

# THE ANNIVERSARY SERVICE FOR BLANCHE, DUCHESS OF LANCASTER, 12<sup>TH</sup> SEPTEMBER, 1374.<sup>1</sup>

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ONE of the most familiar methods of commemorating the dead in the Middle Ages was the institution of a series of services held yearly on the anniversary of the death, attended by the friends and relatives of the departed, and usually accompanied, it seems,<sup>2</sup> by some form of ceremonial procession, the distribution of alms to the poor and the giving of hospitality.

An interesting fourteenth-century example of this custom, exceptional, to some extent, both in the exalted position and romantic circumstances of the persons concerned, and in our detailed knowledge of the proceedings, is to be found in an account, recorded in the Duchy of Lancaster archives,<sup>3</sup> and translated below, of the expenses for one of the annual commemoration services held by John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, in memory of his first wife, Blanche, who died of plague on the 12th of September, 1369.<sup>4</sup>

The series of anniversary services (continuing, apparently, from 1370 to the duke's own death in 1399), of which this formed a part, was only one of the many ways in which he showed his abiding affection for the companion of his early manhood: for though his marriage, in 1359, to his young cousin, Blanche of

<sup>1</sup> I am indebted to the Trustees of the late Lord Leverhulme for a Research Grant which facilitated the collection of the MS. material used in this article.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. A. Molinier, *Les Obituaires français au Moyen Age*, pp. 118-126.

<sup>3</sup> Public Record Office, *Duchy of Lancaster, Miscellaneous Books*, no. 13, f. 217 r.; printed by the Royal Historical Society, *John of Gaunt's Register*, vol. II, Camden Third Series, vol. XXI, no. 1585.

<sup>4</sup> S. Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 75 and 77.

Lancaster, was an eminently -profitable alliance, since it made him the greatest private landowner in England and prepared the way for his ducal title, we can see in Chaucer's Book of the Duchess (if, indeed, the portrait is faithful to the original), that it was also the spontaneous impulse of a genuine emotion. And, as the duke's biographer points out,<sup>1</sup> Chaucer's eloquent expression of the duke's sorrow for the loss of his 28-year-old wife is corroborated by the lavish and unfailing devotion with which, up to the time of his own death, he kept her in remembrance.

Whether he was equally solicitous for the memory of his second wife, the Spanish Constance of Castile, we cannot be sure. His care to have her funeral rites carried out in a manner fitting his high position is sufficiently evidenced by the expenditure of a sum of nearly £600 on black cloth and other necessities for the event in 1394.<sup>2</sup> And in his will, some four years later, he endowed a chantry in St. Mary's Church at Leicester, where she was buried, for two priests to say perpetual masses for her and for himself and an annual obit for her on the anniversary of her death.<sup>3</sup> But whether he established other memorials to her during his life-time we do not know. Chaucer has nothing to say of the duchess Constance, and the duchy records for these years are too fragmentary to tell us.

But the fact that at the end of his life the duke chose that his body should be laid to rest beside the duchess Blanche in the tomb that he had erected for her,<sup>4</sup> seems to show that she had always held first place in his affections and the more complete records of the duke's earlier years give us ample evidence of the variety of ways in which he kept her memory in honour. In St. Paul's Cathedral, where she was buried, one of the leading architects of the day<sup>5</sup> was engaged to erect a costly tomb adorned

<sup>1</sup> S. Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 76-78.

<sup>2</sup> *Duchy of Lancaster, Accounts*, 32/21, printed (with some abbreviations) by Armitage-Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 449.

<sup>3</sup> Printed *ibid.*, p. 429. Shortly before his death<sup>1</sup> the duke also founded a chantry of two priests in Lincoln Cathedral to say masses for himself and his third wife, Katherine (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1396-1399, p. 412).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 420.

<sup>5</sup> The London mason-architect, Henry Yevele, a man much in demand among the members of the royal family and the nobility both for large building

with an alabaster figure in her image.<sup>1</sup> Two chaplains were appointed to sing masses for her soul all the year round in the same church, at a special altar constructed for their use, furnished at the duke's expense and supplied with a rich missal and chalice.<sup>2</sup> Finally, there were the commemoration services celebrated, apparently, every year on the anniversary of her death,<sup>3</sup> which form the subject of our accounts.

Of the regular celebration of these services there is a fairly full, though not an unbroken series, of records, for the years covered by the volumes of the duke's Register and the Receiver-General's accounts, in which the expenses for the various occasions are entered. Generally these entries consist merely of a brief note of the total sum; in the earlier years a fairly substantial amount—£38 18s. 0d. in 1371,<sup>4</sup> £37 9s. 8½d. in 1372,<sup>5</sup> £45 4s. 10½d. in 1374,<sup>6</sup>—sinking gradually in the later years to £27 14s. 8d. in 1377,<sup>7</sup> £19 19s. 6d. in 1380,<sup>8</sup> and £10 in 1392 and 1394.<sup>9</sup> But in the case of the service of 1374 the clerk who drew up the register has added a copy of the detailed items of expenditure, classified in topical groups, thereby giving

contracts and for ecclesiastical monuments of this sort. See "Henry Yevele and his Associates," by D. Knoop and G. P. Jones, *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, vol. 42, series 3, no. 14.

<sup>1</sup> *John of Gaunt's Register* (henceforward cited as *Register*), II, nos. 1394 and 1659. The total cost of the tomb was £486.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 918. The chaplains were paid £10 a year each, which seems to have been a fairly high figure for chaplains celebrating masses. Miss Wood-Legh (*Church Life under Edward III*, p. 120) estimates that five or six marks was the amount most commonly granted for a chantry priest, though in 1378 the legal maximum was raised from five to seven marks, and after the Black Death stipends of eight, nine or ten marks occur not infrequently. (*Ibid.*, pp. 121 and 122.)

