THE COURT FESTIVALS OF HENRY VII:
A STUDY BASED UPON THE ACCOUNT BOOKS
OF JOHN HERON, TREASURER OF THE CHAMBER

By SYDNEY ANGLO, B.A., Ph.D.
RESEARCH FELLOW OF THE UNIVERSITY OF READING

THE source materials for Henry VII's court festivals are disappointingly meagre. For the entertainments given during the first two decades of Henry VIII's reign there survives a series of detailed Revels Accounts, supplemented by the narratives of Edward Hall, which enable the historian to reconstruct the shows without difficulty. But there is nothing comparable for Henry VII and the drab appearance of his reign results partly from this lack of documentary evidence. Apart from the well-known narrative of the marriage celebrations of Prince Arthur and Katharine of Aragon in 1501, there survive few circumstantial descriptions of court entertainments; and I have discovered only one Revels Account for the entire reign.¹

The main source for the entertainments and festivals of Henry VII's reign is an incomplete series of the accounts kept by John Heron, Treasurer of the Chamber, now preserved at the Public Record Office and the British Museum. These royal household books record the day-to-day expenses on behalf of the king and afford unique evidence of the entertainments prepared at the king's own costs. Literary historians dealing with the plays and disguisings of the period generally refer, for household payments, to British Museum Additional Manuscript 7099; but this is merely a collection of haphazard extracts transcribed, early in the nineteenth century, by Craven Orde from Heron's accounts between 1491 and 1505. Orde's manuscript is of value, since the original accounts prior to October 1495 and between October

¹ The original narrative of the 1501 festivities is in College of Arms MS. 1st M. 13. This has been printed in Francis Grose and Thomas Astle, The Antiquarian Repertory (London, 1808), ii. 296-319. The Revels Account, for 1508-9, is discussed below, pp. 24-25.
1502 and April 1505 have not been located; but it is in no way complete with regard to court entertainments and any conclusions based solely upon the evidence of this manuscript must necessarily be suspect.¹

Below (pp. 29-38, 39-44) is a transcript from Heron’s accounts of all payments relating to entertainments from October 1495 to October 1502 and from April 1505 to April 1509. I have supplemented these, from Orde’s manuscript, for the years 1491 to 1495 and again from October 1502 to April 1505.² Apart from entertainments, I have included a few items such as the more exotic gifts presented to the king and I have given the entries in which a minstrel or performer in the king’s service is mentioned for the first time by name. However, I have not transcribed the regular payment of wages to the groups of musicians (trumpets, sackbuts and so on) in royal service.³

¹ The original accounts are in the Public Record Office: Exchequer, King’s Remembrancer, Various Accounts (E. 101/414/6; E. 101/414/16; E. 101/415/3) and Exchequer, Treasury of Receipt, Miscellaneous Books (E. 36/214). The original book for April to October 1505 is at the British Museum (Add. MS. 21480). As long ago as 1917 A. P. Newton, “The King’s Chamber under the Early Tudors”, English Historical Review, xxxii. 348-72, pointed out the necessity of going to the original manuscripts and not to the extracts. W. C. Richardson, Tudor Chamber Administration, 1485-1547 (Louisiana State University Press, 1952), pp. 463-6, has a discussion of Heron’s accounts. Nevertheless, the latest book to deal with the court entertainments of this period, Glynne Wickham, Early English Stages, 1300-1576 (London, 1959), still refers to Add. MS. 7099 and, worse still, to S. Bentley, Excerpta Historica (London, 1833), which contains random extracts from Orde’s manuscript of random extracts.

² All the payments in Heron’s original accounts are given in roman numerals. The extracts in Add. MS. 7099 have the payments in arabic figures which I have turned back into roman for the sake of uniformity.

³ At the beginning of the earliest surviving original volume of Heron’s accounts (E. 101/414/6) there are three principal groups of musicians in Royal service. For example, under the date 1-4 December 1495 there are recorded the following payments:

- Item to ix trumpettes for their wages ........................................... xviii
- Item to iij shakbusses for their wages ........................................ viij
- Item to iij stringmynstrelx ...................................................... cv8

These three groups remain substantially the same throughout this volume and the two that follow, although the wages paid to the sackbuts is sometimes £6. However, in the last volume (E. 36/214) the string minstrels have disappeared as a group while the other payments are less predictable. Frequently the number of trumpets is given as seven or eight, while the sackbuts have dwindled to two. On the other hand there are monthly payments of wages to single, named,
have appended a list of the companies of players and minstrels who performed at court, with the dates of their appearances.

The greater number of references in these account books, apart from the customary celebrations at Christmas, are to the more informal pastimes in which Henry VII indulged to dispel ennui. The sage monarch, an astute political tactician, played chess and lost quite often. He played cards and dice, and lost at those. He spent many hours at the butts with his cross-bow and enjoyed equally indifferent success. In 1494 Henry apparently became interested in tennis and in June there is a large payment of £4 to a "Spaynyard, the tenes pleyer" who was, perhaps, employed as a coach. A couple of months later, despite the Spaniard's services, Henry had to spend 27s. 8d. to cover his losses and the cost of balls. March of the following year was likewise a bad month for the king who had to pay out for his losses at tennis, the butts, and at the "paune pley". Nevertheless, undeterred by such setbacks, Henry continued his gambling and received playing money up to the very month of his death. Sometimes, as in October 1497 when Heron had to record a payment of £9 for "losse at cardes at Tawnton", the king's gambling was heavy, but on other occasions the stakes were small; and a pleasant light is cast upon the private pursuits and character of this enigmatic monarch by the discovery of a fact such as his loss of 6s. 8d. at cards to the Duke of York, his seven year old son.

musicians such as the "blacke trumpet" and "Alexander Shakbusshe" so that the exact number of musicians in royal employ is hard to deduce. But the sort of musician who was receiving regular payments of rewards from the king can be seen from the entries at the close of the reign. Under 1 January 1509 there are the following payments:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Item to the trumpettes in rewarde</td>
<td>c 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item to the shakebusses in rewarde</td>
<td>j 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item to the still mynstrells in rewarde</td>
<td>iiiij 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item to the Quenes mynstrells</td>
<td>xl 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item to my Lorde Princes trumpettes</td>
<td>xx 8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The very last payments recorded for the reign of Henry VII are of the wages for April 1509 and they include the following items:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Item for the wages of the ix trumpettes</td>
<td>xvij 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item for the ij shakebusses moneth wages</td>
<td>iiiij 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Item to Alexander Shakbusshe wages</td>
<td>xxx 8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Infra, pp. 44-45.  2 Under 23 May 1498 (infra, p. 33).
The entertainers, paid to amuse the king and his court, were of divers sorts. Henry seems to have been particularly fond of music for there are frequent payments to organists, pipers, droners and minstrels of every type—some in royal service, some from the households of great nobles, some from France, and others merely referred to as "strangue"—who employed their skills to delight the king and who received, in their turn, generous payments, all of which were faithfully recorded by John Heron. Tumblers, too, and joculars were paid to perform at court and joined dancers, rope-dancers, stilt-walkers and, on one occasion, a puppet master, in the endless procession of hired entertainers. Even when the monarch was moving about the countryside the places that he visited had their own "waits" to greet him and put him in good humour. Many of the items have particular interest: children were once rewarded for "singing in the gardyn"; a "young damoysell that daunceth" received the vast and highly suspicious sum of £30 in 1493; a Spaniard tumbled for 10s. in November 1494; while 3s. 4d. was paid in the following year to "one that leped at Chester". Strange and exotic gifts to the king are often mentioned and these continued towards the end of the reign when, in 1505, popinjays and wild cats were brought as presents from Newfoundland, and, in 1507, the Lord Grey of Wilton presented Henry with a "dragon". Music continued to be played to the king at all times, as in March 1508 when there is a payment to "John Redes marynors that rowed vpe and down syngyng afore the Kings manor at Grenewyche".

The most frequently mentioned entertainers in Heron's accounts are the fools. Fools abound from 1 January 1492, when "my Lorde Privy Seall fole" was rewarded with 10s., to 4 December 1508 when John "late the King of Castelles fole" received 40s. The condition of these unfortunates is not made clear in the account books, but the fact that several of them had keepers suggests that some at least were mental and physical defectives whose involuntary follies made good sport for their noble masters—a favourite jest being to dress the fool as a horse with shoes, saddles and bridles provided for by the royal Privy

1 The puppets appear under 6 June 1499 when £4 were paid to the "pleyers with mamettes" (infra, p. 35).
Purse. There was apparently a subtle distinction between the fools proper and those who, like the Spaniard in June 1492, merely "ployed the fole". But the borderline was obscure and the jest could prove dangerous as poor Watt the luter may have discovered. On 4 October 1504 he "ployed the fole". But on 22 November he is referred to as "Watt the fole"—an unfortunate promotion. The origin of the fools who received payment from the king was even more varied than that of the minstrels. There were French, Spanish and Scottish fools. There was Dick the fool and Peche the fool. There was a fool at Winchester, a "lorde Cardynalls Fole", "Coltes fole", Thomas Blakall the king's fool, a fool at "Master Knyvettes", the Duke of York's fool, Martin another of the king's fools, John the King of Castile's fool, and John the French fool. But the shining star in this galaxy of idiots was the jester who appears in the fragmentary accounts for 1492 and 1493 under the name of the "folyshe Duke of Lancaster". This fool may have been a legacy of the Yorkist kings and, if this were so, it says much for Henry VII that he could take in good humour so spiteful a joke against his exalted House.

Source materials relating to the tournaments of this reign are as poor as for the other forms of court entertainment and, to judge from Heron's accounts, the sport was not especially popular with Henry VII who jousted little himself and was not prone to finance others to do so. Naturally, the coronations of the king and his queen were each celebrated with a tournament as were the other key events of the reign; the creation of Prince Henry as Duke of York in 1494; 

1 There are two payments, each of £66 13s. 4d., relating to these jousts under October 1494. A full narrative of the creation of Henry Duke of York, including details of the tournament, is printed from Brit. Mus. Cottonian MS. Julius B. XII in James Gairdner, Letters and Papers Illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III and Henry VII (London, 1861), i. 388-404.

