

SECULAR MUSICIANS IN LATE MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

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Links to

Volume 1

Volume 2

Richard Rastall

**Secular Musicians in Late Medieval England
(1968)**

My doctoral thesis on minstrelsy in late medieval England (with a section on the Scottish royal household) is now 45 years old. This is to me an amazing fact: but even more amazing is that it has not been superseded. A few scholars have worked on sections of this subject, sometimes very usefully, but no real progress has been made in our understanding of English minstrels and minstrelsy. More worryingly, some of those who have published on the subject did not bother to read either this thesis or the doctoral dissertation by Rosalind Conklin, and so undertook a lot of unnecessary work, not always with good results.

This thesis has been available for some years on the website of The University of Leeds, with links from my personal page there and from the IGTP site. Following my retirement from the University in 2006 and a major revision of the School of Music website in 2012, my webpage has disappeared, and with it the link to this thesis. I am therefore very grateful to the IGTP Webmaster, who has kindly agreed to give it room on the Waits website.

The thesis has been retyped (it was written, of course, long before the age of computers) but is otherwise given here in its original state. It is very out-of-date in many respects, and the reader must bear this in mind: but it should be noted that over the years I have done further work on the subject, some of which is also available on the IGTP website - notably the more detailed discussions of the royal pipers and of the myth of the town waits as watchmen. A detailed consideration of the royal citolers was made for a conference held in the British Museum in 2011, and this is due to be published in a book arising from the conference; a paper on Princess Eleanor's journey to Nijmegen to be married to the Count of Guelders in 1332 was given at the Medieval Congress in Kalamazoo in May 2012, but has not been published.

The whole thesis is now undergoing major revision and rewriting for publication by Boydell and Brewer in 2014 or 2015. This will include not only a radical reworking of the existing material but also new sections on minstrel performance: much of this is the work of Andrew Taylor, whose book on the 16th-century minstrel Richard Sheale appeared in 2012.

I hope that the original thesis will continue to be useful meanwhile. The pagination of this version is not the same as the original, but the original page-numbers appear here in [], so that internal references can be followed. In the footnotes, short bibliographical references lead to full citations in the Bibliography. For various reasons the illustrations that appeared in the thesis are not included here: they are however listed, and can be followed up using online and other resources. In quotations from documents in Latin or French I have usually extended scribal abbreviations, in which case the omitted letters are here italicised.

Richard Rastall
February 2013

CONTENTS

VOLUME 1

List of Illustrations	ix
[Abstract of the Contents of this Thesis	x]
Acknowledgements	xiv
Abbreviations	xvi
Introduction	
The central problem xvii; Course of action for its solution xviii; The scope of the present work xix; The evidence of account-books xxiii	
Chronicles and Poetry	xxvi
The nature of the evidence xxvi; Symbolism xxvii	
Iconography	xxviii
Conditions for the use of iconography xxviii; The nature of medieval iconography xxx; Depictions divided into categories, according to their symbolic content xxxiii; The meaning of "minstrelsy" xxxvi	
1 The Administration of Minstrelsy	
Administration by Minstrel-Court and Guild	1
The itinerant minstrel 1; Administration at Chester 2; At Newcastle-under-Lyme 4; At Tutbury 6; Royal attempts at control 9; Guild administration 12; The <i>Feste du Pui</i> 13; The Cripplegate gild 14; The London gilds 16; The Canterbury gild 18; Gilds and courts distinguished 20; Later fraternities at Beverley and Tutbury 21	
The Minstrel-Kings	27
Apparent meaning of the term 27; Kings known to be instrumentalists 28; Connection between minstrels and heralds 29; Kings-at-arms 31; the nature of minstrel-kingship 34; Provincial minstrel-kings 36	
2 Music in Drama and Processions	
Introduction	38

Liturgical Drama	39
Its nature and its music 39; Use of instruments 41; Late examples 44	
Miracle Plays	46
Their nature and their music 46; Use of instruments 49; Minstrelsy in the Coventry pageants 52	
The Corpus Christi and Other Processions	55
Use of instruments 55; Minstrels in the Coventry gild-accounts 56	
3	
Minstrelsy and its Relations with the Church	
Minstrelsy and Worship	60
The attitude of the clergy 60; Minstrelsy in church 62; Instruments acceptable to the Church 64	
Instruments and Liturgy	67
Opposing views of E.A. Bowles and Robert Donington 67; Documentary evidence 70	
Minstrelsy in Religious Houses	73
Minstrelsy welcomed by the clergy 73; Types of performance 75; Minstrels in permanent employment 77	
Personal Minstrels of the Clergy	79
Mainly harpers 79; Ability 80; Numbers 80	
The Mendicant Friars	82
Use of popular song 82; Connection with drama 84; Connections with the guilds 86	
4	
The Royal Minstrels	
Introduction	88
Duties of the Royal Minstrels	90
The Recruitment of Royal Minstrels	94
Promotion from other households 94; Minstrels "qui non sunt" 95; Apprentices 97	
Residence	102
Instruments	107
Horses	111
Wages	115

Liveries	119
Gifts and Grants	124
<i>Dona</i> 124; Comparison of gifts made by Edward I and Henry VII 127; Grants and annuities 128	
Constitution and Administration	131
Variety and numbers of the royal minstrels 131; Dependent households 134; Entertainers not amongst the royal minstrels 135; Minstrelsy in the Chamber 136; The Marshal of the Minstrels 139; Of the Trumpeters 141; Serjeants 142; The style of "Master" 143	
5 Haut and Bas Minstrelsy	
Introduction	145
Trumpeters	145b
Taking messages 145b; Connection with heralds 146; Increase in numbers 147; <i>Socii</i> 148; Trumpeters playing in pairs 149; Distinction between trumpet and clarion 152	
Nakerers and Taborers	153
Pipers, Wayts and <i>Vigilatores</i>	155
Bagpipers 155; Shawms, wayts and <i>fistulae</i> 156; Small pipes 158; <i>Vigiles</i> making minstrelsy 159; <i>Vigiles</i> who became minstrels 160; Duties of the <i>vigiles</i> 162	
<i>Bas</i> Minstrels	163
Harpers 163; Other plucked instruments 164; <i>Gestours</i> 165; Instruments accompanying the voice 166; Violists, <i>gigatores</i> and fiddlers 167	
Chimes-players	168
Absence from Household records 168; Depictions 169; Emotional context of chimes 171; Music in which bells played 172; Types of bell 173; Conclusions on the musical use of chimes 175; Chimes at the Pentecost feast of 1306 176	
Instruments in Consort	176
<i>Haut</i> groups 178; "Shawms" as a group 180; Henry VIII's sackbuts 181; <i>Bas</i> combinations 183; Instruments not normally used to accompany chapel singers 185	
6 The Waferers	
Making minstrelsy 187; Household waferers 188; Types of minstrelsy 191; Itinerant waferers 192	

7 Minstrelsy in Households Outside Court

Introduction	193
The Household of the Black Prince	194
The Lancaster Household, 1372-1399 Terms of employment 197; Fees and wages 198; Scutcheon and nakers delivered to John Cliff 200; Gifts 200; Personnel 201; The household of the Earl of Derby 202	196
The Howard Household, 1462-1485	204
The Scottish Royal Household, 1474-1505 Gifts 206; Personnel 207	206
The Northumberland Household of 1511	211

8 The Town Waits

Waytes and Watchmen Meanings of "wayte" 213; Types of watch 214; Town waits not descended from the civic watch 216	213
Minstrels and Waytes in Early Town Records Gifts and payments to local minstrels 218; Guild-members 219; Civic liveries for special occasions 220	217
The Institution of the Waits Town waits not established to perform new duties 221; Use of the term "wait" for civic minstrels 221; Possible analogies with household wayte 222; Waits' marching patrol 223	221
The Appointment and Payment of Waits Appointments 226; Fees 228; Taxes imposed on citizens 230; Pensions 231	226
Liveries Cloth-liveries 232; Delivery of gowns for feasts 233; Livery- allowances 233; Scutcheons 233	231
Relations with the Gilds	236
Independent Work The position of waits in their own towns 237; Work outside the town 238; Restriction on the Coventry waits 239; The Leicester waits at Nottingham, 1500 239	237
Status and Standards	240

Scale of gifts and payments 240; Compariosn with the royal
minstrels 241; The Norwich waits learn to read mensural
notation 241

Glossary 243

Bibliography 252

Works Consulted 252

Works Cited 257

ILLUSTRATIONS

- FRONTISPIECE between pp. ii and iii
15th-century illustration of Chaucer's Miller:
[Manchester University Library,] Rylands English MS 63.
- PLATE I between pp. xxxvi and 1
Accounts of the king's Wardrobe, 30 Ed I:
[Manchester University Library,] Rylands Latin MS 232, f. 5.
- PLATE II between pp. 59 and 60
Exultate Deo initial of the Bromholm Psalter (c. 1325):
[Oxford,] Bodleian [Library,] MS Ashmole 1523, f. 99.
- PLATE III between pp. 87 and 88
Accounts of the queen's Wardrobe, 4 Ed III:
[Manchester University Library,] Rylands Latin MS 234, f. 27.
- PLATE IV between pp. 167 and 168
Exultate Deo initial of the Ormesby Psalter (c. 1325):
[Oxford,] Bodleian [Library,] MS Douce 366, f. 109.

The Frontispiece and Plates I and III are used here by kind permission of the Librarian of the John Rylands Library, Manchester.

Plates II and IV are Bodleian postcards: they are used by courtesy of the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

[NB No illustrations are presented in this on-line version of the thesis: those listed above were used to illustrate general points made in the thesis but did not generate specific discussions.]

* * *

Abstract

The Introduction outlines the basic problems which face a musicologist studying the English secular music of the Middle Ages. It suggests that it is necessary to study the place of minstrelsy in medieval society before the surviving manuscripts can be understood: a statement is made of the part to be played by the present thesis in this task. Then follows a discussion of certain categories of source-material which are to be used.

Chapters I and II examine the place of minstrelsy in the secular life of the 14th and 15th centuries. The first chapter describes the methods by which land-owners and civic authorities attempted to control minstrelsy, and divides these methods into the categories of court-administration and gild-administration; a second section examines the office of Minstrel-King. Chapter II deals with those occasions on which the common man came into contact with organised minstrelsy.

Chapter III examines the place of minstrelsy in the life of the Church, with special reference to the attitude of the clergy towards minstrelsy. The conclusion is reached that, although the relations between the two were generally good, only a very small range of instruments was used liturgically, and that rarely.

Against the background of the first three chapters, the next four make a more detailed study of minstrels and minstrelsy in the context of the secular household. Chapter IV deals with the royal minstrels, and Chapter V with the players of specific instruments, ending with a discussion of the instruments that seem to have been played in consort: Chapter VI examines the office of the Waferer. Minstrelsy in other households is discussed briefly in chapter VII: the findings are correlated with those of the previous three chapters, and features of special interest in each household are noted.

Chapter VIII is a study of the civic minstrels, or town waits. An attempt is made to correct some misunderstandings about their origins, and to describe the social context in which they were established. A discussion of their early history leads to an assessment of their professional capabilities.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank the staffs of the following libraries and repositories: the British Museum and the Public Record Office, London; the University Library, the Central Public Library (and especially the Henry Watson Music Library) and the library of Chetham's School, Manchester; and the Bodleian Library, Oxford. I wish especially to thank the staff of the John Rylands Library, Manchester, and Mr Arthur D. Walker, librarian of the Department of Music, Manchester University.

I wish also to acknowledge the help of the following correspondents, who kindly answered queries and sent references: Dr Richard Axton, Mr John H. Harvey, Mr Lyndesay G. Langwill, Mr R.E. Latham, of the Public Record Office, Dr E.D. Mackerness, Mr Arthur Oswald, Mr David Roseveare, Mr Denis Stevens, and Mrs Joan Varley, Lincolnshire County Archivist. My thanks are due to the Town Clerk of Warwick (Mr H.B. Dolphin), the County Archivist at Warwick (Mr Anthony Wood), and the Librarian of the University Library, Manchester (Dr F.W. Ratcliffe), for making available to me a microfilm of the Beauchamp Household Book.

I am greatly indebted to Dr John Stevens for his illuminating criticisms of my work; also to Dr John Bergsagel for a number of references and suggestions.

Mr Ian Bent and Dr Brian Trowell had both collected a large [xv] quantity of relevant material in the course of their own researches, and this they very generously handed over to me for my own use: I am also indebted to them for passing on many other references at various times, and for drawing my attention to much material that I might otherwise have missed. The subject of this thesis was originally the suggestion of Mr and Mrs Bent, and I am grateful for the many ways in which they have continued their interest in it.

In the preparation and checking of my final typescript I have been greatly assisted by Mrs Irene McEwan: for the final copies, some of my debt to my typist, Mrs Patricia Simpson – but by no means all of it – will be apparent to those who read this thesis. My debt to both of them is willingly acknowledged.

Finally, my special thanks are due to my supervisors, Professor H.F. Redlich and Dr Gerald Hendrie. They have been content to let me shape this work as I thought best, yet their criticisms and suggestions have always been available and have always proved stimulating. The task of laying out one's first large work is a daunting one, and I am grateful for their sympathetic guidance. If there are good things in this thesis, it is often due to them: the faults are mine.

List of Abbreviations

Repositories

B.M.	British Museum
P.R.O.	Public Record Office

Manuscript Collections (followed by the MS number)

Add.	Additional MSS, British Museum
Egerton	Egerton collection, British Museum
Harley	Harleian collection, British Museum
Lansdowne	Lansdowne collection, British Museum
Stowe	Stowe collection, British Museum

Cleopatra	
Galba	Cottonian collection, British Museum
Nero	

Ashmole	Ashmolean collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford
Douce	Douce collection, Bodleian Library, Oxford
Ryl	Latin MSS of the John Rylands Library, Manchester

Manuscript-numbers beginning with the class-marks E101, E36, C47, etc., refer to documents in the Public Record Office.

For bibliographical abbreviations, see below, pp. 257–69.

INTRODUCTION

[Pre-Tudor] examples of secular music are few and of minor importance, and I have not dealt with them here. Nothing identifiable as minstrel music has survived, and the history of minstrelsy belongs to the study of social life and customs rather than of actual music. The history of musical instruments other than the organ is in much the same case, for there is no evidence that any instruments but the organ were normally played in church, and the musical remains are restricted to a small group of instrumental dances.

In these words¹ secular music is dismissed from the authoritative work on music in medieval Britain. Nobody who has worked on the subject will fail to sympathise with this attitude, for the surviving examples of medieval secular music are not only few in number, but so enigmatic that the precise problems elude us when we come to consider them. In these circumstances it is not surprising if the answers elude us also.²

The history of English music during the Middle Ages³ therefore remains the history of liturgical and devotional music. Secular music certainly flourished, as the numerous musical instruments depicted in illuminated manuscripts can prove. Some musical [xviii] historians, too – notably Burney, Hawkins and Chappell – built up a picture of English minstrelsy from entries in Wardrobe accounts, Issue Rolls and other sources. This picture, however, was not detailed enough to impinge on the musicologist's sphere of activity.

It is, indeed, a dearth of obviously relevant material that discourages the musician from studying the secular music of medieval England. The situation seems depressing: yet it is difficult for the enquiring mind to ignore completely the intriguing questions posed by the remarks quoted above. For although it may be true that "Nothing identifiable as minstrel music has survived", it is also true that we should not recognise a piece of minstrel music if we saw it. The remarks on instrumental performance, too, are carefully qualified, and even if it were true that "... there is no evidence that any instruments but the organ were normally played in church" the word "normally" still raises some interesting questions.

¹ Harrison/*MMB*, pp. xiii–xiv.

² The Carol repertoire is largely excepted from this thesis. Its mainly devotional content and its connection with the popular teaching of the Franciscan friars debar it from being described as "secular" in the strictest sense.

³ This thesis is concerned almost solely with minstrelsy in England, and I shall not consider popular minstrelsy in either Wales or Scotland.

As it happens, enough evidence does exist to make a discussion of this problem valuable.⁴ For well over a century historians have been unearthing and publishing vast quantities of material relating to secular musical life, and this material contains information on many small problematical subjects such as instrumental performance in church. To the musician, approaching this material for the first time, it may come as a shock to find how vital [xix] to English life and thought, how integral a part of English society were secular music and musicians in the Middle Ages.

I say "musicians" quite deliberately: for we return to the inescapable problem of a few enigmatic manuscripts, which we recognise as being totally unrepresentative of the music (although probably not of the *written* music) that existed. Once we reconsider these manuscripts in the light of their social background, certain questions come to the fore – how should they be performed, for instance?

My own experience of singing medieval music convinced me that instruments should be used. Iconographical evidence seemed too vague to give a clear indication of what instrumental groupings would be possible, and I therefore turned to household accounts to find out what instruments would be available in the context of a medieval household. In such a study there would be no room for preconceived ideas about instrumental practices, for the musical resources of a household would be limited by considerations of hard finance.

This thesis, therefore, is primarily a study of instrumentalists in noble households. Of course, such a study could not answer all the questions raised by the extant musical manuscripts, for we cannot even assume a household context for these pieces. A survey of the music is needed, for instance, to decide to what extent it is related to the polyphony of the Church and to what extent it represents the *unwritten* music of the minstrels. For [xx] a full answer to the latter question we should also have to know exactly what music the minstrels played, to what extent they were musically literate, what techniques of improvisation they used, and how skilful they were at their job.

To be really useful, then, an examination of English minstrelsy must go beyond the limits of the noble household, in order that discussions of repertoire, literacy, education and musical skill should be as complete as possible. Only then will the background be large enough to place either improvisation techniques or the written music firmly in their context.

From this it will be seen that the study of secular music in medieval England can best be undertaken in three distinct stages:

- 1 Examination of the social background of minstrelsy.
- 2 Investigation of the possible methods of musical improvisation.
- 3 Examination of the extant written music.

These three stages need to be undertaken in order, although they cannot of course be completely separated from each other. This thesis is an attempt to deal with the first stage of the process with respect to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the period to which most of the surviving music belongs.

⁴ See below, pp. 62 ff and 67–73, *passim*.

A period of two centuries is a large one for study in a work of the present type, and it was tempting to take a much smaller period and to work in a more limited field. But my first work on [xxi] the fifteenth century indicated that in doing so I should run the risk of failing to discover the problems involved in what is still a largely unexplored research-subject. I rapidly expanded my period in order to work on the magnificent Wardrobe accounts of the last few years of Edward I's reign, and so the period to be discussed in this thesis is roughly from the year 1300 to the early years of the relatively well-explored Tudor period.

On the other hand, my work is strictly limited to minstrelsy in England,⁵ for I see no point in assuming any parallel with the Continent if the material for England is available.⁶ Moreover, I have tried not to assume parallels between different households, especially if a large time-separation was involved. For this reason my chapters on the household minstrels are concerned primarily with the royal households, evidence from other households being used only for corroboration. The discussion of the other households is placed after the chapters on the royal minstrels in order to avoid any confusion on this point.

Despite the wars with Scotland and France and the disastrous civil war between the houses of York and Lancaster, the late Middle [xxii] Ages were a time of great change in England. A rising merchant-class made the towns prosperous, until the towns employed their own minstrels just as the nobility did; the guilds were founded, grew powerful, and produced a vernacular religious drama which eclipsed the Latin drama of the Church; and - not surprisingly - the itinerant minstrel found it increasingly difficult to make a living.

Certain important factors remained constant, however. The value of money changed hardly at all until the influx of gold and other precious goods from the New World caused inflation early in the sixteenth century,⁷ and we can therefore compare wages and gifts to minstrels throughout our period.⁸ The minstrel-establishment itself remained very much the same, even under the impoverished Henry VI during the Wars of the Roses, although the Lancastrians could not support the number of minstrels "qui non sunt" that had made Edward I's court such a brilliant centre of minstrel activity. It had long been realised that, contrary to earlier belief, the lack of English musical manuscripts of the third quarter of the fifteenth century does not indicate a hiatus in the production of [xxiii] music: nor was there any cessation of minstrel activity at this time.

⁵ An exception is made in the case of the Scottish royal household.

⁶ I am not sure, either, that items of material collected from sources which are widely-spaced geographically or chronologically can be held to constitute a "pattern" of evidence from which conclusions can be drawn. For this reason I have doubts about the efficacy of the material presented in Bowles/*Procession*, for example, covering as it does the whole of western Europe over a period of nearly two centuries.

⁷ The rising prices of the early 1340s were responsible for slight increases in the expenses of certain king's servants: see Hill/*Messengers*, p. 323. The basic wage of a royal minstrel under Edward IV was nevertheless the same as it had been under Edward I.

⁸ Any attempt to translate monetary values into modern terms would be meaningless, and the original values are given throughout this thesis. Values of foreign currencies are footnoted as necessary: of the English denominations, a *mark* was worth 13/4d and a *noble* 6/8d.

The main body of material for the study of the royal minstrels is contained in the Wardrobe accounts:⁹ this information has been supplemented by entries from the *Calendar of Patent Rolls*,¹⁰ transcripts of the entries relating to musicians in the Lord Chamberlain's records¹¹ and Rymer's *Foedera*. Between them, these records provide information on the royal minstrels throughout the period covered by this thesis. Sources of material for other households are noted in the relevant section of Chapter V.

There are distinct advantages to be gained from the consideration of particular households. A noble household of the Middle Ages was a complete community,¹² self-sufficient in the matter of both sacred and secular music. Of course, itinerant minstrels often performed: but, however great or small the musical resources of the household, casual outside help was rarely – if ever – counted [xxiv] on, even on special occasions.¹³ We can therefore put a household under the microscope, so to speak, knowing that in theory we should be able to find out how it works. In fact, this thesis is not concerned with examining *all* the details – its purpose is to see the broad outlines, to find the problems, to answer as many as possible and to indicate the best way of solving the rest.

Nevertheless, if we turn the microscope on to the household minstrels we are likely to see things that we have never seen before even in the outlines. Our previous knowledge was concerned mainly with minstrelsy on special occasions or in unusual circumstances – marriages, feasts and coronations. By learning about the musicians in their everyday life we can find out where and when they played, their particular functions and privileges, and their relations with the chapel musicians.

This is, admittedly, only one side of medieval minstrelsy. Although I have stressed the importance of the household accounts as a source of information, it would be wrong to give the impression that the household minstrels had a monopoly of secular music. On the contrary, many household minstrels became itinerant for much of the year between the major feasts, and they often found at these times that they had serious competition. Accordingly, I have used the accounts of establishments other than the secular households as [xxv] material for information about the minstrels. Towns made many and frequent payments to itinerant minstrels as well as to their own waits, and here the weight of material is so vast that I have not done more than make use of published extracts. Many towns would certainly be good subjects for more detailed study, and I hope that

⁹ For a discussion of the Wardrobe accounts and my calendar of entries relating to minstrels and minstrelsy, see Appendix A, below.

¹⁰ The sheer bulk of these rolls precludes their use in a survey such as this thesis. Entries concerning musicians in the fifteenth-century volumes of *CPR* are summarised in Grattan Flood/*Patent Rolls*. For similar reasons I have not searched the Issue Rolls: selected entries from these are calendared in Devon/*Issues*.

¹¹ Entries concerning musicians are calendared in Lafontaine/*Musick*.

¹² Except, of course, for dependent royal households: see below, p. 89.

¹³ The question of itinerant minstrels volunteering to play in dramatic productions, for instance, should be treated with reserve. Bowles/*Drama*, p. 72, implies a sort of medieval "jam-session" which I find hard to accept.

this survey may make some of the possibilities known. The records of the City of London in the Guildhall contain much information on the waits of that city, for instance, and the extracts printed in Dawson/*Kent* show that the Chamberlains' accounts of various Kentish towns are equally fruitful.¹⁴

For similar reasons I have confined myself to searching printed extracts of the account-rolls of abbeys and priories, rather than making a search of the original documents. In this case, too, the likelihood of finding useful material was less than in the case of municipal records. As with the latter, however, I trust that my survey will point the way to more detailed research.

With the notable exceptions of Burney, Hawkins and Chappell, musical historians have not made any concentrated use of this sort of documentary material. Primary evidence has usually been that of chronicles, contemporary poetry and iconography. This type of evidence, I feel, is of limited usefulness and often of doubtful [xxvi] validity, and I have used it only as corroborative evidence. Moreover, the exact limits of its validity must be determined before we can use it at all, or its testimony is useless. It is therefore necessary to discuss what we can or cannot learn from each of these types of material.

Chronicles and Poetry Chronicles could be expected to give the most factual descriptions of the use of musical instruments, and up to a point they do. A chronicler almost invariably assumes that his reader knows about the everyday role of music, however, and for this reason rarely gives details of actual instrumental performance. Froissart's description of the "danse d'Alemagne" is exceptional.¹⁵ This, however, is specifically mentioned because it is unusual, and in general we can say that it is only exceptional circumstances that are described in detail. In an eye-witness account of a great ceremonial occasion, therefore, the musicians are mentioned only in so far as the special circumstances warrant it. In particular, we find that some indication is given of an unusually great number or variety of minstrels.¹⁶ A list of instruments might be given in this case, but because the specific uses of the instruments would be well known to the writer's contemporaries, we are rarely given more information [xxvii] on the actual groupings of the minstrels concerned.

For our present purposes there is no clear-cut borderline between chronicles and poetry. One purports to relate facts while the other is often concerned with fiction: but that distinction does not always hold, of course, and in any case it has little or no bearing on an author's use of musical symbolism. In both chronicles and poetry selected musical images may be used to evoke a particular atmosphere. We must constantly bear in mind that minstrelsy was not an end in itself but a decoration of life. Indeed, more than a decoration, for it drew attention to

¹⁴ It should be remembered that Dawson was concerned only with itinerant entertainers. Payments to town waits do not appear in his extracts, although he printed some entries relating to their liveries.

¹⁵ See below, p. 151.

¹⁶ See, for instance, the various accounts of Henry V's entry into London after Agincourt, printed in Wylie/*Henry V*, ii, pp. 258-63.

the spectacle, the "conspicuous consumption" of which it was itself a vital part.¹⁷ For this reason, literary references to music are not an end in themselves, either: they are part of a description of the pageantry as a whole, in which conventional musical symbolisms are used to bring the scene more vividly to life in the mind of the reader.

It is true that we know about, and can imperfectly comprehend, the significance of much of this symbolism. Our task is made slightly easier, too, by the fact that writers usually respected certain practical considerations such as the division into *haut* and *bas* groups.¹⁸ To some extent we can use this symbolism to [xxviii] decide what instruments were used in what circumstances, although in doing so we have to ignore the possibility of poetic licence - or ignorance - in naming the instruments.

Until a comprehensive survey is made of the use of musical references in English literature, medieval chronicles and poetry will prove to be an unsatisfactory guide to instrumental practices.^{18a} For the present, therefore, I shall not make any extended use of literary sources, and such literary evidence as I do cite will be used with the above considerations in mind.

Iconography I shall deal specifically with illuminated manuscripts, but my remarks will generally be applicable also to carvings, paintings and stained glass. The subject is a complex one, and we need certain conditions before we start. These are:

- 1 A competent illustrator.
- 2 An illustrator who is fully conversant with the instruments which he is depicting, and with the ways in which they are played.

The competence or otherwise of the illustrator is a subject for the art critic and historian, and even then it might be a matter for some debate. The worst cases of incompetence are of course obvious: they are also rare. In the great majority of cases, however, the general impression of consistency of depiction, realism of draperies, etc., and anatomical accuracy must be relied [xxix] on.¹⁹

In a single picture it is not always obvious that the illustrator is conversant with the instrument depicted, although in a larger manuscript we can sometimes compare several illustrations to see if he has been consistent in outlines and in details. More valuable still is the detailed similarity between depictions of an instrument in two or more different manuscripts.²⁰ If there is a large enough corres-

¹⁷ See Stevens/CCS, p. 56.

¹⁸ *Haut* (loud) and *bas* (soft) instruments were carefully distinguished in the Middle Ages: see below, pp. 145-145b.

^{18a} Such a survey might well start with the large collection of vernacular references in Carter/*Dictionary*.

¹⁹ If the way in which an instrument is held is anatomically impossible, then doubt is of course cast on the depiction of the instrument itself. See, for instance, the crowder in a Worcester Cathedral miserichord of the late 14th century (reproduced in Carter/*Specimens*, i, between pp. 52 and 53).

²⁰ Thus we may have less doubt about the existence of a fiddle with an unstopped bass string (found in a thirteenth-century Sarum missal, Rylands Latin MS 24, f. 152v; and in a mid-thirteenth-century Parisian MS now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, reproduced in Cockerell/*OTI*, ff. 17, 29 and 39v) than about the slightly freakish

pondence between the various depictions of musical instruments by several competent and contemporary artists, it is a fair assumption to make that the instruments were probably in current use. Furthermore, if this correspondence can be shown to exist over a period of time, then we can trace fashions in the way in which instruments were played and decorated, and also the rise and fall in popularity of the instruments themselves.²¹

It would take a whole thesis to discuss this subject in any depth. For the purposes of the present work, however, it must be [xxx] enough to say that, within the limits which have been laid down above, we can learn from a study of the visual arts about the structure and acoustics of contemporary instruments, and about the methods of playing them.

If we now wish to use the visual arts as evidence for the grouping of instruments in consort, there are other considerations which we cannot ignore:²²

3 The fluidity of space and time in medieval art.

4 The *horror vacui*.

5 The symbolism of Paradise on Earth.

By "fluidity of space and time" I mean that faculty which enabled the medieval mind to ignore limitations of geographical location and chronology - indeed, not even to recognise them as limitations. Thus in miracle plays Old Testament characters talk about Christ, while in the pictorial arts a whole series of incidents can be compressed on to one canvas.²³ To the modern mind such things are incongruous because they are "unrealistic", but it is of course our concept of "reality" that has changed. The musicians depicted [xxxi] in the famous Braunche brass, for instance,²⁴ which apparently shows a *bas* group on the left playing in consort with an *haut* group on the right, were certainly "real" to their contemporaries. But their "reality" is the symbolic one which we have already discussed in relation to the chronicles,²⁵ and we cannot say that the brass depicts a "real" grouping (in the modern sense) in which fiddle, cittern, shawm and two trumpets play as a quintet. Indeed, the problems of balance in such a consort would be insuperable.

Pictorial art in the Middle Ages was not only symbolic - it could also be purely decorative. The boundary is not a distinct one, however, and a strong symbolic element often overlays the decorative one. But to the extent to which the pictorial arts were considered to be decorative, the *horror vacui*, or dislike of an empty space, applies.

variants of plucked-string instruments found in a single manuscript (Beatus on the Apocalypse, 2nd half of the twelfth century, Rylands Latin MS 8, ff. 89 and 158v).

²¹ The fourteenth-century popularity of the psaltery, for instance, for which see Panum/*SIMA*, p. 90.

²² These problems are neatly summed up in Bowles/*Liturgical*. The conclusions that Bowles draws from them, however, are debatable: see the letter from Robert Donington in the *Galpin Society Journal*, xi, May 1958. For a discussion of this debate, see below, pp. 67 ff.

²³ For example, in a fifteenth-century wall-painting in the chancel of Winchester Cathedral the picture of a dead woman is actually superimposed on the picture of her when alive.

²⁴ In St Margaret's Church, King's Lynn: reproduced in Carter/*Specimens*, ii, between pp. 12 and 13.

²⁵ See above, p. xxvii.

There are two consequences of this dislike. The first is the amount of purely conventional decoration found in illuminated manuscripts – formal patterns of foliage, flowers, insects, birds, animals and people. In this way little musical scenes appear which bear no relation either to the text or to the illustration proper of the text. These scenes therefore have no symbolic significance, and we might think that in this case they could be taken as realistic representations. Unfortunately they cannot, and we [xxxii] must remind ourselves that the symbolic significance is the "real" one: there is in fact no reason why the depiction *should* be realistic simply because it is not a symbol. Indeed, the evidence points away from realism in this case, and it is in marginal, purely decorative work, that we find the illustrator giving full rein to his imagination with weird monsters and strange musical instruments, the latter often played by the former.

The second frequent consequence of the *horror vacui* is the multiplication of background items which have symbolic significance. Thus if an illustrator wanted an angelic choir in his picture, he would put in one of every type of relevant instrument he could think of until the available space was filled up. Often such instrumentalists are placed in the margin rather than in the illustration proper, and it is here that symbolism and decoration most obviously meet.²⁶ In this case the artist had the alternative of making the background frame symmetrical, thus producing two of each instrument.

The *horror vacui* and the fluidity of space and time are both limiting factors when we come to assess the usefulness of iconography, for they can only warn us of instrumental groupings that we should *not* take as "real". The symbolism of Paradise on Earth, which pervades medieval iconography and drama alike and which will [xxxiii] be discussed in the appropriate place,²⁷ is similarly a limiting factor: but it is also a special case of the problem of symbolism already mentioned, and by following this problem a little further we shall find that we can produce some more positive results. At the same time, we need not confine ourselves in the discussion which follows to devotional iconography.

It will be convenient to divide illustrations into three categories. The choice of categories is largely arbitrary, and it must be emphasised that there are no clear-cut boundaries between them.

The first category concerns illustrations in which the symbolic significance of a musical instrument is divorced from its musical function. The use of nakers to symbolise adoration, for instance, is unlikely to have a real-life parallel, and indeed is rare in iconography.²⁸ Illustrations to allegories such as the *Roman de la Rose* are a case in which it would be hard to over-estimate the importance of the symbolic structure on which the whole work is based: when we see a courtly dance accompanied by harp, shawm and pipe-and-tabor²⁹ in the *Roman* we can

²⁶ This multiplication of symbolic images and the spilling-over of symbolism into the decorative framework is most common where the Virgin Mary is concerned. On the cult of the Virgin and its effects on medieval art, see below, pp. 63–67, *passim*.

²⁷ See below, pp. 49 ff.

²⁸ Rylands Latin MS 18, late fourteenth-century, German: Adoration of the Trinity. For instruments actually used in adoration, see below, pp. 64 and 70 ff.

²⁹ B.M. MS Harley 4425, late fifteenth-century, French, f. 8v.

be sure that the *musical* significance of the group is negligible, or at least greatly modified. [xxxiv] Another example is the appearance of the *busine* in depictions of the Harrowing of Hell,³⁰ although here the connection of the Judgement theme with that of the King in Majesty brings us closer to the real-life use of the instrument.

The trumpeters at the Harrowing of Hell are in fact a borderline case between our first and second categories. The latter concerns illustrations in which the symbolism attached to an instrument indicates the type of context in which the instrument might be found in reality. For example, the consistent and almost exclusive use of chime-bells in contexts of jubilation leads us to expect that chimes might have been used in *actual* jubilant settings. I shall attempt to show in my thesis that this symbolic iconographical use of chimes did indeed have a parallel in real life:³¹ but the evidence is not sufficient to show the precise setting, and it remains debatable whether liturgical, devotional or secular jubilation was the normal place for the clanging of *cymbala*.

The third category is a special case of the second, in which the symbolism is so precise that it gives an actual context for instrumental performance. Here, in other words, symbolism and [xxxv] reality meet. A good example of this category is the consistent appearance of *busines* in depictions of tournaments. We need have no doubt, I think, that the iconographical evidence points towards trumpets being used on such occasions, and other types of evidence support this conclusion.³² Nevertheless, the trumpets still have a symbolic significance in the pictures: and so we cannot say that the number of trumpeters depicted would be the actual number present at a tournament, nor that the trumpeters would play at the moment that the combatants met.³³

In the above discussion, I have generalised greatly in my attempt to assess the validity of iconographical evidence. However, I feel that it is time to lay down some basic principles which, even if dependent in the last resort upon personal opinion, will at least enable a consistent use to be made of the evidence of the visual arts. Where this evidence is used in the thesis, it is used within the limits indicated above. In defining these limits, much depends on the illustrations themselves; I have therefore included iconographical works in the first part of my bibliography and listed the manuscripts consulted in an appendix.³⁴

[xxxvi] It remains to state what is meant by the word "minstrelsy" in the thesis. In the Middle Ages the term included the entertainment of bearwards, jugglers, dancers and *stulti*, or fools, entertainment in which music almost certainly played a part although it was not a prime ingredient. Such people will appear in the pages which follow, for no history of minstrelsy would be complete without

³⁰ The *busine* is the long straight trumpet. The Resurrection motif, with its angelic trumpeters, is often found in the initials to Psalm 6 (*Domine, ne in Furore*, with its theme of Judgement) and Psalm 109 (*Dixit Dominus*: I am using the old numbering).

³¹ See below, pp. 168 ff.

³² See below, p. 146.

³³ For these tournament-scenes, see Carter/*Specimens*, i, facing p. 49; Rickert/*Chaucer*, p. 218; Carysfort/*Beauchamp* (from B.M. Cotton MS Julius E iv), Pageants XXIX–XXXI inclusive, and XXXIV.

³⁴ See below, pp. 252–57, *passim*, and ii, pp. 194 f.

them: moreover, since many records, both civic and domestic, use the term "minstrelsy" in this wider sense, it was often impossible to separate them from the purely musical performers.

Within a noble household, however, those who appear in lists of personnel as "the minstrels" form a smaller and more clearly-defined category. In *their* entertainment, music was the prime ingredient. It is in this narrower sense that the term "minstrelsy" has been used where possible in the thesis. I do not think that the use of the term in both its wider and narrower meanings will cause confusion: the reader is warned, however, that I have made no attempt to distinguish between the two.

It is not possible to say what form the minstrelsy of heralds and waferers took. Some of the minstrel- and herald-kings are known instrumentalists, however, and both heralds and waferers are considered in this thesis. One *stultus* was a king's minstrel,³⁵ and so I have also included *stulti* within the limits of their connection with instrumental performance.

³⁵ Robert Foole, *bourdour* of Edward III.

1

THE ADMINISTRATION OF MINSTRELSY

Administration by Minstrel-Court and Gild

The minstrel population of late medieval England was primarily itinerant.¹ The liveried minstrels attached to king, nobles or prelates were usually required only at the principal feasts, and for the rest of the year they travelled around the countryside earning their living as itinerant musicians. Even those who remained in the household were not necessarily static, for the king rarely stayed long in one place, and other magnates also travelled around in administering their estates.

Those minstrels who were not regularly employed had of necessity to travel. A skilful player could always find some work in his own town; but if he was not to rely entirely on occasional weddings, banquets, miracle plays or the benevolence of visiting nobility, he too had to take to the road. As for the less skilful minstrel, the charlatan and the rogue who used minstrelsy as a cover for all possible deceits, vices and felonies, he could earn a living only by constant travel and attendance at fairs and other large gatherings where money was to be had.

The administrative problems inherent in such a situation were enormous. The liveried minstrels, amongst whom were found the [2] finest performers, needed some protection against less skilful independent musicians; those who paid for minstrelsy – both the noble in whose castle a minstrel played, and the common man – needed protection against the charlatan; [and] some independent minstrels who were good performers and were always welcome in their own district² needed protection from unknown itinerant minstrels. In addition, any large gathering such as a fair raised problems of police control and maintenance of law and order for the magnate or civic authority concerned.

These interests naturally conflicted. There were good independent minstrels, and there were bad or dishonest local minstrels who claimed some privileges over strangers. No administration during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries

¹ See Jusserand/*EWL*, pp. 103–15, *passim*.

² See for instance the many minstrels who came regularly to the Scottish Court and to Durham Priory on major feasts: Appendices D and B, *passim*.

succeeded in resolving all of the problems, and most of them seem to have been dismal failures.³

The earliest administration – that at Chester – was the longest-lived and in many ways the most successful. The story of the origin of the Chester minstrel-court in 1210 has often been told, but it will be useful to repeat it here briefly.⁴ Randal, Earl [3] of Chester, finding himself besieged in Rhuddlan Castle by the Welsh, sent for help to the constable of Chester, Roger de Lacy. The force which Lacy could muster was none too large, and he had an additional worry on his hands: the annual fair was under way at Chester, and the town was full of the rabble which such an event always attracted. It was certainly not safe to leave the town devoid of troops, and yet Lacy needed all the soldiers he could find to raise the siege at Rhuddlan.

The constable solved the problem by taking the crowd with him, and the whole noisy rabble marched with the soldiers to the Earl's rescue. The Welsh, seeing and hearing this extraordinary "army", thought themselves about to face a powerful military force, and they therefore withdrew. As a reward to the constable, the Earl conferred on him the right to control shoemakers and minstrels in the city and county of Chester. The rights concerning the shoemakers Lacy kept: those concerning the minstrels were later conferred on the constable's steward, Hugh de Dutton.

Apocryphal as the story might be in detail, it is supported in its essentials by what we know of other such administrations. The Dutton court continued to be held until the eighteenth century, but some earlier information about it has come down to us because one Laurence de Dutton was required to reply to a *quo warranto* dated 14 Henry VII. His answer stated that all minstrels staying in the city and county of Chester were bound to assemble before him or his steward annually on St John the Baptist's Day, to give [4] him four bottles of wine, and to pay him 4¹/₂d for the renewal of a licence to play.⁵ The proceedings included a service in St John's church, to which the heirs of Dutton or their deputies rode in procession, attended by all the minstrels of the city and county playing before them on their instruments.⁶

We should notice that Earl Randal almost certainly did not *create* the rights which later fell to the Duttons. He probably exercised such a control not only over the shoemakers and minstrels in his territory but over many other trades as

³ The view expressed in Woodfill/*Companies*, however, is a little extreme, perhaps due to condensation of the original lecture. The various administrations are discussed at length in Woodfill/*MES*, Chapters I and V, *passim*.

⁴ See Blount/*Tenures*, pp. 156–58; Morris/*Chester*, p. 12; Duncan/*Minstrelsy*, p. 65; and Crewdson/*WCM*, p. 87.

⁵ Every prostitute paid him 4/- on the same occasion. It is not clear how Dutton came to have this right, although it is possible that prostitutes had originally been classed with the lowest type of minstrel.

⁶ Morris/*Chester*, p. 13, n.

well.⁷ Many of the larger land-owners must have found it, if not actually necessary to control minstrels on their land, at least convenient and profitable to levy a tax on them. One of the most powerful land-owners in the middle of our period was John of Gaunt, and in one town owned by him we know that such a control was exercised.⁸ The right had been passed to an ancestor of the wife of a burgess, perhaps as a gift like that of the Chester administration to the [5] Duttons.⁹

John by the grace of God (King of Castile) to our beloved ... steward of our town of Newcastle-under-Lyme ... Whereas it was found by inquisition before you ... that William de Brompton, our burgess of the said town, and Margery his wife and all the ancestors of the said Margery have been wont and ought to have from time immemorial from every minstrel coming to the said town at the feast of St Giles to make his minstrelsy, four and a half pence, and from every bear coming to the same town to be baited one course, we ... command you ... to cause the perquisites and privileges aforesaid to be delivered to them

Given at the Savoy, 26 November, 46 Ed III (1372).

This privilege seems to have been purely financial, since no administration on the part of William and Margery is mentioned. In any case it would be difficult to regulate minstrelsy in quite the same way as weights and prices of merchandise could be controlled.¹⁰ Probably the Chester administration was originally a simple toll- [6] system, and it is interesting that the fee payable, 4¹/₂d, was the same at both Chester and Newcastle.

A year before the entry quoted above, Gaunt had married Constance, Queen of Castile and Leon, and had assumed the title of King by right of the marriage.

⁷ See Jusserand/*EWL*, p. 137, for an account of the control exercised by the Bishop of Winchester over the St Giles Fair there, and the taxes levied on merchants, 30 Ed I.

⁸ John of Gaunt was the favourite son of Edward III. As Duke of Lancaster and Earl of Leicester, he acquired lands of which Richard II could justly be jealous, including the palace of the Savoy in London and the castles of Leicester, Tutbury, Pontefract, Bolingbroke, Kenilworth, and others. See Mosley/*Tutbury*, p. 73.

⁹ This translation is in Rickert/*Chaucer*, p. 232. The original, printed in Armitage-Smith/*JGReg*, ii, p. 98, reads: "Johan par la grace (etc.) a nostre bien ame monsire Godefrey Foljaumbe nostre seneschal de la ville de Noef Chastel souz Lyme ou a son lieutenant illoeques saluz. Pource que trove est par enquest pris devant vous de nostre mandement et retourne en nostre chauncellerie que William de Brompton burgeys de nostre dit ville et Margerie sa femme et touz les auncestres du dit Margerie soleient et devoient avoir de temps dont memoire ne court de chescun ministrat venant a la dite ville en la feste de Saint Gile l'abbe pur faire leur ministralcie iij d. ob., et de chescun ours venant a meisme la ville pur estre chace un cours, voulons et vous mandons que, pris de les (dits) William et Margerie seurtee de faire a nous tant a nostre chastel come al seinte esglise deinz la dite ville ce q'ad este et soleit estre fait en celle cas devant ces heures, leur faites livree de les choses et liberteez avantditz, et ycelles le soeffrez avoir et enjoier pesiblement sanz empeschement. Et cestes (etc.) Donnee (etc.) a la Sauvoye le xxvj jour de Novembre l'an (etc.) xlvj."

¹⁰ C.f. Jusserand/*EWL*, p. 137.

Of the several castles belonging to her husband, Constance chose to live at Tutbury, and so Tutbury castle became the main Lancaster residence. The magnificent household, to which Constance now added Spanish minstrels and other servants, must have attracted a great deal of itinerant minstrelsy. But the Honour of Tutbury was in any case a sizable area, including large portions of both Staffordshire and Derbyshire. Within a few years Gaunt evidently found it necessary to exercise some control over the minstrels there.

Here, as at Newcastle and probably Chester, the control was not new: no doubt the minstrels working near Tutbury had conveniently "forgotten" their obligations while the Lancaster household had been mainly at Leicester. Gaunt's orders of 1380 refreshed their memories:¹¹

[7]

John, by the grace of God King of Castile and Leon, Duke of Lancaster, to all them who shall see or hear these our letters, greeting. Know ye, that we have ordained, constituted and assigned to our well-beloved King of the Minstrels in our Honour of Tutbury, who is, or for the time being shall be, to apprehend and arrest all the minstrels in our said honour and franchises, that refuse to do the service and attendance which appertains to them to do from ancient times at Tutbury aforesaid, yearly on the days of the Assumption of Our Lady, giving and granting to the said King of the Minstrels, for the time being, full power and commandment to make them reasonably to justify, and to constrain them to perform, their services and attendance, in manner as belongeth to them, and has been here used, and of ancient times accustomed. In witness whereof, (etc.)

Given under our privy seal, at our castle of Tutbury, the 22 day of August, 4 Ric.

In the Tutbury administration we find again the main elements of the Chester system. The minstrels were required to attend annually, and although their "services et ministralcies" are not specified, it is a safe guess that homage to the Duke of Lancaster and the payment of some fee were included.

Here again the exact age of the administration is in doubt: "de temps dont memoire ne court" and "dauncien temps" date the Newcastle and Tutbury

¹¹Translated in Plot/*Staffordshire*, pp. 435-36: this modernised version is in Mosley/*Tutbury*, p. 77. The original, printed in Lodge/*JGReg*, p. 341, reads: "... Sachez nous avoir ordenez, constitut et assignez nostre bien ame le roy des ministrax deinz nostre honour de Tuttebury, qore est ou qi pur le temps serra, pur prendre et arester touz les ministrax deinz meisme nostre honour et franchises queles refusent de faire leur service et ministralcie a eux appartenantz affaire dauncien temps a Tuttebury susdit annuelment les jours del Assumpcion Nostre Dame, donant et grantant au dit roy des ministrax pur le temps esteant plein poair et mandement de les faire resonablement justifier et constreigner de faire leurs services et ministralcies en manere come appent et come illeoques ad este use et dauncien temps acoustume. En tesmoignance, (etc.). Donnee (etc.) a nostre chastel de Tuttebury le xxii jour d'Augst lan (etc.) quart." (i.e. 1380).

administrations equally vaguely.¹² We can certainly assume, however, that their origins ante-date Gaunt's creation as Duke of Lancaster in 1362.

[8] The information that Gaunt enforced the Tutbury administration through a minstrel-king raises questions concerning earlier methods of control. For Gaunt's orders read as if his Tutbury administration was new in this respect. The Duttons would not have employed a minstrel-king, and would not necessarily have kept their own household minstrels. Perhaps the Dutton administration was enforced through the Earl's retainers, and Gaunt certainly made his steward at Newcastle responsible for enforcing control there.

Towards the end of his life Gaunt lived less at Tutbury. He seems not to have visited Constance at all in the last two years before her death in 1394,¹³ and probably never went to Tutbury again. The minstrel-administration in the honour can hardly have been in a flourishing state, therefore, when in 1399 Gaunt died, Henry Bolingbroke ascended the throne as Henry IV and the castle at Tutbury ceased to be the residence of the Lancasters. The administration certainly survived in some form, but little information on its fifteenth-century history is extant. The evidence of the notorious bull-running shows that it continued before the Reformation:¹⁴ it has been suggested that the bull-running was part [9] of Gaunt's original organisation, but it has nothing to do with the control of minstrelsy, and looks more like a later encouragement to minstrels to support a dying institution.

Without doubt the Tutbury administration was invalid when Henry VI tried to control minstrelsy in 1449. Minstrelsy became more and more a concern of the king as the Middle Ages wore on and the feudal system disintegrated. Edward II tried to control itinerant minstrels as part of a plan to reduce extravagance amongst the land-owners,¹⁵ while Henry IV found it necessary to [10] suppress

¹² See nn. 9 and 11, above.

¹³ Mosley/*Tutbury*, p. 109.

¹⁴ The bull-running dates from the time of Henry VI, if not earlier: see Plot/*Staffordshire*, p. 437. The bull was presented by the abbot of Tutbury until the dissolution of the abbey: thereafter it was the gift of the Earl of Devonshire. See Kirke/*Tutbury*, pp. 109 f.

¹⁵ The shortened version of the mandate of 6 August, 9 Edward II, as quoted in Chappell/*PMOT*, p. 30, is misleading: it was directed less against minstrels than against the nobility. It can hardly have increased Edward's popularity, and seems to have had little or no effect. The text is translated and printed in full in Leland/*Collectanea*, vi, pp. 36 f. After describing the danger to his realm, Edward proceeds to limit the number of meat courses to be served at table: he goes on, "And lykewyse that to the houses of Prelates, Earles, and Barons, none resort to meate and drynke, unlesse he be a mynstrel, and of these minstrels, that there come none except it be three or foure minstrels of honour at the most in one day, unlesse he be desired of the lorde of the house. And to the houses of meaner men, that none come unlesse he be desired, and that such as shall come so, holde themselves contented with meate and drynke, and with such curtesie as the maister of the house wyl shewe unto them of his owne good wyll, without their askyng of any thyng. And yf any one do agaynst this ordinaunce, at the firste tyme he to lose his minstrelsie, and at the seconde tyme to foresweare his craft, and never to be receaved for a minstrel in any house." The ordinance goes on to deal with messengers, runners, archers "and other idle men" in a similar fashion. "Minstrels of honour" must have included all liveried minstrels, and, perhaps, certain well-known and skilful minstrels in

the troublesome minstrels of Wales, spokesmen for Welsh nationalism.¹⁶ These were both in the nature of police action, and were limited in scope. When Henry VI took less limited action in 1449 it was again a police control undertaken for a specific purpose. In practice, however, it took the form of a potentially permanent administration: Henry gave his own minstrels the same powers as the minstrel-king at Tutbury had possessed, extended now to include the whole country except Chester.¹⁷

Whereas many rude husbandmen and artificers of England, feigning to be minstrels and some of them wearing the king's livery and so feigning to be the king's minstrels, collect in certain parts of the realm great exactions of money of the king's lieges by virtue of their livery and art, and though they be unskilled therein and use divers arts on working days and receive sufficient money thence, they fare from place to place on festivals and take the profits, wherefrom the king's minstrels and others, skilled in the art (of music) and using no other labours or misteries, should live: the king has appointed William Langton, Walter Haliday, William Maysham, Thomas Radcliff, Robert Marshall, William Wykes, and John Cliff, king's minstrels, to enquire throughout the realm, except the county of Chester, touching all such and to punish them, to hold the same inquisition themselves or by deputies during good behaviour.

The commission was dated 17 June, 1449: copies of it were [11] sent to sheriffs throughout the country, with a request that assistance should be given to the minstrels to carry out the inquisition. The copy sent to Norwich survives.¹⁸

It is not surprising that independent minstrels should sometimes earn their living less than honestly, nor that some should take advantage of the high status of the liveried minstrel. The distinction between "minstrels of honour" and other minstrels grew ever more acute. Itinerant minstrels had already abused their privileges by 1315¹⁹ – privileges which the nobility now felt less inclined to be-

any area. Edward probably issued a corresponding ordinance to his own minstrels, warning them not to ask too much from casual patrons during their travels: such an ordinance was quoted in the *Liber Niger* of Edward IV, who evidently thought it necessary to repeat the warning to his own minstrels. See *Ords & Regs*, p. 48.

¹⁶The statute of 4 Henry IV (1402) is printed in Chappell/*PMOT*, p. 38: "Item, pour eschuir plusieurs diseases et mischiefs qont advenuz devaunt ces heures en la terre de Gales par plusieurs Westours, Rymours, Minstralx et autres Vacabondes, ordeignez est, et establiz, que nul Westour, Rymour, Minstral, ne Vacabonde soit aucunement sustenez en la terre de Gales pur faire Kymorthas ou coillage sur la commune poeple ilioques." An English version is in Sharp/*Dissertation*, p. 217, n.

¹⁷*CPR*, Henry VI, vol. 5 (1446–1452), p. 262. Langton was in fact dead by this date: *ibid.*, p. 250 (17 May, 1449). See below, p. 16 and n. 32.

¹⁸Hudson/*Norwich*, ii, p. 328. The date given here is 17 Jan., 7 Henry VI, surely a misreading for 17 Jun., 27 Henry VI. Wykes and Cliff do not appear as king's minstrels before 25–26 Henry VI: see below, Appendix A, under that date.

¹⁹See above, n. 15.

stow on the independent minstrel rather than on the liveried retainer. The poverty and high prices of the first half of the fourteenth century, with an actual famine in 1315 and again in 1322, cannot have helped the independent musician to make an honest living. Nor did the second half of the century improve his position, with five minor outbreaks of the Black Death by 1391, following the major plague of 1348-9. After the Black Death the rich were, generally speaking, better-off than before, and this must have helped to increase the difference in status between the liveried and the independent minstrels.

Administration by a feudal authority no doubt gave some [12] assistance to the better class of minstrel: but it was of spasmodic and uncertain benefit. In the day-to-day disputes and injustices which happened between minstrels, settlement had to wait for an annual gathering (as at Chester and Tutbury) or a travelling inquisition (the Tutbury minstrel-king or Henry VI's minstrels). For the greatest protection of their professional rights, therefore, the best of the independent minstrels (and some liveried minstrels, as well)²⁰ had to make an agreement between themselves to keep their standards high and to prevent unskilled players from taking their work and privileges.²¹

Minstrels therefore took full advantage of the gild movement, especially in the fifteenth century, when the organisation of town waits threatened in many places to create a monopoly which could put other minstrels out of work. It would be hard to overestimate the importance which was attached to the medieval gild, or the effect of the gilds on everyday life. In modern times only freemasonry can compare with it, and that only where its initiates - a [13] small minority - are concerned. The gilds were fraternities concerned with the welfare of members and their families, either through charity (the religious gilds) or through the regulation of competition within a certain trade (the trade gilds). All had their religious side, however, and the trade gilds often admitted both the wives of members and men who plied trades other than that of the gild. It was through the gilds that a man became a freeman of his town: indeed, the gilds were in some places virtually synonymous with the town corporation.²² Life was altogether easier for a freeman, and the surviving freemen's rolls contain the names of many minstrels.²³

Many of the characteristics of the English fraternities can be seen in the *Feste du Pui*, a Continental brotherhood which gained a foothold in this country in the

²⁰ The king's minstrels did not need gild-assistance on account of their very high status: minstrels of other nobles sometimes found it worth while to buy their freedom. The "Hugo le Trumpeour" who bought his freedom through the Merchants' Guild at Leicester in 18 Edward III was probably a minstrel of the Earl of Leicester. See Kelly/*Notices*, p. 131. John Brothir, the Lancaster trumpeter, may be another case: see below, p. 220. Town waits also joined gilds: see below, pp. 53 and 238, n. 104.

²¹ Minstrels were among those exempted from the Acts of Apparel, for instance. See Collier/*History*, i, p. 36, and Stevens/*M&P*, pp. 317 f.

²² The Company of St George at Norwich, for instance.

²³ Westlake/*Gilds*, pp. 23, 109 and 118.

late thirteenth century. The ordinances for the English branch, which was established in London, were drawn up between 1306 and 1317.²⁴ The aims and effects of the brotherhood were far too general for the *Feste du Pui* to be called a gild, although its organisation was similar to that of the English fraternities. The *Feste du Pui* was ruled by a Prince and twelve companions, all of whom were elected at a yearly feast. This election bore a surprising resemblance to the Tutbury election [14] of 1680, even down to the ceremonial handling of a cup of wine – handed to the Prince's successor in the case of the *Feste du Pui*, and used to drink the new King's health at Tutbury.²⁵

The social and religious gilds ante-date the trade gilds proper. The minstrel gild of 1350 at Cripplegate, London, was not a trade gild in the sense that it tried to regulate minstrelsy itself. The minstrels' most pressing need was to make their social situation both stable and secure: only then could they resist professional competition. The Cripplegate fraternity was in the first place organised on their own initiative, and existed by agreement between "the minstrels of London and other good people in the same city dwelling".²⁶

The administration of the gild was simple, and was carried out by the wardens, who were responsible for the common box. Each member paid 13d into the common box each year: a member in need could borrow money against security, or could be given help if through no fault of his own he suffered poverty, illness, robbery, maiming, old age, loss of property or wrongful imprisonment. A member who failed to contribute, if he was able to do so, or who persisted in malice towards another member, could be dismissed. In this case any money already paid in by him would remain in the common box, but his name would be included in the list of [15] benefactors to the fraternity inscribed on the obituary roll of the Carmelite Friars. New members could be admitted if deemed worthy and loyal: if they were required to be skilled in minstrelsy, the fact is not specifically stated. If a dispute arose which involved a member, the wardens were to attempt to settle the disagreement. On the death of a member, the gild paid for the burial and for thirty masses to be said for his soul.

The Cripplegate gild seems to have changed little between 1350 and 1389.²⁷ In the latter year its sole assets were 44/5d in the common box, security for 8/- on loan, and a special garment for the company.²⁸

Nothing more is known of the Cripplegate gild, and its poor financial situation leads us to assume that it did not survive long. Almost certainly it would not be strong enough to coexist with the City of London waits when the latter were

²⁴ Unwin/*Gilds*, pp. 99 f.

²⁵ See below, p. 26.

²⁶ A translation of the 1350 ordinances is in Crewdson/*WCM*, pp. 79–81.

²⁷ The copy of the ordinances dated 1350 is part of the return made by the gild in 1389 in answer to the article of enquiry of that year. See Westlake/*Gilds*, pp. 138–238, for a summary of these returns.

²⁸ Crewdson/*WCM*, p. 81. I do not think that this means a gild livery: it perhaps refers to a single garment to distinguish the senior warden, or whoever presided over the gild.

founded early in the fifteenth century.²⁹ The returns of 1389 show that there was also a gild of players and minstrels at Lincoln,³⁰ but that, too, probably failed to survive. For the next eighty years minstrels seem to have bought their protection through religious gilds or gilds of other [16] trades,³¹ while specific area control over minstrelsy was exercised through the minstrel-courts already discussed.

We have seen that when Henry VI organised the control of minstrelsy through his own minstrels he produced what was potentially a permanent administration. His successor, Edward IV, not only confirmed this administration, but constituted it in the manner of a gild in an ordinance of 24 April, 1469:³²

Licence for Walter Haliday, John Cliff, Robert Marshall, Thomas Green, Thomas Calthorn, William Cliff, William Christian, and William Eynsham, the king's minstrels, to establish, continue, and augment a fraternity or perpetual gild, which the bretheren and sisters of the fraternity of minstrels of the realm erected in times past, that they may pray for the good estate of the king and his consort Elizabeth, queen of England, and for their souls after death and for the soul of the king's father Richard, late Duke of York, in the chapel of St Mary within the cathedral church of St Paul, London, and the king's free chapel of St Anthony in the same city. They shall admit other persons, men and women, to the fraternity, and shall form one body and perpetual corporation, and shall elect from themselves a Marshal to remain in office for life and two Wardens yearly for the governance of the fraternity, and shall have the supervision of the art of minstrels, except in the county of Chester, and shall nominate the King's minstrels, subject to the royal assent.

It has always been assumed that the earlier fraternity referred to was the Cripplegate one, even though that was a localised gild, and – in 1389, at least – could hardly have been called a [17] fraternity of minstrels "of the realm". However that may be, both the old and the new fraternities admitted women: it is not clear if non-minstrels could also become members.³³ The Dutton court in the

²⁹ See below, p. 232.

³⁰ *Smith/Gilds*, p. 294.

³¹ See below, pp. 53 and 57.

³² *CPR*, Edward IV – Henry VI (1467–1477), p. 153. The administration was also confirmed by Henry VII, in 1496: see *Veale/GRBB*, text, part iv, pp. 5–8. The very fact that it needed confirmation may suggest that the administration failed to flourish.

³³ Women may have been mentioned in order that wives could join with their husbands: see below, p. 53, for the four Coventry waits and their wives joining the Smiths' Company there. A minstrel's wife, of course, may have known something about her husband's profession, as many wives do today in country districts. In a *Wardrobe* book for 5–6 Ed II, a gift for minstrelsy to Richard Pilke and his wife Helen is recorded: see below, p. 191. It seems likely that Margery, wife of Edward II's trumpeter William, was also a trumpeter: see below, ii, p. 71. Female minstrels were not always so rare as to excite particular comment. There is the famous occasion of the Pentecost feast of 1316 (see *Chappell/PMOT*, p. 31), when a woman dressed as a minstrel and on horseback gained

county of Chester evidently flourished, as that county was excepted from the fraternity's authority. Presumably the Tutbury court was by then dormant.

Probably the reconstituted fraternity was not powerful enough to be of more than regional use. By about 1500 it had given way to (or had itself become) the "Fellowship of the Minstrels Freemen of the City of London", and had therefore no pretensions to control minstrelsy elsewhere. The royal minstrels seem to have made little or no use of the powers invested in them in 1469, [18] and had no connection with the London fraternity.³⁴ The insecurity of the London fraternity, even within the city, made it very jealous of its rights, and in 1502 the company tried to prevent the five city waits from performing, on the grounds that they were not members.³⁵ The waits appealed to the Aldermen of the city, saying that they could not afford the entrance-fee. Their appeal was upheld, and thereafter the city waits always became members of the minstrels' company without payment.³⁶

In the provinces, too, the need to protect themselves from itinerant competition was felt by local minstrels as much as before. The regulations of a minstrels' guild at Canterbury, formed in 1526 or within a few years of that date, ordained³⁷

That all waits and minstrels that noo doo inhabyte, or hereafter shall inhabyte, in the seyde cytye (of Canterbury) or the suburbes of the same citie, shall be one felowshyp, and called by the name of the crafts and mystery of "mynstrells", and so shall continue from henceforth for ever.

Members of the Canterbury guild were forbidden to join with a "foreign" minstrel³⁸ in the performance of minstrelsy, and it was also prohibited [19]

for any fremane usyng or practysyng the seid crafte or mystery of mynstrells, to take any may-game, garland, chyldale, or wedding, out of any other freman's hand, uppon payne to forfeit, for every suche default, 3/4d; nor to any four minstrels to take any suche weddyngs, dedycacons, may-games, or garlands, from any freman usyng or practysyng the seid crafte or mystery, within the

admittance to the hall and gave the king a letter: she was not a minstrel, as it happens, but the door-keepers had to excuse themselves by saying that they had always allowed minstrels into the hall on such occasions. Du Fresne/*Glossarium* has several feminine words for minstrels, such as "ministrallissa". A number of women appear in the Scottish and other accounts as singers and fiddlers, although they were probably not professional minstrels: see especially Appendix D, *passim*. For certain types of minstrelsy in the wider sense, women were usual – as dancers, for instance: see Appendix D.

³⁴ Woodfill/*MES*, p. 6.

³⁵ Crewdson/*WCM*, pp. 20 f.

³⁶ Woodfill/*MES*, p. 40. On the early history of the company, and its fight against professional competition, see *ibid.*, Chapter I, and especially pp. 10 f.

³⁷ These ordinances are quoted from Brent/*Canterbury*, p. 154.

³⁸ A non-member.

seid citie, upon payne to forfeit, for every such default, 6/8d; nor to any such persons, etc., to play upon any instrument of a Sunday in time of masse or evensong, in any inne, tavern, or any other place, except it be at a weddyng, or a place where he is hyred, or at the commandment of Mr Maior of this citie for the time beyng, or any worshippingfull man: ...

The last part of this was no doubt to make a special case for the waits: they had particular duties to perform, and it was as well that they should not be in disagreement with the gild, as had happened at London.

The London gild, like that at Canterbury, had a statute which forbade one member to take work from another. The training of apprentices was carefully regulated: both gilds insisted on a seven-year apprenticeship, and in London, in order that the apprentice should have the best possible training, no freeman except a past master or warden could have more than one apprentice at a time. Nor was any member allowed to teach music to anyone except his apprentice, and the apprentice had to be approved by the gild and made a freeman, as in any other trade, before he could practise his craft professionally.³⁹

[20] Of the later fraternities, that at York was probably new, and it need not concern us here.⁴⁰ Those at Beverley and Tutbury were revivals, however, and we must examine them in order to see how their organisation had altered.

It would be as well first to tabulate the main characteristics of the different types of administration. Those of the minstrel courts (Chester, Tutbury and Henry VI's commission of 1449) are:

- 1 Regional police control by the feudal or civic authorities.⁴¹
- 2 Control through a travelling inquisition.⁴²
- 3 Yearly attendance at a court for the paying of a licensing-fee.⁴³

The characteristics of a gild (Cripplegate, London and Canterbury) are:

- 1 Local control of professional competition.
- 2 Control through a democratic fellowship.
- 3 Payment of entrance-fee and subscriptions, entitling the member to charitable and professional benefits.

[21] The classification of minstrel administrations into court-licensing and gild-approval is, if very useful, partly arbitrary. For to some extent the two types overlapped: the gilds levied fines and prevented non-members from playing,

³⁹ See Woodfill/*MES*, p. 18.

⁴⁰ See *ibid.*, pp. 110 ff., for a discussion of the York fraternity. The ordinances of this gild date from 1561.

⁴¹ Civic authority is included here only as the servant of feudal authority, such as John of Gaunt's steward at Newcastle-under-Lyme.

⁴² The method of control in the case of Chester is unknown. We must assume that there was one, and that it was effective in 1449, 1469, 14 Henry VII and 39 Elizabeth I (in which year the Cheshire minstrels were excepted from a statute against itinerant minstrelsy).

⁴³ Not included in the commission of 1449: the original Chester administration probably did not include it, either.

while the courts – at least in their later forms – attempted to settle disputes between members. The gild system implies a very much closer control over its members, however, and it is significant that during the late Middle Ages minstrel administration moved steadily away from court-control towards gild-organisation.

The fraternity at Beverley and the Tutbury court of the seventeenth century both illustrate this change. The statutes of the Beverley administration as laid down in 1555 are, it is true, those of a minstrel gild: there is the bias against the itinerant minstrel; a member had to be approved before he was allowed to take an apprentice, and he was allowed only one apprentice even so; and after a year and a day, the apprentice had to be approved and made a full brother of the fraternity. Despite the differences (such as the length of the apprenticeship) this shows a close parallel with the fraternities at London and Canterbury.

The preamble to the statutes shows, however, that we are dealing here not with a gild-administration but an example of the minstrel-court type, an administration of minstrels in a wide area, who would come to a specified place annually to [22] choose their officers:⁴⁴

Whereas it is and hath been a very aunciente custome aute of the memorie of dyvers aiges of men heretofore contynually frequented from the tyme of King Athelstone, of famous memorie, sometyme a notable Kynge of Englande, as may appeare by olde bookes of antiquities. That all or the most part of the mynstrell playing of any musicall instruments, and thereby occupying there honest lyving inhabytyng dwelling or servyng any man or woman of honour, and worshype of any cite or towne corporate or otherwise, between the rivers of Trent and Tweed, have accustomed yerely to resort unto this towne and borough of Beverley, at the Rogation days, and then and there to chose yerely one Alderman of the Mynstrells, with stewards and deputies authorized to take names, and receive customable duties of the said Mynstrells' Fraternitie; and the Alderman to correcte, amend, execute and continue all such laudable ordynances and statutes as they have hitherto ever used for the honestee and profit of their science and art musicall, to be only exercised to the honour of God, and to the comfort of man.

The renewal of the statutes follows.

Some sort of fellowship well may have been at Beverley long before,⁴⁵ but if so, it was not effective during the fifteenth century. It seems likely, however, that the fraternity was at least active, if not flourishing, in the first quarter of the [23]

⁴⁴ The statutes are in B.M. MS Lansdowne 896, ff. 153–56v, printed in Poulson/*Beverlac*, p. 303, and Lambert/*Gild*, p. 134.

⁴⁵ The statement of the gild's antiquity is no more precise than those concerning the Newcastle and Tutbury administrations: however, we have seen that feudal control over a wide area generally antedates local control through gilds. Lambert/*Gild*, p. 132, points out that a fraternity claiming jurisdiction over a wide area was typical of French craft-gilds rather than of English ones, and links the Beverley fraternity with the *Feste du Pui*.

sixteenth century.⁴⁶ An organisation that attempted to control minstrelsy over such a wide area was doomed to failure, however, and it seems probable that the statutes of 1555 were part of a last vain attempt to revive the fraternity.⁴⁷

[24] The Tutbury court, too, acquired certain gild-like characteristics at some stage in its history between 1380 and 1680. John of Gaunt's organisation had ceased to flourish by the mid-fifteenth century,⁴⁸ and was not exempted from the statutes of Henry VI, Edward IV and Elizabeth I. Our later knowledge of the court relies entirely on Dr Plot's description of 1680, and as the court did not have an unbroken tradition up to that date, we cannot identify that description too closely with the court as established by John of Gaunt.⁴⁹

It will nevertheless be useful to discuss the court as described by Dr Plot, and to see how it differed from what we know of the Chester court in the fifteenth century and the Tutbury court itself at its foundation. The court was held as before at the feast of the Assumption, and began with a procession in which the minstrels walked

two and two together, Musick playing before them, the King of the Minstrells for the year past walking between the Steward (of the Honour of

⁴⁶ *HMC 54* (Beverley Corporation MSS), p. 169, records a gift of 1/- for drink-silver to the minstrels on the third of the Rogation days, 1502. This may or may not mean the waits: certainly it was not a large gift if many minstrels were included in it. On the other hand the Beverley waits would have been the most enduring part of the fraternity in any case, and we can assume that they formed the nucleus of the gild even when membership was at its lowest.

When the north side of the nave of St Mary's Church was rebuilt in 1524, one of the pillars was donated by the Beverley minstrels: it bears the inscriptions "Thys pyllor made the meynstrels" and "Orate pro animabus histeriorum". The Beverley waits had then existed for over a century, and it has sometimes been thought that the five minstrels carved on the capital of the pillar represented the waits (see Dennett/*Beverley*, p. xix, for an opinion that the scutcheons worn by the minstrels are those of the waits). I think it unlikely, however, that town waits played *bas* instruments at this date (a cittern and a fiddle are depicted), and equally unlikely that the Beverley waits could finance the building of the pillar. That particular act is more characteristic of the corporate charity of a gild. Moreover, one of the minstrels wears a long surcoat such as an Alderman might wear: and although the Alderman of the Beverley gild would no doubt often have been a wait of the town, there is no evidence – at Beverley or elsewhere – that the chief wait ever had a different coat than those of the other waits. On the contrary, Poulson/*Beverlac*, p. 267, prints a payment dated 1502 in which nine yards of tawny cloth are bought for the three waits, presumably to be shared equally. (The gift for drink-silver, calendared in *HMC 54* and mentioned above, is printed on the same page.) On balance, I think it more likely that members of the fraternity are depicted on the pillar, not specifically the Beverley waits. The fact that they wear scutcheons and uniform livery is irrelevant, since the fraternity included liveried minstrels only.

For the pillar, see Hope/*Pillar* and Poulson/*Beverlac*, p. 736.

⁴⁷ Woodfill/*MES*, pp. 116 f, discusses the Beverley fraternity, and comes to the conclusion that it was not a success.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 117 f. See above, pp. 8 f.

⁴⁹ Plot's description is in Plot/*Staffordshire*, pp. 437 f: see also *ibid.*, pp. 435 ff. This material is discussed in Mosley/*Tutbury*, pp. 77 f.

Tutbury) and Bayliff, or their deputies; the four Stewards or under Officers of the said King of the Minstrells, each with a white wand in their hands, immediately following them; and then the rest of the company in order. Being come to the Church, the Vicar reads them divine service, chusing Psalms and Lessons suitable to the occasion. For which service every minstrel offered one penny, as a due always paid to the Vicar of the Church of Tutbury, upon this Solemnity.

[25] The King was by this time a mere figure-head, it seems, with no real administrative powers. The authority of such an officer was bound to wane as the need for guilds lessened during the sixteenth century, for fines and expulsion were then less effective as either punishment or deterrent. It was symptomatic of that state of affairs that the 1555 statutes of the Beverley guild should rely in the last resort on the authority of the king's officers.⁵⁰ By 1680 the Tutbury court was responsible to the Steward of the Honour, an authority which we have seen used at Newcastle-under-Lyme.⁵¹ The King's four assistants, although inherent in the original organisation, and seen in Henry VI's joint commission to a marshal and six other minstrels,⁵² was a product of the guild-movement: so was the religious dedication at the annual meeting.⁵³

According to Plot's description of the 1680 court, the minstrels went to the castle, after the service, to elect the officers for the following year and to attend the court, which was held before the Steward of the Honour. The juries were sworn, and while they retired to elect the new officers the old King and his [26] stewards had a banquet. Later, the juries returned and presented the new officers to the old, at which point the retiring King drank the health of his successor. The new officers had full authority to levy fines, of which half went to the Duke of Lancaster (the king, of course, by 1680) and half was retained by the five officers.⁵⁴ The bull-running followed.⁵⁵

This is the remaining part of the original organisation. The King, the fines, and the hearing of complaints⁵⁶ – now before the Steward, but formerly before the King – belong to the administration of 1380. The election, the banquet, and the retention of money for a common fund⁵⁷ are typical of a guild.

⁵⁰ "... and if any Person ... shewe him selfe obstynate ... Then the Kings Officers be sent for to cary the Offenders to the gaile ...": B.M. MS Lansdowne 896, f. 154. For printed versions, see n. 44, above.

⁵¹ See above, p. 5.

⁵² See above, p. 10.

⁵³ In 1680 the psalms chosen were nos. 98, 149 and 150, while the lessons were 2 Chronicles v and Ephesians v, 1–22 (?21): they speak for themselves.

⁵⁴ Mosley/*Tutbury*, p. 78.

⁵⁵ See above, n. 14.

⁵⁶ This probably took place before the election.

⁵⁷ This money in fact went to the five officers: I count it as a common fund because they must have used it to defray the expenses of the banquet, etc.

The ordinances of 5 Charles I regulated the Tutbury court almost exactly as a trade gild,⁵⁸ and give us some idea of what affairs the court dealt with. No minstrel was allowed to take an apprentice for less than seven years: an apprentice was not allowed to play his instrument for money, and at the end of his apprenticeship he had to be examined by the court and passed as fit to do so. It was still obligatory at that date for every minstrel to attend the court annually: but behind the gild-regulations, little of the [27] minstrel-king's travelling inquisition remained.

The Minstrel-Kings

The King of Minstrels has long been an enigma to the historian of English minstrelsy. It has usually been assumed that "King" was the early title of the officer later known as "Marshal of the king's minstrels". By analogy with the king's household, the minstrel-king of Tutbury must have been at the head of John of Gaunt's minstrels. The supposition was supported by two facts:

- 1 The title of "King of the Minstrels" seemed to have disappeared shortly before that of "Marshal" was first used.
- 2 The marshal of the king's minstrels was given powers formerly held by a minstrel-king.

On the first of these points, I shall show presently that the office and probably the title of "marshal of the minstrels" existed in the king's household in the time of Edward III,⁵⁹ while my last reference to a King of the Minstrels is some years later.⁶⁰ The only real evidence for the second point concerns the travelling [28] inquisitions of the Tutbury minstrel-king and of Henry VI's minstrels.⁶¹ I have already pointed out that the latter was in the nature of a police action for a specific purpose: the office of King of the Minstrels had died out by 1449, and it would seem quite natural that the most pressing of the minstrel-king's duties should be transferred to the king's minstrels, and in particular to the marshal.

It is necessary to make a clear distinction between the minstrel-kings and the minstrels of the royal households, especially as some Kings were elevated from the ranks of the household minstrels. King Robert was a trumpeter, for instance, and William de Morle, *Roy de North*, was a king's harper.⁶² Although they retained their household titles, however, and continued to receive wages and liveries

⁵⁸ Mosley/*Tutbury*, p. 78.

⁵⁹ See below, p. 140. The grant to William Langton dated 14 Oct., 1448, in the Patent Rolls was formerly the first known use of the title: *CPR* Henry VI, vol. 5 (1446-1452), p. 200.

⁶⁰ Rymer/*Foedera*, vii, p. 555: safe conduct for John Camuz, about to go abroad, 2 May, 1387. The minstrel-king of Tutbury continued much later, as we have seen, p. 25, above: but he seems to have been a servant of John of Gaunt originally, and although he retained the title of "King" his office in fact changed to that of the master of a gild.

⁶¹ See above, pp. 7 and 10.

⁶² Robert is described as "king's trumpeter" in E101/359/6, f. 11v (29 Ed I), and as "taborer" in E101/374/16, p. 4 (5 Ed II). For both men, see below, Appendix A, *temp.* Ed I and Ed II, *passim*.

as squires of the household and not amongst those "qui non sunt",⁶³ they seem to have given up their actual positions as king's minstrels: William, I think, was replaced by Henry de Newsom.⁶⁴ Of course, a King who had been a household minstrel would sometimes perform when he was in Court, and the Wardrobe Books do contain entries referring to rewards to minstrel-kings for [29] minstrelsy. Rewards for normal household minstrelsy, however – that is, apart from the big celebrations for the marriage of the king's daughter or the Pentecost feast of 1306 – are extremely rare: King Robert, as far as I know, received such a reward only twice between 29 Ed I and 14 Ed II – a twenty-year period.⁶⁵

The Kings of Minstrels were not always raised from the ranks of the royal minstrels, however: indeed, they were not necessarily minstrels at all. William Volaunt was a herald, and I have found no references at all to John Camuz in my search for minstrels in the Wardrobe Books.⁶⁶ The titles "King of the Minstrels" and "King of the Heralds" were used almost synonymously, at least until the late fourteenth century. King Robert and William Volaunt were known by both titles, while William de Morle and Andrew Norris – both of them king's minstrels⁶⁷ – were no doubt Kings of Minstrels as well as of Heralds, although I have not seen them referred to [30] by the former title.

The connection between heralds and minstrels was in any case close, and it was quite normal for a herald to perform "minstrelsy" of some sort.⁶⁸ The expenses for the marriage of the king's daughter Elizabeth, 25 Ed I, include five Kings among gifts to minstrels:⁶⁹ at least one of these, King Druet, was present also at the Pentecost celebrations of 1306, the summary accounts for which refer to "King Robert and other Kings of the Heralds, and ... other minstrels ...". The full list of minstrels at the latter occasion begins with five Kings and includes other heralds in addition to King Druet.⁷⁰ William Trenchant, a herald, was re-

⁶³ For an explanation of this term, see below, p. 250.

⁶⁴ As n. 62, above: see also Rastall/*MERH*, p. 12.

⁶⁵ Add. 8835, f. 42 (32 Ed I); Nero C viii, f. 84v (5 Ed II). Even these were special days – New Year's Day and the purification of the Countess of Cornwall, respectively.

⁶⁶ Admittedly the Wardrobe accounts for Richard II's reign are not fruitful, and include few minstrel-lists (he would not be included in a minstrel-list after his elevation to King-ship in any case). But if he had been a royal minstrel, the chances are that his name would have appeared.

⁶⁷ Morle is "king's minstrel, called *Roi du North*" in *CPR Edward II*, vol. 4 (1321–1324), p. 210. Wagner/*Heralds*, p. 27, quotes an Issue Roll of Michaelmas, 22 Ed III (1348): "Magistro Andreae Roy Norreys, Lybekino le Piper et Hanekino filio suo et sex aliis Menestrallis Regis ...". See below, Appendix A, *temp.* Edward III, *passim*.

⁶⁸ Apart from the Kings known to be instrumentalists, we need not assume that heralds performed instrumentally: they may have sung or told tales. Wagner/*Heralds*, pp. 29 f., quotes poems known to be by heralds.

⁶⁹ The Kings Page, Morellus, Druet, Monthaut and Jakettus de Scocia: Add. 7965, f. 52; see below, ii, pp. 16 ff.

⁷⁰ The King of Champagne and the Kings Capenny, Baisescue, Marchis and Robert: Carlton was a herald, and Norfolk may have been another, perhaps to be identified with William Taillant de Norfolk (Add. 35292, f. 9, 31 Ed I). It is possible that "Bruant"

warded for minstrelsy in 32 Ed I,⁷¹ while John Teysamit, who escorted the king's sister Eleanor on her way to be married to the Count of Guelderland in 1332, was both "king's herald" and "king's [31] minstrel".⁷² He appears in minstrel-lists after that date, however, and so was not a King at that time, if ever.

The connection between heralds and minstrels was not a one-sided one, for minstrels sometimes undertook heraldic duties. We find that trumpeters, and sometimes other minstrels, not infrequently carried letters for the king: and on at least one occasion minstrels were sent from the Continent specifically to observe a ceremony and to report on it.⁷³

To understand the minstrel-kings, then, we must first discuss the Kings of Heraldry.⁷⁴ The fourteenth century was the golden age of heraldry, partly, perhaps, because of the importance of heraldry during the Hundred Years' War.⁷⁵ Besides the duties of carrying messages, counting the dead after a battle, and so on, the royal heralds had become responsible for regulating the use of armorial bearings, and in this capacity they had authority over the whole country. A herald represented his master, and it therefore became sacrilege to offer violence to a royal officer of arms: in the case of a King of Heraldry this principle was taken a step [32] further, and he not only wore the coat of arms of the monarch whose proxy he was but in addition was crowned and consecrated.⁷⁶

At his coronation a herald-king was given a "kingdom", or area for which he was especially responsible. Thus in 1276 one Peter was King of the Heraldry north of the Trent.⁷⁷ Probably Peter's "kingdom" stretched northwards only as far as the Tweed, for thirty years later King Capenny was King of the Heraldry of Scotland. If there was a herald-king for Scotland in 1276, then Peter's territory was the northern half of England.⁷⁸ It therefore seems likely that the office of "Norroy"

should be identified with Bruiant, King of Heraldry (Wagner/*Heralds*, p. 29: see below, p. 37 and n. 90), and "Robert de Boistous" with Bois Robert, King of the Heraldry of France in 1318 (*ibid.*, p. 32). The list of minstrels is E101/369/6, and the summary accounts are in E101/369/11, f. 96 (both 34 Ed I).

⁷¹ On the same occasion as King Robert: see n. 65, above.

⁷² Wagner/*Heralds*, p. 160: see Add. 38006 and E101/386/7, *passim* (both 6 Ed III).

⁷³ For a more detailed discussion of the carrying of letters, see below, pp. 145b f. and 163. The minstrels of the King of Sicily and of the Duke of Milan were observers at the coronation of Margaret of Anjou, 23 Hen VI: Devon/*Issues*, p. 452.

⁷⁴ Also called Kings at Arms, by which title they are still known.