In his will the duke endowed obits for himself and the duchess Blanche on the anniversary of their deaths as well as a chantry for two priests to say masses for their souls for ever. Armitage-Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 423.

<sup>3</sup> The services were presumably held on the 12th of September, since they are normally described as anniversaries: but the actual date is only stated once, *viz.*, in the case of the service of 1380 (*Duchy of Lancaster, Miscellaneous Books*, 14 f. 39 v.).

<sup>4</sup> *Register*, II, no. 943.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 1122.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 1585.

<sup>7</sup> *Duchy of Lancaster, Accounts*, 3/1, m. 7.

<sup>8</sup> *Duchy of Lancaster, Miscellaneous Books*, 14 f. 39 v. no. 5.

<sup>9</sup> *Duchy of Lancaster, Accounts*, 3/2 f. 17 r. and 32/21 (printed in Armitage-Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 449).

us a fairly detailed idea of the nature of the proceedings as well as of the provisions of various sorts required for it. How far the year 1374 was typical of the others we cannot be sure. Towards the end of the series, when the total cost sinks to £10, there must have been considerable simplification of the ceremonial, but in the earlier years when the cost remains fairly consistently about £40 we may perhaps assume that the proceedings were much the same on successive occasions : and since anniversary celebrations were so familiar a feature of medieval life, the details are, perhaps, worth describing in full.

The main service was a solemn high mass in St. Paul's Cathedral, conducted by one of the major canons and attended by a substantial proportion of the Cathedral staff, seven other major canons assisting the celebrant, supported by the whole body of the twelve minor canons and a considerable number of chaplains and vicars. A few choristers as well as bell-ringers and other servants of the church also took part in the service.<sup>1</sup> In honour of the celebration the church seems to have been draped with black cloths brought from the duke's town house, the Savoy :<sup>2</sup> the forty wax candles of various shapes and sizes which burnt on or round the duchess's tomb during mass all the year round were taken down and remade,<sup>3</sup> and eight new and specially-made wax mortar-lights were placed on the tomb to supplement them for the occasion.<sup>4</sup> Finally, during the service

<sup>1</sup> The full staff included 30 major canons, each having a deputy or vicar, and the 12 minor canons, who were incorporated as a separate college by Richard II in 1395-1396 (*Vict. County Hist. of London*, I, 421-427). How many chaplains were attached to the cathedral at the moment as chantry priests, etc., it is difficult to say, but Dugdale (*Hist. of St. Paul's*, pp. 27-40) gives a list of nearly 60 endowments established by 1374 for chantry priests and chaplains to say masses in St. Paul's, but bishop Braybrook found that many of the endowments were so small that the duties couldn't be maintained (*ibid.* p. 40), and in 1391 he reduced the number by 32 by amalgamating a number of chantries (*Vict. County Hist.*, *loc. cit.* p. 427 : by 44 according to Dugdale) so that possibly there were not many more than this number of chaplains actually officiating in 1374 ; in which case the majority of them were present at the anniversary, 31 chaplains and 10 vicars receiving payment in addition to the canons mentioned in the text. (Item 37 of the account.)

<sup>2</sup> Item 24. According to Dugdale (*op. cit.*, p. 25), it was usual to drape the church and choir with black for the funeral of distinguished Englishmen and foreigners.

<sup>3</sup> Items 26-30.

<sup>4</sup> Item 31.

itself, twenty-four poor men, dressed in gowns and hoods of the Lancastrian livery colours of white and blue, stood round the tomb holding burning torches.<sup>1</sup>

Whether this service was mainly a private one or whether it was attended by any considerable number of the general public the accounts do not tell us. The writer of the *Anonimalle Chronicle* describes an occasion in November, 1381, when the duke attended St. Paul's Cathedral "od graunt route des gentz pour oier messe et offerer pour la duches iadys sa femme ; et le mair et les aldermen, od graunde noumbre de la citee bien mountez, luy encontrerent et luy amenerent al dit esglise pour fair lour devocione en honour de la dite dame."<sup>2</sup> But this was the occasion of a special patching up of quarrels between the citizens and the duke,<sup>3</sup> and we cannot say if the regular September anniversary received such marked recognition from them. But the fact that bell-ringers were employed suggests that the service was, at any rate, open to the public.

The high mass, however, though the principal part of the celebrations, was not the only service, nor even the only form of observance celebrated. In addition, there were supplementary masses said by the five orders of friars in London, each order receiving (apparently) £1 for its services :<sup>4</sup> there was a general

<sup>1</sup> Items 21(a) and (b). Or possibly the gowns and hoods were black. (See below, p. 16, n. 2.) According to *The Ordering of a Funerall for a Noble Person in Hen. 7 Time (A Booke of Precedence*, ed. F. J. Furnivall, Early English Text Society, Extra Series no. 8, p. 30) the torch bearers at a funeral should be in black, but we cannot assume that the writer's precept was necessarily followed in practice, either in his own day or in the fourteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> The *Anonimalle Chronicle*, ed. V. H. Galbraith, p. 156. I am indebted to Mr. Galbraith for calling my attention to this passage.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> Item 36. Apart from the four major orders of friars who all had convents in London (Dugdale, *Monasticon* (1846), vol. viii. pp. 1487, 1514, 1572 and 1594), the only order of Friars in London, in 1374, was apparently that of the Crutched Friars, whose house in Hart St., near Tower Hill, was founded in 1298, and survived till Henry VIII's reign (*ibid.*, p. 1586). In the thirteenth century the Friars of the Sack also had a house in London situated in Lothbury, but after the suppression of the minor orders by the Second General Council of Lyons it fell into decay, and the last reference to it given by Dugdale is a note of the surrender of the chapel of the convent to Robert fitz Walter in 1305 (*ibid.*, p. 1607). It is somewhat interesting to note that Richard de Gravesend, bishop of London, in his will dated 1302, left legacies to the four major orders in the city and to the

distribution of alms to the prisoners and poor of the city amounting, together with the offerings made during the high mass, to a sum of £10 :<sup>1</sup> and there was hospitality at the duke's expense—a collation of wine and sweetmeats served, according to custom, to the magnates and the chapter of St. Paul's after the vespers for the dead on the eve of the anniversary,<sup>2</sup> and a plainer and more substantial supper served, apparently, at the Savoy either on the eve or the day of the anniversary after mass.<sup>3</sup>