2 This tournament was easily the most elaborate of the reign and the most expensive. The payments relating to it, from April 1501, total more than £430. In addition to the herald's narrative printed in the Antiq. Rep., there is a good description of it in A. H. Thomas and I. D. Thornley, The Great Chronicle of London (London, 1938), pp. 313 ff. A later sixteenth-century copy of the original challenge survives at the College of Arms, MS. M. 3, fols. 24v-26r and
Scotland in January 1502; the visit of the Archduke Philip in 1506; and the betrothal of Princess Mary to the Archduke

this includes, at fol. 25v, a copy of the score cheques for the jousts—possibly the earliest such record extant.

1 The tournament of January 1502 is described in Leland’s Collectanea (London, 1774), iv. 262-4.

2 There are two payments relating to the jousts of 1506, under February and April of that year. Philip had been on his way to Spain when a storm cast him up on the shores of England where he received an unwelcome elaborate welcome. Henry detained the impatient Archduke with banquets, the tournament and a solemn ceremonial in which Philip was invested with the Garter and Henry, Prince of Wales, was invested with the Order of the Golden Fleece. The best guide to the considerable body of narrative material and diplomatic correspondence concerning this visit is in Wilhelm Busch, England under the Tudors: King Henry VII (London, 1895), pp. 190-2, pp. 372-4. There are many payments in Heron’s accounts relating to this visit, of which the following (from P.R.O., E. 36/214) are among the most interesting:

Jan. 22nd. Item to a man that conveyed the king of Castell Secretary to the king in reward.................v

Item to Wm. Kingeston goyng with mewles and hobeis to the king of Castell for his costes....xx

Jan. 29th. Item to Antony Clerke of kechyn vpon a prest towarde the charge of the King of Castell his company...........................................xiiij viij vij 8

Feb. 13th. Item to Kebill goldsmith of London for a coller of garters for the King, pois xxij oz iiij quarters, and for a coller of garters for the King of Castell, pois xxij oz at xl s. the oz........xiiij x 8

Item to the Tosandor Harrold at Harmes with the King of Castell in Re....................c

Item to Garter Harrold at Armes and his company...........................................c 8

Item to the Dean and Chanons of Windesor for the installing of the King of Castell Knight of the Garter and for settyng vpe of his helmet.. xx

Feb. 20th. Item to the Sergeaunte of the Chaundry vpon a reconyng towards theexpences of the conveyaunce of the Quene of Castill to the see side...cxxxiiij viij 8 viij 8

Mar. 6th. Item to the Cofferer, by thandes of John Daunce, for the costes of the King of Castell and his company to the see syde to Falmowth.....ccc

Mar. 13th. Item to the Cofferer, by thandes of Cervaux Buckland, towards theexpences of the King of Castill to the see syde.............c

In addition to these items there are many others referring to provisions and expenses for the visitors and several large gifts made to dignitaries in Philip’s party.
Charles in December 1508. But it was a European convention to signalize important diplomatic occasions with a tournament and, apart from this, the sport, as a royally-sponsored enterprise, did not flourish. There is a payment in May 1492 to the Clerk of the Works for making the lists at Shene, and in the following month there is a record of the spears and vamplates for the jousts; in July 1505 four ounces of gold were purchased for "ringes for the justes at Richemont" which were presumably presented as prizes; and finally 5s. 11d. was spent in May 1507 for repairing a tilt. On the other hand not every tournament held at court is recorded in Heron's accounts, and there were several combats during Henry's reign which were not financed by the royal Privy Purse. The most important of these privately-sponsored tournaments were the feats of arms performed in May 1507 by Charles Brandon, Thomas Knyvet, Giles Chapel and William Hussy. These four issued a challenge to all comers at Greenwich, the combats including jousts, archery, tourneying on foot with sword and spear, wrestling and casting of the bar. The challenge itself was romantic in the Burgundian tradition, the passage of arms arising from a fanciful allegorical situation. The knights challenged on behalf of the Lady May and their cartel begins:

Most highe and excellent Princesse, vnder your patient supportacion I, which am called the Ladye Maie in all monethes of the yeare to lustye hearts most pleasant, certifye your Highnes howe that vnder signe and scale fully authorized by the hand of my Lady and soueraigne Dame Sommer I haue free licence during the tyme of my short raigne to passe my tyme and a fortnight of my sister June as shalbe to my comfort and most solace.

Probably these disports were organized by the courtiers as part


2. These jousts at Shene took place in May 1492 and witnessed one of the few serious accidents in Tudor tournaments when Sir James Parker was slain by Hugh Vaughan. See *The Great Chronicle*, p. 247.

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of the general spring and summer merrymaking celebrated throughout Henry VII's reign, and at least during the early years of his son's reign, by gathering of the May, prancing around a maypole, and kindling a midsummer bonfire. Nevertheless, despite this private enterprise, the tournaments of 1494 and 1501 seem to have been the outstanding essays in this chivalric genre during the reign of the first Tudor. The full flowering of such military spectacles was to come with the young and bellicose Henry VIII, not under the politic governance of his father.

Concerning the more formal and regular court entertainments, the material in my transcripts is largely self-explanatory; but a few comments must be made to correct, in points of detail, the errors in Wallace's account of the entertainments of this period which, despite its well-known deficiencies, remains the only coherent attempt to deal with the dramatic performances at court during Henry VII's reign. In the first place, outside companies, that is groups of players or minstrels not directly in the service of the king, who performed at court were rather more numerous than Wallace estimated; and it is not true to say that they appeared "hardly oftener than once for any company" during Henry VII's reign. Several of the companies were frequent visitors at court; in particular "my Lorde of Essex pleyers" appeared at Christmas or in the New Year in 1494, 1496, 1497/8, 1498/9 and 1503 and perhaps in other years for which the records are incomplete. Similarly, the appearance of the "Princes players" in January 1506 was not unique at court. A group of the Prince's minstrels had first performed in September 1496, while the Prince's players themselves are first mentioned in January and February 1499 and again in 1501. The king's players too were much more regular in their performances at court than has

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1 Payments for the making of the king's bonfire, invariably for 10s., occur in the accounts for the years 1494-8, 1502, and 1504-8. Maying or the maypole is mentioned in 1492, 1499 and 1506.

2 C. W. Wallace, The Evolution of the English Drama up to Shakespeare (Berlin, 1912). J. P. Collier, The History of English Dramatic Poetry to the Time of Shakespeare (London, 1879), i. 50-4, prints extracts from the Chamber Accounts relating to players. He apparently had access to the original manuscripts as well as to Add. MS. 7099 but is as careless, wilful and inaccurate as usual.

3 Wallace, Evolution, p. 27.
hitherto been supposed. They are mentioned in 1494, twice in 1496, 1497 and 1498, once in 1500, twice in 1501 and 1502, and once in 1507 and 1509. It is also probable that they appeared in years for which the evidence is incomplete as, for example, in the summer of 1503 when Princess Margaret went on progress to Scotland for her marriage with James IV. A company of actors led by John English, one of the king’s players, accompanied the princess and performed at the various banquets given in her honour.¹

With regard to the Chapel Royal, both the Gentlemen and the Children are mentioned in the accounts much earlier and more often than the extracts in the British Museum indicate. Every January, in those years for which the original accounts survive, and in 1503, the Gentlemen of the Chapel received a reward which was usually £13 6s. 8d., although in 1501 they received only £10. In 1496 the Children of the Chapel received a reward on the same day, 31 December, as did William Cornish, the most significant figure in Early Tudor revels; this suggests that they may have been involved in the court festivities for Christmas. Similarly, the conjunction on 17 March 1500 of Cornish and the Gentlemen of the Chapel also suggests some sort of revelry though, it must be remembered, Cornish was a composer and these payments might relate to the performance of his music.

Finally, Wallace made the point that there was a distinct tendency towards the end of the reign to drop outside performers and to concentrate all entertainments within the court itself. This is true enough and is suggestive of the extreme centralization of the revels that was to come in Henry VIII’s time. However, it must be noted that there was a distinct tendency for all entertainments to decline towards the end of Henry VII’s reign—not merely those performed by outside companies. A particularly striking feature is the increasing paucity of fools. The king’s appetite for amusement had perhaps become jaded by age, personal troubles and ceaseless political responsibilities.

¹ Leland, Collectanea, iv. 299; “After Soupper, the Kynge and the Qwene being togeder in hyr grett Chamber, John Inglish and his Companions playd, and then ichon went his way.” This reference helps to identify the “Johannes and his Companye” mentioned at pp. 267, 289 and 296.
The formal court entertainments were mainly grouped around Christmas, New Year and Twelfth Night. No Chamber Accounts, or even selections from them, prior to 1491 have so far been located but we know from the writs issued under the Privy Seal that as early as 1486 a disguising was prepared for Twelfth Night.¹ There is, moreover, a narrative of the Christmas celebrations for 1487/8, which mentions a "goodly disguising" on the evening of New Year's Day and continues that "also this Christmas there were many and divers players". The entertainments continued at the Twelfth Night banquet when minstrels played and the Gentlemen of the Chapel sang a carol.² That disguisings and plays were common features at such festivals is also suggested by a narrative of Christmas 1489. The herald who wrote the account says that there was sickness abroad and:

This Christmas I saw no Disguising, and but right few Pleys: but ther was an Abbot of Misrule that made muche Sport, and did right well his Office.³

The Abbot or, as he was often called, the Lord of Misrule did, for a short time during the reign of Edward VI, assume a dominant position in the production of masques and interludes; but at this early period, and throughout the reign of Henry VIII, he was but one of several regular revellers in the Christmas season and his special nincompoopery probably had little to do with the plays and disguisings produced on such festive occasions. In 1491/2 a certain Ringley received 100s. as Lord of Misrule and gained a similar reward in the following year as "Abbot of Misrule". In January 1496 he was paid 40s. and in December 1499 20s. In January 1501 there is a payment of a 100s. to "Ryngesley for hym and his company"; and in 1502 he received £6 13s. 4d. Thereafter this last sum was the regular payment for the Lord of Misrule to the end of the reign.⁴ The year 1502 is the last for which Ringley is named, subsequent references

¹ William Campbell, Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII (London, 1873, 1877), i. 337, ii. 60.
² Leland, Collectanea, iv. 235-7.
⁴ The Lord of Misrule is not mentioned in 1504, for which year the original accounts do not survive.
being anonymous until 1508/9 when William Wynnesbury appears as Abbot of Misrule.