⁷⁵ Davis/*ME*, p. 236.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 225: see the picture, p. 223, of the first Garter King-of-Arms (from MS Ashmole 764) – he holds a *baton* and is crowned. The medieval mind saw nothing incongruous in taking this symbolism to its logical practical conclusion: c.f. the boy bishops.

⁷⁷ Wagner/*Heralds*, p. 39.

⁷⁸ Chappell/*PMOT*, p. 28, refers to Capenny as King of the Heraldry of Scotland in 1290: my first reference to this title is in E101/369/16, f. 26 (25 Ed I). For a probable holder of the title in 25 Ed I, however, see n. 69, above.

existed long before that title came into being in Edward III's reign,⁷⁹ and if so, William de Morle, "Roy de North", was no doubt another holder of the same office.

Under Edward III (and perhaps earlier, for the number and location of herald "kingdoms" seems to have been fixed quite early) a corresponding "kingdom" existed south of the Trent.⁸⁰ King Grey, [33] who was at the marriage of Joan of Acre in 1290, was "Rex Haraldorum in partibus Francie": I take this to mean that his authority was over the English possessions in France, and that he should therefore not be confused with the French Kings-of-Arms.⁸¹

It is possible, therefore, that at the beginning of our period there were at least four English Kings-of-Arms, having authority over Scotland, northern England, southern England and English possessions in France, respectively.⁸² The herald-king's duty within [34] his own "kingdom" was to regulate the bearing of arms, making sure that no-one bore arms unless they were entitled to do so, and settling disputes between men claiming the same arms. His work required him to be something of a genealogist. The way in which a King discharged these duties was

The Trent was usually taken to divide England into two halves: the Tweed was the Scottish border. Peter's "kingdom" would have been exactly that area over which the Beverley minstrel fraternity later claimed jurisdiction: see above, p. 22.

⁷⁹ Davis/ME, p. 225.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.* It is doubtful if the title of "Surroy" ever actually existed.

⁸¹ For King Grey, see Wagner/*Heralds*, p. 36, n. 4. The accounts for Joan of Acre's marriage to the Earl of Gloucester are discussed in Chappell/*PMOT*, pp. 28 f: Chappell tentatively identified King Grey with King Robert and Poveret, minstrel of the Marshal of Champagne, with the Roy de Champagne of the 1306 Pentecost list (E101/369/6: 34 Ed I). The first of these identifications is certainly wrong, and the second should be treated with reserve.

The position of herald- and minstrel-kings was probably exactly the same on the Continent as in England, and several foreign Kings are mentioned in the Wardrobe Books. They, too, are referred to by an area of authority, and only secondarily as "minstrel of the king of ...". The fact that Kings travelled a great deal, often in company with liveried minstrels, was the cause of Gerald Hayes' misleading definition of the Kings as "leaders of professional companies of minstrels" (Hayes/KM, p. 31).

The use of a royal title seems to have been French originally: c.f. "Prince" for the *Feste du Pui*, p. 13, above. Davis/ME, p. 225, refers to several Kingships in the French royal household of the Middle Ages, no precise date being given. These include the *Roy de Ribauldes* (a combined Chief of Police and magistrate within the Court) and the *Roy de Merciers* (who inspected the wares, weights and measures of tradesmen attending the Court). Duncan/*Minstrelsy*, p. 74, n. 1, mentions the *Rex Juglatorum*, *Roy des Violins* and *Roy des Ménestriers*: the latter, it seems, was the head of a fraternity of *jongleurs* and *jongleuses* who were incorporated in 1321.

⁸² In this case, we should perhaps expect to find another King with authority in Wales. In the late fifteenth century, March King-of-Arms was responsible for Wales, Cornwall, and the West of England: Wagner/*Heralds*, p. 108. As March was one of the Kings at the Pentecost feast of 1306 (see n. 70, above), the "kingdom" including Wales may easily have been in existence at that time.

by undertaking a series of "visitations" in different parts of his territory, during which he could investigate heraldic matters in each locality.⁸³

We are now in a better position to examine the Kings of Minstrels. We have seen that as herald-kings they each had a "kingdom", and it does seem that their authority as minstrel-kings was over the same area.⁸⁴ We must now ask, therefore, what were the [35] duties of a King-of-Arms in his capacity as a *minstrel-king*: indeed, it might be more relevant to ask what *could* be the duties of a minstrel-king who, as a King of the Herald, was constantly travelling through his "kingdom" conducting heraldic visitations.

There is a marked similarity between heraldic visitations and what I have previously called a "travelling inquisition" of minstrelsy – so marked, in fact, that it is but a short logical step to the conclusion that a King-of-Arms, in his dual capacity as herald-king and minstrel-king, would probably conduct the regulation of both armorial bearings and minstrelsy. The "travelling inquisition" of Henry VI's minstrels was concerned primarily with preventing minstrels from defrauding the general public by two methods – the performance of minstrelsy by amateurs pretending to be professional minstrels, and the wearing of the royal livery by non-royal musicians. These were also acts of fraud against honest minstrels, and the latter particularly affected the royal minstrels. For a minstrel's livery was more than a mark of his status: it gave a potential audience an indication of his professional competence, and [36] was therefore likely to set the scale of his re-

⁸³ For heraldic visitations, see Wagner/*Heralds*, Chapters I, X and XI, *passim*.

⁸⁴ This is implicit in the ways in which Wardrobe clerks referred to King Robert, for instance: although he is described as "trumpator regis" he is never referred to as "rex ministrallorum regis" or "rex haraldorum regis". As a trumpeter, he was a member of the royal household only: as a King-of-Arms, his authority extended to all heralds and minstrels, not just the royal ones. A warrant concerning Myttok, King of the Minstrels of Brabant, is another case in point (translated in Rickert/*Chaucer*, p. 232, from a document of 42 Ed III): the expenses paid to Myttok and his companions – 20/- each – puts them well out of the class of independent minstrels who merely *lived* in Brabant. They were probably minstrels of the Duke of Brabant, but the description implies that Myttok had authority over all minstrels in the Duchy.

It must be said that although payments and rewards to minstrel-kings were generous, they were high enough only to place the Kings at the top of the hierarchy of liveried minstrels. The first five Kings on the 1306 Pentecost list, for example (E101/369/6, 34 Ed I), each received 5 marks (i.e. £3/6/8d), which is the highest payment: but the sixth, King Druet, received only 40/- (i.e. £2), which puts him equal with Norfolk, who was probably not a King. On this subject, Hayes/*KM*, p. 31, was unfortunate to mistranslate an item from the accounts of the executors of Queen Eleanor, 1291, thus giving the impression that a gold cup worth 39/- was a special gift to a minstrel-king. In point of fact the recipient was not a King at all, but a minstrel *of* the King of Champagne: Botfield/*Manners*, p. 110, reads: "Item, pro uno cypho empto, cum pede, de auro, et dato per executores Reginae cuidam menestrallo Regis Campanie, qui venit cum nunciis Francie, 39/-". Nor was the gift itself anything out of the ordinary: the list of items for the queen's visit to France in 30 Ed I includes "Item lx Fermaux dor por donier as menestrous, messagiers et autre gentz" (E101/361/27).

ward.⁸⁵ Hence, a minstrel wearing a livery to which he was not entitled could obtain a great deal of money by false pretences.⁸⁶

It was therefore necessary to supervise the wearing of livery and to settle disputes between minstrels.⁸⁷ The evidence for this supervision is purely circumstantial, but it does point towards the regulation of minstrelsy by the Kings of Minstrels.

One more important question must be dealt with. The description of the Tutbury minstrel-king of 1380 as "nostre bien ame le roy des ministrax deinz nostre honour de Tuttebury"⁸⁸ not only [37] states the geographical area of his jurisdiction (as we should expect),⁸⁹ but implies at the same time that he was a retainer of John of Gaunt. Is it possible, then, that magnates other than the king sometimes employed a King of the Minstrels to supervise minstrelsy on their own lands? If so, did the area of this King's jurisdiction overlap with that of a King appointed from Court, or was it separate?

There is not, as yet, enough evidence to attempt an answer to the second question. Very slight evidence does exist, however, to support an affirmative answer to the first. On 28 October, 1322, the king granted to his minstrel William de Morle, called *Roi du North*, certain houses in Pontefract which had previously belonged to John le Botiler, known as *Roi Bruant*.⁹⁰

John le Botiler is described as "late a rebel", and the houses had come into the king's possession by forfeiture. Pontefract was on Lancaster territory, but in fact

⁸⁵ Examination of the accounts in Dawson/*Kent*, for example, shows a scale of payments which is graduated more or less regularly (depending on the town) according to the livery of the minstrel concerned. The Canterbury accounts for 1477-8 are a good example, and quite typical:

To minstrels of the king 6/8d. For wine for them 8d.

To minstrels of the queen 5/-. For wine 8d.

To minstrels of the Duke of Gloucester 5/-d. For wine 4d.

To minstrels of the Duchess of York 3/4d. For wine 4d.

(*Op. cit.*, p. 4: this is my calendar.)

On the 5 February, 1490, the city of York decided to give no more annual gifts to any minstrels but the king's: Raine/*York*, ii, p. 55.

⁸⁶ It would be very difficult now to track down a case of such a fraud. John Momford, supposedly a king's minstrel, who appears in the Durham accounts for 1380-1, may be one. See Appendix B, below, under that date.

⁸⁷ The question of a minstrel's professional status must often have been difficult to determine, for instance. An independent minstrel could hardly claim to be a professional unless he had served a seven-year apprenticeship: yet many villages must have relied for their music on men who also plied other trades. Disputes over a minstrel's right to perform were no doubt common.

⁸⁸ See above, n. 11.

⁸⁹ C.f. n. 84, above.

⁹⁰ *CPR Edward II*, vol. 4 (1321-1324), p. 210. Also see above, n. 70.

Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, had been executed seven months before⁹¹ and had forfeited his estates. No doubt King Bruant had sided with the Earl of Lancaster against the king. This does not, of course, prove that King Bruant was a Lancaster retainer, but it makes it a strong probability.

[37a] This last discussion gives rise less to hard facts than to interesting conjecture, and it would be pointless to pursue the subject further for the time being. More evidence is needed before our knowledge of the Kings of Minstrels can increase, but the evidence would, I think, come to light if further research were to commence with a thorough search of the Wardrobe Books of Edward I's reign.

⁹¹ On 22 March, 1322. His brother Henry was styled Earl of Lancaster from 26 October, 1326, and was formally restored to the earldom on 3 February, 1327.

2

MUSIC IN DRAMA AND PROCESSIONS

Introduction

In the various events in medieval life which might be called "spectacular entertainment" – drama of different types, processions, and so on – music played a large part. The minstrelsy of tumblers, bearwards and such is not the concern of this thesis, however: nor shall I deal with the Morality Play, a *genre* for which I have found no musical references dating from the period under discussion. Discussion of domestic disguisings belongs to the sections on household music, and appears in the appropriate place.⁹²

The three principal spectacles to be discussed here are therefore the Liturgical Drama,⁹³ the Miracle Play and the Religious Procession (the most important of which was the feast of Corpus Christi). For various reasons these three cannot always be separated. Household and town accounts rarely indicate whether a play was of the first or second type: in many towns, too, the miracle plays and the processions took place during the same holiday, [39] so that minstrels were paid for minstrelsy both on the pageant⁹⁴ and in the procession. Nevertheless, it is vital that the three types should be distinguished, and I shall consider them separately.

Liturgical Drama

It is not necessary to give here the history of liturgical drama:⁹⁵ it will be sufficient to say that after three centuries of development from its beginnings as an

This chapter was originally part of Chapter I, and the old numbering has been retained for the footnotes.

⁹² See below, pp. 91 f and 210.

⁹³ "Liturgical" is not strictly accurate: see Smoldon/*MMLCD*, p. 476. I have preferred to use it partly because it is the accepted term, but mainly to avoid confusion with vernacular spoken plays performed in church by costumed lay actors. The latter type comes under my heading of Miracle Plays.

⁹⁴ See Appendix E, *passim*. The *pageant* was the carriage on which the mobile production travelled.

⁹⁵ For the history, see Smoldon/*Sepulchre* and Smoldon/*MMLCD*.

antiphonally-sung "Quem quaeritis" trope at the Easter Mass, it had grown, by the late thirteenth century, into two series of plays, of which one was acted at Christmas and the other at Easter. It is with this developed form that we are concerned.

In its essential characteristics, liturgical drama never changed. It was sung in its entirety, in Latin, and acted by clerics⁹⁶ robed in such liturgical vestments as would distinguish symbolically the parts they played. Surprisingly, in view of the enormous expansion of this drama, it seems to have retained its non-didactic [40] character:⁹⁷ it was originally part of the service, and so it remained, despite its removal to the end of Matins early in its history,⁹⁸ the expansion into several plays, and the use of "stations", with different scenes being enacted in different parts of the church.

The music was a mixture of existing church music and new compositions very much in the style of Gregorian Chant.⁹⁹ Tropes, sequences, hymns and antiphons were normally sung to their own music: but as the drama developed more tropes and other material in rhyming Latin verse were added, and the music for these was newly-composed. After the removal of the Sepulchre drama to the end of Matins, it became usual to sing the *Te Deum* with which Matins ended immediately after the drama. It is possible that from the twelfth century onwards the sequence *Victimae Paschali Laudes* sometimes took the place of the *Te Deum* here, and that by the end of the thirteenth [41] century, the *Gloria* (at Christmas) and the *Magnificat* could also be used, thus giving a choice of choral items with which to end the drama.¹⁰⁰

In his consideration of the methods of musical performance, Smoldon came to the conclusion that no form of harmony was used, the singing being entirely monodic and in general unaccompanied. He examined the opposing views of Bowles and Donington on the question of instrumental participation in the liturgy,¹⁰¹ and concluded that instruments other than those given by Bowles were

⁹⁶ Possibly lay singers at a late stage: see below, p. 44.

⁹⁷ At a popular level, the use of Latin was an effective barrier to any form of teaching through drama. It is notable that the vernacular plays, although not essentially didactic, include not only commentaries on the action but whole plays dealing with elementary Christology in a dramatic form: see, for example, Christ's opening speech from the York "Harrowing of Hell", Smith/*York Plays*, p. 372. Systematic and concentrated teaching were not, however, necessary: the common man could believe in Salvation or the pains of Hell without intellectual proof - the pictorial or dramatic representation of such things was enough. C.f. Huizinga/*WMA*, p. 165.

⁹⁸ In the late tenth century: Smoldon/*Sepulchre*, p. 2.

⁹⁹ The following discussion of the music is based on Smoldon's articles (n. 95, above) unless otherwise stated.

¹⁰⁰ Smoldon/*Sepulchre*, p. 8, and Smoldon/*MMLCD*, p. 480. The *Victimae Paschali Laudes* was not invariably placed at the end, however: Harrison/*MMB*, p. 98, quotes an instance of the *Victimae Paschali Laudes* being sung by the Marys and angels in the course of a fourteenth-century drama. The drama concluded with the *Te Deum*.

¹⁰¹ See below, pp. 67 ff.

not normally allowed, and that the various condemnations of the use of other instruments were the result of local abuses.¹⁰²

On the evidence of the music-drama manuscripts, Smoldon drew the same conclusion. He quoted the use of pipes and trumpets as interval-music in a sixteenth-century manuscript, and developed a convincing argument¹⁰³ to show that even the two *bas* instruments used by Philippe de Mézières to play during the removal of the actors from one station to another and to accompany a vernacular [42] cantilena were exceptional.¹⁰⁴

The instruments which Smoldon allowed were the organ and bells. Some versions of the Easter dramas contain rubrics which call for an organ accompaniment in the *Victimae Paschali*,¹⁰⁵ and Smoldon considered that the organ could be used to support any of the other three choral items as well (*Te Deum*, *Magnificat* and *Gloria*). This agrees with Harrison's view that the organ was normally the only instrument used liturgically,¹⁰⁶ except that Smoldon also allowed chime-bells as an occasional and infrequent addition in the choral items.

The role of chime-bells in medieval liturgy and liturgical drama is a difficult problem which is discussed elsewhere in this thesis:¹⁰⁷ but it will be appropriate here to summarise my conclusions on this question.

- 1 The symbolic significance of chimes is that of jubilant worship.

[43]

- 2 Chimes are especially connected in iconography with the positive organ.

- 3 The mention of bells in certain instances of liturgical jubilation – especially in the *Te Deum* – points towards a musical function, and therefore implies chime-bells. On this latter point, I must emphasise that the accepted view of medieval bells is based largely on an assumption which may turn out to be only partly accurate. Our picture of a medieval town resounding to the pealing of church bells at times of special rejoicing¹⁰⁸ depends entirely on the assumption (apparently made by Harrison) that mention of "bells" means "church bells" – i.e. a peal. The picture may often be accurate:¹⁰⁹ but I nevertheless feel that the assumption is a

¹⁰² See especially his quotation from the twelfth-century Franciscan Gilles de Zamore: Smoldon/*MMLCD*, p. 491.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 492. The play was the "Presentation of the Blessed Virgin Mary", performed at Avignon in 1372 and 1385. In drama, as in contemporary iconography, the musical resources used to honour the Virgin were particularly full: see Stevens/*Drama*, p. 93, also below, p. 66. We should therefore expect that here, if anywhere, instruments would be used, especially in the cantilena, which was in praise of the Virgin. That the musical resources were so small on this occasion argues strongly against the general use of instruments in liturgical drama – at least in France.

¹⁰⁵ Smoldon/*Sepulchre*, p. 9.

¹⁰⁶ Harrison/*MMB*, p. xiv: see above, p. xvii. See also *ibid.*, pp. 205 f. and 214 ff.

¹⁰⁷ See below, pp. 168–76.

¹⁰⁸ See, for example, Harrison/*MMB*, p. 206.

¹⁰⁹ We have modern parallels in the ringing of a peal after a marriage service, at the New Year, and for more occasional celebrations such as a coronation.

doubtful one in certain cases.¹¹⁰ The conclusion I draw is that chime-bells may have been used in the choral items of liturgical drama more frequently than Smoldon allowed.

From the fourteenth century onwards, liturgical drama probably fought a losing battle against miracle plays. The former may have continued a precarious existence alongside disguisings, interludes, and other household entertainments well into the sixteenth century: but the fourteenth-, fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century [44] manuscripts are mainly re-workings of earlier examples, and contain little or no new material.

It is difficult to be sure of any specific occasions on which a liturgical drama was performed in the late Middle Ages. The question is complicated by the fact that lay actors do seem to have used churches sometimes for the presentation of vernacular plays. Those who performed in St Martin's Church at Dover in 1477 or 1478 are a case in point. and the disguisers who danced in the Abbey at Edinburgh on 3 February, 1504, are similarly unlikely to have been performing a liturgical drama.¹¹¹ A play given before the mayor "at the freers" at Sandwich in 1502 or 1503 was probably presented not in the church or even in the friary, but in the road outside.¹¹²

Among a number of ordinances for dramatic entertainments of various kinds, the Northumberland ordinances contain those for two dramas performed by the singers of the Earl's chapel if the Earl was at home.¹¹³ The singers were to receive 20/- as a gift for performing the play of the Nativity on Christmas morning in the chapel; and the play of the Resurrection given by the chapel and other servants on Easter morning (for which a gift of 20/- was again given) was no doubt performed in the chapel, although it [45] is not in this case so stated.

There is unfortunately no evidence that these plays were sung or given in Latin. We cannot use as evidence the payments of 6/8d to the children of the chapel for singing *Gloria in excelsis* on Christmas morning, for this was probably not part of the Nativity play. The children also received 6/8d for singing *Audivi* at Matins on All Hallows' Day, and it is precisely these responds that were generally given special treatment, being sung by boys alone.¹¹⁴

Our information on drama in the chapel of the Northumberland household therefore rests on the two payments of 20/- to the singers. No details of the performance are forthcoming. There is no mention of any instrumentalists,¹¹⁵ but this

¹¹⁰ See below, pp. 173 f.

¹¹¹ For Dover, see Dawson/*Kent*, p. 27: for Edinburgh, see Appendix D, below, under the relevant date.

¹¹² Dawson/*Kent*, p. 149: the friars at Sandwich were Carmelites. C.f. the pageants outside the friary at Coventry, p. 86, below.

¹¹³ Percy/*Northumberland*, p. 342.

¹¹⁴ See Harrison/*MMB*, pp. 99, 107 and 170. *Gloria in excelsis* is the verse of the first respond at Christmas Matins: *Audivi* is the eighth respond at Matins on All Saints' Day: *ibid.*, p. 107.

¹¹⁵ For the minstrels of the Earl, see below, p. 211.

is also the case for the various other entertainments listed in the ordinances, such as the play presented on Shrove Tuesday at night and the interludes arranged throughout the twelve days of Christmas. These latter would certainly have made use of the minstrels. The ordinances fail, in fact, to give even negative evidence on the question of instrumental participation.

It is quite clear, however, that the plays were not a protracted affair,¹¹⁶ since 20/- is not a large gift compared with the 6/8d [46] given to the children for singing a respond.¹¹⁷ If these plays were, in fact, sung and in Latin throughout there is no reason to doubt that they would have followed the tradition of liturgical drama as shown in the surviving sixteenth-century examples. The actors included laymen, however, and servants who were not of the chapel, so that it seems more likely that the plays were spoken and in the vernacular.

Miracle Plays

Medieval vernacular drama was very different from the liturgical drama. In the first quarter of the thirteenth century a play of the Resurrection was given in the churchyard of St John's, Beverley, by costumed actors,¹¹⁸ and we know that less than a century later dramatic performances were given in the street by lay actors wearing "realistic" costumes as opposed to the "symbolic" liturgical vestments worn for the liturgical dramas. Although the subject-matter was basically the same as that of the liturgical drama – but much expanded – the continuous singing of the latter was replaced by speech, and the vernacular was used for all but the few sung items.¹¹⁹

[47] An interesting (?)fourteenth-century example of vernacular drama survives in a manuscript at Shrewsbury.¹²⁰ It is a single actor's part for three dramas. The text is mainly vernacular and spoken, written in rhyming stanzas: but some familiar Latin items are included, and music is supplied for some of these in measured notation, apparently the third voice of three-part settings. Smoldon considered that this music was written down because it was a special effect,¹²¹ and we ought probably to assume that the other items would be sung to Gregorian chant.

Liturgical items played a part in miracle plays, usually sung by "angels". Thus in the Towneley cycle an angel sings *Gloria in excelsis* to the shepherds, and the

¹¹⁶ Nor was the "Resurrection" attended by Lord Howard at Easter, 1483: see Appendix C, below, under that date.

¹¹⁷ There were nine men and six children in the Northumberland chapel at Michaelmas, 3 Henry VIII: Percy/*Northumberland*, p. 43.

¹¹⁸ c. 1220: see Craig/*ERD*, p. 99.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 96, deals with the differences between liturgical and vernacular drama. Craig believes that the liturgical drama gradually changed into the vernacular type, and so treats the Shrewsbury manuscript as a "transition-period" drama.

¹²⁰ Shrewsbury School, MS Mus. iii. 42: see n. 119, above.

¹²¹ Smoldon/*MMLCD*, p. 490, n. 25.

angels sing also at Joseph's and Mary's entry into the temple in the *Purificacio Marie*, and at Christ's resurrection and ascension.¹²² But it was not only angels who sang: during the Harrowing of Hell "cantent omnes *Salvator mundi*, primum versum", and the Judgement play ends with everybody singing *Te Deum*.¹²³ The shepherds sang, too: as the third shepherd says at the end of the *Secunda Pastorum*, "To syng ar we bun".¹²⁴ It is hard to believe that the shepherds did not go off *cantantes*. There are no stage directions to that effect, however, [48] and we do not know what they would have sung.

Liturgical or scriptural passages could be adapted for dramatic purposes. The early fifteenth-century songs from the Weavers' pageant of the York cycle are of this type: they are in Latin, and remain close enough to the original texts for the connection to be understood by the audience.¹²⁵ The music is in gymel-like style with overlapping of parts: it is simple enough to be memorised without difficulty, and the mainly parallel movement would have been an aid to performance. The music does not seem to have been based on liturgical chant in this case, and the next example of dramatic music which has come down to us owes nothing to the liturgy, either textually or musically. The songs in the Coventry Taylors' and Shearmen's pageant are in English, set to music in an early sixteenth-century style.¹²⁶

[49] The appearance of part-music in the miracle plays is one characteristic difference between a "realistic" presentation by laymen and a ritual enactment during the liturgy. Another difference, and the one with which this thesis is primarily concerned, is the introduction of instrumental music and perhaps the use of instruments in the songs. The symbolic use of musical instruments which I have already mentioned in connection with the chronicles, poetry and iconography¹²⁷ is found also in drama. Thus in the Towneley *Purificacio Marie* the bells ring when the angels tell Simeon that he is to see the Christ.¹²⁸ The bells for this

¹²² Raine/*Towneley*, pp. 115, 157, 259 and 300.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 245 and 321.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

¹²⁵ See Smith/*York Plays*. The music was edited by W.H. Cummings from B.M. Add. MS 35290, ff. 235v-41v. Each of the three texts is set twice, all the settings being à 2. The three simpler settings are edited (*op. cit.*, pp. 517-21), while one of them is reproduced in facsimile (Frontispiece). Of the other - more elaborate - settings, two are reproduced (Plates II and III). See Stevens/*Drama*, p. 93. Cummings admittedly did not understand the notation, and his transcriptions are incorrect in basic respects. In the light of re-edition of these pieces, his adverse critical comments on them should also be revised (Dr John Stevens has edited these pieces for the forthcoming edition of the York Plays by Arthur Brown, to be published by the Early English Text Society).

¹²⁶ Stevens/*Drama*, p. 91. The songs, all à 3, are printed in Sharp/*Dissertation*, pp. 113-18. "Down from Heaven, from Heaven so high" is in fact the second verse of "As I out rode this enderes night": Stevens/*Drama*, p. 91. "Lully, lulla, thou little tiny child" is the so-called "Coventry Carol".

¹²⁷ See above, pp. xxvii-xxxv, *passim*.

¹²⁸ "Tunc pulsabant": Raine/*Towneley*, p. 156.

joyful occasion must have been portable, as they were presumably on the pageant. Either hand-bells or chime-bells would be possible: the latter are more likely, both on account of their symbolic significance and because they would require only one player.¹²⁹

Most often, however, instruments were used to symbolise Heaven. There was music at moments of divine intervention: minstrels played for such scenes as the Creation and the Expulsion from the Garden of Eden (Divine Order being established and re-established respectively in these cases).¹³⁰

The minstrelsy used on the pageants at the welcoming of Prince [50] Edward to Coventry on 28 April, 1474, was carefully selected for its precise symbolisms.¹³¹ It will be instructive to list these pageants with the music attached to them:

- 1 A station containing King Richard (II?) surrounded by Dukes, Marquesses, Earls, Viscounts, Barons and Lords, "wt mynstralcy of the Wayts of the Citie".
- 2 A station with three patriarchs and the twelve sons of Jacob, "wt mynstralcy of harpe and dowsemeris...".
- 3 A pageant of St Edward "wt mynstralcy of harpe and lute...".
- 4 A pageant of three prophets, with Children of Israel singing and casting out white obleys and flowers.
- 5 A pageant with the three Kings of Cologne, armed knights, etc., "wt mynstralsy of small pypis."
- 6 A pageant of St George, armed, rescuing a king's daughter, holding a lamb, from the dragon: the girl's parents watching from a tower above. "Mynstralcy of Orgon pleyinge."

Of these, numbers 2, 3 and 6 have *bas* music. Harp, psaltery (the dulcimer is a psaltery struck with hammers), and lute symbolised Heaven, and were therefore used for the symbolical representations of Heaven on Earth in pageants 2 and 3. More especially, Heaven was symbolised by the portative organ, and it is notable [51] that pageant 6, which used this instrument, was the most direct depiction of Heaven in action – the symbolical representation of a soul's rescue from the clutches of the Devil.¹³² Singing in pageants was usually by members of the Kingdom¹³³ – primarily by angels or Christ Himself,¹³⁴ but also, by extension, by certain chosen mortals such as the shepherds. The prophets and Children of Is-

¹²⁹ See below, pp. 171 f. Simeon refers to "bellys" in the plural and describes the sound as "hard" – i.e., powerful or harsh.

¹³⁰ Stevens/*Drama*, p. 83.

¹³¹ Sharp/*Antiquities*, pp. 231 f.

¹³² The viol also symbolised Heaven. Viol, harp, psaltery and lute were associated also with the figure of Christ, especially the psaltery and harp, which symbolised respectively the Body of Christ and the Cross: Bowles/*Drama*, p. 76, n. 44, and p. 77, nn. 46 and 47.

¹³³ Stevens/*Drama*, p. 84: singing by devils was exceptional.

¹³⁴ In the Towneley *Thomas Indie*, for example: Raine/*Towneley*, p. 282.

rael of pageant 4, representing the Chosen Race, are the Old Testament equivalent. The symbolisms of instruments and of singing could be combined, as when Prince Arthur was greeted with "angels sensyng and syngyng, with Orgayns and other melody" on his entry into Coventry on 17 October, 1498.¹³⁵

Pageants 1 and 5 were those using *haut* minstrelsy, both in contexts of secular authority and ceremonial. The city waits probably formed a shawm-and-trumpet band, and "small pipes" were, I think, the wayt, or small shawm.¹³⁶ In the miracle plays we could reasonably expect music where it would be in real life: more particularly, we should expect *haut* music for ceremonial occasions – for the entrance of Herod and perhaps of the Magi (the "Kings of [52] Cologne" of pageant 5), for instance. Herod's feast might be accompanied by *haut* and/or *bas* minstrelsy.¹³⁷

The possible range of instruments used in the miracle plays was therefore a wide one. Indeed, the musical resources used to honour the Virgin were particularly full,¹³⁸ and we can assume that for plays in which the Virgin appeared all available instruments – *bas* instruments, at least – would be used.

But what *would* be available? The financial limitations imposed by a guild on its production of a miracle play might be severe: it would be useless to speculate on a possible combination of instruments to accompany a particular scene if either the instrumentalists were not available or the guild producing the play was not prepared to pay the minstrels required.

The surviving accounts of the trade-gilds concerned should therefore be of great interest. A comprehensive comparison of relevant guild-accounts with the texts and stage directions of the miracle plays is outside the scope of the present work: it will nevertheless be valuable to discuss the extracts concerning minstrelsy taken from various Coventry guild-accounts.¹³⁹

The amount spent on minstrels each year by the Coventry Smiths' Company was far in excess of payments made by other guilds. In 1450, for example, the Smiths spent a total of 10/6d on the hire [53] and food of an unspecified number of minstrels in the two days of the Corpus Christi celebrations, compared with only 13d paid by the Carpenters for one minstrel.¹⁴⁰ The Smiths made a similar payment the following year, although in 1454 they seem only to have hired a single minstrel for the occasion.¹⁴¹ The large payments continued in 1463 with 9/- to

¹³⁵ Sharp/*Antiquities*, p. 233.

¹³⁶ See below, pp. 157 ff and 181.

¹³⁷ Stevens/*Drama*, p. 88.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 93: see also below, p. 66.

¹³⁹ See Appendix E, below.

¹⁴⁰ Only a procession was in fact required for the celebration of Corpus Christi, which is the Thursday after Trinity Sunday. Thirteenth-century evidence points towards the plays still being in the Christmas and Easter groupings: in southern England these groupings were retained (see Dawson/*Kent, passim*), but in the north the two groups were combined into a cycle and transferred during the fourteenth century to the eve of the feast of Corpus Christi. The feast had first been celebrated in England in 1318. See Craig/*ERD*, pp. 127 ff.

¹⁴¹ See below, n. 153.

four minstrels for playing in the pageant and procession (i.e., on both days again). These minstrels may have been the city waits, who numbered four at this time, and who had been hired by the Smiths for their annual dinner in 1452. The accounts for 1467, 1471 and 1477 specify that the Smiths hired the city waits for the Corpus Christi celebrations, and in 1481 the four waits, together with their wives, were admitted to the gild on condition that they should "serve the craft on corpus X'pi day."¹⁴²

It is therefore probable that for much of the second half of the fifteenth century the city waits provided the music for the Smiths' pageant on the eve of the feast of Corpus Christi. The payment of 1477 was made to the waits for "pyping": it seems to have been normal at Coventry for one of the waits to be a trumpeter, [54] however,¹⁴³ and they probably formed a shawms-and-trumpet band of the type that we recognise from other sources.¹⁴⁴

The scenes performed by the Smiths were as follows: Jesus before the High Priest, Peter's denial, Jesus before Pilate, Pilate's wife, Jesus before Herod, the second trial before Pilate, the repentance of Judas, the way to Calvary, the parting of the garments, Crucifixion.¹⁴⁵ There was plenty of scope for *haut* music here: loud ceremonial music would certainly be in order at Christ's appearances before the High Priest, Herod and Pilate. In the military scenes before the Crucifixion this is less certain. The Crucifixion itself would not include music, this being the most notable occasion on which Heaven did *not* intervene.¹⁴⁶

The accounts of the other Coventry trade-gilds do not include payments to minstrels for the pageants: and although the Corpus Christi payments by the Carpenters and Cappers may well cover minstrelsy in both pageant and procession, we cannot assume so. In Coventry, however, it was usual for the gilds to hire minstrels not only for the Corpus Christi procession but also for processions on Midsummer night and St Peter's night.¹⁴⁷ The accounts of the [55] Coventry gilds will therefore be considered further with respect to the processions.

The Corpus Christi and Other Processions

E.A. Bowles has shown that the variety of instruments used for the Corpus Christi processions during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries was a wide one, and included both *haut* and *bas* instruments.¹⁴⁸ In many of his examples both *haut*

¹⁴² Sharp/*Dissertation*, p. 213.

¹⁴³ Harris/*Coventry*, pp. 59 (1423), 189 (1439) and 200 (1442): see below, p. 181, n. 140.

¹⁴⁴ See below, pp. 178 f.

¹⁴⁵ Craig/*TCCCP*, p. xv.

¹⁴⁶ Stevens/*Drama*, p. 83.

¹⁴⁷ Midsummer day (also the feast of St John the Baptist) is on 24 June: St Peter is 29 June.

¹⁴⁸ Bowles/*Procession*, *passim*.

and *bas* consorts are in the same procession.¹⁴⁹ In general, it seems that the *haut* consort (usually trumpets: sometimes with shawms as well) led the procession, while the *bas* instruments (almost invariably stringed instruments) accompanied the Sacrament.¹⁵⁰ Most of Bowles' examples are continental, however, and although we shall find them sometimes paralleled by English examples, I shall not discuss them here.

We should expect that any guild organising a procession would wish to make a fine display, and therefore to have as much minstrelsy as possible. This was probably the intention when it was ordained that the Guild of St Helen and St Mary at Beverley should process to the church of the Minorites on the feast of St Helen "with much music".¹⁵¹

[56] The Coventry accounts show that more minstrels were employed for the Corpus Christi processions than for other processions in that town. The earliest of the Smiths' accounts do not specify the number of minstrels (1450 and 1451), but the payment of 8/- is comparable with those made to the waits from 1467 onwards and to four minstrels in 1463. Indeed, it seems probable that the minstrels employed in 1450, 1451 and 1463 *were* the waits. By 1498 the Smiths employed their own minstrel,¹⁵² but he does not appear in the accounts, just as the waits do not appear for Corpus Christi payments after their admission to the Smiths' Company. The luter who played at the Smiths' annual dinner in 1452 may have been in the company's regular employment, therefore:¹⁵³ in this case we can perhaps add a *bas* instrumentalist to the minstrels supplied by the Smiths for the processions from this date onwards.

Other guilds supplied fewer minstrels, even for the Corpus Christi procession. The Carpenters generally employed one (1450, 1453, 1456 and 1487), although it is possible that there were more in 1452.¹⁵⁴ The payment for 1456 shows that the minstrel supplied [57] by the Carpenters was a harper, perhaps in addition to Robert Crudworth, the Company's own harper.¹⁵⁵ The Cappers, too, supplied a single minstrel (1502).

¹⁴⁹ We should not take this as a sign of combined *haut* and *bas* performance, of course: the two consorts would be quite separate. In modern times we can have two or three brass bands in a procession without complete cacophony resulting.

¹⁵⁰ As we should expect: see above, n. 132.

¹⁵¹ Smith/*Gilds*, pp. 148 f. The feast is on 3 September.

¹⁵² See the payment for St Peter's night under this date.

¹⁵³ Note, too, that the expenses for the minstrel in 1454 are not a payment: it reads more like an account for food (c.f. 1450, "Payd ... for y^r hydr", but "spend on y^r bord": also 1451). These expenses were probably incurred in respect of the company's own minstrel.

¹⁵⁴ This payment is for several items on three occasions: the small payment certainly does not allow for minstrelsy on a large scale, and I suspect that the mention of "menstrells" indicates only that the company did not employ the same minstrel for all three occasions.

¹⁵⁵ Crudworth had been admitted to the Carpenters' company in 1453: I say "in addition to" only because of the discrepancy between the 14d given to Crudworth for Midsummer and St Peter's night and the 3d given to "j harp" for Corpus Christi. However, the

The minstrels which we have found in the Coventry Corpus Christi processions, then, are as follows: the waits (probably three shawms and a trumpet), plus perhaps a luter or other *bas* instrumentalist (Smiths); one, and sometimes two, harpers (Carpenters). A payment to a single minstrel by another company dates from the sixteenth century (Cappers). It is not possible to draw definite conclusions from this evidence. It does agree, however, with Bowles' continental findings on the Corpus Christi procession in general: and it also agrees with the "mynstralcy of the Wayts of the Cite" and "mynstralcy of harpe and lute" of the 1474 pageants already discussed.¹⁵⁶

The other processions in Coventry – those on St John's night and St Peter's night – gave employment to fewer minstrels than those at Corpus Christi: and often the minstrels were paid for the two processions together. The Smiths supplied one minstrel only, sometimes distinguished as a harper, in 1449 and 1451: in [58] the intervening year they paid two harpers. In 1469 they paid one minstrel for each occasion, but in 1471 they paid two: the increase probably became usual, for it was repeated at Midsummer, 1474, and again in 1477. The payment in 1498 was to a minstrel for St Peter's night in addition to the Smiths' own minstrel: as we have seen, we can perhaps add this minstrel to our list from 1452 onwards.¹⁵⁷

The number of minstrels supplied by the Carpenters also fluctuated between one and two on these occasions,¹⁵⁸ and after 1453 they had Robert Crudworth as their own harper. The payment to "metcalf and banbreke" in 1467 suggests that those two minstrels may have been in the regular service of the company: but although more than one minstrel was paid in 1478, the Carpenters had had only one minstrel apart from the waits at the annual dinner in the previous year – and that at a fee of a mere 2d. It therefore seems unlikely that the company employed two minstrels regularly; and the payment in 1485 is again to a single minstrel.

The Dyers paid two minstrels in 1482 and an unknown number – but more than one – in 1494.

The processions at Midsummer and St Peter's day did not, [59] apparently, make use of the waits. Harpers are again in evidence in these payments, but we cannot tell, unfortunately, if other minstrels were players of *haut* or *bas* instruments.

Carpenters' own minstrel received only 3d at the annual dinner in 1461: perhaps it was Crudworth who was paid at Corpus Christi, 1456.

¹⁵⁶ See above, pp. 49 ff. and n. 136.

¹⁵⁷ See above, p. 56 and n. 153.

¹⁵⁸ The entry for 1451 gives only "mynstrelles": however, the payment on this occasion was a mere 6d, which compares unfavourably with other payments even if only two minstrels were concerned. If the payment had to be divided amongst a greater number, then 6d was a very poor reward.

3

MINSTRELSY AND ITS RELATIONS WITH THE CHURCH

Minstrelsy and Worship

Minstrels were of many types - mostly damnable, according to the medieval church.¹ The Pardoner's description of

Syngeres with harpes, baudes, wafereres,
Whiche been the verray develes officeres

may seem harsh:² but it was justly deserved by the majority of those who travelled around medieval England "under colour of mynstrelsie", and probably reflected faithfully the attitude of the Church towards those who were well known³

To kyndle and blowe the fyr of lecherye,
That is annexed unto glotonye.

At the other end of the scale, however, there was good scriptural justification for the use of minstrelsy in praise of God, and the Church actively supported the Psalmist's exhortation⁴

Yn harpe, yn thabour, and symphan gle,
Wurschepe God, yn troumpes, and sautre,
Yn cordes, an organes, and bellys ryngyng,
Yn al these, wurschepe the heuene kyng.

Thus minstrelsy played an important part in the miracle plays which [61] were a prime vehicle of popular religious communication.

There is no paradox here. The minstrelsy which the Church encouraged was not that of the low-class "develes officeres" but of the skilled instrumentalist,

¹ For the various *strata* of minstrelsy as viewed by Thomas de Chabham in the early fourteenth century, see Chambers/*MS*, ii, pp. 262 ff.

² Chaucer, *Canterbury Tales*, lines 17 and 18 of the Pardoner's Tale.

³ *Ibid.*, lines 19 and 20. On the long-standing association between music and sexual sin, see Stevens/*M&P*, p. 253.

⁴ Brunne/*Synne*, i, pp. 158 f., lines 4769-4772.

usually liveried, with whom this thesis is concerned. He alone of the various types of minstrel was considered capable of salvation, and it is he who was welcomed in religious houses and employed as a liveried retainer in the household of many a prelate.⁵

The Church, indeed, had nothing against entertainment as such, nor against entertainers. She had no "official" attitude towards minstrelsy, only a desire to keep entertainment in perspective. The writings of Robert Mannyng de Brunne, which have been cited as an attack on "Daunces, karols, somour games" and minstrelsy in general,⁶ are in fact nothing of the sort. "Handlyng Synne" (1303) was written in English, as Mannyng explained, to enable the common man to examine his conscience and so to guard himself against vice. Thus it warns him against too much frivolity, especially on a Sunday:⁷ more specifically, it issues a [62] strong warning against minstrelsy in churchyards or while mass is being said.⁸

"Handlyng Synne" is positive in approach, however, and not merely restrictive. Robert Grosseteste's love of music is justified by reference to the Psalms,⁹ and Mannyng explains that Grosseteste always had his harper near him because the harp symbolised the Cross.¹⁰

The Psalmist's exhortations to worship God with minstrelsy were not accepted by the Church only in theory: minstrelsy was allowed inside the church building, apparently as a legitimate form of adoration. When Edward I visited Chichester Cathedral in May, 1297, he found a certain Walter Lund, a harper, playing before the tomb of St Richard:¹¹ and a few days later the king made a gift to fourteen minstrels playing before the image of the Virgin in the vault of Christ Church, Canterbury.¹² The Wardrobe Books of the reign of Edward III record another four gifts [63] for minstrelsy before the image of the Virgin at Christ Church, the last

⁵ There was no clear dividing-line, of course, between the respectable minstrel and the others. Monks liked to be entertained as much as anybody else, and were probably not always as careful in their choice of guest as they might have been. At the same time, certain entertainers who had reached the top of their profession, but who did not fall within the limits set by the Psalmist, must have been considered respectable – the king's fool, for instance, and his *tregettour* (trickster, or conjuror) and waferer.

⁶ Collier/*History*, i, p. 18.

⁷ Brunne/*Synne*, i, pp. 36 and 156 f.

⁸ *Ibid.*, ii, pp. 283 ff., lines 8987 ff. Lines 8991–94 are:

“ ... entyrludës, or syngyngge,
Or tabure bete, or other pypyngge,
Alle swychë thyng forbodyn es,
Whyle the prest stondesth at messe.”

⁹ See above, p. 60 and n. 4. Grosseteste was Bishop of Lincoln, 1235–1253.

¹⁰ Brunne/*Synne*, i, p. 158, lines 4755–56.

¹¹ 26 May, 1297: Add. MS 7965 (25 Ed I), f. 55. See below, ii, p. 17.

¹² 6 June, 1297: *ibid.*, f. 55v. See below, ii, p. 17.

one specifying that the minstrels played while the king was making his offering.¹³ On this latter occasion the king also made an offering in St Augustine's Church, where he rewarded a harper for minstrelsy.¹⁴ On two occasions in the reign of Edward III, gifts were made to minstrels playing before the cross in the north chapel of St Paul's, London.¹⁵

Several points emerge from these payments. All except one of those occasions which are dated precisely are in the period between Easter and Trinity,¹⁶ while two particular places – Christ Church and St Paul's – seem to have had some tradition of honouring the Virgin and the Holy Cross through minstrelsy.¹⁷ Each occasion was "special" in the sense that it was a royal visit, and no doubt the minstrels (who must have guessed that the visitor would make an offering in the church) felt assured of a reward for their [64] pious minstrelsy. But the prime reason for the minstrelsy had nothing to do with the royal visit: it was an act of reverence before a symbol – the image of the Virgin, the Holy Cross or the tomb of a saint – which must sometimes have taken place when no noble visitor was present.

We must therefore conclude that, at least in these places and at a particular season, minstrels were allowed to perform in church as an act of worship. The minstrels seem always to have been local.¹⁸ The payments in which their instruments are specified show *bas* music in each case: violists and harpers each appear twice, and a fiddler once.

The range of acceptable instruments may well have been wider than this: we do not know that the other minstrels were *bas* rather than *haut* instrumentalists, and the Psalmist included *haut* instruments in his lists.¹⁹ Judging by the iconography of the period, the acceptable forms of minstrelsy were confined to purely instrumental and vocal performance. Secular singers are, in fact, rare in this connection, and although instrumentalists may have sung as [65] well as played, I

¹³ See below, ii, pp. 87, 89, 93 and 114 (calendared in Rickert/*Chaucer*, p. 260): see also below, ii, pp. 114 f. and nn. 60 and 61.

¹⁴ See below, ii, p. 114 (also calendared in Rickert/*Chaucer*, p. 260).

¹⁵ See below, ii, pp. 88 and 89: Collier/*History*, i, p. 22, appears to quote the latter inaccurately.

¹⁶ Easter was on the following dates: 14 April in 1297, 31 March in 1331, 19 April in 1332 (which was a leap year), and 1 April in 1369.

¹⁷ For the use of the image of the Virgin and the Cross as liturgical "stations" at the Mary-antiphon and Jesus-antiphon respectively, Wells Cathedral c. 1479, see Harrison/*MMB*, p. 179 and n. 7.

¹⁸ There can be no doubt of this in the case of Walter Lund, harper of Chichester, and of the minstrels of Canterbury: nor are the "certain" or "various" minstrels likely to have been attached to the royal party. There was not, as far as I know, a royal violist called John in 1331–2 (see Rastall/*MERH*, *temp.* Edward III): Hankin Fytheler and John Harper are less certain, although the wording of the payments suggests that they were not royal minstrels.

¹⁹ Psalms 81 and 150, for instance (new numbering).

have not seen this depicted.²⁰ The forms of minstrelsy which were less completely concerned with music were probably not acceptable, for religious iconography seems rarely to have included jugglers, dancers or animal-keepers in the main illustrations.²¹

Stringed instruments, both plucked and bowed, are most commonly depicted. The harp held a special position because of its connection with King David and its symbolisation of the Cross: and that position was sometimes usurped by the psaltery at the time of that instrument's greatest popularity during the fourteenth century.²² Shawms and trumpets (usually the straight *busine*) are likewise common, and chime-bells are regularly found until the fifteenth century.²³ Less common are the organ, both portative and [66] positive, and the triangle. Nakers are rare,²⁴ as are the rustic instruments, bagpipe, pipe-and-tabor and hurdy-gurdy.²⁵ The crozier of William de Wykeham (Bishop of Winchester, 1367-1404) therefore includes the whole range of acceptable instruments (some of them, perhaps, only just acceptable) – triangle, bagpipe, portative organ, three pipes (shawms?), psaltery, trumpet, hurdy-gurdy and fiddle.²⁶

In using musical instruments to symbolise worship²⁷ the illuminators invariably honoured the Mother of God with the fullest possible resources. Thus an impressive array of instruments, usually played by angels, appears in pictures of

²⁰ A lay singer is depicted among instrumentalists in a twelfth-century manuscript (Cambridge, St John's College, MS B.18): see *NOHM 2*, frontispiece. In a similar group in the Bromholm Psalter, the singer is a monk: see Plate II, above.

²¹ Such people do appear in marginal decorations: see above, pp. xxxi f. Depictions of jugglers are among the main illustrations in a French troper (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS Latin 1118, f. 112v) and an English psalter (B.M. MS Cotton, Tiberius C vi, f. 30v), both of the eleventh century. I am indebted to Mr D.H. Turner for information concerning these illustrations, which are reproduced in Robertson/*History* as Plates 10(b) and 15 respectively.

²² See Panum/*SIMA*, p. 90. For King David playing the psaltery, see the *Exultate Deo* initial in the Luttrell Psalter (Add. MS 42130), c. 1340 (Millar/*EIM*, ii, Plate 55).

²³ Generally in the *Exultate Deo* initials in psalters; see those of the York Psalter (facsimile in Millar/*York Psalter*), c. 1250; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 53, early fourteenth century; and the Ormsby Psalter (see Plate IV, below). Examples could easily be multiplied.

²⁴ I have not found an example in English religious iconography.

²⁵ The *Beatus* page of an early fourteenth-century psalter (Add. MS 39810) includes a bagpipe: other such depictions are in foreign manuscripts. Pipe-and-tabor appear (with shawms, trumpet, harps and mandora) in the Angel Choir at Lincoln, late thirteenth century: see Gardner/*Sculpture*, pp. 116–25. The fifteenth-century carvings of angelic minstrels in the nave of Manchester Cathedral include players of the tabor (without pipe), bagpipes of two varieties, and hurdy-gurdy: see Hudson/*MWMC*, pp. 149–74. Pipe-and-tabor are also found in the *Exultate Deo* initial of the Bromholm Psalter: see Plate II, above.

²⁶ See Carter/*Specimens*, i, frontispiece and plate facing p. 47.

²⁷ Worship is included in *Divine Order*, so that this is part of the symbolism already discussed above, pp. 49 f. and n. 130.

the Coronation of the Virgin.²⁸ These works of art should, of course, be taken to [67] symbolise the act of adoration without depicting actual musical performances: but as we have seen, heavenly minstrelsy in praise of the Virgin could have a terrestrial counterpart.²⁹

Instruments and Liturgy

In these circumstances it seems obvious that when minstrels accompanied a procession to and from a church³⁰ there was no reason why they should not have entered and attended the service. But it cannot therefore be assumed that they played their instruments there, much less that they took part in the liturgical music.

Few subjects in the field of medieval music have provoked more argument than the question of instrumental participation in the liturgy. E.A. Bowles has assembled what at first sight seems an impressive mass of evidence against the liturgical use of instruments.³¹ He speaks of the "infiltration of secular music and instruments" into the service of the early Church, adding that the practice of instrumental accompaniment to the singing in church was completely forbidden by about A.D. 370.³² He goes on to say [68] that in the Middle Ages the ban was repeated by various councils and synods³³ until, during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, "Many church councils ... spoke out against bringing instruments into the music of the Mass."

Bowles admits the use of organ – although only a restricted use – throughout the Middle Ages, and he quotes the Council of Milan (1287) as banning all instruments except for the organ, citing the recorder and clarion as examples of banned instruments. He also admits that the trumpet, which became symbolically associated with the elevation of the Host, could become actually associated with the Elevation in the liturgy.³⁴ All other instruments, however, are dismissed

²⁸ Here we find those instruments which are otherwise rare in religious iconography, such as nakers and bagpipe (both found in the French Book of Hours of Queen Joan of Navarre, c. 1330, for instance: see Thompson/*BHQJN*, plate XIX). The connection between minstrelsy and the cult of the Virgin goes beyond the limits of manuscript illumination: it is no coincidence that the major churches most famous for their carvings of musical instruments – the cathedrals of Lincoln and Manchester – are both dedicated to her.

²⁹ Nevertheless, the interpretation put by Duncan (Duncan/*Minstrelsy*, p. 38) on a passage from the 1469 commission for the refoundation of the minstrel-gild (see above, p. 16) is unwarranted. There is no reason to suppose that the king's minstrels would "pray for ... the king and ... queen of England" by making minstrelsy.

³⁰ See above, for instance, pp. 4 and 55. Also Bowles/*Procession*, *passim*.

³¹ Bowles/*Liturgical*.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 47.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 48: Bowles cites those of Trier (1227), Lyons (1274) and Vienna (1311).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 52: Bowles cites the use of a trumpet during the Elevation in the church of Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence. He also cites a passage from *Le songe du vieil pèlerin* (1389) in which Philippe de Mézières warns Charles VI of France against excessive use of mu-

on the grounds that their appearances in contemporary iconography are of purely symbolic significance: the whole material world was regarded as a symbol in the Middle Ages, so that we have to distinguish between the ideal, metaphysical "reality" and the reality of the senses.

The flaws in this argument are obvious, and they lead to a [69] complete reversal of interpretation of much of Bowles' evidence. If church councils found it repeatedly necessary to ban instruments from liturgical use, this is surely an admirable piece of evidence for, not against, the continued use of instruments in a liturgical context: and if the Council of Milan actually singled out instruments which it wished to ban, we can be fairly sure that it did so precisely because those instruments were in fact being used.

Robert Donington's reply to Bowles' article says all this, which I find acceptable.³⁵ On the subject of the iconographical evidence, however, he goes to the opposite extreme in disputing Bowles' conclusions, supporting his argument by reference to the symbolic use of a trumpet being carried out in practice.³⁶ For, he says, the ritual aspect of liturgy is an "inspired attempt to depict eternal truths in symbolic images". Hence "the fact that organ and trumpet, harp and psaltery, lute and rebec all had the most precise significance as symbolic images makes their use in the liturgy not less but more probable."

It is very tempting thus to dismiss Bowles' distinction between the metaphysical "reality" and the reality of the senses. But to do so would force us to regard pictorial representations of instruments (after making allowance for such factors as the [70] *horror vacui*) as depictions of actual performances: and this, as we have seen,³⁷ would involve some most impractical "consorts".

Donington's argument, in any case, brings us back to the question of instruments in *worship* rather than specifically in the liturgy: for as Bowles points out,³⁸ no depiction of instruments can without doubt be assigned to a liturgical context. This is not quite true, for the organ appears in depictions of the liturgy, although very rarely. For other instruments, the statement could be put more positively: in depictions of the liturgy, singers not infrequently appear (usually reading from a lectern) – instrumentalists, never.

The reason for this is simple. Depictions of the celebration of the liturgy are usually concerned with the everyday service, not with special and specific occasions: and even the organ was used only on special occasions and feast days.³⁹

sicians: " ... Lesquelles grosses trompes, beau fils, ès grandes solennités tu feras sonner doucement à l'élévation du Saint Sacrement ..." (quoted in Pirro/*Charles VI*, p. 14). The whole of this passage (*ibid.*, pp. 14 f.) is a superb example of minstrelsy viewed as symbolism.

³⁵ *Galpin Society Journal*, xi (May, 1958), correspondence.

³⁶ See note 34, above.

³⁷ See above, p. xxx f.

³⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 43.

³⁹ For the use of the organ in liturgy, see Harrison/*MMB*, pp. 202–17, *passim.*, especially pp. 205 f; also Caldwell/*Organ*.

For evidence of instrumental participation, therefore, we need to find out about special celebrations, descriptions of which are likely to be documentary rather than pictorial.

Documentary evidence is rare but positive. At Cardinal Wolsey's visit to St Paul's in 1527, the *Te Deum* was accompanied by the king's trumpets and shawms.⁴⁰ This is a late instance, but [71] some tradition of liturgical performance had existed amongst the king's minstrels slightly earlier, for Hans Naghele, the king's sackbut, played in descant with another man in divine service in the chapel of the Emperor Charles V, c. 1500.⁴¹ A payment to the king's minstrels at the installation of the Archbishop of Canterbury on 9 March, 1505, may refer to minstrelsy at the installation feast rather than during the service in the cathedral.⁴² Minstrelsy had certainly been known in church on such occasions, however, for an Abbot-elect of St Albans had been received in the Abbey with minstrelsy of shawms ("quos *burdones* appellamus"), the bells ringing and the clock sounding, as the *Te Deum* was sung.⁴³

To the above *haut* instruments – trumpets, shawms and sackbuts – we can probably add chime-bells, the *cymbala* of the Psalms, as an instrument played during the liturgy on special occasions.⁴⁴ [72] Whether trumpets were ever used in England at the elevation of the Host or not, I have found no direct evidence. The appearance of "due trumpe argenti" in three inventories of jewels and plate belonging to the Chapel Royal⁴⁵ may be regarded as circumstantial evidence of some ceremonial use of trumpets in the Chapel: the Black Prince purchased two silver trumpets in 1346, perhaps for the same purpose.⁴⁶ Such instruments were expensive – the Black Prince paid 19 marks for his – and would hardly have been used for everyday minstrelsy. Besides, the minstrels seem always to have owned their own instruments.⁴⁷

We may conclude, I think, that church services were generally unaccompanied, and that the only instrument used regularly (and that infrequently) was the

⁴⁰ See Harrison/*MMB*, p. 217.

⁴¹ Straeten/*Ménéstrels*, vii, p. 269. *Ibid.*, vi, p.254, quotes the use of "cornets a bouquin" for a service in Charles V's chapel at about the same date. For a cornet playing in a service in Savoy, 1503, and sackbuts doing the same at Innsbruck, 1503, see Doorslaer/*Philippe le Beau*, pp. 51 f. For these references, which I have not been able to check, I am greatly indebted to Dr Brian Trowell. Naghele, or Naille, appears amongst the king's shawms and sackbuts in the list of minstrels at Queen Elizabeth's funeral in 1504: see Lafontaine/*Musick* under that date and Rastall/*MERH*, p. 36. For other late fifteenth-century Continental instances, see Kinkeldey/*Orgel*, pp. 165 f.

⁴² Dawson/*Kent*, p. 7: accounts of the chamberlains of Canterbury, 1504–5.

⁴³ The reception of John de Hertford, elected in 1235: see Riley/*GAMSA*, i, p. 520. Harrison/*MMB*, p. 206, quotes this (*ibid.*, n. 3) without giving the date.

⁴⁴ For a discussion of *cymbala*, see below, pp. 168–76.

⁴⁵ See below, ii, pp. 20, 25 and 42.

⁴⁶ *RegBP*, i, p. 30. The Black Prince also paid 4/- for the tube (*canoun*) of a latten trumpet on this occasion.

⁴⁷ See below, pp. 107 ff.

organ. At certain times, as we shall see, chime-bells may be added. Other instruments, *haut* instruments of a ceremonial nature, were also used on very special occasions, and this (together, no doubt, with various local practices in which churches were misused) continually caused a reaction from the clergy who wished to see no minstrelsy at all in church.

We need not assume, as Bowles does,⁴⁸ that a minstrel would have to be musically literate to take part in the music of the [73] liturgy. Even on the main feast-days, only a part of the service, if any, would be set polyphonically: and if minstrels did not memorise the polyphonic parts, there would still be plenty of plainsong on which they could "descant".⁴⁹ Descanting was a method of improvisation well suited to use by musically illiterate minstrels: they must have used it in playing popular tunes in their secular work, and there is every reason to suppose that they could treat a well-known plainsong tune in the same way.⁵⁰

Minstrelsy in Religious Houses

Besides those forbidding instruments in the liturgy, Bowles mentions statutes which forbade the clergy even to consort with minstrels, much less to employ them.⁵¹ Here we can certainly say that such statutes were an attempt to discourage a common practice, for minstrels were welcomed to ecclesiastical establishments just as they were to secular households. In particular, the main feasts of the Church's calendar always drew minstrels, as did the patronal festivals of certain large churches. Thus the Durham accounts show that more money was paid in reward to minstrels at [74] the two feasts of St Cuthbert than at other times.⁵²

A celebration of a more occasional nature which must have proved attractive to minstrels was the installation of a prior, abbot, bishop or archbishop. At the installation-feast of Abbot Ralph of St Augustine's, Canterbury, in 1309, the sum of 70/- was given to minstrels.⁵³ There were ten minstrels at the feast of Bishop Alwyn at St Swithin's, Winchester, in 1374,⁵⁴ and two at the consecration of Prior John of Maxstoke in 1432.⁵⁵ The presence of the king's minstrels at the installation of the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1505 has already been noticed:⁵⁶ no doubt the

⁴⁸ Bowles/*Liturgical*, p. 47.

⁴⁹ See above, p. 71 and n. 41.

⁵⁰ On the use of English Discant and related techniques, see Stevens/*CCS*, p. 57, Stevens/*Drama*, p. 90, and Stevens/*M&P*, p. 313.

⁵¹ Bowles/*Liturgical*, pp. 45 f. He specifically mentions the Synod of Chartres (1358).

⁵² See below, Appendix B, *passim*. The feast of St Cuthbert is on 20 March: another feast-day in his honour, which I have not been able to trace, was observed in September.

⁵³ Warton/*History*, ii, p. 96.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, iii, p. 118: "In festo Alwyni episcopi ... Et durante pietancia in aula conventus sex ministralli, cum quatuor citharisatoribus, faciebant ministralcias suas".

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, ii, p. 98: "Dat' duobus mimis de Coventry in die consecrationis prioris, xij d."

⁵⁶ Above, p. 71 and n. 42.

Canterbury waits and other minstrels were also attendant on that occasion, even if they were not rewarded by the town.

As the Durham accounts show, minstrels were welcomed not only at the principal feasts but also on other saints' days and, probably, many other occasions. If the priory extended hospitality to a nobleman, as it did to Lord Percy at Christmas, 1376, his minstrels might be asked to perform. At the Augustinian priory of Bicester, [75] Oxfordshire, minstrels were paid for six separate feasts in a single year, 1431,⁵⁷ while quite as many different occasions are suggested by payments in the contemporary accounts of Maxstoke Priory, Warwickshire.⁵⁸

Religious houses could, in fact, be especially favoured as places for minstrels to work. In 1467 the Coventry waits were so much in demand that the Corporation had to proscribe their activities outside the city: the waits were, however, allowed to continue to perform for abbots and priors within ten miles of Coventry.⁵⁹ Waits were as welcome at religious houses as any other minstrels, and the accounts of Thetford Priory show visits by the Norwich waits as well as other minstrels between 1498 and 1510.⁶⁰

Details of the performances are rare, and it is not often possible even to tell what instruments the minstrels played. Of those which are specified, harpers are easily the most common: indeed, harpers are sometimes distinguished from other, unspecified, minstrels, and an example of this in the accounts of St Swithin's Priory⁶¹ led Warton to believe that the distinction was a common one. Warton points out, however,⁶² that the minstrels sang on [76] this occasion, and the distinction is perhaps made in the accounts because it was the harpers who sang to their own accompaniment. Other *bas* instrumentalists appear in the Durham accounts⁶³ – a fiddler (c. 1336), a crowder (c. 1360), a luter (1361) and a Scottish roter (1394–5). *Haut* instruments were also welcome, and the priory rewarded two trumpeters of the Earl of Northampton (?c. 1357), a piper "and other minstrels" (at Christmas, 1360), a trumpeter called Robert (at the feast of St Cuthbert, 1368 or 1369) and a trumpeter of the king (1394–5).

The Durham accounts also contain a payment to a minstrel "jestour" named Jawdewyne at Christmas, (?)1362.⁶⁴ Very rarely accounts tell us what *gestes* were sung by such minstrels. When Adam de Dalton, Bishop of Winchester, visited St Swithin's Priory in 1338, the entertainment in the Prior's hall included the "Song of Colbrond" (a Danish giant) and "Queen Emma delivered from the plough-

⁵⁷ Warton/*History*, ii, p. 97.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, ii, pp. 97 f: in the Maxstoke accounts, "mimus" is the word used for a minstrel.

⁵⁹ Harris/*Coventry*, p. 335.

⁶⁰ Harvey/*Thetford*, *passim*.

⁶¹ See above, n. 54.

⁶² *Op. cit.*, iii, p. 119.

⁶³ See below, Appendix B, under relevant dates.

⁶⁴ For *gestours*, see below, pp. 165 ff.

shares", both sung by a minstrel named Herbert.⁶⁵ During the Epiphany celebrations at Bicester Priory in 1432, six minstrels of Buckingham sang the story of the Seven Martyred Sleepers in the refectory.⁶⁶

[77] Payments for the less purely musical types of minstrelsy are not so common.⁶⁷ The Maxstoke accounts record several payments to players (*lusores*), who probably acted out biblical stories or other stories (such as those of the songs mentioned above) with a religious bias: there is also a payment to a *joculator*, which probably means the same as *gestour*.⁶⁸ On one occasion (in 1381 or 1382) the Prior of Durham was entertained by a minstrel of the Duke (of Northumberland?) with a tumbler or dancer (*saltans*), an entertainment which took place in the prior's own chamber. Dancing, of course, did sometimes have a religious significance,⁶⁹ and so we find disguisers dancing in the abbey at Edinburgh in 1504.⁷⁰

Some abbeys and priories kept musicians in permanent employment. Warton mentions that Jeffrey the Harper received a corrody in 1180 from the Benedictine abbey of Hide, near Winchester, in payment for his minstrelsy on public occasions:⁷¹ and Warton [78] considered also that the abbeys of Conway and Stratfleur in Wales probably had their own harpers at this time.

We should notice, however, that Jeffrey's employment was of an occasional nature: in the life of an abbey there would be less work for a musician than in a secular household – less minstrelsy would be required (or allowed) and there would be no apprentices to teach. At Durham the harpers employed there made themselves useful about the priory in other ways: Thomas Harper, for whom a harp was bought in 1335 or 1336, carried out repairs and other work as a carpenter between 1339 and 1341.⁷² Barry Harper, who was given a tunic in ?1362, was

⁶⁵ Warton/*History*, i, p. 97, quotes the register of the priory: "Et cantabat Joculator quidam nomine Herebertus canticum Colbrondi, necnon Gestum Emme regine a iudicio ignis liberate, in aula prioris."

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, iii, p. 119, quotes the priory accounts: "Dat' sex Ministrallis de Bokyngham cantantibus in rectorio Martyrium septem dormientium in Festo epiphanie 4/-".

⁶⁷ c.f. the discussion above, pp. 64 ff.

⁶⁸ For a use of the word where this meaning is certainly intended, see above, n. 65. For *lusores*, see also the Durham accounts (Appendix B, below) for the year 1375–6.

⁶⁹ With good biblical precedent, such as King David's dancing before the Ark.

⁷⁰ 3 February, 1504: see below, Appendix D, under that date.

⁷¹ *Op. cit.*, ii, p. 98. There are later examples of *royal* minstrels being taken into religious houses as a reward for their service at Court. In 1328 the king required the Abbot and convent of Ramsey to take into their keeping Janettus, Queen Isabella's psaltery-player, and to maintain him: see Rymer/*Foedera*, ii (2), p. 738. In 1364 the Black Prince similarly required the Prior and convent of St Michael's Mount to maintain Gilbert, his trumpeter: see *RegBP*, ii, p. 208. Such a procedure was not confined to minstrels (*ibid.*).

⁷² See below, Appendix B, under these dates.

probably in permanent employment at the priory also. Other men named Harper who carried out repairs at the priory may or may not have been musicians.⁷³

[79]

Personal Minstrels of the Clergy

The higher clergy employed their own personal minstrels, for a prelate's household was in most ways similar to a secular magnate's. At the marriage of Edward I's daughter Elizabeth, payment was made to two harpers of the Bishop of Durham,⁷⁴ and a few years later John de Greyndon, minstrel of the Bishop of Durham, and Guillotus the Bishop's harper were rewarded at Court.⁷⁵ The latter is probably identical with the "Guillaume le Harpour qui est ove le Patriarke" in the list of minstrels at Pentecost, 1306:⁷⁶ the harper of the Bishop of Durham and Robert, harper of the Abbot of Abingdon, were also present on that occasion. John, the crowder of Shrewsbury, may also have been the minstrel of a prelate: Hayes⁷⁷ thought that he was probably the crowder of the Abbot of Shrewsbury, who had been sent for by the king to teach the crowd to the rhymer of the Prince of Wales.

With the exception of John the crowder, all these are harpers: we have seen that there was a symbolical reason for this,⁷⁸ but we should perhaps have expected it anyway from our knowledge [80] of secular households.⁷⁹ The Durham accounts for 1362 show that at that date the Bishop of Norwich, too, had a harper. At the end of our period, when the lute had largely taken the place of the harp as the courtly instrument, two Scottish prelates – the Prior of Whithern and the Bishop of Murray – kept their luters.⁸⁰

⁷³ Heliseus Harper between 1412 and 1422, and William Harper in 1442–3. By the end of the fifteenth century the name Harper – which was not uncommon – had become a “fixed” surname, no longer indicative of the profession of the man who bore it: these dates are, I think, a little early for this, and I am inclined to think that Heliseus and William were both minstrels. One John le Harper was employed as a mason on the king's works in 43 Henry III (*Devon/Issues*, pp. 46 and 49), while a John Harper supplied various provisions to the household of the Duchess of Buckingham in 1465–6 (*Add.* 34213, ff. 8, 15v, 40v and 57v – new foliation). Minstrels made acceptable soldiers, and they well may have been good at other jobs.

⁷⁴ 25 Ed I: *Add.* 7965, f. 52; see below, ii, p. 16.

⁷⁵ *Add.* 8835 (32 Ed I), f. 44; see below, ii, p. 41.

⁷⁶ E101/369/6 (34 Ed I): Anthony Bek, Bishop of Durham (1284–1311), was also titular Patriarch of Jerusalem; he had two minstrels present, therefore; see below, ii, pp. 54 and 57 f.

⁷⁷ Hayes/*KM*, p. 31.

⁷⁸ For Robert Grosseteste's harper, see above, p. 62 and n. 10.

⁷⁹ See below, pp. 163 f.

⁸⁰ See Appendix D, below, under dates 23 April, 1501, and 12–13 June, 1504.

Judging by the size of the payments made to them, the minstrels of the Bishop of Durham were skilled players:⁸¹ a prelate's household could no doubt attract and foster good minstrels just as a secular magnate's could. In May, 15 Edward II, Roger the harper and John Bisshop, minstrels of the Bishop of Ely, were rewarded for minstrelsy at Court, and the latter may have become a royal minstrel; two years later, Robert Polydod and Thomas le Barber, minstrels of the same bishop, were rewarded at Court, and Polydod was certainly a king's minstrel in the following reign.⁸²

One or two seems to have been the usual number of minstrels for a bishop, and we can probably assume that a prelate did not [81] employ trumpeters. The accounts of the chamberlains of Winchester seem to indicate that three minstrels of the Bishop of Winchester, at most, were rewarded there in the early fifteenth century: the bishop must sometimes have been present when these payments were made, and if he had had more minstrels they would no doubt appear in the accounts.⁸³ Fifteenth-century payments to the minstrels of the Archbishop of Canterbury indicate that their number was no greater: but in the case of their appearance in the town accounts of Dover, Lydd and New Romney they may have been travelling by themselves and not in the company of the archbishop.⁸⁴ If this was so, then the minstrels rewarded in those towns may not have been the full complement of the archbishop's minstrels: later payments to the minstrels of the Bishop of Winchester suggest that there may have been three of them in 1479 and four in 1481,⁸⁵ and we should expect that the Archbishop of Canterbury would not employ fewer minstrels than the bishop.

[82]

The Mendicant Friars

⁸¹ At the marriage of Elizabeth and at the Pentecost celebrations of 34 Ed I they are placed amongst payments to royal minstrels, the rewards being comparable: see above, nn. 74 and 76. John de Greyndon received the considerable sum of 40/- for his minstrelsy: see above, n. 75.

⁸² 15 Ed II: Stowe 553, f. 67. 17 Ed II: E101/379/1x, f. 4v. A John Bisshop was a servant of the Chamber in 2 or 3 Ed III: see E101/384/1, f. 35v. For Polydod, see Appendix A, *passim*, between 1 Ed III and 16–18 Ed III. These identifications are tentative, and depend only on the names: Polydod, however, was not a common name; and a William Bisshop (perhaps a relative of John?) was a royal minstrel in 14 Ed III.

⁸³ I have used Mr D.R.F. Roseveare's transcriptions of the Winchester chamberlains' accounts: the bishop's minstrels were rewarded five times between 1394–5 and 1432–3.

The evidence for prelates not having trumpeters is negative, but probably conclusive. In the various accounts and other records searched for the present work, the trumpeters of secular magnates frequently appear: there is not, however, a single reference to the trumpeters of a prelate; but see below, ii, p. 79 and n. 46.

⁸⁴ The archbishop's minstrels appear in Dawson/*Kent*, p. 23 (Dover, 1452–3), pp. 91–95, *passim* (Lydd, 1450–2, 1453–4, 1454–5, 1459–61 and 1465–6), and pp. 119 f (New Romney, 1440–50, 1453–4 and 1454–5). Only Richard Barton is named (pp. 23 and 120).

⁸⁵ Warton/*History*, ii, p. 98, quoting Winchester College accounts.

The exact position of the mendicant friars in musical and dramatic history is difficult, if not impossible, to determine. This is not because records of their activities in this direction have failed to survive, but rather because their influence rarely caused records to be set down. The use of popular sacred song by the Franciscans⁸⁶ is now recognised, but the Franciscan activities are easier to trace on the Continent than in England.⁸⁷ In Italy they actively supported the *laude spirituali* as a means of propagating their teaching: the Franciscans came to England in 1224, and from about 1275 until the early sixteenth century they made use of popular song in this country.⁸⁸

The evidence is slight, however, and the anonymity of the Franciscan activities must be emphasised. Very few friars are known by name as authors of lyrics, and there is no direct evidence that James Ryman's many works, for example, were acceptable to the people for whom they were intended.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, the apparent popularity (in the modern sense) of many of the forms of [83] religious parody, and especially that of the carol,⁹⁰ bears at least indirect witness to the success of the Franciscans' methods.

The technique of parody was used at several levels. If a Latin religious song were popular enough to begin with, it was enough to translate the text into the vernacular and sing it to the original tune: thus "Gabriel fram evene king" is a thirteenth-century translation of the very popular (again in the modern sense) Annunciation hymn "Angelus ad Virginem". In other cases, where the tune was popular but the text was unsuitable, a completely new text could be written to be sung to the old tune: the Latin cantilenas in the "Red Book of Ossory" are of this type.⁹¹

The carols are the product of a related procedure – indeed, Greene treats the religious carols as parodies.⁹² They were not, of course, *contrafacta* like those already mentioned: but the fourteenth-century monophonic carol consists of a reli-

⁸⁶ I use "popular" here to mean "popular by destination", following R.L. Greene's classification (Greene/*EEC*, p. cxxi).

⁸⁷ See Heinrich Hüschen's article "Franziskaner" in *MGG* IV, col. 823–41. For a survey of the part played by the Franciscans in England, see Greene/*EEC*, pp. cxxi f.

⁸⁸ Greene/*EEC*, p. cxxiii.

⁸⁹ The point is made in Davies/*Anthology*, p. 24. Greene names the known Franciscan authors (see n. 87, above).

⁹⁰ Of the 166 pieces in Ryman's manuscript (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.I.12, dated 1492), 119 are carols: see Greene/*EEC*, p. cxxvi.

⁹¹ See *NOHM* 3, pp. 117–19. The Ossory cantilenas are in Latin, because they were destined for the clergy, but the principle is the same: they are religious words set to popular tunes. These songs were written by the Franciscan Richard de Ledrede, Bishop of Ossory, 1317–1360, for his own clergy. Greene/*EEC*, p. cxvii, expresses the view that the Reading rota may be one of the earliest of this type of *contrafactum*: however, there seems to be good reason to believe that the Latin text "Perspice christicola" ante-dates the vernacular "Sumer is icumen in": see Harrison/*MMB*, p. 144.

⁹² Greene/*EEC*, p. cxvii.

gious text set to music in a popular style.⁹³ As well as carols, the friars [84] also composed original hymns and sequences, the two forms of sacred music which they found best suited to their purpose.⁹⁴

Popular song, however, was only one side of the mendicant friars' "presentation of Religious and Morality in popular and enjoyable forms":⁹⁵ even more direct in their appeal to the populace were the miracle plays which, once or twice a year, took place in the streets of many English towns.⁹⁶ Greene's use of the word "presentation" is fortunate, for the miracle plays, like the song-parodies, were not essentially didactic in character.⁹⁷ Their importance was simply that they presented religious ideas in the vernacular, ideas which could therefore be apprehended by the uneducated.

The emphasis on bringing religion to the people rather than *vice versa* was typical of the Franciscans' methods. Although they were not responsible for the institution of either vernacular drama or vernacular religious song, they were astute enough to take full advantage of the opportunities afforded by an already popular art-form. The very phrase of St Francis himself, who conceived of his followers as "Joculatores Dei",⁹⁸ implies an anonymous mixing with the people in the manner of the itinerant minstrels - a [85] situation in which the populace would not realise that it was being instructed by means of entertainment.

It is for this reason that the activities of the friars are so hard to trace, especially in the realm of drama. The miracle plays are completely anonymous, and Reese's assertion that the Church's connection with the religious drama was that of adviser and possibly script-provider⁹⁹ is a guess. It is a reasonable guess, however, for the very existence of the plays presupposes the activity of a "professional class, literate if not learned",¹⁰⁰ and it is the clergy who best fit to this definition.

Very slight evidence exists to support Reese. In 1423 the banns for the Corpus Christi play at Beverley were composed by a Friar Preacher (that is, a Dominican), Master Thomas Bynham.¹⁰¹ The banns on this occasion were probably an impressive affair, for the friar received 6/8d, compared with only 20d given to the town waits for riding with the proclamation. The simplest form of advertisement of a play could be given out by a single bann-crier, and would hardly need to be composed by an educated man. The Northumberland ordinances of 1513

⁹³ See Greene/EEC, p. cxxxii, and Stevens/MC, p. xiv.

⁹⁴ NOHM 3, p. 117.

⁹⁵ Greene/EEC, p. cxxviii.

⁹⁶ See above, p. 53, and n. 140.

⁹⁷ See above, p. 40, and n. 97.

⁹⁸ Greene/EEC, p. cxxi.

⁹⁹ Reese/MR, p. 877.

¹⁰⁰ Greene's phrase: see Stevens/MC, p. xiv.

¹⁰¹ HMC 54, p. 160.

also show that the task of providing a script – in this case for specifically secular dramatic productions – was still assigned to the clergy.¹⁰²

It would be hard to prove that "the Church" in connection with the miracle plays usually (or even sometimes) meant "the mendicant friars", however. The alleged connection of the Franciscans with the Coventry plays,¹⁰³ for instance, will not stand up to examination. Mention of plays performed "by the Grey Friars" has led to the belief that the Coventry Franciscans acted in their own pageant,¹⁰⁴ whereas in fact this need only mean that pageants were performed outside the Franciscans' church.¹⁰⁵

The question does of course remain whether we should attach any special significance to the position of this station. A friary would be a landmark in any town, and it is quite conceivable that the road outside it was the most suitable open space for the presentation of plays. We cannot ignore the possibility of a less circumstantial reason, however: the friars, both at Coventry and elsewhere, took an active interest in the guilds responsible for plays and processions.

As we have already seen, the Carmelites shared in the administration of the Cripplegate minstrels' guild, at least on its religious side:¹⁰⁶ the Coventry Carmelites may have had similar [87] relations with the Carpenters' Guild there, for the Carpenters held their annual dinner at the White Friars'.¹⁰⁷ The guild-principle was particularly dear to the Franciscans, who established the Third Order of St Francis, consisting virtually of religious guilds of men and women bound to a devotional life and to the performance of works of charity:¹⁰⁸ these congregations were under the spiritual direction of the Friars Minor. We find also that the Guild of St Helen and St Mary at Beverley processed to the church of the Minorites on the feast of St Helen,¹⁰⁹ and that the Minorites led the Corpus Christi procession at Grantham.¹¹⁰

¹⁰² Percy/*Northumberland*, p. 43: the list of the household at Michaelmas, 3 Henry VIII, includes amongst the household chaplains "The Almonar, and if he be a maker of Inter-ludys then he to have a Servaunt to the intent for Wrytyng of the Parts. And ells to have non". *Ibid.*, p. 253, gives the same at (?)8 Henry VIII.

¹⁰³ Greene/*EEC*, p. cxxviii.

¹⁰⁴ Duncan/*Minstrelsy*, p. 106, for instance.

¹⁰⁵ The point is discussed in Craig/*TCCCP*, pp. xxi f. See above, also, p. 44, and especially n. 112.

¹⁰⁶ See above, p. 15.

¹⁰⁷ See appendix E, below, under dates 1453, 1461, 1463, 1464 and 1477.

¹⁰⁸ Davis/*ME*, pp. 405 f.

¹⁰⁹ 3 September: see above, p. 55 and n. 151.

¹¹⁰ c. 1339: see Rickert/*Chaucer*, pp. 235 f.

4

THE ROYAL MINSTRELS

Introduction

A permanent position at Court was perhaps the best post that a minstrel could hope for. It offered a reasonable wage and a certain amount of security should he be unable to work through illness or old age. It offered, too, plenty of opportunity for independent work, for the royal minstrels were not required to be in Court all the year round. For much of the time they were free to work as itinerant minstrels, with the advantage of wearing the royal livery. We should expect that the king's minstrels were among the most highly-skilled members of their profession, and the little evidence that exists does support this assumption indirectly: payments and gifts to them were usually much more generous than those to other minstrels.¹

The royal household ordinances of 1318 made provision for two trumpeters and two other minstrels to be in constant attendance on the king, and to make their minstrelsy to him at his pleasure.² A similar nucleus of four minstrels was specified in the ordinances of 1455, with another nine minstrels coming to Court at the principal feasts of the year.³ The *Liber Niger* of [89] Edward IV's reign required two minstrels to remain in Court at all times,⁴ with the addition of two string-minstrels if the king wished: the other minstrels were required to come to Court for the five principal feasts and to leave Court the day after each feast was finished.⁵

There were usually at least three royal households – those of the king, the queen and the Prince of Wales.⁶ The latter two, although having many features in

¹ See above, pp. 35 f. and n. 85.

² Tout/*Ed.II*, p. 303.

³ *Ords & Regs*, p. 18, pr. from Cleopatra F. v, ff. 170–74: the four minstrels are named as Thomas Ratclyff, William Wykes, John Clyff and Robert More, wayte.

⁴ *Haut* minstrels were implied, “beyng present to warn at the King’s rydinges, when he goeth to horse-backe, ... and by theyre blowinges the houshold meny may follow in the countries.” *Ords & Regs*, p. 48, pr. from Harley 642, ff. 1–196.

⁵ The feasts were probably those of Christmas, Easter, St George (23 April), Pentecost and All Saints (1 November).

⁶ In most reigns there was also a fourth household for the king’s younger children.

common with the king's, were rarely independent of it:⁷ but some interchange of personnel occurred between the households.⁸

[90]

Duties of the Royal Minstrels

The duties of a royal minstrel were as varied as Court life itself. They ranged from the playing of ceremonial music on state occasions to the relatively informal task of making minstrelsy to the king at his pleasure.⁹

I say "relatively informal" because it is unlikely that any occasion on which minstrelsy was made *coram Rege* was informal by any normal standards.¹⁰ When the minstrels of a visiting noble performed, the noble and his retinue were often in attendance on the king, and the minstrelsy was a mere background to the meeting between the two.¹¹ Even when the king's own minstrels performed before him in his chamber, there must have been many other people present: probably the least formal of such occasions was when the king was ill or was having his blood let.¹²

Another relatively informal occasion for minstrelsy was during a journey. Payments for this service indicate that a minstrel would play to the king or other royal person while the [91] household was actually travelling, although they do not say whether the minstrel rode on horseback or on a carriage with his patron.¹³

A royal wedding always called for minstrelsy on a large scale, as did the wedding of a favoured noble.¹⁴ Even at a more domestic level, we find the king's min-

⁷ The queen's household, for instance, did not include trumpets, since she would be with the king on state occasions: indeed, the queen's household seems to have employed very few minstrels, if any, independently of the king's. Even the queen's harper is described in 1449 as "(the king's) servant, ..., harper to the queen": *CPR*, Henry VI, vol. 5 (1446–1452), p. 250. The Black Prince, on the other hand, attained an age and position which resulted in almost complete independence of his household. See below, pp. 195 f.