Whether this supper at the Savoy was a select gathering of the duke's household with a few invited guests, or whether it was attended by a wider circle is, as in the case of the high mass, uncertain: the quantities of food (60 gallons of ale, apparently, and 11½ of wine, 6 sheep, 1/3 of a carcase of beef, 3 young pigs, with a moderate quantity of geese, pigeons and pullets)<sup>4</sup> suggest a moderate-sized attendance, though judging from the comparative plainness of the fare it was not an elaborate feast, and we cannot be sure that it was much more than a household assembly. There is, however, definite mention of two guests (lord Poynings and his wife), who attended the anniversary at the duke's expense.<sup>5</sup>

Friars of the Sack but not to the Crutched Friars (*Account of the Executors of Richard, bishop of London, and Thomas, bishop of Exeter*, Camden Society, 1874, pp. 113 and 114). But the Crutched Friars were only new-comers to the city then.

<sup>1</sup> Item. 35.

<sup>2</sup> § 2 of the account.

<sup>3</sup> § 1 of the account. The Savoy is mentioned in item 3, and presumably the meal was in the evening, since candles form one item (no. 15) in the expenses.

Some of these supplementary observances were, perhaps, the ones abandoned in the later years when the total expenses were so much reduced. But at any rate, the alms-giving does not seem to have been entirely dropped as the entries of expenses in 1380 and 1392 specifically mention "alms" and "distribution to the poor" as items in the total expenses (*Duchy of Lancaster, Miscellaneous Books*, 14 f. 39 v., and *Accounts*, 3 2 f. 17 r.).

<sup>4</sup> The total cost of the supper (£3 10s. 7½d.) for example, is very modest compared with the cost of the funeral feast of bishop Gravesend in 1303 where the poultry alone cost nearly £14 (*Executors' Accounts* (see above, p. 7 n. 4), p. 100). Dr. Coulton (*Five Centuries of Religion*, vol. III, p. 486), estimates that at the installation feast of Ralph de Borne at Canterbury in 1309 each guest had 1¾ lbs. of bread, 1/200 of an ox, 1/60 of a hog, 1/30 of a sheep, 1/6 of a goose, 5½ pints of ale and about 3½ pints of wine, as well as oddments of poultry, etc. On a roughly equivalent basis we could perhaps allow for some 60 or 70 people at the anniversary supper at the Savoy.

<sup>5</sup> Item 34.

One other feature of interest in the celebration of 1374 is that it was probably the first of the anniversary services at which the duke was able to be present in person. In September, 1370, and 1371, he was campaigning in Gascony, in September, 1372, he was at sea with the king on the Thouars expedition, and in September, 1373, he was crossing France on his disastrous march from Calais to Bordeaux, so that it was not till 1374 that he was in England for September, between his return from Gascony in April, 1374, and his departure for the negotiations at Bruges in the following Spring.<sup>1</sup>

How far these arrangements were identical with the conventional observances for such occasions it might be a little difficult to say. They seem, however, to be in accordance with the general features of anniversary celebrations described by M. Molinier,<sup>2</sup> and certainly show a number of points of similarity with the anniversaries of some other members of the English royal family in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. Most of these were on a more lavish scale, and were maintained out of permanent landed endowments. The anniversaries of Edward I's queen, Eleanor of Castile, and of Richard II's first wife, Anne of Bohemia (both conducted by the monks of Westminster), were maintained from groups of manors assigned to the abbey for the purpose: the anniversary of Henry V, in the same way, was financed first by a fixed annuity of £100 and later by the assignment of lands: all of the foundations having permanent officials to administer the funds.<sup>3</sup> So that with these considerable endowments (producing in the case of queen Eleanor's manors anything from £200 to £300 per annum, and in queen Anne's from £125 to £200) to draw on, the wardens were able, after discharging all necessary expenses, to make a distribution of a

<sup>1</sup> Armitage-Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 79-93, 98, 104-118. Perhaps this circumstance explains both why the expenses for this occasion were the highest on record and why they are the only ones which we have recorded in full.

<sup>2</sup> See above p. 176 n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> The details of these royal anniversaries are taken from E. H. Pearce, *The Monks of Westminster*, pp. 15-20.

I am indebted to Mr. C. R. Cheney, Bishop Fraser Lecturer in Ecclesiastical History in the University of Manchester, for calling my attention to this source of information, and for other helpful suggestions.

mark or a pound, sometimes £2 or more, to each priest monk of the abbey, as against the much smaller "regarda", (e.g. 4/4 to a canon and 1/- to a chaplain), given to the chaplains and canons of St. Paul's who took part in duchess Blanche's anniversary. But the expenses themselves show much the same features. There were, of course, payments to bell-ringers, vergers and other abbey servants; considerable sums (sometimes £20 or £30 a year) were spent on buying wax and having it made up into candles (there were thirty square candles burning round queen Eleanor's tomb);<sup>1</sup> and about equal amounts were given in alms to the poor. (In 1395-1396, for example, £30 odd were given in doles from queen Anne's fund during the year, apart from a distribution on the day, and Henry V's fund was charged with £20 a year for the poor.) In the accounts for queen Anne's fund, again, there is an item for refreshments for the magnates who attended the service,<sup>2</sup> and among the expenses of Henry V's anniversary is a payment of ten pence to each of twenty-four poor men bearing torches. So that, on the whole, the conduct of the duchess's anniversary seems to have been in conformity with the normal practice of the time.