More important than the Abbot’s madcap pranks were the disguisings and plays presented at court for the Christmas revelry. There were, as we have seen, frequent performances by outside companies and by the king’s own players; but these gained quite small rewards. The main royal expense was on disguisings or “revels”. In 1486 Richard Pudsey, serjeant of the king’s cellar, received £40 for the preparation of a disguising. In November 1493 and February 1494 Walter Alwyn received sums totalling £29 for the Christmas revells and disguiseing. In June 1494 there is a payment to “Peche for the disguising”—the only such mid-year expense recorded in these account books. Jacques Hault, who supervised the organization of the wedding entertainments in 1501, received over £33 for the disguisings of Christmas 1494/5 and nearly £27 for those of the following year.¹

The disguisings for the next four years were all prepared under Hault’s supervision;² but in 1501, though there were several performances by the Gentlemen of the Chapel, the king’s players and the prince’s players, there were no Twelfth Night disguisings. Perhaps the money was being saved for the immense display to celebrate Prince Arthur’s marriage later in the year. Similarly in the following year there were players in plenty but no specific mention of a disguising although we know that, on 25 January 1502, there was such an entertainment as part of the festivities for the marriage treaty with Scotland. In 1502/3 a disguising was prepared by a Lewes Adam. But after this no further disguisings are mentioned in the accounts until Christmas 1507/8 when Master Wentworth made a “disguysing for a morype daunce”. However, there is extant a Revels Account which shows that Wentworth was also concerned with preparing disguisings and pageants for the Flemish ambassadors to England in 1508/9.³ The fact that these disguisings are not mentioned in

¹ Besides this payment to Hault a further £40 was paid in February 1496 to various noble lords for the disguising (infra p. 30).

² The payments to Hault are as follows: 1496/7, £18 17s. 8d.; 1497/8, £28 0s. 10d.; 1498/9, £52 18s. 6d.; 1499/1500, £8 10s. 6d.

³ Public Record Office, Lord Chamberlain’s Department, Accounts (L.C. 9/50, fols. 143v-147v).
Heron's account books is at least suggestive of greater activity in this sphere of entertainment than appears from the surviving records.

The main source for our knowledge of disguisings at Henry VII's court is the eye-witness description, written by a herald, of the marriage festivities in November 1501. This should be supplemented by the account given in the Great Chronicle of London of the revels for Twelfth Night 1494.\(^1\) The show began with a "goodly interlude" which was interrupted by the sudden appearance of William Cornish, "apparaylid aftyr the fygure of Seynt George", followed by a girl dressed as a princess who led a fire-breathing dragon through the hall. Cornish declaimed verses before the king, led the Chapel in an anthem "off Seynt George", and then made his exit with the dragon. The entertainment concluded with an elaborate series of dances—so complex as to suggest a sort of incipient ballet. Apart from its references to the dance this description is also noteworthy in that it does not mention the "pageant of St. George with a castle" included in a later account of the same festivities.\(^2\) Nor is there any mention of pageants in court entertainments, in Heron's accounts, prior to September 1501 when they appear in connection with Prince Arthur's marriage celebrations. The disguisings of 1494 are simply referred to by Heron as "revells".\(^3\)

Heron's accounts also throw a little light upon the London celebrations of January 1502 for the proxy marriage of Princess Margaret and James IV King of Scotland. This event was signalized by a tournament on 24 January and, on the following evening, by a banquet at which the prizes were distributed to the successful knights.

Incontinent after the Pryses were given, there was in the Hall a goodly Pageant, curiously wrought with Fenestralis, having many Lights brenning in the same, in Manner of a Lantron out of wich sorted divers Sortes of Morisks. Also

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1 I have discussed the questions of the authorship and forms of the marriage disguisings and of the revels of 1494 in an article, "William Cornish in a Play, Pageants, Prison, and Politics", Review of English Studies, November, 1959.


3 In November 1493 Walter Alwyn received £13 6s. 8d. for the "revells"; and he received a further £14 13s. 4d. in February 1494 "in full payment for the disguysing made at Christenmes".
very goodly Disguising of Six Gentlemen and Six Gentlewomen, which danced divers Dances.\(^1\)

The Chamber Accounts show several large payments, in January and February, to John Atkinson and John English both of whom had been employed on the disguisings at Prince Arthur’s marriage. These payments suggest that Atkinson and English may have devised the pageant and disguisings of January 1502 which are very similar to a pageant of the lantern presented on 21 November 1501.\(^2\) Finally, there is a payment on 4 February 1502 to “one Lewes for a mores daunce”. Presumably this “Lewes” is the Lewes Adam who prepared a disguising early in 1503, and his morris dance may have been one of those given as part of the festivities in January 1502.

There is one other, hitherto unnoticed, source relating to this question of disguisings and pageants in the reign of Henry VII. This is the unique Revels Account for December 1508 entitled, *This is the boke of the disguisinges ffor the comyng of thambassatours of Flaunderes anno xxiiij\(^o\) henrici viij*. These disguisings were presented at Richmond for the diversion of the ambassadors who came to England for the betrothal of the Archduke Charles and Princess Mary.\(^3\) The disguisers entered the hall on three pageant cars—a castle, a tree, and a mount—the decoration of which had been entrusted to Richard Rowhanger, a noted artist of the time.\(^4\) The necessary iron-work was supplied by Thomas

\(^1\) Leland, *Collectanea*, iv. 263.

\(^2\) This earlier pageant was made like a transparent lantern with windows of fine lawn, illumined by a hundred lights so that the lady disguisers within could be clearly recognized. It is, however, possible that these payments to Atkinson and English might also represent the settlement of debts still owing from the marriage festival.

\(^3\) P.R.O., L.C. 9/50, fols. 143\(^r\)-147\(^v\). That the performance was given at Richmond appears from several payments, as fol. 146\(^v\) relating to the hire of boats and carts for carriage of disguising materials from London to Richmond and, especially, from the payment of 1s. for “the sending of a man and a horse from Richemont to London in hast for a cott of disguising and for his horsheire”.

\(^4\) Ibid. fol. 145\(^r\). “Richard Rowanger for dyuers stuff appertainyng for the payntyng of the pagiauntes.” Rowhanger, like the other artists concerned with court revels, did much heraldic work and his name is mentioned in connection with heraldic paintings and carvings at the funerals of Prince Arthur, Elizabeth of York, Henry VII, Prince Henry in 1511, and at the coronation of Henry VIII. He was still active late in life and his name occurs amongst the army of artists employed on the banquet houses at Greenwich in 1527. See Erna Auerbach, *Tudor Artists* (London, 1954), pp. 7-9, 183-4.
Ducymyn and others who, at a cost of 4d., provided for “fylyng of irens to stryke out leves for hawthorns” and purchased three mallets at a penny each for “smytyng of the flowres and leves”. Ducymyn also received 2s. 10d. for “Iren werke apperteynyng to the rose and marigold.”

Harry Wentworth was in charge of the “besynesse of the disguising and moreske” and the provision of costumes; and there is a payment under 25 December, in Heron’s accounts, to “Master Kyte Cornysshe and other of the Chapell that played affore the King at Richemounte”, that must refer to some dramatic action performed on the same occasion. The castle was a common heraldic emblem and pageant device used to represent Castile, the kingdom of the young bridegroom. This in turn suggests that the tree, a hawthorn, was meant to represent England. The whole show was probably intended to celebrate the union of the two kingdoms by marriage, thus repeating the theme of the two rock pageant cars employed to symbolize the Anglo-Spanish marriage of 1501 and presaging the similar political pageants and disguising of Henry VIII’s reign.

1 P.R.O., L.C. 9/50, fol. 145v–146r. This Ducymyn is probably the same as the “Duchemyn Smith” who, on 10 April 1506, received £20 for “certain copper werke to be made for the kinges tumbe” (E. 36/214), and who received other payments relating to copper-work at Westminster and elsewhere.

2 L.C. 9/50, fol. 146v–147r. The total costs for this entertainment were £60 17s. 11d. (fol. 147b). The pageants themselves must have been quite impressive judging from the time spent in their construction. At fol. 147r there is a payment of 16s. for the “hire of a howse at the crane in the yintere for ij pagiauntes there made be the space of xvj wekes at xij d the weke” and another payment of 3s. 4d. to the “keeper of the Bishoop of Harfordes place for a Rewarde for his atendauns to open and shut the gates and for making clene of serten howses occupied a bought a pagiaunt cauled the mount by the space of xij weekys”.

3 On Thursday, 25 November 1501 the lords and ladies entered the banquet hall separately on pageant cars like mounts linked together with a golden chain. One mount was fertile with greenery, trees, herbs, flowers and fruits; the other was scorched and burnt by the sun and studded with minerals, gold, silver, lead, copper and sulphur, crystal, coral and amber. Twelve disguised lords were sitting about the green mount playing musical instruments as were the twelve ladies seated on the red rock. This scorched mount was surmounted by a maiden dressed in the manner of the princess of Spain to make clear that the two rocks represented the union of England and Spain.

4 For example, on 7 October 1518, as part of the celebrations for the Treaty of Universal Peace there was presented at Greenwich a political disguising the
It is curious that Heron's accounts offer just the one payment relevant to the entertainments produced for the Flemish ambassadors, and again this prompts the question as to whether there might have been similar festivities for which no record survives. Certainly these disguisings, with their three pageants, artificial gardens, special costumes, moresques and, possibly, dramatic action, indicate that the form which first appeared at the Tudor court in 1501 had taken firm hold upon the imagination of those responsible for the preparation of royal entertainments. Thus, the early revels of Henry VIII should be regarded rather as a continuation of his father's court festivals than as the sudden efflorescence suggested by the disparity in source materials between the two reigns. The main differences were rather of quantity than of form or quality—coupled with the fact that Henry VII, unlike his son, was apparently not an enthusiastic joustier or participator in his own revels. Whereas Henry VIII, at the beginning of his reign, made chivalric display the centre of his activities and attempted to dazzle Europe by ostentation, Henry VII was content merely to demonstrate that his court could produce a good show when occasion demanded it, to signalize important political events or at the recognized festive seasons of the year. These court revels are of fundamental importance in the study of early English drama and, in a period notoriously deficient in documentary evidence, the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber furnish invaluable information relating to the frequency and scope of such entertainments and to the personalities involved in their production.

