



Costume in the early drama

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COSTUME IN THE EARLY DRAMA

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COSTUME IN THE EARLY DRAMA

BY

MILBURN GUSTARD BROWN

· THESIS

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I have been particularly fortunate in the material which I have had at my disposal for the preparation of this thesis. Besides the books available to me at Smith College and Massachusetts State College, through the courtesy of Mr. Robert T. Fletcher of the Converse Memorial Library at Amherst College and Mr. Andrew Scogh of the Yale University Library I have had access to supplementary material. For the use of these libraries and the Gallery of Fine Arts at Yale, I am grateful.

INTRODUCTION

The English People, from the first centuries to the present day, have shown a great interest in dress. To them, the question of what one should wear, and when one should wear it, has been a serious problem, requiring thought and time. So important has it seemed, that many books have been written about the costume of both men and women during the centuries. Because of these books it is possible for us to know what was worn two, three, or several hundred years ago. There is one phase of costume in the early centuries, however, which has been neglected, and which seems worthy of inquiry: that is, the matter of how people dressed when they impersonated someone else. It is the intention of this writer to trace the evolution of appropriate stage costume in the development of the early drama. In such a study certain distinctions must be made clear immediately.

The term 'costume', in this paper, will refer to the apparel which was assumed for dramatic purposes. When the term 'appropriate' costume is referred to, it will mean appropriate in one of three ways: Appropriate according to time- to the century in which the play was to have taken place; appropriate according to place- to the country from which the character came; appropriate according to characteristic- which may mean one of two things: to the position the character held in life, or to the personification of the abstraction which the character represented. Or a costume might be appropriate in all of these three ways. I have used 'early drama' in this paper to cover: the liturgical plays, the transitional plays, the miracle plays, the masques, and the

Elizabethan drama.

Nobody, so far as I know, has ever attempted such a study. A few authorities in the field of early drama have made passing reference to the attire of the actor, but they have made no attempt to organize the material, or to draw any conclusions concerning what was worn. The remarks of E. K. Chambers provide an example of the type of reference which is made to costume. He devotes one page to a description of what was worn in the liturgical dramas, not because of his interest in the costume, but because of his interest in the setting. "The scenic effect of the Quem quaeritis can be to some extent gathered from the rubrics, although they are often not very explicit, being content with a general direction for the performers to be arrayed in similitudinem mulierum or angelorum or apostolorum, as the case may be."¹

Neither did Warton, previous to Chambers, make any attempt to organize the material on costumes. He became much concerned with the realism of the Miracle Plays, and it is in this connection that he made the well-known statements concerning the costumes of Adam and Eve. "In a play of the Old and New Testament, Adam and Eve are both exhibited on the stage naked, and conversing about their nakedness; this very pertinently introduces the next scene, in which they have coverings of fig-leaves. This extraordinary spectacle was beheld (at Chester) by a numerous assembly of both sexes with great composure; they had the authority of Scripture for such representation, and they gave matters just as they found them in the third chapter of Genesis."²

(1) E. K. Chambers, The Medieval Stage (Oxford, 1903), II, 34.

(2) Thomas Warton, History of English Poetry (ed. F. Carew Hazlitt, London, 1871), II, 223ff.

Entries from the records of the smiths', cappers', and drapers' pageants furnish valuable material to the student of costume, but Gordon Craig notes them only because they reveal to him the subjects of the plays which had been given at Coventry.³

In her book about the early religious drama, Professor Katherine Lee Bates pointed out the difference between France and England in the arrangement of the pageant house. A consideration of the French Theatre with its three stages led to a discussion of the devils and their costumes, and thence to the costumes of the others.⁴

Karl Mantzius devotes seven pages to the discussion of clothing in the liturgical and cyclical dramas. He merely lists some of the costumes worn and makes a few generalizations such as: "the theatrical costume of this period has no history, or rather coincides with that of the generation."⁵ In one respect, Mantzius has progressed a step further than the other authorities noted, for he discusses the costumes for their own interest rather than for their connection with the setting, the subject of the plays, or the arrangement of the pageant houses.

There is little to dispute in these remarks, because there is very little said of fundamental importance. With these as with masque criticisms, I am in complete accord. It is not until the Elizabethan drama is reached, that I become particularly concerned with the comments which, in nearly every case, are to the effect that contemporary costume was always worn on the stage. A few

- (3) Gordon Craig, Two Coventry Corpus Christi Plays (Early English Text Society, Extra Series, London, 1902), lxxxvii, 16ff.
 (4) Katherine Lee Bates, The English Religious Drama (New York, 1913), 43ff.
 (5) Karl Mantzius, A History of Theatrical Art in Ancient and Modern Times, trans. Louise von Cossell (London, 1903), 97ff.

typical remarks from well-known authorities will serve to illustrate this point of view. Creizenach, well-known to all students of early English drama says:

In addition to all this, it would have been impossible, even with the best intentions, for a poet to maintain any accuracy of historical setting at a period when the arts of scenic mounting and costume were completely inadequate for that purpose. ---With regard to classical costume, no doubt at that date in England, as elsewhere, reproductions of antique works of art, especially of draped and accoutred statues, were sufficiently common to enable persons of culture to form tolerably accurate ideas on the subject. But when one remembers that even in Racine's classical tragedies the heroes still strutted on in brocaded waistcoats and plumes, it is hardly fair to demand a conscientious historical accuracy from Shakespeare's contemporaries.⁶

Later in the book Creizenach emphasizes the belief again:

It has already been pointed out that no regard was paid to historical accuracy in respect of these garments; and apart from this the manager does not invariably appear to have troubled himself as to whether the richness of the costume accorded with the circumstances of the character presented.⁷

This same idea that contemporary costumes were worn exclusively is held by Karl Mantzius:

On the stage, however, we know that there was a magnificent display of apparel. It is well known that the stage costumes did not differ in cut from the ordinary dresses of the time. There was no attempt during the Renaissance than there had been during the Middle Ages to adapt the costumes to historical requirements; all plays alike were acted in contemporary dress. ---This habit of playing everything in the same kind of costume naturally very much curtailed the wardrobe expenses. On the other hand, the costumes themselves were exceedingly expensive, so much that a fine costume actually cost more than one of Shakespeare's.⁸

(6) Wilhelm Creizenach, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, trans. Miss Cecile Hugon (First pub. 1816), p. 157.

(7) *Ibid.*, p. 386.

(8) Karl Mantzius, *op. cit.*, III, 152.

Felix Schelling expresses the same thought in the following manner:

But if the scenes and hangings of the early London playhouses were rude and meager, the costumes of the players were often exceedingly rich and costly. ---Those costumes made little attempts at fitness. It was enough handsomely to reproduce the passing fashions of the day. Indeed, a strong contemporaneousness that instinctively reduces all things to the conditions of the present moment pervades the popular drama of the entire age. King David, Coriolanus, Macbeth- the doublet, ruff, and hose impartially clothed them all.⁹

These critics are not the only ones to propound the theory of the contemporaneousness of apparel. Others have stated the same theories in either more or less words.¹⁰ Yet, in my study, I have found evidence which seems to substantiate the fact that there was an attempt to obtain appropriate costume in many cases. It was not until I had drawn this conclusion, and proceeded to prove it in various ways, that I found two authorities who have very recently drawn this same conclusion.¹¹ But the fact remains that I have come to this point of view independently, and that I have supplementary material which they have not used to prove the theory.

My justification, then, for writing the paper lies in this

(9) Felix Schelling, Elizabethan Drama (Boston, 1909), 179 ff.

(10) Cf. Arnold Wynne, The Growth of English Drama (Oxford, 1914), 275 ff.

G. F. Reynolds, "What We Know of the Elizabethan Stage" (Modern Philology, 1911), p. 77.

W. J. Lawrence, The Elizabethan Stage and Other Studies (Philadelphia, 1903), II, 195.

(11) The two persons mentioned, are: Allardyce Nicoll, The Development of the Theatre (London, 1927), and Lee Simonson, The Stage is Set (New York, 1932). The latter has obviously taken her one item of information concerning costumes in the Elizabethan Plays from the former.

fact, that I am proposing an almost new hypothesis, and supporting it with almost entirely new evidence; and that never before have so many of the facts concerning the costume in even one of these types of drama been gathered together, to say nothing of the material from all of the dramas having been correlated with the purpose of drawing conclusions.

My method of procedure will be to discuss the costumes worn in each of these fields of drama, laying particular stress upon what advance has been made in each successive stage toward appropriate clothing. In many cases, the dress of the characters will be described, mention will be made of changes during the period, and explanation will be given as to the reason why certain garments were assumed at particular times.

CHAPTER I

COSTUME IN THE LITURGICAL DRAMA

Few people realize one of the most interesting facts in connection with the early English drama: which is that the habit of 'dressing up' was adopted almost simultaneously with the beginning of the liturgical play. Naturally the attempt at costuming was a crude one, with virtually no approach to appropriateness as defined in the introduction; but the wonder is that there was any attempt at costume. And to a casual observer, it might be difficult to see that the actors were 'dressing up', because the garments which were worn belonged to the ecclesiastical equipment of the church. When the facts are known, however, the situation becomes clear. What of the clothing of the priests and deacons who took part in the play? Did they change their vestments, or did they wear the exact ones which they had worn, or were to wear, in the Mass? A deacon's correct attire for Mass is: the amice, the alb, the stole worn over the left shoulder, the maniple and the dalmatic. If, in the play, a deacon wore these vestments, he was clothed in correct attire for Mass, but if, on the other hand, he wore a chasuble, which was not a part of his correct attire, he must have made a change of clothing especially for the play. When such a change took place, a conscious effort was made to achieve a costume.

There are many rubrics which might mislead one to believe that the correct attire for Mass was sometimes worn in the drama: for instance, rubrics which direct deacons to wear

dalmatics.¹ Although the dalmatic is the distinguishing vestment of the deacon, and a rubric directing its use implies that the deacon is to be clothed in correct Mass attire, it does not prove that he was. While it is appropriate for a deacon to wear a dalmatic, it is not necessary that he should. Therefore he may not have worn it in the Mass, although directed to wear it in the drama.

It seems as though there must have been times when the exact costume which was worn in the Mass by the deacon or priest was worn also in the drama; especially when the drama first began. No rubrics exist, however, such as, 'Deacon clothed in the manner of a deacon' or 'Priest clothed in the manner of a priest', which would prove the point most easily. An approximation to them occurs in a rubric from Besançon which directs, not the deacon to be clothed in the manner of a deacon, but a boy so to be costumed.² This instance, then, is a clear example of a boy changing his clothing to the easily available deacon's vestments. Thus, if boys, brothers, canons and elders, who had not assisted in the celebration of the Mass, changed from their civil garments to vestments, in order to assume their part in the play, they were wearing a costume.

If the actors had not been expected to change their garb, no rubrics would have been needed, anyway. The fact that the deacon was instructed to wear a dalmatic admits that a change

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- (1) One such rubric is found at Besançon. Neil C. Brooks, 'The Sepulchre of Christ in Art and Liturgy', University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature (University of Illinois, 1921), vii, 94.
- (2) Ibid; p. 95.

of clothing was to take place.³ Thus it would seem that with one questionable exception, the very fact that rubrics exist indicates that a costume was affected.⁴ Sometimes a costume was created by putting on some vestments, as those actors did who were not celebrants in the Mass, or by taking off part of the vestments as the priests and deacons sometimes did.

It is not known exactly when the first liturgical dramas were given, but it is known that dramatic costumes existed in the plays as early as the tenth century. A rubric from that century is extant in England, which describes four boys: one

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- (3) This chapter was written before the publishing of Karl Young's two volumes containing all of the liturgical plays gathered together for the first time. Cf. Karl Young, The Drama of the Medieval Church, (Oxford, 1933.)

I followed a difficult process of selection whereby if Karl Young had edited the play, I used his edition. E. K. Chambers was my second choice; then Karl Lange, and finally D^r Méril. I have quoted Neil C. Brook when there has been no other authority for a play text.

- (4) The exception is a rubric from Augsburg, which Lange designates as Augsburg viii. Karl Lange, Die lateinischen Osterfeiern (München, 1887), p. 108: "Duo sacerdotes induti simpliciter casulis super superlicis suis representantes mulieres." Perhaps this exception can be explained away by the fact that the chasuble in the early centuries was not limited to the Priest. Cf. Catholic Encyclopedia (New York Encyclopedia Press, 1913), III, 639. It is difficult to tell, however, whether a MS. from the XVI Century reflects early usage or not.

In gaining material for the liturgical plays, I have followed the lead of the authorities of the liturgical drama, and included MSS. from the continent. There are only two English MSS, extant, while there are many French and German. It is well understood that there can be little difference between them, due to the fact that the Catholic Church felt the same influences in all of the countries. Travelling monks did much to keep the countries in touch with each other. The language, too, of the plays was common to all-Latin.

in the alb, the other three in copes.⁵ There are two ways in which this rubric establishes the fact that a costume was employed. In the first place, anything a boy put on was a costume because it was donned especially for the drama. In the second place, the cope was used for processions on special days but never for Mass. Therefore a cope was always a costume, no matter what the play, or who the actor.

No chronological growth or elaboration in the dramatic costumes of the liturgical drama can be detected from the beginning to the end of their popularity. Rubrics like this from the tenth century are characteristic of every century to the sixteenth. Although there are a few variations, elaborations and innovations, they are not typical of any one century. Nearly every character, however, had certain combinations of vestments, which became associated with them. The way in which certain garments were worn sometimes, suggests that there might have been a little care shown in choosing them. Such attempts will be noted as they appear. If we had visited English, French, or German cathedrals between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries on an Easter morning, in the majority of cases, we should have seen a setting like this: Two angels appear in the tomb, dressed in simple, linen albs,

(5) The following rubrics are found from a Queen's manuscript of the tenth century from England.

"Lum tertia recitatur lectio, quatuor fratres induant se, quorum unus alba indutus acci ad aliud agendum ingrediatur." Lange, op. cit., p. 38.

"Tuncque tertium percelebratur responsorium, residui tres succedant, omnes cildem copis induti". Lange, op. cit., p. 38.

