nowe / ye may nat be sad
- 625 Nowe is your good dedes hole and sounde  
 Goyng vp right on the grounde.  
 ¶ My hert is light / and shalbe euer more euery man.  
 Nowe will I smyte faster than I dyd before  
 ¶ Euery man pilgrimage my speciall frende good dedes.
- 630 Blessed be thou without ende  
 For the is preparate the eternall glorye  
 ye haue me made hole and sounde  
 Therefore I will byde by the euery stounde.  
 ¶ Welcome my good dedes now / I here thy voice euery man.
- 635 I wepe for very swetnesse of loue.  
 ¶ Be no more sad but euer reioyce knowlege.  
 God seeth thy liuyng in his trone aboue  
 Put on thy garment to thy behoue  
 Whiche is wette with your teares
- 640 Or els before god ye may it misse  
 Whan ye to your iournayes ende come shall.  
 ¶ Gentill Knowlege / what do you it call euery man.  
 ¶ It is called the garment of sorowe knowlege.  
 Fro paine it will you borowe
- 645 Contricion it is

- That getteth forgyuenesse  
 He pleaseth god passyng well.
- good dedes. ¶ Euery man / will ye weare it for your heale.  
 euery man. ¶ Nowe blessed be Iesu Maryes sonne  
 650 For nowe haue I one trewe contricion  
 And let vs go nowe without taryeng  
 Good dedes / haue we clere our rekenyng.
- good dedes. ¶ ye in dede / I haue them here.  
 euery man. ¶ Than I trust we nede nat to feare  
 655 Nowe fryndes / let vs nat departe atwayne.
- Kynrede. ¶ Nay euery man / that wyll we nat certayne  
 good dedes. ¶ yet must thou leade with the  
 Thre persones of great myght  
 euery man. ¶ Who shulde they be.  
 good dedes. ¶ Discrecion and strength they hyght  
 661 And thy beauty may nat byde behynde.  
 knowlege. ¶ Also ye must call to mynde  
 your fyue wyttes / as for your counsaylours.
- good dedes. ¶ you must haue them redy / at all houres.  
 euery man. ¶ Howe shall I geate them them hyder.  
 Kynrede. ¶ you must call them all togyder  
 667 And they wyll here you in contynent.
- euery man. ¶ My frendes come hyder and be present  
 Discrecion / strength / my fyue wyttes and beautie  
 Beautye. ¶ Here at your wyll we be redy  
 What wolde ye that we shulde do.  
 good dedes. ¶ That ye wolde with Euery man go.  
 And helpe hym in his pilgrymage  
 674 Aduise you / will ye w<sup>h</sup> him go or nat in 'his vyage.
- Strength. ¶ We wyll brynge hym all thyther  
 To helpe and comfort him / ye may beleue me.

- ¶ So will we go with him all together  
 ¶ Almighty god loued may thou be  
 I gyue the laude that I haue hyder brought  
 680 Strength / Discreciō / Beaute & .v. wettes lacke I  
 And my good dedes w̄ knowlege clere (nought  
 All be in company at my will here  
 I desyre no more to my businesse.  
 ¶ And I strength will by you stande in distresse  
 685 Though ȳ wolde in batayle fight on the grounde.  
 ¶ And though it were thorowe ȳ worlde rounde  
 We will nat departe for swete ne for soure.  
 ¶ No more will I vnto Dethes houre  
 What so euer therof befall.  
 690 ¶ Euery man aduise you first of all  
 Go with a good aduisement and deliberacion  
 We all gyue you vertuous monycion.  
 That all shalbe well.  
 ¶ My frendes harke what I will you tell  
 695 I pray god rewarde you in his heuently spere  
 Nowe herken all that be here  
 For I will make my testament  
 Here before you all present  
 In almesse halfe my good I gyue with my handes  
 700 In ȳ way of charite with good intent (twayne  
 And the other halfe styll shall remayne  
 I it bequethe to be retourned there it ought to be  
 This I do in dispite of the fende of hell  
 To go quyte out of his perell  
 705 Euer after this day.  
 ¶ Euery man harken what I wyll say  
 Go to presthode I you aduyse  
 Euery man. C  
 Discrecion  
 euery man.  
 Strength.  
 v. wyttes.  
 Beautye.  
 Discrecion  
 euery man.  
 knowlege.



- And receyue of him in any wyse  
 The holy sacrament and oyntement toguyder  
 710 Than shortly se ye tourne agayne hyder  
 We will all abyde you here
- v. wyttes. ¶ ye Euery man / hye you that ye redy were  
 There is no emperour / kyng / duke ne baron  
 That of god hath commissyon  
 715 As hath the leest preest in the worlde beyng  
 For of the blessed sacramentes pure and benigne  
 He bereth the kayes / and therof hath cure  
 For mannes redempcion it is euer sure  
 Whiche god for our soules medicyne  
 720 Gaue vs out of his herte with great payne  
 Here in this transitorye lyfe for the and me  
 The blessed sacramentes .vii. there be  
 Baptyme / confirmacion / with preesthode good  
 And y<sup>o</sup> sacramēt of goddes precious flesshe & blode  
 725 Maryage / the holy extreme vnction / & penaunce  
 These .vii. be good to haue in remembraunce  
 Gracious sacramentes of hye deuinyte
- euery man. ¶ Fayne wolde I receyue that holy body  
 And mekely to my goostly father I will go
- v. wyttes. ¶ Euery man / that is the best that ye can do  
 God will you to saluacion brynge  
 For preesthode exceedeth all other thyng  
 To vs holy scripture they do teche  
 And conuerteth man fro synne heuen to reche  
 735 God hath to them more power gyuen  
 Than to any aungell that is in heuen  
 With .v. wordes he may consecrate  
 Goddes body in flesshe and blode to take

- And handeleth his maker bytwene his handes  
 740 The preest byndeth / and vnbyndeth all bandes  
 Bothe in erthe and in heuen  
 Thou minysters all the sacramentes seuen  
 Though we kyst thy fete thou were worthy  
 Thou arte the surgyan that cureth synne deedly  
 745 No remedy may we fynde vnder god  
 But alone on preesthode  
 Euery man god gaue preest that dignite  
 And letteth them in his stede amonge vs be  
 Thus be they aboue aungels in degre.  
 750 ¶ If preestes be good it is so suerly  
 But whan Iesu henge on y̅ crosse w̅ great smarte  
 There gaue he vs out of his blessed herte  
 The same sacrament in great tourment  
 He helde them nat to that lorde omnipotent  
 755 Therefore saynt Peter the apostell do the saye  
 That Iesus curse haue all they  
 Whiche god their sauour do bye or sell  
 Or they for any money do take or tell  
 Sinfull preestes / gyueth the sinners example bad  
 760 Their children sytteth by other mens fyres I haue  
 And some haunteth womens company (harde  
 With vnclene lyfe / as lustes of Lechery  
 These be without synne made blynde.  
 ¶ I trust to god no suche may we fynde  
 765 Therefore let vs preesthode honoure  
 And folowe their doctrine for our soules socour  
 We be their shepe / and they shephardes be  
 By whom we all be kept in suerte  
 Peace / for yonder I se Euery man come  
 Euery man. C.ii.

knowlege.

v. wyttes.

- 770 Whiche hath made trewe satisfaction.  
 good dedes. ¶ Me thinke it is he in dede.  
 euery man. ¶ Nowe Iesu be our alder spede  
 I haue receyued the sacrament for my redempcion  
 And myne extreme vncion
- 775 Blessed be all they that counsayled me to take it  
 And nowe frendes / let vs go without lōger respite  
 I thanke god that ye haue taryed so longe  
 Nowe set eche of you on this rodde his hande  
 And shortly folowe me
- 780 { I go before there I wolde be  
 { God be our guyde.
- Strength. ¶ Euery man / we will nat fro you go  
 Tyll ye haue gone this vyage longe.
- Discrecion ¶ I Discrecion will hyde by you also  
 knowlege. ¶ And though this pilgrimage be neuer so strong
- 785 I will neuer part you fro.
- Strength. ¶ Euery man I will be as sure by the  
 As euer I was by Iudas Machabe.
- euery man. ¶ Alas / I am faynt I may nat stande  
 My lymmes vnder me do folde
- 790 Frendes / let vs nat turne agayne to this lande  
 Nat for all the worldes golde  
 For in to this caue must I crepe  
 And torne to the erthe and there slepe.
- Beautye. ¶ What in to this graue / alas  
 euery man. ¶ ye / there shall we consume more and lesse
- Beautye. ¶ And what shulde I smoder here  
 euery man. ¶ ye be my fay / and neuer more appere  
 In this worlde lyue no more we shall
- 799 But in heuen before the hyst lorde of all



- ¶ I crosse out all this / adieu by saynt Ihoñ  
 I take my tappe in my lappe and am gone      Beautye.
- ¶ What Beaute / whether will ye.      euery man.
- ¶ Peas I am defe / I loke nat behinde me  
 Nat & thou wolde gyue me all y<sup>e</sup> golde in thy chest      Beautye.
- ¶ Alas / where to may I nowe trust  
 Beaute dothe fast away hye      euery man.
- He promised with me to lyue and dye.
- ¶ Euery man I will the also forsake and denye      Strength.
- 809 Thy game lyketh me nat at all.
- ¶ why than ye will forsake me all      euery man.
- Strength tary I pray you a lytell space
- ¶ Nay syr by the rode of grace      Strength.
- I will hye me fro the fast  
 Though thou wepe tyll thy hert brast.
- ¶ ye wolde euer haue bydde by me ye sayd      euery man.
- ¶ ye / I haue you ferre ynough conueyed      Strength.
- ye be olde ynoughe I vnderstande  
 your pilgrimage to take on hande
- 819 I repent me that I hether came.
- ¶ Strength / you to displeas I am to blame      euery man.
- yet promise is dette / this ye well wot
- ¶ In faythe as for that I care not.      Strength.
- Thou arte but a foole to complayne  
 Thou spendeth thy speche and wastest thy brayne
- 825 Go trusse the into the grounde.
- ¶ I had went surer I shulde you haue founde      euery man.
- But I se well / he that trusteth in his strength  
 Is greatly disceyued at the length  
 For Strength and Beaute / hath forsaken me
- 830 yet they promised me stedfast to be.

Euery man.

C.iii.

- Discrecion ¶ Euery man I will after Strength begone  
As for me I will leaue you alone.
- euery man. ¶ Why Discrecion / will ye forsake me.
- Discrecion ¶ ye in good fayth I will go fro the  
835 For whan strength is gone before  
Than I folowe after euer more.
- euery man. ¶ yet I pray the for loue of the Trinite  
Loke in my graue and thou shalt se.
- Discrecion ¶ Nay so nye I will nat come  
840 Nowe farewell felowes euerychone.
- euery man. ¶ O all thinge fayleth saue god alone  
Beaute / Strength / and Discrecion  
For whan Deth bloweth his blaste  
They all ronne away fro me fast.
- v. wyttes. ¶ Euery man / of the nowe my leue I take  
I will folowe the other / for here I the forsake
- euery man. ¶ Alas than may I bothe wayle and wepe  
For I toke you for my best frende.
- v. wyttes. ¶ I will no lenger the kepe  
850 Nowe farewell and here an ende.
- euery man. ¶ Nowe Iesu helpe / all hath forsaken me.
- good dedes. ¶ Nay Euery man I will a byde with the  
I will nat forsake the in dede  
Thou shalt fynde me a good frende at nede.
- euery man. ¶ Gramercy good dede / now may I true frēdes se  
They haue forsake me euerychone  
I loued them better than my good dedes alone  
Knowlege will ye forsake me also.
- knowlege. ¶ ye Euery man / whan you to Deth shall go  
860 But nat yet for no maner of daungere.
- euery man. ¶ Gramercy knowlege with all my hert





the aūgell. ¶ Come excellent electe spouse to Iesu

895 Here about thou shalt go  
 Bycause of thy singuler vertue  
 Nowe thy soule is taken thy body fro  
 Thy rekening is christall clere  
 Nowe shalt thou into the heuynly spere

900 Vnto the whiche all ye shall come  
 That lyueth well / after the day of dome.

Doctour. ¶ This memoryall / men may haue in mynde  
 ye herers / take it a worthe olde and yonge  
 And forsake pryde / for he disceyueth you in thende  
 905 And remēbre beaute .v. wyttē / strength & discrecion  
 They all at last do Euery man forsake  
 Saue his good dedes there dothe take  
 But beware / for and they be small  
 Before god he hath no helpe at all

910 None excuse may be there for Euery man  
 Alas howe shall he do than  
 For after deth / amendes may no man make  
 For than mercy and pyte dothe him forsake  
 If his rekening be nat clere whan he do come  
 915 God will say. *Ite maledicti in ignem eternum.*  
 And he that hath his account hole and sounde  
 Hye in heuyn he shalbe crounde?

Vnto whiche place / god bringe vs all thether  
 That we may lyue body and soule toguyder

920 Therto helpe the Trinite  
 Amen say ye / for saynt charite.

¶ Finis.

¶ Imprynted at London in Fletestrete / by me  
 Rycharde Pynson / prynter to the kynges  
 moost noble grace.