⁸ See Rastall/*MERH*, *passim*. The queen's minstrels named at the marriage of Princess Philippa in 8 Hen. IV (see below, ii, p. 122), who include a trumpeter, are elsewhere described as king's minstrels.

⁹ On the non-musical work of the royal minstrels, see below, pp. 93, 145b and 163.

¹⁰ c.f. Stevens/*M&P*, p. 269": also Myers/*ELMA*, pp. 92 f; "Even in the largest households privacy did not exist. ..."

¹¹ See below, ii, p. 100, for instance, for the meeting between the king and the Archbishop of Cologne.

¹² See below, ii, p. 17: the king was probably ill, although blood-letting was considered beneficial at all times. The Black Prince had a harper with him in his illness: see below, ii, p. 96.

¹³ See below, ii, pp. 32, 41, 75, 89, 94, 95 and 126.

¹⁴ For royal weddings, see below, ii, pp. 16 f., 89, 104, 120 and 122: unless there was a clerical error, the marriage of Lionel of Antwerp (who was not quite four years old at the time) was in August, 1342, not on the 9 September, as previously believed.

strels playing at the wedding of one of the queen's damsels.¹⁵ Another occasional and semi-domestic celebration at which the royal minstrels performed was the queen's *relevatio* after childbirth:¹⁶ and the purification of certain noblewomen was a similar cause of minstrelsy.¹⁷

The festivities surrounding Christmas, which included the celebration of the New Year and Epiphany as well as Christmas itself, usually required more minstrelsy than any other period in the yearly life of the Court. Many Christmas payments to minstrels are near items concerned with disguisings, and the minstrels certainly took part in the spectacular entertainments of the Court: indeed, on one occasion the minstrels seem to have [92] acted in miracle plays at Court.¹⁸

Minstrelsy was probably required during the banquet at all feasts, although the royal accounts provide evidence only for the minstrelsy of waferers on such occasions.¹⁹ Some other documentary evidence also points towards it, as does some contemporary iconography:²⁰ but the celebrations concerned here are all of a very occasional nature. So, too, are the installation-feasts of prelates at which minstrels played.²¹

For other noble weddings, see below, ii, pp. 45 and 65.

¹⁵ See below, ii, p. 87.

¹⁶ See below, ii, p. 95 (10 March 1337: this was perhaps after the birth of William of Hatfield, born in 1336) and 101 (6 January, 1339: Lionel of Antwerp had been born on the 29 November, 1338).

¹⁷ See below, ii, pp. 71 and 93.

¹⁸ See below, ii, p. 63.

¹⁹ See below, pp. 168 f and 172 f.

²⁰ A description of Queen Elizabeth's coronation-banquet in 1487 states that at the second course the king's minstrels played a song before the queen, and that after that course, before the fruit and wafers were served, the queen was entertained by her own and by other minstrels: see Taylor/*Regality*, pp. 275 ff. According to the royal household ordinances of 1494, the minstrels should play at the second or third course of the banquet following the marriage of a princess: see *Ords & Regs*, p. 129 (pr. from Harley 642, ff. 198–217).

For illustrations, see the Marriage-feast of the Lamb in the 13th-century Trinity Apocalypse (Trinity College, Cambridge, MS R.16.2) reproduced in James/*Trinity*, plate 22; the 14th-century Braunche brass at King's Lynn (see above, p. xxxi and n. 24); and Royal MS 14.E.iv (a Flemish MS of the 15th-century), f. 244v.

There is also considerable poetic evidence for minstrelsy at banquets, mainly loud minstrelsy: see below, p. 157. Taken in conjunction with the evidence of soft music in the first and third iconographical items noted above, this would seem to indicate that the division into *haut* ceremonial music for the serving of a course and *bas* music for its consumption was already in existence: see Stevens/*M&P*, pp. 238 ff.

²¹ See above, pp. 71 and 74. At Archbishop Warham's enthronement-feast in 1505, "subtelties" were produced at each course. If these included minstrelsy, no mention is made of it, although one subteltly included a choir with singing-men in surplices: see Leland/*Collectanea*, vi, p. 24. Singing is again found in the enthronement feast of Archbishop Nevill in 6 Ed IV, and it seems to have been usual on such occasions. At the first course "The ministers of the Churche doth after the old custome, in syngyng of some proper or godly Caroll": the ministers of the Church again sang, "solemnly",

[93] Of the annual feasts, that of the anniversary of the king's accession must be added to the major feasts as an occasion on which minstrelsy was required, probably, again, at the banquet.²² The major feasts were occasions of great ceremonial, and it was customary to deliver robes to the household in time for Christmas and Pentecost. After the Black Prince's victory at Poitiers in 1356 and Edward III's subsequent completion of the Round Tower at Windsor, St George's Day (23 April) became a major feast; the celebrations of this feast included tournaments, for which banners were supplied for the king's minstrels.²³

In war-time the minstrels donned armour²⁴ and, like other royal servants, became mounted archers or men-at-arms. The [94] *haut* minstrels went partly to make military music, a visual and aural show which was as necessary on a military campaign as in peace-time ceremonies.²⁵ The *bas* minstrels were of no use in this connection, but they seem to have taken their instruments in order to provide the king with music of a domestic type.

The Recruitment of Royal Minstrels

It was possible for a minstrel to be promoted to permanent service at Court from the household of a non-royal magnate, although this was probably rare. Robert Polydod, who was a king's minstrel by 1 or 2 Ed III, had previously visited Court as a minstrel of the Bishop of Ely; and another minstrel of the same prelate, John Bisshop, may be the man of that name who became a royal servant at about the same time.²⁶ Sometimes the king would find a place for the minstrel of a relative; thus William Barley, formerly a minstrel of the Duke of Clarence, seems to have joined Edward IV's minstrels on Clarence's death.²⁷

at the serving of the second course, and also after the saying of Grace; *ibid.*, pp. 9, 11 and 13.

²² See below, ii, p. 79.

²³ See below, ii, pp. 112 and 116 (and perhaps *ibid.*, p. 136): also *Devon/Issues*, pp. 169 and 413 (and perhaps *Ibid.*, pp. 171 and 207). At the meeting of the Order of the Garter in 1358 the Black Prince spent £100.0.0d in gifts to minstrels and heralds at Windsor: see *RegBP*, iv, p. 252.

²⁴ Payments for armour were apparently not made through the Wardrobe: see below, ii, p. 1. For the armour of the trumpeters and nakerer of the Prince of Wales, 31 and 32 Ed I, see below, ii, pp. 40 and 34: for the armour of two minstrels of the Black Prince, 1352, see *RegBP*, iv, p. 71.

²⁵ *CPR*, Henry VI, vol. 6 (1452-1461), p. 247, records the inclusion in an inventory of the royal armoury (dated 20 May, 1455) of five trumpet-banners which had been delivered to the trumpeters when the Duke of Gloucester went to the rescue of Calais. See below, also, ii, pp. 154 and 164.

²⁶ See below, ii, pp. 80, 81, 84 and 85. The identification of the bishop's minstrel with the servant of the king's chamber is admittedly a tenuous one: however, see below, pp. 136 ff.

²⁷ *CPR*, Edward IV, Edward V and Richard III (1476-1485), p. 100: also *Rastall/MERH*, p. 33 and n. 8.

[95] A special case of this occurred in Richard II's reign. During the exile of Henry Bolingbroke many Lancastrian servants, including minstrels, were given employment at Court: indeed, the future Henry V lived at Court until his father's accession eleven years later.²⁸ Some Lancastrian minstrels were thus already in the king's service when the Duke of Lancaster came to the throne as Henry IV.

Very rarely, perhaps, an independent minstrel who visited Court might be of sufficient quality to become a royal minstrel in regular pay. Henry de Neusom, if it was the same man who was later a king's harper, is not stated to have been a liveried minstrel when he visited Court in 13 Ed II.²⁹ The number of minstrels in regular pay at Court, however, was limited by obvious practical considerations. The result was that a minstrel who particularly pleased the king, whether liveried or independent, might be given temporary employment as one of those "qui non sunt in rotulo marescalli".³⁰ The period of employment in this case might be several years, although it was often a matter of only a few days. The [96] number of minstrels "qui non sunt" depended very much on the finances available to the king. Under Edward I the temporary minstrels sometimes appear prominently in the royal accounts, for the king could be generous in such matters.³¹ His two successors could indulge their fancy less in this way, while the impoverished Lancastrian monarchs seem to have done little more than keep up a respectable minimum number of minstrels.³²

Another way by which a minstrel could gain permanent employment in the king's household was by way of a dependent household. It was not unusual for vacancies in the king's household to be filled by minstrels from the household of the queen or the Prince of Wales.³³

Although many minstrels came to Court relatively late in their careers, however, a number of them were undoubtedly royal minstrels at an early age. John Paynell, who was one of Henry V's trumpeters, played at the coronation of Richard III, and was therefore a king's minstrel for over sixty years: Walter Haliday held the post for over forty years, and several minstrels served [97] at Court for thirty years or more.³⁴

²⁸ For the Lancastrian minstrels at Richard II's Court, see *CPR*, Richard II, vol. (1396–1399), pp. 525, 538 and 558, for instance; also Rastall/*MERH*, p. 23, n. 1. See also Brian Trowell's article on Henry V in *MGG* VI, col. 63–66.

²⁹ See also below, ii, p. 78 and n. 45. A man of that name had also been at the Pentecost celebrations of 1306: see below, ii, p. 55.

³⁰ See Rastall/*MERH*, p. 1 and *passim*.

³¹ This is not to say that he could *afford* to be generous, for Edward I's debts were great: the king did not again owe so much to his own minstrels until Edward III's French campaigns from 1337 onwards. See, for instance, ii, pp. 96 and 103, below. Edward I had considerable financial freedom, however: see below, ii, p. 1.

³² For reasons that were not purely financial, Henry VI failed to do even this: see below, p. 101.

³³ See Rastall/*MERH*, *passim*.

³⁴ See Rastall/*MERH*, *passim*.

Some royal minstrels were recruited young enough to be given their training at Court; quite how many remains to be seen. The list of gifts to minstrels at the Pentecost feast of 34 Ed I includes an item³⁵

v Trumpatoribus Principis, pueris,
cuilibet ij s. x s. in toto.

“Pueris” could perhaps be translated “apprentices”. They would hardly all be trained for the prince’s own household, and were probably intended to fill vacant posts in any of the households which might require trumpeters, namely, those of the king, the Prince of Wales, and of the king’s younger sons Thomas and Edmund (each of whom had two trumpeters).

These apprentice trumpeters perhaps ranked as grooms of the household.³⁶ At about the same time John de Newenton had the care of three groom *gigatores* and two groom harpers:³⁷ John [98] Garceon, trumpeter, was probably a groom (*garcio*) also.³⁸

It is necessary to say here that certain minstrels had their own grooms as servants, and that these grooms should not be assumed to have been minstrels. John de Newenton’s groom, Simon de Hills, is not known to have been a minstrel, and neither is Walter, groom of Hugo de Naunton.³⁹

The grooms undergoing training in minstrelsy do not seem usually to have been entitled to the style “minstrel of the king” or “of the prince”,⁴⁰ for I have found no mention of so many trumpeters in the prince’s household nor of *gigatores* in the king’s household at the end of Edward I’s reign.⁴¹ The phrases “young

³⁵ See below, ii, p. 57.

³⁶ The three ranks of the household servants with which we shall be most concerned are those of groom, valet and squire. Of these, groom was the lowest rank: the smallest household departments, such as the Wafery, might be headed by a valet and larger departments by a squire. The royal minstrels had squire’s rank. Above the squires of the household came clerks, knights and senior officials.

³⁷ In 31 Ed I: see below, ii, p. 31.

³⁸ He can probably be identified with John, son of John de London. In this case he was apparently promoted from the rank of groom in either 32 or 33 Ed I: see Rastall/*MERH*, p. 7.

Thomas Harper may be a similar case: groom of the king’s chamber in 26–28 Hen VI, he had been promoted to valet by 29–30 Hen VI. If he did in fact play the harp (and the surname “Harper” does not always mean this at so late a date), it is not clear that he became a minstrel: the only possible identification would be with Thomas Green, still minstrel, who became a king’s minstrel at Michaelmas 1458. See below, ii, pp. 127 f; also Rastall/*MERH*, p. 31, and *CPR*, Henry VI, vol. 6 (1452–1461), p. 507.

³⁹ See below, ii, pp. 44 and 69. The organist and trumpeters of Earl Warrenne each had a groom: see below, ii, p. 38, and Add 8835, f. 39 (calendared below, ii, p. 40, but not in detail).

⁴⁰ The case quoted above of the prince’s boy-trumpeters may have been an exception: but their very presence on that occasion must have been exceptional if they ranked only as grooms. See n. 42, below.

⁴¹ See Rastall/*MERH*, pp. 7–11: the three German *gigatores* were minstrels of the King of Germany, and would hardly have ranked as low as grooms.

[99] minstrel" and "small minstrel" probably refer, therefore, to minstrels who had been promoted from groom – perhaps to valet – but who were not yet full "king's minstrels" with the rank of squire.⁴² As many as four young minstrels are found in the king's household at a time: Little Andrew, John Scot, Roger the trumpeter and Francekinus the nakerer are named as "iuvenes menestralli de hospicio Regis" in 1 Ed II, while a reference to "Little Alein" in the accounts of 17 Ed II no doubt indicates the same status; William Cardinal appears in accounts of 6 Ed III as "*parvus menestrallus domini Regis Anglie*".⁴³

It will be apparent from even a cursory look at the list of royal minstrels⁴⁴ that minstrelsy could be a family business. The recurrence of certain surnames points to this, although I have not usually been able to prove a relationship.⁴⁵ Even more [100] striking is the number of minstrels who shared a surname with several people employed contemporaneously at Court in non-minstrel capacities. Here again, relationships cannot be proved, although the situation is too common to be mere coincidence.⁴⁶

It seems, then, that the child of any royal household servant could be trained as a minstrel if he showed enough ability. Those who were sons of minstrels were perhaps trained by their fathers:⁴⁷ others may have been employed as grooms in an appropriate household department such as the Chamber or the Wafery. The latter would perhaps be considered appropriate because it was desirable, if not strictly necessary, that a waferer should be a minstrel.⁴⁸ Employment in the Chamber would possibly be a good training for a servant who was to work as close to the king's person as the minstrels often did, and it is not unusual to find servants of the Chamber with musical names. I have not enough evidence to say whether these people later became king's minstrels or not: the question

⁴² This supposition is supported by the gift of 5/- (compared with only 2/- each to the prince's boy-trumpeters) made to Little William, organist of the Countess of Hereford, at the 1306 Pentecost celebrations: see below, ii, p. 57.

⁴³ See below, ii, pp 65, 82 and 89. The name of Walter Cardinal on a livery-roll of 4 Ed II may be a clerical error for William, since Walter was a messenger: if so, the other minstrels on this second list (see below, ii, p. 86) – Richard the gitterner, John Malhard and Roger de Braybrok – may also have been "small minstrels" at that time.

⁴⁴ Rastall/*MERH*.

⁴⁵ In Edward I's reign, John de London and John, his son, were both royal trumpeters; in Edward III's reign, Libkin and his son Hankin were both royal pipers; and in the same reign, Andrew the organist had a son, John, who was also a minstrel. See below, ii, pp. 43, 105 and 113: also above, n. 38.

⁴⁶ William Cardinal, Edward III's "small minstrel", may have been the son of Walter Cardinal, a messenger. I cannot prove the relationship, however, and the issue is confused by a probable clerical error: see above, n. 43.

⁴⁷ See above, n. 45: these sons played the same instruments as their respective fathers.

⁴⁸ A number of waferers did have the status of minstrel, with squire's rank: see below, pp. 187 (and n. 1) and 191.

cannot fully be resolved without a more thorough research for Chamber servants in the Wardrobe Books.⁴⁹

[101] Young talented minstrels may also have reached Court through preferment from other noble households. The sources already mentioned from which royal minstrels could be recruited evidently produced a plentiful supply of musicians: we do not hear of any monarch being dissatisfied with the number or proficiency of his minstrels until, in the reign of Henry VI, the king commissioned four of his minstrels to find suitable boys, instructed in the art of minstrelsy, to take the place of certain of the king's minstrels who had died.⁵⁰

This commission was a special measure arising from unusual circumstances,⁵¹ and it implies that "talent-spotting" was not normally one of the duties of the royal minstrels as they [102] travelled around the countryside during the periods between major feasts. Just possibly this had originally been one task of the minstrel-kings: if so, the need for this commission is explained by the fact that by 1456 the office of *Rex ministrallorum* was ineffectual, if not extinct.⁵²

Residence

The royal minstrels were expected to be in Court for the major feasts, especially those of Christmas and Pentecost.⁵³ At other times they were expected to earn their living as itinerant minstrels: according to various household ordinances, only a few chosen minstrels were to remain in Court for the whole year.⁵⁴ These, together with the liveried and independent minstrels who visited Court, would presumably be able to make all the minstrelsy required.

⁴⁹ See below, pp. 136 ff for minstrels in the Chamber: also see below, ii, pp. 97, 127 (two items), 128 (two items), 129 (two items) and 131. The last of these items reads *garc' Cam'ar'* (for *Camerarii*, or "Chamberlain") rather than *Camere* (for "Chamber"): this may be a clerical error. Glasebury is no doubt the man who later became Marshal of the Minstrels: Robert Green may be the minstrel, although the name was a common one: William Clifton cannot be identified with the trumpeter of that name, who had already been in royal service for many years.

⁵⁰ *CPR*, Henry VI, vol. 6 (1452–1461), p. 278: the commission is dated 10 March 1456. The minstrels are named as Walter Haliday, Robert Marshal, William Wykes and John Cliff.

⁵¹ Henry VI was at this time mentally unwell, and the enmity between Queen Margaret and the Duke of York had already precipitated the first battle of the civil war (at St Albans in the previous year). The royal household was already in some disorganisation (see the preamble to the household ordinances of 1455, pr. in *Ords & Regs*, pp. 17–18, from Cleopatra F.v, ff. 170–74): it seems that William Maisham and Thomas Radcliff were both dead, and the minstrel-establishment was not being kept up.

⁵² See above, p. 28: c.f. also the commission of 1449, p. 10, above.

⁵³ See above, n. 5. St George's Day became a major feast in the late 14th century. The ordinances of 1318 make no mention of the major feasts, and the dispensing with the services of most minstrels at other times may have been introduced by the Lancastrians to save expenses. Perhaps during the 14th century the minstrels were dismissed from Court after each celebration, with instructions to return in time for the next one.

⁵⁴ See above, pp. 88 f.

If this system had ever been adhered to, we should find that about four of the king's minstrels were in Court for the whole of any one year, the others being present for perhaps twenty days or [103] so. In fact, the system can never have been practicable, and the actual periods of residence of the royal minstrels, as shown in the Wardrobe Books, bear little relation to the figures that we should expect.⁵⁵

There were no doubt many reasons why the royal ordinances proved to be purely theoretical in this matter. The king was often at war, either in Scotland, France, or with his own nobles in England, and his minstrels fought for him. In peace-time the minstrels must often have wished to visit their homes, and gifts [104] to enable them to do so are not infrequently recorded in the Wardrobe Books.⁵⁶ On several occasions the king helped a minstrel to set up his home.⁵⁷

Probably many minstrels spent their time at home when they were not required at Court. John the luter, who spent 50 days in Court in 31 Ed I, in which year he set up his home, was absent from Court at Pentecost the following year and spent only 16 days in Court in 34 Ed I – failing, moreover, to return in time for Christmas Day.⁵⁸

Financially, many minstrels probably found it worth their while not to spend too much time in Court. A king's minstrel could earn 3/4d for a day's work without difficulty: two or three of them travelling together could earn 6.8d or more.⁵⁹ This was several days' wages, and if audiences and town officials were

⁵⁵ I have information on the residence of only a few minstrels. However, they seem not to have been in Court for the whole year, but to have resided there for longer than the major feasts alone would have required. The longest periods of residence of the minstrels are those of the king's harpers during the reigns of Edward I and Edward II: in 31 Ed I, Adam de Cliderhou and William de Morley were resident for 150 days and 114 days respectively; in 34 Ed I, Hugo de la Rose and Adam de Cliderhou were resident for 187 days and 207 days respectively, although William de Morley spent only 38 days in Court; in 5 Ed II, Elias de Garsynton was in Court for 134 days out of the 163 days between 27 January and 7 July, although Robert de Clough was in residence for only 30 days in the whole year (which was a leap year), and was probably out of Court at Pentecost (see below, ii, p. 72: he was given no money for a summer robe). See E101.364.13, ff. 25v and 26; E101.368.27, ff. 20v, 21 and 22; E101.373.26, ff. 24 and 24v.

We might guess from this that two harpers in each year remained in Court as the 1318 ordinances say. The evidence is far from conclusive, however, and I have no evidence that the same number of trumpeters also remained; Richard de Blida set up a home in Blida and presumably lived there (in I Ed II: see below, ii, p. 65); William the trumpeter, admittedly, was in Court for 122 days in 4 Ed II, but in 3 Ed II he spent only 20 days in Court, and two years later a mere 8 days (E101.374.5, f. 34v; E101.373.26, f. 26; Nero C.viii, f. 42v).

⁵⁶ See below, ii, pp. 66, 68, 93 and 104, for instance. With the Court travelling all over the country, even in peace-time, royal servants were sometimes great distances from home.

⁵⁷ See below, ii, pp. 40 and 65, for instance.

⁵⁸ See E101.364.13, f. 22v; E101.368.27, f. 19; and below, ii, pp. 40, 42 and 47.

⁵⁹ The payments quoted above, p. 36, n. 85, are typical: see also below, ii, Appendix B, *passim*, especially pp. 146 f.

generous a minstrel could do without the robes-money which he forfeited if he were absent from Court at Christmas or [105] Pentecost.⁶⁰ If the Court was travelling, too, it was often necessary for a minstrel – like many royal servants – to pay for lodgings near to the Court.⁶¹

On the other hand, during the fourteenth century, at least, minstrelsy was required at many feasts other than the major ones. The gifts at these times must often have tempted minstrels back to Court – until the Lancastrian monarchs began to give a fixed annual reward to their servants, anyway.⁶² Other, more occasional, celebrations must also have attracted the royal minstrels back to Court.⁶³

The result was probably a more or less constant coming and going of minstrels at Court. Only occasionally can the number of available minstrels have been too small for the work to be done: Edward I and Edward III did have to recall minstrels,⁶⁴ [106] but such a course cannot often have been necessary.

The *vigiles*, as opposed to the minstrels, spent most of their time in Court, for their work required them to be present every night throughout the year.⁶⁵

The waferers, by nature of their post, were not usually required except at feasts. On the other hand, as the Wafery was staffed only by one valet (or squire)⁶⁶ and a groom, the waferer was indispensable for any celebration. Nevertheless, the waferer was probably not tied to his post too much: Richard Pilke spent only 12 days in Court in 4 Ed II, although he resided for 91 days the following year.⁶⁷ Master John Drake, whose responsibilities almost certainly extended beyond the Wafery,⁶⁸ did not absent himself in 31 Ed I, and was in Court for 334 days in 34 Ed I.⁶⁹

⁶⁰ The queen's minstrel William Sautreour, for example, spent only 7 days of 4 Ed II in Court, and was one of many servants absent at Christmas, 9 Ed II: E101.374.5, f. 33v; E101.376.7, f. 93.

⁶¹ For a gift to minstrels to pay for lodgings, see below, ii, p. 83.

⁶² See below, p. 129; also p. 126, n. 153.

⁶³ See above, pp. 91 f.

⁶⁴ See below, ii, pp. 48, 50 and 104. The king presumably recalled Taillour, since he made him a gift to pay for his expenses in returning home. These payments were made in mid-August and mid-September respectively: probably few minstrels were in Court at this time of year; most would make as much money as possible in the summer weeks between Corpus Christi and Michaelmas, when conditions were favourable for itinerant minstrelsy.

⁶⁵ Adam Skirewith was in Court for all 365 days of the years 31 Ed I and 34 Ed I; Robert de Finchesle, likewise, did not absent himself in 34 Ed I; Robert Chaunceler was present for the whole of 4 Ed II; John de Staunton was absent for only 11 days of 5 Ed II (which was a leap year), in which year Chaunceler was absent for only 22 days. See E101.364.13, f. 24v; E101.368.27, ff. 20 and 21v; E101.374.5, f. 33v; E101.373.26, f. 27; Nero C.viii, f. 132v.

⁶⁶ See below, pp. 188 and n. 6.

⁶⁷ E101.374.5, f. 34; E101.373.26, f. 26v.

⁶⁸ See below, pp. 190 f.

⁶⁹ E101.364.13, f. 24v; E101.368.27, f. 20.

Under Henry VII, some minstrels seem to have been in residence far more than in previous reigns. The king's trumpets, [107] sackbuts and string-minstrels received wages every month, as did Bonetemps:⁷⁰ the French minstrels, on the other hand, were paid quarterly, which may indicate that they spent less time in Court.⁷¹

Instruments

The minstrels owned their instruments.⁷² It was not unusual, however, for the king to make a gift to a minstrel who needed a new instrument, or who required materials for repairs. Two new trumpets elicited a gift of 40.0d in 25 Ed I: when a similar gift was made seven years later, travelling-expenses were included, for the Court was at Newcastle on Tyne, and it was necessary for Robert de York to travel to London for suitable instruments.⁷³ Probably the majority of reputable instrument- [108] makers in England lived in London.⁷⁴ A gift made for the same purpose at Dunfermline by the Prince of Wales to one of his trumpeters, however, included no travelling-expenses:⁷⁵ possibly the instrument was bought from the maker who supplied trumpets to the Scottish Court. A gift to one of the king's *vigiles* to buy *diversa instrumenta* may or may not refer to musical instruments.⁷⁶ On one occasion the king paid compensation to a minstrel of the Constable of Pontefract Castle, from whom he took an instrument which was then given to one of his own minstrels. This may be the instrument which the king later broke, making a gift of the same amount (20.0d) in compensation.⁷⁷

A number of manuscript illuminations show that harpers kept their instruments in a bag. Unfortunately, this is not the sort of expense that we could expect to find recorded in the Wardrobe Books, and the accounts provide no definite information. It is possible, however, that prests made to Nicholas de Eland, John de London and John de Depe on the price of ten ells of canvas each refer to cloth

⁷⁰ See below, ii, pp. 133–41, *passim*.

⁷¹ See E101.414.16, ff. 7 and 17. Alternatively, the quarterly payment may mean that the French minstrels were only temporary members of the household (i.e., “*qui non sunt*,” although the term was no longer in use): they were absent at Christmas, 1499 (see below, ii, p. 140).

The accounts searched for the present work unfortunately do not include wages to either the still minstrels or the queen's minstrels (these categories are distinct from the string-minstrels and from each other: see the New Year's gifts below, ii, p. 137 and *passim*). We cannot, therefore, guess at the periods of residence of these minstrels.

⁷² I except from this discussion the instruments owned and played by amateurs at Court – Henry V's harp, the various instruments of Henry VII's family, the collection of Henry VIII, etc. See below, pp. 206 f and n. 57.

⁷³ See below, ii, pp. 17 and 41. Robert's *socius* was Richard de Blida.

⁷⁴ See below, ii, Appendix F.

⁷⁵ See below, ii, pp. 39 f.

⁷⁶ See below, ii, p. 46.

⁷⁷ See below, ii, p. 94.

for instrument-bags.⁷⁸ I have found no other household servants using canvas. In 1352 the Black Prince gave [109] pouches to two of his pipers to put their pipes in,⁷⁹ but the record does not say of what the pouches were made.

The Black Prince seems to have been generous in giving instruments to his minstrels.⁸⁰ New instruments, silver-gilt and enamelled, were delivered to the four pipers of the Count of Eu in 1352:⁸¹ and on the same day the prince gave his minstrels a bagpipe, a cornemuse and a tabor, the latter, like the four pipes, being silver-gilt and enamelled.⁸² These instruments were probably outside the financial reach of the minstrels: so, too, would be the two silver trumpets for which the prince paid 19 marks in 1346, and which he gave to Ralph de Exeter and John Martin, his trumpeters.⁸³ In 1352 the prince gave a drum to one of his minstrels.⁸⁴

The pipes for which pouches were given in this latter year⁸⁵ [110] were presumably shawms, which would be small enough to be carried easily. A gift of £6.13.4d made to Jakelyn the piper in 1358 to help towards making him a new pipe,⁸⁶ however, suggests a fine set of bagpipes at least, for the sum is considerable.

Most small repairs to their instruments, such as fitting a new head to makers, could probably be effected by the minstrels themselves.⁸⁷ Running repairs would not be expensive, and the minstrels presumably bore the cost.

Larger repairs would usually be the work of an instrument-maker:⁸⁸ a minstrel who could undertake major repairs must have been exceptional. One such was Earl Warrenne's organist, who was employed by the Prince of Wales in 31 Ed I to overhaul an organ. Master John evidently had considerable skill as an organ-builder, for the job took nine days, and seems to have involved repairs to the pipe-work.⁸⁹

⁷⁸ 29 Ed I: Add 7966A, f. 167.

⁷⁹ *RegBP*, iv, p. 72.

⁸⁰ In the accounts of the Black Prince searched for the present work, no records were found of gifts for the buying of instruments: this does not, of course, mean that the prince did not make such gifts.

⁸¹ *RegBP*, iv, p. 73: also Rastall/*MERH*, p. 21.

⁸² *RegBP*, iv, pp. 73 and 157.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, i, p. 30, and iv, p. 157. For the two silver trumpets in the inventories of Edward I's jewels and plate, see below, ii, pp. 20, 25, 42 and 47. John de Cateloyne's trumpet was made of copper (see below, ii, p. 40), while that of a minstrel of the Black Prince was of latten (see above, p. 72, n. 46: latten is a mixture of copper, zinc, lead and tin).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, iv, p. 72.

⁸⁵ See above, n. 79.

⁸⁶ *RegBP*, iv, p. 251.

⁸⁷ See below, ii, pp. 39, 42 and 52.

⁸⁸ A minstrel would not be expected to provide a new section for a trumpet, for instance. See above, p. 72 and n. 46.

⁸⁹ See below, ii, p. 38.

Apart from the silver trumpets already mentioned,⁹⁰ the only instruments not owned by the minstrels were various tabors and horns used for fowling.⁹¹ These, however, were probably used not by the minstrels but by the beaters, simply for making [111] noise.⁹²

Horses

In war-time, royal servants had their own horses valued, and their wages were fixed accordingly.⁹³ If a horse died in the king's service a payment was made in compensation, and at other times the king might make a gift for the purchase or replacement of a horse. These payments and gifts were usually recorded in the *Restaurum Equorum* and *Dona* sections respectively of the Wardrobe Books.⁹⁴

The usual payment made to squires, including minstrels, was 40.0d: this seems to have been the value of a good average hackney. When the king made a gift for the replacement of a horse, it was normally of the same sum, although it evidently depended upon the status of the recipient: King Capiny, for instance, received 73.4d (i.e. £3.13.4d, or 5¹/₂ marks), while Roger de Porchester, waferer, and Nicholas de Wycombe, *vigilis*, were given only 24.0d and 20.0d respectively.⁹⁵

[112] With the Court often travelling, the king sometimes found it necessary to enable visiting servants and those "qui non sunt" to buy themselves horses. In this case a low-quality animal was probably considered adequate for the purpose, and the gift was only 20.0d or 13.4d.⁹⁶ The Wardrobe Books also record gifts of saddles to minstrels "qui non sunt".⁹⁷

Most royal minstrels probably had at least one horse in Court whenever they were resident there, both for travelling with the Court and for going home or elsewhere between feasts.⁹⁸ Some had more, although the three horses given to

⁹⁰ See above, n. 83.

⁹¹ See below, ii, pp. 16, 32, 38 and 42.

⁹² For the minstrels in attendance on such expeditions *temp.* Ed IV, see above, n. 4. It may be that some falconers could themselves produce minstrelsy which was acceptable on such occasions: musical names amongst the falconers indicate this as a possibility. See below, ii, pp. 17, 18 and 113 (three items).

⁹³ See below, p. 116.

⁹⁴ For Wardrobe Book entries concerning horses, see below, ii, Appendix A, *passim*.

⁹⁵ See below, ii, pp. 47, 84, 94 and 141.

⁹⁶ See below, ii, pp. 41 (26.8d to Nicholas de Doncaster and John Crakestreng: 13.4d to John, messenger and minstrel of the Earl *Saband'*) and 93 (20.0d to Bernard de Burdegala).

⁹⁷ See below, ii, pp. 24 and 88.

⁹⁸ Prests on the price of hay and corn are not uncommon in the Wardrobe Books: see below, ii, p. 37 and n. 28, and p. 84, for instance. The *Liber Niger* of Edward IV required that lodgings be found for the minstrels and their horses, near to the Court: see *Ords & Regs*, p. 48. No numbers are stated, although the assumption seems to be that all thirteen minstrels were mounted.

the queen's psaltery-player in 28 Ed I were an exceptional gift.⁹⁹ Other minstrels may have done without a horse whenever possible: the cost of stabling and feeding a horse was perhaps too much for the poorer [112] minstrels: Richard de Blida may not have had a horse when he was sent out of Court in 9 Ed II, since one was bought for him.¹⁰⁰

The Wardrobe Books, unfortunately, give no hint that minstrels who visited Court were mounted: nor do they provide evidence that royal minstrels were mounted when they worked as itinerant performers away from Court. Ivo Vala and Thomas Denys were apparently unmounted when they came to Court in 6 Ed II, since the king had to equip them with both horses and saddles in order to take them to France as his own minstrels.¹⁰¹ On the other hand, it was probably not uncommon for the best minstrels to be on horseback: in the time of Henry VI the fraternity of the Holy Cross at Abingdon paid for the "dyet and horsemeat" of the minstrels who performed at their annual feast.¹⁰²

The accounts of certain towns in Kent show that a number of liveried minstrels sometimes, but by no means invariably, travelled on horseback. A mounted minstrel of the Archbishop of Canterbury who was paid at New Romney in 1453-4 may have been in his master's company,¹⁰³ and the same may be true of the mounted [114] minstrels of the Earl of Arundel who received gifts at Dover in 1470-1 and 1494-5.¹⁰⁴ In the latter cases, however, the gifts for wine and horsemeat suggest that the minstrels were travelling independently of the Earl's household.¹⁰⁵ For the same reason, the king's minstrels who visited Lydd in 1458-9, and who received 22d for the expenses of "them and ther horse", were probably not travelling with the Court.¹⁰⁶

In this last entry, "horse" might be either singular or plural. In any case, we cannot assume that royal or other liveried minstrels were always mounted. The payment to the *histriones equestres* of the queen in the Canterbury accounts for 1477-8 seems by implication to distinguish these minstrels from the other *his-*

⁹⁹ See below, ii, p. 20. The situation was probably different in war-time: on the return from France beginning in January, 13 Ed III (calendared below, ii, p. 102), the minstrels had two horses each, Francekinus, Bisshop and Polidod having three each and Whissh and Purchaseour having nine and six respectively.

¹⁰⁰ See below, ii, pp. 75 f. Richard was out of Court from 2 November until 31 January, 9 Ed II (E101.376.7, f. 83): he had already required assistance in setting up a home, and was probably not well-off. See below, ii, p. 65.

¹⁰¹ See below, ii, p. 73.

¹⁰² Hearne/*LNS*, ii, p. 598: "horsemeat" in this context refers to food for the horses.

¹⁰³ Dawson/*Kent*, p. 120.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 25 and 31: on the first occasion, the Earl was Warden of the Cinque Ports, and so may have been a regular traveller along the south coast.

¹⁰⁵ Payments for expenses or costs of visiting minstrels are common in these accounts. Most are unspecified, but a great number are for wine and bread, especially in the Dover records. These would seem unnecessary if the town was extending hospitality to the noble whose livery the minstrels wore.

¹⁰⁶ Dawson/*Kent*, p. 94.

triones paid at Canterbury that year. The 20d paid to the mounted minstrels, too, compares unfavourably with the payments to the other minstrels, and there were probably fewer of the former.¹⁰⁷

[115]

Wages

During the fourteenth century the royal minstrels and *vigiles*, like other squires, received either 7¹/₂d or 4¹/₂d per day for their wages whenever they were in Court.¹⁰⁸ According to the ordinances of Edward II's household the amount paid to the four minstrels in permanent attendance was decided by the Steward and Treasurer of the household.¹⁰⁹ Probably they decided the wages to be paid to all minstrels, "soun estate" being the main consideration: whether this phrase refers to a minstrel's seniority in the household or – as in the case of Edward IV's *wayte* – to his ability,¹¹⁰ it is impossible to tell. In any case, there were evidently other considerations to be taken into account, for ability or seniority alone could not explain some of the fluctuations in minstrels' wages. The accounts for 33–34 Ed III, for example, show that Elias the piper was paid 7¹/₂d per day between 19 May and 5 August, but only 4¹/₂d per day between 6 August and 12 December.¹¹¹

[116] The wages of those "qui non sunt" were presumably decided according to status and ability. Earl Warrenne's trumpeters, Nicholas de Doncaster and John Crakestreng, were each paid 9d per day, for the livery that they wore commanded much respect and they were probably very skilled minstrels: the Welsh trumpeters Yven and Ithel, on the other hand, who appear to have been independent minstrels, each received only 2d per day.¹¹²

In the fourteenth century, wages during war-time were usually increased to 12d by the addition of 4¹/₂d or 7¹/₂d as appropriate to the wage already allocated on the marshall's roll. The household ordinances of 18–21 Ed III give 12d per day, without qualification, as a minstrel's wage during war-time:¹¹³ but in practice the

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 4: the payments to the other minstrels are calendared above, p. 36, n. 85.

¹⁰⁸ The *vigiles* seem often to have had lower status than the minstrels, with appropriate lower pay. In 33–34 Ed III the peace-time wages of William Harding, minstrel, and Gerard le Wayte (both of whom were *vigilatores* as well as minstrels) were 6¹/₂d and 6d respectively, compared with 7¹/₂d to other minstrels: see E101.393.11, ff. 117 f. For the wages of waferers, see below, p. 189.

¹⁰⁹ Ordinances of 1318, pr. Tout/*Ed. II*, p. 303. These two trumpeters and two minstrels "serrount a gagez et a robez, chescun solonqe soun estate al discrecoun seneschall et tresorer".

¹¹⁰ See below, p. 117 and n. 118.

¹¹¹ E101.393.11, f. 117.

¹¹² Doncaster and Crakestreng, 32 Ed I: Add 8835, f. 39: they also had the expense of two grooms and two horses. For Yven and Ithel, I Ed II, see E101.373.15, ff. 14v, 15v, 17v and 19.

¹¹³ *Ords & Regs*, p. 9 (pr. from Harley 782, ff. 62–71v.).

wage depended on the value of a minstrel's horse. Some minstrels who received 4¹/₂d on the marshal's roll had their wage increased only to 9d in war-time because they did not possess horses *ad arma*.¹¹⁴

In Henry IV's reign the war-time wage of a minstrel of the Prince of Wales was 8d, although their leader, John Cliff, [117] received 12d per day.¹¹⁵ This may have been a lower wage than the king's minstrels received: but the Lancastrians' difficult financial situation almost certainly forced them to revise their wages, and by 1439 the king's minstrels were all paid 4¹/₂d per day in peace-time.¹¹⁶ At this date none of Henry VI's minstrels seems to have been paid 7¹/₂d.

The lower wage of 4¹/₂d per day was also paid to the minstrels of Edward IV.¹¹⁷ The *Liber Niger* shows, too, that the *wayte* was paid only 4¹/₂d or 3d, according to his ability,¹¹⁸ the amount being decided by the Steward and Treasurer of the household.

During the fourteenth century, at least, the minstrels received their wages in the form of prests, or part-payments – often, it would seem, long in arrears, since many of the Wardrobe debts are very large.¹¹⁹ In Henry VII's reign, however, the minstrel's [118] wages were organised quite differently: the amounts were fixed according to the type of minstrel, and the system of payment by the day was superseded by monthly or quarterly accounting.

Henry VII's trumpets, sackbuts and string-minstrels were paid monthly, as was a minstrel named Bonetemps.¹²⁰ The trumpeters received £2.0.0d each per month: the sackbuts received £7.0.0d between the four of them until Trinity Sunday, 11 Hen VII, after which date the number of the sackbuts fluctuated and they

¹¹⁴ 8, 9 and 10 Ed III: see Nero C. viii, ff. 235v, 239v and 244: see below, ii, pp. 91 f. Of the minstrels and *vigiles*, only Northleigh, Marchis and Wycombe in 8 Ed III and Marchis, William Harding, John Harding and Wycombe in 9 Ed III did not have suitable horses.

¹¹⁵ 4 and 5 Hen IV: E101.404.24 (calendared below, ii, p. 121).

¹¹⁶ *CPR*, Henry VI, vol. 3 (1436–1441), p. 303. The payment for robes also decreased at about this time: see below, p. 119.

¹¹⁷ *Ords & Regs*, p. 48.

¹¹⁸ “He ... taketh ... dayly, if he be present in the courte by the chekker rolle, 4¹/₂d or 3d by the discession of the Steward and Thesaurer, and aftyr the cunnyng that he can, and good deservyng; also cloathing with the household yomen or minstrelles, according to the wages that he taketh:” *Ords & Regs*, p. 48.

¹¹⁹ See below, ii, pp. 60 and 103, for instance. We should expect the king's debts to be greater in war-time because of his increased expenditure. It may be, too, that that portion of a servant's war-time wage which was allocated to him on the marshal's roll was payable only when he returned to Westminster or elsewhere. Details of war-time wages always state what part of the wage was allocated *in rotulo marescalli* and what was due to the minstrel *hic* (i.e., wherever the king was). If the former portion was not payable during a campaign, then it would accumulate as a Wardrobe debt.

¹²⁰ See below, ii, pp. 133–41, *passim*. For a possible identification of Bonetemps, see Rastall/*MERH*, p. 37 and n. 5, and p. 39.

invariably received £2.0.0d each per month.¹²¹ The three string-minstrels were paid £100.0d every month, but this was not divided equally: when there were only two of them the wage was 60.0d, while a payment of 40.0d to a single string-minstrel shows him to have been the leader of the three.¹²² Bonetemps received only 20.0d per month.

[119] The accounts searched do not include records of payments to Henry VII's still minstrels, nor to the queen's minstrels. The wages paid to the French minstrels, too, seem usually to have been recorded elsewhere, and the two items which appear in the accounts calendared below do not show how many French minstrels there were.¹²³ Records of two payments to Arnold Jeffrey, Prince Arthur's organ-player, show that he was paid 10.0d per quarter.¹²⁴

Liveries

The minstrels normally received liveries of two robes per year. In the fourteenth century the usual allowance to squires was 20.0d per robe, although some senior squires received slightly more cloth for their winter livery, with a correspondingly increased allowance.¹²⁵ By the middle of Henry VI's reign, however, the allowance to minstrels had decreased to 10.0d per robe,¹²⁶ and this smaller allowance continued under Edward IV.¹²⁷

[120] Those *vigiles* who were also minstrels sometimes received the same livery and allowance.¹²⁸ Most, however, received only one robe per year (as did certain minstrels),¹²⁹ the allowance for which was 20.0d or – more usually – 2 marks.

¹²¹ See below, ii, pp. 134 ff. The “sackbuts” of these accounts were in fact the sackbuts and shawms: see Rastall/*MERH*, pp. 36 and 40. The Guillam mentioned in E101.414.6, f. 36v (calendared below, ii, p. 134), was presumably William Burgh, also known as Guyllam Borrow (see Lafontaine/*Musick*, pp. 2 f).

¹²² E101.414.16, f. 38v (calendared below, ii, p. 139): this was payment of wages for the month of August, which his companions had already received.

¹²³ See below, ii, p. 138: they were paid quarterly, at a wage of 66.8d (five minstrels at 13.4d each?).

¹²⁴ See below, ii, p. 139.

¹²⁵ Thus in 32 and 34 Ed I John Drake, waferer, received 2 marks for each winter robe: Add 8835, ff. 112 and 117; E101.369.11, ff. 156 and 163. The same allowance was made to Andrew Norreys, King of Heraldry, in 12 and 13 Ed III: E36.203, f. 122v. The usual minstrel's allowance of 20.0d per robe was for 6 ells of narrow cloth and one lamb-skin (an ell is 45 inches).

¹²⁶ E101.409.0, ff. 37 f. (20–21 Hen VI): c.f. above, p. 117.

¹²⁷ *Ords & Regs*, p. 48 (*Liber Niger*).

¹²⁸ William Harding, for instance: see E36.204, f. 90v (16–18 Ed III), and E101.393.11, f. 77 (33–34 Ed III). For Edward IV's *wayte*, see above, p. 117, n. 118.

¹²⁹ The reason for this distinction amongst the minstrels is not apparent: perhaps they had been absent at Christmas or Pentecost. The minstrels concerned are Janotus and Dominic, the queen's minstrels, in 9 Ed II: Ivo Vala, Reymund Cosyn and Thomas Citoler in 13 Ed II. See below, ii, pp. 76 and 78.

This latter payment allowed for a warmer robe if the garment had to last for a whole year. The *vigiles*, of course, were more in need of warm clothes than most servants, for they had to keep watch during the night throughout the year. As a protection against the cold, they were sometimes given a tunic or a cloak with a hood as an additional winter livery:¹³⁰ the allowance for this was usually 6.8d, which was enough for 2 or 3 ells of cloth and a lamb-skin. By the middle of Henry VI's reign this extra livery had been discontinued, the *vigilatores* receiving 6 ells of cloth in two colours.

The waferer, if he were a minstrel or other squire of the household, also received liveries like those of the minstrels, being allowed 40.0d for two robes, or 2 marks or 20.0d for a robe for the whole year. A waferer who was a valet received only [121] 13.4d for a robe for the whole year, and a groom waferer received 10.0d. Valets and grooms also received an allowance for winter and summer shoes, usually 2.4d per season. This 4.8d brought a valet's total annual allowance for liveries to 18.0d: this, like the minstrels' robes-allowance, was halved in Henry VI's reign.¹³¹

The winter and summer robes were delivered in time for the major feasts of Christmas and Pentecost, so that the new liveries could be worn during the festivities. A servant who absented himself from Court on one of these feasts was not entitled to his allowance for the new robe.¹³²

Exceptionally, special robes might be given to certain servants, or the robes-livery might be increased. Thus at Pentecost, 13 Ed II, King Robert was given a robe containing 9 ells of cloth and two furs; and on the same occasion robes were given to two minstrels of the King of France, each containing 7 ells of cloth and one lamb-skin.¹³³ At Christmas, 4 Ed III, the robes [122] delivered to the queen's minstrels each contained 7 ells of cloth.¹³⁴ One reason for increased liveries was the presence of a distinguished guest whom the king wished to impress: at Pentecost, 3 Hen V, for instance, celebrated in the presence of the Emperor, the Duke of Holland, and other lords, the sixteen minstrels received lined gowns of three colours.¹³⁵

¹³⁰ See below, ii, pp. 44, 82, 87, 108 and 113. The Black Prince gave his *vigiles* an extra fur: see below, ii, p. 99.

¹³¹ See E101.409.16, f. 35v (25–26 Hen VI): the livery-list in E101.409.11, f. 39v (22 Hen VI), still gives 18.0d as a valet's allowance.

¹³² See below, ii, pp. 42, 47 and 76. This did not, of course, apply if a minstrel was out of Court on the king's business: thus Richard de Blida received his winter allowance for 9 Ed II, although he must have been out of Court at Christmas. See above, n. 100, and below, ii, p. 76.

¹³³ Add 17362, f. 33v. Robert's robe cost 33.2¹/₂d, while those of Tussetus and Trumellus cost 24.9d each. The king's livery was not yet confined exclusively to his own household: see below, ii, p. for a gift of Edward III's livery to minstrels of the Black Prince.

¹³⁴ Rylands 234, f. 27.

¹³⁵ Stowe 1043, f. 227v. For the livery of William Corff, the harper, see *ibid.*, f. 220v.

Liveries could also be given for lesser feasts. In 4 Ed III Queen Philippa's *vigilis* received a tunic for the feast of St Mary Magdalene (22 July), in addition to the robe and winter tunic already delivered to him at Christmas that year.¹³⁶

Liveries were especially impressive at coronation and royal weddings. For the wedding of Princess Philippa in 1406, the queen's household received liveries of scarlet and green robes: those delivered to the minstrels each contained 8 ells of cloth.¹³⁷ Scarlet was a colour apparently reserved for these occasional celebrations: the liveries for the queen's coronation in 9 Hen V were again scarlet.¹³⁸

We have seen that money for robes was occasionally received [123] as a gift. Where a household servant was concerned, this may have been the simplest way of providing a robe for a servant who had been away from Court on royal business when the liveries were made.¹³⁹ To those who were not household servants,¹⁴⁰ this was not only a practical gift: it was also a mark of favour, for a royal livery would command respect for the wearer. A minstrel who received livery from the Black Prince for being with him when the prince was ill was probably not at that time a royal minstrel.¹⁴¹

The record of this last item, however, does not say specifically that the robe was of the *prince's* livery; and although we can draw no conclusions from this fact, the question remains to what extent the royal livery distinguished a minstrel as a royal servant. The wording of the commission of 17 June, 1449,¹⁴² implies a uniform or distinguished badge which could be counterfeited. It was not a matter of the colour of the robe, for that changed annually.¹⁴³ If metal scutcheons were used, I have found [124] no indication of it in the Wardrobe Books.¹⁴⁴ Probably a badge was embroidered on a livery-robe – this was certainly Richard II's method of distinguishing his servants.¹⁴⁵ The cost of such a badge might have been in-

¹³⁶ Rylands 234, ff. 3 and 18: the tunic contained 3 ells of cloth.

¹³⁷ E101.406.10, f. 3.

¹³⁸ E101.407.4, f. 37v.

¹³⁹ See below, ii, p. 24, for instance. John, *vigilis*, does not appear to have received his robe at Christmas in the normal way.

¹⁴⁰ See above, p. 121 and n. 133.

¹⁴¹ See below, ii, p. 96. The Latin reads "It'm j cote et cloth de drape de Tanne furr' de mannier. Done a j menestral de Schareshall esteant ovesqz mons' le Duk' en sa maladie."

¹⁴² See above, p. 10.

¹⁴³ Nor were the robes uniform in any one year: those delivered to the *vigilatores*, for instance, were often in different colours from those of the minstrels.

¹⁴⁴ Scutcheons in any case could not be easily counterfeited: nor would they be a practical badge for an itinerant minstrel. Within certain households, however, scutcheons were probably worn: see B.M. Royal MS 14.E.iv, f. 244v (Flemish, 15th cent.), which shows King John of Portugal entertaining John of Gaunt; the king's servants wear scutcheon and chain in addition to an embroidered badge.

¹⁴⁵ Many non-household retainers of Richard II wore his livery and badge: see *Tout/Chapters*, iv, p. 10. At other times the royal livery was probably more restricted.

cluded in that of the livery-robe, or perhaps each royal servant paid for his own badge: in either case the payment would not appear in the Wardrobe accounts.

Gifts and Grants

The *Dona* sections of the Wardrobe Books of Edward I's reign are large, and shed considerable light on the whole subject of minstrelsy at Court: those of the following reigns are smaller, but remain very revealing until the end of Edward III's reign.

The great majority of entries in the *Dona* sections are gifts to minstrels – royal, liveried or independent – who performed in the presence of the king or other members of the royal family. Sometimes the gift was bestowed for a specific purpose – to enable an independent minstrel who had played well to return to his [125] own district, or to help a royal minstrel to set up a home or to buy himself another horse, for instance.¹⁴⁶

These and other gifts not specifically give for minstrelsy sometimes seem to take the place of perfectly normal payments which could have been recorded elsewhere in the accounts. Thus royal servants carrying messages sometimes received their expenses as a direct gift from the king rather than as a payment which would be recorded in the *Nuncii* section of the Wardrobe accounts. The expediency of such a course is obvious: the payment was made with the maximum of speed and administrative simplicity.¹⁴⁷

In many cases, however, there was probably no alternative. The Wardrobe was not responsible for paying the expenses of messengers or minstrels who came to the king from other nobles:¹⁴⁸ nor could payments easily be made for horses or other necessaries needed by a non-household minstrel who travelled for a while with the Court.¹⁴⁹ Sometimes, too, the king's own minstrels were ordered to remain in a certain place while the king moved on, or a minstrel was taken ill and was left behind: in these cases a gift was perhaps the only practical way of paying their expenses in advance.¹⁵⁰

[126] The king's generosity to his own minstrels extended beyond their professional life at Court. As we have seen, the king sometimes helped his minstrels to set up a home or to visit their own district:¹⁵¹ and he would give money to a minstrel who was poor, or who wished to go on a pilgrimage.¹⁵²

For Richard II's white hart badge, see the late 14th-century Wilton Diptych in the National Gallery.

¹⁴⁶ See above, pp. 104 and 111 f.

¹⁴⁷ Other such gifts are discussed above, pp. 105 (n. 61), 108 (n. 77), 110 (n. 87) and 151 f.

¹⁴⁸ See below, ii, pp. 16, 17 and 24, for instance.

¹⁴⁹ See above, p. 112 and nn. 96 and 97.

¹⁵⁰ See below, ii, pp. 40, 45 and 65 (two items).

¹⁵¹ See above, pp. 103 f.

¹⁵² See below, ii, pp. 62, 119 and 82.

After the reign of Edward III the *Dona* sections in the Wardrobe Books all but disappear. The king did not cease to bestow gifts, of course: it was simply that the gifts were recorded elsewhere.¹⁵³ Gifts were again recorded in the account-books of Henry VII, however, and a comparison of these accounts with the Wardrobe Books of Edward I's reign shows that in the intervening two centuries the amount of the king's disbursements in gifts to minstrels had altered very little.¹⁵⁴

[127] A notable change in gifts made by Henry VII as compared with those of his predecessors is the amount of money given to town waits. We can be quite sure that in earlier reigns, too, minstrels played when the king entered or left a town,¹⁵⁵ and many gifts to minstrels, unspecified in the Wardrobe Books, were probably made on such occasions. But with the widespread establishment of town waits the account-books give us a fuller picture of the minstrelsy that greeted the king at the gates of a medieval town.¹⁵⁶ During the four years under consideration Henry VII made at least twelve gifts, totalling £7.10.0d, to town waits (some of the gifts to "minstrels" of London, Northampton, etc., may refer to town waits, but they are not included in this [128] total).

The 14th-century Wardrobe Books record gifts made to minstrels when they left the service of a royal household.¹⁵⁷ In the case of a minstrel who was too old to work, such a gift cannot have provided much financial support in his retirement. For many royal servants, however, the king provided some security for this par-

¹⁵³ Gifts were recorded in the Issue Rolls, for instance, even before Edward III's death: see *Devon/Issues*, pp. 159, 171, 247, 318, 413 and 452 (ranging in date from 27 Ed III to 23 Hen VI). The rewards of some junior royal servants seem to have been standardised, and these are recorded in the Wardrobe Books. Towards the end of Richard II's reign the household grooms received a fixed annual reward of 20.0d, which was temporarily decreased to 16.8d in 27 or 28 Hen VI; in 19–20 Ed IV they received only 13.4d for their rewards: see below, ii, pp. 119–31, *passim*.

¹⁵⁴ In the years 25, 29, 32 and 34 Ed I the king's gifts to minstrels (calendared below, ii, pp. 16 f, 23 f, 40 ff. and 45 f.) totalled £71.9.2d, £25.9.6d, £21.9.11d and £224.14.8d. Of the total for 25 Ed I, £41.10.0d were due to the wedding of the Princess Elizabeth; of that for 34 Ed I, the 1306 Pentecost feast and the weddings of the two favoured nobles accounted for £170.10.8d. 34 Ed I was an expensive year by any standards; but if we disregard the occasional expense of the royal wedding in 25 Ed I, the years 25, 29 and 32 Ed I average just over £25.0.0d disbursed in eleven or thirteen gifts.

The accounts for the four years of Henry VII's reign calendared below (ii, pp. 133–41) show an average of £41.16.3d per year spent in gifts to minstrels (I exclude gifts to players and the poet), in an average of twenty-two gifts per year. £64.13.4d of this expenditure, however, was given to the royal minstrels for their New Year largess; and if we omit this from our total, the average total per year shrinks to just over £25.0.0d, within a few pence of the average noted above in Edward I's reign. Since Henry VII gave money more frequently than Edward I, his gifts must have been smaller.

¹⁵⁵ See below, ii, pp. 41 and 101, for instance.

¹⁵⁶ Henry VII's itinerary is not easy to follow from his account-books, and I have not included places of payment in my calendar for his reign: but as far as I can see the gifts to town waits were made in their own towns.

¹⁵⁷ See below, ii, pp. 17, 18 f, 52 (two items) and 119.

ticular contingency: as we have seen, some minstrels were maintained by religious houses after they had left Court.¹⁵⁸

Both the king and other nobles had another, more common method of providing a pension for their servants, however. A grant of land or property enabled a servant to make what income he could out of it; alternatively, he could be granted a fixed income from the issues of certain lands.¹⁵⁹ Such a grant might be “during [129] pleasure” or for life: if the latter, then provision was made for the servant’s retirement.

In the fourteenth century such grants were perhaps made to only a few royal minstrels.¹⁶⁰ Under Henry VI, however, these grants were standardised and given to all minstrels, in accordance with a verbal grant of Henry V.¹⁶¹ At first this grant of 100.0d *per annum* was made only during the king’s pleasure:¹⁶² later, between 1439 and 1447, the same sum was granted to each of the minstrels for life.^{162a} Almost immediately, the grants were [130] raised to 10 marks *per annum*, and by 1452 all the minstrels were receiving the increased grant.¹⁶³ In the struggles between the king and the Duke of York, the grants of some of the minstrels

¹⁵⁸ See above, p. 77, n. 71.

¹⁵⁹ For William de Morley, see above, p. 37. In 1405 William Bingley, king’s minstrel, was granted the office of bailiff of the town and lordship of Flint, in Wales, with the due fees, wages, profits and other commodities; with two cottages in Oundle and the reversion of a cottage in Fotheringay: *CPR*, Henry IV, vol. 3 (1405–1408), p. 55. In 1413 William Haliday received a grant of £20.13.4d *per annum*: *CPR*, Henry V, vol. 1 (1413–1416), p. 130.

See also Farmer/*Scotland*, p. 42 (lands given to Thomas the harper by Robert II of Scotland); Blount/*Tenures*, p. 36 (land given to Gilbert the harper by Edward I); *CPR*, Edward III, vol. 10 (1354–1358), pp. 41 and 102 (grants to Peter le fitheler and Peter le crouder: perhaps not minstrels); *CPR*, Henry IV, vol. 3 (1405–1408), p. 117 (grant to William Wolston, trumpeter of the Earl of Northumberland); *CPR*, Henry V, vol. 1 (1413–1416), p. 137 (grant to Hugh Cook, trumpeter of Lord Beaumont).

¹⁶⁰ I do not know how many royal minstrels received such a grant, although a thorough search of all the relevant *CPR* volumes might produce the required information. Those who were maintained by religious houses in their retirement presumably did not have any income once they had left Court.

¹⁶¹ *CPR*, Henry VI, vol. 1 (1422–1429), pp. 102 (14 May, 1423) and 234 (26 October, 1424). Guy Middleton was not included in this grant, and he seems at this time to have ranked as a *vigilator* rather than as a minstrel: see below, ii, p. 125.

This standardised grant may have been partly in lieu of gifts, for Henry V was probably too short of ready money to give a fixed annual cash reward to his minstrels (c.f. the case of grooms, n. 153, above): see Devon/*Issues*, p. 423, for the plate delivered by Henry V to John Cliff as security for the money owed to him for his wages. In Edward IV’s reign Alexander Mason received an extra grant for his “regard”: see below, p. 130.

¹⁶² Thomas Radcliff and William Paynell received the same grant in 1437 and 1438 respectively: *CPR*, Henry VI, vol. 3 (1436–1441), pp. 129 and 141.

^{162a} *CPR*, Henry VI, vol. 3 (1436–1441), p. 303; *CPR*, Henry VI, vol. 4 (1441–1446), p. 71; *CPR*, Henry VI, vol. 5 (1446–1452), pp. 42 and 72 f.

¹⁶³ *CPR*, Henry VI, vol. 5 (1446–1452), pp. 49, 130, 200, 250, 505 and 512.

reverted for a time to their former value of 100.0d *per annum*.¹⁶⁴ I do not know the reason for this: but under Edward IV, 10 marks became again the grant payable to each minstrel.¹⁶⁵ Alexander Mason, however, was evidently especially favoured, for in addition to the 10 marks that he received as a king's minstrel, he received another 10 marks for his reward:¹⁶⁶ and in another six years he had been granted the reversion of the office of Marshal of the minstrels.¹⁶⁷

At the end of Edward IV's reign, and at the beginning of [131] Richard III's, these grants had the same value, except that William Clifton received only 50.0d *per annum*: Alexander Mason still received 20 marks, and the other minstrels 10 marks *per annum*.¹⁶⁸ Each of these grants was payable out of the issues of land, detailed in Harley 433.

Constitution and Administration

The inventory of royal minstrels for our period¹⁶⁹ shows the variety of instruments played at Court. The king always had trumpets, nakers, pipes of various sorts (including bagpipes), tabors and at least one harp: but at different times the king's minstrels also included players of the lute, citole, psaltery, gittern, crowd, fiddle, viol and organ, and such entertainers as rymers, *gestours* and fools.

The actual number of the king's minstrels at any given time is not easy to determine. The ordinances of 1318 require two trumpeters and two other minstrels to be present in Court throughout the year, but do not state the number of minstrels coming for feasts: the ordinances of 18–21 Ed III list sixteen [132] minstrels: those of 1455 list four minstrels in constant attendance, with another nine coming at the principal feasts: and the *Liber Niger* gives the same total of thirteen for Edward IV's minstrels.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁴ CPR, Henry VI, vol. 6 (1452–1461), pp. 458 and 507.

¹⁶⁵ CPR, Edward IV (1461–1467), pp. 221, 293 and 297 (the grant to William Christian was payable out of the fee-farm of Cambridge: see Cooper/*Cambridge*, i, p. 213); CPR, Edward IV and Henry VI (1467–1477), pp. 42, 44, 61, 481, 482, 549, 565, 588 and 589; CPR, Edward IV, Edward V and Richard III (1476–1485), pp. 14, 89, 95, 198, 310, 389, 439, 470 and 473. For grants to other minstrels, see CPR, Edward IV (1461–1467), pp. 109 (10 marks to Thomas Draper, formerly granted by Humphrey, late Duke of Gloucester) and 297 (grant, to Robert Grey, of the "Lamb" in Distaff Lane, London, to the value of 40.0d *per annum*; CPR, Edward IV, Edward V and Richard III (1476–1485), p. 100 (5 marks *per annum* to William Barley, late a minstrel of George, late Duke of Clarence).

¹⁶⁶ In 1471: CPR, Edward IV and Henry VI (1467–1477), p. 261.

¹⁶⁷ In 1477: CPR, Edward IV, Edward V and Richard III (1476–1485), p. 22.

¹⁶⁸ See below, ii, pp. 131 f.

¹⁶⁹ Rastall/*MERH*: it is on this and on the livery-lists below, Appendix A, *passim*, that the following discussion is largely based. Except where otherwise stated, this section is concerned solely with those described as "minstrels" in livery-lists, etc. (including such waferers and *vigiles* as appear in these lists).

¹⁷⁰ For the ordinances of 1318, see Tout/*Ed. II*, p. 303; for those of 18–21 Ed III, 33 Hen VI and the *Liber Niger*, see *Ords & Regs*, pp. 9, 18 and 43 respectively.

In practice, this number was often exceeded. Edward I, for instance, seems to have had about eighteen minstrels in 34 Ed I, although the question is complicated by the uncertainty of distinguishing minstrels “qui non sunt” (those known to belong to this category being omitted from the total).

With the lists of minstrels in livery-rolls of Edward III’s reign onwards, it becomes plain that thirteen or so was a minimum number. Edward III employed as many as twenty minstrels; Henry V had sixteen or so; and although the number of Henry VI’s minstrels remained constant at thirteen for a few years in the middle of his reign, it later fluctuated between fourteen and seventeen, remaining at about sixteen under Edward IV. Henry VII must have had even more, for he made New Years’ gifts to his still minstrels – three of four of them, judging by the size of the gifts¹⁷¹ – as well as to his nine trumpeters, three sackbuts and three string-minstrels.

[133] It is also difficult to decide on the relative numbers of *haut* and *bas* minstrels, for our knowledge of many royal minstrels is confined to their names. Edward I was fond of indoor minstrelsy, judging by the number of harpers he employed, and his *bas* instrumentalists were probably the more numerous. But neither here nor in the reign of Edward II – who appears to have employed *haut* and *bas* musicians in roughly equal numbers – can we be precise, for our data are insufficient.

The same problem exists in Edward III’s reign: but so many of that king’s minstrels are known to have played *bas* instruments that the minstrels listed in the war-time ordinances of 18–21 Ed III cannot have been typical.^{171a} These minstrels are, in fact, what one would expect to find in a military expeditionary force of the period; there are five trumpeters, two clarioners, five pipers, a nakerer and a taborer, with only a fiddler and a citoler to make *bas* minstrelsy. The other *bas* minstrels no doubt went to France as archers or men-at-arms.

With the use of the designation “still minstrel” in Issue Warrants from Henry V’s reign onwards,¹⁷² it becomes possible to decide the exact numbers of *haut* and *bas* instrumentalists in certain livery-lists. Those of the reign of Henry VI divide [134] into equal numbers of “still” and *haut* minstrels.

Those of Edward IV’s reign apparently do the same. However, I am unable to put some of these minstrels into either category with certainty, and it is quite possible that they were “loud” minstrels, thus increasing the ratio of *haut* to *bas* instrumentalists. Edward IV seems to have employed eight or nine trumpeters by the end of his reign, so that of the thirteen minstrels mentioned in the *Liber Niger* as playing trumpets, shawms, small pipes and stringed instruments, very few can have made *bas* minstrelsy. The question arises, of course, how far the *Liber Niger* (or any other set of royal household ordinances) reflected the actual state of the king’s household: and while such ordinances were a blueprint from which

¹⁷¹ See below, ii, pp. 133, 135, 137 and 140. These still minstrels were perhaps the group later known as the “still shawms”: see Lafontaine/*Musick*, p. 4.

^{171a} Edward was in Flanders during July, 1345, and in France from July, 1346, until October, 1347.

¹⁷² P.R.O. Lists and Indexes, no. ix, vol. 2: *List and Index of Warrants for Issues, 1399–1485*.

the organisation of the household often deviated for one reason or another,¹⁷³ we must not suppose that the differences were very great.

Haut minstrels were certainly in the majority at Henry VII's court. Henry had eighteen or nineteen minstrels, of whom only six or seven (the three string-minstrels and three or four still minstrels) played *bas* instruments.

The household of an adult Prince of Wales was in many respects like the king's, with trumpeters, nakerer, *bas* minstrels [135] and so on probably in the same proportions. The Black Prince was independent enough to employ minstrels "qui non sunt", although this independence must have been exceptional. More often there was considerable interchange of minstrels between the prince's household and that of the king, with the prince's minstrels even being paid through the king's household.¹⁷⁴

The queen's minstrels were generally more distinct from the king's.¹⁷⁵ She did not normally require *haut* minstrelsy.¹⁷⁶ her *bas* minstrels numbered between one and three players. It would seem that a single psaltery-player or harper could be sufficient for her needs: at other times she might have both a violist and a psaltery-player, with perhaps a citoler or gitterner as well.

In addition to the minstrels of the king, the queen and their children, there were almost certainly minstrels in other household departments at Court. The waferers and *vigiles* made minstrelsy in a professional capacity and will be discussed later:¹⁷⁷ the falconers and huntsmen who played instruments have already been mentioned.¹⁷⁸

[136] A "musical" surname such as Harper does not, of course, necessarily indicate a professional musician.¹⁷⁹ A royal servant who could entertain his friends at their work was perhaps encouraged to do so,¹⁸⁰ and would not be of a professional standard to acquire the surname appropriate to his ability. John le Taburer, servant of the Almonry in 32 and 34 Ed I, was certainly not primarily a minstrel.¹⁸¹

¹⁷³ It is not possible here to discuss the reasons for which the various ordinances were drawn up. Those of 1318 and the *Liber Niger* are discussed in Tout/*Ed. II*, pp. 175 f, and Myers/*Ed. IV*, pp. 27 f, respectively: for those of 1455, see *Ords & Regs*, pp. 17 f.

¹⁷⁴ See below, ii, pp. 139 (two items) and 140, for payments to Prince Arthur's organ-player.

¹⁷⁵ This does not contradict my remarks above, p. 89, nn. 7 and 8: it does not seem that the queen's minstrels often made minstrelsy in the king's presence.

¹⁷⁶ See above, p. 89, nn. 7 and 8.

¹⁷⁷ See below, pp. 159–62 and 187–92, *passim*.

¹⁷⁸ See above, pp. 110 f and n. 92.

¹⁷⁹ Nor does it always indicate a minstrel of any sort: see above, p. 78 and n. 73; also above, n. 38.

¹⁸⁰ c.f. the "fool of the kitchen" in the Norfolk household: Collier/*Norfolk*, p. xxii.

¹⁸¹ See below, ii, pp. 40 (and n. 30) and 45.

Certain high officials at Court had their own minstrels, of course, and we cannot ignore the possibility that such a minstrel might work in the department headed by his master.¹⁸²

I have given my reasons for thinking that the Chamber was a suitable department for a young minstrel to work in.¹⁸³ The grooms of the household under Henry VI and Edward IV include a surprising number of names which suggest that their owners were the sons of royal minstrels – those of Marshall, Goodyere, Clifton, Wilde and Green, for instance.¹⁸⁴ This is not entirely idle [137] speculation, for Henry Glasebury, groom in 19 or 20 Ed IV, later became Marshal of the Minstrels.¹⁸⁵

Minstrelsy was a regular feature of the life of servants of the Chamber. Gifts to minstrels playing before the king in his chamber are not uncommon, and according to the 1318 ordinances, the four minstrels in constant attendance were to eat either in the Chamber or in the Hall as they were directed.¹⁸⁶

There were certainly some minstrels throughout our period who apparently had the special duty of producing a more intimate minstrelsy suitable for presentation in the chamber. In 11 or 12 Ed III we find a trumpeter amongst the servants of the Chamber: however, I cannot identify him with any minstrel known to me;¹⁸⁷ and the same must be said of Thomas Harper, successively groom and valet of the Chamber in the reign of Henry VI.¹⁸⁸

We are luckier with other names, however. In about 45 Ed III we find Nicholas Praga, Richard Wafrer and Peter Roos described as “*scutiferi Camere Regis*”.¹⁸⁹ Nicholas was a fiddler and [138] Peter a trumpeter: and although I have not found that Richard was ever paid for minstrelsy, they may all have been minstrels constantly in attendance on the king as required by the ordinances of 1318.

Nicholas and Peter were king’s minstrels, receiving liveries, etc., with other minstrels of the king’s household. This situation, in which a king’s minstrel seems to have the additional duty of playing to the king in his chamber, is found again in Henry VII’s reign. In the list of minstrels at Henry’s funeral in 1509, Bartram Brewer is described as “minstrel of the Chamber”, although early in the fol-

¹⁸² It is possible that Henry Glasebury was a groom of the Chamberlain rather than of the Chamber: see above, n. 49.

¹⁸³ See above, p. 100.

¹⁸⁴ See below, ii, pp. 128, 129 and 131. The cases of Green and Clifton are discussed above, n. 49.

¹⁸⁵ See below, ii, p. 131. He was Marshal at Easter, 1495: see Collier/*History*, i, p. 46.

¹⁸⁶ “... Et mangerount en chambre ou en la sale solong qils serrount comaundez”: Tout/*Ed. II*, p. 303. It is interesting that gifts for minstrelsy in the king’s chamber are never, apparently, to royal minstrels, but always to visiting minstrels: see below, ii, pp. 78 f, 83, 92 and 104.

¹⁸⁷ See below, ii, p. 97.

¹⁸⁸ See below, ii, pp. 127, 128 and 129: also above, n. 38.

¹⁸⁹ Calendared below, ii, p. 114.

lowing reign he appears – with other *bas* minstrels – under the heading of “the still shawms”.¹⁹⁰

In the reign of Edward IV it is possible that the minstrels performing in the chamber formed a group distinct from the main body of the minstrels. True, the accounts of 3–4 Ed IV do not make it clear that Thomas Wilde, Robert Green and John Harper were squires of the *Chamber*;¹⁹¹ but if we bear in mind the above discussion it seems more than a possibility. Robert Green was a king’s minstrel by Michaelmas, 13 Ed IV.¹⁹² and while I cannot show that Wilde and Harper also became king’s minstrels, both names are strongly connected with minstrelsy – Harper for [139] obvious reasons, and Wilde as the name of a family of minstrels.¹⁹³

Very little is known of the administration of minstrels within the royal households. The first clear indication of a leader amongst the royal minstrels is a grant of 1448, in which William Langton is described as “Marshal of the king’s minstrels”.¹⁹⁴ I am not aware that the post of Marshal normally entitled its holder to any special privileges, wages or liveries,¹⁹⁵ and there is no reason to think that the Marshal’s duties or authority were very great. The *Liber Niger* of Edward IV’s reign mentions only a “verger that directeth (the minstrels) in festivall days to theyre stations, to blowings and pipyngs, to suche offices as must be warned to prepare for the King and his houshold at metes and soupers, to be the more readie in all servyces; ...”¹⁹⁶ This presumably refers to the Marshal.

In the Wardrobe Books of the earlier fourteenth century there is nothing to suggest that the office of Marshal of the Minstrels was already in existence. In a livery-roll of 37–38 [140] Ed III, however, we find Hankin fitzLibkin entered as “Hankin Mareschall”.¹⁹⁷ Although Hankin is not at the head of this list, he had headed all the minstrel-lists for four years or so previously,¹⁹⁸ a position which may indicate that he had held the post of Marshal since 33 or 34 Ed III. He does not appear at the head of such lists again, but he is entered on a robes-list for 49

¹⁹⁰ See Lafontaine/*Musick*, pp. 3 f.

¹⁹¹ See below, ii, p. 129.

¹⁹² *CPR*, Edward IV and Henry VI (1467–1477), p. 482.

¹⁹³ See Rastall/*MERH*, pp. 29 f.

¹⁹⁴ *CPR*, Henry VI, vol. 5 (1446–1452), p. 200.

¹⁹⁵ On the basis of higher wages, I have assumed (above, pp. 116 and 118) that John Cliff and another were the leaders of the future Henry’s band and of Henry VII’s string-minstrels respectively. This assumption may turn out to be untenable.

¹⁹⁶ *Ords & Regs*, p. 48.

¹⁹⁷ See below, ii, p. 113.

¹⁹⁸ See below, ii, pp. 110 ff.

Ed III as “Hankin lodder”.¹⁹⁹ The title of “Marshal” is found again in the following reign, a list of Richard II’s minstrels being headed by “Henri Marchal”.²⁰⁰

Hankin and Henry were both pipers.²⁰¹ After them there is a gap of fifty years or more before the next known Marshal, William Langton. Langton was probably a *bas* minstrel, as was his successor, Walter Haliday. During Haliday’s tenure of the post, we find that the administration of the minstrels has divided into *haut* and *bas* sections, with Richard Paten holding the [141] post of Marshal of the Trumpeters and Haliday that of Marshal of the (still) minstrels.²⁰² This division continued, so that the Marshal of the Minstrels was always a *bas* minstrel.

The Marshal of the Trumpeters was probably more important than his colleague. In the list of minstrels at Richard III’s coronation the trumpeter John Crowland is described as “Marshal of the *Minstrels*” although Saunder Marshall (i.e. Alexander Mason) was also present.²⁰³ This probably reflects the higher status of the *haut* minstrel, and explains why the Marshal of the Minstrels was an *haut* minstrel in the days before the trumpeters had their own Marshal.

One question arises from this. There is a period between 1448 (if not earlier) and 1467 when the office of Marshal of the Minstrels was held by *bas* minstrels (Langton and Haliday), although we do not know of a Marshal of the Trumpeters. Was the [142] office of Marshal of the Trumpeters already in existence during this period?

The title of “Marshal” was not yet used for the head trumpeter, I think: but the office and its duties may well have been established before 1467. In a Patent Roll of 1447 John Panell is described as “the king’s serjeant”; he had then been in royal service longer than any other trumpeter except for Thomas Chatterton, and heads the list of the king’s trumpeters.²⁰⁴

¹⁹⁹ See below, ii, p. 116. I take this word to be derived from “lode” in the sense of a guide or leader, rather than “lodder” meaning a beggar or rogue.

²⁰⁰ See below, ii, p. 117.

²⁰¹ Rastall/*MERH*, p. 23: Henry’s identification was made on the basis of a comparison of minstrel-lists between the last years of Edward III’s reign and the early years of Henry IV’s. Henry is almost certainly the man otherwise known as Henry Piper: his name *Marshal* was not, then, a “fixed” surname (c.f. the case of Robert Marshal, 20 Hen VI – 1469, who cannot have been Marshal of the Minstrels after 1448).

²⁰² For Paten, see *CPR*, Edward IV – Henry VI (1467–1477), p. 42 (10 November, 1467). For other dates of tenure of the two Marshals’ posts, see Rastall/*MERH*, pp. 30–40, *passim*: the full references are: n. 194, above, and *CPR*, Henry VI, vol. 5 (1446–1452), p. 250 (Langton); *CPR*, Edward IV (1461–1467), p. 293 (Haliday); *CPR*, Edward IV, Edward V and Richard III (1476–1485), pp. 22 and 310 (Cliff); Lafontaine/*Musick*, p. 1 (Crowland and Mason); Collier/*History*, i, p. 46 (Glasebury); Lafontaine/*Musick*, p. 3 (Chamber); *ibid*, p. 4 (Chamber and Peter de Casa Nova).

²⁰³ Rastall/*MERH*, p. 34, taken from Lafontaine/*Musick*, p. 1. Evidently the Marshal of the Trumpeters was important enough to take charge of the still minstrels as well in matters which involved all the minstrels. We need not necessarily assume, therefore, that because the *Liber Niger* mentions only one “verger” controlling all the minstrels (including the trumpets) it must have been written before 1467.

²⁰⁴ 1 May, 1447: *CPR*, Henry VI, vol. 5 (1446–1452), pp. 72 f.

A serjeant held lands from the king in return for a specific service,²⁰⁵ and many household officers held their posts by serjeantry. In the case of the few minstrels known to have been serjeants, we can only guess at the nature of the duties involved. William Wykes and John Cliff, who were also serjeants in 1447, were two of the minstrels later named as being in constant attendance on the king: this gives us a possible reason for their serjeantry.²⁰⁶ William Maisham, serjeant in 1452,²⁰⁷ may have been dead by the time that the household ordinances were drawn up in 1455, and perhaps he, too, had been in constant attendance on the king.

[143] If John Panell's serjeantry was for duties as chief trumpeter, we must ask why Richard Paten was promoted to Marshal during Panell's life-time. The answer, I think, would have been Panell's age: since he had been a minstrel of Henry V, he cannot have been less than sixty years old in 1467. This was not too old to be a king's minstrel, and Panell held his office for another sixteen years; but it was no doubt considered wise to give the Marshal's duties to a younger man.

In the reigns of Edward I and Edward II we find a number of minstrels with the style "Master". The precise significance of the style is not clear, although it certainly does not indicate a university degree. Sometimes it distinguishes the head of a household department, so that we find the senior trumpeter of the king or the Prince of Wales styled "Master".²⁰⁸ The term cannot be held to coincide with the offices of Marshal or King of the Minstrels, however, for whereas we find Elias de Garsynton and Robert de Clough styled "Master", the harpers Nicholas de Eland, Adam de Cliderhou and William de Morley – whom we might expect to find so styled – are not referred to in this way.

Nor is the term peculiar to the Court. Earl Warrenne's organist was referred to as "Master John", and as late as [144] Richard II's reign the style was used for the nakerer of the Lancaster household.²⁰⁹

The style "Master", then, implies some sort of authority which is not necessarily inherent in the departmental organisation of a noble household. The most obvious such authority is the training of apprentices: and although the supposition is entirely conjectural and we must not rely on it, it does seem possible that those styled "Master" were responsible for training apprentices in their own household departments.

²⁰⁵ See Round/*Serjeants*: for the definition of serjeantry (which I have slightly simplified here), see *ibid*, p. 1.

²⁰⁶ See above, p. 88 and n. 3: also *CPR*, Henry VI, vol. 5 (1446–1452), pp. 42 and 49.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid*, p. 512.

²⁰⁸ John de London and John Garsie: see Rastall/*MERH*, pp. 7 and 9. For other minstrels styled "Master", see *ibid*, pp. 8–20, *passim*.

²⁰⁹ For Earl Warrenne's organist, see above, p. 110: for John, nakerer of the Earl of Derby, see below, p. 202. See also below, ii, pp. 53 (Master Adam le Boscu) and 54 (Master Adam de Reve).

5

HAUT AND BAS MINSTRELSY

Introduction

Since music was a largely functional art during the Middle Ages, we might expect instruments to be classified according to their function, and therefore according to their social status. We shall indeed find that trumpeters and harpers, for instance, were generally more highly-regarded than other minstrels: but the variety of instrumental music available was so great that such a rigid system of classification would not have been practicable. Of prime importance was the broad division into *haut* and *bas* – that is “loud” and “soft” music, not “high” and “low” in the modern sense of high- and low-pitched. Examination of the instruments used on specific occasions shows that this division was rigidly adhered to: some occasions required *haut* minstrelsy, some *bas*, while others (such as the civic processions) had need of both; but there was never any doubt as to which was required, and which instruments were therefore unsuitable.

Although the terms *haut* and *bas* appear to have been used to distinguish different instrumental groupings only from the late fourteenth century onwards, E.A. Bowles has shown¹ that the actual distinction between loud and soft instruments obtained as early as [145a] the thirteenth century. The grouping of instruments in contemporary French literature shows a consistent division between noisy instruments (such as trumpets, horns, nakers, tabors, bagpipes, shawms and chime-bells) and quiet ones (such as portative organs, flutes, crumhorns and all the stringed instruments, both plucked and bowed). Only two instruments defy complete classification because of their versatility; both the bagpipe and the pipe-and-tabor were normally regarded as *haut* instruments, although it seems that the smaller versions of both could be used for *bas* music.

In England, as on the Continent, the distinction between loud and soft minstrelsy seems general in the late Middle Ages. The terms *haut* and *bas*, however,

¹ Bowles/*Haut*, p. 119: the whole of this introductory discussion is based on Bowles's article.

are not found in English sources; and the equivalent English terms – “loud” and “still” – are found later than their French counterparts.^{1a}

In the present chapter, *haut* and *bas* minstrels will be examined in turn, and we shall then try to draw some conclusions about the use of instruments in consort. The discussion of pipers will, of necessity, deal with *bas* pipers in an attempt to separate them from the shawmists and bagpipers. Otherwise, only one section may seem out of place: I have separated the discussion of the chimes-players from those of other *haut* instrumentalists both because of the particular problem that the chimes-players present and also [145b] because they were not household musicians.

Trumpeters

No single body of men contributed more to the splendour of a ceremonial occasion than did the trumpeters of the nobility. They were part of that “conspicuous consumption”^{1b} which was considered necessary in any noble household, and the banners bought for them were brilliant and costly.²

The trumpeters’ actual status was high, too, and they enjoyed a greater position of trust than did the more domestic minstrels, a few specially-favoured harpers and *gestours* only excepted.³ Payments to trumpeters for carrying letters, for instance, far outweigh those to other minstrels.⁴

Such message-taking jobs were by no means confined to those who were known as *nuncii* or *cokini*.⁵ At times when many messages had to be carried, such as during war-time, clerks, chaplains, and [146] many other members of the household were used for this purpose. In one Wardrobe-book entry we even find John the trumpeter described as “cokinus”, and in a later entry he appears amongst payments to “nuncii”.⁶

I have already mentioned the relationship between heralds and minstrels:⁷ that between heralds and trumpeters was especially close. From various sources

^{1a} “Still-minstrel” in Henry V’s reign (see above, p. 133 and n. 172): I have not found the term “loud minstrel” earlier than the 16th century (see below, ii, p. 181).

