

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 I

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.....	xviiij ¹¹
Item to iiij shakbusshes for their wages.....	vij ¹¹
Item to iij stringmynstrelx.....	c ⁸

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 ¹ 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.²

musicians such as the "blacke trumpet" and "Alexander Shakbusse" 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.

Item to the trumpettes in rewarde.....	c ⁸
Item to the shakebusshes in rewarde.....	j ⁸
Item to the still mynstrelles in rewarde.....	iiiij ¹¹
Item to the Quenes mynstrelles.....	xl ⁸
Item to my Lorde Princes trumpettes.....	xx ⁸

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

Item for the wages of the ix trumpettes.....	xviiij ¹¹
Item for the ij shakbusshes moneth wages.....	iiiij ¹¹
Item to Alexander Shakbusse wages.....	xxx ⁸

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 “straunge”—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,¹ 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 damoyzell 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 Kinges 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 "pleyed 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 "pleyed 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 josted 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 the marriage of Prince Arthur in 1501;² the betrothal of the Princess Margaret to James IV of

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. 24^v-26^r and

Scotland in January 1502 ;¹ the visit of the Archduke Philip in 1506 ;² and the betrothal of Princess Mary to the Archduke

this includes, at fol. 25^v, 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^s
 Item to Wm. Kingeston goyng with mewles and
 hobeis to the king of Castell for his costes xx^s
- Jan. 29th. Item to Antony Clerke of kechyn vpon a prest
 towarde the charge of the King of Castell his
 company xiiij^l vj^s viij^d
- Feb. 13th. Item to Kebill goldsmyth of London for a coller
 of garters for the King, pois. xxj oz iij quarters,
 and for a coller of garters for the King of
 Castell, pois xxij oz at xl s. the oz iiij^{xx} vij^l x^s
 Item to the Tosandor Harrold at Harmes with
 the King of Castell in Re c^s
 Item to Garter Harrold at Armes and his com-
 pany c^s
 Item to the Dean and Chanons of Windesor for
 the installing of the King of Castell Knight of
 the Garter and for setting vpe of his helmet xx^l
- Feb. 20th. Item to the Sergeaunte of the Chaundry vpon a
 reconyng towards thexpenches of the convey-
 aunce of the Quene of Castill to the see side cxxxiiij^l vj^s viij^d
- 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^l
- Mar. 13th. Item to the Cofferer, by thandes of Cervaux
 Buckland, towards thexpenches of the King
 of Castill to the see syde c^l

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 1508.¹ 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 ;² in July 1505 four ounces of gold were purchased for "rings 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 yere to lustye hearts most pleasant, certifye your Highnes howe that vnder signe and seale 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.³

Probably these disports were organized by the courtiers as part

¹ *The Solempnities & triumphes doon & made at the Spouelles and Mariage of the Kynges daughter the Lady Marye to the Prynce of Castile Archduke of Austrige*, printed by Pynson in English and Latin (London, 1508). Both editions ed. Gairdner in the ninth volume of the *Camden Miscellany*. The brief account of the tournament is at pp. 25-7 of Gairdner's edition.

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.

³ Brit. Mus. Harleian MS. 69, fols. 2^v-3^r, printed in F. H. Cripps-Day, *History of the Tournament in England and France* (London, 1918), Appendix VI, pp. xlv-xlvii.

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.¹ 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.² 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.³ 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

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 English and hys Companyons 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 disgysyng" on the evening of New Year's Day and continues that "also this Christmass ther wer many and dyvers playes". 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 Christmass I saw no Disgysyngs, and but right few Pleys : but ther was an Abbot of Misrule that made much 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 Misreule". 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.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 255-6.

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 revels and disguising. 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 supervized 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 moryce 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. 143^r-147^v).

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 afftyr 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 Fenestrallis, having many Lights brenning in the same, in Manner of a Lantron out of wich sorted divers Sortes of Morisks. Also

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.

² Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 6113, fol. 169^r.

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 Flaunders anno xxiiij^o henrici vij.* 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 horshire".

⁴ *Ibid.* fol. 145^r. "Richard Rowhanger for dyuers stuff appertaynyng 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".¹ Harry Wentworth was in charge of the "besynesse of the disguising and moreske" and the provision of costumes; ² and there is a payment under 25 December, in Heron's accounts, to "Master Kyte Cornysse 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 1501³ and presaging the similar political pageants and disguisings of Henry VIII's reign.⁴

¹ P.R.O., L.C. 9/50, fol. 145^r-146^r. 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 tumbre" (E. 36/214), and who received other payments relating to copper-work at Westminster and elsewhere.

² L.C. 9/50, fol. 146^v-147^r. 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. 147^r there is a payment of 16s. for the "hire of a howse at the crane in the yntere for ij pagiauntes there made be the space of xvj wekes at xij^d the weke" and another payment of 3s. 4d. to the "keper 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 jouter 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. 104^r-107^r). 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. 53^r-53^v. Cf. Hall, p. 735).

THE COURT FESTIVALS OF HENRY VII 27
 PAYMENTS RELATING TO COURT ENTERTAINMENTS
 DECEMBER 1491—APRIL 1509

1491

Dec. 24th.¹ Item to Ringley, Lorde of Mysrewle upon a prest.....c^s

1492

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

¹ B.M. Add. MS. 7099.

² Two Swiss performers on the large drum.

³ Performers on the shawm, a wind instrument.

1493

Jan. 6th.	Item to Newark for making of a song	xx ^s
Jan. 7th.	Item to my Lorde of Northumbande pleyers in rewarde	xx ^s
Mar. 2nd.	Item to Master Bray for rewardes to them that brought cokkes at Shrovetide at Westminster	xx ^s
Mar. 10th.	Item for a pair of tables and dise bought	xv ^j ^d
	Item to my Lorde Privy Seall fole for a rewarde	v ^j ^s vii ^j ^d
Mar. 11th.	Item to Dego the fole in rewarde	x ^s
Mar. 22nd.	Item to the fole, the Duk of Lancaster	v ^j ^s vii ^j ^d
Apr. 30th.	Item to the waytes of Coventre in rewarde	x ^s
	Item to the folysch Duke of Lancastre in rewarde	v ^j ^s vii ^j ^d
May 13th.	Item to the waytes of Northampton in rewarde	vii ^j ^s iii ^j ^d
May 16th.	Item to Pudesey Piper in the bagepipe	v ^j ^s vii ^j ^d
Jun. 23rd.	Item to the making of the bonefuyr on Middelsumer Eve	x ^s
Aug. 25th.	Item to the young damoyzell that daunceth	xxx ^l
Sep. 24th.	Item to Pachye the fole for a rewarde	v ^j ^s vii ^j ^d
	Item to hym that had his bull baytedd in rewarde	x ^s
Nov. 3rd.	Item to John Flee for Dikks the fouls rayment	xx ^j ^s
Nov. 12th.	Item to one Cornysse for a prophecy in rewarde	xii ^j ^s iii ^j ^d
Nov. 16th.	Item to Walter Alwyn for the revells at Estermes [sic]	xii ^j ^l v ^j ^s vii ^j ^d
Nov. 30th.	Item delivered to a merchant for a par of organnes	xxx ^l
Dec. 1st.	Item to Basset riding for the organ pleyer of Lichefelde	xii ^j ^s iii ^j ^d
Dec. 7th.	Item to the King of Fraunce fole in rewarde	iii ^j ^l