Pageant for which was built like a rock planted with five trees. The rock represented peace and the five trees symbolized the Pope, Emperor, King of France, King of England, and King of Spain. Seated below was a girl dressed as a princess holding, on her lap, a dolphin. This represented the proposed marriage between the Princess Mary and the Dauphin of France (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, Busta 85 B. xxxiii, 10, fols. 104r-107v. This has been calendared in the Calendar of State Papers Venetian, ii, no. 1088. Cf. Edward Hall, Chronicles, ed. of 1809, p. 595). The setting for the anti-Imperial play of 10 November 1527 consisted of an arbor with a fountain. Behind the fountain was a huge olive tree alluding to the new Universal Peace and on either side of this flourished a hawthorn and mulberry decorated with the insignias of the two chivalric orders of St. George and St. Michael—signifying the makers of the peace, England and France (P.R.O., Revels Accounts, E. 36/227, fol. 53r-53v. Cf. Hall, p. 735).
THE COURT FESTIVALS OF HENRY VII

PAYMENTS RELATING TO COURT ENTERTAINMENTS

DECEMBER 1491—APRIL 1509

1491

Dec. 24th. Item to Ringley, Lorde of Mysrewle upon a prest.............. c 8

1492

Jan. 1st. Item to my Lorde of Oxon. pleyers in rewarde.................. xx 8
Item to my Lorde Privy Seall fole in rewarde................. x 8
Jan. 5th. Item to ij Sweches grete tabarers 2......................... xi 8
Jan. 8th. Item to the King to pley at cardes......................... c 8
Jan. 16th. Item to one that brought the King a lyon in rewarde........... liij 8 iiij d
Jan. 24th. Item to Jakes Haute for diverse necessarys bought for
the King as tables, chesse, glasses and other................lvj 8 vij d
Jan. 29th. Item to my Lady York mynstrels in rewarde.................. xvi 8
Feb. 12th. Item to Pechie the fole in rewarde........................ v 8 viij d
Mar. 4th. Item to the childe that pleyeth on the records.............. xx 8
Mar. 4th. Item to my Lord of Suffolks mynystrelles in rewarde.................. .xiij 8 iiij d
Apr. 6th. Item to Guillim for flotes with a case........................ lxx 8
Apr. 29th. Item to one that pleyed on the lute in rewarde.............. vj 8 viij d
May 7th. At Shene. To the clerk of the werkes for making of the
lystes at Shene................................xxiiij 11 ij 8 x d
May 8th. Item for making a case for the Kings suerde and a case
for James Hides Harp........................................xx 8 viii 3
Jun. 4th. Item to Sir Edward Borough which the King loste at
buttes with his crossbow..................................... xiij 8 iiiij d
Jun. 10th. Item to a Spaynyarde that pleyed the fole................... xij 8
Jun. 11th. Item to one that pleyed on the drone........................ vj 8 viii 3
Jun. 17th. Item to Master Guyfford for speres, sperhedes and
vamplats bought for the justes................................ ix 8 vij 3
Jun. 18th. Item to the folysh Duke of Lancaster....................... iiij 8 iiiij d
Jun. 30th. Item to the King which he lost at cardes................. iiiij 8
Jul. 8th. Item to the maydens of Lambeth for a May...................... x 8
Jul. 31st. Item to the foolyshe Duc of Lancaster..................... vj 8 viii 3
Item to the shamews 3 of Madeston in rewarde.............. vj 8 viij d
Item for an horse and sedell, bridell and spoures bought
for Dego, the Spanish fole....................................... xvij 8 vij d
Aug. 1st. Item to the children for singing in the gardyn........... iiij 8 iiiij d
Sep. 24th. Item to the mynstrels of Sandwich in rewarde............. x 8
Oct. 2nd. Item to the mynstrels that pleyed in the Swan [the boat
taking the King to Calais]......................... xiiij 8 iiiij d
Item to Dego, the Spanish fole, in rewarde................... vj 8 viij d
Oct. 18th. Item to the waytes of Canterbury.......................... x 8
Item to the waytes of Dover..................................... vj 8 viij d
Oct. 24th. Item to Ringley, Abbot of Misreule.............................. c 8

1 B.M. Add. MS. 7099.  2 Two Swiss performers on the large drum.
3 Performers on the shawm, a wind instrument.
Jan. 6th. Item to Newark for making of a song........................xx 8
Jan. 7th. Item to my Lorde of Northumbande pleyers in rewarde........xx 8
Mar. 2nd. Item to Master Bray for rewardes to them that brought
  cokkes at Shrovetide at Westminster........................................xx 8
Mar. 10th. Item for a pair of tables and dise bought........................xvi  d
  Item to my Lorde Privy Seall fole for a rewarde..................vij 8 viij  d
Mar. 11th. Item to Dego the fole in rewarde.............................x 8
Mar. 22nd. Item to the fole, the Duk of Lancaster..................vij 8 viij  d
Apr. 30th. Item to the waytes of Coventre in rewarde...................x 8
  Item to the folysh Duke of Lancastre in rewarde...............vij 8 viij  d
May 13th. Item to the waytes of Northampton in rewarde...............viij 8 iiiij  d
May 16th. Item to Pudesey Piper in the bagepipe..................vij 8 viij  d
Jun. 23rd. Item to the making of the bonefuyr on Middesomer Eve.........x 8
Aug. 25th. Item to the young damoysell that daunceth.................xxx 11
Sep. 24th. Item to Pachye the fole for a rewarde....................vij 8 viij  d
  Item to hym that had his bull baytedd in rewarde..............x 8
Nov. 3rd. Item to John Flee for Dikks the fouls rayment...............xxj 8
Nov. 12th. Item to one Cornysshe for a prophecy in rewarde...........xiiij 8 iiiij  d
Nov. 16th. Item to Walter Alwyn for the revells at Estermes [sic]...xiiij 11 viij 8 viij  d
Nov. 30th. Item delivered to a merchant for a par of organnes.........xxx 11
Dec. 1st. Item to Basset riding for the organ pleyer of Lichefelde....xiiij 8 iiiij  d
Dec. 7th. Item to the King of Fraunce fole in rewarde..................iiiij 11

1494

Jan. 1st. Item to iiij pleyers of Essex in rewarde......................xx 8
  Item to the pleyers of Wymbone Mynystre.............................xx 8
Jan. 2nd. Item for pleying of the mourice daunce......................xli 8
Jan. 6th. Item for clothing mad for Dik the fole....................xxxv 8 viij  d
  Item to the Frenche pleyers for a rewarde..................xx 8
  Item to the Kings pleyers for a rewarde....................liij 8 iiiij  d
Jan. 15th. Item to my Lorde of Bedford tumbler in rewarde............xiiij 8 iiiij  d
Jan. 22nd. Item to the King for his losse at cards....................xl 8
Feb. 15th. Item to Walter Alwyn in full payment for the disguysing
  made at Christenmes...........................................xiiij 11 xiiij 8 iiiij  d
Feb. 18th. Item to my Lady Margaret mynnystrels......................x 8
Apr. 2nd. Item to the Kings piper for a rewarde....................vij 8 viij  d
Apr. 5th. At Derteford.
  Item to the waytes of the town in rewarde.......................iiij 8 iiiij  d
May 29th. Item to one that tumbled before the King...................xx 8
Jun. 1st. Item to Peche for the disguising in rewarde..............xxvj 11 xiiij 8
Jun. 10th. Item to one that joculed before the King...................x 8
Jun. 13th. Item to a Spaynyard the tenes pleyer.......................iiiij 11
Jun. 24th. Item for making of the bonefuyre in reward...............x 8
Jul. 6th. Item to Hugh Denes for balls at the paune play 1...........xij  d
Jul. 26th. Item to the tenes pleyer for balls............................iij 8