^{1b} Stevens/CCS, p. 56.

² For the king’s trumpets, and the banners were often of red silk (sarcenet or taffeta), embroidered with the royal arms: much gold leaf was used for this. See E101.394.16, m. 11 (37–38 Ed III); Add 17721, f. 31 (13–14 Hen VI); Devon/*Issues*, p. 207 (I Ric II); and La-fontaine/*Musick*, p. 1 (coronation of Ric III, 1483). See also n. 10, below.

³ See below, pp. 163 and 165 f.

⁴ See below, ii, Appendix A, *passim*: also above, p. 31 and n. 73.

⁵ See Hill/*Messengers*, especially p. 316, for discussion of the *cokini* and *cursores*.

⁶ See below, ii, pp. 22 and 24. This is probably John de Depe, who carried many letters at about this time.

⁷ See above, pp. 28 ff.

we find that trumpeters attended heralds. In the *Canterbury Tales* we find that at a tournament trumpets sounded after the announcement of the rules, as a signal to the combatants to begin, and again to announce the victory: these announcements were made by heralds.⁸ An early sixteenth-century treatise on the apparel to be worn by a baron in the field in his sovereign's company deals with heralds, pursuivants and trumpeters together.⁹ The trumpeters' attendance on the heralds was not, then, merely a ceremonial function: it was as important to make a great display in war as it was in peace-time. Thus we [147] find trumpeters being given new banners before embarking for war.¹⁰ Their duties were probably very much the same in actual war as in martial exercises in peace-time: a trumpet assisted at the announcement of an imminent battle in 1388; trumpets sounded the English advance at the battle of Poitiers in 1356; and the trumpeters accompanied the sergeants-at-arms when the truce with France was proclaimed round the garrisons in 1414.¹¹

A chronological survey of trumpeters will show that during the late Middle Ages their numbers increased, while their function became both more occasional and more purely ceremonial. At the end of Edward I's reign the king employed two pairs of trumpeters, while other nobles employed one pair or a single player:¹² these numbers probably remained general in peace-time for most of the fourteenth-century, and it is not until 1392 that we find an increase. In this year the Earl of Derby took abroad with him a band which included two pairs of trumpeters, although his earlier expedition had included only one pair.¹³ This number may still have been exceptional for an earl, however, and the king's trumpeters do not seem to have increased until Henry VI's reign. [148] Henry had inherited two pairs of trumpeters from his father, to which another three players were added by 1447.¹⁴ By the 6th or 7th year of the following reign, Edward IV had increased his trumpeters to nine, at which stage the trumpeters had their own administration under a Marshal of the Trumpets. The Duke of Clarence now had six trumpeters, who were normally required only at the principal

⁸ See Manly/*TCT*, iii, pp. 105 f and 108: also Douce/*Jousts*, pp. 4 f.

⁹ Madden/*Remembrances*. The trumpeters of the King of Scots may have ranked as pursuivants, for a payment for their banners is entered under the heading "To the Harrottis" - i.e. heralds and pursuivants (see below, ii, p. 164). However, I doubt if Carrick Herald should be identified with William Carrick, the trumpeter, although it is interesting that a payment for Carrick (Herald) to take letters to Bruges follows close after a payment for one new saddle for the trumpeters (below, ii, p. 163).

¹⁰ See below, ii, pp. 154 f: also above, p. 94, n. 25.

¹¹ Rickert/*Chaucer*, pp. 311 f (a translation of Froissart); *ibid*, p. 232 (a translation of Baker's chronicle); and Wylie/*Henry V*, I, p. 156, n. 8.

¹² See below, ii, pp. 53-58, *passim*, for instance.

¹³ See below, pp. 202 f.

¹⁴ See Rastall/*MERH*, p. 30. Payte was probably dead four years later, however.

feasts, while a baron, Lord Howard, apparently had four in 1481.¹⁵ The king's trumpeters remained at nine until the increase to fifteen in Henry VIII's reign: at about the same time six was the standard number for an earl.¹⁶

In the earlier part of this survey, I have deliberately referred to trumpeters as being in pairs. Household servants often shared lodgings, and it was natural, for instance, that if a servant was not present at the time that a payment was made to him, his *socius* should collect it. The phrase "socius suus" is especially common in reference to trumpeters, however, and in their case it implies a close professional relationship: the king [149] employed trumpeters "qui non sunt" in pairs,¹⁷ and it is usually to a pair of trumpeters that we find gifts being made for minstrelsy.¹⁸

In this connection we must remember that the ordinances of 1318 required two trumpeters, as well as two other minstrels, to remain in Court to make minstrelsy at the king's pleasure.¹⁹ This does not mean, of course, that the four minstrels all played in consort, for the other two may have been *bas* minstrels. But it does indicate, I think, that two trumpeters were considered suitable for most domestic purposes.

I must emphasise that this minstrelsy by the trumpeters, far from being outdoor music, sometimes took place in the relatively confined space of the king's chamber, in religious houses just as elsewhere.²⁰ On the other hand, one pair of trumpeters – especially with a nakerer added – was evidently sufficient for many ceremonial purposes, and in the earlier part of the period the combination of two trumpeters and a nakerer seems standard.²¹

[150] What is the significance, in musical terms, of the general increase in the number of trumpeters? First, it indicates a growing pre-occupation with display and ceremonial: and so we find the number of trumpeters increased in war-time, and a veritable army of trumpeters and taborers at Richard III's coronation.²²

¹⁵ For Clarence's trumpets, 8 Ed IV, see *Ords & Regs*, p. 98: they are required to come "at the festes, and other tymes, if they be commaunded". Howard's trumpets were augmented by a fifth player at half pay for military purposes: see below, p. 205.

¹⁶ For Henry VIII's trumpeters, see Rastall/*MERH*, p. 40: for the six trumpeters of an earl or duke, c. 1512, see Percy/*Northumberland*, p. 339.

¹⁷ Doncaster and Crakestreng in 32 Ed I: Yvan and Ithel in 1 Ed II. See below, ii, Appendix A, for those dates.

¹⁸ There are some gifts to solo trumpeters, although this is less common: see below, ii, pp. 46, 65 and 99. We should expect some solo minstrelsy from trumpeters, since certain nobles employed only one trumpeter.

¹⁹ Tout/*Ed. II*, p. 303.

²⁰ See below, ii, pp. 71, 78 and 79.

²¹ See below, ii, pp. 40, 52 and 66–70 (Scot, Kenynton and Francekinus).

²² Edward III's trumpeters were not infrequently increased from four to five or six, often, it seems, for military purposes: see below, ii, pp. 91, 97, 101, 102, 111, 112, 116 and 117 (*temp.* Ric II). One of the augmented band is often a clarioner. The war-time ordinances of 18–21 Ed III show that his minstrels included five trumpeters and two clarioners: see

Second, the increase implies that the custom of employing trumpeters in pairs was dying out, and this in turn indicates a positive decline in domestic minstrelsy by trumpeters.

I do not mean by this that the minstrelsy of one or two trumpeters had completely ceased to exist by the end of the fifteenth century, for the itinerant minstrelsy still included independent or liveried trumpeters travelling singly or in pairs. But gifts for such minstrelsy are rare, and amongst the trumpeters of the larger households the practice seems to have died out.²³ Indeed, a decline in such minstrelsy is noticeable as early as the [151] reign of Edward III, when the Wardrobe Books still recorded enough *Dona* for a comparison with earlier reigns to be made. In the ordinances of 1455 it is clearly recognisable: for although Henry VI had recently increased the number of his trumpeters from four to seven, not one of the four minstrels in constant attendance was a trumpeter.²⁴ When we do hear of trumpet-playing of a domestic type in the early sixteenth century – that which greeted the Earl of Northumberland at his chamber door on New Year’s Day – all six of his trumpeters were involved.²⁵ We can safely assume, I think, that this was ceremonial music of some volume rather than indoor music of the type that a pair of trumpeters might have played to Edward I or Edward II.

The foregoing discussion should not be taken to imply that the royal trumpeters were capable only of playing fanfares of little musical value. On the contrary, I am sure that they took advantage of the various improvements to their instrument and were capable, by the late fifteenth century, of playing quite intricate music.²⁶ As early as 1350 we find Edward III’s trumpeters playing a “Danse d’Alemagne” as well as making military signals before a [152] sea-battle.²⁷ The dance could probably not be played on the straight ceremonial *busine*, and perhaps the S-shaped trumpet (which we do not find depicted until several years

Ords & Regs, p. 9. For the increases to the trumpeters of the Howard and Scottish households, see below, pp. 205 and 209.

For trumpeters at the coronation, 1483, see Rastall/*MERH*, pp. 34 f: even the *clangor tubarum et tibicinum* before the knighting of the future Edward II can hardly have compared with this (see below, p. 176).

²³ See above, ii, pp. 133 and 139. The gifts to single trumpeters of the household, ii, p. 137, and Appendix D, *passim*, may not have been made for minstrelsy.

²⁴ *Ords & Regs*, p. 18: Radcliff, Wykes and Cliff were all still minstrels, while More was a *wayt*.

²⁵ Percy/*Northumberland*, p. 342.

²⁶ Not necessarily polyphony, since it seems most unlikely that they could read mensural notation.

²⁷ Harvey/*Plantagenets*, p. 90, quoting Froissart’s chronicle.

later)²⁸ was already in existence. Moreover, there was at this time the distinction between “trumpeter” and “clarioner”, which implies two different instruments.

Household accounts enable us to make a guess at the significance of these terms. Anthony Baines considered that the evidence for the distinction was “contradictory and unhelpful”,²⁹ and it is certainly not easy to see what instruments were meant by the two names. As the clarion most often made its appearance in royal accounts during war-time, however, the obvious answer is that the clarion was the ceremonial and military straight *busine*, while the king’s regular trumpeters played the more versatile S-shaped instrument.

This distinction is found again at the very end of our period. In the later fifteenth century the S-shaped trumpet was superseded by the looped instrument, while the slide-trumpet with adjustable mouthpipe was widely used on the Continent but not, [153] apparently, in England. Baines considered that the latter instrument was probably that known as the “trompette des ménestrels”: and the “trompette de guerre” would certainly have been the straight *busine*, which continued to be used as the ceremonial trumpet.³⁰

“Minstrel”, “trumpeter” and “minstrel-trumpeter” are all terms used for the king’s trumpeters at this time. Even if they played a looped instrument rather than a slide-trumpet, the distinction between a household trumpeter and a “war-trumpeter” was now one of status as well as of function; for while a minstrel-trumpeter could no doubt play fanfares on a *busine*, a war-trumpeter would not have made minstrelsy. It is perhaps for this reason that the additional war-trumpeter in the Howard accounts received less in gifts and wages than his companions.³¹

Nakerers and Taborers

Nakers were a pair of bowl-shaped drums, usually suspended from the player’s belt, but occasionally slung from the back of a second person. They may have been tuned to definite pitches in the Middle Ages.³² Nakers were primarily a military instrument, used together with trumpets, but they could also be used [154] for domestic minstrelsy.³³ The king’s nakerer was probably a highly-skilled

²⁸ In a miserere in Worcester Cathedral, dating from c.1397: see Gardener/*Sculpture*, plate 550.

²⁹ In his article “Trumpet” in *Grove/Dictionary*: I have used this article for the history and evolution of the trumpet.

³⁰ See Carysfort/*Beauchamp*, pageants xxix–xxxi inclusive and xxxiv, for a depiction c.1485.

³¹ See below, ii, p. 156 (two items).

³² Baines/*MI*, p. 328.

³³ See below, ii, p. 39, for instance (two items).

and respected player, as his close connection with the trumpeters would require. Nevertheless, nakers do not seem ever to have been a solo instrument.

Taborers, on the other hand, frequently appear as solo minstrels. A tabor was a small cylindrical drum slung from the belt or neck. Like nakers, it could be a military instrument, but when used for noise-making – whether on the field of battle or for raising wild-fowl³⁴ – it did not require any great skill, and we find that trumpeters sometimes became taborers on military expeditions.³⁵ A tabor could therefore be used as a substitute for nakers: indeed, during the fifteenth century, when the use of nakers seems to have died out, trumpets and tabors were used together for both civil and military ceremonies.³⁶

Usually, however, a taborer played *pipe-and-tabor*, holding the pipe in his left hand and striking the tabor with a stick held in his right: the pipe was normally a flageolet, although it seems that even a small bagpipe could be played in this way.³⁷ [155] Pipe-and-tabor had many festive uses: it could provide music for the celebrations after a wedding, for a solo dancer, or for the ceremonies and entertainments aboard ship.³⁸ Like the equally-versatile bagpipe, pipe-and-tabor cannot strictly be classified as either *haut* or *bas*.³⁹

Pipers, Wayts and *Vigilatores*

“Piper” in the royal accounts and elsewhere could be used in reference to many different types of instrument. Bagpipes of various sizes were probably more common at Court than the incidence of the words “bagpiper” and “cornemuser” would suggest: sometimes we know that a royal minstrel was a bagpiper through a single entry amongst many referring to him as a “piper”⁴⁰ The larger bagpipes may have been suitable for military music (although I have no evidence of such a use), while it is possible that the smallest variety could be played with one hand, leaving the other free to strike a tabor.⁴¹

[156] Most pipers probably played a shawm or wayt, however. In a household context, *wayt* denoted a player of that instrument probably as late as the mid-fifteenth century: only then did it come to have the narrower meaning of a

³⁴ See above, pp. 110 f.

³⁵ See below, ii, pp. 72 and 165 (and n. 10).

³⁶ For Richard III’s coronation, see Rastall/*MERH*, pp. 34 f: for Lord Howard’s trumpets and taborets, see below, ii, pp. 153–57.

³⁷ For the flageolet, see Baines/*MI*, pp. 225 f: for the bagpipe, see below, p. 155.

³⁸ See below, ii, pp. 152, 156, 169, 176 and 183.

³⁹ For the classification of instruments, see Bowles/*Haut*.

⁴⁰ For instance, John Perrot in Edward III’s reign and Pudsey in Henry VII’s.

⁴¹ See below, ii, p. 94. This was, of course, during war-time: but as Robert de Farebourn had been making minstrelsy to the king, and had presumably therefore played *pipe-and-tabor*, we must assume that John Perrot used the instrument in the same way.

household watchman. Before that time we find not only *vigilatores* and minstrels, but huntsmen and other household servants, described as “wayt”.⁴²

We find pipers also referred to as *fistulator*, *flutar*’ (I am not sure how to extend that contraction), recorder-player or horn-piper.⁴³ The third and fourth of these are specific enough. The first two are synonymous, but may not always mean a flageolet type of instrument:⁴⁴ such a phrase as “*fistula nomine Ricordo*”⁴⁵ suggests that *fistula* was as general a term as “pipe”. Indeed, we find Guy Middleton, *fistulator*, also referred to as Guy Waite.⁴⁶

Efforts to put specific instruments to the royal papers are not, therefore, very successful. We have a further problem, too, since despite the popularity of the shawm we appear to have no word for that instrument until “shawm” itself is found in the late [157] fifteenth century.⁴⁷ At this point, a fifteenth-century gloss of *colomaula* (i.e. *chalemie*, shawm) as “wayte-pipe”⁴⁸ seems to solve the difficulty by identifying the wayt – common enough in the Wardrobe Books – with the shawm. The identity is partly confirmed by references to wayts in contexts where we could reasonably expect shawms to be used.⁴⁹

The solution, however, is not yet complete. The frequent mention in medieval sources of shawms and wayts together⁵⁰ implies a distinction between the two terms. Galpin’s opinion⁵¹ that the wayt was specifically a *small* shawm is supported in several ways. The Leckingfield Proverbs, although slightly late for our purposes (*temp.* Henry VIII), show a shawm to be low-pitched,⁵² whereas the pipe of a domestic watchman would have to be high-pitched (rather than merely

⁴² See below, ii, Appendix A, *passim*.

⁴³ See below, ii, pp. 33, 82, 112, 120 and 138.

⁴⁴ John of Kinghorn was also known as a *fistularis*: see Farmer/*Scotland*, p. 40. For *fistula* meaning a flageolet, see Baines/*MI*, p. 235.

⁴⁵ Wylie/*Henry IV*, Appendix A.

⁴⁶ See below, ii, p. 124. However, it is possible that at this time *wayt* already denoted the office of *vifilator* rather than the instrument.

⁴⁷ In the *Liber Niger*: see below.

⁴⁸ Galpin/*OEIM*, p. 120.

⁴⁹ Langwill/*Waits*, p. 172, quotes wayts piping at banquets:

“When the table was y-drawe,
Theo Wayte gan a pipe blawe.” (From a 14th-century romance, *Kyng Alysander*);

“Grete lordys were at the Assent;
Waytys blewe, to mete they wente.” (From the romance *Sir Eglamour*, 1440).

⁵⁰ This was the starting-point for Frere/*Shawms*.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁵² Galpin/*OEIM*, p. 117, quotes the relevant passage:

“A Shawme makithe a swete sounde, for he tunte the basse... “

noisy) to penetrate the thick walls and doors of a castle. If the wayt was, in fact, a small shawm, then the description of Guy Middleton as *fistulator* is understandable.

[158] The *Liber Niger* states that of Edward IV's minstrels "sume use trumettes, sume shalmuse and small pipes, and sume as strengmen..."⁵³ The relationship between shawms and small pipes here seems to be the same as that between shawms and wayts: and so Galpin's opinion that wayts and small pipes were the same instrument is probably the most logical conclusion.

While accepting this conclusion, we must nevertheless examine the other possible identities of the "small pipe". These are:

- 1 A flageolet.
- 2 Small bagpipes.

The first of these is unlikely, for the flageolet does not seem to have been played much at Court except with a tabor, and the players in this case were known as taborers, not pipers. Minstrels taking their description from *fistula* are rare,⁵⁴ and only Flagilet, Edward III's piper, can be assumed to have played the instrument. A bagpipe of the small variety is more likely: otherwise, the *Liber Niger's* list is seriously simplified as regards the variety of instruments at Edward IV's Court, bagpipes being entirely omitted.

However, the *Liber Niger* does imply that the shawms and small pipes were played by the same men. This, if we accept [159] it, probably rules out the possibility of the small pipe being a bagpipe, since the techniques of playing shawms and bagpipes are very different.

The word "wayt" is apparently cognate with the names of many instruments still found at the present time in Europe, North Africa and the Near East.⁵⁵ By the late thirteenth century it had given its name to the men who played it, including the domestic watchmen.⁵⁶ In Latin documents such as the Wardrobe Books, these men were known as *vigiles* or *vigilatores*, which names they retained until the mid-fifteenth century: references to them as "gayte" or "wayte"⁵⁷ seem to be the standard vernacular description by about 1445.⁵⁸

⁵³ *Ords & Regs*, p. 48.

⁵⁴ See above, n. 43.

⁵⁵ Many are mentioned in Frere/*Shawms*.

⁵⁶ See below, ii, p. 22, for an early example.

⁵⁷ The consonant-change from the French "gayte" to the English "wayte" has been explained with reference to the German "wachen", Anglo-Saxon "wacien" and other words from which "watch" is derived (Langwill/*Waits*, p. 170, for example). This is confusing and unnecessary: the consonant-change is a common one (c.f. garde/ward, gofer/wafer, gage/wage, guarantee/warranty, and many others).

⁵⁸ See below, n. 68.

The *vigiles* were capable of making minstrelsy by the beginning of our period. Four royal *vigiles* were among those who received gifts for minstrelsy at the marriage of the king's daughter Elizabeth in 25 Ed I,⁵⁹ while the king's four *vigiles* received a [160] similar gift at the Pentecost celebrations of 1306.⁶⁰ Their minstrelsy was perhaps as acceptable at times as that of the minstrels proper, and in 31 Ed I we find the *vigilis* of the Prince of Wales apparently entertaining his master *solo*.⁶¹

The *vigiles* were not usually recognised as minstrels, however, and in the royal household ordinances of 1318, as in the *Liber Niger*, no mention is made of their musical accomplishments. Indeed, the *vigiles* whom we shall find raised to the status of "king's minstrel" must have been exceptional in their profession, although not uncommon at Court.⁶²

The various servants named "Wayt" in Edward III's reign are not easy to identify. However, at least two of the *vigiles* – William Harding and Gerard – became king's minstrels:⁶³ John Harding, *vigilis* under Edward II,⁶⁴ may be the John Wayte who was [161] a minstrel in the next reign.⁶⁵ Harding is especially interesting, in that his seal provides our only positive iconographical evidence that a *vigilis* played an instrument of the shawm variety.⁶⁶

In the first half of the fifteenth century, Guy Middleton (who was both minstrel and *vigilator*) was followed by *vigilatores* who were not, as far as I know, minstrels.⁶⁷ In 1455, however, one of the minstrels was also the *vigilator*:⁶⁸ this was probably Robert More, who was a king's minstrel by about 27 Hen VI,⁶⁹ and

⁵⁹ See below, ii, p. 17.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 38.

⁶² By their nature, the offices of *vigilis* and waferer were more likely than other household offices to produce suitable candidates to fill vacancies amongst the king's minstrels: see above, p. 100. It may be no coincidence, then, that in the 1318 ordinances the members of these two departments – "lez ij vaytez et wafrer" – are directed to be lodged together: see Tout/*Ed. II*, p. 311.

⁶³ *Vigiles*; see below, ii, pp. 86 and 99 respectively: minstrels; see below, ii, p. 110. Three "waytes" are included with Edward III's minstrels in the ordinances of 18–21 Ed III: see *Ords & Regs*, p. 9.

⁶⁴ See below, ii, p. 81.

⁶⁵ See below, ii, pp. 104 and 109. I have tentatively identified John Wayte with Badencore (Rastall/*MERH*, p. 17): Harding is perhaps just as likely.

⁶⁶ See below, ii, p. 86.

⁶⁷ Richard More and William Wodeford: see below, ii, pp. 125 f.

⁶⁸ MS Lansdownel, f. 90v, describes the king's minstrels thus: "xij Menistrealx, one le gaité".

⁶⁹ See below, ii, p. 128.

whome we find in the ordinances of 1455 described as “wayte”.⁷⁰ More was not the only *vigilator* in the household, but presumably he was the senior one. A year or two later, certainly, he had two colleagues – who are not known to have been minstrels, however.⁷¹

We last hear of More in 5 or 6 Ed IV.⁷² A few years later, [162] the *Liber Niger* makes allowance for a senior “wayte” who might or might not be a minstrel. His rank is that of yoman (i.e. valet), and he has only one groom to assist him:⁷³ but his wages and liveries can be either those of the household yoman or those of the minstrels, according to his ability.⁷⁴ The implication is, therefore, that he took the higher wages and livery if he could make minstrelsy.

According to the twelfth-century *Dialogus de Scaccario*, the duty of the royal *vigiles* was to guard the treasures in the Exchequer.⁷⁵ These treasures were considerable, and their custody no doubt remained a duty of the *vigiles* throughout our period. A list of prisoners held after the breaking of the Exchequer in June 31 Ed I, includes the sad entry:

Item Gilbertus le Wayte de Westmonasterio captus et detentus in eadem (Newgate Gaol) propter suspicionem quia stetit Custos vigilie tempore quo Thesauraria illa fracta fuit.⁷⁶

As we have seen, the king’s *vigiles* sometimes received extra liveries because they were required to keep watch during the [163] night.⁷⁷ There is every reason to suppose that this duty remained unchanged throughout our period, and that the wayte’s regular duties as set down in the *Liber Niger*⁷⁸ are the same as those of Edward I’s *vigiles*, for example. The *Liber Niger* directed that the yoman wayte should pipe the watch every night, making a “good noise” (*bon gayte*) and checking at every chamber door and department (*office*) for fire and other dangers. Between Michaelmas and Maundy Thursday he was to pipe four times each night, and in summer three times.

⁷⁰ See above, p. 88 and n. 3.

⁷¹ See below, ii, p. 129.

⁷² See below, ii, p. 130.

⁷³ *Ords & Regs*, p. 48.

⁷⁴ See above, p. 117 and n. 118.

⁷⁵ Johnson/*Dialogus*, pp. 12 f.

⁷⁶ Palgrave/*Kalendars*, i, p. 269. Gilbert probably always worked in Westminster Palace, and he was not a member of the king’s household: at this time the king was in Scotland, with a household that included his four *vigiles* (Alexander and Geoffrey de Windsor, Skirewith and Finchesle).

⁷⁷ See above, p. 120, and below, ii, pp. 44 and 82.

⁷⁸ *Ords & Regs*, p. 48.

Bas Minstrels

Until the late fifteenth century the harp was the most popular courtly instrument. After that time the lute took its place: but for most of the later Middle Ages, when a man of rank was accompanied by a solitary minstrel, that minstrel was more often than not a harper.⁷⁹ Even when a noble employed many minstrels, his harper seems usually to have been the closest to him. Thus we sometimes find a payment made to a man of standing by the hand of his harper:⁸⁰ and on one occasion we find a harper taking letters.⁸¹

[164] The first two Edwards employed many harpers, and evidently though well of them. Of those employed by Edward II, two were styled "Master" and a third became *Roy de North*.⁸² No later monarch employed so many, however, and as far as one can tell from minstrel-lists a single harper became normal in the king's household, and remained so until the sixteenth century. Some dependent households also employed a harper and, like the king's, a variety of other plucked instruments. During the fourteenth century the crowd was apparently a popular instrument in the households of the king and the Prince of Wales. The households of the queen and queen mother, however, provide an interesting exception to the general pattern: the psaltery seems to have been considered the most suitable plucked instrument for a lady's entertainment, and we do not find a harper in the queen's or queen mother's household until the fifteenth century.⁸³

Luters, citolers and gitterners all appear in minstrel-lists in the Wardrobe Books. The lute is found as early as 23 Ed I,⁸⁴ and a luter appears regularly amongst the royal minstrels, usually in the king's household, until Henry V's reign. Luters are found [165] again at Henry VII's Court, by which time the lute was a popular courtly instrument and considered suitable for ladies – a luter was one of the Princess Margaret's minstrels after her marriage to the King of Scots.⁸⁵

The citole seems to have been favoured at Court during the reigns of Edward II and Edward III, although its popularity did not compare with that of the psaltery. We also find the gittern from Edward II's reign until Henry V's – apparently only one player being employed at Court at any one time. With a lack of more precise descriptions of the "still minstrels" in the mid-fifteenth century, it is im-

⁷⁹ Appendix A, ii, below, will supply enough examples to support the point: see also above, pp. 77–80, *passim*.

⁸⁰ See below, ii, pp. 17, 22 and 27 (three times): c.f. also *ibid.*, p. 157.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

⁸² See above, pp. 28 and 143.

⁸³ In the reign of Henry VI. The list of queen's minstrels at the marriage of Princess Philippa in 8 Hen IV does include a harper, but I do not think that these minstrels were usually members of the queen's household: see above, p. 89 and n. 8.

⁸⁴ Fryde/*Prests*, p. 31: for my first calendared entry, see below, ii, p. 16.

⁸⁵ See below, ii, pp. 179 ff.

possible to tell if these instruments continued at Court. They seem to have lost favour by Henry VII's reign, however, although in less exalted spheres they retained their popularity well into the sixteenth century.

A noble's favoured harper was perhaps in many cases a *gestour* rather than simply an instrumentalist.⁸⁶ The words *gestour* and *rymour* have appeared very rarely in the records searched for the present work, however, and amongst royal minstrels only three *gestours* can be identified – each on a single reference.⁸⁷ In [166] addition to these, we also know that Edward II, as Prince of Wales, had a *rhymmer*:⁸⁸ it would be reasonable to assume that he still employed a *rhymmer* after he had come to the throne, although we do not know which of his minstrels it must have been.

The harp was not the only instrument used to accompany the voice, although it was probably the most common one. Chaucer provides examples of singer accompanying themselves on the rebec, gittern and psaltery,⁸⁹ and we can certainly add clarsach and lute to these if we include singers accompanied by a second minstrel.⁹⁰ As we have seen, the crowd could be used by a *rymour* (probably, but not certainly, plucked rather than bowed). It perhaps seems strange to us that a singer should accompany himself on a bowed instrument, but the use of a rebec in this way is supported by later examples.⁹¹

In the case of purely instrumental music, the harp, clarsach and (plucked) crowd were at a disadvantage when compared with the fretted instruments on which greater virtuosity and chromatic compass were possible. True, the Scottish accounts make it clear that at a late date the clarsach could be used purely [167] instrumentally:⁹² but I am inclined to attribute the harp's popularity partly to its use as an accompaniment to the telling of *gestes*.⁹³ If this is a correct guess, further investigation may show that some royal harpers were *gestours*.

The players of bowed instruments appear to divide neatly into violists and fiddlers. In the first three reigns of our period two violists seem standard for the king's household, while dependent households sometimes included a single player. During the fifteenth century the viol may have suffered a temporary

⁸⁶ c.f. pp. 75 ff, above.

⁸⁷ John Alisaundre is described as *rymour* in *RegBP*, ii, p. 317; William Percival as *gestour* in a list of household servants (calendared below, ii, p. 117); and Alexander Mason as *geyster* in a list of grants (calendared *ibid.*, p. 131).

⁸⁸ See above, p. 79.

⁸⁹ For the use of instruments in the *Canterbury Tales*, see Montgomery/*MIC*T and Chappell/*PMOT*, pp. 33 f.

⁹⁰ See below, ii, pp. 144 and 174.

⁹¹ See *ibid.*, pp. 133 and 170.

⁹² For instance, "... to the man that playit to the king on the clarsach...": see *ibid.*, p. 172, and several other examples.

⁹³ On the *gestes* themselves, see above, p. 76.

eclipse, and it is notably absent from Henry VII's Court: not until the following century did it re-appear.⁹⁴

The three *gigatores* of Edward I were not his own minstrels, although two of them remained at Court for several years. The word *gigator* (or *gigour* in French) may be an attempt by the Wardrobe scribes to Latinise the German players' own description of themselves as players of the *Geige*, and Hayes' conclusion that they were rebec-players, playing sharply-accented dance-music,⁹⁵ is probably correct.

[168] As far as one can tell, the three groom *gigatores* who were at Court in 31 Ed I⁹⁶ did not become king's minstrels in the following reign. Edward III employed a pair of fiddlers, and we find a single player in the households of Henry IV and his two successors. Our information is insufficient for the reigns of the Yorkist kings;⁹⁷ in the time of Henry VII, however, we find that the queen had a fiddler and that one of Prince Henry's minstrels was a rebec-player.⁹⁸

Chimes-Players

The chimes player is almost completely absent from the records of noble households and of towns. The list of minstrels at the Pentecost feast of 1306 includes a "menestral ove les cloches", and that is only reference to a chimes-player that I have found.^{98a} Even allowing for the fact that many royal minstrels do not have instruments assigned to them in the Wardrobe Books searched for the present work, it seems unlikely that no reference would be made to the instrument if a chimes-player had been employed at Court. We [169] must therefore conclude that chimes were not a household instrument.

This lack of documentary evidence is the more notable if we consider the contemporary iconography, for the depictions of chime-bells are far from uncommon. The thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries saw a burst of energy in the production of illuminated psalters in England, and it is in these psalters that chimes are found. The depictions are consistent, both in the appearance of the bells⁹⁹ and in the method of playing them.

⁹⁴ c.f. Stevens/*M&P*, p. 277.

⁹⁵ Hayes/*KM*, p. 31. The issue is confused by an entry (not known to Hayes) in which a *gigator* is described as "violist": see below, ii, p. 88. This may be a scribal error caused by unfamiliarity with the word.

⁹⁶ See below, ii, p. 31.

⁹⁷ Edward IV's *Liber Niger* refers to string-minstrels, as do the accounts of Henry VII's reign: see *Ord & Regs*, p. 48, and below, ii, pp. 133-41, *passim*. This description, of course, includes plucked instruments.

⁹⁸ See below, ii, p. 135, and Baillie/*Notes*, under "Savernake".

^{98a} See below, ii, p. 55

⁹⁹ For a discussion of their casting and tuning, see Waesberghe/*Cymbala*.

The instrument consists of a number of bells suspended from a beam or rod and struck with two metal-headed hammers. The player may be seated beneath them or – less commonly – he may stand. It is a little unfortunate that bells are usually depicted within the limited space of an illuminated initial, for although the beam is normally shown, we rarely find out what supported it. In one illustration the beam is supported on pillars, and seems to be a fixture: in another case, the very unsteady-looking side-pieces must be a portable frame.¹⁰⁰ We also find the frame suspended from above.¹⁰¹

The number of bells depicted varies, but it seems clear that eight were usual. Where there are fewer than this, the available [170] space is usually limited:¹⁰² in one such case the illuminator appears to have solved his problem by arranging the bells in a rather impractical double row, by means of which he has just managed to fit in all eight.¹⁰³ An illustration from a late twelfth-century psalter in the Hunterian Library¹⁰⁴ is remarkable for having fifteen bells: its two players, with two hammers each, are on a raised platform which they have reached by means of ladders, and the solmisation names of the notes are written on the beam from which the bells are suspended.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ Harley 2804 (12th-century German Bible), ff. 3v, 4, reproduced in Millar/*RIM* 4, Plate XI; Bibliothèque de Dijon, Bible of St Stephen Harding (11th century), reproduced in *NOHM* 3, Plate V.

¹⁰¹ See above, Plate IV.

¹⁰² See the *Exultate Deo* initials of the York Psalter (c.1250), reproduced in Millar/*York*, where there are six; of the Peterborough Psalter (Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 53), reproduced in James/*Peterborough*, where there are five; and of a 13th-century psalter (Royal MS 3.E.VII), where there are four. See also the five in a corner-roundel of the *Beatus* page of the Evesham Psalter (Add 44874, c.1250–60), reproduced in Turner/*EGIM*, coloured plate II. For an exception, see *NOHM* 2, frontispiece (St John's College, Cambridge, MS B.18, 12th century), where there are only seven bells, although there is no shortage of space.

¹⁰³ See above, Plate IV.

¹⁰⁴ Huntarian Library, Glasgow, MS 229 (press-mark U.32, Sect. 6), f. lv: c.1270, reproduced in *NOHM* 3, Plate VII.

¹⁰⁵ However, these do not correspond with the bells: the bells are named in sequence from both ends, and as the names are placed between the bells, there are more bells than names. The sequence of names is as follows (the position of each bell is signified by a stroke):

/ut/re/mi/fa/sol/la/fa/sol/la/sol/fa/mi/re/ut/.

It would be hazardous to guess on this evidence alone if the picture illustrates an arrangement that could be used in practice. Working from the left of the row, we have nine bells in sequence, viz., ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la, fa, sol, la (each name referring to the bell on the left). If we take the lowest note to be a C (for which the precedent is the illustration in Harley 2804, where the bells are marked from left to right C D E F G A | b) we are in the natural and soft hexachords: the notes played by the left-hand player are therefore c, d, e, f, g, a, bb, c', d'. Working from the right, we have the notes of one hexachord only, viz., ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la (each name now referring to the bell on the

[171] Illuminations do not define the setting in which chimes were played. However, they are consistent in the *emotional* context in which chimes appear, and there can be little doubt, I think, that the pictures of bells would conjure up in the medieval mind a particular type of music in a specific setting. With few exceptions, the illuminations which depict bells are in psalters; and the majority of these depictions are in the initials to Psalm 80, *Exultate Deo*.¹⁰⁶ Chimes are also found, along with other instruments of varying types, in the *Beatus* pages.

The shout of praise with which the *Exultate Deo* opens shows us the emotional setting in which chimes were used. But I must emphasise that it is the *emotional*, not the actual setting: we [172] cannot use these initials as evidence that the psalm itself was accompanied by bells.

What, then, was the actual setting? The singing of the *Te Deum* was almost certainly one, and the news of Simeon's forthcoming meeting with the Christ in the Towneley *Purificacio Marie* another:¹⁰⁷ the emotional setting of both is similar to that of the *Exultate Deo*. Moreover, it is in the *Te Deum* that we find the *haut* music of shawms and trumpets.¹⁰⁸

The *Te Deum* is known to have received special treatment as early as the tenth century, when the *Regularis Concordia* of St Ethelwold states that the bells should sound as soon as the *Te Deum* is started at the end of a liturgical drama.¹⁰⁹ Smoldon believes that bells were also used – on rare occasions – for the other pieces with which liturgical dramas could end.¹¹⁰ One of these pieces was the sequence *Victimae Paschali*, which is known to have been accompanied by the organ.¹¹¹ This is interesting in the light of Harrison's admission that instruments could be used in the most joyful part of the Mass, the sequence, an "outburst of praise, when not only the voices [173] and the organ but also the bells joined in the festive sound".¹¹²

right). This "la" is the same as that for the highest note of the left-hand sequence, but of course it refers to a different bell.

From here we pass to sheer conjecture. The lack of a B# is remedied if the bells of the right-hand player are tuned to the hard hexachord, i.e., e, a, b#, c', d' and e'. This would give the instrument a total range of a 10th, with only four notes common to both players: each player would have a large enough range to play most plainsong tunes, so that both men playing together could perform a plainsong tune in 4ths or 5ths.

¹⁰⁶ See above, n. 102: also above, Plates II and IV. In the modern numbering, this is Psalm 81.

¹⁰⁷ See above, pp. 42 f and 49.

¹⁰⁸ See above, pp. 70 f.

¹⁰⁹ See Craig/*ERD*, p. 116, from Chambers/*MS*, ii, pp. 14 f.

¹¹⁰ Smoldon/*MMLCD*, p. 494: see above, p. 42.

¹¹¹ Smoldon/*Sepulchre*, p. 9.

¹¹² Harrison/*MMB*, p. 206.

The pattern is clear. For certain joyful hymns and sequences, the voices were accompanied by the organ, and the bells were rung:¹¹³ on special occasions, other instruments could join in the *Te Deum*. The main point at issue now is the type of bell used in this context.

Churches had bells of various types. Most of these, such as the tolling-bells and altar-bells, had well-defined uses and they do not concern us here: clock chimes were part of a mechanical installation, and they, too, need not be discussed. This leaves the main peal, which differs from chime-bells in certain important respects. A peal requires several people to play it, and the result is not strictly musical: moreover, a peal is not intended to be heard inside a church – even when the bell-tower is part of the church building the sound is muffled, and we must remember that many medieval belfries were a separate building.

Harrison apparently assumes that it was a peal that was rung during the singing of the *Te Deum* and sequence, and there is evidence to support this in cases where the rejoicing is of a more general nature than a purely liturgical *jubilus*. [174] Thus when, at the restoration of Adam of Dalton as Bishop of Winchester in 1334, the Prior ordered the bells to be rung and the community to sing *Te Deum* with organ accompaniment,¹¹⁴ there is good reason to suppose that a peal was rung such as could be heard for miles around: and the clock which sounded at the reception of John de Hertford at St Albans¹¹⁵ was similarly heard *outside* the Abbey.

However, this view is difficult to hold in the majority of instances. At the end of a liturgical drama, or in the singing of a sequence during the Mass, the events taking place in the church were normally of no concern to the populace outside it. In these circumstances, why should a peal be rung? One possible answer is that, even if the peal could hardly be heard inside the church, it might have a strong symbolic significance. In fact, there is no evidence of such a significance: for instance, the larger types of bell are rare in medieval iconography.

Waesberghe's opinion – that chime-bells were used in those chants which were accompanied by the organ, and especially in the sequences¹¹⁶ – solves this problem. The evidence is admittedly [175] circumstantial,¹¹⁷ as we have seen. But

Comment [ESD1]:

¹¹³ The precise way in which particular pieces were performed nevertheless remains debatable. For instance, Harrison/*MMB*, p. 207, remarks on the lack of evidence for the use of the organ in sequences (*Ad prosam ad evangelium*), while admitting the ringing of bells.

¹¹⁴ Harrison/*MMB*, p. 206 and n. 3.

¹¹⁵ See above, p. 71.

¹¹⁶ Waesberghe/*Cymbala*, pp. 18 f.

¹¹⁷ Waesberghe's evidence is similar to mine, but includes Continental sources. However, my own opinion, which largely agrees with Waesberghe's, was formed before I had heard of his work on the subject: for the purposes of this thesis, therefore, the conclusions that I have drawn on the uses of *cymbala* are based, like the rest of the thesis, on English sources only.

chime-bells had been known in church from the sixth century onwards,¹¹⁸ and their frequent depiction and strong symbolism both imply that they were a well-known instrument in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Waesberghe, too, noted a general connection between organs and *cymbala* in both texts and illuminations.¹¹⁹

My conclusions on this subject can be summarised as follows:

- 1 On major feasts the *Te Deum* could be accompanied by the organ.
- 2 At the end of a liturgical drama the *Te Deum* could be accompanied by (chime-) bells.
- 3 For certain occasional celebrations the organ accompaniment to the *Te Deum* could be augmented by bells and/or shawms and trumpets (depending on the exact nature of the occasion). These bells might be chimes, or a peal, or both (depending, again, on the nature of the celebration).
- 4 There is evidence for the use of the organ and (chime-) [176] bells to accompany the sequence.

However loaded with reservations these conclusions may be, they enable us to hazard a guess at the work which earned a “menestral ove les cloches” the respectable sum of 13.4d at the Pentecost celebrations of 1306. It seems that the vigil kept by the Prince of Wales on the eve of the feast was concluded with a sung service. We are told that the noise of trumpets and shawms (apparently in the Palace of Westminster, not in the Abbey itself) was so great that the “shout of praise” at the entry of the choir could not be heard.¹²⁰ Possibly the *jubilatio* sung by the choir on their entry into the choir of the Abbey was the *Te Deum*: that hymn would certainly have been sung at some point in the service. In any case, this is exactly the setting in which we might expect the organ and bells to be used.

Instruments in Consort

It would be convenient for us if the Wardrobe Books were to state that certain minstrels had performed together. [177] Unfortunately, they never do. Gifts were often made to two or more minstrels together: but this does not, of course, mean that they performed concurrently rather than consecutively, only that the gift was made as one sum to be divided between them afterwards. Sometimes the gift is made for “minstrely”, sometimes for “minstrelsies”, but this does not indicate whether minstrels performed together or separately. Some Wardrobe scribes used the singular form, some the plural: thus, we find a violist, two trumpeters

¹¹⁸ See *NOHM*, 3, p. 491 and n. 5.

¹¹⁹ Waesberghe/*Cymbala*, p. 19.

¹²⁰ “... Sed princeps Walliae, praecepto regis patris sui, cum praecelsis tyronibus, fecit vigiliis in ecclesia Westmonasterii. Ibi autem tantus clangor tubarum & tibicinum, et exaltatio vocum prae gaudio extiterat clamantium, quod conuentus de choro ad chorum, non audiretur iubilatio.” Matthew/*Flores*, p. 458.

and a nakerer receiving a gift for making “menestralciam suam”, although the violist cannot have played in consort with the other three.¹²¹

With very few exceptions, therefore (none of which is in the Wardrobe accounts), entries in the account-books searched for this thesis give no definite instrumental combinations which we know to have performed on a specific occasion. The picture is not a complete blank, however, and to various clues given in the household accounts we can add evidence from other sources. It is also interesting for us, who live in an age of consorted music, to know how much *solo* music was made in a medieval noble household; and the accounts show that harpers, violists, fiddlers, bagpipers, *vigiles*, taborers, trumpeters and others could all produce [178] acceptable entertainment on their own.¹²²

We have already seen, however, that in the early fourteenth century two trumpeters, especially if they were joined by a nakerer, probably formed a consort suitable for both domestic and military minstrelsy.¹²³ As the numbers of household trumpeters increased, so did the size of these trumpet-consorts.¹²⁴

Otherwise, *haut* groups consisted mainly of shawms, and by the late fifteenth century a band of four players – usually three shawms and a trumpet¹²⁵ – was the standard loud band for dances and other occasions. On the Continent, iconographical representations of this grouping date from the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries,¹²⁶ and the grouping was a well-established custom when Tinctoris wrote of it:¹²⁷

... for the lowest contratenor parts ... one joins to [179] the shawmists (*tibicines*) trumpeters (*tubicines*) who play very harmoniously upon that kind of trumpet (*tuba*) which is called *trompone* in Italy and *sacque-boute* in France.

At the wedding of Philip of Austria a year later, in 1488, a motet was performed on three shawms and a *trompette-saïqueboute*.¹²⁸

¹²¹ Calendared below, ii, p. 39.

¹²² See below, ii, especially the *Dona* sections of Appendix A, and Appendices B, C and D, *passim*.

¹²³ See above, p. 149.

¹²⁴ The six trumpeters of the Earl of Northumberland seem to have played together, for instance: see above, p. 151.

¹²⁵ I shall not always attempt to distinguish between trumpets and sackbuts in tracing the earlier history of this grouping: all types could be used, but their names as used by the various writers do not correspond with the modern definitions of the instruments.

¹²⁶ Anthony Baines cites a Burgundian ivory of the late fourteenth century and a Florentine chest-painting, “The Wedding of Adunari”, c.1420: see his article “Trombone” in *Grove/Dictionary*.

¹²⁷ Quoted *ibid.*, from *De Inventione et Usu Musicis* (? Naples, 1487).

¹²⁸ *Marche/Mémoires*, iii, p. 152.

In England, a loud consort of shawms is found as early as the thirteenth century,¹²⁹ although we do not have another certain example of such a consort until Henry VII's reign.¹³⁰ A study of household minstrels, however, indicates that such a consort – with trumpet added – probably flourished in England as on the Continent. Pipers are numerous in Edward III's reign, and the ordinances of 18–21 Ed III include a high proportion of pipers in addition to the three ways.¹³¹

On the available evidence, it seems impossible to prove that these minstrels included a four-man band. Such a band is found in John of Gaunt's household at the end of the same reign, however, consisting of three pipers and a clarioner. These four minstrels all received an increased grant together, as if they formed a single unit amongst the Duke's minstrels.¹³²

[180] The Lancaster minstrels taken to Prussia by the Earl of Derby nearly twenty years later could have included this and other *haut* consorts, and were presumably capable of supplying between them most types of minstrelsy that the Earl might need. There was no *bas* instrumentalist, however, unless one of the pipers was a cornemuser or a flageolet-player. On the first expedition, in 1390–91, Henry took two trumpeters, three pipers and a nakerer: apart from solo minstrelsy, these could have supplied consorts of two trumpeters and a nakerer, or of three pipers and a trumpeter. Possibly all the minstrels played together – although we should not assume so – when they serenaded the Earl in his chamber on New Year's morning, 1391.¹³³ On the second expedition, in 1392–93, Henry took four trumpeters and three pipers: the smaller trumpet-consort of two trumpets and nakers was presumably superseded, therefore, by four trumpets playing together.¹³⁴ The shawm-and-trumpet band could have remained the same.

The fifteenth-century existence of the shawm-and-trumpet band prior to the reign of Henry VII can only be deduced from certain salient facts. The first of these is the use of the word "shawms" from the late fifteenth century onwards to denote a band of liveried minstrels. The word could be applied to the [181] minstrels of a noble,¹³⁵ of the king¹³⁶ and of towns.¹³⁷ Town waits had certainly been

¹²⁹ John de Hertford's reception at St Albans: see above, p. 71.

¹³⁰ The royal *vigiles* of Ed I's reign may have performed such a consort, but we cannot be sure: see above, p. 159 f.

¹³¹ See above, p. 133.

¹³² Probably in 1374. See Armitage-Smith/*JGReg*, ii, p. 219: translation in Rickert/*Chaucer*, pp. 232 f.

¹³³ For the wage-lists of these minstrels, see Smith/*Derby*, pp. 132 f and 137: for the serenade, see *ibid.*, p. 109.

¹³⁴ This conforms to the general pattern noted above, pp. 147 f. For these minstrels, see Smith/*Derby*, pp. 269 ff.

¹³⁵ Those of the Duke of Gloucester in 1482 may have followed a lead from the king, whose minstrels had included shawm-players in the time of the *Liber Niger*: see above, p. 158, and below, ii, p. 158. See also below, ii, p. 141, for the waits of the Earl of Northumberland, 1499.

pipers as early as 1457, in which year Allan Pyper had been elected the “Pipers or Wayts” at Doncaster.¹³⁸ A payment in the Smiths' Company accounts for 1477 is to the Coventry waits for “pypyng”;¹³⁹ this is significant in view of the fact that one of the four Coventry waits was a trumpeter,¹⁴⁰ and we may eventually discover that the other three played shawms.

There is good reason to believe that the “shawms” that we find from the late fifteenth century onwards were no innovation. What *was* new was the constitution of the king's “shawms” at Henry [182] VII's Court, which consisted not of three shawms and one sackbut, but probably of two of each.¹⁴¹ The slide-mechanism of the sackbut must have given it a distinct advantage in the matter of agility and ease of playing over any type of trumpet. While a slide-trumpet or even a looped trumpet could no doubt manage to play a slow-moving lower part,¹⁴² a sackbut was suitable for faster-moving parts as well. Hence it is with the introduction of the sackbut at Court that we find an increased proportion of brass instruments amongst the shawms.

At Court, Henry VII's shawms were known as the sackbuts or the sackbuts and shawms. But in other contexts we find them referred to as his “shawms” as late as 1512:¹⁴³ evidently a well-established phrase continued to be used for many years after it had ceased to be entirely appropriate.

The older grouping of three shawms and a trumpet probably remained the usual *haut* consort until well into the sixteenth century, perhaps with the trumpets normally replaced by a sackbut. In the early years of the century, references to “loud minstrels” [183] and to “four minstrels” seem to have had a standard significance: both phrases were probably applied to this four-man band, although I cannot at present prove it. The four Italian minstrels at the Scottish

¹³⁶ The queen's accounts record a gift of 140.0d to “the Kinges mynstrelles with the shalmewes” at New Year, 1503: see Nicolas/*York*, p. 90. The Northumberland ordinances of 1512 record a regular gift of 10.0d to three of the king's shawms who used to come yearly: see Percy/*Northumberland*, p. 339.

¹³⁷ Henry VII's accounts for 1492 record a gift of 6.8d to “the shamewes of Madeston”: *PPE.H.VII*, under date 31 July of that year.

¹³⁸ Bridge/*TWT*, p. 64.

¹³⁹ Calendared below, ii, p. 190.

¹⁴⁰ The Coventry waits are named in 1423 as Mathew Ellerton, Thomas Sendell, William Howton and John Trumpere. In 1439 the trumpeter was made the senior wait, and three years later the waits had their liveries only on condition that they had a trumpet (presumably the instrument, not the man). See Harris/*Coventry*, pp. 59, 189 and 200.

¹⁴¹ Their numbers fluctuate between three and five, but four seems usual: see below, ii, pp. 133–41, *passim*, and Lafontaine/*Musick*, pp. 2 ff (the names of the sackbuts are listed in Rastall/*MERH*, pp. 36 and 40).

¹⁴² For tenor and contratenor parts specifically marked to be played by a trumpet, see *NOHM* 3, p. 425.

¹⁴³ See above, n. 136.

Court may have been one such group,¹⁴⁴ and the regulations of the minstrel-fraternity at Canterbury imply that a group of “four minstrels” was the usual one for playing at weddings, May-games, and so on.¹⁴⁵

Bas instruments were generally used for solo minstrelsy, judging from the many gifts to single *bas* minstrels recorded in the Wardrobe Books.¹⁴⁶ In the fourteenth century, however, the king employed players of bowed instruments in pairs, possibly because the viol and small fiddle were not as suitable for solo work as other *bas* instruments were. A gift to the king’s two *vidulatores* at Easter, 29 Ed I,¹⁴⁷ may be for minstrelsy when the [184] king was making his offering: no gifts were made to other minstrels that day, and we have examples of violists making minstrelsy on such occasions.¹⁴⁸ Later accounts suggest that fiddles, too, were played in pairs. The two fiddlers who sang to the King of Scots in 1497 presumably played as well,¹⁴⁹ and the Scottish accounts hint at several other occasions on which fiddlers may have played together.¹⁵⁰

In the iconography of the period, a not infrequent combination is of one plucked and one bowed instrument.¹⁵¹ This could easily be explained in terms of the artist’s intentions with regard to the symbolic and decorative effects of his illustration. But here again, the household accounts show a pattern which hints at the common occurrence of such consorts in actual minstrelsy. In the reigns of Edward II and Edward III we find the combination of violist and psaltery-player in the queen’s household,¹⁵² while a harper and a violist of Edward II were probably lodged together.¹⁵³ Information for the later part of our period is [185]

¹⁴⁴ They were probably the “four loud minstrels” (see below, ii, p. 181), and they were rewarded – together with the trumpets – for minstrelsy “at the taking of the schip of the stokkis” (*ibid.*, p. 187). They were often joined by the Moorish taborer, which explains a reference to the *five* loud minstrels (*ibid.*, p. 180).

¹⁴⁵ See above, p. 19.

¹⁴⁶ Anthony Baines has pointed out that in the cases of the bagpipe and the pipe-and-tabor, the drone and the drum-beat were major factors in a solo musician’s ability to hold the attention of his listeners: see Baines/*MI*, pp. 227 f. The same can be said of the larger fiddles, hurdy-gurdy and portative organ: see Dart/*Interpretation*, p. 154.

¹⁴⁷ See below, ii, pp. 22 and 23.

¹⁴⁸ See above, p. 64.

¹⁴⁹ See below, ii, p. 170.

¹⁵⁰ See *ibid.*, p. 178, for instance (10 April).

¹⁵¹ The *bas* consort of the Braunche brass, for example: see above, p. xxxi.

¹⁵² See especially ii, p. 87, below (reproduced as Plate III, above).

¹⁵³ See below, ii, p. 83. This does not necessarily mean that they performed together, of course, but the point is worth pursuing.

unfortunately lacking: the sixteenth-century ordinances of the Northumberland household do allow for the combination of lute and rebec, however.¹⁵⁴

The range of instruments used to accompany the voice has already been noticed.¹⁵⁵ Outside the limits of this vocal minstrelsy, however, mention of instrumental accompaniment is scarce. It seems that the singing of clerks was not normally mixed with the playing of minstrels, whether the occasion was an enthronement-feast, the crying of "Wassail" on Twelfth Night, or a New Year serenade.¹⁵⁶ This was not a question only of status, for we have seen that minstrels could join with clerks in order to sing *Te Deum*.¹⁵⁷ But when a piece of part-music – a "Caroll", "ballad" or other polyphonic "good song" – was "made" by one of the "best doctors in the land"¹⁵⁸ for a specific occasion, rehearsal-time was probably too short for the minstrels to learn it if they were not musically literate.¹⁵⁹ Not until Tudor times do we have [186] evidence of a repertoire of well-known songs at Court, and it is only in Henry VIII's reign that we find minstrels accompanying the part-singing of members of the Chapel Royal.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁴ See below, p. 211.

¹⁵⁵ See above, p. 166.

¹⁵⁶ For singing at enthronement-feasts, see above, p. 92, n. 21; for the crying of "Wassail", 1494, see *Ords & Regs*, p. 121, quoted in *Stevens/M&P*, p. 242; for the New Year serenade to the King of Scots, see below, ii, p. 167.

¹⁵⁷ See above, pp. 70 f.

¹⁵⁸ See *Ords & Regs*, p. 123.

¹⁵⁹ A full discussion of musical literacy is outside the scope of this thesis. I do not think, however, that minstrels could read *mensural* notation until the sixteenth century, although the best of them were perhaps familiar with the unmeasured notation of plain-song and *basse-danse* tunes: c.f. *Stevens/M&P*, p. 313, and below, p. 242.

¹⁶⁰ See *Stevens/M&P*, p. 249, for the "Golden Arbour" pageant.

6

THE WAFERERS

Waferers, like the royal *vigiles*, were sometimes capable of making minstrelsy, and at Court such waferers could become king's minstrels, with the rank of squire.¹ At the marriage of Princess Margaret in 1290, one Boneurge, minstrel-waferer of William de Fenes, was paid for minstrelsy; when her sister Elizabeth was married seven years later, the waferer of the Prince of Wales and the king's waferer, John Drake, received similar gifts; and when the future Edward II was knighted at Pentecost, 1306, the list of those who made minstrelsy included the waferers of the king (the same John Drake), the Earl of Lancaster and Dns R. de Monte Alto.²

The minstrelsy of the waferers was not confined to such major celebrations, although a special occasion was of course more likely to be the context for a gift to be made, and there fore for a record to be set down in the Wardrobe accounts.³ But we do find gifts for minstrelsy made to waferers in more normal circumstances: ⁴ indeed, there is reason to suppose that the minstrelsy of [188] waferers was a more common feature of fourteenth-century life than the Wardrobe Books would suggest, for the relationship between minstrels and waferers was, as we shall see, a close one.

No hint of this relationship is shown in the various royal household ordinances, however. The *Constitutio Domus Regis* of c.1136 does not mention minstrelsy at all; the ordinances of 1318 do not mention it in connection with the waferer, although he is directed to be lodged with the wayts;⁵ those of 18–21 Ed III are even less fruitful, while those of 33 Hen VI tell us only that the wafery was staffed by William Overton, yoman, and Thomas Caldwell, groom. A more detailed account is given in the *Liber Niger* of Edward IV's reign: but although

¹ This is the case with Peter de Normard (who seems to be identical with Peter Gaffrer, the minstrel) and Robert de Bosham in Edward III's reign; and with Henry Waufrer, minstrel of Henry IV. John de Bria, queen's waferer, may be identical with John Briays, Edward II's minstrel.

² 1290: C47.4.5, f. 48 (not calendared below); for 1297 and 1306, see below, ii, pp. 16 f, 55, 57 and 58.

³ For instance, that calendared below, ii, p. 99.

⁴ See below, ii, pp. 74 and 87.

⁵ See above, p. 160, n. 62.

the ordinances state the quantities of eggs, butter, flour and sugar allowed to the waferer every day, the duties of the waferer himself are not defined.⁶

This account does make it quite clear, however, that wafers were something special by the late fifteenth century. Except on such occasions as the principal feasts, when a very few nobles might partake of them, the wafers were for the king alone, and [189] the *Liber Niger* explains that the waferer's wages are lower now than in Edward III's reign because then "his busynesse was much more." Certainly the day-to-day duties of the waferer had greatly declined by the late fifteenth century: but we should notice that the Duchess of Clarence had a yoman waferer in her standing household, and that the Duke of Norfolk employed a waferer when he was still Lord Howard.⁷

Wafers probably retained considerable significance at banquets as late as Tudor times. They seem to have been served near the end of a banquet,⁸ and it was the act of handing the wafers to the king that was of such importance. The exact significance of this act must remain something of a mystery; but it is a fact that wafer-serjeantries were tenures held by those who had handed wafers to the king on such ceremonial occasions as coronations (which includes crown-wearings).⁹ In the early case of the manor of Liston Overhall, in Essex, the holder was bound in 1185 to make wafers at the summons of the king's feast: a holder [190] of the same tenure in 1367 did so by virtue of having placed five wafers before Edward III at his coronation, and in 1377 a dispute arose between the Liston tenant and a rival claimant over the right to perform this service for Richard II.¹⁰

The occasional wafer-service to which wafer-serjeantries were attached had little to do with the every-day work of the royal waferers. In the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries any household of importance had its waferer – those of barons, abbots and earls as well as the dependent royal households – and the waferers probably served their wafers not only at the principal feasts, but also at other celebrations.

⁶ For the ordinances of c.1136, see Johnson/*Dialogus*, p. 131; for those of Ed II, see Tout/*Ed. II*, p. 286; for those of Ed III; Hen VI and Ed IV, see *Ords & Regs*, pp.9, 18 and 72 respectively. A staff of one senior waferer assisted by a groom seems standard throughout our period; in the fourteenth century, each dependent household also appears to have a waferer.

⁷ For the Duchess of Clarence, 8 Ed IV, see *Ords & Regs*, p. 100; for Lord Howard, 1481, see Collier/*Norfolk*, p. 48 (this entry is not calendared in Appendix C, below).

⁸ See above, p. 92, n. 20.

⁹ J.H. Round's fascinating work on the wafer-serjeantry (Round/*serjeants*, pp. 227 ff), which is very briefly discussed here, unfortunately takes no account of the household waferer at Court prior to the late fifteenth century. His comparison of the household waferer of Edward IV (as described in the *Liber Niger*) with the tenants of the earlier wafer-serjeantries is therefore quite invalid: so, unhappily, are some of his conclusions.

¹⁰ Round/*Serjeants*, p. 229.

An interesting parallel with the wafer-serjeantry can be seen in the importance apparently attached to the actual serving of the wafers.¹¹ It seems to have been just as much a part of the waferer's duty to present the wafers at his master's table as it was to make them.

In the conditions of his service, then, the waferer was somewhat exceptional. The wafery was only a sub-department of the Pantry, yet two king's waferers were styled "Master" – John Drake in Edward I's reign, and another John who served both Edward III and Richard II. John Drake probably had considerable responsibilities outside his own sub-department, and must have been one of [191] the senior servants of the Pantry. A payment of 20.0d for shoes for his grooms suggests that he had six or seven of them in his care:¹² and as we have already seen, he spent much time in Court, and had squire's rank with the more generous livery-allowance.¹³

In a waferer's dual capacity as maker and server of wafers (which were something of a delicacy), we can see why it was desirable that he should be an entertainer. Towards the end of a banquet, the gaiety would be at its height, and the little information that we have on the minstrelsy of waferers indicates that its nature was appropriate to this context. On one occasion Queen Philippa was entertained by two dancers, one of whom was a waferer;¹⁴ and some years later her husband made a gift of two waferers who were probably a piper (Sifre) and a dancer or tumbler (Sautour).¹⁵ One would like to know what entertainment Richard and Helen Pilke offered: female minstrels were usually dancers, and indeed Matilda Makejoie, *saltatrix*, seems to have performed on the same occasion.¹⁶

This dual entertainment of minstrels and waferers is by no [192] means an uncommon one:¹⁷ but it is surprising that it occurs with such frequency amongst the *itinerant* minstrelsy. I do not forget that many liveried waferers may have been itinerant for much of the year: but in a set of accounts which normally names the households to which visiting minstrels are attached, the entry

"Item, diversis ministrallis cum Wafirs, xxxj s."

¹¹ See below, ii, pp. 74 f and 99.

¹² Calendared below, ii, p. 30

¹³ See above, pp. 106 and 119 (and n. 125).

¹⁴ See below, ii, p. 87 and n. 49.

¹⁵ See below, ii, p. 99. Medieval iconography and account-books both show that dancing was of a very acrobatic nature, hardly to be distinguished from tumbling.

¹⁶ See below, ii, pp. 74 f.

¹⁷ See, for instance, the article "Wafer" in the *Oxford English Dictionary*, where the connection is implied in a large proportion of the quotations.

almost certainly refers to a mixed bag of independent entertainers.¹⁸ So, too, does an entry recording a gift to “Richard, *oblator* of Oxford, and other waferers and minstrels” in the accounts of Richard de Swinfield, 1289–90; and two similar gifts to waferers in the company of minstrels are found in the Derby accounts for 1391.¹⁹

Such references are typical: but while the close relationship of minstrels and waferers is obvious, its precise nature must remain undefined until we know more about the waferers themselves – who they were, and what they could do in the way of minstrelsy.

¹⁸ At Durham, 1402–03: see below, ii, p. 148.

¹⁹ See Webb/*Swinfield*, i, p. 148.

7

MINSTRELSY IN HOUSEHOLDS OUTSIDE COURT

Introduction

The accounts of the royal Wardrobe are, at their best, detailed enough to enable us to build up a fairly complete picture of minstrelsy at Court. These accounts are unfortunately exceptional, both in their comprehensive nature and in the number of them that have survived to the present day.

For other households the situation is quite different. Such account-books as survive from households outside Court do not include all transactions as most of the Wardrobe Books do. Those of the Howard household and the Scottish Court, for instance, do not normally record wages (which were evidently entered in a separate book); nor do their records of liveries appear always to be complete. Many other accounts searched for this thesis – such as the Beauchamp accounts at Warwick,¹ which are mainly concerned with good – give only summaries of the daily expenses.

Any detailed discussion of minstrelsy in a particular [194] household therefore needs to draw on several different sources, supplementing the information gained from account-books by reference to registers, household ordinances, and other documents (such as civic accounts) in which the relevant minstrels might be mentioned. Such a study would involve a long search of both published and manuscript material.

This work would take up a thesis in itself, and is outside the scope of the present work. The sections which follow here do not attempt to give a complete picture of minstrelsy in each household, but only to supplement the discussions of minstrelsy at Court in the previous two chapters. Each section could be expanded, and the material exists for the study of several more households which are not discussed here.

¹ The Beauchamp Household Book in the possession of Warwick Corporation contains the accounts of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, between 14 March, 1431, and 18 March 1432. For extracts, see Harvey/*GE*, Appendix 3, and Cronne/*Beauchamp*. The accounts mention the various minstrels who came to supper or dinner in the Beauchamp household, but the information was not detailed enough to warrant the inclusion of a calendar of the relevant entries in this thesis.

The Household of the Black Prince

During Prince Edward's childhood, the household of Edward III's eldest son was dependent on the king's household, and it cannot have been large. The minstrel who played to the prince when he was ill in about 11 Ed III was probably not his own minstrel, and may not then have been a royal minstrel at all.²

My present information is especially meagre for the first [195] few years of the prince's life.³ By about 13 Ed III his household certainly included at least two minstrels, as well as two *vigilatores* and a waferer; and although we do not hear of his two trumpeters until Edward was fourteen or fifteen years old, he probably employed trumpeters before that time.⁴ By 1352 the household was large enough to sustain servants "qui non sunt", and the prince was employing four pipers of the Count of Eu.⁵

The Black Prince's generosity in giving instruments to his minstrels has already been mentioned.⁶ He was equally generous in giving horses to his servants: on 19 April, 1352, he gave two horses to four French minstrels (probably those of the Count of Eu), three cart-horses to two German minstrels, two cart-horses to four minstrels *Burgilensibus*, and a cart-horse each to several servants, including Ralph, trumpeter, and Thomas, waferer;⁷ on 5 November of the same year he gave three saddles to minstrels;⁸ on 14 March, 1353, he made a gift of 40.0d to enable Ralph, [196] trumpeter, to buy himself a horse;⁹ and in 1358 he gave Zeulyn the piper 66.8d towards the purchase of a hackney.¹⁰

Other gifts made by the prince to his own minstrels were not frequent, but were of generous proportions,¹¹ ranging from 13.4d (gifts at the end of the scale

² See above, p. 123 and n. 141. The prince was born on 15 June, 1330 (i.e., 4 Ed III).

³ The sources for this section are such Wardrobe accounts for the prince's household as I have searched (calendared below, ii, pp. 96–109, *passim*) and the prince's register, which starts at 1346.

⁴ Rastall/*MERH*, p. 21; regnal years on this page refer to Wardrobe-book entries, other dates to *RegBP*. Thomas de Brotherton was just six years old when his trumpeters played at the Pentecost feast of 1306.

⁵ *RegBP.*, iv, p. 73.

⁶ See above, pp. 109 f.

⁷ *RegBP.*, iv, p. 71.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 72.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

¹¹ c.f. above, pp. 124 and 126. For the years for which *RegBP* includes the prince's instructions to the auditors of his accounts, the register presumably contains records of all the prince's gifts.

perhaps being for minstrelsy) to £26.13.4d given to two of the prince's pipers to help repay their debts.¹²

Gifts to visiting minstrels were comparably infrequent. In 1358 the prince gave £10.0.0d to Cremeryak and his nine companions (minstrels of Duke William), £6.13.4d to the minstrels of Queen Philippa, and £100.0.0d to the heralds and minstrels at the jousts at Windsor;¹³ and the following year he gave 60.0d to three pipers of the Duke of Lancaster.¹⁴

The Lancaster Household, 1372-1399

John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, was one of the most powerful [197] men of his time.¹⁵ His resources were such that the splendour of his court rivalled that of the king's: moreover, the son, uncle and father of kings had the position to emulate the king's household. We should therefore expect the Lancaster household to be more closely modelled on the king's than any other household could be.

The surviving registers of John of Gaunt,¹⁶ like those of his eldest brother, the Black Prince, do not give a complete picture of minstrelsy in the household: each register is probably only one of several covering the same dates. Fortunately, the Lancaster volumes are considerably more detailed than those of the Black Prince, and they provide some illuminating information.

One of the most interesting items records the terms of employment of John de Buckingham, clarioner,¹⁷ who was probably the minstrel of that name who had served Edward III: the entry dates from about 1379 or 1380. Buckingham was to serve the Duke as clarioner for life, both in peace and war, travelling with the Duke to whatever districts the Duke wished, and being well and suitably arrayed as a man-at-arms in war-time.¹⁸ In peace-time, he was to be present in the Duke's court during the four major feasts¹⁹ and at other [198] times if he was required to carry letters,²⁰ taking 7 1/2d per day while he was in court as wages for himself, his servants (*gentz*) and horses. He was to be head of the minstrels.²¹ He was to

¹²For gifts to the prince's minstrels, see *RegBP*, iii, p. 317; *ibid.*, iv, pp. 101, 158, 161, 163, 167 (two items), 283, 326, 388 f (three items), 402, 428, 475 and 486.

¹³*Ibid.*, iv, pp. 251 f.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 283.

¹⁵See above, p. 4, n. 8.

¹⁶Transcribed in Armitage-Smith/*JGReg* (covering the years 1372-1376) and Lodge/*JGReg* (1379-1383)

¹⁷Lodge/*JGReg*, i, pp. 15 f.

¹⁸c.f. above, p. 93.

¹⁹These are not named: c.f. above, pp. 88 f and 93

²⁰c.f. above, pp. 145b f and 163.

²¹"Et comencera le dit Johan la table des ministrax le dit roy et duc". I have retained this article of the agreement in its original place between those concerning his wages, al-

take wages of 12d per day in peace-time when he was out of court on the Duke's business. For his fee during peace-time, Buckingham was to take 100.0d per year for life, in equal portions at Michaelmas and Easter, while in war-time his fee was to be £10.0.0d, together with such war-time wages as were taken by others of his position.

From this we can see the distinction between fees and wages, which was not entirely clear from our study of the royal minstrels.²² The fee of 100.0d per year remained the same for the minstrel's life (unless it was raised during war-time), and usually came from the issues of specific lands.²³ The wages, on the other hand, [199] were payable by the day, and the amount depended on circumstances – whether the minstrel was in or out of court, whether it was peace-time or war-time and so on.

The register does not record the wage of any other minstrel: nor does it record payment of wages, except for a few payments in arrears, including the payment of war-time wages to Henry Piper (£8.0.1d) and Roger Piper (£6.13.2d) for their service during the Duke's expedition to Gascony in 1372.²⁴ As in the case of John de Buckingham, allowance was made for the servants and horses of the Duke's minstrels: the terms of employment of Hans Gough, Smeltes, Henry Hultescrane and James Sauthe in 1373 allows each minstrel such livery for his horses as others of his estate took, and 1d per day as wages for his groom.²⁵

Records of liveries are also rare in the register: only one payment for a cloth-livery occurs, and the large sum of 10 marks [200] indicates that this was for a special occasion.²⁶ The other livery recorded is of great interest, however:

though it appears misplaced: it may be, however, that the additional wage of 4½d per day to a minstrel occupied in the Duke's business was due only to the head minstrel.

²²See above, pp. 128 ff. The Lancaster household became the king's household (under Gaunt's son, Henry IV) in the year that John of Gaunt died, so we can safely assume that the system of fees and wages in Gaunt's household was essentially that later found at the Courts of the Lancastrian kings.

²³John de Buckingham is the only minstrel recorded as taking his fee from the reciever-general (Lodge/*JGReg*, i, pp. 15 and 90). Fees for most minstrels came from the Honour of Leicester: Hans Gough, Smeltes, Henry Hultescrane and James Sauthe in 1373 (Armitage-Smith/*JGReg*, ii, pp. 1 and 219); Rollekyn, Petrekyn, Henry and Hankyn in 1379 (Lodge/*JGReg*, i, p. 33); John Cliff of Coventry in 1381 (*ibid.*, p. 197); Hankyn Frysh (whose fee was for some reason only 5 marks) in 1382 (*ibid.*, ii, pp. 255 and 311); and Claus, nakerer, in 1389 (retained in the king's service in 1399: *CPR*, Ric II, vol. 6 (1396–1399), p. 558). The Duke's trumpeters took their fees from the issues of Yorkshire: John Tyas from the Honour of Pickering in 1373 and 1374 (payment of his fees being stopped while he went abroad and continued – with payment of arrears – on his return: Armitage-Smith/*JGReg*, ii, pp. 153 and 244); Tyas and Peter Cook from the Honour of Pontefract in 1380 (Lodge/*JGReg*, i, p. 49).

²⁴Armitage-Smith/*JGReg*, ii, p. 21.

²⁵*Ibid.*, p. 1: c.f. above, pp. 98 and 111 f.

²⁶To John Guttere (gitterner?), squire, 1375: Armitage-Smith/*JGReg*, ii, p. 298.

Et ... facez liverer a ... Johan Cliff de Coventre un eschucon dargent ovesque un coler pur un ministrall, et un peir de nakers ovesque deux colers et un ceyntoure et deux stykkes dargent faitz pur meismes les nakers.

This item is dated 4 December, 1381,²⁷ and the livery was probably made in time for the imminent Christmas celebrations. “Coler” probably means a chain.²⁸ How a chain “for a minstrel” differed from the chains of other servants – if indeed there is any significance in the phrase – we cannot at present tell. It would also be interesting to know if the scutcheon, nakers, special belt and silver sticks were for everyday use or only for the coming feast.²⁹

The register records a number of the Duke’s gifts, made on occasions which are familiar from the Wardrobe Books.³⁰ Minstrels [201] were rewarded for their minstrelsy before the Duke at the New Year, Candlemas and Epiphany; and gifts were also made to the heralds and minstrels at the jousts at Windsor on St George’s Day, and at jousts at Hertford and Chelmsford. A normal year’s expenditure on gifts to minstrels seems to have been about £20.0.0d,³¹ but this was raised considerably by special circumstances: in 1382, the gifts made to minstrels at the celebration of the queen’s marriage accounted for £23.3.4d, and the total expenditure for that year came to almost £60.0.0d. The Duke did not often make gifts for minstrelsy, but those that he did make were sometimes very generous: his reward to the minstrels of the Count of Flanders at Candlemas, 1375, for instance, cost him £16.13.4d, while a total of £13.6.8d was given to minstrels at the marriage of his own daughter Elizabeth in 1380.

It is not easy to be sure of the exact personnel of the Duke’s minstrels, although there appear to have been eight of them in 1380 and seven in 1381.³² The possibility of Gough, Smeltes, Hultescrane and Sauthe making a shawm-and-clarion band has already been mentioned.³³ The number of pipers rose to four by 1375,³⁴ [202] and the register does not mention James Sauthe after 1374: but as

²⁷Lodge/*JGReg*, i, p. 209.

²⁸*Colerium* (or *collarium*) has been mistranslated as “collar” in discussions of the badges of town waits: the word also means a necklace, however, and could no doubt be used for the chain from which a scutcheon hung. See above, p. 124, n. 144. In the case of nakers suspended from a belt (*ceyntoure*) some sort of fastening might seem more likely (as in the modern French “coller”, to adhere, cling to): however, I am inclined to believe that *colerium* could mean a chain even when it was not suspended from the neck (*col*), and that the nakers were fastened to the belt by means of two chains.

²⁹c.f. other expensive instruments, above, pp. 109 f.

³⁰See Armitage-Smith/*JGReg*, ii, p. 299 (1375); Lodge/*JGReg*, I, pp. 113, 151 and 152 (1380); *Ibid.*, pp. 179 f (1381) and 230 (1382); *ibid.*, ii, pp. 239 (1382) and 259 (1383).

³¹The Duke gave £21.3.4d in 1380, £18.0.0d in 1381, and £20.0.0d in 1383: c.f. above, p. 126 and n. 154.

³²Lodge/*JGReg*, i, pp. 113 and 179.

³³See above, p. 179.

³⁴Armitage-Smith/*JGReg*, ii, p. 298.

John de Buckingham was the Duke's clarioner and head of his minstrels by about 1379, the four-man band could certainly have continued. The Duke employed two trumpeters in 1380 (in addition to the clarioner) and a nakerer in 1381, so that the combination of two trumpets and nakers was also possible.³⁵ The only *bas* minstrel of the Duke appears to have been a gitterner.³⁶

Later information on the Lancaster minstrels comes from the accounts for the Earl of Derby's expeditions to Prussia in 1390–91 and 1392–93.³⁷ The Earl's household was probably quite independent of his father's, and none of Henry's minstrels on these expeditions seems to have come from the service of John of Gaunt. On his first expedition, Henry took with him John Brothir and Robert Krakill, trumpeters; William Bingeley, William de York and William Algood, pipers; and Master John, nakerer. The minstrels on the second expedition were John, Thomas Aleyn, Thomas and Robert Krakill, trumpeters; and John Algood, John Smith and John Aleyn, pipers: at the end of September, 1392, all except Thomas, trumpeter, returned to England. These minstrels ranked as valets, [203] taking 4d per day, except for the period from 18 August to 22 October, 1390, when they took 6d as war-time wages.³⁸

Henry therefore had no *bas* minstrelsy at his court, a lack which he made good with many gifts to local itinerant minstrels. Most items do not record the type of minstrelsy concerned, but on three occasions the Earl was entertained by fiddlers. Three fiddlers received 12.8d for making their minstrelsy before the Earl on Christmas Day, 1390; two fiddlers received three Prussian marks (£1.0.0d) for attending the Earl for six days in February, 1391; and Henry gave 13.4d to three fiddlers who entertained him during Lent in the same year.³⁹

The Earl's own minstrels were on horseback, having seven horses between the six of them in January, 1391.⁴⁰ The extra horse was no doubt used to pull the cart which carried the minstrels' baggage: on the second expedition, in August, 1392, the Earl bought a horse for this purpose and gave it to John Aleyn, who was presumably responsible for the minstrels' cart.⁴¹

The Derby accounts unfortunately give no details of the [204] minstrels' duties. From a payment of a ducat (3.3d) for a fringe for his banner made to Thomas, trumpeter, after his companions had returned to England, it would appear that a solo trumpeter was not too small a minstrel-force for ceremonial occa-

³⁵Lodge/*JGReg*, i, pp. 127 and 197: c.f. above, p. 149. John Cliff was presumably the nakerer: see above, p. 200.

³⁶See above, n. 26.

³⁷Transcribed in Smith/*Derby*.

³⁸The wage-lists are in Smith/*Derby*, pp. 132 f, 137, 141 f and 269 ff.

³⁹*Ibid.*, pp. 109, 110 and 113: for fiddles in consort, c.f. above, p. 184.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 112 and 199.

⁴¹*Ibid.*, p. 262.

sions.⁴² Nor do the accounts give information about the minstrels' instruments, although a payment of 60.0d made to the minstrels in 1391 for six fustian bags may refer to instrument-bags.⁴³

The Howard Household, 1462-1485

The surviving accounts of the Howard household rarely record wages or liveries, and certain other payments were detailed in a separate volume.⁴⁴ They seem to record most of Howard's gifts, however, and they probably give an accurate picture of the minstrelsy made in Howard's presence.

While he was still Sir John Howard, the future Duke of Norfolk employed a pair of trumpeters, a taboret and a harper.⁴⁵ Of these, the taboret appears most prominently in the accounts, and [205] the impression given is that Howard preferred to be attended by his taboret at all times rather than by a *bas* minstrel.

This impression is not altered after Howard's elevation to the rank of baron. Thomas the harper, who was a trusted servant of the household,⁴⁶ did not always accompany his master on his travels, and may have been primarily Lady Howard's minstrel.⁴⁷ Howard did take harpers on the expedition of 1481, however, in addition to five trumpeters and a total of eleven taborets.⁴⁸ How many of these were regular members of his household, it is impossible to tell: but even after his elevation to the Dukedom of Norfolk, Howard seems to have kept only one taboret.⁴⁹ Of the five trumpeters, Edmund Frente received lower payments and gifts than the other four, and he may have been a temporary war-time addition to Howard's household trumpeters.⁵⁰

A minstrel called James, mentioned in the accounts for 1482,⁵¹ may also have been a household minstrel. If so, he [206] probably played the lute, for the minstrels had to mend a lute in that year.⁵² Other payments for repairing instruments are for a cord for a tabor (1464), for the mending of a harp (1465), for parchment

⁴²*Ibid.*, p. 287.

⁴³"... *pro vj sackes de fostyon*": *ibid.*, p. 112; c.f. above, p. 108

⁴⁴This other account-book is mentioned in the accounts searched for the present study (see below, ii, Appendix C), but it has not, apparently, survived.

⁴⁵See below, ii, pp. 150-153, *passim*: the trumpeters are names as Robert Dunwich and Cole, and the taboret as John Symond.

⁴⁶A payment was made by his hand in 1481: *ibid.*, p. 157.

⁴⁷Thomas remained at Stoke while Howard was in London preparing for his expedition to Scotland in 1481: *ibid.*, p. 155.

⁴⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 153 ff.

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 160. A single taboret was, after all, quite sufficient for all but military purposes.

⁵⁰*Ibid.*, p. 156, under the dates 22 April and 28 July.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, p. 158.

⁵²*Ibid.*, p. 158.

to repair a tabor (1481), and for the repairing of the chapel organ (1482).⁵³ A payment of 1d for the purchase of a pipe for the fool suggests that the instrument was greatly inferior to a minstrel's pipe.⁵⁴

Howard evidently enjoyed minstrelsy: often his rewards to minstrels were large sums, of the order of those given in the royal households, although many were only a matter of pence. If he spent Christmas at home, he rewarded certain local minstrels and players who came to entertain him,⁵⁵ and when he entered or left a city such as Lincoln, Colchester or London, the town waits often earned a reward from him.⁵⁶

The Scottish Royal Household, 1474–1505

The music-loving James IV of Scotland⁵⁷ made many gifts to [207] minstrels on his various journeys. In addition to the many itinerant or local minstrels who are not named, particular minstrels in certain places were rewarded regularly whenever the king visited that district: such are Lundoris, luter, the Rudman family, the shoemaker luter and the "crukit vicar" of Dumfries.⁵⁸ The civic pipers of Aberdeen and Wigtown were usually rewarded in the course of the king's pilgrimages to Tain and Whithorn respectively, and when James visited Dumbarton, Dumfries or Edinburgh he rewarded the pipers of those towns.⁵⁹ Many of these minstrels who were well-known to the king journeyed to his court for the major celebrations of Christmas and Easter; and when the king spent these feasts at Edinburgh, the pipers of that town added their minstrelsy to the festivities.

It is therefore very difficult to decide which of the minstrels mentioned in the accounts were the king's own servants, and [208] which were merely frequent visitors at his court. Records of wages in the accounts are rare, and the records of liveries are far from complete. Nevertheless, those items concerning wages and

⁵³*Ibid.*, pp. 151, 152, 155 and 158.

⁵⁴*Ibid.*, p. 158.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 157 and 159.

⁵⁶*Ibid.*, pp. 150, 153, 156, 159 (two items) and 160; c.f. above, p. 127 and n. 156.

⁵⁷James played the lute and the clavichord: see Stevens/*M&P*, p. 269; also below, ii, pp. 169, 170 and 184. The pair of "tympanes" (nakers?) given to the king in 1503 were perhaps not for his personal use (*ibid.*, p. 180).

For other royal amateurs, see Stevens/*M&P*, pp. 275 ff. Henry V must have played the harp from an early age (Wylie/*Henry IV*, Appendix A, under dates 1395–96 and 1397–98; strings bought for young Henry's harp), and his father also played the harp (*ibid.*, under dates 1391–92 and 1392–93). For the harps of Henry V and Queen Katherine, see Devon/*Issues*, pp. 363 and 367; for the lutes of Princess Margaret (later Queen of Scots) and Princess Mary, see *PPE.H.VII* under dates 21 May, 1501, and 1 August, 1505: also Nicolas/*York*, p. 29; for Henry VII's clavichord, see *PPE.H.VII* under dates 7 January, 1502, and 6 January, 1504; for Queen Elizabeth's clavichord, see Nicolas/*York*, p. 41.