**I**nto the whiche all ye than come  
**T**hat lyueth well after the daye of dome  
**T**he remoyall men maye haue in mynde  
 ye herets take it a moꝝ the olde and yonge  
**A**nd forlake pryde foꝝ he deceyues you in the end  
**A**nd remeꝛbe beaute. v. wytt's strength & discrecion  
**T**hey all at last do euery man forlake  
**S**auē his good dedes theredo he take  
**B**ut beware foꝝ and they be small  
**B**efore god he hath no helpe at all  
**N**one excuse may be there foꝝ euery man  
**A**las howe shall he do than  
**F**oꝝ after deth amendes may go man make  
**F**oꝝ than mercy and pyte dothe hym forlake  
**I**f his rekenyng be not clere whan he do come  
**G**od wyll say ite maledicti in ignem eternum.  
**A**nd he that hath his accounte hole and sounde  
**H**ye in heuen he shall be crounde  
**I**nto whiche please god byꝛnge vs all the  
**T**hat we may lyue body and soule togyder  
**T**hereto helpe the trinyte  
**A**men saye ye foꝝ saynt charyte.  
**F**inis.  
**I**mpꝛynted at London in Fletestrete at the  
**S**ygne of the George by Rycharde Pynson/  
 pꝛynter vnto the Kyng's noble grace.

THE BODLEIAN FRAGMENT





the aūgell. **C**ome excellent electe spouse to Jesu  
 Here aboue thou shalt go  
 Bycause of thy singlar vertue  
 Nowe thy soule is taken thy body fro  
 Thy rekening is christall clere  
 Nowe shalt thou into the heuynly spere  
 Unto the whiche all ye shall come  
 That lyueth well / after the day of dome.

Doctour. **T**his memoꝝ pall / men may haue in mynde  
 ye herers / take it a worthe olde and yonge  
 And forsaake pryde / for he discepueth you in thende  
 And remēbꝛe beaute. v. witt / strength & discrecion  
 They all at last do **E**uery man forsaake  
 Saue his good dedes there dothe take  
 But beware / for and they be small  
 Befoze god he hath no helpe at all  
 None excuse may be there for **E**uery man  
 Alas howe shall he do than  
 For after deth / amendes may no man make  
 For than mercy and pyte dothe him forsaake  
 If his rekening be nat clere whan he do come  
 God will say, *Ite maledicti in ignem eternum.*  
 And he that hath his account hole and sounde  
 Hye in heuyn he shall be crounde-  
 Unto whiche place / god bynge vs all thether  
 That we may lyue body and soule togupder  
 Therto helpe the **T**rinite  
 Amen say ye / for saynt charite.

**C**fnis.

**C**Impꝛynted at London in fletestrete / by me  
 Rycharde Wynson / pꝛynter to the kynges  
 moost noble grace.



## CRITICAL APPARATUS

After an interval for the length of which I can only apologize, I offer to the subscribers of the *Materialien* the conclusion of my labours upon the text of *Everyman*. My object in the pages that follow has not so much been myself to determine the relation of the editions to one another or to fix the readings where variants appear, as to supply other critics with the materials for forming their own judgements upon these points. My hearty thanks are due to Mr. Herbert Collmann, librarian to Mr. Christie-Miller, for information regarding the Britwell copy of the play, and to Dr. H. de Vocht for help with the Dutch text.

### I.

Of *Everyman* four copies, whole or fragmentary, are known.

**A.** A perfect copy of an edition printed by John Skot, now in the possession of Mr. S. R. Christie-Miller at Britwell Court. It once belonged to the Library of Lincoln Cathedral, and while still there was reprinted by Thomas Hawkins in his *Origin of the English Drama* (1773, vol. i, p. 33). Thence it was purchased, along with other books, by T. F. Dibdin, and advertised in the *Lincoln Nosegay* in 1814 <sup>1)</sup> (Dodsley's *Old English Plays*, edited by W. C. Hazlitt, 1874, i. 95). It was apparently purchased by Earl Spencer for his library at Althorp. According to Mr. A. W. Pollard (*Catalogue of the Huth Bequest*, as below, p. 54) it 'passed by exchange from Lord Spencer to Heber and at the Heber Sale was purchased for the library at Britwell Court', but this is not an altogether complete account of its wanderings, for after the Heber sale in 1834-7 it appeared in that of Thomas Jolley's collection in 1844 and still contains his book-plate <sup>2)</sup>. This 'Britwell' copy was reprinted in vol. 4 of the *Materialien* (1904).

<sup>1)</sup> The copy still bears the inscription 'Lincoln Nosegay N<sup>o</sup> 6'.

<sup>2)</sup> Sale Catalogues. (i) Richard Heber. At Evans' sale-rooms. Part viii. 1836, Feb. 29 and following days. No. 2365. At the end of the description is the note: 'There were at least two editions of this Moral Play, both printed by Scott, the main difference is, that one is without a colophon, but has six of the dram. pers. in a wood cut at the back of the title. A copy with these distinctive marks was sold among Mr. Caldecott's books'. The copy fetched £ 32, being bought by Thorpe.

(ii) Thomas Jolley. At Sotheby's sale-rooms. Part iii. 1844, March 15 and following days. No. 456. Appended is a note: 'A copy of the second edition in Mr. Caldecot's [sic] sale for £ 32.. 10.. 0. Another copy of that edition is in the Salisbury Cathedral Library; but of this I know of no other'. It again fell to Thorpe for £ 32.



**B.** A perfect copy of another edition by John Skot, till recently in the possession of Mr. A. H. Huth, now in the British Museum. Described by Mr. A. W. Pollard in the official *Catalogue of the Fifty Manuscripts and Printed Books bequeathed to the British Museum by Alfred H. Huth*, 1912, p. 53. Formerly in the possession of Thomas Caldecott and subsequently of George Daniel, who acquired it in 1834, and after whose death in 1864 it passed to Henry Huth <sup>1</sup>). This 'Huth' copy was reprinted as vol. 24 of the *Materialien* (1909) at a time before it had become the property of the nation <sup>2</sup>).

<sup>1</sup>) Sale Catalogues. (i) Thomas Caldecott. At Sotheby's sale-rooms. 1833, Dec. 9 and following days. No. 1462. Appended is a note: 'This appears to be a totally different edition to that mentioned in Dibdin's *Typographical Antiquities*, vol. 3, p. 79, as being in the Library of Lincoln Cathedral. It consists of the same member of leaves, but has no colophon; and the signatures run thus: A6, B6, and D4; the other running A4, B8, and C4. Dr. Dibdin does not mention the six figures engraved in wood, representing the *Dramatis Personæ*, which occur in this edition on the reverse of the title'. The copy was bought by Thorpe for £ 32. 10.

(ii) George Daniel. At Sotheby's sale-rooms. 1864, July 20 and following days. No. 798. Appended is a note: 'In addition to a large woodcut on the title there are six curious cuts on wood of the *Dramatis Personæ* not found in the only other edition. This most precious volume is from the celebrated collection of the late Mr. Caldecott'. It fell to Lilly for £ 74. 11.

<sup>2</sup>) Great trouble has been caused by a statement to the effect that a second copy of this edition exists in the library of Salisbury Cathedral. I have not been able to trace this statement back further than the sale catalogue of Thomas Jolley's collection, as quoted in a previous note, and I do not know who was responsible for the description there given. The assertion was not based on any information in the book itself. The statement gained currency through W. C. Hazlitt's *Handbook* (1867, p. 463) and has been often repeated, among others by Dr. Logemann, who, though unable to find the copy for his edition of the play (Ghent, 1892, p. viii), has 'no doubt that it will turn up again'. I hardly think that his confidence is justified. The evidence for the existence of such a copy is too slight, being indeed nothing but the unsupported assertion of the Jolley sale catalogue. Dr. Logemann, indeed, implies that Hawkins knew the Salisbury copy. He says that Hazlitt's 'references to Skot's *other* ed. are those to the Salisbury copy as used by Hawkins'. But here he is in error. Hawkins makes no mention, and shows no knowledge, of any but the Lincoln (Britwell) copy. Moreover, Hazlitt (Dodsley, i. 97) explicitly states that 'Hawkins was not aware that Skot printed the piece more than once'. Hazlitt usually follows the Huth text. Where he notes that 'Skot's *other* edition, used by Hawkins, reads' so and so, he means: Skot's *other* edition, *that* used by Hawkins.

In reply to inquiries I received the following letter:

The Close, Salisbury. 6 Jan'y. 1910.

My dear Sir,

There is no copy of 'Everyman' in the Salisbury Cathedral Library. I am very glad to have the opportunity of putting the fact upon record, as

C. A fragment, consisting of portions of the last four leaves (signature C) only, of an edition printed by Richard Pynson, preserved among the fragments bequeathed in 1834 by Francis Douce to the Bodleian Library, Oxford. It was evidently recovered out of the binding of a book, and is much torn and stained. This 'Douce' copy is reprinted in the present volume of the *Materialien* (p. 3).

D. An imperfect copy, wanting the first six leaves (signature A), of another edition printed by Richard Pynson, preserved in the British Museum. This copy has been interleaved and collated with the Britwell copy at a time when this was still at Lincoln, that is, not later than 1814. According to the British Museum catalogue of English books to 1640, the notes are by William Herbert, but this does not appear to be altogether certain. I have not been able to discover the history of the copy. The absence of any date-stamp proves that it was in the Museum before 1840. On the back is a monogram of the letters D and G. But it does not form part of the collection of plays bequeathed to the Museum by David Garrick <sup>1)</sup>, while the date of acquisition excludes the possibility of its having come from George Daniel's sale. This 'Museum' copy is also reprinted in the present volume, p. 13.

The fact that the four copies that survive belong to four different editions raises a presumption that the number of editions printed was considerable <sup>2)</sup>. No copy is dated nor is it possible to assign very close

---

people come to me wanting to see the book and are annoyed when they are told it is not here ; how the statement originated I cannot make out.

Yours faithfully

A. R. Malden

Librarian.

W. W. Greg Esq.

This should, I think, settle the matter. How the story arose I do not know either. It is natural to assume that there has somehow been confusion between the two Skot editions and the two Cathedral Libraries of Salisbury and Lincoln. Nevertheless, it is only right to remember that we know nothing of the history of the Huth copy previous to its appearance in the Caldecott sale.

<sup>1)</sup> As is erroneously stated in the Introductory note to the present volume (p. vi) which was printed several years ago.

<sup>2)</sup> I have to thank my friend Mr. J. E. Littlewood, mathematical lecturer at Trinity College, Cambridge, for some interesting information on this point. It is obvious that, if no more than four editions were printed, it is very unlikely that, of four surviving copies, each should belong to a different edition (in point of fact the chance is only  $\frac{3}{32}$  or about 1 in 11), and that as the number of editions printed increases so does the probability of such an occurrence. There must therefore be a point (a particular number of editions) at which the chance approximate most nearly to  $\frac{1}{2}$ . This number is 10, for which the actual chance is  $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{250}$ . Ten, therefore, is the smallest number of editions which makes the actually occurring arrangement as likely as not to occur.

limits for the printing of any of them. Skot was working from 1521 to 1537. The device which appears in the Britwell copy is not known to have been used before c. 1530, but this is merely negative evidence. Again Skot is only known to have printed in Paul's Churchyard in 1528-9, but he may have done so any time after 1522 and before 1537. The Huth copy has no address: it bears a device, which, in the state in which it there appears (with his monogram on the shield), Skot is not known to have used earlier than c. 1530, though he may have done so at any date after 1522. Pynson was at work from c. 1491 to 1528. Both the Douce and Museum copies contain his colophon as king's printer living in Fleetstreet. The address, however, only fixes the date as 1500 or later, the title as after May 1508. Thus Skot's editions can only be limited to a period of 15, Pynson's only to one of 20, years. These periods overlap by six years. If we can trust the negative evidence in the case of Skot, then his editions must both be later than Pynson's; even if we cannot, Pynson's may still be the earlier. If we could prove that both of Skot's editions were anterior to Pynson's we could assert that all four appeared between the years 1522 and 1528. As it is we only know that they appeared between 1508 and 1537. (See E. Gordon Duff, *A Century of the English Book Trade 1457-1557*, 1905, pp. 126, 149; R. B. Mc Kerrow, *Printers' and Publishers' Devices in England and Scotland 1485-1640*, 1913, pp. 20, 26; also *Hand-Lists of English Printers*, Pt. i, 1895, Skot, Pt. ii, 1896, Pynson, all issued by the Bibliographical Society).

## II.

I regret to have to say that, in spite of the care bestowed on them, my reprints of the texts of *Everyman* in this series are not altogether free from errors. I must therefore beg that students, before making use of them for critical purposes, will enter the following corrections in their copies. It will, of course, be understood that the object in each case is not to amend the text but to bring it into exact agreement with the edition from which it is reprinted.

### CORRIGENDA.

#### *Britwell text:*

30	bloderede	<i>read</i>	blode rede	532	eurey	<i>read</i>	euery
36	dampnable	»	dampnable	587	Forgyve	»	Forgyue
41	nothinge	»	nothyng	647	pleasyth	»	pleaseth
288	Johñ	»	Iohñ	746	Bute	»	But
424	thyther	»	thyder				



*Huth text :*

288 Johñ	<i>read</i> Iohñ	784 de	<i>read</i> be
324 you	» ye	905 (dicressiö	» (dicressiö
335 ( <i>misnumbered</i> )		also on B. ii. <i>catch-title</i>	sommen-
536 clensyng	» clensynge	yngre <i>read</i> summenyngre	
565 ð	» ð	and on D. ii. <i>catch-title</i>	sommon
767 shepeherders	» shepeherdes	yngre <i>read</i> summonyngre	

*Douce text* (Bodleian fragment) :

No errors have been discovered.