"Aguntur enim hec ad imitationem angeli sedentis in monumento, atque mulierum cum aromatibus uenientium, ut ungerent corpus Jesus." Lange, op. cit., p. 38.

which entirely cover them. Upon their heads are amices which are worn in the old style: on their heads, not falling about their shoulders as they do to-day. Or we may see that the angels are wearing dalmatics instead of the albs, for one garment is as popular as the other.⁶ Incidentally, the author is inclined to attach a certain significance to the fact that the deacons took the parts of angels more frequently than any other order. Angels and deacons in the Catholic Church are both considered servants of God. The dalmatic is a vestment of servitude and is required to be worn by angels and deacons in the plays very often. To this tomb where the angels are watching, come the three Maries, clad in copes with amices about their heads in the fashion of women, and carrying censers.⁷ Christ is the next character to appear. It is hard to know how he will look, for he almost never appears twice alike. Perhaps it is safe to say that he wears a white

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- (6) I have fourteen rubrics which designate the alb: Lange, op. cit., pp. 24, 25, 26, 27, 37, 38, 122, 122, 155, 162, and Karl Young, 'A Contribution to the History of the Liturgical Drama at Rouen', Modern Philology (Chicago, 1909), vi, 207, 212, 222, and Karl Young, 'The Origin of the Medieval Passion Play', Publications of Modern Language Association (Baltimore, 1910), xxv, 351, and thirteen which designate the dalmatic: Lange, op. cit., pp. 33, 41, 45, 51, 57, 72, 82, 103, and Karl Young, "Some texts of Liturgical Dramas", Publications of Modern Language Association (Baltimore, n.d.), xxiv, 312, Brooks, op. cit., vii, 94, 94, 100.
- (7) From twenty-eight rubrics describing the costumes of the Maries, nineteen designate the cope. Lange, op. cit., pp. 30, 34, 28, 49, 51, 64, 81, 100, Brooks, op. cit., pp. 100, 94, 95, 103, 110. Karl Young, Publications of Modern Language Association, (Baltimore, n.d.), xxiv, 312, 322. Karl Young, 'The Dramatic Associations of the Easter Sepulchre', University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature (Madison, 1920), x, 7. Chambers, op. cit., p. 315.

vestment, either an alb or a dalmatic, with a stole or cross.⁸ He is bare-footed usually. The apostles are clothed in tunics or copes, and are bare-footed. John and Peter are differentiated: John with a white tunic and sash, with a palm in his hand, and Peter in a red tunic and keys in his hand.⁹

When the actors added to their simple forms of clothing, or chose a vestment other than the one they generally wore, it was not to achieve appropriateness. Occasionally angels wore red copes, and many times they were covered with shining white stoles. The only value of such additions was ornamental.¹⁰

Whereas there seemed to be no particular reason in the first place for the angels wearing albs or dalmatics in the liturgical plays, the fact that they did wear such a costume almost to the exclusion of others, may be significant; for it must be admitted that the angels were traditionally clothed in long white garments, and

(8) For albs, cf. Young, Modern Philology vi, 222, Lange, op. cit., p. 156. For stoles, cf. those references just cited for albs, and Young, Publications of Modern Language Association (Baltimore, n.d.) xrviv, 51. Examples of the dalmatic found in Lange, op. cit., pp. 143, 154, 164 and Du Ménil, Les Origines des Theatre Moderne (Leipzig, Paris, 1897) p.120.

(9) These were the costumes worn at Dublin, Chambers, op. cit., II, Appendix R, 317.

(10) It is difficult to determine just what kind of a stole is meant by the rubrics in these plays. (Cf. Appendix A for a discussion of the kinds of stoles). There is no doubt but what the scarf-like stole is indicated in a rubric which designates that a deacon's stole was worn. I am not convinced, however, that that is the kind of stole indicated by the following rubric "coopertis stola candida", which is found at Aquileja, Chiemsee, Piessen, Salzburg, and St. Florian. Cf. Lange, op. cit., pp. 100, 100, 102, 106, 120. There is no doubt but what the cape-like stole is indicated by a rubric which designates the stole to be worn "in capite". Cf. Lange, op. cit., p. 122.

the Bible is an authority for such a costume.¹¹ But on the other hand, why did Christ, Isaiah and Moses wear long white albs and dalmatics, too, if those garments were identifiable with the angels for purposes of appropriateness of color?¹² A silk cope and a red cope seem to be the only attempts made at ornamentation by the Maries.¹³ Christ's costume showed the greatest variation, and it is there again, that one notes an element of symbolism, one kind of appropriateness. He wore a crown upon his head,¹⁴ or a phylactery,¹⁵ and carried a cross in his hand.¹⁶

The same general principles which governed costume in the Easter Liturgical plays are found in the rubrics for the Christmas plays, although there are two quite evident attempts to produce different effects. In the first place, nearly all of the men were bearded: Moses, Habakkuk, John the Baptist, Simeon, Isaiah, and Balaam. In the second place, David and Nebuchadnezzar were clothed as Kings, undoubtedly as Medieval Kings. These rubrics which emphasize a new element, however, were accompanied by many

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- (11) Matthew 28, 3. "His countenance was like lightning, and his raiment white as snow." Mark 16, 5. "And entering into the sepulchre, they saw a young man sitting on the right side, clothed in a long, white garment."
- (12) For Christ's costume cf. discussion on page 11. For the costume of Isaiah and Moses, cf. Karl Young, 'Ordo Prophetarum' Reprinted from the Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters (Wisconsin, 1922), p. 40.
- (13) Occasionally the cope was varied by a dalmatic, cf. Lange, op. cit., pp. 24, 39, or chasuble, cf. Lange, op. cit., p. 108, or a tunic: Brooks, op. cit., p. 108. It is an interesting fact that the Maries were never directed to wear a stole.
- (14) Nurnberg, Lange, op. cit., p. 143.
- (15) Fleury, Ibid., p. 164. A phylactery is a small leathern box containing four texts of Scripture Deut.vi. ...written in Hebrew letters on vellum and by a liberal interpretation of the passages, worn by Jews during morning prayer on all days except the sabbath, as a reminder of the law. Cf. Deut.xi, 18.
- (16) Rouen, Karl Young, "A Contribution to the History of Liturgical Drama at Rouen", Modern Philology (Chicago, 1909) vi, 222.

of the more familiar garments. Isaiah was clothed in a dalmatic with a red stole, Daniel in a splendid vestment, Moses in a dalmatic and Simeon in a silk cope.¹⁷

The French, by their innovations, showed their taste for costume in these early centuries. References to color come from France. There were three red stoles,¹⁸ one chasuble,¹⁹ one cope and one tunic,²⁰ and one gilded alb of French origin.²¹ Only one reference to color comes from another country, and that country is Germany, where Christ, after the scourging was clothed in a purple vestment. If there were no references at all to color from the other countries, I should be inclined to think the Germans or Italians, although they used color, did not feel it necessary to designate the color in the rubrics. But when white stoles are specifically called for at Salzburg, Diessen, Aquileja, St. Florian, Melk I, and Melk II, and white copes at Strassbourg, Speyer, and so on, it shows that they chose to use white instead of colors. This, of course, does not ignore the fact that there are rubrics from France which call for white vestments.²² France boasts of more silk albs than the other

(17) All of these facts concerning the costumes of the Christmas plays are found in Karl Young, 'Ordo Prophetarum', Reprinted from The Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters (Wisconsin, 1922), p. 40.

(18) Besançon, Brooks, op. cit., vii, 95.
Rouen, Young, Ordo Prophetarum, p. 40.
Laon, Ibid., p. 53.

(19) St. Gall, Young, P. M. L. A., xxiv, 323.

(20) Besançon, Brooks, op. cit., p. 94.
Dublin, Chambers, op. cit., Appendix R, 317.

(21) Orleans, Lange, op. cit., p. 162.

(22) Lange, op. cit., pp. 100, 100, 106, 120, 110, 114, and 49, 34.

countries.²³ According to the rubrics, wings were almost never used.²⁴

These incidental remarks about France are interesting, but they do not change the fact that those who "dressed up" in the early drama made little attempt to achieve a truly appropriate costume suited to the character they portrayed. A simple change to another accessible garment satisfied their desires for a costume. Prompted now and then to make their attire more elaborate, they added a stole, or a colored or a silk cope. Now and again, an isolated effort for a symbolic effect is seen in a rubric suggesting a key for Peter, a table of law for Moses, and so on, but on the whole, their "dressing up" was unpremeditated and crude.

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- (23) Fleury, Du Ménil, Les Origines du Théâtre Moderne (Leipzig, Paris, 1897), p. 125.
 Coutances, Karl Lange, Die lateinischen Osterfeiern (München, 1887), p. 159.
 Leon, Karl Young, "Ordo Prophetarum", Reprinted from The Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters (Wisconsin, 1922), p. 40.
 Fritzlar, Neil C. Brock, The Sepulchre of Christ in Art and Liturgy, University of Illinois Studies in Language (University of Illinois, 1921), vii, 100.
 Dublin, E. K. Chambers, The Medieval Stage, (Oxford, 1901), Appendix R. p. 315.
- (24) Chambers quoted the following passage as referring to wings: "indutis albis et amictibus cum stolis violatis et sindone rubea in facie eorum et alis in humeris", from Karl Lange, Die lateinischen Osterfeiern, (München, 1887), p. 64. No other reference exists.

Part II

So far, information concerning costumes has been obtained from the rubrics of the liturgical plays. Another possible source for information is in the art of the Middle Ages: illuminated manuscripts, stained glass windows, and paintings. The idea of investigating these phases of art in connection with the liturgical plays is not a new one. Karl Mantzius, who saw a possibility in the subject, said in its connection: "The English dresses are interesting for one thing, because they show how close was the connection between church imagery and ecclesiastical dramatic art. It is not easy to decide which of the two imitated the other, but so much is certain, that in reading the description of all the bright variegated dresses with their gilding and grotesqueness, we seem to see before us the ancient church-pictures sparkling with gold, and the gaudily painted wood-carvings".²⁵ Mâle has discussed, at length, the influence of the costume in the Mystery plays upon the costumes in art.²⁶ His discussion is inadequate on two scores: he failed to substantiate his argument fully with evidence, and he failed to see the striking similarity between the costumes in the liturgical plays and those in the works of art.

If it can be shown in this study, that the costumes in the pictures of scenes corresponding to those in the drama, as presented in illuminated manuscripts, stained glass windows, or paintings, follow those which appeared in the directions accord-

(25) Karl Mantzius, A History of Theatrical Art in Ancient and Modern Times (London, 1903), ii, 99-100

(26) Emile Mâle, L'Art Religieux de la Fin du Moyen Age en France (Paris, 1922) pp. 66-74.

ing to the rubrics, we are safe in believing that those were the costumes worn.

Before proceeding to the ecclesiastical costumes, it is necessary to know what the nature of the costume was when it was not ecclesiastical. The illuminated manuscripts are excellent examples with which to begin such a study, because there are facsimiles of manuscripts as early as the seventh and eighth centuries. An examination of those from the seventh to the eleventh century, reveals the fact that the garments employed were classical.²⁷ This is not the place to indulge in an extensive discussion of classical costumes, but those garments were almost strictly Byzantine robes.²⁸ By the twelfth century, the classical influence had almost entirely disappeared, and in the place of the classical costume, was the contemporary garb. As the contemporary dress is not my chief interest here, suffice it to say that from the twelfth century on the costumes in the manuscripts were contemporary lay, except when they were indisputably ecclesiastical.²⁹ Yet, it might be wise to mention here that there is real danger of confusing the ecclesiastical hooded cope with the outer garment of women in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; a garment which was often thrown about the shoulders and heads of the *Marie*s in such a manner as to resem-

(27) A full discussion of the Roman costume may be found in Fr. J. H. von Hefner-Alterneck, Costume in the Middle Ages (Frankfurt am Main, 1881).

(28) Examples of the classical costume in the illuminated manuscripts can be found in H. O. Westwood, Palaeographia sacra Pictoria (London, 1843-1845).

(29) A very careful chronological study of British costume can be found by Mrs. Charles W. Ashdown, British Costume During Six Centures (New York, n.d.).

ble the cope. There is danger, too, of confusing some of the other garments, because the chasuble bore a striking resemblance to the mantle worn in contemporary dress, as did the dalmatic to the Saxon tunica; but in each case, the ecclesiastical garment was not quite so full and long.

After such a warning, it is safe to proceed to an investigation of the pictures of scenes corresponding to the scenes of the liturgical plays. It is essential that at least some of the scenes be those taken from the plays. In a picture of the Adoration,³⁰ although Mary is clothed in a woman's robe, the wise men undoubtedly are garbed in dalmatics, which open half way on either side of the skirt, and have a rich ochrey around the openings and about the skirts. Another wise man wears an alb and large cope, of the old style with a hood attached.

The pictures at the sepulchre are scarce; so the scenes at the cross will be used as a substitute. In a scene of the Crucifixion with Mary and John at the cross, from an MS. about 1175-1185, Mary's costume is ecclesiastical.³¹ Beneath the dalmatic of the older style, unornamented, and unopened at the sides, is an alb, and over the dalmatic is a plain chasuble of a simple style. John's costume resembles the Roman toga, although it may be a contemporary mantle worn in another style.

In another Crucifixion, from the early xvth century, Mary is dressed in a contemporary costume, and John wears a cope which is almost like a modern one, with the rounding neck-line

(30) G. F. Warner, Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Museum (London, 1908), 111, 33.

(31) Warner, op. cit., I, 40.

and decoration about the edge.³²

But ecclesiastical vestments were used in scenes other than those which centered about Christmas and Easter. Sometimes the most striking examples of ecclesiastical vestments in other scenes are found in the illuminated manuscripts of the twelfth century.

The most conclusive proof of the transfer of the ecclesiastical costume from the drama to art (or from art to drama) as evidenced by the illuminated manuscripts, is found in such an instance from a twelfth century MS. of the Death of the Virgin, in which the Virgin is reclining upon a couch, wearing a white alb and cope with a hood attached. Three others are clad in similar robes, which are undeniably ecclesiastical.

A twelfth century psalter contains a picture of what are probably the twelve disciples, each clothed in robes resembling one worn in a book of costumes by an ecclesiastic, of the year 1515.³³ Because of the shading in the picture, it is difficult to distinguish the garments beneath the robes.³⁴

It is unfortunate that no manuscript of Christmas or Easter scenes exists which contains all of the figures wearing ecclesiastical garb. Yet, the fact that some of the figures in these scenes, and in other Biblical scenes, wear costumes which are indisputably ecclesiastical, is sufficient to show that the ecclesiastical vestment was associated with the Holy Family.

(32) Warner, op. cit., LL, 45.

(33) A facsimile of the ecclesiastic can be seen in Mrs. Ashborn, op. cit., p. 348.

(34) Warner, op. cit., III, 7.