⁵⁸See below, ii, Appendix D, *passim*.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*: c.f. above, pp. 127 (and n. 156) and 206.

liveries which are included in the surviving accounts do give us some idea of who the royal minstrels were.

The king's luters are prominent in the accounts. James III's luter, John Brown, was sent abroad in September, 1473, to "lere his craft", while the king's little luter, "the boy", was sent to Bruges a year later, perhaps for the same purpose.⁶⁰ James IV's luter, Jacob, seems to have gone abroad in September, 1489.⁶¹ Judging by the size of liveries and gifts made to him, Jacob was James' chief minstrel: from 1501 onwards he was joined by another luter, the blind Adam Dickson, who appears to have been similarly favoured. Two luters received James' livery, but only for short periods - Alexander Wardlaw in 1503 and 1504, and Rankin, the Fleming, in 1503.

Of the many other luters, harpers, clarsach-players and fiddlers who appear in the accounts, only Pate Harper and his father of the same name (who was a clarsach-player) are known to have [209] received James's livery,⁶² apart from those of Princess Margaret's minstrels who remained at the Scottish Court after her marriage. The latter included Kennar, luter, Bountas, cornettist, and perhaps Cuddy Rig, luter.⁶³ Others who appear frequently in the accounts and may have been the king's minstrels are James Milson, harper, Alexander, harper, and Adam Boyd, fiddler.⁶⁴

All of the trumpeters named in the accounts were in James' regular employment. There were four of them, until their numbers were increased first to five and then to six by the addition of John Anderson in 1501 and Thomas Hopringill the younger in 1502. One of the latter two was probably the war-trumpeter. Other *haut* minstrels at James' court were the four Italian minstrels and the Moorish taborer, employed from 1503 and 1504 onwards respectively.⁶⁵ The king had already employed a taborer, Ansle, for several years.⁶⁶

Most of James' gifts were for *bas* minstrelsy, which he evidently preferred. On a pilgrimage to Whithorn in 1501 he took two luters with him (Dickson and, probably, Jacob), while Alexander the harper accompanied him to Tain in the same year.⁶⁷ At least [210] one trumpeter also attended on each journey, however, and the king probably took *haut* minstrels to make ceremonial music on all such

⁶⁰See below, ii, pp. 163 f. Edward III had helped three of his minstrels to go to the Lenten minstrel-school (*ibid.*, p. 92): the Scottish luters perhaps went as temporary members of some noble household, where they could exchange ideas and repertoire.

⁶¹*Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁶²They served the king from 1494 onwards and from 1501 onwards (?respectively).

⁶³Cuddy is not known to have received James's livery.

⁶⁴Also described as a taborer.

⁶⁵See above, p. 183 and n. 144.

⁶⁶From 1497 onwards.

⁶⁷See below, ii, pp. 173 f.

occasions. In 1504 two trumpeters accompanied him to Whithorn, and all four Italian minstrels and the Moorish taborer went to Tain.⁶⁸

The accounts give little information about instruments at the Scottish Court. A gift made to a luter for canvas in 1474 may be for an instrument-bag.⁶⁹ New instruments were apparently available in Edinburgh: if the tabor bought by Anslie in 1502 really cost 42.0d, it was a fine instrument;⁷⁰ a new shawm elicited a gift of only 28.0d in the following year.⁷¹

Like their English contemporaries, the minstrels of the King of Scots took part in the various revels at Court: indeed, the Scottish minstrels sometimes arranged some of the entertainments. At Epiphany, 1494, a dance was devised by John Pringill, who had been "King of Bene" two years earlier,⁷² and the Moorish taborer took on similar responsibilities in 1505.⁷³

[211]

The Northumberland Household of 1511

The ordinances of the household of the Earl of Northumberland⁷⁴ were drawn up at Michealmas, 1511. On certain subjects, such as the constitution of the Earl's chapel, they are very informative, occasionally they are remarkable for their silence. For instance, no mention is made of cloth-liveries: nor is there any information about the Earl's trumpeters.⁷⁵

The household minstrels were a taboret, a luter and a rebec-player. The latter two could probably supply all the *bas* minstrelsy that the Earl might require, while the taboret would play for dances and so on. Probably all three of them played together when they serenaded the Earl on New Year's Day. The taboret received four marks *per annum* for his wages, while the luter and rebec-player received 33.4d each.⁷⁶ The minstrels' status was not high, even amongst the household yomen, with whom they ranked, and at meals they made up a *meas* with the footman.⁷⁷

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 184.

⁶⁹*Ibid.*, p. 163: c.f. above, pp. 108 and 204.

⁷⁰See below, ii, p. 177: c.f. above, p. 200.

⁷¹See below, ii, p. 180.

⁷²*Ibid.*, p. 167.

⁷³*Ibid.*, p. 187.

⁷⁴Transcribed in Percy/*Northumberland*.

⁷⁵It is possible that the trumpeters' wages are detailed with those of other servants of the same rank: but the ordinances do not state the rank of the trumpeters.

⁷⁶Percy/*Northumberland*, pp. 46 and 253. The first of these gives the taboret's wages as £4.0.0d, which must be a mistake: the Dean of the Chapel received £4.0.0d *per annum*, while 33.4d was the wage of a yoman.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 80 and 88.

[212] The Earl's gifts to minstrels, players and other entertainers were on the scale that we have already noted in other households. He was accustomed to give 3.4d to the minstrels of an earl if they came annually, and 6.8d if they came only every two or three years: a single minstrel of an earl who was a special friend or kinsman of the Earl of Northumberland received the same reward.⁷⁸ The trumpeters of an earl or duke received either 6.8d or 10.0d in the same circumstances if they came all six together. Three of the king's shawms who had been accustomed to come every year were given 10.0d.

The Earl also made regular gifts to his own servants.⁷⁹ The three household minstrels serenaded the whole Percy family on the morning of New Year's Day, receiving 20.0d for playing at the Earl's chamber door (13.4d from the Earl, and 6.8d from the Countess), 2.0d for playing at Lord Percy's door, and 8d for playing at the door of each of the two younger sons. The six trumpeters, similarly, played outside the Earl's door on the same occasion for which they received 20.0d.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, p. 339, contains all the gifts to visiting minstrels. The sum given to the minstrel of a friend or kinsman coming yearly is left blank, but 3.4d was probably intended: 6.8d is laid down for such a minstrel coming once every two or three years.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, p. 342.

8

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE TOWN WAITS

Waytes and Watchmen

The word *wayte*, spelt in various ways, had several connotations at the end of the thirteenth century:

- 1 A double-reed instrument of the shawm type.¹
- 2 The players of this instrument, of whom the *vigiles* were in the majority. For these two meanings of the word I have used the spelling "wayt".
- 3 Various types of watchman. The household *vigiles* belong to this category also; so do the *vigiles* guarding the Exchequer treasures² and those who held lands by virtue of wayte-service at castle gates,³ both being domestic (but not strictly household) posts; the word was also used in connection with the keeping of town gates.

A fourth use of the term, appearing much later in date, is the one which mainly concerns us. The town waits were bands of civic minstrels. They do not appear earlier than the fifteenth century, and they had no direct connection with the *waytes* [214] mentioned above: for this reason I have used the modern spelling "wait" when referring to them.

The early history of the town waits has in the past been considerably confused because historians have not distinguished between the different types of *wayte*. For this reason it is necessary to trace the use of the word from the late thirteenth century. A statute of c.1296 required that each gate of the City of London should be shut by the servant living there, and that he should have a *wayt* at his own expense.⁴ The man is meant, I think, not the instrument: his duty would have been to watch from the city wall and give the gate-keeper a signal at the approach of anyone whom the gate would have to be opened.

¹ See above, pp. 157 and 161.

² See above, p. 162 and n. 76: I use "domestic" to mean "attached to a domestic *building*" and therefore not itinerant.

³ *Temp.* Hen III and Ed I: see Hill/*Handbook*, p. 89, and Sandys/*Christmastide*, p. 83.

⁴ Hill/*Handbook*, p. 89.

This watchman was not a minstrel, and the appropriate instrument for making such a signal was likely to be a horn rather than a wayt.⁵ The use of horns in this context continued: when a messenger approached Tutbury castle in 1385, “the horn was blown, ... and the stranger was admitted within the castle”;⁶ and when Henry V made his triumphal entry into London after the battle of Agincourt in 1415, he passed through the gateway of London Bridge [215] to the sound of horns being blown.⁷

After the reign of Edward I, however, the word “wayte” gradually disappeared except in connection with the household *vigilatores*, for whom it was exclusively used by the beginning of the fifteenth century.⁸ It is not found in the records of the reorganisation of watch and ward in the various towns, and its absence here is the more remarkable because these civic watches certainly used horns. Six men who attacked the watch of Walbrook Ward, London, in 1302 were captured and brought to trial “after the hue and cry had been raised by horn and voice and the neighbouring wards had come to help”.⁹ This must have been a marching watch, which we find again in 1461, when it was ordered that an armed watch should patrol every ward between 9 p.m. and 4 a.m.¹⁰

Not only was there a patrolling watch. The organisation of the London watch in 1311 made provision for each ward to supply men to keep a regular watch at the city gates.¹¹ Chester organised a watch on the city walls in 14 Ed III, and citizens were fined for neglecting this duty as late as Tudor times.¹² The north [216] gate was entrusted to the Sheriffs, who retained the tolls in return for certain duties, including the hanging of felons after sentence, the publishing of the Earl’s proclamations, and the calling of citizens to assembly of Portmote by sounding a horn.¹³ At Coventry, the Chamberlains requested in 1450 that four men be appointed from each ward to guard the gates: these four were to choose one man to keep the keys and close the gates every night at 9 p.m.¹⁴

These watches, then, consisted not of professional watchmen but of citizens. Moreover, both the patrolling watch at London and the guard on the gates of Coventry existed at a time when the respective town waits were already well

⁵ See *ibid.* for a quotation from Alexander Neckham’s *De Naturis Rerum* (early 13th century): “Assint etiam excubiae vigiles (veytes) cornibus suis strepitum et clangorem facientes”.

⁶ Mosley/*Tutbury*, p. 105.

⁷ Wylie/*Henry V*, ii., p. 259.

⁸ See above, pp. 156 f and 159.

⁹ Rickert/*Chaucer*, p. 41.

¹⁰ Sharpe/*LBL*, p. 12.

¹¹ Rickert/*Chaucer*, p. 43, quoting H.T. Riley’s *Memorials of London*, London, 1868, i, pp. 92 f.

¹² Morris/*Chester*, pp. 257–59.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

¹⁴ Harris/*Life*, p. 284, n.

established. Nowhere do we find any mention of the word “wayte” in relation to such duties.¹⁵

The evidence is negative, but decisive. When we consider the town waits, we must forget the older connotation of the word “wayte”. The town watis, as far as one can tell, normally had no connection with the watch;¹⁶ and the citizens’ watch as [217] organised in towns during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries does not seem to have made the use of the term “wayte”.

When Stow mentions¹⁷ that in 1253 Henry III commanded watches to be kept in cities and borough towns, therefore, there is no justification for an assumption that the London *waits* were established then.¹⁸ Equally unjustified is an assumption that the tax sometimes levied on citizens for the upkeep of town waits during the fifteenth century was “doubtless a survival of the *wait-fee* levied for watch and ward”.¹⁹

Minstrels and Waytes in Early Town Records

If a mistaken identification of the town waits with the watch has been a source of confusion to the wait-historian, so too has the waits’ position as civic minstrels. It is easy for the historian, finding the record of a gift to “histriones civitatis” in civic accounts, to assume that the waits of the town were meant: but in fact, the term was used before the time of the waits, with the less specific meaning of “minstrels of (i.e. living and working in) the town”. Nor did a minstrel have to be in a town’s regular employment to buy the freedom of the town through one of the guilds: [218] this, too, can be misleading. Attempts to trace the date at which town waits were first employed are never wholly successful if this sort of evidence is used.²⁰

Civic records are rich in gifts and payments to minstrels long before town waits make their appearance. The accounts of the Mayor of Leicester for 1318–19

¹⁵I except here the special marching watches in London on the vigils of St John the Baptist and SS Peter and Paul which, being then an old custom, were discontinued in 1539. The waits took part in this, but it was the pageantry of a holiday celebration, and had nothing to do with the maintenance of city security or of law and order: see Stow/*Survey*, pp. 93 f, and c.f. above, pp. 55–59.

¹⁶See below, however, pp. 223 f, and n. 39.

¹⁷Stow/*Survey*, p. 92.

¹⁸Langwill/*Waits*, p. 172. Stow does not, in fact, refer to London.

¹⁹Oswald/*Waits*.

²⁰The Exeter waits provide a good example of the disagreement between historians. According to Langwill/*Waits*, p. 181, the Exeter waits existed by 1362: Oswald/*Waits* records a single wait in 1363 and two in 1396–97. Stephen/WCN, p. 1, gives the latter date as his first record of them. Oswald records three waits in 1406 (*op. cit.*), while Bridge/*TWT*, p. 64, has 1408 as the first reference. In fact, I doubt if we can be sure of the existence of waits at Exeter until 1429, when scutcheons were delivered to them (Oswald/*Waits*).

record a payment of 4d to Wade and his companion, minstrels, at a feast;²¹ those for 1338–39 show that minstrels were paid 3d for playing (*tubant'*) before the community, mustered on the Earl's orders before the feast of St Peter in Chains (1 August).²² Although this sort of minstrelsy was a matter of casual employment, we need not assume that it was left to chance whether the right minstrels were present or not. Any town had minstrels living and working there who were well-known and often respected by their fellow-citizens and by the civic authorities: the latter could easily secure their services for a specific occasion. As we have already seen,²³ the Corpus [219] Christi pageants and the processions then and at other times of the year were reliant on such minstrels even after the institution of town waits. At York, the authorities had to impose a limit of 45.0d on their expenses for Corpus Christi Day as late as 1490:²⁴ in 1397, when the king had attended the Corpus Christi festivities at York, the Chamberlains had paid out 13.4d to local minstrels and £7.7.4d to those of the king and other nobles.²⁵

The high standing of some of these local independent minstrels is shown by their entry into the gilds, some of them at quite an early date. At Leicester, William le Tauborer appears in a Gild Roll of 1313–14;²⁶ John Sturmyn, trumpeter, bought his freedom in the city of Norwich in 1346–47;²⁷ and Roger Wayte, piper, became a freeman of York in 1363.²⁸

The last of these items could be very misleading, for there is no positive evidence of town waits at York until the mid-fifteenth century. 1363 is too late for Roger to have been a gate-keeper's watchman, and in this case he would probably not have been a piper. He may have been a castle watchman, or even a household *vigilis* [220] (the latter is less likely, since noble households tended to be itinerant).²⁹ There was no reason why liveried minstrels and other servants should not enter a gild: Hugo the trumpeter, who entered the Merchants' Guild at Leicester in 1343–44, was probably a minstrel of the Earl of Derby, at whose request the entrance-fee of a gold florin was remitted to him.³⁰

²¹Bateson/*Leicester*, i, p. 319.

²²*Ibid.*, ii, p. 45.

²³See above, pp. 52 f and 55–59, *passim*.

²⁴Raine/*York*, ii, p. 55.

²⁵Davies/*York*, p. 230.

²⁶Bateson/*Leicester*, i, p. 356.

²⁷Stephen/*WCN*, p. 5.

²⁸Langwill/*Waits*, p. 171.

²⁹The same applies to many other men called Wayte or Weyte in 14th-century records. The name was not uncommon, and in some cases seems to be a "fixed" surname (even during the 14th century), being the name of men who were not watchmen of any sort.

³⁰Bateson/*Leicester*, ii, pp. 58 f: see also Kelly/*Notices*, pp. 128 and 131. The name of John Brothir, trumpeter of the Earl of Derby, suggests that he may have been a gild-member: see above, p. 202, and Rastall/*MERH*, p. 26, n. 1. Another possible case is John Broder, minstrel of Edward IV: see Lafontaine/*Musick*, p. 1.

A further complication in our consideration of the civic minstrels concerns their livery. Although liveries were not made regularly to minstrels before the appointment of town waits, they had previously been given for special occasions. In London, liveries were made to the Mayor, Aldermen and certain citizens when they rode out to meet a royal personage:³¹ the gowns and hoods were usually red and white, which were the colours of the city. The fact that in the Lord Mayor's Procession in 1409 all the musicians wore red and white hoods,³² therefore, does not prove that [221] they were waits in regular employment.

The Institution of the Waits

To this existing state of affairs, the appointment of town waits made little immediate difference: the waits did not, as it were, add a new dimension to civic life. Primarily, they were minstrels who were under a special obligation to perform at civic ceremonies. Since they were usually attendant on the person of the Mayor on these occasions, the waits were sometimes known as the Mayor's minstrels, as at Lincoln in 1422 and at Bristol in the late fifteenth century.³³ For the discharge of these duties, they received a yearly fee, records of which provide our first certain evidence of regular employment of town waits rather than the casual employment of local minstrels for specific occasions.

We cannot be sure how the civic minstrels came to be called "Waits". Some towns, such as Norwich and Coventry, called their minstrels by this name almost from the start, while others seem not to have used it until the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. In the late fifteenth-century accounts of the bailiffs [222] of Shrewsbury the waits are referred to as "the minstrels called the Wayts" or even "the common minstrels called the Wayts of the town".³⁴ Granted that the waits were minstrels first and foremost, their duties were comparable to those of any sort of watchman. But at the beginning of the fifteenth century the only "wayts" still in existence were the instrument and the household *vigilator* who played it. The town wait must therefore have derived his name from one of these two: moreover, there must have been good reason for the name to be transferred, for by the early sixteenth century the term "wait" was universally applied to the civic minstrel. There was, therefore, some obvious analogy between the civic minstrel and the household *vigilator*.

The possible analogies are two:

³¹See Stow/*Survey*, pp. 479 f.

³²Hill/*Handbook*, p. 89.

³³1422: see Lambert/*Lincoln*, p. 205. For Bristol, see Smith/*Gilds*, p. 423: the Mayor's register for 1479-1503, which often refers to established custom, includes an annual payment of 5 marks to the Mayor "for his mynstralles". At Norwich, the waits' liveries were paid for out of the Mayor's funds and the City Treasury in equal portions, c. 1440: see Stephen/*WCN*, p. 44.

³⁴"Ministralli voc' Wayts", 1479; "Com' histriones voc' le Wayts ville", 1483. See Owen/*Shrewsbury*, pp. 325 f.

1 The marching duties undertaken by the town waits.

2 The town waits' use of the wayt-pipe, or at least of shawms.³⁵

Of these, the first has been assumed by all wait-historians [223] (following Hill's lead)³⁶ to be the connection. By the late sixteenth century most towns required their waits to patrol the streets at night, serenading the citizens and telling the time. By the seventeenth century, there can be no doubt that the very existence of a band of men patrolling a small town would contribute to civic security. Thus in 1657 the waits of King's Lynn were still walking the streets on winter nights "according to ancient custom of this borough, whereby many mischiefs have been prevented".³⁷

The custom was indeed "ancient" at Lynn, where the waits had patrolled the town as early as 1433.³⁸ Times had changed, however, and although the waits' prevention of "mischiefs" might have been an important contribution to civic security in 1657, it cannot have been so two centuries earlier.³⁹ A band of minstrels playing at the street corner was unlikely to surprise a thief, and in this respect a waits' patrol did not compare with the marching watch organised by the citizens of each ward. Moreover, the waits patrolled only during the period between All Saints and the [224] feast of Purification (Candlemas).

As the citizens' watch declined, therefore,⁴⁰ the waits' marching duties assumed a measure of importance. In other words these duties, far from being the last remnant of a medieval watch, actually originated separately from that watch and grew in importance during the sixteenth century.

Having, I hope, sufficiently distinguished the fifteenth century civic watch from the town waits, we can nevertheless see an analogy between the latter and the *household* waytes:⁴¹ both performed a nocturnal patrol, telling the time at intervals. If we could show that the performance of this duty by the civic minstrels in any specific town always ante-dated – or coincided with – their description as "waits", then the description would be explained.

In fact, this cannot be shown. The marching duty was by no means universal among town waits in the early years of their history, and in the fifteenth century

³⁵See above, pp. 180 f. In 1545–46 the Norwich waits received new banners for their "shalmys", while a city inventory dating from before 1420 includes "ij elde baneres for ministrals": see Stephen/WCN, pp. 64 and 6 respectively. As far as I know, trumpets and shawms were the only instruments from which banners were hung.

³⁶Hill/*Handbook*, p. 89.

³⁷Oswald/*Waits*.

³⁸Green/*TLFC*, p. 145.

³⁹This is not to say that its contribution was negligible during the 15th century. The waits were probably useful in raising the alarm on the discovery of fires, street brawls, etc., and it is presumably for this reason that New Romney paid 2.0d for two horns for its waits in 1486–87 (*HMC 5*, Appendix, p. 547).

⁴⁰The impression gained from my work on published civic records is that city watches were generally ineffective by the second half of the fifteenth century.

⁴¹For the duties of the household wayte, see above, pp. 162 f.

we find it only at King's Lynn and Norwich.⁴² At Lynn, it appears to have been a new duty in [225] 1433, for it coincides with an increase in the waits' emoluments. In addition to their liveries, the three waits of Lynn had received 21.0d as their fee in 1431, and two years later this was increased to 20.0d each *per annum*.⁴³ Our first reference to the marching watch at Norwich also involves new financial arrangements, although the marching duty there was not new in 1440. In that year the waits successfully petitioned the civic authorities for the right to perform at night from All Saints until Candlemas as they had formerly done. It is unlikely to be a coincidence that at the same time a tax on the citizens was started, whereby each citizen contributed, according to his means, to the upkeep of the waits.⁴⁴

We notice here that the marching watch was not a duty required of the Norwich waits, but a privilege granted to them. Quite apart from the late date of this record, therefore (the Norwich waits certainly existed as early as 1408),⁴⁵ the waits are most unlikely to have performed their marching watch at the time when they were established.

With the evidence that we have at present, therefore, we [226] cannot say that the town waits were so called because of a similarity between their marching patrol and the duties of the household wayte. We are drawn to the conclusion, then, that the civic minstrels normally played wayt-pipes or similar instruments.⁴⁶

The Appointment and Payment of Waits

A number of records survive of the appointment of town waits. John Underwood and Roger Jacob, admitted to that office at Norwich in 1422, were required to take an oath. This probably bound them to be available for civic functions at which their services would be required: a similar record of thirty years later, when three men were admitted waits of Norwich, shows that the oath contained the conditions of their appointment.⁴⁷ At Doncaster, Allan Pyper and William Pyper

⁴²With the probable addition of New Romney: see above, n. 39.

⁴³Green/*TLFC*, p. 145.

⁴⁴Stephen/*WCN*, p. 44. For the effect of this tax on the waits' personal incomes, see below, p. 228, n. 53, and pp. 230 f.

⁴⁵The Company of St George decided in that year to give a salary of 5.0d *per annum* to "the minstrel Waytes of the City": Stephen/*WCN*, p. 5.

⁴⁶See above, pp. 180 f: also above, p. 222, n. 35. For the civic pipers of Aberdeen, Dumfries, Edinburgh and Wigtown, see below, ii, Appendix D, *passim*: we should not, of course, assume that these were *bagpipers*.

⁴⁷Stephen/*WCN*, p. 28, quotes the City Records of Assembly: "Johannes Underwode et Rogerus Jacob admissi sunt ad officium de lez Waytes civitatis praedictae. Et jurati sunt". (21 September, 1422); "Et eodem die (2 August, 1452) tres personae admissae fuerunt pro officio de lez Waytes in Civitate occupandum sub condicionibus in sacramentis eorum recitatis".

were elected “Pipers or Wayts” in 1457;⁴⁸ at York, Robert Congilton was admitted a wait of the city in 1486, [227] taking the place of Robert Sheyne, who was then too old.⁴⁹

Sheyne had been a wait at York for forty years: the post of a wait offered many advantages, and some waits were probably content to hold office for many years. For the same reason, there was competition for places, especially in the more important cities. When William Smethley, a wait of Chester, died in 1484 or 1485, several minstrels applied for “the Rowme and charge of the waitmen of the said city”.⁵⁰

Most appointments were probably renewable at regular intervals, however, and not for life. At Beverley, two waits were elected at the feast of St Mark (25 April), 1436, for one year.⁵¹ Such appointments could be extended indefinitely: William Johnson, Symon Herforth and John Wardelowe were retained in their office in 1438; John Wardelow, Robert Congilton and Thomas Seman in 1440; John Hesilhede, Robert de Celario and Martin Gymer in 1453; Walter Kirkby, Robert Spek and William Watford in 1464; and William Watson, John Watson and John Bulson in 1467.⁵² [228] “Retained” here does not necessarily imply that a wait had already held office, I think, but means “employed as a retainer”. Of the four waits “retained” at Coventry in 1423, one had probably taken the place of Richard Waite, who had recently retired.⁵³

The fee paid to waits varied with the town concerned, although waits no doubt made sure if possible that their emoluments were comparable to those in other towns.⁵⁴ The 5.0d *per annum* given to the Norwich waits by the Company of St. George in 1408 was perhaps additional to the fee paid by the city.⁵⁵ If so, the Norwich waits were better-paid than some waits were many years afterwards: as late as 1464 the waits of Nottingham received only 20.0d for their

⁴⁸Bridge/*TWT*, p. 64.

⁴⁹Raine/*York*, i, p. 170.

⁵⁰MS Harley 2091, f. 21.

⁵¹*HMC* 54, p. 105.

⁵²*Ibid.*, pp. 120, 124, 137, 141 f and 143. Robert Congilton is unlikely to be the man of that name appointed at York in 1486, when the Beverley wait – if he was still alive – could hardly have been less than 64 years old.

⁵³Harris/*Coventry*, p. 59: “Allso (the city authorities) orden that Ric. Waite for his good service he hathe doone to ye Cite of Coventre, and for his long contynuanse in the same, shall have of the Trinitie gylde whill he lyvythe 13.4d, or CorpusXpi yeld 6.8d, and of the wardens of the said Cite 20.0d.

Allso thei have retained Matthew Ellerton, Thomas Sendwell, Willm Howton and John Trumper, Mynstrells as for the Cite of Coventre; and yat yei have as oyer have had a-fore them. Allso yat thai have of every hall place jd, of every Cottage ½d, every quarter; and after yer beryng better to be rewardyd. And also yai orden yat thei shall have ij men of every quarter to help them to gathur yer Quarterage.”

⁵⁴c.f. the London waits’ petition concerning liveries, below, p. 232.

⁵⁵See above, n. 45.

fees and 15.0d for their liveries [229] each year,⁵⁶ while the three minstrels of the Mayor of Lincoln received 8.0d *per annum* and red livery in 1422.⁵⁷

The increased fee of the waits of King's Lynn in 1433 has been noticed:⁵⁸ the new fee of 20.0d each *per annum* in 1405, which was also the fee of each wait at Canterbury in 1498,⁵⁹ was probably about the average. The waits of Bristol were paid a little less, however, at 5 marks between the four of them.⁶⁰

The waits of Beverley were especially well-paid. The two waits were paid 40.0d *per annum* in 1405, a fee that was unchanged in 1436.⁶¹ Two years later, however, the number of waits had been raised to three and they took 36.8d each: at this time they had a boy as a servant, who was lodged with Symon Herforth.⁶² In 1440 the boy's pay was subtracted from that of the waits, who now [230] received 33.4d each.⁶³

In addition to paying a basic fee, some towns imposed a tax for the upkeep of the waits. The amount levied at Norwich in 1440 depended upon the circumstances of the individual citizen:⁶⁴ so did that at York, where, during the reign of Richard III (1483–85), the waits were authorised to collect the tax from each citizen, according to the citizen's rank and means.⁶⁵

At Coventry, the tax imposed on each home in 1423 was 1d or 1/2d per quarter, depending on the size of the building: two men from each ward were to help the waits to collect this tax each quarter. The waits were free to receive larger sums if the citizens felt that they had deserved an extra gift.⁶⁶ The waits later had difficulty in collecting this tax, probably because, understandably, nobody wanted to help collect a tax from his neighbours: perhaps, too, the helpers had sometimes taken the opportunity of lining their own purses. In 1460 the Coventry waits successfully petitioned⁶⁷

⁵⁶Stevenson/*Nottingham*, ii, p. 379: for the same allowances in 1461–62, see *ibid.*, iii, p. 416.

This probably had to be decided between three waits (see below, p. 240): but even if there were only two waits, 10.0d each and 706d for livery was not a large allowance. The allowance was raised to 51.0d *per annum* c.1504: Stevenson/*Nottingham*, iii, p. 320.

⁵⁷Lambert/*Lincoln*, p. 205: it is not clear whether 8.0d each is meant, or 8.0d divided between the three of them.

⁵⁸Above, p. 225.

⁵⁹Langwill/*Waits*, p. 177.

⁶⁰i.e., 16.8d each: see above, n. 33. I assume that they were already four in number, as 5 marks cannot be divided exactly into three: there were four waits of Bristol present at the Duke of Buckingham's dinner at Epiphany, 1508 (Gage/*Stafford*, pp. 311 f).

⁶¹HMC 54, pp. 158 and 105.

⁶²*Ibid.*, p. 120.

⁶³*Ibid.*, p. 124: the boy presumably received 10.0d *per annum*, therefore.

⁶⁴Stephen/*WCN*, p. 44.

⁶⁵Davies/*York*, p. 13, n.

⁶⁶See above, n. 53.

⁶⁷Harris/*Coventry*, p. 307.

... that an honest man in every ward shuld be assigned be the Meir to go w^t the waytes to gader their wages quarterly ...

At Leicester, a tax was imposed, not on the general public, but on the aldermen of the borough. In 1498 it was⁶⁸

... condecended and agreed at the same comen hall [on 21 September] that every of the said XLVIII shall pay to the waytes 2d a quarter.

When Richard Waite retired from his service at Coventry in 1423, he was awarded a total of 40.0d *per annum* by way of a pension.⁶⁹ In Coventry, there were flourishing religious guilds in the early fifteenth century, as well as the craft-gilds, and two of the former contributed 20.0d between them, the city treasury contributing another 20.0d. Even if the award of a pension was not unusual, this sum was probably higher than average. I have found only one other record of a pension being awarded, however: Robert Sheyne was given 13.0d *per annum* and a house when he retired at York in 1486.⁷⁰ This was certainly exceptional, for Sheyne had served the city for forty years.⁷¹ We can probably assume, therefore, that pensions were not usually given to town waits.

Liveries

Some towns no doubt continued to give liveries only on [232] special occasions – if then – for some years after their waits had been established. At Norwich, we first hear of cloth-liveries being given in 1432–33, although the waits had been established there by 1408;⁷² at Coventry there is a similar gap between 1423 and 1442;⁷³ and at Beverley, where the waits had been established by 1405, we have no record of cloth-liveries until 1502.⁷⁴

Both at Norwich and at Beverley the earliest records of scutcheons being given ante-date those of cloth-liveries;⁷⁵ in other towns, however, gowns appear to have been the earlier livery. Either livery was a visible sign of the waits' status and, like any livery, advantageous to the minstrel who wore it. In 1442 the London waits petitioned the Lord Mayor and Aldermen that they should have livery like the waits of other towns.⁷⁶ Lincoln, Lynn and Norwich had already

⁶⁸Bateson/*Leicester*, p. 355.

⁶⁹See above, n. 53.

⁷⁰Raine/*York*, i, p. 170.

⁷¹This incidentally tells us that the waits were established at York at least as early as 1446.

⁷²Stephen/*WCN*, p. 49, and above, p. 225 and n. 45.

⁷³See above, n. 53; also above, p. 181 and n. 140.

⁷⁴See above, p. 229 and Poulson/*Beverlac*, p. 267. In 1502 there were still only three waits at Beverley.

⁷⁵See below, p. 234.

⁷⁶Hill/*Handbook*, p. 89.

given liveries to their waits by this time,⁷⁷ and our first record of liveries at Coventry also dates from 1442.⁷⁸

[233] The liveries in the latter case were given for the feast of Corpus Christi. Other town, which celebrate Corpus Christi on a less magnificent scale than Coventry did, probably gave liveries to their waits in time for Christmas. In 1437 the city of Norwich decided to make liveries at Christmas to the servants of the city, as had formerly been done;⁷⁹ at York, too, the three civic minstrels received their cloth liveries in time for Christmas in 1462.⁸⁰ In the late fifteenth century Norwich made liveries both in winter and summer,⁸¹ although I have not found other towns making more than a single livery in a year.

At Nottingham, an allowance of 15.0d for cloth-liveries in 1461–62 was probably divided between three waits;⁸² at Shrewsbury, the livery-allowance to the waits was also 5.0d each in 1479, and a total of 15.0d allowed to the waits in ?1483 shows that there were three waits at that time;⁸³ and the city of Cambridge paid 16.4d for the waits' liveries, both in 1484 and the following year,⁸⁴ the number of waits being unspecified.

In most towns the delivery of scutcheons seems to have been [234] a later development than the cloth-liveries: this was no doubt on account of the intrinsic value of these silver badges, for which towns usually required security. At Beverley, the use of scutcheons ante-dates the giving of cloth-liveries, however. When two waits were elected there in 1423 and again in 1436, they were required to provide security for the scutcheons:⁸⁵ the two scutcheons were remade in 1433⁸⁶ and another one added by 1438; in the latter year, and again in 1440, three waits received scutcheons.⁸⁷ The badges were once more re-made in 1450.⁸⁸ None of these records makes any mention of cloth-liveries.

At Norwich, too, the records of the delivery of scutcheons ante-date those of cloth-liveries, but in this case by only six years. The Treasurer's accounts for 1426–27 record a payment of 2 marks to Richard Bere, goldsmith, for making

⁷⁷See above, pp. 229 (and n. 57) for Lincoln, and 225 (and n. 43) for Lynn; also Stephen/*WCN*, p. 49, for Norwich.

⁷⁸Harris/*Coventry*, p. 200.

⁷⁹Stephen/*WCN*, p. 49.

⁸⁰Davies/*York*, p. 12.

⁸¹Stephen/*WCN*, pp. 50 f: c.f. the liveries to royal minstrels, p. 121, above.

⁸²See above, p. 229 and n. 56.

⁸³Owen/*Shrewsbury*, pp. 325 f.

⁸⁴Cooper/*Cambridge*, i, p. 231.

⁸⁵*HMC 54*, pp. 161 and 105.

⁸⁶*Ibid.*, p. 161

⁸⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 120 f and 124.

⁸⁸*Ibid.*, p. 135. For descriptions of the badges in 1464 and 1466, see *ibid.*, p. 142: see also above, p. 23, n. 46.

three silver *skochonys* for the minstrels.⁸⁹ The number of the waits was later increased to four, and a record of 1432–33 shows that Bere had made another scutcheon: this record describes the badge as having the arms of the city on it.⁹⁰

The Coventry waits received scutcheons, together with their [235] *cloth-livery*, in time for the Corpus Christi celebrations of 1442, security again being required.⁹¹ One of these badges was perhaps lost or broken at a later date, for in 1470 Richard Wode, grocer, delivered to the city wardens “*unum scochyn argenti cum colerio argenti*” for one of the waits.⁹² The chains of the Nottingham waits also had to be mended, in 1496.⁹³

The four silver chains received by the Mayor of Leicester in 1503 were probably those of the waits: perhaps John Clement, who delivered them to him was the senior wait, returning the badges at the end of a term of office.⁹⁴ Almost certainly they were not new badges being delivered by the silversmith for the first time: Leicester borough archives include an undated record of sureties for two waits’ chains, which suggests the wearing of chains at a much earlier date, when Leicester employed only two waits.⁹⁵

Two other towns are known to have provided scutcheons for their waits during the fifteenth century. The Exeter waits had scutcheons in 1429, which must have been within a few years of [236] their institution, while a record of waits’ scutcheons at Lincoln dates from 1480.⁹⁶

Relations with the Gilds

Town waits, like independent local minstrels, were sometimes employed by the gilds on an occasional, casual, basis. Thus, as we have already seen, the Coventry waits performed at the annual dinners of certain gilds there, and also took part in the Corpus Christi pageants and processions.⁹⁷ The civic authorities at Coventry were closely allied to the gilds, and so we find the Trinity Gild and the Corpus Christi Gild contributing towards a wait’s pension.⁹⁸

⁸⁹Hudson/*Norwich*, ii, p. 66.

⁹⁰*Ibid.*, ii, p. 67.

⁹¹Harris/*Coventry*, p. 200.

⁹²*Ibid.*, p. 359: that is, a scutcheon and chain (c.f. above, p. 200, n. 28).

⁹³Stevenson/*Nottingham*, ii, p. 287: “Item paid the last day of Janyver, to Robert Northwod for a quarterne of an ounce of sylver to amend the colers of the waytes that were hurt and broken, 10d”.

⁹⁴Bateson/*Leicester*, ii, p. 363.

⁹⁵*Ibid.*

⁹⁶Oswald/*Waits: Lambert/Lincoln*, p. 205.

⁹⁷See above, pp. 53 f and 56 f; also below, ii, Appendix E, *passim*.

⁹⁸See above, n. 53.

The Coventry gilds were perhaps the wealthiest and most active in the country. The Smiths' Company actually recruited all four waits in 1481, together with their wives, making them brothers and sisters of the Company on condition that the waits should perform for the Smiths' pageant and procession at Corpus Christi for a fee of 8.0d and their dinner.⁹⁹ At Norwich, the Company of St George - which was closely identified with the civic authority - gave a [237] yearly fee to the city waits, perhaps under similar conditions.¹⁰⁰

Independent Work

No town could give its waits enough work to keep them fully occupied all year round: nor were the waits' fees enough to live on, even supplemented by the substantial gifts that they could earn.¹⁰¹ The waits therefore accepted other work in their own towns, for at times when they had no civic duties they enjoyed the freedom of independent minstrels with the status of liveried retainers.

The anomaly of this position inevitably caused friction. As liveried minstrels, the waits offered serious competition to other local minstrels; but as they were not "foreign" in their own towns, they could neither be prevented from playing nor fined in the usual way by a minstrels' fraternity.¹⁰² It was usually as well, perhaps, [238] that the waits should belong to a minstrel-gild where there was one.¹⁰³ Otherwise, they could buy their freedom through one of the trade-gilds, as any other minstrel could.¹⁰⁴

To some extent, therefore, waits found it not to their advantage to remain in their own towns, where they might be under the control of civic or gild authorities. Elsewhere, they could compete with other liveried minstrels on equal terms, and would have a distinct advantage over independent minstrels. Thus we find the Norwich waits being rewarded at Thetford Priory in 1498-99, and again in 1509-10, the gift being 1.4d in each case.¹⁰⁵ At the Duke of Buckingham's

⁹⁹Sharp/*Dissertation*, p. 213. The waits are named as Thomas West, Adam West, John Blewet and Brese.

¹⁰⁰ See above, n. 45.

¹⁰¹ For the gifts earned by waits in their official capacity, see below, ii, p. 133-41, *passim*, and Appendix C, *passim*. On some occasions a town would reward its own waits: in 1420-21 Norwich gave its waits 13.0d in rewards and expenses for the Mayor's riding and the Corpus Christi celebrations, and 10.4d in rewards and expenses at the visit of the king (Stepehn/WCN, p. 6); in 1423 Beverley gave its waits 20d for riding with the banners of the Corpus Christi play (*HMC 54*, p. 160); and in 1460, when the same town sent men to Northampton to fight for the king, the waits were given 6d for playing when the men departed (*Poulson/Beverlac*, p. 228).

¹⁰² For the disagreement between the London fraternity and the City waits, see above, p. 18.

¹⁰³ c.f the cases of the waits of Canterbury and Beverley, pp. 18 f and 23, n. 46, above.

¹⁰⁴ Thus Thomas Wylkyns, "wayte", was admitted to the Merchants' Guild at Leicester in 1499: Kelly/*Notices*, p. 131. See above, also, p. 236

¹⁰⁵ Harvey/*Thetford*, pp. 18 and 20.

dinner at Epiphany, 1508, the four waits of Bristol were present;¹⁰⁶ and when the Trinity Guild at Bassingbourn, Cambridgeshire, presented a play of St George on the feast of St Margaret (20 July), 1511, the players were assisted by a minstrel and the three waits of Cambridge.¹⁰⁷

In none of these cases did the waits travel far from home, [239] however; they were not itinerant, like other liveried minstrels. Whereas the minstrels of a noble may have been out of court for several months between major feasts, it seems that town waits were expected to be near at hand in case they were needed – for the unexpected entry of a nobleman, for instance. The Norwich waits could comfortably have gone to Thetford and back within two days if they were on horseback, while Bassingbourn and Thornbury were one-day excursions from Cambridge and Bristol respectively.

Obviously, the waits could easily neglect their civic duties in seeking work further afield, and no doubt some towns were anxious that this should not happen. At Coventry, the waits were actually forbidden in 1467 to leave the city, with the sole exception that they could go to religious houses within a ten-mile radius.¹⁰⁸

An item in the Nottingham borough accounts for 1500 is interesting for several reasons. It records that the waits of Leicester attended the Mayor and citizens of Nottingham at the feast of Pentecost.¹⁰⁹ It must have been most unusual for the waits [240] of one town to perform in another town which employed its own waits; further, the Leicester waits were presumably invited to Nottingham for this occasion. It would be interesting to know if the three Nottingham waits were also present, and if not, the reason for their absence.¹¹⁰

Status and Standards

I have indicated that there was competition for the post of a town wait:¹¹¹ such a post offered many of the advantages of liveried employment, but without the

¹⁰⁶ Gage/*Stafford*, pp. 311 f: the Duke's household was then at Thornbury. See above, p. 207, and c.f. the Edinburgh pipers at the Christmas and Easter celebrations in the Scottish Court.

¹⁰⁷ Westlake/*Gilds*, p. 64; Bridge/*TWT*, p. 81.

¹⁰⁸ “[Hit is ordeyned] Also that the waytis of this Cite, that nowe be and here-after to be, shall not passe this Cite, but to abbottis and priours within x myles of this Cite”: Harris/*Coventry*, p. 335.

¹⁰⁹ “... lez Waytes de Leycestr’ existentibus et attendantibus super Majorem et Communitatem villae Notingham ad festum Pentecostes hoc anno ...”: Stevenson/*Nottingham*, iii, p. 70.

¹¹⁰ The waits’ chains were mended in 1496 (see above, p. 235); a record of sureties for the chains, delivered to the Nottingham waits for the year 1502–03 names the waits as Hugh Little, William Chumley (also known as William Wayte) and Roger Barker (also known as Roger Wayte): see Stevenson/*Nottingham*, iii, p. 90.

¹¹¹ Above, p. 227 and n. 50.

more or less constant travel attached to employment in a noble household. We should therefore expect town waits generally to be the best minstrels in their district: and as the scale of gifts and payments to waits is comparable to that of other liveried minstrels,¹¹² it seems that local opinion, at least, estimated waits highly.

We have good reason to believe, however, that the best of the [241] town waits were to be considered good players by any standards. The Norwich waits – perhaps the finest band of civic minstrels throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries – accompanied Edward IV to France in 1475.¹¹³ As this was at the express wish of the king, we must assume that the waits compared favourably with the king's own minstrels.

Another wait, John Bulson, who was at Beverley in 1467,¹¹⁴ may be the trumpeter of that name who played at Richard III's coronation in 1483.¹¹⁵ We cannot, of course, make a definite identification on the evidence of the name alone: but Richard had previously been his brother's Lieutenant in the North, and was particularly well-known and loved in Yorkshire. His strongest support was in that area, and it is reasonable to suppose that he surrounded himself with his supporters at his coronation. The trumpeters at the coronation must have been some of the best in the country; and if our two John Bulsons are identical, it says much for the Beverley waits.

In view of the pre-eminence of the Norwich waits, an item in the Norwich chamberlains' accounts for 1533–34 is especially interesting:¹¹⁶
[242]

... And to the waytes at commandement forced
For studyeng to playe upon the pryksong 3.4d.

The civic authorities, then, were giving financial encouragement to the waits to read mensural notation. At present it is not possible to tell how many other minstrels had learnt or were learning the same techniques. If they were not the first to do so, the Norwich waits were not far behind in the process of adapting themselves to the changing role of minstrelsy in the sixteenth century.

Since the Norwich waits, unable to read mensural notation, could take the place of the king's minstrels in 1475, we must suppose that the royal minstrels, too, did not then need that technique.¹¹⁷ A simpler notation and the advent of music-printing were only two of many circumstances which changed this old

¹¹² The Coventry accounts for 1477 (Carpenters' Company) and 1492 are typical of the difference in payments to waits and to independent minstrels: see below, ii, pp. 190 f, and c.f. my remarks on liveried minstrels above, pp. 35 f (and n. 85) and 88.

¹¹³ Stephen/WCN, p. 7.

¹¹⁴ See above, p. 227.

¹¹⁵ Rastall/MERH, p. 35, taken from Lafontaine/Musick, p. 1.

¹¹⁶ Stephen/WCN, pp. 7 f.

¹¹⁷ See above, also, p. 185 and n. 159.

order. Some minstrels, such as the Norwich waits, adapted themselves to the change: others – mainly the independent musicians – failed to do so.

Thus in the sixteenth century, after many years of struggle,¹¹⁸ independent minstrelsy at least ceased to flourish as an honourable profession. The early part of the century saw the virtual end of medieval minstrelsy in this country.

¹¹⁸ See above, pp. 11 f.

GLOSSARY and Explanatory Notes

The glossary arises from the need to indicate what medieval words have been translated into the various instrument-names. Primarily, therefore, this section is a dictionary of the musical terms used in the thesis. It has also been thought helpful to explain several terms – both Latin and English – which may be unfamiliar, and to give some guidance in the matter of converting regnal years into calendar dates and *vice versa*: these explanatory notes follow the glossary.

Glossary

The medieval terms are followed, either singly or in groups, by the letters (L), (F), (E) or (Es) to indicate whether they are Latin, French, English or the English of the Scottish accounts. Sometimes a word in one language appears in a document which is primarily in another, and this is indicated in a similar way: (F in L), for instance, signifies a French term in a Latin context. When the language is uncertain (often because the term has been used as a name) I have indicated only the language of the context – e.g., (in L). These three medieval languages overlap a great deal: many French terms, such as *le citoler*, become English words simply by the omission of the article, while there are many latinised vernacular words, such as [244] *menestrallus*. I have therefore decided the language of each word by its form: hence *menestrallus* is Latin, while *le menestral* is French.

All main variant spellings are given. Where there are many minor variants, however, I have used bracketed letters or simply put *etc.* after a selection of variants: in such cases, other variants will be obvious. In cases where the letters *I* and *Y* are interchangeable, I have tried to retain the spelling which I encountered most often, rather than listing both alternatives. English words are not listed if the medieval spelling is almost the same as the modern one (e.g., *rebeck*, or *organes*), especially if it is a common word-form such as a plural in “-is” or “-ez” (such as “waytez” or “waits”): nor have I included English words which are French spellings (e.g., “mynystralx”) as separate words in the former language. A very few terms appear in the thesis only once, and are there discussed: these, also, are omitted from this glossary.

A question-mark indicates that a translation is open to considerable doubt. Where scribes used two terms synonymously I have indicated the fact if I considered it to be useful.

Bagpiper: *l'estivoour* (F: F in L), *l'estiveur* (F), *baggepiper* (E in L)

Chime-bells: *cymbala* (L), *les cloches* (F)

Citoler: *le citoler*, *le cetoler* (F in L), *sitoler* (F)

[245]

Clarioner: *clarionere* (in L), *clarion*, *claron* (E)

Clarsach:
(Irish harp) *clareshaw*, *clarscha* (Es)

Clavichord: *monicordis* (Es)

Cornemuse-player: *cornemuserus* (L), *cornemuser* (E in L)

Crowd: *crouth* (in L)

Crowder: *crudarius* (L), *(le) crouther* (F in L: F: E in F), *(le) crouder(e)* (F: in L)

Dancer: *saltans*, *saltator*, *saltatrix* (female) (L), *?sautour* (in L)

Disguiser: *mimus* (L), *gysaries* (Es plural)

Falconer: *asturcarius* = *falconarius* (L)

Fiddle: *fidell* (E)

Fiddler: *fitheler* (in L), *(le) fideler* (F in L: E: Es), *fidelar(e)* (Es); *?gigator* (L) = *?le gigor* (F in L) = *?le gigour* (F).

?Fluter: *flutar'* (L). See also "Piper"

Fool: *stultus* (L), *le fol(e)* (F in L), *foole* (E in L), *?jocular* (E)

Gester: *?joculator*¹ (L), *jestour* (in L), *le gestour* (F in L), *rymour* (F) *rymer*, *geyster* (E)

Gitterner: *giterner*, *gitterer* (in L), *le guttarer*, *le guyterer* (F in L), *le gitarer* (F)

Groom: *garcio* (L), *garcon* (F), *grome* (E)

[246]

Harp: *cithara*, *?sithera* (L)

Harper: *chitharista*, *citharator*, *citharista*, *citharett'*, *citharisator*, *citharizator* (L), *le harpour*, *le harpeur* (F in L), *harpere* (E in F), *herperd* (E), *harpere* (Es)

Herald: *haraldus*, *heraldus* (L), *haralde* (E in F), *harrottis* (Es, plural)

Horn: *cornuum* (L)

Horn-player: *le cornour* (F in L), *horner* (in L)

¹ See above, p. 76, and n. 65: also p. 77.

Juggler:	? <i>le treget(t)our</i> (F in L)
King:	<i>rex</i> (L), <i>le roy</i> (F: F in L)
---- of heralds:	<i>rex haraldorum</i> , --- <i>heraldorum</i> (L)
---- of minstrels:	<i>rex menestrallorum</i> , --- <i>ministrallorum</i> (L), <i>roy des ministrallx</i> (F)
Lute:	<i>lewte</i> (E)
Luter: ²	<i>le leutor</i> (F in L), <i>le leutour</i> (F), (<i>le</i>) <i>lutour</i> (F: E), <i>lutare</i> (Es)
Master:	<i>magister</i> (L), <i>mestre</i> (F)
Messenger:	<i>cokinus</i> , <i>nuncius</i> (L), <i>le messenger</i> (F in L)
Minstrel:	<i>menestrallus</i> , <i>minestrallus</i> , <i>ministrallus</i> , <i>menestellus</i> , <i>mimus</i> , ³ <i>histrion</i> (L), <i>le menestral</i> (F), <i>menistrealx</i> (F, plural), <i>ministrall</i> (E), etc.
[247]	
Minstrely:	<i>menestracia</i> , <i>menestralcia</i> , <i>ministralcia</i> (L), <i>ministralcie</i> (F)
Miracle plays:	<i>miracula</i> (L)
Nakers:	? <i>tympanes</i> (Es)
Nakerer:	<i>nacarius</i> , <i>nakarius</i> , <i>nakerarius</i> (L), <i>le nakarer</i> , <i>le nakkere</i> (F in L), <i>naquirer</i> , <i>naqerer</i> (in L), <i>le nakarier</i> (F), <i>nakere</i> (E)
Organs:	<i>organa</i> (L)
Organist:	<i>organista</i> , <i>orgon'</i> (L), <i>le organistre</i> (F in L), <i>l'organistre</i> (F)
Pipe:	<i>fistula</i> (L)
Piper:	<i>fistularis</i> , <i>fistulator</i> (L), <i>pipere</i> , ? <i>sifre</i> (in L), <i>le piper(e)</i> , <i>le pipour</i> (F in L). See also "Fluter"
Psaltery-player:	<i>psaltator</i> , <i>psaltor'</i> (L), <i>sauterer</i> , <i>de psalterio</i> , <i>de psalterion</i> , <i>de salterion</i> (in L), <i>le sautreour</i> , (F in L), <i>le sautriour</i> (F)
Recorder:	<i>ricordo</i> (in L), <i>recorde</i> (E)
Recorder-player:	<i>pleyer at Recorders</i> (E)
Rhymer:	See "Gester"

² The name *de luto* and the term *luterarius* probably refer to a keeper of otter-hounds, not to a luter.

³ So used in the Maxstoke accounts: see above, p. 75, n. 58. Usually, it means a disguiser.

Rope-dancer:	<i>spelare</i> (Es)
Sackbut (-player):	<i>sakbudd, shakbussh</i> , etc. (E)
[248]	
Shawms: ⁴	<i>tibicines</i> (L), <i>sha(l)mewes, shalmuse</i> (E)
Singer:	<i>sangstar(e)</i> (Es)
Squire:	<i>scutifer</i> (L)
Tabor:	<i>tabor', tabour', ?tymbria, ?tymbrium, ?tympanum</i> (L), <i>tawbron</i> (Es)
Taborer, taboret: ⁵	<i>taborarius, taburrarius, ?timpanistrarius, ?timponarius, ?timphanist'</i> (L), <i>le taburer, le taubo(u)rer</i> (F in L), <i>le taborer, le tabourer</i> (F in L: F), <i>taberett(e)</i> (E), <i>tawbronar(e)</i> (Es)
Trickster, conjuror:	<i>?le treget(t)our</i> (F in L)
Trumpet:	<i>trumpa, tuba</i> (L)
Trumpeter:	<i>trumparius, trumpator</i> (L), <i>de trump', thrumper</i> (in L), <i>le trumper, le trumpur</i> (F in L), <i>le trumpour</i> (F in L: F), <i>le trompour, le troumpour</i> (F), <i>trumpet(e), tronpete</i> (E)
Trumpeters:	<i>trompettes, trumpettis</i> (E), <i>trumpis</i> (Es)
Tumbler:	<i>tumbuler</i> (E). See also "Dancer" ⁶
Valet:	<i>val(l)et(t)us</i> (L). See "Yeoman"
Violist: ⁷	<i>vidulator, viellator, violarius</i> (L), <i>?de vielles, vielour</i> (in L), <i>le vilour</i> (F in L: F), <i>le vileur, vicheyler</i> (F), <i>vylor</i> (in F)
[249]	
Waferer:	<i>gaf(f)rarius, waf(f)rarius, oblator</i> (L), <i>wauffr'</i> (in L), <i>le gauffrer, le wafrere</i> (F in L), <i>le waf(f)rer</i> (F)
Wafers:	<i>waf(f)ris</i> (L, ablative plural)
Wait:	<i>gueta</i> (L), <i>la/le gayte, la/le geyte, le gueyte, le wayte</i> (F in L), <i>lez veytez</i> (F, plural) <i>wayt(e)</i> (E)
Wait, town:	<i>spiculator</i> (L), ⁸ <i>wayte</i> (E)

⁴ i.e., the players: see above, pp. 180 ff.

⁵ I have retained the word "taboret" in discussing late 15th-century material.

⁶ See above, p. 191, n. 15.

⁷ On one occasion only, "vidulator" = "gigator": see above, p. 167, n. 95.

⁸ In *HMC 54* (Beverley waits).

Watchman: *vigilator, vigilis* (L)
Yeoman: *yoman* (E). See "Valet"

Explanatory Notes

Bas: soft, quiet (of music and instruments). See above, pp. 145 ff.

Beatus-page: the illuminated page at the beginning of Psalm 1, *Beatus Vir*, in a psalter. Sometimes it is the page with the text on, but often the illumination is on a *verso* page, facing the text. The usual subjects for a Beatus-page are the Tree of Jesse or King David.

Busine: the straight ceremonial trumpet. The German "posaune" derives from this word.

Constitutio Domus Regis: ordinances for the royal household, c. 1136. See Johnson/*Dialogus*.

Controller (*contrarotulator*): keeper of the counter-roll (*contrarotulus*), which was a copy – only slightly summarised – of the Wardrobe accounts.

Ell: a cloth measure of 45 inches.

Haut: loud (of music and instruments). See above, pp. 145 ff.

[250]

Horror vacui: literally, dislike of an empty space. Its effect on manuscript illumination is discussed above, pp. xxxi ff.

Illuminated (of MSS): decorated, painted.

Keeper (*custos*): the officer responsible for the accounts, money and valuables of the Wardrobe.

Liber Niger: literally, "Black Book". The "Black Book of the Household of the King of England" (--- *Domus Regis Anglie*) was a set of ordinances of the king's household, compiled during Edward IV's reign. For the text, see *Ords & Regs*: for a discussion, see Myers/*Ed. IV*.

Mark: a coin, 13.4d.

Prest (*prestitum*): part-payment. Often an advance on wages, or on money owed.

Qui non sunt in rotulo marescalli: regular household servants received wages by the day; their names were therefore listed on a roll kept by the Marshal of the Hall, who was responsible for noting their presence or absence. Temporary members of the household were not on this list, and were known as those *qui non sunt in rotulo marescalli*, often shortened to *qui non sunt*. In Edward IV's time, the Marshal's Roll seems to have been superseded by a roll kept in the Exchequer: see above, p. 117, n. 118.

Roll (*rotulus*): a series of parchment membranes stitched together and rolled up. As this could be added to at will, it was for many purposes more convenient than a book.

Titulus: the "title" of a section of a Wardrobe Book; for the usual titles, see below, ii, pp. 2 f. Often a parchment tab, with the heading of the section written on it, was sewn on to the top corner of the relevant page: this tab is itself now known as a *titulus*.

Wardrobe (*garderoba*): for a brief description of the Wardrobe, see below, ii, pp. 1 ff.

Since Wardrobe accounts and many other documents are dated by the regnal year, it has been necessary to use both calendar dates and regnal years in this thesis. The first year of a reign began on the day on which the king acceded to the throne, and the [251] list which follows gives the calendar dates for the first year of each reign during the period covered by the thesis. All calendar dates are in the new style, with the year beginning on 1 January.

Edward I:	20 Nov. 1272 to 19 Nov. 1273
Edward II:	8 July 1307 to 7 July 1308
Edward III:	25 Jan. 1327 to 24 Jan. 1328
Richard II:	22 June 1377 to 21 June 1378
Henry IV:	30 Sept. 1399 to 29 Sept. 1400
Henry V:	21 Mar. 1413 to 20 Mar. 1414
Henry VI:	1 Sept. 1422 to 31 Aug. 1423
Edward IV:	4 Mar. 1461 to 3 Mar. 1462
Edward V:	9 April to 25 June 1483
Richard III:	26 June 1483 to 25 June 1484
Henry VII:	22 Aug. 1485 to 21 Aug. 1486
Henry VIII:	22 April 1509 – 21 April 1510

Conversion from regnal to calendar year is now achieved by adding the regnal year less one to the appropriate dates above. For example, the 18th year of Edward III's reign began on 25 January 1327 + 17; that is, it ran from 25 January 1344 to 24 January 1345.

Conversion from calendar to regnal year is the reverse process. 24 April 1469, for instance, came in that year of Edward IV's reign which ran from 4 March 1469 until 3 March 1470 – that is, 9 Ed IV.

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VOLUME TWO

APPENDICES

CONTENTS OF VOLUME TWO

APPENDIX A: MINSTRELS AND MINSTRELSY IN THE ROYAL WARDROBE
BOOKS, 25 Edward I – 15 Henry VII

INTRODUCTION

Wardrobe and Chamber

Wardrobe accounts

HAND-LIST OF ACCOUNTS NOT CALENDARED

HAND-LIST OF ACCOUNTS CALENDARED

CALENDAR

APPENDIX B: MINSTRELSY AT DURHAM PRIORY

APPENDIX C: MINSTRELSY IN THE HOWARD ACCOUNTS
1462–1485

APPENDIX D: MINSTRELSY AT THE SCOTTISH COURT
1473–1504

APPENDIX E: MINSTRELSY IN THE COVENTRY GILD-ACCOUNTS
1449–1502

APPENDIX F: INSTRUMENT-MAKERS

APPENDIX G: ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS CONSULTED

[1]

APPENDIX A

MINSTRELS AND MINSTRELSY IN THE ROYAL WARDROBE BOOKS, 25 Edward I - 15 Henry VII

Introduction

The Wardrobe of the English royal household¹ was developed during the late thirteenth century as a financial and secretarial department through which the king could make transactions more easily and more quickly than through the offices of the Exchequer and Chancery. By making his Wardrobe responsible not only for the affairs of his household but for much of his military administration as well, Edward I gave his finances considerable freedom from the supervision of the barons - a freedom without which he could not have pursued his military policies in Scotland and Wales.

The Wardrobe accounts of Edward I's reign are thus particularly detailed in the information which they give about life and work at Court. Those of the following reign are slightly less detailed, for by the beginning of the reign of Edward II the barons had realised that the highly-developed Wardrobe was largely responsible for the financial freedom which the king enjoyed. Gradually, the barons were able to gain control of the Wardrobe, severely curtailing the king's financial resources. Edward's solution, towards the end of his reign, was to develop the Chamber to do the same work, with the freedom which the Wardrobe had previously enjoyed:² he was not successful, however, and the [2] Chamber never attained the status or size necessary for his purposes.

After Edward's deposition the Chamber declined again, although it was to some extent revived under Edward III. In this reign, too, the Wardrobe was again used for military administration, during Edward's early preparations for war with France. In the second half of the reign, however, the king gave up his attempts at financial independence in favour of the support of the barons for his foreign policies. The gradual decline of the Wardrobe therefore continued, as indeed it did for the rest of the Middle Ages. Many payments

¹ The best summary of the history of the Wardrobe is in Myers/*ELMA*, pp. 25 ff. The standard reference work is Tout/*Chapters*.

² A number of Chamber accounts have therefore been searched for the present work: they appear in the calendar which follows.

and gifts which under the first two Edwards would have appeared in the Wardrobe accounts were recorded in the Issue Rolls and Patent Rolls in later reigns.

Wardrobe accounts were first entered in a Day-Book, or Journal. When the account was finally made – often several years later – these entries, together with certain receipts and separate livery-rolls, etc., were arranged under various headings and made up as the book of the Keeper of the Wardrobe. A copy of the Keeper's book was made for the Controller (i.e. *Contrarotulator*, or keeper of the counter-roll), some of the details being summarised.

The exact *tituli*, or headings, under which the accounts were entered vary slightly with the year and the reign. Generally, the Keeper's and Controller's books begin with the receipts of the Wardrobe, and continue with payments to household officers for the day-to-day expenses of their departments: from the last years of Edward III's reign onwards, the latter payments are usually summarised. Other *tituli* normally appearing are those of Alms and Oblations; Necessaries; Prests, or part-payments, to members of the household and to those "qui non sunt"; Shoes; Liveries of Cloth and Fur; Gifts; Buying of Horses; Replacement of Horses; [3] Messengers; Debts; and Jewels and Plate. The sections concerned with Fees and Wages are often subdivided into payments to *milites*, squires, archers, *pedites*, huntsmen, sailors, carpenters, dykers, etc.

These sections are not all equally useful for our present purpose. In collecting material for this thesis I have not searched receipts, payments to household officers, or alms and oblations; occasional entries from these sections are included in my calendar only because they caught my eye or were pointed out to me. Similarly, I have not searched sections concerning *milites*, soldiers, sailors, jewels and plate, etc. Sections concerning falconers and messengers were occasionally searched as time allowed: they proved unfruitful.

Undoubtedly the most immediately interesting items were found in the *Dona* sections, where gifts were recorded both to the royal minstrels and to visiting entertainers; the *Necessaria* sections were also carefully searched, although they proved to be less fruitful. Shoes, wages, and liveries of cloth and fur were expenses which occurred annually, so that individual items do not have the unique importance of entries in the *Dona* and *Necessaria* sections. Nevertheless, they and the payments for horses give information about the status of the minstrels and their periods of residence in Court, and allow an inventory of the names of royal minstrels to be compiled.³ In this latter task, the lists of household creditors help greatly, as do the *Prestita* sections: prests, however, give little information other than names and the itinerary of the Court, and I have not given details of prests in my calendar.

³ The result of this particular piece of work is Rastall/*MERH*.

[4]

HAND-LIST OF ACCOUNTS NOT CALENDARED

Accounts may appear in this hand-list for one of two reasons:

- 1 The document in question was not searched, usually because the catalogue indicated that it might not contain many relevant entries. These accounts are distinguished in the list by the letters (n.s.).
- 2 The document was searched, without relevant entries being found.

The documents listed here should not be dismissed as unfruitful, however. I did not normally search all sections of a Wardrobe account, and in addition I must have dismissed as irrelevant, in the early stages of the work, much material that I should later have noted.⁴ There was rarely time to return to a manuscript that had already been searched: all documents in this list should be seen again at some stage, although the need to search other records – especially the Issue Rolls – is more pressing.

This list does not claim to be exhaustive, and it no doubt excludes a number of fragmentary accounts. If it includes all the major accounts and most of the minor ones, however, it will have served its purpose.

The accounts of the various households are not distinguished: nor are any details given of the documents themselves.

[5]

DATE	DOCUMENT
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Edward I

24–29	E101.354.5	
24–29	E101.354.7	(n.s.)
24–35	E101.354.10	
25	C47.4.7	(n.s.)
27	E101.6.3	(n.s.)
28 ⁵	Soc. of Ants.	(n.s.)
28	Ryl 231	(n.s.)
28–29	E101.358.20	(n.s.)
29	Add 7966 B	(n.s.)
29	E101.9.20	(n.s.)
29	E101.359.8	(n.s.)
30	E101.361.13	(n.s.)

⁴ For instance, it was some time before I began to look for waferers, as the connection between waferers and minstrels did not immediately present itself.

⁵ The Society of Antiquaries manuscript is identical with Add 35291, except that it omits passages deleted in the latter.

30	E101.361.16	(n.s.)
31	E101.363.13	(n.s.)
31-32	E101.365.6	(n.s.)
31-35	E101.365.10	(n.s.)
33	E101.367.7	
33-35	E101.368.7	(n.s.)
34	Add 37655	(n.s.)
34	E101.369.15	(n.s.)
35	E101.370.6	(n.s.)
35	E101.370.7	(n.s.)

Edward II

1	Add 35093	(n.s.)
1	E101.369.17	(n.s.)
3	Harley 315m	(n.s.)
3	E101.506.16	(n.s.)
4	E101.374.6	(n.s.)
4-7	E101.506.18	(n.s.)
5	E101.374.15	(n.s.)
7	E101.540.22	(n.s.)
7	E101.375.9	(n.s.)
8-9	E101.376.11)	(n.s.)
	E101.376.14)	
? ⁶	E101.376.16	
8-9	E101.377.4	
16 ⁷	E101.379.7	(n.s.)
17	E101.379.17	(n.s.)
17	Ryl 132	
17	Add 35114	(n.s.)
17	Add 36763	(n.s.)
17	Aug II.109	(n.s.)
18	Egerton 2814	
19	E101.381.15	(n.s.)

Edward III

5-6	E101.385.19	
6	Galba E iii, ff. 174-192	(n.s.)
6-8	E101.386.3	
7	E101.386.12	
7	E101.386.13	
[6]		

⁶ Fragment.

⁷ Transcribed in *EHR* xxx, pp. 673 ff.

8-10	E101.507.16	(n.s.)
10 (?)	Ryl 233	
15-17	E101.389.13	
15	E101.389.15	
18-24	E101.390.12	
18-29 ⁸	E101.391.1	
23	E101.391.4	
23-24 ⁹	E101.391.20	
31	E101.392.20	(n.s.)
31	E101.393.4	
31	Ryl 237	(n.s.)
32	E101.393.5	
32-33	Galba E xiv	(n.s.)
33	E101.393.9	
34	E101.392.14	
34	E101.309.11	
39 ¹⁰	E101.395.4	
39-41	E101.396.2	
42 ¹¹	E101.396.8	
42-43	E101.396.9	
45-46	Ryl 240	

Richard II

1-2	E101.400.3	(n.s.)
2-3	E101.400.9	(n.s.)
5-6	E101.400.19	(n.s.)
4-9	E101.401.9	(n.s.)
5-6	E101.400.28	
6-7	E101.400.26	
6-9	E101.401.12	(n.s.)
11-12	E101.401.19	(n.s.)
11-12	E101.401.20	(n.s.)
12-13	E101.402.1	(n.s.)
13	E101.402.3	(n.s.)
14	E101.402.6	(n.s.)
15-16	E101.402.9	(n.s.)
16 ¹²	E101.402.10	
17-19	E101.403.1	(n.s.)

⁸ Chamber accounts: extracts in *Archaeologia* 32, pp. 381 ff.

⁹ Chamber accounts.

¹⁰ Chamber accounts.

¹¹ Chamber accounts.

¹² Incomplete Keeper's book: perhaps the first part of E101.403.22 (calendared).

19-20	E101.403.9	(n.s.)
19	E101.403.12	(n.s.)
21-22	E101.403.18	(n.s.)

Henry IV

4-5	E101.404.23	
5-6	E101.405.26	(n.s.)
[7]		
8-10	E101.405.14	(n.s.)
9-10	E101.405.19	(n.s.)
9-10	E101.405.22	(n.s.)
?	E101.406.9	(n.s.)

Henry IV - Edward IV

E101.406.14¹³

Henry V

?	E404.31, 401-425	
?	E101.407.1	(n.s.)
9 ¹⁴	Ryl 238	
? ¹⁵	E101.407.8	(n.s.)
10-1	E101.411.5	(n.s.)

Henry VI

1-2	E101.407.13	
1-2	E101.407.19	
2	E101.407.17	
4	E101.408.1	
5	E101.408.4	(n.s.)
11-12 ¹⁶	E101.408.17	(n.s.)
15	Harley 6163	(n.s.)
15-16	E101.408.24	
?	E36.84	(n.s.)

Edward IV

¹³ A collection of fragments, often mutilated and barely legible: part of the collection, for 27-28 Henry VI, is calendared below.

¹⁴ Accounts of Queen Joan of Navarre: transcribed by A.R. Myers as "The captivity of a royal witch" in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xxiv, no. 2, and xxvi, no. 1.

¹⁵ Fragment.

¹⁶ Fragment.

6-7	E36.207	(n.s.)
11-14	E101.412.3	(n.s.)
13-14	E101.412.5	
17-18	E101.412.9	
18-19	E101.412.10	
20	Harley 4780	

Henry VII

2-18 ¹⁷	E101.413.2	(n.s.)
12-14	E101.414.11	
15-18 ¹⁸	E101.415.3	(n.s.)

[8]

HAND-LIST OF ACCOUNTS CALENDARED

The order of documents given here is the order in which they are calendared below. Accounts are of the king's household unless otherwise stated. Documents are described where possible as a Journal (Jnl.), Keeper's book (Kr.) or Controller's book (Ctr.).

DATE DOCUMENT

Edward I

25	Add 7965	
25	C47.4.6.	Ctr. 8 February - 29 March.
24-26	Ryl 229	
27	Add 37654	Ctr.
27-28	E101.357.5	Account-rolls of the Treasurer of the queen's household.
28	Harley 626m	Ctr.
28	Add 35291	
29	E101.359.5	Jnl. beginning 24 March.
29	Add 7966A	Ctr.
29	E101.359.6	Kr.?
28-29	E101.358.18	Imperfect roll of prests.
29	E101.684.62, piece 3	
30	E101.361.15	Jnl. 28 April - 2 July.

¹⁷ Chamber accounts.

¹⁸ Transcribed in *PPE.H.VII*.

30	Ryl 232	
30	E101.361.27	
31-34	Add 35292	Jnl. 7 April, 31 Ed I - 27 April, 34 Ed I.
31	E101.364.13	
31	Add 17360	Ctr.
31	E101.363.10	Ctr.? 19 March - 5 April.
31	E101.363.18	Ctr., household of the Prince of Wales.
32	Add 8835	
[9]		
33	E101.368.6	Kr.
33	E101.367.16	Ctr.
33	E101.367.17	Livery-roll.
34	E101.369.11	Kr.
34	E101.368.27	Ctr.
34	E101.368.12	Accounts of the household of Thomas and Edmund, the king's sons.
34	E101.369.6	Roll of gifts and payments at Pentecost.
34-35	E101.369.16	
27-35	E101.357.15	Debts of the Wardrobe.
35-1	E101.370.16	Jnl. 20 November, 35 Ed I - 17 July, 1 Ed II.

Edward II

1	E101.373.15	
4	E101.374.7	Jnl. 8 July - 14 February.
4	E101.373.30	Jnl. 16 February - 7 July.
4	E101.374.5	
4-5	E101.373.26	
3-5	Nero C viii, ff. 1-178v.	
5	E101.374.16	
5	E101.374.14	Liveries for the queen's household.
6	E101.375.8	
5-6	E101.374.19	Accounts of the household of Thomas and Edmund, the king's brothers, 30 September, 5 Ed II - 29 September, 6 Ed II.
9	E101.376.7	Ctr., 8 July - 31 January.
13	E101.378.4) Add 17362)	Kr.
[10]		
14	Add 9951	Ctr.
15-17	Stowe 553	Kr., 1 May, 15 Ed II - 19 October, 17 Ed II.
17	E101.379.19	Ctr. Jnl., 23 October - 7 July.
17-18	E101.380.4	Ctr. Jnl. of expenses of the king's Chamber, 16 April, 17 Ed II - 21 May, 18 Ed II.
20	E101.381.6	Kr.? Debts of the Wardrobe.

Edward III

- | | | |
|-------|-----------------------------|--|
| 1-2 | E101.383.8 | Ctr. |
| 2-3 | E101.384.1 | Ctr. |
| 4 | E101.385.4 | Kr. Livery-roll. |
| 4 | Ryl 234 | Liveries of the queen's household. |
| 5 | Ryl 235 | Ctr. Household of the queen. |
| 6 | Add 38006 | Kr.? Accounts of the king's sister Eleanor,
18 April - 26 July. |
| 6 | E101.386.7 | Ctr.? Accounts of the king's sister Eleanor: pr. in
<i>Archaeologia</i> 77, pp. 121 ff. |
| 8 | E101.387.5 | Ctr. |
| 8-10 | Add 35181 | |
| 8-11 | Nero C viii,
ff. 179-end | Ctr. |
| 10-12 | E101.387.25 | Kr. Roll of receipts and liveries of the household of the
Black Prince. |
| 11-12 | E101.388.9 | Ctr., 31 August, 11 Ed III - 11 July, 12 Ed III. |
| 11-12 | E101.388.5 | Ctr., August, 11 Ed III - 11 July, 12 Ed III. |
| 12 | E101.388.12 | Kr. Roll of liveries of the household of the Black
Prince. |
| [11] | | |
| 14 | E101.389.6 | Roll of expenses of the household of the Black Prince. |
| 12-14 | E36.203 | Kr. |
| 14 | E101.389.5 | (Fragment). |
| 11-15 | E101.389.11 | Kr. Debts of the Wardrobe. |
| 16-18 | E36.204 | Ctr., 21 July, 16 Ed III - 1 April, 18 Ed III. |
| 16-18 | E101.390.3 | Kr. Account-roll of the household of the Black Prince. |
| 13-18 | Harley 4304,
ff. 18-end | Kr. Accounts of the household of the Black Prince. |
| c.21 | E101.391.9 | Kr. Debts of the Wardrobe. |
| 23-24 | E36.205 | Ctr. Accounts of the household of the queen, 25
January, 23 Ed III - 1 February, 24 Ed III. |
| 27 | E101.392.12 | Kr. Extracts pr. in <i>Archaeologia</i> 31, pp. 137 ff. |
| 29-33 | Harley 4304,
ff. 13-15 | Kr. Accounts of the household of the Black Prince. |
| 31-32 | Rylands 236 | Accounts of the household of the queen, 1 April,
31 Ed III - 1 April, 32 Ed III. |
| 33-34 | E101.393.11 | |
| 34-35 | E101.393.15 | Livery-roll, 1 November, 34 Ed III - 28 June, 35 Ed III. |
| 37-38 | E101.394.16 | Livery-roll, 29 June, 37 Ed III - 29 June, 38 Ed III. |
| 43 | E101.396.11 | Ctr. |
| 45-47 | E101.397.5 | Kr. 27 June, 45 Ed III - 27 June, 47 Ed III. |
| 50-1 | E101.398.9 | Kr. 25 November, 50 Ed III - 26 July, I Ric II.
Extracts pr. in <i>Archaeologia</i> 60, pp. 531 ff. |

48-1 E101.397.20 Kr. Livery-roll.

[12]

Richard II

? E101.403.25 Roll of household servants.
 7-8 E101.401.2 Kr.
 8 Ryl 242 Kr. 1 July - 31 December.
 13-14 E101.402.5
 16-17 E101.403.22 Kr.? Perhaps part of E101.402.10:
 see above, p. 6 and n. 12.
 16-17 Add 35115 Ctr. 30 September, 16 Ric II - 30 September, 17 Ric II.
 17-19 E101.402.20 Kr.
 19-20 E101.403.10 Ctr. 30 September, 19 Ric II - 30 September, 20 Ric II.

Henry IV

2 E101.404.11 Roll of expenses.
 3-4 E101.404.21 Kr.
 4-5 E101.404.24 Ctr. Accounts of the household of the Prince of Wales.
 7-8 Harley 319 Ctr. 30 September, 7 Hen IV - 8 December, 8 Hen IV.
 8 E101.406.10 Extracts pr. in *Archaeologia* 67, pp. 174 ff.

Henry V

1 E101.406.21 Accounts of the Treasurer of the household.
 3 Stowe 1043
 ? E101.407.10 Roll of household servants.
 7-8 E101.406.30 Accounts of the household of the queen mother,
 Joan of Navarre.
 9 E101.407.4

[13]

Henry VI¹⁹

9 E101.408.11
 13-14 Add 17721 Kr.
 17-18 E101.409.2 Kr.
 19-20 E101.409.6 Kr.
 20-21 E101.409.9
 22 E101.409.11 Ctr.
 22-23 E101.409.12 Kr.
 22-24 Add 23938 Expenses of the queen, 17 July, 22 Hen VI -

¹⁹ Accounts in the reigns of Henry VI and Edward IV ran from Michaelmas to Michaelmas, covering a single year.

		16 October, 24 Hen VI.
25-26	E101.409.16	Kr.
26-27	E101.410.1	
26-28	E101.410.3	Ctr. This document now includes the former E101.540.29 and fragments of E101.406.14.
29-30	E101.410.6	Ctr.
30-31	E101.410.9	Kr.
35-36	E101.410.14	Kr.

Edward IV

3-4	E101.411.13	Kr.
5-6	E101.411.15	Kr.
6-7	E101.412.2	Kr.
5-9	E101.412.1	Debts of the Wardrobe.
19-20	E101.412.11	Ctr.
22 ²⁰	Harley 433, ff. 311 ff.	

[14]

Richard III

1	Harley 433, ff. 45v-210	
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Henry VII

11-13	E101.414.6	Jnl. 1 October, 11 Hen VII - 30 September, 13 Hen VII: pr. in <i>PPE.H VII</i> .
13-15	E101.414.16	Jnl. 1 October, 13 Hen VII - 30 September, 15 Hen VII: pr. in <i>PPE.H.VII</i> .

CALENDAR

Accounts are calendared in chronological order. Where different types of account are calendared for any one year, the Journal precedes the Keeper's and Controller's books: livery-rolls and miscellaneous accounts follow. Unless the contrary is stated, accounts are for the king's household, and are in Latin.

²⁰ Harley 433 is not a Wardrobe document: it contains records of wages and grants of the type usually found in the Patent Rolls, and is included here only because there is no printed transcription of it.

Where sections of the original document are clearly marked, the *tituli* are given in the calendar. *Tituli* are omitted for sections which were not searched or in which nothing relevant was found.

Entries are prefaced by their position in the original, folio-, page- or membrane-numbers being given. A blank line separates entries which appear under separate dates (in a Journal) or marginal headings (in a Keeper's or Controller's book): adjacent entries have (adjac) between them. Where two items appear under the same date or marginal heading, but with irrelevant material between them, the calendar of the second begins on a new line.

Most details are given for the payment of gifts and necessary expenses. Entries end with the place and date of payment if these are known: in accounts for a single year, the year of the payment [15] is that of the accounts unless otherwise stated; in accounts covering two or more years, the year is stated where possible. Gifts are normally from the king, but this information is not included in the calendar.

Details of wages and prests are not given, although I have roughly indicated the number of prests in each entry ("several" means c. 4-8, and "many" means c. 9 or more). Where an entry concerning wages includes amounts, period of employment, or the period of a minstrel's residence in Court in the original, I have indicated in the calendar that details were given. Prests are almost invariably part-payments of wages, or occasionally for cloth liveries; these are not specified in the calendar. In other cases I have stated the purpose for which a prest was made.

Money for a payment could be handed either to the recipient himself or to an intermediary: I have omitted this information in the former case, or where the intermediary was a household officer. Where payment was made through a minstrel the fact is stated, the letters p.m. (for *per manus*, the usual Latin formula) being used.

Names are standardised (*Windsor* for *Wyndesore*, for example) only if the original spelling is consistent and the modern version obvious. The courtesy-title *Dominus* (shortened to Dns), which could be used with a wide variety of implications, is retained in the calendar: certain words such as *psaltator* and *vigilis*, for which there is no convenient English equivalent, have also been retained in the original language.²¹ Apart from proper names, words left in the original language are underlined. If a word is given in its original language because [16] its meaning or form is uncertain, a scribal contraction is indicated in the usual way by an apostrophe.

Certain common names, such as John de London or John de Windsor, raise problems of identity. No mention is made of the appearance of such names if I was sure that the man concerned was not the minstrel.

25 Ed 1: Add 7965

²¹ Reasons for this decision are given more fully in Rastall/*MERH*, p. 5.

Necessary Expenses

f.3 Payment of 24.0d for six tabors bought for the king's falconers at 4.0d each: Waldinsfeld, 11 December.

Gifts

f.52 Gift of 20.0d to Gilotus, harper of Dns Hugo de Cressingham, returning to his master in Scotland: Bury St Edmund's, 20 November.

Gift of 40.0d to Nicholas and Adam, the king's harpers: Bures, 9 December.

Gifts to minstrels at the wedding of the king's daughter Elizabeth to the Count of Holland:

to King Page, John the violist and Conuce his son, making their minstrelsy, 50.0d each. Total £7.10.0d, 8 January.

to Grisecote, Visage and Magore, similarly making their minstrelsy before the lady, 20.0d each. Total 60.0d.

to Ruardinus the violist, King Morellus,²² Guillotus de Ros, Janinus le Leutor and Thomas (?) le Fole, 50.0d each. Total £12.10.0d.

to two harpers, two of the king's trumpets, John Drake the waferer, Dunrine (?), Bandettus, Thomelmus the violist, two harpers of the Bishop of Durham, two minstrels of the Earl Marshal, Hamoin L'estivour, Lambyn Clay and John de Cressin, 20.0d each. Total £15.

to a harper of Dns John Comyn, 1 mark.

[17]

to Druettus, Monthaut and Jakettus de Scocia, Kings, 40.0d each.

Total £6.

to the waferer of the king's son, four *vigiles* of the king and the king's son, two harpers of the Earl of Oxford and Dns Thomas de Mylton, Henry the harper, Laurence the harper and Martinettus the taborer, 10.0d each.

Total 100.0d.

to various other minstrels between them, 46.8d.

Sum total £41.10.0d.

f.54 Gift of 40.0d to Patrick the trumpeter, the king's falconer, leaving the king's service for good because of his infirmity: Denham, 21 February.

Gift of 17.6d to Miemus de Mantzt, minstrel, coming to the king on a mission from Vastonia: Exeter, 5 April.

f.54v Gift of 20.0d to Meliorus, a harper who formerly came with Dns John Mautravers, for playing at the time that the king was having his blood let: Plympton, 23 April.

²² Nicholas Morell, King of Heralds in 1290: see Wagner/*Heralds*, p. 33.

f.55 Gift of 6.8d to Walter Lund, a harper whom the king found playing before the tomb of St Richard in Chichester Cathedral: Chichester, 26 May.