*Museum text* (B. M. fragment) :

392 arte	<i>read</i>	art	617 of	<i>read</i>	os (of)
503 workes	»	werkes	744 arte	»	art
526 by	»	be	755 saye	»	say
606 acquaintaunce	<i>read</i>		823 arte	»	art
	aquaintaunce		905 wyttf	»	wittf

## III.

The object of the following lists is threefold. In the first place they are intended to indicate those passages in which, owing to the breaking of the type, imperfect locking, bad press-work, or any other cause, the actual reading of the old print is open to question. In the second place they are meant to correct certain obvious errors of the compositors of the early editions, mostly of the sort sometimes called 'literals', which are not worth recording among the textual variants. In the third place they give an opportunity of indicating a number of more or less irregular or unusual spellings which cannot be regarded as actual misprints of the original, are not worth recording as variants, but might be suspected of being errors of the reprints. The second and third of these classes cannot be very sharply divided from one another. In every case the presumably correct reading, or the more usual spelling, is added in parentheses. Should it be necessary in the course of the collations to quote incidentally readings which are either certainly misprinted or appear in very misleading spellings, they will be given in the corrected or more normal form, but will be distinguished by parentheses.

*Britwell text :*

7 wonders (wonderous)	34 nomore (no more)
28 rood (rod)	35 for sake (forsake)
30 blode rede <i>possibly</i> bloderede	64 Dethe. ( <i>too high</i> )

90 sende (sente)	303 this (thus)
100 lenger (longer)	325 bolde (holde)
101 layser	326 holde. (bolde)
131 lenger (longer)	336 a counte (accounte)
135 a bydyngē (abydyngē)	364 a gree. (agree.)
142 preue (proue)	366 be hynde. (behynde.)
156 acqueynce (acqueyntaunce)	382 a byde (abyde)
161 lyue (cf. 169)	383 a waye (awaye)
168 made (mad)	453 caugh (caught)
183 a waye (awaye)	469 An (And)
189 begete (be gete)	493 a counte (accounte)
208 a mysse (amysse)	525 hole (holy)
227 tentymes (ten tymes)	526 by (be)
251 make (maketh)	545 O glorious <i>possibly</i> Oglorious
258 a syde (asyde)	656, 666 Kynrede. (knowlege)
263 who (Who)	667 in contynent. (incontynent.)
286 remembre (remembre)	695 heuen (heuenly)
297 a waye (awaye)	727 deuyuyte. (deuynyte.)
298 be take (betake)	739 hande (handes)
300 A dewe (Adewe)	863 be come. (become.)
more- (more.)	905 dycrecyō (dyscrecyō)
303 A lacke (Alacke)	

N.B. This edition is distinguished by the consistent use of the spelling 'counseyll' and kindred forms, and also of the spellings 'hyder' &c.

*Huth text :*

19 kenge (kyngē)	113 rekenyuge (rekenyngē)
22 Iperceyue (I perceyue)	119 what (whan)
29 dyed <i>possibly</i> dyeo	127 gēftes (gyftes)
30 forgot (forget)	135 a bydyngē (abydyngē)
31 cannot <i>possibly</i> eaunot (cannot)	152 T rust (Trust)
34 nomore (no more)	153 gracious
49 be cume (becume)	156 Dethe ( <i>belongs to</i> 157)
54 I had <i>possibly</i> Ihad	161 thylyfe (thy lyfe)
64 ( <i>no speaker's name</i> )	162 wordely (worldely)
Almyghtygod (Almyghty god)	166 A nother (Another)
68 Apylgrymage (A pylgrymage)	168 Euenyman (Eueryman)
74 be set (beset)	177 noman (no man)
87 ( <i>no speaker's name</i> )	202 cartaynely (certaynely)
90, 92 sende (sente)	205 god (good)
100 lenger (longer)	223 nomore (no more)
101 layser	243 herde (harde)

248 duyte (dutyte)	538 yon (you)
261 nyuer (neuer)	549 Redempe
279 iourney <i>possibly</i> idurney	571 $\dot{w}$ <i>possibly</i> $\dot{w}$
282 wyll ( <i>first</i> 1 <i>doubtful</i> )	580 creclery (clerely)
292 Feſawe' (Felawe.)	622 god (good)
313 my kynnesmen <i>possibly</i> mykynnesmen	626 Go ynge (Goynge)
317 yender (yonder)	636 nomore (no more)
327 Geamercy (Gramercy)	656, 666 Kynred. (Knowlege)
336 a counte (accounte)	667 in contynent (incontynent)
365 Nw (Now)	671 shalde (sholde)
368 a nother (another)	691 delyberacyon (delyberacyon)
398 what (What)	692 vertues (vertuous)
mesaye (me saye)	704 parell (perell)
401 Syr& (Syr &)	716 benynge (benygne)
403 a nother (another)	732 excedeth (d <i>doubtful</i> )
406 gyne (gyue)	751 $\dot{w}$ (t <i>doubtful</i> )
414 a nother (another)	769 yender (yonder)
432 for (of)	770 satysfacoon (satysfacyon)
442 condycyons (condycyon)	774 thou (than)
449 A nother (Another)	798 nomore (no more)
464 Forto (For to)	822 Strenght (Strength)
476 a shamed (ashamed)	823 co mplayne (complayne)
483 no ther (nother)	831 begone (be gone)
493 a count (account)	854 god (good)
tomake (to make)	870 ertly (erthly)
495 $\dot{w}$ <i>possibly</i> $\dot{w}$	902 men / (/ men)
509 I praye (I praye)	914 rekenyuge (rekenynge)
	915 eternam. (eternum))

N. B. In this edition we consistently have 'councell' &c. for the 'counseyll' &c. of Britwell. There is also a tendency to substitute the spellings 'hether' &c. for 'hyder' &c. The same tendency is also observably in the Pynson fragments.

*Douce text :*

691 lyberacion (delyberacion)	760 othermens (other mens)
702 be quethe (bequethe)	766 ours (our)
returued (returned)	769 Passe (Pease)
705 Eeuer (Euer)	793.6 ( <i>speakers' names belong to 794-7</i> )
733 scriptue (scripture)	840 Forwell (Farewell)
737 concecrate (consecrate)	848 take (toke)
755 do (dothe)	850 forwell (farewell) .



870, 876, 878 god (good)	882 broughtest (boughtest)
873 fleeth ( <i>second e doubtful</i> )	903 aworthe
880 lordes (lorde)	

N. B. There is no upper-case Y in this text.

*Museum text :*

327 euery man. ( <i>point hidden under mending paper</i> )	574 nowe <i>possibly</i> no we
335 whiche (Whiche)	617 os (of)
336 a counte (accounte)	629 pilgrimage (pilgrim)
355 cosyng <i>possibly</i> cosyu	656, 666 Kynrede. (knowlege.)
367 behinde. (behinde /)	665 geate (get)
370 feare (faire)	them them (them)
394 trussed (trussed)	667 in contynent. (incontynent.)
396 iye (eye)	709 toguyder (togyder)
401 wolrd (world)	717 kayes (keyes)
401, 414, 425 good dedes (Goodes.)	755 do the (dothe)
436 myspending (my spending)	810 why (Why)
443 one. (one /)	euery man. <i>possibly</i> euery man.
461 Good. (Goodes.)	820, 822 ( <i>in each case the speaker's name is half a line too high in the original</i> )
467 lelfe (lefte)	824 spendeth (spendest)
470 feare (faire)	831 begone (be gone)
476 a shamed (ashamed)	852 a byde (abyde)
493 a count (account)	864 begone (be gone)
502 a count (account)	880 lordes (lorde)
510 ouer (euer)	887 <i>meuum.</i> ( <i>meum.</i> )
529 toguyder (togyder)	915 say. (say /)
553 exclama- ( <i>hyphen doubtful</i> )	917 crounde ? (crounde.)
556 aswell (as well)	919 toguyder (togyder)
573 euery man. <i>possibly</i> euery mau.	

N. B. There is no upper-case Y in this text.

#### IV.

For convenience of printing the collations are divided into three sections. The first of these contains the variants in that part of the text where only two editions are available, the second where three are available, and the third where, for the most part, all four are available.

I have taken pains to make the collations as complete as possible, and I have also aimed at making them fairly comprehensive. Thus it has been my object to include such differences of form as 'from' and

'fro', 'you' and 'ye', and even merely inflectional variants such as 'has' and 'hath'. It is true that these are as a rule quite useless for the purpose of determining the relation of the editions, but it seemed worth while to present the reader with as complete a survey of the variants as was practicable. Complete consistency of method must however not be sought, as it is an ideal difficult of attainment and but doubtfully worth pursuit. Mere differences of spelling, of course, have not been recorded, nor has any notices been taken of the fluctuating vowels in such words as 'longer' 'lenger', 'hand' 'hond', 'harte' 'herte', &c. I have not included the variations of the words 'hyder' 'thyder' 'whyder' 'togyder', but most of the cases will be found recorded in the lists of rimes given later on. The above are the practically consistent spellings of the Britwell text; the other three all substitute, more or less widely but not consistently, the forms 'hether' 'thether' 'whether' 'together'.

In every case of variation the reading of each edition is printed in full. In order to make the bearing of the variant clearer the context has also been added in italic from the Britwell text.

In the case of the second and third sections, in which more than two texts are involved, I have added a final column showing by means of a simple formula the nature of the variant. This will I hope be found useful. Readers will of course understand that **A** = Britwell, **B** = Huth, **C** = Douce, and **D** = Museum text.

## (1) lines 1-304.

Britwell	Huth
10 <i>The story sayth</i>	This
14 <i>causeth the soule to wepe</i>	thy
18 <i>Wyll fade from the</i>	vade
21 <i>what he doth saye.</i>	wyll
28 <i>my ryghtwysnes the sharpe (rod)</i>	/ that
30 <i>They forgete clene / shedyng of my blode rede</i>	forgot so redde
31 <i>I hanged bytwene two</i>	two theues /
41 <i>they be nothyng sure</i>	not
43 <i>The worse they be fro yere to yere</i>	are from
51 <i>they do all clene forgete</i>	all do
55 <i>I se lyke traytours</i>	se that
73 <i>And cruelly out serche</i>	truely
74 <i>Euery man wyll I beset</i>	I wyll
77 <i>and fro heuen</i>	from

77	<i>fro heuen to departe</i>	depart
78	<i>Excepte that almes be his good frende</i>	almes dedes
91	<i>Fro god out of his mageste</i>	From
96	<i>thou shalte knowe.</i>	shall
100	<i>Without ony lenger respyte.</i>	lenger
107	<i>before god thou shalte answeere</i>	shalte thou
109	<i>thou hast spente thy lyfe</i>	spede
111	<i>Haue I do we were</i>	a do that we
116	<i>and no man spareth</i>	none
121	<i>wyl I gyue y<sup>e</sup> yf thou wyl</i>	ye
129	<i>But my custome</i>	All
141	<i>were gone y<sup>e</sup> Iournaye</i>	y <sup>e</sup>
143	<i>wete thou well</i>	you
151	<i>Thou mayst neuer</i>	must
153	¶ O gracyous god <i>in the hye sete</i>	¶ gracyous hye
168	<i>y<sup>e</sup> arte (mad) thou hast</i>	/ y <sup>e</sup>
180	<i>out of thy syght</i>	syght
190	<i>a full grete profyte</i>	great
195	<i>what for to do</i>	to
213	<i>to my lyues ende</i>	/ vnto
215	<i>That was well spoken</i>	is
225	<i>tourne your mynde fro me</i>	from
226	<i>whan ye here me</i>	you
252	<i>as well as we can</i>	we
268	<i>that lothe iournaye</i>	lothesom
270	<i>Ye promysed other wyse</i>	promysed me
271	<i>I say so</i>	sayd
273	<i>women the lusty company</i>	/ that
*278	<i>Your mynde wyll soner apply</i>	to folye wyll
280	<i>Now in good fayth</i>	Nay
281	<i>and thou wyll murder</i>	wylte
293	<i>not a fote</i>	one
294	<i>I wolde not haue lefte</i>	a
297	<i>wyll y<sup>e</sup> forsake me.</i>	/ wylt
300	<i>A dewe for euer</i> <i>for euer I shall se the no (more.)</i>	Felawe. ¶ Adewe for... neuer se
301	<i>felowship ¶ In fayth</i>	euery man ¶
303	<i>euery mā. ¶ A lacke shall we</i>	Alacke
304	<i>A lady helpe</i>	O