1 Probably skittles, the pin used resembling the pawn chess-piece.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 14th</td>
<td>Item to Sir Charles Somerset for the King's losse at tene's to Sir Robert Curson with the balles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 20th</td>
<td>Item to the King for playing at the cards</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 31st</td>
<td>Item to the challengers at the joustes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 14th</td>
<td>Item to a Spaynyard that tumbled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 29th</td>
<td>Item to Jakes Hauteyard that tumbled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 31st</td>
<td>Item to my Lorde Prince luter in rewarde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1495</td>
<td>Item to iij pleyers of Wycombe in rewarde</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 1st</td>
<td>Item to Scot the fole for a rewarde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 4th</td>
<td>Item to the Frenshe pleyers in rewarde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 13th</td>
<td>Item to hym that pleyeth upon the bagpipe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 20th</td>
<td>Item to the Queen of France ministrels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 8th</td>
<td>Item to Hugh Denes for the Kings losse at tene's xiii, and for a silke girdle vij</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 20th</td>
<td>Item losete at the buttes to my Lord Marquus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mar. 29th</td>
<td>Item for the Kings losse at the paune pley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun. 28th</td>
<td>Item for making the Kings bonefuyr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul. 9th</td>
<td>Item to the tumbler upon the rope in rewarde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul. 27th</td>
<td>Item to one that leped at Chester</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 2nd</td>
<td>Item to the women that songe before the King and Quene in rewarde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oct. 20th</td>
<td>Item to iij straunge mynystrelles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 1st</td>
<td>Item to the Children of the Kinges Chapell for singing of the Auditte this day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-6th</td>
<td>Item to Dic the foles master for his wages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov. 27th</td>
<td>Item to Hampton of Wourcestre for making of balades in rewarde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 1st-4th</td>
<td>Item to Dic the foles master for his monethes wages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 11th</td>
<td>Item to iij straunge mynystrelx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 21st</td>
<td>Item to iij straunge trumpettes in rewarde</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 23rd</td>
<td>Item to Jakes Haute for the disguysings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 28th</td>
<td>Item to the Children of the Kinges Chapell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dec. 31st</td>
<td>Item to iij pleyes in the hall</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 P.R.O. E. 101/414/6.
2 Possibly an introit for All Souls' Day. My friend Bernard Hamilton has suggested that the item might refer to a setting of the 48th Psalm for first Vespers All Souls.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 1st &amp;</td>
<td>Item to the pleyers of Oxon. in rewarde.................................................................................................................xiiij 8 iij 9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd.</td>
<td>Item to the pleyers of Essex in rewarde.................................................................................xx 8iij 9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 3rd-8th.</td>
<td>Item to the Gentilmen of the Kings Chapell......................................................................xiiij 8 viij 9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Item to the pleyers on Monday in rewarde........................................................................xiiij 8 iij 9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Item to the Kings pleyers in rewarde.............................................................................xiiij 8 iij 9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 10th.</td>
<td>Item to Ringeley, Lorde of Mysrule, in rewarde..........................................................xl 8iij 9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-15th.</td>
<td>Item to the Scottishe foole in rewarde..............................................................................vj 8 viij 9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 24th-</td>
<td>Item to Jakes Haute in full payment for the disguysing at Cristenmes........................................................................vj 11 8 viij 9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29th.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 7th-</td>
<td>Item to my Lorde Suff., my Lorde Essex, my Lorde 9th. Wllm. and other for the disguising........................................................................xll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12th.</td>
<td>Item for new furnishing casting and repairing of the rounde organes........................................................................vjill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 14th-</td>
<td>Item to iiij mynystrelx of Royne 1 Item deliuered to Hugh Denes for the Kings losse at two tymes..........................................................................xl 8iij 9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19th.</td>
<td>Item to Guillm. one of the shakbusses 2 that goyth over the see into Flauunders........................................................................xll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb. 26th.</td>
<td>Item to the Kings players..........................................................................................................................xx 8iij 9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr. 1st.</td>
<td>Item to the Kinges grace to play at the cardes................................................................xxxvij 9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr. 17th-</td>
<td>Item to the waites of London..................................................................................................................xx 8iij 9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22nd.</td>
<td>Item to one that pleyeth on the bagpip................................................................................iij 8 iij 9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 10th.</td>
<td>Item to an Italian a poete..................................................................................................................xxll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Item to an harper of Fraunce.................................................................................................vjill xij 8 iij 9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 24th.</td>
<td>Item to the Kinges grace to play at the cardes................................................................xxxvij 9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun. 25th.</td>
<td>Item for making of the bonefuye.................................................................................................x 8iij 9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Item to Peche the fole in rewarde..................................................................................iij 8 viij 9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Item to a Frensheman, pleyer of thorganes........................................................................vj 8 viij 9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul. 2nd.</td>
<td>Item to the new pleyer at tenes.................................................................................................iij 8iij 9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul. 20th.</td>
<td>Item to a fole at Winchester in rewarde..............................................................................vj 8 viij 9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul. 27th.</td>
<td>Item to Dik the foles master in rewarde........................................................................vj 8 viij 9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 5th.</td>
<td>Item to master Cheyneys mynystrelx..................................................................................xll</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Item to one that pleyeth on the bagpip................................................................................iij 8 iij 9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 9th.</td>
<td>Item to the waytes of Salesbury.............................................................................................vj 8 viij 9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 17th.</td>
<td>Item to my Lorde Prince luter.............................................................................................vj 8 viij 9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 25th.</td>
<td>Item to the piper in rewarde..........................................................................................xx 8 9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Item to the waytes of Cecetr. in rewarde........................................................................vj 8 viij 9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep. 4th-7th.</td>
<td>Item to Cornishe of the Kinges Chapell........................................................................xxvij 9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep. 8th-</td>
<td>Item to the King for his losse at cardes...........................................................................iij 8 9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep. 13th.</td>
<td>Item to my Lorde Prince to pley at dice.............................................................................xl 8iij 9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep. 16th.</td>
<td>Item to the Scottishe fole in rewarde................................................................................vj 8 viij 9d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sep. 20th.</td>
<td>Item to my Lorde Prince mynystrelx in rewarde................................................................xx 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Item to my Lorde Prince organpleyer..................................................................................x 8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Rouen.
2 One of the king’s regular performers on the shackbush or sackbut, a trombone.
THE COURT FESTIVALS OF HENRY VII

Oct. 4th- Item to Fraunces for strange mynystrelx.
7th. Item for my Lorde of York mynystrelx.
Oct. 13th & 14th. Item to master Peter the poete for a currer 1 of Florence
in rewarde.

Nov. 1st- Item to the Children of the Kinges Chapell.
4th. Item to the mynystrelx of London.
Nov. 6th- Item to the Children of the Chapell.
8th. Item to Cornyshe of the Kinges Chapell.

Nov. 11th. Item to iiiij mynystrelx in rewarde.
Nov. 29th. Item to ij mynystrelx of London in rewarde.
Dec. 2nd. Item to Jakes Haute for the disguysing.
Dec. 11th-16th. Item to ij trumpettes that come from Ireland.
Dec. 31st. Item to the Children of the Chapell.

Jan. 1st. Item to the Quenes mynystrelx in rewarde.
Jan. 2nd- Item to the players in the hall.
5th. Item to the players in the hall in rewarde.
Jan. 6th. Item to the Gentilmen of the Kinges Chapell.
Jan. 7th. Item to the Kings players in rewarde.
Jan. 13th. Item to a litell mayden that daunceth.
Jan. 20th. Item to John Flee for a case for the capp and swerde of
Mayntenance.
Jan. 27th. Item to Jakes Haute in full payment for the disguysing.
Feb. 17th. Item to the Quenes fideler in rewarde.
Feb. 19th-23rd. Item to the Kings players in rewarde.
Mar. 17th. Item to one of the Kings players.
Mar. 23rd. Item to the Scottishe fole in rewarde.
Apr. 3rd-7th. Item to a Walshe rymer in rewarde.
Apr. 16th-19th. Item to Malvesy for the Kings losses at the paune play.
Apr. 25th. Item to the waytes of London in rewarde.
May 1st-5th. For the Frenshe mynystrelx.
May 24th. Item to Arnold my Lorde Prince mynystrell.
Jun. 6th. Item to the Frenshe mynystrelx in rewarde.
Jun. 10th. Item to the mynystrelx of Northampton.
Jun. 21st. Item for making of the bonfuyre.

1 A courier or messenger.
2 Leicester.
Jul. 1st-6th. Item for money lost at cardes by the King.....................c8
Jul. 14th. Item to Hugh Denes and James Braybrook for balles at
the tenes play...........................................ix8
Jul. 21st. Item to the Frenshe mynystrelx in rewarde..................xxvij8 viijd
Jul. 26th. Item for balles at the tenes play...........................................ii8 viijd
Aug. 30th. Item to Jakes Haute for the tenes play........................iij 8 iiij d
Item for making of the Kings standing in the parke
upon a bille...........................................xxxviij8 vijd
Sep. 3rd-5th. Item to Fraunces for the Kings pley............................ij1 ij12 iid
Sep. 10th-12th. Item to my Lorde Prince mynystrelx in rewarde..............xx 8
Item to my Lorde Prince organ pleyer....................xxviij8 viijd
Sep. 20th. Item to my Lorde Cardynalles fole.............................vj8 viijd
Sep. 26th. Item to Fraunces Mareyn for the Kings losse at cardes
at Wodestok...........................................xiiij 8 iiiijd
Oct. 3rd. Item to my Lorde Prince trumpet..................................xx8
Oct. 10th. Item to the mynystrelx of Excester.............................x8
October 22nd-27th. Item to Hugh Denes for the Kings pley at dice opon
Friday last passed...........................................vij1 1 xv 8
Nov. 14th. Item for the Kings losse at dice...........................xl8
Nov. 21st. Item to a straunge mynystrell.................................x8
Dec. 3rd-5th. Item to my Lady the Kings moder poete..................lxvij 8 viijd
Item to Jakes Haute for the disguysing..........................xiiij 8 viijd
Item to the Frenshe mynystrelx for a quarter wages
endid at...........................................lxvij 8 viijd
Dec. 24th-29th. Item to the Children of the Kings Chapell.................xl8
Dec. 31st. Item to the pleyers of London..............................xiiij 8 iiijd
Item to the pleyers of Essex in rewarde.............................xx8

Jan. 1st. Item to the Quenes mynystrelx in rewarde......................xl8
Item to the Frenshe mynystrelx in rewarde........................xl8
Item to the Kings pleyers in rewarde..............................xx8
Item to the Scottishe fole in rewarde.................................vij8 viijd
Jan. 6th. Item to the gentilmen of the Kings chapell in rewarde
xiiij 8 viijd
Jan. 12th. Item to my Lorde of Oxon. pleyers...........................xiiij 8 iiijd
Item to the pleyers of Essex in rewarde.............................xiiij 8 iiijd
Item to the pleyers of Wycombe..............................xiiij 8 iiijd
Item to the Kings pleyers in rewarde..............................xx8
Item for the Kings losse at tenes.................................xxiiij 8 iiiijd