The detailed roll of accounts, a translation of which follows (prefaced, in the original, by a copy of the writ authorising the clerk of the Great Wardrobe to pay out money for the expenses of the anniversary) is divided into four sections covering respectively (1) the supper at the Savoy, (2) the refreshments at St. Paul's, (3) the preparation of the church, (4) alms and payments to the clergy, and it is of some interest to note that of the total of approximately £45, nearly equal amounts were spent on (1) fees to the clergy (£10), (2) alms to the poor (£10), (3) robes and food (£11), and (4) candle wax (£8), the remaining £6 being accounted for by wax used for the masses during the preceding year.

<sup>1</sup> Pearce, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>2</sup> In 1395-1396 £2 9s. 10d. was spent on this item (compared with £1 15s. 3d. in the case of the duchess Blanche's anniversary in 1374) the Chancellor, the duchess of Gloucester, and other knights and ladies attending. *Ibid.*, p. 19.



ROLL OF EXPENSES FOR THE ANNIVERSARY CELEBRATION FOR  
THE DUCHESS BLANCHE, SEPTEMBER, 1374.<sup>1</sup>

§ 1. THE ANNIVERSARY SUPPER AT THE SAVOY.

	£	s.	d.
1. In bread consumed at the said anniversary by order of Sir William Croyser, steward of my lord's household . . . . .	4	1	
2. In ale . . . . .	7	6	
3. In 11½ gallons of wine (xi lagenis vini cum j potello) <sup>3</sup> at 8d. consumed at the Savoy . . . . .	7	8	

<sup>1</sup> *Register*, II, no. 1585. In the original record, the separate items and the sectional totals are "run on" continuously, and the amounts expressed indiscriminately, sometimes in pounds, shillings and pence, sometimes in lump sums of pence or shillings. In the translation the items have been tabulated and numbered, the amounts expressed uniformly in pounds, shillings and pence, and titles have been given to the different sections. An attempt has also been made to compare the prices paid with the general prices current at the time.

For advice in dealing with these prices I am indebted to my colleague, Mr. G. P. Jones, Lecturer in Economic History in the University of Sheffield, and for help in interpreting the terms dealing with confectionary and clothing to Professor Paul Barbier, Professor of French Language and Literature in the University of Leeds.

For permission to print this translation I am indebted to the Council of the Royal Historical Society.

<sup>2</sup> The prices in this section are rather interesting, some corresponding fairly closely with the average prices given by Thorold Rogers in his *History of Agriculture and Prices*, while others differ considerably. The main difference is noticeable in the three items of poultry, the prices for which are two or three times the average, geese being quoted in 1374 at 4d. instead of 9d. each as in the account (item 6), pullets at 1d. instead of 3d. each (item 9), and pigeons (in 1375) at 4d. instead of 1s. 2d. per dozen (item 8) (Rogers, *op. cit.*, I, 360). On the other hand, the prices for the wine and the pork are very close to, and a trifle less than, the average, the current price of wine being 8½d. the gallon in 1373 and 8d. in 1376 (*ibid.*, p. 639) as in the account (item 3) and of "porcelli" being 9d. each in 1372 (Rogers, I, 348) as against 8½d. each in the account (item 7).

Perhaps, therefore, we should be justified in taking the prices of the ale and of the other items of butcher's meat as conforming to the average: and in this case the prices would imply some 60 gallons of ale (item 2) at 1½d. a gallon (Rogers, I, 623 and II, 644), about 1/3 of a carcase of beef (item 4 and Rogers, I, 348), and 6 sheep (item 5) at 1s. 11d. each (Rogers, I, 355).

How much bread is implied by the payment of 4s. 1d. (item 1) it is difficult to estimate, since no indication is given of the sort of grain from which it was made. It can hardly have been a very considerable quantity, however, since unground wheat averaged 6s. a quarter and rye about half the price in that year (Rogers, II, 150).

<sup>3</sup> Two pottles to the "lagena" or gallon seems to be the normal reckoning. See Baxter and Johnson, *Medieval Latin Word List*, s.v. "lagena" and "potellus" and *Select Tracts and Table Books Relating to English Weights and Measures*, *Camden Miscellany*, vol. XV, p. 29.

	£	s.	d.
4. In beef . . . . .		4	6
5. In mutton . . . . .		11	4
6. Also in 11 geese at 9d. . . . .		8	3
7. In 3 young pigs (porcellis) . . . . .		2	1½
8. In 60 young pigeons (cumbellis) . . . . .		6	0
9. In 38 pullets . . . . .		8	8
10. In carting the above provisions <sup>1</sup> . . . . .		10½	
11. In various salted fish (salsiamentis), oaten flour and salt . . . . .		1	1½
12. In powdered ginger and pepper with saffron (pulvere de gingeur et piperis cum croco) <sup>2</sup> . . . . .		1	0
13. In various fruits <sup>3</sup> . . . . .		2	2
14. In fuel (focalibus) <sup>4</sup> . . . . .		2	4
15. In tallow candles (candelis) <sup>5</sup> . . . . .		0	8
16. And in payment (regardo) to William the waferer for making wafers <sup>6</sup> . . . . .		3	4
Total . . . . .	3	10	7½ <sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> What conclusion can be drawn from the item of 10½d. for carting it is also a little difficult to say. In item 24 (below) we find that it cost 3d. to take two dozen gowns and some other pieces of cloth from the Savoy to St. Paul's and back, and in 1390 we find the monks of Westminster paying 7d. to have 250 lbs. of wax brought from the city to the Abbey (Pearce, *op. cit.*, p. 17), so that at this rate it would appear that the provisions were bought in London itself or near-by—a fact which would account, perhaps, for the high prices of the poultry.