1494

Jan. 1st.	Item to iii ^j pleyers of Essex in rewarde	xx ^s
	Item to the pleyers of Wymbone Mynystre	xx ^s
Jan. 2nd.	Item for pleying of the mourice daunce	xl ^s
Jan. 6th.	Item for clothing mad for Dik the fole	xxxv ^s vi ^j ^d
	Item to the Frenche pleyers for a rewarde	xx ^s
	Item to the Kings pleyers for a rewarde	lii ^j ^s iii ^j ^d
Jan. 15th.	Item to my Lorde of Bedford tumbler in rewarde	xii ^j ^s iii ^j ^d
Jan. 22nd.	Item to the King for his losse at cards	xl ^s
Feb. 15th.	Item to Walter Alwyn in full payment for the disguysing made at Christenmes	xiii ^j ^l xii ^j ^s iii ^j ^d
Feb. 18th.	Item to my Lady Margaret mynystrels	x ^s
Apr. 2nd.	Item to the Kinges piper for a rewarde	v ^j ^s vii ^j ^d
Apr. 5th.	At Derteford. Item to the waytes of the town in rewarde	ii ^j ^s iii ^j ^d
May 29th.	Item to one that tumbled before the King	xx ^s
Jun. 1st.	Item to Peche for the disguysing in rewarde	xxvj ^l xiii ^j ^s
Jun. 10th.	Item to one that jocolud before the King	x ^s
Jun. 13th.	Item to a Spaynyard the tenes pleyer	iii ^j ^l
Jun. 24th.	Item for making of the bonefyre in reward	x ^s
Jul. 6th.	Item to Hugh Denes for balls at the paune play ¹	xi ^j ^d
Jul. 26th.	Item to the tenes pleyer for balls	ij ^s

¹ Probably skittles, the pin used resembling the pawn chess-piece.

THE COURT FESTIVALS OF HENRY VII 29

Aug. 14th.	Item to Sir Charles Somerset for the Kinges losse at tenes to Sir Robert Curson with the balles.....xxvij ^s viij ^d
Aug. 20th.	Item to the King for pleying at the cards.....lx ^s
Oct. 31st.	Item to the challengers at the joustes.....lxvj ^l xiiij ^s iiij ^d Item to the defenders at the joustes.....lxvj ^l xiiij ^s iiij ^d
Nov. 14th.	Item to a Spaynyard that tumbled.....xl ^s
Nov. 29th.	Item to Jakes Haute for the disguysing.....xx ^l Item to my Lorde Prince luter in rewarde.....xx ^s
Dec. 31st.	Item to iij pleyers of Wycombe in rewarde.....xiiij ^s iiij ^d

1495

Jan. 1st.	Item to Scot the fole for a rewarde.....vj ^s viij ^d
Jan. 4th.	Item to the Frenshe pleyers in rewarde.....xl ^s
Feb. 13th.	Item to hym that pleyeth upon the bagpipe.....x ^s Item Jaks Haute in full payment of his bille for his disguysings.....xiiij ^l x ^s vj ^d
Feb. 20th.	Item to the Queen of France ministrels.....xxx ^l Item to a Walsheman for making a ryme.....x ^s
Mar. 8th.	Item to Hugh Denes for the Kinges losse at tenes xiiij ^s , and for a silke girdle vj ^s viij ^dxx ^s viij ^d
Mar. 20th.	Item loste at the buttes to my Lord Marquus.....xx ^s
Mar. 29th.	Item for the Kinges losse at the paune pley.....vij ^s viij ^d
Jun. 28th.	Item for making the Kings bonefuyr.....x ^s
Jul. 9th.	Item to the tumbler opon the rope in rewarde.....iiij ^s iiij ^d
Jul. 27th.	Item to one that leped at Chester.....vj ^s viij ^d
Aug. 2nd.	Item to the women that songe before the King and Quene in rewarde.....vj ^s viij ^d
Oct. 20th. ¹	Item to ij straunge mynystrelles.....vj ^l xiiij ^s iiij ^d
Nov. 1st. -6th.	Item to the Children of the Kinges Chapell for singing of the Auditte this day ²xx ^s Item to Dic the foles master for his wages.....x ^s iiij ^d Item to a woman that singeth with a fidell.....ij ^s
Nov. 27th.	Item to Hampton of Wourcestre for making of balades in rewarde.....xx ^s Item deliuered to Jakes Haute in partye of payment for the disguysinges.....x ^l
Dec. 1st-4th.	Item to Dik the foles master for his monethes wages.....x ^s
Dec. 11th.	Item to iij straunge mynystrelx.....xx ^s
Dec. 21st.	Item to ij straunge trumpettes in rewarde.....xl ^s
Dec. 23rd.	Item to Jakes Haute for the disguysing.....x ^l
Dec. 28th.	Item to the Children of the Kinges Chapell.....xl ^s
Dec. 31st.	Item to ij pleyes in the hall.....xxvj ^s viij ^d Item to Dic the foles master wages.....x ^s iiij ^d

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.

1496

Jan. 1st & 2nd.	Item to the pleyers of Oxon. in rewarde.....	xiijs ^s iiij ^d
	Item to the pleyers of Essex in rewarde.....	xx ^s
	Item to the pleyers on Saterday at night.....	xiijs ^s iiij ^d
Jan. 3rd-8th.	Item to the Gentilmen of the Kinges Chapell.....	xiijs ^{li} vjs ^s viij ^d
	Item to the pleyers on Monday in rewarde.....	xiijs ^s iiij ^d
	Item to the Kinges pleyers in rewarde.....	xiijs ^s iiij ^d
Jan. 10th.	Item to Ringeley, Lorde of Mysrule, in rewarde.....	xl ^s
-15th.	Item to the Scottissh foole in rewarde.....	vjs ^s viij ^d
Jan. 24th-29th.	Item to Jakes Haute in full payment for the disguising at Cristenmes.....	vjs ^{li} xvij ^s vj ^d
Feb. 7th-9th.	Item to my Lorde Suff., my Lorde Essex, my Lorde Wllm. and other for the disguising.....	xl ^{li}
Feb. 12th.	Item for new furnishing casting and reparing of the rounde organes.....	vij ^{li}
Feb. 14th-19th.	Item to iiij mynstrelx of Royn ^e ¹	xl ^s
	Item deliuered to Hugh Denes for the Kinges losse at two tymes.....	vij ^{li}
Feb. 26th.	Item to Guillm. one of the shakbusshes ² that goyth over the see into Flaunders.....	xl ^s
Apr. 1st.	Item to the Kinges pleyers.....	xx ^s
Apr. 17th-22nd.	Item to Hugh Denes for a lute.....	xiijs ^s iiij ^d
May 10th.	Item to an Italian a poete.....	xx ^{li}
	Item to an harper of Fraunce.....	vjs ^{li} xiijs ^s iiij ^d
	Item to the waites of London.....	xx ^s
May 24th.	Item to the Kinges grace to play at the cardes.....	xxxvij ^{li}
Jun. 25th.	Item for making of the bonefuyre.....	x ^s
	Item to Peche the fole in rewarde.....	iijs ^s iiij ^d
	Item to a Frensheman, pleyer of thorganes.....	vjs ^s viij ^d
Jul. 2nd.	Item to the new pleyer at tenes.....	iiij ^{li}
Jul. 20th.	Item to a fole at Winchester in rewarde.....	vjs ^s viij ^d
Jul. 27th.	Item to Dik the foles master in rewarde.....	vjs ^s viij ^d
Aug. 5th.	Item to master Cheyneys mynstrelx.....	xl ^s
	Item to one that pleyeth on the bagpip.....	iijs ^s iiij ^d
Aug. 9th.	Item to the waytes of Salesbury.....	vjs ^s viij ^d
Aug. 17th.	Item to my Lorde Prince luter.....	vjs ^s viij ^d
Aug. 25th.	Item to the piper in rewarde.....	xx ^d
	Item to the waites of Cecetr. in rewarde.....	vjs ^s viij ^d
Sep. 4th-7th.	Item to Cornishe of the Kinges Chapell.....	xxvjs ^s viij ^d
Sep. 8th-10th.	Item to the King for his losse at cardes.....	iijs ^s
Sep. 13th.	Item to my Lorde Prince to pley at dice.....	xl ^s
Sep. 16th.	Item to the Scottishe fole in rewarde.....	vjs ^s viij ^d
Sep. 20th.	Item to my Lorde Prince ministrelx in rewarde.....	xx ^s
	Item to my Lorde Prince organpleyer.....	x ^s