(adjac)

Gift of 40.0d to John de Depe, trumpeter, to replace a horse that died in the king's service: Maghefeld, 30 May.

f.55v Gift of £4.8.4d to fourteen minstrels playing before the image of the Virgin in the vault of Christ Church, Canterbury, in the king's presence: 6 June.

f.56v Gift of 40.0d to John de London and John de Depe, king's trumpeters, for two new-made trumpets: Westminster, 25 July.

f.57v £13.6.8d in gift to the lord Thomas de Lancaster, son of the lord Edmund the king's brother, knighted by the king at Gandanum at the feast of All Saints, for Thomas, a minstrel making his minstrelsy before the king, p.m. John, harper of the lord Thomas: 4 November.

(adjac)

Gift of 20.0d to Robinettus de Ipres and Quinius (?) de Ipres, making their minstrelsy before the king: Gandanum, 5 November.

[18]

Replacement of Horses

f.58v 40.0d to Adam the harper to replace a horse.

Wages

f.77 Details of wages for Adam the harper.

f.77v Details of wages for John Drake, the king's waferer.

f.79 Details of wages for John de Depe, king's trumpeter: payment p.m. John de London, trumpeter, his fellow.

f.79v Details of wages for Adam de Skirewith, king's *vigilis*.

Robes

f.126v Robes for Nicholas and Adam, the king's harpers.

A robe for the whole year for John de Windsor, the king's *vigilis*.

(adjac)

Winter robes for John de London and John de Depe, trumpeters.

f.127 A robe for the whole year to Adam de Skirewith, *vigilis*.

A robe for the whole year to Alexander de Windsor, *vigilis*.

f.131v Summer robes for Adam and Nicholas, the king's harpers.

The same to Richard, violist.

The same to John de Depe and John de London, the king's trumpeters.

25 Ed I: C47.4.6. Controller's Accounts, 8 February - 29 March

Gifts

f.3 Gift of 40.0d to Patrick the trumpeter, falconer, [19] leaving for good (? - *ex toto*) to go to his own district because he is too infirm to work adequately (? - *amplius*) in Court: Denham, 21 February.

Wages

f.4 Payment to John the harper of the Earl of Lancaster amongst various men coming to the king from the county of Lincoln.

Prests

f.7 Prest to John de London, trumpeter.

24, 25 and 26 Ed I: Rylands 229

f.8v £10.8.9d to John le Leutour, being money owed to him for his wages and robes, *anno* 26, as appears in the *titulus* of wages to squires for that year. Account made with him at Westminster, February, 31 Ed I.

£11.1.3d to John Drake, the king's waferer, being money owed to him for his wages, *anno* 26, as appears in the *titulus* of wages to squires for that year. Account made with him at Westminster, 23 March, (*anno* 26?).

27 Ed I: Add 37654

f.12 Wages paid to various horsemen of the county of York, coming to Newcastle on Tyne: the list includes Philip the harper.

f.12v The same.

27-28 Ed I: E101.357.5. Queen's Household, Treasurer's Accounts

[20] This is a set of three rolls, the first of which contains accounts of the period 3 November, 27 Ed I – 18 November, 28 Ed I.

Roll 3.

m.1 A summer robe for John Drake, waferer, *anno* 28.

m.2 Details of the wages of Guillotus, minstrel.

m.1d Prest to John Drake, waferer.

Another prest to John Drake.

Prest to John de Windsor, *vigilis*.

Another prest to John Drake, waferer.

28 Ed I: Harley 626m. Controller's Accounts

f.14 Wages to horsemen sent from Berwick on Tweed to Roxburgh for the period 20-28 November: one of these is Philip the harper.

The same, 29 November – 15 December.

The same, 16-24 December.

28 Ed I: Add 35291

f.14 Details of the wages of Guillotus, the queen's psaltery-player.

f.43 Three horses given to Guillotus.

f.70v Payment to Guillotus to replace a horse.

Gift of 20.0d to Guillotus for the payment of a debt.

f.140v The inventory of plate includes two silver trumpets.

[21]

f.155 Prest to Nicholas de Eland, the king's harper.

A prest each to John de Windsor and Alexander de Windsor, the king's *vigiles*.

Prest on expenses to Nicholas the harper.

Another prest each to Alexander de Windsor and John de Windsor.

Another prest to Nicholas the harper.

(adjac)

Prest to Master John the waferer.

(adjac)

A prest each to John de Dupe and John de London, the trumpeters.

f.155v Prest to John de Dupe, trumpeter.

Prest on wages and expenses to John de London, trumpeter.

f.156v Prest to John de Dupe, trumpeter.

f.157 Many prests to John de London, trumpeter, one p.m. John de Dupe.

f.157v Several prests to John de Dupe, trumpeter, including a payment for carrying the king's letters to Dns Robert de Burgherssh, and another p.m. John de London, his fellow.

(adjac)

Several prests to Alexander de Windsor.

(adjac)

Several prests to John de Windsor.

f.158 Many prests to Nicholas, the king's harper.

f.158v Prest to John de London, trumpeter.

(adjac)

f.159 Prest to John de Dupe, trumpeter.

(adjac)

Prest to Alexander de Windsor.

Prest to Nicholas, the king's harper.

f.159v Prest to William the trumpeter.

[22]

f.163v Prest to Alexander le Wayte.

f.1v 31 March: payment to John the trumpeter, messenger (*cokinus*), for his expenses.

2 April, Easter Day: gifts of $\frac{1}{2}$ mark and 1 mark respectively to William de Hathewy and Gilbert de York, the king's violists. (Payment for the king's oblations follows).²³

3 April: payment of £20.0.0d to Guillotus, the queen's minstrel.

f.2 6 April: payment on his fees and robe to Dns William de Leyburn, p.m. John le Harpeur, his valet.

Prest to John, trumpeter of Prince Edward.

7 April: payment to Dns Radulphus de Manton p.m. Crodo (?),²⁴ minstrel of Dns J. de Britanum.

f.3. 22 April: 2.0d to Alan the trumpeter, for his expenses in carrying the king's letters.

f.3v 29 April: gift of 2 marks to the two German *gigatores*.

f.4v 14 May: one prest each to Nicholas and Adam, the harpers, and to John de Dupe.

18 May: 12d to Alan the trumpeter, for his expenses in taking the king's letters.

f.5 23 May: a similar payment of 12d to Alan the trumpeter.

[23]

f.5v 6 June: payment of 12d to William le Wayte, groom of Dns Robert de Burgharsh, for his expenses.

f.6 22 June: payment of 8d to Alan the trumpeter, for his expenses.

f.6v 27 June: a similar payment of 2.0d to Alan the trumpeter.

f.7v 12 July: prest to Alexander de Windsor, the king's *vigilis*.

f.8 15 July: prest to Nicholas the harper.

Prest to Adam the harper.

²³ This may be significant, in view of later payments to violists for playing while the king made his offering: see above, i, p. 63.

²⁴ This name is almost illegible, even in ultraviolet light.

16 July: payment of 2 marks to the two *gigatores*.

A payment to Dns Radulphus de Manton p.m. Walter Panely, trumpeter.

A prest each to several servants, including Nicholas, harper.

A prest each to several servants, including Alexander, *vigilis*.

A prest to John de Dupe, trumpeter.

29 Ed I: Add 7966A. Controller's Book

Gifts

f.66 Gifts of 13.4d and 6.8d respectively to Gilbert de York and William Hathewy, violists, making their minstrelsy before the king: 2 April.

f.66v Gifts of 20.0d to John de Cressy, 2 marks to Janinus, organist of Earl Warrenne, and 1 mark to Martinettus, minstrel, making their minstrelsy before the king and queen: Lincoln, February.

Gifts of 13.4d each to Henry and Girardus, German *gigatores* of the king: Kemeseye, 29 April.

(adjac)

Gift of 20 marks to various minstrels who played for the king and queen on Christmas Day and St Stephen's Day, given to Richard the violist and distributed by him: Northampton, 28 December.

[24]

f.67 Gift of 15.0d to John la Geyte for a robe and other necessary expenses: Northampton, 7 January.

Gift of 40.0d to Henry and Gurardus, *gigatores*, for certain necessities: Burton, 14 January.

of 6.8d for a sumpter-saddle and a *cuigul'*: Eston, 19 January.

of 8.2d for a casket and hangings (? - *busta et litera*) *ad epus'* during February and March: Northampton, 13 March.

f.67v Gift of 3.0d to a certain minstrel making his minstrelsy before the queen: Northampton, 7 January.

f.68v Gift of 6.8d to Robinettus le Taborer de York, making his minstrelsy before the king: Boneye, 8 December.

Gift of 10.0d to Radulphus, trumpeter of Vastonia, for his expenses in returning to his own land: London, 16 June.

f.69 Gift of 1 mark each to Henry and Gunrardus, German *gigatores*, minstrels of the king, for necessaries: London, 16 June.

Gift of 20.0d to Jakeninus de Caumbray, minstrel of Dns Robert Daunget, making his minstrelsy before the king: Pebles, 9 August.

Wages

f.102v Details of wages for John the trumpeter in the Scottish wars: paid at London in July, 30 Ed I.

Messengers

f.123 8d to John the trumpeter for his expenses in carrying the king's letters.

Robes

f.136 A robe for Master John Drake.

f.138v A robe for the whole year for Adam, *vigilis*.

A robe for Adam de Clyderhou.

f.142v A summer robe for Adam de Clyderhou.

[25]

Jewels and Plate

f.151v The inventory includes two silver trumpets.

Prests

f.163v Prest to Alexander le Gueyte.

f.165 Prest to Nicholas, king's harper.

f.165v Prests to Alexander le Gayte.

f.166 Prest to John de Windsor. (Probably not the *vigilis*.)

f.166v Prest to John de Windsor, perhaps the above payment repeated in error.

f.167 Prest to Nicholas, the king's harper.

(adjac)

Prest to John de London and John de Depe, trumpeters.

f.174 Many prests to Nicholas, king's harper.

Several prests to Alexander de Windsor, *vigilis*.

f.175v Two prests to John de Windsor, *vigilis*.

Prest to John de London, trumpeter.

(adjac)

Several prests to John de Depe, trumpeter.

f.178 Prest to John the trumpeter.

(adjac)

Three prests to Gilbert, trumpeter, for his wages when he was out of Court in January in the company of Prince Edward.

f.178v Prest to Adam, harper.

Prest to John de Depe, king's trumpeter.

Prest to Robert, King of the Heralds.

[26]

29 Ed I: E101.359.6. Perhaps Keeper's Accounts²⁵

f.4v Prest on his office to Richard, waferer.

Prests to Squires

f.11v Prest to King Robert, the king's trumpeter.

(adjac)

Prest to Guillotus, harper.

f.12 Prests to Robert, King of the Heralds, one p.m. Guillotus the harper.

(adjac)

Prests to Guillotus the harper.

f.13v Prest to Adam, the king's harper.

f.14 Two prests to John de Depe, trumpeter.

(adjac)

Two prests to Richard, waferer.

²⁵ C.f. Add 7966A, above.

Gifts

f.21 Gift of 20.0d to Jakeminus de Caumbray, minstrel of Dns Robert Daunget, making his minstrelsy before the king: Peebles, 9 August.

28 - 29 Ed I: E101.358.18

Roll 1

m.2 Many prests to Nicholas, the king's harper.

m.2d Several prests to Adam, the king's harper, one p.m. Nicholas, his fellow.

Roll 3

Several prests to John de Dupe, trumpeter; one is on his expenses in carrying the king's letters to Dns Robert de [27] Burghassh, and another is paid p.m. John de London, his fellow.

(adjac)

Several prests to Alexander de Windsor.

(adjac)

Prests to Adam Skirewith.

(adjac)

Several prests to John de Windsor.

29 Ed I: E101.684.62, piece 3

Notice of the receipt of £20.0.0d sterling, owed to him at the Wardrobe, by Guillotus, the queen's minstrel. His seal is appended.

30 Ed I: E101.361.15. Journal, 28 April - 2 July

f.2v 17 May: prest to Alexander, *vigilis*.

18 May: prest to Master John Drake.

f.4v 12 June: prest to Adam, the king's harper.

13 June: prest to Nicholas, the king's harper. Prest to Henry and Conrad, the king's *gigatores*.

f.5v 17 June: prests to the king's *vigiles*, viz., Adam de Skirewith, Alexander de Windsor and Robert de Finchesle.

18 June: 100.0d given to John de Neuton and Nicholas the harper, in money distributed amongst various minstrels.

Payment to Dns William de Leyborn p.m. John de Neuton, the king's harper.

f.6 24 June: prest to Nicholas, the king's harper. Prest to John de Neuton, the king's harper.

f.6v 25 June: prest to John de London (probably the Constable of Windsor Castle, not the trumpeter).

[28]

30 Ed I: Ryl 232

f.1v²⁶ Prest to John de Sandwich, nakerer.

f.3v Prest to John de Depe and Nicholas the harper.

Prest to Alexander le Wayte.

f.5 Prest to Nicholas Eland, the king's harper.

Prests to John de Windsor and Alexander de Windsor, the king's *vigiles*.

Prest to Nicholas, the king's harper.

Prests to Alexander de Windsor and John de Windsor, the king's *vigiles*.

Prest to Nicholas, the king's harper.

(adjac)

Prest to Master John, the waferer.

(adjac)

Prests to John de Depe and John de London, trumpeters.

f.5v Prest to John de Dupe, trumpeter.

Prest to John de London, trumpeter.

f.6v Prest to John de Dupe, trumpeter, for a horse bought for him at Northampton, December, *anno* 29.

f.7 Many prests to John de London, trumpeter.

²⁶ Foliation is in the top right-hand corner of the page.

f.7v Many prests to John de Dupe, trumpeter, including payment for carrying the king's letters to Dns Robert de Bourgherssh.

(adjac)

Many prests to Alexander de Windsor.

(adjac)

Many prests to John de Windsor.

f.8 Many prests to Nicholas, the king's harper.

f.8v Prest to John de London, trumpeter.

[29]

f.9 Prest to John de Dupe, king's trumpeter.

(adjac)

Prest to Alexander de Windsor.

Prest to Nicholas, king's harper.

f.9v Prest to William, trumpeter.

30 Ed I: E101.361.27 (French)

Items for the queen's visit to France. Amongst articles to be given away as presents are sixty gold clasps (*Fermaux dor*) to be given to minstrels, messengers and other people.

31 – 34 Ed I: Add 35292. Journal, 7 April, 31 Ed I – 27 April, 34 Ed I

(31 Ed I)

f.29 April: prest to Alexander de Windsor and Robert de Finchesle, *vigiles*.
Prest to Adam Skirewith, *vigilis*.

Gift of 20.0d to Hanekin, violist of Dns Gerard de Nottingham, making his minstrelsy before the king.

f.4v 23 June: prest to John de Depe, trumpeter.

26 June: payment to the clerk of the Pantry p.m. John the waferer. Prest to Master John, waferer.

30 June: prest to Alexander de Windsor, *vigilis*, and two others.

f.5v 9 July: prest to Richard de Blyda and Robert de York, trumpeters.

f.6v 29 July: prest to Master John, trumpeter of the prince (of Wales).

f.7v 8 August: prest to Robert de York and Richard de Blyda, king's trumpeters, p.m. the same Robert.

[30]

11 August: prest to Nicholas, harper. The same to Adam, harper, p.m. the same Nicholas.

The same to John de Newenton, harper.

12 August: payment to Master John the waferer for shoes for his grooms.

f.8 15 August, *Receipts*: 76.8d from Master John, trumpeter of the prince, as a loan to the king. (Repaid at Westminster, 8 March, 33 Ed I).

f.9 31 August: prest to William Trenchant and William²⁷ Taillant de Norfolk.

f.9v 1 September: prest to Master John, waferer. Prest to John and Nicholas, the king's harpers.

2 September: prest to Adam, Alexander and Geoffrey, the king's *vigiles*.

Prest to Richard the trumpeter and others.

f.10 3 September: prest to Henry and Conrad, the king's *gigatores*.

f.10v 17 September, *Receipts*: 56.0d from Master John, the prince's trumpeter, as a loan to the king.

24 September: prest to John Garceon, trumpeter.

f.11 2 October: gift of $\frac{1}{2}$ mark to William, minstrel of the Earl of Sutherland, making his minstrelsy, etc.

9 October: gift of 40.0d to Simon the Picard and John the Picard, trumpeters of the Earl of Atholl.

f.12 17 October: prest to Richard the trumpeter.

Prest to John de Neuton, harper. The same to Nicholas, harper, p.m. the said John.

Prest to Alexander, Adam and Geoffrey, *vigiles*, p.m. the said Alexander.

Prest to the two *gigatores*.

[31]

²⁷ Probably an error for Thomas (see below, under 20 October).

18 October: prest to Master John Drake.
f.12v Payment to Master John Drake for his office.

20 October: prests to William Trenchant and Thomas Taillant.

f.14v 9 November: 34.2d to John de Newenton *pro pict'* (teaching to write?) of three groom *gigatores* and two groom harpers from 27 September to 6 November.

Prest to Master John the trumpeter.

Prests to Alexander de Windsor, Adam de Skirewith and Geoffrey de Windsor, *vigiles*.

f.15 Prests to Guillotus de Morle, harper, Robert de York, trumpeter, and John de Neuton, harper.

10 November: prest to Master John, waferer. Payment to the clerk of the Pantry p.m. the said Master John.

(32 Ed I)

f.18 5 December: prest to John Garcon, trumpeter.

f.19 10 December: prests to Adam de Skirewith, Alexander de Windsor and Geoffrey de Windsor, *vigiles*, p.m. the said Adam.

Prest to Master John, waferer.

f.21 20 December: payment to the clerk of the Pantry p.m. Master John the waferer.

f.22 1 January: gift of 40.0d to King Robert. Gift of 20.0d to William Trenchant.

f.22v 2 January: $\frac{1}{2}$ mark each to Guillotus de Morle and John de Newenton, harpers.

f.23 3 January: prest to Robert, the king's trumpeter.

Prest to John Drake, waferer. Payment to the clerk of the Pantry p.m. Master John, waferer. 5.0d each (prest?) to Adam de Skirewith, Alexander and Geoffrey de Windsor, p.m. the said Adam.

f.23v 5 January: prest to Master John, waferer. Payment to the clerk of the Pantry p.m. the said Master John.

6 January, Epiphany: payment to the clerk of the Pantry p.m. John, the queen's waferer.

[32]

f.24v 15 January: prest to Robert de York, trumpeter.

f.25 22 January: prest to Guillotus de Morle.

f.26v 8 February: prest to John de Newenton, harper. The same to Guillotus de Morle, harper.

9 February: prest to Master John, waferer.

Prest to John de Newenton and Guillotus de Morle, harpers, p.m. the said Guillotus.

f.27 Payment of 15.0d for five tabors bought for fowling.

10 February: payment to the clerk of the Pantry p.m. John, the queen's waferer.

f.28 12 February: prest to Alexander, *vigilis*.

The same to Adam de Skirewith. The same to Robert de Finchesle.

The same to Geoffrey de Windsor p.m. Adam de Skirewith.

f.28v 13 February: 5.0d each (prest?) to John de Newenton and Guillotus de Morle p.m. the said Guillotus.

f.29 15 February: payment to the clerk of the Pantry p.m. John, waferer.

f.29v 18 February: prest of 40.0d to Dns W. Regin', for bringing a certain minstrel from the prince, p.m. Hugo de Naunton.

Prest to Henry and Conrad, the king's *gigatores*.

f.30v 20 February: prest to Nicholas de Doncaster and John Crakestreng, trumpeters, p.m. the said Nicholas.

21 February: gift of 20.0d to the organist of Earl Warrenne, making his minstrelsy before the king.

f.31 25 February: prest to Nicholas de Doncaster and John Crakestreng, trumpeters.

Prest to the Earl of Gloucester p.m. Gillotus, the king's harper.

f.31v 26 or 27 February: prest to Master John de Weston p.m. Richard the harper.

f.32v 12 March: 5.0d to Basculus the crossbowman, for money paid by him to five harpers meeting the king on the roads above *Sabulum* between Dovayn and Sanford, 6 March, of the king's gift.

f.33 14 March: gift of 13.4d to John de Kyngorn, the king's *flutar'*, for a robe.

f.33v 16 March: payment to the clerk of the Pantry p.m. John Drake.

f.34 18 March: payment of 19.5d owed to Guillotus de Psalterio.

f.34v 19 March: 5.0d each (prest?) to Adam de Skirewith, Alexander and Geoffrey de Windsor and Robert de Finchesle, *vigiles*, p.m. the said Alexander.

f.35 20 March: prests to King Robert, Gillotus the harper, and John de Newenton. Prest to Henry and Conrad, the king's *gigatores*, p.m. the said Conrad.

Payment to the clerk of the Pantry p.m. John, the queen's waferer.

f.35v 23 March: prest to Nicholas de Doncaster and John Crakestreng, trumpeters, p.m. the said John.

Prest to John the waferer.

f.37 5 April: prest to Adam de Cliderhou, harper.

f.39 24 April: prests to John de Newenton and Guillotus de Morle p.m. the said Guillotus. Prest to Robert, King of the Heralds, p.m. the said Guillotus.

f.39v 25 April: prest to Master John Drake.

Prest to Adam de Cliderhou.

f.40 Prest to Alexander le Geyte.

Prest to Geoffrey de Windsor, *vigilis*.

Prest to Adam le Gayte.

f.40v 26 April: prest to Nicholas de Doncaster and John Crakestreng, trumpeters.

f.41 28 April: prest to Henry and Conrad, the king's *gigatores*.

f.41v Payment to the clerk of the Pantry p.m. Master John, waferer.

f.43 6 May: payment to the clerk of the Pantry p.m. Master John, waferer.

f.45v 15 May: payment of 13.9d owed to Nicholas de Doncaster and John Crakestreng, trumpeters.

[34]

f.48v 11 June: payment to the clerk of the Pantry p.m. Master John Drake.

Prest to Master John Drake.

Prests to Alexander de Windsor and Geoffrey de Windsor, *vigiles*. The same to Adam de Skirewith and Robert de Finchesle, *vigiles*, p.m., the said Alexander.

f.49 12 June: prest to King Robert.

Prest to Nicholas de Doncaster, trumpeter.

f.49v Prests to John de Newenton, Gillotus de Morle and Adam de Cliderowe, the king's harpers, p.m. the said John.

f.50 16 June: payment to the clerk of the Pantry p.m. John, the queen's waferer.

Prest to Robert de York, trumpeter (cancelled entry).

f.53 14 July: 63.0d to Dns W. Regin' for two tunics of the prince's livery bought for the prince's trumpeters, two hauberks bought for them and two helmets bought for them.

f.53v 15 July: prest to Adam de Cliderhou, harper.

f.55v 30 July: prests to King Robert, John de Newenton and Guillotus de Morle.

f.56 1 August: payment to the clerk of the Pantry p.m. John, waferer.

f.57v 11 September: 2.0d to Dns W. de Bedewinde for the service of two violists.

f.58 17 September: prest to Alexander de Windsor, *vigilis*.

f.58v 20 September: prest to Master John de Weston p.m. Bartholomew, *vigilis* of Kircom tolagh' (?).

Prest to Dns John de Drokenford p.m. William de Cobham, William de Rude and others of the king's Chamber, servants of the household, servants at arms, squires, falconers, *vigiles* and footmen of the king's household, receiving money of the gift of the said Dns John.

(33 Ed I)

f.60v 6 December: a robe to each of several servants, including Adam de Cliderhou.

f.61 7 December: 20.0d each (prest?) to Adam de Skirewith, Geoffrey de Windsor and Robert de Finchesle, *vigiles*.

A robe for Master John the waferer.

[35]

f.62v 19 December: money for robes for Henry and Gunradus p.m. the said Gunradus. Prest to Adam, the king's harper.

f.63v 30 December: prest to Master Elias, harper.

31 Ed I: E101.364.13

Wages to Squires

f.22v Details of wages to John le Leutor.

f.24v Details of wages to Adam Skirewith, *vigilis*.

(adjac)

Details of wages to Master John Drake, waferer.

f.25v Details of wages to Adam de Cliderhou, harper.

f.26 Details of wages to Guillotus de Morleye.

Prests

f.32v Prests to Conrad and Henry, the king's *gigatores*, for certain necessaries bought by them.

f.44v Prests to Dns John de Sandale and Dns Thomas de Canterbury p.m. Bertrand the trumpeter and John the trumpeter.

Prests to Squires

f.74 Prests to John de Neuton, harper, one p.m. Nicholas, harper.

f.75 Prests to Nicholas, harper.

Prests to Adam, harper, two p.m. Nicholas, harper.

f.75v Prests to Master John Drake, waferer.

(adjac)

Three prests to Guillotus de Morle, harper, the second p.m. Nicholas, harper.

f.78v Prests to Alexander de Windsor, Robert de Finchesle and Adam de Skirewith, the king's *vigiles*.

[36]

f.79v Prests to John de Depe, trumpeter, one p.m. Nicholas, harper.

f.80 Prest to Adam, *vigilis*.

(adjac)

Prest to Alexander, *vigilis*.

(adjac)

f.80v Prest to Robert de Finchesle, *vigilis*, in money owed to him for his expenses during the king's stay at Odyham in the month of January.

Prests to Richard de Blyda, king's trumpeter, one p.m. Robert de York.

(adjac)

Prests to Robert de York, trumpeter.

f.81 Prest to John de Depe, trumpeter, for his equipment bought for the war in Scotland.

f.81v Prests to Nicholas, harper.

(adjac)

Prest to Robert, King of the Herald.

Prest to Nicholas de Eland, the king's harper.

Prest to John de Newenton, the king's harper.

(adjac)

Prest to Geoffrey de Windsor, the king's *vigilis*.

f.82 Prest to Nicholas, harper, p.m. John de Newenton.

Prests to Alexander de Windsor, Adam de Skirewith and Geoffrey de Windsor, the king's *vigiles*, all p.m. the said Alexander.

f.82v Prests to Alexander de Windsor, Adam de Skirewith and Geoffrey de Windsor, the king's *vigiles*.

f.84 Prests to Robert, *vigilis*.

f.96 Prests to Master John, trumpeter of the Prince of Wales.

31 Ed I; Add 17360. Controller's Accounts

[37]

*Prests*²⁸

f.40v Prest to John, the king's harper.

f.42 Prest to Alexander de Windsor, *vigilis*.

²⁸ All the prests here calendared from this document are for the purchase of hay, corn, etc.

(adjac)

The same to Robert de Finchesle, *vigilis*, p.m. Alexander de Windsor

(adjac)

The same to Adam Skirwy, *vigilis*, p.m. Alexander de Windsor.

f.43v Several prests to William, the king's harper.

Prest to John de Staunton.

f.44v Prests to Bandettus, the king's taborer, one p.m. William, the king's harper.

31 Ed I: E101.363.10. Controller's Accounts, 19 March – 5 April

Prests to Squires

f.9 Prest to Master John Drake, the waferer.

Gifts

f.11v Gift of 10.0d to Janinus de Rodes, an organist coming to England in the company of certain nobles of Flanders and making his minstrelsy before the king and queen at Ogerston on the day of the Annunciation of the Blessed Mary: Ogerston, 25 March.

31 Ed I: E101.363.18. Household of the Prince of Wales, Controller's Book

[38]

Necessaries

f.5 Payment for two tabors bought for fowling (*pro ripar'*) at 7.0d and 4.0d respectively, and sent to the prince at Marleberge: also 23.0d for ninety small horns bought to be used with the tabors for the same purpose, and sent to the prince: 10 December.

Payment of 13.4d to Reginald the waferer for a pair of obley-irons bought by him for the wafers afterwards made for the prince: 5 January.

f.5v Payment of 7.6d to Master John, organist of Earl Warrenne, for 15 lbs of tin bought by him for the prince's organs (afterwards made and repaired in the prince's manor at Langley against the arrival there of the king and queen in the month of February), and for other small things bought by him there: also 6.9d for the expenses of his horse and groom for the nine days in which they remained at Langley to repair the said organs, at 9d per day.

f.6v Payment to Reginald the waferer for his expenses in taking cloth and shoes from London to the Court at Blyda for thirty paupers on the day of the Lord's Supper: London, April.

f.18 Teguaeth le crouther appears amongst fourteen footmen of the prince's Welsh household given money for shoes for the whole year.

Reginald the waferer appears in a similar list of valets.

Gifts

f.21 Gift of 4.0d from the prince to Robert Gaunsille, minstrel, making his minstrelsy before the prince: Newbury, 1 December.

Gift of 10.0d from the prince to Robert, the prince's *vigilis*, making his minstrelsy before the prince at Marlberge: Marlberge, 9 December.

6.8d to three clerks of Windsor, coming to Court at Warneborne, for certain interludes played there on the eve of Epiphany in the presence of the prince and other lords, of the prince's gift when they left: 7 January.

Gift of 6.8d to Henry de Northampton and his four [39] companions, boys, coming from Windsor to the Court at Warneborne, and serving in the prince's Chapel there at the feast of Christmas: Warneborne, 7 January.

13.4d to Jakeminus de Cateloyne, the nakerer, minstrel of the prince, going from Court to his own district, of the prince's gift for his expenses: Windsor, 7 February.

f.21v Gift of 13.4d from the prince to Richard de Tikhull, trumpeter, making his minstrelsy before the prince at Clipston for three days in the month of March: Clipston, 28 March.

²⁹13.4d to Gerard the violist, minstrel of Dns de Sutting, coming to the prince at Stradle from the lands of his lord and making his minstrelsy before the prince, of the prince's gift at his departure: Stradle, 7 April.

Gift of 20.0d from the prince to Amandus, minstrel of Dns Ernardus de Gardinis, similarly making his minstrelsy before the prince: Stradle, 7 April.

Gift of 12.0d each to Thomasinus the violist, John Garsie and John de Cateloyne, trumpeters, and John the nakerer, minstrels of the prince, making their minstrelsy before the prince at Neubotel on the day of the Holy Trinity, of the lord's gift for four black cloaks of his livery bought for them.

²⁹ In the marginal heading, Gerard and Amandus are described as "minstrels of Flanders".

Gift of 3.0d to Janinus the nakerer, minstrel of the prince, for skins bought for his nakers, being covered and repaired: Stradle, 11 April.

f.22 Gift of 16.0d to John the nakerer and Janoche the trumpeter, minstrels of the prince, making their minstrelsy before the same lord at Newcastle on Tyne, for two tunics bought for them: Newcastle on Tyne, 6 May.

40.0d to Bestrudus and Beruche, violists of Geneva, making their minstrelsy before the prince at Newcastle on Tyne and Durham for two days in the month of May, and returning to their own district, of the prince's gift for their expenses in returning: Newcastle on Tyne, 9 May.

f.22v Gift of 13.4d from the prince to Janinus de Cateloyne, [40] the prince's trumpeter, to buy himself a trumpet of copper (? - *de cupio*): Dunfermelyn, 7 November.

f.23 Gift of £10.0.0d to John le Leutour, minstrel, to help in making himself a home in London: 27 January.

To Master John Garsie and John de Cateloyne, trumpeters, and Janotus the nakerer, minstrels of the prince, a gift of 33.0d from the prince, to pay for three hauberks and three iron gorgets bought and delivered to them: Rokesborough, May.

Gift of 76.0d from the prince to Bestruche, minstrel of Geneva, remaining in London, on the prince's instructions, for 102 days in the months of July, August, September and October after the prince's departure for Scotland, for his expenses during that time.

32 Ed I: Add 8835

Qui non sunt

f.39 Details of the wages of Nicholas de Doncaster and John Crakestreng, trumpeters of Earl Warrenne, remaining in the king's household at the command of the king.

Shoes

f.40v Money for summer and winter shoes to John le Taburer, *sometar' vessole* of the Almonry.³⁰

³⁰ He was perhaps in charge of the horses used for transporting vessels and plate.

Gifts

f.42 Gift of 40.0d to Robert, King of the Herald, making his minstrelsy before the king: Dunfermline, 1 January.

(adjac)

Gift of 20.0d to William Trenchant, herald, making his minstrelsy before the king: Dunfermline, 1 January.

Gift of 20.0d to John, the organist of Earl Warrenne, [41] making his minstrelsy before the king: Dunfermline, 21 February.

5.0d to Basculus, crossbowman, in money paid by him to five Scottish harpers who met the king on the roads above *Sabulones* between *Dovar'* and Sanford on the 6 March: St Andrew's, 12 March.

f.42v Gift of 26.8d to Nicholas de Doncaster and John Crakestreng, trumpeters of Earl Warrenne, to buy themselves two horses: Stirling, 14 May.

Gift of 4.0d to various violists, *Timphanist'* and other minstrels (of Perth), coming before the king when he left St Johnstone, and making their minstrelsy.

f.43v Gift of 1/2 mark each to Nigel Beymer, Andrew de Clidesdale and Gilbert Bride, Scottish trumpeters following the king from Stirling as far as Yetham, to assist in their expenses in returning to their own district: Yetham, 22 August.

Several payments, totalling £7.15.11d, for robes, a horse, etc., given to John the messenger (*menestrallus* in margin-heading) of the Earl *Saband'*, on his return to his own district after coming to England to the king to tell of the war between the kings of France and Flanders.

f.44 Gift of 40.0d to John de Greyndon, minstrel of the Bishop of Durham, making his minstrelsy before the king on the day of the Translation of St John: Brustwyk, October.

Gift of 5.0d to Guillotus, harper of the Bishop of Durham, bringing a falcon to the king from the district of his master, and keeping the falcon for some time while helping in the king's daily affairs (? - *iuverando per dietas Regis*) between Alverton and Beverley, and afterwards given leave by the king to return to his own district.

Gift of 50.0d to Robert de York, the trumpeter, to buy trumpets for himself and his fellow, in money paid out to him at Newcastle on Tyne on his going to London in search of the same, and for his expenses in returning to the king: 29 January.

f.44v Gift of 13.4d to John, messenger of Earl *Saband'*, for a hackney bought for him.

[42]

30.0d to Master John de Claxton for money paid out by him on the instructions of the Bishop of Chester, Treasurer of England, to King Druet, John de Maunte, Arnulettus the violist, John de Swansea, James de Mazon and other minstrels, making their minstrelsy before the lady Mary, the king's daughter.

Replacement of Horses

f.51v Payment to Master John Drake, the waferer, for the replacement of a horse at Dunfermline.

Wages to Squires

f.68 Details of wages to Adam Skirewith, the king's *vigilis*, in the war in Scotland.

Falconers

f.69 Payment of 15.0d for five tabors for fowling bought on the king's instructions for his falconers, at 3.0d each.

f.69v Total of 36.0d paid for six tabors for fowling bought on the king's instructions at 4.2d each; for a *sattus* (-um?) and a *flassetus* (-um?) bought for covering and *cuissand'* the same tabors (2.0d); for a horse carrying the tabors from London to York, and for the wages of a groom coming with the horse and keeping the tabors (9.0d): November.

Robes

f.112 Money to Master John Drake, waferer, for a winter robe.

f.114v Money to Adam Skirewith, *vigilis*, for a robe for the whole year.

f.117 Money to Master John Drake for a summer robe.

f.119 No money to John le Leutour for a summer robe this year, because he was absent from Court at Pentecost.

Jewels and Plate

f.127v The inventory includes two silver trumpets.

[43]

33 Ed I: E101.368.6

Qui non sunt

f.8v Prest to Gunradus, *gigator*, according to instructions in the Wardrobe, for *busta et littera*³¹ for him and his fellow.

Prests to Squires

f.11 Three prests to Adam, the king's harper.

f.12 Three prests to Geoffrey de Windsor, *vigilis*.

(adjac)

Prest to Robert de Finchesle, *vigilis*.

Three prests on wages and expenses to Adam de Skirewith, *vigilis*.

Three prests on the same to Master John Drake, waferer.

f.12v Three prests to Hugo de la Rose, harper.

f.13 Prests to the king's harpers, viz., to Gillotus de Morle, John de Newenton, Hugo de la Rose and Adam de Clyderowe, p.m. the said Gillotus.

Gifts

f.21 Gift of 20.0d to Master John de London, trumpeter: Branston, 10 January.

The same to John, his son.

f.21v Gift of 20.0d to John, trumpeter of Dns Robert *filius Pagani*, making his minstrelsy before the king on the day of Epiphany: Wymborn, 6 January.

(adjac)

A gift (amount not given) to Meliorus, harper of John Mautravers, harping before the king on the said day: Wymborn, 6 January.

(adjac)

Gift of 20.0d each to Henry and Gonradus, the king's *gigatores*, to buy themselves a robe each: Kingston in Dorset, 2 January.

³¹ C.f. p. 24, above.

[44] Among miscellaneous membranes collected at the back of this document are two containing prests of 33 Ed I. These include a prest to Hugo de Lincoln, *vigilis*.

33 Ed I: E101.367.16. Controller's Accounts

Prests to Squires

f.5 Prest to Adam de Cliderhou, harper, for a livery of cloth to him.

f.16 Three prests to Geoffrey de Windsor, the king's *vigilis*, the third p.m. Adam de Skirewith.

Prest to Master Elias, harper.

f.16v Three prests to John de Newenton, the king's harper, the second p.m. Adam de Cliderhou.

f.17 A prest each to Geoffrey de Windsor and Alexander de Windsor, the king's *vigiles*, both p.m. Robert de Finchesle.

f.17v Prest to Hugo de Lincoln, the king's *vigilis*.

f.18 Prest to Hugo de Lincoln, p.m. Adam de Skirewith.

f.19 Several prests to Geoffrey de Windsor, two p.m. Robert de Finchesle.
(adjac)

Several prests to Hugo de Lincoln, two p.m. Robert de Finchesle.

Several prests to John de Newenton, harper, one p.m. Simon de Hylles, his groom.

f.19v Prest to Hugo de Lincoln, *vigilis*.

33 Ed I: E101.367.17. Livery Roll

m.5 A garment for when they get up at night (? - *ad insurgend' de nocte*) to each of four *vigiles* of the king, viz., Adam, Robert, Hugo and Geoffrey.

[45]

34 Ed I: E101.369.11. Keeper's Book

f.42 Expenses of the lady Mary, the king's daughter; £48.11.2d in gifts to minstrels and others.

f.93v The list of servants of various offices includes John le Taburer of the Almonry.³²

Gifts

f.95 Gift of £11.0.0d to Henry and Conrad, the king's *gigatores*, to replace their two horses lost in the king's service, in arrears for the robes that they have, and for other necessities.

Gift of £10.0.0d each to the same for their expenses in returning to their own district, p.m. the said Henry: Westminster, 7 June.

f.96 30.0d to Bestulphus and Bertuchus, minstrels of Geneva, staying in London to await the coming of the lord Edward the king's son, Prince of Wales, coming from the parts of Scotland in the month of August, *anno* 32, of the prince's gift for their expenses in staying there for fifteen days in the said month.

200 marks given to King Robert and other Kings of the Heralds, and to other minstrels such as harpers, violists, trumpeters and various other minstrels making their minstrelsy before the king and other nobles being at Westminster on the day of Pentecost, that is, the day on which the lord Edward the king's son, Prince of Wales, was knighted; of the gift of the said prince on the instructions of the king: London, 23 May.

(adjac)

£37.4.0d to Richard de Whiteacre, Richard de Leyland, harpers, and various other minstrels making their minstrelsy before the king and other nobles on the 25 May, on which day Joan, daughter of the Count of Baar, was married to Earl Warrenne, and on the 26 May, on which day Eleanor, daughter of the Earl of Gloucester, was married to the younger lord Hugo le Despenser in the king's Chapel at Westminster: London, May.

f.98v Gift of 20.0d each to Henry and Conrad, the king's *gigatores*, to buy themselves two robes: Kingston in Dorset, 2 January.

[46]

f.99v Gift of 60.0d to John Monet, minstrel of Dns Robert *filius Pagani*, making his minstrelsy before the king on the day of Epiphany: Wymburn, 6 January.

Gift of 20.0d each to Master John the trumpeter and John his son, staying in Court for Christmas and then returning to London: Branston, 10 January.

³² See above, p. 40 and n. 30.

Gift of 20.0d to John, trumpeter of Dns Robert *filius Pagani*, for playing his trumpet to the king on the day of Epiphany: Wymburn, 6 January.

(adjac)

Gift of 40.0d to Meliorus, harper of John Mautravers, harping before the king on the day of Epiphany: Wymburn, 6 January.

f.100 Gift of $\frac{1}{2}$ mark to John de Staunton, the king's *vigilis*, for the purchase of various instruments: Luchet Mautravers, 8 February.

f.100v Gift of 60.0d to Conrad le Peper, *gigator*, coming to the king on the orders of the King of Germany and staying in England for a time during the months of March and April, for his expenses in staying there, given leave to return to his own district: Wynton, 10 April.

Gift of 14.0d to John de Staunton, the king's *vigilis*, to buy himself a robe: Wynton, 18 April.

f.101 10 marks to Nicholas de Caumbray, violist of the King of France, coming to England from his own district to the festivities of the lord Edward, the king's son, newly knighted on the feast of Pentecost at Westminster, of the king's gift on his return to his own district: Westminster, 28 May.

Replacement of Horses

f.102 Two payments to Adam de Cliderhou to replace horses.

f.102v To Henry and Gunradus, the king's *gigatores*, minstrels of Germany, remaining in Court on the instructions of the king and making their minstrelsy at the king's will, of the king's gift in payment for necessities bought for them in the years 30, 31, 32, 33 and 34 Ed I, £12.18.8d.

f.103v Gift of 100.0d to Allelmus, minstrel, for him and his [47] wife, in money delivered to him at the Exchequer by command of the Treasurer: 16 June.

Gift of 73.4d to Capiny, King of the Heralds, for the price of a horse: 16 July.

Wages of Squires

f.113v Details of the wages of Guillotus de Morleye, harper, in the war in Scotland.

(adjac)

Similar details of the wages of Guillotus de Morleye.

Robes

f.156 Money for a winter robe to Master John Drake, waferer.

f.159 Money for a robe for the whole year to John le Leutor, because he was out of Court at Christmas.

f.159v Money for a robe for the whole year to Adam Skirewith, *vigilis*.

Money for the same to Hugo de la Rose.

f.163 Money for a summer robe to Master John Drake, waferer.

f.165 Money for a summer robe to John le Leutor.

f.165v Money for a summer robe to Hugo de la Rose, harper.

Money for summer and winter robes to Adam de Cliderhou, harper, for the years 31–34 Ed I inclusive, except for his winter robe for 32 Ed I, when he was not in Court for Christmas Day.

f.177v The inventory of Chapel jewels and plate for 33 Ed I includes two silver trumpets.

Prests to Squires

f.202v Three prests to Hugo de Lincoln, *vigilis*, the third p.m. Adam Skirewith.

(adjac)

The same to Geoffrey de Windsor, *vigilis*, the third p.m. Adam Skirewith.

(adjac)

[48]

Prest to John de Staunton, *vigilis*, p.m. Adam de Skirewith.

Prest to John the trumpeter and John his son, for their expenses in coming to the king at the king's command and remaining in Court.

f.203 Prest to Geoffrey de Windsor and John de Staunton, *vigiles*.

(adjac)

Prest to Hugo de Lincoln, p.m. Geoffrey de Windsor.

Another prest to Hugo de Lincoln, *vigilis*.

Prests to the king's *vigiles*, viz., John de Staunton, Hugo de Lincoln and Geoffrey de Windsor. Robert de Finchesle's name is cancelled.

f.203v Prest to Master John de London and John his son, trumpeters.
 (adjac)
 Prest to King Capiny.
 (adjac)
 The same to King Robert, King of the Heralds.

f.204 Three prests to Geoffrey de Windsor, *vigilis*.

Two prests to John de Staunton, *vigilis*.

f.204v Prest to John de Newenton, harper, p.m. Guilotus de Morle.

Four prests to Hugo de Lincoln, *vigilis*.

(adjac)

Three prests to Geoffrey de Windsor, *vigilis*.

(adjac)

Four prests to John de Staunton, *vigilis*.

(adjac)

Two prests to Master John Drake, waferer.

f.205v Prest to Geoffrey de Windsor and Hugo de Lincoln, the king's *vigiles*.

[49]

34 Ed I: E101.368.27³³

Wages to Squires

f.19 Details of the wages of John le Leutor.

f.20 Details of the wages of Adam Skirewith, *vigilis*.

Details of the wages of Master John Drake, the waferer.

f.20v Details of the wages of Hugo de la Rose.

f.21 Details of the wages of Adam de Cliderhou, harper.

f.21v Details of the wages of Robert de Finchesle.

f.22 Details of the wages of Guillotus de Morleye.

Qui non sunt

³³ Probably the Controller's accounts: c.f. E101.369.11, above.

f.46v Prest to Gunradus, the king's *gigator*.

f.47v Another prest to Conrad, *gigator*.

Prests to Squires

f.58v Three prests to Adam Skirewith, *la Gayte*.

f.59 Two prests to Hugo de Naunton, harper.

(adjac)

Two prests to Adam de Cliderhou.

f.60 Several prests to Master John Drake.

Three prests to Hugo de Lincoln, *vigilis*, the third p.m. Adam Skirewith.

(adjac)

Three prests to Geoffrey de Windsor, *vigilis*, the third p.m. Adam Skirewith.

(adjac)

Prests to John de Staunton.

(adjac)

[50]

Another prest to John de Staunton, p.m. Adam Skirewith.

f.61v Prest to Guillotus de Morle, harper.

f.62 Prest to John the trumpeter and his son, on their wages both past and to come, both for their expenses in coming to the king at the king's command and on their wages for staying in Court.

f.62v Prest to John the waferer.

Prest to Adam the harper.

(adjac)

Prest to Hugo de Newenton, harper.³⁴

f.63 Prest to Adam, Robert de Finchesle, Geoffrey de Windsor and John de Staunton, the king's *vigiles*. Also a prest to Hugo de Lincoln, p.m. Geoffrey de Windsor.

f.63v Prest to Hugo de Lincoln, *vigilis*.

Prest to Adam Skirewith, John de Stanton, Robert de Finchesle, Hugo de Lincoln and Geoffrey de Windsor, the king's *vigiles*.

³⁴ Probably Hugo de Naunton, not an error for John de Newenton.

Prest to Adam de Cliderowe and Hugo de la Rose, the king's harpers, p.m. the said Adam.

Prest to Master John Drake, the waferer.

f.64v Two prests to Robert de Finchesle, *vigilis*, the second p.m. Adam Skirewith.

f.65 Prest to Hugo de la Rose, the king's harper.

Prest to Master John de London and John his son, trumpeters.

Prest to King Capiny.

(adjac)

The same to King Robert, King of the Heralds.

[51]

f.65v Three prests to Adam, the king's harper.

f.66 Three prests to Geoffrey de Windsor, *vigilis*.

(adjac)

Prest to Robert de Finchesle, *vigilis*.

Three prests to Adam Skirewith, *vigilis*.

f.66v Three prests to Master John Drake, waferer.

Three prests to Hugo de la Rose, harper.

Two prests to John de Staunton, *vigilis*.

f.67 Prest to William de Morle, the king's harper.

Prest to Guillotus de Morle, John de Newenton, Hugo de la Rose and Adam de Cliderow, the king's harpers, p.m. the said Guillotus.

f.68 Four prests to Hugo de Lincoln, *vigilis*.

(adjac)

Three prests to Geoffrey de Windsor.

(adjac)

Four prests to John de Staunton, *vigilis*.

(adjac)

Three prests to Adam Skirewith. Also payment for a winter robe (marginal note).

f.68v Three prests to Robert, *vigilis*.

Two prests to Master John Drake, waferer.

f.69v Three prests to Robert de Finchesle.

f.70 Prest to Adam Skirewith, Geoffrey de Windsor and Hugo de Lincoln, the king's *vigiles*.

Prest to Master John Drake, waferer.

f.70v Prest to Robert de Finchesle, *vigilis*.

34 Ed I: E101.368.12. Accounts of the household of Thomas and Edmund, the king's sons

[52]

Necessaries

f.3 11d to Martinettus the taborer, for the repairing of drums of the king's sons and for moneys paid by him for parchment for the covering of the said drums: London, 18 November.

Gifts

f.4v To William de Salisbury, waferer, being in the household of the lords Thomas and Edmund, the king's sons, to serve them in his office, and taking his leave to go to his own district because of infirmity, in reward for his service and labour, of the gift of the same lords, 3.4d: Windsor, 6 December.

To Martinettus the taborer and William and John the trumpeters, minstrels of the lords, making their minstrelsy in the presence of the same on the vigil and day of Epiphany on account of the king's celebrations, of the gift and favour of the said lords, 20.0d: Windsor, 6 January.

(adjac)

To Stephen de Northampton, *vigilis*, sent on the orders of the queen mother from Windsor to Kingston in Dorset to remain in the household of the same queen, a gift of 6.8d from the lords for his service and labour in their household.

(adjac)

To Michael the trumpeter and Matthew the crowder, minstrels of the lord Prince (of Wales), making their minstrelsy in the presence of the lords, 5.0d of the gift of the same: Northampton, 18 November.

Robes

f.5 Money to various valets, including William Barbitonsor, for an annual robe.

The list of minstrels and grooms given money for the same includes Stephen, *vigilis*, Martinettus the taborer, Richard the trumpeter and John his fellow.

Money to William Barbitonsor and the minstrels as above for winter and summer shoes.

f.8 Winter liveries to the household: details of cloth for robes to the minstrels, viz., William Barbitonsor, John the trumpeter, William his fellow and Martinettus the taborer.

[53]

34 Ed I: E101.369.6. Roll of payments and gifts to minstrels at Pentecost

This list is printed in Botfield/*Manners*, pp. 141–45; to Botfield's excellent transcription I have added the hands by which payments were made. A few words appeared under ultraviolet light from the five lines which Botfield found illegible, and they are here transcribed.

Payments (in French)

5 marks each to

The King of Champagne, p.m. King Capenny.

King Capenny.

King Baisescue.

King Marchis.

King Robert, p.m. Artoys.

60.0d to

Philip de Caumbereye, p.m. King Capenny.

4 marks each to

Robert de Boistous, p.m. King Capenny.

Gerard de Boloigne, p.m. King Capenny.

40.0d each to

Bruant.

Northfolke.

20.0d each to

Carlton, p.m. Bruant.

Master Adam le Boscu.
Devenays.

30.0d each to³⁵

Artisien.
Lucat, p.m. King Capenny.
Henner.

40.0d each to

The minstrel of Dns de Montmorency, p.m. King Capenny.

[54]

King Druet.
Janin le Lutor, p.m. Gauteron le petit.
Gillot le Sautreour, p.m. Gillot the king's harper.
Gillet de Roos, p.m. Richard de Haleford.

1/2 mark to

Jack de Vescy.³⁶

40.0d each to

Richard de Haleford, p.m. himself.
Le Petit Gauteron.
Bandet le Tabourer.³⁷
Ernolet, p.m. Bandettus le Tabourer.
Mahu, who is with the lady de Baar.
Janin de Brebant.
Martinet, who is with the Earl of Warwick, p.m. Bandettus le Tabourer.
Gauteron le Grant.

10.0d to

The harper of the Bishop of Durham.

2 marks each to

William the harper, who is with the Patriarch.
Robert de Clou.
Master Adam de Reve.
Henri le Gigour.
Corraud, his companion, p.m. Henry le Gigour.
The third Gigour.
Gillot the harper.
John de Newenton.

³⁵ The total for these three is £4.10.0d, not £4.0.0d, as in Botfield's transcription.

³⁶ This entry is an insertion in the list of those paid 40.0d.

³⁷ Not "Baudec", as Botfield has.

Hugethun the harper, their companion.
 Adekin, his companion.
 Adam de Werintone.
 Adam de Grimshaw, p.m. Robert de Clou.
 Hamond Lestivour, p.m. King Druet.³⁸
 Mahuet, who is with Dns de Tounny, p.m. King Druet.
 John de Mochelneye.
 Janin the organist.

[55]

1 mark each to

Simond le Messenger, p.m. King Druet.
 The two trumpeters of the lord Thomas de Brotherton, p.m. Richard the violist.
 Martinet le Tabourer, p.m. Richard the violist.
 Richard Rounlo.
 Richard Hendelek.
 Janin de la Tour, his companion, p.m. John the waferer.
 John, the king's waferer.
 Pilke.
 Januche) Trumpeters of the lord Prince (of Wales), p.m. Gillot, trumpeter.
 Gillot)
 The nakerer.
 The gitarer.
 Merlin.
 Thomasin, violist of the Prince, p.m. Gillot the trumpeter.
 Raulin, who is with the Earl Marshal.
 Esvillie, who is with Dns Peter de Maule.
 Grendone.
 The taborer of the lady Audham.
 Gaunsaille, p.m. Richard the violist Reunlo.
 William *sanz maniere*.
 Lambyn Clay.
 Jack de Mascun.
 His companion, p.m. James de Mascoun.
 Mahu du North.
 The minstrel with the bells.
 The three minstrels of Lord Hastings, p.m. Cosin and Markin (Maskin, Mascoun?).
 Thomelin de Tounleie, p.m. Robert de Clou.
 The two trumpeters of the Earl of Hereford.
 Perle in the eghe.
 His companion.
 Janyn le Sautreour, who is with Lord Percy.

³⁸ An "estivour" is probably a bagpiper.

The two trumpeters of the Earl of Lancaster.
 Mellet.
 Henri de Nushom.
 Janyn le Citoler.
 (This list totals forty people in all.)

20.0d each to
 William.
 Fairfax.
 Monet.
 Hancock de Blithe.

[56]

These payments total £114.10.0d, out of the 200 marks allocated for payments to minstrels on this occasion. The remaining £18.16.8d was then given to certain people to share out as they thought fit, viz., to King Baisescu, King Marchis, King Robert, King Druet, Gauteron le Graunt, Gauteron le Petit, Martinet the violist who is with the Earl of Warwick, and of the Prince's household, two sergeants at arms and ... (a?) clerk.³⁹

Dorse.

(p)	a (M)at(ild') (M)ak(e)Joie per (J) de (C)otingham	(2)s.
(p)	a Mellers per (R) Beisescu	1/2 mar'.
(p)	a Janin() de (La)nnoe Trompour	1/2 mar'.
p	a (Thome) doo' vilour	1/2 mar'.
p	a 5 mei s (...) principis cuilibet	2s

Then follows a legible list, in French, *a ceux 11 por toute la comune* £13.4.8d:

Richard the harper, who is with the Earl of Gloucester.

³⁹ The roll is cut here. It is not clear if it was Martinet the violist or the two sergeants at arms who belonged to the prince's household.

The first items on the dorse may show how the remaining money was shared out, although the payments total only £14.16.8d, and the first five lines are in Latin, not French. These first lines are given here in the original, and are transcribed for the first time. Letters enclosed in brackets are either conjectural or very doubtful: my extensions of scribal contractions are underlined. Part of the fifth line is lost where the parchment has been damaged.

Walter Bracon, trumpeter.
 Walter the trumpeter.
 John the crowder.
 Tegwaret the crowder.
 Geoffrey the bagpiper (*le Estivoour*).
 Guillot the taborer.
 Guillot the violist.
 Robert the violist.
 Jake de Vescy.
 Richard de Whiteacre.

[57]

Gifts (in Latin)

5.0d to the violist of the lady de *Wak'*.
 1/2 mark to Laurence the harper.
 1/2 mark to John du Chat, with Dns J. de *Bur'*.
 5.0d to Mellers.
 5.0d to Little William, organist of the Countess of Hereford.
 1/2 mark to Richard de Whiteacre, harper.
 1/2 mark to Richard de Leylonde, harper.
 5.0d to Carltone, herald.
 1/2 mark to Gillotus, violist of the Earl of Arundell.
 5.0d to Amekyn, the prince's harper.
 5.0d to Bolthod.⁴⁰
 5.0d to Nagary, the prince's crowder.
 5.0d to Matthew the harper.
 5.0d to John le Barber.
 1/2 mark to the two trumpeters of J. de Segrave.
 5.0d to Richard, violist of the Earl of Lancaster.
 40d each to:
 John, waferer of the Earl of Lancaster.⁴¹
 Sagard, crowder.
 William de Grymesar', harper.
 the harper of the Countess of Lancaster.
 the two minstrels of J. de *Ber*(wyke?).
 Henry de Blida.
 Richard, harper.
 William de Duffield.
 10.0d to five boy trumpeters of the prince (2.0d each).
 20.0d to four *vigiles* of the king, at 1/2 mark each (probably the total is wrong).
 (blank) Adinet the harper.

⁴⁰ Not "Bolthede", as Botfield has.

⁴¹ The expansion should be "waffrario", not "waffrarario", as Botfield has.

(blank)	Perotus the taborer.
2.0d to	Adam de Swylyngtone, harper.
12d to	David the crowder.
2.0d to	Lion de Normanville.
12d to	Gerard.
2.0d to	Richard the harper.
3.0d to	Robert de Colchester.
12d to	John the crowder of Shrewsbury.
12d to	John, violist of Dns J. Renaude.
[58]	
2.0d to	John de Trenham, harper.
2.0d to	William Woderove, trumpeter.
2.0d to	John, harper of J. de Clyntone.
12d to	Walter de Brayles.
12d to	Robert, harper of the Abbot of Abingdon.
(blank)	Geoffrey, trumpeter of Dns R. de Monte Alto.
2.0d to	Richard, his fellow.
2.0d to	Thomas the crowder.
2.0d to	Roger de Corleye, trumpeter.
12d to	Audoenus the crowder.
2.0d to	Hugo Daa, harper.
2.0d to	Andrew, violist <i>de Hor'</i> .
12d to	Robert de Scarborough.
3.0d to	Guillotus, taborer of the Earl of Warwick.
3.0d to	Paul, minstrel of the Earl Marshal.
2.0d to	Matthew, waferer of Dns R. de Monte Alto.
9.0d to	three various minstrels, at 3.0d each.
2.0d to	Geoffrey, harper of Earl Warrenne.

The last items on this list are at the top right of the roll, next to the list of the eleven paid "for the whole company":

12d to	Matilda Makejoy.
12d to	John, trumpeter of Dns R. <i>filius Pagani</i> .
12d to	Adam, harper of Dns J. Lestraunge.
12d to	Reginald le Menteur, minstrel of Dns J. de Buteturt.
12d to	Perle in the Eghe.
10.0d to	Gillotus, harper of Dns P. de Malo Lacu.
40d to	Robert Gaunsillie.
$\frac{1}{2}$ mark to	Jacke de Vescy.
(Cancelled entry, omitted in Botfield's transcription, of $\frac{1}{2}$ mark to King Capigny.)	
6.0d to	Master Walter Leskirmissour and his brother, each 3.0d.

At the bottom are four cancelled French entries, without sums of money:

The two trumpeters of Mons. Thomas de Brotherton.
 Martinet the taborer.
 Richard the violist.
 Raulin, who is with the Earl Marshal.

[59]

34 - 35 Ed I: E101.369.16

(Prests)

f.9v Prest to King Capiny on the price of cloth and fur delivered to him.

(adjac)

The same to King Robert.

(adjac)

The same to Adam, the king's harper.

(adjac)

The same to Hugo, the harper.

(adjac)

The same to John, the harper.

f.10 Prest to John Drake, waferer, on the price of cloth delivered to him.

f.10v Prest to King Capiny on the price of cloth delivered to him.

(adjac)

The same to John de Neweton.

(adjac)

The same to Adam de Cliderhou.

(adjac)

The same to Hugo, the harper.

Qui non sunt

f.17v Prest to Thomas le Crouthere, going to Scotland with Dns John de Buteturte; details of his wages. (Probably not a minstrel.)

Prests to Squires, anno 35

f.26 Several prests to King Capiny, King of the Heralds of Scotland.

(adjac)

Several prests to John de London and John, his son, trumpeters, two p.m.
 John the son, one p.m. John de Staunton.

Four prests to King Robert, King of the Heralds.

f.26v Several prests to Hugo de Lincoln, the king's *vigilis*, one p.m. John de Stanton and one p.m. Robert de Finchesle.

Several prests to Geoffrey de Windsor, the king's *vigilis*, two p.m. John de Staunton, one p.m. Adam de Skirewith, and one p.m. Robert de Finchesle.

(adjac)

[60]

Several prests to Robert de Finchesle, the king's *vigilis*, one p.m. John de Staunton and one p.m. Adam de Skirewith. (Cancelled entry)

Several prests to John de Staunton, the king's *vigilis*.

f.27v Many prests to John de Newenton, harper, one p.m. Adam de Cliderhou.

f.31v Prest to John de Newenton, harper.

The above entry repeated and cancelled.

27 – 35 Ed I: E101.357.15. Debts of the Wardrobe

Anno 27: *Wages of Squires*

f.2 £7.10.1 1/2d owed to Nicholas, harper.

Anno 30

f.7 £6.2.0d owed to Henry le *Gigor*.

Anno 35 (*or earlier?*)

f.13v 32.3d owed to William the trumpeter.

(adjac)

9.2d owed to John the trumpeter.

8.11d owed to John, *vigilis*.

f.17 £13.10.0d owed to Adam, *vigilis*.

f.21 £30.2.1 1/2d owed to Master John Drake, waferer.

f.21v £8.9.6d owed to Adam de Cliderhou, harper.

f.22v 4.11d owed to Guillotus de Morleye.

f.23v £21.14.6 1/2d owed to Robert de Finchesle.

f.24v £13.8.7d owed to John, *vigilis*.

£4.11.4d owed to Thomas, violist.

[61]

f.25 110.2 1/2d owed to Robert de Clouth.

£4.6.3d owed to John the organist.

(adjac)

£4.19.4d owed to John the nakerer.

3.10 1/2 d owed to Bandettus the taborer.

f.26 6.0d owed to Reginald the waferer.

f.27 18.0d owed to Richard, *vigilis*.

35 Ed I - 1 Ed II:⁴² E101.370.16. Journal, 20 November, 35 Ed I - 17 July, 1 Ed II

f.1 22 November: prest to King Capiny.

Prest to John the trumpeter and John his son.

25 November: prest to King Robert.

Prest to Master John Drake. Payment to the clerk of the Pantry p.m. the said Master John.

Prest to Adam, *vigilis*, Hugo de Lincoln, Geoffrey de Windsor, Robert de Finchesle and John de Staunton, p.m. John de Staunton.

f.1v 26 November: prest to Hugo de Naunton and Adam de Cliderhou. Prest to John de Newenton p.m. the said Adam.

13 December: 40.0d to Guillotinus de vielles, minstrel of Dns de Rocheford, coming to England with the Duke of Brittany.

f.3v 24 December: prest to John the trumpeter and John his son. Prest to John de Newenton and Hugo de Naunton. The same to Adam de Cliderhou and Gillotus de Morle, p.m. the said Adam.

Prest to Adam Skirewith, Hugo de Lincoln and John de Staunton. Prest to Geoffrey de Windsor and Robert de Finchesle, p.m. Adam Skirewith.

[62]

f.4 26 December: prest to Master John Drake.

29 December: prest to King Robert.

⁴² Edward I died on 7 July, 1307, that is, the day after the last entry here calendared. All entries in the calendar of this document therefore belong to the year 35 Ed I.

30 December: prest to King Capiny.

f.4v 9 January: 1 mark to Richard de Walton, impoverished harper of the king's almoner, to buy himself a robe.

f.5 11 January: prest to Master John Drake, the waferer.

1 February: prest to John de Neuton and Guillotus de Morle.

Prest to King Capiny, King Robert, Adam de Cliderhou and Hugo de Naunton.

Prest to Master John, the waferer.

Prest to Master John the trumpeter and John his son.

f.6 2 February: prest to William *le Jittour* (perhaps some sort of minstrel?).

f.6v 4 February: prest to Adam Skirewith, Robert de Finchesle, John de Stanton, Geoffrey de Windsor and Hugo de Lincoln.

f.7 9 February: prest to John de Newenton.

11 February: prest to Guillotus de Morle.

f.8 23 February: prest to Guillotus de Morley, harper.

f.9 22 March: prest to John the trumpeter and his son.

26 March, Easter Day: prest to Hugo de Naunton, Guillotus de Morle, John de Newenton and Adam de Cliderhou, the harpers.

1 mark (a gift?) to Master John Drake, by command of the Bishop.

f.10v 15 April: gift of 60.0d to Bernard Gask', minstrel.

19 April: prest to Master John Drake.

21 April: prest to John de Newenton, Hugo de Karl'o and Guillotus de Morle.

22 April: prest to John, the younger trumpeter. The same to John the trumpeter, p.m. the younger John.

[63]

f.11 24 April: prest to Adam de Skirewith, Robert de Finchesle, Hugo de Lincoln, Geoffrey de Windsor and John de Stanton, p.m. the said Robert.

Prest to Adam de Cliderhou.

Prest to John de Neuton and Guillotus de Morle.

25 April: prest to John the trumpeter and John his son, p.m. John the son.
Payment to Master J. de Weston p.m. Richard the harper.

f.11v 26 April: prest to King Capiny.

f.12 4 May: money to John the trumpeter and John his son, for their robes.

f.12v 10 May: prest to John de Neuton.

15 May: prest to Master John Drake.
Prest to John the trumpeter and John his son.
Prest to John de Newenton, harper.

f.13 17 May: payment to Dns Thomas de Leybourne p.m. John de Newenton.

21 May: prest to Guillotus de Morle and John de Newenton, harpers.

22 May: payment to Dns Thomas de Leybourne p.m. John de Newenton.

f.13v 29 May: gift of 40.0d to King Capiny, John de Cressy and other minstrels performing miracle plays and making their minstrelsy before the queen, p.m. Guillotus de Psalterio.

f.14 Prest to Hugo de Lincoln, *vigilis*.

30 May: prest to Robert de Finchesle, *vigilis*. Prest to Hugo de Lincoln, *vigilis*.

f.15 13 June: prest to King Capiny.

f.16 21 June: prest to John the trumpeter and John his son.

Prest to Adam de Skirewith, Geoffrey de Windsor and John de Staunton, the king's *vigiles*.

Prest to Master John Drake.

f.16v 24 June: gift of 40.0d to William Sangmaide, minstrel [64] of the Earl of Gloucester, making his minstrelsy before the king.

f.17 4 July: prest to John de Stanton, Adam de Skirewith and Geoffrey de Windsor, *vigiles*. Prest to John the trumpeter and John his son.

f.17v Prest to Master John, the waferer.

6 July: prest to John de Neuton.

1 Ed II: E101.373.15

f.5 Several prests to William the trumpeter.

f.5v Three prests to Janinus the nakerer.

(adjac)

Three prests to Janinus the trumpeter.

Three prests to Richard Pilke, the first p.m. Helen, his wife.

Two prests to Janinus the organist.

f.6v Three prests to Master Robert de Clough, harper.

f.7 Prest to Thomas the violist.

Prest to Richard the violist.

f.7v Prest to John, *vigilis*.

Prest to Nicholas de Ranti, the king's minstrel.

(adjac)

Prest to Thomasinus the violist.

(adjac)

Prest to Richard the violist.

f.14v Details of wages to Yevan and Ithel, Welsh trumpeters.

f.15v Details of wages to Yevan and Ithel, Welsh trumpeters.

f.17v Details of wages to Yevan and Ythel, Welsh trumpeters.

f.19 Gift of 20.0d each to William de la Quenheth, Janin the trumpeter, Januche the nakerer and Janin the organist, the [65] king's minstrels, making their minstrelsy before the king at Dunfres, 10 August, p.m. the said William: Dunfres, 10 August.

40.0d to Yevan and Ythel, Welsh trumpeters, making their minstrelsy before the king at Minewhare, 17 August, at the feast which the Earl of Cornwall held there; by the gift and favour of the same king.

(adjac)

Gift of 20.0d to Master John, minstrel ("trumpeter" in margin heading) of the Earl of Lancaster, making his minstrelsy before the king at the said feast: Minewhare, 17 August.

f.20 Gift of 40.0d to Richard de Blida, the trumpeter, making his minstrelsy before the king at Clipston, 17 September, to help him to build a home at Blida: Clipston, 17 September.

f.20v Gift of 20.0d to Yevan and Ithel, Welsh trumpeters, remaining in Court from 2 September until 1 October and making their minstrelsy before the king during that time, on their leaving Court: Lenton, 1 October.

Gift of 20.0d to Master Robert de Clough, the king's harper, making his minstrelsy before the king for a night: Nottingham, 4 October.

f.21 £20.0.0d given by the king and his council to various minstrels making their minstrelsy before the king on the feast of All Saints', that is, the day on which the Earl of Cornwall was married: Berkhamstede, 3 November.

Gift of 20.0d to Little Andrew, John Scot, Roger the trumpeter and Francekinus the nakerer, young minstrels of the king's household, being sent to London for some days in the month of July after the king's return towards Scotland, to buy themselves shoes and other necessaries during their stay in Doig'l (Dugale?) in the king's absence: 16 July.

(adjac)

f.21v Gift of 13.4d to Lambyn Clay, the king's minstrel, ill at London and remaining after the king's return from there, to help with the expenses of his stay: 18 July.

f.22 To Domicelle Semte and three other minstrels of the lord Ludwig of France and the lord Fotas de Merle, Constable of France, coming in the company of their said lords from the regions of France to London to the king and returning towards [66] their own district on the 12 November; a gift of 10 marks to divide between them to help with their expenses in returning to their own district: Shene, 12 November.

4 Ed II: E101.374.7. Journal, 8 July - 14 February

f.1 10 July: prest to John de Staunton and Hugo de Lincoln, *vigiles*.

f.3 30 July: payment to the clerk of the Pantry p.m. Richard Pilke, in money delivered to William de Boseham.

f.3v 4 August: gift of 100.0d, for his expenses, to Peter le Leutour, given leave to return to his own district.

f.5 20 August: prest to William de Alyesham, trumpeter.

f.6 3 September: 2.0d to Thomas de Pevesy, valet of the king's Chamber, for a *furellus* (-um?) bought by him for a certain harper named Willekyn Fox.

4 September: prest to John de Stanton and Hugo de Lincoln, *vigiles*.

f.6v 5 September: gift of 10 marks to King Robert, coming to the king from the regions of Scotland.

f.7 11 September: payment to the clerk of the Pantry p.m. Richard Pilke, in money delivered to William de Bosham, his groom.

f.9 15 October: prest to Hugo de Lincoln, *vigilis*.

f.9v 24 October: prest to Francekinus, nakerer.

f.10v 8 November: prest to John Scot, John de Kenynton and Francekinus the nakerer.

9 November: prest to John de Staunton and Hugo de Lincoln.

10 November: prest to Guillotus de Morle.

[67]

f.11 15 November: prest to the clerk of the Pantry p.m. Richard Pilke, in money delivered to William de Boseham.

f.11v 30 November: prest to Master Robert del Clough.

f.12 7 December: payment to the clerk of the Kitchen p.m. Richard the trumpeter.

f.12v 14 December: payment to the clerk of the Marshalsea p.m. Berdric le Leutour.

f.13v 28 December: gift of 40.0d to David de Baldok, *timponar'* of Earl Warrenne, making his minstrelsy before the king.

30 December: prest to Master Robert de Clough.

f.14 6 January: gift of 100.0d to John de Caghton, Robert le Harpeur and other clerks of the town of Berwick, playing (*ludentibus*) before the king.

Prest to William de Morle. Prest to Robert de Clough.

f.15 21 January: gift of $\frac{1}{2}$ mark to John le Wayte, groom of Dns Robert de Kendale, coming to the king with letters from his lord and returning with letters from the king.

4 Ed II: E101.373.30. Journal, 16 February – 7 July

f.2 8 March: prest to Hugo de Lincoln and John de Staunton.

f.2v 13 March: 31.6d to Grillo, minstrel, in money owed to him for his wages, *anno* 4, p.m. Cosin. Payment to the clerk of the Marshalsea p.m. Grillo, minstrel, in money delivered to Cosin.

f.3v 29 March: prest to John Scot and John de Kenynton, trumpeters, and Francis, nakerer, p.m. the said Francekinus.

30 March: payment to the clerk of the Marshalsea p.m. John de Kenynton.

f.4 8 April: payment to the clerk of the Marshalsea p.m. [68] John de Kenynton.

f.4v 11 April, Easter Day: payment to the clerk of the Marshalsea p.m. John de Kenynton.

14 April: payment to the clerk of the Marshalsea p.m. Cosin, minstrel.

f.5 15 April: payment to the clerk of the Marshalsea p.m. the Prioress of Coldstream, for hay brought from her, by a tally delivered to John de Kenynton.

21 April: payment to the clerk of the Marshalsea p.m. John de Kenynton.

23 April: payment to the clerk of the Marshalsea p.m. John de Kenynton.

f.5v 28 April: prest to John Scot and John de Kenynton, trumpeters, and Francekinus, nakerer.

29 April: prest to Hugo de Lincoln, given leave by the king to go to his own district.

f.6 9 May: two payments to the clerk of the Marshalsea, both p.m. John de Kenynton.

f.6v 13 May: payment to the clerk of the Pantry p.m. Janotus de Brye, the queen's waferer.

f.7v 14 June: gift of 20.0d to John de la Tour, trumpeter of Dns Henry de Bello Monte.

4 Ed II: E101.374.5*Wages to Squires*

f.29 Details of wages to John, the organist.

f.33v Details of wages to Robert Chaunceler, *vigilis*.

Details of wages to William le Sautreour.

[69]

f.34 Details of wages to Richard Pilke, the king's waferer.

f.34v Details of wages to William, trumpeter: account made *anno* 9, with Margery, his wife.

Prests to Squires

f.87v Three prests to Hugo de Naunton, the second p.m. Walter, his groom.

f.88v Three prests to John de Staunton, the king's *vigilis*.

Four prests to Hugo de Lincoln, the king's *vigilis*.

f.90 Several prests to Robert del Clough.

f.90v Several prests to William de Morle.

Two prests to Francekinus, nakerer.

Prest to Janinus Scot, trumpeter.

Prest to John de Kenynton, trumpeter.

4-5 Ed II: E101.373.26

f.2 Payment to the clerk of the Pantry and Buttery p.m. Richard Pilke, the king's waferer.

f.2v Payment to the clerk of the Pantry and Buttery p.m. Richard Pilke in money delivered to Helen, wife of the same Richard.

f.3 Payment to the clerk of the Pantry and Buttery p.m. Richard Pilke.

Payment to the clerk of the Pantry and Buttery p.m. William de Bosham, on the office of Richard Pilke, the king's waferer.

f.3v Payment to the clerk of the Pantry and Buttery p.m. Richard Pilke, in money delivered to William de Bosham.

f.4v Payment to the clerk of the Pantry and Buttery p.m. Richard Pilke, the king's waferer.

[70]

f.5 Payment to the clerk of the Pantry and Buttery p.m. Richard Pilke, the king's waferer.

Wages to Squires

f.24 Details of the wages of Robert the harper.

f.24v Details of the wages of Elias de Garsynton, harper, first admitted to the king's wages 27 January, *anno* 5.

f.26 Details of the wages of William the trumpeter.

f.26v Details of the wages of Richard Pilke.

f.27 Details of the wages of John de Staunton, the king's *vigilis*.

Prests to Squires

f.71v Three prests to Hugo de Lincoln, the king's *vigilis*.
Three prests to John de Staunton, the king's *vigilis*.

f.73v Prest to William de Morle.

f.76 Prest to Thomas the violist.

f.76v Prest to Geoffrey de Merton, *vigilis*.
(adjac)
prest to John de Kenynton, trumpeter.
Prest to Janinus Scot, trumpeter.
(adjac)
Prest to Francekinus, nakerer.

f.77v Prest to Geoffrey de Merton, *vigilis*.

3-5 Ed II: Nero C viii

Anno 4

(pencil foliation)

f.3 Details of wages to Reymundus Arnald de Rycan, *Cosyn menestrallus*.

(adjac)

[71]

Details of wages to Grillo, minstrel.

f.8v Debt of 57.0 ¹/₂d to John the organist, for wages and robes.

Anno 3

f.31v Payment of debts for wages, robes and his office to Richard Pilke, the king's waferer.

f.42v Money for wages and robes to William the trumpeter: account made with Margery the trumpeter, *anno 9*.

(adjac)

Debt for the expenses of the Wafery owed to John de Brya, the queen's waferer.

(ink foliation)

Anno 5

f.82 Gift of 20.0d to Perrotus de la Launde, minstrel of Dns Hugo de Nevill, making his minstrelsy before the king: 19 July.

f.84v Gift of 40 marks to King Robert and other minstrels, making their minstrelsy before the king and other nobles in the house of the Friars Minor at York on the day of the purification of the lady Margaret, Countess of Cornwall, p.m. the said King Robert, receiving money to divide between them: York, 20 February.

(adjac)

Gift of 40.0d to William, minstrel of the Earl of Champagne (? - *Campanie*), making his minstrelsy before the king: 23 February.

f.86 Gift of 40.0d to King Robert for taking pearls to the king from his own district: Newcastle on Tyne, 25 April.

f.86v Gift of 20.0d to Graciosus, the king's minstrel, making his minstrelsy before the king: Hoveden, 30 June.

Gift of 20.0d to Janin the trickster (*le Tregettour*), making his minstrelsy before the king in his chamber at the Priory of Swineshead, p.m. Janin the nakerer: Swineshead, 7 July.

[72]

f.87v Gift of 20.0d each to Peter Duzedeys, Roger the trumpeter and Janin the nakerer, the king's minstrels: 29 January.

(pencil foliation)

f.112v Money for a winter robe for Robert the harper.

f.113 Money for a winter robe for William the trumpeter.

Money for a robe for the whole year for John de Staunton, *vigilis*.

f.118v No money for a summer robe for Robert the harper.

Money for a summer robe for Elias de Garsynton, harper.

Anno 5: Household of the Queen

Wages to Squires

f.131v Wages to John de Brye, waferer.

f.132v Details of wages to Robert Chaunceler, vigilis.

f.141v Winter robes to John de Brye, waferer.

f.142 Robes for the whole year for Robert Chaunceler and Richard de Burewardesle, *vigiles* of the queen's household.

5 Ed II: E101.374.16

p.3 Prest to Robert, King of the Minstrels.

p.4 Prest to King Robert, taborer, and his four companions, soldiers of the garrison of Berwick.

5 Ed II: E101.374.14. Queen's Household, Livery List

p. 7 Cloth for (?winter and) summer robes, *anno 5*, for [73] Merlin, violist, the queen's minstrel.

(adjac)

A similar livery for John Psaltator, the queen's minstrel.⁴³

6 Ed II: E101.375.8

Gifts

f.27v Gift of 3.0d to John de Bolon' (Bologna?), the Lombard, making his minstrelsy with snakes before the king: Canterbury, 16 August.

f.29 Gift of 40.0d to Ooghmus (?), minstrel of the Earl of Pembroke, making his minstrelsy before the king in Windsor Castle: Windsor, 12 October.

f.29v To Ivo Vala the citoler and Thomas Dynys, his fellow, of the king's gift, in the price of two hackneys bought and given to them, £4.6.8d. To the same in the price of two saddles bought at Canterbury and given to them, 11.0d. Sum: £4.17.8d: Canterbury, 20 May.

f.30 Gift of £7.3.1d to Jakeminus de Mokenon, the king's minstrel, making his minstrelsy before the king: St. Richerus, 28 May.

Gift of 10.0d to Peter de Duzedeis, the king's minstrel: Pontis'am, 1 July.

Gift of 40.0d to Hurellus, minstrel of the King of France, on his return to the said King of France: Maubusshon, 7 July.

f.30v Gift of 20.0d to William Craddock, crowder, making his [74] minstrelsy before the king: Paris, 6 June.

f.32 Gift of 40.0d to Bernard the Fool and 54 companions ("minstrels of France" in margin heading), coming before the king with rejoicing (*tripudium* - dancing?), p.m. the said Bernard: Pountois, 19 June.

5 - 6 Ed II: E101.374.19. Household of Thomas and Edmund, the king's brothers: 30 September, 5 Ed II - 29 September, 6 Ed II

Gifts

f.8 Gift of 13.4d to King Druet, violist, and John Perle, trumpeter, minstrels of the Earl of Gloucester, making their minstrelsy in the presence of the lords: Strogil, 31 December.⁴⁴

⁴³ A livery-list of winter robes is on pp. 10 ff, so that this list may be for summer robes only. Although this document is almost illegible, however, there appear to be no minstrels, *vigiles* or waferer in the list of winter liveries.

Gift of 5.0d to William de Hereford, harper, formerly of Dns John Ap'lldam, making his minstrelsy in the presence of the lords: the same place and date.

Gift of 13.4d to Robert de Framelyngham, harper, and John, his companion, and Richard Dassa, minstrel of the Countess Marshal,⁴⁵ coming in the company of the said Countess, making their minstrelsy in the presence of the lords: Framlingham, 15 June.

(adjac)

f.8v 2.0d to Matilda Makejoie, dancer (*saltatrix*), making her minstrelsy in the presence of the lords, of their gift at the wish of the lord Thomas: Framlingham, 24 June.

(adjac)

Gift of 20.0d to William Pilke,⁴⁶ the king's waferer, [75] and Helen his wife, minstrels, serving their wafers at the tables of the lords and their household, making their minstrelsy in the presence of the said lords, and taking their leave to go to the lord the king (being in the northern regions): Framlingham, 24 June.

Shoes

f.11 Winter shoes, *anno* 5: the list of valets includes John, *vigilis*, Gilbert, trumpeter, and John de Carlisle.

Summer shoes, *anno* 5: the list of valets includes John, *vigilis*, Gilbert, trumpeter, and John, his fellow.

Liveries

f.15 Cloth for Christmas robes, *anno* 5: the list of valets includes John, *vigilis*, Gilbert, trumpeter, and John de Carlisle, his fellow.

9 Ed II: E101.376.7. Controller's Book, 8 July - 31 January

Gifts

⁴⁴ This item was found too late to be included in Chapter I. It adds a definite example of a minstrel-king employed by a noble other than the king (see p. 37, i, above), and gives us a violist raised to Kingship.

⁴⁵ The Latin does not make it clear whether all three minstrels, or only Richard Dassa, were minstrels of the Countess: all three of them had come in the Countess's company, however.

⁴⁶ An error for Richard Pilke.

f.40 Gift of 37.4d to Roger the trumpeter and Arnold the trumpeter, minstrels of the king, playing (*ludentibus*) before the king between Woburn and Newport Pagnell, in the price of cloth and fur for two robes made for them: Lincoln, 1 September.

f.40v Gift of 100.0d to Nicholas de Renty, minstrel, for compiling (? – *conferens*) for the king a book of the life and times (*de moribus et vita*) of the lord king Edward, his father: Clipston, 8 November.

f.43 Gift of 12.6d to Arnulphus the trumpeter, being the price of cloth for a robe made for him: Denne, 5 October.

f.43v Gift of 3.4d to Hugo, the fool: Lincoln, 30 August.

40.0d to Richard de Blida, trumpeter, first renewed (? – *recens primus*) to the king's wages on 2 November, *anno* 9, [76] of the gift of the same king made to him at Tykhill the same month, *ad vitio'* a horse bought for him.

Wages and Expenses of various Falconers and Huntsmen

f.83 To Richard de Blida, trumpeter, sent out of Court by the king to various parts of the counties of York and Lincoln to hire crane-catchers and other fowlers (? – *Grues et alia volatilia*) for the king's works, for his expenses for the 37 days during which he was out of Court (dates given), at 4 ¹/₂ d per day on the Marshal's roll, 13.10 ¹/₂ d.

Robes

f.87 Money for a winter robe for Robert (*sic*) Pilke, the king's waferer, amongst liveries to servants of the Pantry and Buttery.

f.90v Money for a winter robe for Richard the trumpeter (squire).

f.91v No money for a robe for the whole year for John Mauprine (squire), because he was out of the Court at Christmas.

Robes for the Queen's Household

f.93 Money for a robe for the whole year for Robert de Baumburgh, the queen's *vigilis*.

(adjac)

The same for Robert Chaunceller, the queen's *vigilis*, by account made with Robert de Baumburgh.

William le Sautreour is one of twelve squires of the queen receiving no money for winter robes because they were out of Court at Christmas.

Money for a robe for the whole year for John de Bria, waferer.

The same for Janotus le Sautreour, the queen's minstrel.

(adjac)

The same for Dominic le Guttarer, the queen's minstrel.