<sup>2</sup> The shilling represents perhaps half to three-quarters of a pound of these mixed spices, pepper being 1s. 4d. per lb. in 1373 (Rogers, I, 639), and ginger an average of 1s. 6½d. per lb. in the second half of the century (*ibid.*, p. 629), though saffron was much more expensive, the decennial average for the thirteen seventies being 15s. 8d. per lb. (*ibid.*, p. 641).

<sup>3</sup> Rogers quotes no prices for English-grown fruit in the later fourteenth century, though in the first half of the century the decennial averages for apples ranged from 1s. 4½d. to 4¾d. a quarter (*ibid.*, p. 454). Various sorts of foreign fruit are quoted, raisins and currants at 2¾d. per lb., figs at 1¾d., and dates at 3d. per lb. (*ibid.*, p. 632).

<sup>4</sup> If the fuel was (wholly or partly) for the cooking (as, in mid-September may well have been the case) it would, perhaps, have been wood at the current rate (in 1374) of 3s. per hundred fagots (*ibid.*, p. 449). But if it was charcoal (the usual form of fuel for heating rooms) to warm the hall during the meal 2s. 4d. would supply about three quarters of a hundredweight at the decennial average price of 10d. a quarter (*ibid.*, pp. 399, 421 and 454).

<sup>5</sup> The candles for domestic illumination were normally, apparently, of tallow (*ibid.*, pp. 414 and 415), as distinct from the candles for ceremonial use in church which seem always to have been of the much more expensive wax (*Durham Account Rolls*, III (Surtees Society, vol. 103), p. xi.). At the current price 8d. would have supplied four dozen tallow candles (Rogers, I, 442).

<sup>6</sup> The *New English Dictionary* gives two alternative meanings for "wafer" (a) "a thin crisp cake, baked between wafer-irons; formerly often eaten with

## § 2. THE REFRESHMENTS AT ST. PAUL'S.

£ s. d.

17. Also in 2 lbs. of ginger comfits (gingeur confecto)<sup>1</sup>  
 2 lbs. of aniseed comfits  
 2 lbs. of gobbet-royal<sup>2</sup>  
 2 lbs. of cloves (gariofil)  
 2 lbs. of sugar-plate<sup>3</sup> (zucré en plate)  
 2 lbs. of large dragées<sup>4</sup> (gross' drag') at 1/6.  
 and 1 lb. of flower of cinnamon<sup>5</sup> comfits (flour de canell  
 confecto)  
 and 1 lb. of clove comfits at 2s. bought and consumed by  
 the magnates and by the chapter of St. Paul's, London,  
 on the eve of the anniversary, according to custom,  
 after the vespers for the dead . . . . . 1 2 0<sup>6</sup>

wine"; (b) "the thin disk of unleavened bread used at the Eucharist." But since this item is included with the other supplies for the supper it is presumably the former type which is meant.

The wafers, apparently, might be of different shapes: Professor Barbier, quotes, e.g., an entry in the *Inv. de J. de Saffres* (1365), p. 345, where some of them are specifically described as being round: "Quedam ferra pro gauletis faciendis et alia ferra rotunda pro gaufris faciendis."

Ducange defines "regardum" as "merces, remuneratio, compensatio" and the *Medieval Latin Word List* gives "rewardum" as "reward, payment"; but the word seems to have implied a voluntary gratuity or additional bounty even when the amount was fixed by agreement or standardised by custom. (See Glossaries in *The Priory of Finchale*, Surtees Society, vol. 6, and *Durham Account Rolls*, III (as above).)

It is difficult, however, to see why the "regard" for making wafers should have been so high as 3s. 4d., the equivalent, e.g., of a week's wage for a carpenter or mason at the period (Rogers, I, 322).

<sup>7</sup> So in the original, but should be £3 11s. 7½d.

<sup>1</sup> I.e., in the older sense of the word "a sweetmeat made of some fruit, root, etc., preserved with sugar" (*New Eng. Dict.*).

<sup>2</sup> Gobbet-royal is defined in the Glossary of the *Durham Account Rolls* as a sweetmeat "made of sugar coloured with turnsole and flavoured with ginger and mace, and cut up into little 'gobbets'."

<sup>3</sup> Sugre-plate, or sugar-in-plate is defined in the same glossary as "sugar carefully melted over the fire and then poured out on a marble stone dusted with rice flour; it may be flavoured by adding rose, violet, gillyflower or other flower leaves."

<sup>4</sup> The dragy or dredge is defined in the *New English Dictionary* as "a sweetmeat; a comfit containing a seed or grain of spice; a preparation made of a mixture of spices." Professor Barbier writes "The dragees would more normally be sweets in which a sugar-paste enclosed an almond, a walnut or some other thing of the kind."

<sup>5</sup> I.e., finest quality cinnamon.

<sup>6</sup> The sweetmeats seem to work out at an average price of 1s. 6d. a pound. We are told that the dragees were this price, and the clove comfits 2s. Rogers'

	£	s.	d.
18. In 17 gallons of wine at 8d. consumed at the same time . . . . .		11	4
19. In 2 earthenware jars (ollis luteis) bought for the said wine . . . . .		0	8
20. In 25 cups (ciphis) <sup>1</sup> purchased . . . . .		1	3
Total . . . . .		15	3

§ 3. PREPARATIONS FOR THE SERVICE AT ST. PAUL'S.