¹ Rouen.² One of the king's regular performers on the shackbush or sackbut, a trombone.

Oct. 4th-7th.	Item to Fraunces for straunge mynystrelx.	xl ^s
	Item for my Lorde of York mynystrelx.	x ^s viij ^d
Oct. 13th & 14th.	Item to master Peter the poete for a curre ^r ¹ of Florence in rewarde.	xx ^s
Nov. 1st-4th.	Item to the Children of the Kinges Chapell.	xx ^s
Nov. 6th-8th.	Item to the mynystrelx of London.	xx ^s
Nov. 11th.	Item to iiij mynystrelx in rewarde.	xxxiiij ^s iiij ^d
Nov. 29th.	Item to ij mynystrelx of London in rewarde.	xiiij ^s iiij ^d
Dec. 2nd.	Item to Jakes Haute for the disguysing.	x ^{li}
Dec. 11th-16th.	Item to ij trumpettes that come from Ireland.	viiij ^{li}
Dec. 31st.	Item to the Children of the Chapell.	xl ^s
	Item to Cornyshe of the Kinges Chapell.	xl ^s

1497

Jan. 1st.	Item to the Quenes mynystrelx in rewarde.	xl ^s
Jan. 2nd-5th.	Item to the pleyers in the hall.	xiiij ^s iiij ^d
	Item to the pleyers in the hall in rewarde.	xx ^s
Jan. 6th.	Item to the Gentilmen of the Kinges Chapell.	xiiij ^{li} vj ^s viij ^d
Jan. 7th.	Item to the Kinges pleyers in rewarde.	xx ^s
Jan. 13th.	Item to a litell mayden that daunceth.	xiiij ^{li}
	Item to a Washe [sic] man that maketh rymes.	vj ^s viij ^d
	Item to Pechye the fole in rewarde.	vj ^s viij ^d
Jan. 20th.	Item to John Flee for a case for the capp and swerde of Mayntenance.	xxij ^s
Jan. 27th.	Item to Jakes Haute in full payment for the disguysing	viiij ^{li} xvij ^s viij ^d
	Item to my Lorde of Arundelles mynystrelx.	xx ^s
Feb. 17th.	Item to the Quenes fideler in rewarde.	xxvj ^s viij ^d
Feb. 19th-23rd.	Item to the Kinges pleyers in rewarde.	xx ^s
Mar. 17th.	Item to one of the Kinges pleyers.	xx ^s
Mar. 23rd.	Item to the Scottishe fole in rewarde.	vj ^s viij ^d
Apr. 3rd-7th.	Item to a Walshe rymer in rewarde.	xiiij ^s iiij ^d
Apr. 16th-19th.	Item to Malvesy for the Kinges losses at the paune play.	vij ^s
Apr. 25th.	Item to the waytes of London in rewarde.	x ^s
	Item to Hugh Denes for other straunge mynystre.	xl ^s
May 1st-5th.	For the Frenshe mynystrelx.	xiiij ^s iiij ^d
May 24th.	Item to Arnold my Lorde Prince mynystrell.	xx ^s
Jun. 6th.	Item to the Frenshe mynystrelx in rewarde.	lxvj ^s viij ^d
Jun. 10th.	Item to the mynystrelx of Northampton.	x ^s
	Item to the waytes of Leynestre ² in rewarde.	xiiij ^s iiij ^d
Jun. 21st.	Item for making of the bonefuyre.	x ^s

¹ A courier or messenger.

² Leicester.

Jul. 1st-6th.	Item for money lost at cardes by the King.....c ^s
Jul. 14th.	Item to Hugh Denes and James Braybrok for balles at the tenes play.....ix ^s
Jul. 21st.	Item to the Frenshe mynystrelx in rewarde.....xxvj ^s viij ^d Item to tharcheduc mynystrelx in rewarde.....lxvj ^s viij ^d
Jul. 26th.	Item for balles at the tenes play.....iiij ^s iiiij ^d
Aug. 30th.	Item to Jakes Haute for the tenes play.....x ^{l1} Item for making of the Kinges standing in the parke upon a bille.....xxxvij ^s vj ^d
Sep. 3rd- 5th.	Item to Fraunces for the Kinges pley.....iiij ^{l1} xiiij ^s iiiij ^d
Sep. 10th- 12th.	Item to my Lorde Prince mynystrelx in rewarde.....xx ^s Item to my Lorde Prince organ pleyer.....xxvj ^s viij ^d Item to Jakes Haute for the tenes play.....xx ^{l1}
Sep. 20th.	Item to my Lorde Cardynalles fole.....vj ^s viij ^d
Sep. 26th.	Item to Fraunces Mareyn for the Kinges losse at cardes at Wodestok.....xiiij ^s iiiij ^d Item to my Lorde Prince trumpett.....xx ^s
Oct. 3rd. ¹	Item for the Kinges losse at cardes at Tawnton.....ix ^{l1} This day cam Perkyn Werbeck.
Oct. 10th.	Item to the mynystrelx of Excester.....x ^s
Oct. 22nd- 27th.	Item to Hugh Denes for the Kinges pley at dice upon Friday last passed.....vij ^{l1} xv ^s Item to James Braybrok for the Kinges losse at dice.....xxx ^s
Nov. 14th.	Item for the Kinges losse at dice.....xl ^s
Nov. 21st.	Item to a straunge mynystrell.....x ^s
Dec. 3rd- 5th.	Item to my Lady the Kinges moder poete.....lxvj ^s viij ^d Item to Jakes Haute for the disguysing.....xiiij ^{l1} vj ^s viij ^d Item to the Frenshe mynystrelx for a quarter wages endid at.....lxvj ^s viij ^d
Dec. 24th- 29th.	Item to the Children of the Kinges Chapell.....xl ^s
Dec. 31st.	Item to the pleyers of London.....xiiij ^s iiiij ^d Item to the pleyers of Essex in rewarde.....xx ^s

1498

Jan. 1st.	Item to the Quenes mynystrelx in rewarde.....xl ^s Item to the Frenshe mynystrelx in rewarde.....xl ^s Item to the Kinges pleyers in rewarde.....xx ^s Item to the Scottishe fole in rewarde.....vj ^s viij ^d
Jan. 6th.	Item to the gentilmen of the Kinges chapell in rewarde xiiij ^{l1} vj ^s viij ^d
Jan. 12th.	Item to my Lorde of Oxon. pleyers.....xiiij ^s iiiij ^d Item to the pleyers of Essex in rewarde.....xiiij ^s iiiij ^d Item to the pleyers of Wycombe.....xiiij ^s iiiij ^d Item to the Kinges pleyers in rewarde.....xx ^s Item for the Kinges losse at tenes.....xxiiij ^s iiiij ^d

¹ P.R.O. E. 101/414/16.