1 P.R.O. E. 101/414/16.
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<td>Item for losse of balles ther</td>
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<td>Feb. 1st.</td>
<td>Item to Jakes Haute for the disguysing</td>
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<td>Feb. 4th-9th.</td>
<td>Item to my Lorde Prince poete in rewarde</td>
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<td>Item to the waites of London and Kingeston</td>
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<td>Feb. 17th.</td>
<td>Item to Frenshe ministrelles for their quarter wages</td>
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<td>Mar. 2nd.</td>
<td>Item to the Children of the Kinges Chapel</td>
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<td>Mar. 4th-9th.</td>
<td>Item to one of the Frenshe mynystrel. wages</td>
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<td>Mar. 10th-15th.</td>
<td>Item to one that tumblet at Eltham</td>
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<td>Apr. 9th-12th.</td>
<td>Item to Arnold, pleyer at recorders</td>
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<td>Apr. 13th.</td>
<td>Item for the Frenche mynstrelles wages</td>
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<td>Item to one that bloweth in a horne</td>
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<td>Item to Garter for 1x scutchons of the armis of Fraunce</td>
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<td>May 4th.</td>
<td>Item for the costes of a fole</td>
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<td>Item to the clerkes for singing of Te deum</td>
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<td>Item to hym that pleyeth on the horne</td>
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<td>Item the Kinges losse to my Lorde of York</td>
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<td>Jun. 5th.</td>
<td>Item for the costes of the Kinges folke at Hertford</td>
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<td>for the Kinges folke</td>
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<td>Aug. 5th-11th.</td>
<td>Item to my Lorde of Oxon. joculer</td>
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<td>Aug. 25th.</td>
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1 Misdated "secundo die Febr."
Aug. 26th- Item to the waite of Lynne in reward........................ viij s iiiijd
31st. Item for the foles master wages.................................................. x s iiiijd
Sep. 2nd- Item to the waytes of Cambrige in reward..............................x s
4th. Item to a piper at Huntingdon..........................................................ij s
Sep. 8th- Item to iij waite of Cambrige................................................x s
11th. Item for the foles master wages..................................................x s
Sep. 16th- Item to iij waite of Northampton............................................x s
18th. Item to Malueshed for bowles.....................................................iiijs
Sep. 19th- Item to my Lady Bray for the Quenes mynstrelx at
21st. Brandon Fery..................................................................................xxs
Sep. 23rd- Item for the Kings losse at cardes at Hegecote..............................iij s iiiijd
28th. Item for the foles master wages..................................................x s
Nov. 6th. Item to my Lorde Prince organpleyer for a quarter
wages endid at Michell.......................................................... x s
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Nov. 11th- Item to Jacques Haute for the disguysing...................................xx 11
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in excelsis deo...........................................................................xl s
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Item to iij taberettes and a tumbler..........................................................xx s
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1 499
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Jan. 2nd- Item to Guyllam my Lorde Prince luter...........................................xiijs iiiijd
4th. Item to a Scott, a foole, in reward...................................................vjs viij d
Item to my Lorde Prince pleyers in rewarde............................................xiiis iiiijd
Jan. 5th- Item to my Lorde of Essex pleyers.............................................xiiis iiiijd
11th. Item to the Gentilmen of the Kings Chapell.......................................xiiis vjs viijd
Feb. 15th. Item to my Lorde Prince pleyers in rewarde...................................xiijs iiiijd
Feb. 22nd. Item to Kingeston for a reward yeuen to iij waite at
Seint George Felde............................................................................iijs iiiijd
Feb. 28th. Item to the piper in reward......................................................... x s
Item to my Lorde Prince poete in rewarde.............................................lxvijs viijd
Mar. 3rd- Item to Jacques Haulte in full payment for the dis-
guyysing at Cristenmes........................................................................xxxiijs xviiis vjd
5th. Mar. 22nd. Item for my Lorde Prince organ pleyer wages.......................... x s
Mar. 24th. Item to Vincent tharmorer in party of payment for v.
jousting harnesse..............................................................................c s
Mar. 31st. Item to the Scottishe foole in reward............................................vjs viijd
Apr. 26th. Item to Sir Thomas Brandon for mynstrelx................................x s

1 Perhaps Hedge Court in Surrey.
THE COURT FESTIVALS OF HENRY VII

Jun. 6th. Item to the maygame at Grenewich .......... iiiij 8
Item for the Kings losse at tenes .................. viij 8
Item for the waites of London in Rewarde ........ xx 8
Item to the pleyers with mamettes 1 ................ iiiij 11
Item to my Lorde Straunge mynystrelx ................. viij 8
Jun. 8th. Item to the Frenshe mynystr. in rewarde .......... vj 8 viij 8
Item to other Frenshe mynystrelx .................... x 8
Item deliuered for the folke in rewarde ................. v 8
Jun. 15th. Item to the organpleyer in rewarde ............ xl 8
Jun. 22nd. Item to Sir John Cheyneys mynystrelles ....... xiiij 8 iiiij 3
Jul. 20th. Item to Roger Barne for making of the Kings sete at
the butt ............................................ vj 8 viij 3
Jul. 26th. Item to Robert Whighton for making of the Kings butt ... ix 8 iiiij 3
Aug. 16th. Item to the Frenshe mynystrelx in rewarde ...... x 8
Aug. 20th. Item to iij Frenshe mynystrelx in rewarde . lxv 8 viij 3
Aug. 23rd. Item to my Lorde of Northumbl. waites ......... xiiij 8 iiiij 3
Nov. 1st. Item to the Children of the Kings Chapell ... xiij 8 iiij 3
Dec. 29th. Item to the Children of the Kings Chapell . xl 8
Dec. 31st. Item to a Spaynyard that tumbled before the King
in rewarde .......................................... x 8

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Jan. 1st-3rd. Item to the Scottish fole in rewarde .......... vj 8 viij 3
Jan. 5th-11th. Item to the Gentilmen of the Kings Chapell xiiij 11 vj 8 viij 3
Feb. 1st. Item to the Kings pleyers in rewarde ............ xl 8
Feb. 14th. Item to Jakes Haulte for the disguising in Cristenmes
last passed .......................................... viij 11 x 8 vij 3
Mar. 13th. Item to the Gentilmen of the Kings Chapell . xl 8
Apr. 16th. Item to the Scottish fole in rewarde .......... vj 8 viij 3
Jul. 25th. Item deliuerd the Kings grace for play on Sonday
at night ............................................. xxxiiij 8 iiiij 3
Aug. 15th. Item to the Frenche dawncers in rewarde ........ iiiij 11
Sep. 11th. Item to iij mynystrelx in rewarde ............ vj 8 viij 3
Sep. 17th. Item deliuered to Weston for the Kings grace to
play with ........................................... xiiij 11 vj 8 viij 3
Sep. 30th. Item to Jakes Haute opon his bill ............... xxij 8 viij 3
Oct. 23rd. Item to Weston for ij singers in rewarde ........ iiiij 11

1 Variant of maumet, a doll or puppet.
2 P.R.O. E. 101/415/3.
Dec. 24th. Item to the waites of Abyndon ..................................... iij s iii d
Item to Thomas Blakall, the Kinges foule ........................................... vj s viij d
Dec. 31st. Item to the Children of the Kinges Chapell ............................ xl s
Item to Master Newark for Saint Nicolas ¹ ........................................... liij s iii d

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Jan. 1st. Item to the Walshe harper in rewarde ..................................... vj s viij d
Jan. 8th. Item to the Gentilmen of the Kinges Chapell in rewarde .................. x 11
Item to Ryngesley for hym and his company ........................................... c s
Jan. Item to the Kinges pleyers in rewarde ........................................... xiij s iii d
Item to my Lorde Prince pleyers in rewarde ........................................... xx 8

Apr. 4th- Item to Edmond Arundell servaunt in rewarde .......................... xiij s iii d
Apr. 6th. Item to his servaunt that pleyed on the corde ² ......................... x 8
Apr. 9th. Item sent to the Due of Buk. for joustes ................................ cxiiiij 11 vj s viij d
Apr. 11th. Item to therle of Suff. for the joustes ...................................
Item to therle of Essex ................................................................. xxxiiij 11 vj s viij d
Item to my Lorde Harington .............................................................. xxv 11
Item to Lorde William of Devonshire .................................................. xxv 11
Apr. 23rd. Item for a pair of new organes ........................................... viij 11
Item to Sir Rouland for the joustes ................................................. xl 11
Item to the waites of London ............................................................ x 8
Item deliuered and payd by the Kinges comande for diuerse and many iuelles brought oute of Fraunce agenst the mariage of my Lorde Prince ........................................... xiiiij M 11
Apr. 30th. Item to Antony the tumbler in rewarde ................................... xx 8
May 21st. Item for a lute for my Lady Margaret ........................................ xiiiij s iii d
Item to Sir George Herbert for the joustes ......................................... xl 11
May 28th. Item to Sir Edward Darell for joustes .................................... x 11
Item to James Braybrok for the Kinges pley ........................................... iiiij s iii d
Jun. 12th. Item to the mynystrelles of Caunterbury ...................................
Jun. 25th. Item to a Spaynyard that pleyd on the corde ........................... x 11
Jun. 30th. Item for making of the bonefuyr in rewarde ................................ x 8
Item deliuered to my Lorde Barnes for the joustes .................................. liij s viij d ob.
Item to John Atkinson for certain stuff to be bought for Jakes Haulte opon ij billes ........................................... liij s viij d ob.
St. Nicholas Day, 6 December, by the composer William Newark.
Item delivered to John Atkinson for silkes to be bought
for the disguysing ................................................................................. xx 11
Jul. 16th. Item deliuered to John Atkinson for silkes to be bought
for the disguysing ................................................................................. xx 11
Item to the King for pleying in the barge ............................................. x 11
Item to the mynystrelles at my L. Chambl .............................................. viij s viij d
Jul. 23rd. Item to John Atkinson in full payment of his rekenynges
for the disguysinges ............................................................................. xxxiiij 11 xvij s iii d

¹ Presumably a payment for some musical setting for St. Nicholas Day, 6 December, by the composer William Newark.
² Probably a performer on the crowd (an ancient bowed and plucked instrument), the minstrel's instrument par excellence.
Jul. 31st. Item to the Scottishe fole in rewarde .............. viij viij d
Item to the Gentilmen of the Kinges Chapell ............ xli
Item to John Atkinson opon his boke .................. xxiii viij d
Aug. 6th. Item deliuered to Cornyshe for a disguysing .......... x
Item to the players at Myles Ende ................... iiij iii d
Aug. 13th. Item to Weston for the Kinges pleyng at cardes ... viij iii d
Item for the Kinges pleyng money ..................... xiiii iii d
Aug. 18th. Item to John Atkinson apon a prest 1 ............... x
Item to my Lorde the Due of Yorkes fole ................. viij viij d
Aug. 22nd Item to William Cornyshe for disguysing ........ x
& 23rd. Item to John Atkinson for an other disguysing ....... xx
Aug. 31st. Item to John Atkinson for John Englishe ............ viij xiiii iii d
Item for the frame of the tentt that Sir Charles and 
Master Comptroller hath devised ..................... lxvi viii d
Sep. 8th. Item to John Atkinson for the tentt .................. xxvii d
Item for Cornyshe disguysing .......................... x
Item for John English pagient ...................... viij xiiii iii d
Sep. 20th. Item to Cornyshe for his pagent .................. x
Item to a Scottishe fole in rewarde ..................... viij viij d
Item to John Atkinson in full payment of his rekenyng 
vnto this day ........................................ lxvii viii d
Oct. 5th. Item deliuered to John Atkinson by bille ............ Ixxii viij d
Oct. 15th. Item to theym that daunced to mores daunce ...... xxvii viij d
Oct. 29th. Item deliuered to John Atkinson apon a bille for the 
disguysinges ........................................ liij xiiii iii d
Nov. 3rd. Item to Cornyshe for his iij pagenttes ............. xx
Item to John English for his pagent ................... viij xiiii iii d
at Poules. 2 Item for cariage of the Pryncesse of Spain from Poules
 to the water ........................................... xij d
Nov. 20th. Item to Whiting for Kinges standing in the Chepeside 3 ........ viij xiiii iii d
Dec. 4th. Item to the Princesse stylmynstrels 4 at Westm. ....... xl d
Item to the Princesse trumpettes in rewarde ............ xiiii viij d
Item to ij other trumpettes in rewarde ................. xx d
Item to ix trumpettes of Spayn ........................ xiij d
Item to therle of Spayn 6 trumpettes .................. xl d