	£	s.	d.
21. (a) Also in 5 twelve-yard pieces of blanket and bluet (v duodenis albi et blueti) bought and made up in my lord's wardrobe . . . . .			
21. (b) In 24 gowns (golions) <sup>2</sup> with as many hoods given to 24 poor men bearing 24 burning torches in their hands round the tomb of the said Blanche during the anniversary service <sup>3</sup> . . . . .		6	0 0

average price for ginger in the second half of the century (*op. cit.*, I, 629) is 1s. 6½d. per lb., and for cinnamon in 1376 and 1377, 2s. per lb. (*ibid.*, p. 628). The average price for cloves is as high as 8s. 3¼d. per lb. (*ibid.*), but it is found at 3s. 4d. in 1399, and is even sold as low as 1s. 2d. in London. The price of sugar also fluctuates considerably. In the latter half of the fourteenth century Rogers describes it as generally dearer than 4s. per lb., but at an earlier period the average is only 1s. 4¼d. per lb. (*ibid.* pp. 633 and 634).

<sup>1</sup> Misprinted "cipliis" in the printed text. Ducange gives "tasse" and "gobelet" as the French equivalents of "ciphus"; and judging from the extremely low price these must have been cups of cheap material and perhaps small in size. In the *Household Roll of Bishop Swinfield* (1289-1290), vol. I, Camden Society, 1853, ed. J. Webb, two dozen "ciphorum et cooperatorum" are entered as costing 14d. (p. 24), and again one dozen "chiphorum" costing 10d. (p. 33), the editor describing them (p. 24 note a) as "Crockery ware, cups and covers for broth and gruel." In the Executors' Accounts in 1302 (quoted above, p. 5, n. 5), plain bowls or cups of maple wood (ciphi de mazero) are valued at as much as 2s. each (p. 119).

In the anniversary account for 1380 there is mention of a "box with silver vessels" (une coffre oue vessellment dargent), taken from St. Paul's to the Savoy. There were, presumably, table-ware for the refreshments, unless they were some of the duke's private altar-furniture lent for the celebration of the mass (*Duchy of Lancaster, Miscellaneous Books*, 14 f. 39 v.).

<sup>2</sup> Misprinted "gobions" in the printed text. The *New English Dictionary* defines "golion" as "a kind of gown or tunic," and quotes from *The Parlement of the Three Ages*, "a golyone of gray, girde in the middes."

<sup>3</sup> This and the previous entry are not easy to interpret with certainty, the main difficulties being (a) the translation of the rather obscure phrase "v duodenis albi et blueti" (literally "five dozen of white and of bluet"); and (b) the question of whether the two entries are separate items or parts of the same item. On the one hand, the second entry begins, in the original, like other individual items, with a capital letter, and it may be that the "v duodeni" are five dozen of some sort of white and blue badge or cognizance distributed to those who attended the service—white and blue being the colours of the Lancastrian livery (C. Boutell, *English Heraldry*, ed. 1902, p. 136). And in support of this interpretation it

	£	s.	d.
22. In making up the said garments by hired workmen at 2d. each garment <sup>1</sup> . . . . .			4 0

might be argued that the reference in item 24 to "dictorum garmamentorum et alii nigri panni" implies that the gowns as well as the "other cloths" were black.

On the other hand the phrase "alii nigri panni" does not necessarily mean more than that the "other cloths" themselves were black and the absence of any separate entry of cost for entry 21*a* suggests that it and entry 21*b* really form one item. In this case the "duodeni albi et bluetti" can perhaps be interpreted as five twelve-yard pieces (*i.e.* half the normal cloth of twenty-four yards (Rogers I. 575) of blanket and bluet, made up in the duke's wardrobe into twenty-four gowns and hoods by the hired tailors whose wages are given in item 22. And in support of this interpretation it may be suggested that if entry 21*b* really were a separate item the clerk would hardly have given £6 as the price of the gowns and hoods, when that is clearly (from item 22) not the price of the completed articles but only of the raw material.

At any rate, this interpretation fits in both with the quantities of cloth necessary for the given number of garments and with their probable cost. According to one instance cited by Rogers (*op. cit.*, I, 578 and 579) the amount of cloth required for a robe varied from 8 yards for a member of the upper class to 1½ yards for a yeoman groom (*garcio*), so that if we take five 12 yard cloths as going to make 24 gowns and hoods, the resulting allotment of 2½ yards for each gown and hood would be a not unreasonable allowance.

The appropriateness of the cost is more difficult to determine because (a) we cannot be sure that "albi" implies the particular woollen cloth known as "blanket"; (b) we do not know the proportion of each cloth in the total; and (c) the price of bluet, at any rate, is a rather uncertain quantity. With regard to (a), blanket is usually known as "blanchetum," but at the same time, blanket and bluet were two of the most common types of woollen cloth worn during the Middle Ages (blanket being undyed cloth, and bluet cloth of a blueish dye (Rogers, I, 575)), and it seems most probable that the white cloth used in making the garments would be of the same woollen fabric as the blue. And in this case the cost would agree fairly well with current prices. In the sixties and eighties of the fourteenth century blanket remains fairly steadily between 1s. and 1s. 6d. a yard, being quoted at 1s. 6d. in 1380 (Rogers, II, pp. 540-542). Bluet has an average price of 1s. 7½d. per yard before the Plague (*ibid.*, I, 576), but at times is quoted at nearly 5s. a yard (*ibid.*), and in 1380 is quoted at 4s. The average price of 2s. per yard represented by a cost of £6 for the five pieces would therefore be not inconsistent with current prices.

Incidentally, it may be noted that though the gowns are described as being given (*datis*) to the poor men, they were evidently only distributed for the occasion, being returned to the Savoy afterwards along with the "alii nigri panni" (item 24).