## (2) lines 305-682.

	Britwell	Huth	Museum	
312	<i>hath</i> forsaken <i>me</i>	forsaken	forsake	AB : D
314	<i>to</i> helpe <i>me in my neces-</i> <i>syte</i>	helpe <i>me</i>	helpe	AB : D
318	<i>Where</i> <i>be</i> <i>ye</i> <i>now</i>	ye	you	AB : D
319	<i>Here</i> <i>be</i> <i>we</i> <i>now</i>	be <i>we</i>	we <i>be</i>	AB : D
321	<i>and</i> <i>not</i> <i>spare.</i>	do <i>not</i>	nat	AD : B
322	<i>and</i> <i>to</i> <i>vs</i> <i>declare</i>	vs <i>to</i>	to <i>vs</i>	AD : B
324	<i>wete</i> <i>you</i> <i>well</i>	ye	you	AD : B
	<i>wete</i> <i>you</i> <i>well</i> <i>wyll</i> <i>lyue</i>	well / we <i>wyll</i>	well / we <i>will</i>	A : BD
326	<i>a</i> <i>man</i> <i>may</i> <i>be</i> ( <i>bolde</i> ).	be	be <i>to</i>	AB : D
330	<i>That</i> <i>is</i> <i>a</i> <i>hye</i> <i>kynges</i> <i>kynges</i> <i>chefe</i> <i>offycer</i>	an chefe <i>offycere</i>	a officere	AD : B AB : D
331	<i>bad</i> <i>me</i> <i>go</i> <i>a</i> <i>pylgrymage</i>	a	on	AB : D
332	<i>And</i> <i>I</i> <i>knowe</i> <i>well</i>	But	And	AD : B
333	<i>Also</i> <i>I</i> <i>must</i> <i>gyue</i> <i>a</i> <i>rekenynge</i> <i>strayte</i>	rekenynge	rekening	A : BD
348	<i>I</i> <i>was</i> <i>bore</i> [: <i>more</i> .]	borne	bore	AD : B
355	<i>cosyn</i> <i>wyll</i> <i>you</i> <i>not</i>	/ <i>wyll</i> <i>you</i>	will	AB : D
359	<i>It</i> <i>auayleth</i> <i>not</i>	auayleth	auayleth <i>you</i>	AB : D
362	<i>And</i> <i>to</i> <i>daunce</i>	And	For	AB : D
366	<i>or</i> <i>abyde</i> ( <i>behynde</i> .)	abyde	byde	AB : D
367	<i>Abyde</i> <i>behynde</i> /	Abyde	Byde	AB : D
370	<i>fayre</i> <i>promyses</i> <i>men</i> <i>men</i> <i>to</i> <i>me</i> <i>make</i>	<i>promyses</i> / do <i>make</i>	<i>promesse</i> make	AB : D AD : B
373	<i>euery</i> <i>man</i> <i>farewell</i> <i>now</i>	<i>now</i>	as <i>nowe</i>	AB : D
375	<i>of</i> <i>myne</i> <i>owne</i> <i>of</i> <i>myne</i> <i>owne</i> <i>an</i> <i>vuredy</i> <i>rekenynge</i>	<i>my</i> <i>owne</i> /	<i>myne</i> <i>owne</i> <i>lyfe</i>	AD : B AB : D
376	<i>I</i> <i>haue</i> <i>to</i> <i>accoūte</i>	<i>accounte</i> /	<i>counte</i> /	AB : D
379	<i>fayre</i> <i>wordes</i> <i>maketh</i> <i>foles</i> <i>fayne</i>	<i>maketh</i>	make	AB : D
380	<i>They</i> <i>promyse</i> <i>and</i> <i>nothyng</i> <i>wyll</i> <i>do</i>	<i>promyse</i> /	<i>promes</i> <i>moche</i> /	AB : D
383	<i>fast</i> <i>a</i> <i>waye</i> <i>do</i> <i>they</i> <i>flee</i>	flee	flye	AB : D
386	<i>longer</i> <i>to</i> <i>abyde</i>	abyde	byde	AB : D
388	<i>I</i> <i>haue</i> <i>loued</i> <i>ryches</i>	ryches	richesse	AB : D
390	He <i>wolde</i> <i>make</i>	It	It	A : BD
392	<i>my</i> <i>gooddes</i> <i>and</i> <i>ryches</i> .	ryches.	richesse.	AB : D
394	<i>pyled</i> <i>so</i> <i>hye</i>	<i>so</i> <i>hye</i>	<i>nye</i>	AB : D

	Britwell	Huth	Museum	
395	<i>I am locked so fast</i>	full	full	<b>A : BD</b>
397	<i>in packes lowe I lye</i>	low	lowe where	<b>AB : D</b>
401	Goodes. <i>sorowe or aduersyte</i>	Goodes. trouble	good dedes. sorowe	<b>AB : D</b> <b>AD : B</b>
402	<i>That can I helpe you to remedy</i>	Than	That	<b>AD : B</b>
404	<i>I tell the so</i>	tell	tell the	<b>AD : B</b>
406	<i>a strayte counte</i>	accounte	counte	<b>AD : B</b>
408	<i>I haue had Ioye &amp; plea- sure in the</i>	ioye &	my	<b>AB : D</b>
409	<i>I pray the go with me</i>	go	nowe go	<b>AB : D</b>
414	Goodes. <i>Nay euery man</i>	Goodes. Nay	good dedes. Nay nay /	<b>AB : D</b> <b>AB : D</b>
418	<i>on me thou dyd set thy mynde</i>	dyde	dyddest	<b>AB : D</b>
*421	<i>for the loue of me.</i> [: truly]	the loue of me	my loue trewely.	<b>AB : D</b>
424	<i>Vp let vs go</i>	Vp	Vp and	<b>AB : D</b>
425	Goodes. <i>I am to brytell</i>	Goodes. bryttell	good dedes. brotell	<b>AB : D</b> <b>AB : D</b>
426	<i>I wyll folowe man be ye sure.</i>	no man thou	no man ye	<b>A : BD</b> <b>AD : B</b>
428	<i>on good and treasure.</i>	good	my good	<b>AB : D</b>
430	<i>contrary to the loue euer- lastynge</i>	loue	loue of	<b>AB : D</b>
432	<i>to the poore gyue parte gyue parte of me</i>	to gyue for	gyue for the loue of	<b>AD : B</b> <b>A : B : D</b>
433	<i>Than sholdest thou not...</i> be	be	haue be	<b>AB : D</b>
435	<i>now was I deceyued</i>	/ I was	was I	<b>AD : B</b>
445	<i>Nay fro this worlde not veryle.</i>	From... nay verely	Nay nat fro... verely.	<b>A : B : D</b>
449	<i>in this same wyse</i>	the	the	<b>A : BD</b>
451	<i>cursed thou be</i>	thou	may thou	<b>AB : D</b>
452	<i>Thou traytour to god that hast deceyued me</i>	/ thou	/ that	<b>AD : B</b>
455	<i>I am gladde</i>	gladde	right gladde	<b>AB : D</b>
457	<i>thou hast had longe my hertely loue</i>	had	had long	<b>AD : B</b>
461	Goodes.	Goodes.	Good.	<b>AB : D</b>

	Britwell	Huth	Museum	
464	<i>to go with me in that heavy Iournaye</i>	me / in	me	<b>AB : D</b>
465	<i>felawshyp sayd he wolde with me gone [: mone]</i>	/ he sayd go	said / gone	<b>AD : B</b> <b>AD : B</b>
471	<i>all forsake me</i>	forsake	forsoke	<b>AB : D</b>
473	<i>In hope to haue com- forte</i>	haue	haue foude	<b>AB : D</b>
474	<i>For my goodes</i>	my goodes	goodes	<b>AB : D</b>
475	<i>he bryngeth many in to hell</i>	in	into	<b>AD : B</b>
483	<i>she can nother go nor speke</i>	nor	ne	<b>AB : D</b>
486	<i>lye colde in the grounde</i>	in	on	<b>AB : D</b>
487	<i>Thy synnes hath me hath me sore bounde</i>	haue so sore	hath sore	<b>AD : B</b> <b>AD : B</b>
489	<i>I stande in fere</i>	feare	great feare	<b>AB : D</b>
*491	<i>For helpe now sholde come ryght well.</i>	helpe now shulde cum ryght	nowe helpe and	<b>AB : D</b>
493	<i>That ye be somoned</i>	thou arte	ye be	<b>AD : B</b>
497	<i>I praye you that ye wyll go</i>	the to	you that ye wyll	<b>AD : B</b>
502	<i>Your boke of counte full redy had be</i>	accounte / full redy now	a count nowe full redy	<b>A : BD</b> <b>A : B : D</b>
504	<i>Loke the bokes... Ase how they lye</i>	Beholde	Ase	<b>AD : B</b>
	<i>they lye vnder the fete</i>	vnder the	here vnder	<b>AB : D</b>
507	<i>one letter here I can not se.</i>	herein can I	here I can	<b>AD : B</b> <b>AD : B</b>
508	<i>There is a blynde rekenynge</i>	There	Here	<b>AB : D</b>
511	<i>helpe me to make rekenynge</i>	my rekenynge	my rekening	<b>A : BD</b>
525	<i>And am hole content</i>	holy	holy	<b>A : BD</b>
527	<i>brought you there Where thou</i>	the	you	<b>AD : B</b>
529-30	<i>you ... your ... your... you</i>	thou... thy... thy... the	you... your... your... you	<b>AD : B</b>
530	<i>For to make you Ioyfull at herte</i>	at the harte	at herte	<b>AD : B</b>



	Britwell	Huth	Museum	
*532	<i>My good dedes</i> gramercy	I thanke the hartfully	gramercy	<b>AD : B</b>
535	<i>go we togyder louyngly</i>	thether	together	<b>AD : B</b>
537	<i>I wolde we were there</i>	were there	there were	<b>AB : D</b>
*538	<i>I pray you gyue me</i> cognycyon	to instructe me by intelleccyon	gyue me cognisyon	<b>AD : B</b>
539	<i>that holy man confessyon.</i>	vertue	man	<b>AD : B</b>
546	<i>Wasshe fro me the spottes</i>	from	fro	<b>AD : B</b>
*	<i>spottes of vyce vnclene</i> <i>of vyce vnclene</i>	of... vnclene vyces	and... clene vices	<b>AB : D</b> <b>A : BD</b>
549	<i>Redempte with herte</i> <i>and full contrycyon</i>	Redempe full of	Repent full	<b>A : B : D</b> <b>AD : B</b>
551	<i>And grete accountes</i>	great accountes	a great countes	<b>AB : D</b>
553	<i>Helpe my good dedes</i>	Helpe	Helpe hyder	<b>AB : D</b>
558	<i>penaunce voyce voyder</i> <i>of aduersyte</i>	voyder	voyder	<b>A : BD</b>
561	<i>Here shall you receyue</i>	you	ye	<b>AB : D</b>
563	<i>To remembre thy</i> <i>sauyour</i>	To remembre	Remembre	<b>AB : D</b>
*565	<i>or thou scape that</i> <i>paynful pylgrymage</i>	scape that paynful	passe thy	<b>AB : D</b>
*566	<i>Knowlege kepe hym</i>	hym and kepe	kepe	<b>AD : B</b>
568	<i>be seker of mercy</i>	sure	seker	<b>AD : B</b>
570	<i>he wyll graunte truely</i>	truely	it the	<b>AB : D</b>
573	<i>for his gracyous werke</i>	his	this	<b>AB : D</b>
575	<i>This hath reioysed and</i> <i>lyghted my herte</i>	reioysed	me reioysed /	<b>AB : D</b>
577	<i>loke your penaunce</i> <i>that ye fulfyll</i>	your penaunce loke	/ loke your penaunce	<b>AD : B</b>
579	<i>And knowlege shall</i> <i>gyue you</i> <i>knowlege shall gyue</i>	knowlege wyll	I shall	<b>AB : D</b> <b>AD : B</b>
584	<i>he wolde euery man</i> redeme	to redeme	redeme	<b>AD : B</b>
587	<i>Forgyue my greuous</i> <i>offence</i>	me my	me my	<b>A : BD</b>
589	<i>O raunsomer and</i> <i>redemer</i>	raunsomer &	mercyfull	<b>AB : D</b>
*590	<i>Of all the worlde hope</i> <i>and conduyter</i>	conductor	conduiter	<b>AD : B</b>

Britwell	Huth	Museum	
591 <i>Myrrour of Ioye</i> foundatour of mercy	and founder	/ foundacion	<b>A · B : D</b>
*594 <i>my prayers vnworthy</i> in this heuy lyfe	of thy benygnytye	vnworthy in this heuy lyfe	<b>AD : B</b>
599 <i>saue me fro the power</i>	from	fro	<b>AD : B</b>
602 <i>Of your sones glory</i> <i>glory to be partynere</i>	thy parte taker	your partinere	<b>AD : B</b>
603 <i>By the meanes of his</i> <i>passyon</i>	meane	meane	<b>A : BD</b>
604 <i>I beseche you helpe</i> <i>helpe my soule to saue</i>	beseche my	beseke me my	<b>AB : D</b>
606 <i>My flesshe... shall gyue</i> acquyentaunce	gyue a quytaunce	haue aquaintaunce	<b>AD : B</b> <b>A : B : D</b>
610 <i>Now may you make</i>	Thus	Nowe	<b>AD : B</b>
611 <i>the name of the holy</i> <i>trynyte</i>	of the holy	of all the hole	<b>AB : D</b>
612 <i>My body sore</i> <i>punysshid shall be</i>	sore punysshid	punished sore	<b>AB : D</b>
614 <i>thou delytest to go gay</i>	delytest	delyted	<b>AB : D</b>
615 <i>in the way of damp-</i> <i>nacyon</i>	in	in the	<b>AD : B</b>
616 <i>strokes of punysshynge</i>	and	of	<b>AD : B</b>
618 <i>To saue me from purga-</i> <i>tory</i>	from	fro	<b>AB : D</b>
* <i>from purgatory that</i> <i>sharpe fyre.</i>	hell and from the	purgatory that sharpe	<b>AD : B</b>
620 <i>I can walke... And am</i> <i>delyuered</i>	I	And	<b>AD : B</b>
621 <i>with euery man I wyll go</i>	I wyll	will I	<b>AB : D</b>
624 <i>good dedes cometh now</i>	do come	cōmeth nowe /	<b>AD : B</b>
626 <i>vpryght vpon the</i> <i>grounde.</i>	vpon	on	<b>AB : D</b>
631 <i>For the is preparate</i> <i>the eternall glory</i>	prepared	preparate	<b>AD : B</b>
633 <i>I wyll byde by the in</i> <i>euery stounde.</i>	abyde	byde	<b>AD : B</b>
<i>byde by the</i>	with	by	<b>AD : B</b>
<i>by the in euery</i>	the / in	the	<b>AB : D</b>
636 <i>Be no more sad but euer</i> <i>reioyce</i>	euer more	euer	<b>AD : B</b>