THE COURT FESTIVALS OF HENRY VII 33

Jan. 26th.	Item for the Kinges losse at tenes.....	xij ^s
	Item for losse of balles ther.....	iiij ^s
Feb. 1st.	Item to Jakes Haute for the disguysing.....	xiiij ^{l1} xiiij ^s ij ^d ob.
Feb. 4th-	Item to my Lorde Prince poete in rewarde.....	lxvj ^s viij ^d
9th.	Item to the waites of London and Kingeston.....	xiiij ^s iiiij ^d
	Item to my Lorde Prince trumpettes.....	xxvj ^s viij ^d
Feb. 17th.	Item to Frenshe ministrelles for their quarter wages.....	lxvj ^s viij ^d
	Item to Streme of the Kinges Chapell.....	xl ^s
Mar. 2nd. ¹	Item to the Children of the Kinges Chapell.....	xx ^s
Mar. 4th-	Item to one of the Frenshe mynystr. wages.....	xx ^s
9th.		
Mar. 10th-	Item to one that tumblet at Eltham.....	xx ^s
15th.	Item to my Lorde Prince mynstrelx.....	vj ^s viij ^d
Apr. 9th-	Item to Arnold, pleyer at recorders.....	xx ^s
12th.		
Apr. 13th.	Item for the Frenche mynstrelles wages.....	lxvj ^s viij ^d
Apr. 18th.	Item to one that bloweth in a horne.....	xiiij ^s iiiij ^d
Apr. 26th-	Item to Garter for lx scutchons of the armis of Fraunce.....	xl ^s
28th.	Item to one that bloweth in a horne.....	vj ^s viij ^d
	Item for the costes of a fole.....	iiij ^s iiiij ^d
Apr. 29th-	Item to the mynstrelles at Canterbury.....	vj ^s viij ^d
May 4th.	Item to the clerkes for singing of Te deum.....	xx ^d
	Item to the Frenche mynstrelles in rewarde.....	xij ^s
May 4th.	Item to one that wrete a cople of a rolle of diuerse kinges..	iiij ^s iiiij ^d
	Item to a straunge tabarer in rewarde.....	lxvj ^s viij ^d
	Item to a straunge tumbler in rewarde.....	xx ^s
May 15th.	Item to hym that pleyeth on the horne.....	vj ^s viij ^d
	Item for the rayment and costes of a fole.....	xxj ^s viij ^d
May 23rd.	Item the Kinges losse to my Lorde of York.....	vj ^s viij ^d
	Item a rewarde yeuen to Coltes fole.....	iiij ^s iiiij ^d
	Item to my Lorde of York mynstrelles.....	xx ^s
	Item to his luter in rewarde.....	xx ^s
May 25th.	Item for a lute to my Lorde Henry.....	xiiij ^s iiiij ^d
Jun. 5th.	Item for the costes of the Kinges fole at Hertford.....	ij ^s
Jun. 13th &	Item for ij shertes bought for the Kinges fole by Hugh	
14th.	Denes.....	ij ^s
Jun. 16th-	Item for a cote and a payr of hoofes bought and made	
22nd.	for the Kinges fole.....	xv ^s ij ^d
Jun. 30th.	Item for making of the bonefuyre.....	x ^s
Jul. 1st-4th.	Item for making of the bonefuyr.....	x ^s
Jul. 22nd-	Item to Arnold Jeffrey, organ pleyer, for a quarter wages	
24th.	vnto Midsomer last.....	x ^s
Jul. 31st.	Item for the foles master wages.....	x ^s iiiij ^d
Aug. 5th-	Item to my Lorde of Oxon. jocular.....	vj ^s viij ^d
11th.	Item to my Lorde of Oxon. bereward.....	iiij ^s
	Item to one that held my Lorde of Oxon. bere in rewarde..	vj ^s viij ^d
Aug. 19th-	Item to a fole at Master Knyvettes.....	iiij ^s iiiij ^d
25th.	Item to the waytes of Norwich in rewarde.....	x ^s

¹ Misdated " secundo die Febr."

Aug. 26th- 31st.	Item to the waites of Lynne in rewarde.....vij ^s iii ^j ^d
Sep. 2nd- 4th.	Item for the foles master wages.....x ^s iii ^j ^d
Sep. 8th- 11th.	Item to the waytes of Cambrige in rewarde.....x ^s
Sep. 16th- 18th.	Item to a piper at Huntingdon.....ij ^s
Sep. 19th- 21st.	Item to iij waites at Northampton.....x ^s
Sep. 23rd- 28th.	Item to Malueshede for bowles.....iii ^j ^s
Nov. 6th.	Item to my Lady Bray for the Quenes mynstrelx at Brandon Fery.....xx ^s
Nov. 11th- 16th.	Item for the Kinges losse at cardes at Hegecote ¹ii ^j ^s iii ^j ^d
Nov. 11th- 16th.	Item for the foles master wages.....x ^s
Nov. 11th- 16th.	Item to my Lorde Prince organpleyer for a quarter wages endid at Michell.....x ^s
Nov. 11th- 16th.	Item deliuered to ij mynystr. of Flaunders.....x ^{li}
Nov. 11th- 16th.	Item to Jacques Haute for the disguysing.....xx ^{li}
Nov. 11th- 16th.	Item to the Children of the Kinges Chapell for singing of the Auditt.....xx ^s
Dec. 28th.	Item to the Children of the Chapell for singing of Gloria in excelsis deo.....xl ^s
Dec. 28th.	Item to a tumbuler at my Lorde Bathes.....xx ^s
Dec. 28th.	Item to my Lorde Prince organ pleyer.....x ^s
Dec. 28th.	Item to the pleyers of London in rewarde.....x ^s
Dec. 28th.	Item to ij taberettes and a tumbuler.....xx ^s
Dec. 31st.	Item to the pleyers of Essex in rewarde.....x ^s
Dec. 31st.	Item to the pleyers of Wicombe in rewarde.....x ^s