<sup>1</sup> The rate of 2d. for making up each gown and hood seems to be a rather low one. Rogers (I, 585 and 586) quotes cases of one tailor being paid 1s. for making up a robe and of another being paid 2s. 10d. for making up a robe with five garnishings and for turning up the sleeves. And again we find that Nicholas Litlington (abbot of Westminster from 1362 to 1386) could get three pairs of

	£	s.	d.
23. Also in 1 lb. of thread bought for these garments <sup>1</sup> . . . . .	1	4	
24. In carting these garments and other cloths of black ( <i>alii nigri panni</i> ) from the Savoy to the said church and back . . . . .	0	3	
25. And in 24 new torches ( <i>torticis</i> ) bought from Roger Chandler to burn round the tomb of the said Blanche in the hands of the said 24 poor men during the said service, weighing, in all, 303 lbs. at 6d. . . . .	8	9	6 <sup>2</sup>
26. And he paid to the same Roger for taking down 36 old square wax-candles ( <i>cereis</i> ) standing and burning round the said tomb throughout the year during mass and re-making them ready for the anniversary, weighing in all 275 lbs. of wax, at 1d. per lb. for the making . . . . .	1	4	11 <sup>3</sup>
27. And to the same for 82 lbs. of wax used in the said 36 square candles, in addition to what he received from the old candles, at 6d. per lb. . . . .	2	0	6
28. And to the same Roger for making up 40 lbs. of wax into two round candles burning on the said tomb throughout the year during mass at 1d. per lb. . . . .	3	4	
29. And for 22 lbs. of wax consumed ( <i>vastate</i> ) by the said round candles during the past year . . . . .	11	0	

“femoralia” cut out and made up for 2d. a pair (Pearce, *op. cit.*, p. 13). But no doubt the “poor men’s” gowns were of a simple cut as well as being (apparently) rather short in length, and the duke supplied the tailors with thread (item 23).

<sup>1</sup> Rogers appears to quote no prices for thread except hemp thread or pack thread at 1d. or 2d. per lb. (I, 581, and II, 568, 570 and 575), and silk thread at 1s. per oz. (I, 580). This thread at 1s. 4d. per lb. (whatever fabric it was) therefore takes a roughly intermediate position in price.

<sup>2</sup> The wax, which is employed consistently for all the candles, torches and mortar-lights used in the church seems to have been paid for at about the current price, for though Rogers (I, 449) gives 8d. per lb. as the average price in 1374, the average for the decade 1371-80 (and for the century as a whole) is only 6½d. (*ibid.*, p. 454).

If the total of £8 9s. 6d. is intended to be merely the cost of the raw material (303 lbs., at 6d. per lb.), it is a miscalculation for £7 11s. 6d. But probably the 18s. difference represents the cost of making the wax up into torches at a little less than ¾d. per lb. In items 26 and 28 the cost of making up the candles is given explicitly at 1d. per lb., and though in item 32 the cost of making up is not stated, it is evidently allowed for at the same rate. What the standard rate for candle-making may have been Rogers does not say, but in 1390 we find the monks of Westminster buying wax at just over 6d. per lb. and paying ½d. per lb. for having it made up (though it is not quite clear if the chandler had an annual wage as well). (Pearce, *op. cit.*, p. 17).

<sup>3</sup> Here the clerk seems to have calculated 2s. too much for making up 275 lbs. at 1d. per lb.—unless 2s. was the fee for taking down the old candles. But in the next item he certainly calculates 6d. too little.

	£	s.	d.
30. To the same Roger for 2 similar round wax candles, weighing together 20 lbs., newly made for the anniversary, placed and remaining on the said tomb, at 7d., including the making . . .		11	8
31. To the same Roger for 8 wax mortar-lights (mortariis cereis) made by him and placed on the tomb during the anniversary <sup>1</sup>		8	0
32. And to the same for 4 lbs. of wax allotted for the celebration of the masses of the two chaplains celebrating in the said church of St. Paul for the soul of the said Blanche during the past year		2	4
33. Also to the same chaplains for bread and wine consumed by them in celebrating the said masses during the same period . . .		3	4
34. And in the boatman's fee (batallagio) paid for lord Poynings (dominus de Ponyng) and his wife who were at the anniversary at my lord's expense <sup>2</sup> . . . . .		0	4
Total . . . . .	20	0	6

<sup>1</sup> The *Medieval Latin Word List* gives "small lamp, cresset" for "mortarium" or "mortariolum," but the *New English Dictionary* defines "cresset" as "a vessel of iron . . . made to hold grease or oil . . . to be burnt for light; usually mounted on the top of a pole or building"; so that the term "mortar" or "mortar-light," "a bowl of wax or oil with a floating wick . . . used esp. as a night-light" seems to come nearest to the meaning of the text.

In 1290 Bishop Swinfield paid 9d. for a "mortar" or "mortar-light" (*Household Roll* (as above), I, 41, and II, 247). Those made for the anniversary must have been fairly substantial "night-lights" weighing nearly 2 lbs. each.