Debts

f.123 60.0d owed to Richard Pilke, the king's waferer (squire), [77] for his robes *annis* 8 and 9.

f.123v £4.18.1 1/2 d owed to Hugo de Naunton (squire) for the same.

f.129 107.3d owed to Robert Chaunceler (squire) for his wages and robe, *anno* 9.

£12.1.9d owed to John de Bria, the queen's waferer (squire), for wages and robes *anno* 9, and in money owed to him for his office.

53.4d owed to Janotus le Sautreour (squire) for robes *annis* 8 and 9.

(adjac)

53.4d owed to Dominic le Guttarer for the same.

36.10 1/2 d owed to William le Sautreour for robes *anno* 8.

13 Ed II: Add 17362 and E101.378.4. Keeper's Book

Add 17362

Shoes

f.21 Adam Wafrer, amongst servants of the Pantry and Buttery, is one of 54 valets given money for winter shoes.

E101.378.4

f.1 Adam Waffrer, one of two *portitores* of the Pantry and Buttery, is amongst 54 valets of the king's household given money for summer shoes.

Wages in War-time

f.22 Details of wages of John Scot, trumpeter.

(adjac)

The same details for Roger, trumpeter.

f.23 Details of wages of William Timparon, *soldarius* (probably not a minstrel).

[78]

Wages to Soldiers-in-arms in the Scottish War

f.30 Details of wages of Brian the waferer.

Add 17362

Gifts

f.31 Gift of 40.0d to William Corbet and his companion, trumpeters, minstrels of the Earl of Arundell, making their minstrelsy in the presence of the king in his chamber at the Friars' Minor at York: York, 24 October.

f.32 Gift of 40.0d to John de Brabancia, minstrel of the Count of Esshe and Doring, coming to the king with news of his son, *qui disponavit filiam Markesij de Mas*: Sturreye, 19 March.

20.0d in gift to Henry de Neusom, harper,⁴⁷ making his minstrelsy before the king for a few days: Westminster, 11 April.

f.33v Gift of 33.2 1/2 d to King Robert to pay for his robes (details given) for Pentecost.

(adjac)

Gift of 24.9d to Tusset, minstrel of the King of France, for his robes (details given) for Pentecost.

The same to Trumellus, minstrel of the King of France.

Robes

f.57 Amongst 57 squires *sine sociis* given money for winter robes are John Scot, trumpeter, Roger, trumpeter, John, nakerer, and Richard Pilke.

f.57v Robes for the whole year (still squires *sine sociis*) to Ivo Vala, Reymund Cosyn, Thomas the citoler, Reginald Lenginur, Robert Chauncellier and John de Petrestre.

f.58 Robes to servants of the Pantry and Buttery: Adam Wafrer described as *portitor*.

⁴⁷ "A certain" harper in the margin heading: he was not at this time a royal minstrel.

f.62 Money for summer robes to the following squires *sine sociis*: John de Bria, John Scot, trumpeter, Roger, trumpeter, [79] John, nakerer, Laurence *le Cornour*, William the harper, Richard Pilke and (f.62v) Hugo de Naunton.

14 Ed II: Add 9951. Controller's Accounts

Gifts

f.19 Gift of £20.0.0d to Robert, King of the Heralds, and other minstrels of the King and kingdom of France, making their minstrelsy at the feast of the lord the king in his tent at Ambrianus (? - *in festo d'n'i Regis tento Ambrian'*): Ambrianus, 8 July (*anno* 14).

f.20 Gift of 20.0d to Walter le Cornour, minstrel of the Bishop of Exeter, making his minstrelsy in the king's presence in his chamber at Westminster: Westminster, 19 January.⁴⁸

f.21 Gift of 10.0d each to William Corbet and Walter the trumpeter, minstrels of the Earl of Arundell making their minstrelsy before the king in his chamber in the castle of Devizes: Devizes, 26 April.

Gift of 20.0d to Merlin the violist, minstrel of the Earl of Richmond, making his minstrelsy in the presence of the king: Westminster, 12 May.

f.22 Money to Richard Pilke for the replacement of a horse.

15 - 17 Ed II: Stowe 553. Keeper's Accounts, 1 May, 15 Ed II - 19 October, 17 Ed II

Wages in War-time

f.58v Details of wages to John Scot, trumpeter.

(adjac)

[80] The same to Roger, trumpeter.

f.59 Details of wages to William, harper.

Gifts

⁴⁸ This item was found too late to be included in Chapter II. On the question of the types of instrumentalist employed by the clergy (see above, i, pp. 80 f), this adds an *haut* instrumentalist to those already discussed.

f.67 Gift of 10.0d to Roger the harper and John Bisshop, minstrels of the Bishop of Ely, making their minstrelsy in the king's presence: York, 1 May, *anno* 15.

Gift of 40.0d to Robert, harper of Berwick, making his minstrelsy in the king's presence: Selby, 14 June.

f.68 Gift of 20.0d to Sourelius, *timpanistrarius* of the Earl of Louth in Ireland, making his minstrelsy before the king: York, 28 October.

Gift of $\frac{1}{2}$ mark to Ranulphus the trumpeter, valet of Dns Antony de Lucy, carrying letters to the king from his master: Newark, 23 January.

f.68v Gift of 13.4d to Ranulphus, trumpeter, bringing letters from his master and returning with letters from the king: Knaresborough, 15 March.

Replacement of Horses

f.69v Money to Richard Pilke, servant of the wafery of the king's household, to replace a horse.

Money to William, harper, to replace a horse.

f.70v Money to John Scot, trumpeter, to replace a horse.

Money to Henry de Neusom to replace a horse.

Summer Robes, anno 15

f.103 Money to Richard Pilke, servant of the wafery.

f.104v Money to Roger, trumpeter, John Scot, trumpeter, John, nakerer, Laurence *le Cornour*, William, harper, and John Briays.

Winter Robes, anno 16

f.105v Money to Richard Pilke, the king's waferer.

[81]

f.107 Money to Roger, trumpeter, John Scot, trumpeter, John, nakerer, Laurence *le Cornour*, Henry de Neusom, harper, and Roger de Northlegh, trumpeter.

(adjac)

Money for a robe for the whole year to Robert Chaunceler, John de Petrestre and John Harding, *vigilatores*.

Summer Robes, anno 16

f.108 Money to Richard Pilke.

f.109v Money to Roger, trumpeter, John Scot, trumpeter, Roger de Northlegh, trumpeter, John, nakerer, Laurence *le Cournour* and William, harper.

Gifts

f.128 Gift of 40.0d to Peter de Tempes, minstrel of Dns Hugo de Boyville, Chamberlain of the King of France,⁴⁹ making his minstrelsy in the king's presence: Pickering, 17 August.

f.153 Payments for wages and robes to squires of the king's household, including Roger, trumpeter, John Scot, trumpeter, John, nakerer, William, harper, Laurence *le Cornour*, John Brieyes, Roger Crouder, Roger de Northlegh, Robert Chaunceler, John Petrestre and John Harding.

17 Ed II: E101.379.19. Controller's Journal, 23 October - 7 July

f.2 23 November. *Necessaries*: payment to John le Trumpour of Nottingham for 24 iron-bound tankards, each of 1/2 gallon, bought from him at Nottingham for the Buttery.

f.4v 28 December. *Gifts*: gift of 20.0d each to Thomas le Barber and Robert Polidod, minstrels of the Bishop of Ely, making their minstrelsy before the king at Christmas: Kenilworth.

[82]

f.6v 18 January. *Necessaries*: 1/2 mark each to Robert Chaunceler, John de Petrestre and John Harding, the king's *vigiles*, for their winter tunics for their night vigils, that are usual in the winter season: Gloucester.

f.9v 16 April. *Gifts*: gift of 26.8d to John Briseionk, minstrel of the lord Robert (brother of the Duke of Burgundy), making his minstrelsy before the king: Langele.

f.12 27 May. *Necessaries*: money for winter shoes to various servants, including Hugo the harper and (f.12v) Nicholas Waffrarius of the wafery: Westminster.

⁴⁹ Peter is described as "minstrel of the King of France" in the margin heading.

f.13v 10 June. *Gifts*: gift of $\frac{1}{2}$ mark to Adam le Dragon, minstrel, making his minstrelsy before the king: Westminster.

17 – 18 Ed II: E101.380.4 (French). Controller's Journal. Chamber Accounts, 16 April, 17 Ed II – 21 May, 18 Ed II

(17 Ed II)

f.5 27 April: gift of 40.0d to Richard Pilke and Helen, his wife, going on a pilgrimage (? – *alamitz er pelrinage*).

f.11 24 June: gift of 40.0d to Master Richard Dorre, violist, Vala, citoler, and Henry de Neusom, harper.

(18 Ed II)

f.16v 16 September: gift of 20.0d to Nicholas, harper of Lady Camoyse.

f.21v 13 December: 6d to John the trumpeter for a *pikois*.

f.22 23 December: payment to William le Wayte of Nottingham for six pieces of iron (? – *peces de fer*) bought from him.

f.22v 6 January, Epiphany: gift of 50.0d to the king's minstrels.

Gift of 2.0d to Little Alein, the minstrel who plays (*qui soefle*) on the hornpipe.

[83]

13 January: gift of 20.0d to Henry de Neusom, the king's harper, and Richardyn, the king's violist, for their expenses towards their lodgings (*chambre*).

f.26 24 February: gift of 20.0d to Thomelyn Sautriour of London, who played (*qui sautera*) to the king in his chamber at the Tower.

f.28 16 March: payment to Adam Kembester, Thommelyn Seviund and Hykeman, harper, coming in the company of John Pyke, valet of the king's chamber, for their wages (details given) during their passage by sea from Normandy to the Tower.

f.31 11 April: gift of 5.0d to Vala, the king's citoler, for his expenses in going to Lonstel.

f.33 6 May: gift of 6.8d to Roger, the king's trumpeter, for his expenses in going to Northampton.

f.34 17 May: details of wages to various people, including the Wayte of Theneye.

20 Ed II: E101.381.6. Keeper's Accounts?

Debts for Wages, annis 19 and 20

f.4 2.5d owed to Roger, trumpeter
(adjac)
3.4d owed to Laurence *le Cornour*.

f.4v 9.2 1/2 d owed to Henry de Neusom.
(adjac)
3.9d owed to Ivo Vala.
(adjac)
5.8d owed to Richard the violist.
(adjac)
5.8d owed to Thomas the violist.

f.5 5.8 1/2 d owed to John de Petrestre.

3.9d owed to King William of the Heralds.

10.7 1/2 d owed to Jennanus, harper.

[84]

f.5v 5.8 1/2 d owed to Ferrandus, trumpeter.

1 - 2 Ed III: E101.383.8. Controller's Accounts

(pencil foliation)

Prests

f.9 Prest on the price of a horse to Roger the waferer.

f.10 Prest to Robert Polydod for arrears of his wages.

Prest to John Mauprine, piper, for arrears of his wages.

Debts

f.17v 102.2d owed to John Scot, trumpeter, for his wages.

(adjac)

£6.16.9d owed to John, nakerer, for the same.

73.6 1/2 d owed to Radulphus *le Gayte* for the same.

13 1/2 d owed to Nicholas de Wycombe for the same.

53.8 1/2 d owed to Egidius, trumpeter, for the same.

59.8d owed to Roger de Northlee for the same.

£7.1.11d owed to Roger, trumpeter, for the same.

19.9 1/2 d owed to John Harding for the same.

9.10d owed to John de Hampton for the same.

f.18 60.11 1/2 d owed to William Harding for the same.

3.9d owed to Ivo Vala for the same.

5.3d owed to Thomas, violist, for the same.

f.18v 12d owed to John Scot for hay (probably not the trumpeter).

A total of 40d owed to Walter Gayt for hay (two adjacent [85] entries).

2 – 3 Ed III: E101.384.1. Controller's Accounts

Prests

f.11v Prest to Robert Polidod for arrears of his wages.

Prests on Fees and Wages in War-time

f.22 Prest to Roger de Northleye.

(adjac)

Prest to Clays, taborer.

(adjac)

Prest to William Harding.

(adjac)

f.22v Prest to Radulphus *la Gaitte*.

(adjac)

Prest to Egidius, trumpeter.

(adjac)

Prest to John Mauprine.
 (adjac)
 Prest to John, harper.

Debts to Officers of the Pantry and Buttery

- f.25 (Pantry) Debt to John Drake for corn.
 f.26 (Buttery) Debt to Cecily Drake for the same.

Debts to Servants of the Kitchen

- f.27 Debt to Radulphus Wayte for two pigs.

Debts to Servants of the Scullery

- f.29 Debt to Adam the trumpeter for firewood (? – *busca*).

Debts to Servants of the Chamber

- f.35 Debt to Heyne the harper for firewood.
 f.35v Debt to John Bisshop for hooks (? – *crochet'*).

[86]

Debts to Servants of the Marshalsea

- f.38 Two payments (not adjacent) to John Leut de Bekenfeld for *hu'es*.
 (adjac. second payment)
 Debt to John Horner for the same.
 f.42 Debt to John the harper de Northley for fodder.

4 Ed III: E101.385.4. Keeper's Livery Roll

The minstrels are Robert Polydod, Roger, trumpeter, Roger de Northley, Egidius, trumpeter, John Scot, John, nakerer, John, harper, Mauprine, Cleys, taborer, John Teyssamit, Thomas, citoler, John Vala, Henry Wyssh, Roger, waferer, Merlyn, violist, and Janyn, *sautreour*.

The vigiles are Radulphus *la Geyte*, John Harding and William Harding.

After the list of messengers and valets of the Chamber comes another list of minstrels, viz., Richard le Guyterer, John Malhard, Walter Cardinal and Roger de Braybrok.

With the roll are many memoranda of the receipt of cloth and fur for liveries, collected into two groups. Three of them concern minstrels:

First group, no. 24. Notice of receipt of cloth and fur for his robe by Richard Bottore, giterer: London, 2 August, 4 Ed III. His seal is attached.

First group, no. 30. Notice of receipt of cloth and fur by Ivo Vala for winter robes, *anno* 3, for himself and Thomas Citoler: London, 12 July, *anno* 4. His seal is attached.

Second group, no. 57. Notice of receipt of cloth and fur by John Harding for three winter tunics for himself and his two companions, *vigilatores*: London, 10 December, *anno* 4. His seal is attached: it is in a slightly better state of preservation than the others, and although the motto round the outside cannot now be read, the *motif* in the centre is undoubtedly a pair of crossed shawms.

[87]

4 Ed III: Rylands 234. Liveries of the Queen's Household

f.3 Payment for cloth (details given) for the winter tunic of the queen's *vigilis*, against the feast of Christmas.

f.3v Summary accounts for winter liveries include the *vigilis*.

f.18 Liveries for valets of the queen's household, including a tunic for Robert, the queen's *vigilis*, against the feast of St Mary Magdalene.⁵⁰

f.27 A robe each, against the feast of Christmas, to Merlin the violist and John *psalterion*, the queen's minstrels.

f.28 Liveries for Robert le Geyte, the queen's *vigilis*, for a winter robe and for another robe against the feast of Christmas.

5 Ed III: Rylands 235. Household of the Queen. Controller's Book

Gifts

f.17 Gift of 2.0d to John the violist and his companions, minstrels, making their minstrelsy before the image of the Blessed Mary in the vault of Christ Church, Canterbury, in the presence of the queen, p.m. the said John: Sturreye, 15 April.

⁵⁰ 22 July.

f.18v Gift of 26.8d to Mauprine and his companions, minstrels of the king, making their minstrelsy on the day of the marriage of Robert de Maule and Helen his wife, damsel of the queen's chamber, p.m. the said Mauprine: Barlings, 14 July.

Gift of 5.0d each to Cecilia, dancer, and Isabella Gerlond, waferer,⁵¹ making their minstrelsies before the queen, [88] p.m. the said Cecilia: Lincoln, 22 July.

(adjac)

Gift of 60.0d to John the nakerer, minstrel of the king: Lincoln, 23 July.

f.19 Gift of 60.0d to Merlin the violist, given leave by the queen to go to France, for his expenses: Rockingham, 18 August.

(adjac)

Gift of 68.0d to Hanekin de Bavaria and Hanekin de Cologne, *gigatores* of Germany, coming to England on the orders of the queen and remaining in Court for some time, for their expenses in returning to their own district: Rockingham, 23 August.

Gift of 2.0d to certain minstrels making their minstrelsy before the image of the Holy Cross in the north chapel of the cathedral church of St Paul, London, when the queen was making her oblations at the said Cross: Westminster, 5 October.

f.20 4.0d to John Perrot for money paid by him on the queen's orders for a saddle bought by him and given by the queen to Hanekin de Cologne, violist of Hanover, at Melton: in money paid to him (Perrot) at Windsor, 22 October.

6 Ed III: E101.386.7 and Add 38006⁵² Household of Eleanor, the king's sister, 18 April - 26 July

Necessaries

f.5v:5v Gift of 6.8d to two minstrels making their minstrelsy before the ladies and their household, being at Bruges: Bruges, 3 June.

[89]

Gifts

⁵¹ The margin heading here is *Quedam saltatrices* in the plural. We may therefore assume that Isabella was also a dancer.

⁵² These two documents correspond so closely that I have not calendared them separately. Both sets of folio-numbers are given, those of the P.R.O. document coming first.

f.7:8 Gift of 12d to various minstrels (“violists” in Add 38006), making their minstrelsy before the Cross in the north chapel of St Paul’s, London: London, 30 April.

(adjac)

Gift of 12d to a certain minstrel making his minstrelsy before the lady Eleanor on her journey between Ospring and Canterbury: 3 May.

Gift of 2.0d to various minstrels making their minstrelsy before the image of the Blessed Virgin in the vault of Christ Church, Canterbury: Canterbury, 4 May.

Gift of 10.0d to four minstrels making their minstrelsy before the lady Eleanor, coming from the sea as far as Leschises: Leschises, 6 May.

Gift of 13.4d to four minstrels of Aragon, coming to the lady Eleanor and making their minstrelsy before her: 7 May.

Gift of 13.4d to four women of Leschises, singing before the lady Eleanor at Leschises (3.4d each): 7 May.

f.7v:8v Gift of 6.8d to two minstrels of the district of Hoyland, coming from England as far as Novum Magium in the company of the lady Eleanor, for their expenses: Bruges, 8 May.

Gift of 60.0d to thirteen minstrels dancing (*tripudiant’*) and making their various minstrelsies before the lady Eleanor: Bruges, 10 May.

Gift of 12d to a certain minstrel called a bagpiper, meeting the lady Eleanor on her journey and making his minstrelsy before her.

(adjac)

Gift of 20.0d to four minstrels dancing (*tripudiant’*) and making their minstrelsy before the lady: Malines, 15 May.

Gift of 7.6d to William Cardinal, small minstrel of the King of England, coming from England to the district of *Gerl’*, p.m. Teysamitt: Boscum Ducis, 17 May.

(adjac)

Gift of 40.0d to John Teysamit, going from the district of Germany to the King of England, for his expenses: Boscum Ducis, 17 May.

(adjac)

Gift of £20.0.0d to various minstrels, making their minstrelsy before the lady Countess on the day of her marriage, p.m. Teysamit: Novum Magium.

[90]

f.8:(8v) Gift of 12d to Richard, violist, making his minstrelsy before the lady Eleanor: Rosendale, 23 May.

8 Ed III: E101.387.5. Controller's AccountsDebts

f.5v £4.2.0d owed to John Dare for wages and robes.
 £4.11.0d owed to Richard le Guyterer for the same.
 £4.11.0d owed to Godescalk, piper, for the same.
 £4.0.0d owed to Roger, trumpeter, for robes.
 £4.0.0d owed to Thomas, citoler, for the same.

f.6v 60.0d owed to Henry Whissh for the same.

60.0d owed to Ivo Vala for the same.

8 - 10 Ed III: Add 35181Debts

f.12 45.5d owed to Thomas Purchase for the replacement of a horse and for his robes.

f.12v Debt of £4.2.0d to John Dare for his wages and robes cancelled because he had been paid at the Exchequer.

(adjac)

£4.11.0d to Richard le Guyterer for the same also cancelled.
 £4.11.0d to Godescalk, piper, for the same also cancelled.
 £4.0.0d to Roger, trumpeter, for robes also cancelled.
 £4.0.0d to Thomas, citoler, for the same also cancelled.

f.13v 60.0d owed to Henry Whissh for his wages and robes cancelled.

60.0d owed to Ivo Vala for wages and robes.

[91]

8 - 11 Ed III: Nero C viii, f. 179-end. Controller's AccountsRobes

f.226 Money for winter robes, *anno* 8, to the following minstrels: Roger, trumpeter, John Scot, trumpeter, Egidius, trumpeter, Roger de Northle, John, nakerer, John Mauprine, Godscalk, piper, Janyn Dare, Richard, gitterner, Thomas, citoler, Robert Polydod, John Teissamit, Andrew Noreys, Henry

Wissh, Ranulphus Taillour, Thomas Purchase, John, harper, John Morleyns, Peter Gaffrer and William Marchis.

f.228 Money for summer robes, *anno* 9, to squires of the king's household, including Roger, trumpeter, John Scot, trumpeter, Egidius, trumpeter, Robert Polidod, John, nakerer, John Mauprine, Ranulphus Taillour, Thomas, citoler, Richard, gitterner, Godscalk, piper, Janin Dare, Thomas Purchase, John Morleyns, Peter Gaffrer, Henry Wissh, John Teisamit and Andrew Norreys.

f.229v Money for summer robes, *anno* 10, to squires, including Roger, trumpeter, John Scot, trumpeter, Egidius, trumpeter, Nicholas, trumpeter, Janin, nakerer, John Mauprine, Godscalk, piper, John de Morleyns, Thomas, citoler, Richard, gitterner, Janin Dare, Robert Polidod, Ranulphus Taillour, Thomas Purchase, Henry Whissh, John Teisand', Andrew Norreis and Peter Gaffrer.

f.231 Money for summer robes, *anno* 11, as before, to Roger, trumpeter, John Scot, trumpeter, Egidius, trumpeter, Nicholas, trumpeter, Robert Barber, trumpeter, Peter de Baion, trumpeter, J(ohn) de Swynflet, harper, Janin, nakerer, John Mauprine, Godscalk, piper, John de Morleyns, Thomas, citoler, Richard, gitterner, Janin Dare, Robert Polidod, Ranulphus Taillour, Thomas Purchase, Henry Whissh, John Teisand', Andrew Norreys and Peter Gaffrer.

Wages in War-time

f.235v Details of wages, *anno* 8, to the squires of the king's household: the list includes Roger, trumpeter, John Scot, trumpeter, Egidius, trumpeter, Robert Polidod, Janin, nakerer, John Mauprine, Thomas, citoler, Godscalk, piper, Janin Dare, Thomas Purchase and John de Morleyns.

Similar details for Roger de Northle, William Marchys [92] and Nicholas Wicombe.

f.239v Details of wage-increases to squires of the king's household, *anno* 9: the list includes Roger, trumpeter, John, trumpeter, Egidius, trumpeter, Nicholas, trumpeter, Robert Polidod, Janin, nakerer, John Mauprine, Thomas, citoler, Richard, gitterner, Godscalk, piper, Janin Dare, Thomas Purchase and John de Morleyns.

Similar details for William Marchis, William Harding, John Harding and Nicholas de Wicombe.

f.244 Wage-increases as before, *anno* 10, to Roger, trumpeter, Egidius, trumpeter, Nicholas, trumpeter, Robert Polidod, John, nakerer, Godscalk, piper, and Janin Dare.

Gifts

(*anno* 8)

f.268 Gift of 60.0d to Anthony, minstrel of the King of Aragon, making his minstrelsy before the king in his chamber at Hautclere, 12 August: Clarendon, 18 August.

Gift of 20.0d to John de Morleyns, the king's minstrel: 1 October.

f.269 Gift of 100.0d to Tussetus de Suavia and Conpatus, his companion, minstrels of the Duke of Bavaria, coming to the king at Rokesburgh and making their minstrelsy in the presence of the king and queen: 12 December.

Gift of 60.0d to Roger, trumpeter, and his fellows, the king's minstrels, on the day of Epiphany: 6 January.

Gift of 60.0d to John Scot, trumpeter, in compensation for losses (*injuries? - dampna*) sustained in taking his horse and supplies from Berwick to Roxburgh on the occasion of an invasion by the Scots: 10 January.

f.269v Gift of 30.0d each to Merlin the violist and Barberus, bagpiper, given leave of absence to go to the minstrel schools on the Continent, to help with their expenses: Newcastle, 14 February.

A similar gift of 40.0d to Morlanus, bagpiper, given leave to go to the minstrel schools.

[93]

(*anno* 9)

f.270 Gift of 20.0d to Bernard de Burdegala, minstrel of Dns de Ufford, riding with the king towards Canterbury, to replace a horse: Canterbury, 16 April.

f.270v Gift of 10 marks to various minstrels on the occasion of the purification of the Countess of Exeter (Oxford?).

Gift of 5.0d to various minstrels making their minstrelsy before the image of the Virgin in the vault of Christ Church, Canterbury, in the king's presence: (April).

Gift of a mark to John de Malo Passu, the king's minstrel.

f.272v Gift of £8.0.0d to Perotus de Insula, minstrel, and six companions, heralds and minstrels of the Earl of Juliers, on returning to the said Earl: Edinburgh, 10 September.

Gift of 13.4d to William le Waite de Bainnburgh: Berwick, 6 October.

Gift of 13.4d to Robert Druet, minstrel, making his minstrelsy before the king: Dodyngton, 1 November.

f.273 Gift of 60.0d to John Teissamit, the king's minstrel, on being given leave of absence to visit his home.

Replacement of Horses

f.274 Payment to John, nakerer, to replace a horse.

The same to Roger, trumpeter.

f.274v The same to John de Morleyns, minstrel of the king's household.

f.275 The same to John Perrot.

The same to Richard, gitterner.

The same to Thomas, citoler.

The same to Janin Dare.

[94]

Gifts

(*anno* 10)

f.276 Gift of 40.0d to Master John, minstrel of the King of Bohemia, on bringing the king four swords and a pair of gloves as a gift from his master: (March).

Gifts of 10.0d each to several of the king's archers, including William Crouder and Adam Waffrer, being given leave to visit their own regions: London, 17 April.

f.276v Gift of 20.0d to Nicholas de Wycombe, *vigilis*, to replace a horse: Guildford, 19 April.

Gift of 40.0d to Godescalcus, the king's minstrel, for the same: Guildford, 21 April.

Gift of 40.0d to Peter de Ruyte, minstrel from overseas: Guildford.

f.277v Gift of 20.0d to Godescalk, the king's minstrel, to help with the expenses of his service on horseback: Doncaster, 5 February.

f.278v Gift of 20.0d to Robert de Farebourn, *tympanistra* of Robert de Dosenill, constable of the castle of Pontefract, for playing to the king between

Pontefract and St Johnstone, from whom the king took his instrument and gave it to his own (the king's) *tympanistra*: St Johnstone, 3 July.

f.279 Gifts of 40.0d each to many squires, including Henry Whissh: St Johnstone, 5 August.

Gift of 20.0d to John Perot, *cornmuser de montvalour*, in compensation for his *tympanum*, which was broken by the king: St Johnstone, 5 August.

Replacement of Horses

f.280 Money to Roger, trumpeter, to replace a horse.

f.280v Money to Nicholas, trumpeter, for the same.

Gifts

(*anno* 11)

[95]

f.283 Gift of 40.0d to John de Boghland, crowder (*Crouth ministrallus*), of John de Pulteney, making his minstrelsy in the presence of the king between London and Hatfield, for his expenses: Westminster, 2 March.

(*adjac*)

Gift of £10.0.0d to Roger, trumpeter, and his companions, minstrels, making their minstrelsy at the feast of the recovery (? - *relevatio*) of the queen, p.m. the said Roger: Hatfield, 10 March.

f.283v Gift of $\frac{1}{2}$ mark to the *Rotour* minstrel of the Earl of Juliers, playing before the king at Westminster: 16 July.

f.284 Gift of 40.0d to Reginald *le Roter de Alemanum*, making his minstrelsy before the king in the Tower of London: (August).

f.284v Gift of 6.8d to John de Mees of Lorraine and Peter de Burgundy, minstrels of the queen, making their minstrelsy before the king at York, 14 May: the said place and date.

Replacement of Horses

Money to various officers, including Richard Gitterer and Robert Polidod, for replacing horses.

Debts

f.318 Money owed to various squires of the household at the time of the accounting (probably *anno* 14):

22.10 1/2 d owed to Janin, harper, for wages and robes.
 (adjac)
 f.318v £7.15.7d owed to John de Morleyens for the same.

20.0d owed to Robert Barber, trumpeter.
 (adjac)
 108.2d owed to Janin, nakerer.

£4.5.4d owed to John Perot.

[96]

10 – 12 Ed III: E101.387.25 (French) Household of the Black Prince. Keeper's Roll of Receipts and Liveries

Robes of the king's livery given to the minstrels of Wales *de Radyngges*, against the feast of Easter.

Details of livery given to a minstrel of Scharesull,⁵³ being with the Duke (of Cornwall, i.e. the Black Prince) in his illness.

11-12 Ed III: E101.388.9. Controller's Accounts 31 August, 11 Ed III – 11 July, 12 Ed III

Debts to Various Household Servants

f.30v £6.4.9d owed to Peter *le Gaffrer* for wages and robes.

f.31v Debts to the minstrels:

£3.8.0 1/2d owed to Roger, trumpeter, for wages and robes.

74.10 1/2d owed to John Scot, trumpeter, for the same.

105.8 1/2d owed to Egidius, trumpeter, for wages, robes and the replacement of horses.

f.32 72.4d owed to Nicholas, trumpeter, for wages and robes.

£14.16.11 1/2d owed to Robert Barber for the same.

75.11 1/2d owed to Peter de Baion for the same.

70.8 1/2d owed to John, nakerer, for the same.

69.7 1/2d owed to John Mauprine for the same.

48.5d owed to John Morleyens for the same.

46.6 1/2d owed to Thomas Purchase for the same.

55.11d owed to William Marchis for the same.

73.4d owed to Thomas, citoler, for the same.

74.1 1/2d owed to Richard, gitterner, for the same.

[97]

⁵³ Probably John de Scharesull, the harper.

74.11d owed to Godescalk, piper, for the same.

76.9 ¹/₂d owed to John Dare for the same.

56.1 ¹/₂d owed to John, harper, for the same.

63.6 ¹/₂d owed to William Harding, one of the king's *vigiles*, for the same.

Debts to Servants of the Pantry and Buttery

f.39 102.3³/₄d owed to John Kent de Stanes for ale (? – *cervis*).

Debts to Servants of the Chamber

f.62v Unspecified debt of 4d to Thomas the trumpeter.

11 – 12 Ed III: E101.388.5. Counter-Roll, August, 11 Ed III – 11 July, 12 Ed III

m.2 (actual) 2 January. *Gifts*: gift of 20.0d to Gilletus the trumpeter and Perottus, his companion, minstrels of the district of Gene, making their minstrelsy in the presence of the king and queen on the day of the Circumcision, p.m. Nicholas, trumpeter.

21 February. *Gifts*: gift of 40.0d to Radulphus de Estriche, *cornmuser*, making his minstrelsy before the king at Westminster.

m.5 (pencil numbering) 12 June. *Gifts*: gift of 10.0d each to Perotus and Janynus, minstrels of Queen Philippa, making their minstrelsy before the king.

Gift of 20.0d to John Dare and Richard Guyterer, minstrels, making their minstrelsy in the king's presence.

m.11 11 July. *Robes*: money for winter and summer robes for many servants, including Peter de Normard, waferer, and the minstrels, viz., Roger, John Scot, Egidius, Nicholas, Peter de Bayone, Robert Barber (all trumpeters), John, nakerer, Thomas, citoler, Richard, gitterner, Godescalk, piper, Janin Dare, John de Murleyns, *cornmuser*, John, harper, John de Schareshull, harper, John Mauprine, Robert Polidod, Ranulphus Taillour, Henry [98] Whissh, Thomas Purchas, William Marchis, John Teysamit and Andrew le Norreys.

Money for a robe for the whole year for several servants, including Nicholas de Wycombe, John Harding and William Harding, *vigiles*.

m.18 (still 11 July). *Gifts and Replacement of Horses*: gift of 40.0d to Egidius, trumpeter, to replace a horse.

12 Ed III: E101.388.12. Household of the Black Prince. Keeper's Roll of Winter Liveries

Liveries to various squires, including Morlinus, minstrel.

Dorse. Liveries to valets, including Roger le Wayte and Thomas le Waffrer.

14 Ed III: E101.389.6. Household of the Black Prince, Roll of Expenses

10 June. *Gifts*: gift of 2.0d to Nicholas the trickster (*le Tregetour*), minstrel: Babewell, 6 June.

15 July. *Gifts*: gift of 11d to John the Fool of Eltham.

19 August. *Gifts*: gift of 6.8d to Thomas the *gestour* of Newark: Reading.

23 September. *Gifts*: gift of 2.0d to a certain minstrel playing the organs before the prince at Claverton.

30 September. *Gifts*: gift of 12d to John the Fool of Eltham.

[99]

14 October. *Necessaries*: money to several servants, including Roger the Wayte, valet of the duke's household, for winter shoes, *anno* 13, and summer shoes, *anno* 14.

Money to Thomas the Waferer (in the same list).

No date. *Gifts*: gift of 2.0d to Roger, the duke's *vigilis*, for a fur bought for him for Christmas, *anno* 14.

12 - 14 Ed III: E36.203. Keeper's Book, 12 July, 12 Ed III - 27 May, 14 Ed III

Necessaries

f.94v 60.0d to Gerard, the queen's *vigilis*, sent to Paris on the king's business (*in neg' Reg'*) to investigate secretly the actions of Dns Philip de Valois for 40 days in the months of September and October, *anno* 12, at 18d per day.

f.95v Payment to Robert de Bosham for his *domibus conductis* for the king's waferer⁵⁴ during the months of July, August and September, *anno* 12.

Gifts

⁵⁴ Or perhaps "wafery". This entry may mean that Robert had taken over the waferer's job for the period stated.

(*anno* 12)

f.99 Gift of 13.4d to John de Bricell, minstrel of the Duke of Brabant: Antwerp, 30 July.

Gift of 40.0d to Conrad the trumpeter, minstrel of the Emperor of Germany, making his minstrelsy before the king: Antwerp, 9 August.

f.99v Gift of 10.0d to Peter Sifre and John Sautour, waferers, proffering their wafers to the king at his dinner at Antwerp in the presence of the Count of Juliers: Antwerp, 21 August.

Gift of 20.0d to Francis, violist, making his minstrelsy in the presence of the king: Antwerp, 22 August.

Gift of 100.0d to Conrad and Ancelinus, minstrels of [100] the Archbishop of Cologne, making their minstrelsy in the presence of the king in the hall where the said bishop consulted (? – *convinavit*) the king: Bu'ne (?), 25 August.

f.100 Gift of 100.0d to Master Ichell and his ten companions, minstrels of the Emperor, making their minstrelsy in the king's presence on the Island of Werd': Werd' Island, 28 August.

Gift of 40.0d to four minstrels of the said Emperor, meeting the king in the Emperor's barge between the Island of Werd' and Convalencia and making their minstrelsy there the same day (28 August).

Gift of 50.0d to Master Conrad, King of the Heralds, and his ten companions, minstrels of various magnates of Germany, being at the Island of Werd' in the presence of the king and making their minstrelsy there, p.m. the said Conrad, the same day (28 August).

Gift of 50.0d to Henry van Valbik and his five companions, minstrels of the Archbishop of Treverens, making their minstrelsy on the said Island, p.m. Godscalk, piper: Werd' Island, 28 August.

f.100v Gift of 26.8d to the King of the Heralds of Sprus, coming to the king from his own district with news of that district: Sitard, 1 September.

10.0d as a similar gift to the Marshal of the Heralds of the regions of Brabant, coming to the king as far as the said district: the same place and date.

$\frac{1}{2}$ mark to each of four minstrels of Dns de Falcomount, meeting the king there and making their minstrelsy before the king: the same place and date.

Gift of 13.6d to Lambert de Loreine and John Cornmusere, minstrel of Queen Philippa,⁵⁵ meeting the king at Sensk: Sensk, 4 September.

⁵⁵ The entry reads *menestrallo*, and so refers only to John Cornmusere as a royal minstrel. See below, n. 56.

f.102 Gift of £10.0.0d to Ludekin, King of the Heralds of Germany, and Ludekin the piper, minstrel⁵⁶ of the Emperor, coming to the king and making their minstrelsy before him: Antwerp, 25 December.

[101]

f.102v £13.10.0d to Ludkin the piper and his companions, minstrels of the Emperor and of the Dukes of Brabant and Guelderland (*Gel'r'*), making their minstrelsy before the queen on the day of her recovery (*relevacio*): Antwerp, 6 January.

18.0d to Ulric and Peter, minstrels of Master Paul de Monte Florum, making their minstrelsy before the king: 26 January, *anno* 13.

(*anno* 13)

f.104v Gift of 9.0d to Peter de Salto and his companion, minstrels of Sabandia, making their minstrelsy before the king: Antwerp, 20 May.

f.105v Gift of £18.0.0d to Henry Wisch for various services rendered: Filford, 11 July. (Probably not the minstrel.)

f.106v 27.0d to Dns Thomas de Hatfield, clerk, in complete payment of all moneys paid out by him, of the king's gift, to the minstrels of the queen, making their minstrelsy before the king at Brussels: Aspre, 4 November.

45.0d to Dns Thomas de Hatfield in payment of moneys paid by him to the minstrels of the Margrave Julian of Brandenburg, making their minstrelsy before the king at Marcnon (?): Marcnon, 12 November.

(*anno* 14)

f.107v Gift of 10.0d to Jakeminus the piper and Hanekin his companion, minstrels, meeting the king and making their minstrelsy before him on his arrival at Ghent: Ghent, 5 January.

f.108v Gift of 9.0d to two minstrels of Lovaign, making their minstrelsy before the king at Lovaign in the month of December, *anno* 12: Lovaign, 2 December (*anno* 12).

Robes and Shoes

f.122v Money for winter robes, *anno* 12, and summer and winter robes, *anno* 13, to several servants, including Andrew Norreys, King of the Heralds.

⁵⁶ As above, n. 53, "minstrel" is singular.

f.123 Money for winter robes, *anno* 12, and summer and winter robes, *anno* 13, to various squires of the king, including John de Hampton, John de Hetheye, Henry Wissh (and another eight names), John, nakerer, Roger, trumpeter, Egidius, trumpeter, Nicholas, trumpeter, John Mauprine, Peter de Baion, Ranulphus Taillour, Robert Barber, Robert de Bosham, John de Morleyns, Robert Polidod, Thomas Purchaseour, William Harding, Thomas, [102] citoler, Nicholas de Wycombe, John Wolfram, Godescalk, piper, John Dare and Richard, gitterner. (Hetheye and Wolfram may not be minstrels).

Replacement of Horses

f.129v Money to Henry Whish to replace a horse.

Money to Robert Polydod for the same.

f.130 The same to Thomas le Purchaseour.

The same to John, nakerer.

Money for the same to John de Steneshull, King of the Heralds of Germany.

Passage of Horses to England, January, anno 13, and February, anno 14.

f.154v Money to several servants, including Henry Whish and Thomas Purchaseour.

f.155 Money to men-at-arms, including John Francekinus, William Bisshop and Robert Polidod.

f.155v Money to various servants, including John, nakerer, Roger, trumpeter, Egidius, trumpeter, Nicholas, trumpeter, Robert de Bosham, Godescalk, piper, Nicholas de Wycombe, Adam de Neubolt, Peter de Baion, Robert Barber, Thomas Betoign, John de Morleyns, William Harding (and another nine names, including a falconer), John Dare, Richard, gitterner (and another three names), and Thomas, citoler. (Neubolt and Betoign may not be minstrels.)

Prests

f.175v Prest, *anno* 13, to Henry Whissh.

14 Ed III: E101.389.5. (fragment)

f.1 Wages to Adam Waffrarius and others.

f.2 Money to several servants, including Roger de Porchester, waferer, for summer shoes.

[103]

11 – 15 Ed III: E101.389.11. Keeper's Accounts

f.4 Payment of £13.18.4¹/₂d of the £17.18.4¹/₂d owed to Thomas, citoler.

(adjac)

Payment of £82.0.0d of the £152.0.0d owed to Henry Whissh.

f.7 Payment of a debt of £14.10.3d owed to John Dare.

f.9 Payment of £16.9.6d of the £19.9.9d owed to John, nakerer.

(adjac)

Payment of £17.2.7d of the £20.2.7d owed to Roger, trumpeter.

f.9v Payment of a debt of £7.18.1d owed to Robert Barber, trumpeter.

Payment of £6.8.8d of the £7.18.8d owed to Peter de Bayon, trumpeter.

Payment of £20.11.4¹/₂d of the £23.1.4¹/₂d owed to William Harding,
vigilator.

16 – 18 Ed III: E36.204. Controller's Book, 21 July, 16 Ed III – 1 April, 18 Ed III

Gifts

f.84v Gift of 40.0d to John de la Mote, minstrel, making his minstrelsy before the king at Easter at Eltham: 31 March.

Gift of 30.0d to Hanekin, piper, for a horse brought for him: 31 March.

Gift of 10.0d to John Sautreour, minstrel of Queen Isabella, making his minstrelsy before the king at Rysing: 29 April.

f.85 Gift of 100.0d to Hanekin de Andernagh and his companions, minstrels of the Count of Hanover, making their minstrelsy before the king at Westminster: 30 May.

[104]

Gift of 40.0d to Lubekin, piper, minstrel of the Earl of Northampton, making his minstrelsy before the king at Woodstock: 22 June.

Gift of 13.4d to John van Maistrik, minstrel, making his minstrelsy before the king in his chamber: 31 July.

20 marks to Libekin, piper, and his companions, minstrels of the king and queen, making their minstrelsy before the same king and queen at the Tower of London, at the marriage of the king's son Lionel: 14 August.

f.85v Gift of 6.8d to Ranulphus Taillour, minstrel, coming as far as Estrye (or *Ostrye*) to the king, and making his minstrelsy there before the king, for his expenses in returning to his own district: 11 September.

Gift of 3.0d to William le Harpou, messenger of Queen Isabella, coming to the king with letters from Queen Isabella: 16 September.

Gifts for the Replacement of Horses

f.88v Money to John de Hampton and others for horses.

Robes and Shoes

f.90 Money for winter robes, *anno* 16, and summer and winter robes, *anno* 17, to Roger, trumpeter, Egidius, trumpeter, Thomas Purchas, Robert de Bosham, Henry Whish, Robert Polidod, Robert Barber, Thomas, citoler, Godescalk, piper, and Nicholas, trumpeter, the minstrels of the king's household; also to Andrew Norreis and many others.

f.90v Money for winter robes, *annis* 15, 16 and 17, to Lambert, taborer, John Churleshede, Arnold, piper, John de Chilcote, Radulphus, piper, William de Hedele and William Harding, *vigilator*. (Churleshede and Chilcote may not be minstrels.)

f.91 Money for robes, *annis* 16 and 17, to several servants, including John Wayte.

Wages during the War in Scotland

f.103v Details of wage-increases to certain squires of the king's household, including John de Hampton and Egidius, [105] trumpeter.

Similar details for certain squires of the king's household, including Thomas de Betoign, Robert de Bosham and Robert, trumpeter.

Wages during the War "in partibus Britanum"

f.107v Details of wages to Henry Whish and others.

Debts to various Servants for Wages in War-time, Replacement of Horses, and Robes

f.128v £7.0.0d owed to John de Hampton.

104.8d owed to John, nakerer.

f.129 Payment of 38.0d of the 60.0d owed to Lambert, taborer.

Payment of 66.0d of the £6.0.0d owed to Libekin the piper and his son.
Payment of 38.0d of the 60.0d owed to Arnekin, piper.

20.0d owed to Henry Whish.

100.0d owed to Andrew Norreys.

57.1 1/2d owed to Nicholas, trumpeter.

f.129v £6.10.7 1/2d owed to Richard, trumpeter.

Payment of 30.0d of the £4.0.0d owed to Godeschalk, piper.

30.4 1/2d owed to the same.

48.2d owed to Egidius, trumpeter.

112.6d owed to William de Harding.

f.131 26.0d owed to John Wayte, palfreyman, for robes and shoes.

16 – 18 Ed III: E101.390.3.⁵⁷ Household of the Black Prince. Keeper's Roll

[106]

Prests

m.3 Prest to John Polidod, minstrel of the prince, for arrears of his wages.

13 – 18 Ed III: Harley 4304, ff. 18 onwards.⁵⁸ Household of the Black Prince. Keeper's Accounts

List of the Household, anno 18

f.18 Roger, the prince's *vigilator*.

f.18v Radulphus, trumpeter.

A valet *vigilator* of the prince's household.

f.19 Thomas, valet waferer: at a second appearance he is described as "the prince's waferer".

f.20v John Cliff, trumpeter.

⁵⁷ This is a very faded document: about half of it can be read under ultraviolet light.

⁵⁸ This is a seventeenth-century transcription.

(*annis* 13 and 14)

f.21 Nicholas, organplayer.

(*anno* 16)

f.22 Money to several servants for shoes, including Thomas the violist and John, *vigilis*.

c. 21 Ed III: E101.391.9. Keeper's Accounts

Debts

f.10 27.7d owed to Egidius, trumpeter, for wages and robes.

(adjac)

[107]

A total of £12.5.4d owed to Lambert, taborer, for the same.

(adjac)

A total of £7.4.8d owed to Henry Whissh for the same.

(adjac)

16.6d owed to William Harding for wages.

(adjac)

13.2d owed to Peter, clarioner.

(adjac)

£7.0.0d owed to Andrew Norris.

(adjac)

24.7d owed to Radulphus, piper.

(adjac)

40.0d owed to John de Childercote. (Not a minstrel?)

(adjac)

40.0d owed to John de Thurlesheld. (Not a minstrel?)

(adjac)

A total of £16.11.8d owed to Arnald, piper.

(adjac)

100.0d owed to George, nakerer.

(adjac)

f.10v 20.0d owed to Lybkin, piper

(adjac)

£19.15.4d owed to Hankin fitzLybkin, piper.

(adjac)

16.0d owed to Henry, fiddler.

f.11 Debt of 78.4d to Walter Cardinal for wages, robes and shoes.

f.17 Debt of 11.0d for goods bought from John Harpour of Wiltshire (probably not a minstrel).

f.21 Debt of 5.9d to Nicholas, trumpeter, for *furnag'*.

f.21v Debt of 5.6 ¹/₂d to Richard le Wayte for the same.

Debt of 22d to William Barbour for deer (? - *cervis*).

f.34 Debt of 12d to John Perat of the Chamber.

[108]

23 - 24 Ed III: E36.205. Queen's Household, Controller's Accounts, 25 January, 23 Ed III - 1 February, 24 Ed III

Messengers

f.10 Payment to Adam Prat p.m. Adam Waffrarius: Havering, 5 January.

(adjac)

2.0d in expenses to Adam Waffrarius, taking letters from the queen from Orsete to Colchester, to the Abbot there: the same place and date.

Necessaries

12d in expenses to Adam Waffrarius, going on the queen's business from Childerlangley to Sunning(dale) and Reading: Childerlangley, 25 February.

f.12 Money for his winter tunic, *anno* 23, to Gerard, *vigilis*.

13.0d to Adam Waffrarius, sent from Shene to Bristol, to the mayor of that town, with letters from the queen directed to Robert Russell, going and coming for seven days; and another time from Orsete to Marlburgh, going and coming for seven days with letters directed to Robert Russell, taking 6d per day for his expenses: Orsete, 15 November.

f.12v 6.8d in expenses to Adam Waffrarius, sent on the queen's business from Lambhithe to Bristol for gold and silver vessels and jewels as a guarantee (*guerend'*) from there, and returning to Orsete: Orsete, 15 December.

f.13 Money for winter shoes, *anno* 22, to various servants, including Adam Waffrarius, valet.

The same for summer shoes, *anno* 23.

27 Ed III: E101.392.12. Keeper's Book

Robes

f.41 Money for summer and winter robes to various squires [109] of the king's household, including Thomas Purchasour, John Yong and Radulphus le Wayte.

f.41v Money for robes to various valets and messengers, including Walter Cardinal.

Gifts

f.43v Gift of 3.4d to John Harpour: Dartford, 4 November.

Messengers

f.46 Payment to Walter Cardinal.

29 – 33 Ed III: Harley 4304, ff. 13–15.⁵⁹ Household of the Black Prince. Keeper's Accounts

Shoes, annis 29, 31 and 33

f.13 The list of valets includes Reginald Waffrar.

The list of footmen includes Tagwaret le Crouder.

f.15 A list of household servants includes Richard Pilke, waferer.

A list of those "qui non sunt" includes Tegwaret Cruder and Reginald Waffrar.

31 – 32 Ed III: Rylands 236. Queen's Household, 1 April, 31 Ed III – 1 April, 32 Ed III

Gifts

f.3v Gift of 6.8d to John Wayte and his companions, minstrels, making their minstrelsy on Christmas Day.

[110]

33 – 34 Ed III: E101.393.11

⁵⁹ Seventeenth-century transcription.

Gifts

f.71 Gifts of 7.4d each to several grooms of the household, including John Waffrer, for expenses at Calais: 3 November, *anno* 33.

Gift of 20.0d each to Flagillot, piper, John Badencore and Peter de Burgoigne, minstrels of the king: probably 6 November or later.

f.73 Gift of 40.0d each to John of France, apothecary to the King of France, and to Peter Comer and Peter Praga, minstrels of the king (of England): 22 June, *anno* 33.

f.73v Gift of 41.3d to Flagellet, piper, John Badencore and Peter de Burgoigne for their expenses in going to England.

Gift of 16.8d to various minstrels making their minstrelsy before the king.

f.74 Gifts of 10.0d each to various valets of the household, including Edmund Wayt and William Wayt, for their expenses in travelling from Calais towards England.

f.74v Summary robes list within the *Gifts* section: winter robes are included for nineteen unnamed minstrels and *vigilatores* of the king.

Gift of 48.0d to Peter de Praga, the king's minstrel, for a horse bought for him in France.

A similar gift, of 40.0d, to Nicholas de Praga, the king's minstrel.

Robes and Shoes

f.76v Money to many servants of the household for winter and summer robes, including Hankin *filius Libbekini*, Nicholas Praga, Peter de Praga, John Yonge, Peter, clarioner, Philip Vaghan, (f.77) Nicholas Hanneye, William Harding, John Hampton, Gerard le Wayte, Arnekin, piper, Lamkin, taborer, Elias, piper, and Peter Comer, the king's minstrels.

Money to several servants of the household, including William Wayt and Walter Wayt, for winter and summer robes.

[111]

f.78 Money for a robe and shoes for the year to each of several servants of the household, including Richard, waferer.

Wages in War-time

f.95 Details of wages to Henry Wayt.

f.107v Details of wages and payments for taking horses from Calais to Sandwich to Hankin fitzLibkin, Nicholas de Praga and Peter de Praga, John Yonge, Peter, clarioner, Philip Vaghan, William Wayt, Nicholas Hanneye, (f.108) Walter le Wayt, John de Hampton, Gerard le Wayt, Peter Comer, (names of three messengers), Roger Fromard and Peter Rosse, minstrels of the king.

f.114v Details of wages to Thomas de Hampton, the king's minstrel.

f.116v Details of wages to Flagillet, piper, John Badencore and Peter de Burgoigne, the king's minstrels.

Wages in Peace-time

f.117 Details of wages to Nicholas Praga and Peter de Praga, Peter, clarioner, William Harding, the king's minstrel, Philip Vaghan, Nicholas de Hanney, John Hampton, Roger Fromard, Peter de Roos, Peter Camer and Elias, piper.

f.118 Details of wages to Gerard le Wayt.

Prests

f.118v Prest to Hankin fitzLibkin.

34 - 35 Ed III: E101.393.15. Livery Roll, 1 November, 34 Ed III - 28 June, 35 Ed III

m.⁶⁰ Details of a large *l'cum* (or *l'cus*) supplied for the queen, embroidered with angels playing various musical instruments (*ludentibus cum diversis artibus ministrall'*).

[112]

m.4 Details of gowns made against the feast of Christmas for the king's minstrels, viz:

Hanekin filzLibekin, piper, Hernekin, piper, Lambekin, taborer, Oyli (dative case - Elias?), piper, William Harding, piper, Peter, clarioner, Philip, trumpeter, John de Hampton, trumpeter, Nicholas, trumpeter, Roger Fromward, trumpeter, Peter de Roos, trumpeter, Gerard, piper, Robert Fol, *bourdour*, Peter Comhere, Nicholas, Fiddler, Peter Sauterer and Master John, waferer: 30 November.

(m.3a) Details of a gown against the coming feast of Christmas for Peter Fitheler, one of the king's minstrels: 11 December.

⁶⁰ The membranes of this roll are numbered from the bottom.

Details of an identical robe for the Christmas just past for John Alisaundre, one of the king's minstrels: 4 February.

m.3 Details of identical robes for the Christmas just past for Edmund Wayt, William Wayt, Walter Wayt and William Langport, the king's *vigilatores*: 15 February.

Details of an identical robe for the Christmas just past for John Sitoler, one of the king's minstrels: 22 February.

m.2 Details of identical robes for the Christmas just past for Peter, piper, Flagelot, piper, and John, piper, minstrels of the king: 30 April.

37 - 38 Ed III: E101.394.16. Livery Roll, 29 June, 37 Ed III - 29 June, 38 Ed III

m.11⁶¹ Details of four banners painted with the quartered arms of the king and made for the instruments (*tubis*) of the king's minstrels against the feast of St George.

m.8 Details of robes for Christmas for the king's minstrels, viz., for Perrot, piper, John Midleton, trumpeter, [113] John, waferer, Andrew, organist, and John his son, Hankin Mareschall, Arnald, piper, Lambekin, taborer, John, piper, William Harding, piper, Hampton, trumpeter, Nicholas Praga, fiddler, Robert, fool, John Chichestre, Nicholas, trumpeter, Percival, Flagelot, piper, John Alisandre and Peter, fiddler: 26 November.

m.7 Details of mantles with hoods given to Walter Wayt and William Langeport, the king's *vigilatores*, for the winter season; also of robes, identical with those of the minstrels, against the feast of Christmas: 1 November.

The livery-list of huntsmen includes Picard Horner.

Nicholas Waytman is named as a groom huntsman.

m.5 Details of a robe against the feast of Christmas for Richard Waffrer, groom of the king's household: 11 December.

m.4 A robe against the feast of Christmas for John Devenish, one of the king's minstrels, the same as the other king's minstrels had: 19 December.

A robe against the feast of Christmas just past for William Aleyn, one of the king's minstrels, the same as the other minstrels had: 7 January.

⁶¹ The membranes of this roll are numbered from the bottom.

m.3 A robe against the feast of Christmas just past for Radulphus Wayt, one of the king's huntsmen, the same as the other huntsmen had: 26 May.

43 Ed III: E101.396.11. Controller's Accounts

Summer Robes

f.16v Money to squires and servants of the household, including Nicholas Praga and (f.17) Richard Waffrer.

Summer Shoes

f.18 Money to many servants, including Thomas de Hampton (perhaps not the minstrel) and John Frend, valet, the queen's waferer.

[114]

Gifts

f.19 Gift of 6.8d to Hanekin Fytheler, making his minstrelsy before the image of the Blessed Mary in the vault of Christ Church, Canterbury, when the king was making his offering there: 14 May.

Gift of 3.4d to John Harpou, harping in St Augustine's Church, Canterbury, when the king was making his offering there: the same day.

45 - 47 Ed III: E101.397.5. Keeper's Book, 27 June, 45 Ed III - 27 June, 47 Ed III

Horses Bought

f.38v 40.0d to Henry Cornour *de Vise* for a horse.

Fees and Robes

f.43 Money for winter and summer robes to the squires of the king's chamber, including Nicholas Praga, Richard Wafrer and Peter Roos. (Presumably *anno* 45).

Gifts

f.45 Gift of 13.4d to minstrels making their minstrelsy before the image of the Blessed Mary in the vault of Christ Church, Canterbury, and before the

shrine of St Augustine in St Augustine's Church, Canterbury: 1 April (*anno* 45?).⁶²

Gift of 20.0d for his expenses to John Prat, sent from London to Hampton at the command of the king: 2 April.

[115]

Fees, Robes and Shoes

f.82 Money for winter and summer robes (*anno* 46?) to various servants, including Nicholas Praga and Richard Wafrer.

f.83 Money for robes and shoes to Thomas Hampton (perhaps not the minstrel) and others.

Gifts

f.84 Gift of 13.4d to two minstrels making their minstrelsy before the image of the Blessed Mary in the vault of Christ Church, Canterbury, and before the shrine of St Augustine in St Augustine's Church, Canterbury: 18 August.⁶³

f.85 Gift of 40.0d to Henry, piper, and his three companions, minstrels, making their minstrelsy before the king at Shene: 2 June.

50 Ed III – 1 Ric II: E101.398.9. Keeper's Accounts, 25 November, 50 Ed III – 26 July, 1 Ric II

Debts for Fees, Wages and Robes

f.6 38.1 1/2d owed to John Wilton, minstrel.

39.2d owed to Davy, piper.

Fees and Robes

f.31 Money for summer and winter robes to the king's squires, including Peter Roos.

f.31v Money for robes for the year to the valets, including John Kent.

⁶² See above, i, p. 63. This item was found too late for inclusion on that page: it adds another instance of minstrelsy before the shrine of a saint, and the minstrels, again, do not seem to have been royal minstrels. They appear to have followed the king from one church to the other.

⁶³ As n. 61, above. This item, like the first of those in i, n. 15, p. 63, above, falls outside the period between Easter and Trinity.

f.32 Money for robes and shoes for several servants, including Thomas Hampton (perhaps not the minstrel).

48 Ed III – 1 Ric II: E101.397.20. Keeper's Livery Roll, 24 November, 48 Ed III – 6 July, 1 Ric II

(*anno* 48)

m.18 Payment to Thomas Broderer for delivering to five king's minstrels for their instruments (*tubis*) for the tournament at Smithfield this year, banners of plain sindon cloth; also for supplying the same five banners with fringes and laces: 10 February.

m.23 Details of robes delivered to the minstrels for Christmas, viz., to Perrot, piper, John, piper, Lamkin, taborer, William Harding, Nicholas Hanney, John Hampton, John Bokyngham, John Prat, William Crane, John Happerslove, Ralph de Bampton, Percival, Henry, piper, Richard, piper, Hankin, piper, and Janyn, nakerer: 28 November.

(*anno* 49)

m.24 Details of a robe for the past year for William Lamport, one of the king's *vigiles*: 22 June.

m.25 Details of the robes delivered to the minstrels for Christmas, viz., to Perrot, piper, John, piper, John Hampton, Ralph Bampton, William Crane, John Bukyngham, William Harding, Nicholas, trumpeter, Percival, Hankin lodder, Henry, piper, David, piper, Lambekin, taborer, and Henry Fras: 11 December.

(*anno* 50)

m.26 Details of a robe for William Lamport, one of the king's *vigiles*, for the past year: 28 June.

To William Lamport as above: 10 November.

m.27 Details of robes delivered to the minstrels for Christmas, viz., to John Hampton, Nicholas Hanney, Ralph Bampton, Henry Fraas, John Steel, John Bokyngham, William Crane, Henry, piper, David, piper, Lamkin, taborer, Percival, William Harding, Conce, piper, Conce, nakerer, Perot, piper, John, piper, and John Wilton: 6 December.

[117]

(1 Ric II)

m.30 Liveries to many household servants, including Richard Waffrer.

m.31 Liveries to many valets, including William Lamport and (adjac) John Wayt.

Liveries to the king's huntsmen, including Picard Horner at the head of the list.

m.32 Liveries to the minstrels, viz., to John Hampton, John Bokyngham, William Crane, William Harding, William Percival, Henry Frace, Ralph Bampton, John Stele, Henry, piper, David Walsshman, John Wilton, Conce, piper, Conce, nakerer, Nicholas Hanney and Lamkin, taborer.

The list of grooms of the household includes William Waffrer.

Temp Ric II: E101.403.25 (French) Roll of Household Servants

Amongst miscellaneous names is John, waferer.

The king's minstrels are listed: they are Henry Marchal, Henry Windsor, Peter Hause, John Cliff, William de Bingley, Robert, trumpeter, Conute, piper, Percival, *gestour*, John Hilton, Richard Kirton, Henry, clarioner, Drawstaf, trumpeter, Prat, trumpeter, Richard, trumpeter, Richard Guildford,⁶⁴ and Nusselyn, piper.

7 - 8 Ric II: E101.401.2. Keeper's Accounts

Gifts

f.44 Gift of 6.8d to Gilbert Vans, minstrel of the Countess of Norfolk, making his minstrelsy before the king: 4 November.

[118]

Gift of 6.8d to Richard Dryngton, minstrel, making his minstrelsy before the king: 8 March.

8 Ric II: Rylands 242. Keeper's Book 1 July - 31 December

⁶⁴ See below, p. 119. Guildford left Court in 16 or 17 Ric II, so that this document dates from before then.

f.21v Wages to Peter de Vannes, minstrel.

13 - 14 Ric II: E101.402.5

Horses Bought

f.30 Money to John Kent of Southwark for a horse bought from him.

Robes and Fees

f.32 Money to John Kent for a robe for the present year.

f.32v Money to Thomas Noreys for a robe for the present year.

Money to Thomas Hampton for the same.

(Probably none of these is a minstrel or waferer.)

16 - 17 Ric II: E101.403.22⁶⁵

Fees and Robes

f.27 Money for a robe and shoes for the present year to several servants, including Robert Horner.

[119]

Gifts

f.29 Gift of 6.8d to Richard Guildford, impoverished minstrel of the king (*pauper ministrallus*), on taking his leave.

John Kent, waferer, appears in a list of grooms.

16-17 Ric II: Add 35115. Controller's Book

Robes

f.41v Radulphus Sifler appears in the list of valets.

⁶⁵ Perhaps Keeper's accounts (c.f. Add 35115, below), possibly part of E101.402.10 (not calendared).

Gifts

f.43 John Kent, waferer, appears in a list of grooms.

17 – 19 Ric II: E101.402.20. Keeper's Book*Wages in War-time*

f.31 Details of the wages of John Pratte, clarioner, going to Ireland, *anno* 18.

19 – 20 Ric II: E101.403.10. Controller's Book*Fees and Robes*

f.45 Money to the valets of the king's household, including John Kent, waferer, for robes and shoes for the year.

Gifts

f.47 20.0d each to the grooms of the king's household, including John Shirwood, waferer, for their rewards.

[120]

2 Hen IV: E101.404.11. Roll of expenses of the marriage of Blanche, the king's daughter

m.1 £8.0.0d as a gift from the princess to various heralds and minstrels of the Duchess of Holland, and to various other minstrels of the town of Durdrecht: 16 June.

26.8d as a gift from the princess to various minstrels of the Earl of Cleve: Cleve, 26 June.

£26.13.4d as a gift from the princess to various heralds and minstrels of the King of the Romans, the Arch-(bishop of Cologne)⁶⁶ and of various other nobles at the celebration of the marriage of the princess: July.

3 – 4 Hen IV: E101.404.21. Keeper's Book*Necessaries*

⁶⁶ This membrane is damaged: the Archbishop's name is now illegible.

f.38v A payment concerning a large cooking-vessel made through Guy Middleton, *fistulator*, formerly of the king's household.

Wages and Robes

f.45 Henry, waferer, appears in a list of squires of the household.

Gifts

f.48 Gift to John Pakman, groom waferer.

Gifts to John Trumpet and another, grooms of the kitchen.

[121]

4 - 5 Hen IV: E101.404.24. Household of the Prince of Wales. Controller's Accounts

A. (book)

Wages in War-time

(*anno* 5)

f.16 Wages to the minstrels of the prince, viz., to John Clyf, Thomas Norves, William Baldewyn, John Vernagu, William Haliday and John Sendall.

B. (set of rolls)

Wages in War-time

(*anno* 4)

Details of wages to John Cliff, Thomas and William, trumpeters, and John, nakerer.

(*anno* 5)

Details of wages to John Cliff and his five fellow-minstrels.

Wages

(*anno* 4)

Details of wages to John Cliff, Thomas and William, trumpeters, and John, nakerer.

*Wages in War-time**(anno 5)*

Details of wages to John Cliff and his five fellow-minstrels.

[122]

7 - 8 Hen IV: Harley 319. Controller's Book, 30 September, 7 Hen IV - 8 December, 8 Hen IV

Fees and Robes

f.46v Money for winter and summer robes for the present year for many household servants, including Walter Aleyn, Richard Elmeswell, Snayth, fiddler, Robert Crakell, John Beauchamp, Claux, nakerer, William Byngeley, Walter Lynne, William, luter, John Melton, Henry, waferer, John, harper, and Robert Lytelden.

8 Hen IV: E101.406.10. Expenses of the marriage of Philippa, the king's daughter

f.3 Details of gowns for the minstrels of the queen, viz., William Byngeley, Walter Lynne, William Algode, John Trumpyngton, Walter Aleyn, Richard, trumpeter, John Beauchamp and John, harper.

1 Hen V: E101.406.21. Keeper's Accounts

Fees and Robes

f.27v Money for summer robes to many servants, including John Colys, Robert Felton, Henry waferer, William, luter, Hans, gitterner, John Cliff, Thomas Hardiberd, Thomas Norris, William Baldwin, William Langton, William Haliday, Guy Middleton and John Melton.⁶⁷

Gifts

f.30v A list of gifts to various grooms of the household includes John Horner and Edmund, waferer.

[123]

⁶⁷ Colys and Felton may not be minstrels. This is a separate list, however, coming between the list of squires and that of valets of the chamber.

3 Hen V: Stowe 1043.⁶⁸

f.220v Details of a gown given to William Corff, the harper.

f.227v Details of sixteen gowns made for the sixteen minstrels at the feast of Pentecost, celebrated in the presence of the king, the Emperor, the Duke of Holland and other lords.

Temp Hen V: E101.407.10. List of servants of the king's household⁶⁹

m.2 List includes Hans, gitterner, Snayth, fiddler, William Langton, William Haliday, Thomas Haliday, Walter Haliday, William Maysam, Richard Geffrey, John Cliff, Thomas Hardiberd, John Michell, Thomas Norris, William Baldwin, Guy Middleton, John Melton, John Broun, John Peyte and John Paynell.

7 - 8 Hen V: E101.406.30. Household of the Queen Mother, Joan of Navarre*Gifts*

f.8v Gift of 12d to certain watchmen of Rochester: December.

[124]

The Queen's Chamber

f.11 Payment of 6.8d to John Delahay for a certain harp (? - *sithera*) bought for the queen.

9 Hen V: E101.407.4

f.37v Liveries of cloth to the minstrels for the coronation (presumably of the queen), viz., to William Langton, Thomas Haliday, Walter Haliday, William Maisham, Richard Geffrey, John Broun, John Payt, John Panell, John Aleyn, John Cantabrigge, Thomas Corbet, Thomas Cozyn, ...⁷⁰ William Bradstreet and Conuce Snayth.

⁶⁸ This is a seventeenth-century transcription.

⁶⁹ This list is probably later than 1 Hen V, since William the luter and Henry Waufrer do not appear in it. If Duncan/*Minstrelsy*, p. 96, is correct in saying that Thomas Chatterton was a king's minstrel at Pentecost, 1416, then it is also earlier than that date: in any case, it dates from before 9 Hen V, when William Bradstreet was a king's minstrel (see Rastall/*MERH*, p. 28).

⁷⁰ This page is damaged, as a result of which the names of two minstrels are missing from the list.

9 Hen VI: E101.408.11*Prests in War-time*

f.3v Several prests to each of the following (all adjacent entries):

William Langton, minstrel, Thomas Chatterton, minstrel, William Maisham, minstrel, Thomas Haliday, minstrel, Walter Haliday, minstrel, William Bradstreet, minstrel, John Wilde, minstrel, John Patte, minstrel, (f.4v) John Paynell, minstrel, Guy Waite, Nicholas Gildesborogh, minstrel, and Nicholas Sonn, minstrel.

13 – 14 Hen VI: Add 17721. Keeper's Book*Liveries to the King*

f.31 Details of banners made for the king's trumpeters.

[125]

17 – 18 Hen VI: E101.409.2. Keeper's Book*Furs*

f.9v Payment to John Trompe and others for skins bought from them (probably not a minstrel).

Liveries

f.51v Liveries to Richard More and William Wodefod, *vigilatores* within the king's household, like the livery which Guy Middleton, *vigilator*, had: 9 April, *anno* 17.

19–20 Hen VI: E101.409.6. Keeper's Book*Liveries*

f.29v Details of liveries, *anno* 18, to Richard More and William Wodefod, *vigilatores* within the king's household.

20 – 21 Hen VI: E101.409.9

Robes

f.37 Money to the king's minstrels for winter and summer robes at Christmas and Pentecost, *anno* 20, viz., to William Langton, William Maisham, Thomas Haliday, Walter Haliday, John Payte, John Paynell, William Bradstrete, (f.37v) John Wilde, Thomas Chatterton, Nicholas Gildesburgh, Thomas Radcliff, William Paynell and Robert Marshall.

22 Hen VI: E101.409.11. Controller's Book*Fees and Robes*

f.39 Money to the minstrels for winter and summer robes at the feasts of Christmas and Pentecost, viz., to William [126] Langton, William Maisham, Thomas Haliday, Walter Haliday, John Payte, John Paynell, William Bradstrete, John Wilde, Thomas Chatterton, Nicholas Gildesburgh, Thomas Radcliff, William Paynell and Robert Machall.

f.39v Money for robes and shoes to various valets of the king's household, including Henry, waferer, and (adjac) Robert Moore.

22-23 Hen VI: E101.409.12. Keeper's Book*Liveries*

f.95v Details of liveries, *anno* 21, to Richard More and William Wodeford, *vigilatores* within the king's household.

22 - 24 Hen VI: Add 23938. Expenses of Queen Margaret coming into England, 17 July, 22 Hen VI - 16 October, 24 Hen VI*Necessaries*

f.11 23.4d paid to seven foreign trumpeters, playing (*tubant'*) for the queen and accompanying her on the journey: 10 April.

25 - 26 Hen VI: E101.409.16. Keeper's Book*Fees and Robes*

f.35 Money for winter and summer robes to the minstrels of the king's household, viz., to William Langton, William Maisham, Thomas Haliday, John

Payte, John Paynell, William Bradstrete, Thomas Chatterton, Nicholas Gildesborgh, Thomas Radcliff, William [127] Paynell, Robert Marshall, William Wilde,⁷¹ Walter Haliday, Robert More and William Godeyere.

Money for their summer robes to William Wykes and John Cliff, king's minstrels.

f.35v Money for robes and shoes to various valets of the king's household, including Henry, waferer.

26 - 27 Hen VI: E101.410.1

Gifts

f.28 Gift of 20.0d each, for their rewards and liveries, to John Wayte and others, grooms of the chamber and of other offices of the king's household.

Fees and Robes

f.31 Money for winter and summer robes to the minstrels of the king's household, viz., to William Langton, William Maisham, Thomas Haliday, John Payte, John Paynell, William Bradstrete, Thomas Chatterton, Nicholas Gildesborgh, Thomas Radcliff, William Paynell, Robert Marschall, John Wilde, Walter Haliday, Robert More, William Godeyere, William Wykes and John Cliff.

26 - 28 Hen VI: E101.410.3. Controller's Book⁷²

Gifts

f.29v Gift of 16.8d each, for their rewards and liveries, to Thomas Harper, John Wilde and others, grooms of the chamber and other various offices of the king's household.

Fees and Robes

f.31v Money for winter and summer robes to the minstrels of the king's household, viz., to William Langton, William [128] Maisham, Thomas Haliday, John Payte, John Paynell, William Bradstrete, Thomas Chatterton, Nicholas Gildesborgh, Thomas Radcliff, William Paynell, Robert Marshall, John Wilde, Walter Haliday, Robert More, William Godeyere, William Wykes and John Cliff.

⁷¹ Error for John Wilde.

⁷² This document now includes the former E101.540.29 and fragments of E101.406.14.

29 – 30 Hen VI: E101.410.6. Controller's Book*Gifts*

f.38 Gifts to various grooms of the household, including John Wayte.

Fees and Robes

f.41 Money to the minstrels of the king's household for winter and summer robes, viz., to Robert More, Walter Haliday, Thomas Haliday, William Maisham, John Payte, John Paynell, William Bradstrete, Thomas Chatterton, Nicholas Gildesborgh, Thomas Radcliff, William Paynell, Robert Marshall, William Godyere, William Wykes and John Cliff.

Money to Thomas Harper, valet of the king's chamber, for winter and summer robes.

f.41v The list of valets of the household includes Henry, waferer.

30 – 31 Hen VI: E101.410.9. Keeper's Book*Gifts*

f.40v 20.0d each, for their rewards and liveries, to William Marshall, John Goodyere, John Wayte and others, grooms of the chamber and other various offices of the king's household.

Fees and Robes

f.43v Money for winter and summer robes to the minstrels of the king's household, viz., to Robert More, Walter Haliday, Thomas Haliday, John Paynell, William Bradstrete, Thomas Chatterton, Nicholas Gildesborogh, Thomas Radcliff, William Paynell, Robert [129] Marshall, William Goodyere, John Wykes,⁷³ John Cliff and William Maisham.

The list of valets of the king's chamber includes Thomas Harper.

35 – 36 Hen VI: E101.410.14. Keeper's Book

⁷³ Error for William Wykes.

Liveries

f.23 Liveries for the years 32, 33, 34 and 35 Hen VI to Robert More, one of the *vigilatores* within the king's household; the same to Hugo Joye and John Spolly, *vigilatores* within the king's household.

3 – 4 Ed IV: E101.411.13. Keeper's Book*Fees and Robes*

f.36v Money for winter and summer robes to Thomas Wilde, Robert Grene, John Harper and others, squires of the king's chamber and household.

f.37 Money for winter and summer robes to the minstrels of the king's household, viz., to Walter Haliday, Robert Marshal, William Wykes, William Cliff, John Cliff, William Crystian, Thomas Cawthorn, Thomas Grene, Richard Patyn, John Hillys, John Hathe, William Goodyere, William Howe, John Paynell, Richard Hillys and John Croveland.

5 – 6 Ed IV: E101.411.15. Keeper's Book*Fees and Robes*

f.17v Part of the robes-list for the king's minstrels: the rest is lost because the manuscript is incomplete. The names on the surviving part of the list are: Walter Haliday, Robert Marshall, William Wykes, William Cliff, William Cristean, Thomas [130] Cawthorn, Thomas Grene, Robert More, John Cliff, Richard Patyn, John Hillez, John Hathe and William Goodyere.⁷⁴

6 – 7 Ed IV: E101.412.2. Keeper's Book*Fees and Robes*

f.37 Money for winter and summer robes to the minstrels of the king's household, viz., to Walter Haliday, Robert Marshall, William Eynesham, William Cliff, John Cliff, William Cristean, Thomas Cawthorn, Thomas Grene, John Heere, Richard Patyn, John Hillez, Richard Hillez, John Hathe, William Goodyere, William Hoo, John Panel, John Priour, William Panell and John Crowland.

⁷⁴ The missing names are probably those of William Howe, John Paynell, Richard Hills and John Crowland: see Rastall/*MERH*, pp. 32 f.

5 – 9 Ed IV: E101.412.1. Debts of the Wardrobe*Wages**(anno 7)*

f.24 34.1 1/2d owed to William Hamond.

*(anno 8)*f.35 16.6d owed to John Crowland.
17.7 1/2d owed to Alexander Mason.

f.36v 17.0d owed to Thomas Wayte.

*(anno 9)*f.51 11.3d owed to Thomas Cawthorn.
11.3d owed to John Hawkins.
11.3d owed to Robert Grene.
(Three more names here)

[131]

4.10 1/2d owed to William Hamonde.
16.1 1/2d owed to William Priour.
15.4 1/2d owed to William Clifton.
15.4 1/2d owed to John Hatche.
15.9d owed to Richard Hilles.
15.0d owed to Thomas Payntour.
15.9d owed to Thomas Panell.
60.0d owed to John Crowland.
55.10 1/2d owed to Alexander Mason.19 – 20 Ed IV: E101.412.11. Controller's Book*Gifts*

f.35 13.4d each, for their rewards, to William Clifton, Henry Glasebury and others, grooms of the Chamberlain of the king and queen.

22 Ed IV: Harley 433. Wages and Grantsf.311v Grant of 20 marks to Alexander Mason, *geyster*.
(adjac)

Grant of 51.4 1/2d to John Thwayt.

Grant of 10 marks to Robert Grene, minstrel.

Grant of 10 marks to John Haich, one of the king's trumpets.

f.312v Grant of 10 marks p.a. to Thomas Cawthorn, minstrel.
(adjac)

Grant of 10 marks to John Crowland, minstrel.

Grant of 10 marks to Thomas Hawking, minstrel.

Grant of 10 marks to William Ducheman, trumpet.

Grant of 10 marks to John Paynell, trumpet.

f.313v Grant of 10 marks to Richard Hilles, trumpet.

[132]

f.314 Grant of 10 marks to Thomas Payntour, trumpet.

f.315 Grant of 50.0d to William Clifton, trumpet.

Grant of 10 marks to Thomas Mayow, minstrel of the king.

Grant of 10 marks to John Priour, trumpet.

1 Ric III: Harley 433

Grants made 28 June

f.45v Confirmation of a grant of 10 marks p.a. for life to John Crowland.
(adjac)

Grant of 10 marks p.a. for life to John Priour.

(adjac)

Grant of 10 marks p.a. for life to Thomas Paynter, trumpet.

f.46 Grant of 10 marks p.a. for life to Robert Grene, minstrel.

Grant of 10 marks p.a. for life to John Hawkins, minstrel.

f.78 Confirmation of an annuity of 10 marks p.a. for life to John de Peler, trumpet.

f.96 Annuity of 10 marks p.a. for life to Richard Hilles, trumpet.

f.104v Confirmation of an annuity of 10 marks p.a. for life to John Hache, trumpet.

f.190 Licence for Henryk Hes, Hans Hes and Mykell Yonger, minstrels, to return to the Duke of Austria: 6 October, *anno* 2.

f.210 Notice to mayors, sheriffs, etc., to allow free passage to Conret Suyts and Peter Skeydell, minstrels of the Duke [133] of Bavaria, travelling with two other persons towards Calais on their way home; providing that their behaviour is good on the journey: Westminster, 1 March, *anno* 2.

11 - 13 Hen VII: E101.414.6. Journal (English) 1 October, 11 Hen VII - 30 September, 13 Hen VII

(*anno* 11)

f.4 18-20 October: £6.13.4d to three strange minstrels.

f.6 1-6 November, All Hallows' and All Souls' Day payments: wages to nine trumpets, four sackbuts and three string minstrels.

Gift of 2.0d to a woman that sings with a fiddle.

f.9 22-27 November: gift of 20.0d to Hampton of Worcester for making *balades*. Payment concerning the "disguisings" follows.

f.10v 2-4 December: wages to the nine trumpets, four sackbuts and three string minstrels.

f.11v 8-11 December: 20.0d to three strange minstrels.

f.13 21 December, St Thomas's Day: gift of 40.0d to two strange trumpets.

f.13v 31 December: 26.8d to two *playes* in the hall.

Wages to the nine trumpets, four sackbuts and three string minstrels.

f.14v 1-2 January: New Year payments to players, heralds, the watch, etc.

Gifts of 100.0d to the sackbuts and string minstrels,

100.0d to the king's trumpets,

40.0d to the king's still minstrels,

40.0d to the queen's minstrels.

f.17 3 February: wages to the nine trumpets, four sackbuts and three string minstrels.

[134]

f.18 12 February: payment of £7.0.0d for the new furnishing, casting and repairing of the Round Organs.

f.19 14–19 February: 40.0d to four minstrels of Royne.

f.20v 26 February: 40.0d to William, one of the sackbuts, going over the sea into Flanders.

3 March: wages to the nine trumpets, four sackbuts and three string minstrels.

f.25v 1 April, Good Friday: wages to the nine trumpets, four sackbuts and three string minstrels.

f.28 17–22 April: 13.4d to Hugh Denes for a lute.

f.29 25 April: 13.4d to Hugh Denes for a lute.

f.29v 1–6 May: wages to the nine trumpets, four sackbuts and three string minstrels.

f.30 10 May: 20.0d to the Waits of London.

f.33 1 June, Trinity Sunday: wages to the nine trumpets, two sackbuts and three string minstrels.

f.36v 25 June: wages to William the sackbut.

Wages to the nine trumpets, three sackbuts and three string minstrels.

6.8d to a French organ-player.

f.41 2 August: wages to the nine trumpets, three string minstrels and three sackbuts.

f.42 9 August: 6.8d to the Waits of Salisbury.

f.43 17 August: 6.8d to the luter of the prince (Arthur).

(*anno* 12)

f.44 25 August: 20d in reward to the piper.

Gift of 6.8d to the Waits of Chichester.

f.44v 29 August: wages to the nine trumpets, three string minstrels and three sackbuts.

[135]

f.47 20 September: gift of 66.8d to the blind poet.

Gift of 20.0d to the minstrels of the prince (Arthur).

10.0d to the organ-player of the prince.

f.48 28 September: wages to seven trumpets, three string minstrels and three sackbuts.

f.49v 4-7 October: 40.0d to Francis for strange minstrels.

10.8d to the minstrels of the Duke of York (i.e. Prince Henry).

f.52v 31 October: wages to the three string minstrels, three sackbuts and seven trumpets.

f.53 6-8 November: 20.0d to the minstrels of London.

11 November: gift of 33.4d to four minstrels.

f.54v 29 November: wages to the three string minstrels, three sackbuts and seven trumpets.

Gift of 13.4d to two minstrels of London.

f.55v 11-16 December: £8.0.0d to two trumpets coming from Ireland.

f.57v 1 January: wages to the nine trumpets, three sackbuts and three string minstrels.

Gift of 50.0d to the sackbuts and 50.0d to the string minstrels,

100.0d to the king's trumpets,

£4.0.0d to the still minstrels,

40.0d to the queen's minstrels.

f.58 6 January: 13.4d to Hugh Vaughan for two harpers.

f.58v 7 January: 53.4d for two new *greate gestis*.

f.59 13 January: 6.8d to a Welshman (? - *Washe*) that makes *rymez*.

f.60 27 January: (following payments for a disguising) 20.0d to the minstrels of the Earl of Arundell.

f.60v

1 February: wages to the nine trumpets, three sackbuts and three string minstrels.

f.61A 17 February: gift of 26.8d to the queen's fiddler.

[136]

f.62 2 March: wages to the nine trumpets, three sackbuts and three string minstrels.

f.67 3–7 April: wages to the nine trumpets, three sackbuts and three string minstrels.

f.69v 25 April (perhaps expenses incurred on St George's Day, 23 April): gift of 10.0d to the Waits of London.

40.0d to Hugh Denes for other strange minstrels.

f.70 1–5 May: wages to the nine trumpets, three string minstrels and three sackbuts.

f.72v 24 May: 20.0d to Arnold, minstrel of the prince.

f.73v 31 May: wages to the nine trumpets, three sackbuts and two⁷⁵ string minstrels.

f.76 10 June: 10.0d to the minstrels of Northampton.

Gift of 13.4d to the Waits of Leicester.

f.77 30 June: wages to the nine trumpets, three sackbuts and three string minstrels.

f.80v 21 July: gift of 26.8d to the French minstrels.

Gift of 66.8d to the minstrels of the Archduke.

f.82 4 August: wages to the nine trumpets, three sackbuts and three string minstrels.

(*anno* 13)

f.85v 1 September: wages to the nine trumpets, three sackbuts and three string minstrels.

f.87 10–12 September: £10.0.0d to Master Bernard, the blind poet.

Gift of 20.0d to the minstrels of the prince.

26.8d to the organ-player of the prince.

f.90 26 September: wages to the nine trumpets, three sackbuts and three string minstrels.