1499

Jan. 1st.	Item to the Quenes mynstrelx in rewarde.....xl ^s
Jan. 2nd- 4th.	Item to Guyllam my Lorde Prince luter.....xii ^j ^s iii ^j ^d
Jan. 2nd- 4th.	Item to a Scott, a fole, in rewarde.....vj ^s vii ^j ^d
Jan. 2nd- 4th.	Item to my Lorde Prince pleyers in rewarde.....xii ^j ^s iii ^j ^d
Jan. 5th- 11th.	Item to my Lorde of Essex pleyers.....xii ^j ^s iii ^j ^d
Jan. 5th- 11th.	Item to the Gentilmen of the Kinges Chapell.....xii ^j ^{li} vj ^s vii ^j ^d
Feb. 15th.	Item to my Lorde Prince pleyers in rewarde.....xii ^j ^s iii ^j ^d
Feb. 22nd.	Item to Kingeston for a reward yeuen to iij waites at Seint George Felde.....ii ^j ^s iii ^j ^d
Feb. 28th.	Item to the piper in rewarde.....x ^s
Feb. 28th.	Item to my Lorde Prince poete in rewarde.....lxvj ^s vii ^j ^d
Mar. 3rd- 5th.	Item to Jacques Haulte in full payment for the dis- guysing at Cristenmes.....xxxij ^{li} xviii ^j ^s vj ^d
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 fole in rewarde.....vj ^s vii ^j ^d
Apr. 26th.	Item to Sir Thomas Brandon for mynstrelx.....x ^s

¹ Perhaps Hedge Court in Surrey.

THE COURT FESTIVALS OF HENRY VII 35

Jun. 6th.	Item to the maygame at Grenewich.....	iiij ^s
	Item for the Kinges losse at tenes.....	viiij ^s
	Item for the waites of London in Rewarde.....	xx ^s
	Item to the pleyers with mamettes ¹	iiij ^{l1}
	Item to my Lorde Straunge mynystrelx.....	vj ^s viij ^d
Jun. 8th.	Item to the Frenshe mynystr. in rewarde.....	vj ^{l1} xiiij ^s iiij ^d
	Item to other Frenshe mynystrelx.....	x ^s
	Item deliuered for the fole in rewarde.....	v ^s
Jun. 15th.	Item to the organpleyer in rewarde.....	xl ^s
Jun. 22nd.	Item to Sir John Cheyneys mynystrelles.....	xiiij ^s iiij ^d
Jul. 20th.	Item to Roger Barne for making of the Kinges sete at the butt.....	vj ^s viij ^d
	Item to Robert Whighthill for making of the Kinges butt.....	ix ^s iiij ^d
Jul. 26th.	Item to the Kinges piper in rewarde.....	x ^s
Aug. 16th.	Item to the Frenshe mynystrelx in rewarde.....	x ^s
Aug. 20th.	Item to iij Frenshe mynystrelx in rewarde.....	lxvj ^s viij ^d
Aug. 23rd.	Item to my Lorde of Northumbl. waites.....	xiiij ^s iiij ^d
Nov. 1st. ²	Item to the Children of the Kinges Chapell.....	xx ^s
Dec. 29th.	Item to the Children of the Kinges Chapell.....	xl ^s
	Item deliuered to Ringeley in rewarde.....	xx ^s
	Item to the pleyers of London in rewarde.....	x ^s
Dec. 31st.	Item to a Spaynyard that tumbled before the King in rewarde.....	x ^s

1500

Jan. 1st-3rd.	Item to the Scottish fole in rewarde.....	vj ^s viij ^d
	Item to the trumpettes that blewe when the King come over the water.....	iiij ^s iiij ^d
Jan. 5th- 11th.	Item to the Gentilmen of the Kinges Chapell.....	xiiij ^{l1} vj ^s viij ^d
	Item to the waites of London in rewarde.....	x ^s
Feb. 1st.	Item to the Kings pleyers in rewarde.....	xl ^s
Feb. 14th.	Item to Jakes Haulte for the disguising in Cristenmes last passed.....	viiij ^{l1} x ^s vj ^d
Mar. 13th.	Item to the Gentilmen of the Kinges Chapell.....	xl ^s
	Item to William Cornyshe for a rewarde.....	xl ^s
Apr. 16th.	Item to the Scottishe fole in rewarde.....	vj ^s viij ^d
Jul. 25th.	Item deliuerd the Kinges grace for play on Sunday at night.....	xxxiiij ^s iiij ^d
Aug. 15th.	Item to the Frenche dawncers in rewarde.....	iiij ^{l1}
	Item to a straunge harper in rewarde.....	xij ^d
Sept. 11th.	Item to iij mynstreles in rewarde.....	vj ^s viij ^d
Sep. 17th.	Item deliuered to Weston for the Kinges grace to play with.....	xiiij ^{l1} vj ^s viij ^d
Sep. 30th.	Item to Jakes Haute upon his bill.....	xxij ^s viij ^d
	Item to Jakes Haute for ij mynystrelles.....	xiiij ^s iiij ^d
Oct. 23rd.	Item to Weston for ij singers in rewarde.....	iiij ^{l1}

¹ Variant of maumet, a doll or puppet.

² P.R.O. E. 101/415/3.

Dec. 24th.	Item to the waites of Abyndon.....	iiij ^s iiiij ^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 iiiij ^d

1501

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 ^{li}
	Item to Ryngesley for hym and his company.....	c ^s
	Item to the Kinges pleyers in rewarde.....	xl ^s
Jan.	Item to the Kinges pleyers in rewarde.....	xiiij ^s iiiij ^d
	Item to my Lorde Prince pleyers in rewarde.....	xx ^s
Apr. 4th-6th.	Item to Edmond Arundell servaunt in rewarde.....	xiiij ^s iiiij ^d
	Item to his servaunt that pleyed on the corde ²	x ^s
Apr. 9th.	Item sent to the Duc of Buk. for joustes.....	cxiiiij ^{li} vj ^s viij ^d
Apr. 11th.	Item to therle of Suff. for the joustes.....	li ^{li}
	Item to therle of Essex.....	xxxiiij ^{li} vj ^s viij ^d
	Item to my Lorde Harington.....	xxv ^{li}
	Item to Lorde William of Devonshire.....	xxv ^{li}
Apr. 23rd.	Item for a pair of new organes.....	viiij ^{li}
	Item to Sir Rouland for the joustes.....	xl ^{li}
	Item to the waites of London.....	x ^s
	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 ^{Mli}
Apr. 30th.	Item to Antony the tumbler in rewarde.....	xx ^s
May 21st.	Item for a lute for my Lady Margaret.....	xiiij ^s iiiij ^d
	Item to Sir George Herbert for the joustes.....	xl ^{li}
May 28th.	Item to Sir Edward Darell for joustes.....	xl ^{li}
	Item to James Braybrok for the Kinges pley.....	iiij ^s iiiij ^d
Jun. 12th.	Item to the mynystrelles of Caunterbury.....	v ^s
Jun. 25th.	Item to a Spaynyard that pleyd on the corde.....	x ^{li}
Jun. 30th.	Item for making of the bonefuyr in rewarde.....	x ^s
	Item deliuered to my Lorde Barnes for the joustes.....	li ^{li}
	Item to Jakes Haulte opon ij billes.....	liij ^s vij ^d ob.
	Item to John Atkinson for certain stuff to be bought for Jakes Haulte.....	xx ^{li}
Jul. 16th.	Item deliuered to John Atkinson for silkes to be bought for the disguysing.....	x ^{li}
	Item to the King for pleyng in the barge.....	ij ^s
	Item to the mynystrelles at my L. Chambl.....	vj ^s viij ^d
Jul. 23rd.	Item to John Atkinson in full payment of his rekenynges for the disguysinges.....	xxxiiiij ^{li} xviij ^s iiiij ^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*.