<sup>2</sup> Why lord and lady Poynings in particular should have attended the anniversary at the duke's expense we cannot say. The "dominus de Ponyng" in question was, presumably, Thomas de Poynings, the head of the Sussex family of that name, who succeeded his father Michael in 1369 at the age of 20, and died in 1374. He does not appear to have been a tenant of the duke's or a member of his permanent retinue, but at the family seat at Poynings he was within easy reach of the duke's manor of Tarring (see map in Armitage-Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 218) and during his few years of manhood he was the duke's constant companion-in-arms, serving under his command in all his campaigns between 1369 and 1375. (Letters of protection to Thos. Ponynges or Thos. de Ponynges (sometimes also described as miles or chivaler) going abroad in the duke's company in 1369 (Foedera (*Record Comm. Edit.*), III, ii, 871); in 1370 (*Gascon Roll*, 44 Ed. III, m. 3); in 1372 (*Treaty Roll*, 46 Ed. III, m. 21); and in 1373 (*ibid.*, 47 Ed. III, m. 26).) In 1369 a special guardian was appointed for him because he was still under age (*ibid.*, 43 Ed. III, m. 14). His younger brother Richard, who succeeded him in 1375, went on the duke's Spanish expedition in 1386 (Foedera (orig. ed.), VII, 500; and his cousin Thomas (the son of Luke Poynings, younger brother of Michael) also served under the duke in 1373 (*Treaty Roll*, 47 Ed. III, m. 26). (For the Poynings family in general see Dugdale, *Baronage*, II, 134, and Kingsford in *Dict. Nat. Biog.* s.v. Poynings, Michael.)

Thomas's wife, who also attended the anniversary, was (according to Dugdale, *Baronage*, II, 134 (b)) Blanche de Mowbray. He does not say to what branch of

§ 4. ALMS AND PAYMENTS TO THE CLERGY.

	£	s.	d.
35. Also in alms distributed to the poor and to prisoners with the offerings at the high mass (magnam missam) on the day of the anniversary . . . . .	10	0	0 <sup>1</sup>
36. In alms given to the five orders of friars in London for celebrating for the soul of the said Blanche . . . . .	5	0	0
37. In payments (regardis) made to 8 of the canons (viii canonicorum) of the said church of St. Paul attending and serving at the said anniversary, one who celebrated high mass having 6s. 8d. and the rest 4s. 4d. . . . .			
And to 12 minor canons (parvis canonicis) each having 20d. and to 31 chaplains and 10 vicars each having 12d. . . . .			
To 9 choristers (quercistres) and 4 servants (servientibus) of the said church having 6d. <sup>2</sup> each . . . . .			
To 3 bell-ringers (pulsatoribus) having 4d. each <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	4	18	6
Total . . . . .	19	18	6
Final total . . . . .	45	4	10½ <sup>4</sup>

the family she belonged, but the barons Mowbray were for several generations close personal and political connexions of the house of Lancaster. In Edward II's reign, John, baron Mowbray, was a supporter of earl Thomas of Lancaster, and his son John married Joan, daughter of earl Henry of Lancaster (Dict. Nat. Biog. XXXIX, pp. 218 (b) and 219 (b)): in 1369 we find Mons. John de Moubray acting as a member of John of Gaunt's council (Harl. Charter 43 E. 15 printed in *Register*, II, no. 1811) and in Richard II's reign the earl of Nottingham (presumably John de Mowbray, created earl at Richard's coronation) appears in the list of his knights (*Duchy of Lancaster, Miscellaneous Books*, 14 f. 6).

Both husband and wife, therefore, independently of each other, had fairly strong family ties, either of marriage or service, with the house of Lancaster.

<sup>1</sup> The £10 given in alms (a substantial sum and a quarter of the total expenses of the anniversary) though less than the sums distributed from the various royal anniversary endowments, is not disproportionately so. Henry V's benefaction provided £20 a year for the poor (Pearce, *op. cit.*, p. 20), Queen Eleanor's fund provided £16 odd in 1372 for the poor and the abbey servants (*ibid.*, p. 17), and through Queen Anne's fund began by payng out £40 on the anniversary day as well as £30 in weekly doles during the year, the diminution in the value of the endowments had reduced the sum to £13 in 1404-1405 (*ibid.*, p. 19). Even more substantial sums, however, were sometimes given at the anniversaries of those of lower rank: at the anniversary service held a month after bishop Bitton's funeral, for example, over £26 was distributed to the poor (Executors' Accounts, p. 24).

<sup>2</sup> Misprinted "s" in the printed text.

<sup>3</sup> These payments to the cathedral staff are fairly closely paralleled by those at the anniversary and funeral services of bishops Bitton and Gravesend. At bishop Bitton's funeral at Exeter the canons received 6s. 8d. each, the vicars 2s.,

[Continuation and note 4 on next page.]



the anniversary priests 1s., and the 14 choristers 6d. each, while at the anniversary service a month later the canons received 2s., the vicars 1s., and the choristers 3d. each (*ibid.*, pp. 23 and 24). After bishop Gravesend's funeral at St. Paul's his executors included in their accounts a sum of £6 "pitancia" to the clergy of the cathedral (*ibid.*, p. 100), the bishop in his will also providing for payments at his anniversary services yearly of 60s. to the major canons present, 20s. to the minor canons, 30s. to the vicars, and 10s. to the cathedral servants (*ibid.*, p. 113). It appears from another entry in the executors' accounts that there were at this time 32 vicars and 34 chaplains attached to the cathedral (*ibid.*, p. 109).

Dugdale (*History of St. Paul's*, p. 44) quotes a MS. of the Dean and Chapter showing the distribution of the total annual payments due for anniversaries and obits among the cathedral staff as follows :

	£	s.	d.
30 canons . . . . .	64	0	0
12 petty canons . . . . .	28	11	6
6 lay vicars . . . . .	19	11	0½
poor choristers . . . . .	27	2	10
4 vergers . . . . .		52	8
2 poor bell-ringers . . . . .		28	4
4 poor servants . . . . .		13	4

Among the anniversaries listed in this document are those of John of Gaunt at 65s. 8d., and the duchess Blanche at 65s. 4d.

The total of this item is underestimated by 7s.

<sup>4</sup> The final total is 1s. short of that of the items as given, and 8s. 6d. short if items 27 and 37 are corrected.