The most convincing material on costume is seen, however, in paintings; for ecclesiastical costume is shown during a longer period here than in the other representations, and there are more examples of the costume. As early as the eleventh or twelfth century, paintings on the walls of churches revealed figures clad in ecclesiastical vestments.³⁵

Although beside the point, it might be noted here that the question of whether the costumes of art affected those in the drama or vice versa, is a significant problem and has been raised but unanswered many times. Incidentally, it seems that this paper has gone a long way in proving the point that the costumes in drama affected those in art, by establishing the fact that there is a record of costumes in the drama as early as the tenth century, and none in art until about the early twelfth. The fact that painting on the church walls revealed the ecclesiastical costume about two hundred years before that costume appeared in art outside of the church, is significant, too.

By far the most interesting scene with costumes of significance for us is that at the cross, including the crucifixion, the deposition and the pieta, and they will be used in the place of the scene at the sepulchre. In a picture of the Crucifixion³⁶ of about 1240, Christ is upon the cross. At the left of the cross, is Mary in her customary position, wearing a black cope

(35) See P. Gelis-Bidot et H. Laffillee- La Peinture Decorative en France du xi et xvi siècle (Paris, n.d.), plates 3, 6, 9.

(36) Crucifixion, Tuscan School, c. 1240, Jarves Collection No. 1.

of the old style.³⁷ At the right of the cross, in his regular position is John in a classical drapery. It is interesting to note that in every other picture which will be mentioned, John wears a classical costume.

In another scene of the Crucifixion from the same century,³⁸ Mary wears the same black hooded cope, and the cope is worn on her head. Mention is made of the fact that the hood is actually in use, because in many instances, if it hangs in back, it is difficult to determine whether there is a hood there, or simply a fold. On the same side of the cross, standing with Mary, are two women clad in copes of the same style, one of brown, and the other of red. Mary Magdalene, in a customary attitude at the feet of Christ, wears a cope of red also. Standing at the right of the cross is John in a classically draped garment. With him are four other people, all wearing contemporary costume. In this picture, are combined the three types of garments: classical, ecclesiastical, and contemporary; and wherever these three are combined, the same characters will be found wearing the same types: the Maries in the copes, John in the classical garment, the spectators in almost every instance in contemporary costumes.

(37) As far as I can, I shall cite the original paintings which I have seen, because in that way there can be little question of mistaking the costume. The following three are from the Jarves Collection, Gallery of Fine Arts, School of the Fine Arts, Yale.

(1) Madonna Enthroned, St. Peter and St. Leonard Scenes from the life of Peter, Magdalene Master, Florentine School, 3rd. Quarter, xiiith century.

(2) Crucifixion, Tuscan School 1240.

(3) Descent, Tuscan School 1240.

A scene from the fifteenth century is by a follower of Agnolo Gaddi, Florentine, Early xv, Jarves collection No. 22. Madonna and Child

(38) Crucifixion, Shop of Guido da Siena, Siennese School, No. 2.

The thirteenth century is rich in examples of the ecclesiastical costume in painting. There is still another Crucifixion which shows Mary wearing a hooded cope, and John a classical toga.³⁹

A painting of the Crucifixion from the fourteenth century reveals a group of figures at the left of Christ in hooded copes, Mary's being a black one; and on the right there are several unidentifiable onlookers in contemporary attire.⁴⁰ The change in century brought about no variations in this arrangement.

A deposition scene from the thirteenth century shows the same grouping about the Cross: Mary in a black hooded cope, standing a little in front of several others in red garments of the same style, and John in a classical costume standing with another man in contemporary garb.⁴¹ The same garment is found on Mary in the Pieta. While those with her are in red and green copes, the other two who stood apart, were classically gowned.⁴²

Christ, in an early fifteenth century painting of the Transfiguration is in a classical robe, but Mary, as usual, wears a red hooded cope. Another man in the picture wears a garment which could almost certainly be called an alb.⁴³

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- (39) Crucifixion, Tabernacle, Florentine School, c. 1270. Jarves Collection, No. 4.
 (40) Crucifixion, Follower of Guccio, Sienese School, Jarves Collection, No. 10.
 (41) Deposition, Tuscan School, c. 1240, Jarves Collection No. 1.
 (42) Pieta, Tuscan School, c. 1240, Jarves Collection No. 1.
 (43) Transfiguration, Follower of Agnolo Gaddi, Florentine, Early XV Jarves Collection, No. 22.

So far mention has not been made of the angels in the paintings. In a Madonna and Child with Saints, there are angels in albs and wings. The Madonna, surprisingly enough, wears a contemporary costume.⁴⁴ That same difficulty of never finding a scene with all of the characters in ecclesiastical vestments, is met in the paintings as it was in the manuscripts.

The fact that Mary, as the Madonna, wore a contemporary costume in one instance, does not mean that she always did, for in this scene as in the Crucifixion she is found in the black, hooded cope. She is clothed thus, by a member of the Florentine School,⁴⁵ and once by an artist in the manner of the Dugento.⁴⁶ In the first instance, St. Peter appeared in a classical garment, with another figure in contemporary costume. Again in a Nativity scene, Mary is in a red hooded cope, and the others are in classical gowns.⁴⁷

Several other instances of the use of ecclesiastical costumes on characters who were not of the clergy,⁴⁸ may be found in scenes not centering around the Christmas or Easter season; portraits often of Saints Peter, Paul, John the Baptist, and so on. That the ecclesiastical costume had a strong effect even outside the Christmas and Easter scenes is recognizable by this

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- (44) Madonna and Child, Florentine School, Jarves Collection, Follower of Agnolo Gaddi, Florentine, Early XV.
 (45) Madonna Enthroned, Florentine School, third quarter of XIII, Jarves Collection, No. 3.
 (46) Madonna and Child, Italian, in the manner of the Dugento, Gift of Richard W. Hurd.
 (47) Nativity, Holo Byzantine, Early XV, Jarves Collection, No. 109
 (48) St. Anthony in white alb, dark cope, and a miter. Florentine School 1455. Jarves Collection, No. 31.
 St. Dominic in white alb, dark cope, by Lorenze Di Niccolo.
 St. Augustine--like the hooded cope above with no alb under it. A chasuble was worn over that and a mitre. Niccolo Florentine School, 1370-1490.

fact.

Thus, in the paintings of scenes corresponding to those given in the dramas, and even in other scenes, the ecclesiastical vestments are not uncommon. In no scene are all the figures thus attired. But most of them have a particular costume which remains the same in nearly all of the pictures. Hence, the Maries are in hooded copes, John in a classical robe, and the others in contemporary costumes.

It might be expected that stained glass windows, that third form of art, which contributed so much to the religion of the Middle Ages, would furnish the last examples necessary to prove conclusively that the costumes in the scenes of the nativity and passion were the same in both the drama and art. Unfortunately, this fact cannot be definitely proved by means of an examination of the pictures of the windows. There are pictures of windows which reveal costumes that may be ecclesiastical; but there is always a question in one's mind. This uncertainty is due to two facts. The available pictures are usually of the entire window, rather than of the separate scenes, so that the scenes are small, and the details of a garment cannot be studied readily. In the second place, the picture is so cut up by the separate pieces of glass that the lines of the costume cannot be clearly distinguished from the lines made by the joining of the glass. Thus, there are no scenes which can conscientiously be offered as examples revealing the ecclesiastical vestment. No doubt if the actual windows were seen, the fact could be proved conclusively.

In all of the stained glass windows which have been examined, the only certain ecclesiastical costume is that worn by angel musicians, in a picture which showed several angels clad in albs.⁴⁹

Although it would have been gratifying to find more evidence from stained glass windows, there have been established from the investigation of rubrics and other phases of art, certain undeniable facts. From the rubrics it was learned that the costumes of the liturgical drama were without exception--ecclesiastical. Although no specific costume was prescribed for the different characters, certain combinations of vestments became more or less associated with particular characters. There may be an explanation for this fact. The cope, which was nearly always worn by the Maries, resembled the outer garment of women during the 12th and 13th century. The aube could have been worn over the head in a manner similar to the wimple of contemporary lay dress. Quite possibly these vestments were chosen with the thought in mind that they most closely resembled women's costumes. It was mentioned before that the alb might easily have been chosen as most nearly representing the angel's raiment described in the Bible. Then it was found that there was no chronological growth in the elaboration of the garments during the centuries, and, incidentally, that all innovations came from France.

Because in all forms of art there were indications of the ecclesiastical vestment at about the same time it appeared in the

(49) Georges Ritter, Les Vitraux de la Cathedrale de Rouen
(Paris, 1926), Planché xliii.

liturgical plays, it seems safe to believe that the sense of appropriateness must have figured in art in somewhat the same way it did in the drama. Thus, the ecclesiastical costumes which are found in art, are used as visual proof of what was learned from the rubrics. By this two-fold method, the cope of the Maries, the alb of the angels, and the garments of Christ and the wise-men seem firmly established.

CHAPTER II

THE TRANSITIONAL DRAMA.

The word transitional is as applicable to the costumes belonging to the drama by that name, as it is to the stage-setting, the language, and the subject matter of the plays; for it is in the transitional plays that we can see the process by which the costumes changed from ecclesiastical vestments in the liturgical plays to contemporary lay garb in the miracle plays.¹ This transition can not be called a step forward in the evolution of costume; it is merely a stepping to the side. It is a change, but not an advance.

The gradual process by which the contemporary garb was introduced, however, is interesting to follow. Characters who had worn ecclesiastical vestments in the liturgical plays always wore them in transitional plays. It was the characters not connected with the Holy Family and who had not appeared in the liturgical plays for the most part who donned the contemporary lay costume. Thus we find Christ and the angels clothed in the transitional plays, as they were in the liturgical plays. When Christ first appeared in each drama, he wore a simple vestment which apparently had become associated with him in that scene. Three times we find him wearing the alb. "Tunc induetur alba et

(1) The following manuscripts were used for this discussion:

benedictbeuren, Du Méril
 St. Gall Passion Play, Mone
 Die Frankfurter Dirigierrolle, Froning
 Adam, Studer

There was no material concerning costumes in the Shrewsbury Fragments to be found in Top-Cycle Mystery Plays Re-edited from the Manuscripts by Osborn Waterhouse (Publication for The Early English Text Society, London, 1909) Extra Series 104.

ducatur ad Fylatum."² "Servi induant eum alba veste et reducant ad Fylatum in pretorium."³ "Tunc Jesus induatur veste alba."⁴ In the Adam play, he wore a dalmatic first: "Tunc veniat salvator indutus dalmatica."⁵ Later, he came upon the stage in a stole: "Quo dicto, veniet figura stola habens."⁶ It cannot be ascertained by this latter rubric whether the stole was the older cope-like garment, or one of the later type. After the scourging, the costume of Christ was changed to one which showed an undeniable attempt to follow a precedent. In fact, it was the correct attire for Christ as described by Mark in the Bible. "And they clothed him with purple, and platted a crown of thorns, and put it about his head." Matthew, however, designated that the costume was red. "And they stripped him, and put on him a scarlet robe."⁷ The same purple vestment and crown of thorns was described in the rubrics: "Postea vestiunt eum purpura et imponunt ei coronam spineam et flexis genibus clament."⁸ In the Benedictbeuren MS., Christ is instructed to wear "veste purpurea et spinea corona."⁹ From another MS., the following rubric appears: "Deinde Jhesus in pretorio induatur veste purpurea, et imponatur ei corona spinea, et lancea in manu eius

(2) Franz Joseph Mone, Alttöutsche Schauspiele (Quedlinburg und Leipzig, 1841), p. 112.

(3) D. R. Froning, Das Drama des Mittelalters (Stuttgart, 1891), 11, 359.

(4) Du Méril, op. cit., p. 139.

(5) Paul Studer, Le Mystère d'Adam (Manchester, 1918), p. 1.

(6) Ibid., p. 20.

(7) Mark 15, 17. Matthew 27, 28.

(8) Mone, op. cit., p. 3.

(9) Du Méril, op. cit., p. 139.

Aspe.¹⁰ Such a process must be regarded as an attempt at
 accommodations. There was no other course that could have
 in the transitional stage, which resembled the highly developed
 in conditions were in the last stage. "On a later process it was
 in looks and color first, localized persons in a like manner
 triangular with the middle of the body, circular points were
 circular, below corners and points in a line of three
 and visible in the air."¹¹ The principal element was the
 elements, particularly the circle and cross was a realization
 of a doctrine which was from a liturgical sign of unity. "Simili-
 tudes quasi vult, quadrilatera cruce oblecta, cruce in-
 fide infirma, phylacterya vestigia in omnia, cruce omni latere
 in terra, terra vero profertur in sinistra latere."¹² It
 would seem from an examination of these two theories, and those re-
 quiring also the oblecta, that the elements of unity in the
 transitional stage were strongly influenced by those in the
 liturgical stage. In spite of that fact, however, there was a
 questionable element of originality as seen by the circle
 and cross and the cross of three.

The circle and the oblecta were by the circle in the
 liturgical stage were realized in the transitional stage. "Istoria
 vult anglicus vultus vultus."¹³ The appearance of
 circle in the transitional stage was the idea that they were
 and an attempt to reproduce the one prescribed in the Bible.

(10) Frontis, op. cit., p. 100.

(11) Ibid., p. 101.

(12) In Heril, op. cit., p. 115.

(13) Walter, op. cit., p. 25.

It is impossible to tell whether the costumes of the minor characters were ecclesiastical or contemporary. In most cases the rubrics called for a large garment, which could refer to the cope or to a contemporary robe. Such, for instance, were the costumes of Abraham: "senex cum barba proliza, largis vestibus indutus,"¹⁴ Abel: "vero albis",¹⁵ and Balaam: "senex largis vestibus indutus."¹⁶

Mary Magdalene in the Bible was richly and gaudily dressed before her penitence. No doubt a contemporary costume would present such a picture more effectively than a church vestment could. Thus: "Deponat vestimenta saecularia et induat nigrum pallium."¹⁷ It is not known what vestment of black was worn, but the black was symbolic of grief and penitence.

Adam and Eve, the new characters in the plays, present the most interesting example of contemporary dress. There was no traditional garment for them to wear, so Adam wore a red tunic, and Eve wore a woman's garment of white, and a white silk pepum. "Adam indutus sit tunica rubea, Eva vero muliebri vestimento albo, peplo serico albo."¹⁸ Adam's clothing after the fall in Eden, was one we might expect. As he wore a fig leaf in the garden, so in the Adam play, he put off his solemn raiment, and put on poor raiment sewn together of fig leaves, for the rubric reads: "et exuet sollempnes vestes, et induat vestes pauperes consutas foliis ficus."¹⁹

(14) Studer, op. cit., p. 29.

(15) Ibid., p. 29.

(16) Ibid., p. 40.

(17) Du Meril, op. cit., p. 132.