THE COURT FESTIVALS OF HENRY VII 37

Jul. 31st.	Item to the Scottishe fole in rewarde.....vj ^s viij ^d Item to the Gentilmen of the Kinges Chapell.....xl ^s Item to John Atkinson opon his boke.....xxiiij ^l x ^s viij ^d
Aug. 6th.	Item deliuered to Cornyshe for a disguysingx ^l Item to the pleyers at Myles Ende.....iiij ^s iiiij ^d
Aug. 13th.	Item to Weston for the Kinges pleyng at cardes.....vij ^s iiiij ^d Item for the Kinges pleyng money.....xiiij ^s iiiij ^d
Aug. 18th.	Item to John Atkinson apon a prest ¹x ^l Item to my Lorde the Duc of Yorkes fole.....vj ^s viij ^d
Aug. 22nd & 23rd.	Item to William Cornyshe for disguysing.....x ^l Item to John Atkinson for an other disguysing.....xx ^l
Aug. 31st.	Item to John Atkinson for John Englishe.....vj ^l xiiij ^s iiiij ^d Item for the frame of the tentt that Sir Charles and Master Comptroller hath devised.....lxvj ^s viij ^d Item to James Braybroke for the Kinges pley.....xxiiij ^s iiiij ^d
Sep. 8th.	Item to John Atkinson for the tentt.....xxv ^l Item for Cornyshe disguysing.....x ^l Item for John English pagient.....vj ^l xiiij ^s iiiij ^d
Sep. 20th.	Item to Cornyshe for his pagent.....x ^l Item to a Scottishe fole in rewarde.....vj ^s viij ^d Item to John Atkinson in full payment of his rekenyng vnto this day.....lxxix ^l ix ^s viij ^d Item to tharcheduc mynstrelles in rewarde.....c ^s
Oct. 5th.	Item deliuered to John Atkinson by bille.....lxxiiij ^l vj ^s viij ^d
Oct. 15th.	Item to theym that daunced to mores daunce.....xxvj ^s viij ^d Item to Frauncois for the Princes mynstrelles.....xl ^s
Oct. 29th.	Item deliuered to John Atkinson apon a bille for the disguysinges.....liij ^l iiij ^s x ^d ob.
Nov. 3rd.	Item to Cornyshe for his iij pagenttes.....xx ^l Item to John English for his pagent.....vj ^l xiiij ^s iiiij ^d Item to the Children of the Kinges Chapell.....xx ^s
Nov. 14th.	Nuptie Arthur' princ. ad dmna. Katerina prin. Hispanie 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 ³vj ^l xiiij ^s iiiij ^d
Dec. 4th.	Item to the Princesse stylmynstrels ⁴ at Westm.....xl ^s Item to the Princesse trumpettes in rewarde.....xiiij ^l vj ^s viij ^d Item to ij other trumpettes in rewarde.....xx ^s Item to ix trumpettes of Spayn.....iiiij ^l Item to therle of Spayn ⁵ trumpettes.....xl ^s

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 mynystrelles.....	xx ^s
Dec. 31st.	Item to the Children of the Kings Chapell.....	xl ^s
	Item to the rymer of Scotland in rewarde.....	vj ^{li} xiiij ^s iiij ^d

1502

Jan. 1st.	Item to the Quenes mynystrelles in rewarde.....	xl ^s
Jan. 7th.	Item to the Scottishe fole in rewarde.....	vj ^s viij ^d
	Item to hym that pleyed upon the corde.....	iiij ^{li} xiiij ^s iiij ^d
	Item to his childe that pleyed with hym.....	xl ^s
	Item to ij Spaynyshe minstrelles in rewarde.....	c ^s
	Item to one that sett the Kinges cleyvecorde.....	xiiij ^s iiij ^d
	Item to John Englishe the pleyer.....	x ^s
	Item to my Lorde of Yorke to play at dice.....	lxvj ^s viij ^d
	Item for the Kinges loss at chesse.....	xiiij ^s iiij ^d
	Item to the Gentilmen of the Kinges Chapell in rewarde	
		xiiij ^{li} vj ^s viij ^d
	Item to the pleyers upon xij th eve.....	xiiij ^s iiij ^d
	Item to John Atkinson vpon his rekenyng.....	c ^{li}
	Item to Ryngeley, Abbot of Mysrule.....	vj ^{li} xiiij ^s iiij ^d
	Item to the Kinges pleyers in rewarde.....	xl ^s
Jan. 8th- 28th.	Item to the Kinges pleyers in rewarde.....	xx ^s
	Item to the new trumpett in rewarde.....	xx ^s
	Item to a rymer of Scotland.....	vj ^{li} xiiij ^s iiij ^d
Feb. 4th.	Item to one Lewes for a mores daunce.....	liij ^s iiij ^d
Feb. 6th- 11th.	Item to the Duc of Yorkes fole.....	iiij ^s iiij ^d
Feb. 18th.	Item to Weston for the Kinges losse at disse upon Srove Monday.....	xxxiiij ^s iiij ^d
	Item for ij shertes to the fole.....	ij ^s viij ^d
	Item to John Atkinson in full payment of all his reken- yng vnto xij th tide.....	liij ^{li} x ^s ix ^d ob.
	Item to John Atkinson and Englishe in full payment of all their rekenynges from xij th tide to this day.....	xiiij ^{li} xvj ^s iiij ^d
Feb. 26th.	Item for a pair of new organes.....	xiiij ^{li} vj ^s viij ^d
	Item to the Quenes mynystrelles in rewarde.....	xx ^s
Mar. 19th.	Item to the Scottishe fole in rewarde.....	x ^s
May 13th.	Item to John Atkinson upon a bille.....	xxxj ^s viij ^d
	Item to John Atkinson upon a bille.....	xiij ^{li} x ^s viiiij ^d
May 20th.	Item to iij of my Lady Princes mynystrelles.....	lx ^s
Jun. 25th.	Item to Whiting for straunge mynystrelles.....	xx ^s
Nov. 11th. ¹	Item to a droner that pleyed on the drone.....	x ^s
Dec. 2nd.	Item to the Quenes grace for the disguysing.....	x ^s
Dec. 31st.	Item to the Children of the Kings Chapell for singing of Gloria in excelsis.....	xl ^s
	Item to the pleyers of St. Albones.....	x ^s

¹ B.M. Add. MS. 7099.