	Britwell	Huth	Museum	
638	<i>Put on this garment</i>	this	thy	AB : D
*639	<i>Whiche is wette with your teres</i>	with your teres is now all wete	is wette with your teares	AD : B
*640	<i>Or elles before god you may it mysse</i>	Lest... / it be vnswete	Or els...ye may it misse	AD : B
641	<i>Whan ye... come</i>	you	ye	AD : B
642	<i>what do ye it call.</i>	ye	you	AB : D
643	<i>It is a garmente of sorowe a garmente</i>	is the	is called the	AB : D A : BD
644	<i>Fro payne it wyll you borowe</i>	From	Fro	AD : B
647	<i>He pleaseth god</i>	It	He	AD : B
648	<i>wyll you were it</i>	you	ye	AB : D
653	<i>I haue here.</i>	haue it	haue them	A : B : D
654	<i>we nede not fere</i>	fere	to feare	AB : D
655	<i>let vs not parte in twayne.</i>	parte in twayne	departe atwayne.	AB : D
661	<i>beaute may not abyde behynde.</i>	abyde	byde	AB : D
670	<i>Here at your wyll we be all redy</i>	redy	redy	A : BD
671	<i>What wyll ye</i>	wolde	wolde	A : BD
674	<i>wyll ye with him or not in that vyage.</i>	hym y	him go this	AB : D AB : D
*676	<i>To his helpe and comforte /</i>	To his... cumforte /	To... comfort him /	AB : D
678	<i>loued myght thou be</i>	may	may	A : BD
682	<i>All be in my company</i>	in	in	A : BD



## (3) lines 683-921.

	Britwell	Huth	Douce	Museum	
684	<i>strength wyll</i> by you stande	stonde by you	by you stande	by you stande	<b>ACD : B</b>
685	<i>I though thou wolde... fight</i>	woldest	wold	wolde	<b>ACD : B</b>
686	<i>though it were through the worlde</i>	through	thorowe	thorowe	<b>AB : CD</b>
687	<i>for swete ne soure.</i>	nor	ne	ne	<b>ACD : B</b>
	<i>swete ne soure.</i>	soure	for soure	for soure.	<b>AB : CD</b>
691	<i>with a good admysement and delyberacyon</i>	delyberacyon	lyberacion	delyberacion	<b>ABD : C</b>
694	<i>My frendes herken</i>	herken	harke	harke	<b>AB : CD</b>
695	<i>harken what I wyll tell</i>	tell	tell	you tell	<b>ABC : D</b>
	<i>in his heuen spere</i>	his	this	his	<b>ABD : C</b>
	<i>heuen spere</i>	heuenly	heuenly	heuenly	<b>A : BCD</b>
699	<i>In almes / halfe my good</i>	almes	almes	almesse	<b>ABC : D</b>
	<i>halfe my good I wyll gyue</i>	wyll gyue	wyll gyue	gyue	<b>ABC : D</b>
702	<i>shall remaine In queth to be retourned</i>	In quyet	I it be quethe	I it bequethe	<b>A : B : CD</b>
705	<i>Euer after and this daye.</i>	and this	and this	this	<b>ABC : D</b>
706	<i>herken what I saye</i>	saye	saye	wyll saye	<b>ABC : D</b>
717	<i>and therof hath the cure</i>	he cure	cure	cure	<b>A : B : CD</b>
732	<i>For preesthode excedeth all other thyng</i>	For good	For	For	<b>ACD : B</b>
734	<i>conuerteth man fro synne</i>	from	fro	fro	<b>ACD : B</b>
738	<i>Goddess body in flesshe and blode to make</i>	make	take	take	<b>AB : CD</b>
739	<i>bytwee his hande ( : bandes)</i>	handes	take	handes	<b>A : BD</b>

743	<i>Though we kysse thy fete</i>	kysse	kyst	AB: D
744	<i>Thou arte surgyon</i>	surgyon	the surgyan	AB: D
745	<i>No remedy we fynde</i>	we	may we	AB: CD
746	<i>But all onely presthode</i>	all onely	alone on	AB: CD
748	<i>setteth them... among vs to be</i>	setteth... to be	letteth... be	AB: CD
751	<i>whan Iesu hanged on y crosse</i>	henge	henge	A: BCD
752	<i>he gaue out of his blessyd herte</i>	he gaue	gaue he vs	AB: CD
754	<i>He solde them not to vs</i>	solde... to vs	helde... to	AB: CD
755	<i>saynt peter the apostell dothe saye</i>	doth	do the	AB: C: D
756	<i>Iesus curse hath all they</i>	hathe	haue	ABC: D
763	<i>These be with synne made blynde.</i>	with	without	ABC: D
771	<i>Me thynke it is he in dede.</i>	Me thynketh	Me thinke	AD: B
772	<i>Now Iesu be</i>	Ihesu cryst	Iesu	AD: B
	<i>be your alder spede</i>	your	our	AB: D
774	<i>And than myne extreme unccyon</i>	And thou	And	A: B: D
778	<i>set eche of you on this rodde your honde</i>	your	his	AB: CD
780	<i>God be your gyde.</i>	our	our	A: BCD
781	<i>we wyll not fro you go</i>	from	fro	ACD: B
782	<i>Tyll ye haue done this vyage</i>	gone	gone	A: BCD
*786	<i>Every man</i>	Everyman	Strength. ¶ Every man	ABC: D

787	<i>As ever I dyde</i>	dyd	dyde	was	ABC: D
788	<i>I am so faynt I may not stande</i>	so faynt	so faynt	faynt	ABC: D
789	<i>My lymmes vnder me doth folde</i>	do	do	do	A: BCD
793	<i>tourne to erth and there to slepe.</i> <i>there to slepe.</i>	the erth to slepe	the erthe to slepe	the erthe slepe.	A: BCD ABC: D
795	<i>there shall ye consume</i>	you	ye	we	A(B)C: D
797	<i>by my fayth</i>	fayth	fayth	fay /	AB: CD
800	<i>by saynt Iohan [ : gohe]</i>	Iohā	Iohā	Iohā	A: BD
801	<i>I take my tappe in my lappe</i>	cap	tappe	tappe	AD: B
804	<i>Not &amp; thou woldest gyue me</i>	wolde	wolde	wolde	A: BD
805	<i>wherto may I trust</i>	truste		nowe trust	AB: D
806	<i>Beaute gothe fast awaye fro me</i>	goeth...and from me	gothe... and hye	dothe... hye	A: B: C: D
807	<i>Beaute... She promysed</i>	She	She	He	ABC: D
811	<i>Swete strength tary</i>	Swete strength	[ ] strength	Strength	AB(C): D
*	<i>tary a lytell space.</i>	tary	tary	tary I pray you	ABC: D
813	<i>I wyll hve me from the</i>	from	fro	fro	AB: CD
814	<i>Though thou wepe to thy herte to brast.</i> <i>thy herte to brast.</i>	tyll brast	tyll to braste	tyll brast.	A: BCD
815	<i>Ye wolde ever byde by me ye sayd.</i>	byde	byde	haue bydde	AC: BD
*821	<i>Wyll ye breke promyse that is dette.</i>	( <i>as Britwell</i> )	( <i>as Britwell</i> )	yetpromyse is dette / this ye well wot	ABC: D



	Britwell	Huth	Douce	Museum	
	ye... promise	you... promise /	ye... promise	( <i>divergent</i> )	AC(D?) : B
*822	<i>In fayth I care not</i>	fayth	faythe	faythe as for that	ABC : D
824	You spende your speche and wast your brayne	You spende your... waste your	you spen de your... waste your	Thou (spendest) thy ... wastest thy	ABC : D
825	<i>Go thyrst the in to the gronde.</i>	thyrst	thirste	trusse	AB : C : D
*827	<i>He that trusteth in his strength</i>	He	He	But I se well / he	ABC : D
*828	<i>She hym deceyueth at the length</i>	She hym deceyueth	She hym deceyueth	Is greatly deceyued	ABC : D
829	<i>Bothe strength and beaute strength and beaute forsaketh me</i>	Bothe forsaketh	Both forsaketh	For / hath forsaken	ABC : D
*830	<i>they promysed me fayre and louyngly.</i>	fayre and louyngly	fayre and louyngly	stedfast to be.	ABC : D
834	<i>Ye in fayth I wyll go fro the</i>	fayth from	fayth from	good fayth fro	AB : D
835	<i>whan strength goth before</i>	goeth		is gone	AD : B
836	<i>I folowe after</i>	I		Than I	AB : D
837	<i>for the loue of the trynity</i>	the loue	the loue	loue	ABC : D
*838	<i>Loke in my graue ones pyteously.</i>	ones pyteously	ones petyously	and thou shalt se.	ABC : D
839	<i>so nye wyll I not come</i>	I wyll	I wyll	I will	A : BCD
*840	<i>Fare well euerychour.</i>	Farewell	Forwell	Nowe farewell felowes	ABC : D
844	<i>They all renne fro me all renne fro me fro me full fast.</i>	renne from full fast	ronne fro faste	ronne away fro fast.	ABC : D ACD : B AB : CD

	Britwell	Huth	Douce	Museum	
845	<i>Every man my leue now of the I take</i>	of the now my leue	of the now my leue	/ of the now my leue	A : BCD
847	<i>I wayle and wepe</i>	I	I	I bothe	ABC : D
848	<i>I toke you for my best frende.</i>	toke	take	toke	ABD : C
850	<i>and there an ende.</i>	there	there	here	ABC : D
851	<i>O Iesu helpe</i>	O	O	Nowe	ABC : D
852	<i>I wyll byde with the</i>	byde	byde	a byde	ABC : D
856	<i>They haue forsaken me</i>	forsaken	forsake	forsake	AB : CD
859	<i>whan ye to deth shall go to deth shall go</i>	ye do	you do	you shall	AB : CD AD : BC
862	<i>I wyll not from hens departe</i>	from		fro	AB : D
864	<i>Me thynke alas that I must be gone</i>	Me thynketh		Me thinketh	A : BD
867	<i>Take example all</i>	example		ensample	AB : D
368	<i>they that I loue best loue best do forsake me</i>	loued do	loued do	loued / nowe	A : BCD ABC : D
870	<i>All earthly thynges is but vanyte</i>	thynges	thynges	thynges	ACD : B
873	<i>All fleeth saue good dedes</i>	fleeth	fleeth	flyeth	ABC : D
875	<i>thou moder &amp; mayde holy Mary</i>	holy Mary	holy mary	Mary.	ABC : D
880	<i>In to thy handes lorde my soule I commende</i>	lorde	lordes	lordes	AB : CD
882	<i>As thou me boughtest so me defende</i>	boughtest	boughtest	boughtest	ABD : C
883	<i>saue me from the fendes boost</i>	from	fro	fro	AB : CD
885	<i>saued at the day of dome</i>	dome	dome	day of dome	AD : BC

	Britwell	Huth	Douce	Museum	
888	<i>that we all shall endure</i>	we all	we	we	AB : CD
889	<i>The good dedes shall make all sure</i>	The	The	Thy	ABC : D
891	<i>Me thynketh that I here</i>	Me thynketh	Me thynke	Me thinke	AB : CD
892	<i>auγγελles synge And make grete Ioy</i>	make	maketh	maketh	AB : CD
893	<i>every mannes soule receyued shall be.</i>	shall receyued	shall receyued	shall receyued	A : BCD
894	<i>the aügel.</i>	Aungell.		the aügel.	AD : B
895	<i>Here aboue thou shalte go</i>	shall		shalt	AD : B
897	<i>Now the soule is taken the body fro</i>	thy... thy	after	thy... thy	A : BD
901	<i>That lyueth well before the daye of dome.</i>	/ before		/ after	AB : CD
902	<i>This morall men may haue in mynde</i>	memoryall	[m]emoryall	memoryall /	A : BCD
903	<i>take it of worth</i>	of worth	aworthe	a worthe	AB : CD
904	<i>forsake pryde for he deceyueth you</i>	deceyueth	deceyues	disceyueth	ABD : C
	<i>deceyueth you in the ende</i>	ÿ ende	the ende	thende	ABC : D
906	<i>all at the last do every man forsake</i>	ÿ last	last	last	AB : CD
907	<i>Saue his good dedes there dothe he take</i>	dothe he	do he	dothe	AB : C : D
908	<i>be ware and they be small</i>	for and	for and	/ for and	A : BCD
914	<i>whan he doth come</i>	do	do	do	A : BCD
918	<i>Vnto whiche place</i>	the whiche	whiche	whiche	ACD : B
	<i>whiche place god brynge vs</i>	place /	please	place /	ABD : C
921	<i>Amen saye ye for saynt charyte.</i>	Say	Amen saye	Amen say	ACD : B
	FINIS.	AME[N]	[ Finis.	[ Finis.	ACD : B



## V.

In the first of the three sections of the text, that for which we possess only two editions, the variants are necessarily all of the same form, namely A : B, and statistical considerations consequently afford us no help. It must suffice to observe that in the course of 304 lines there appear 55 divergencies. In those portions for which three texts are available, namely lines 305-682 and those subsequent passages in which the Douce text is mutilated, the variants assume four possible forms, namely AB : D, AD : B, A : BD, A : B : D. Since in the case of three texts no true grouping can occur, the readings of this portion are not of very great importance for the elucidation of the relationship of the editions, but a statistical survey will nevertheless be useful. Where all four texts are preserved, namely, save for certain gaps, in lines 683-921, the possible forms of variation are many, in point of fact, I believe, fourteen, though not all of these actually occur.

Where a reference is placed in parentheses there is something irregular about the reading, though the irregularity is not of a kind to invalidate our statistical results.

## THREE TEXTS.

**AB : D.** 312, 314, 318, 319, 326, 330, 331, 355, 359, 362, 366, 367, 370, 373, 375, 376, 379, 380, 383, 386, 388, 392, 394, 397, 401, 408, 409, 414, 414, 418, \*421, 424, 425, 425, 428, 430, 433, 451, 455, 461, 464, 471, 473, 474, 483, 486, 489, \*491, 504, 508, 537, \*546, 551, 553, 561, 563, \*565, 570, 573, 575, 579, \*589, 604, 604, 611, 612, 614, 618, 621, 626, 633, 638, 642, 643, 648, 654, 655, 661, 674, 674, \*676, 743, 744, 772, 805, 834, 835, 836, 862, 867 = total 90.