(18) Studer, op. cit., p. 1.

(19) Ibid., p. 17.

This survey of the apparel worn in the transitional drama has made certain facts clear. In the first place a change is discernible in the type of costume which was being worn. That transition was still in progress: some characters wore the ecclesiastical vestments still, while others wore the contemporary lay dress. There is a certain significance in the fact that Christ and the angels retained the vestments they had worn in the liturgical plays. It was apparently difficult to associate the Holy Family with anything other than the vestments which they had worn in the church dramas. But so far as the new characters were concerned— they were clothed in contemporary lay costume, for there was no precedent to follow in regard to what they should wear. The reason for the lay costume is probably explainable on the grounds that it was the most easily available garb to obtain— now that the plays were being given outside of the churches; just as the ecclesiastical vestments were the most accessible ones when the plays were in the churches. It remains for the miracle plays to show how far that contemporary dress was to be carried. In the meantime no attempt to approach appropriateness was discernible in the transitional drama. The change to contemporary garb was certainly no advance in that direction.

CHAPTER III

IN THE MIRACLE PLAYS.

There have been found, on the whole, rather full rubrics concerning costume in both the liturgical and transitional plays, so it seemed reasonable to believe that there would be found explicit and copious notes concerning elaborate costumes in the miracle plays, which were so popular and well-known by all classes of people in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. An examination of the four extant cycles reveals that few rubrics were found in the plays from Coventry,²⁰ one from Towneley,²¹ one from Chester,²² and none at all from York. What is the reason for this apparent negligence on the part of those who wrote down the plays? For it does seem like negligence to omit something which was considered important even in the first drama of which we have a record. The reason can be traced to one of the fundamental differences between the liturgical and epical plays; that difference was in their place of production. It would not be particularly convenient for travelling players who gave performances on the streets and in the market-places to obtain ecclesiastical vestments. Contemporary garments would, no doubt, be more easily available, and unquestionably more popular with the type of people who thronged about the pageant car to get a glimpse of the fight between Noah and his wife, or of the Herod whose voice could be heard long before he was visible to the audience. Thus, it seems reasonable to believe that the costumes were contemporary. In the first chapter it is

- (21) Ludus Coventrise (ed. E. O. Blyock, London, 1912), pp. 71, 230, 241, 249, 253, 349.
 (22) The Towneley Plays (ed. George England, London, 1897), p. 122.
 (23) The Chester Plays (ed. Thomas Wright, London, 1843), p. 33.

stated that the very fact that rubrics exist in the liturgical plays implies that a change of clothing was made, and that the actors did assume a costume. Conversely, the following is true: if the dress was contemporary lay in the miracle plays no definite change in clothing was necessary, and consequently there was no need for rubrics. What the actor should wear was more or less taken for granted and understood by everyone concerned. It was only when the apparel varied from the accepted form that a rubric was necessary to explain that change. Or perhaps the costumes were fixed in a tradition from earlier MSS. now lost.

Very little information could be obtained concerning the costumes worn in the miracle plays if these rubrics alone were relied upon. Fortunately, there is a source of external evidence which is available to supplement this internal evidence; the records of the different companies, listed garments and materials which were bought, and the character for whom they were purchased. These records seem to be the source from which all comments concerning costumes in the cycles have arisen. After describing a few garments worn by actors in the liturgical plays, Professor Katherine Lee Bates said by way of explanation: "The bills of expense, which have been discovered at Coventry and elsewhere, throw much light on the stage accessories and wardrobe. In the list of garments provided for the principal characters, we come upon some names among the dramatis personae that the gospel reader would hardly expect, such as Pitate's Son, Herod's Son, Bishops, Beadle, Mother of Death, and Torment of Conscience. Records like the following, too, though penned in all devout simplicity, fall

strangely on the modern ear. This record, of course, came directly

Paid for a pair of gloves for God	2d.
Paid for four pair of angels' wings	2s. 3d.
Paid for nine and a half yards of buckram for souls' coats	7s.
Paid for ale when the players dress them	4d.
Paid for painting and making new hell head	12d.
Paid for mending of hell head	6d.
Paid for keeping hell head	8d.
Paid for a pair of new hose and mending of the old for the white souls	18d.
Paid for mending the garment of Jesus, and the cross painting	1s. 3d.
Paid for a pound of hemp to mend the angels' heads	4d.

Item: Chevrel (apparently peruke) for God.

Item: Two chevrels gilt for Jesus and Peter.

Item: A cloak for Pilate.

Item: Pollaxe for Pilate's son. ²⁴

from the Coventry Records. ²⁵ It is evident, too, that Karl Mantzius has based his discussion on items from the same source, but he does not find it necessary to give his authority. ²⁶ Thus, there seem to be no other primary sources for material concerning the garb of the miracle plays.

These sources indicate that the lay costume prevailed for the first time. Let us investigate some who wore the contemporary outfits in order to get a more specific idea of their clothing. Little can be ascertained about the costume of the Maries. Mary, the mother of Jesus, is described in the Ludus Coventrise at the age of three as being clothed all in white. ²⁷ Aside from that, it is known that Mary Magdalene wore a coat--but of what description is not known, ²⁸

the three Maries wore crowns, flowered, and rolles, at the time of

(24) Katherine Lee Bates, The English Religious Drama (New York, 1913), pp. 44-45.

(25) Thomas Sharp, A Dissertation on the Parents or Dramatic Mysteries (Coventry, 1825).

(26) Karl Mantzius, A History of Theatrical Art in Ancient and Modern Times, trans. Louise van Gossell (London, 1903), 97ff.

(27) Ludus Coventrise, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

(28) Carpers' company, Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

the crucifixion. No one has yet decided what these rolles were. Sharp at first believed them to be a part of the head-dress, because there was such an article in the wardrobe of a female in humble life about 1825.²⁹ But a yard of buckram was required for the rolles, and they were to be repainted.³⁰ The buckram would render any thought of wearing the rolle in hair impossible; and the fact that the rolles were painted, would imply that they were to be in a conspicuous place, for it would not have been necessary to have painted them if they had been covered over with hair.

Of all the characters in the cycles, none has achieved more notoriety than Herod. His costume seems to have been just as aggressive and striking as his personality. He wore a painted visor or mask, and a miter, as is evident from three items concerning the painting and mending of the ffauchon and face. That he wore a gown, painted and stained, and that once, at least, it was made of blue satin and buckram is seen by the records of the Smiths' Company.³¹ A very important part of Herod's costume must have been his crest, for there was much more money spent upon it than on the other articles. This helmet was of iron, and had three plattes on it. Sometimes there was gold foyle and green foyle.³²

An amusing attempt at appropriateness, is seen in the costumes of the saved and damned souls, or the white and black souls.³³ The outer dress, which was called a shyrte or "oot," and the hose were

(29) Gappers' Company, Sharp, op. cit., p. 56.

(30) Ibid., p. 56.

(31) "Itm for vj sands satter. iij outrs." Smith's Company, op. cit., p. 32.

(32) Smith's Company, Sharp, Ibid., p. 32.

(33) Accounts of costumes are found in Sharp, op. cit., p. 70.

made of canvas. As there is an item for coloring these "shyrtes" they must have been of any, or of different colors. There were yellow and black canvas, and yellow and red buckram, both of which might have been used for the shyrtes. The coats of the souls were made of leather and of black and white, representing the damned and saved souls respectively. But not all of their coats were, as some would have us believe, made of leather, or of black and white, for there were some of buckram, and some of yellow canvas. The faces of the black souls were blackened. Sharp draws the following conclusions from the items, some of which are inaccurate, although the last remark, however, seems plausible: "It appears from the foregoing items that the white or saved souls had coats and hose, which necessarily were white, and evidently were made of leather, as, it will be recollected, was the case with 'God's' garments. The black or damned souls had their faces blackened, and were dressed in coats and hose. The fabric of the hose was buckram or canvas, of which latter material nineteen ells were used (nine of yellow and ten of black) in 1556, and probably a sort of party-coloured dress was made for them, where the yellow was so combined as to represent flames. The resemblance of flames might be heightened by red paint or some of the red buckram mentioned."⁴

Pilate, his wife and son, were very small items of expense for the Smiths' Company, because in most of the cases new clothes were not bought, but repairs were made on old ones. However, it is as easy to determine what the costume was, regardless

(34) Accounts of costumes are found in Sharp, op. cit., p. 70.

of whether the costumes were repaired or bought. Thus, a cloak and hat, which were no doubt contemporary were repaired for Pilate.³⁵ For his son, a gown, a hat, a pollaxe and a scepter were furnished.³⁶ All that can be gathered concerning Pilate's wife is that she wore a gown.³⁷ To the Cappers' Company, Pilate was a greater expense and more important. It can be proved concerning his dress that he wore a green cloak and that his head was ornamented with "asaden" or "orsyden."³⁸ In this play, Pilate was the only character to have gloves. By a variety of entries in the records, it appears that he carried a mall which was made of leather and stuffed with damask flowers. There was an item reading: "ij of bokerau wt hamers crowned," and "ig sty jakkets of Rede and blake." Sharp said: "The cost of the dresses was relatively very great, and there must have been considerable labour for the painter to receive 21s 7d for painting four jackets and hats, the materials and makings whereof, came only to 3s 6d."³⁹

Caiphias and Annas were arrayed as Christian Bishops.⁴⁰ They wore taberds and hoods. Once, a scarlet hood was worn by one, and a rochet by the other. Gold and silver foil was used to make miters. These characters were approximately clad according to their position in life, for they wore the costumes

(35) Sharp, op. cit., p. 32.

(36) Sharp, op. cit., p. 33.

(37) Sharp, op. cit., p. 30.

(38) Sharp, op. cit., p. 29 in note re says: "Assadyn a cheap kind of ornamental stuff, which from the context may be conjectured to be metallic. The same substance was used with gullt and coloured paners, to decorate the crests in the Smiths' Midsummer-night Procession."

(39) Records concerning the tormentors are found in Sharp, op. cit., p. 33.

(40) Ibid., pp. 27, 28.

of priests; and perhaps, the priest's costume of the correct period, or at least of an earlier period. According to one stage direction there is reason to believe that at least once an obvious attempt was made to assume periodic costume. Strangely enough, no one has remarked upon this fact. "here goth pe messengers forth and in pe wete lyme cryphas sheuyth him-self in his skafhold. Arayd lych to Anas savying his tabbard xal be red furryd with white ij doctorys with hym arayd with pellys aftyr pe old gyse and furryd cappys on here hedys"⁴¹

Concerning the minor characters, Judas wore a canvas coat, and no doubt his hair and beard were red, because in the enumeration of articles, there were "3 cheverels and a beard," besides the gilt one for Jesus and Peter.⁴² Peter, another minor character, wore a gown, but no definite information can be gathered except that he had a gilt cheverel.⁴³

So far the rubrics and records have revealed no indication of ecclesiastical vestments. There is only one group of characters in the miracle plays who wore their former apparel; that group was the angels. It is a disappointment to find that none of the other characters wore their traditional garments. No fixed has the picture become of Mary in her cope and mitre, and of Christ in an alb and dalmatic, that it seems like sacrilege to think of them as being dressed otherwise. As a matter of fact, one almost expects to find them thus, for would it not be consistent with that tendency to follow precedent, a principle to

(41) *Ludus Coventriae op. cit.*, p. 232.

(42) Sharp, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

(43) *Ibid.*, p. 32.

which the church has held so tenaciously?

There are two reasons for believing that the angels sometimes wore their most popular ecclesiastical vestment of the liturgical and transitional plays, in the miracle plays. A rubric from a play in the Ludus Coventriae gave the following indisputable instruction: "duobus angelis seditibus in albis."⁴⁴ To corroborate this reference concerning the use of the alb, is an item from the Cappers' Company which listed the amount paid for washing the angel^{o's} albs, and incidentally, washing and mending the angel^{o's} surplices.⁴⁵ But that the angels did not always wear albs in the miracle plays is made evident by an item mentioning a very different type of garment: a suit which was probably made of golden skins.⁴⁶ Besides these suits, there were wings which were painted, and there is little doubt but that the four diadems can be correctly attributed to the angels. Thus, the angels in the Cappers' Company were clothed in their traditional costume, the alb; while in the Drapers' Company, they probably wore suits of gold skins, painted wings, and diadems. Somewhere, an entirely different conception of the angels had crept into the minds of the people.

Just for a few moments during one of the plays in the cycles, Christ was depicted for the scourging as he had been in the liturgical and transitional plays: clothed in purple. Thus, the rubrics read: "And qwhan he is skoryd, thei put upon him a cloth of sylk, and settyn hym on a stol, and puttyn a kroune of

(44) K. G. Block, op. cit., p. 349.

(45) Thomas Sharp, op. cit., p. 55.

(46) Sharp, op. cit., p. 71. Money was spent for making an angel's suit, and for six golden skins. Therefore, I say the suits were probably made of golden skins.

thornys on hese hed with forkys; and the Jews knelyng to Cryst, takying hym a septer and skornying him and then thei xal pullyn of the purpyl cloth, and don on ageyn his owyn clothes."⁴⁷

By "his owyn clothis", a costume something like the following, which was reconstructed from the records at Coventry was meant: he wore for a garment, a coat of white leather.⁴⁸ This garment seems to have been a well-established costume for Christ because an item from the Smiths' Company mentioned it in 1451 and again in 1553.⁴⁹ It was made of five sheep skins and was sometimes decorated, for in 1565 someone was paid for "psynting and gylding it." Whether the girdle which was bought for Christ was worn with a garment underneath this coat, or with this coat is not known. Upon his feet, Christ wore red sandals,⁵⁰ and upon his hands he wore gloves.⁵¹ A new veronica or sudary which was so well known in the legendary life of Christ was provided for him. Sharp suggested that no doubt it was painted with a resemblance of Christ's countenance. At least the price which the company paid for it allowed for that supposition.⁵² It is hard to associate this costume with Christ, so greatly does it differ from those he has previously worn; but it is harder still to determine where the costume originated and what its purpose was. It seems to have had no parallel in contemporary life. Our only suggestion is that it might have been a realistic attempt to present Christ naked. At any rate it seems to have

(47) Block, op. cit., p. 294.

(48) Sharp, op. cit., p. 26. This information is gained from an Account of the Smiths' Company.

(49) Ibid., p. 26.

(50) Drapers' Pageant, Ibid., p. 67.

(51) Ibid., p. 69.

(52) Sharp, op. cit., p. 26

been a garb rather firmly established.