⁷⁵ Perhaps an error: they are paid 100.0d, which is the usual monthly wage for three string minstrels.

[137]

13 – 15 Hen VII: E101.414.16. Journal (English), 1 October, 13 Hen VII – 30 September, 15 Hen VII

(*anno* 13)

f.1v 10 October: 10.0d to the minstrels of Exeter.

f.4 30 November: wages to the nine trumpets, three sackbuts and three string minstrels.

f.6v 25–30 November: 10.0d to a strange minstrel.

1 December: wages to the nine trumpets, three sackbuts and three string minstrels.

f.7 Probably 6 December: wages to the French minstrels.

f.9v 24–29 December (probably Christmas Day or later): gift of 10.0d to Perkyn, trumpet.

f.10 31 December: wages to the nine trumpets, three string minstrels and three sackbuts.

f.10v 1 January: New Year's gift of 100.0d to the king's trumpets,
50.0d to the sackbuts,
50.0d to the string minstrels,
£4.0.0d to the still minstrels,
40.0d to the queen's minstrels,
40.0d to the French minstrels.

f.11 5 January: 20.0d to a trumpet that went to Ireland.

f.15 1 February: wages to the nine trumpets, three sackbuts and three string minstrels.

f.16 4–9 February: 13.4d to the Waits of London and Kingston.
31.8d to the trumpets of the prince.

f.17 17 February: wages to the French minstrels.

f.18v 4–9 March: 23.4d to Lady Bray, being 13.4d for Harry Glasebury and 10.0d for the king's minstrels.

Wages to the nine trumpets, three sackbuts and three [138] string minstrels.
Wages to one of the French minstrels.

- f.19 10–15 March: 20.0d to a tumbler at Eltham.
6.8d to the minstrels of the prince.
- f.20 31 March: wages to the nine trumpets, three sackbuts and three string minstrels.
- f.22v Palm Sunday – Wednesday following: 20.0d to Arnold, recorder-player.
- f.23 Shire Thursday: wages to the French minstrels.
- f.24 18 April, Easter Day: 13.4d to one that “bloweth in a horne”.
- f.24v 22–24 April: 6.8d to one that “bloweth in a horne”.
- f.25 29 April – 4 May: wages to the nine trumpets, three sackbuts and three string minstrels.
6.8d to the minstrels at Canterbury.
20d to the clerks for singing *Te Deum*.
Gift of 12.0d to the French minstrels.
- f.25v 4 May: gift of 66.8d to a strange taborer.
Gift of 20.0d to a strange tumbler.
- f.26v 15 May: 6.8d to him that plays on the horn.
- f.27 23 May: 20.0d to the minstrels of the Duke of York.
Gift of 20.0d to the luter of the Duke of York.
- f.28 27–29 May: wages to the nine trumpets, two string minstrels⁷⁶ and three sackbuts.
- f.31 13–14 June: gift of 6.8d to Bonetainis.
- f.31v 16–22 June: 13.4d to the minstrel(s) of Honnesley.
- f.32 30 June: wages to the nine trumpets, two string minstrels and three sackbuts.
- f.34 12 July: wages in advance to Bounetainis.
- [139]
- f.35 22–24 July: gift of 10.0d to a trumpet of the Earl of Kildare.

⁷⁶ The payment here, of 20.0d, is probably an error: c.f. f.32, where the payment is 60.0d.

Wages to Arnold Jeffrey, organ-player.

f.36 31 July: wages to the nine trumpets, three sackbuts and two string minstrels.

f.37 5–11 August (probably the 6th, at the Earl of Oxford's): 6.8d to the *Joculer* of the Earl of Oxford.

f.37v 19–25 August: gift of 10.0d to the Waits of Norwich.

(*anno* 14)

26 August – 1 September: gift of 10.0d to the Waits of Lynne.

f.38 Wages to the nine trumpets, three sackbuts and two string minstrels.
Wages to Bonetemps.

f.38v 2–4 September: gift of 10.0d to the Waits of Cambridge.
Wages to one string minstrel.

f.39v 8–11 September: 2.0d to a piper at Huntingdon.

f.40v 16–18 September: 10.0d to three waits at Northampton.

f.41 19–21 September: 20.0d to Lady Bray for the queen's minstrels at Beaudon Ferry.

f.41v 23–28 September: wages to the nine trumpets, three sackbuts and three string minstrels.
Wages to Bonetanps.

f.45v 1–2 November: wages to the nine trumpets, three sackbuts and three string minstrels.
Wages to Bonetanps.

f.46 6 November: wages to the organ-player of the prince.
£10.0d delivered to two minstrels of Flanders.

f.48v 2–5 December: wages to the nine trumpets, three sackbuts and three string minstrels.
Wages to Bonetanps.

f.50v 28 December: 20d to a tumbler at Lord Bath's.
10.0d to the organ-player of the prince.

f.51 Gift of 10.0d to the players of London.
20.0d to two taborers and a tumbler.

[140]

f.51v 31 December: wages to the nine trumpets, three sackbuts and three string minstrels.

Wages to Bonetanps.

1 January: New Year gifts of 100.0d to the trumpets,
50.0d to the sackbuts,
50.0d to the string minstrels,
£4.0.0d to the still minstrels,
40.0d to the queen's minstrels,
13.4d to Bonetanps.

f.52 2-4 January: 13.4d to William, luter of the prince.

Gift of 13.4d to the players of the prince.

f.54v 1 February: wages to the nine trumpets, three sackbuts and three string minstrels.

Wages to Bonetanps.

f.57 28 February: gift of 10.0d to the piper.

f.58 3-5 March: wages to the nine trumpets, three sackbuts and three string minstrels.

Wages to Bonetanps.

f.59 10-15 March: 106.8d for three new *gestes* bought.

f.60 22 March: wages to the organ-player of the prince.

f.61 31 March: wages to the nine trumpets, three sackbuts and three string minstrels.

Wages to Bonetanps.

f.63 19 April: gift of 20.0d to Bonetanps.

f.63v 26 April: 10.0d to Sir Thomas Brandon for minstrels.

f.64 4 May: wages to the nine trumpets, three sackbuts and three string minstrels.

Wages to Bonnetanps.

f.66v 31 May: wages to the nine trumpets, three sackbuts and three string minstrels.

Wages to Bonetanps.

f.67 6 June: gift of 20.0d to the Waits of London.

6.8d to the minstrels of Lord Straunge.

[141]

f.67v 8 June: gift of £6.13.4d to the French minstrels,
10.0d to other French minstrels.

f.68 15 June: gift of 40.0d to the organ-player.

f.68v 22 June: 13.4d to Sir John Cheyney's minstrels.

f.69v 24 June: wages to the nine trumpets, three sackbuts and three string minstrels.

Wages to Bonetanps.

f.71 26 July: gift of 10.0d to the king's piper.

f.72v 1-3 August: wages to the nine trumpets, three string minstrels and three sackbuts.

Wages to Bonetanps.

f.73v 16 August: gift of 10.0d to the French minstrels.

f.74 20 August: gift of 66.8d to three French minstrels.

(*anno* 15)

23 August: 13.4d to the waits of the Earl of Northumberland.

f.75v 1-6 September: wages to the nine trumpets, three sackbuts and three string minstrels.

Wages to Bonetanps.

f.76v 13 September: 40.0d to the minstrel(s) of Honneslow.

f.77v 21-29 September: 26.8d to a trumpeter for a horse.

30 September: wages to the nine trumpets, three sackbuts and three string minstrels.

Wages to Bonetanps.

[142]

APPENDIX B

MINSTRELSY AT DURHAM PRIORY

The following is a calendar of entries relating to minstrels in the accounts transcribed in Fowler/*Durham*: page-references are given to Fowler's transcription. The account-rolls concerned include those of the Bursars (1278–1371), the Cellarers (1307–1535), the Feretrars (1375–1538), the Hostillers (1303–1529) and the Masters of the Infirmary (1352–1535). For convenience, I have rearranged entries in chronological order and used the letters (B), (C), (F), (H) and (I) respectively to indicate from which of the different types of account each entry came.

Entries concerning heralds and players are not included in this calendar; nor are entries dating from the sixteenth century.

No distinction is made between adjacent and non-adjacent entries. Words given here in the original Latin are underlined, with the exception of the contraction "Dns" already noted in Appendix A.¹

1278

p. 485 (B). 2.6d to a groom of Dns Wyschard and to another coming at Carlisle, and to a minstrel of the King of Scotland.

p. 486 (B). 2.0d to a minstrel of Newcastle.

1310–11

p. 508 (B). Gifts of the Prior: 2.0d to a certain harper.

1330–31

p. 516 (B). Gifts of the Prior: 12d to the harper of Dns R. de Ornecliff.

[143]

p. 517 (B). 12d to the harper of Dns Robert de Hornecliff,² by command of the Prior.

¹ See p. 15, above.

1335-36

p. 528(B). Gifts of the Prior: 3.0d for a harp bought for Thomas Harpour.

c.1336

p. 531 (B). 2.0d to Edmund de Kendall, harper, of the Prior's gift at Easter.

2.0d to a certain Robert Fytheler, who captured otters (? - *qui cepit Otres*) at Wardley, by command of the Prior.³

p. 532 (B). 20.0d in gift to minstrels the same day (12 January).

1338-39

p. 535 (B). Gifts and Presents of the Prior: gifts to minstrels, etc., as usual (not printed).

1339-40

p. 538 (B). Several payments to Thomas Harper and his four companions, carpenters, for various repairs to the Priory buildings.

1340-?41

p. 539 (B). Payment to Thomas Harper and his companions, carpenters, for making the Prior's hearse and for buying nails and sawing timber for the same.

1341-42

p. 541(B). Expenses for Robert Scot, going to Carlisle to plead (? - *querentis*) with the Sheriff of Durham on behalf of Thomas Harper, being imprisoned.

1355-56

See below, under date 1360-61.

[144]

c.1357?

p. 559(B). Gifts and Presents of the Prior: 2.0d to William the blind harper at Christmas.

² Perhaps the above payment duplicated. In 7 Ed III, Robert de Horncliff was Constable of the castle of Berwick on Tweed.

³ The Prior had a moated manor-house at Wardley: his other manors were at Beaurepaire (now Bearpark), Pitlington, Bewley and Dalton.

3.4d to John, harper of Dns John de Stirling, and William, blind harper of Newcastle.

4.0d to two trumpeters of the Earl of Northampton at Wyvestow.

3.4d to a certain harper called Rygeaway.

c.1357

p. 560 (B). Gifts and Presents of the Prior: gifts to harpers as before (not printed).

c.1360

p. 563 (B). Gifts and Presents of the Lord Prior: 3.4d to Peter Crouder at Pityngton.

4.6d for a quarter of an *ordium*⁴ given to the same Peter by the Prior.

1360–61

p. 562 (B). Gifts and Presents of the Prior: 8.4d to William Pyper and other minstrels at Christmas. (A similar entry for 1355–56 is not printed.)

3.4d to a certain Welsh harper of Dns William de Dalton.

1361–62

p. 127 (H). Gifts: 2.0d to a man who played on a lute and his wife who sang, at Beaurepaire.⁵

1362?

p. 565 (B). Gifts and Presents of the Prior: 5.0d to a certain minstrel harper of the Bishop of Norwich on the feast of the Translation of St Cuthbert.

3.4d to a certain minstrel *Jestour*, Jawdewyne, at Christmas.

[145]

2.0d to William the *Kakeharpour*⁶ at the same feast.

A similar gift of 2.0d to Barry at the same feast.

2.0d to a certain French blind minstrel with a boy, his brother.

3.4d for a tunic bought for Barry, harper, at the command of the Prior.

1364

⁴ A measure of land.

⁵ Possibly at Christmas, 1361.

⁶ Fowler's glossary (*op cit.*, p. 927) treats William as a waferer, or seller of cakes, quoting the case of minstrels "cum Wafirs" in the accounts for 1402–03 (see below, p. 148). However, he is more likely to be William the blind harper (i.e., *cecus*) of Newcastle, who has already appeared in this calendar under date c.1357.

p. 44 (C). 8d to Thomas Harpour.

c.1364-65

p. 568 (B). Necessary Expenses: 10.0d to a certain doctor tending Thomas Harpour.⁷

c.1365-66

p. 568 (B). Christmas gifts to Barry Harper and others (not printed).

c.1366-68

p. 569 (B). Gifts and presents to minstrels and others (not printed).

1368-69

p. 574 (B). Gifts and Presents of the Prior: 5.0d to Robert, trumpeter, and William Fergos, minstrel, on St Cuthbert's Day.

Payments for repairs to *instrumentis*.

1373-74

p. 579 (B). Gifts and Presents of the Lord Prior: 3.4d to two minstrels with one Weyng.

1374

p. 581 (B). Gifts and Presents of the Prior: 20.8d in payments [146] to twelve minstrels at the feast of St Cuthbert, by command of the Prior.

1374-75

p. 180 (H). Gifts: 12d to William Harpour playing (*ad ludum*)⁸ at Beaurepaire.

1375-76

p. 582 (B). Gifts and Presents of the Prior: 13.4d to minstrels on St Cuthbert's Day in March.

18d to a certain minstrel playing before the lord Prior in his chamber.

6.8d to three minstrels of the Earl of March, playing before the lord Prior.

5.0d to a certain minstrel of the lord the king, coming with Dns de Nevill.

20.0d to twelve minstrels at the feast of St Cuthbert in September.⁹

⁷ "Cuidam medico sananti tibiam Thome Harpour": perhaps Thomas had broken his leg.

⁸ Or possibly for his services at a "ludus": see below, n. 13.

13.4d to four minstrels of the lord the prince on the feast of the Holy Cross.

20d to a certain minstrel on the feast of St Matthew.

13.4d to minstrels at the feast of St Cuthbert in March, A.D. 1375.

2.0d to two minstrels on Easter Day.

1376-77

p. 585 (B). Gifts and Presents of the Prior: 4.6d to William Fergos and Roger the blind harper at Christmas, by command of the Prior.

6.8d to minstrels of Dns de Percy the same week, by command of the same.¹⁰

1377

p. 46 (C). 7d to Thomas Harpour.

7d to Nicholas Harpour.

1380-81

p. 423 (F). Expenses: 6.8d to Thomas Harpour, of the gift of [147] the Prior.

p. 591 (B). Gifts and Presents of the Lord Prior: 6.8d in gift to John Momford, minstrel of the lord the king, at Pittington.

1381-82

p. 592 (B). Gifts and Presents of the Prior: 3.4d to minstrels (or "a minstrel") of Dns de Nevill at Beaurepaire with the lady de Lomly.

6.8d to a minstrel of the lord Duke¹¹ with a dancer in the chamber of the lord Prior. (Also other minstrels, etc., not printed.)

1384-85

p. 594 (B). Gifts and Presents of the Lord Prior: 26.8d to minstrels of the lord the king.

1388-89

p. 596 (B). Wardrobe: 9.8d for cloth bought against the feast of Christmas for Nicholas Harpour, *heremita*.¹²

⁹ See above, i, p. 74, n. 52.

¹⁰ Lord Percy was present on this occasion.

¹¹ Presumably the Duke of Lancaster.

¹² Probably a hermit: perhaps the inmate of a hospital.

1394-95

p. 599 (B). Gifts and Presents of the Prior: gifts (not printed) to various minstrels on St Cuthbert's Day in March, viz., to minstrels of Henry Percy, of the Duke of Lancaster, of Lord Nevill, of the Duke of York, of Scotland and of the Earl of Kent.

A gift (not printed) to a minstrel of Hilton at Christmas.

A gift (not printed) to Richard Brome, minstrel, on St Cuthbert's Day in March.

6.8d to a trumpeter of the lord the king.

6.8d to a crowder (*rotour*) of Scotland.

1397-98

p. 446 (F). Gifts and Presents: 3.8d for gloves and silver given to a minstrel (erased) and ministers in the *ludi*¹³ of the lord Prior.

[148]

1399

p. 602 (B). Gifts to minstrels and others (not printed).

1401-02

p. 604 (B). Gifts to minstrels and others (not printed).

1402-03

p. 604 (B). Gifts: 31.0d to various minstrels with wafers (*cum Wafirs*).

1412-13

p. 610 (B). Repairs: payment to Heliseus Harpour for making a doorway (? - *hostius* or *hostium*) beneath the Prior's chamber.

1416-17

p. 614 (B) Gifts to minstrels and others (not printed).

1421-22

p. 618 (B). Repairs: payment to Heliseus Harpour for making a table for the Prior's chamber.

¹³ A "ludus" was a holiday from normal monastic life.

1437-38

p. 625 (B). Gifts to minstrels and others (not printed).

1440-41

p. 627 (B). Gifts to minstrels and others (not printed).

1441-42

p. 628 (B). Gifts of the Prior: 3.4d to minstrels of the lord the king and of other lords who arrived.

1442-43

p. 275 (I). Expenses: 7.7d to William Harpur, labourer, working within the Infirmary.

1446-47

p. 631 (B). Gifts and Presents: 56.3d given to minstrels and [149] others (summary of gifts).

1449-50

p. 632 (B). Gifts to minstrels and others (not printed).

APPENDIX C

MINSTRELSY IN THE HOWARD ACCOUNTS 1462-1485

The following is a calendar of entries relating to minstrels in the transcribed accounts of Sir John Howard, successively Lord Howard and Duke of Norfolk. The accounts are in English. Those for 1462-1469 are transcribed in *Botfield/Manners*, together with certain accounts and memoranda as late as 1471: the accounts for 1481-1485 are transcribed in *Collier/Norfolk*, as are the accounts of the duke's son, the Earl of Surrey, for 1490-1491. Page-references are to these transcriptions.

This calendar includes entries concerning plays and players. It omits references to the singers of the household chapel, but includes payments relating to the organ and for chapel music.

Some entries have been rearranged to follow chronological order. No distinction is made between adjacent and non-adjacent entries.

Botfield/Manners

p. 150 Between 16 November, 1462, and 27 January, 1463: gift of 4d to a child that sang.

1463

p. 217 13 August: gift of 2.0d to the minstrels of Polstead.
Gift of 12d to Robert Dunwich, trumpeter.

p. 228 12 October, at Lincoln: gift of 8d to the Waits of Lincoln.
Gift of 1d to a harper there.

[151]

p. 230 23 October, at Northwich:¹ gift of 4d to a fiddler.

p. 158 20 December, at London: payment of 3.4d for the transport of the organ from the Grey Friars.

¹ Between October, 1463, and February, 1464, Howard was on an expedition to the Welsh marches in the company of John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk.

p. 159 24 December: payment of 3.4d to Cole, trumpet.

1464

3 January: 3.4d to the harper of the Duchess of Norfolk's grandmother, that lives in Chester.

p. 239 23 January: a new gown and 3d delivered to the taboret.

p. 247 12 March: payment of 20d for a horn.

p. 254 29 March, at London: payment of 20d to the taboret.
Payments for doublets and hose for the taboret and others.

p. 258 18 April: gift of 3.4d to three minstrels of the Earl of Suffolk.²

St George's Eve, 22 April: gift of 6.8d to six minstrels of the Earl of Warwick.

p. 259 28 April: gift of 6.8d to the king's trumpets.

29 April: gift of 6.8d to the trumpets of the Duke of Norfolk.

p. 263 9 May, at Newmarket: gift of 2d to a harper.

p. 264 11 May: payment of 4d for a headstall for the taboret.³

p. 268 1 June, at Newark: payment of 2d for cord for the taboret's tabor.
[152]

2 June, at Stamford: gift of 4d to minstrels.

p. 269 4 June, probably at Cambridge: gift of 1d to a minstrel.

p. 276 St James's Day, 25 July: 2.4d delivered to the taboret to buy himself a pair of hose.

p. 279 9 September: gift of 6.8d to four of the king's minstrels.

1465

p. 180 Memorandum of 20.0d owed to Howard by the Duke of Clarence, lent to Clarence to give to the king's minstrels at the mayor's house (of London).

² Howard had returned to his seat at Stoke.

³ Payment made either at Huntingdon or on the way to Thrapston, Northants.

p. 483 1 January:⁴ New Year gifts of 10.0d to the minstrels and 10.0d to the trumpets.

p. 485 4 February: gift of 20d to a minstrel (on the occasion of supper at Eastcheap).

p. 508 7 April: 14d to the harper for mending a harp.

p. 511 2 May: gift of 12d to the taboret at Moleyn's wedding.
2.0d to the players at Moleyn's wedding.

p. 284 10 May: payment of 3.4d for a Sarum breviary ("porter of Salusbury use").

p. 295 13 June: gift of 20d to a minstrel of the Earl of Oxford.

1466

p. 325 Soon after 12 January: gift of 2.0d to the players of Stoke.

p. 340 8 April: gift of 8d to the taboret.

p. 368 17 September:⁵ gift of 3.4d to the taboret of Lord Wenlock.
[153]

p. 373 20 October: 2d paid for parchment (purpose not specified).

1467

p. 400 21 April:⁶ gift of 16d to the Waits of Colchester.

p. 409 2 July:⁷ gift of 20.0d to the trumpets of the Duke of Clarence.

pp. 439 ff. Part of a list of retainers for an expedition to the north, probably that of 1464. It includes (p. 444) John Symond, taboret, to whom was delivered a jacket and 12d on his wages, 7 October: also (p. 449) 5.0d to Harper on his wages, 29 November.

⁴ Howard was at Reading for the New Year.

⁵ On the occasion of Howard's departure from Calais, where he had been since 15 May.

⁶ On the previous day, at Ipswich, Howard had been chosen a Knight of the Shire.

⁷ Probably at Dover. Howard seems to have escorted the Bastard of Burgundy over the Channel after the death of Philip, Duke of Burgundy.

pp. 454 f. List of Howard's stud when he was with the Duke of Norfolk at Holt Castle, 1463–4, dated 25 January, 3 Ed IV. It includes (p. 455) the taboret, mounted upon Little Morel.

pp. 548 ff. List, dated 13 September, 11 Ed IV, probably of those who went to Calais with Howard after his appointment as Deputy Governor there.⁸ It includes Janen, taboret, and (p. 549) John Porter (probably the draper, not the trumpeter).

Collier/Norfolk

1481

pp. 4 ff. List of those who accompanied Howard to Scotland, 23 February–17 August, includes the following:

p. 6 Roger, taboret, and his fellow.

[154] The Taborets: Pierson of Cromer, John Wright, Thomas Comford, Harry Gamelgay, Thomas Brome, Strong of Cromer and Tornors of Horsfield.

The Trumpets: Robert Pinchbeck of Clare, Robert Rye of Kedington, John Potter of Glemsford, Edmund Frende of Kedington and William Hill of Clare.

p. 8 John Luter.

p. 9 Robert Strong and Pierson.

pp. 13 ff. A similar list, but incomplete, includes John Potter of Glemsford, trumpet, (p. 14) Robert Pinchbeck, trumpet, and Robert Rys, trumpet.

p. 14 Payment of 10.0d each, on the 13 March, to Robert Pinchbeck of Clare and Robert Rys of Kedington, trumpets.

2.0d each to Thomas Comforte and (p. 15) Thomas Brome of Cromer.

p. 15 To Christopher and Valentine, taborets, 16d to make their gowns with; 5.0d to buy themselves hose; 5.10 ¹/₂d paid for their gowns; 4.0d in prest; 2.2d to Valentine for his expenses in going to Southampton.

Payment on the 15 March to John Sinclair, gentleman, for himself and nine others, including John Luter.

pp. 247 ff. More details of the voyage to Scotland in 1481: the list of personnel includes Edmund Frende, William Hill, (p. 248) Pierson of Cromer, Pinchbeck, John Porter, Robert Rys, Robert Strong, Roger, (p. 249) Christopher and Valentine.

p. 252 Payments made on the 7 August to various men, including John Luter.

p. 260 Payments made to Edmund Frende, trumpet, who has his banner: 12.0d on two occasions; 20d on the 20 May; and a gift of 6.8d at his departure.

⁸ Botfield regards this as a list of those who had fought for Edward IV under Howard's command at the battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury (14 April and 4 May, 1471, respectively). Howard had been created a baron in 1470.

Similar payments to William Hill, trumpet: a prest of 10.0d p.m. Pinchbeck; 10.0d and his banner on the 22 April; 20d on the 20 May; and 6.8d at his departure on the 13 August.

p. 264 Payments to Pierson of Cromer: 2.0d in prest; and another payment (left blank).

Payments to Pinchbeck, trumpet, who has his banner: 20.0d on two occasions; 20d on the 20 May; and 6.8d at his departure.

Similar payments to John Porter, trumpet, who has his banner: 20.0d on two occasions; 20d on the 20 May; and 6.8d at his departure.

p. 265 Similar payments to Robert Rys, trumpet, who has his banner: 20.0d on two occasions; 20d on the 20 May.

p. 266 Payment (left blank) to Robert Strong of Cromer.

p. 270 Payments to Christopher and Valentine, taborets: 5.10 1/2d for a gown for each of them; 2.8d to make their gowns; 5.0d to [155] buy hose for themselves; a prest of 4.0d; 2.2d to Valentine for his expenses in going to Southampton; 8d to each of them on the 11 March; 2.0d on the 22 April to buy themselves bonnets, shirts and other "gere"; and 3.4d on 13 August at Harwich.

p. 18 11 March: 16d to the taborets for drink-money.
3.4d to the trumpets for drink-money.

12 March: 10.0d to Pinchbeck of Clare, trumpeter, in prest to his fellow William Hill of Clare, trumpeter.

p. 19 14 March: 40.0d in prest to the trumpets.

(Undated): 4d to the taborets for parchment.

p. 28 24 March: 12d to the taborets to buy shoes.
8d to the harpers.

p. 31 26 March: 4d to the taborets.

p. 35 6 April: payment of 16.8d (?) to Robert Strong, Pierson and Robert Cateleyn.

Payment of 8.0d in prest to Harry Gamelgay, Thomas Comforte, John Wright and Thomas Broome.

p. 36 7 April: 6.8d to a friar to go to Stoke to ...⁹ the taborets.

p. 38 c.10-12 April: payment of 18.0d for four yards of red sarcenet for trumpet banners.

5d paid for a yard of buckram.

⁹ One word is illegible.

14 April: payment of 17.8d to John Sherle, armourer, for making five trumpet banners.

p. 46 16 April: 16d to a man that carried the taborets' "stuff".

p. 48 29 March:¹⁰ 5.0d to Thomas the harper for his wages.
[156]

p. 49 15 April?: 16d to the taborets.

p. 53 21 April: 2.0d to the taborets to buy "gere".

pp. 53 f. 22 April: 10.0d each to Robert Pinchbeck, Robert Rys, John Potter and William Hill, trumpets; 2.0d to Edmund Frente; 20d to them all for their costs.

p. 62 5 May: 2.0d paid for two pairs of shipmen's hose for the taborets.

p. 65 5 or 6 May: 5.0d to the trumpets.

p. 68 9 May: 12d to the taborets of the "Spaniard".¹¹

p. 70 Perhaps 14 May: 3.4d to the minstrels of the Duke of Gloucester.

p. 74 21 May, at Powers: 10d paid for the taborets' bedding.

p. 82 17 July: 12d to the trumpets of the "Portingal".¹²

p. 84 25 July: 20d to the luter of Lady Percy.

p. 86 28 July: gift of 26.8d to the four trumpets.
Gift of 3.4d to the other trumpet.

p. 116 12 August: 5.0d to the trumpets of the Duke of Gloucester.

p. 92 c.13 August: 3.4d to the taborets, for their wages.

p. 100 27 August: 12d to the Waits of London.
6.8d to Christopher, taboret, to buy "gere".
20d to Valentine, taboret.

¹⁰ These two items dated 29 March and 15 April are payments made at Stoke by Lady Howard while Howard was in London.

¹¹ The great Spaniard, the "Mary" of Greenwich, was one of the ships patrolling the Channel. See Collier/*Norfolk*, p. 3.

¹² The "Portingal" was one of the ships which sailed with Howard to Scotland. See Collier/*Norfolk*, p. 3.

- p. 104 29 August: 12d to the taborets.
- p. 105 5 September, at St Osyth: 4d to the harper.
- p. 106 6 September, at Wivenhoe: 8d to the taborets and others, for their breakfast.
[157]
- p. 107 9 September: gift of 2.6d to the minstrels of the Earl of Kent.
- p. 108 14 September: 3.4d to Christopher, taboret.
6.8d to Valentine, taboret.
- p. 115 2 October, at Woolpit: 10d to a man that played on the bagpipes.
- p. 116 10 October: 3.4d to the minstrels of the Duchess of Norfolk.¹³
- p. 122 23 October, probably at London: 5.0d to the minstrels of the Duke of Buckingham.
- p. 126 8 November: 4d to the ringers of St Anthony's Church.
- p. 139 10 December: several payments to Thomas Sinclair, one p.m. the harper.
- p. 140 16 December: 8d to Thomas, harper.
- p. 142 22 December: 20d to a minstrel.
- p. 145 26 December:¹⁴ 3.4d to the players of Coggeshall.

1482

- p. 145 1 January: payment of 20d for the minstrel that was here (Colchester) on Christmas Day.
- p. 146 6.8d to the players of Hadleigh, and to the old man and two children.
6.8d to the trumpets, for a reward.
Gift of 20d to Thomas, harper.
- p. 147 3 January: 3.0d for a small horn that Lady Howard sent to young Master Howard.
- p. 148 7 January: 3.4d to the players of Easterford.
[158]
- p. 149 9 January: 20d to the players of the Earl of Essex.

¹³ The widow of John Mowbray, who had died in 1476.

¹⁴ Howard spent Christmas at Colchester, returning to Stoke on the 10 January.

5.8d paid for four yards of narrow cloth for the liard (i.e. grey) gown of Thomas the harper.

p. 154 25 January: 2.0d to the harper.

p. 158 c. 9–14 February (in London): 3.4d for a pricksong book.

p. 161 15 February: payment of 14.4d to John Goram, Master of the Children at St Anthony's, for a song-book and four anthems.

p. 170 21 March: payment of 7.0d to Robert Borton of Stowmarket, the organ-maker, for mending the organs.
4d paid for a lock for the organs.

p. 191 12 May: 20d to James, the minstrel.

p. 202 c.27 May: 10.0d given to the church on Whit Monday at the play.

p. 203 30 May: payment for hose made for the children of the chapel and for Tom Fool.

p. 207 20 June: gift of 6.8d to the Duke of Gloucester's shawms.

p. 216 11 July: 3.4d given by Lady Howard to the minstrels of Lord Make.

p. 218 14 July: 2.4d to the minstrels for mending a lute.

p. 228 1 August: 1d paid for a pipe for the fool.

According to Collier, a folio is missing from the manuscript after 14 October. The accounts continue in the middle of a list of servants which includes Edmund Frende, William Hill, Pinchbeck, Pierson of Cromer, John Porter, Robert Rys, Robert Strong and the taborets.

Then follows the list of personnel and payments (pp. 247 ff.) calendared above under date 1481.

The journal of expenses from 2 August, 1482, resumes at p. 281.

[159]

p. 286 2 September, at London: gift of 12d to the Waits of London.

Payment of 2.4d for a pricksong mass and an anthem for the chapel.

p. 294 8 October, at Stoke: gift of 3.4d to three minstrels.

p. 300 18 October: agreement made between Lord Howard and William Wastell of London, harper, that he shall have the son of John Colet of Colchester, harper, for a year, to teach him to harp and to sing, for which Lord Howard shall

give him 13.4d and a gown; payment of 6.8d as a token of good faith. Wastell to have the remaining 6.8d and the gown at the end of the year.

p. 336 Christmas Day, 25 December: gift of 3.4d to four players of the Duke of Gloucester.

Gift of 3.4d to four players of Coggeshall.

29 December: gift of 20d to the minstrels of Colchester.

1483

1 January: gift of 2.0d to the minstrels.

p. 339 10 January: gift of 20d to a minstrel of Master Wood.¹⁵

p. 340 6.8d to Thomas Stokes of Hadleigh, minstrel, for his Christmas reward.

6.8d to Thomas Gardener of Herstead, minstrel, for his Christmas reward.

p. 342 15 January: 20d paid to the Waits (of Colchester).¹⁶

p. 360 3 February: 12d to Thomas Stowe, minstrel, of Hadleigh.¹⁷

p. 368 15 March: 8d to the singer of Bury (St Edmunds).

p. 378 Easter Day, 30 March: 12d paid at the Resurrection.

[160]

p. 380 5 April: payments for parchment, including 20d for ten skins for a pricksong book for the chapel.

p. 438 18 August, at Thorpe, near Norwich:¹⁸ 20d to a harper that played before the Duke.

8d to another harper.

p. 447 18 August: gifts to the two harpers as above; payment made at Norwich.¹⁹

¹⁵ Wood was the Treasurer of the Howard Household: see Collier/*Norfolk*, p. xxi.

¹⁶ Repayment by Howard of money spent on the previous day at Colchester.

¹⁷ Paid by Lady Howard while Howard was in London.

¹⁸ Howard was elevated to the Dukedom of Norfolk on 28 June, 1483. During late August he made a progress through Norfolk and Suffolk.

¹⁹ Several entries at this point are duplications of previous entries.

- p. 448 22 August, at Dereham: 8d to a piper of the town.
 p. 449 Same day, at Thetford: 8d to a taboret.

24 August, at Bury St Edmunds: reward of 10.0d to the trumpets of the Duke of Buckingham.

3.4d to a minstrel of the Earl of Kent.

- p. 442 10 September: at London: 20d paid to the Waits.

- p. 459 16 September, in Sussex: 11d to the taboret for his horse and his supper.

- p. 472 15 October: 20d to a minstrel.

- p. 476 19 October: 2.4d to the taboret for his tabor.

- p. 478 3.8d to Roger Taber.

- p. 480 The list of men in Howard's service, 1 Ric III, includes William Harper, of Chipping Kington in Warwickshire, and (p. 490) William Hill (amongst household retainers).

Household of Thomas, Earl of Surrey²⁰

1490

[161]

- p. 509 20 September: reward of 10.0d to the minstrels of the Earl of Arundel (cancelled in manuscript).

- p. 510 7 November: 26.8d for the payment of minstrels at the feast of All Hallowes.

- p. 513 15 December: payment of 8d "for the setting in of a pese on the organs".

- p. 517 27 December: 6.8d to the players of Chelmsford.

1491

1 January: New Year gift of 20d to the minstrels.

2 January: 3.4d in reward to the pageant.

- p. 519 c. 5–8 January: payment of 40d to the taboret of Lord Berners.²¹

²⁰ Thomas had been created Earl of Surrey when his father became Duke of Norfolk. After the battle of Bosworth, in which Norfolk was killed fighting for Richard III, both titles were forfeited: Thomas was restored to his earldom in 1489 and to the Dukedom of Norfolk in 1514.

8 January: 40.0d in reward to the players of Lavenham.

²¹ "... to my Lord Barones taberett ..." This must refer to Lord Berners, who was Surrey's brother-in-law. See Collier/*Norfolk*, p. xix.

APPENDIX D

MINSTRELSY AT THE SCOTTISH COURT
1473-1504

The following is a calendar of entries concerning minstrels in the accounts transcribed in Dickson/*LHTS*, volumes I and II: page-references are given to these transcriptions. The accounts are in English.

The edition is abridged after p. 165 of volume I. There appears to be nothing of special interest for our present purposes amongst the untranscribed entries; but more detailed work on these accounts should be undertaken with reference to the manuscripts.

Entries concerning players are included in this calendar: entries referring to heralds are omitted. I have ignored references to chapel singers unless they were of particular interest, but references to the removal of the organ are included.

Entries have been rearranged when necessary to follow chronological order. Adjacent entries are noted as in Appendix A, above.¹ Most of the *Discharge* sections of the accounts are set out as a Journal. I have not usually distinguished the different *tituli*, however: entries from livery-lists, etc., are often undated, and can usually be recognised from my calendar. I have not searched receipts.

A feature of the English accounts calendared as Appendix A, above, was that many payments were in multiples of 13.4d or 6.8d because of the common use of the mark and half mark. In the Scottish accounts, payments are often in certain other coins, [163] such as the Rose Noble or Ryal (36.0d), the Angel (24.0d), the Unicorn (18.0d), the Demy (14.0d), and their halves. The value of these English coins was much greater in Scotland than in England.² These coins are not named in my calendar: I have given only the £.s.d. equivalents as set down by the scribe for accounting purposes.

*Volume 1*1473

p. 67 c. 11 August: 40.0d given to Heroune, a clerk of the chapel, for his passage to the "scolis".

¹ See above, p. 14.

² C.f. Davis/*ME*, pp. 569 f.

p. 43 3 September: gift of £5.0.0d to John Brown, the luter, on going abroad to improve his playing ("... to lere his craft").

p. 14 c. 4 September: 45.0d paid for a saddle for the king's trumpets.

p. 44 6 September: £6.0.0d to Carrick for taking letters to Bruges.³

p. 57 Probably at Christmas, perhaps at the New Year: liveries of cloth for the trumpeters' gowns, hose and doublets.

1474

p. 68 c. 21 January: payment of £5.0.0d given to the trumpets in reward at Christmas.

p. 69 Amongst Easter rewards: 16d for an ell of canvas given to the luter.
Easter reward of 40.0d to the trumpets.

p. 49 30 April: 20.0d to the trumpets, going to the Duke of Albany at the expected arrival of the Duke of Gloucester.

p. 59 c. late April-early June: livery of cloth for the [164] luter's gown.
(adjac)
Liveries of cloth for the gown, lining and hose of the king's little luter, the boy.

p. 60 4 September: payment for clothes bought for the king's little luter, who was sent to Bruges.

p. 61 c. 20-24 September: £12.0.0d paid for two books of gold (leaf) for four coats of arms for the heralds and another two books for four banners for the trumpets.

(adjac)

16.0d paid for four ounces of silk for the trumpets' banners.

After 23 September: livery of cloth for the trumpets' doublets.

Livery of cloth and velvet binding for the trumpets' gowns.

1488⁴

p. 91 Probably 5 August: £5.0.0d to Patrick Johnson and the players of Linlithgow, for playing to the king.

³ Probably Carrick Herald, not William Carrick the trumpeter.

⁴ On 11 June, 1488, James III was killed after his capture at the battle of Sauchie: his son was crowned as James IV twelve days later.

- p. 92 6 August: 18.0d to Jock Pringill, trumpeter.
- p. 163 c. 3 October: amongst payments for heralds and pursuivants is one of £15.0.0d for three trumpet banners.
- p. 97 3 November: £2.13.4d to Peter of Crichton, for mending the king's trumpets.⁵
[165]
- p. 98 c. 14–18 November: £4.10.0d to Pringill.
- p. 100 c. 11–24 December: £10.0.0d to Pringill and his companions, in payment of a fine at Peebles.⁶
- p. 101 St John's Day, 27 December:⁷ £3.12.0d to Pringill, trumpeter.
20.0d to Pringill.

1489

- p. 106 c. 25–31 March: £10.0.0d to the trumpeters, for a fine at the circuit-court at Ayr.⁸
- p. 108 Maundy Thursday, 16 April:⁹ 21.0d to Carrick, trumpeter.
- p. 118 30 April: £2.4.0d to Pringill.
(adjac)
£3.12.0d to Patrick Johnson and his companions, who played a play to the king in Linlithgow.
- p. 110 4 May: 28.0d to Pringill, to mend his tabor.¹⁰

⁵ Peter was a royal servant, but seems to have carried out the repairs himself. Had he been merely the intermediary through whom the payment was made, the entry would probably have read, "Item, to Peter of Crichton for the mending of the Kingis trwmpis .." rather than "... for the mending of the Kingis trwmpis be Peter of Crichton". During November of this year the king sent his heralds to France, Spain and other countries in search of a suitable marriage. It seems probable that all the trumpeters went with them, Pringill only excepted: the mending of the trumpets and the making of banners would be in preparation for this.

⁶ James had opened the southern circuit-court at Lanark in August.

⁷ The king spent Christmas at Linlithgow.

⁸ The king was attending the southern courts.

⁹ The king spent Easter at Linlithgow.

¹⁰ James was making preparations for war against Lord Lyle and the Earl of Lennox.

p. 114 c. 25–28 June: 18.0d to Pringill, trumpeter, “to pass chargis of the Kingis to Culroyse”.

1 July: £2.10.0d to Pringill, to make a banner.

c. 1–10 July: £10.0.0d to William Sangstare of Linlithgow, for a song book he brought to the king.

p. 115 Soon after 10 July: £8.8.0d to the English pipers that came to the castle gates and played to the king.

p. 116 22 July: £2.0.0d to Whig, trumpeter, to buy him a horse.

[166]

p. 136 c. 10 August–24 October: payments for a lined gown made for the king and given to Pringill.

p. 120 16 September: £12.0.0d to Jacob, luter, when he was to sail.

p. 126 c. Christmas–New Year, at Edinburgh: 5.0d to Carrick, for taking letters.¹¹

1490

p. 132 Easter gifts at Linlithgow, 13 April:
 £5.8.0d to the trumpets.
 18.0d to Bennet.
 18.0d to Berclay.
 5.0d to another fiddler.

p. 133 27 April: 18.0d to Blind Harry.

p. 187 Payment for a lined gown given to Jacob, luter.

1491

p. 174 New Year rewards at Linlithgow, 1 January:
 £4.10.0d to the trumpets.
 28.0d to Whig and Jok, trumpets.
 18.0d to Blind Harry.
 18.0d to Berclaw.
 9.0d to Dominic.

¹¹Probably Carrick Herald. James had summoned his nobles to join him at the New Year, as the siege of Dumbarton had delayed his Christmas celebrations. It was a difficult time for him, and the accounts contain no rewards to the minstrels at the New Year.

- p. 176 Easter rewards at Linlithgow, Tuesday after Easter, 5 April:
 £3.12.0d to the trumpets.
 18.0d to Blind Harry.
 18.0d to Bennet.
 18.0d to a harper.
- p. 177 19 April: gift of 18.0d to Martin, clarsach, and the other highland clarsach-player.
- 30 May: 18.0d to a highland harper.
- [167]
- p. 180 21 August: gift of £7.4.0d to three English pipers.
- p. 181 14 September: 5.0d to Blind Harry.
- c. 11–13 October: 2.0d to Gyl Dow “to pass for the Kingis trwmpis”.¹²
- p. 194 Liveries to Falconers, c. 21 December–26 February, 1492: payment for livery gowns to Pringill and Carrick.

1492

- p. 184 2 January, at Linlithgow: £2.14.0d to Sir Thomas Galbrethe, Jok Goldsmyth and Craford, for singing a ballad to the king in the morning.
 9.0d to Blind Harry.
 10.0d to Martin M’Bretne, clarsach.
 5.0d to another highland clarsach-player.
- Epiphany, 6 January: 36.0d to Pringill, “King of bene”.¹³
- p. 201 25 July: payment for the carriage of the king’s trumpets from Stirling to Edinburgh.

1494

- p. 232 Liveries of cloth for the gowns, doublets and hose of various servants, including the four trumpeters and Pate, harper.
 Livery of cloth for the gown, doublet and hose of Jacob, luter.
 Payment for cloth given to Pringill for a livery to make a dance against Epiphany.

¹²The king was at Tantallon: perhaps the trumpeters had remained at Linlithgow and had to be fetched.

¹³Probably equivalent to the “Lord of Misrule” in English household celebrations.

p. 233 Liveries of cloth for their gowns, doublets and hose to John Pringill and Pete John, when they went to Flanders with Sir Andrew Wood.

Liveries of cloth for gowns and doublets to Pringill and Carrick, the time that the king went to the Isles.¹⁴

[168]

1494-5

p. 237 Unspecified gifts:
£3.12.0d to Jacob, luter.
36.0d to Pringill and Carrick.
18.0d to Petty John.

1495

p. 242 c. 29 September-6 November:¹⁵ £13.6.8d to the English minstrels.

p. 264 Payments for gowns, doublets and hose for two trumpeters.¹⁶

1496

p. 269 Payment for the carriage of the organ to Stirling for the celebration of Easter.

p. 273 25 April: gift of 13.4d to James Milson, Harper.

p. 274 2 May: gift of 9.0d to Bennet, fiddler.

p. 275 Probably 24 May, at Stirling: gift of 14.0d to two women that sang to the king.

p. 279 20 June, probably at Edinburgh: gift of 14.0d to two women that sang to the king.

p. 280 c. 24-25 June: 13.4d to William, luter.

c. 29 June: gift of 14.0d to William and John Pais, taborers.

p. 283 9 July:¹⁷ gift of 14.0d to Lundoris, luter.

¹⁴Probably in the autumn, 1493.

¹⁵At Parliament in Edinburgh.

¹⁶This item is undated, but occurs amongst expenses for the visit of "Prince Richard of England". Perkin Warbeck, posing as the Duke of York, arrived in Stirling probably on the 20 November. In January, 1496, he married James' cousin, Lady Catherine Gordon: this payment is possibly for liveries to Warbeck's own trumpeters for the tournament which followed the marriage.

[169] (adjac)
10 July: gift of 14.0d to Jacob, luter.

p. 284 17 July, apparently in Edinburgh: 18.0d to John of Wardlaw, luter.

p. 288 3 August: gift of 9.0d to the one-handed harper.

p. 304 28 October: gift of 36.0d to James Milson, the harper.¹⁸

p. 307 c. 7–9 December: payment of 6.8d for a lute for the king.

1497

p. 309 2 January, at Melrose: gift of 18.0d to Jacob, luter.
(adjac)

3 January: gift of 13.4d to Pate, harper.

p. 321 25 February: gift of 14.0d to Fowlis, harper.

Gift of 9.0d to Bennet, fiddler.

Gift of 9.0d to Jame Rudman, to buy himself a lute.

p. 322 6 March, at Stirling: gift of 27.0d to the taborer that played to the king,
and the rope-dancer with him.

p. 324 13 March, in St Johnstone:¹⁹ gift of 18.0d to David Hay and a luter.
Gift of 7.0d to a man that played to the king on a clarsach.

p. 326 Easter rewards to the minstrels, at Stirling, 28 March:

28.0d to Thomas Pringill and his brother, trumpeters.

28.0d to Will Carrick and Pete John, trumpeters.

28.0d to Adam Boyd, fiddler, and Milson, harper.

28.0d to Bennet, fiddler, and Fowlis, harper.

28.0d to Jacob, luter.

36.0d to William and Pais, taborers, and a rope-dancer with them.

14.0d to Widderspune, fowler and teller of tales.

9.0d to Pate, harper.

[170] 9.0d to Lundoris, luter.

p. 327 9.0d to Ansle, taborer.

p. 329 c. 10–14 April: payment for the carriage of the king's clavichord ("a pare
of monicordis") from Aberdeen to Stirling.

¹⁷This and the next two entries are for gifts made during the king's pilgrimage to St Duthac's.

¹⁸Probably during a hawking expedition in Perthshire.

¹⁹During a pilgrimage to Tain.

Probably the same day as above: gift of 9.0d to John, the one-handed harper.²⁰

18 April: gift of 10.0d to a man and a woman that sang to the king.

p. 330 19 April: gift of 9.0d to two fiddlers that sang *Graysteil* to the king.

p. 333 5 May:²¹ gift of 13.4d to Adam Boyd, fiddler.

Gift of 13.4d to Milson, harper.

Gift of 9.0d to the broken-backed fiddler in St Andrews.

6 May, in Falkland: gift of 9.0d to Berclay, the fiddler.

p. 335 16 May: payment for the carriage of the organ between Stirling and Edinburgh.

p. 337 c. 23 May; in Dunbar: gift of 7.0d to the fiddler there.

p. 340 12 June, in Melrose: 9.0d to Fowlis, the harper.

9.0d to Pate, harper.

18.0d to William and Pais, taborers.

p. 348 21 July: 14.0d to Jacob, luter.

c. 21–24 July:²² 14.0d to the minstrels that played before Mons down the road.

[171]

p. 356 c. 14 September, at Durisder:²³ gift of 5.0d to a fiddler there that played to the king.

p. 359 20 September: gift of 18.0d to Pate, harper.

p. 360 23 September: gift of 18.0d to Pais, taborer, and Bennet, fiddler.

p. 361 c. 2–5 October:²⁴ gift of 9.0d to Pate, harper.

p. 362 c. 10–20 October, at Aberdeen: gift of 18.0d to the pipers of Aberdeen.

²⁰The king went from Linlithgow to Stirling on this day.

²¹The king left St Andrews for Stirling on this day.

²²The king's army was assembled at Melrose, prior to a raid on northern England. The gun "Mons" was brought out of Edinburgh Castle for the raid, preceded by minstrels.

²³This and the following two items were probably during a pilgrimage to Whithorn.

²⁴This and the following item were probably during a pilgrimage to Tain.

p. 368 20 November: 5.9d to Jame Widderspune, the fiddler.

25 November, "in my Lord of Abirdenis": gift of £3.6.8d to Henry of Hadington, singer.

p. 371 c. 14–17 December: 4.6d to Berclay, fiddler, that played to the king.

p. 372 18 December: gift of 18.0d to Adam Boyd, taborer.

c. 19–22 December, at Fowlis in Angus: gift of 14.0d to the harper there.

1498

p. 375 c. 3–5 January:²⁵ gift of 28.0d to the common pipers of Aberdeen.

p. 376 6 February, at Perth:²⁶ gift of 9.0d to a luter in the Stobhall.

c. 12 February, at St Andrews: gifts of 9.0d each to Adam Boyd, Bennet and James Milson, minstrels.

[172]

p. 377 21 February:²⁷ gift of 13.4d to Sandy, harper.

p. 378 c. 22–25 February, at Duchal: gift of 14.0d to the harper.

p. 380 Probably 27 February: payment of 45.0d to the Laird of Fastcastell, that he had given at Stirling, at the king's command, to two minstrels and another.

p. 383 16 March, in Duchal: 13.4d to the harper there.

19 March, at Dumbarton: gift of 14.0d to the men that played to the king on the clarsach.

Gift of 14.0d to the piper of Dumbarton.

c. 20–22 March, at Stirling: 13.4d to Andrew Wood, that he had given at the king's command to an English harper.

p. 385 3 April, at Whithorn: gift of 11.8d to young Rudman, the luter there.

²⁵The king spent Christmas at Aberdeen.

²⁶During the northern circuit-courts.

²⁷On this day the king left Stirling for the Isles.

p. 389 8 May: 18.0d to Martin Bailie, that he had given in Setoun, at the king's command, to the women that met the king and sang, when he was travelling to Dunbar.

Volume 2

1501

- p. 97 16 February: 14.0d to a luter called Dickson.
- p. 98 1 March, in Stirling: gift of 28.0d to the blind luter.
(adjac)
32.0d to Jacob, luter, to redeem his lute that had been given as a pledge.
- p. 102 Easter rewards at Edinburgh, Easter Tuesday, 13 April:
28.0d to Jacob, luter.
14.0d to the blind luter.
14.0d each to Robert Rudman and his two sons.
14.0d each to Thomas and John Hopringill, Alexander Caslaw and John, trumpeters.
14.0d each to Pate, harper on the harp, Pate, [173] harper on the clarsach, James Milson, harper, the Irish clarsach-player and an English harper.
14.0d each to Adam Boyd, William, Anslie and Portwis, taborers, the two common pipers of Edinburgh, a son of John Wardlaw, and Jame Widderspune, "fithelar and tellar of tales".
- p. 103 6.8d to the little fiddler called "Curry's fiddler".
- 21 April:²⁸ gift of 14.0d to the blind luter.
- p. 104 23 April, at Whithorn: 14.0d to the Prior's luter.
(adjac)
14.0d to John Hopringill, trumpeter.
- p. 107 8 May: 14.0d to Alexander Caslaw, trumpeter.
- 9 May: 28.0d given to the two luters that went to Whithorn.
- p. 108 c. 12-14 May: 42.0d to Jacob, luter.
- p. 109 22 May: 14.0d to Pate, harper.
- 25 May: gift of 14.0d to James Milson, harper.
(adjac)
Similar gift of 14.0d to one John, luter, with him.

²⁸James had left Edinburgh the previous day for Whithorn.

- p. 110 1 June: 14.0d to Pate, harper.
(adjac)
28.0d sent to Jacob, luter, lying ill at Edinburgh.
- p. 111 16 June: 14.0d paid to Andrew Wood, that he gave at the king's command to the luter of the Laird of (St) Johnstone.
- p. 112 23 June: 28.0d to the disguisers who danced.
- p. 113 1 July: 14.0d to the blind luter.
(adjac)
28.0d to John Wardlaw's son.
- p. 117 25 August: payment for the removal of the organ to the church of Steill and back when the king was there.
- p. 119 14 September, in Balquidder:²⁹ 2.0d to a clarsach- [174] player there.
Gift of 5.0d to two highland bards.
- p. 120 16 September: gift of 28.0d to two men that played on the clarsach and sang to the king.
- p. 123 24 October, in Montrose:³⁰ 14.0d to the broken-backed fiddler there.
- p. 124 26 October, at Aberdeen: 18.0d to the common pipers of Aberdeen.
- p. 125 7 November, at Inverness: payment for a case to carry the organ in.

11 November: 14.0d to the harper of the Laird of Balnagown.
- p. 126 15 November:³¹ 28.0d to Alexander Harper, to buy himself a horse.

18 November, at Inverness: 14.0d to the harper of the Thane of Cawdor.

c. 21–22 November, in Darnaway: gift of 9.0d to the maidens of Forres, that came to Darnaway and sang.
- p. 127 £5.12.0d to Thomas Clerk, singer.³²

28 November: 14.0d to Alexander Caslaw, trumpeter.

²⁹The king went on a hunting expedition, 13–15 September.

³⁰James was on a pilgrimage to Tain.

³¹Probably at Tain, which had been reached on 13 November.

³²Perhaps a chapel singer.

p. 128 3 December, at Aberdeen: 9.0d to the common pipers of Aberdeen.

11 December: payment for removal of the organ.

12 December: gift of 56.0d to four minstrels.

p. 129 17 December: 42.0d to Robert Rudman and his two sons.

20 December: payment for the carriage of the organ and bellows.

[175]

p. 54 Probably at Christmas, 1501–2: liveries of cloth to Anslie, taborer.
The same to Thomas Pringill and Alexander Caslaw, trumpeters.

p. 55 Similar liveries of cloth to other servants, including Pate Harper, clarsach-player.

Similar liveries of cloth to Jacob, luter.

1502

p. 131 New Year rewards at Edinburgh, 1 January:

28.0d to Jacob, luter.

14.0d each to Thomas Pringill, John Pringill, Alexander Caslaw, John, Pete John and Thomas Pringill the younger, trumpeters.

14.0d each to James Milson, Pate harper, Alexander, harper, Pate, harper on the clarsach, and the blind harper.

14.0d each to Adam Boyd, Anslie, William, John Portuous and a taborer of Leith, taborers.

14.0d each to Robert Rudman and his two sons, Adam Dickson and Valentine, luters.

14.0d each to Johnston, James Widderspune and blind Thomas, fiddlers.

14.0d each to the two common pipers of Edinburgh.

7.0d to little Bennet, fiddler.

9.0d to the common piper of the Canongate.

14.0d to Nicholas Gray, playing on the drone.

9.0d to a minstrel called Andrew the fiddler, with Nicholas Gray.

2 January: £4.4.0d to the disguisers who played to the king that night.

p. 132 c. 6–7 January: 56.0d to the disguisers.

p. 134 23 January, at Stirling:³³ 28.0d to William, taborer, and Anslie.

c. 26–28 January: 14.0d to Adam Dickson, the blind luter.

³³James remained at Stirling until March.

29 January: gift of 42.0d to William, taborer, to buy himself “quissillis”.

[176]

p. 135 8 February: gift of 42.0d to the men that brought in the Morris dance, and to their minstrels.

p. 136 15 February: gift of 42.0d to Colin Campbell, to buy himself a lute.

p. 137 c. 23–24 February: 14.0d to Adam Dickson, luter.

c. 25 February: 14.0d to Adam Dickson, luter.

p. 138 3 March: £6.2.0d to Adam Dickson, luter, to go to Edinburgh to have clothes made for his journey to Darnaway to the lady.³⁴

p. 140 15 March:³⁵ gift of 9.0d to Berclay, fiddler.

p. 141 21 March: gift of 28.0d to Jock Silver, organist.

Easter rewards on Easter Tuesday, 29 March:

28.0d to Jacob, luter.

The other rewards are as at Christmas, above, but omitting Thomas Pringill the younger, James Milson, the taborer of Leith, Valentine, Johnston and the piper of the Canongate.

p. 145 26 April: 14.0d to the minstrel of Lord Seton.

p. 146 1 May: 28.0d to Niniane Spottiswood, singer.

5 May: 14.0d to Watte, singer.

(adjac)

5.0d to Kerswell, cook, that sang to the king.

p. 148 28 May: 14.0d to the taborers of the “Jacat”.³⁶

p. 151 18 June:³⁷ 28.0d to Adam Boyd.

p. 153 7 July, on board the “barge of Dundee”: 14.0d to the taborer of the said ship.

[177]

³⁴A royal mistress.

³⁵James spent Lent and Easter at Edinburgh.

³⁶James was inspecting his ships in the Firth of Forth.

³⁷Perhaps at Dumbarton, although the king had been at Stirling earlier in the month.

8 July, probably at Edinburgh: partly illegible payment to Ansle, taborer, for money that he won from the king.

p. 154 16 July: 14.0d to Alexander Buquhane, singer.

p. 155 20 July: 42.0d to Ansle, taborer, to buy himself a new tabor.

c. 24–26 July: 18.0d to James Milson and another minstrel with him.

p. 156 5 August: 14.0d to Alexander Caslaw.

p. 158 19 August:³⁸ 14.0d to the pipers of Wigtown.
(adjac)

20 August: 14.0d to the old luter at Threave.

p. 340 17 September: payment for four ells of red taffeta, which was given to the trumpets (for banners?) the time they went to Denmark, and not paid until now.

p. 342 24 September: 28.0d to Ansle, taborer, to travel in Moray with the Bishop of Moray.

26 September, in Falkland: 28.0d to a luter and a fiddler there.

18.0d to Milson, harper.

p. 343 29 September, in Methven: 14.0d to the luter of the Lord of Ruthven.

p. 348 28 November: 14.0d to Robert Rudman, luter.

1503

p. 353 New Year rewards at Arbroath, 1 January:

14.0d each to four trumpeters, three luters, four harpers, two taborers and three fiddlers (not named in the MS).

£4.4.0d to disguisers in Arbroath.

28.0d to Jacob, luter.

p. 359 22 February, in Edinburgh: 14.0d to the blind harper.

[178] 18.0d to the common pipers of Edinburgh.

p. 360 25 February: 14.0d to Adam Dickson, luter.

5 March: 14.0d to the taborer of Sir George Lauder.

³⁸James was returning from a pilgrimage to Whithorn, which he had reached the previous day.

p. 361 12 March: 14.0d to Craik, luter.

p. 366 c. 8-9 April:³⁹ 6.0d to the pipers of Wigtown.

10 April, at the Kirk of Kile: 7.0d to a taborer following the king.
Same date, at Bothwell: 14.0d to the fiddlers there.

p. 367 Easter rewards at Stirling on Easter Tuesday, 18 April:

14.0d each to the five trumpeters; to William, Ansle and Lord Hamilton's taborer; to Pate Harper, Alexander Harper, Pate Harper, clarsach-player, and the blind harper; to Robert Rudman and his son, Jame Widderspune, fiddler, another man with him and Jame that plays on the drone; to Alexander Wardlaw and Adam Dickson, luters.

28.0d to Jacob, luter.

p. 369 2 May: £3.10.0d to Makberty, clarsach-player, to travel in the Isles.

5 May:⁴⁰ 28.0d to the common pipers of Edinburgh.

p. 370 c. 8-9 May, at Dumfries: 28.0d to pipers and taborers there.

p. 371 10 May: 14.0d to Alexander Wardlaw, luter.

14 May, at Wigtown:⁴¹ 14.0d to the pipers of Wigtown.

15 May: 9.0d to the clarsach-player in Glenluce.
6.0d to a piper there.

[179]

16 May, in Bargany: 14.0d to the taborer there.
14.0d to Ansle, taborer.

p. 372 23 May: 40.0d to Rankin, the Dutch luter.

p. 374 6 June:⁴² payment of 56.0d to Andrew Wood, being money that he had given at the king's command to the minstrels of the Abbot of Unreason.

p. 375 c. 15-16 June: 28.0d to Rankin, the Flemish luter.

³⁹James was on a pilgrimage to Whithorn, which he reached on 8 April.

⁴⁰Probably at Edinburgh: James was travelling from Stirling to Moffat by way of Peebles.

⁴¹During a pilgrimage to Whithorn.

⁴²Probably paid after the king's return to Edinburgh: the original gift had perhaps been made during the festivities at Epiphany.

p. 377 24 June, probably in Perth: horses bought for several servants, including Rankin, luter.

3 July, in St Johnstone: 5.0d to a highland fiddler.

p. 382 20 July: payment of 14.0d to the Controller, that he had given at the king's command to the pipers.

Liveries for the king's marriage:⁴³

p. 310 Livery to Jacob, luter.

p. 313 Liveries to Alexander Wardlaw; to Rankin, Flemish luter; to Thomas Hopringill the elder, Alexander Caslaw, Pete John and John, Trumpeters.

p. 316 Liveries to the queen's luter and to Bountas, "Cornut".

p. 386 11 August:⁴⁴ £4.4.0d to the luter of an English noble.

p. 387 c. 13-14 August: £28.0.0d to eight English minstrels.
£28.0.0d to the English trumpeters.
£3.10.0d to the English rope-dancer that "playit the supersalt".
£7.0.0d to the queen's four minstrels that remain with her.
£7.0.0d to the English minstrel that departed and was recalled by the king.

[180] £6.6.0d to the three minstrels of Berwick.

£5.12.0d to the English bearward.⁴⁵

£5.12.0d to the two minstrels of the Earl of Oxford.

£21.0.0d to the three disguisers that played the play.

£28.0.0d to the five loud minstrels.

p. 388 19 August: 14.0d to the clarsach-player of the Earl of Argyle.

20 August: 56.0d to the pipers of Aberdeen.

p. 389 c. 21-22 August: £3.10.0d given to the king that night to play at cards, and since given to the English harpers.

p. 390 26 August: 56.0d to Cuddy, the English luter, to redeem a chain of groats which he lost at cards.

p. 392 3 September: payment of 24.0d for a pair of "tympanes" for the king.

⁴³James married Margaret, daughter of Henry VII, at Holyrood on 8 August.

⁴⁴The gifts dated 11 and c. 13-14 August were probably made during the celebrations following the marriage.

⁴⁵The "bere ledair of England" - probably Henry VII's own bearward.

- p. 395 11 September: £21.0.0d to the Italian girl that danced.
Payment for cloth to make her a gown.
56.0d to the four Italian minstrels, to hire horses to go to Linlithgow.
- p. 397 c. 23–26 September: £7.0.0d to an English harper.
- p. 398 c. 29 September: 28.0d to Bountas, that played on the cornett in the queen's chamber.
- p. 399 c. 29 September or later, probably at Stirling or Linlithgow: 28.0d to one of the minstrels, going to Edinburgh to buy himself a shawm.
- 1 October: £21.0.0d to the English minstrels at their departure.
£3.10.0 to the queen's luter.
£3.10.0 to Bountas, that plays on the cornett.
56.0d to the Italian minstrels.
- p. 400 2 October: 42.0d to the cornett-player, to buy himself "Quissilles".
28.0d to Alexander, harper, and James Milson.
[181] 6 October:⁴⁶ 28.0d to the common pipers of Aberdeen.
- c. 8–9 October, in Elgin: 28.0d to a blind harper there.
- 11 October, probably at Tain: 18.0d to the girls that danced to the king.
- p. 403 24 October, in Stirling or Linlithgow: 28.0d to the four Italian minstrels, for their expenses in Stirling.
- 26 October: 28.0d to Bountas, cornett-player.
14.0d to Pate Harper, clarsach-player.
- 27 October, in Linlithgow: 28.0d to the four Italian minstrels.
- p. 404 31 October: 28.0d to the four loud minstrels.
- p. 407 c. 16–18 November, at Edinburgh: overdue payment for the carriage of the organ and other chapel equipment.
14.0d to one of the four Italian minstrels, to buy himself a hat.
- p. 408 (Undated): 28.0d to the queen's luter.
- p. 409 3 December: £5.12.0d to the four Italian minstrels.
- 12 December: 14.0d to Adam Dickson, luter.

⁴⁶James was on a pilgrimage to Tain.

28.0d to Watte, singer.

p. 411 20 December: 14.0d to the shoemaker luter.

1504

p. 412 New Year rewards, 1 January:

14.0d each to Thomas Hopringhill, John Hopringil, Alexander Caslaw, Pete John and John, trumpeters; Alexander Harper, Pate Harper, Pate Harper, clarsach-player, Hugh Brabaner and the blind harper, harpers; Robert Rudman, Cuddy the English boy, the shoemaker luter, Adam Dickson and Craik, luters; Ansle, William, Portuous and Quhynbore, taborers; Adam Boyd, Bennet and Jame Widderspune, fiddlers; the common pipers of Edinburgh.

56.0d each to the queen's luter and Bountas, cornett- [182] player.

35.0d each to the four Italian minstrels.

28.0d each to Colin Campbell, Jacob the luter and Alexander Wardlaw.

p. 414 5 January: £5.12.0d to the disguisers of the town of Edinburgh.

c. 7-8 January: £5.0.0d to Colin Campbell, to pay his "gersum".⁴⁷

p. 417 28 January, in Falkland: 28.0d to two luters.

p. 318 30 January: liveries to the four Italian minstrels.

p. 418 1 February: 18.0d to Alexander Wardlaw.

3 February: £3.10.0d to the disguisers of Edinburgh that danced in the Abbey.

7 February: £7.0.0d to Bountas, cornett-player, on his departure to England.

p. 421 23 February, in Biggar: 14.0d to a piper and a fiddler that night.

(Undated): 14.0d to the "crukit vicar" that sang at Dumfries.
(adjac)

28 February: 14.0d to the pipers of Dumfries.

6 March:⁴⁸ 28.0d to the Italian minstrels.

p. 422 9 March: gift of 56.0d to Colin Campbell, lying ill.

⁴⁷A fine on entry to a holding or lease.

⁴⁸Probably on the way back to Edinburgh.

- p. 425 31 March: 4.0d to young Bennet, fiddler.
- p. 426 c. 3–4 April: 28.0d to the four Italian minstrels.
- p. 431 7 April: wages to the four Italian minstrels.
[183]
- p. 426 Easter rewards at Edinburgh on Easter Tuesday, 9 April:
56.0d to the four Italian minstrels.
14.0d each to Thomas Hopringill, elder and younger, John Hopringill,
Alexander Gaslaw, John the trumpeter and Pete John, trumpeters.
- p. 427 14.0d to each of nineteen other minstrels (not named in the MS).
28.0d to Alexander Wardlaw.
- 12 April: £3.10.0d to the Moorish taborer.
- p. 428 c. 15–16 April: 28.0d to the queen's luter.
- p. 430 3 May: £5.12.0d to the Moorish taborer, for his expenses.
- p. 432 9 May: 14.0d to a taborer and a fiddler in Leith.
6.0d to the taborer of Robert Berton, in the ship.
- p. 434 19 May, probably at Dumbarton: 14.0d to the pipers of Dumbarton.
- p. 435 c. 21–22 May: 11.6d to the shoemaker luter.
- p. 436 c. 30–31 May, in Leith: 7.0d to Quhynbore, the taborer there.
- p. 439 c. 12–13 June: payment of 28.0d to the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, being
money that he had given to the luter of the Bishop of Moray.
- 14 June: 14.0d to the Moorish taborer.
- c. 15–16 June: 14.0d to Adam Dickson, luter.
Payment for the carriage of the organ.
- p. 440 c. 17–18 June: 9.0d to Cuddy, the English luter.
- p. 443 29 June:⁴⁹ 14.0d to the taborer of the Laird of Craigie.
(adjac)
30 June, in Paisley: 14.0d to the harper of Lord Simpill.
[184]
- 1 July: 18.0d to John Hopringill and Thomas Hopringill the younger,
trumpeters, to travel from Glasgow.

⁴⁹James had been on a pilgrimage to Whithorn, which he had reached on 25 June.

p. 444 3 July, in Linlithgow: 14.0d to the Moorish taborer, to hire a horse to go to Stirling, and to pay for his lodgings in Linlithgow.

p. 445 c. 8–9 July: payment for a lute and a clavichord brought home to the king from Flanders.

p. 446 10 July, in Falkland: 14.0d to two minstrels.

p. 449 c. 29–30 July: 36.0d to the war-trumpeter (“draucht trumpet”), on condition that he does not marry during the next year.

31 July: 28.0d to Alexander the harper and James Milson.

p. 450 c. 2 August: 28.0d to James Milson and Alexander, harper, to hire horses to go to the raid of Eskdale.

p. 451 7 August: £3.10.0d to the four Italian minstrels and the Moorish taborer, to hire horses at Eskdale.

p. 453 13 August, in Dumfries: 42.0d to minstrels, to hire horses to travel to Eskdale and back to Dumfries.

(adjac)

14 August: 14.0d to the pipers of Dumfries.

14.0d to other minstrels there.

p. 454 19 August: 28.0d to the four Italian minstrels.
14.0d to the man that guided them to the army.

20 August: 14.0d to Sir John Musgrave’s man “that blew the hunting to the King”.

21 August: 28.0d to two English women that sang in the king’s tent.

p. 456 11 September: payment for the carriage of the organ in Eskdale.

p. 457 £4.4.0d to the four Italian minstrels and the Moorish taborer, for their expenses in Dumfries.

28.0d to Cloffies, when Cuddy Rig took his tabor.

12 September: 56.0d to Sir Richard Champley’s minstrels, Englishmen, that played to the king.

[185]

p. 458 c. 14–16 September: 28.0d to the four Italian minstrels and the Moorish taborer, to hire horses to go to Peebles.

17 September: 14.0d to the “curkit vicar” of Dumfries, that sang to the king in Lochmabane.

14.0d to a woman that sang to the king there.

14.0d to Cuddy Rig.

Payment of £4.4.0d for a horse for the Moorish taborer, bought from Pete John, trumpeter.

p. 459 27 September, in Falkland: 14.0d to the shoemaker luter and Jame, fiddler.

5.10d to the Moorish taborer, for his lodgings and expenses in Falkland.

p. 460 Probably 5 October: payment of 28.0d to the Abbot of Cambuskenneth, being money that he had given to the queen’s luter.

p. 461 c. 9–10 October, probably in Dunfermline: 45.0d to the four Italian minstrels and the Moorish taborer, for fodder for their horses to go to the Mouth with the king.⁵⁰

p. 462 c. 11–12 October, in St Johnstone: gift of 9.0d to the shoemaker luter there.

15 October, in Brechin: 45.0d to the four Italian minstrels and the Moorish taborer, for horse fodder.

p. 463 Probably the same date, in Dunnottar: 18.0d to the child that played on the clavichord.

c. 16–18 October:⁵¹ 18.0d to the pipers of Aberdeen.

19 October: 9.0d to the maidens of Forres that danced for the king.

11.6d to the maidens that danced at Elgin.

14.0d to the maidens that danced at Darnaway.

20 October, in the canonry of Ross: payment for the carriage of the organ to Tain and back.

[186]

p. 464 22 October: gift of 14.0d to the harper of the Laird of Balnagown.

c. 29 October, in Strath Bogie: 14.0d to the minstrels and the Moor, for their horse fodder.

1 November:⁵² 28.0d to the pipers of Aberdeen.

⁵⁰James was undertaking another pilgrimage to Tain, which he reached on the 22 October: the “Mouth” is perhaps the Moray Firth.

⁵¹James was at Aberdeen on the 16 October.

⁵²James arrived back at Aberdeen on this day.

p. 465 6 November, probably in Coupar Angus: 9.0d to the war-trumpeter to hire a horse to go to Dunfermline.

7 November, in St Johnstone: 14.0d to Milson, harper
(adjac)
11.6d to the shoemaker luter there.

p. 466 14 November: 14.0d to the Moorish taborer, for the expenses of his "cheld" (groom?) the time that the king was at the Mouth.

p. 467 17 November: gift of 14.0d to the harper of the Countess of Crauford.

p. 469 31 November: 14.0d to two women that sang to the king at Whitekirk.

p. 327 December: liveries to many servants, including Ansle, taborer; Thomas Hoppringil, John Hoppringil, Alexander Caslaw, Pete John, John Anderson and Thomas Hoppringil the younger, trumpeters.

p. 328 Livery to Alexander Wardlaw.

Livery to the queen's luter.

p. 329 Livery to the Moorish taborer.
(adjac)
Liveries to the four Italian minstrels.

p. 337 (Undated): wages to Kennar, the queen's luter.

p. 340 Wages to the four Italian minstrels.

1505

p. 472 New Year rewards, probably at Edinburgh, 1 January:

[187] £4.4.0d to the queen's luter.

56.0d to the four Italian minstrels.

28.0d to the Moorish taborer.

14.0d each to Thomas Hoppringill, elder and younger, John Hoppringill, John trumpeter, Alexander Caslaw and Pete John.

14.0d each to Ansle, William, the taborer that went to Denmark, the taborer of the kitchen and Portuous.

14.0d each to James Milson, Alexander the harper, Boneaventur, Pate Harper, clarsach-player, and his son.

14.0d each to Adam Boyd and Moffet, fiddlers; to Robert Rudman and Adam Dickson, luters; and to Hog, tale-teller, Jame Widderspune, and another two strange minstrels with them.

28.0d to the two pipers of the town of Edinburgh.

p. 474 11 January, in Falkland: 28.0d to four minstrels.

p. 476 31 January: 42.0d to the four Italian minstrels, at the taking of the ship off the stocks.

28.0d to the trumpets, the same day.

2 February: £4.18.0d to the disguisers who danced for the king and queen.

p. 477 c. 3-7 February: payment of £13.2.10d for the coats and hose of twelve dancers in an entertainment devised by the Moorish taborer against "Fasteringis Evin" (Shrove Tuesday?).

APPENDIX E

MINSTRELSY IN THE COVENTRY GILD-ACCOUNTS
1449-1502

The following is a calendar of entries concerning minstrels in the accounts transcribed in Sharp/*Dissertation*, pp. 163, 197, 208 and 212. The accounts are in English.

The trade-gilds are those of the Cappers, Carpenters, Dyers and Smiths: Sharp also included some entries from the accounts of the Trinity Gild. I have rearranged entries in chronological order, and used the letters (Cp), (Cr), (D), (S) and (T) to denote the gild concerned.

The payments were made for minstrelsy at Midsummer or on the feasts of Trinity, Corpus Christi, St John the Baptist (24 June) and St Peter (29 June): these are distinguished by the letters MS, TR, CC, JB and P, with the suffix E if the eve is specified (e.g. JBE for St John's Eve).

1449 MS: 9d to the harper (S).
P: 7d to the minstrel (S).

1450 CC: 13d to one minstrel (Cr).

8.0d to the minstrels for their hire (S).
2.6d spent on their board on Corpus Christi Eve and Day (S).

MSE &/or PE: 14d to one minstrel (Cr).
11d to two harpers (S).

1451 CC: 20d spent on the minstrels' dinner and supper (S).¹

[189]

MS &/or PE: 6d to the minstrels (Cr).
MS: 12d to the harper (S).
P: 6d to the minstrel (S).

1452 CC etc: 5.5 1/2d spent at Corpus Christi-tide, Midsummer night and St. Peter's night in bread, ale and torch-bearers for the minstrels, and all other things (Cr.)

¹ Corpus Christi Day only: Sharp says that their hire cost 8.0d as before (i.e. 1450).

- 12d paid to the Waits of Coventry (S).²
- 1453 CC: 18d to the minstrel on Corpus Christi Day (Cr).
2d to the minstrel at the friars' (Cr).³
- 1454 CC: 12d spent on the minstrel on Corpus Christi Eve and Day (S).
- 1456 CC: 3d paid to one harper (Cr).
MS & P: 14d paid to Robert the harper for Midsummer night and St Peter's night (Cr).⁴
- 1457 TR: 6.8d to the minstrels of the city (T).
JB: 5.0d to the minstrels of the city (T).⁵
- 1461 3d to "our mynstrelle" (Cr).⁶
- 1463 CC: 9.0d to the four minstrels (S).
12d to minstrels (Cr).⁷
- 1464 8d paid to minstrels (Cr).⁸
[190]
- 1467 CC etc: 8.8d to the Waits for their hire and board on Corpus Christi Day and St Loy's Day (S).
MS & P: 2.0d to Metcalf and Banbreke, for minstrelsy (Cr).
- 1468 MS: 40d to the minstrel (S).
P: 20d to the minstrel (S).
- 1471 ?CC: 6.0d paid to the Waits for "mynstrelship" (on the pageant and in the procession) (S).
MS: 2.2d to two minstrels (S).
P: 20d to two minstrels (S).

² At the annual dinner on St Loy's Day (? St Aloysius, 21 June): Sharp says that the Smiths also hired a luter on this occasion.

³ At the annual dinner at the White Friars'.

⁴ According to Sharp, Robert Crudworth, harper, had been admitted to the Company in 1453.

⁵ The Trinity Gild made a similar payment at the feast of the Assumption (Sharp's note).

⁶ At the annual dinner at the White Friars'.

⁷ As n. 6.

⁸ As n. 6.

- 1473 2d paid to minstrels (D).⁹
- 1474 MS: 3.4d to two minstrels for melody (S).
- 1477 ?CC: 5.0d paid to the Waits for “pypyng” (for pageant and procession) (S).
 JB: 3.0d paid to two minstrels (S).
 2d to the minstrel (Cr).
 17d to the Waits (Cr).¹⁰
- 1478 3d paid to minstrels (D).
 16d paid to players (D).¹¹
- JB & P: 2.8d to the minstrels for these two nights (Cr).
- 1480 4d given to the journeymen minstrels (D).¹²
- 1481 The following, together with their wives, are made members of the Smiths’ Company: Thomas West, minstrel, one of the Waits; Adam West, [191] the Wait; John Blewet, the Wait; and Brese, the Wait. Their membership is on condition that they serve the craft (i.e. the Company) on Corpus Christi Day for a fee of 8.0d and their dinner (S).
- 1482 MS: 8d to the two minstrels (D).
- 1485 MS & P: 18d to the minstrel at Midsummer and St Peter’s tide (Cr).
 3.0d to the minstrel for his fee (Cp).
- 1487 CC: 2.2d to the minstrel (for his hire) and his dinner (Cr).
- 1490 6.8d paid to the Waits (S).¹³
- In this year John Olnet of Coventry, minstrel, was admitted to the Corpus Christi Guild: Sharp/*Dissertation*, p. 213.

⁹ On the occasion of the Dyers’ dinner at St Nicholas’ Hall.

¹⁰Both of these payments were made by the Carpenters at their annual dinner at the White Friars’.

¹¹Sharp does not state the occasion of these two payments – perhaps the dinner at St Nicholas’ Hall?

¹²As n. 11. Sharp regarded this payment as being for minstrelsy by journeymen dyers, rather than by apprentice minstrels.

¹³On an unspecified occasion.

- 1492 6.0d paid to the Waits (S).
 4d to a minstrel at the hall (S).¹⁴
- 1494 MS & P: 16d to the minstrels on these two nights (D).
- 1498 P: 6d paid to a minstrel that night, in addition to “our owen” (S).
- 1501 2d paid to the minstrels (Cp).¹⁵
- 1502 CC: 12d paid to the minstrel on Corpus Christi Day (Cp).

¹⁴Both payments made at the dinner on St Loy’s Day.

¹⁵At the annual dinner.

APPENDIX F
INSTRUMENT-MAKERS

The following is simply a list of instrument-makers whose names have been found in the course of work on this thesis. Some of the names will be well-known, while others may be new to musical historians. The subject of the making of instruments is outside the scope of this thesis, and this Appendix only supplements my remarks on the repairing of instruments above, i, p. 110. No details are normally given here apart from the date, name, occupation and place of residence: but I have given a reference to my source of information as a starting-point for further research. Entries are in chronological order.

- 1360 JOHN PERROT¹ King's minstrel
Douët-D'arcq/*Comptes*, p. 273.
- 1380 ROGER Harp-maker Oxford
Rogers/*Oxford*, p. 14.
- 1414 JOHN of GLOUCESTER Organ-builder
Baillie/*Notes*, p. 37.
- [193]
- 1430 THOMAS SEYNTJOHN Organ-maker London
CPR, Henry VI, vol. 2 (1429-1436), p. 20.
- 1436 WILLIAM BARBOUR Organ-maker of Brussels,
living in Westminster
CPR, Henry VI, vol. 2 (1429-1436), pp. 549 and 570.
- 1436 LAURENCE Organ-maker of Nymmagen, living in
London.

¹ The *Eschequier* given by Edward III to King John of France in 1360 had apparently been made by the man who took it to the French king. Douët-D'arcq/*Comptes*, p. 273, contains the accounts for Saturday, 4 July of that year, which read:

"Jehan Perrot, qui apporta au Roy j instrument appellé l'eschequier, qu'il avoit fait, le roy d'Angleterre avoit donné au Roy, et li envoioit par ledit Jehan, pour don à li fait ..."

Perrot must be the John Perrot, cornemuser of Montvalour, who was one of Edward III's minstrels, although there is some confusion over Perrot's identity. See Rastall/*MERH*, pp. 16 f, nn. 2 and 4.

Ibid.

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|--------------|---|---------------|------------|
| 1440 | JOHN HEMDEN | Organ-maker | London |
| | <i>CPR</i> , Henry VI, vol. 3 (1436-1441), p. 336. | | |
| 1446 | WILLIAM NEVELL | Organ-maker | York |
| | <i>Skaife/RegGCC</i> , p. 46. | | |
| c. 1445-1450 | | | |
| | MICHAEL (of) GLOUCESTER | Organ-builder | |
| | <i>Baillie/Notes</i> , p. 36. | | |
| 1452 | ROBERT | Harp-maker | Oxford |
| | <i>Stevens/M&P</i> , p. 313. | | |
| 1467 | THOMAS BRIKER | Harp-maker | |
| | <i>CPR</i> , Edward IV and Henry VI (1467-1477), p. 53. | | |
| 1482 | ROBERT BORTON | Organ-maker | Stowmarket |
| | See above, p. 158. | | |
| 1485 | THOMAS ASBY | Bell-maker | York |
| | <i>Skaife/RegGCC</i> , p. 118. | | |
| 1488 | PETER of CRICHTON | | |
| | See above, p. 164. | | |

Gilds of both organ-builders and bell-makers existed in London in 1422: see Unwin/*Gilds*, p. 371 and the illustration facing p. 166.

[194]

APPENDIX G

ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS CONSULTED

Modern methods of reproduction have made so many illuminated manuscripts available to the student that this Appendix is almost unnecessary. Yet no reproduction of a medieval manuscript, however good, can take the place of the original: for this reason I give here a short list of manuscripts containing depictions of musical instruments. Most of these manuscripts are not represented in the books listed below in Appendix H. They are English unless otherwise stated.

British Museum, London

Add 48985: c.1275–80	The Salvin Book of Hours
Harley 3244: early 13th cent.	Bestiary
Harley 4425: French, 15th cent.	<i>Le Roman de la Rose</i>
Royal MS 2.A.xxii: late 12th cent.	Psalter
Royal MS 3.D.vii: 13th cent.	Psalter
Royal MS 14.E.iv: Flemish, <i>temp.</i> Ed IV	Jean de Wavrin's Chronicle of England

Bodleian Library, Oxford

Bodley 264: Flemish, c.1340	<i>Romance of Alexander</i>
Douce 144: French, 1407	Book of Hours
Douce 195: French, c.1490	<i>Le Roman de la Rose</i>
Rawlinson G.185: c.1350–60	Psalter

[195]

John Rylands Library, Manchester

Latin MS 8: Spanish, second half of the 12th cent.	Commentary on the Apocalypse
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Latin MS 18: German, late 14th cent.

Arbor Caritatis et Misericordiae

Latin MS 24: c.1250

Sarum Missal

Latin MS 74: 13th cent.

Antiphoner