**AD : B.** 321, 322, 324, 330, 332, 348, 370, 375, 401, 402, 404, 406, 426, 432, 435, 452, 457, 465, 465, 475, 487, 487, 493, 497, 504, 507, 507, 527, 529-30, 530, \*532, 535, \*538, 539, 546, 549, \*566, 568, 577, 579, 584, 590, \*594, 599, 602, 602, 610, 615, 616, \*618, 620, 624, 631, 633, 633, 636, \*639, \*640, 641, 644, 647, 771, 772, 801, 834, 894, 895 = total 67.

**A : BD.** 324, 333, 390, 395, 426, 449, 502, 511, 525, 546, 558, 587, 603, 643, 670, 671, 678, 682, 739, 800, 804, 864, 897 = total 23.

**A : B : D.** 432, 445, 502, 549, 591, 606, 653, 774 = total 8.

## FOUR TEXTS.

**ABC : D.** 694, 699, 699, 705, 706, 756, 763, \*786, 787, 788, 793, (795), 807, (811), \*811, 815, \*821, \*822, 824, \*827, \*828, 829, 829, \*830, 837, \*838, \*840, 844, 847, 850, 851, 852, 868, 873, 875, 889, 904 = total 37.

**ABD : C.** 691, 695, 848, 882, 904, 918 = total 6.

**ACD : B.** 684, 685, 687, 732, 734, 781, (821), 844, 870, 918, 921, 921 = total 12.

**A : BCD.** 695, 751, 780, 782, 789, 793, 814, 839, 845, 868, 893, 902, 908, 914 = total 14.

**AB : CD.** 686, 687, 694, 738, 745, 746, 748, 752, 754, 778, 797, 813, 844, 856, 859, 880, 883, 888, 891, 892, 901, 903, 906 = total 23.

**AC : BD.** 814 = total 1.

**AD : BC.** 859, 885 = total 2.

**AB : C : D.** 755, 825, 907 = total 3.

**A : B : CD.** 702, 717 = total 2.

**A : B : C : D.** 806 = total 1.

## VI.

Readers may find it convenient to have a list of the imperfect rimes in the play and of those in which there is disagreement between the different editions, since the consistency of an edition in the matter of rime clearly affords some criterion of its general trustworthiness. In the first column are given the rimes of the Britwell text together with the line-number of the first of the group, in the other columns the rimes of the other texts. Commas in the later columns imply that the form is exactly the same as that of the Britwell text.

An X indicates the absence of any rime word; a mark of exclamation the total absence of rime in a pair. I have added a few foot notes on cases where it seemed possible to emend the text.

Some of the lines marked with an X appear to be genuinely widowed lines, others are most likely corrupt, and originally belonged to one of the adjacent rime groups. Lines marked as unriming pairs are probably in most instances real pairs in one of which a corruption has destroyed the rime, but of course the appearance of such pairs might also arise from the corruption of a line belonging to a rime group in the neighbourhood of a widowed line, or from the corruption of two lines belonging to neighbouring rime groups. It is only for convenience that such lines are here treated as pairs, nothing is implied as to their origin. The irregular rime scheme of the great bulk of the text makes any conjectures on the subject hazardous. See the notes on ll. 317, 415, 422 and 526.

Britwell	Huth	Douce	Museum
4 it is : shewes	» : »		
13 swete : wepe	» : »		
19 kynge : rekenynge	kenge : »		
26 god : rood	» : rod		
30 rede : deed : heed	redde : » : »		
52 every man : mansyon	eueryman : »		
60 ryches : Iustyce	» : iustyce		
66 euery man : name	eueryman : »		
68 take : escape	» : »		
70 rekenynge : taryenge	» : »		
96 knowe : X	» : »		
100 respyte : wytte	» : »		
113 gyue : thou (!)	» : »		
127 grete : gete	great : »		
131 respyte : seke	» : secke		
153 celestyall : terestryall	» : terestryall		
167 done : come	» : cume		
175 aduysement : consent :	aduysemente : » :		
aduysement	»		
189 begete : grete	be gete : great		
212 mynde : ende	» : »		
222 strawe : no more	straw : nomore		
241 it is : daungerous	» : »		
260 come agayne : dome (!) <sup>1)</sup>	cume agayne : »		
301 ende : mournynge	» : mournyge		
311 flee : me : truely :	» : » : » :		flye : » : trewely :
necessyte	necessytye		necessite
317 them go : kynnesmen (!) <sup>2)</sup>	» : »		» : kynnes men
323 whyder : to gyder	whether : to gyther		whether : togider
335 hynder : render	hyndre : rendre		» : rendre
345 mater : water	matter : »		» : »
347 more : bore	» : borne		» : »
363 Iourney : a gree	iurnaye : agree		iournay : agre
375 rekenynge : taryenge	» : »		rekeninge : taryeng

<sup>1)</sup> Read 'agayne come' in 260.

<sup>2)</sup> Two consecutives lines, 316 and 317, end in 'go'. The second 'go' is, no doubt, an accidental repetition. The line should end with 'them', making an imperfect rime with 'kynnesmen'.



Britwell	Huth	Douce	Museum
381 faythfully : stedfastly :	» : » :		» : » :
flee : me	» : »		flye : »
387 there is : ryches	» : »		» : richesse
391 dystresse : ryches	» : »		distresse : richesse
393 haste : fast	» : »		» : »
415 vyages : X <sup>1)</sup> )	» : »		» : »
420 truly : me	truely : »		rewely : trewely
422 sore : X <sup>2)</sup> )	» : »		» : »
423 answeere : to gyder	» : to gyther		» : togyther
436 tyme : thyne	» : »		» : »
446 otherwyse : gyse : wyse	» : guyse : »		otherwise : » : »
463 mone : gone : alone	» : go : »		» : » : »
472 best : leest	» : »		» : lest
478 hate : take	» : »		» : »
490 counseyll : well	councell : »		counsayle : »
493 to make : take : make	to make : » : »		» : » : »
503 eke : fete	» : »		» : »
515 able : X	» : »		» : »
521 rekenynge : thynges :	» : » :		rekening : thinge :
thynges	»		thinge
• 526 creature : X <sup>3)</sup> )	» : »		» : »
527 there : togyder	» : to gyther		» : togyder
528 smarte : herte	» : harte		» : »
531 trynnyte : gramercy :	trynnyte : hartfully :		Trinite : » :
certaynly	»		»
534 swete : X	» : »		» : »
560 seruyce : endure (!)	» : »		seruice : »
567 the : mercy : be : truly	» : » : » : »		» : » : » : the
573 werke : herte	» : »		» : »
582 vysyon : X	» : »		visyon : »
584 redeme : deuyne	» : »		» : »
589 redemer : conduyter	» : conductor		» : conduiter
594 lyfe : X <sup>4)</sup> )	(593 be) : benygnnyte		lyfe : »

<sup>1)</sup> To read 'vyages longe', riming with the three preceding lines, would be possible but hardly satisfactory.

<sup>2)</sup> I do not know whether it would be possible to regard 'sore' as an imperfect rime to 'answere'.

<sup>3)</sup> There is no doubt that this should be 'creater', representing French 'createur', which would give a sort of rime to 'there' 'togyder'.

<sup>4)</sup> B's emendation is to be rejected, but it cannot be said that the line as it stands in AD looks very healthy. A rime could of course be provided by bringing 'vnworthy' to the end of the line.

Britwell	Huth	Douce	Museum
601 prayer : partynere	» : parte taker		» : partinere
605 penaunce : acqueyntaunce	» : a quytaunce		» : aquaintaunce
609 sauour : sure	sauoure : »		sauour : »
617 clere : fyre	» : »		» : »
631 glory : X	» : »		glorye : »
639 teres : mysse <sup>1)</sup>	wete : vnswete		teares : misse
645 is : forgyuenes	» : »		» : forgyuenesse
647 well : hele	» : »		» : heale
651 taryenge : rekenynge	» : »		taryeng : rekenyng
663 counseylours : houres	councillers : »		counsaylours : »
665 hyder : togyder	hyther : to gyther		» : »
675 thyder : togyder	thether : to gyther		thyther : together
691 delyberacyon : monycyon	delyberycyon : »	lyberacion : monyssion	deliberacion : monycion
702 be : X <sup>2)</sup>	» : »	» : »	» : »
709 togyder : hyder	togyther : »	[ ]	togyuder : »
715 beynge : benygne	» : benynge	» : »	» : benigne
719 medycyne : payne	» : pyne	medesyne : »	medicyne : »
737 consecrate : make	» : »	concecrate : take	» : take
739 hande : bandes	handes : »	[ ]	handes : »
745 god : preesthode	» : pryesthode	» : »	» : »
751 smarte : herte	» : »	smart[e] : »	» : »
759 bad : harde	» : herde	» : herde	» : »
765 honour : socoure	honoure : »	honoure : socker	honoure : socour
769 come : satysfaccyon	cume : satysfaccoon	» : [ ]	» : satisfaction
775 take it : respyte	» : »	[ ] : respy[te]	» : respite
777 longe : honde	» : »	» : »	» : hande
780 <sup>b</sup> gyde : X	gyude : »	gyude : »	gyude : »
788 stande : lande	» : »	stonde : londe	» : »
794 alas : lesse	» : »	» : »	» : »
800 Iohan : gone	Iohñ : »	[ ]	Ihoñ : »
804 chest : truste	» : »	[ ]	» : trust
806 me : dye : denye	» : » : »	hye : » : [d]enye	hye : » : »
809 all : all	» : »	» : »	» : »
817 vnderstande : hande	» : »	vnderstonde : honde	» : »

<sup>1)</sup> B's emendation is unnecessary : 'teres' or 'tearis' is quite a good enough rime to 'mysse'.

<sup>2)</sup> To alter 'be' to 'dwell' would be a possible but not a satisfactory emendation.

	Britwell	Huth	Douce	Museum
821 dette : not		» : »	» : »	wot : »
829 me : louyngly		» : »	» : »	» : be
337 trynyte : pyteously		trynytye : »	trinyte : petyously	Trinite : se
839 come : eueyrychone :		cume : » :	» : » :	» : » :
alone : dyscrecyon		» : descressyon	» : discrecion	» : Discrecion
860 daunger : X		daungere : »	» : »	daungere : »
861 herte : departe		» : »	» : [     ]	hert : »
863 be come : be gone		become ; »	[     ]	become : begone
881 lost : boost :		» : » :	loste : boste :	loste : boste :
hoost : moost		» : »	hoste : moste	hoste : »
885 dome : meum		» : »	» : »	» : meuum
900 come : dome		cume : »	» : »	» : »
902 mynde : the ende		» : y ende	» : »	» : thende
903 yonge : dycrecyō		» : discessiō	» : discrecion	» : discrecion
914 come : eternum		cume : eternam	» : »	» : »
918 thyder : togyder		thether : to gyther	thether : »	thether : togyder

## VII

Were it possible to suppose that the editions of *Everyman* formed what I may call an ancestral series, one that is in which each edition was printed from its immediate predecessor, there are certain considerations which would clearly establish the order of those four which survive.

	Britwell	Huth	Douce	Museum
Printer	Skot	Skot	Pynson	Pynson
Collation	A <sup>4</sup> B <sup>8</sup> C <sup>4</sup>	A <sup>6</sup> B <sup>6</sup> D <sup>4</sup>	[     ]C <sup>4</sup>	[     ]B <sup>6</sup> C <sup>4</sup>
Text ends on page	31	31	32	32
Lines to a page	32	32	31	31
Line 780 printed as	one line	one line	two lines	two lines
Type of speakers' names	large	large	large	small
Type of Latin quotations	(D. f.)	(D. f.)	D. f.	roman
Line 453 begins	☞ O gracious	☞ gracious	[     ]	[     ]

The last is needed to establish the direction of the series.

In point of fact a very casual glance at the collations of those portions for which all four texts are preserved will suffice to show that the editions do not form part of any such ancestral series. Each contains a number of readings peculiar to itself in which it is opposed by a concensus of the other three texts. The numbers actually are A 14, B 12, C 6, D 37. It will be noticed that C has by far the fewest

of these peculiar readings, and it may be just worth while inquiring whether, after all, it might not be the parent of the strongly individual D. The first four variants of C are obvious misprints which the compositor of D might very well have corrected. That in l. 904 consists of a verbal form which it would not be very surprising to find the compositor altering back of his own accord. With that in l. 918 however the case is very different. It is, I believe, a mere misprint, but it happens, in the absence of any punctuation, to make perfectly good sense, and I can imagine no reason why a compositor should not have retained it. I think that this one case is sufficiently strong to make us hesitate to regard C as the parent or ancestor of D, and I fancy that a glance at the rime list, in which it will be observed that certain peculiarities of C do not persist in D, will confirm this view. All, therefore, that the few peculiarities of C warrant us in concluding is that C was very accurately printed. Unfortunately this only means that it followed accurately its immediate source, not that it accurately represented the archetype of the extant texts.

Turning now to those readings in which we find real grouping, that is, in which each reading is supported by more than one text, we find 23 cases of AB : CD, one case of AC : BD, and two of AD : BC. This is a rather striking result and its force is but increased when we observe that the case of AC : BD in l. 814 arises through B and D omitting the intensive 'to' in the obsolescent 'to brast', and that the case of AD : BC in l. 859 depends upon the use of a quite indifferent auxiliary. There remains the instance in l. 885 only, and this it must be allowed is a rather remarkable one. A reads :

That shall be saued at the day of dome.