1 That is, advance money paid by the sovereign on account of work or service
to be rendered.  
2 St. Paul’s Cathedral.  
3 The stage of scaffold prepared for the king, from which he could watch the entry of Katherine of Aragon, which had taken place on 12 November.  
4 Players of soft musical instruments such as the recorders.  
5 One of the Spanish nobles accompanying Katharine; that is, literally, “the Earl of Spain.”
Dec. 17th. Item to my Lady Bray for ij nynstrelles................. xx
Dec. 31st. Item to the Children of the Kings Chapell............ xl
Item to the rymer of Scotland in warde.................. vj xij iiiijd

Jan. 1st. Item to the Quenes mynystrelles in warde.............. xl
Jan. 7th. Item to the Scottishe nfole in warde.................. vj viijd
Item to hym that played upon the corde.................. iiiij xij iiiijd
Item to his childe that played with hym.................. xl
Item to ij Spaynyshe nistrelles in warde.................. c
Item to one that sett the Kings cleyvecorde.................. xij iiiijd

Jan. 8th-28th.
Item to the Kings players in warde.......................... xx

Feb. 4th. Item to one Lewes for a mores daunce................. liij iiijd
Feb. 6th-11th.
Item to the Duce of Yorke fole............................ iiijd

Feb. 18th. Item to Weston for the Kings losse at disse opon
Srove Monday.................................. xxxij iiiijd
Item for ij shortes to the fole.......................... iij viijd
Item to John Atkinson in full payment of all his reken-
yng vnto xij th tide.................................. liij x ix d ob.

Feb. 26th. Item for a pair of new organes.................. xijij vj viijd
Item to the Quenes nystrelles in warde.......................... xx

Mar. 19th. Item to the Scottishe fole in warde.................. x
May 13th. Item to John Atkinson upon a bille.................. xxxij iiiijd
Item to John Atkinson upon a bille.................. xiiij x viijd
May 20th. Item to iij of my Lady Princes nystrelles........... lx

Jun. 25th. Item to Whiting for strangue nystrelles.................. xx
Nov. 11th. Item to a droner that played on the drone........... x
Dec. 2nd. Item to the Quenes grace for the disguysing........... x
Dec. 31st. Item to the Children of the Kings Chapell for singing
of Gloria in excelsis..................................... xl
Item to theplayers of St. Albones................................ x

1 B.M. Add. MS. 7099.
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Jan. 1st. Item to the tumbler in rewarde............................ xx
Jan. 2nd. Item to one that brought the King a leopard.............. xij vii d
Item to thabbot of Mysrule in rewarde............................ vij xij iii d
Item to the Gentlemen of the Kings Chapell......................... xij vii d
Item to the players of Essex in rewarde............................. xx
Jan. 20th. Item to Laurence, master of the tumblers.................... c
Apr. 12th. Item to Lewes Adam that made disguysings................. xi
May 19th. Item to an organmaker for the conveyance of a pair of
organs from Westminster unto Richemount........................... x vii d
Sep. 15th. Item to Weston for the King to play at cleke 1 at
Burton opon Trent............................................ xl
Nov. 1st. Item to Clement for tables and chessmen.................... iij iii d
Dec. 31st. Item to the Children of the Kings Chapell for singing
of Gloria in excelsis............................................ x
Item to Cornyshe of the chapell.................................... x

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Jan. 1st. Item to litell mayden the tumbler............................ xx
Item to Vonecorps the tumbler in rewarde............................ xx
Feb. 23rd. Item to therralds at Armes for their largess at the
creacon of my Lorde Prince........................................ c
Mar. 6th. Item for a pair of clarycords............................... x
Mar. 31st. Item to John Sudborough for a songe....................... xx
Jun. 30th. Item to the pages of the hall for the making of the
bonefyr in rewarde............................................... x
Oct. 4th. Item to Watt the luter that pleyed the fole................... xij iii d
Oct. 11th. Item for making of the butts at Woking..................... ix vii d
Nov. 22nd. Item to Richard Nevill for Watt the fole................... x

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Jan. 12th. Item to thabbot of Mysrule in rewarde....................... vij xij iii d
May 23rd. 2 Item to Peres Barbor for fecheng of one that playd vpon
the organs in the galary at Richemount............................ xij
May 31st. Item to Piers Barbor for him that played at thorgans in
the galery at Richemount........................................ x
Item to the players at Kingeston towarde the bilding of
the churche stiple in almns 3 ..................................... iii iii d
Jun. 28th. Item for making of the Kings bonefyer......................... x
Item to Piers Crossebowmaker vpon his bill for making
of the butt and a pentes over it 4 ................................ vij i

1 Glossed by Craven Orde as "Gleek". This was a three-handed card
game known at least by the early sixteenth century. This seems reasonable.
2 B.M. Add. MS. 21480.
3 Presumably for "alms", as a gift.
4 A target for archery covered by some sort of penthouse or pentice, a sloping
roof.
Jul. 25th. Item to Sir Bartilmew Rede for iiij oz of gold made in ringes for the justes at Richemont......................viij
   Item to the gentilmen of the Kings chapell for to drinke with a bucke 1.................................xl
Aug. 1st. Item for an horsse for Martyn the kings foole..............................xx
   Item for a lute for my Lady Mare...............xiiij iiiij d
Aug. 15th. Item to Clais goyng to Richemount with wilde cattes and popyn gas 2 of the Newe Founde Island........................................xiiij iiiij d
   Item to Portingales 3 that brought popingais and cattes of the mountaigne with other stuf to the King..........................c
Sep. 21st.- Item to the waytes of Salesbury in reward............................. v
Oct. 1st. Item to a taberer at Salesbury in rewarde........................................xij d
Oct. 31st. Item to Master Pieter of the Kings closet for the wages of diuerse prestes due at Michell. last passed whiche singeth for the Kings grace in diuerse places as appereth by a bill of the names..........................xxxv xiij vij d
   Item to the same Sir Pieter vpon a nother bill for wages of diuerse prestes that singeth for the Kings grace as appereth by the said bill................................xxx
Nov. 7th. Item to the Children of the Kings Chapell in rewarde........xx
   Item to the Children of the Chapell for singyng of Gloria in excelsis vpon Cristenmes Day..........................xl
Jan. 1st. Item to the Quenes mynystrelles in rewarde..............................xl
   Item to the players that played afore the Lorde Stewarde in the hall vpon Sunday nyght..........................vj viiij d
Jan. 10th. Item to the Gentilmen of the Kings Chapell..........................xiiij viiij d
   Item to the iij players of the Kings Chapel..........................vj xiij iiiij d
   Item to the Lorde of Misrule in rewarde..........................vj xiij iiiij d
Feb. 20th. Item to the King of Castelles mynstrelles in rewarde................xx
   Item to x. Speres that justed afore the King euer of them vij xiiij iiiij d the pece, that is to say furst Moryce Seint John, John Car, William Par, Charles Brandon, Edwarde Nevile, Sir Rowland, Christofer Willoughby, George Bowaer, Walter Bawmefeld, and Griffeth Don...c marcs
   Item to the straunge mynstrelles that played afore the king in rewarde........................................vji xiij iiiij d
Mar. 6th. Item to the King of Castilles folle in reward............................xl
Apr. 3rd. Item to Edwarde Guylford vpon his bill signed for certein spere staves spent at the Kings justes lately kepte at Richemount..........................xxiij vj viij d

1 Literally, a sort of party, a feast of deer with drink provided.
2 Form of popinjay, a parrot. 3 Portuguese. 4 P.R.O. E. 36/214.
Apr. 10th. Item to Sir Pieter Greves vpon a bill for the wages of
diverse preestes singyng for the Kinges grace for one
half yeres ended at our Lady Day thanunciation .......... xxx
Item to the same Sir Pieter vpon a nother bill for the
wages of diverse preestes singing for the King for the
half yeres wages due at the said day .............. xxxiij 11
May 8th. Item to the waytes of Walsingham in rewarde .......... v
May 15th. Item to the Children of my Lorde of Oxordes Chapel .... vj 8 viij d
May 22nd. Item for settyng vppe of the may pole at Westmynster .... vj 8 viij d
Jun. 5th. Item to v. straunge mynstrelles that pleyd affore the
King in rewarde ........................................ x 8
Jun. 26th. Item to the pages of the hall for making of bonfyer vpon
Midsomer Even in rewarde ................................ x 8
Jul. 10th. Item to the ladd that kepeth the wylde catte ............... x
Item to Alexandre, a shakbusshe, for his wages for the
moneth of June last past ................................ xx 8
Item to Jonet De, pade an Shalmes, for his wages for
the moneth of June last passed .......................... xx 8
Aug. 7th. Item to the Gentylmen of the Kinges Chapell ......... xi 8
Aug. 14th. Item to Hugh Denys in newe gros. for playng mony .... xi 8
Aug. 21st. Item to one Boncours, a tumbler, in rewarde ........ xx 8
Sep. 4th. Item to Master Tresourer for playing money for the King ... vi 8
Sep. 11th. Item to Hugh Denys for playng money .......... xi 8
Sep. 18th. Item to Sir Pieter Grevis vpon a bill for the wages of
diverse preestes singing for the Kinges grace for oone
half a yere ending at this Michell. next comyng anno
xxij d . ........................................ xxxiiij 11 vij 8 viij d
Item to the same Sir Pieter vpon a nother bill for the
wages of diverse other preestes singing for the Kinges
grace for oone half a yere .......................... xxix 11 v
Nov. 6th. Item to the Cheldren of the Kinges Chapel ........ xx 8
Dec. 25th. Item to the Children of the Chapell for singing of Gloria
in excelsis on Cristenmes Day ......................... xi 8
Dec. 29th. Item to Richard Smyth vpon a bill for master John the
King of Castilles fole ................................ xvi 8 viij d
Dec. 30th. Item to the players that played affore the Lorde Steward
in the hall vpon Tewesday nyght ..................... x 8