1503

Jan. 1st.	Item to the tumbler in rewarde.....	xx ^s
Jan. 2nd.	Item to one that brought the King a leopard.....	xiiij ^{li} vj ^s viij ^d
	Item to thabbot of Mysrule in rewarde.....	vj ^{li} xiiij ^s iiij ^d
	Item to the Gentilmen of the Kings Chapell.....	xiiij ^{li} vj ^s viij ^d
	Item to the pleyers of Essex in rewarde.....	xx ^s
Jan. 20th.	Item to Laurence, master of the tumblers.....	c ^s
Apr. 12th.	Item to Lewes Adam that made disguysings.....	x ^{li}
May 19th.	Item to an organmaker for the conveyance of a pair of organs from Westminster unto Richemount.....	x ^s viij ^d
Sep. 15th.	Item to Weston for the King to pley at cleke ¹ at Burton opon Trent.....	xl ^s
Nov. 1st.	Item to Clement for tables and chessmen.....	iiij ^s iiij ^d
Dec. 31st.	Item to the Children of the Kings Chapell for singing of Gloria in excelsis.....	xl ^s
	Item to Cornyshe of the chapell.....	xl ^s

1504

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

1505

Jan. 12th.	Item to thabbot of Mysrule in rewarde.....	vj ^{li} xiiij ^s iiij ^d
May 23rd. ²	Item to Peres Barbor for fecheng of one that playd vpon the organs in the galery at Richemount.....	xij ^d
May 31st.	Item to Piers Barbor for him that played at thorgans in the galery at Richemount.....	x ^s
	Item to the players at Kingeston towarde the bilding of the churche stiple in almns ³	iiij ^s iiij ^d
Jun. 28th.	Item for making of the Kinges bonefyer.....	x ^s
	Item to Piers Crossebowmaker vpon his bill for making of the butt and a pentes over it ⁴	vj ^s ij ^d

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
rings for the justes at Richemont.....viiij^{l1}
Item to the gentilmen of the Kinges chapell for to
drinke with a bucke ¹.....xl^s
- Aug. 1st. Item for an horsse for Martyn the kinges fole.....xx^s
Item for a lute for my Lady Mare.....xiiij^s iiij^d
- Aug. 15th. Item to Clais goyng to Richemount with wilde cattes
and popyngais ² of the Newe Founde Island.....xiiij^s iiij^d
Item to Portingales ³ that brought popyngais and cattes
of the mountaigne with other stuf to the King.....c^s
- Sep. 21st.-
27th. Item to the waytes of Salesbury in reward.....v^s
- Oct. 1st.⁴ Item to a taberer at Salesbury in rewarde.....xiij^d
- Oct. 31st. Item to Master Pieter of the Kinges closet for the wages
of diuerse prestes due at Michell. last passed whiche
singeth for the Kinges grace in diuerse places as
appereth by a bill of the names.....xxxv^{l1} xij^s vj^d
Item to the same Sir Pieter vpon a nother bill for wages
of diuerse prestes that singeth for the Kinges grace as
apperith by the said bill.....xxx^{l1}
- Nov. 7th. Item to the Children of the Kinges Chapell in rewarde.....xx^s

1506

- Jan. 2nd. Item to the Children of the Chapell for singyng of Gloria
in excelsis vpon Cristenmes Day.....xl^s
- Jan. 1st. Item to the Quenes mynstrelles in rewarde.....xl^s
Item to the players that played afore the Lorde Stewarde
in the hall vpon Sondag nyght.....vj^s viij^d
Item to my Lorde Princes players that played in the
hall vpon Newyeres Even.....x^s
- Jan. 10th. Item to the Gentilmen of the Kinges Chapell.....xiiij^{l1} vj^s viij^d
Item to the iiij pleyers of the Kinges Chapel.....vj^{l1} xiiij^s iiij^d
Item to the Lorde of Misrule in rewarde.....vj^{l1} xiiij^s iiij^d
- Feb. 20th. Item to the King of Castelles mynstrelles in rewarde.....xx^s
Item to x. Speres that justed afore the King eury of
them vj^{l1} xiiij^s iiij^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.....vj^{l1} xiiij^s iiij^d
- Mar. 6th. Item to the King of Castilles fole in reward.....xl^s
- Apr. 3rd. Item to Edwarde Guylford vpon his bill signed for
certein spere staves spent at the Kinges justes lately
kepte at Richemounte.....xx^{l1} vj^s 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 diuerse prestes singyng for the Kinges grace for one halue yeres ended at our Lady Day thanunciation.	xxx ^{li}
	Item to the same Sir Pieter vpon a nother bill for the wages of diuerse prestes singing for the King for the half yeres wages due at the said day.	xxxiiij ^{li} xix ^s ij ^d
May 8th.	Item to the waytes of Walsingham in rewarde.	v ^s
May 15th.	Item to the Children of my Lorde of Oxfordes Chapel.	vj ^s viij ^d
May 22nd.	Item for setting vppe of the may pole at Westmynster.	vj ^s viij ^d
Jun. 5th.	Item to v. straunge mynstrelles that pleyd affore the King in rewarde.	xl ^s
Jun. 26th.	Item to the pages of the hall for making of bonfyer vpon Midsomer Even in rewarde.	x ^s
Jul. 10th.	Item to the ladd that kepeth the wylde catte.	x ^s
	Item to Alexandre, a shakbusse, for his wages for the moneth of June last past.	xx ^s
	Item to Jonet De, pade an Shalmes, ¹ for his wages for the moneth of June last passed.	xx ^s
Aug. 7th.	Item to the Gentylnen of the Kinges Chapell.	xl ^s
Aug. 14th.	Item to Hugh Denys in newe gros. ² for playng mony.	xl ^s
Aug. 21st.	Item to one Boncours, a tumbler, in rewarde.	xx ^s
Sep. 4th.	Item to Master Tresourer for playng money for the King.	c ^s
Sep. 11th.	Item to Hugh Denys for playng money.	xl ^s
Sep. 18th.	Item to Sir Pieter Grevis vpon a bill for the wages of diuerse prestes singing for the Kinges grace for oone half a yere ending at this Michell. next comyng anno xxij ^{do}	xxxiiij ^{li} vj ^s viij ^d
	Item to the same Sir Pieter vpon a nother bill for the wages of diuerse other prestes singing for the Kinges grace for oone half a yere.	xxix ^{li} v ^s
Nov. 6th.	Item to the Cheldren of the Kinges Chapel.	xx ^s
Dec. 25th.	Item to the Children of the Chapell for singing of Gloria in excelsis on Cristenmes Day.	xl ^s
Dec. 29th.	Item to Richard Smyth vpon a bill for master John the King of Castilles fole.	xv ^s iiij ^d
Dec. 30th.	Item to the players that played affore the Lorde Steward in the hall vpon Tewesday nyght.	x ^s

1507

Jan. 1st.	Item to the Quenys mynstrelles in rewarde.	xl ^s
	Item to the iiij players of the Chapell that played affore the Kinges grace in rewarde.	vj ^{li} xiiij ^s iiij ^d
Jan. 7th.	Item to the Gentilmen of the Kinges Chapell in rewarde.	xiiij ^{li} vj ^s viij ^d
Jan. 16th.	Item to the Kinges iiij players that played affore the King vpon xij th day at nyght.	xl ^s