A slight but significant advance has been noted in the miracle plays toward appropriate costume in the symbolic garb of the saved and damned souls, and the "old gyse" of the messengers. The contemporary lay garb has prevailed, however, for the first time. Stage directions and company records have both indicated that except for the alb of the angels, the ecclesiastical vestment has been abandoned, and the contemporary garb has succeeded to the most conspicuous place.

CHAPTER IV
IN THE MORALITY PLAY

The Morality plays show the contemporary dress still, with, perhaps, a more frequent indication of a symbolic value. It is about 1450 to 1500 that the dress of the actors in the miracle plays comprises the elements of morality, and their very distance argues for the prevalence of contemporary costume. Only when the cloth was wanted was a stage direction necessary. That need was seldom. Other sources from which information may be obtained are to be found in the records; but a few illustrations from art seem to show that contemporary costume did prevail.

The first morality to refer to clothing in any way is The Castle of Perseverance, written about 1400.¹ The costumes were requested to be written: "Every in white, Righteousness in red, Truth in red green and black and in black. The world, alway it was not definitely established the fact that the dress was contemporary, because similar sets were in vogue from over a long period of time, especially that it was."² There is a passage to believe that the dress was of another period because the story was not of another period of time.

The attire of Lucifer was called thirty five years later "the devil's dress" and "the devil's dress" as a broad category.³ Actually the collector's account

(1) 'The Castle of Perseverance', The Morality Plays (ed. F. S. Purvill, 2 & 4. N. P. Collier, London, 1904), p. 76.

(2) Ibid., p. 76.

(3) 'Morality of The Devil's Dress' The Morality Plays (ed. F. S. Purvill, 2 & 4. N. P. Collier, London, 1904), p. 76.

was that of a typical fifteenth century gentleman. Professor Katherine Lee Bates said in this connection that the Vice sometimes had to be gallant so 'his costume became subject to almost as many changes as his name.'⁴

In this same play, A Morality of Wisdom Who is Christ, Wisdome was 'in a Ryche purpurr clothe of golde, (with a mantyll of the) same eraynnyde within, hawynge a-bout hys neke a (ryall hode furred) with Ermyne; wpon hys hede, a cheveler with browys, a berde of golde (of Sypres) curlyed, a Ryche Emperyall Crown wpon hys hede, sett with precyus stonyes and perlyes. In hys lyfte honde a balle of gold with a cros wpon, ^{4a} and in hys ryght honde a Regall schenture.'⁵ Thus Wisdom wears the costume of a mid-sixteenth century King, with all of its resplendence.⁶ Meanwhile Wit was 'all in here fyrst clothyng, her chauletys & crestys, and all havyng on crownys, synnyng in here comynge'.

Fifteen years later finds Titivillus⁷ entering the stage dressed like a devil and with a net in his hand. Obviously the net was symbolical and had some association with the devil; an association with which the present age is not familiar. The other characters without doubt wore contemporary clothing, for there is no indication that the costume was unusual.

Although Cambises is classed by Professor Katherine Lee Bates⁸

(4) Katherine Lee Bates, The English Religious Drama (New York, 1913), p. 204.

(5) 'A Morality of Wisdom Who is Christ', op. cit., p. 35.

(6) Cf. Dion Clayton Calhoun, English Costume (London, 1906), p. 55 for a description of the costume of Edward VI, (1547-53).

(7) 'Mankind', The Macro Plays, op. cit., p. 14.

(8) In investigating the Morality Plays for material concerning costume, I followed the outline made by Professor Katherine Lee Bates in The English Religious Drama, (New York, 1893) See Appendix. C.

(4a) I have used the letter P on the typewriter for the thorn which stands for the either as it is used in thin or then.

as an early tragedy having Morality features, I shall mention a stage direction found in that play because it appears at a date when many Moralities were being produced. Vice entered in a symbolic costume once more, this time with 'an olde capcase on his hed, an olde pail about his hips for harnes, a scummer and a potted by his side, and a rake on his shoulder. Venus, in this play, led her son Cupid in blind: he had a bowe and two shafts, one hedded with golde and th'other hedded with lead.'⁹ One rubric in particular serves to prove that only when something out of the ordinary occurs does the author mention the costume; that is when the King entered without a gown.¹⁰

Indicative of contemporaneousness is Lust clothed like a gallant;¹¹ Trust, a woman plainly apparelled;¹² Treasure, a woman finely apparelled;¹³ and indicative of symbolism is Time, with a similitude of dust and rust.¹⁴ These characters are found in "The Trial of Treasure" written about 1561.

Within a year's time Nicholas Newfangle, the Vice in Like Will to Like, describes the costume of his day quite explicitly. Newfangle says Lucifer taught him:

I learn'd to make gowns with long sleeves and wings:
 I learn'd to make cuffs like calves' chitterlings,
 Cats hats coats with all kinds of apparells
 And especially breeches as big as good barrels.
 Shoes, boots, buskins, with many pretty toys:
 All kinds of garments for men, women, and boys.¹⁵

(9) 'Cambises', John Hawkins, Origin of the English Drama (Oxford, 1823), I, 261.

(10) Ibid., p. 298.

(11) 'The Trial of Treasure', Dodsley's Old Plays (ed. W. C. Hazlitt, 1874-76), III, 253.

(12) Ibid., p. 283.

(13) Ibid., p. 283.

(14) Ibid., p. 289.

(15) Dodsley 'Like Will To Like', A Select Collection of Old English Plays, (ed. W. C. Hazlitt), III, 310.

worn by Fraud, Dissimulation, and Simony.²³ Simplicity in bare black like a poor citizen were a garb probably patterned after those seen on the streets.

During the year 1602, when the Masques began to enjoy their popularity, there appears a solitary rubric which reads: "Enter Vanity solus, all in feathers."²⁴ This reminds us of the expression "proud as a peacock", and we are inclined to think the feathers were supposed to symbolize vanity. This costume is interesting because it resembles the ornate symbolic costumes of the Masque which we shall discuss in the next chapter.

All of the rubrics which describe the garments to any extent from all of the moralities, including: full scope, limited, transitional, early Comedies with morality features, early tragedies with morality features, have been mentioned. It seems safe to believe that the majority of the costumes were contemporary, although the symbolic ones cannot be ignored. When the costume should vary a bit, or originality of some sort was introduced, then, and only then did the authors bother for rubrics.

Pollard, in the introduction to his sixth edition of English Miracle Plays²⁵ has copied a picture from Wynkyn de Word's 'Hyckscorner', from a French edition of Terence published by Antoine Verard, and he gives reproductions of the originals from which they are taken. Pollard says in this connection: "---for the curious cuts which are founded on the title-pages

(23) A Select Collection of Old English Plays, (Ed. by Hazlitt) op. cit., vi, 373.

(24) Ibid., p. 334.

(25) English Miracle Plays, Moralities and Interludes (ed. A. W. Pollard, Oxford, 1914), p. lx.

(or the backs of them) of Myekscorner and one or two other plays printed about 1520 were copies of French or Low Country woodcuts, and therefore cannot be taken as evidence of the dresses of English players."²⁶ This statement seems too strong; Considering the fact that the French costumes strongly resembled the English from 1500 onward, it seems legitimate to presume that if the French representations showed a contemporary costume, probably the English one would too. Furthermore it was stated in the chapter on the liturgical drama that the French on every occasion were innovators. Such being the case we may be sure that if the French were still wearing the contemporary garb, the English would be also. Myekscorner's picture coincides exactly with the pictures drawn of 16th century French costumes including: the barrette, breeches and cloak.²⁷

Pollard says further: "The little figure of Everyman on the title-page of John Skot's edition of that play, which by the kindness of Mrs. Christie-Miller is reproduced opposite page 77, is also copied from the French Terrence."²⁸ Everyman wears a duplicate of Myekscorner's garb.

The last picture was made for The Travayled Pilgrime of Stephen Batman (1569) and so ultimately derived from the fifteenth century illustrations to the Chevalier Deliberé of Olivier de la Marcher.²⁹ As in the other cases, the clothing in this picture is contemporary. It varies slightly from the other pic-

(26) English Miracle Plays, op. cit., p. lxi.

(27) Cf. Appendix for description of French sixteenth century costume.

(28) Ibid., p. lxi.

(29) English Miracle Plays, op. cit., p. lxii.

tures in that the chief figure instead of wearing the short circular coat, wore the longer wrap without sleeves.³⁰

Thus it may be said merely that in so far as we can gain from the rubrics, the costumes of the moralities were contemporary or symbolic. In about half of the plays where rubrics exist, there were symbolic effects.

It begins to be evident that the unquestioned popularity of lay costume is ending, and the day for appropriate costume is dawning. Not that a large number of people suddenly decided that contemporary costumes were not appropriate, and therefore should not be worn. The change was brought about by the inherent difference in the type of plays. The morality, even though an offshoot from the miracle plays, eventually evolved into a play with characters representing abstractions. In clothing such characters, it seemed natural that they should wear costumes simulating their characters- and hence symbolic. By so doing, the morality influenced directly the costumes in the masques; for they, too, used personifications of abstractions.

(30) Cf. Appendix. C.

CHAPTER V

IN THE MASQUE

The Masque, that most splendid of all dramas in the Middle Ages, presents a costume hitherto undreamed of in elaborateness and precision of detail. Doubtless the reason for such a difference lies in the very nature of that type of drama. Whereas the liturgical plays originated purely to bring the Biblical scenes nearer to the minds and hearts of the people, and the cyclical plays were similar in their purpose, the essence of the masque, from the beginning to the end of its history "was the arrival of certain persons vized and disguised to dance a dance, or present an offering."¹ Therefore, in the earlier plays, the story was of primary importance rather than the costume. But the very foundation of the masque was a love of display which was expressed by the gorgeous scenery of oceans, ships, gardens, and costumes of nymphs, cupids, gods and goddesses. The attention of the spectator was focused not upon hearing conversation and thereby understanding the story, but upon seeing, and thereby understanding what was being represented. In other words, the characters were allegorical, for the most part, and it was largely by means of the costumes that the spectator identified the character who passed before him. This use of costume in the masque was reached by a gradual process which Mr. Withington has summarized as follows: "Closely related to the habit of 'dressing up' which we have noted in connection with the tournament, is the disguising. It is clear that

(1) Enid Welsford, The Court Masque (Cambridge, 1927), p. 10.

in the days of chivalry, a knight fully armed and ready for the fray, could be recognized only by his shield. Many, hiding their escutcheons, fought unknown. The custom of 'dressing up', which later came into the tournament, was but a development of the habit many knights had of travelling incognito; and this habit, in turn, stimulated the disguises which, later combining with allegory, led to such figures as Bon voloire, Bon espoir, and Valiant desire in 1511, and the foster child of Desire in 1581".² Perhaps it may be added that this later combination of the disguise with allegory, mentioned by Mr. Withington, was undoubtedly influenced by the morality play, as were the costumes of those allegorical figures similarly affected by the costumes of moralities.

For the artistic beauty, elaborateness and precision of the costumes, we are indebted to Inigo Jones, whose creative ability, by means of the masque, gave to scenery and costume a significant place in the Drama. If it were not for his sketches and descriptions extant today, stage directions and contemporary notices would have to be relied upon, entirely.³ Stage directions should not be spoken of lightly, however, for they are abundant and adequate. In many cases they correspond minutely with the descriptions given by Inigo Jones, and when they do differ, it is only in elaborateness or amount of detail.

The costumes of the masque characters seem to fall into three groups: for the most part they were either symbolic, geo-

(2) Robert Withington, English Pageantry (Cambridge, 1918-1920), p. 73.

(3) Design by Inigo Jones for Masques and Plays at Court Printed for the Walpole and Malone Societies at the University Press, (Oxford, 1924), p. 41.

graphic or periodic. Although there are abundant examples of the symbolic attire, it is necessary to limit the number described here. It might be wise to state that some of the dates may seem late, but it is due to the fact that the earlier masques are not extant. It seems safe to believe that these costumes are similar in inspiration to those which preceded them.

Let us begin our investigation of these costumes with the one worn by Iris in 1606. According to Inigo she must have: "Fair hair dressed with jewelled bards and curled horn, from which a long buff veil falls behind. Small blue wings, like those of an insect, on shoulders. Low-breasted gown of shot blue and pink, with full shirt reaching to ankles and long sleeves. Bodice, with short sleeves, of white patterned with gold, with puffs of green and purple over the shoulders. White and gold buskins."⁴ It may be noted that many times these original costumes have some articles of contemporary clothing; such, for instance, are the buskins. The low-breasted garment was just coming into popularity in England at this date.

In the same masque was Reason "her hair trailing to her waist, crowned with light, her garments blue, and semed with stars, girded unto her with a white band, filled with arithmetical figures, in one hand bearing a lamp, in the other a bright sword."⁵ The arithmetical figures, combined with the lamp and sword are sufficient to reveal the character of Reason, but Inigo Jones goes even farther and represents the sky and its Heavenly bodies, thereby connecting reason with the awakening

(4) Iris is from the Masque Hymensei, by Ben Jonson. Inigo Jones, op. cit., p. 35.

(5) Inigo Jones, op. cit., p. 35.

consciousness of a plurality of worlds.

A much less lovely person to look at, but none the less impressive symbolically, is Gambol: "like a tumbler with a hoop and bells; his torch-bearer armed with a colt-staff and a bing staff."⁶

Jones' conception of "Night" shows his creative ability. "Night appears in a close robe of blacke silke and gold, a blacke mantle embrodered with starres, a crowne of starres on her head, her haire blacke and spangled with gold, her face blacke, her buskins blacke, and painted with starres; in her hand she bore a blacke wand, with gold."⁷ The buskins and mantle are garments from the Elizabethan costume, but the gown was probably anything but Elizabethan.

"Fama bona" from The Masque of Queens was "attired in white, with white wings, having a collar of gold about her neck, and a heart hanging at it. In her right hand she bore a trumpet, in her left an olive branch."⁸ This description shows how symbols were used to reveal identity. Colors, too, were chosen with care: "Night" in black, "Fama bona" in white, any costume pertaining to water always blue-green and white. These costumes have not been chosen because they are the most elaborate ones, nor the most detailed, but because they represent the abstractions so clearly which they are to personify.

In the introduction, it was stated that a costume might be appropriate according to place. Masque garments are the first

(6) From the Masque Christina by Ben Jonson. Masques and Inter-entertainments at Court (ed. Henry Morley, London, 1890), p. 232.

(7) Maske in Honor of the Lord Hayes by Campion. Irigo Jones, op. cit., p. 64.