With this D agrees, while B and C instead of 'the day of dome' read simply 'the dome'. I suggest that the latter was the original reading, but that, being uncommon, A and D independently altered it to the more usual expression. It may be noticed that the phrase 'the day of dome' occurs in two other passages in the play, ll. 261, 901.

It is safe, therefore, to conclude that the frequent agreement of A and B and of C and D against one another indicates a significant and constant factor in the genetic relations of the texts. We must, however, beware of arguing for *each* pair of texts a common source independent of the other pair; it will be sufficient to explain the observed facts if we postulate such a source for *either* pair. For suppose A and B to have a common source, X, then in all cases in which X departs from the archetype, A and B follow X correctly, and C and D follow the archetype correctly, the resulting grouping will be AB : CD. Such an arrangement may be expressed by the formula (A + B) + C + D,



meaning that A and B have a common source X and that X, C, and D are independently derived from the archetype. It will be obvious that an arrangement  $A + B + (C + D)$  will equally yield groupings AB : CD. The difference in two cases will be that in the first the CD reading, and in the second the AB reading, will be the original. To determine, therefore, which of the two arrangements is in fact correct, we shall have to discover, among the readings grouped as AB : CD, which are original and which not. If we find AB invariably correct we shall know that C and D have a common original, say Y, independent of A and B. If CD is invariably correct we shall know that A and B have a common original, X, independent of C and D. If sometimes one and sometimes the other is correct we shall be able to infer the existence of both X and Y.

But it is no easy matter to determine which of two readings is original, for it by no means follows that of two readings, one of which is sense and one nonsense, the former appeared in the archetype. Very often, indeed, the reverse is pretty certainly true. Not even if the sense appears to lie invariably with one text is it altogether safe to draw a conclusion in its favour, for its apparent correctness may be due to nothing but careful editing. There are, indeed, some errors which appear certainly to be corruptions of other readings, and there are certain plausible readings which can with some confidence be regarded as emendations of other less readily intelligible ones, but even these cases are liable to mislead, and different critics will probably take different views as to their significance.

The solution of the problem would therefore remain at best a difficult and doubtful one were it not for a fortunate and peculiar circumstance connected with the text we are examining. *Everyman* is a translation, and the original Dutch play *Elckerlijck* is extant and accessible in Dr. Logeman's useful edition (Ghent, 1892). Here is a criterion which as a rule should decide with absolute certainty as to the originality of variant readings, and in the light of this we must criticize all the variants of the AB : CD type.

As a matter of fact the number of cases in which the Dutch text affords us help is disappointingly small. A large proportion of the variants are in themselves insignificant (equivalent grammatical forms and the like) and do not affect the sense, while in several others, where there is a significant difference of meaning, the whole passage is found to be divergent from the Dutch. There remain, however, sufficient cases to establish certain important results.

There is no difficulty whatever in establishing a common source

for C and D independent of A and B.

A (B) 737-8 : With .v. wordes he may consecrate

Goddes body in flesshe and blode to *make* (CD : *take*).

Here 'take' is anyhow difficult to make sense of, and *Elckerlijck*, l. 706, settles matters :

Want elc priester kan maken claer... Gods lichaem.

A(B) 754 : He *solde them not to vs* that lorde omnyotent (CD : *helde them not to*).

*Elckerlijck*, l. 725 : Hi en vercoft ons niet die heere.

A(B) 888 : Now hath he suffred that we *all* shall endure (CD omit *all*).

*Elckerlijck*, l. 857 : Hi heeft leden dat wij alle moeten gelden.

In these cases the reading of C and D is certainly not the original, neither can it have crept independently into the two texts : it follows that they had a common source, Y, which was neither an ancestor nor a descendent of either A or B.

Can it be shown that such a source existed for A and B likewise? The only other instances of variants of the form AB : CD (or of the derived forms AB : C : D, A : B : CD, A : B : C : D) in which the Dutch can with any relevancy be quoted, appear to be as follow.

A(B) 745-6 : No remedy we fynde vnder god

But *all onely* preesthode (CD : *alone on*).

*Elckerlijck*, l. 717 : Dan aen den preisterliken staet.

Here the Dutch supports CD and the fact must be allowed some weight though the passages do not correspond very closely.

A(B) 747-8 : Euery man god gaue preest that dygnyte

And *setteh* them in his stede amonge vs *to be* (CD : *letteh... be*).

*Elckerlijck*, l. 719 : Ende zijn in zyn stede hier ghebleuen.

This does not seem to throw any light on the variant.

A(B) 751-3 : But whan Iesu hanged on y<sup>o</sup> crosse w<sup>h</sup> grete smarte

There *he gaue* out of his blessyd herte

The same sacrament (CD : *gaue he vs*).

*Elckerlijck*, l. 723 : Aent cruce daer gaf hij ons wt zijnder herten.

Here CD certainly has the support of the Dutch for what it is worth.

A(B) 778 : Now set eche of you on this rodde *your* honde (CD : *his*).

*Elckerlijck*, l. 749 : Slaet aen dit roeyken allen u hant.

This is a case in which the Dutch supports AB, but the difference of construction lessens its significance.

A 806 : Beaute *gothe* fast awaye *fro me* (B : *goeth... and from me*

C : *gothe... and hye* D : *dothe... hye*).

*Elckerlijck*, l. 777 : Schoonheyt vliet oftmense iaechde, **does** not appear to help us. Lastly we have :

A 701-2 : And the other halfe styll shall remayne  
*In queth* to be returned there it ought to be  
 (B : *In quyet* CD : *I it bequethe*).

*Elckerlijck*, l. 671 : Ghenick daer si schuldich is te gaen.

Logeman considers that the Dutch supports CD. Now the readings of A and B are evidently related, while at the same time 'In queth' must be related to 'bequethe'. This disposes of the possibility of 'In quyet' being the original reading; it is clearly an emendation for the misunderstood 'In queth'. The latter I believe to be the original reading. 'Quethe-word' is common for legacy, and the verb 'quethe' was used indifferently with the compound 'bequethe'. 'Bequeath' is also used as a substantive in the sense of bequest or will, and it does not seem impossible that 'quethe' might have the same sense. I take it, therefore, that the phrase 'In queth' may mean as a legacy, or in trust. But it would be easily misunderstood; hence B's emendation 'In quyet' and the paraphrase 'I it bequethe' of C and D.

So far we have found no very strong evidence of unoriginal readings common to A and B where these differ from C and D. But it may be worth while examining the collations of those proportions for which only three texts are preserved, for though the variants AB : D are no doubt often of the common type AB[C] : D they must include a good many of the type AB : [C]D as well. The AB : D variants amount to the large number of 90, but of these the majority are trivial and of no evidential value. Certain instances occur in which D is proved to be unoriginal, but I can find no clear case in which an examination of the Dutch points in the opposite direction. There are, however, two readings in which AB might be suspected of being unoriginal though the Dutch throws no light on the question. One is :

A(B) 421 : And that hast thou for *the loue of me*. (D : *my loue trewely*.)

Here D is manifestly wrong since the line rimes with l. 420 which also ends in 'truly'. But it is difficult to imagine why D should alter a perfectly satisfactory reading in order to produce an impossible one, and we might, therefore, be tempted to suspect that the reading of AB is not original but an emendation. I feel very reluctant, however, to condemn AB without stronger reason than this. We shall see later on that D is capable of some fairly stupid emendations, and moreover there is, I fancy, no clear case of such editorial interference to be traced in either hypothetical source X or Y; it seems always confined to B or D. The other possible case of unoriginality in AB occurs in the difficult passage :

A 548-9 : I come with knowlege for my redempcyon

*Redempte* with herte and full contrycyon (B : *Redempe* D : *Repent*).



*Elckerlijck*, l. 514 : Bedroeft van herten ende seer versaecht.

Here I feel sure that there is some deep-seated corruption. Logeman first accepted 'Repent' and later 'Redempte'. It is quite true that 'Redempte' and even perhaps 'Redempe' might have the meaning of redeemed, but this gives no sense in the context. I suspect 'Redempe' to have been the reading of the archetype (having got there in place of the original word by repetition from the previous line), and 'Redempte' and 'Repent' to be emendation of A and D respectively.

We have not, I think, been very successful in our search for evidence of a common original of A and B independent of Y. I shall return to the matter in a moment.

First it will be necessary to consider whether any of the variant readings found in one text only (apart from the variants of D in the form AB : D already examined) suggest any knowledge of the Dutch text. And in the first place it will be well to consider those more extensive variants, starred in the previous lists, which appear to be the outcome of deliberate editorial activity in B and D. In a good many instances these occur in passages where the English is not closely parallel to the Dutch, but certain cases remain in which the latter can be cited very relevantly indeed.

A(D) 566 : Knowledge *kepe* hym in this vyage (B : *hym and kepe*).

*Elckerlijck*, l. 533 : Kennisse hout hem in desen ganghe.

Here B, in the absence of punctuation, has mistaken 'knowledge' for a verb (= acknowledge) and accordingly attempted an emendation.

A(D) 638-40 : Put on this garment to thy behoue

Whiche *is wette with your teres*

Or *elles* before god you may it *mysse*

(B : *with your teres is now all wete Lest... | it be vnswete*)

*Elckerlijck*, ll. 615-8 : doet aen dit cleet tuwen loone

Het is met uwen tranen beuloeyt

dus draechtet vrij onghemoet

Oft anders soudijt voor gode gemissen.

Here B has failed to understand or to approve of the rime *teres* : *mysse* and has consequently emended in a manner which, so far as I can see, makes nonsense.

A(B) 675-6 : We wyll brynge hym all thyder

To his *helpe and comfote* | ye may beleue me

(D : *To helpe and comfort him* |)

*Elckerlijck*, l. 646 : Tsjnre hulpen ende tsijnen rade.

A(BC) 786-7 : These lines are given as part of the speech of Knowledge. D makes them a separate speech assigned to Strength.



*Elckerlijck*, ll. 759-60 : *Cracht*. Elckerlijc siet hoe wi v bi staen  
Streck vroem en hebt gheen vaer.

This is the only really good conjecture offered by the editor of B or D, and it is pleasant to find it borne out by the Dutch.

A(BC) 827-8 : *He that* trusteth in his strength

*She hym deceyueth* at the length

(D : *But I se well / he that... Is greatly disceyned*).

*Elckerlijck*, ll. 797-8 : Wie wil hem verlaten op zijn cracht

Si vliet alst mist doet wter gracht.

A(BC) 830 : Yet they promysed me *fayre and louyngly*

(D : *steadfast to be*).

*Elckerlijck*, l. 801 : Ghi seydet mi toe schoon ter kore.

Thus, in one case only does the Dutch support the divergent text and this in a case in which any intelligent editor might be expected to supply the correct emendation <sup>1)</sup>.

Once we have realized that B and D must have been printed from copies which had undergone editorial revision we shall probably be inclined to refer to the same source a number of minor alterations which might otherwise pass as ordinary compositor's variants. I may mention, for instance, those in ll. 473, 497, 539, 590, 602, 746, 748, 787, 795, 824, 829, 835.

So much for the starred variants. Are there any other cases in which a single divergent text appears to be supported by the Dutch? We might cite the following instances :

A 432 : As to the poore gyue parte of me (B : *for* D : *for the loue of*).

*Elckerlijck*, l. 401 : Ende van mi ghedeylt den armen.

Here A is supported by the Dutch and is certainly correct. Yet both B and D have 'for'. I imagine that the meaningless reading of B must have been in the archetype, that A made the obvious and correct emendation, and that D blundered into the expansion 'for the love of me'.

A 670 : Here at your wyll we be *all* redy (BD omit *all*).

*Elckerlijck*, l. 640 : Hier sijn wi alle tot uwer minnen.

This may be a case of accidental omission in two texts.

A 782 : Tyll ye haue *done* this vyage longe. (BCD *gone*).

*Elckerlijck*, l. 754 : Voer ghi ghedaen hebt dese vaert.

It is rather strange that in all three instances it is A that is supported by the Dutch against the rest. Such cases, of course, suggest that

<sup>1)</sup> Neither Hawkins nor Hazlitt did so, but neither Hawkins nor Hazlitt could be called on intelligent editor. They even left ll. 656 and 666 to Kindred.

B and Y may have had a common source independent of A, that in fact the arrangement should be  $A + [B + (C + D)]$ . And it must be observed that there is nothing to make such an assumption inadmissible. It is only if we suppose, as we have no business to do, that the number of variants in every reprint is approximately constant, that we need expect from such an arrangement a greater number of A : BCD variants than of, say, ABC : D variants. All we can say is that if the suggested arrangement is correct, the original of BCD, say Z, was a very faithful reprint of the archetype, and that, after all, the evidence for its existence is not strong.

We have found, in the course of the above investigation, abundant evidence of the existence of an edition Y, the source of C and D. We have also found some slight evidence for the existence of X, the source of A and B, and of Z, the source of B and Y. But the existence of X is not compatible with that of Z. Therefore, in at least one of these cases the evidence is misleading; and in neither is it strong. Unfortunately, however little evidence there may be for the existence of X or Z, it is in the nature of the case impossible to prove that neither existed. We cannot directly prove that A, B, and Y are independently derived from the archetype.

It is to be regretted that no more certain conclusion can be reached, for the matter is one of great importance in respect of the editing of the text. Supposing A, B, and Y to be derived from the archetype independently of one another, the agreement of any two of these practically determines the reading of the archetype. If, however, A and B have a common original X, then, though the agreement of AY or BY still determines the reading of the archetype, the agreement of AB only leads to a conflict of evidence between X and Y, which are of equal extrinsic authority. On the other hand, if B and Y have a common original Z, then, though the agreement of AB or AY determines the reading of the archetype, that of BY only leads to a conflict between A and Z, again of equal extrinsic authority. In the one case it is the variants AB : (C)D that are ambiguous, in the other the variants A : B(C)D.