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.....vj ¹¹ xiiij ^s iiij ^d
Mar. 19th.	Item to thabbot of Brutaig in rewarde.....xx ¹¹ Item to the same Abbot for mending of a payr of organs in rewarde.....lxxij ^s
Mar. 28th.	Item to Sir Pieter Greves vpon his ij billes signed for the wages of diuerse prestes that syngeth masses for the Kinges grace.....lxij ¹¹ xj ^s viij ^d
May 10th.	Item to William Creswell vpon a bill for mending of the tilt.....v ^s xj ^d
May 11th.	Item to the berwarde ¹ in rewarde.....vj ^s viij ^d
Jun. 28th.	Item to the gromes of thall for makyng of the Kinges bonefyer in rewarde.....x ^s
Jul. 20th.	Item to Robert Knolles for a blowyng horne bought for the Kinges grace.....iiij ^s
Jul. 25th.	Item to Whytyng for a cocke that the Kinges grace kylled at Chesterford with his crosbowe.....viij ^d
Jul. 26th.	Item to the Gentelmen of the Kinges Chapell to drynke with buckes.....xl ^s
Jul. 31st.	Item to the mynstrelles of Cambrige in rewarde.....vj ^s viij ^d
Aug. 8th.	Item to them that pleyed vpon their stilts affore the King at Somersham in rewarde.....iiij ^s iiij ^d
Aug. 22nd.	Item to the Lorde Grey of Wilton for a dragon that he brought the King.....xl ^s
Sep. 3rd.	Item to Richard Deynos, oone of the kinges mynstrelles, in rewarde.....xl ^s
Oct. 4th.	Item to vj mynstrelles of Fraunce that played afore the Kinges grace at Habyngton ²xl ^s
Oct. 5th.	Item to the mynstrelles that pleyed vpon Habyngdon Brigge in rewarde.....iiij ^s iiij ^d
Oct. 11th.	Item to Master Hastynges for to bye certain thynges for Master John the Frenche foole.....x ^s
Nov. 1st.	Item to John Somerlane for fynding of the Kinges grace sportes for his crosbowe in rewarde.....xl ^s
Nov. 2nd.	Item to the Childern of the Kinges Chapell.....xx ^s 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.....xxvij ¹¹ v ^s
Nov. 3rd.	Item to the said Sir Pieter vpon a nother bill for the wages of diuerse prestes syngyng for the Kinges grace.....xxxiiij ¹¹ vj ^s viij ^d
Dec. 7th.	Item to John Blanke, the blacke trumpet, ³ for his moneth wages of Novembre last passed at viij ^d the day.....xx ^s

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 "blacke trumpet".

Dec. 20th.	Item delyuered to Master Wentworth for to make a dysguysing for a moryce daunce.....xiiij ^l vj ^s viij ^d
Dec. 25th.	Item to the Children of the Chapell for syngyng of Gloria in excelsis in rewarde.....xl ^s
Dec. 29th.	Item to Master Gyles, luter, for strynges for my Lady Mares lute.....xiiij ^s iiij ^d
Dec. 31st.	Item to Master Wentworth towarde the making of a disguysing for a moryce daunce.....c ^s

1508

Jan. 1st.	Item to the Quenys mynstrelles in rewarde.....xl ^s Item to my Lorde Princes trumpettes in rewarde.....xx ^s
Jan. 6th.	Item to the Gentelmen of the Chapell.....xiiij ^l vj ^s viij ^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 ^l xiiij ^s iiij ^d
Jan. 14th.	Item to iiij children that played afore the King.....iiij ^s iiij ^d
Jan. 23rd.	Item to the Lorde of Mysrule in rewarde for his busynes in Cristenmes holydays.....vj ^l xiiij ^s iiij ^d
Mar. 20th.	Item to John Redes marynors that rowed vpe and down syngyng afore the Kinges manor at Grenewyche for their rewarde.....xx ^s
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 thannunciacion of our Lady, anno xxiiij ^oxxxiiij ^l vj ^s viij ^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.....xxiiij ^l xx ^d
Apr. 10th.	Item for tables, chessemen and dyses.....xj ^s
Apr. 22nd.	Item to oone Jacobe Hardy that is with the King of Castelles fole in rewarde.....x ^s
May 8th.	Item to the straunge mynstrelles that played vpon the water affore the Kinges grace in rewarde.....xl ^s
Jun. 30th.	Item to the gromes of the hall for making of the Kinges bonefire in rewarde.....x ^s
Jul. 25th.	Item to Bartram Bruard, mynstrell, for his moneth wages for July.....xx ^s
Aug. 31st.	Item for Peter, the new mynstrell, wages.....xxxj ^s
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 xxiiij ^oxxxiiij ^l vj ^s viij ^d Item to the same vpon a nother bill signed for lyke wages, due at Mychell. last passed.....xix ^l xviiij ^s iiij ^d
Oct. 30th.	Item to the Children of the Kinges Chapell.....xx ^s
Nov. 19th.	Item to Richard Smyth for playng money for the King.....xl ^s

- Dec. 4th. Item to John, late the King of Castelles fole, in Re.....xl^s
 Dec. 19th. Item to Wynnesbery vpon a prest towarde the King of
 his Lordship of his Mysrule ¹.....lxvj^s viij^d
 Dec. 25th. Item to the Children of the Chapell for synging of Gloria
 in excelsis in rewarde.....xl^s
 Item to Master Kyte Cornysshe and other of the Chapell
 that played affore the King at Richemounte.....vj^l xij^s iij^d

1509

- Jan. 1st. Item to the Quenes mynstrelles.....xl^s
 Item to my Lorde Princes trumpettes.....xx^s
 Jan. 2nd. Item to my Lorde of Buckingham's pleyers that playd in
 the hall at Grenewyche in rewarde.....vj^s viij^d
 Jan. 7th. Item to the Gentilmen of the Kinges Chapell.....xij^l vj^s viij^d
 Item to diuerse of the Kinges Chapell that playde afore
 the King vpon xijth nyght.....liij^s iij^d
 Item to the Kinges players in rewarde.....xl^s
 Item to the Abbot of Mysrule in full payment of x. marcs
 for his besynes in Cristenmes tyde in rewarde.....lxvj^s viij^d
 Mar. 25th. Item to the Kinges grace for playng money.....xl^s
 Apr. 10th. Item to Sir Pieter Greves vpon oone bill for the wages
 of certen prestes singyng in diuerse places for the
 Kinges grace.....xxxiiij^l vj^s viij^d
 Item to the said Sir Pieter vpon a nother bill for the
 wages of certen prestes singyng in diuerse places for
 the Kinges grace.....xix^l xvij^s iij^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.
Prince's Players. Jan. 1499; Feb. 1499; Jan. 1501; Jan. 1506.
Essex's Players. Jan. 1494; Jan. 1496; Dec. 1497; Jan. 1498; Dec. 1498;
 Jan. 1499; Jan. 1503.
Lord of Oxford's Players, Jocular and Chapel. Jan. 1492; Jan. 1496; Jan. 1498;
 Aug. 1498; May 1506.
Players of Wycombe. Dec. 1494; Jan. 1498; Dec. 1498.

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 of London. Dec. 1497 ; Dec. 1498 ; Dec. 1499.

French Players. Jan. 1494 ; Jan. 1495.

Lord of Northumberland's Players and Waits. Jan. 1493 ; Aug. 1499.

Players of Wimborne Minster. Jan. 1494.

Players at Myles End. Aug. 1501.

Players of St. Albans. Dec. 1502.

Players at Kingston. May 1505.

Lord of Buckingham's Players. Jan. 1509.

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).