(8) Quotation from Ben Jonson, 'The Masque of Queens', op. cit., p. 126.

probably to contain this kind of appropriateness. Such, for instance, is the apparel of a knight in "The Barriers". Inigo Jones's directions say: "A knight, like Polish, turban-shaped cap with upturned brim and bunch of feathers in front. Long loose overcoat with sleeves hanging empty. Tunic with long sleeves, pulled over girdle and hanging half-way down thighs. Tights and boots with upturned toes."⁹

There is one other vague reference to clothing according to place. In The Prince D'Amour of Davenant, it is ordered that some of the masquers be in "Italian and Turkish dress". These three instances of national costumes are adequate to show, however, that attention was paid to geographic costumes. Whether they were absolutely correct according to nationality does not matter much, so long as the desire and effort were there to make the costume appropriate.

The form of appropriateness which seems most significant is that costume which is historically correct. The reason for this significance, no doubt, is because contemporary costume was accepted for so many centuries as satisfactory. In the majority of cases, the attire is probably not historically appropriate from head to foot. A contemporary touch often finds its way into the attire. Perhaps just one article of clothing is antique; or perhaps every article is antique but one; but even one article indicates that the people were conscious that a character should be appropriately dressed. In 1606 a knight masquer in The Barriers wore "a helmet with upturned cartouche scroll over the brow,

(9) The Barriers, Inigo Jones, op. cit., p. 35.

and pointed bowl surmounted by a plume of long curling strands. Lorica with cuirass and long sleeves imitating armour with overlapping plates, short over-sleeves and bases composed of overlapping scales, each decorated with a mask or a jewel.¹⁰ Flowing mantle. Garters below knees, and buskins.¹¹ Wherever a lorica appears, there is an attempt to produce a periodic costume. The lorica and the helmet constitute the periodic garments in this attire; the base, garters, and buskins are Elizabethan.

From Britannica's Honor is "A person in a rich Roman Antique Habit, with an ornament of Steeples, Towers and Turrets on her head, Sits in a quaint Arbor. Intertwoven with several Branches of Flowers. Left hand a golden Truncheon. In rt. a tree from which 12 Maine and Goodly Branches."¹² Accompanying this Roman attire is a good deal of symbolism such as the steeples, towers, and turret on the head.

Cupid in The Hue and Cry after Cupid is armed; and his "12 boys are most antiquely dressed".¹³ But the best illustration indicating the real concern of Inigo Jones to reproduce truly periodic costume is found in the garb of Homer from a masque about 1609. His description follows: "Full beard. Wreaths of laurel on head. Voluminous draperies and cloak leaving the arms in double short sleeves, free."¹⁴ Underneath this descrip-

(10) A lorica is: a cuirass or corslet of leather. A Buskin is: a covering for the foot and leg reaching to the calf, or to the knee; a half boot first known in the 16th century. New English Dictionary.

(11) The Barriers Inigo Jones, op. cit., p. 36.

(12) From the Masque Britannia's Honor by Thomas Dekker. Inigo Jones, op. cit., p. 102.

(13) Ben Jonson, 'The Hue and Cry after Cupid' op. cit., p. 250.

(14) Ben Jonson, The Masque of Queens. Quotation from Inigo Jones, op. cit., p. 36.

tion is found the statement: "This is copied with an alteration in the position of the head, from the figure of Honor in the fresco of Parnassus by Raphael in the Stanza della Signature of the Vatican..."¹⁵ Surely Inigo Jones could have done no more to produce an appropriate costume.

There are other costumes in the Masque which are neither antique, contemporary, geographic or symbolic. They are entirely original and the product of Inigo Jones's creative mind. They are few in number and are not important in this discussion.

It might be interesting, however, to note some of the instances in which a great deal of attention was paid to detail. In addition to the symbolical elements which have been seen in the actual garments, there were the incidental objects carried by the characters. Sometimes they, alone, revealed the identity of the person represented, and sometimes with the aid of the garment, they helped to identify the character. Humanity carried a gold chain in her left hand.¹⁶ Science apparently had a scroll of parchment.¹⁷ Naval victory had the rudder of a ship in one hand, and in the other, a little winged figure with a branch of palm, and a garland.¹⁸ Besides the arithmetic and geometric figures on his dress, Reason carried a geometrical staff.¹⁹ June represented her power by a scepter and a timbrel.²⁰

Audience today, as they did in the time of the masques, would

(15) Ben Jonson, The Masque of Queens. op. cit., p. 28.

(16) Ben Jonson, 'The Masque of Lethe' op. cit., p. 209.

(17) Davenant, 'Britannia Triumphans', The Dramatic Works of Sir William D'Avenant. (Edinburgh, W. Paterson, 1872-4), II, 234.

(18) Ben Jonson, 'Hymenaei' op. cit., p. 62.

(19) Ibid., p. 65.

(20) Ibid., p. 266.

find very obvious, the character of Peace carrying a palm branch;²¹ Bellona, goddess of Warre, with a golden spear with Aesculaps head;²² Reason, in one hand bearing a lamp, and in the other a bright sword.²³ It is interesting to note that these articles carry the same significance today that they did in the seventeenth century. Less often seen, but no less obvious, was Carol, preceded by a torch-bearer carrying a song book,²⁴ or Fama Bona in her right hand bearing a trumpet, and in her left an olive branch.²⁵

The head-dress was often a significant part of a costume. Such instances are scarcer, but are none the less interesting. Not only was the sun to have a gold costume, and a mantle bright as his garment, fringed with gold, but his hair was to be curled and yellow.²⁶ A very beautiful head-dress was that worn by Oceanus representing the ocean. "On his head which (as his beard) is knotted, long, carelessly spread, and white is placed a diadem, whose bottom is a concealed coronet of gold, the middle over that, is a coronet of silver and on the top a faire spreading branch of coral interwoven thickly with pearle."²⁷ Great care must have been taken to construct a diadem representing not only the ocean as this did, but the coral and pearl of the ocean. Great care was taken in every way.

A great deal of credit must be given to the writers, de-

(21) Thomas Dekker, 'Britannica's Honor' Dramatic Works (John Pearson, York St. Covent Gardens, London, 1873), p. 103.

(22) Ibid., p. 103.

(23) Ben Jonson, 'Hymenaei', op. cit., p. 63.

(24) Ben Jonson, Christmas, op. cit., p. 202.

(25) Dekker, Works, op. cit., p. 119.

(26) Britannica's Honor Dekker, op. cit., p. 110.

(27) London Tempe, Dekker, op. cit., p. 119.

signers, and producers of the masque. For when it is realized that the masque developed costumes from the symbolic appropriateness of the moralities, to geographic and periodic appropriateness besides, we realize that finally there is an awakening to the value of appropriate costume. Whether this consciousness was transferred to the public stage, and to what extent, we shall learn in the next chapter.

CHAPTER VI

THE ELIZABETHAN DRAMA

Very few authorities and critics of the Shakespearian Drama, as we noted in the introduction, have given the stage costume any serious thought. There is one other author besides those mentioned in the introduction, however, who has devoted more than a few lines to the point of view that the costume was contemporary. Dutton Cook has devoted a chapter in each volume of his book to this subject, but the material of one duplicates that of the other, and after the first three or four pages the material concerns costume after the Elizabethan period. Of some importance are the following remarks by him:

There was no thought then as to the costumes of the stage being appropriate to the characters represented, or in harmony with the periods dealt with by the dramatists. Nor did the spectators find fault with this arrangement.---Certainly the hero of an early Roman story should not have spoken of gunpowder, much less have produced a pistol from his belt; but his conduct in this wise became almost reasonable, seeing that he did not wear a toga, but doublet and hose, the dress indeed of a gallant of Elizabeth's time.

G. J. Lawrence, in his Elizabethan Playhouse and Other Studies has avoided any direct reference to the stage dress.² His interest was apparently only with the structure and scenery of the stage. A very few lines, however, will show that Lawrence had the same theory as that of Greizenach, Cook, and the others.

Writing to Poliarchus from Dublin on 3 Dec., 1662, only a month or 2 after Smock Alley was first opened, Orinda, "the matchless" says:

'But I refer it wholly to you and will now change my subject---the Doge of Venice and all his Senators came upon the stage with feathers in their Hats,---

(1) Dutton Cook, A Book of the Play, (London, 1876), ii, 259.
 (2) At a date too late to incorporate it in this paper, I received a letter from President William Allan Neilson stating definitely that costumes were contemporary. See Appendix D.

As no consideration had then been given throughout Europe to the question of accurate costuming, we may assume that, Orinda's 'with feathers in their Hats' is a euphemism somewhat akin to Ibsen's 'wineleaves in the hair'.²

G. F. Reynolds who has contributed so much to the knowledge which we have today concerning the Elizabethan Stage, devoted only part of a sentence to the question of costume.

---: and that costumes were rich and expensive though not geographically or historically correct.³

Apparently the question of anything other than contemporary garb has never occurred to these men. Allardyce Nicoll, whose book I have so recently found, backs me on this statement: "The question of Elizabethan stage costume, touched upon briefly at pp. 136-137 and 177-183, is one which has been peculiarly neglected. Sir Edmund Chambers apparently does not deal with it at all in the Elizabethan Stage, and although Prof. Creizenach and Prof. Thorndike note in passing that certain conventional dresses were used in Shakespearean playhouses the general assumption is that throughout the 16th and early 17th centuries plays were put forward in contemporary costume."⁴ It must be admitted that their assumptions are true in the majority of cases and that there is abundant internal evidence from Shakespeare's plays to support their stands. In the familiar scene from Julius Caesar, where Casca tells Brutus about the death of Caesar, he speaks of Caesar's doublet in this manner: "Hurry, before he fell down, when he perceiv'd the

(2) W. J. Lawrence, The Elizabethan Platform and Other Studies (Philadelphia, 1913), II, 195.

(3) G. F. Reynolds, 'What We Know of the Elizabethan Stage' Modern Philology, 1911, p. 37.

(4) Allardyce Nicoll, op. cit., p. 105. Other brief statements may be found in: Arnold Wynne, The Growth of the English Drama (Oxford, 1914), pp. 275, 276. Ashley Thorndike, Shakespeare's Theatre (New York, 1916), pp. 103, 104.

common herd was glad he refus'd the crown, he pluck'd me ope his doublet and offer'd them his throat to cut." Here, then, is an instance of a character from another century and another country, in an Elizabethan doublet. What can one say except that Caesar must have worn a doublet, rather than a classical robe, when Casca states so explicitly that he opened his doublet?

The same conclusion may be drawn concerning the costumes described in 'The Taming of the Shrew'. Those, too, must have carefully followed the descriptions in the lines of the play. Petruchio describes the guests whom he and Katherine will meet presently:

And now my honey Love
 Will we return unto thy father's home
 And revel it as bravely as the best,
 With silken coats and caps and golden rings,
 With ruffs and cuffs and farthingales and things,
 With scarfs and fans and double change of bravery,
 With amber bracelets, beads, and all this knavery.
 What, hast thou din'd? The tailor stays thy leisure
 To check thy body with his ruffling treasure.⁵

Once more an Italian play was staged in English contemporary costume. Thus those who claim that contemporary garb was worn on the stage have internal evidence to support their theory. But this is not their only source of proof, there is external evidence which is equally as valuable; for an extant diary containing lists of costumes furnishes data.

Henslowe left such a book entitled, The Booke of the Inventory, of the goods of my Lord Admiralles men, tacken the 10 of Marche in the yeare 1592.⁶ The record contains a list of

- (5) The Complete Works of William Shakespeare, (Student's Cambridge ed., William Allen Neilson, Cambridge, 1906), p. 571.
 (6) Henslowe's Papers (ed. F. S. Greg, London, 1907), Malone Society Publications I, 113.

the costumes which are 'gone and loste' and those things which have apparently remained during the year. A great deal may be learned from items such as the following:

j orange toney satten dublet, layd thycke with gold lace.
 j blew tafetie sewt.
 j payr of carnatyon satten Venesyons, layd with gold lace.
 j lyttell dublet for boye.⁷

All of the clothing of the inventory seems to be at first sight of a kind which is indisputably contemporary, as is that revealed by Henslove's record of expenses, in which he lists the articles bought and the actor or character for whom it was bought. The type of evidence is as follows: A certain amount of money would be allowed:

layd out for the comenye to by tafetie & tynsell
 for the bodeyes of a wotones gowne to playe Alice 8
 perce uch j dd vnto the tayller the 3 desembe 1597.

or lent unto T Dowton for the co to buye a sewte for
 Phayeton & ij Rebates & J fardengalle the 26 of
 Jeneway 1597 the some of 3 novrde j saye lent.⁹

And besides this, Henslove has left a list of the wardrobe belonging to the well-known actor Edward Alleyn.¹⁰ The information gleaned from this source is as adequate as that previously mentioned; and all of this evidence could be called in by the authority who wishes to prove that the Elizabethan stage costume was contemporary; yet from the same internal sources and other external sources, the authority who wishes to prove that at least sometimes contemporary was abandoned for periodic clothing, could do so. And Professor Allardyce Nicoll has taken advantage of this opportunity.

(7) Henslove's Papers, *op. cit.*, II. 113, 114. See Appendix for description of Venesyons.

(8) *Ibid.*, I, 52.

(9) *Ibid.*, I, 43.

(10) *Ibid.*, II, 52.

For many plays certainly the ordinary dress of the time could be used, but often there must have been attempts to secure both a semblance of historical accuracy and something of a symbolic or conventional effect. There is no doubt that Elizabethan features must have appeared in all costumes, but that does not militate against the supposition (which seems to me almost a certainty) that along with certain elements of Elizabethan dress went special characteristics intended to be symbolic of past ages or of other lands.---The assumption that by putting Shakespeare in modern dress we come back to Elizabethan methods of staging is not so certain as it appears at first sight.¹¹

Five years later Lee Simonson says:

When the eye could not be filled with literal blood and thunder, it was satisfied with accurate and elaborate costuming-----A desire for archaeological accuracy pushed to the point of using 'genuine antiques' is obviously not a nineteenth century perversion of David Belasco or the Comedie Francaise.¹²

These two critics will be referred to again in regard to the material from which they derived their conclusions. In the meantime let us do exactly as we suggested: turn to those same sources which can be used to show contemporary costume and find that material which reveals periodic costume.

First, then, a Shakespearian play, Coriolanus, may be looked at, in which the Shakespearian glossary indicates that the word toga appears.¹³ It might facilitate the matter, however, to explain the scene in which the word is said to appear. Coriolanus wishes to become a consul. It was the custom of Rome that a candidate for a public office should wear a toga candida white and plain,¹⁴ and that with this costume on he

(11) Allardyce Nicoll, The Development of the Theatre (London, 1927), p. 136, 209.