I repeat, however, that the evidence in favour of the existence either of X or of Z is slight, and when we consider that the two cases are mutually destructive, we shall, I think, come to the conclusion that an editor would not be unduly venturesome if he ignored them altogether and assumed for the texts the genetic relation expressed by the formula  $A + B + (C + D)$ , the only relation which will give unambiguous readings wherever three texts survive.

Of course where only two texts are available the readings are

ambiguous whatever the relation. In these cases comparison with the Dutch should supply a much needed criterion. Unfortunately, owing partly to the insignificant nature of the variants and partly to the divergence of the translation from the original, there do not appear to be any passages in which help can be obtained from this source.

### VIII.

I should like before closing to offer a few criticisms upon certain miscellaneous variants appearing in the lists but which have not so far been the subject of comment.

A 444-5 : Wenest thou that I wyll folowe the

*Nay fro this worlde not veryle.*

(B : *From... nay verely* D : *Nay nat fro... verely*).

*Elckerlijck*, ll. 411-2 : Waendi dat ic v sal volghen elckerlijc

Van deser werelt neen ic sekerlijc.

In spite of the Dutch, which has the air supporting B, the reading of A must be original. Of this B and D offer plausible but different (and I think unnecessary) emendations.

A 546 : Wasshe fro me the spottes of vyce vnclene

(B : *of vyces vnclene* D : *and vices clene*).

*Elckerlijck*, l. 510 : Ende doncker smetten doet vergaen.

The original reading is probably that of B : it is difficult to see any reason for D's alteration.

A(D) 568 : But in ony wyse be *seker* of mercy (B : *sure*).

*Elckerlijck*, l. 535 : ende emmer hoep aen gode oetmoedlich.

Both internal and external considerations are, I think, against B, but what is the reason for its alteration? I conjecture that the compositor mistook 'seker' for 'secker', 'sicker', and so, as he thought, modernized or anglicized it to 'sure'. If so, he was presumably a Scot, for the misreading would hardly have occurred to a southerner c. 1530.

A 605-6 : Knowlege gyue me the scourge of penaunce

My flesshe therwith shall *gyue acqueyntaunce*

(B : *gyue a quytaunce* D : *haue aquaintaunce*).

*Elckerlijck*, ll. 578-9 : Kennisse gheeft mi die gheselen bi vramen

Die penitencie hieten bi namen.

Here 'gyue acqueyntaunce' appears to be the original reading, since each word is supported by two texts; the others emendations. Which of these, if either, is correct I can offer no opinion. Unfortunately the Dutch affords us no help.

A(B) 880 : In to thy handes *lorde* my soule I commende (CD : *lordes*). It is strange indeed that C and D should both retain such a very obvious misprint.



A(BC) 889 : *The* good dedes shall make all sure (D : *Thy*).

*Elckerlijck*, l. 858 : die duecht sal nv haer seluen melden.

Here D's reading is of course absurd, 'His' would be the only possible emendation. But the reading of ABC is awkward. It looks as though the article had been carelessly retained from the Dutch.

A(B) 899-901 : Now shalte thou in to the heuently spere

Vnto the whiche all ye shall come

That lyueth well *before* the daye of dome. (D : *after*).

Intrinsically, with suitable punctuation, there seems nothing to choose between these readings. It is one of those cases which make one regret the impossibility of deciding for certain between the arrangements A + B + (C + D) and (A + B) + (C + D). If we assume the former, or even A + [B + (C + D)], then the reading 'before' must be original, if the latter we are left with no obvious means of deciding the question.

On the whole, however, the number of important readings which remain open to doubt is not large, and we may fairly hope to see the text of *Everyman* definitely established within reasonable limits. As a basis the Britwell edition appears to offer somewhat the more satisfactory text. It is free from the editorial impertinences of the Huth edition, and is, in some respects at least, the most consistent in its use of grammatical and linguistic forms. In point of correctness it would seem as though the balance varied in different portions as between the two Skot editions. Thus it is a curious fact that, in the 426 lines for which we have three texts, B is apparently unoriginal in 67 instances and A in only 23, while in the 239 lines for which we have four texts A is apparently unoriginal in 14 instances and B in only 12. Further analysis might modify these figures somewhat, but not greatly. What the state of affairs may be in the 304 lines for which A and B are the only texts extant, we can but wonder.

---

## ERRATA :

p. 46. The asterisk (\*) should be prefixed to line 589 not to line 590.

p. 47. Line 602 (bis). Add **AD : B**

Line 606. Omit **AD : B**



BAND XXIII : *John Fordes Dramatische Werke* in Neudruck herausgegeben von W. Bang. Erster Band. Mit einem einleitenden Essay : Forde's Contribution to the Decadence of the Drama von S. P. Sherman und einem Neudruck von Dekkers Penny-Wise, Pound-Foolish. XIX, 210 pp. Preis frs 22,50; für Subscribenten frs 18,00.

BAND XXIV : *Everyman*, reprinted by W. W. Greg from the edition by John Skot in the possession of Mr. A. H. Huth. VIII, 32 pp. Preis frs 2,25; für Subscribenten frs 1,75.

BAND XXV : *Bales Kyng Johan nach der Handschrift in der Chatsworth Collection* in Faksimile herausgegeben von W. Bang. Preis frs 125,00; für Subscribenten frs 100,00.

BAND XXVI ERSTER TEIL : *Sir Gyles Goosecappe* nach der Quarto 1606 in Neudruck herausgegeben von W. Bang und R. Brotanek. VIII, 75 pp. Preis frs 5,50; für Subscribenten frs 4,50.

BAND XXVII : *Die Dialekt- und Ausländertypen des älteren Englischen Dramas. TEIL I : Die Dialekttypen.* Von Eduard Eckhardt. XV, 159 pp. Preis frs 12,50; für Subscribenten frs 10,00.

BAND XXIX : *William Hunnis and the Revels of the Chapel Royal.* A study of his period and the influences which affected Shakespeares. By Mrs. C. C. Stopes. XVI, 363 pp. Preis frs 27,00; für Subscribenten frs 22,00.

BAND XXX : *Nathanael Richards' Tragedy of Messallina, the Roman Emperesse,* edited by A. R. Skemp, XVI, 260 pp. Preis frs 16,00; für Subscribenten frs 13,00.

BAND XXXI : *Daniel's The Tragedie of Cleopatra nach dem Drucke von 1611* herausgegeben von M. Lederer. XVI, 99 pp. Preis frs 8,50; für Subscribenten frs 7,00.

BAND XXXII : *Die Dialekt- und Ausländertypen des älteren Englischen Dramas. TEIL II : Die Ausländertypen.* Von Eduard Eckhardt. XXXII, 190 pp. Preis frs 12,50; für Subscribenten frs 10,00.

BAND XXXIII : *A neue Interlude of Impacyente Pouerte, from the quarto of 1560.* edited by R. B. Mc Kerrow. XIX, 70 pp. Preis frs 5,50; für Subscribenten frs 4,50.

BAND XXXIV ERSTER TEIL : *The Marlowe Concordance* by Charles Crawford. XX, 200 pp. Preis frs 25; für Subscribenten frs 20. ZWEITER TEIL : 160 pp. Preis frs 25; für Subscribenten frs 20. DRITTER TEIL : 160 pp. Preis frs 25; für Subscribenten frs 20.

BAND XXXV : *How a man may chuse a good wife from a bad,* edited by A. E. H. Swaen. XLIII, 120 pp. Preis frs 10,00; für Subscribenten frs 8,00.

BAND XXXVI : *Edward Sharphams The Fleire,* nach der Quarto 1607 herausgegeben von Hunold Nibbe. 47, 89 pp. Preis frs 10; für Subscribenten frs 8.

BAND XXXVII : *John Mason's The Turke,* edited from the Quartos of 1610 and 1632 by Joseph Q. Adams, Jr. XXV, 104 pp. Preis frs 10; für Subscribenten frs 8.

BAND XXXVIII : *Studley's Translations of Seneca's Agamemnon and Medea,* edited from the Octavos of 1566 by E. M. Spearing. XXIII, 252 pp. Preis frs 20,00; für Subscribenten frs 16,00.

BAND XXXIX : *A Tale of a Tub,* nach dem Drucke von 1640 herausgegeben von Dr. Hans Scherer. XV, 90 pp. Preis frs 10,00; für Subscribenten frs 8,00.

BAND XL : *The Jewes Tragedy von William Hemings,* nach der Quarto 1662 herausgegeben von Heinrich A. Cohn. XI, 106, 91 pp. Preis frs 12,50; für Subscribenten frs 10,00.

BAND XLI : *Jasper Heywood and his Translations of Seneca's Troas, Thyestes and Hercules Furens,* edited from the Octavos of 1559, 1560 and 1561, by H. de Vocht. LVII, 355 pp. Preis frs 30,00; für Subscribenten frs 24,00.

BAND XLII : *William Sampson's 'Vow-Breaker',* herausgegeben von Hans Wallrath. 60-6-82 pp. Preis frs 10,00; für Subscribenten frs 8,00.

Die Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas erscheinen in zwanglosen, in sich abgeschlossenen Bänden. Der Subscriptionspreis beträgt ca 75 centimes für den Bogen im Format dieses Bandes, doch behält sich der Verleger eine angemessene Preiserhöhung vor für die Bände, die mehrere Facsimiles u. s. w. enthalten.

Denjenigen Universitätslehrern, die einzelne Bände der Materialien zu Seminar-Uebungen benutzen wollen, steht die gewünschte Anzahl von Exemplaren zum Subscriptionspreis zur Verfügung.



Zusendungen von Manuscripten (Text- und Quellen-Ausgaben für diplomatischen Neudruck, kritische Ausgaben, Quellen-Studien, Sprach-, Theater- und Literatur-geschichtliche Arbeiten etc.) werden nur unter der Adresse des Herausgebers erbeten :

**Prof. Bang, Louvain, Belgien, 18, rue des Récollets.**

*Im Druck befinden sich und werden bald erscheinen :*

- J. LE GAY BRERETON, *Lust's Dominion* (1657).  
 C. CRAWFORD, *A Concordance to the Works of Marlowe*.  
 J. O. ADAMS, *Adriasta*, 1635.  
 A. WAGNER, *Marlowe's Massacre at Paris*.  
 W. BANG, *Jonson's Dramen nach der Folio 1616* (Band VII, 3).  
 W. BANG, *Neudrucke der vor 1616 erschienenen Quartoausgaben von Jonson's Dramen*.  
 W. BANG, *John Fordes Dramatische Werke nach den Originalquartos herausgegeben*.

*Die folgenden Bände werden u. a. enthalten :*

- CH. CRAWFORD, *A Concordance to the 1616 Folio of Jonson's Works*.  
 R. B. Mc KERROW, *A List of Modern Editions and Reprints of English Plays written before 1643*.  
 W. BANG, *Udall-Studien* (darin u. a. seine *Floures for Latine Spekyunge*, die Übersetzung von Erasmii Rot. *Apophthegmes*, Versuch eines Nachweises, dass Udall die *Respublica* und die *Historie of Iacob and Esau* geschrieben hat).  
 R. BROTANEK, *Die ältesten Denkmäler der Schottischen Dramatik* (Dunbar, Jakob VI., Philotus, W. Clarke's *Marciano*, etc.).  
 A. DE MAN, *Joannis Palsgravii Londoniensis Ecphrasis Anglica in Comœdiam Acolasti* (1540).  
 P. BURVENICH, *Jonson's Barthol. Fair*.  
 A. BERTRANG, *Terenz' Andria in den Englischen Übersetzungen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*.  
 E. SIEPER, *Marlowe's Edward II*.  
 ARTHUR M. CHARLES, *Brandon's Virtuous Octavia* (1598).  
 CH. BOLEN, *Guy of Warwick* (Q 1661).  
 W. BANG und R. BROTANEK, *Die Maskenspiele des Thom. Nabbes*.  
 J. RITTER und J. ZUCK, *H. Killigrew's The Conspiracy (Pallantus and Eudora)*.  
 W. BANG und W. W. GREG, *Bale's Dram. Werke*.  
 A. FEULLERAT, *Everie Woman in her Humor* (1609).  
 M. RÖSLER und R. BROTANEK, *Nebuchadnezzars Fierie Furnace nach MS. Harl. 7578*.  
 E. BENSLEY, *Rob. Burton's Philosophaster* (1606).  
 W. W. GREG, *Actor-Lists, 1583-1642*.  
 W. W. GREG, *Character Index to the English Drama to 1642*.  
 A. FEULLERAT, *Documents concerning the Revels at Court temp. Edward VI and Mary, from the Loseley MSS in the possession of W. More Molyneux, Esq.*  
 J. LE GAY BRERETON, *Marlowe : Notes for a Bibliography*.  
 J. VAN DE WYER, *The Wisdome of Doctor Dodypoll ; The Bloodie Banquet ; The Knave in Graine New Vamp ; The History of the Triall of Chevalry*.

**Librairie Universitaire, A. UYSTPRUYST, Louvain.**

EN VENTE

**LE BUREAU DES MENUS PLAISIRS**

(OFFICE OF THE REVELS)

ET

**LA MISE EN SCÈNE A LA COUR D'ELIZABETH**

par A. FEULLERAT,

Professeur à l'Université de Rennes.

PRIX : 4 Frs.

VOL. XXVIII

Prix pour les souscripteurs . . . . . 4.50 fr. 3.60 M.  
 Prix pour les non souscripteurs . . . . . 5.50 fr. 4.40 M.









PR  
1261  
E8  
1910

Everyman  
Everyman

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE  
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

---

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

---