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Jan. 1st. Item to the Quenys mynstrelles in rewarde ........... xi 8
Item to the iiij players of the Chapell that played affore
the Kinges grace in rewarde .......................... vij 11 xiiij 8 iiiij d
Jan. 7th. Item to the Gentilmen of the Kinges Chapell in rewarde
xiiij 11 vij 8 viij d
Jan. 16th. Item to the Kinges iiij players that played affore the
King vpon xiiij th day at nyght ..................... xi 8

1 A performer on the shawm. 
2 Grossae—groats.
Jan. 23rd. Item to the Lorde of Misrule for his besynes in Cristen- 
mes in rewarde........................................... vj11 xiij8 iiiijd
Mar. 19th. Item to thabbot of Brutaign in rewarde.......................... xx11
Item to the same Abbot for mending of a payr of organs
in rewarde...................................................lxxij8
Mar. 28th. Item to Sir Pieter Greves vpon his ij billes signed for
the wages of diuerse prestes that syngeth masses for
the Kingses grace...........................................lxij11 xj8 viijd
May 10th. Item to William Creswell vpon a bill for mending of
the tilt............................................................v8 xjd
May 11th. Item to the berwarde in rewarde.................................vj8 viijd
Jun. 28th. Item to the gromes of thall for makyng of the Kingses
bonefyer in rewarde................................................x8
Jul. 20th. Item to Robert Knolles for a blowyng horne bought
for the Kingses grace.................................iiijs
Jul. 25th. Item to Whytyng for a cocke that the Kingses grace
kylled at Chesterford with his crosbowe..............viijd
Jul. 26th. Item to the Gentelmen of the Kingses Chapell to drynke
with buckes....................................................xl8
Jul. 31st. Item to the mynstrelles of Cambrige in rewarde...........vj8 viijd
Aug. 8th. Item to them that played vpon their stilts affore the
King at Somersham in rewarde.........................iijs iiijd
Aug. 22nd. Item to the Lorde Grey of Wilton for a dragon that he
brought the King............................................xl8
Sep. 3rd. Item to Richard Deynos, oone of the kingses mynstrelles,
in rewarde....................................................xl8
Oct. 4th. Item to vj mynstrelles of Fraunce that played afore the
Kinges grace at Habyngton 2.................................xl8
Oct. 5th. Item to the mynstrelles that played vpon Habyngdon
Brigge in rewarde.................................................iijs iiijd
Oct. 11th. Item to Master Hastynges for to bye certain thynges for
Master John the Frenche foole................................x8
Nov. 1st. Item to John Somerlane for fynding of the Kingses grace
sportes for his crosbowe in rewarde.........................xl8
Nov. 2nd. Item to the Childern of the Kingses Chapell.................xx8
Item to Sir Peter Greves vpon oone bill for the quarter
wages of dyuerse prestes syngyng for the Kynges
grace, due at Mychell. last past..........................xxvij11 v8
Nov. 3rd. Item to the said Sir Pieter vpon a nother bill for the
wages of diuerse prestes syngyng for the Kingses
grace.........................................................xxxij11 vj8 viijd
Dec. 7th. Item to John Blanke, the blacke trumpet,3 for his moneth
wages of Novembre last passed at viijd the day...........xx8

1 Bearward, the keeper of a bear. 2 Abingdon, Berkshire.
3 I believe this John Blank was, in fact, a Negro. In the Great Roll of the
tournament at Westminster in February 1511, preserved at the College of Arms,
a negro musician is twice depicted amongst the king's trumpets. This, I think,
was John Blank, the "blakke trumpet".
Dec. 20th. Item deliuered to Master Wentworth for to make a
dysguysing for a moryce daunce..............................xiij viiij d
Dec. 25th. Item to the Children of the Chapell for syngyng of Gloria
in excelsis in rewarde........................................xl vi
Dec. 29th. Item to Master Gyles, luter, for strynges for my Lady
Mares lute..................................................xiiij viij d
Dec. 31st. Item to Master Wentworth towarde the making of a
disguysing for a moryce daunce............................c viii

Jan. 1st. Item to the Quenys mynstrelles in rewarde..................xl viii
Item to my Lorde Princes trumpettes in rewarde.............. xx viii
Jan. 6th. Item to the Gentelmen of the Chapell..................xiiij viiij d
Jan. 7th. Item to the v Gentelmen of the Kinges Chapell that
played in the hall vpon xij th nyght afore the Kinges
grace in rewarde........................................vj xiiij viij d
Jan. 14th. Item to iiij children that played afore the King...........iij viij d
Jan. 23rd. Item to the Lorde of Myrule in rewarde for his busynes
in Cristenmes holydays..............................vij xiiij viij d
Mar. 20th. Item to John Redes marynors that rowed vpe and down
syngyng afore the Kinges manor at Grenewyche for
their rewarde........................................xx viii
Mar. 21st. Item to Sir Pieter, clerk of the Kinges Closet, vpon a bill
signed for certen prestes syngyng dailly for the Kinges
grace, for their half yeres wages ended at the fest of
thanannuciacion of our Lady, anno xxiiij 0..................xxxiiij viiij viii d
Item to the same Sir Pieter vpon a nother bill signed for
certain prestes dailly singyng in diuerse places for the
Kinges grace, for their half yeres wages ended at the
said fest, anno predicto.................................xxxiiij xi d

Apr. 10th. Item for tables, chessemen and dyses........................ x viii
Apr. 22nd. Item to oone Jacobe Hardy that is with the King of
Castelles fole in rewarde........................................x viii
May 8th. Item to the straunge mynstrelles that played vpon the
water affore the Kinges grace in rewarde..................xl viii
Jun. 30th. Item to the gromes of the hall for making of the Kinges
bonefire in rewarde........................................x viii
Jul. 25th. Item to Bartram Bruard, mynstrell, for his moneth
wages for July................................................xx viii
Aug. 31st. Item for Peter, the new mynstrell, wages......................xxx viii
Oct. 29th. Item to Sir Pieter Greves vpon a bill signed for the
wages of certain prestes singing for the Kinges grace
for oone half a yere, due at Michell. last past anno
xxiii viii......................................................xxxiiij viiij viiij d
Item to the same vpon a nother bill signed for lyke wages,
due at Mychell. last passed.............................xix xvij iiiij d
Oct. 30th. Item to the Children of the Kinges Chapell..................xx viii
Nov. 19th. Item to Richard Smyth for playng money for the King...........xl viii
Dec. 4th. Item to John, late the King of Castelles foile, in Re..................xl
Dec. 19th. Item to Wynnesbery vpon a prest toward the King of his Lordship of his Mysrule 1......................lxvi viij d
Dec. 25th. Item to the Children of the Chapell for synging of Gloria in excelsis in rewarde......................xl
Item to Master Kyte Cornysshe and other of the Chapell that played afoore the King at Richemounte........vj xii vij d

Jan. 1st. Item to the Quenes mynstrelles............................xl
Item to my Lorde Princes trumpettes.......................xx
Jan. 2nd. Item to my Lorde of Buckinghams players that playd in the hall at Grenewyche in rewarde..........vj viij d
Jan. 7th. Item to the Gentilmen of the Kings Chapell........xiiij viiij d
Item to diuerse of the Kings Chapell that playde afore the King vpon xijth nyght...........................liij iiiij d
Item to the Kings players in rewarde.......................xl
Item to the Abbot of Mysrule in full payment of x. marcs for his besynes in Cristenmes tyde in rewarde........lxvi viij d

Mar. 25th. Item to the Kings grace for playng money..................xl
Apr. 10th. Item to Sir Pieter Greves vpon oone bill for the wages of certen prestes singynge in diuerse places for the Kings grace............................................xxxxiiij viii d
Item to the said Sir Pieter vpon a nother bill for the wages of certen prestes singyng in diuerse places for the Kings grace..............................xix xvij iiiij d

APPENDIX

COMPANIES OF PLAYERS AND MINSTRELS REFERRED TO IN HERON'S ACCOUNTS

King's Players. Jan. 1494; Jan. 1496; April 1496; Jan. 1497; Feb. 1497; Jan. 1498 (bis); Feb. 1500; Jan. 1501 (bis); Jan. 1502 (bis); Jan. 1507; Jan. 1509.
Players of the King's Chapel. Jan. 1506; Jan. 1508; Jan. 1509.
Child Players before the King. Jan. 1508.

1 This is an obscurely phrased entry, but it must mean that the payment is an advance to Wynnesbury for his Christmas performance as Lord of Misrule. The payment is completed under 7 January 1509.
Players at Myles End. Aug. 1501.
Players at Kingston. May 1505.
Unspecified Players. Jan. 1496 (bis); Jan. 1497 (bis); Jan. 1502; Jan. 1506; Dec. 1506.

Royal Musicians. Trumpeters, sackbuts and other minstrels received regular quarterly payments throughout the reign. Similarly the queen's minstrels are often referred to in the accounts and seem to have served the king almost as much as the queen.

Prince's Minstrels. Sept. 1496; Sept. 1497; March 1498; Oct. 1501.
French Minstrels and Queen of France's Minstrels. Feb. 1495; May 1497; June 1497; July 1497; Dec. 1497; Jan. 1498; Feb. 1498; April 1498; May 1498; June 1499 (bis); Aug. 1499 (bis); Oct. 1507.

Other Minstrels. Lady York's Minstrels (Jan. 1492); Suffolk's Minstrels (March 1492); Shawms of Maidstone (July 1492); Minstrels of Sandwich (Sept. 1492); Lady Margaret's Minstrels (Feb. 1494); Sir John Cheyney's Minstrels (Aug. 1496 and June 1499); Duke of York's Minstrels (Oct. 1496 and May 1498); Minstrels of London (Nov. 1496 bis); Arundel's Minstrels (Jan. 1497); Minstrels of Northampton (June 1497); Archduke's Minstrels (July 1497 and Sept. 1501); Minstrels of Exeter (Oct. 1497); Lord Strange's Minstrels (June 1499); Minstrels of Canterbury (June 1501); Princess's Minstrels (Dec. 1501 and May 1502); Minstrels at My Lord Chamberlain's (July 1501); King of Castile's Minstrels (Feb. 1506); Minstrels of Cambridge (July 1507).