(12) Lee Simonson, The Stage Is Set (New York, 1932), p. 224.

(13) The Complete Concordance to Shakespeare (Mrs. Cowden Clark, London, n.d.) p. 776.

(14) Mary G. Houston, Ancient Greek Roman and Byzantine Costume (London, 1931), 61.

should stand in the market place and beg the citizens to vote for him. Coriolanus, being proud, and hating the masses, loathed this idea. Four times the custom is referred to in the play. The first time Coriolanus says:

Let me o'erleap that custom: I do beseech you
For I cannot put on this gown, stand naked and entreat them,
For my wounds' sake, to give their suffrage. (15)

Shortly afterward, as he enters according to the stage direction 'in a gown of humility', a citizen says: 'Here he comes, and in the gown of humility';¹⁶ and as Coriolanus begins to plead with the citizens his words are: 'Pray you now, if it may stand with the tune of your voices that I may be consul, I have here the customary gown.'¹⁷ In an undertone as some of the citizens go out:

Why in this woolless toge should I stand here,
To beg of Hob and Dick, that do appear,
Their needless vouches?¹⁸

This last quotation is the one which is important here. Neilson, in his edition, has used the word toge, while the facsimile of Fl uses 'wolvish tongue',¹⁹ The Variorum edition contains nine pages of controversy as to which of the following forms is correct: 'wolvish tongue', 'wolvish toga', 'woolless toga'.²⁰ Undoubtedly this word was meant to be woolless toge because above all other arguments this must stand: the toge unquestionably was the garment worn by a candidate for consulship, and the previous passages make it evident that Coriolanus had, ap-^{on the}

(15) Complete Works, op. cit., p. 1111.

(16) Ibid., p. 1111.

(17) Ibid., p. 1112.

(18) Ibid., p. 1113.

(19) Ibid., p. 1113.

(20) A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare (ed. Horace Howard Furnivall, Philadelphia 1924), xx, 256.

have overlooked the work of North. Beyond a doubt Shakespeare was familiar with the word and the use of the various kinds of togae, because North, whose work he knew so well, wrote in Julius Caesar:

The other conspirators were all assembled at Cassius' house to bring his sonne into the marketplace, who on that day did put on the man's gowne, called toga virilis.²³

Thus, while Shakespeare knew the word and used it, the ordinary public did not. The copyists were like the ordinary public-
uneducated.. Therefore the copyist, when he came to toga had difficulty in reading the combination of letters, as he did in two other lines. Just before the citizens gather to hear Coriolanus plead, he says: 'I cannot bring my tongue to such a place', and the facsimile spells the word 'tongue'.²⁴ The copyist was confused in deciphering the word, and hence misspelled it as he did again when he came to the word toga. Being unfamiliar with the word toga, he thought it was supposed to be tongue and spelled it as tongue. This instance is followed by a similar one in the next scene in which the copyist flounders once more and spells 'tongues' 'touns'.²⁵ Now these misspellings would not be significant if they were found in other plays; but out of over a hundred 'tongue references' which have been examined, these are the only ones misspelled.²⁶ The

(23). North, op. cit., p. 1959. According to Houston, op. cit., p. 61, 'Toga pura or virilis ordinary dress of Roman citizens, undecorated, natural wool.'

(24) 'Coriolanus', Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories and Tragedies Faithfully Reproduced in Facsimile from the Edition of 1523. (London, 1910), p. 12.

(25) Ibid., p. 14.

(26) I have examined 100 of the references to tongue given in the Shakespeare Glossary. op. cit.

explanation seems to be that the copyist, trying to follow the text closely, misspelled tongue once, found it as he thought misspelled and corrected it the second time, and the next time tried to spell it as it looked in the autograph or prompt copy. It was for this reason that the toga of Coriolanus was doubtful for many years.

Shakespeare associated the toga with a consul once more, however, in the first Act and Scene of Othello. Speaking of Cassio, Iago says:

One Michael Cassio, a Florentine,
A fellow almost damn'd in a fair wife;
That never set a squadron in the field,
Nor the division of a battle knows
More than a spinster, unless the bookish theoric,
Wherein the toged consuls can propose
As masterly as he.²⁷

Quarto 1 spelled 'toged' in this way.²⁸ Q2²⁹ and F1³⁰ spelled it tongue. Undoubtedly the last two spellings were emendations made by copyists who were unfamiliar with the word, for certainly the word toged consul is much more appropriate than tongued.

It seems improbable that Coriolanus or Othello could have appeared in doublet and hose on the stage when the lines in the text definitely called for something else. So much was made of Coriolanus 'gown of humility',³¹ the 'customary' gown for a consul,³² and the 'woolless toga',³³ that it would have been

(27) The Complete Works of William Shakespeare, op. cit., p. 935.

(28) Othello: By Will Shakespeare The First Quarto 1622, A Facsimile (By Charles Praetorius, London, 1885), p. 1.

(29) Othello: By Will Shakespeare The Second Quarto, 1630, A Facsimile (By Charles Praetorius, London, 1885), p. 1.

(30) F1, op. cit., p. 310.

(31) Complete Works, op. cit., p. 1111.

(32) Ibid., p. 1112.

(33) Ibid., p. 1113.

too noticeable to have clothed him in anything but the prescribed manner. Word pictures such as these are convincing, but actually to see a picture of a scene is much more effective.

There is only one known authentic picture of a Shakespearean play, and fortunately it gives us a second source for believing periodic costumes were sometimes worn.³⁴ The picture, which was found by F. K. Chambers in a private library at Lougheed, is a drawing from Pitius Antropicus of Temore and her two sons in supplication to Pitus, and Aaron Armilla, with a sword drawn. The drawing was made by Henry Percheron in 1595, at a time when Shakespeare's plays were being shown at London. Since using this picture as evidence, I have found that Nicoll uses it also, but it seems to me with entirely incorrect interpretations of the costumes. The gown of Temore is impossible to decipher. Nicoll ignores it. It seems neither classic nor contemporary. The garment is long, white and full, having long, embroidered, full sleeves drawn in at the wrist. A long fling substance coming from her crown could easily be called a contemporary mantle. Concerning Pitus' two guards, Nicoll remarks: 'The two retainers, have, apparently, Elizabethan doublets with some kind of breastplate, the costume corresponding with eighteenth-century House dress. One of them, be it noted, wears a helmet with plumes just as the later tragic characters do.'³⁵ Later he says that Eastern characters wore 'wide "Persian trousers" (like the flounce to the extreme left of the last mentioned drawing)'.³⁶

(34) F. K. Chambers, William Shakespeare (Oxford, 1909), p. 112.

(35) Nicoll, op. cit., p. 136, 137.

(36) Ibid., p. 206.

It is true that the retainers have Elizabethan doublets, but where is the breastplate remarked upon? That which Professor Nicoll calls a helmet is a very common type of contemporary hat.³⁷ And those which he calls 'Turkish trousers' are the Elizabethan barrel breeches which were so stylish for a few years. Aaron's costume, which is designated by Nicoll as an Eastern costume is entirely imaginative, as are the suits of the two sons. One, however, has something tied on one shoulder, which, if the whole picture could be seen, might prove to be a toga. Titus, the most significantly clothed actor is not mentioned by Nicoll. He is the character who saves the day for our purpose. He wears a toga- slightly abbreviated, with a questionable garment over the shoulder which is uncovered by the toga- but nevertheless the attempt is there to reproduce the Roman toga. He wears, too, the laurel wreath so often associated with Roman dress. A Roman dress, but of another style is seen on the stage in the 'Roxana' advertisement.^{37a} There, besides a lady clothed in the tight-fitting Elizabethan dress with a high ruff, were two men wearing tunics; the kind of tunic called the colobium or the typical garb of a Roman 'plebeian'.³⁸ The footgear, too, is that consistent with the plebeian tunic. The boots are rather low, similar to the calceus, but without the thongs, fastened only with a short lace, and slit down the front instead of at the sides; this was called the nero and was worn by peasants.³⁹ Around the picture of the stage are fig-

(37) Dion Clatyon Calthrop, English Costume (London, 1906), p. 78.

(38) Mary G. Houston, Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine Costume (London, 1931), p. 56.

(39) Discussion, Ibid., p. 70. Picture Ibid., p. 72.

(37a) Roxana is the name of a play which was popular a few years after Shakesoeare's death.

ures and scenes containing Roman soldier costumes and Masque-like dresses.

Many Shakespearean plays have Masques within them, and often plays have Masque-like features. For instance, Loves Labors Lost and The Tempest produced around 1590-1610 contain whole Masques. Knowing as we do that the Masques were elaborately staged and costumed, and that these costumes were often appropriate symbolically, historically, and geographically, we feel sure that any complete Masque within a play would copy the costumes of the Masque. Becoming familiar with appropriate costume in this manner and seeing its advantage the producers, without doubt, would incorporate it in their plays. The Masque obviously furnishes further evidence for appropriate costume in the Elizabethan stage drama.

Once more it may be said that while the authorities were partially justified in making their assumptions, they missed the significant fact that a step forward had been taken in the occasional use of periodic costume. This statement is based on the fact that the toga was designated for the dress of a consul in two different plays; that Titus Andronicus in the only known Shakespearean picture wore a tunic; that two men on the Roxana stage wore plebeian tunics; that Masques within plays probably duplicated real Masques and therefore contained periodic costume.

Now let us turn to the evidence given by Nicoll concerning periodic costume. Aside from the "Titus Andronicus picture", he gives the following quotation which comes from a letter sent

by the Master of Trinity on January 28, 1594(5), to the Chancellor, requesting the loan of some special dresses:

Whereas we intend... to sett forth certaine Comedies and one Tragoedye, there being in that Tragoedye sondry personages of greatest estate to be represented in auncient princely attire wch is no where to be had, but within the office of the Roabes at the Tower: it is our humble request... that upon sufficient securitie we might be furnished from thence with such meete necessities as are required...wch favor we have founde heretofore.⁴⁰

That this quotation helps the argument here cannot be denied; but this is all that Professor Nicoll has to offer. Mr. Simonson quotes the same lines, which he undoubtedly took from Professor Nicoll.

Of less importance are the costumes which were designated in the introduction as appropriate according to characteristic- i.e. representing a man's position in life. Examples of this garb are found in abundance from Henslowe's Diary. They do show an attempt at appropriateness and should have been mentioned by those critics who maintained that no attempt was made at accuracy. For instance, there are such entrances as:

j senstores gowne, j hoode 5 senstores capes
 ij whitt sheperdes cottes
 Merlen gowne and cape
 j carnowll (cardinals) hatte
 j popes miter
 ij Imperiall crownes
 freyers gownes with hoodes to them.⁴¹

All of these garments point to a specialized costume with regard to the position of the person who wore them.

There are costumes for allegorical characters too. They are not described in detail, but the very fact that the garment

(40) Nicoll, op. cit., p. 203.

(41) See Henslowe, op. cit., pp 114-132.

was specified as belonging to a particular person indicates that it differed from the regular contemporary costume.

Junoes cotte

j Paeytone sewte and ij leather anteckes cottes with basses, for Paeyton.

Mercurds wings

J gostes seyt, and j gostes bodeyes

Dides robe⁴²

Foreign costumes are not abundant, but they nevertheless existed. There were garments for the Venetian senators, ij Banes sewtes j payer of Banes hosse.⁴³ One must not confuse Spanish doublets, French hose, and so on with foreign costumes, however, because they were commonly worn in England.

Thus, it seems that we have adequate reason for believing that the Elizabethans were aware of what an appropriate costume was, and that upon several occasions they tried to approximate one. As the critic who wished to prove the costume was contemporary went to the plays themselves, so here, wishing to prove the costume was appropriate, the author went to the plays, and found Coriolanus and Othello clothed in togas. In addition, a picture of a Shakespearian play was found with a character in Roman dress. Furthermore in a picture of a play house there is another character in a classical garb. It may be presumed that as the Masquers wore appropriate costumes in their Court Masques, they wore them in Masques which were incorporated in Shakespearian plays also. That being the case, appropriateness must have been seen by the producers of public theater performances. The quotation from the letter asking for the ancient attire in the tower is excellent evidence that periodic costume was worn.

(42) See Wenslowe, op. cit., pp 114-117.

(43) Ibid., p. 140.

Not so significant, but nevertheless worthy of mention is the fact that from Henslowe's Diary, the critic who would find appropriateness in symbolic, characteristic, and geographic costume can do so. We cannot help but feel that too little credit has been given to those concerned with the costume of the Elizabethan Period, for in that drama, for the first time, a public entertainment embodied all of the forms of appropriate costume.

CONCLUSION

This paper has attempted to trace the evolution of costume from the first liturgical drama through the traditional plays, the miracle plays, the morality plays, the masque and the Elizabethan drama. In describing the apparel of actors in the liturgical plays, a two-fold method was used. From a study of the rubrics, it became apparent that the ecclesiastical vest was the most available one, and therefore the most customary one. These ecclesiastical vestments afforded a naive appropriateness of dress, although to the casual observer, such an attempt might not be noticeable. The case, which was often worn by the Maries, resembled the outer garment of women during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and was undoubtedly chosen with that in mind. The capes were thrown over the heads of the Maries in a similar manner to the contemporary veils. Very likely the alb, which was worn in the majority of cases by the angels, was chosen because it was most nearly like the angel's raiment described in the Bible. Thus, it may be seen that although no specific costume was definitely prescribed for particular personages, certain combinations of garments did become associated with them. It may be stated, furthermore, that there was no chronological growth in the elaboration of garments during the centuries, but, that when any innovations appeared they appeared in French texts.

From a study of the ecclesiastical vestments in illuminated manuscripts, paintings and medieval glass windows, it is certain that the same of conservatism must have figured in art in somewhat the same way it did in the drama. Thus, there was

visual proof by indications made placed from various directions the scene of the crucifixion, the side of the temple, and the presence of Christ and the other men.

A transition in stage costume was in progress in the transitional plays: some characters still wore the ecclesiastical vestments, others, the contemporary lay dress. Those who wore vestments were a process abolished with the Holy Family, and those who wore contemporary clothes with the new characters was present in the liturgical plays. The further attempt was made to achieve a generalization in the transitional drama. The change in costume was a process which was a transition to the side that was in advance.

Contemporary lay garb prevailed for the first time in the Miracle Plays, but a significant advance in ecclesiastical costume was made in the symbolic garb of the sacred and sacred drama, and the 'old eyes' of the characters. As these habits were made evident from stage directions and scenery records, so also was the fact that even for the side of the temple, the ecclesiastical vestment was also discarded.

Contemporary lay costumes were definitely being abandoned for symbolic in the Miracle Plays. This change was extended to a large extent by the inherent differences in the type of play. In the parables, the scenes, conventionalized action, were costumes indicating their conventional and hence symbolic. Thus, a style was set by the clothing of the characters in the parables for the abstraction in the drama.

The process, however, went much further with symbolic appro-

existence. From Samuel, dressed like a tumbler, and Night in a black robe and cap, there was a big advance to Polish nights really dressed in Polish costumes, and Pomer in his Greek tragedies. However had been made from a symbolic to a geographic and periodic appropriateness. A consciousness of appropriate costume was transferred from House Court Masques to the public stage during the Elizabethan reign.

Although the majority of critics have believed that costumes in the Elizabethan plays were not appropriate, there is clear evidence to prove that some appropriateness was observed on the Elizabethan stage. References in the plays themselves can be found. One feature which has been completely overlooked is the term. It has been conclusively shown that a term was specifically designated in two Shakespearean plays. In the first place, the only extant picture of a Shakespearean play drawn during the period, reveals characters in period costumes. Another picture, appearing on a play advertisement, shows a stage with at least one of the actors in ancient garb. The fact that Court Masques definitely used all kinds of appropriate costumes, and that costumes were often included in Shakespearean plays, gives us reason to believe that appropriate dress must have been shown on the public stage in that way and would undoubtedly be transferred to the stage proper. The evidence from a letter requesting the costume attire in the tower for use in a play, and the lists of clothing in Woodhouse's diary furnish additional proof that the Elizabethan dramatists and producers were more alert than we believed.

In all of these areas of dress, evidence has been gathered of

a debate on the part of the writers in regard to costume- in either
 the style that should be worn or the manner of wearing it. The
 latter part of the sixteenth century, it is said, was
 marked by a type of dress peculiarly characteristic of
 the period rather than of the place. As a result of this fashion,
 a greater feeling for historical accuracy became evident and was
 reflected in the Elizabethan drama. It seems regrettable that so
 little credit has been given to Shakespeare and his fellow-
 dramatists in regard to the costumes of their plays.

From the careful investigation by the writer of all of
 the available material, some very definite points are clear and
 which will probably always remain so, because of the lack of ex-
 act records. As a result, the general costume of the Elizabethan
 period may be described as 'probably', 'possibly', and 'it may be'. Yet it
 seems that the general trend of costume from the ecclesiastical
 vestment to the contemporary garment, through the medieval, and
 finally to the modern and periodic, has been quite accurately
 traced. Not so fully, however, that there is no room for further
 study. It seems probable that more material may be unearthed con-
 cerning the Elizabethan plays- perhaps in the form of contemporary
 comments, or it may be from art.

In regard to the Elizabethan drama, a possible source for
 more information is the periodicals. The type of entertainment
 was popular during Shakespeare's lifetime, and very likely the
 clothing which was put upon the performers was a copy of that
 found on the spectators when seated. It is very probable that

such an investigation would prove to be significant.

A study of the decorative and coloring process which these additional light rays undergo in the ultraviolet region, some of the steps in the chemical reactions which may have been established during the process of the formation of the color, and the search along this line might reveal another method of producing dyes which might be more than these dyes.

These studies are suggested for further investigation, and the realization that there is opportunity for much more research on the problem of color in the early ground.

APPENDICES

Appendix for Chapter I.

A

Description of Church Vestments - The discussion is based on the work of Joseph Braun, Die liturgische Gewandung (Freiburg, 1907).

Alb: An alb is a white linen vestment reaching nearly to the ground. It has tight sleeves and is secured round the waist with a girdle. It is made of white linen, to symbolize the self-denial and chastity befitting a priest. However, medieval inventories show items of albs which were not of white linen. There were not only red, blue, and black albs, but albs of different stuffs; silk, velvet, and cloth of gold. Both in the East and West, there are some examples of silk albs which are still extant. The origin of this vestment is not known positively. Rupert of Deutz believed that the Christian vestments in general were derived from the Jewish priesthood, and that the alb in particular, represented the Kethonet, a white linen tunic. But the Romans and Greeks of the Empire wore a white linen tunic, too. Most modern authorities, eg. Duchesne and Braun, think it needless to look further than the Romans and Greeks for the origin of the alb. Here it is difficult to assign a date to the introduction of it, because a white linen tunic was a common feature of secular attire. It cannot be ascertained whether the word alb, as it was used in the first seven centuries, can be identified with

the present one. However, Braun concludes that there was some sort of special white tunic, generally worn by priests under the chasuble, and in the course of time this came to be regarded as liturgical. The use of the alb has changed from age to age. Until the middle of the twelfth century, all priests wore it when exercising their functions, and Rupert of Deutz mentions its use not only by those who officiated in the sanctuary, but by all the monks in their stalls. Since the middle of the twelfth century, the cotta or surplice has gradually been substituted by all except those in the higher orders.

AMICE: The amice is a short linen cloth, square or oblong in shape. This is the first vestment to be put on by the priest in vesting for the Mass. It should cover the shoulders and originally it covered the head of the wearer. Many older orders wear the amice after the fashion of the Middle Ages; that is, the amice is first laid over the head and the ends were allowed to fall upon the shoulders. The priest, when he reached the altar, folded back the amice from the head, so that it formed a collar or cowl around the neck. Other words referring to amice (amictus), are humerala, superhumerala, and anagolium. The first definite reference to the amice as we know it, is 940.

COPE: A cope is a long liturgical mantle, open in front, and fastened at the breast with a band or clasp. There has been little change in the character of the vestment from the earliest ages. It is made now, as it was then,

of a piece of silk, or cloth of semicircular shape. It differs from the early chasuble in that the straight edges in front were sewn together. The hood which is attached to the cope has changed in style slightly. The cope is a vestment for processions and is worn by all ranks of the clergy when assisting at a function, but it is never used by the priest and his sacred ministers in offering the Holy Sacrifice. The color of the cope follows that of the day, and it may be made of any rich material, as it always has been. There are Medieval copes now in existence which show magnificent specimens of embroidery and the jeweller's craft.

DALMATIC: The dalmatic is the outer vestment of the deacon. In Italy, it is a robe with wide sleeves, closed in front, and open on the sides to the shoulders. Outside of Italy, it is customary to slit the underside of the sleeves, so that there is an opening for the head, and a square piece of cloth falling over each shoulder and upper arm. There is no regulation concerning the material of the dalmatic. It is usually made of silk, similar in color and material to the chasuble of the priest. Until after the tenth century, the dalmatic was always white. It may be worn at Mass and at solemn processions and benedictions but not on penitential days, with the exception of Maundy Thursday. However, the dalmatic is never an essential vestment. Its use was customary at Rome as early as the first half of the fourth century. Then, as today, the deacons wore it

as an outer garment, and the cope put it on before the chasuble. It originated in Dalmatia, probably in the second century, and was part of the clothing of the higher classes.

CHASUBLE: The chasuble, which covers all the other garments, except the cope is the principal and most conspicuous Mass vestment. It consisted in the early Christian centuries of a square or circular piece of cloth, in the center of which a hole was made for the head to pass through. Nearly all ecclesiologists are now agreed that very early liturgical costume was simply an adaptation of the secular attire commonly worn throughout the Roman Empire, in the Early Christian centuries. The priest, in discharging his sacred functions at the altar, was dressed as in civil life, but the custom probably grew up of reserving for this purpose garments that were newer and cleaner than those used in daily vocations, and out of this gradually developed the conception of special liturgical attire. The chasuble was identical with the ordinary outer garment of the lower orders. It was like a little house (casula). The chasuble in the early centuries was worn by all ranks of the clergy, though now it is regarded as the priestly vestment par excellence.

STOLE: A stole to-day, is a long, scarf-like vestment, made of silk or velvet, richly ornamented by embroidery or jewel ornaments. There is an interesting history attached to it. In very early centuries, the stole was a long flow-

ing garment, and that which is called the stole today, is just the trimming left from that garment, perhaps a collar.

Appendix for Chapter III.

B

Interesting observations have been made concerning the nature of the tormentors in the Miracle Plays. Sharp has collected the following interpretations:

"The original meaning of the word "Tormentor," as applied to a public officer, is not now generally known, and therefore some account of it may not be out of place here. It occurs in St. Matthew xviii, 34, in the parable of the unforgiving servant: "And his lord was wroth, and delivered him to the tormentors, till he should pay all that was due to him." Whereupon it is observed by Dr. Campbell, that the original word properly signifies "examiner," particularly one who had it in charge to examine by torture: whence it came to signify jailer, for on such, in those days, this charge commonly devolved.

Cotgrave explains Tormentor by the French word Bourreau, which he translates an executioner, a hangman.

But a most apposite illustration of the term will be found in the following extract from Stowe's Chronicle, edit. 1614, p. 459. "And in a stage plaie the people know right well, that he that plaieth the Sowdaine, is percase a sowter (cobbler) yet if one should know so little good, to shew out of season what acquaintance hee hath with him, and call him by his owne name while hee standeth in his

maiestie, one of his tormentors might hap to breake his head, and worthie, for marring of the plaie: And so they said, yt these matters bee kinges games, as it were stage plaies, and for the more part, plaied upon skafferlds: in which poore menne bee but the lookers on. And they that wise bee, will muddle no further, for they that sometime step up, and play with them, when they cannot play their partes, they disorder the play and doe themselves no good."

In Lyson's Magna Britannia, Cambridgeshire, p. 89, an antient book of Church Wardens' Accounts for the parish of Bassingbourn is noticed. It commences in 1497, in which year are several entries of Church-ales, and in 1511 "the playe of the holy martir Seynt George" appears to have been represented on St. Margaret's Day with much celebrity, several neighbouring villages joining in the expenses, and it seems some individuals contributed labour, others gave procisions, and players and musicians were hired from Cambridge. Amongst the contributors, John Bocher gave the painting of three falchions and four tormentums: and John Good, carpenter and wheelwright, gave the workmanship of the falchions and tormentums, beside some of the stuff. 2s. 6d. was paid to Hobard, a brotherhood priest, for bearing the play book, or in other words being the prompter.

The weapons called "tormentums" in the preceding extract, were evidently intended for the persons who played

the parts of the tormentors, and perhaps the modern javelin-men are the most exemplification of these attendant officers that can be found; indeed they appear to have a considerable degree of resemblance and analogy.

Appendix for Chapter IV

C

Description of French Clothing- The discussion is based on the work of C. Kohler, A History of Costume (London, 1928), p. 232, 234, 235.

The wraps used by the nobles and young men were roomy, shawl-like garments either with sleeves or with armholes only. Some were more like a coat, others rather resembled a cloak.

Throughout almost the whole of the sixteenth century the headgear of Frenchmen was the barrette. Like the Spanish head dress this was circular, but, unlike the Spanish style, the brim was stiffened and turned up instead of being soft and hanging down.---

The sleeves were wide, narrowing toward the wrists. In most cases they belonged to the under jacket, the gilet, the doublet either being sleeveless or having hanging sleeves.

The somewhat tight slashed over-breeches--were now longer and wider and were long were very like the hose worn at the same period in Spain.

The cloak proper was of the Spanish type. It varied in length, but it was always circular in shape.

Appendix for Chapter VI

D

Description of Elizabethan clothing- The discussion is based on the works of J. R. Planché, History of British Costume (London, 1874), and Dion Clayton Calthrop, English Costume (London, 1906), p. 75.

The Men-

The doublet- was a closefitting doublet, cut down to a long peak in front, very often. It might be an Italian doublet or a Spanish one. They varied slightly, but the varieties of costumes from different countries were all known and worn in England. The doublets were very much like waistcoats, without sleeves, and having epaulettes hanging over the armpoles. Sleeves were tied in by means of ribbons with metal tags. For several years they were stuffed in front and were known as 'pea's cod bellied' or 'shotten-bellied'.

The jerkin was a jacket worn over the doublet with sleeves that were sometimes open from the shoulder to the wrist to show the doublet sleeve underneath. Both doublets and jerkins had little skirts or bases attached to them.

The joruet was a loose travelling cloak.

A jumper was a loose jerkin, worn for comfort and for extra clothing in winter.

Trunks, or very wide breeches were made of a series of wide bands of different colours placed alternately; sometimes they were of bands showing the stuffed trunk hose

underneath. They were exorbitantly large.

Venetian breeches were very full at the top and narrowed to the knee; they were slashed and ruffled, or panelled like lattice windows with bars of coloured stuffs or gold lace.

The stockings were of yarn, or silk, or wool, usually held up by garters, and the shoes were shaped to the foot, and made of various leathers or stuffs.

The hats were of many kinds: steeple-crowned, narrow-brimmed hats, flat, broad-crowned hats and broad-brimmed Jacobean hats.

Elizabethan faces were chalked; fussed periwigs or false hair were worn. Partlet strips, wood busks to keep straight slim waists all added to the Elizabethan man.

The women-

The first article a lady put on was an underproper of wire and holland, and then she would place a great ruff of lace or linen, or cambric upon it.

Before the more elaborate gowns came into existence, a modified garment something like this was worn: a gown cut square across the bosom and low over the shoulders, full sleeves ending in bands of cambric over the hands, the skirt full and long; the whole dress fitting well as far as the waist and very stiff in front. Another gown was worn over this with a split below the waist to the bottom of the skirt making a V. The sleeves were wide, and there was a high standing collar.

Later the ladies wore jerkins, cut low and square over the bosom, made of all kinds of rich materials. The attached sleeves were puffed slashed all over with bands of cambric or laced. Additions were made to the costumes with ribbons, bows, sewn pearls, cuts, slashes, and puffs. Oftentimes the hair was dressed with pearls, rings of gold, feathers and glass ornaments.

Shoulder pinions of the jerkins were made in fancy ways. The wing sleeves, open from the shoulder all the way down, were so long sometimes as to reach the ground, and were left hanging in front, or thrown back over the shoulders, the better to display the rich undersleeve. Shoes were cork-soled, high-heeled, and round-toed. Girdles were of every stuff from gold cord, curiously knotted, to twisted silk; from these hung looking-glasses, which contained embroidered and scented gloves.

March 16, 1934.

Miss Milfred S. Brown
North Amherst, Mass.

My dear Miss Brown,

I am ashamed to say that I have just come across, after a lapse of months, your note of December 27th which got mislaid. I suppose that your need for an answer to the question is long since passed. What I should have said promptly was that you would find a statement about Elizabethan stage costumes in my FACTS ABOUT SHAKESPEARE, page 124. As far as I know all costumes were contemporary. The idea of archeological correctness had not yet reached the stage.

With apologies for my carelessness, I am

Sincerely yours,

W. A. Neilson

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